

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

Vol. 9: Orations 52-63 (1459-1461)

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Abstract

Volume 9 of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* contains twelve orations held by Pius II in the period from December 1459 to October 1461. They include the politically very important oration “*Responsuri*” to the French ambassadors on the pope’s policies with regard to the Kingdom of Naples and his support of the Spanish House of Aragon as rulers of that kingdom. It also comprises his oration at the canonization of Catherine of Siena, considered as one of highpoints of his pontificate.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papal orations; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1460-1462; 15th century; Papacy; Congress of Mantua; Wars against the Turks; Crusades against the Turks; Charles VII; Pragmatic sanction of Bourges; Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges; Canonization of saints; Catherine of Siena; Caterina di Siena; Queen Charlotte of Cyprus; Ferrante I; René d’Anjou; Appointment of cardinals; Cardinals; Italian wars; Papal States; Kingdom of Sicily; Kingdom of Naples

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Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.

1. General introduction
2. 1436-1444 (Orations 1-5)
3. 1445-1449 (Orations 6-13)
4. 1450-1453 (Orations 14-20)
5. 1454-1455 (Orations 21-25)
6. 1455-1457 (Orations 26-28)
7. 1458-1459 (Orations 29-42)
8. 1459-1459 (Orations 43-51)
9. 1459-1461 (Orations 52-63)
10. 1462-1464 (Orations 64-77)
11. 1454, 1459 (Orations 78-80). Orthographical profiles. Indices
12. Appendix: Ambassadors' orations to Pope Pius II

Table of contents

Abbreviations

52.	Responsuri (11 December 1459, Mantua)	7
53.	Advenisse te citius (December, Mantua)	198
54.	Septimo jam exacto mense (14 January 1460, Mantua)	222
55.	Messis quidem (5 March 1460, Siena)	264
56.	Quamvis non dubitamus (8 March 1460, Siena)	286
57.	Vocati estis (8 March 1460, Siena)	292
58.	De regno Siciliae (May 1460, Siena)	296
59.	Claritudo sanguinis (17 June 1460, Siena)	333
60.	Flentem et admodum dolentem (1 October 1460, Viterbo)	360
61.	Ingentes vobis quirites (6 October 1460, Rome)	384
62.	Catherinam Senensem (2 June 1461, Rome)	435
63.	Pone lacrimas (16 October 1461, Rome)	482

Abbreviations

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

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

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

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

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

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

CUG = Cugnoni

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]

DV = digital version.

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*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 10 vols. 2023 ff. [Freely available in a digital edition in HAL Archives].

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.

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

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

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

KO = Koberger

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.

SC = Scanned image.

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 Bd. Wien, 1909-1918. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, II. Abteilung, 61, 62, 67, 68).

Symbols

* As collated by Wolkan / Heck.

** Lead manuscript.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius; 52)

Oration “*Responsuri*” of Pope Pius II (11 December 1459, Mantova). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

When a French embassy reached the Congress of Mantua in November 1459, it soon became evident that its primary aim was not to negotiate the French contribution to a crusade against the Turks but to present the French complaints and objections concerning the investiture of Ferrante of Aragon as King of Naples and to demand that the pope invest René d'Anjou with the kingdom instead, which - according to the French - rightfully belonged to René. In his oration, the "*Responsuri*", the pope defended himself against the French accusations, justifying his actions with the military situation at the time as well as legal obligations incumbent on the papacy and political pressures. Consequently, he denied the French claims but declared his willingness to have the whole matter tried in court. At the end of the oration, the pope severely criticized the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges from 1438, which greatly restricted the pope's authority in French ecclesiastical matters and appointments.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1459; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante I of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King Charles VII; King René d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Congress of Mantova; Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 1438

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
 - 2.1. Kingdom of Naples
 - 2.1.1. Military imperatives
 - 2.1.2. Legal situation
 - 2.1.3. Political agenda
 - 2.2. France and the crusade
 - 2.3. Genoa
 - 2.4. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438
 - 2.5. Translation of the empire
3. Date, place, audience and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Early Version
 - 4.1.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.1.2. Editions
 - 4.2. Final Version
 - 4.3. Present edition
 - 4.4. History of the text
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

0. Introduction [1-8]
1. Genoa [9]
2. Kingdom of Naples [10-59]
 - 2.1. Rights of King René to the Kingdom of Naples [10]
 - 2.2. Merits of the French and of the Roman See [11-28]
 - 2.2.1. Merits of the French towards the Roman See [11-13]
 - 2.2.2. Merits of the Roman See towards the French [14-28]
 - 2.2.2.1. In the spiritual domain [14-15]

- 2.2.2.2. In the secular domain [16-28]
 - 2.2.2.2.1. Kingdom of the Franks [16]
 - 2.2.2.2.2. Holy Roman Empire [17-18]
 - 2.2.2.2.3. Kingdom of Naples [19-26]
 - 2.2.2.2.4. Peace of Arras [27-28]
 - 2.3. Wrongs allegedly done to the French by the Roman See [29-51]
 - 2.3.1. Eugenius IV [30-35]
 - 2.3.2. Nicolaus V [36-37]
 - 2.3.3. Calixtus III [38]
 - 2.3.4. Pius II [39-51]
 - 2.3.4.1. Investiture and coronation of Ferrante of Aragon [41-46]
 - 2.3.4.1.1. Military imperatives [41-43]
 - 2.3.4.1.2. Legal situation [44-46]
 - 2.3.4.2. Aquila affair [47]
 - 2.3.4.3. Denial of transit through papal territories [48-49]
 - 2.3.4.4. René's campaign against the pope [50]
 - 2.3.4.5. René's attack against Ferrante [51]
 - 2.4. Petitions of the French king [52-59]
 - 2.4.1. Investiture of King René with the Kingdom of Naples [52]
 - 2.4.2. Right of transit through papal territories [53]
 - 2.4.3. Conclusion [54]
3. French contribution to the crusade [55-59]
4. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438 [60-63]

Appendix 1: Oration "*Responsurus*" of Andrea de Santa Croce (1 December 1459, Mantua)

Appendix 2: Memorandum of French ambassadors (beg. December 1459, Mantua)

Appendix 3: Response "*Jam certis lapsis diebus*" of the French ambassadors (12 December 1459, Mantua)

Appendix 4: Letters of Pius II to King Charles VII of 12 December 1459 and 10 January 1460

Appendix 5: Letter of King Ferrante I to Pope Pius II [undated]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The political and strategic situation of Italy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was conditioned by its division into, roughly, four regions:

- Northern Italy, comprising the powerful, independent states of Milan, Venice, Genoa and Florence and a number of lesser principalities and communes.
- Central Italy, mostly comprising the Papal States (or the lands of Saint Peter). The Papal States were basically a monarchy governed by the reigning pope.
- Southern Italy, roughly comprising the Italian peninsula south of the Papal States, and forming, since 1282, the Kingdom of Naples² (often just called “the Kingdom”, Il Regno, since there was only this one kingdom in all of mainland Italy).
- The big and small islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, including Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands etc., mostly kingdoms under the Spanish Crown of Aragon.

For the popes, it was quite important who ruled the Kingdom of Naples, their big neighbour to the South. They managed to maintain some form of nominal feudal sovereignty over the kingdom, and they systematically pursued a balance of power lest the kingdom become too strong in relation to the Papal State.

In 1194, the Kingdom of Sicily (Southern Italy and Sicily), due to dynastic circumstances, passed from the French Norman dynasty to the German imperial Hohenstaufen dynasty.

In 1266, at the invitation of the papacy, Charles d’Anjou ousted the German Hohenstaufen dynasty from the kingdom, which thus passed to the French dynasty of Anjou.

In 1288, the Island of Sicily rebelled against the Angevins (the Sicilian Vespers). The Island was conquered by Pedro III of the Spanish House of Aragon, and after that it remained under the Crown of Aragon while the French Angevins governed the Southern Italian Kingdom of Naples.

¹ CO, III, 36-40; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 68-70, pp. 210-211; Abulafia; Ady, pp. 176-178; Boulting, pp. 275-276; Du Fresne

de Beaucourt, VI, ch. 12; Mitchell, 159-161; Paparelli, 224-228; Pastor, II, p. 64-66; Picotti, 258-261, 278-286; Pillinini, pp.

68-82; Reinhardt, p. 266; Stolf, p. 354; Voigt, IV, pp. 81-89

² At the time called, confusingly, the Kingdom of Sicily

In 1442/1443, the King of Aragon, Alfonso V, after years of warfare, defeated King René d'Anjou and, in his turn, ousted the Angevins from the Kingdom of Naples, which was then reunited with the Kingdom of Sicily.

When Alfonso died in 1458, the Kingdom of Naples passed to his son, Ferrante I, while the Kingdom of Sicily passed to his brother, Juan II, King of Aragon.

The popes had staunchly supported the French Angevin rule in Naples, but after the Aragonese conquest in 1442/1443, the military and political realities made them bow to necessity and recognize the Spanish Aragonese rule.

In 1458, both King Alfonso and Pope Calixtus died. The king was succeeded by his son, Ferrante I, who took over the Kingdom peacefully, being recognized by his own subjects and by the Italian powers, which were bound to do so by the treaty of the Italian League (1455).¹ The pope was succeeded by Pius II who, as one of his first acts of government, formally invested Ferrante with the Kingdom and sent a cardinal to crown him.

He also summoned the Italian and European powers to a Congress in Mantua with the purpose of organizing a joint military response to the Turkish expansion into Europe. The congress effectively began its work in September 1459, but the embassy of the French king only arrived towards the end of the congress, in late November. It soon became clear that they had not really come to contribute to a crusade against the Turks but to put pressure on the pope to revoke the investiture of King Ferrante with the Kingdom and to invest King Rene with it instead.

At this time, relations between the papacy and France were burdened by three important issues:

- The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, approved by King Charles VII in 1438. It heavily restricted papal authority in France in general and over the French Church in particular and greatly limited the financial flows from France to Rome (e.g. in connection with episcopal and other appointments). The popes evidently wanted the French to revoke the Sanction and restore papal authority in France and papal incomes from France.
- The Kingdom of Naples, which the French wanted to be taken away from the Spanish House of Aragon and restored to the French House of Anjou, and which the pope wanted to keep in Spanish possession so as to avoid encirclement of Italy and the Papal States by the French (from the North and from the South).

¹ Soranzo

- The crusade against the Turks, towards which the French king had been very sceptical ever since the idea was launched by the rising House of Burgundy, and for which the pope definitely needed a solid French contribution.

A side issue - to further complicate matters – was

- the pope's alliance with Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, who in 1450 had succeeded to the Visconti dynasty, despite French claims to the duchy (via the House of Orléans), and who for this reason was quite nervous about having the French Royal house in control of Southern Italy.¹

So, in November/December 1459, the situation between France and the papacy was quite complicated: The French wanted the restoration of the French House of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples and had not given up their designs on Milan; they also wanted to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; and finally, they did not want to join the crusade against the Turks.

The pope, on the other hand, wanted to keep the French out of Italy by maintaining the Spanish House of Aragon in the Kingdom of Naples and the new Sforza dynasty in Milan; he also wanted the French to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; and finally, he wanted the French to join the crusade.

At the formal reception of the French embassy in Mantua on 21 November 1459, one of the French ambassadors, Bishop Guillaume Chartier of Paris, held an oration, the "*Maximum et amplissimum onus*", in which he declared his king's filial obedience to the pope, and omitted any criticism of the pope's investiture of King Ferrante with the crown of Naples, leaving that matter for later. The papal court had actually expected that his oration would contain such criticism, a severe one even, and therefore, the pope had prepared a response, the oration "*Placuit audisse*" in which he replied to the attacks of the French. Since they were not forthcoming, he had instead to improvise another oration, the "*Multa hic hodie*", without a defence of his Neapolitan policies. However, he re-used a number of the arguments on this matter from the "*Placuit audisse*" in his later oration "*Responsuri*".

Some days after the reception of the French embassy, the bailli of Rouen, Guillaume Cousinot, in a meeting held on 30 November,² delivered an oration in which he politely but unmistakably criticized the pope for his investiture of King Ferrante with the Kingdom of Naples and demanded that the pope revoke the investiture and invest King René instead.

¹ Pillinini, p. 71

² Picotti, p. 257, n. 1

In his *Commentarii*, Pope Pius wrote about the - quite dramatic - meeting with the French ambassadors, to which the ambassadors unexpectedly brought a number of ambassadors of other powers, making it a very public meeting:

When silence fell, the bailli launched into a long speech in praise of the great deeds the French (whom he called “the People of the Lily”) had performed in defence of the Faith and the many things they had done for the Apostolic See. He explained how the Kingdom of Sicily had come to them and how much blood it had cost. Alfonso, he said, had been entirely unjustified in ejecting them by force of arms. The pope had acted unfairly in putting Alfonso’s undeserving bastard son on the throne of such a kingdom and rejecting René, the rightful king. Even Calixtus, Aragonese though he was, would never have done such a thing. The pope had done the French wrong. He had been poorly advised; he had rejected the blue blood of the Lilies and preferred the Aragonese. He would be wise to undo an unwise decision: the bailli asked that he proclaim René king, reject Ferrante, and thus compensate the French for the insults they had suffered.

This was the gist of the speech. The language was pompous and bombastic, peppered with boasts and threats in the French fashion. As he spoke, the friends of France all shook the crests of their helmets¹ and, thinking the pope would not dare to reply, exulted in their triumph. For the moment, Pius made only a brief response: “Royal ambassadors, we have heard you plead René’s case and lay charges against ourselves. What we have done in the matter of Sicily was carried out in consultation with the College of Cardinals. If you now demand that it be revoked as unjust, it is only right that we ask their opinion. When we have done so, we will speak to your complaints and requests. Then he dismissed the meeting.”²

The day afterwards, on 1 December, the pope received the ambassador of King Ferrante and heard him argue for the Aragonese position in the oration “*Responsurus*”.³

Then he fell ill:

After this, the pope suffered a severe bout of stomach trouble and was so racked by a dry cough that both he and his physicians had doubts whether he would live. When they heard this, the French claimed it was a sham and that the pope was not truly sick. They required,

¹ “*cristas cuncti erigere*”: the image used by Pius may rather refer to the raised or erect crest or comb of some birds, e.g. cocks

² CO, III, 38 (Meserve, II, p. 167)

³ See Appendix 1. It was no coincidence that the pope’s oration began with the word “*Responsuri*” and the Aragonese ambassador’s with the word “*Responsurus*”. Indeed, a num-

ber of the arguments in the ambassador’s oration recur in the pope’s. Remarkably, the pope does not mention the Aragonese ambassador’s intervention in his *Commentarii*

demanded, insisted on an answer. They imagined their arguments had got the better of the pope and that he was trying to avoid making a reply. When Pius heard this, he said: "I'll answer that vexatious legation even if I drop dead on the assembly floor doing so. I will not give in to pain, and I won't let illness make me look a coward."

He then called the cardinals together and told them the reply he meant to make. Some thought he should communicate this to a small gathering, but he ordered that all the ambassadors should be summoned along with the chief officials of the Curia.¹

Some days later, he received a written memorandum from the French ambassadors, with the demands presented orally by Guillaume Cousinot on 30 November (see Appendix 2).

Then, on 11 December (probably, or some days earlier), the pope replied to the ambassadors with the oration "*Responsuri*".

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

When this crowd had gathered, the pope, though weak and in great pain, emerged from his chamber and entered the audience hall. After silence was called, he sat on his lofty throne, pale, in some distress, and barely able to speak. But his spirits soon revived, and the words came flooding to his lips. Rising above his pain, he spoke without the slightest difficulty for three hours, a speech that commanded their rapt attention.

In his speech, the pope delivered a far better eulogy of the French than the bailli had done. It was true that they had done much good to the Church, but they had received no less in return. The measures regarding the Kingdom of Sicily were neither unjust nor unreasonable. It was the French complaints that were unjust since their rights had been completely respected. There was no denying, in fact, that they themselves were in the wrong, for they had passed a law in their kingdom to the detriment of the Apostolic See, an act that was sending many souls to Hell.

This oration has been published² with the others, so there is no reason to give parts of it in detail here. If anyone wants to know how conclusively the arrogant French were refuted, the text can be found in the collected speeches.³

¹ CO, III, 38, 4-5 (Meserve, II, pp. 169)

² "scripta"

³ CO, III, 38, 5-7 (Meserve, II, pp. 169-171)

The French ambassadors were, as might be expected, dissatisfied with the pope's quite uncompromising¹ reply,² but the cardinals and the curials were highly complimentary and thought that Pius had preserved "*the honour of the See; ... they especially applauded the things he had said about the Pragmatic Sanction.*"³

The next day, on 12 December (probably - or some days earlier), a new meeting was held with the French ambassadors, this time with a very restricted audience of eight cardinals. For two hours, the French ambassadors pleaded King René's case,⁴ but their arguments were systematically and effectively rebutted by the pope, and in the end, the ambassadors, according to Pius himself, *threw themselves at his feet and begged his pardon.*⁵

Already on the same day as the last meeting, 12 December, the pope wrote the first of two letters to King Charles (see appendix 4) to expose the papal position on the matter directly to the king and to avoid that the king only knew of his position through the presumably biased reports of his ambassadors.⁶

Also, on that day, the French ambassadors presented some objections to the pope's oration (see Appendix 3).

Afterwards, King Ferrante sent a letter of thanks (see Appendix 5) to the pope for defending his position and especially for upholding the legitimation of him as heir of King Alfonso made by the previous popes.

Pius' contemporary biographer, Platina, just wrote: *On three occasions, he vigorously refuted the complaints of the French and the calumnies of King René concerning his confirmation of Ferrante, son of Alfonso, as King of Naples and his grant to him of the crown of the kingdom.*⁷

The discussions and the orations could not solve the complicated problems of the Kingdom of Naples and the Pragmatic Sanction, and subsequent events showed that in no case was the French king willing to effectively join a crusade.

¹ Abulafia, p. 246

² CO, III, 38, 8

³ CO, III, 38 (Meserve, II, p. 171)

⁴ See French ambassador's oration, Appendix 2

⁵ CO, III, 39 (Meserve, II, p. 173)

⁶ Papal letter of 12 December 1459 and 10 January 1460 to King Charles VI, see Appendix

⁷ Zimolo, p. 107: *Gallorum querimonias et calumpnias Renati regis, quod Ferdinandum,*

Alphonsi filium, in regno Neapolitano confirmasset quodque eundem corona regni donasset, tribus actionibus acerrime confutavit. Pius' other contemporary biographer, Campaño, does not mention the matter

So, for the time being, the Kingdom of Naples remained in the hands of the House of Aragon, the French were kept out of Southern Italy, the Pragmatic Sanction remained in force, and the French did not promise to join the crusade.

2. Themes

2.1. Kingdom of Naples¹

Pius consistently presents the French (Anjou) possession of the Kingdom of Sicily as one of the great favours bestowed upon the French House in recognition of the considerable merits of the Franks towards the papacy:

And who does not see that the transferral of the Kingdom of Sicily to the family of France was a great and honourable gift - as also related by you? [Sect. 19]

On their part, the French seem to have expressed the notion that the papacy granted the kingdom to the French because it was itself too weak to hold on to it:

Somebody may say, as you did in your oration, that the kingdom was occupied by tyrants and that the powerful Manfred could not be expelled. Therefore, the Roman See granted what it could not keep on its own, preferring to give it away rather than lose it. [Sect. 19]

They were both right. In their fight against the German conquerors, the popes certainly did not want Sicily to continue or come back under German imperial lordship when the Hohenstauffen dynasty fell in 1266. As they were, indeed, not strong enough to hold Sicily directly, they had to find another ruling house that could. It would not be the Spaniards since they now presented the danger of a new Mediterranean hegemony. The popes, therefore, first turned to the English, offering them the crown of Sicily, and only when the English said no did they offer it to the royal house of France.²

For almost two centuries after the accession of Anjou to the crown of Sicily in 1262/1266, the alliance between the Sicilian Angevins and the papacy generally held firm, directed as it was against the main European competitor of both the French and the papacy, i.e. the Holy Roman

¹ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 6.4

² Léonard, p. 38

Empire with its Ghibelline supporters in North and Central Italy. Relations, though, could become quite strained when one of the two parties began to encroach on the other's dominion and interests.

So, Pius was basically correct in pointing to a series of popes actively supporting the House of Anjou in Sicily, though he carefully avoids mentioning the exceptions and the crises in the relationship. And Pius' defence of his own actions as pope, based on the legal, political and military situation of the day (see below), appears to be quite convincing: his version of the chain and state of affairs may have been heavily - and expectedly - slanted towards giving a favourable picture of his predecessors' and his own actions, but in essence, it was correct.

The big unsaid, however, was that in the meantime, the French claim on the Duchy of Milan and, more broadly, its power plays in Northern Italy had raised the spectre of another - this time a French - encirclement of the Papal State, which made it imperative for the popes to block the French interests in Southern Italy, an imperative with which the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Pius'allies, obviously agreed.

This strategic issue was evident to all, and it made Pius' declarations of impartiality in the fight between the French Angevins and the Spanish Aragonese appear hypocritical and insincere:

If the due course of law is chosen, weapons must be laid down, and the dispute must continue with legal arguments: We Ourselves shall have the part of the just judge. For why should We care which of you possess the Kingdom? Indeed, if the judicial investigation proves that it is René who has the right to the Kingdom, We shall do as you require, nay even more. [Sect. 52]

Nobody would have been fooled.

2.1.1. Military imperatives

The last pope to defend the House of Anjou as rulers of the Kingdom of Naples was Eugenius IV, who fought bitterly and as long as he possibly could against Alfonso of Aragon. Ultimately, the military situation left him no choice but to switch sides, recognize Alfonso as king, and legitimize his illegitimate son, Ferrante, as heir to the Kingdom.

In the "*Responsuri*", Pius told the French ambassadors:

On one side, the King of France, against the custom of his ancestors, allowed the Roman Church to be troubled, and René did not send help nor keep his promises. On the other side, King Alfonso put the lands of Saint Peter under pressure and molested and abused them with great armies. Moreover, Francesco Sforza Visconti, now Lord of Milan, had invaded the territory of Piceno, and the Basileans had, under the name of a General Council, stirred up new troubles. Under those circumstances, Eugenius accepted the advice proffered by cardinals as well as by insightful men. We do not discuss the rights of the [two] parties here; that must be decided in a proper suit of law. At any rate, Eugenius accepted a peace with Alfonso that was not only useful but even necessary: he allowed Alfonso the Kingdom, and moreover, he handed over to him some cities from the lands of the Church, among them Terracina, once called Anxur. This is the custom of war: peace is had on the conditions of the victor. For these reasons, Eugenius granted Alfonso the title to the Kingdom of Sicily, in a situation where René did not possess a single house or a single piece of land in the Kingdom. [Sect. 33]

The assessment of Eugenius' hopeless military situation is shared by modern historians. Ryder wrote:

The Aragonese triumph in the face of opposition from Eugenius IV gave Alfonso not only an immense advantage in resolving the juridical issue but also a position overshadowing the papal states. The old enemy had become Rome's most powerful neighbour, controlling the whole length of its southern frontier. His armies camped barely 50 miles from Rome itself. Eugenius, still in his Florentine exile, had no choice but to come to terms or risk seeing his states handed over to his conciliar rival Felix. First he had to steal away from Florence to Siena to free his hands for such a spectacular a diplomatic somersault. Once there, he deputed Ludovico Scarampo, Cardinal of Aquileia, a warrior cleric of Vitelleschi stamp but a good friend of Piccinino and well disposed towards Alfonso, to go as legate to Naples and arrange everything. The King met him at Terracina in June 1443 with an impressive display of cordiality and military power ... By the end, Alfonso had scored another notable victory in his long-running battle with the papacy. He had won the investiture of Naples for himself, Ferdinando (whom the pope was to legitimize) and their heirs; possession of Benevento and Terracina for life; and promotion of two loyal bishops, Arnau Roger de Palars and Alfonso Borja, to the college of cardinals. In return, he promised to withdraw his delegates from the Council of Basel and end all dealings with Felix.¹

¹ Ryder, p. 255

Against the French accusations, Pius maintained that the military force of Ferrante, aided by Jacopo Piccinino's invasion of the Papal States, constituted a mortal threat to the papacy, forcing Pius to come to terms with the Aragonese - just as had his predecessor, Pope Eugenius IV, in 1443. Had the French been present with a military force great enough to defeat Ferrante and to protect the papacy, the situation would have been completely different, but they were not, and the pope had had to bow to necessity.

In his oration, Pius said that when he became pope

Jacopo Piccinino, one of our time's outstanding captains, had invaded the lands of the Church. A traitorous commander had turned the castle of Assisi over to him, and afterwards, he also gained control of the city. He had also attacked Nocera, and, having conquered the city of Gualdo, he attacked the castle there vigorously. The people of nearby Fulgino were trembling with anxiety, as were the people of Spoleto, where the commander of the castle seemed to favour Piccinino. Some fortresses of the Church were in the hands of the Catalans, and though We thought that they would remain loyal and steadfast, We had to fear that patriotism would make them side with Ferrante, who ruled the Kingdom of Sicily unopposed... [Sect. 41]

Piccinino had now taken three cities from the Church, and if We did not give the Kingdom to Ferrante, for whom he was fighting, he would inflict the greatest possible damage upon Our subjects. The Romans asked for peace, the Umbrians asked for peace, the people of Piceno asked for peace, and all the neighbours asked for peace: all believed that denying the request would have severe and dangerous consequences. ... If We opposed the demands of Ferrante, a most serious and dangerous war threatened the Church. We were not strong enough to resist him, and the Bishop of Marseilles, sent by René, had brought nothing but sweet words and uncertain promises. Hopes in René were farfetched, and all help doubtful, whereas in Ferrante, We would have an enemy close by and evident ruin. And though We see that you believe so, We did not have an envoy from the King of France with Us, for the dean of Chartres, who was then in Rome, had been sent to Calixtus to negotiate the matter of the Turks, not the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily. After the death of Calixtus, he had no business with Us, and as his mission was ended, his words carried no weight ... [Sect. 42]

Pius' arguments concerning the military situation were really quite convincing, and King René's complete military passivity regarding the Kingdom of Naples since his defeat at the hands of King Alfonso in 1442/1443 had left the popes without the means to resist the Aragonese claims on the Kingdom. It is difficult to disagree with Pius that in this respect the accusations of the French ambassadors were unjust.

2.1.2. Legal situation

The Aragonese takeover and possession of the Kingdom of Naples had been recognized by Pius' predecessors, Eugenius IV, Nicolaus V and Calixtus III. The two first popes had also recognized Ferrante's right to succeed his father Alfonso as king, but when Alfonso died in 1458, Calixtus denied this right and declared that the Kingdom had reverted to the pope as the feudal overlord.

In the Italian peace treaty of 1455, the Italian powers, including the Apostolic See, had directly recognized the Aragonese rule in the Kingdom of Naples and Ferrante's right of succession. Thus, the pope was bound by a major treaty to invest Ferrante with the Kingdom when he requested it.

Indeed, all the Italian powers had demanded that the pope respect the stipulations concerning Ferrante in the treaty establishing the Lega Italica, and moreover, the princes, barons and subjects of the Kingdom had unanimously recognized Ferrante's kingship.

Concerning the French argument that Pius' direct predecessor, Calixtus III, had denied Ferrante the investiture, Pius told the ambassadors that Calixtus had not done so because he wanted to invest King René, but because he had other plans, as was well known at the Roman Curia. He did not say it directly, but at the curia it was general knowledge that the Borgia pope had planned to make one of his own nephews, Don Pedro, King of Naples¹ - as was also known to Italian ambassadors at the Papal Court and thus to their masters.²

As Pius told the ambassadors, there were legally three possibilities:

- 1) The Kingdom had returned to the pope as feudal overlord: in that case the pope was free to appoint the king he wanted to, and he had been forced to appoint Ferrante. Thus, the French had no legal cause for complaint.
- 2) The Kingdom had been lawfully inherited by Ferrante: in that case, too, the French had no cause for complaint.
- 3) The Kingdom was lawfully due to King René: in that case, the pope had reserved René's rights - or, more precisely, the rights of other parties when he invested Ferrante with the Kingdom,³ and the French were welcome to pursue the matter through a proper suit of law in which the pope would be the judge.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 22

² Pastor, I, pp. 601

³ Papal bull *Divina disponente clementia* of 10 November 1458

bestowing the Kingdom of Naples upon King Ferrante, with

In his oration, Pius said:

In no way have We diminished your rights. Though Ferrante may have had certain advantages, it was Our Kingdom to dispose of since it had either reverted to Us or was due to Ferrante by right of inheritance. Who can criticise Us for that? If Ferrante's father was the king and had made him the legitimate heir, it would be unjust to deny him the paternal kingdom. If the kingdom had reverted to Us, it was Ours to give to whom We wanted to, and We wanted to give it to Ferrante. If it belonged to the French, or to King René, or to somebody else, We did not give or wanted to give it to Ferrante, for in Our letters, We reserved the rights of other parties, something that Our predecessors had not done.¹ So, why are We being slandered? What are We rebuked for? Who does not understand that your pious king and you yourselves have been told nonsense since you believe that We have deprived the glorious House of France of the kingdom, whereas in fact We have deprived nobody of it and have deprived nobody of their rights? [Sect. 44]

Maybe someone will say: "But if the kingdom had reverted to You, You should have preferred the French." Indeed, We would have preferred the French if they had been as close by as Ferrante, and if We had not been threatened by so great a danger and pressured by so great a necessity. "But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very serious matter." If it was lawful to invest him [with the Kingdom], then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything. "But yes, it will ensure him the people's favour." But when We commanded that he be crowned, he did not need that,

the reservation of others' including King René's rights: *Jus etiam, quod quicumque de terris Ecclesiae, seu Tusciae, vel Lombardiae, aut Romanae Ecclesiae fideles in comitatibus, civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, seu locis a sede Apostolica seu a Regibus, seu principibus sibi concessum obtinent, nec non jus, quod privati a jure, vel per processus apostolicos olim habebant, si eos ad illud apostolica auctoritate legitime restitui contingat, etiam penitus salvum erit, nec per praesentem regni & terrae concessionem comitatum, seu aliorum concessorum hujus*

modi cuiquam quoad proprietatem et possessionem praejudicium aliquod generetur, regio jure in his omnibus semper salvo [Margin note: *Jura sua cunctis illaesa servanda*]. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 30; Müller, pp. 698-708

¹ Actually, already in 1445 Eugenius IV may have expressed – in a declaration to the French ambassadors - the intention not to prejudice the rights of the House of Anjou, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, pp. 222: *Eugène répondit que, pour éviter un plus grand mal et conjurer un péril imminent, il avait été obligé de céder aux exigences du roi*

*d'Aragon, mais qu'il n'entendait pas préjudicer au droit de la maison d'Anjou. See also Pope Calixtus' words to the Milanese ambassador [in Pastor's translation]: *Wir hätten noch härter gegen ihn [King Ferrante] vorgehen und ihm jedes Recht aus Nachfolge absprechen sollen. Das haben Wir nicht thun wollen, aber zur Vertheidigung der Rechte der Kirche haben Wir diese gerechte und heilige Bulle erlassen ... In derselben haben Wir seine [King Ferrante's] Rechte, wie diejenigen der anderen Prätendenten reserviert, denn Jedem soll sein Recht werden* (Pastor, I, p. 602)*

for he already had the favour of all the nobles and the people. Moreover, it had previously been settled that he should be given the crown when he requested it, as Our predecessors Eugenius and Nicolaus had agreed with Alfonso. We simply could not deny his request and go against their promises. For if private people are bound by their agreements, then princes are undoubtedly bound even more so. Nothing is more shameful than a prince who breaks faith. [Sect. 45]

It is difficult to see how the legal arguments of the French could be stronger than the pope's, especially if they did not wish to engage in a lawsuit. At any rate, in that age, conquest by arms was considered legitimate, and the French themselves had acquired, kept and lost the Kingdom of Naples by arms. If they could reconquer the Kingdom by arms, the matter would, of course, be quite different, but under the present circumstances, the pope was bound by honour to support the king he had himself recognized and invested with the Kingdom.

2.1.3. Political agenda

The French ambassadors accused Pius of having *spurned and rejected the House of France* because he *despises the French Nation* [Sect. 39].

There is no doubt that Pius shared the general gallophobia of the Italians and that he really did not like the French - witness many remarks scattered around in his works, e.g. his remark in the *Commentarii* on Ambassador Cousinot's speech to him: *The language was pompous and bombastic, peppered with boasts and threats in the French fashion*. So, in this sense, he had a clear cultural prejudice against the French, which may have influenced his actions in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily.¹

But, more importantly, he had two clear political motives:

Firstly, he and his ally, the Duke of Milan, wanted to limit the French influence in Italy, and they, therefore, certainly did not want the Kingdom of Naples to revert to a French dynasty (see above).

And secondly, French military pressure from the South might force the pope to return to Avignon. For example, a French Neapolitan army advancing on Rome at the time of a papal election - as had happened on other occasions - might result in the election of a French pope who would bring the papacy back to Avignon and France, something which must at all costs be avoided. That this

¹ See also Gilli

issue was acute and important for Pius, is shown by his description of the Conclave of 1458, where he states that the clinching argument against his main competitor in the conclave, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, was the risk of the papacy returning to France.¹

So, not just cultural prejudices but clear political reasons motivated Pius to support the Spanish Aragonese House in the Kingdom of Naples and to keep out the French Angevins. However, he could not very well admit such considerations to the French, and therefore a very important reason for his policy in the matter of Naples was left unsaid in his oration. As everybody, including the French ambassadors, would be quite aware of the pope's political motives in this affair, their absence from the pope's otherwise convincing argumentation leaves the impression of a brilliant but not completely sincere defence. So, when he told the ambassadors: *Why should We want to exclude the House of France, so noble, so fond of virtue, and so well deserved by our See?* [Sect. 10] or *Why should we care which of you possess the kingdom?* [Sect. 52], he may have been overwhelmed - as happens to brilliant and passionate orators - by momentary sincerity and believed his own words, but nobody else would have.

2.2. France and the crusade²

Having rejected the French complaints and accusations in the matter of Naples, Pius took up the matter of the crusade, which was indeed the main purpose of the Congress. By the time the oration was delivered, it was probably quite evident that the French would not commit themselves in any way to the crusade, so Pius' exhortation to them to give their advice on this matter was really a challenge:

Help us, ambassadors; turn your minds towards, be open to, and think of ways to solve not only the conflicts concerning this kingdom, but also the other conflicts between Christians. Let Us hear your advice; indeed, We attach the greatest importance to your judgments. Do not fail Us, do not fail Christ, for this matter is Christ's own. [Sect. 55] ... We are waiting to hear how you will contribute to the quest for peace. You are acting on behalf of a great and mighty king, and much depends on you. [Sect. 57] Let Us hear what comfort you are bringing in these calamities. We do not doubt that you hold great things in trust. Please give your advice on what should be done about peace between Christians and war against Turks, and do fulfil the hopes kindled by your arrival. [Sect. 58]

¹ CO, I, 36 (Meserve, I, pp. 187-189). See also Nowak, pp. 415-426

² On Pius' crusade, see COR, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.

2.3. Genoa

In May 1458, the French took over Genoa, and the son of King René, Jean, entitled Duke of Calabria, was appointed governor, using the appointment to launch the Anjou war against King Ferrante. The French rule, this time, only lasted some years before the Genoese rebelled against the French.

When, in December 1459, the French ambassadors in Mantua recommended Genoa to the pope, they were really asking for the pope's recognition of the French takeover. In his answer, the pope said: *Firstly, you recommended the people of Genoa to Us. We shall keep this city in high regard both by virtue of its own merits and because of the king's recommendation* [Sect. 9]. This very diplomatic answer from the pope would have given the French satisfaction without expressing any support for the French takeover.

The French request for the removal of Archbishop Paolo Campofregoso, a leader of the Genoese opposition against the French, was left in abeyance, and when the French were ousted in 1461, he actually became doge of the city.

2.4. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438¹

In view of the French unwillingness to commit themselves in the matter of the crusade, the pope seemingly felt that he had nothing to lose in taking up the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. The Pragmatic Sanction had been issued by King Charles VII on 7 July 1438. It was based on a number of key decrees of the Council of Basel limiting the power of the popes in general and over the national churches in particular. It required election rather than appointment to ecclesiastical offices, prohibited the pope from bestowing and profiting from ecclesiastical benefices, and limited appeals to Rome, with the consequence of greatly restricting the financial flows from France to Rome.² The Papacy considered the Pragmatic Sanction a mortal danger and worked systematically to obtain its abrogation and to prevent it from "spreading" to other countries, in particular Germany.

In his oration, Pius seems to consider that some form of compromise might be found concerning ecclesiastical appointments and the appeals from French courts to Rome. But he would not and could not condone that clerics would be judged by secular courts and not by ecclesiastical courts, and generally he could not accept that the French Parliament would have greater authority in religious matters in France than the pope himself.

¹ Combet, pp. x-xviii. See also COR, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.5.

² See the introduction to the Pius' oration "*Per me reges regant*"[65] (1462)

We are not overly concerned with the audition of legal cases, the granting of benefices, or many other things We believe can be remedied. No, what worries Us is that We see the perdition and ruin of souls and the vanishing glory of this noble kingdom. For how can it be tolerated that laymen have been made judges of clerics? ... The Roman Bishop, whose parish is the whole world, and whose province is only limited by the Ocean, only has as much jurisdiction in France as the Parliament allows him. He is forbidden to punish a blasphemer, a murderer of near relatives, a heretic – even if he is an ecclesiastic - unless Parliament gives its assent. Many believe that its authority is so great that it precludes even Our censures. Thus, the Roman Pontiff, judge of judges, is subjected to the judgment of Parliament. If We allow this, We make a monster of the Church, create a hydra with many heads, and completely destroy unity. [Sect. 62]

In this area, the pope was fighting to uphold the authority of one of the two supranational institutions he passionately believed in, the Empire and the Papacy, against the developing European nation-states.

As an inveterate believer in monarchic government, he was also fighting the rise of democracy and warned the King of France of the consequences to his own authority:

This would be a dangerous thing, venerable brothers, and one which would overturn all hierarchy. For why would subjects obey their kings or other bishops, for that matter, if these themselves do not obey their own superior? Whoever makes a law directed against another must consider that he should obey it himself. [Sect. 62].

Here, Pius follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, Eugenius IV, who - when faced with the rebellious, conciliarist council fathers at the Council of Basel - wrote in a circular letter, the *Liber Apologeticus* of June 1436, to the princes of Europe: *Why are they [i.e. the council fathers] so eager to reduce this monarchy [i.e. the papacy], which God has established by his own word, to a popular state and to a democracy?*¹, warning the princes that the council's revolt against the papal monarch was a threat to all monarchic governments.² The princes would not have been deaf to this argument and eventually came to support the pope against the council - though for other reasons, too.

¹ Stieber, pp. 27-28: *Cur monarchiam hanc, quam Deus suo ore instituit, ad popularem status et*

ad democratiam deducere festinant

² See oration "Audiivi" [1] (1436), Introduction

2.5. Translation of the empire¹

In his oration, Pius claims that his predecessor, Pope Leo III, formally transferred the whole Roman Empire from the Greek emperors in Constantinople to the Franks, in the person of Charlemagne:

... but the Roman Pontiff, Leo III, granted Charles an even greater one [boon]. Leo IV, who reigned [in Constantinople] between two Constantines, one his father and the other his son, neglected Italy, and fell into heresy as he abhorred and forbade the cult of images. Scandalized [at this development], Pope Leo transferred imperial rule from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne. What greater [boon] could the Apostolic See bestow on the House of the Franks than honouring it with Roman imperial power and giving it lordship over the lands and princely power over peoples and nations? What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?, says the Lord in the person of the prophet. The family of the Franks was honoured above all others, having received imperial power and being placed on the summit of the mountains by the Roman Church. [Sect. 17]

Scholars have debated what exactly happened when Pope Leo put an imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne on Christmas Day 800, in Rome, and how it was understood by Charlemagne himself and his subjects.² However, it is quite certain that the pope did not have the legal right and the power to make such a decision and that he did not, in fact, make it.³ Most probably, the imperial coronation was a symbolic- but politically very important - recognition of Charlemagne's conquest and rulership over most of Europe, more or less the old Western part of the Roman Empire.⁴

It is true, as Pius claimed, that it was Charlemagne's negotiations with the Imperial Court in Constantinople and recognition by the Byzantine emperor as Western emperor (but not as Roman emperor) which formalized the state of the double empire,⁵ but this did not happen in contravention of a papal act translating the whole Roman Empire from the Byzantines to the

¹ This section is mainly based on Van Den Baar. See also COR, vol. 1, sect. 6.2.2.

² Van Den Baar, p. 1

³ Van den Baar, p. 1: *Es bedarf keines Beweises, dass die spätere Theorie, Papst Leo III. habe kraft Apostolischer Autorität das Imperium von den Griechen auf die Franken übertragen, nicht*

dem tatsächlichen Vorgang entspricht

⁴ Werner, p. 435: *Il [Charlemagne] montre bien, dans ses actes émis après 800, qu'il se considère comme le successeur de Constantin et des autres empereurs romains et chrétiens. En tant que tel, il se veut l'égal des empereurs d'Orient, qu'il ne*

conteste d'ailleurs pas. Van Den Baar, p. 4: *... sicher seit dem Jahre 812 hat Karl eine Gleichrangigkeit mit Byzanz angestrebt, und er spricht von einem occidentale et orientale imperium*

⁵ Werner, p. 436

Franks. It is worth noting that, actually, Pius himself, in the oration, states that it is not the coronation which makes the king:

“But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very serious matter.” If it was lawful to invest him [with the Kingdom], then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything. [Sect. 45]

The thesis of a papal translation of the Roman Empire from the Greeks to Charlemagne had not been invented by Pius II. It developed gradually from the second half of the 9th century, nourished by the conflict between popes and emperors, and found its succinct scholastic formulation by Pope Innocent III, for whom the translation was not the result of historical circumstances but an expression of the papal supremacy over the whole world, including the empire and the emperors.¹ Through its inclusion in the decretal *Venerabilem*, the translation of the empire became firmly embedded in the official teaching of the Church from where Pius had it. Pius also knew the theory from Otto von Freising, whom he much admired, and who had written in his *Chronica* from 1143-1146:

*Anno ab incarnatione domini DCCCI ... Karolus XXXIII regni sui anno a summo pontifice, ablato patricii nomine, coronatus omni populo ter acclamante: “Karlo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum imperatori vita et victoria.” Exhinc regnum Romanorum, quod a Constantino usque ad id temporis in urbe regia, scilicet Constantinopoli, fuit, ad Francos derivatum est.*²

In this respect, Pius was not innovating but simply repeating traditional church doctrine.

Also Pius’ claim that it was Pope Zacharias who took the initiative to depose the Frankish King Childeric III and to bestow the royal power on Pepin the Short, father of Charlemagne, was incorrect, though this claim, too, had become part of traditional Church teaching:

In the hands of the useless King Childeric their kingdom lost its vigour and was sliding towards extinction. Our predecessor, Zacharias, would not tolerate the ruin of this noble realm but sent legates who tonsured the king and enclosed him in a monastery. Then they

¹ Van den Baar, p. 99: *Seine [Innocentius III] Bedeutung für die Entwicklung dieses Gedankes besteht allein darin, dass er ihn in einer scharfen und scholastisch-sauberen Form formuliert,*

als erster Papst zu einem juristisch-politischen Zweck verwendet und ihm einen festen Platz in den offiziellen Begründungen der kirchlichen Ansprüche hinsichtlich des Kaisertums gesichert

hat, indem die Idee mit der Dekretale “Venerabilem” in das Corpus iuris canonici einging

² Otto von Freising: *Chronica* (Schmidt), V, 31, p. 420

gave the title of king and the government to Pepin, the majordomus [of the kingdom]. [Sect. 16]

What happened was that Pepin had effectively supplanted Childeric. It is true that he required the pope to legitimate his rule when he asked him: “The kings in our kingdom do not exercise their royal power. Is this good or bad?” The pope obligingly answered that “it is better to call him king who effectively exercises power so that order is not troubled,”¹ but the reality of the power change was created by Pepin, and the formal decision was taken by Frankish bodies, not by the pope.

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Piccotti, the oration “*Responsuri*” was probably delivered by Pius between 10 and 12 December 1459, in reply to the oration of the Bailli of Rouen, held on 30 November at the Congress of Mantua.²

The audience were the ambassadors from King Charles VII of France, of King René d’Anjou, and important members of the Papal Court.

The format was a papal oration from the throne in reply to royal ambassadors.

4. Text³

The oration “*Responsuri*” is extant both individually in a number of humanist collective manuscripts⁴ and as part of the *Collected Orations of Pius II*, prepared under his own direct supervision in 1462.⁵ On the basis of the patterns of variants, a distinction is made between an Early Version (the collective manuscripts) and a Final Version, only slightly reworked (the *Collected Orations of Pius II*).

¹ Werner, p. 415-416. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica* (Schmidt, V, 21, p. 410)

² Piccotti, p. 297 and 282-283, n. 2

³ On the textual transmission of Pius’ orations, see *Collected COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1

⁴ See *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1.

⁵ See *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

4.1. Early Version

4.1.1. Manuscripts^{1 2}

The Early Version is contained, among others, in the following manuscripts:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliothek**
535, ff. 128r-149v*
- **Basel / Universitätsbibliothek**
E III 15, ff. 46r-80r
- **Bologna / Collegio di Spagna**
81, ff. 302v-312v
- **Budapest / Ország Szechenyi Könyvtar**
Clmae 372, ff. 84r-105v
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 136r-163v
- **Liege / Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire**
6.H.6, ff. 186r-201v **(O)** *
- **London / British Library**
Add. MS 22161, ff. 2r-36r **(L)** *
- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
Ms. 541, ff. 167r-181r³ **(N)** *

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

² Manuscripts collated for the present edition are given the siglum. Some of the manuscripts not collated for the present edition may contain the Final Version rather than the Early Version

³ With copious research notes added by the manuscript's owner, Felino Sandei (1444-1503), Lucchese scholar and bishop, who defended the rights of the Holy See against King Ferrante I of Napoli and Charles VIII of France, and wrote the book *De regibus Siciliae et Apuliae*, finished in 1485 (Treccano,

Enciclopedie Online), based on sources which very likely included his copy of the "*Responsuri*" in the ms. 541. This points to the manuscript as having been produced before 1485, which explains why he used an Early Version of the oration and not the Final Version which he had access to in the

- **Madrid / Biblioteca de Palacio**
3581¹
- **Napoli / Biblioteca Nazionale**
V F 6, ff. 1r-54v²
- **Napoli / Fondazione Benedetto Croce**
XCV B 19, ff. 2v-32v³
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Lat. 4314, ff. 1r-34v (P) *
Nouv. Acq. lat. 3198, ff. 1r-29r (I)
- **Roma / Archivio dell' Eccellentissima Casa del Boncompagni**
F 7
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 1r-44r
Boncomp. F 7, ff. 5r-23r
Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 54v-65v
Ottobon. lat. 1170, ff. 327r-349r
Ottobon. lat. 1934, ff. 32r-45v
Ottobon. lat. 2080, ff. 309r-316v
Urb. lat. 1028, tom. I, ff. 107r-119v
Vat. lat. 5109, ff. 55r-74v
Vat. lat. 6239, ff. 1r-58r
Vat. lat. 13451, ff. 85r-110r
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 98r-120r

manuscript the BAV Chis. J.VI.211 (or an intermediate manuscript deriving from it), used for the production of manuscript Lucca 544, commis-

sioned by him and produced in 1493, and containing the Collected Orations of Pius II (in the Final Version) from 1462

¹ From Kristeller. Foliation not given

² From Kristeller. Foliation approximative

³ From Kristeller. Foliation approximative

- **Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket**
Ms. 7 / f. 180r-187r¹ (S) *
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**
II 10, 72r-109v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XI.77, ff. 109r-135r (V) *
Lat. XI.106, ff. 23r-46r
Lat. XIV.1, ff. 101r-116r
Lat. XIV.267, ff. 49r ff

4.1.2. Editions

- D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677 / T. 8, 1658, Nr. 60, pp. 292-324
[On the basis of: "Ms. Cod. D. Claud. Joly, Ecc. Paris. Canonici"] (AC)
- D'Achery, Luc: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis diluuerant*. Nova editio ... S. Baluze, E. Martene, L.-F.-J. de la Barre. 3 vols. Parisiis: Montalant, 1723 / T. 3, 1723, pp. 811-820
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*. 16 vols. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1661-1672 / T. 13: 1672, coll. 1773-1793
[Reproduces d'Achery]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quae olim quarta parte prodiit auctior*. T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732 / Coll. 203-205
[Reproduces 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

¹ This manuscript is partly damaged (discoloration

probably due to water), and in many places hardly legible

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 quamp plurimae, 31 vols. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798 / T. 32: 1798. Facs. Ed., Paris, 1902, Coll. 230-251

[Reproduces Labbé]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 40-77¹
- *De regno Neapolitani jure pro Tremollio duce*. 1647. / Nr. 4, pp. 15-39
- *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*. T. I. Bruxelles: Hayez, 1870, pp. 367-394
- De Tummulillis da Sant'Elia, Angelo: *Notabilia temporum*. Cur. Constantino Corvisieri. Roma, 1890 / pp. 233-264
[On the basis of the ms. Roma / Archivio delle Eccma Casa Boncompagni / F, 7, with corrections from BAV Chis. J.VIII 284, see below]

4.2. Final Version

The Final Version is included in the seven manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, produced under the pope's personal supervision in 1462, as well as, individually,² in three other manuscripts (Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles; Biblioteca Marciana; British Library)

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 19r-43v **(R)** *
- **London / British Library**
Add MS 15336, ff. 81v-93r **(M)** *

¹ Note in MA: Ex edito apud Labbeum, Conc. Tom. XIX. Edit. Ven. Collata cum M.S.Cod. Lucensi ex quo dantur variantes

² And unusually. Normally, the Final Version of the orations in the Collected Orations of Pius II are not transmitted individually

- **Mantua / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 238v-262v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 142v-159v
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J. VI.211, ff. 159r-175r **(D)** *
Chis. J.VIII 284, ff.119v-132v **(A)** *
Chis. J.VIII 286, ff. 244r-269r **(C)** *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 169v-186v **(B)** *
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XIV 265, ff. 62r-85r **(J)** *

The Bruxelles, London and Venice manuscripts are assigned to the Final Version because - with a few exceptions - they do not share those variants which are common to the manuscripts containing the Early Version, agreeing instead with the Final Version. They may, however, derive from some Intermediate Version between the Early Version and the Final Version or - possibly - from Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini's anthology of Pius' major orations, produced in 1464,¹ to which the *Responsuri* was apparently added in some versions.

The Final Version has not been published as such, but the Chisianus J.VIII.284 was collated in Tummulilli's *Notabilia Temporum*, see above.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition of the *Responsuri* is based on all the manuscripts listed above marked with the siglum plus the edition by D'Achery, with the Chis. J.VIII.284 as the lead manuscript.

¹ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6

Pagination:

Pagination follows the lead manuscript.

Textual apparatus:

The variants common to the manuscripts containing the Early Version are given in bold types.

4.4. History of the text

*Filiation of collated mss. containing the Early Version:*¹

On the basis of the presently collated manuscripts, the following – tentative - filiation of the manuscripts is established as the one which accounts for most of the variants found, but it would have to be developed and supported by collation of further manuscripts. It appears unlikely, however, that collation of more manuscripts will give better knowledge of the Early Version of the text:

¹ The letters with asterisk represent the corresponding

Greek letters and indicate a “hypothesized” manuscript

- **A* (I/L/N/O/P/S/V/AC)**
 - B* (I/L/N/S/V)
 - D* (I, L)
 - I
 - L
 - E* (N/S/V)
 - TH* (N/S)
 - N
 - S
 - V
 - G* (O/P/AC)
 - O
 - Z* (P/AC)
 - P
 - AC

As he usually did, especially in the case of longer and important orations, Pius wrote a preliminary version of the text which he then delivered either having learnt it by heart or supported by notes. He probably did not read it from the manuscript. After delivery, the text was probably revised before copying and dissemination - which would have begun immediately as the Papal Court would be eager to spread its own version of the conflict with the French over the Kingdom of Naples. This would be the text in the manuscript A*, containing the Early Version. The number of extant manuscripts containing this version is indicative of its broad dissemination.¹

When the papal Collection of Orations was produced towards the middle of 1462, this very important political oration was of course included, only slightly reworked. Still later, the text was included in some editions of the Cardinal Nephew's anthology of important orations from Pius' pontificate which was first produced in 1464.

¹ In the *Iter Italicum*, Kristeller lists many orations of Pius II without giving the incipit, so pro-

bably a good number of manuscripts besides those listed a-

bove actually contain this important and popular oration

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 59 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the majority, 33, from the Bible.

Biblical: 33
Classical: 11
Patristic and medieval: 14
Contemporary: 1
All: 59

Biblical sources: 33

Old Testament: 10

- Leviticus: 1
- Isaiah: 1
- Lamentations: 1
- Psalms: 7

New Testament: 23

- Matthew: 6
- John: 5
- Acts: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1
- Ephesians: 1
- Hebrews: 1
- 1. Peter: 2
- 2. Peter: 1
- Romans: 3

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

- 2. Thessalonians: 1

Classical sources: 11

- Cicero: 2¹
- Euripides: 1²
- Homer: 1³
- Horatius: 1⁴
- Juvenalis: 1
- Livius: 2
- Lucanus: 1⁵
- Sallustius: 1⁶
- Suetonius: 1⁷

Patristic and medieval sources: 14

- Ambrosius: 1⁸
- Burley: 3
- Decretum Gratiani: 5
- Jeronimus: 1⁹
- Otto von Freising: 4¹⁰

Contemporary sources: 1

- Bracciolini, Poggio: 1¹¹

¹ De officiis 1; Philippicae 1

² Phoinissae

³ Odyssey

⁴ Carmina

⁵ De bello civili

⁶ Catilina

⁷ De vitis Caesarum / Julius

⁸ De obitu Ambrosii

⁹ Epistolae

¹⁰ Chronica

¹¹ Invectiva in delatores

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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

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the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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7. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII. 284

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I. VIII. 286

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

I = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Nouv. Acq. lat. 3198

J = Venezia / Bibl Marciana / Lat. XIV.265

L = London / British Library / Add. MS 22161

M = London / British Library / Add MS 15336

N = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / Ms. 541

O = Liege / Bibl. du Grand Séminaire / 6.H.6

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

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

S = Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket / Ms. 7

V = Venezia / Bibl Marciana / Lat. XI.77

AC = D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi data in concilio Mantuano oratoribus Caroli regis Franciae¹

[1] {119v} Responsuri² verbis vestris, insignes³ oratores, quae superioribus diebus ad nos⁴ habita⁵ longe plura continuerunt⁶, quam scripta nobis postmodum⁷ reddita⁸, non audemus cum salvatore nostro⁹ dicere: *Quis vestrum¹⁰ de peccato nos arguet?* Sumus enim peccatores, non negamus, et iniquitate circumdati. Solus ille bonus, solus¹¹ immaculatus et innocens agnus, solus irreprehensibilis in hoc mundo versatus est, quem digito Johannes¹² ostendit dicens: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi.* Possumus¹³ tamen et audemus his¹⁴ verbis uti, quibus salvator usus est cum impie nefarieque caederetur: *Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe¹⁵ de malo; si autem bene, quid me caedis?*

¹ Responsio ... Franciae : Pii II. Pont. Max. Responsio data etc. **D**; Pii II. pontificis maximi responsio ad Francorum oratores in concilio Mantuano pro Ferdinando rege **I**; Oratio Pii pontificis maximi II. ad legationem regis Francorum habita in conventu Mantuano Decembris ... **J**; Oratio Pii secundi summi pontificis responsiva in Gallos habita Mantuae in publico et generali consistorio **L**; Oratio sanctissimi domini, domini nostri Pii Papae II. Mantuae habita in publico universalique consistorio pro responsione ad clarissimos oratores sacrae majestatis regis Francorum **M**; Responsio Papae Pii Secundi ad Francorum obiecta habita Mantuae **N**; Pii pape secundi oratio responsiva ad o-

ratorem episcopi Parisiensis in celebri conventu mantuano publice habita **O**; Pii pape secundi responsio ad oratores gallicos in celebri conventu mantuano publice habita et divinitus uno spiritu pro sua excusatione recitata **P**; Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Datum in concilio Mantuano Oratoribus Caroli Regis Franciae **R**; Responsio sanctissimi domini nostri Pii papae II. ad Francorum propositionem in congregacione Mantuana **S**; Laurentii Valle oratio dum esset in romano papatu responsum ad legatos francorum **V**; Responsio ad orationem oratorum Gallicorum in celebri conventu Mantuano publice habita, et divinitus uno spiritu pro sua excusatione recitata **AC**

² Comodatissimum exordium in marg. Q

³ omit. O

⁴ ad nos omit. J, N, S

⁵ adhibita S

⁶ omit. N, S

⁷ nobis postmodum : postmodum nobis O

⁸ sunt add. I; sunt add. in marg. L

⁹ salvatore nostro : nostro salvatore M

¹⁰ nostrum J

¹¹ ille add. O

¹² digito Johannes : Johannes digito V

¹³ possemus P, AC

¹⁴ ipsis AC

¹⁵ testimonium perhibe : perhibe testimonium O

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of King Charles of France, at the Congress of Mantua

0. Introduction

[1] Distinguished ambassadors, in reply to your speech to Us some days ago¹ - which was much longer than the written document presented afterwards² - We do not dare to use the words of Our Saviour: *Which of you shall convince me of sin?*³ For we do not deny that We are sinners, mired in evil. Only He is good, only He is immaculate, only He is the innocent lamb, only He lived irreproachably in this world, whom John pointed to, saying: *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.*⁴ But We can and We will dare to use those words, which the Saviour uttered when he was beaten, impiously and horribly: *If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?*⁵

¹ The oration of Guillaume Cousinot, delivered on 30 November

² See Appendix 1

³ John, 8, 46

⁴ John, 1, 29

⁵ John, 18, 23

[2] Verba vestra¹, quamvis modesta fuerunt², et nihil a vobis³ dictum est⁴ impudenter, nihil insolenter, existimationem tamen nostram⁵ apud intelligentes et oculos⁶ viros non parum laesere. Nam quid aliud vestra insinuavit⁷ ⁸ oratio, quam Siciliae regnum Renato regi⁹ exploratissimo jure deberi¹⁰; et nos a rectitudinis¹¹ tramite deviasse, qui¹² illud alteri concessimus, et inclytam Francorum domum de¹³ Romana¹⁴ ecclesia¹⁵ optime meritam negleximus atque contempsimus, ex qua Renatus ipse natus est. Haec¹⁶ enim, licet ea reverentia exposuistis, quae¹⁷ hoc loco digna est, et qua tanti regis oratores uti decuit, reprehensos nos tamen et caesos¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ esse his sermonibus nemo sanae mentis ignorat. Licet igitur dicere cum magistro et domino nostro: *Si male locuti sumus*²¹, idest si quid injuste circa regni Siciliae dispositionem egimus, *testimonium perhibete de malo*²²; *sin*²³ *autem bene, quid nos*²⁴ *caeditis?*

¹ nostra AC

² fuerint M, O, P, AC

³ nobis J

⁴ *omit.* J

⁵ vestram N, AC

⁶ acutos N; occultos S

⁷ insinuabit I, L

⁸ vestra insinuavit : insinuavit vestra O, P, AC

⁹ Renato regi : regi Renato S

¹⁰ debere N

¹¹ certitudinis I

¹² quid O

¹³ a S

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ Romana ecclesia : Romanis N, S; ecclesia Romana V

¹⁶ nec N, S

¹⁷ qua L

¹⁸ cessos M; laesos AC

¹⁹ et caesos : excessos N; *omit.* S

²⁰ nos tamen et caesos : tamen et caesos nos L

²¹ fuimus AC

²² malis S

²³ **si I, L, N, O, P, S, AC**

²⁴ vos O

[2] Though your speech was restrained and neither impudent nor insulting, We - as well as intelligent and perspicacious men - consider that they were rather hurtful. For what did your oration imply other than that René¹ is most assuredly the lawful King of Sicily, and that We have strayed from the path of rectitude by granting it to another, disdainingly and spurning the great merits of the illustrious House of France towards the Roman Church, that House from which René himself descends. Even though you set forth these matters with the respect which is due to this place and which befits orators of a great king, everybody of a sound mind knows that We stand rebuked and castigated by your speech. Therefore We may say, with our master and lord: if We *have spoken evil*, that is if We have acted unjustly with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily, then *give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?*

¹ 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)

[3] Sed minime hoc testimonium neglexistis: ostendere enim¹ conati estis multis rationibus regnum² Siciliae ad Renatum³ pertinere, cujus progenitores ab ecclesia Romana investiti possessionem⁴ ejus diuturnam⁵ obtinere⁶; a Carolo scilicet⁷, quem primum in eo regno {120r} vocant, usque⁸ ad hunc Renatum quem Alfonsus, rex Aragonum, armis deturbavit. Etenim quamvis aliquando Hungariae reges⁹, quos vocant Dyrrachienses¹⁰, regnum¹¹ obtinere¹², a Caroli tamen sanguine, ex quo illi¹³ descenderant¹⁴, non abiit; jus autem Dyrrachiensium¹⁵ a regina¹⁶ Johanna prima¹⁷ ex¹⁸ voluntate ac¹⁹ decreto Romanae sedis in Ludovicum Andegavensem, regis²⁰ Francorum sanguine²¹ genitum²², postea transfusum est, in quo successit filius sui nominis, et iterum nepos Ludovicus III., et denique Renatus, de quo nunc agitur, et cui regnum hoc non solum ex concessione Romani pontificis Eugenii, sed paterno et avito²³ successionis jure deberi putatis. Commemorastis²⁴ deinde Francorum in apostolicam sedem²⁵ et²⁶ praeclara et multa merita, quibus postergatis et²⁷ oblivioni traditis haud²⁸ recte²⁹ a nobis factum esse³⁰ ³¹ contenditis³², quod regnum Siciliae³³ in Aragonensem³⁴ familiam transmiserimus³⁵. In qua³⁶ re³⁷ non solum nos, sed praedecessores nostros arguitis, et cum³⁸ injustitiam, tum ingratitude³⁹ Romanae⁴⁰ primae⁴¹ sedis accusare⁴² videmini.

¹ *omit.* AC

² regnatum O

³ Regnatum franciae O

⁴ investiti possessionem :
possessionem investiti O

⁵ diuturne P, AC

⁶ obtinere M

⁷ a Carolo scilicet : scilicet a
Carolo M

⁸ ut B; hiisque M

⁹ rex N, S, V

¹⁰ Chrachienses M

¹¹ illud *add.* AC

¹² detinere M; obtinuerint AC

¹³ ille N, S, V

¹⁴ descenderat N, S, V

¹⁵ Chrachiensium M

¹⁶ *omit.* AC

¹⁷ primo S

¹⁸ cum I

¹⁹ et M, R

²⁰ regem P, AC; *ex add.* S

²¹ **Francorum sanguine :
sanguine Francorum I, L, N, O,
P, S, V, AC**

²² natum *add.* M

²³ paterno et avito : avito et
paterno J

²⁴ commemorasti O;

commemmonistis P

²⁵ *omit.* M

²⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC

²⁷ **aut L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

²⁸ aut O

²⁹ rectum O

³⁰ *omit.* O

³¹ factum esse : esse factum P,
AC

³² contemnitis I, L

³³ sit O; sic P

³⁴ Aragonensium N, S, V

³⁵ transmissimus J;

transmisimus O

³⁶ quo AC

³⁷ *omit.* P

³⁸ tum M, S, O, P, Q, AC; non R

³⁹ magnitudinem B

⁴⁰ *ac add.* I

⁴¹ **primaeque L, N, O, P, Q, S, V,
AC**

⁴² *omit.* M

[3] But, indeed, you have not omitted to provide such testimony, for you have endeavoured to show, with many arguments, that the Kingdom of Sicily belongs to René, whose forefathers were invested with it by the Roman Church and had possession of it for a long time, from King Charles I¹ to René who was forced out by King Alfonso of Aragon with military means.² Though for some time the Kingdom was held by Hungarian kings of the so-called Durazzo dynasty,³ it still belonged to the family of Charles from whom these kings descended, too. Later, and with the permission and formal assent of the Roman See, Queen Giovanna I.⁴ transferred the rights of the House of Durazzo to Louis d'Anjou,⁵ born of the blood of the King of France. He was succeeded by a son of the same name, later by a grandson, Louis III,⁶ and finally by René, whom We are talking about now. You believe that the Kingdom is rightfully his not only because he was granted it by the Roman Pontiff, Eugenius,⁷ but also by right of lawful succession from his father and grandfather. Afterwards, you dwelt on the many and great merits of the French towards the Apostolic See, claiming that We unjustly ignored and forgot them when We bestowed the Kingdom of Sicily on the family of Aragon. In this matter, you criticize not only Us but also Our predecessors, and you accuse the Roman and First See of injustice as well as ingratitude.

¹ Charles I [Charles d'Anjou] (1227-1285): Son of King Louis VIII of France. Conquered the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstauffen in 1266, having formally received it as a papal grant in 1262. Expelled from the island of Sicily in the aftermath of the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, he thereafter resided in Naples

² Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of

Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

³ Durazzo dynasty: a younger branch of the Anjou dynasty, resulting from the marriage of Jean, son of Charles II of Naples, to Countess Mathilda of Achaia in 1318

⁴ Joanna I [Giovanna I] (1328-1382): Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence and Forcalquier from 1343 until her death. Reigned as Princess of Achaia and claimed the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. She was married four times

⁵ Louis I (1320-1362): Prince of Taranto. Gained the crown of Naples by marrying his first cousin, Queen Joanna I, whose prior husband, Andrew, had died as a result of a conspiracy

⁶ Louis III (1403-1434): Titular King of Naples 1417-26, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, Piedmont and Maine, Duke of Anjou 1417-34, and Duke of Calabria 1426-34

⁷ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

[4] His nos morsibus impetiti¹, his colaphis caesi, his vulnerati sagittis² sumus³, sic vos⁴ testimonium de malo nostro⁵ ⁶ perhibetis⁷. Non⁸ dicemus hic, quod⁹ ex officio dignitateque¹⁰ nostrae¹¹ sedi¹² competit: *oves pastorem suum non accusent, neque reprehendant*; non damnabimus serram¹³, tamquam surgat adversus illum, qui trahit in ea.¹⁴ Beatum Petrum, apostolorum principem, cujus locum tenemus¹⁵ indigni, potius imitabimur, qui reprehensus, quod¹⁶ ad gentiles¹⁷ divertisset¹⁸, rationem facti sui¹⁹ reddere non recusavit. Neque beatum Leonem²⁰ IV., si oportuerit, sequi pigebit, qui ad Ludovicum imperatorem scribens: *Nos, inquit, si quid incompetenter²¹ egimus et in subditis²² justae legis tramitem non servavimus²³, vestro²⁴ ac missorum vestrorum cuncta volumus emendare²⁵ iudicio*. Sic enim ex humilitatis dispensatione saepe nostri praedecessores factitarunt, ut rationem²⁶ omnibus, etiam minimis redderent eorum, quae fecissent²⁷.

[5] Neque enim²⁸ *tamquam²⁹ dominantes in cleris³⁰, sed forma facti gregis* esse debemus, non ignorantes potestatem in ecclesia nobis³¹ ad aedificationem, non in destructionem³² attributam, et quod³³ tanto promptiores ad reddendam rationem nos ipsos exhibere debemus, quanto majoribus cumulati donis et praeventi³⁴ gratiis a domino sumus. Nam multa, quae aliis essent levia³⁵ et digna venia, peccata³⁶ nobis capitalia sunt. Verum est enim³⁷, quod ille ait, quamvis³⁸ profanus et ethnicus³⁹ auctor: *Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius⁴⁰ {120v} in se Crimen habet, quanto major⁴¹, qui peccat, habetur*. Quod si juste et pie⁴² vivere⁴³ ⁴⁴ praeceptum omnibus⁴⁵ est⁴⁶, hoc tamen⁴⁷ Romanum praesulem prae ceteris decet⁴⁸ ⁴⁹, qui gregis dominici pastor et caput ecclesiae suo⁵⁰ exemplo reliquos trahit. Hunc non solum esse propter se ipsum, sed videri quoque⁵¹ bonum⁵² propter proximos decet⁵³.

¹ impediti O
² sagitti N
³ sagittis sumus : sumus sagittis O
⁴ nos M
⁵ omit. I, L; vestro AC
⁶ malo nostro : malis nostris S
⁷ perhibitis C
⁸ nos O
⁹ quid S
¹⁰ dignitateque M
¹¹ nostro N
¹² nostrae sedi : sedis nostrae P, AC
¹³ scienter O; feram P, AC
¹⁴ eam J, M, O, P, AC; illa S
¹⁵ omit. O
¹⁶ quando M
¹⁷ ad gentiles : a gentilibus P; gentibus O, AC

¹⁸ divertisse O
¹⁹ facti sui : sui facti O
²⁰ papam add. V
²¹ non competenter O
²² subdito N
²³ servamus O, I, L, N, S
²⁴ vestrorum L
²⁵ emendari P
²⁶ eorum add. O; de add. P, AC
²⁷ quae fecissent omit. O
²⁸ omit. M
²⁹ tam M
³⁰ clerum P, AC
³¹ omit. P, AC
³² nobis add. P, AC
³³ pro M
³⁴ prevenienti M
³⁵ brevia O; minora P, AC
³⁶ peccato N
³⁷ est enim : enim est Q

³⁸ quamquam O, P, AC
³⁹ heretic(h)us O, P, AC
⁴⁰ despectius O
⁴¹ omit. B
⁴² **juste et pie : pie et juste I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**
⁴³ viveret O
⁴⁴ pie vivere : previvere M
⁴⁵ praeceptum omnibus : omnibus preceptum I
⁴⁶ omnibus est : est omnibus B
⁴⁷ tantum L
⁴⁸ docet M
⁴⁹ Romanum praesulem ... decet omit. O
⁵⁰ suorum J
⁵¹ omit. N
⁵² bonus I
⁵³ **oportet I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

[4] This is your testimony concerning our unjust actions: We are wounded by these attacks; We have been slapped in the face; We have been hurt by these arrows. Here, We shall not insist on the respect owed to the office and dignity of Our See: *the sheep should not accuse or criticize their shepherd*,¹ and we shall not blame the saw, turned against the one using it. Instead we shall imitate Saint Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, whose place We hold, though unworthy: when he was rebuked for going to the gentiles, he did not refuse to give an account of his actions.² And, if needful, We shall not hesitate to follow Saint Leo IV³ who wrote thus to Emperor Ludwig:⁴ *If we have erred and strayed from the path of law when dealing with our subjects, we shall rectify all according to your and your emissaries' judgment*.⁵ Thus, Our predecessors often and humbly endeavoured to give an account of their actions, even the smallest of them. For We should not be *lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart*.⁶

[5] And We should always remember that We have been given power in the Church not for destruction, but for edification, and that the greater the gifts and the grace We have received from the Lord, the more We should be ready to give an account of ourselves. For many things that would be unimportant and forgiveable in others, are deadly sins for Us.⁷ Indeed it is true what is said by a secular and pagan author: *The greater the sinner's name, the more signal the guiltiness of the sin in his soul*.⁸ Everybody should live justly and piously, and especially the Roman Pontiff who, as shepherd of the Lord's flock and head of the Church should set an example to others: not only must he be good for his own sake, but he must also be seen to be good for the sake of others.

¹ Decretum, C.2.7.40

² Acts, 10-11. Decretum, C.2.7.40

³ Leo IV (790-855): Pope from 847 to his death. Saint

⁴ Louis II (825-875): King of Italy and Roman Emperor from 844,

co-ruling with his father Lothair I until 855, after which he ruled alone

⁵ Decretum, C.2.7.41

⁶ 1. Peter, 5, 3

⁷ Pius also touched on this theme in his oration "*Si essemus ipsi*" [74] (1463)

⁸ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 8.140

[6] Neque cuiquam¹ tam necessarium est² quam summo sacerdoti³ famam⁴ servare⁵ bonam, cujus neglectores testimonio Salomonis crudeles habentur. Feretis igitur aequo animo, praestantissimi oratores, si nominis nostri⁶ curam gerentes innocentiam⁷ nostram cum⁸ ceteris omnibus, tum regi vestro⁹ excellentissimo notam¹⁰ facere studebimus, et de his, quae nobis sunt objecta^{11 12}, purgabimur. Etenim quamvis *per infamiam et*¹³ *bonam famam transeundum esse*, apostolus ait, summo tamen studio innitendum¹⁴ est, ut falsi rumores cessent, et boni nominis odor custodiatur, et omnis calumnia procul¹⁵ absit. Putabamus quidem¹⁶ regem¹⁷ Franciae¹⁸ nihil sinistre¹⁹ de²⁰ nobis²¹ credere in his praesertim rebus, quae suam serenitatem²² concernunt. Nam teste Deo, cui²³ mentiri sceleratissimum est, suum honorem, suamque²⁴ gloriam, et domus suae claritatem regnique potentiam semper magnificimus²⁵, et multa in²⁶ ejus laudem publice privatimque²⁷ locuti sumus²⁸.

¹ cuique M

² *omit.* I

³ summo sacerdoti *omit.* B

⁴ formam O

⁵ observare J

⁶ nominis nostri : nostri nominis
O, P, AC

⁷ eminentiam O

⁸ tum S, P, AC

⁹ nostro B, M

¹⁰ notum M

¹¹ nobis sunt objecta : nobis
objecta sunt B

¹² **nobis sunt objecta : sunt
nobis objecta I, L, N, O, P, S, V,
AC**

¹³ ad I, L

¹⁴ immittendum M

¹⁵ *omit.* C

¹⁶ equidem S

¹⁷ vestrum *add. in marg.* S

¹⁸ *omit.* J

¹⁹ sinistri N, AC; sinistre V

²⁰ a I, L

²¹ sinistre de nobis : de nobis
sinistrie S

²² suam serenitatem :
serenitatem suam I, L

²³ *omit.* B

²⁴ suam P, AC

²⁵ magnificemus N, M;

magnificamus S

²⁶ multam in : multam M

²⁷ et privatim O

²⁸ **locuti sumus : sumus locuti I,
L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

[6] And for the High Priest it is more necessary than for others to maintain a good reputation for, according to Solomon, those who fail to do so must be considered cruelhearted. So, distinguished ambassadors, you will bear it with equanimity if We care for our good name and make Our innocence known to all, particularly to your excellent king, by clearing Ourselves of your accusations. For though the apostle says that we must accept *both evil report and good report*¹, We must endeavour with all our might to stop false rumours, keep the odour of a good name, and remove all slander. We really thought that the King of France² did not think badly of Us, and especially in matters concerning His Serenity. For God - lying to whom is a grave sin - is Our witness that We have always extolled [the king's] honour and his glory, the nobility of his House, and the power of his realm, and that We have said much in his praise, both publicly and privately.

¹ 2. Corinthians, 6, 8

² 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

[7] Nunc¹ de nobis cur² male sentiat, aut³ cur sibi⁴ putet injuriatum non possumus non⁵ mirari. Delatorum haec jacula sunt⁶; suggesserunt impii pio⁷ regi non vera; falsa calumnia nobis⁸ imposita est. Angeremur, cruciaremurque vehementer⁹, nisi sciremus apostolicam cymbam solitam esse¹⁰ saepenumero fluctuare et procellis agitari frequentibus. Semper virtutes invidia sequitur, feriuntque¹¹ summos fulgura¹² montes. Symmachum et Damasum, praedecessores nostros, falsi¹³ accusatores in magna dejecere¹⁴ pericula. Nec¹⁵ Petro nec¹⁶ Paulo calumniatorum verba pepercere. *Non est discipulus supra magistrum, neque¹⁷ servus major¹⁸ domino suo.* Salvatorem nostrum alii vini potorem¹⁹, alii²⁰ daemonium habere mentiti sunt. Quid mirum, si et nos, vilis pulvis ac²¹ cinis, labiis²² subjacemus²³ iniquis? Non dolemus, quod nos *lingua dolosa* persequitur²⁴, sed regi optimo pessimam linguam fecisse fidem molestissime²⁵ et²⁶ amarissime ferimus.²⁷ Recte Pythagoras *hirundinem, idest garrulum^{28 29} in domo non esse tenendum* monuit, et propheta liberari³⁰ sese^{31 32} optat³³ *a labiis iniquis et³⁴ lingua dolosa.*

¹ hunc M

² de nobis cur : cur de nobis I

³ **et I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

⁴ se S

⁵ *omit.* M; nunc O

⁶ *omit.* N

⁷ pro M

⁸ *omit.* M

⁹ vehementius P, AC

¹⁰ **apostolicam ... esse : solitam esse apostolicam cymbam I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC;** solitam esse cymbam Q

¹¹ feruntque B

¹² fulgora C

¹³ falsos O

¹⁴ dei ecclesie O

¹⁵ at P

¹⁶ ne Q

¹⁷ nec M, P, AC

¹⁸ servus major : maior servus N

¹⁹ potentem B; potatorem I, L,

M, S, O, P, AC

²⁰ alium M

²¹ et N, S, V

²² gladiis N, S, V

²³ subiaceamus O, P;

subjaceamur AC

²⁴ prosequitur C, M, AC

²⁵ modestissime M

²⁶ ac C

²⁷ tulimus J

²⁸ garolum V

²⁹ et verbosum *add. in marg.* D;

et verbosum add. I, L, O, N, S,

V; et verborum relatorem add.

P, AC

³⁰ liberali M; liberalis O

³¹ saepe P, AC

³² liberari sese : sese liberari S

³³ liberari sese optat : sese optat

liberari J

³⁴ **a add. I, J, L, N, P, S, V, AC**

[7] So, We cannot but wonder why he should be angry with Us now and consider himself to have been injured by Us. [What we see] here are the spears of slanderers. Impious men have told lies to the King and caused trouble for Us with false calumnies. We should be greatly distressed and wounded if We did not know that the apostolic ship is often thrown about and agitated by storms. Envy always preys on virtue, and lightning strikes the high mountains. Our predecessors, Symmachus¹ and Damasus,² were thrown into great perils by false accusations. And the words of slanderers did not spare Peter and Paul. *The disciple is not above the master, nor the servant above his lord.*³ ⁴ And men lied about the Saviour, some claiming that he was a drunkard⁵ and others that he had a demon.⁶ So, it is not strange that We, too, who are but mean dust and ashes, must suffer slanderous speech. It does not pain Us to be persecuted by *deceitful tongues*, but We are gravely and bitterly wounded that the good King trusts those evil tongues. Quite rightly Pythagoras⁷ said that *one should not keep a swallow, a chatterbox that is, in one's home*,⁸ and the prophet wished to be *delivered from wicked lips, and a deceitful tongue*.⁹

¹ Symmachus (d. 514): Pope from 498 to his death

² Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from October 366 to his death in 384

³ Matthew, 10, 24

⁴ Pius uses the same quote from the Bible in the introduction to

his *Commentarii* where he touches on the same theme: *The treacherous tongue that has not spared so many of Christ's vicars, nor Christ himself, will not spare Pope Pius II* (Meserve, I, p. 3)

⁵ Matthew, 11, 19

⁶ John, 8, 48

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

⁸ Burley: Pythagoras

⁹ E.g. Psalms, 119, 2

[8] Vulneraverunt nos verba¹ malorum, et apud sapientem regem veluti² stulti habiti sumus; stultos dicimus, quia omnis injustus stultitiae³ argui potest. Injustitia nobis et ingratitude imputata est, qui⁴ Renato regi {121r} benemerenti jus suum abstulisse dicimur. Tolerabimusne hanc infamiam? An⁵ potius innocentiam nostram et apostolicae sedis clementiam, justitiam, aequitatem benignitatemque⁶ omnibus⁷ ostendemus⁸? Vos, regii oratores, filii estis apostolicae sedis: non audietis inviti matrem vestram⁹ objecta¹⁰ sibi diluere crimina. Docti et justis estis: libenter¹¹, quae justa sunt, audietis. Regem vestrum magnopere colitis: gratum vobis¹² erit illi nihil nos¹³ injuriatos fuisse verbis nostris intelligere. Ipse quoque rex, ut nostra fert opinio, quae sibi de¹⁴ nostro in se aut suos¹⁵ odio relata sunt, ut falsa demonstrantur, plurimum cupit. Satisficiemus desiderio suo, et vobis, qui etsi vestra oratione¹⁶ aestimationem¹⁷ nostram¹⁸ haud parum¹⁹ laesistis, non tamen vestro²⁰ nomine locuti²¹ estis, sed regis, cui remote²² a nobis²³ agenti facile fuit²⁴ falsa pro veris inculcare. Sed jam ad rem veniamus, vobisque per singula capitula respondeamus. Duo²⁵ principaliter per vos²⁶ ²⁷ proposita²⁸ sunt. Primum Januenses²⁹ respicit, alterum regem Renatum.

¹ *omit.* O

² velut P, AC

³ stultitia S

⁴ quoniam P, AC

⁵ at P; et O, AC

⁶ benignitatem I, N, S, P, AC

⁷ *omit.* I, P

⁸ ostendamus I, L

⁹ nostram M

¹⁰ obiecti J

¹¹ libenterque M

¹² nobis M

¹³ nihil nos : nos nihil I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

¹⁴ deo *add.* N

¹⁵ suo M

¹⁶ ratione N

¹⁷ **extimacionem L;**

extimationem P;

existimationem I, J, N, S, V, AC

¹⁸ vestram O, P, AC

¹⁹ haud parum : aut si Petrum J

²⁰ nostro J, N, M

²¹ leniti J

²² remoto M

²³ vobis P

²⁴ sint M

²⁵ Divisio *nota marg.* A;

Responsio ad petita *in marg.* L

²⁶ principaliter per vos : per vos

principaliter O

²⁷ per vos *omit.* I

²⁸ preposita J, M

²⁹ Genuenses N, S, V; Januam

P, AC

[8] So, We have been grievously hurt by the words of wicked men, and your wise king must believe Us to be a fool - a fool, We say, for arguably all unjust people are fools. We have been accused of injustice and ingratitude because, as they claim, We have denied justice to King René in spite of his merits towards Us. Shall We tolerate this infamy? Or should We rather prove to all Our innocence and the clemency, the justice, the equity and the benevolence of the Apostolic See? Since you, royal ambassadors, are sons of the Apostolic See, you will be pleased to hear your mother defend herself against these accusations. And since you are learned and just, you will gladly hear what is just. You greatly revere your king, and therefore you will be pleased to hear that no words of Ours should have been injurious to him. The king himself, We think, must greatly desire that those things he has heard about Our being an enemy to himself and to his [family] are proven to be false. We shall satisfy his wish and yours too, for though We have been greatly wounded by your speech, We know that you did not speak in your own name but on behalf of the king. Since he lives far from Us, it has been easy to make him believe false [rumours] about Us. But let Us now come to the matter at hand and answer each of your points. The main issues brought forward by you are two: the first concerns Genoa and the second King René.

[9] In primo commendastis nobis nobilem populum Januensem¹. Commendatissimus nobis² erit, et suis meritis et regia commendatione³. Petivistis⁴ archipraesulem ejus urbis tamquam⁵ majestatis⁶ reum ad aliam ecclesiam transferri. Obstant desiderio vestro decreta⁷ summorum pontificum, quae⁸ praelatos invitos non cognita⁹ causa transferri¹⁰ prohibent, quod etiam in concilio Constantiensi extitit repetitum. Placet¹¹ tamen¹² vobis requirentibus causam adversus¹³ eum¹⁴ committere et¹⁵ juxta canonicas sanctiones¹⁶ procedere. Supplicastis deinde, ut haeredibus quondam Perrini¹⁷ ¹⁸, ducis Januae¹⁹ ²⁰, in ea causa, quam habent²¹ adversus mercatores Avinionenses²², silentium imponamus. Non est moris nostri cuiquam²³ silentium²⁴ imponere, nisi causa diligenter inspecta. Suspendemus tamen censuras jam fulminatas ad aliquod²⁵ tempus, ut interim negotium discuti possit, et justitia vobis favorabiliter ministrari.

[10] In²⁶ secundo principali membro²⁷ quattuor capita esse notavimus: primum jus Renati regis illustris in regno Siciliae; secundum²⁸ gloriosa Francorum gesta; tertium²⁹ contumeliam eis factam; quartum³⁰ ac postremum petitiones regias³¹ conclusit³². Reddenda est³³ sua cuique³⁴ particulae responsio et³⁵ succincta et pro rei magnitudine brevis³⁶. [cont.]

¹ Genuensem N, S, V; Janue qui P, AC

² is *add.* I

³ **em.; contemplac/tione A, B, C, D, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC**

⁴ De januensis presuli translatione *nota marg.* D

⁵ regiae *add.* V; laesae *add.* P, AC

⁶ magestatis V

⁷ Romanorum *add.* S

⁸ quo J

⁹ precognita O

¹⁰ causa transferri : transferri causa I

¹¹ placeat AC

¹² in M

¹³ adversum AC

¹⁴ *omit.* L

¹⁵ ut S

¹⁶ rationes J

¹⁷ Fulgosi *add.* J

¹⁸ **quondam Perrini : Perrini quondam I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

¹⁹ Ja- *et passim corr. ex.* Ge- L

²⁰ **ducis Januae : Genue ducis L, N, S, V; Janue ducis I;**

Januensis ducis O, P, AC

²¹ habuerat O, P, AC

²² Arimotienses M

²³ cuiquam R

²⁴ cuiquam silentium : silentium cuiquam O, P, AC

²⁵ aliquot R

²⁶ Divisio secundi membri *nota marg.* A; Divisio *marg. note* D

²⁷ principali membro : membro principali O

²⁸ secundo I

²⁹ tertio I

³⁰ quatuor B

³¹ regis O, P, AC

³² concludit S

³³ *omit.* O

³⁴ sua cuique : unicuique N, S; sua unicuique I, L, O, P, AC; cuique sue J

³⁵ *omit.* M, AC

³⁶ brevissima I

1. Genoa

[9] Firstly, you recommended the noble people of Genoa to Us. We shall keep this city in high regard both because of its own merits and the king's recommendation.

You have petitioned for the archbishop of that city¹ to be transferred to another see because of a crime against majesty. However, the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs, as confirmed by the Council of Konstanz, forbid that prelates be transferred against their own will without a proper investigation of the case, and therefore your wish cannot be granted. But in view of your petition, We have decided to initiate a procedure against him and to proceed according to the canonical rules.

You have also petitioned Us to impose silence on the heirs of Perrini, former doge of Genoa,² in their suit against some merchants from Avignon. It is not our custom to impose silence on anyone without a careful investigation of their case. But We shall postpone the sanctions already issued against the merchants so that there will be time for further discussion of the matter and for justice to be administered with a view to your interests.

2. Kingdom of Naples

[10] In the second and principal part of your oration, We noted four items: firstly, the rights of the illustrious King René to the Kingdom of Sicily; secondly, the glorious deeds of the French; thirdly, the affront made to them; and fourthly and lastly, the petitions of the king. A clear and concise response must be given to each point, though - given the importance of the matter - it will be a brief one. *[cont.]*

¹ Paolo Campofregoso (1428-1498): Archbishop of Genova (1453), cardinal (1480), three times doge (1462, 1463-1464, 1483-1488)

² Possibly Pietro Campofregoso who was doge of Genoa from 1450 to 1458. He had died some months before.

[10 cont.] Nam¹ quod² primo³ dicitis regnum Siciliae regi⁴ Renato deberi, neque probamus neque improbamus, priusquam causa⁵ discutiatur. Quod si⁶ dicat aliquis⁷, "Cur ergo indiscussa et incognita causa Ferdinando regnum⁸ commisisti⁹?", reddetur inferius ratio¹⁰. Nunc tantum hoc dicimus nos vestro juri¹¹ minime adversari, neque ullam esse gentem¹², cui de regno illo¹³ magis quam Francis faveamus, si constiterit eis¹⁴ jus¹⁵ competere. Nam cur nos Francorum genus excluderemus, {121v} quod¹⁶ cum¹⁷ nobilissimum, tum virtutis amantissimum est¹⁸ ac de nostra sede¹⁹ optime meritum? Non exclusimus nos Francos, sed exclusos invenimus; non praetulimus aliquem sanguini vestro, sed praelatum invenimus²⁰; non viam novam repperimus, sed veterem tenuimus. Nihil²¹ juri Francorum detraximus, quamvis regnum et²² regni coronam Ferdinando certo modo concessimus²³, sicut postea suo loco pressius²⁴ ostendetur²⁵. Hic²⁶ ubi de jure contentio est²⁷, nil²⁸ aliud nobis incumbit, quam partibus auditis jus reddere, qui regni²⁹ Siciliae directum dominium³⁰ Romanae ecclesiae nomine, nullo dubitante, retinemus. Verum, sicut ea quae de Renati³¹ jure dixistis neque negamus, neque probamus.

¹ Ad particularia *nota marg.* L

² *omit.* J, M

³ primum AC

⁴ *omit.* B, I, L

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ *omit.* O

⁷ alius O

⁸ regimen N

⁹ consisti M; commisistis I

¹⁰ inferius ratio : ratio inferius N, S

¹¹ regi P

¹² esse gentem : gentem esse R, S

¹³ regno illo : illo regno O, P, AC

¹⁴ ei J; ei *corr.* ex eis V

¹⁵ jure I

¹⁶ *omit.* L

¹⁷ tum M, O, P, AC

¹⁸ sit I, L

¹⁹ saepe N, S

²⁰ non praetulimus ... invenimus *omit.* N, S

²¹ nil I

²² ac P, AC

²³ concesserimus *corr.* ex concessimus D; concesserimus I, L; commisimus J

²⁴ expressius I, P, S; *omit.* AC

²⁵ ostendemus O, P, AC

²⁶ sic O, P, AC

²⁷ *omit.* AC

²⁸ nihil P, AC

²⁹ regi M

³⁰ dominationem N

³¹ *regis add.* I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

2.1. Rights of King René to the Kingdom of Naples¹

[10 cont.] Your initial statement that the Kingdom of Sicily legitimately belongs to King René We shall neither approve nor disapprove before the case has been properly discussed. Someone may object: "But, then, why have you entrusted the Kingdom to Ferrante while the case has not been discussed or investigated?" This will be explained later. At this point, We shall only say that We in no way obstruct your rights and that We should favour the French most of all if it be proven that they have the right [to the Kingdom]. For why should We want to exclude the House of France, so noble, so devoted to virtue, and so well deserved of our See? We did not exclude the French but found them to have been excluded. We have not preferred anyone to your blood but found that someone else had been preferred. We did not tread a new path but followed an old one. Though We have, indeed, conceded the Kingdom and the crown to Ferrante,² We have in no way infringed upon the rights of the French, as We shall explain later in detail. So, if there is disagreement about the rights of the matter, We must hear the parties involved and render judgment. For there can be no doubt that it is We who, on behalf of the Roman Church, have direct lordship over the Kingdom of Sicily. So, for the present, We neither deny nor approve your statements concerning the rights of King René.

¹ I.e. the Kingdom of Naples, which did not at that time include the Island of Sicily, which belonged to the Crown of Aragon and later to Spain

² Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

[11] Ita et illa¹ manifeste atque² apertissime confirmamus, quae de gestis Francorum magnificentissimis et eorum ingentibus meritis in medium attulit. Magna est Caroli Martelli³ laus,⁴ major Pipini, maxima sequentis Caroli, qui ob ingentia facta id magni⁵ cognomen adeptus est, quod Alexander Macedo orbe subacto et Gnaeus⁶ Pompejus et⁷ Constantinus primus clarissimis⁸ rebus⁹ gestis meruere. Plena est¹⁰ omnis historia Francorum¹¹ praeconiis¹², nulla umquam¹³ aetas vestrae gentis gloriam obliterabit¹⁴. Nam quis¹⁵ Aquitanos¹⁶ Nortmannosque¹⁷ religionem¹⁸ Christi per Galliam persequentes edomuit¹⁹? Franci! Quis²⁰ Saxones²¹ totiens fidei catholicae rebellantes perfregit²²? Franci! Quis²³ Bohemos ac²⁴ Polonos²⁵ Christiano nomini insultantes in frena²⁶ redegit²⁷? Franci! Quis²⁸ Hungaros Pannonias devastantes coercuit? Franci! Quis²⁹ Longobardos Romanam³⁰ diripientes³¹ ecclesiam contrivit³² ³³? Franci! Quis³⁴ Graecos ex Apulia et³⁵ Campania³⁶ expulit³⁷? Franci! Quis³⁸ Saracenos ex³⁹ Trinacria deturbavit? Franci! Quis⁴⁰ citeriorem Hispaniam ex Maurorum manibus⁴¹ ⁴² eripuit? Franci! Quis⁴³ Antiochiam, Ptolemaidem, Alexandriam, et nostrae salutis officinam Jerosolimam ex barbarorum dentibus⁴⁴ extrahere⁴⁵ praesumpsit⁴⁶? Franci! [cont.]

¹ ille O

² et J

³ Marcelli P

⁴ jam AC

⁵ maius O

⁶ gens O

⁷ omit. N, S, V

⁸ clarissimus S, V

⁹ omit. N

¹⁰ preconiis add. P; iis add. AC

¹¹ historia Francorum : Franchorum gistoria P; Francorum historia AC

¹² peniis M; omit. P, AC

¹³ numquam P

¹⁴ oblitaverit O; conticescet P, AC

¹⁵ qui I, L, O, P

¹⁶ Danos AC; videmus Pium rem augere per iocum ut elevet, et omissis veris, falsas Francis laudes tribuere. Nam Normannis et Danis victoribus agros dare coacti sunt Franci, adeo eos com-

pescere non potuerunt. Cum Hungaris et Polonis res Franci non fuit; iidem nec Graecos ex Campania, nec Saracenos e Sicilia aut citeriore Hispania expulerunt *marg. note* AC

¹⁷ Horthmannosque B; Nortinnosque V

¹⁸ religiones

¹⁹ edomuerunt J; compescuit P, AC

²⁰ qui I, L, P

²¹ Sanxones V

²² perfregerit S, O, P

²³ qui I, L, O, P

²⁴ et R

²⁵ Polanos M; colonos O, P

²⁶ ad fidem P; in frena *omit.* AC

²⁷ redegerit P, S; redegit *corr. ex* redegerit V

²⁸ qui O, P

²⁹ qui I, L, O, P

³⁰ omit. V

³¹ decipientes L

³² contriverit I, L, S; conterruerit P; conterruit AC

³³ Quis Hungaros ... contrivit : Quis Longobardos Romanam diripientes ecclesiam contrivit? Franci! Quis Hungaros Pannonias devastantes coercuit? Franci! M

³⁴ qui I, L, O, P

³⁵ atque L, N, V

³⁶ Apulia et Campania : Campania atque Apulia O, P, AC

³⁷ expulerit I, L, S, O, P; expulit *corr. ex* expulerit V

³⁸ qui I, L, O, P

³⁹ omit. AC

⁴⁰ qui I, L, O, P

⁴¹ omit. O

⁴² Maurorum manibus : manu eorum P, AC

⁴³ qui I, L, O, P

⁴⁴ gentibus M

⁴⁵ aliquando add. I, L, N, S, V, O, P, AC

⁴⁶ presumpserit P

2.2. Merits of the French and of the Roman See

2.2.1. Merits of the French towards the Roman See

[11] However, We emphatically and wholeheartedly confirm your statements concerning the magnificent achievements of the French and their immense merits. Great praise is due to Charles Martel,¹ even greater praise to Pepin,² and the greatest praise to his successor Charles,³ who by his great deeds acquired the surname of "Great", which also Alexander the Macedonian⁴ merited when he conquered the whole world, as did Pompey⁵ and Constantine I⁶ by their famous deeds. Every history of the Franks is full of such praises, and no age will ever forget the glory of your people. For who tamed the Aquitanians and the Normans who persecuted the religion of Christ in Gaul?⁷ The Franks!⁸ And who broke the Saxons all the times they rebelled against the Catholic Faith? The Franks! And who checked the Bohemians and the Poles when they trampled on the Christian name? The Franks! And who subdued the Hungarians when they laid waste to Pannonia? The Franks! And who crushed the Lombards when they were pillaging the Roman Church? The Franks! And who drove the Greeks from Puglia and Campania? The Franks⁹! And who ejected the Saracens from Sicily?¹⁰ The Franks! And who took Nearer Spain¹¹ away from the Maurs? The Franks! And who undertook to tear Antioch, Ptolemais, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, the workplace of our salvation, from the teeth of barbarians? The Franks!¹² [cont.]

¹ Charles Martel (ca. 688-741): Frankish statesman and military leader who, as Duke and Prince of the Franks and Mayor of the Palace, was de facto ruler of Francia from 718 to his death

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

³ 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

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 Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106- BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

⁶ Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

⁷ Cf. the note by D'Achery: here Pius exaggerates the deeds of the Franks and the French to the

point of ridicule: The French certainly did not tame the Normans except that having been defeated by them they offered them the Duchy of Normandy in 911, by the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. It was the same Normans – and not the French – who conquered Southern Italy, creating the Kingdom of Sicily. And the Franks did not subjugate the Hungarians

⁸ In this section, Pius uses Francus to designate both the Franks in general and the French in particular

⁹ Here the French Normans

¹⁰ Here the French Normans

¹¹ "Citerior Hispania"

¹² Here the French

[11 cont.] Quis¹ usque ad Euphratem² et Tigrim signum crucis portare et Edissam³, Mesopotamiae urbem, Christiano nomini restituere ausi sunt? Franci! Quis⁴ vexatam, laceratam, conculcatam, et omnibus modis a tyrannis⁵ oppressam apostolicam sedem in pristinam libertatem et gloriam reduxit? Franci!

[12] Non⁶ sunt haec ignota^{7 8}, *non potest abscondi⁹ civitas¹⁰ supra montem posita¹¹*. Nulla gens tam barbara, tam inculta, tam inhospita est, ad quam Francorum gloria¹² non¹³ pervenerit¹⁴. Illustre¹⁵ gentis¹⁶ nomen¹⁷ in omne permanebit aevum: patres filiis et¹⁸ filii nepotibus in generatione et generationem nobilissimi sanguinis excellentiam et clarissima facta reserabunt¹⁹. Exegit²⁰ sibi {122r} Francorum virtus monumentum aere perennius²¹, quod nulla²² possit²³ destruere²⁴ vetustas.

¹ qui I, L, N, S, O, P, V

² Eufraten C, I, L, M

³ et Edissam : ac ipsam O, P, AC

⁴ qui I, L, O, P

⁵ a tyrannis : et damnis N

⁶ nota S

⁷ quis *add.* S

⁸ non sunt haec ignota : nota

sunt haec non ignota N

⁹ ascondi R

¹⁰ abscondi civitas : civitas

abscondi I

¹¹ positam J

¹² Francorum gloria : gloria

Francorum J

¹³ gloria non : gloriam O

¹⁴ pervenerunt O; pervenit N,

P, AC

¹⁵ genus *add.* I

¹⁶ vestrae *add.* O, P, AC

¹⁷ *omit.* I

¹⁸ *omit.* AC

¹⁹ reservabunt O

²⁰ exigit P, AC; exigit *corr. ex*

exurgit V

²¹ perennis N; perhenne O

²² mala M

²³ potest I

²⁴ possit destruere : destruit O;

destruet P; destruat AC

[11 cont.] And who dared to carry the sign of the cross as far as Euphrates and Tigris, and bring the Mesopotamian City of Edessa back to Christendom? The Franks!¹ And who restored the Apostolic See to its former liberty and glory when it was being harassed, trampled upon, and oppressed by tyrants in every way? The Franks!²

[12] These matters are well-known: *a city cannot be hidden on a mountain.*³ No people is so barbarous, so primitive, and so isolated that it has not heard of the glory of the French. The illustrious name of that people will endure through the ages: from generation to generation fathers will tell their sons and sons their grandsons of the excellence and famous deeds of this glorious family. The strength and courage of the French have earned them a monument more lasting than bronze and one that cannot be destroyed by age.

¹ Here the French

² Pius here fails to mention King Charles VII's important contribu-

tion to making the antipope Felix V resign in 1449, thus ending the

last papal schism in the Catholic Church

³ Matthew, 5, 14

[13] Sed¹ cur haec ante oculos nostros² commemorantur, qui numquam ea³ negavimus⁴, sed publice ac⁵ privatim honoris causa saepe⁶ recitavimus⁷? An istec⁸ commemoratio exprobratio⁹ est¹⁰ immemoris beneficii? Nemo quidem¹¹, qui¹² vos audiverit¹³ oratores, alio sensu locutos putat. Et sane ita est. Nam cur vos haec¹⁴ retulistis majorum insignia? Cur veterum imagines ante oculos nostros posuistis¹⁵? Cur triumphos et vestrae gentis trophaea¹⁶ commemorastis¹⁷ et ecclesiam Romanam¹⁸ ¹⁹ suis adjutam²⁰ viribus²¹ exposuistis,²² nisi quod indigna perpessos esse Francos arbitramini, quibus post²³ tot beneficia cum²⁴ religioni tum²⁵ fidei Catholicae et²⁶ Romanae ecclesiae praestita regnum Siciliae est ademptum. Ingrata igitur sedes apostolica, ingrati et nos, qui benemerentibus jus suum auferimus²⁷, indignis²⁸ alienum²⁹ concedimus.

[14] Excusanda³⁰ ³¹ est hoc loco sacrosanctae³² Romanae³³ et³⁴ apostolicae sedis auctoritas, et ab ingratitude nota eximenda³⁵ tanta majestas. Ad quam rem necessarium est, ut³⁶ et³⁷ beneficia referantur³⁸, quae Romani praesules in Francorum familiam contulerunt³⁹, neque erit inutile et⁴⁰ hanc partem cognovisse. Fatemur, magna sunt neque quispiam parva dixerit, quae Franci Romanae sedi⁴¹ praestiterunt⁴², sed et mater⁴³ apostolica sedes⁴⁴ benemerentes⁴⁵ filios⁴⁶ suos non rejicit⁴⁷, nec laborantes in vinea domini mercede debita fraudat. [cont].

¹ Accusatio *nota marg.* D

² *omit.* M

³ numquam ea : ea numquam V

⁴ negabimus O; negabamus P

⁵ et V

⁶ *omit.* M

⁷ recitaverimus O, P

⁸ isthaec N; ista I, L, O, P, AC; istic S

⁹ exprobratio J, M, O, P

¹⁰ *omit.* M

¹¹ *omit.* J, O, P, AC

¹² per M

¹³ audierit I, L, N, S, V; audit O, P, AC

¹⁴ vos haec : haec vos O, P, AC

¹⁵ proposuistis I

¹⁶ tropheas N

¹⁷ commemoratis B

¹⁸ non *add.* M

¹⁹ **ecclesiam Romanam : Romanam ecclesiam I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

²⁰ auctam N; auditam S

²¹ juribus AC

²² *omit.* P, AC

²³ *omit.* N, S, V

²⁴ tum A, C // J, M, N, S, V, P, A, C; *omit.* O

²⁵ cui O; et P

²⁶ tum P

²⁷ abstulimus S; alias auferimus *add. in marg.* S

²⁸ indigne *corr. ex.* indignum N

²⁹ alienis O

³⁰ excusando O

³¹ Excusatio *nota marg.* D

³² sacrosancta AC

³³ ecclesiae *add.* M

³⁴ *omit.* J

³⁵ est *add.* V

³⁶ *omit.* J

³⁷ *omit.* I

³⁸ *omit.* J

³⁹ contulerint O

⁴⁰ *omit.* N

⁴¹ Franci Romanae sedi : Romanae sedi Franci I

⁴² prestiterint M

⁴³ maior L

⁴⁴ apostolica sedes : apostolice sedis P

⁴⁵ promerentes L

⁴⁶ *omit.* O

⁴⁷ reiicet V

[13] But why are We being reminded of these things that We have never denied but have often spoken about with respect, both in public and private? Is this reminder a reproach of ingratitude? No one who heard you, ambassadors, can understand you differently - and with cause! For why have you brought before us the emblems of the forefathers? Why have you paraded before Us the images of the old ones? Why have you commemorated the triumphs and the trophies of your people and described how the Roman Church was aided by them unless you believe that the French have been molested since the Kingdom of Sicily was their due after so many favours both to the Catholic Religion and Faith and to the Roman Church? Therefore, the Apostolic See must be ungrateful, as We must be ungrateful, having robbed the well-merited of their rights and granted them to the undeserved.

2.2.2. Merits of the Roman See towards the French

2.2.2.1. In the spiritual domain

[14] Here We must [rise to the] defence of the authority of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See and clear this great majesty of the accusation of shameful ingratitude. To do this, We must first relate the favours granted to the family of the Franks by the Roman Pontiffs; indeed, it will be useful to also know this part. We certainly admit that the Franks have greatly benefited the Roman See, and nobody may belittle those achievements. But as a mother, the Apostolic See does not reject its well-merited sons, and she does not rob the labourers in the Lord's vineyard of their earnings. *[cont.]*

[14 cont.] Horum¹ siquidem, quae liliati² gesserunt³, perpetuo memor⁴ ⁵, quaecumque hactenus potuit⁶, quaecumque habuit⁷, in augmentum gloriae eorum⁸ salutisque⁹ contulit, semperque ut¹⁰ domum illam praecipuam¹¹ tenuit, cujus praesidio in suis adversis se tueretur; sic et primam habuit, in quam omnem¹² amoris et¹³ benignitatis¹⁴ suae signum¹⁵ effunderet. Nam si¹⁶ vetera simul et nova¹⁷ recolimus, beneficentissima¹⁸ semper inventa¹⁹ est beati Petri et summi praesulis cathedra cum²⁰ in ceteros omnes, tum vestros²¹ in Francos²².

[15] Insistamus hic paululum²³, et quantum generi vestro profuerit, quantum faverit, quantum²⁴ consuluerit²⁵, animadvertamus. Quis vobis lumen fidei, quis legem evangelicam, quis Christi sacramenta, quis viam vitae nisi sedes apostolica monstravit? *Eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc²⁶ lux in domino estis.* Eratis mancipia Sathanae, nunc filii Dei²⁷ per adoptionem facti estis²⁸; eratis Gehennae²⁹ servi³⁰, nunc³¹ haereditatem regni caelestis expectatis. Et³² unde vobis³³ haec³⁴ libertas nisi per primam sedem, quae missis in³⁵ Galliam ac³⁶ Germaniam praedicatoribus verbi³⁷ Dei extirpato³⁸ lolio³⁹ *bonum⁴⁰ tritici⁴¹ semen* in cordibus patrum vestrorum seminavit, et aberrantes Francos ad ovile Christi perduxit? Nihil his majus inveniri⁴² potest; nulla his compensari dona⁴³, nulla beneficia, {122v} nulla obsequia possunt. Spiritualia⁴⁴ haec et tam vestrae⁴⁵ quam⁴⁶ aliis nationibus communia⁴⁷.

¹ olim *corr. from* horum D

² quae liliati : quae praelibati I; qua libati L; que labiati M; que libati O; que libata P; qui libata AC

³ **gessere I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

⁴ perpetuo memor *omit.* M [blank space]; perpetuo memoria O; memoratur P, AC

⁵ et *add.* I

⁶ hactenus potuit : habuit J

⁷ quaecumque habuit *omit.* M

⁸ *omit.* V; eorumque L, P, AC

⁹ salutis L, P, AC

¹⁰ *omit.* I, L

¹¹ perpetuam C

¹² omne J; *omit.* O

¹³ *omit.* O

¹⁴ et benignitatis : benignitatisque P, AC

¹⁵ **sinum I, L, N, S, O, P, AC**

¹⁶ et *add.* O

¹⁷ simul et nova : et nova simul O

¹⁸ beneficentissimo O

¹⁹ iniuncta O

²⁰ tum M, P, S

²¹ nostros J, N, S, V

²² vestros in Francos : Francos in vestros O, P; in Francos in vestros AC

²³ paulum P

²⁴ quantumque AC

²⁵ consuluerit J; *omit.* M

²⁶ autem *add.* O, P, AC

²⁷ de O

²⁸ eratis mancipia ... facti estis *omit.* P, Q

²⁹ iehenne S

³⁰ *omit.* N, S, V

³¹ *omit.* M

³² *omit.* P, AC

³³ nobis M; *omit.* N

³⁴ prima *add.* Q

³⁵ per C

³⁶ et I, R; atque O, P, AC

³⁷ verbis O; verbum Q

³⁸ extricato Q

³⁹ lollio A, B, D, R

⁴⁰ boni O, P, AC

⁴¹ *omit.* I

⁴² adinveniri O, P, AC

⁴³ bona O, P, AC

⁴⁴ spiritalia A, B, C, R, V

⁴⁵ vestris N

⁴⁶ tam ... quam : tum ... cum I, L

⁴⁷ coram O, Q

[14 cont.] It has always been mindful of the achievements of the Lilled [House] and has given all it could and had to further its glory and prosperity. It always regarded that House as special, which protected it in times of danger, and it was the first House to receive the signs of its love and favour. For if we consider both the old and the new, the Chair of Saint Peter and the Supreme Pontiff have always been most benevolent to all but especially to you Franks.

[15] Let us dwell on this a little and look at how greatly the [Apostolic See] has benefited, favoured, and cared for your people. Who but the Apostolic See showed you the light of Faith, the law of the Gospel, the sacraments of Christ, and the way of Life? *For you were heretofore darkness, but now light in the Lord. Walk then as children of the light.*¹ You were the servants of Satan; now you have been made *sons of God by adoption.*² You were the slaves of Hell; now you look forward to inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven. And how did you obtain this freedom except through the First See, which sent preachers of the Word of God to Gaul and Germany, uprooted the weeds, sowed *the good seed*³ of wheat in the hearts of your fathers, and brought the straying Franks to the flock of Christ? Nothing can be greater than these [deeds]; no favours, no benefits, and no services can match them. But these spiritual benefits are common to your nation and all the others.

¹ Ephesians, 5, 8

² E.g. Romans, 8, 23

³ Matthew, 13, 27

[16] Ad saecularia veniamus. Et in his quoque multa sunt, quae recenseri¹ possunt ab apostolica maiestate² in Francorum prosapiam³ congesta cumalataque⁴ dona. Languerat eorum regnum, et ad⁵ internicionem⁶ defluebat in manibus Childerici⁷ inutilis regis. Non tulit Zacharias, antecessor noster, nobilissimi regni ruinam, sed missis legatis regem totondit et⁸ in monasterio⁹ reclusit¹⁰, Pipinoque, qui majordomus¹¹ esset¹², regium¹³ nomen et gubernationem commisit¹⁴. Atque ita servatum est Franciae regnum et in gentem, quae nunc regnat¹⁵, derivatum, quod per rectam lineam in¹⁶ aliam familiam¹⁷ differebatur¹⁸. Nam Pipinus, quamvis Francus¹⁹ regis²⁰ sanguine natus, gradu tamen remotior²¹ erat. Hanc ille ex apostolica sede²² gratiam tulit²³, nec minorem filius ejus Carolus consecutus est. Nam cum defuncto patre, germanus quoque²⁴ Carlomannus²⁵ obiisset, uxor ejus Berta Hildegardae, uxoris Caroli, gloriae invidens, ad Desiderium²⁶ Longobardorum regem cum liberis confugit²⁷, quos ille benigne excepit²⁸, existimans per eos Francorum vires se facile concussurum, praesertim si Romanus praesul ex filiis Carlomanni²⁹ alterum³⁰ in Franciae regem inungeret³¹. Praesidebat tunc in apostolica sede Hadrianus I., qui neque precibus, neque minis, neque promissis ullis flecti potuit, ut³² impio Desiderii³³ desiderio consentiret, quamvis exarchatus³⁴ Ravennas et omnis³⁵ ager³⁶ ecclesiae Longobardorum ferro diriperetur et igne devasteretur³⁷. Quae res Carolo unitum³⁸ regnum retinuit.

¹ recensere O
² sede B, I
³ prosapia O, P
⁴ cumalatique O
⁵ eorum *add.* P
⁶ internicionem B, C, D, J, R, N, S, V; interemptionem I, L; interiectionem M; intiuncionem O; eorum interem(p)tionem P, AC
⁷ (H)ildebrandi A, B, C, D, J, N, O, P, R, S, V; Hildibrandi I; Hilabrandi L; Ildebraud M
⁸ *omit.* J
⁹ mundo M
¹⁰ reconclisit N; reduxit S
¹¹ maior regni P

¹² **et ingenio valeret *add.* I, L, N, O, S, V, AC; ingenio valeret *add.* P**
¹³ regnum L; regum M; regni I, N; regimen P, AC
¹⁴ Zacharias Pipinum regem dicit *nota marg.* A
¹⁵ regnato O
¹⁶ *omit.* N
¹⁷ in aliam familiam *omit.* M
¹⁸ deferebatur I; deferrebatur L; defferrebatur M; differebat N; deferebatur O, P, AC
¹⁹ Franci M
²⁰ ab *add.* AC
²¹ remotiori V
²² apostolica sede : apostolice sedis R

²³ retulit *corr.* ex tulit I
²⁴ ejus I; *omit.* J, L
²⁵ Karolus magnus O, P
²⁶ desideriorum J
²⁷ fugit O
²⁸ accepit M; suscepit I, O, P, AC
²⁹ Karoli magni O, P
³⁰ Albertum M
³¹ iniungeret M, R
³² et O
³³ *omit.* S
³⁴ exortatus P; exharcatus V
³⁵ omnes O
³⁶ agri M, O
³⁷ **vastaretur L, N, S, O, P, AC**
³⁸ unicum N, S

2.2.2.2. In the secular domain

2.2.2.2.1. Kingdom of the Franks

[16] So, let Us move on to the secular domain. In this area, too, We can mention many gifts, which the Apostolic Majesty heaped upon the family of the Franks. In the hands of the useless King Childeric,¹ their kingdom lost its vigour and was sliding towards extinction. Our predecessor, Zacharias,² would not tolerate the ruin of this noble realm but sent legates who tonsured the king and enclosed him in a monastery. Then they gave the title of king and the government to Pepin, the *majordomus* [of the kingdom].³ Thus Frankish royal power was preserved, though it passed, in direct line, to another family, for though Pepin was born of the blood of the French king, he belonged to a sideline. This was the great favour that he received from the Apostolic See, and the favour obtained by his son, Charles, was just as great. For when, after the death of his father, his brother Carloman⁴ died too, Carloman's wife Gerberga⁵ became jealous of the high state⁶ of Charles' wife Hildegard⁷ and fled with her children to King Desiderius of the Lombards.⁸ Desiderius received them well, thinking that through them he might easily overcome the Frankish forces, especially if the Roman Pontiff would anoint one of Carloman's sons as King of the Franks. At that time, Hadrian I occupied the Apostolic See. Neither prayers, threats, nor promises could move him to consent to Desiderius' impious wish, though the Exarchate of Ravenna and all the territory of the Church were put to the sword and burnt by the Lombards. Thus Charles could keep a united kingdom.

¹ Childeric III (ca. 717-ca. 754): King of Francia from 743 until he was deposed in March 751 at the instigation of Pepin the Short

² Zacharias (679-752): Pope from 741 to his death

³ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 22

⁴ Carloman I (751-771): King of the Franks from 768 to his death. Second surviving son of Pepin

the Short and a younger brother of Charlemagne

⁵ Pius erroneously wrote Berta. Gerberga (8th c.): Wife of Carloman I, King of the Franks, and sister-in-law of Charlemagne. Her flight to the Lombard kingdom of Desiderius following Carloman's death precipitated the last Franco-Lombard war, and the end of the independent kingdom of the Lombards in 774

⁶ "gloria"

⁷ Hildegard of the Vinzgau (771-783): Second wife of Charlemagne, mother of Ludwig der Fromme

⁸ Desiderius (d. 786): Last king of the Lombard Kingdom, ruling from 756 to 774. Charlemagne, who married his daughter and conquered his realm. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 26

[17] Magnum hoc¹, sed majus² illud, quod Leo III.³, Romanorum⁴ praesul, in eumdem Carolum contulit. Etenim⁵ Leone IV., qui duos inter Constantinos imperavit, alteri⁶ pater, alteri⁷ filius⁸, Italiam negligente et in haeresim lapso, qui culturas⁹ imaginum exhorrebat¹⁰ prohibebatque, indignatus Leo pontifex maximus¹¹ imperium ex¹² Graecis ad Germanos in personam¹³ magnifici Caroli Magni transtulit.¹⁴ Quid¹⁵ majus potuit apostolica sedes praestare Francorum domui¹⁶ quam eam Romano imperio decorare¹⁷, provinciarum¹⁸ dominam et principem populorum, gentium nationumque constituere? *Quid¹⁹ potui facere vineae meae²⁰*, inquit propheta in persona²¹ domini, *et non feci?* Honorata est prae ceteris Francorum gens et in sublimi vertice montium a Romana ecclesia suscepto imperio collocata.

[18] Neque, ut²² vos²³ asserere visi²⁴ estis, dimidiatum²⁵ imperium ad Francos dimissum²⁶ est, sive duo imperia facta, Graecorum alterum, Latinorum alterum. Numquam Romani praesules hanc absurditatem commisissent, ut hosti fidei gladium dimitterent. Totum et solidum translatum est imperium²⁷. Sed Carolus ipse cum Irene prius, imperatrice et Constantini VI. matre, et deinde cum Nicephoro²⁸ patricio, et cum eodem {123r} postea imperatoris nomen²⁹ ³⁰ adepto, imperium partitus est³¹, et quod³² totum accepit³³, dimidiatum retinuit, orientales Graecis³⁴ partes³⁵ dimittens, sibi occiduas servans. [*cont.*]

¹ magnum hoc : magna haec N, S; huius O
² magis M
³ quartus J
⁴ Romanus O, P, AC
⁵ et I; in *add.* O, P
⁶ alterius M
⁷ alterius M
⁸ alteri ... filius : alter pater, alter filius O, P; alterius filius alterius pater AC
⁹ sculpturas *alias* culturas P; sculpturas AC
¹⁰ *omit.* I
¹¹ magnus D
¹² de O, P, AC

¹³ persona P, AC
¹⁴ Leo papa III. imperium transtulit *nota marg.* A
¹⁵ quod J, R
¹⁶ Francorum domui : domui Franchorum M
¹⁷ decoraret M; *omit.* S
¹⁸ provinciam N
¹⁹ quod R
²⁰ *omit.* M
²¹ personam M
²² ut *corr. ex cur* N; cur S; et AC
²³ nos N, S
²⁴ nisi M
²⁵ dimidium I

²⁶ transmissum I, L, N, S; transmissum *corr. ex* dimissum V
²⁷ *omit.* M
²⁸ et *add.* N
²⁹ nomine M, P
³⁰ imperatoris nomen : nomen imperatoris V
³¹ Imperii divisio *nota marg.* C
³² quid M
³³ recepit R
³⁴ *omit.* J; Graetiae N
³⁵ Graecis partes : partes Graecis I

2.2.2.2. Holy Roman Empire

[17] This was certainly a great boon, but the Roman Pontiff, Leo III, granted Charles an even greater one. Leo IV¹, who reigned [in Constantinople] between two Constantines, one his father,² and the other his son,³ neglected Italy and fell into heresy as he abhorred and forbade the cult of images.⁴ Scandalized [at this development], Pope Leo transferred imperial rule from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne.⁵ ⁶ What greater [boon] could the Apostolic See bestow on the House of the Franks than honouring it with Roman imperial power and giving it lordship over the lands and princely power over peoples and nations? ⁷*What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?*,⁸ says the Lord in the person of the prophet. The family of the Franks was honoured above all others, having received imperial power and being placed on the summit of the mountains by the Roman Church.

[18] And, contrary to what you said, the Franks were not granted half an empire, nor were two empires created, one belonging to the Greeks and the other to the Latins. Never would the Roman pontiffs have committed the absurdity of entrusting a sword to an enemy of the Faith.⁹ The empire was transferred [to Charles] entire and undivided. It was Charles himself who shared the empire, first with Irene,¹⁰ empress and mother of Constantine VI, and afterwards with Nicephorus,¹¹ first as patrician and later as emperor. Thus, he kept only half of what he had received as a whole, leaving the Eastern parts to the Greeks and keeping the Western parts for himself. [cont.]

¹ Leo IV the Khazar (750-780): Byzantine emperor from 775 to his death

² Constantine V (718-775): Byzantine emperor from 741 to his death

³ Constantine VI (771-805): Byzantine emperor from 780-797 to his death

⁴ Iconoclasm (banning the use and cult of icons) had been initiated by Leo III (emperor 717-741), grandfather of Leo IV. Leo IV pursued his grandfather's iconoclastic policy, first with moderation, but later with great intensity

⁵ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 30

⁶ Pius' linking of the Byzantine emperors' iconoclasm with the coronation of Charlemagne does not appear to be historically correct. In fact, Byzantine Empress Irene (at that time regent for her Son, Constantine VI) had already in 787 (13 years before the coronation of Charlemagne) secured the condemnation of iconoclasm by the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea and its official abolishment. The Roman pope, Hadrian I, was directly represented at the council and officially approved its decrees

⁷ Lamentations, 1, 1

⁸ Isaiah, 5, 4

⁹ I.e. by giving half of the empire to the heretical emperor in Constantinople, Constantine VI, who was thought to have iconoclast sympathies, like his father Leo IV

¹⁰ Irene (ca. 752-803): Byzantine empress. Wife of Byzantine Emperor Leo IV, Regent 780-790, and from 797 to her Byzantine ruler in her own name. Abolished iconoclasm in 787

¹¹ Nicephorus I [Nikephoros] (d. 811): Byzantine emperor from 802 to his death. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 31

[18 cont.] Et quamvis imperium ad eos¹ Francos transierit², qui tum³ Galliam Germaniamque possidebant⁴, et postea in eis continuatum sit, qui Germaniae⁵ praesunt⁶, non tamen Franci, qui remanserunt in Gallia, quorum Carolus soboles est, ab apostolica sede relictus sunt. Quis enim⁷ tot pontificales, tot metropoliticas^{8 9} sedes in regno Franciae, nisi Romanus pontifex erigi iussit? Quis tot privilegia, tot gratias, tot indulgentias vestris ecclesiis ac monasteriis nisi Romana¹⁰ concessit? Quis gymnasia¹¹ litterarum¹², scholam illam Parisiensem, orbe toto¹³ celebrem¹⁴ et fama¹⁵ claram, nisi beati Petri successores illustraverunt¹⁶, a quibus ea indulta consecuta sunt¹⁷, quae vix¹⁸ optare¹⁹ audebant²⁰.

[19] Illud quoque, quod a²¹ vobis relatum est²² de regno Siciliae in Francorum familiam²³ translato, quis non intelligit praeclarum²⁴ et maximum²⁵ fuisse munus²⁶? Dicit²⁷ fortasse quispiam²⁸, et vos idem²⁹ oratione vestra³⁰ sentire videmini: "Occupabant³¹ tyranni regnum, et³² Manfredus³³ armis³⁴ potens³⁵ expelli non poterat. Largita est³⁶ Romana sedes, quod sibi obtinere nequibat, donare quam perdere maluit." Haud quidem ita est. Innocentius enim³⁷ IV., Romanae³⁸ urbis antistes, natione Januensis³⁹, cum deposito Friderico, ex Gallia in Italiam⁴⁰ redisset, Neapolim se⁴¹ contulit, ibique tamquam dominus receptus est^{42 43}, ad quem salutandum omnes ferme regni⁴⁴ proceres concurrerunt se suaque illi⁴⁵ committentes. [cont.]

¹ ipsos V

² transierint O

³ tunc I; cum O, S

⁴ possidebat O

⁵ Germanis O, P, AC

⁶ et postea ... praesunt *omit.* J

⁷ *omit.* O

⁸ metropolitanas I, P, AC

⁹ tot pontificales tot

metropoliticas : tot metropoliticas

tot pontificales S

¹⁰ sedes *add.* B, I, V; ecclesia *add.*

suprascr. L; ecclesia *add.* M;

Romanus pontifex O, P, AC

¹¹ gignasia O, P

¹² nisi Romanam ... litterarum

omit. N, S

¹³ orbe toto : toto orbi N; toto

orbe S, V

¹⁴ percelebrem O, P, AC

¹⁵ famam B, J

¹⁶ illustrarunt C; illustraverint
M

¹⁷ est L, N, S

¹⁸ uis J, M

¹⁹ optari M

²⁰ **audebat I, L, N, S, O, P, AC**

²¹ est O

²² *omit.* AC

²³ familia O

²⁴ clarum V

²⁵ translato quis ... maximum

omit. S

²⁶ familiam translato ... munus :

familiae fuisse manus N

²⁷ dicit P, AC

²⁸ aspiciam M

²⁹ deinde O; domini P, AC

³⁰ idem oratione vestra : vestra

oratione idem I, L; oratione

vestra : vestra oratione V

³¹ occupabunt O

³² de M

³³ **et Manfredus :**

**Manfredusque I, L, N, O, P, S,
V, AC**

³⁴ auus N; armi P

³⁵ armis potens : armipotens M

³⁶ *omit.* P

³⁷ *omit.* B

³⁸ Romani N

³⁹ Genuensis N, V

⁴⁰ ex Gallia in Italiam : in Italiam

ex Gallia L

⁴¹ sibi O

⁴² *omit.* I, L

⁴³ receptus est : est receptus P,

AC

⁴⁴ regis M

⁴⁵ suaque illi : sua illique O

[18 cont.] When the imperial office passed to the Franks, they were in possession both of Gaul and of Germany, but later it remained with those who ruled Germany. Still, the Franks who stayed in Gaul and from whom Charles¹ descends were not abandoned by the Apostolic See. Who but the Roman Pontiff created all those pontifical and metropolitan sees in the Kingdom of France? Who but the Roman See granted all those privileges, all those concessions of grace, and all those indulgences to your churches and monasteries? Who but the successors of Saint Peter favoured your universities² and especially the School of Paris,³ famous and acclaimed in the whole world. Indeed, they could hardly have dared to hope for all those grants they received from [the popes].

2.2.2.2.3. Kingdom of Naples

[19] And who does not see that the transfer of the Kingdom of Sicily to the Family of France was a great and honourable gift - as also related by you? Somebody may say, as you did in your oration, that the Kingdom was occupied by tyrants and that the powerful Manfred⁴ could not be expelled. Therefore the Roman See granted what it could not keep on its own, preferring to give it away rather than to lose it.^{5 6} But, this is hardly so. When Innocent IV,⁷ Bishop of Rome and himself of the Genoese nation, had deposed Friedrich^{8 9} and returned to Italy from France, he went to Naples¹⁰ and was received there as lord. Almost all the nobles of the realm came to meet him and committed themselves and theirs to him. [cont.]

¹ Charles VII

² "gymnasia litterarum"

³ University of Paris (La Sorbonne): Founded in 1150

⁴ Manfred (1232-1266): King of Sicily from 1258 to 1266. Natural son of the Emperor Friedrich II of Hohenstaufen

⁵ The assertion of the French ambassadors was probably correct, see Léonard, p. 38: *La situation était trop difficile pour que le pape [Innocentius IV] se chargeât de la direction du Royaume: il lui fallait trouver un prince à qui l'inféoder. ... Avant*

même la mort de celui-ci [Friedrich II] il lui avait cherché un successeur à l'étranger, en France d'abord, puis en la personne de Richard de Cornouailles, frère du roi d'Angleterre. À l'été 1252 il avait chargé le notaire apostolique Albert de Parme d'aller proposer l'affaire à nouveau à Richard et, si celui-ci n'acceptait pas, au plus jeune frère de Louis IX, Charles [d'Anjou]

⁶ Freeing Southern Italy, on the borders of the Papal State, from the rule of German emperors and

their replacement with another European ruling house was a major political issue for the papacy at the time, cf. Léonard, p. 109

⁷ Innocentius IV [Sinibaldo Fieschi] (c. 1195-1254): Pope from 1243 to his death

⁸ Friedrich II (1194-1250): Crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1220. Head of the House of Hohenstaufen

⁹ At the Council of Lyon, in 1245

¹⁰ Innocent IV arrived in Naples on 27 October 1254

[19 cont.] Inter quos etiam¹ Manfredus fuit, nec² dubium erat³, quin regno toto potitus fuisset Innocentius, nisi morte immatura rebus excessisset humanis. Nec minor spes successoribus offerebatur⁴, si non minor illis animus, non segnior cura fuisset quam Innocentio.

[20] Sed defuncto⁵ Alexandro IV. apud Ananiam⁶, qui successerat⁷ Innocentio, Urbanus IV.⁸, natione Trecensis⁹, armorum curam et belli molestias, ut par erat, execratus¹⁰, Carolum¹¹ Andegavensem¹² ex¹³ Francorum domo ad hoc¹⁴ regnum vocandum¹⁵ censuit. Sed prius obiit, quam Carolus intraret Italiam. Intravit¹⁶ autem sub Clemente IV.¹⁷ cum XXX¹⁸ triremibus Romam petens, ubi per annum senatoria dignitate functus et deinde cum conjuge Beatrice jussu pontificis apud Lateranum Siculi regni coronam adeptus [cont.]

¹ et N, S

² neque O, P, AC

³ *omit.* P, AC

⁴ auferebatur O; afferebatur P, AC

⁵ *omit.* N, S

⁶ Ananiam *corr. from* Anagniam A; Inaniam O; Anarniam *aut*

Avarniam P; Anagiram Q; Anaginam S; Avarinam AC

⁷ successit [*sic!*] R

⁸ *omit.* P

⁹ Tricensis N

¹⁰ exercitus B; exoratus Q

¹¹ Karolus O

¹² Andegavensis O

¹³ et O

¹⁴ *omit.* O

¹⁵ *omit.* O

¹⁶ *omit.* O

¹⁷ *omit.* N

¹⁸ XXXI N, S

[19 cont.] Among them was Manfred, and there is no doubt that Innocent would have become master of the whole realm if he had not died suddenly.¹ His successors could have hoped for at least as much if they had shown the same courage and initiative as Innocent.

[20] When Innocent's successor, Alexander IV², died at Anagni,³ [he was succeeded by] Urban IV⁴, who came from Troyes. Abhorring the business of armies and troubles of war⁵ - as was quite right - he decided to call Charles d'Anjou⁶ of the House of France to the Kingdom of Sicily but died⁷ before Charles could enter Italy. However, under Clemens IV⁸, Charles did come to Rome⁹ with 30 galleys and functioned as senator there for a year.¹⁰ Then, at the pope's command, he was crowned at the Lateran as King of Sicily together with his wife Beatrice.¹¹ [cont.]

¹ This view is probably too optimistic: Innocent IV died on 7 December 1254, five days after his troops had been defeated by Manfred, close to Lucera, see Léonard, p. 39, who continues: *Renonçant une fois de plus à la gestion directe d'un royaume trop difficile, il [Innocentius IV] avait demandé à Henri III d'Angleterre, par lettres du 17 novembre, d'envoyer prendre possession du pays au nom du jeune Edmond. Puis il mourut*

² Alexander IV [Rinaldo di Jenne](1199 or ca. 1185-1261): Pope from 1254 to his death

³ Alexander IV died on 25 May 1261

⁴ Urbanus IV [Jacques Pantaléon] (ca. 1195-1264): Pope from 1261 to his death

⁵ Léonard, p. 41: *Le Français Urbain IV entreprit aussitôt de réunir les forces que l'Italie*

pouvait mettre en ligne contre le roi de Sicile [Manfred] et de trouver l'homme à qui les confier. ... Quant à l'adversaire à opposer contre Manfred, Urbain IV se dégagea (Septembre 1262) des négociations avec l'Angleterre. ... il avait déjà envoyé, dès le début de l'année [1262], maître Albert de Parme reprendre à Paris les pourparlers tendant à la designation d'un prince français. Louis IX... refusant pour lui et pour ses fils le trône de Sicile, ... laisse Albert de Parme aller le proposer à nouveau à son frère Charles d'Anjou

⁶ Charles I [Charles d'Anjou] (1227-1285): Son of King Louis VIII of France. Conquered the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstauffen in 1266, having received it formally as a papal grant in 1262. Expelled from the island in the aftermath of the

Sicilian Vespers of 1282, he thereafter resided in Naples

⁷ Urbanus IV died on 2 October 1264

⁸ Clemens IV [Guy Fouquois] (1190/1200-1268): Pope from 1265 to his death

⁹ Charles d'Anjou arrived in Rome in March 1265

¹⁰ Léonard, p. 54: *Il [Clemens IV] proclama, aussitôt couronné, la déchéance d'Edmond d'Angleterre et autorisa Charles à accepter la sénatorerie romaine. ... Le 21 juin [1265] il [Charles d'Anjou] recut le insignes de sénateur et, le 28, quatre cardinaux l'investirent, à Saint-Jean de Latran, du royaume de Sicile, dont il porta désormais le titre*

¹¹ Charles d'Anjou was crowned King of Sicily on 6 January 1266, in Saint Peter's Basilica – not in the Lateran, where he had been invested with the Kingdom, in June, see Léonard, p. 56

[20 cont.] ad bellum profectus est, in quo victor non sine magnis ecclesiae Romanae auxiliis possessionem regni¹ quietam et tranquillam obtinuit. Fuissent² et alii, qui hoc oneris³ cum tanto honore et⁴ tanto⁵ emolumento cupide⁶ suscepissent⁷ ⁸, sed liliatos, ut vos⁹ appellatis, praeferendos¹⁰ omnibus censuit apostolica majestas. Intrarunt¹¹ Franci¹² regnum, eoque¹³ armis potiti sunt¹⁴ - at¹⁵ non {123v} sine Romanae ecclesiae¹⁶ praesidio, quae non solum titulum dedit, sed etiam¹⁷ arma conjunxit, et anathema in hostes¹⁸ promulgavit, quod non parvi momenti¹⁹ fuit²⁰. Tenuerunt Franci exinde²¹ regnum longo tempore - non imus²² inficias²³: Carolus²⁴ et item Carolus, et Robertus, et Johanna, quae prior dicta est, at²⁵ non sine²⁶ favore et magna ope Romani pontificis²⁷. Neque enim²⁸ Conradinus²⁹, Friderici II. nepos, qui conflato³⁰ numero exercitu ex Germania³¹ in³² Italiam venerat, et³³ avitum³⁴ regnum vindicare³⁵ conabatur³⁶, absque³⁷ Romani praesulis auxilio³⁸ vinci capique potuisset.

¹ *omit.* P, AC

² fuerunt N

³ onus M, S

⁴ cum *add.* N, S, V

⁵ *omit.* P, AC

⁶ cupide M; *omit.* O

⁷ suscepisset R

⁸ cupide suscepissent :
suscepissent cupide P, AC

⁹ nos M, V

¹⁰ *omit.* O

¹¹ intravit N, S

¹² Franciae N, S

¹³ eorum B

¹⁴ *omit.* O, P, AC

¹⁵ ac N, S, O, P

¹⁶ Romanae ecclesiae : ecclesiae
Romanae AC

¹⁷ et N, S

¹⁸ hostem J

¹⁹ monumenti M

²⁰ est J; *omit.* M

²¹ Franci exinde : exinde Franci
O, P, AC

²² virus O

²³ imus inficias : imus in inficias
R; verum infitior P; verum
infitor AC

²⁴ *omit.* N

²⁵ ac M, O, P

²⁶ magno *add.* N, O, P, AC

²⁷ **Romani pontifices :**

**Romanorum pontificum I, L, N,
O, P, S, V, AC**

²⁸ tantum M

²⁹ Corradinus L; Coradinus N;

Corradinus O, P

³⁰ conflictio S

³¹ Germanis O, P

³² ante O, P

³³ ut AC

³⁴ agnitum O

³⁵ vindicaret AC

³⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC

³⁷ ab O

³⁸ dum *add.* M

[20 cont.] Afterwards, he left for a war¹ in which he was victorious² (but with considerable support from the Roman Church³) and gained quiet and undisturbed possession of the Kingdom. Others would eagerly have accepted this charge with its great honour and emoluments, but the Apostolic Majesty preferred the "Lilied", as you call them, to all others.⁴ Thus the French entered the Kingdom and conquered it with the support of the Roman Church,⁵ which both granted them the title to the Kingdom and military aid. It also excommunicated their enemies,⁶ which had great importance. Afterwards, the French held the Kingdom for a long time - We do not deny it. First, there was Charles, then another Charles,⁷ then Robert,⁸ and then Giovanna I⁹: they all enjoyed the favour of the Roman pontiffs and were greatly assisted by them. And when Konradin,¹⁰ grandson of Friedrich II, came from Germany to Italy with a great army and tried to reclaim the kingdom of his forefathers, he could only be defeated and taken prisoner with the help of the Roman Pontiff.¹¹

¹ Charles d'Anjou left Rome, with his army, on 20 January 1266

² Charles d'Anjou defeated Manfred at the Battle of Benevento, 26 February, 1266, in which Manfred was killed

³ The pope was as poor as Charles and could not provide substantial funds for the venture. But he did guarantee some important bankers' loans to Charles, even pawning some of the Roman churches, see Léonard, p. 55

⁴ Actually, the first choice of the popes appears to have been the English Royal house, which, however, declined, see Léonard, pp. 38, 39, 41

⁵ Including Pope Gregorius X (pope from 1271 to 1276), not mentioned by Pius, who actively supported Charles against Ghibel-

line opposition in Northern Italy but otherwise pursued a policy of independence vis-à-vis the Angevin regime, see Léonard, pp. 110-114

⁶ E.g. Clemens IV, who on 18 September 1266, excommunicated all who assisted Konradin of Hohenstauffen, the grandson of Friedrich II, in his war against Charles I, see Léonard, p. 63

⁷ Charles II, called the Lame (1254-1309): King of Naples, King of Albania, Prince of Salerno, Prince of Achaea, Count of Provence and Forcalquier and Count of Anjou

⁸ Robert d'Anjou (1277-1343): King of Naples, titular King of Jerusalem and Count of Provence and Forcalquier from 1309 to 1343, the central figure of Italian politics of his time

⁹ Giovanna I (1328-1382): Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence and Forcalquier from 1343 to her death. Reigned as Princess of Achaea and claimed the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. She was married four times

¹⁰ Konrad (usually known by the diminutive Konradin, Italian: Corradino) (1252-1268): Duke of Swabia 1254-1268, King of Jerusalem 1254-1268, King of Sicily 1254-1258. Executed as traitor by Charles II d'Anjou in 1268

¹¹ A cardinal was actually sent by the pope, Gregorius X, to support Konradin's extradition to Charles I. Whether the pope also, actively, supported Konradin's death sentence and execution has been debated by scholars, see Léonard, p. 71

[21] Johannes XXI.¹ adeo² Carolum dilexit, ut ei Graecorum imperium committere³ cogitaverit⁴. Fecisset⁵ suo desiderio satis, privato Michaelae Palaeologo, qui conventa⁶ Lugduni non servaret, nisi cogitationes actionesque suas repentinus interrupisset obitus. Simile studium fuit et Martini IV., qui Nicolaum III. secutus est⁷. Is⁸ enim senatoriam dignitatem Carolo restituit et⁹ Michaellem Constantinopolitanum excommunicavit¹⁰. Impedivit autem Martini¹¹ conatus¹² Siculorum novitas et Petrus Aragonensis, qui rebellantem Carolo Trinacriam advectus¹³ eo¹⁴ cum¹⁵ valida classe sibi¹⁶ subegit. Multa inter Carolum et Petrum¹⁷ terra marique¹⁸ secuta sunt proelia¹⁹, et²⁰ ingentibus cladibus²¹ concussum est regnum; neque²² servari a Francis potuisset, nisi²³ sedes apostolica adjutrix fuisset. Captus fuit navali proelio Carolus II. et apud Aragoniam in carcere detinebatur²⁴, cum²⁵ Carolus pater²⁶ vita excessit. Nutabant²⁷ sine principe, sine auxiliis Neapolitani, {303} Capuani, Cajetani²⁸, ceterique regni²⁹ incolae³⁰. [cont.]

¹ XXII A, B, C, D, M, R, V

² *omit.* J

³ comitem J

⁴ cogitavit O, P

⁵ **fecissetque I, L, N, O, P, S, V,**

AC

⁶ idem *add.* J

⁷ *omit.* N, S

⁸ ipse S, O, P, AC

⁹ *omit.* AC

¹⁰ *omit.* N, S

¹¹ Martinus M

¹² conatum N

¹³ adducto M

¹⁴ eam P, AC

¹⁵ tamen O

¹⁶ *omit.* P, AC

¹⁷ Carolum et Petrum : Petrum

et Carolum N, S

¹⁸ terra marique *omit.* M

¹⁹ pericula I

²⁰ ab O; ab *add.* P, AC

²¹ classibus D, N

²² nec O, P, AC

²³ ni AC

²⁴ tenebatur L

²⁵ tum I; tunc L

²⁶ e *add.* P, AC

²⁷ vacabant P, AC

²⁸ Sareptani N; Saretani S

²⁹ *omit.* B

³⁰ **accolae I, L, N, O, P, S, AC**

[21] Johannes XXI¹ loved Charles [I] so much that he considered granting him the Greek Empire. If sudden death had not put an end to his plans and activities, he would have done as he wished, depriving Michael Palaeologus² of the empire because he had not kept the agreements of Lyon.³ Martin IV,⁴ who followed Nicolaus III,⁵ had the same wish. Indeed, he reappointed Charles⁶ as Senator [of Rome] and excommunicated Michael of Constantinople.⁷ However, his plans were hindered by the Sicilian rebellion⁸ and Pedro of Aragon:⁹ when Sicily¹⁰ rebelled against Charles, Pedro came sailing with a strong fleet and conquered it.¹¹ Many battles followed between Charles and Pedro, both on land and at sea. The Kingdom suffered immense misfortunes, and it could only be kept by the French with help from the Apostolic See.¹² Charles II was taken prisoner in a naval battle¹³ and kept prisoner in Aragon when his father, Charles, died. Without its prince and without help, the Neapolitans, the Capuans, the Gajetans and the other inhabitants of the Kingdom vacillated. [cont.]

¹ Johannes XXI, pope from 1276-1277 (Johannes XXII was pope from 1316 to 1334, long after Charles' death)

² Michael IX Palaeologus [Palaiologos] (1277-1320): reigned as Byzantine co-emperor with full imperial style 1294/1295-1320

³ Byzantine envoys came to the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, where they presented a letter from the Emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, sealed with the imperial golden bull, and two others from his son Andronikos and the Byzantine clergy. In the fourth session of the council, the formal act of union was issued, later to be repudiated by Constantinople

⁴ Martinus IV [Simon de Brion] (ca. 1210/1220-1285): Pope from 1281

⁵ Nicolaus III [Giovanni Gaetano Orsini] (ca. 1225-1280): Pope from 1277 to his death. Under

this pope, Charles I gave up his office as Senator of Rome, see Léonard, p. 126

⁶ On 29 April 1281

⁷ Michael VIII Palaiologus [Palaeologus] (1223-1282): reigned as Byzantine Emperor from 1259 to his death. Founder of the Palaeologan dynasty, which would rule the Byzantine Empire until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. On 18, November 1282, he was excommunicated by Martin IV, who was hostile to the Greeks and worked for the reconstitution of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, see Léonard, pp. 134-135

⁸ The Sicilian Vespers: successful rebellion on the island of Sicily that broke out on the Easter of 1282 against the rule of the French-born king Charles I, who had ruled the Kingdom of Sicily since 1266. As a result, the government of King Charles lost

control of the island. See Léonard, pp. 138 ff.

⁹ Pedro III the Great (1239-1285): King of Aragon and Valencia and Count of Barcelona from 1276 to his death. He conquered Sicily and became its king in 1282, pressing the claim of his wife, Constance

¹⁰ "Trinacria"

¹¹ Léonard, pp. 148-151

¹² See Léonard, pp. 160 ff.: *Le Sauvetage du royaume par la papauté: Pendant tout l'inter-règne qui s'étend de la mort de Charles Ier à la libération de de son fils (janvier 1285-fin 1288) et même après le retour à Naples du nouveau roi, point toujours à la hauteur d'une situation difficile, les papes exercèrent une action prépondérante sur la querelle siculo-napolitaine et sur la vie entière du Royaume*, p. 160

¹³ Léonard, p. 157

[21 cont.] Sed affuit apostolicae sedis¹ legatus, qui consolatus afflictum et paene desperantem² populum in fide retinuit³; neque ullum Petrus Aragonensis apud Romanam ecclesiam remedium⁴ invenire⁵ potuit, quominus⁶ cum filiis et uxore extra ecclesiam fieret, quoniam Francis fuisset⁷ injuriatus. Martinus IV. anathema in eum promulgavit, quod etiam Honorius IV., gente Sabella natus, innovavit⁸. Nisi⁹ Romani praesules¹⁰ Francorum partes enixissime¹¹ adjuvissent, emarcuisset¹² in carcere Carolus II., et regnum Siciliae in alienas manus haud dubie venisset¹³.

¹ apostolicae sedis : sedis
apostolicae P, AC

² desperatem C; desperatum D

³ optinuit O

⁴ *add. in marg.* A; praesidium I,
L, V, P, AC; *omit.* M, R, N, S

⁵ inveniri N, S

⁶ quo modo N

⁷ fuerat R

⁸ et *add.* I

⁹ *omit.* M

¹⁰ consules AC

¹¹ enixissent J

¹² evanuisset P, AC

¹³ **pervenisset I, L, N, O, P, S, V,
AC**

[21 cont.] But when the legate of the Apostolic See arrived, he comforted the afflicted and almost desperate people and kept them loyal.¹ Pedro of Aragon could get no support from the Roman Church: he was even excommunicated with his wife and sons for molesting the French. Martin IV issued a ban against him,² which was renewed by Honorius IV³ of the Savelli family.⁴ If the Roman Pontiffs had not greatly helped the French party, Charles II would have languished in prison, and the Kingdom of Sicily would undoubtedly have fallen into other hands.

¹ Léonard, p. 162-163: *[L'inter-règne] rendait aux Ange-vins le grand service d'interposer l'Église entre eux et des adversaires de plus en plus entre-prenants; il pouvait faciliter la libération du prince prisonnier ... [Il] aurait pu être fatal à la dynastie angevine, ainsi dépossédée en droit comme*

en fait de son pouvoir et encore atteinte par là dans un prestige déjà diminué. Heureusement pour elle le Saint-Siège était sans arrière-pensée et se conduisit aussi loyalement à son égard qu'énergiquement contre ses adversaires

² Léonard, p 149

³ Honorius IV [Giacomo Savelli] (ca. 1210-1287): Pope from 1285 to his death in 1287. For his support of the Angevins, see Léonard, pp. 163-172

⁴ The Savelli (de Sabellis) were a rich and influential Roman aristocratic family who rose to prominence in the 13th century

[22] Quid¹ Robertus, Caroli hujus² filius? An et³ hic Romanam ecclesiam sibi clementem ac⁴ benignam expertus est? Qualia ei⁵ et quam inextricabilia⁶ cum Romano imperatore Henrico VII. certamina imminebant, nisi Clemens V. auxilio fuisset⁷, qui etiam ejus⁸ causa Clementinam⁹ eam¹⁰ edidit, quam vocant *Pastoralis*¹¹? Quid¹² Carolus, Roberti filius, qui Florentiae dominatum obtinuit? Quos¹³ et illi favores Johannes XXII.¹⁴ adversus Vicecomites Mediolanenses praestitit, qui etiam Johannem¹⁵ gente Ursina {124r} cardinalem, magni nominis virum, in Etruriam, ut sibi¹⁶ obsisteret¹⁷, legatum mittere non dubitavit? [cont.]

¹ quod R; qui O, P

² *omit.* B

³ hujus ... an et : filius hujusmet
O, P, AC

⁴ et B, I, L, R, N, S, V, O, AC

⁵ *omit.* S

⁶ explicabilia O; inexplicabilia
P, AC

⁷ affuisset V

⁸ **sui I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

⁹ clementiam M, R;
Clementinamque V

¹⁰ *omit.* O

¹¹ Pastorale I, L

¹² quod C, M, R; quod nos O

¹³ quot V

¹⁴ XII. A, C, M

¹⁵ *omit.* N; Johannes e AC

¹⁶ ipsi AC

¹⁷ **absisteret D, V; assisteret I,
L, N, O, P, S, AC**

[22] What about Robert,¹ the son of Charles II? Did he not also find the Roman Church benevolent and well-disposed towards him?² He would have been sorely threatened by his inextricable conflicts with the Roman Emperor, Heinrich VII,³ if he had not been helped by Clemens V,⁴ issuing the Clementine [constitution] called *Pastoralis*⁵ in his favour. And what about Robert's son, Charles,⁶ who obtained the lordship of Florence?⁷ Johannes XXII⁸ granted him many favours against the Visconti of Milan⁹ and did not hesitate to send the highly respected Cardinal Giovanni Orsini¹⁰ as a legate to Toscana to assist him.¹¹ [cont.]

¹ Robert of Anjou (1277-1343): King of Naples from 1309 to his death. Rejected imperial rule, see Léonard, p. 222: *Le roi Robert accepta la mission que lui donnaient les faits en proclamant la decheance de l'idée imperiale et l'avènement des nationalismes dans une protestation solennelle contre Henri VII où l'on pouvait lire: "Autrefois l'empereur était maître de tout et de tous et s'intitula pour cela 'maître du monde'. Aujourd'hui, ... les rois de France, de Sicile, d'Espagne, d'Aragon, d'Angleterre, de Portugal ... et presque sans distinction tous les rois du monde échappent à son pouvoir et ne lui obéissent pas, en sorte que ce n'est qu'abusivement que l'on peut parler d'une autorité et d'un pouvoir impériaux"*

² Pope Clemens VI was quite happy to use King Robert and the Kingdom in his own conflict with Emperor Heinrich VII, see Léonard, p. 213-214: *Il [Clemens VI] parlait de la venue du Roi des Romains [Heinrich VII] comme d'un heureux évènement ... En*

fait, ce n'était là de la part du pontife ... qu'acceptation de ce qu'il ne pouvait empêcher et précautions destinées à masquer les manœuvres défensives auxquelles il se livrait d'autre part, et dont l'essentiel consistait à opposer à Henri VII le roi de Naples

³ Heinrich VII (ca. 1275-1313): King of Germany (or Rex Romanorum) from 1308 and Holy Roman Emperor from 1312. He was the first emperor of the House of Luxembourg

⁴ Clemens V [Raymond Bertrand de Got] (ca. 1264–1314): Pope from 1305 to his death in 1314. Infamous for suppressing the order of the Knights Templars and as the pope who moved the Curia from Rome to Avignon, ushering in the period known as the Avignon Papacy

⁵ The papal bull *Pastoralis Cura*, issued at Carpentras on 19 March 1314, in support of King Robert, against Emperor Heinrich VII, see Setton, I, 171

⁶ Charles (1298-1326): Son of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples.

Died before his father. Father of Giovanna I

⁷ 1426

⁸ Johannes XXII (Jacques Duèze or d'Euse) (1244-1334): pope from 1316 (in Avignon) to his death

⁹ Visconti Family: important Italian noble dynasty of the Middle Ages. Rose to power in Milan, where they ruled from 1277 to 1447

¹⁰ Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (ca. 1285-1335): Cardinal 1316 until his death. A Roman nobleman, nephew of Pope Nicolaus III. In 1326 the Avignon Pope John XXII sent him as his legate *a latere* to Italy, then much troubled by civil wars, with the task of bringing peace

¹¹ For a period, the pope and King Robert were allies and friends, but after the pope allied himself with the imperial house (John of Bohemia) and the King of France, they became adversaries, see Léonard, p. 267-268

[22 cont.] Quid Johanna? Numquid et¹ ipsa sedis hujus² auxilia persensit³? Fugerat ipsa cum secundo viro in proviciam Narbonensem, cum Ludovicus, rex Hungariae, ulturus fratrem, quem Johanna virum suum interfici jussisse ferebatur, magnis congregatis copiis⁴, in Apuliam trajecisset⁵. At⁶ sequestro⁷ Romano pontifice Clemente VI.⁸, qui legatum⁹ ad¹⁰ eam rem misit¹¹ Guidonem, episcopum¹² Portuensem, pax his legibus dicta¹³ est, ut¹⁴ Johanna regnum¹⁵ recuperaret.

¹ *omit.* I

² hujus sedis : sedis hujus O, P, AC

³ presensit O, P

⁴ magnis ... copiis *omit.* AC

⁵ trasiecisset P; trameasset Q

⁶ et M; ac P, N, S

⁷ sequestre D

⁸ VII. A, B, C, D, N, R, S

⁹ legationem J

¹⁰ *omit.* J

¹¹ rem misit : remisit I, L; ad O

¹² Guidonem episcopum : episcopum Guidonem O

¹³ facta I; data P, AC

¹⁴ uti V

¹⁵ regna O

[22 cont.] What about Giovanna [I]?¹ Did she not, too, receive the aid of this See? When King Louis [I]² of Hungary came to Puglia with a large army³ to avenge his brother,⁴ Giovanna's [first] husband, said to have been murdered on her orders,⁵ she fled to the province of Narbonne⁶ with her second husband.⁷ But the next Roman Pontiff, Clemens VI,⁸ sent Guy⁹, [Cardinal] Bishop of Porto as his legate in this matter and dictated a peace with the condition of Giovanna recovering her kingdom.^{10 11}

¹ Giovanna I

² Louis I the Great (1326–1382): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1342 to his death and King of Poland from 1370

³ 1348

⁴ Andrew (1327–1345): First husband of Giovanna I of Naples, and a son of Charles I of Hungary and brother of Louis I of Hungary, of the House of Anjou. When he was assassinated in 1345, Louis accused the queen of his murder and punishing her became a major goal of his foreign policy

⁵ Léonard, p. 347: *La participation de la reine au meurtre d'André n'est pas prouvée, et c'est, en bien et en mal, tout ce que l'on peut conclure*

⁶ Provence

⁷ Luigi di Tarento (1320-1362): also a prince of the House of Anjou

⁸ Clemens VI [Pierre Roger] (1291-1352): Pope from 1342 to his death. In 1352, he held a trial in Avignon, in which Gioanna I was acquitted from any charge of having murdered her husband

⁹ Guy de Boulogne [Guy de Montfort] (1313-1373) : Archbishop of Lyon. Appointed cardinal in 1342, later as Cardinal Bishop of Porto

¹⁰ At the price of selling the city of Avignon to the pope, Léonard, p. 359. Giovanna and Louis of Tarento returned to Naples on 17 August 1348

¹¹ Pius does not mention Louis of Hungary's second invasion of the Kingdom of Naples in 1350, ending in a peace concluded on 23 March 1352 with the active involvement of the Papacy

[23] Scissum est deinde regnum, et¹ ipse Francorum sanguis inter sese² collisus est. Nam cum Ludovicus, rex Hungariae, iterum necis³ fraternalis memor Carolum in Italiam misisset, qui poenas interfecti viri ex Johanna reposceret⁴, et jam⁵ hic deletis⁶ Johanna copias et capta Neapoli regnum in potestate sua⁷ redigisset⁸, Johannamque⁹ nova¹⁰ in arce¹¹ clausam¹² obsedisset, Ludovicus vero¹³ Andegavensis ad eam liberandam¹⁴ cum magna equitum manu in regnum venisset¹⁵, et jam schisma¹⁶ esset in ecclesia Dei, et Franci atque¹⁷ Hispani Clementem VII., Romani et reliqui ferme omnes Urbanum VI. beati Petri successorem putarent, ut quisque¹⁸ pontifex sibi consultum ratus est, sic favores suos impartitus¹⁹ est; nec tamen a Francorum sanguine recessum^{20 21}, siquidem²² et Dyrrachienses et Andegavenses²³ a Francorum²⁴ stirpe duxerunt originem. [cont.]

¹ ut N

² se P, AC

³ legis O

⁴ **deposceret I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

⁵ et jam : etiam L

⁶ delectis N; delectis *corr. ex* deletis S

⁷ potestate sua : sua potestate I; potestatem suam AC

⁸ redigisset M, V

⁹ Johannaque M

¹⁰ novam M

¹¹ arcem M

¹² *omit.* V

¹³ *omit.* N

¹⁴ deliberandam V, P, AC; libertatem S

¹⁵ ivisset N, S

¹⁶ sisma M

¹⁷ et N; *omit.* S

¹⁸ qui N; quisquis S, V

¹⁹ impartitus AC

²⁰ est *add.* I, L, M, N, V; recessit P; regnum recessit AC

²¹ nec tamen ... recessum *omit.* S

²² sic quidem M; si quidem S

²³ Dyrrachiensens et Andegavenses : Andegavenses et Dyrrachienses J

²⁴ **a Francorum : Francorum a I, L, O, N, P, V, AC; Francorum ex S**

[23] Then the Kingdom split into two,¹ and a conflict arose within the French dynasty itself. For King Louis of Hungary once again remembered the murder of his brother and sent Charles² to Italy³ to demand reparation from Giovanna for the murder of her husband.⁴ ⁵ He destroyed Giovanna's army, conquered Naples, and had the Kingdom in his power. As he was besieging Giovanna in Castel' Nuovo,⁶ Louis [I] d'Anjou⁷ arrived in the Kingdom with a large force of knights to free her. At that time the schism had arisen in the Church of God: the French and the Spanish recognized Clemens VII⁸ as Saint Peter's successor, whereas almost all others opted for Urban VI.⁹ Each pope distributed his favours as his own interests dictated, but neither one deserted the French dynasty, since both the House of Durazzo and the House of Anjou descended from that dynasty. *[cont.]*

¹ Between the line of Giovanna I and the House of Durazzo, both Angevin

² Charles III of Durazzo (1345-1386): King of Naples and titular King of Jerusalem as Charles III from 1382 to 1386 and King of Hungary from 1385 to 1386 as Charles II

³ 1381

⁴ Andrew

⁵ Charles of Durazzo's successful expedition (with French and Hungarian troops) to the Kingdom in 1380 when he deposed Giovanna and later had her imprisoned and murdered, see Léonard, p, 467

⁶ Castel Nuovo [Maschio Angioino]: medieval castle located in front of Piazza Municipio and the city hall (Palazzo San Giacomo) in central Naples, Italy. First erected in 1279

⁷ Louis I d'Anjou (1339-1384): Second son of Jean II of France and the founder of the Angevin branch of the French royal house. (Valois). Adopted as son and heir by Giovanna I on 29 June 1380. After her death he effectively succeeded to the counties of Provence and Forcalquier. He also inherited from her a claim to the kingdoms

of Naples and Jerusalem. In 1384 he led an army into Italy to claim his Neapolitan inheritance. He died on the march and his claims and titles fell to his son and namesake, Louis II d'Anjou

⁸ Robert de Genève (1342–1394): Elected to the papacy, in 1378, as Clemens VII by the French cardinals who opposed Urban VI, and was the first antipope residing in Avignon

⁹ Urbanus VI [Bartolomeo Prignano] (ca. 1318-1389): Pope from 1378 to his death. The last pope to be elected from outside the College of Cardinals

[cont. 23] Urbanus VI. primo¹ amicus, deinde hostis Carolo Dyrrachiensi² fuit, quem etiam³ regno⁴ privasse fertur cum circumseptus⁵ in Nuceria⁶ ab eo⁷ teneretur⁸, nec filio ejus Ladislao impuberi placatus est, cui et regni possessionem adimere conatus est⁹, et¹⁰ Ludovici Andegavensis partibus favit.

[24] Contrariam viam tenuit Bonifacius IX., successor ejus, qui Ladislaum ad regnum restituit¹¹ et coronam mandavit, Ludovici fautoribus et amicis prorsus attritis¹². Derivatus¹³ est in parte Romana¹⁴ summus pontificatus¹⁵ per¹⁶ varias manus usque ad Johannem XXIII., qui Constantiae in magna¹⁷ synodo, durante schismate¹⁸, depositus est¹⁹, cum defuncto Bonifacio IX., Innocentius VII.²⁰ et Gregorius XII.²¹ et Alexander V. in apostolica cathedra sedissent. Johannes autem adeo²² parti Andegavensi²³ studuit²⁴, ut prius Roma pelli sustinuerit²⁵ quam Ladislao conciliari vellet.

¹ primus S

² *omit.* N

³ et J; autem O, P

⁴ *omit.* N

⁵ circumspectus N, S

⁶ Etruria P, AC

⁷ in Nuceria ab eo : ab eo in

Nuceria I

⁸ **detineretur I, L, N, O, P, S, AC;**

deteneretur V

⁹ *omit.* C

¹⁰ *omit.* J

¹¹ restitui AC

¹² a gentis O

¹³ derivatus O

¹⁴ parte Romana : partes

Romanus P, AC

¹⁵ pontifex N, S

¹⁶ qui M

¹⁷ magno L, AC

¹⁸ sismate M

¹⁹ *omit.* R, P, AC

²⁰ VIII. S

²¹ XImus S

²² *omit.* O

²³ parti Andegavensi : partem

Andegavensem I, L; partem

Andegavensium N, S; parti

Andegavensium V; partibus

Andegavensium O, P, AC

²⁴ su(b)stinuit I, L, N, S, V; favit

P, AC

²⁵ sustinuit P

[cont. 23] Urban VI was first the friend of Charles of Durazzo but later became his enemy, and he is even said to have deprived Charles of the Kingdom when he was besieged by him in Nocera.¹ Nor was the pope pleased with Charles' underage son, Ladislas:² indeed he tried to deprive Ladislas of the Kingdom³ and favoured the cause of Louis d'Anjou.⁴

[24] His successor, Bonifacius IX,⁵ took the opposite course. He gave back the Kingdom to Ladislas⁶ and sent him a crown - to the great frustration of the supporters and friends of Louis.⁷ On the Roman side, the papacy passed through various hands until it came to Johannes XXIII⁸ who was deposed at the Council of Konstanz⁹ during the schism (after the death of Boniface IX, Innocent VII,¹⁰ Gregory XII,¹¹ and Alexander V¹² had each occupied the Apostolic Chair). Johannes XXIII favoured the Anjou party to the extent that he had to suffer being driven out of Rome before he would be reconciled with Ladislas.¹³

¹ See Léonard, pp. 474-475

² Ladislaus the Magnanimous (1377-1414): King of Naples and titular King of Jerusalem and Sicily, titular Count of Provence and Forcalquier (1386-1414), and titular King of Hungary and Croatia (1390-1414). He was the last male of the senior Angevin line

³ See Léonard, p. 478

⁴ Louis II (1377-1417): King of Naples from 1389 to 1399 and Duke of Anjou from 1384 to 1417. He was a member of the House of Valois-Anjou

⁵ Bonifatius IX [Piero Tomacelli] (ca. 1350-1404): Pope from 1389 to his death. He was the second Roman Pope of the Western Schism. In this period, the anti-

popes Clemens VII and Benedict XIII continued to hold court in Avignon under the protection of the French monarchy.

⁶ See Léonard, p. 478

⁷ Louis II

⁸ Johannes XXIII [Baldassarre Cossa] (ca. 1370-1419): antipope Johannes XXIII (1410-1415) during the Western Schism. Successor as antipope to Alexander V of the Pisan obedience

⁹ 1414-1418. The Council of Konstanz ended the Western Schism by accepting the resignation of or deposing three rival popes and electing a new one, Martinus V

¹⁰ Innocentius VII [Cosimo de' Migliorati] (1339-1406): Pope from 1404 to his death. He was

pope during the period of the Western Schism (1378-1417)

¹¹ Gregorius XII [Angelo Correr/Corrario/Correr] (c. 1326-1417): Pope from 1406 to 1415 when the Council of Constance forced him to resign to end the Western Schism

¹² Peter of Candia [Peter Philarges] (ca. 1339-1410): antipope during the Western Schism under the name of Alexander V

¹³ Johannes XXIII first supported Louis II, then Ladislas. Afterwards a new conflict between the two arose, but a reconciliation was in preparation when Ladislas died on 6 August 1444, see Léonard, pp. 480-481

[25] Quid¹ Martinus V.? Quanta hic pontifex² incommoda³ passus est, ut generi Andegavensi⁴ regnum⁵ servaret⁶? Adoptaverat Johanna secunda⁷ Ludovicum Andegavensem⁸ sibi filium; id ratum Martinus habuit. Cum mutasset Johanna⁹ propositum et Alfonsum ex¹⁰ Aragonia vocavisset, non mutavit Martinus¹¹ aut¹² animum aut¹³ sententiam, sed amicus Ludovico, Alfonso semper infestus fuit. {124v} Invaserat Braccius Perusinus Aquilam, haud¹⁴ contemnendam Brutiorum¹⁵ urbem, eamque¹⁶ cinctam¹⁷ obsidione premebat; neque dubium videbatur, quin ea potitus universum ad se regnum traheret, tanta ejus inter belli duces auctoritas erat. Martinus collecto milite et magnis copiis¹⁸ magno aere¹⁹ paratis, inter quarum ductores²⁰ Franciscus, Sfortiae filius²¹, qui nunc²² Mediolanensibus dominatur, tum²³ admodum adolescens, egregiam navavit operam. [cont.]

¹ quod A, C, M; quis O

² *omit.* O, P, AC

³ hic pontifex incommoda :

incommoda hic pontifex V

⁴ Andegavensis B, C

⁵ *omit.* O, P, AC

⁶ serviret P, AC

⁷ *omit.* N; illa P, AC

⁸ servaret adoptaverat ...

Andegavensem *omit.* O

⁹ mutasset Johanna : Johanna

mutasset J

¹⁰ in S

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² autem M

¹³ *omit.* M

¹⁴ aut M

¹⁵ **Ap/brutiorum I, L;**

Prutiorum V; Abruciarum O;

Aprutiorum N, P, AC;

Apriciorum S

¹⁶ sam S

¹⁷ auctam M

¹⁸ magnis copiis : magno copio

O

¹⁹ genere N; generi S

²⁰ **auctores I, L, M, N, O, P, S, V**

²¹ Sfortiae filius : Sfortia O, P,

AC

²² *omit.* N

²³ tunc I, L, N, S, V; tamen O

[25] What about Martin V?¹ How great troubles did he not suffer to keep the Kingdom for the House of Anjou?² Giovanna II³ had adopted Louis [III] d'Anjou⁴ as her son, and Martin had confirmed the adoption.⁵ But when Giovanna changed her mind and instead called Alfonso of Aragon⁶ [to the Kingdom], Martin did not change his mind or his decision,⁷ but always remained the friend of Louis and the enemy of Alfonso.⁸ Braccio da Perugia⁹ had attacked and besieged Aquila, an important city in the Abruzzi.¹⁰ If he conquered it, he would undoubtedly take over the whole Kingdom, so great was his authority among the captains of war. But Martin collected an army and, spending large funds, he mobilized great forces. Among the captains of his army was Francesco,¹¹ the son Sforza,¹² who now rules Milan. Though Francesco was very young, he did splendidly. [cont.]

¹ Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. His election at the Council of Konstanz effectively ended the Western Schism (1378-1417)

² Martin V recognized Giovanna II as Queen of Naples in 1419, but only after obtaining considerable favours and lands for his own family, the Colonnas, in the Kingdom. Afterwards he he plotted, with Muzio Attendolo Sforza, to remove Giovanna from power, and in December 1420, the pope declared the French Louis III and his descendants as heirs of Giovanna, if she died without heirs of her body - as was then expected, see Léonard, p. 485

³ Giovanna II (1373-1435): Queen of Naples from 1414 to her death

⁴ Louis III (1403-1434): titular King of Naples 1417-26, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, Piedmont, and Maine, Duke of Anjou 1417-34, and Duke of Calabria 1426-34. He was the eldest son and heir of Louis II of Anjou

⁵ Opposing the French succession, Giovanna invited King Alfonso of Aragon to come to the Kingdom and become her heir, which he did in 1421. The pope was quite irritated at this development, but did accept Giovanna's adoption of Alfonso. Later, the agreement between Giovanna and Alfonso broke down. The queen annulled the adoption of Alfonso and reinstated Louis III as heir (1 June 1423). After a stay in Spain, Alfonso returned to the Kingdom in 1424 and was reinstated as Giovanna's heir in 1431. But as soon as the immediate danger passed, Giovanna once again annulled the adoption of Alfonso and reinstated Louis III as heir (June 1433). Then Louis died on 15 November 1434, and Giovanna in her turn died on 2 February, leaving René d'Anjou, brother of Louis III, as heir to her Kingdom (Léonard, pp. 485-487)

⁶ Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and

Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

⁷ Gregorovius, III, 1, p. 7: *Dies brachte den Papst auf; denn wie durfte er den Thron Neapels von einem Monarchem einnehmen lassen, welcher bereits Aragon, Sizilien und Sardinien besass?*

⁸ Pastor, I, p. 209: *Alfonso V von Aragonien verfolgte Martin V. mit bitterem Hasse, weil der Papst seine Ansprüche auf das Königreich Neapel nicht unterstützte, vielmehr seinen Gegner Ludwig von Anjou anerkannte*

⁹ Fortebraccio, Andrea (AKA Braccio da Montone) (1368-1424): Italian nobleman and condottiero

¹⁰ 1424

¹¹ Sforza, Francesco, I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, the founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

¹² Muzio Attendolo Sforza (1369-1424): Italian condottiero

[25 cont.] Victus est in proelio Braccius captusque, paulo post ex vulnere mortuus, obsessa¹ civitas liberata, et regnum Andegavensi² familiae³ Romanae ecclesiae sumptibus reservatum⁴. Cumque Alfonsus modo una, modo altera via⁵ regnum invaderet, et recentibus in dies⁶ classibus⁷ urgeret⁸, Martinum semper⁹ adversum habuit; nec, eo vivo, potiri suo desiderio¹⁰ valuit¹¹, illius ducibus impeditus et ab eo extra sacra¹² et communionem fidelium factus. Et quamvis graves hi¹³ essent¹⁴ Martino¹⁵ sumptus, non tamen destitit¹⁶ quin omnia experiretur¹⁷, per quae¹⁸ regnum Alfonso negatum ad Francos integrum deveniret. Non aliter Samuel regno David quam Martinus Andegavensi dominio¹⁹ favit.

[26] Successit Martino Eugenius IV. et idem iter²⁰ ²¹ secutus²² summa vi²³ regnum Alfonso²⁴ prohibuit. Missus est adversus eum Johannes cardinalis Vitellius²⁵ et Johannes cardinalis²⁶ Tarentinus. Saepe collatis signis et²⁷ regis et²⁸ pontificis copiae inter se dimicant. Et quamvis Renatus regno²⁹ excesserit³⁰, visusque³¹ fuerit victori³² Alfonso cedere, Eugenius tamen illi non cessit, sed omnem belli molem³³ in se suscepit. Incredibile fuerit, si auri pondus retulerimus, quod Romana ecclesia pro servando³⁴ Francis regno profudit³⁵. Nam solus Eugenius longe supra quingenta³⁶ millia auri nummum ipse³⁷ in³⁸ expeditionibus absumpsit³⁹. Tacemus rapinas, incendia, caedes, et innumerabilia⁴⁰ damna, quae subditi ecclesiae pertulerunt⁴¹, et Anconitanae Marchiae perditionem⁴², et⁴³ multarum urbium rebellionem, quae omnia passus est potius quam regi⁴⁴ Alfonso blandiretur, Renato⁴⁵ adversaretur, quem numquam reliquit⁴⁶.

¹ obses et O, P, AC

² Andegavensis C

³ reservatum *add.* I

⁴ *omit.* I

⁵ modo altera via : via modo altera N

⁶ in dies : dietim I, J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

⁷ *omit.* B

⁸ urgeret : vigeret AC

⁹ Martinum semper : semper Martinum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

¹⁰ potiri suo desiderio : suo desiderio potiri S

¹¹ ab *add.* AC

¹² sacram N; sacramenta O, P, AC

¹³ *omit.* O, S

¹⁴ hi essent : inessent N; ei *add.* O

¹⁵ Martini N, P, AC

¹⁶ desistit P

¹⁷ experietur M

¹⁸ quem L

¹⁹ familiae I; domino N, S, O, P, AC

²⁰ *omit.* O, P, AC

²¹ idem iter : iter idem N

²² prosequutus O, P, AC

²³ in M

²⁴ Regnum Alfonso : Alfonso regnum V

²⁵ Vitellinus I; Vitellus P, AC

²⁶ Vitellius ... cardinalis *omit.* R

²⁷ *omit.* L

²⁸ *omit.* M

²⁹ *omit.* A, B, C, J, M, R; regno *add. in marg.* D

³⁰ concesserit L; egresserit O

³¹ iussusque M

³² victoria N, S, V

³³ modum S

³⁴ pro servando : preservando M

³⁵ profugit C, O

³⁶ quinquaginta M, S, O, P, AC

³⁷ *omit.* O, P, AC

³⁸ *omit.* J

³⁹ assumpsit O, S

⁴⁰ invariabilia N

⁴¹ protulerunt O

⁴² proditionem O, P, AC

⁴³ ut AC

⁴⁴ *omit.* O, S

⁴⁵ Renatoque I; Renatoque *corr.* ex Renato L

⁴⁶ relinquit P

[25 cont.] Braccio was defeated and taken prisoner, and shortly afterwards, he died of a wound.¹ The besieged city² was liberated, and the Kingdom was saved for the family of Anjou - the Roman Church covering the costs. When Alfonso invaded the Kingdom now here, now there, all the time pressing his enemy with fresh fleets, he always had Martin as his adversary. As long as Martin was alive, he could not achieve his goal: the pope's captains kept him at bay, and he was deprived of the sacraments and the communion of believers.³ And though the costs were quite a burden on Martin, he did everything he could to keep the whole Kingdom from Alfonso and in the hands of the French. Martin favoured the lordship of Anjou like Samuel⁴ favoured the kingship of David.⁵

[26] Eugenius IV⁶ succeeded Martin⁷ and, following the same course, he strove - with all his might - to withhold the Kingdom from Alfonso.⁸ He sent against him Giovanni Cardinal Vitelleschi⁹ and Giovanni¹⁰ Cardinal of Taranto. Often the king's and the pope's troops fought in pitched battles. And though René¹¹ withdrew from the Kingdom and gave in to Alfonso as the victor, Eugenius himself did not give up but took on the whole burden of the war. If we told how much gold the Roman Church spent to keep the Kingdom for the French, you would scarcely believe it: Eugenius alone used far more than 500.000 ducats on military campaigns. We pass over the robberies, the burnings, the killings and the countless evils suffered by the subjects of the Church, as well as the loss of the March of Ancona, and the rebellion of many cities: all these Eugenius accepted rather than to give in to Alfonso and oppose René whom he never deserted.

¹ 1424

² Aquila

³ I.e. he was excommunicated

⁴ Old Testament prophet

⁵ King David of Israel

⁶ Earlier, Pius had written in detail about the war between René d'Anjou and Alfonso d'Aragon during the pontificate of Eugenius in his *De Europa*, ch. 261-271, see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), pp. 265-271

⁷ In 1431

⁸ Having become pope in 1431, Eugenius IV declared that as su-

zerain of the Kingdom of Naples he did not accept the queen's testament but would himself decide on who should succeed her. He actually favoured the French and King René, see Léonard, pp. 487-489, but only invested René formally with the Kingdom after he effectively lost the Kingdom to Alfonso in 1442, see sect. 32

⁹ Giovanni Maria Vitelleschi (d. 1440): Titular Patriarch of Alexandria, appointed cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1431

¹⁰ Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto 1421, appointed cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1439

¹¹ 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)

[27] Sed neque rex ipse Carolus, qui tempestate nostra Franciae¹ praesidet², ab apostolica sede³ relictus est. Bis enim memoria nostra Nicolaus⁴, cardinalis⁵ sanctae crucis, in Galliam missus est⁶, ut⁷ quieti ejus regni consuleret, primo ex⁸ Martini decreto, secundo Eugenii. Norunt⁹ omnes, cujus doctrinae, cujus sanctimoniae, cujus auctoritatis hic¹⁰ vir fuerit, ex cujus familia duo Romani praesules assumpti¹¹ sunt, Nicolaus V. et Pius II. Ambo enim illius¹² discipuli et contubernales fuimus, ambo ex illius¹³ schola ad summum apostolatam¹⁴ inscrutabili Dei judicio vocati fuimus¹⁵ ¹⁶. Ambo¹⁷ in minoribus agentes in Atrebatensi¹⁸ magno conventu ei servivimus; sed {125r} Nicolaus major natu et meritis majori loco apud eum fuit¹⁹. In eo conventu legatus apostolicus, quamvis capitales inimicitiae inter Carolum regem Franciae et Philippum ducem Burgundiae²⁰ vigerent, odia hinc²¹ atque²² inde paene impacabilia²³ starent²⁴, alteri tamen alterum²⁵ conciliavit, et pacem illam Atrebatensem confecit, ex qua regnum Carolo firmatum est et²⁶ solidatum²⁷, et afflictae lacerataeque Franciae²⁸ quies data.

¹ Franci O

² praesidebat N

³ *omit.* O

⁴ *omit.* AC

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ in Galliam missus est : missus est in Galliam I

⁷ et O

⁸ et M

⁹ gnorunt P; noverunt S

¹⁰ auctoritatis hic : hic auctoritatis O, P, AC

¹¹ absumpti I

¹² eius M; ipsius L, N, S, V

¹³ ipsius R, S

¹⁴ summum apostolatam : apostolatam summum P, AC

¹⁵ sumus O, P, AC

¹⁶ ambo ex illius schola ... fuimus *omit.* B

¹⁷ *omit.* P, AC

¹⁸ enim *add.* P, AC

¹⁹ fuit *add.* O, P, AC

²⁰ **Ducem Burgundiae : Burgundiae ducem I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

²¹ huic M

²² ac P; et O, AC

²³ impacabilia N; incompatibilia S; implacabilia J, AC

²⁴ exstarent AC; extarent P, I, L, N, S

²⁵ alteri tamen alterum : alterum cum altero S

²⁶ *omit.* J

²⁷ **est et solidatum : et solidatum est I, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

²⁸ fumces M

2.2.2.2.4. *Peace of Arras*

[27] Nor was King Charles¹ himself, who now rules France, ever abandoned by the Apostolic See. Twice in our memory, Cardinal Niccolò² of Santa Croce was sent to France to provide for the tranquillity of that Kingdom. The first time was at the decision of Martin,³ the second time at the decision of Eugenius.⁴ All know the learning, holiness and authority of this man from whose household two men have risen to become popes, Nicolaus V and Pius II. We were both his disciples and companions, and we were both called to the Supreme Apostolate from his school, through God's inscrutable judgement. As young men in lesser circumstances,⁵ we both served him at the great Congress of Arras,⁶ but as Nicolaus was older and had greater merit, he occupied a higher position in his household. Though there was mortal enmity between King Charles of France and Duke Philippe of Burgundy,⁷ and their mutual hate was almost inextinguishable, the cardinal as the apostolic legate to the congress managed to reconcile the two and establish the Peace of Arras. That peace bolstered and strengthened Charles' kingship and gave peace to the afflicted and war-torn France.⁸

¹ Charles VII

² Albergati, Niccolò (1373-1443): created cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426. One-time employer, mentor and friend of Piccolomini

³ In 1422, Pope Martin V sent Albergati on an unsuccessful peace mission to France (Dickinson, pp. 79, 81, 82). See also Du Fresne de Beaucourt, I, p. 331

⁴ Pope Eugenius IV

⁵ "In minoribus agentes": Nicolaus V was ordained a priest in 1423, and was certainly not in

minor orders in 1435, when the Congress of Arras was held, and Piccolomini had not yet taken orders. Thus, the expression "in minoribus (agentes)" does not refer to the clerical minor orders" as some have translated it

⁶ 1435. On Parentucelli and Piccolomini's service to Albergati at the conference (Dickinson, p. 85-86)

⁷ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

⁸ Dickinson, p. viii: *The peace conference at Arras ... did more. The long-drawn-out and heated discussions on an Anglo-French peace, ending in the withdrawal of the English, left the French to conclude a separate alliance with Burgundy. This event was a disaster for the Lancastrian rule in France ... In the French plans for reconquest the treaty of Arras was of the foremost importance*

[28] Saepe in hunc modum Romana sedes consolata est Francos, neque umquam regnum¹ in calamitatem aliquam² prolapsam³ est, quin vigili cura nostri⁴ antecessores ejus saluti studuerint. Longum esset singula⁵ commemorare, quae Franci ex nostra sede⁶ beneficia receperunt⁷. Illud exploratum manifestumque⁸ est⁹, nulli umquam genti praecessores¹⁰ nostros majores honores¹¹, majores favores¹² praestitisse quam Francis. Quibus ex rebus non est, cur prima¹³ sedes ingratitude accusetur¹⁴.

[29] Sed dicitis tacite non bona esse opera¹⁵, quae lapidantur¹⁶, sed mala¹⁷; atque idcirco displicatis regum¹⁸ Franciae laudibus ac¹⁹ meritis, ad ea transivistis²⁰, quae contra liliatos sive per nos, sive per nostros antecessores facta esse dicuntur. Tertium hoc vestrae orationis membrum, cui²¹ nunc satisfaciendum est²². Gravior²³ hic locus ceteris est, in quo palam animadvertimus²⁴ regem vestrum²⁵ de rebus gestis non bene instructum esse, nec vobis ipsis²⁶ omnia cognita sunt. Multa enim quasi²⁷ vera dixistis, quae sunt a vero remota. Non impingimus modestiae vestrae mendacium, nec²⁸ vos quovis modo²⁹ accusamus; ex alieno relatu locuti estis. Verba³⁰ ipsa vestra^{31 32} cum grano salis³³ - ut ajunt - pronuntiata sunt; audita et vobis commissa³⁴ exposuistis. Illos poena dignos censemus, qui vel regi, vel vobis ficta pro veris³⁵ suggesserunt³⁶. Mala illis mens³⁷, malus animus. Ut nocerent nobis, *os in caelum posuerunt*³⁸, fulmina³⁹ et flammam⁴⁰ ore conceptas tenere non potuerunt: *Alienati sunt peccatores a vulva, erraverunt ab utero, locuti sunt falsa. Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi, et sagittae parvulorum factae sunt plagae eorum. [cont.]*

¹ umquam regnum : regnum

umquam O, P, AC

² omit. P, AC

³ lapsam P, AC

⁴ iam O

⁵ omnia P, AC

⁶ **nostra sede : sede nostra I, J,**

L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC

⁷ beneficia receperunt:

acceperunt beneficia P;

receperunt beneficia AC

⁸ manifestum B;

manifestissimumque P, AC

⁹ omit. Q

¹⁰ praedecessores B, D // I, N, S,

O, P, AC

¹¹ favores corr. ex honores M

¹² majores favores omit. M;

favoresque P, AC

¹³ apostolica J

¹⁴ acensetur M

¹⁵ **esse opera : opera esse I, L,**

N, O, P, S, V, AC

¹⁶ lapidentur O, P, AC

¹⁷ sed mala omit. I, L, N, P, S

¹⁸ regnum M, R, N, S

¹⁹ et N, S; atque O, P, AC

²⁰ transmissis N, S

²¹ fuit an N, S

²² omit. O, P, AC

²³ graviter M; nunc add. S

²⁴ animadvertamus O, P

²⁵ nostrum N

²⁶ per add. P

²⁷ tamquam ex quam corr.

Felinus N

²⁸ neque C, // I, L, M, N, O, P, R,

S, V

²⁹ vos ... modo : quovisque

modo vos P; quovis modo vos

AC

³⁰ omit. O

³¹ omit. N

³² verba ipsa vestra : vestra ipsa

verba J

³³ grano salis : grani scilo S

³⁴ iussa P

³⁵ nobis O

³⁶ **suggessere I, L, N, O, P, S, V,**

AC

³⁷ et add. N, S

³⁸ **posuere I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

³⁹ fulgura S

⁴⁰ flamma C

[28] In such ways, the Roman See often came to the assistance of the French, and whenever their kingdom suffered some disaster, Our predecessors intervened vigorously and energetically in its favour. It would indeed take a long time to mention all the cases in which the French benefited from Our See, but it is clear and evident that Our predecessors have granted greater honours and greater favours to the French than to any other people. Therefore, there is no reason why the First See should now be accused of ingratitude.

2.3. Wrongs allegedly done to the French by the Roman See

[29] But you silently object that you do not criticize the good deeds but the bad. For when, in your oration, you had set forth your praises and the merits of the kings of France, you passed on to what you claim that Our predecessors and We ourselves have done against the Lilled [House]. That was the third part of your oration, which must now be answered. This is a more serious issue since We plainly see that your king has not been informed correctly about past events and that they are not all known to yourselves. For you talked about many things as if they were true, but they are, in fact, far from the truth. You did speak with restraint, and We do not criticize you for lying or accuse you in any way whatsoever since you have been speaking on hearsay. Indeed, your words were spoken with a grain of salt, as they say: you have simply related what you had heard and what you were charged to say. In our judgment, it is those men who have told your king and you yourselves lies instead of truths who merit punishment. Evil is their mind, and evil is their soul. They wanted to harm Us, and therefore *they have set their mouth against heaven*;¹ but they could not maintain the lightning and the flames formed in their mouth; *the wicked are alienated from the womb; they have gone astray from the womb: they have spoken false things*;² but *iniquity hath lied to itself*;³ and *the arrows of children are their wounds*.⁴ [cont.]

¹ Psalms, 72, 9

² Psalms, 57, 4

³ Psalms, 26, 12

⁴ Psalms, 63,8

[cont. 29] Magna¹ vis veritatis², quae contra omnes hominum insidias, omnes artes per se ipsam facile emergit³. Recte Pythagoras *post Deum veritatem*⁴ *colendam affirmavit, quae sola homines Deo proximos facit. Nihil*⁵ *veritate fortius*, ut in Esdra legitur. Et in evangelio salvator noster sese⁶ veritatem appellat. Consentiamus igitur⁷ veritati, eique⁸ caput inclinemus, neque recedamus ab ea. Audiamus quid objiciatur.

[30] Accusatur Eugenius, praedecessor noster⁹, quod¹⁰ Alfonso Hispano et¹¹ Renati hosti¹² regnum Siciliae commisit¹³, Francorum sanguinem sprexit. Haec¹⁴ injuria, haec contumelia regi Franciae facta¹⁵ contenditur¹⁶, vilipensa, et contempta¹⁷ est nobilissima domus, tota eminentior Europa, toto generosior orbe, de Romana {125v} ecclesia optime¹⁸ merita. Indignum facinus: Aragonenses¹⁹ praelati sunt Francis²⁰. Quid hic²¹ respondebimus? Non desunt arma, quibus adversantium tela repellantur. Non negamus regnum Siciliae Aragonensi commissum esse; sed hortamur Francos²², ut facta sua meminerint et de se ipsis rationem reddant, et judicantes alios, ut jubet Pythagoras, *stateram ne*²³ *transilient*²⁴. Nemo sibi ipsi ignoscat²⁵; saepe Deum²⁶ odisse deprehenditur, qui sese²⁷ nimium diligit, et grandior in se ipsum²⁸ pietas, in Deum impietas est. Acrem²⁹ se sui³⁰ judicem³¹ ³²exhibeat³³ necesse est, qui alios censet³⁴. Intelligamus igitur dilucide presseque cum³⁵ Renati tum Eugenii opera, eaque hoc loco referamus. Exinde mundus judicet, immo vero³⁶ Deus, apud quem *non est acceptio personarum*, quis alter alteri fuerit injurius.

¹ est *add.* J

² est *add.* I

³ vergit O, P

⁴ esse *add.* O, P, AC

⁵ nil I

⁶ sepe M; se AC

⁷ *omit.* O

⁸ ei cui O

⁹ praedecessor noster *omit.* N

¹⁰ quid J; qui L, AC

¹¹ *omit.* J

¹² *omit.* J

¹³ et *add.* AC

¹⁴ nec N, S

¹⁵ esse *add.* M; *omit.* O

¹⁶ conceditur O

¹⁷ contemnata M

¹⁸ bene I

¹⁹ Feragonenses V

²⁰ et *add.* O, P, AC

²¹ *omit.* I

²² *omit.* O

²³ non C, I

²⁴ transileant M

²⁵ dignoscat O, P

²⁶ saepe Deum : deum sepe O

²⁷ se P, AC

²⁸ **ipso I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

²⁹ ante N; arcem S

³⁰ **se sui : sui se I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

³¹ iudicio O, P

³² se sui judicem : sui judicem se J

³³ exhibebat B; exhibere O, P, AC

³⁴ cesset O, P; laccessit AC

³⁵ tum J, M, O, P, AC

³⁶ *omit.* O

[cont. 29] Great is the power of truth, which emerges, easily and by itself, against all the plots and all the machinations of men. Rightly Pythagoras said that *after God, we must serve truth, which alone makes men close to God. Nothing is stronger than truth*, as it is said in the [Book of] Esdras.¹ And in the Gospel, Our Saviour calls himself The Truth.² So let us follow truth, let us bow to it, and let us never stray from it. Now, let us consider your complaints.

2.3.1. Eugenius IV

[30] Our predecessor, Eugenius, is accused of having bestowed the Kingdom of Sicily on Alfonso, who is from Spain and an enemy of René, and of having rejected the blood of France. This is claimed to be an injury and an insult to the King of France whose noble House is the most eminent in Europe, the most highborn in the world, well-merited of the Roman Church. Oh, what shameful deed: the Aragonese have been preferred to the French! What shall We say to this? We do, after all, have weapons with which to repel the arms of our opponents. We do not deny that the Kingdom of Sicily had been bestowed upon the Aragonese. But We do invite the French to remember their own actions and to give an account of themselves, and - as Pythagoras bids - to not *step not beyond the beam of balance*³ when they judge others. Nobody should be too lenient towards oneself. Often the man who loves himself too much may be blamed for hating God, and too great piety towards oneself is an impiety towards God. Anyone who judges others must be a severe judge of himself. So, We shall examine, lucidly and closely, the actions of both René and Eugenius and relate them here. Afterwards the world, nay even God, with whom *there is no respect*⁴ of persons,⁵ may judge who has molested whom.

¹ Quotation not identified

² John, 14, 6

³ Burley, 17 (Pythagoras), p. 74: *Stateram ne transilias, id est: ne pertransgrediaris iusticiam*. Cf: *Me zygon*, in the sense: *Do no*

injustice. Symbol nr 14. Symbols of Pythagoras (recorded by Iamblichus of Chalcis), 1905, p. 65. Quoted from Guarnerio Veronese's translation from Greek into Latin of Plutarch's *De Liberis edu-*

candis, p. 7: *Jugum stateramque non transcendere*.

⁴ i.e. discrimination between

⁵ E.g. Romans, 2, 11

[31] Adversatus est diu Alfonso - ut dictum est - Eugenius, et potius extrema omnia¹ passus, quam illi regnum committeret²: *Justum et tenacem propositi³ virum⁴ / Non civium ardor prava⁵ jubentium⁶, / Non vultus⁷ instantis tyranni⁸ / Mente movit⁹ solida*. Et quamvis rex¹⁰ vester¹¹ alieno auscultans¹² consilio novam quandam¹³ legem et inauditam et incognitam prius, quam vocatis pragmaticam, servari¹⁴ ac¹⁵ Romanam ecclesiam in juribus¹⁶ suis antiquis¹⁷ et diutius observatis¹⁸ turbari permisisset¹⁹, non tamen²⁰ perduci²¹ potuit, ut regnum Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae peculiare²², Francis adimeret, sed obsessum in²³ Neapoli Renatum, quibus potuit auxiliis, consolatus est²⁴, frumentique magnam vim ei²⁵ ²⁶ misit, quo clausum populum et fame pereuntem in fide conservaret²⁷.

¹ extrema omnia : omnia

extrema I

² committere L

³ *omit.* N, S

⁴ impium et N, S

⁵ parva A, B, C, S

⁶ jubentum M, V

⁷ vis I

⁸ et *add.* N, S

⁹ quatit *scripsit* Horatius

¹⁰ res R

¹¹ noster M

¹² auscultans consilio : consilio auscultans J

¹³ quidem S

¹⁴ quam vocatis pragmaticam

servari : pragmaticam servari

quam vocat O; quam

pragmaticam servari vocat P;

quam pragmaticam vocat

servari AC

¹⁵ atque O, P, AC

¹⁶ omnibus I

¹⁷ juribus *add.* I

¹⁸ non *add.* I, L

¹⁹ permisisset L

²⁰ tantum O

²¹ produci O, S

²² peculium *corr.ex* petulantia

N; petulantes S

²³ *omit.* I, L

²⁴ *omit.* J

²⁵ eo I, L

²⁶ magnam ... ei : copiam

maximam atque vini magna ei vi

P; copiam maximam atque vini

magnam ei vim AC

²⁷ **contineret I, L, N, O, P, S, V,**

AC

[31] As We have already said, Eugenius opposed Alfonso for a long time and would rather suffer anything than bestow the Kingdom upon him: *The man of integrity who holds fast to his purpose / is not shaken from his firm resolve by hot-headed citizens / urging him to do wrong, / or by the frown of an oppressive despot.*¹ Heeding the advice of others, your king allowed a new law, unheard of and unknown in former times, called the Pragmatic [Sanction] to be passed and the Roman Church to be deprived of ancient rights that had been in force for ages. Still, Eugenius could not be induced to deprive the French of the Kingdom of Sicily, which is the special property of the Church. Indeed, when René was under siege in Naples, the pope assisted him with such troops as he could muster and sent large supplies of grain to keep the besieged and starving people loyal.

¹ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.3.1

[32] Cumque paulo post Alfonsi armis¹ cedens Renatus ad Eugenium Florentiae agentem venisset, ab eo benigne susceptus, investituram, ut ajunt, regni tum primum consecutus est². Ibi multa Eugenio promissa³ a Renato rege⁴, quae minime observata sunt, ex quibus quinque⁵ hac in⁶ parte reserare⁷ libet⁸, quae suis in⁹ 10 litteris continentur aurea bulla munitis, quae apud nos custoditur. Primum¹¹ enim¹² auri quinque milia nummum brevi¹³ se numeraturum promisit, quae postea numquam¹⁴ dissoluta¹⁵ sunt. Promisit¹⁶ 17 et, cum¹⁸ pinguioris fortunae fieret¹⁹, alia²⁰ unum²¹ et²² triginta milia; neque²³ haec²⁴ numerata fuerunt. Promisit ecclesiam Arelatensem²⁵ procuratori Eugenii tradere; non est tradita. Promisit cardinali Andegavensi ecclesiae suae possessionem concedere; non est concessa²⁶. Promisit se curaturum²⁷ summo studio, ut pragmatica sanctio deleretur; non est deleta. Non accusamus²⁸ Renatum fractae fidei aut promissi non servati. Fortasse²⁹ et³⁰ sibi excusatio est, cur haec non fecerit, et aliqua sunt, quae non erant³¹ in sua³² 33 potestate. Ipse tamen Eugenio numquam³⁴ satis excusatus est.

¹ **Alfonsi armis : armis Alfonsi I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

² *omit.* I

³ *permissa* V

⁴ *omit.* S

⁵ *quandoque* I; *omit.* J;

cumque S

⁶ *hac in* : *in hac* M, N, O, P, AC

⁷ *referre* O, P, AC

⁸ *licebit* P

⁹ *omit.* I

¹⁰ *suis in* : *in suis* M

¹¹ *primo* AC

¹² *omit.* O

¹³ *premi* I, L

¹⁴ *postea numquam* : *numquam*

postea P, AC

¹⁵ *soluta* S

¹⁶ *quin add.* M; *omit.* O, P, AC

¹⁷ *quae postea ... promisit* *omit.*

N

¹⁸ *et cum* : *cum et* M

¹⁹ *fuerit* P, AC

²⁰ *omit.* N, S, V

²¹ *nummum* S

²² *ei* S

²³ *vero add.* M

²⁴ *omit.* S

²⁵ *Atrebatensem* J;

Arelatensem O

²⁶ *promisit cardinali ... concessa*

omit. AC

²⁷ ***se curaturum : curaturum se***

L, N, S, V, P, AC

²⁸ *accusabimus* S

²⁹ *fortassiss* P, AC

³⁰ *etiam* AC

³¹ *fuerant* S

³² *eius* M

³³ L: *Here begins a lacuna which ends in sect. 34*

³⁴ *non* R

[32] When, shortly afterwards, René yielded to the arms of Alfonso and came to Eugenius, then residing in Florence,¹ he was kindly received by the pope and invested with the Kingdom² - which he had not been before.³ King René gave many promises to Eugenius, but he did not keep them. Of these promises, five should be mentioned here. They are contained in a letter with a golden bull in Our keeping. Firstly, René promised shortly to pay 5.000 ducats. They were never paid. [Secondly,] he promised that when his conditions improved, he would pay another sum of 31.000 ducats; that sum, too, was never paid. [Thirdly], he promised to hand over the Church of Arles to Eugenius's procurator. He did not hand it over. [Fourthly,] he promised the Cardinal of Anjou⁴ to grant him possession of his Church.⁵ He did not grant it. [Fifthly,] he promised to do everything in his power to assure the annulment of the Pragmatic Sanction. It has not been annulled. We do not accuse René of not keeping faith or of breaking his promises. There may have been a reasonable excuse for not keeping some of them, and others he may simply not have been able to. But he never made a proper excuse to Eugenius.

¹ Priorista, p. 307: *A dì 15 di luglio 1442 ... entrò in Firenze il re Rini-eri con grande honore, et fue allogiato nella chasa di Lorenzo del Larione de' Bardi et il Comune gli fece le spese, e lla Parte Guelpha gli dava ongni in di f. 25, et durò insino a dì 22 di settembre ch'egli se n'andò per la via di Pisa*

² Villeneuve, I, p. 334: *Le pontife recut René avec la plus haute distinction et lui donna même solennellement l'investiture du royaume auquel il renonçait. Mais ce fut en vain qu'Eugène voulut persuader au monarque fugitif de ne point abandonner l'Italie ...* Gregorovius, III, 5, p. 39: *Eugen verhöhnte nur das Unglück des Flüchtlings, indem er ihm das*

Investiturdiplo-m für ein verlor-nes Königreich ausstellte. (!!)

³ Ryder, p. 247: *Early in July René bade farewell to his phantom kingdom, leaving Castelnuovo to a Genoese creditor as a Genoese ship bore him off towards Florence. ... In Florence he was received with great honour - Eugenius even handed over the bull of investiture for Naples without further payment or ado - but René realized as the weeks passed that he could expect no more than gestures of that kind. In October he made his way back to Provence.* Pius had written about René's visit to Eugenius in Florence in his *De Europa* of 1458, see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271: *Renatus ad Eugenium Florentiae morantem sese contulit.* René's visit to Flo-

rence was a diplomatic embarrassment to the Florentine government who, on July 14, sent a letter to Alfonso in Naples downplaying René's presence in the city (Maxson, p. 110)

⁴ Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville. Pope Eugenius IV appointed him cardinal in 1439 and, 30 March in the same year, bishop of Angers, the main city of Anjou (Andegavium), after which he was called of Cardinalis Andegavensis. Never having gained possession of the Diocese of Angers, he was appointed Archbishop of Rouen in 1453 after which he was called Cardinalis Rhotomagensis (Du Fresne de Beaucourt, p. 191; and Nowak, p. 100, n. 14)

⁵ Angers

[33] Cum ergo¹ hinc rex Franciae Romanam ecclesiam adversus consuetudinem progenitorum² impediri³ {126r} sineret⁴, et Renatus neque auxilia mitteret⁵, neque promissa servata apparerent, illinc rex Alfonsus patrimonium beati Petri magnis exercitibus urgeret⁶, premeret, laniaret, et Franciscus Sfortia Vicecomes, nunc Mediolanensium⁷ dominus, agrum Picenum invasisset, et Basilienses⁸ sub nomine generalis concilii novas⁹ excitarent¹⁰ turbas, cepit¹¹ consilium Eugenius, quod cardinales et viri prudentes¹² sumendum pro tempore suaserunt. Non¹³ disputamus¹⁴ nunc¹⁵ de jure inter partes; hoc¹⁶ est agendum¹⁷ et¹⁸ in iudicio. Pacem Eugenius ab¹⁹ Alfonso non utilem tantum, verum etiam necessariam accepit, eique²⁰ non solum regnum²¹ permisit²², sed ultro²³ etiam²⁴ nonnulla de patrimonio ecclesiae oppida tradidit, inter quae Terracina²⁵ fuit, quae olim Anxur²⁶ appellata est. Sic²⁷ consuetudo belli est: pax pro²⁸ victoris²⁹ libidine semper emitur³⁰. His de³¹ causis Eugenius Siculi regni titulum Alfonso largitus est, cum jam Renatus nec unam³² domum nec unam³³ terrae³⁴ glebam in regno possideret, et tamquam spem omnem³⁵ vendicandi³⁶ posthac³⁷ regni prorsus amisisset, arcem novam, quae Neapoli adjacet, hosti vendidisset³⁸ et nonnullis³⁹ fidelitatis iuramenta remisisset⁴⁰. Nec Alfonsus ingratus Eugenio fuit, qui Picentes⁴¹ in oboedientiam⁴² ecclesiae suis armis reduxit⁴³.

¹ igitur I

² suorum *add.* M; progenitoris

O

³ impedire O

⁴ sinet C

⁵ admit/cteret O, P, AC

⁶ intraret AC

⁷ **Mediolanensis I, M, N, R, S, V,**

O, P, AC

⁸ Basiliensis O, P, AC

⁹ *omit.* AC

¹⁰ excitaret P, AC

¹¹ coepit N

¹² prudentissimi B

¹³ nunc N

¹⁴ disputavimus O

¹⁵ non ... nunc : nunc hic
disputamus S; nunc non

disputemus P; nunc non

disputamus AC

¹⁶ hic *corr.* ex hoc N; hic S

¹⁷ est agendum : agendum est J

¹⁸ *omit.* P, AC

¹⁹ absque J

²⁰ eiusque M

²¹ *omit.* O

²² promisit J, M, S, O, P, AC

²³ ei J

²⁴ *omit.* P, AC

²⁵ Terracena M; T(h)arentina

P, AC

²⁶ Ausur N; Ansur I, O, R, S;

Anser P, AC

²⁷ si I, O, P

²⁸ que N, S

²⁹ victoriae N

³⁰ *omit.* M [blank space]

³¹ his de : istis O, P, AC

³² minimam N

³³ nostram N

³⁴ fre- M

³⁵ *omit.* J

³⁶ vindicandi AC

³⁷ *omit.* I; post hec O, V; post

ac S

³⁸ propter quod videbatur juri

suo cessisse *add. in marg.* D

³⁹ nonnulla J

⁴⁰ hosti ... remisisset *omit.* B

⁴¹ Picas R; Picanos P, AC

⁴² oboedientia P

⁴³ redigeret S

[33] On one side, the King of France, against the custom of his ancestors, allowed the Roman Church to be harassed, and René did not send help nor keep his promises. On the other side, King Alfonso put the lands of Saint Peter under pressure and molested and abused them with great armies. Moreover, Francesco Sforza Visconti, now Lord of Milan, had invaded the territory of Piceno, and the Basilians had, under the name of a General Council,¹ stirred up new troubles. Under those circumstances, Eugenius accepted the advice proffered by cardinals as well as insightful men. We do not here discuss the rights of the [two] parties; that must be decided in a proper suit of law. At any rate, Eugenius accepted a peace with Alfonso that was not only useful but even necessary: he allowed Alfonso the Kingdom, and moreover he handed over to him some cities from the Lands of the Church, among them Terracina, once called Anxur.² This is the custom of war: peace is bought on the victor's terms. For these reasons that Eugenius granted Alfonso the title to the Kingdom of Sicily,³ in a situation where René did not possess a single house or a single piece of land in the Kingdom. As if he had given up all hope of reclaiming it later, he had even sold Castel' Nuovo near Naples to his enemy⁴ and freed many from their oaths of fidelity. Alfonso was not ungrateful to Eugenius: by arms, he forced the Picenes to renew their obedience towards the Church.

¹ The Council of Basel, not recognized by the Pope after 1438

² The Peace of Terracina, 1443. See Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271. Pastor, I, p. 248-249: *Im Jahre 1442 gelang es nun Alfonso endlich, seinen Gegner René vollständig zu besiegen und Neapel zu erobern (12. Juni 1442). Dieser entscheidende E-*

rfolg nötigte Eugen IV., der sich von dem kriegerischen, nie zufriedenen Condottiere Francesco Sforza in seinen eigenen Staaten bedrängt sah, alle Bedingungen, welche der beständig mit der Anerkennung des Gegenpapstes drohende schlaue Alfonso durch Alonso de Borja, Bischof von Valencia, stellen liess, zu gewähren

³ Papal bull of Eugenius IV *Regnans in altissimis* of 1st July 1443 confirming Alfonso as king of Naples. (Müller, I, pp. 690-692). See also Villeneuve, I, pp. 330-331

⁴ According to Ryder, p. 247, René left "Castelnuovo to the care of a Genoese creditor", who may have been the one to sell the fortress to Alfonso

[34] Idem¹ Eugenius Ferdinandum Alfonsi filium extra matrimonium natum ad regni Neapolitani² sive Siciliae successionem³ auctoritate apostolica idoneum reddidit, cui praeter geniturae maculam nil obstabat, litteris et moribus egregie⁴ instituto. Neque novum est hujusmodi⁵ viros ad regni⁶ fastigia⁷ provehi. Nam quamvis sancta lex est, quae vetito natos⁸ coitu dignitatibus arcet - sic enim incontinentia non parum coercetur⁹ - id¹⁰ tamen¹¹ vitium patris, non¹² filii est^{13 14}, et¹⁵ clarissimos reges tam¹⁶ ex illicito quam ex¹⁷ alio minus digno concubitu natos constat: Romulus ex Rhea¹⁸ sacerdote natus et Servius ex ancilla Romae regnaverunt. Apud Graecos Hercules clarus¹⁹ habetur, quamvis Alcmena ex adulterio eum^{20 21} genuerit²²; et Alexandrum²³ Macedonem, orbis dominum, Olympias ex alio quam ex Philippo concepisse traditur.

¹ id R

² regni Neapolitani : regnum Neapolitanum I, P, AC

³ successorem C

⁴ egregio O

⁵ *infrascr.* N; homini *add.* N

⁶ regna O

⁷ vestigia O

⁸ reatos O

⁹ arcetur S

¹⁰ et AC

¹¹ tantum O

¹² L: *here ends the lacuna which begins in sect. 32*

¹³ fuit I

¹⁴ filii est : est filii O

¹⁵ *omit.* AC

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ *omit.* M

¹⁸ Reha J; *omit.* O [*blank space*]; Reba N

¹⁹ *omit.* I

²⁰ *omit.* O, P

²¹ ex ... eum : eum ex adulterio I, AC

²² peperit M

²³ magnum *add.* S

[34] By apostolic authority, Eugenius also enabled Ferrante, the illegitimate son of Alfonso, to succeed to the Kingdom of Naples (or Sicily).¹ Indeed, apart from the blemish of his birth, there was no impediment whatsoever [to his succession] since he has been taught well, both with regard to letters and conduct. And it is certainly not new for such men to be elevated to the summit of royal government. For though it is a venerable law that bars men from high office if they are born of forbidden intercourse (for this is a strong restraint on lax morals), it is the fault of the father, not of the son, and it is a fact that famous kings have been born of illicit or otherwise unworthy intercourse: Romulus² was born of the priestess Rhea³, and Servius⁴ of a slavegirl, but both ruled over Rome. Among the Greeks⁵, Hercules was greatly honoured, though he had been born in adultery by Alcmene⁶. And it is told that even Alexander of Macedonia,⁷ lord of the world, was conceived by Olympias⁸ from another man than Philip.^{9 10}

¹ By formally legitimizing him. This was one of the conditions of the Peace of Terracina (Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271; Ryder, p. 255)

² Romulus (771-717 BCE): Legendary founder of Rome together with his brother Remus

³ Rhea Silvia: Mythical mother of Romulus and Remus. Daughter of Numitor, King of Alba Longa. Vestal priestess: Her story is told in Livius: *Ab urbe condita*, 1.3-4

⁴ Servius Tullius: legendary sixth King of Rome (575-535 BCE). See Livius: *Ab urbe condita*, 1.39

⁵ Hercules: (Gk. myth.) Son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene. Had superhuman powers and enjoyed many adventures

⁶ Alcmene: (Gk. myth.) Wife of Amphitryon

⁷ Alexander the Great

⁸ Olympias (ca. 375-316 BCE): daughter of King Neoptolemus of Epirus. Wife of King Philip II of

Macedonia. Mother of Alexander

⁹ Philip II (382-336 BCE): King of Macedonia

¹⁰ Ferrante was particularly sensitive to the issue of his illegitimacy and quite grateful to the pope for his vigorous defence in this respect, see his letter of thanks to the pope (Appendix 4)

[35] Et in¹ Numidia² natus ex ancilla Massinissae³ Jugurtha⁴ regnum tenuit. Inter Hebraeos Jacob ex ancillis magnos sustulit⁵ patriarchas, et Phares ex⁶ Thamar Judae⁷ natus est, ex cujus progenie Christi⁸ nativitas⁹ secundum carnem trahit¹⁰ originem. Et Jephte¹¹ meretricis filius Israel judicavit. Et Salomon ex ea¹², quae fuit Uriae, prognatus¹³ est, cum qua lege nostra matrimonium contrahere non licuisset. Et¹⁴ ne pluribus utamur exemplis, satis est¹⁵ Constantinus magnus¹⁶, qui quamvis ex Helena stabularia¹⁷, sicut ait Ambrosius, genitus esset, Romani tamen imperii {126v} monarchiam¹⁸ conscendit¹⁹ et magnifice gubernavit. Et Carolus item²⁰ magnus Carolum filium extra matrimonium genitum non ignobili²¹ regno praefecit. Nec plura in Eugenii apologiam.

¹ *omit.* N, P, AC

² Numida N; Humida S;
Humidia V

³ Massinissa C; Maximisse L;
omit. O [*blank space*];

Mansinisse V

⁴ incognita O, P, AC

⁵ sustinuit M; suscitavit S

⁶ et N

⁷ inde J, M, N, P, AC

⁸ Christiana J

⁹ civitas J; nativitatis N

¹⁰ traxit M

¹¹ inepte M

¹² qua C

¹³ procreatus S; progeneratus

O, P, AC

¹⁴ sed I, L

¹⁵ *omit.* L

¹⁶ *omit.* R

¹⁷ et stabulario N; stabularia O

¹⁸ monarcham N; tamen O

¹⁹ consendit M

²⁰ etiam P, AC

²¹ ignobiliter O, P, AC

[35] And in Numidia,¹ Jugurtha² ruled the kingdom, though he was born of one of Masinissa's³ slavegirls. Among the Hebrews, Jacob⁴ sired the great patriarchs from slavegirls, and Phares⁵ was born of Judah's⁶ daughter, Tamar,⁷ from whom Christ Himself descended in the flesh. And Jephthah,⁸ one of the Judges of Israel, was the son of a harlot. Even Solomon⁹ was born from the woman¹⁰ who had been the wife of Uriah¹¹ and who - according to our law - would not have been able to marry [David]. We shall not cite more examples except this one: according to Ambrose,¹² Constantine the Great was born of Helena,¹³ who worked in the stables,¹⁴ but nonetheless he rose to become single ruler of the Roman Empire and reigned splendidly. And even Charlemagne appointed his illegitimate son, Charles, as ruler of a noble kingdom.¹⁵

We shall say no more in defence of Eugenius.

¹ Numidia (202 BC-46 BCE): Ancient Berber kingdom in what is now Algeria and a smaller part of Tunisia, in North Africa

² Jugurtha (ca. 160-104 BCE): King of Numidia, grandson of King Masinissa

³ Masinissa (ca. 240 or 238 - ca. 148 BCE): First King of Numidia. During his younger years, he fought in the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE)

⁴ Jacob: one of the three patriarchal ancestors of the Israelites, son of Isaac. From his sons issued the twelve tribes of Israel

⁵ Phares: (Old Testament) Son of Tamar and Judah (Genesis, 38)

⁶ Judah: (Old Testament) One of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob

⁷ Tamar: (Old Testament) Daughter-in-law of Judah

⁸ Jephtha: (Old Testament) Judge of the Israelites

⁹ Solomon (conventional dates: 970-931 BCE): Son of King David

¹⁰ Batsheba: (Old Testament) Wife of Uriah the Hittite, and later of King David. Mother of King Solomon

¹¹ Uriah the Hittite: (Old Testament) Soldier in King David's army. Married to Batsheba. Killed, indirectly, by King David

¹² Ambrosius, Aurelius (ca. 340-397): Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church. Saint

¹³ Helena (ca. 250-ca. 330): Consort of the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and mother of

Emperor Constantine the Great. Little is known of her early life. Fourth-century sources, following Eutropius' "Breviarium," record that she came from a lowly background. Saint Ambrose was the first to call her a *stabularia*, a term translated as "stable-maid" or "inn-keeper". He makes this fact a virtue, calling Helena a *bona stabularia*, a "good stable-maid". Saint

¹⁴ Ambrosius: *De obitu Theodosii*, 42

¹⁵ Here Pius errs: Charlemagne's son Charles was a legitimate son of his marriage with Hildegard

[36] Nunc ad Nicolaum transeundum est, qui nationi¹ vestrae² amicissimus fuit, et tamen³ Alfonso regnum confirmavit, et Ferdinandi legitimationem ratam gratamque⁴ habens, extendit, ampliavitque. Quid⁵ hic? Si salvatur⁶ Eugenius, et⁷ Nicolaus salvus est. Ille principium⁸ dedit his⁹, quae postea¹⁰ secuta sunt¹¹. Sed procedamus ulterius. Per tempora Nicolai flagrabat¹² omnis Italia bello: hinc Alfonso Veneti¹³ socia¹⁴ arma conjunxerant¹⁵; inde Francisco¹⁶ Sfortia¹⁷ Mediolani¹⁸ potito²⁰ Florentini ex foedere juncti communibus²¹ viribus bellum administrabant. Ardebant omnia, ubique caedes, ubique rapinae²², neque²³ profana neque sacra tuta²⁴ erant. Elati Constantinopolitana victoria Turci et impune²⁵ per Rasciam²⁶ et Albaniam debacchati²⁷, extremum Hungaris²⁸ excidium minabantur.

¹ rationi C; nationis I; natione L

² nationi vestrae : vestre nationi O

³ inde L; cum S

⁴ ratam gratamque : gratam ratamque I, O

⁵ quod P, AC

⁶ salvator O

⁷ omit. M

⁸ privilegium P, AC

⁹ is A, C, D, M, R; iis L

¹⁰ quae postea : postea que M

¹¹ confirmavit *add.* M

¹² fragrabat O

¹³ Alfonso Veneti : Veneti

Alphonso M

¹⁴ socia O

¹⁵ conjunxerunt J, P, AC

¹⁶ Franciscus N

¹⁷ Sforcie L; fortia S

¹⁸ Mediolanensi L; Mediolano

I, S

¹⁹ dominus *add.* N

²⁰ et *corr.* ex potito N; petito O; potitus S

²¹ omnibus I

²² rapina V

²³ nec I, L

²⁴ tota O

²⁵ nuperrime N

²⁶ Asiam N, S

²⁷ et *add.* O, AC

²⁸ Ungari O; Ungarie S

2.3.2. Nicolaus V

[36] Now We must pass on to Nicolaus.¹ Though he was a great friend of your nation, he nevertheless confirmed Alfonso's kingship and ratified and approved the legitimation of Ferrante, even extending and enlarging it.² If Eugenius is vindicated, so is Nicolaus, for it was Eugenius who set the later events in motion. But let Us proceed further. At the time of Nicolaus, all Italy was aflame with war: on the one side Alfonso and the Venetians had joined arms, and on the other side Francesco Sforza, having become the master of Milan, allied himself with Florence and made war together with them. Everything was in uproar, everywhere there was slaughter and robbery, and neither the secular nor the holy things were safe. And elated by the victory in Constantinople,³ the Turks, without serious opposition, laid waste to Serbia and Albania and threatened the Hungarians with complete destruction.

¹ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

² Alfonso's military presence in the Papal State, actually in Tivoli,

close to Rome, at the time of Nicolaus' succession in 1447 (see Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 281-282) probably had other purposes, too, but it effectively

ensured that the new pope would smoothly agree to Alfonso's demands

³ May 1453

[37] Operae pretium Nicolao visum est in tantis periculis de pace Italiae agere et arma, quibus cives urgebantur, in hostes vertere¹. Conventus² apud Neapolim dictus³ est. Eo cardinalis Firmanus⁴ ex decreto Nicolai legatique⁵ ex tota Italia se contulere: inter quos pax tandem⁶ conclusa est et foedus percussum⁷, cuius⁸ conservatorem Romanum⁹ praesulem¹⁰ designavere¹¹. In eo foedere¹² ab omnibus recepto inter alia cautum est, ut quaecumque cum Alfonso rege ordinata essent, eadem omnia cum Ferdinando filio contractata¹³ et recepta esse intelligantur, quem futurum¹⁴ regni¹⁵ successorem¹⁶ idem foedus appellat, quod apostolicae sedis legatus amplexus¹⁷ est, omnis¹⁸ Italia recepit¹⁹, et²⁰ Nicolaus postea ratum habuit et confirmavit. Similiter et Calixtus egit. Et nos post coronationem nostram ex consilio fratrum vestigia praedecessorum²¹ sectati²², ne²³ tam salutaris pacis vinculum solveretur, foedus ipsum comprobavimus. Sed de rebus nostris paulo post agemus²⁴.

¹ convertere J

² convertere [*sic!*] J

³ celebratus P

⁴ Firmianus J

⁵ **legati I, L, N, O, P, V, AC;**
legatus S

⁶ pax tandem : tandem pax M, P,
AC

⁷ promissum P, AC

⁸ tamen *add.* O, P, AC

⁹ et J

¹⁰ conservatorem Romanum
praesulem : Romanum presulem
conservatorem S

¹¹ designantes O; designarunt
P, AC

¹² in *add.* O

¹³ contractata *corr.* ex contracta;
tracta M; **tractata I, L, N, O, P,**
R, S, V, AC

¹⁴ futuri P

¹⁵ regem J

¹⁶ possessorem S

¹⁷ complexus M

¹⁸ *omit.* M; scimus O; omnia S,
V

¹⁹ recipit V

²⁰ esse O

²¹ nostrorum *add.* O, P, AC

²² secuti M; sectati *corr.* ex
sequuti N; sectantes O, P, AC

²³ ut ne I

²⁴ agimus M

[37] Faced with such dangers, Nicolaus considered it worthwhile to begin negotiations about peace in Italy¹ and turn the weapons menacing its citizens toward the enemies.^{2 3} A conference was summoned in Naples,⁴ and, as decided by Nicolaus, the Cardinal of Fermo⁵ and legates from all of Italy gathered there. In the end, they agreed on peace and made a treaty whose overseer was to be the Bishop of Rome. In the treaty, accepted by all, it was stipulated, among other things, that whatever had been agreed with King Alfonso was to be considered as having been agreed and arranged also with his son, Ferrante, who is even explicitly designated by the treaty as the future successor to the Kingdom. This was approved by the legate of the Apostolic See, accepted by the whole of Italy, and afterwards ratified and confirmed by Nicolaus. Calixtus did the same. And after Our coronation, We, too, on the advice of our brethren and following in the footsteps of Our predecessors, approved the treaty so that the bond of this salutary peace should not be broken. But We shall be dealing with Our own actions later.

¹ On 9 April 1454, Venice and Milan signed the Peace of Lodi. This peace was developed into the Lega Italica, signed on 30 August of the same year, with Milan, Venice and Florence as participants. On 2 March 1455, the Lega Italica was solemnly proclaimed in Naples, now with the adhesion of the pope and King Alfonso and a number of lesser Italian rulers

² i.e. the Turks

³ In his biography of Pope Nicolaus V, Giannozzo Manetti expressed quite a different view of the pope's attitude to wars between the Italian states: as long as they were at war between themselves, they constituted less of a threat against the Church State, and when they were at peace they were a grave menace to it. He, therefore, only joined the Italian League when he could no longer decently avoid it: *Septimo pontificatus sui*

anno ... factum est, ut predicti principes, res publice et populi oratores suos pro componenda inter eos pace Romam transmitterent. Ipse vero ... sapientia sua .. hoc unum conabatur, hoc unum curabat, hoc unum operabatur, ut singulis gratificaretur ac nemini suspectus haberetur; quod ... faciebat, ut nullis principibus displiceret, deinde ut Ecclesiam suam in pace atque Sedem Apostolicam, extenuate per continua ac vicissitudinaria inter se bella omnium belligerantium facultatibus, maiori auctoritate dignitateque conservaret. Bella enim inter se predictos totius pene Italie principes Ecclesie sue pacem, concordiam vero eorum versa vice bellum Ecclesie, non modo verisimilibus coniecturis, sed certa etiam et expressis argumentis et experientia quoque magistra rerum intelligebat presagiebatque. Ob has igitur causas, cum tepide in hoc ipso pacis

concordieque tractatu, ne dicam frigide sese gereret, contigisse videtur post longam quondam plurimum mensium inanem futilemque tractationem ut ea que tractabatur concordia ad nihilum recideret, atque propterea oratores re infecta, quinimo ... confraeta, quique in patriam suam remearent. And later: At Nicolaum ... non amplius dissimulandum fore ratus, ... gratisime in hunc modum respondisse fertur: pacem ... semper sibi placuisse inquit (Manetti, pp. 109-110, 112)

⁴ 1454

⁵ Capranica, Domenico (1400-1458): Bishop of Fermo. Cardinal. He died just before the conclave, where Pius II was elected pope, and many believed that he would have been elected had he lived. Piccolomini's first employer

[38] Nunc expositis Eugenii et Nicolai¹ operibus², quae quantum³ calumniari carpive⁴ possint⁵ plane cognoscitis, ad Calixtum transeamus, quem magnificis verbis ac laudibus prosecuti estis, neque⁶ ab⁷ re. Fuit⁸ enim⁹ doctrina singulari praeditus, et suo tempore civilis sapientiae facile¹⁰ princeps, et rerum maximarum¹¹ experientia callens, ut¹² *qui multorum mores vidit et urbes*. Dicitis hunc, quamvis ejus nationis esset, cujus Alfonsus illique multa deberet¹³ ¹⁴, non tamen justitiam ejus causa¹⁵ violare voluisse, sed filium ejus regno privasse. Nihil horum negamus, verum incivile est non totum referre. Supplebimus nos, quod¹⁶ vestrae orationi defuit¹⁷. Calixtus enim¹⁸ mox ut pontificatum adiit, id¹⁹ foedus, cujus supra²⁰ mentionem fecimus, ratum gratumque {127r} habuit, eoque usus est, cum Jacobus Piccininus²¹ Senenses bello quateret, adversus quem vi²² foederis²³ et Venetos²⁴ et²⁵ reliquos Italiae potentatus excitavit; neque²⁶ Alfonso regni²⁷ investituram²⁸ negasset, nisi Marchiam²⁹ Anconitanam et plura alia regni feudo adjici³⁰ petivisset³¹. Alfonso autem vita functo³², qua ratione incertum est, Ferdinandum, quem ex foedere successorem Alfonsi³³ in regno Siciliae acceptaverat, a regno³⁴ removit³⁵. Illud certum est³⁶, quod regnum Siciliae non ad Francorum prosapiam, sed ad Romanam ecclesiam devolutum esse³⁷ declaravit³⁸. Testantur hoc³⁹ ejus litterae, et recens curialium extat⁴⁰ memoria. Nihil dicimus⁴¹, quod non⁴² in⁴³ promptu probare⁴⁴ possimus⁴⁵. Si vixisset diutius providus et magnanimus pontifex, vidissent omnes, quo suus ferebatur et aspirabat⁴⁶ animus, quem nemo regnum hoc generi Gallico aut quaerere aut servare arbitratus est. Non est igitur, quod⁴⁷ magnopere ad Renati causam assumatis facta Calixti, quamvis Ferdinando regnum adimere conatus sit.

¹ Eugenii et Nicolai : Nicolai et

Eugenii J, O, P, AC

² partibus P

³ quanto O

⁴ carpique J

⁵ possunt J

⁶ nec P, AC

⁷ abs AC

⁸ fuerat S

⁹ cui O

¹⁰ omit. S

¹¹ rerum maximarum :

maximarum rerum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

¹² et O, P, AC

¹³ debere I; deberi P

¹⁴ et urbes ... deberet omit. O

¹⁵ omit. M; tandem O, P, AC

¹⁶ que M

¹⁷ et deficit add. AC

¹⁸ vero O

¹⁹ ad S

²⁰ suis M

²¹ Picelinus S

²² in I, M

²³ virtute add. I; utile add.

suprascr. L

²⁴ victos M

²⁵ alios add. R

²⁶ in M

²⁷ regi M

²⁸ regni investituram :

investituram regni V

²⁹ monarchiam S

³⁰ feudo adjici : feudalia N

³¹ petiisset N; potuisset I, J, S

³² defuncto S

³³ Alphonsus J

³⁴ a regno omit. S

³⁵ removerit I, L

³⁶ omit. N

³⁷ omit. J

³⁸ omit. J

³⁹ hec O

⁴⁰ exstat AC

⁴¹ dicemus O

⁴² omit. M, S

⁴³ omit. O, S

⁴⁴ non add. M

⁴⁵ possumus I, O

⁴⁶ aspirabatur P

⁴⁷ cur J

2.3.3. Calixtus III

[38] Now that the actions of Eugenius and Nicolaus have been explained, you can clearly see to what extent¹ they may be criticised and censured. So, let Us move on to Calixtus,² whom you praised extravagantly and with good reason, for he was a man of singular learning, and in his time, he easily surpassed all in knowledge of civil law. He had experience of great affairs, and he saw *the ways and cities of many men*.³ You say that though he was from the same nation as Alfonso and owed much to him, he did not wish to violate justice for Alfonso's sake but deprived his son of the Kingdom. We do not deny this. But it is unfair not to tell everything, so We shall supply what is lacking in your oration. As soon as Calixtus became pope, he ratified and accepted the treaty mentioned above, and when Jacobo Piccinino made war on the Sienese, Calixtus, by right of treaty,⁴ mobilised the Venetians and the other Italian powers against him. He would only have denied investiture with the Kingdom if Alfonso had requested that the Anconitan March and other places be added to the Kingdom's feudal domain. However, when Alfonso died, Calixtus, for unknown reasons,⁵ deprived Ferrante of the Kingdom,⁶ though he had [previously] accepted the treaty declaring him to be Alfonso's successor to the Kingdom of Sicily⁷. What is certain is that he declared the Kingdom of Sicily as having reverted to the Roman Church, not to the family of France. This is witnessed by his letters and known as recent fact to the members of the Curia: We are not saying anything that We cannot readily prove. If this sagacious and magnanimous Pontiff had lived longer, all would have seen what he intended and aspired to do. At any rate, nobody believed that he meant to seek and keep this realm for the French dynasty.⁸ So, even though Calixtus did endeavour to deprive Ferrante of the Kingdom, there is no reason for you to insist that it was René's cause he defended.⁹

¹ I.e. to what little extent

² Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

³ Homer: *Odyssey*, 1.3-4

⁴ The treaty establishing the Lega Italica, 1455

⁵ Cf. the Introduction

⁶ In a papal bull dated 12 July 1458 (Pastor, I, pp. 600-601). See also papal bull of Calixtus III *Regis aeterni* of 28 July 1458 declaring the Kingdom of Naples as

devolved upon the Roman Church (Müller, I, pp. 694-695)

⁷ I.e. Naples

⁸ In Rome, it was commonly believed that Calixtus had wanted to invest his own nephew, Pedro Borgia, with the Kingdom of Naples, and this is what diplomats stationed in Rome reported back to their masters (Pastor, I, p. 600)

⁹ Gregorovius III, 13, 4, p. 72: *Die Boten des neuen Königs flehten in Rom um Anerkennung, aber*

Calixt behauptete, dass Ferrante nicht einmal der natürliche Sohn Alfonsos, sondern untergescho-ben sei, und er beanspruchte Neapel als heimgefallenes Kir-chenlehen. So wurde dies alte Vasallenland der Kirche das ganze XV. Jahrhundert hindurch in die Politik der Päpste hinein-gezogen. Sie trachteten danach, es mit dem Kirchenstaat zu vereinigen und nutzten das Kö-nigreich für ihre Nepoten aus

[39] Ceterum, eo in aliam vitam translato nos ei, quamvis indigni et tanto ponderi¹ prorsus insufficientes, ut altissimo placuit, suffecti sumus. Ad res nostras modo veniendum est, quas multi lacerant carpuntque². *Homines sumus et fragiles: labimur, fallimur, decipimur*. Inviti tamen erramus, et cum recognoscimus errorem, malumus³ illum potius cum nostro⁴ revocare rubore quam cum subditorum scandalo damnoque⁵ retinere. Verum in hoc negotio regni Siciliae nihil⁶ a nobis⁷ factum est⁸, quod reprehensione dignum existimemus, quamvis illud Ferdinando concesserimus⁹. Sed accusamur, quod illegitimo¹⁰, quod indigno¹¹, quod¹² inhabili eximiam regni dignitatem et coronam elargiti sumus; quod inclytam Francorum domum¹³ sprevimus et¹⁴ abjecimus¹⁵, nec oratores Caroli et Renati regum¹⁶ audire dignati¹⁷ sumus. Haec summa est accusationis; huc¹⁸ omnes orationis vestrae¹⁹ nervi tenduntur²⁰. Parum est, quod Eugenius, quod Nicolaus, quod Calixtus fecit. Pius est, qui plus ceteris ausus videtur²¹. Pius est, qui Francos, qui nationem Gallicam, qui aequitatem justitiamque contemnit. In Pium²² omnia tela cadunt. Tolerabilia sunt, quae nostri antecessores fecerunt; quod nos facimus²³, ferri²⁴ non potest²⁵. Illi excusati, nos injusti, nos ingrati, nos impii sumus, quamvis Pii nomine vocitemur.

¹ tanto ponderi : tanti ponderis
O, P

² carpunt C, M

³ malimus L, R; maluimus O, N,
S, V

⁴ **potius cum nostro : cum
nostro potius I, L, S, V, O, P,
AC; cum nostro potius corr.
Felinus ex potius cum nostri N**

⁵ scandalo damnoque : damno
scandaloque J

⁶ nil I

⁷ a nobis *omit.* C

⁸ a nobis factum est : factum est
a nobis P, AC

⁹ concessimus M, O, P, AC

¹⁰ legitimo M

¹¹ quod indigno *omit.* O, P, AC

¹² *omit.* O; et P, AC

¹³ Francorum domum :
domorum Francorum M

¹⁴ atque S

¹⁵ abiecit J; abicemus M

¹⁶ regnum S; *omit.* J, AC

¹⁷ audire dignati : dignati audire
O

¹⁸ ut O; eo AC

¹⁹ orationis vestrae : vestre
orationis O

²⁰ tendunt J, P, AC

²¹ Pius est ... videtur *omit.* J, M,
AC

²² Piumque V

²³ fecimus P

²⁴ fieri N, S

²⁵ possunt I

2.3.4. Pius II

[39] When Calixtus passed on to the next life, We - God willing - were elected to succeed him, though unworthy and unfit for this heavy burden. So, now we come to Our own role in this whole affair, criticized and censured by many people. *We are a man and fragile: We fail, We make mistakes, We are deceived.*¹ But We do not err willingly, and when We recognize that We are in error, We will rather blushing make amends than persist in it, causing scandal and misfortune among Our subjects. However, in this affair of the Kingdom of Sicily, We have done nothing We consider worthy of reproach, though We bestowed it on Ferrante. Still, We are being accused of having given the eminent dignity and crown of the Kingdom to someone who is illegitimate, unworthy and unfit; of having spurned and rejected the illustrious House of France; and of not having deigned to hear the ambassadors of kings Charles and René. This is the accusation in brief, and this is what your whole oration was about. What Eugenius, Nicolaus and Calixtus did is unimportant. Pius is the one who has dared to do more than the others. Pius is the one who despises the French nation, as well as equity and justice. Pius is the one at whom all your weapons are aimed. What Our predecessors did is acceptable, but what We are doing is unacceptable. They are being excused, whereas We are ungrateful and impious, though called Pius.

¹ Poggio Bracciolini: *Invectiva in delatores* (*Opera Omnia*, II, p. 715)

[40] Sed non deest nobis animus, quo purgemur¹. *Dominus auxiliator noster, non timebimus quid faciant nobis² homines.* Bonus et misericors Deus est³, qui non patitur⁴ tentari homines⁵ supra vires⁶ suas, neque nobis impingi⁷ falso⁸ crimina sinit⁹ ¹⁰, quae¹¹ refellere¹² non {127v} valeamus¹³. Comprehendimus ex dictis vestris¹⁴ ¹⁵, neque vobis, neque regi vestro veritatem omnem¹⁶ ¹⁷ esse detectam¹⁸, sed dicta esse, quae contra nos viderentur¹⁹, tacita, quae pro²⁰ nobis²¹ adduci poterant²². Nam²³ quid²⁴ majus est²⁵: sequi an praecedere? Nos apertum²⁶ a praedecessoribus²⁷ nostris²⁸ iter secuti sumus, et monstratam viam²⁹ tenuimus. Nihil plus egimus quam nostros antecessores³⁰ egisse repperimus. Dicat aliquis: *“Per viam publicam ne ambules³¹,”* quod Pythagoreum fuisse praeceptum³² Jeronimus affirmat. Sed³³ hoc exponitur: *idest³⁴ multorum ne³⁵ sequaris errores.* Nos nihil errasse³⁶ aut³⁷ Eugenium aut³⁸ Nicolaum³⁹ arbitramur⁴⁰, quos fuisse praesules rectissimi iudicii et integerrimae vitae constat.

¹ purgamur O

² mihi P

³ *omit.* O, P, AC

⁴ patietur J, O, P, AC

⁵ bonus et misericors ... homines

omit. N, S

⁶ viros J, V

⁷ *omit.* O

⁸ falsa I

⁹ sunt L; possunt *corr. Felinus* ex sunt N

¹⁰ crimina sinit : crimine sinit O, P, AC

¹¹ quod O, P, AC

¹² refellunt S; refellerem V

¹³ valemus J, O

¹⁴ *omit.* O

¹⁵ ex dictis vestris : vestris ex dictis P, AC

¹⁶ omnium N

¹⁷ veritatem omnem : omnem veritatem O

¹⁸ detritam M

¹⁹ videntur N, S

²⁰ *omit.* M

²¹ *omit.* O

²² *omit.* L

²³ an O

²⁴ **quod I, L, N, S, V, O, P, AC**

²⁵ *omit.* M

²⁶ apertam M

²⁷ apertum a praedecessoribus :

a praedecessoribus apertum I

²⁸ *omit.* I, L, S, O, P, AC

²⁹ publicam viam *add.* C

³⁰ nostros antecessores : antecessores nostros N

³¹ ambulemus M

³² fuisse praeceptum :

preceptum fuisse M

³³ et P, AC

³⁴ *omit.* O

³⁵ multorum ne : ne multorum

B, M, N

³⁶ nihil errasse *omit.* P, AC

³⁷ an O; autem P, AC

³⁸ an O

³⁹ sequi *add.* P, AC

⁴⁰ putamus J

[40] But We certainly intend to clear Ourselves. *The Lord is Our helper, We shall not fear what men will do to us.*¹ God is good and merciful, and He will not allow men to be tested beyond their strength. He will not allow Us to be accused falsely of crimes that We cannot refute. From your speech, We understand that the whole truth is known neither to you nor to your king. Moreover, you only said things in Our disfavour, whereas you remained silent on things in Our favour. But what carries the most weight: to follow or to precede? We have simply been following the path opened by Our predecessors and have kept to the road shown to Us. We have done no more than We find Our predecessors to have done. Here someone may say: *"Do not walk on the public road,"* which, according to Jerome, was a precept of Pythagoras. *This means that one should not follow the errors of many.*² We believe, however, that neither We, Eugenius, nor Nicolaus have erred - two pontiffs who were honest in their judgments and irreproachable in their lives.

¹ Psalms, 117, 6: *Dominus mihi adjutor; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo*

² Burley, p. 74. Used by Jerome: *Letters*, 39 (Rufinus), 58-59,

quoting Porphyrius: *Vita Pythagorae*, 42

[41] Sed aperiamus amplius innocentiam nostram factaque¹ nostra non solum exemplis² et auctoritate, verum etiam ratione defendamus, et quo in statu esset³ ecclesia cum summi praesulatus ascendimus cathedram, ostendamus⁴. Audite: non⁵ longa⁶ res est, et breviter⁷ explicabitur. Invaserat Jacobus Piccininus agrum ecclesiae, non ignobilis nostri temporis copiarum ductor. Assisiorum arcem per prodicionem praefecti arcis obtinuerat et urbem exinde in⁸ potestatem⁹ acceperat. Nuceriam¹⁰ quoque¹¹ invaserat, et oppido¹² Valdi¹³ potitus¹⁴, arcem summa vi oppugnabat. Timebant¹⁵ vicini Fulginates, nec minus Spoletani, quorum arcis praefectus ad Piccininum inclinare videbatur, munita¹⁶ quaeque^{17 18} loca ecclesiae in manibus¹⁹ Catelanorum²⁰ detinebantur, quos etsi fideles constantesque putaremus, nexus²¹ tamen et amor nationis²² timorem incutiebat, ne cum²³ Ferdinando sentirent, qui regno Siciliae, nemine²⁴ adversante, potiebatur²⁵. Fuerat apud Capuam conventus principum regni²⁶: omnes illi jurejurando²⁷ fidem ut regi suo praestiterant, nec una²⁸ quidem²⁹ vox audita fuerat, quae Renatum desiderare videretur³⁰. Quieta omnia in regno erant³¹.

¹ facta O

² exemplo P, AC

³ *omit.* V

⁴ ostendemus M

⁵ nunc P, AC

⁶ lingua P

⁷ brevior I

⁸ *omit.* O

⁹ potestate P

¹⁰ Nuceriam N, S

¹¹ Nuceriam quoque :
Nuceriamque I

¹² oppidum L, M, O, P, AC

¹³ Gualdi I, L, O, N, S, V;

Evarardi P, AC

¹⁴ potius R

¹⁵ enim *add.* M

¹⁶ minuta M; munite O

¹⁷ quoque O

¹⁸ munita quaeque : munitaque

J, P, AC

¹⁹ manus I

²⁰ Castellatorum M, N, S

²¹ nixus M

²² nationem M

²³ tum N

²⁴ nemo M; nomine O

²⁵ paciebatur O

²⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC

²⁷ iureiurandi O

²⁸ *omit.* I

²⁹ *omit.* N, S

³⁰ videbatur O

³¹ erunt M

2.3.4.1. Investiture and coronation of Ferrante of Aragon

2.3.4.1.1. *Military imperatives*¹

[41] But let Us go deeper into the matter of Our innocence and defend Our actions not only with precedents and authority but also with rational arguments, showing in what state the Church was when We were raised to the Chair of the Supreme Pontificate. Listen now: it can be explained briefly and will not take long. Jacopo Piccinino, one of the outstanding captains of our time, had invaded the lands of the Church.² A commander had treasonably turned the castle of Assisi over to him, and afterwards Piccinino also gained control of the city.³ He had also attacked Nocera, and, having conquered the city of Gualdo, he attacked the castle there vigorously.⁴ The people of nearby Fulgino were trembling with anxiety, as were the people of Spoleto, where the commander of the castle seemed to favour Piccinino. Some fortified places of the Church were in the hands of the Catalans,⁵ and though We believed that they would remain loyal and steadfast, We had to fear that patriotism⁶ would make them side with Ferrante, who ruled the Kingdom of Sicily unopposed. At a meeting of the Kingdom's princes in Capua, all had sworn the oath of loyalty to Ferrante as their king, and not one word was heard in favour of René. Thus, there was peace everywhere in the Kingdom.

¹ Baldi: *Pio*, p. 92: *La presenza minacciosa del Piccinino all'interno delle terre della Chiesa e l'occupazione di Assisi; il possesso di molte fortezze della Chiesa da parte di Pier Luigi Borghia ... rendevano quanto mai incerto e insicuro il controllo del nuovo eletto, e costituivano un grave elemento di instabilità interna, capace di suscitare nuovi disordini da parte di altri signori feudali*

² Ferente, p. 76-77: *Il conte Jacopo non perse il tempo. ... il 15 agosto, a una settimana dalla morte del papa, si presentò con qualche squadra davanti ad Assisi ... contrattando con il catalano che teneva la rocca, mentre Gualdo, Bevagna e Nocera gli si consegnavano spontaneamente. ... Sulle sue intenzioni solo ipotesi. Sperava forse il conte Jacopo di approfittare del vuoto sul soglio pontificio per crearsi una posizione di forza tale che al nuo-*

vo papa non restasse che nominarlo vicario?

³ 15 August 1458

⁴ Some days after the coup in Assisi, see Nowak, pp. 427-428

⁵ Appointees of Pius' predecessor, the Catalan Pope Calixtus III, who had placed many of his countrymen in positions of strategic importance. They would now be inclined to side with Ferrante as Catalan ruler of the Kingdom of Naples

⁶ "amor nationis"

[42] Petebatur a nobis, ut Ferdinandum investiremus. Instabant Veneti jure foederis. Instabat dux Mediolani. Instabant Florentini. Ajebant omnes non posse illi¹ regnum² negari, quod³ patris ultima voluntate et omnium populorum assensu⁴ recepisset. Piccininus, qui jam tria ecclesiae oppida⁵ occupasset, nisi Ferdinando, cui militabat, regnum⁶ committeremus, maximum subditis⁷ nostris malum illaturus videbatur. Pacem Romani, pacem Umbri, pacem Picentes, pacem omnes⁸ per⁹ circuitum petebant: omnis mora gravis, omnis contradictio periculosa judicabatur¹⁰. Nobis nihil¹¹ antiquius videbatur, nihil animo nostro¹² fixius¹³ haerebat¹⁴ quam conventum Christianorum facere, in quo de retundenda¹⁵ Turcorum insolentia et Christiano¹⁶ sanguine defendendo¹⁷ tractaremus. Imminebat ecclesiae¹⁸ gravissimum¹⁹ et²⁰ {128r} periculosissimum bellum, si Ferdinandi postulatis adversaremur, nec nobis vires erant, quibus resisteremus, nec Massiliensis²¹ episcopus a Renato missus aliud attulerat²² ²³ quam verba dubia et²⁴ incertas promissiones²⁵. Spes²⁶ in Renato longinqua²⁷ et auxilium dubium; in Ferdinando propinquus hostis et apertissimum damnum. Nec rex²⁸ Franciae apud nos legatum habuit, ut vobis²⁹ persuasum esse videmus³⁰, quamvis decanus Carnotensis³¹ Romae tunc ageret, qui ad Calixtum missus Turcorum, non regni Siciliae causam tractaturus³² venerat³³, et mortuo Calixto nihil habebat, quod nobiscum ageret, nec verbis pondus inerat³⁴ extincta legatione, quamvis³⁵ impulsus ab aliis³⁶ aliquando nos in hac parte compellaverit³⁷.

¹ jure *add.* M

² illi regnum : regnum illi O

³ quid V

⁴ ascensu M; *omit.* N

⁵ ecclesiae oppida : oppida

ecclesiae J, O, P, AC

⁶ regimen N

⁷ rebus I

⁸ pacem omnes *omit.* B

⁹ qui M

¹⁰ *omit.* M; indicabit N;

videbatur J, R

¹¹ nobis nihil : nihil nobis P

¹² meo J

¹³ infixius J

¹⁴ habebat N; herebatur S

¹⁵ retrudenda P

¹⁶ Christianorum I, O, P, AC

¹⁷ *omit.* M

¹⁸ ecce M

¹⁹ grandissimum L

²⁰ ac C

²¹ Malsiliensis O; Marsiliensis

P, AC

²² tulerat O, P, AC

²³ aliud attulerat : attulerat aliud

V

²⁴ dubia et : de M

²⁵ et *add.* S

²⁶ spem N

²⁷ longinquo S

²⁸ res M

²⁹ nobis J, L, M, P, AC

³⁰ videremus J, P, AC

³¹ Carotonensis M

³² Est alia responsio data per Pium oratoribus Renati incipiens De regno Siciliae, quae est in libro responsionum Pii, ubi late probat, quod Renatus non potuit omnia via juris movere arma, et quod papa tene[ba]tur defendere regem Ferdinandum a se investitum *nota Felini* N

³³ venerit P

³⁴ **verbis pondus inerat : verba ponderis habebat I, J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

³⁵ *omit.* N

³⁶ alio O

³⁷ interpellaverit S

[42] [At that time] We were requested to invest Ferrante [with the Kingdom]. The Venetians insisted on it by right of the treaty, the Duke of Milan insisted on it, and the Florentines insisted on it. All said We could not deny Ferrante the Kingdom which he had received by his father's last will and with the assent of all the peoples.¹ Piccinino had now taken three cities from the Church, and if We did not give the Kingdom to Ferrante, for whom he was fighting, he would inflict the greatest possible damage upon Our subjects. The Romans asked for peace, the Umbrians asked for peace, the people of Piceno asked for peace, and all the neighbours asked for peace. All believed that delay and refusal would have serious and dangerous consequences. To Us nothing was more important and more firmly fixed in Our mind than to hold a congress for Christians where We could deal with ending the insolence of the Turks and defending Christian blood. If We opposed the demands of Ferrante, a most severe and dangerous war threatened the Church. We were not strong enough to resist him, and the Bishop of Marseilles, sent by René, had brought nothing but doubtful words and uncertain promises. Hopes in René were farfetched, and all help doubtful, whereas in Ferrante, We would have an enemy close by and evident ruin. And though We see that you believe so, We did not have an envoy from the King of France with Us for the dean of Chartres, then in Rome, had been sent to Calixtus to negotiate the matter of the Turks, not the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily. After the death of Calixtus, he had no business with Us, and as his mission was ended, his words carried no weight, though, at some point, he was pressured by others² to address Us concerning this matter.

¹ I.e. the Italian states

² Probably an allusion to the French cardinals

[43] Quid faceremus¹? Armane movere pro regno ejus² oportuit, qui nihil curare videretur³, otiosam vitam domi agens? Imparibus⁴ hosti⁵ viribus⁶ occurrendum illudendumque⁷ muro caput fuit, castra et arces ecclesiae perdere⁸, patrimonium⁹ beati Petri dilapidare¹⁰, subditos¹¹ omnes rapinae ac¹² neci¹³ objicere¹⁴, defensionem fidei negligere debuimus? Profecto non ita nobis et fratribus nostris¹⁵ visum est¹⁶, sed cum¹⁷ aliter¹⁸ non possemus, Ferdinando potius morem gerere quam Romanam ecclesiam tot periculis exponere, quam religionis, quam fidei defensionem¹⁹ negligere²⁰. Conceduntur enim multa necessitati²¹, et *inter duo mala minus eligitur*. Quid igitur²² fecimus²³? Nil amplius sane quam nostri antecessores²⁴ fecerant, quamvis illi Alfonso, nos Ferdinando regnum commisimus²⁵. At cui Ferdinando? Nempe filio regis, etsi non legitime nato, auctoritate tamen apostolica legitimo²⁶, haeredi a patre rege destinato²⁷ et²⁸ instituto, et a regnicolis recepto²⁹, nobisque³⁰ vi³¹ percussi³² pridem³³ foederis ab universa³⁴ Italia commendato, regni etiam possessori, sive, ut vos vultis³⁵, occupatori.

¹ fecerimus N

² regno ejus : eius regno P

³ videbatur S

⁴ imparibusve I

⁵ hostis *corr.* ex hosti V

⁶ hosti viribus : viribus hosti M

⁷ illudendumque P, S

⁸ *omit.* M

⁹ patriomonio O

¹⁰ delapidato O

¹¹ subiectos I

¹² et R; O, P, AC

¹³ cedi M

¹⁴ adjicere R; subicere O, V

¹⁵ ita O

¹⁶ fuit R

¹⁷ tamen O

¹⁸ alias O, P; aliud AC

¹⁹ defensorem O

²⁰ maluimus *add.* AC

²¹ necessitate N; necessitates O

²² ergo M

²³ certe *add.* P

²⁴ nostri antecessores : antecessores nostri O, AC; predecessores nostri P

²⁵ concessimus J

²⁶ et *add.* O, P, AC

²⁷ *omit.* M

²⁸ ac N

²⁹ suscepto O

³⁰ nobis O, P, AC

³¹ in M

³² promissi M

³³ quidem M, N; *omit.* S

³⁴ universali P, AC

³⁵ etiam *add.* M

[43] So, what should We do? Should We fight for the kingship of someone who seemed not to care for it, living a peaceful life at home? But to meet an enemy with unequal forces was to knock Our head against a wall. Were We really obliged to lose the castles and fortresses of the Church, to waste the Patrimony of Saint Peter, to expose all Our subjects to plunder and killings, and to neglect the defence of the Faith? This is definitely not what We and Our brethren¹ thought, and since there were no alternatives, We would rather accommodate Ferrante than expose the Roman Church to so many dangers and neglect the defence of religion and Faith. Much must be done because it is necessary, and *of two evils the smallest one should be preferred*. So what did We actually do? No more, indeed, than our predecessors had already done, though they gave the Kingdom to Alfonso, whereas We gave it to Ferrante. But to which Ferrante? To a Ferrante who was the king's son, who though illegitimate had been legitimated by apostolic authority; to a Ferrante who had formally been made his father's heir; to a Ferrante who was accepted by all the subjects of the Kingdom; to a Ferrante whom all of Italy recommended to Us, by treaty; to a Ferrante who actually possessed the Kingdom - or occupied² it, if you prefer.

¹ The College of Cardinals

² As, in Roman law, actual possession was a valid legal argu-

ment, the French would have preferred the term occupation

[44] Nihil juri vestro detrahimus; nec tamen huic tot favoribus¹ munito aliter regnum commisimus, quam si nostrum² esset, idest si ad nos devolutum existeret, aut si illi jure haereditario deberetur. Et quis³ hoc damnare potest? Si pater ejus rex fuerat eumque⁴ legitimatum haeredem instituerat, injuria erat paternum ei regnum⁵ negare. Si nostrum ex⁶ devolutione fuit, licebat nobis cui vellemus dare, et illi dare⁷ voluimus. Si ad Francos regemve⁸ Renatum⁹ aut¹⁰ alium pertinuit, nihil ei dedimus neque dare¹¹ voluimus¹². Reservavimus enim nostris in litteris aliorum jura, quod¹³ nostri¹⁴ antecessores¹⁵ non fecerant¹⁶. Quid igitur¹⁷ calumniatur? Quid reprehendimur? Quis non intelligit pio¹⁸ regi¹⁹ vestro²⁰ et vobis²¹ dictas esse nugas, quibus {128v} persuasum est nos Francorum inclytam domum regno privasse, qui neminem privavimus²², nemini jus abstulimus²³?

¹ fautoribus S

² necessarium O, P, AC

³ equius M

⁴ eum N

⁵ paternum ei regnum : ei

regnum paternum J, M;

paternum regnum ei O, P, AC

⁶ omit. N, S, O, P, AC

⁷ omit. J

⁸ aut regem M; regemque C

⁹ pertinuit *add.* AC

¹⁰ ad *add.* P, AC

¹¹ donare S

¹² volumus N

¹³ quae I

¹⁴ autem O

¹⁵ nostri antecessores :

antecessores nostri P, AC

¹⁶ fecerunt AC

¹⁷ omit. O

¹⁸ proh J; pro N

¹⁹ rege N

²⁰ nostro N

²¹ nobis N

²² privamus P, AC

²³ nemini derogavimus *add. in*

margin. D; **nemini derogavimus**

***add.* I, L, N, V; nemini**

***derogamus add.* O, P, S, AC**

2.3.4.1.2. *Legal situation*

[44] In no way have We diminished your rights. Ferrante may have had certain advantages, but in any case, it was either Our Kingdom to dispose of since it had reverted to Us, or it was due to Ferrante by right of inheritance. Who can criticise Us for that? If Ferrante's father had been the king and made him the legitimate heir, it would be unjust to deny him the paternal Kingdom. If the Kingdom had reverted to Us, it was Ours to give to whom We wanted, and We wanted to give it to Ferrante. If it belonged to the French, to King René, or to somebody else, We did not give or wanted to give it to Ferrante, for in Our letter, We reserved the rights of other parties, something that Our predecessors had not done. So, why are We being slandered? What are We rebuked for? Who does not understand that your pious king and you yourselves have been told nonsense since you believe that We have deprived the glorious House of France of the Kingdom, whereas in fact We have deprived nobody of it and have dispossessed nobody of their rights.

[45] "At¹ si devolutum erat," dicat fortasse aliquis, "praeferendi fuerant² Franci³." Praetulisse⁴mus, si tam⁴ prope fuissent quam Ferdinandus, et non tantum⁵ nobis⁶ ⁷ impendisset⁸ discrimen atque necessitas⁹. "At¹⁰ grave est coronatum esse Ferdinandum." Certe, si jure investitus¹¹ est, juste quoque coronatus est. Si jure caret, nihil ei corona confert. "At¹² populorum favorem ei conciliat." Cum jussimus coronari, non erat favore¹³ opus: omnes enim¹⁴ proceres populique¹⁵ favebant. Conventum insuper¹⁶ erat coronam illi¹⁷ dandam esse, cum peteret, quemadmodum antecessores nostri Eugenius et Nicolaus cum Alfonso patre convenerant. Non potuimus petenti¹⁸ negare et promissis obviam ire. Nam si privati¹⁹ ex pacto tenentur, et²⁰ principes teneri non est ambiguum. Nihil²¹ foedius est²² quam princeps²³ fidei fractor²⁴.

[46] Nota est nobis modestia et integritas²⁵ vestri regis. Numquam ille ex nobis peteret, ut promissa rescinderemus²⁶, quorum tanta vis est, ut²⁷ Deus etiam²⁸ ex his compelli possit²⁹, dicente propheta: *Memento, domine, verbi tui, in quo mihi spem dedisti*. Dicitis³⁰ fortasse nos³¹ coronam non debuisse promittere. Verum est³², si non licuit investire³³; at³⁴ si licuit illud, et³⁵ hoc licuit. Sed de justo licitoque certamen³⁶ contendentibus inter se partibus dimittamus. Nos³⁷ si de facto nostro conveniamur³⁸, non reperiemur inermes³⁹. Et jam satis nostra in hac⁴⁰ ⁴¹ parte⁴² ostensa est rectitudo.

¹ ac M

² fuerunt P, AC

³ Gallici O

⁴ tamen J

⁵ tamen M

⁶ vobis M

⁷ tantum nobis : nobis tantum

// I, L, S, V, O, P, AC

⁸ omit. M; impedisset N

⁹ coegisset add. P, AC

¹⁰ et M

¹¹ investiture M

¹² atque contra M

¹³ non erat favore : favore non erat S

¹⁴ ei J, V, O, P, AC

¹⁵ **proceres populique : populi proceresque I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

¹⁶ iuris O

¹⁷ ei R, S

¹⁸ petente O

¹⁹ homines add. P, AC

²⁰ omit. N, S

²¹ nil I

²² omit. O, P, AC

²³ principes M

²⁴ factor S

²⁵ modestia et integritas :

integritas et modestia L

²⁶ resignaremus L

²⁷ et O

²⁸ Deus etiam : etiam Deus I

²⁹ posset V

³⁰ dicitis I

³¹ vos I

³² et M

³³ investiri O

³⁴ ac M

³⁵ omit. J

³⁶ certamine M, O, P, AC

³⁷ nam M

³⁸ convenimur S

³⁹ inermes O

⁴⁰ omit. O, P, AC

⁴¹ in hac : hac in J

⁴² nostra add. O

[45] Maybe someone will say: "But if the Kingdom had reverted to You, You should have preferred the French." We would indeed have preferred the French if they had been as close by as Ferrante We had not been threatened by such a great danger and pressured by such a great necessity. "But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very grave matter." If investing him [with the Kingdom] was lawful, then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything.¹ "But yes, it will ensure him the people's favour." When We commanded that he be crowned, he did not need that, for he already had the favour of all the nobles and the people. Moreover, it had previously been settled that he should be given the crown when he requested it, as Our predecessors Eugenius² and Nicolaus had agreed with Alfonso. We simply could not deny his request and go against their promises, for if private people are bound by their agreements, then princes are undoubtedly bound so, too. Nothing is more shameful than a prince who breaks faith.³

[46] We know your king's moderation and integrity. Never would he ask Us to break Our promises, for the strength of promises is so great that even God is bound by them, as the prophet says: *Be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope.*⁴ Maybe you claim that We ought not to have promised the crown. That is only true if it was unlawful to make the investiture. But if the investiture was lawful, the promise of the crown was lawful, too. However, the dispute about what is just and lawful in this matter We shall leave to the contending parties. But if Our own actions are questioned, We shall not be found unarmed.

And this must suffice to show that We have acted rightly in this matter.

¹ Note the view that is not the coronation or the crown as such that legitimates the king

² In the Peace of Terracina (1435), see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271: ... *Ferdi-*

nando regis filio, cui rex post mortem Regnum destinaverat, potestatem succedendi faciat ...

³ This statement is an indirect criticism of Pius' predecessor Calixtus III, who had not respected

the pact with Alfonso concerning Ferrante's right to the succession

⁴ Psalms, 118, 49

[47] Nunc illud¹ attingamus², quod de Aquilanis et aliis plerisque objectum est, quos sese³ nobis dedere volentes⁴ rejecimus⁵, ut asseruistis, ne⁶ Ferdinando incommodaremur⁷. Laus nostra haec est, qui⁸ Ferdinando fidem⁹ servavimus¹⁰; neque parti vestrae injuriati¹¹ sumus¹², cum nobis illi, non Renato sese¹³ subijcere¹⁴ vellent. Nos certe nihil¹⁵ aliud facere decuit, sive ante investituram sive post, ne¹⁶ regnum divideremus, quod tunc erat unitum¹⁷.

[48] Rursus¹⁸ et illud reprehendistis, quod equites regnum petentes, qui militare Ferdinando¹⁹ vellent, transire permisimus, qui ei²⁰ adversarentur, his²¹ iter²² clausimus²³. Neque hoc²⁴ negamus. Sed decuit nos ita facere. Et hoc quoque²⁵ ad fidem nostram spectabat, ut eum²⁶ salvum esse vellemus, qui ex nobis²⁷ regnum accepisset. Neque hoc Francis²⁸ molestum esse debui. Nemo²⁹ ex nobis³⁰ transitum³¹ petiit, qui Renati causam esset acturus³², cujus nominis in regno mirum silentium erat. Princeps Tarenti³³ primus omnium adversari Ferdinando³⁴ coepit, non quod³⁵ regem eum esse³⁶ negaverit³⁷, sed quod³⁸ insidias ab eo sibi³⁹ 40 paratas diceret⁴¹.
[cont.]

¹ *omit.* C
² attendamus I
³ se P, AC
⁴ nolentes M
⁵ reicimus M
⁶ neque M
⁷ incommodaremur I, N, S, V;
incommoda daremus *corr. ex*
incommodaremur L;
incommoda daremus P, AC
⁸ incommodaremur ... qui *omit.*
M
⁹ Ferdinando fidem : fidem
Ferdinando I, L, N, O, S; fidem
Ferranteo V
¹⁰ servamus V; conservavimus
P, AC

¹¹ injuriat R
¹² injuriati sumus : injuriam
fecimus I
¹³ *omit.* J
¹⁴ subiacere M
¹⁵ nil I, O, P
¹⁶ nec V
¹⁷ unicum S
¹⁸ rursus P, AC
¹⁹ militare Ferdinando :
Ferdinando militare I
²⁰ eis A, B, D, I, M, R
²¹ iis I
²² inter O
²³ claudimus J
²⁴ **haec N, S, V, O, P, AC**
²⁵ quidem J

²⁶ *omit.* P, AC
²⁷ vobis N, S, V
²⁸ Franci AC
²⁹ neque O, P, AC
³⁰ vobis J, N, S, AC
³¹ iter *add.* J
³² tracturus O
³³ Taranti M
³⁴ *omit.* N, S
³⁵ quia AC
³⁶ eum esse : esse eum O
³⁷ negavit O, P, AC
³⁸ quia AC
³⁹ *omit.* P, V
⁴⁰ ab eo sibi : sibi ab eo J, L, N,
O, S
⁴¹ dicerat P

2.3.4.2. Aquila affair

[47] We now come to your objection concerning the people of Aquila and several other [cities] who wanted to give themselves over to Us. As you state, We denied them to not cause trouble for Ferrante. It is actually to Our merit that We kept faith with Ferrante, and We did not injure your party since what the Aquilans wanted was to become Our subjects, not René's. Neither before nor after [Ferrante's] investiture was it right for Us to act differently, for otherwise We should have divided a kingdom, which at that time was united.

2.3.4.3. Denial of transit through the papal territories

[48] Moreover, you have reproached Us for allowing some knights going to the Kingdom to fight for Ferrante to pass through [Our territories], whereas We denied transit to some who wanted to fight against him. We do not deny it, but We were bound to do this. For to desire the safety of him who had received the Kingdom from Us, was also a matter of keeping faith. That ought not to be injurious to French. Actually, nobody going to fight for René has requested transit of Us, and, quite remarkably, there was no talk about René in the Kingdom. The Prince of Taranto¹ was the first to oppose Ferrante, not because he denied that Ferrante was king, but because he claimed that Ferrante was plotting against him. *[cont.]*

¹ Giovanni Antonio (Giannantonio) Del Balzo Orsini (1386 or 1393-1463): Prince of Taranto,

Duke of Bari, Count of Lecce, Acerra, Soleto and Conversano, as well as Count of Matera

(1433-63) and of Ugento (1453-63)

[48 cont.] Nam quotiens ad nos scripsit, semper {129r} Ferdinandum regem¹ appellavit, nec aliud a² nobis³ petiit⁴ quam securitatem, ne sub illo rege periret⁵. Promittebamus id sibi. Ceterum, sumentis⁶ arma contra dominum ministrare⁷ auxilia⁸ ⁹ non debuimus¹⁰ neque¹¹ ministrantibus locum dare. Sed misimus legatum, qui¹² rebus inspectis¹³ regni regi principem¹⁴ conciliaret, quod et¹⁵ factum est, intervenientibus etiam¹⁶ Venetorum¹⁷ oratoribus¹⁸ ¹⁹, quamvis postea nova exorta discidia²⁰ simulatam fuisse concordiam²¹ ostenderunt²², ut²³ ficta²⁴ quaecumque²⁵ diuturnitate²⁶ carent²⁷. Nostri²⁸ officii erat pacem in regno quaerere, ut sive Renati, sive Ferdinandi sit, integrum potius quam lacerum²⁹ suo³⁰ domino pareat.

¹ Ferdinandum regem : regem

Ferdinandum I

² *omit.* M; ex N, S, O, P, AC

³ aliud a nobis : ex nobis aliud V

⁴ petit N, S

⁵ pertineret O

⁶ ministrantibus J

⁷ *omit.* S

⁸ auxiliari S

⁹ ministrare auxilia: auxilia

ministrare J

¹⁰ debemus P, AC

¹¹ nec I

¹² ex *add.* M

¹³ inspecti O

¹⁴ **regi principem : regem**

principi I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

¹⁵ *omit.* M

¹⁶ et *add.* N

¹⁷ Venetorum S

¹⁸ intervenientibus ... oratoribus

: Venetorum oratoribus

intervenientibus etiam I, L;

Venetorum oratoribus

intervenientibus O, P, AC

¹⁹ Venetorum oratoribus :

oratoribus Venetorum J

²⁰ discidia O; discidia I, P, AC

²¹ fuisse concordiam :

concordiam fuisse V

²² ostenderint *corr. ex*

ostenderunt N; ostenderent O,

P; ostenderint AC

²³ ne O

²⁴ *omit.* N, S, V

²⁵ quaeque I

²⁶ diurnitate N

²⁷ continet M; rerum O; rerum

innotescunt P, AC

²⁸ nostrique I, L

²⁹ laceratum I, O, P, AC

³⁰ sub V

[48 cont.] Indeed, whenever the prince wrote to Us, he called Ferrante king, and the only thing he requested of Us was security lest he perish under Ferrante as king. And that We promised him. Otherwise, We were obliged not to help anybody taking up arms against his lord nor to make it possible for others to give such help. Instead, We sent a legate to investigate the situation in the Kingdom and to effect a reconciliation between the king and the prince. This was actually achieved - with the assistance of ambassadors from Venice. Afterwards, new conflicts arose, showing that the reconciliation was not genuine - pretence does not last long! Whoever the Kingdom belonged to, whether René or Ferrante, it was our duty to let it have peace so that it would obey its master undivided rather than torn apart.

[49] Sed imputatis nobis, quod Jacobo Piccinino in regnum¹ transire volenti, quamvis² Renato stipendia faciat, iter³ praeclusimus. Nihil⁴ nobis certi⁵ de his⁶ stipendiis constat, licet vulgo ita feratur, cujus rumores saepe inanes falsosque vidimus. Illud certum est, iter a nobis Jacobum numquam⁷ petivisse⁸. Sed arguitur negatio ex copiis, quas misimus in Etruriam ex agro Bononiensi ac ex aliis gentibus, quas⁹ jussimus¹⁰ Marchiae saltus¹¹ et Apennini¹² claustra¹³ tueri. Id¹⁴ nos tutelae¹⁵ nostrae causa fecimus, veriti ne Piccinini transitus, cujus non parvae copiae feruntur esse¹⁶, agrum ecclesiae laederet¹⁷ aut mutationem aliquam in¹⁸ oppidis nostris ut¹⁹ antea faceret, in quibus plurimi sunt²⁰ ²¹ inquieti homines et rerum novarum cupidi. Nec quisquam²² arguendus est²³, si res suas diligenter custodit, in qua parte²⁴ periculosius²⁵ est nimis²⁶ sperare quam nimis²⁷ timere²⁸. Atque hoc modo singulis objectionibus respondisse sufficiat. Quod si non omnibus verba nostra²⁹ fidem faciunt, satis est nobis, quod³⁰ nemo adversus ea, quae sumus locuti³¹, absque mendacio loqui³² potest. Numquam enim aut regi Franciae aut Renato nocere studuimus³³ sive facta nostra sive verba³⁴ inspiciantur³⁵.

¹ regno J

² quamquam I; quam M;

quanto O

³ itur O

⁴ nihilque I

⁵ nobis certi : certi nobis I, L, N,

S, V; certe nobis O, P, AC

⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC

⁷ *omit.* C

⁸ petiisse J

⁹ quos AC

¹⁰ misimus P, AC

¹¹ saltum AC

¹² *omit.* O [blank space]

¹³ Apennini claustra : Apeninum

P, AC

¹⁴ quod N

¹⁵ quas jussimus ... tutelae *omit.*

M

¹⁶ **feruntur esse : esse feruntur**

I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC

¹⁷ everteret J; ederet M

¹⁸ etiam M

¹⁹ autem *add.* O

²⁰ *omit.* O

²¹ plurimi sunt : sunt plurimi J

²² **quispiam I, L, N, O, P, S, V,**

AC

²³ *omit.* M, O, P

²⁴ in qua parte *omit.* J

²⁵ periculosus V

²⁶ minus M, N; nimis *corr. ex*

minus S

²⁷ minus J

²⁸ nimis timere : timere nimis O,

P, AC

²⁹ verba nostra : nostra verba J

³⁰ quia AC

³¹ **sumus locuti : locuti sumus I,**

J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

³² *omit.* B; *add.* non L

³³ numquam ... studuimus *omit.*

N, S

³⁴ vestra P, AC

³⁵ inspiciant L; inspiciamus O,

P, AC

[49] You also rebuke Us for denying transit to Jacopo Piccinino,¹ wishing to go the Kingdom, though he was in the pay of René. Though it is a common rumour, We know nothing for sure about such an arrangement² - and we have often seen rumours to be empty and false.³ What is certain is that Jacopo never requested transit from Us. The claim that We denied it is based on the fact that We sent troops to Toscana from the territory of Bologna and from other peoples, whom We ordered to protect the passes through the March and the Apennines.⁴ This We did as a defensive measure, fearing that the passage of Piccinino, said to have a large force, would be detrimental to Church territory or cause a revolt in Our cities, as it had done previously - for in those cities there are many restless and rebellious men. Nobody can be blamed for defending his own with diligence: indeed, in this regard, it is more dangerous to hope too much than to fear too much.⁵ This must suffice as a reply to your various objections. All may not believe Our words, but for Us, it is enough that nobody can, without lying, say anything against what We have said. For never have We sought to harm the King of France or René, whether you look at Our words or Our actions.

¹ Piccinino, Jacopo (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

² On 1 November 1459, a month before the pope delivered his oration, the Duke of Milan's brother, Alessandro, had written to the duke that Piccinino seemed to have joined the French, see Nowak, p. 441-442. Also Baldi: *Pio*, pp. 133: The pope and the

Duke of Milan agreed on the importance of keeping Piccinino from passing through the territories of the Church State to join the French attack on King Ferrante. However, while the duke considered it necessary for the ducal and the papal troops to unite to achieve this purpose, the pope had to also consider the defence of Rome and

Roman territory against direct attacks of Piccinino, allied with a number of rebellious Roman barons

³ Ferente, pp. 105-107

⁴ Nowak, pp. 441-445

⁵ Piccinino actually succeeded in making his passage into the Papal State in March 1460 (Ferente, pp. 107, and Pillinini, p. 71)

[50] Sed minime pari modestia erga nos Renatus¹ est usus^{2 3}. Testis est ipse⁴ modestissimus Francorum rex, qui Renati oratores⁵ adversus nos multa locutos audivit⁶. Testes sunt quamplurimi Germaniae principes, ad quos Renati litterae pervenerunt, nos partiales atque⁷ injustos appellantes, qui domum Franciae regno Siciliae privaverimus⁸. Testes sunt subditi ejus et in⁹ Provincia et in Lotharingia, quibus imperatum est, ne nostra mandata susciperent¹⁰. Testis est¹¹ cardinalis Fuxi¹², grandaevus et fide dignus senex, qui ad nos scribens idcirco litteris¹³ suae legationis per¹⁴ Provinciam jussu {129v} Renati non esse paritum affirmat, quoniam in earum calce pontificatus¹⁵ nostri¹⁶ annus annotatus¹⁷ est. Dolentes¹⁸ haec¹⁹ et inviti referimus²⁰, non ut²¹ Renatum sugillemus²², sed ut nostram patientiam²³ ostendamus²⁴. Nam²⁵ quantum ad regem attinet²⁶, nos eum et²⁷ pium²⁸ et mansuetum existimamus, et accusari potius ab eo quam accusare eum volumus²⁹, injuriam³⁰ pati quam³¹ facere. Audimus³² apostolum dicentem: *Non³³ vos ulciscetes, carissimi, sed date locum irae. Scriptum est enim^{34 35}: mihi vindictam³⁶ et ego retribuam*. Sed neque³⁷ vindictam poscimus. Deum³⁸ potius³⁹ rogamus et obnix⁴⁰ precamur⁴¹, huic regi⁴² benignus sit⁴³ et clemens, quando per oboedientiam publice praestitam Romanae sedi⁴⁴, matri et alumnae suae, reconciliatus est. Fuerat bonus et mitis princeps, ut videmus, de veritate non vere⁴⁵ instructus; et⁴⁶ quod humanum est, credens se lacesitum injuriis, non potuit⁴⁷ non⁴⁸ lacesere⁴⁹. Sed cito ignis stipulae conticescit⁵⁰, et exundans flamma deficientibus nutrimentis paulatim emoritur⁵¹. Caveat tamen rex ipse, ne⁵² sedem apostolicam lacescendo eas incidat poenas, quibus vassalli⁵³ contra dominos committentes plectuntur.

¹ omit. M

² omit. AC

³ est usus : usus est N, O, P

⁴ ratione O

⁵ omit. B

⁶ audiunt M

⁷ nos M; ac O, P, AC

⁸ privavimus O, P, AC

⁹ et in : de P, AC

¹⁰ exequantur P

¹¹ omit. V

¹² Faxi M

¹³ est ne O; litere P

¹⁴ omit. O

¹⁵ pontificis N

¹⁶ omit. N, S

¹⁷ arnotatus M

¹⁸ dolent M; nolentes P, AC

¹⁹ enim O, P, AC

²⁰ repetimus I

²¹ regem *add.* I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

²² sigillemus I, N

²³ obedientiam O, P, AC

²⁴ ostendimus M

²⁵ nos J

²⁶ pertinet J; adtinet *corr.* ex pertinet V

²⁷ omit. L, N

²⁸ pium *corr.* from purum D; purum A, B, C, M, R

²⁹ *et add.* I, L, N, P, R, S, V, AC

³⁰ de iniuria O

³¹ injuriam *add.* V

³² audivimus M, P, AC

³³ omit. M

³⁴ da *add.* I, L

³⁵ scriptum est enim *omit.* O, P, AC

³⁶ vindicta S

³⁷ nec P, AC

³⁸ dominum B

³⁹ Deum potius : potius Deum O

⁴⁰ enixe O, P, AC

⁴¹ ut *add.* O, P, AC

⁴² legi L

⁴³ est I

⁴⁴ et *add.* O, P

⁴⁵ bene O, P, AC

⁴⁶ omit. J

⁴⁷ tacere *add.* AC

⁴⁸ omit. O

⁴⁹ alias tacere *add.* P

⁵⁰ conticescit M, O, L, S, V

⁵¹ evanescit P, AC

⁵² ut C

⁵³ vaxalli D

2.3.4.4. René's campaign against the pope

[50] But René has certainly not shown Us the same consideration. Witness is the most honorable French King himself, who has heard René's ambassadors say much against Us. Witnesses are also the many German princes who have received letters from René, calling Us partial and unjust because We have robbed the House of France of the Kingdom of Sicily. Witnesses are René's own subjects in Provence and Lorraine, who were ordered not to receive our letters. Witness is the old and trustworthy Cardinal of Foix¹ who has reported to Us that on the order of René Our letters concerning his legation in Provence are not obeyed because the year of Our pontificate is written at the end.² We are pained and unhappy to relate this, and We do not do it to humiliate King René, but only to show Our own patience. For We consider the king to be pious and clement, and We would rather be accused by him than accuse him, and rather suffer harm from him than harm him in any way. We hear the apostle say: *Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay.*³ But We do not want revenge. Rather, We ardently ask and pray that God will be benevolent and merciful towards this king since he has publicly declared his obedience to the Roman See and has reconciled with his mother and nurse. As We see, this good and gracious prince has not been correctly informed about the truth of the matter, and believing himself to be injured he had to strike back – which is only human. But a burning reed pipe soon falls silent, and without nutriment, the flame gradually dies away. However, if the king molests the Apostolic See, let him beware of those punishments that befall vassals acting against their lords.

¹ Pierre de Foix (1386-1464) : Cardinal (1409), papal legate in Avignon (1433), and Archbishop of Arles (1450)

² See the pope's letter of protest to King René of 9 May 1459 (Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 39)

³ Romans, 12, 19: *Non vosmet-ipsos defendentes/ ulciscentes carissimi, sed date locum irae. Scriptum est enim: Mihi vindicta: ego retribuam*

[51] Illud autem nobis grave et Christianae reipublicae¹ periculosum et valde noxium est, quod² stante hoc conventu Mantuano et nobis pro tutela fidei laborantibus classis Januae³ armata est⁴ et in regnum missa, et novus ignis accensus, et omnis Italiae⁵ turbata⁶ quies. Non erant haec tempora, quae novas inter Christianos lites cuperent.⁷ Cum Turcis nunc⁸ depugnandum⁹ erat, pro fide, pro religione certandum, divinus honor tuendus, quem Turci conculcare nituntur. Quo¹⁰ loco satis admirari¹¹ non¹² possumus¹³ de¹⁴ prudentia¹⁵ et in commune bonum caritate¹⁶ regis, qui cum annos¹⁷ circiter¹⁸ duodeviginti¹⁹ tacuisset, nunc demum arma sumere et regnum vindicare²⁰ adorsus est iniquo²¹ et importuno²² tempore, idque clam nobis, ad quos directum regni hujus²³ dominium spectat et de omni controversia in eo iudicium. Quibus ex rebus aperte cognoscitis,²⁴ peritissimi²⁵ oratores, non nos esse, qui Carolo Renatove, clarissimis regibus, vel domui Franciae sumus²⁶ injuriati, sed nobis potius²⁷ et Romanae sedi contumeliam irrogatam, quam pro Deo salvatore nostro parvifacimus, scientes quia²⁸ cum flagellamur, cum vituperamur, {130r} cum scandalum patimur, tunc²⁹ Deo curae sumus, dicente scriptura: *Vae mundo a³⁰ scandalis; et quem Deus diligit, corrigit³¹ atque³² castigat.*

¹ religioni O, P, AC

² quia AC

³ Genuae N, V

⁴ aut O

⁵ Italia O

⁶ est *add.* N, S

⁷ lites cuperent : cuperent lites

V

⁸ nec O

⁹ pugnandum N

¹⁰ in *add.* J

¹¹ admirandum O

¹² *omit.* O, P

¹³ et *add.* N

¹⁴ *omit.* O

¹⁵ providentia I

¹⁶ prudentia ... caritate :
providentia et intentione O, P,
AC

¹⁷ annis L

¹⁸ circa J; *omit.* O, P, AC

¹⁹ circiter duodeviginti : circiter
duoviginti M; duos et viginti O,
P, AC

²⁰ vindicare J, M, AC

²¹ in quo B

²² inopportuno AC

²³ regni hujus : hujus regni I, J,
K, S, P, AC

²⁴ L: *Here begins a lacuna which
ends in sect. 55*

²⁵ potentissimi O, P, AC

²⁶ simus A, B, C, D, R; simul N;
simul alias sumus S

²⁷ nobis potius : potius nobis P,
AC

²⁸ *omit.* M; quod P, AC

²⁹ cum O

³⁰ *omit.* O, P

³¹ arguit S

³² et R, O, P, AC

2.3.4.5. René's attack against Ferrante

[51] But this We must consider a grave and most harmful danger to the Christian Commonwealth that as We are labouring here at the Congress of Manua for the protection of the Faith, a fleet has been prepared in Genua and sent against the Kingdom, and a new fire lit, and the calm of all Italy disturbed. This is certainly not the time for new conflicts between Christians. Now, we should be fighting for Faith and Religion against the Turks, and we should be defending the honour of God that the Turks are endeavouring to destroy. Therefore, We must wonder about this king's wisdom and love of the common good, who, after 18 years of silence, has suddenly begun to take up arms and claim the Kingdom at a most unfortunate and inappropriate time. Moreover, it has been done without Our knowledge, though the direct lordship over this Kingdom and the judgment in all its conflicts belong to Us. For these reasons, you plainly see, learned ambassadors, that it is not Us who have injured the noble kings Charles and René or the House of France but Us and the Roman See who have suffered injury. For the sake of God, Our Saviour, We make little of this injury, knowing that when We are scourged, blamed and treated scandalously, then We are in God's care, for as Scripture says: *Woe to the world because of scandals,*¹ and *whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth and he scourgeth.*²

¹ Mathew, 18, 7

² Hebrews, 12, 6: *Quem enim diligit Dominus castigat:*

flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit

[52] Sed jam tempus est, ut ad petitiones vestras descendamus¹, quae hujus sententiae² sunt: ut rescindantur quaecumque Ferdinandi gratia facta sunt; regnum Renato concedamus; homagium ab eo recipiamus; legatum mittamus, qui Renati partes consoletur, Ferdinandi³ terreat; huic⁴ favores accumulet, illi auferat; Piccinino denique iter in regnum aperiemus. Postulata⁵ haec cum⁶ audimus⁷, intelligimus⁸ omnes in sua causa nimis⁹ affectos¹⁰ esse, id quoque¹¹ vobis¹² accidere¹³. Nam cum paulo ante questi essetis¹⁴, quod inaudito Renato rege, incognita causa Ferdinando regnum commissemus¹⁵, nunc¹⁶ tamen inaudito Ferdinando¹⁷, quae sunt ei concessa¹⁸ rescindi postulatis. Cur hoc vestrae¹⁹ parti arrogatis, quod alteri non debuisse concedi affirmatis? "Ut par pari referatur," dicat aliquis. Verum²⁰ haec imparia sunt. Nos Renato nihil abstulimus, ut ante monstravimus; vos quidquid concessum est²¹ Ferdinando retractari revocarique^{22 23} petititis. At²⁴ ubi de jure alieno^{25 26} abrogando agitur²⁷, audienda est altera²⁸ pars et²⁹ consulte³⁰ matureque³¹ procedendum³², ne³³ sine causa jus quaesitum, si quod est, auferatur. Cumque non ipsi simus³⁴, qui primo³⁵ in Aragonenses³⁶ jus³⁷ regni³⁸ transmisimus, et adversarius vester magnam regni partem obtineat, suadet³⁹ ratio, exposcit aequitas, requirit consuetudo, jubet antiquitas prius audiri⁴⁰ partes quam juri⁴¹ cuiuspiam⁴² detractio fiat. Quod si juris iter placet, deponenda sunt arma et legibus disputandum: nos aequi iudicis partes⁴³ tenebimus. Nam quid nostra interest, uter vestrum⁴⁴ regnum possideat^{45 46}? Quippe, si discussa causa constiterit Renati regnum esse aut ei deberi⁴⁷, non solum quae petitis, sed majora horum faciemus.

¹ conscendamus I

² summae O, P, AC

³ Ferdinando O; Ferdinandum P, AC

⁴ cui O, P

⁵ postulanda O; postulando P

⁶ omit. O

⁷ audivimus I, M, P, AC

⁸ intelleximus AC

⁹ omit. J

¹⁰ effectos O

¹¹ id quoque : idque C, M, O, P, AC

¹² nobis J, M

¹³ accidit M

¹⁴ estis O, P, S, V; sitis AC

¹⁵ commisissimus V; commisimus J, P, AC

¹⁶ nec N

¹⁷ regnum comissemus ...

Ferdinando omit. Q

¹⁸ sunt ei concessa : ei concessa sunt S

¹⁹ nostrae I

²⁰ omit. I

²¹ concessum est : concessimus R

²² revocari N, S

²³ retractari revocarique : retractarique O; revocari retractarique I

²⁴ ac M

²⁵ omit. S

²⁶ at ... alieno omit. O, P, AC

²⁷ igitur O, P, AC

²⁸ alia O, P, AC

²⁹ omit. AC

³⁰ consulto O, P, AC

³¹ consulte matureque : mature

consulteque M

³² est add. P, AC

³³ nec M

³⁴ sumus N, O

³⁵ primi V

³⁶ Aragonensem O; Ar(r)agonensem P, AC

³⁷ eius J

³⁸ possessionem add. J

³⁹ exigit AC

⁴⁰ audire O, P, AC

⁴¹ juris N, S, O, P, AC

⁴² cuiuspiam M

⁴³ partem J

⁴⁴ uter vestrum : ute O

⁴⁵ obtineat N, S

⁴⁶ regnum possideat : possideat regnum O, P, AC

⁴⁷ debere M; obedire O

2.4. Petitions of the French king

[52] But now it is time to deal with your petitions.

2.4.1. Investiture of René with the Kingdom of Naples

In sum, they are that all concessions to Ferrante should be annulled. Instead, We should give the Kingdom to René and receive homage from him. We should send a legate to help those on René's side and scare away those on Ferrante's. We should heap favours on René and take them away from Ferrante. And finally, We should open the way to the Kingdom for Piccinino. When We hear such demands, We see that all are too deeply engaged in their own cause and that this applies to you, too. For, a short while ago, you complained that We had bestowed the Kingdom on Ferrante without hearing King René and without a proper investigation of the matter, and now you demand that the concessions made to Ferrante be annulled without him having been heard. Why do you demand something for your own party which you would deny the other? "So that both parties will be treated equally," someone may say. But, really, that would be to treat the parties unequally, for as shown before, We have not deprived René of anything, but you request that what has been given to Ferrante be taken back and revoked. But whenever another party's rights are to be revoked, then that other party should be heard, and the procedure should be careful and considered lest the rights demanded [by one party], if indeed it has any, be taken away from [the other] without cause. And since it is not Us who first gave the Aragonese the right to the Kingdom, and your adversary has actual possession of the major part of it, reason urges, justice demands, custom requires, and fairness¹ enjoins Us to hear [both] parties before any of them is deprived of its rights. If the due course of law is chosen, weapons must be laid down, and the dispute must continue with legal arguments: We Ourselves shall take the part of the just judge. For why should We care which of you possess the Kingdom?² Indeed, if the judicial investigation proves that it is René who has the right to the Kingdom, We shall do as you require, nay even more.

¹ "antiquitas"

² This statement by the pope would not have seemed credible

to the audience since it was clear to all that the papacy had aligned

itself with Milan to keep the French out of Southern Italy

[53] De itinere comiti¹ Jacobo² aperiendo³, nisi ab eo petatur, et nisi⁴ se Renato militare fateatur, non videmus⁵, quid respondere possimus⁶, nec⁷ nobis⁸ satis est, quod⁹ securitatem promittitis¹⁰. Nam contra tenentes arma sola post Deum securitas est in armis. Noscimus¹¹ nostri temporis milites, et quantum eis credere oporteat, non ignoramus. Tritum¹² est¹³ illud apud eos¹⁴ detestabile verbum¹⁵: *si violandum est jus¹⁶, regnandi causa {130v} violandum*. Et illud quoque verum: *Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur¹⁷, / venalesque manus: ibi¹⁸ fas, ubi¹⁹ maxima²⁰ merces*.

[54] Nos et armis et orationibus piorum²¹ res ecclesiae servare studebimus²². Si decipiemur²³, si violabimur²⁴, ipse dominus²⁵ iudex²⁶ erit, qui ait Petro: *modice fidei, quare dubitasti?* Et²⁷ praesentia et futura in manu Dei sunt: ipse nos²⁸ secundum suam voluntatem²⁹ dirigat, et ad eam vestrorum etiam^{30 31} regum³² corda³³ mentesque trahat³⁴, pacemque³⁵ illis³⁶ Christianam suadeat, qua³⁷ nihil dulcius, nihil suavius inveniri potest. Etenim cur non potius dimissis³⁸ armis aut per communes amicos aut legibus³⁹ et⁴⁰ jure haec lis⁴¹ regni dirimitur? Si bellum eligitur⁴², hoc est, quod milites optant, equites, pedites⁴³ hoc illi immortale⁴⁴ cupiunt⁴⁵ esse: hinc aluntur, hinc⁴⁶ pinguescunt, hinc et ad principatus et ad regna conspirant. Satius⁴⁷ fuerit⁴⁸ regnum amittere, quam eos alere canes, qui omnes regni opes et⁴⁹ ipsos denique reges devorent.

¹ comitis O
² comiti Jacobo : comitis Jacobi P, AC
³ arripiendo M
⁴ non O
⁵ audemus M
⁶ possumus O
⁷ neque A, B, C, D, J, M, R, N, S, V; nam I
⁸ vobis V
⁹ quia AC
¹⁰ promittat N; promittit S
¹¹ nescimus C; non scimus O; cognoscimus AC
¹² tutum M
¹³ esse M
¹⁴ illud apud eos : apud eos illud V
¹⁵ proverbium S, V; proverbium *corr. ex* verbum N

¹⁶ est jus : jus est I, N, S, V
¹⁷ et illud ... sequuntur *omit.* N, S
¹⁸ ubi M
¹⁹ ibi O
²⁰ plurima I, N, S, V, O, P, AC
²¹ pias N; *omit.* S
²² studuimus I
²³ deiciemur I; decipimur M, S
²⁴ violamur O, S
²⁵ Deus I; ut O
²⁶ vindex N, S, V
²⁷ *omit.* AC
²⁸ ius O
²⁹ suam voluntatem : voluntatem suam O, P, AC
³⁰ quoque I
³¹ vestrorum etiam : etiam vestrorum O, P, V, AC
³² regnum M
³³ regum corda : manus AC

³⁴ trahant O
³⁵ pacem I
³⁶ illi O
³⁷ quia O
³⁸ dimissis *corr. ex.* admissis N; admissis S
³⁹ juribus M
⁴⁰ aut I, P, AC
⁴¹ lex O
⁴² *omit.* V
⁴³ peditesque N, S, V; *omit.* O, P, AC
⁴⁴ immortales O; mortale R
⁴⁵ capiunt J
⁴⁶ *omit.* O
⁴⁷ sanctius I
⁴⁸ fuit P
⁴⁹ *omit.* S

2.4.2. Right of transit through papal territories

[53] In the matter of letting Count Jacopo pass through [Our territories], We do not see what We can answer unless he makes a request and states directly that he is fighting for René. And it is not sufficient that you promise security, for against people holding arms, the only security, after God, is in arms. We know the soldiers of this age, and We are quite aware to what extent¹ they can be trusted. There is a common and detestable saying among them that *If wrong may e'er be right, for a throne's sake were wrong most right.*² This, too, is said – and truly so: *Men who follow the camp have no loyalty, no sense of duty: / their swords are for sale; / the cause that offers immediate reward is the good cause.*³

2.4.3. Conclusion

[54] We shall endeavour to defend the Church both with arms and with the prayers of the pious. If We are disappointed, if We suffer violence, then Our judge will be God, who said to Peter: *O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?*⁴ The present and the future are in the hands of God. He rules according to His own will, He bends the hearts and minds of your kings to it, and urges them to [work for] peace among Christians. Nothing is sweeter, nothing more delightful than that peace.⁵ So, why not lay down your arms and settle this conflict through mutual friends or legal procedure? If you choose war, you do as the soldiers want. Indeed, both knights and common soldiers desire that war should be permanent since they are living by war, grow fat by war, and aspire to princedoms and kingdoms through war.⁶ It would be better to lose the Kingdom than to foster those dogs who devour all the wealth of a kingdom and finally the kings themselves.

¹ I.e. how little

² Verse from Euripides: *The Phoenician*, 524-525, quoted by Cicero, in Latin, speaking of Caesar. Cicero: *De officiis*, 3. 21.82: *Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi grati violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.* See

also Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum*, 1 [Divus Julius], 30.5

³ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 10.407-408

⁴ Matthew, 14, 31

⁵ Cicero: *Philippicae*, 13.1.1

⁶ As had the pope's own ally, Francesco Sforza, who from

condottiero had become Duke of Milan. And as Jacobo Piccinino had been trying to do when he attacked Siena in 1456. The duke might not have appreciated the reference to the dogs of war

[55] Exposit praeterea tempus hoc, ut Christiani¹ sepositis² inter³ se⁴ odiis, concordibus animis⁵ atque studiis⁶, ad tutelam⁷ fidei se accingant⁸ et tela, quae viscera nostra⁹ fodiunt, Turcorum pectora feriant. Juvate nos, oratores, et ingenia vestra¹⁰ intendite, aperite media¹¹, excogitate¹² vias, quibus non solum hae¹³ lites regni, sed aliae quoque Christianorum controversiae sopiantur. Audiemus consilia vestra, judiciis vestris plurimum tribuemus. Nolite nobis, nolite Christo deesse. Christi hoc negotium est. Ex latere nostro¹⁴ nihil¹⁵ deerit. Quidquid¹⁶ in nobis aut¹⁷ consilii aut auxilii erit¹⁸, studii¹⁹ 20, diligentiae²¹ vobis et²² reipublicae in hac parte²³ communicabimus.

[56] Nostro²⁴ iudicio nullo²⁵ pacto ferendum est²⁶, ut haec regni²⁷ dissensio²⁸ latius efferatur: aut pace aut²⁹ induitiis³⁰ componenda est. Si ferro dimicatur³¹, actum est³² de regno et verendum, ne hoc incendium³³ per omnem Italiam latius³⁴ evaetur. Injuriosi essemus et inimici³⁵ patriae³⁶, si³⁷ pro nostra³⁸ virili³⁹ pacare Italiam non curaremus. Dissidentes in Germania principes per legatos conciliavimus⁴⁰, et nunc viscera nostra patiemur evelli, Italiam lacerari, regnum ecclesiae incendi, diripi⁴¹, desolari? Non fient⁴² haec nobis⁴³ volentibus⁴⁴. In Turcos, qui vere Christianus est⁴⁵, in Turcos⁴⁶ 47 armari debet et Christiano parcere sanguini⁴⁸. Non debet Renato durum videri, si pro communi salute paululum⁴⁹ arma {131r} continere⁵⁰ rogatur⁵¹, qui per tot annos nullo rogante continuit⁵². Cogitemus tandem⁵³ 54 quo pacto regnum hoc⁵⁵ quietum reddatur, et non⁵⁶ sinamus hanc⁵⁷ portam⁵⁸ aperiri Turco⁵⁹. [cont.]

¹ Christianis S
² suppositis M; depositis R
³ in B
⁴ inter se : intestinis I
⁵ armis I
⁶ stipendiis J
⁷ cautelam O
⁸ attingant M, O
⁹ viscera nostra : nostra viscera M
¹⁰ ingenia vestra : vestra ingenia M
¹¹ montes J; medias S
¹² L: *Here ends the lacuna which began in sect. 51*
¹³ hec J, M
¹⁴ ex latere nostro *omit.* AC
¹⁵ nil I
¹⁶ que quidem S
¹⁷ *omit.* O, P, AC
¹⁸ et O
¹⁹ ac *add.* J
²⁰ erit studii : aut studii erit N
²¹ diligentes N; diligentis S
²² ac J

²³ hac parte : parte hac O
²⁴ vestro N, S
²⁵ vestro N, S
²⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC
²⁷ regna M
²⁸ discensio M; discensio O;
dissentio P
²⁹ *omit.* O
³⁰ iudiciis M, O, P, AC
³¹ dimicatur *corr. ex* dimittitur D;
dimittitur A, B, C, J, M, R, L, N, V;
dimittitur *et in marg.:* vel
dimicandum I; demittitur O;
commictitur S; dirimitur P, AC
³² *omit.* V
³³ *et add.* M
³⁴ per omnem Italiam latius :
latius per omnem italiam S
³⁵ iniuria O
³⁶ patris O
³⁷ sed N
³⁸ nostro B
³⁹ vi S; parte *add.* O, P, AC
⁴⁰ conciliamus AC
⁴¹ dirimi et I; dirrupi M

⁴² fiunt J
⁴³ haec nobis : nobis hec O
⁴⁴ nobis volentibus : volentibus
nobis I, V
⁴⁵ *omit.* J, M
⁴⁶ Turchorum M
⁴⁷ in Turcos *omit.* S
⁴⁸ sanguine S
⁴⁹ paulum I
⁵⁰ arma *add.* M
⁵¹ cogatur P, AC
⁵² **conticuit N, S, V, O, P;**
conticuit corr. ex continuit AC
⁵³ demum C
⁵⁴ cogitemus tandem *omit.* N
⁵⁵ regnum hoc : hoc regnum N,
S
⁵⁶ *omit.* O
⁵⁷ hac M
⁵⁸ hanc portam : portam hanc
O, P, AC
⁵⁹ aperiri Turco : Turco aperiri P,
AC

3. French contribution to the crusade

[55] Moreover, the times require that the Christians should put an end to their enmities and prepare themselves for the defence of the Faith with united minds and energies: indeed, the weapons now piercing our own entrails should be turned against Turkish breasts. Help us, ambassadors! Turn your minds towards, be open to, and think of ways of solving not only the conflicts concerning this Kingdom, but also the other conflicts between Christians. Let Us hear your advice. Indeed, We attach the utmost importance to your opinions. Do not fail Us; do not fail Christ, for this matter is Christ's own. On Our side, nothing will be lacking. Whatever We have, counsel, help, energy and diligence, We shall share with you and the Commonwealth.

[56] In Our judgment, it is intolerable that this conflict about the Kingdom be carried any further: it should be settled either through peace or by way of a truce. If the fighting continues, the Kingdom is finished, and it must be feared that the fire spread to all of Italy. We would harm the fatherland and be its enemy if We did not seek to make peace in Italy with all Our strength. Through Our legates, we have reconciled the warring princes in Germany, so why should We now tolerate that our own entrails be torn out, that Italy be destroyed, and that the realm of the Church¹ be set on fire, robbed, and wasted? This will not happen if We can prevent it. Every true Christian must arm himself against the Turks and spare Christian blood. It should not seem hard to René if, for the sake of the common good, he is asked to refrain from war for a period, considering that he has stayed passive for so many years when nobody asked him to. So, let Us consider how this Kingdom can have peace, and let Us not allow the gate to be opened to the Turk.² *[cont.]*

¹ The Kingdom of Naples

² The Turks could easily invade Italy through the harbour cities

in the South and actually did so 20 years later

[56 cont.] Nihil¹ ille² magis cupit, quam vires Italicas inter se concurrere, ut³ tandem ab his vocetur, qui fuerint⁴ debiliores⁵, sicut in Graecia factum est⁶. Dissidentibus⁷ enim⁸ inter se Constantinopolitanis imperatoribus vocati in auxilium Turci ab his⁹, qui erant inferiores, utramque¹⁰ denique partem¹¹ opprimerunt. Agite, praestabiles oratores, incumbite huic parti, consulite in medium, quae pacis sunt. Nam hoc¹² potissimum est, quod sapientissimum regem¹³ vestrum vobis¹⁴ mandasse in litteris ejus vidimus.

[57] Intellexit prudentissima serenitas sua¹⁵ ad domandam¹⁶ Turcorum ferociam¹⁷ Christianorum pacem atque¹⁸ concordiam necessariam esse¹⁹ ejusque rei curam in hoc conventu vestrae circumspectioni commisit. Expectamus²⁰, quae media quaerendae pacis afferatis. Maximi et potentissimi²¹ regis vices geritis, multum in vobis²² situm²³ est²⁴. Imperator eo animo est²⁵, ut pax per omnem Christianitatem reformetur; idem propositum nostrum est. Si²⁶ concurrit²⁷ rex vester, concurrent²⁸ et²⁹ alii³⁰ quamplurimi, et cessabunt tandem³¹ civilia et intestina bella, vertentur Christianorum tela in hostes fidei, sentient³² Turci, quid³³ valeat Christianus miles, et quantus in hostem³⁴ assurgat. Christianissimus³⁵ rex vester³⁶ consensu populorum, gentium³⁷ nationumque vocitatur³⁸, magni honoris nomen gerit³⁹; servanda est et ad posterum transmittenda haec dignitas virtute majorum⁴⁰ quaesita. [cont.]

¹ nil I; enim *add.* O, P, AC

² enim D

³ et M

⁴ fuerunt J, O

⁵ fuerint debiliores : debiliores

fuerint N

⁶ *omit.* L

⁷ dissidentibus M

⁸ autem M

⁹ iis I

¹⁰ utrumque O, P, AC

¹¹ *omit.* O, P, AC

¹² quod *add.* O

¹³ *omit.* O

¹⁴ nobis M, N, V, S, P, AC

¹⁵ prudentissima ... sua :

prudentissima sua serenitas O;

sua prudentissima serenitas P,

AC

¹⁶ evitandum I; domandum O

¹⁷ saevitiam P, AC

¹⁸ pacem atque : pacemque M

¹⁹ *omit.* O

²⁰ exspectamus O

²¹ potissimi O

²² nobis V

²³ scitum M

²⁴ *omit.* L

²⁵ eo animo est : est eo animo L

²⁶ eo *add.* O, P, AC

²⁷ concurrerit I

²⁸ concurrunt S

²⁹ *omit.* J

³⁰ et *add.* S

³¹ *omit.* N

³² sentiant O

³³ quam P, AC

³⁴ hostes I, M, O, P, AC

³⁵ *omit.* O; Christianus P, AC

³⁶ noster M

³⁷ *omit.* AC

³⁸ Christianissimus *add.* P, AC

³⁹ erit M

⁴⁰ aliorum O

[56 cont.] For his greatest wish is a conflict between the powers of Italy, leading, in the end, to his being called in by the weaker part, as happened in Greece. For when, during a conflict between Constantinopolitan emperors, the weaker party called in the Turks,¹ the Turks eventually subjugated both parties. So, act now, distinguished ambassadors, take up this matter,² and give your advice on how to make peace. For, as We have seen in the letter from your most wise king, this is what he has commanded you to do above all.

[57] In his great wisdom, His Serenity knows that peace and concord among Christians is necessary to tame the savage Turks, and he has entrusted this matter, in this Congress, to your sagacity. We are waiting to hear how you will contribute to the quest for peace. You are acting on behalf of a great and mighty king, and much depends on you. The emperor believes peace must be restored throughout Christendom, and We share this belief. If your king agrees, many others will agree, and ultimately, civil and internal wars will end. The weapons of the Christians will be turned against the enemies of the Faith. The Turks will know what a Christian soldier is worth and how he stands up against the enemy. The peoples and the nations agree in calling your king Most Christian. This title carries great honour. It has been obtained through the virtue of his ancestors and must be cherished and handed on to his descendants. [cont.]

¹ Like John VI Kantakouzenos, who in 1347 defeated his rival for the imperial throne, John V

Palaeologus, with the aid of the Ottoman Turks

² "incumbite huic parti"

[57 cont.] Verum¹ sicut *imperia*, ita et egregia cognomina *his artibus retinentur*, quibus ab initio *parta*² sunt. Franci, cum³ ab initio pro defensione et augmento catholicae⁴ fidei, pro tutela et⁵ gloria⁶ Romanae sedis, nulla timerent⁷ pericula, nullos declinarent⁸ labores, nullos fugerent⁹ sumptus¹⁰, sed delicias, voluptates, regna, imperia, et¹¹ ipsam denique vitam pro communi salute contemnerent¹², et nunc in Europa, nunc in Asia¹³, adversus¹⁴ inimicos crucis depugnarent¹⁵, Christianissimi¹⁶ jure¹⁷ merito¹⁸ vocati sunt. His nunc itineribus incedendum est, ut haereditas tanti nominis conservetur.

[58] Venistis, oratores, ad hunc conventum, qui de communi Christianorum salute sollicitus est. Rex maximus et potentissimus vos misit, in quem omnium oculi¹⁹ respiciunt²⁰, cujus progenitores saepe rem Christianam tutati sunt. Audiamus, quam rebus afflictis consolationem affertis²¹. Non ambigimus²², quin²³ vobis multa commissa sint²⁴. Consulite in medium, quae pacis inter Christianos, quae belli contra Turcos sint; et spem, quam de vestro²⁵ adventu concepimus²⁶, implete. Sapientes²⁷ viri estis, et periculum²⁸, {131v} in quo²⁹ sumus, agnoscitis³⁰. Christi an Mahumeti³¹ lex plus valeat, in³² certamen³³ venit. Jam³⁴ ferus ille et³⁵ terribilis coluber evangelium salvatoris nostri³⁶ ex³⁷ Asia deturbavit. Aegyptios, Afros³⁸, Mauros et Hispaniae partem³⁹ suae⁴⁰ vesaniae subegit, et diebus nostris Bizantium⁴¹, regiam⁴² urbem et orientalis imperii⁴³ quondam⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ caput, armis evicit, et usque ad Danubium et Savum⁴⁶ signa⁴⁷ protulit⁴⁸. Jam Hungaris imminet⁴⁹, jamjam⁵⁰ Germaniae et Italiae servitutem minatur, nec cessabit victoriam sequi, nisi magno resistamus⁵¹ animo⁵².

¹ rerum N
² parta *corr. ex.* parta A; parata N, S
³ tamen N; autem P, AC
⁴ apostolicae I
⁵ pro M
⁶ *omit.* O
⁷ timuerunt O, P, AC
⁸ dedignarentur M; dedignarent R; declinaverant O; declinaverunt P, AC
⁹ fugerunt P, AC
¹⁰ sumptos O
¹¹ *omit.* P, AC
¹² comntemnerent *corr. ex* contempserunt P; contempserunt AC
¹³ cum *add.* AC
¹⁴ versus N
¹⁵ pugnarent J
¹⁶ Christi N
¹⁷ *omit.* S

¹⁸ meritoque J
¹⁹ omnium oculi : oculi omnium O, P, AC
²⁰ conspiciunt S
²¹ fertis N; affertis *corr. ex.* fertis S; afferatis M, O, P, AC
²² ambigemus M
²³ quoniam N
²⁴ sunt N, S; sint *corr. ex* sunt V
²⁵ nostro L
²⁶ concipimus M
²⁷ sapienti N
²⁸ in periculo M
²⁹ estis et *add.* P, AC
³⁰ cognoscitis J
³¹ Maumethis A, B; Mahumetis C
³² inter I
³³ certamine M
³⁴ venit jam : jam venit O, P, AC
³⁵ est S

³⁶ salvatoris nostri : nostri salvatoris P, AC
³⁷ de S
³⁸ Asios P
³⁹ partes R
⁴⁰ sui M
⁴¹ Birantum M
⁴² egregiam J; regina O
⁴³ orientalis imperii : imperii orientalis P, AC
⁴⁴ *omit.* S
⁴⁵ imperii quondam : quondam imperii N
⁴⁶ Samum I; Sanium M
⁴⁷ arma C; insignia I
⁴⁸ pertulit P
⁴⁹ eminet L, P
⁵⁰ Januam N, S; jam I, O, V
⁵¹ resistemus N, S; resistimus P, AC
⁵² *omit.* V

[57 cont.] Indeed, just like *sovereignty*, eminent titles are *preserved by those practices which brought them into being in the first place*.¹ In the beginning, the Franks feared no dangers, refused no labour, and spared no costs for the protection and glory of the Roman See and for the defence and expansion of the Catholic Faith. Indeed, they gave up delights, pleasures, kingdoms, empires and even their lives for the sake of the common good, and they fought the enemies of the Cross sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia. Rightly, they were called Most Christian. Now, the same path must be followed to preserve the inheritance of such a great name.

[58] You have come, ambassadors, to this congress, dealing with the common safety of the Christians. You have been sent by a great and mighty prince, whom all are looking to and whose ancestors often defended the Christian cause. Let Us hear what comfort you are bringing in these calamities. We do not doubt that you hold great things in trust. Please give your advice on what should be done about peace between Christians and war against Turks. And do fulfil the hopes kindled by your arrival. You are wise men, and you know our danger. A battle is coming to decide whether the law of Christ or of Muhammad shall prevail. Already, this savage and terrible serpent has driven the Gospel of Our Saviour from Asia. He has subjected the Egyptians, the Africans, the Moors and a part of Spain to his own folly, and in our own time, he has conquered Byzantium, royal city and once the capital of the Oriental Empire. He has now sent his standards forward to the Danube and the Savus. He is now looming over the Hungarians, and he is already threatening Germany and Italy with servitude. He will not stop pursuing victory unless we resist him courageously.

¹ Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*,
2.5: *Imperium facile his artibus*

*retinetur quibus initio partum
est*

[59] Taedet referre, quanta¹ patiuntur infelices Christiani, qui proximi sunt² rugienti et saevissimo leoni. In servitute pueri rapiuntur³ ⁴. Matronae ac⁵ puellae libidinem foedissimae gentis explere⁶ coguntur. Virorum alii cruces, alii palos⁷ subeunt. Quidam exemplo Isaiae per medium⁸ secti⁹ animas tradunt. Quibusdam etiam¹⁰ vivis¹¹ in morem¹² Bartholomaei cutis adimitur¹³. Nullum tormenti genus¹⁴ nostri non ferunt. Non aetati, non sexui parcitur. Sanguis omnium, qui pereunt, ex nostris manibus¹⁵ requiretur¹⁶. Jam Rasciani¹⁷ aetate nostra desciverunt¹⁸ a fide, jam Bosnenses¹⁹ defecerunt. Bulgaria²⁰ et Graecia tota Turcorum est, nisi Peloponnesi²¹ portio quaedam. Albani exhausti sunt, Hungari fessi, Valachi exterriti²²: nisi opem ferimus, aut fugere aut sese dedere²³ et cum perfido²⁴ Mahumeto Christum blasphemare²⁵ coguntur. Et nos interim miseri inter nos contendimus.²⁶ Absint²⁷ hae²⁸ lites, facessant²⁹ Christiana³⁰ jurgia³¹, resurgat pax, si non perpetua saltem temporalis, donec Turcorum pestis ab Europa ejiciatur³². Quod facile fiet, si magnus et pius rex vester³³ suas manus, suas operas interposuerit, et vos ipsi suo nomine³⁴ totis assurgatis viribus, consulendo, dirigendo, agendo, nihil omittendo usquequo³⁵ pace inter Christianos composita³⁶, terrestris et maritimus exercitus ducatur in Turcos, adversus quos raro³⁷ sine³⁸ Francorum sanguine feliciter pugnatum est.

¹ quanto O

² *omit.* M

³ capiuntur P, AC

⁴ qui proximi ... rapiuntur *omit.*

O

⁵ et J

⁶ replere O, P, AC

⁷ palas AC

⁸ medios J

⁹ **per medium secti : septi per medium L, O; secti medium V; secti per medium I, N, S, P, AC**

¹⁰ *omit.* V

¹¹ iuris L; viris N, S

¹² modum I

¹³ eximitur I

¹⁴ est quod *add. suprascr.* V

¹⁵ nostris manibus : manibus

nostris I

¹⁶ requiritur M

¹⁷ Rasienses N; Rusciani AC

¹⁸ desiguerunt B; desiverunt C;

desinerunt M, R

¹⁹ Bohemi O, P, AC

²⁰ Hungaria N; Burgaria S, V

²¹ Peloponensi L, N;

Peloponensis S; Peloponesi V

²² extincti N; exterminati S

²³ aut fugere aut sese dedere :

aut sese dedere aut fugere S

²⁴ perfide M

²⁵ et cum perfido ...

blasphemare *omit.* J

²⁶ contendemus AC

²⁷ abeant J; absunt O

²⁸ hec M

²⁹ fatigant M; cessent S

³⁰ *omit.* P, AC

³¹ Christiana jurgia : jurgia

Christiana M

³² **dejiciatur I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

³³ rex vester : vester rex P, AC

³⁴ suo nomine *omit.* O, P, AC

³⁵ us S

³⁶ posita I

³⁷ Caroli N

³⁸ sive N

[59] It is sickening to relate the great sufferings of the unhappy Christians living as neighbours of the roaring and ferocious lion. Boys are carried into slavery. Matrons and girls are forced to satisfy the lusts of this shameless people. Some men die on the cross, and some on the stake. Others like Isaiah give up their souls being sawn in half. Others again are flayed alive like Bartholomew. Our people suffer all kinds of torment. Neither age nor sex is spared. We shall be held to account for the blood of all who perish. Now, in our own time, the Serbians have fallen from the Faith, and the Bosnians have deserted. All of Bulgaria and Greece are in the hands of the Turks, except a part of the Peloponnese. The Albanians are worn down, the Hungarians exhausted, the Wallachians terrified. Unless we bring them help, they will be forced to flee or surrender and,, following the infidel Muhammad, blaspheme Christ. In the meantime we wretches fight between ourselves. Away with these conflicts, away with quarrels between Christians. Let peace arise again, if not forever, then at least until the Turkish plague has been driven out of Europe. This will happen easily if your great and pious king gives his support and help to the cause, and if you yourselves, in his name and to your greatest ability, consult, direct and act, omitting nothing until there is peace between Christians and a land army and a naval force is sent against the Turks, whom we have rarely fought successfully without the participation of French royal family¹.

¹ "sanguis"

[60] Ceterum, quia pragmaticae sanctionis superius incidit mentio¹, cuius secreta magis pulsavimus, quam aperuimus, urget nos² conscientia³ immo vero⁴ caritas, qua genti vestrae devincti⁵ sumus, priusquam⁶ finem dicendi⁷ facimus⁸, de hac re pauca⁹ libere¹⁰, ne taciturnitas nostra indulgentia videatur¹¹, et quod¹² sanabile vulnus est¹³, fiat mortale¹⁴, et nos a consortio vestro oporteat¹⁵ abstinere, quoniam sicut¹⁶ in veteri lege sancitum est¹⁷, *super¹⁸ omnem animam, quae mortua est, non ingreditur pontifex*, quod teste Jeronimo perinde¹⁹ accipiendum est, ac si dicat: *ubicumque peccatum est, et in peccato mors²⁰, illuc²¹ pontifex non accedat²²*. Cupimus sanctam esse Francorum gentem et omni carere {132r} macula et cum apostolo dicere: *Despondi²³ enim vos uni viro virginem²⁴ castam exhibere Christo²⁵*. At hoc fieri non potest, nisi haec sanctionis macula²⁶ seu ruga deponatur, quae quomodo introducta sit, ipsi²⁷ nostis²⁸. Certe non auctoritate generalis synodi nec Romanorum²⁹ decreto pontificum recepta³⁰ est, quamvis de causis ecclesiasticis³¹ tractans³² absque placito Romanae sedis stare non possit.

¹ ratio R

² non M

³ congruentia O, P, AC

⁴ verus S

⁵ devicti J

⁶ quam S

⁷ finem dicendi : dicendi finem
M, N, S

⁸ *omit.* O; faciamus J, N, P, AC

⁹ de hac re pauca *omit.* P; hac
re pauca : ea aliqua AC

¹⁰ libet dicere N

¹¹ **reputetur I, L, N, O, P, S, V,
AC**

¹² quidem N, S

¹³ *omit.* J; et N, S

¹⁴ immortale N, S, V

¹⁵ oportet S

¹⁶ *omit.* M, O

¹⁷ *omit.* V

¹⁸ supra P, AC

¹⁹ proinde J, O, P, AC

²⁰ et in peccato mors *omit.* J

²¹ illic N; illud O

²² **accedet I, L, N, P, S, AC;**

accedit O

²³ dispondi M

²⁴ *omit.* P

²⁵ *omit.* J

²⁶ sanctionis macula : macula
sanctionis N

²⁷ ipsa O

²⁸ nostri N; nescitis P, AC

²⁹ Romano O

³⁰ accepta N, S

³¹ ecclesias L

³² tractarunt O; tractatus AC

4. Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, 1438

[60] There has been mention of the Pragmatic Sanction, whose secrets We have just touched upon and not gone deeply into.¹ Now, before We finish this oration, Our conscience and indeed Our love for your people urge Us to say a few words on this matter lest Our silence be seen as tolerance and a healable wound become mortal and make it necessary for Us to keep apart from fellowship with you.² For in the Old Law it is written that the *High Priest shall not go in at all to any dead person*,³ which according to Jerome means that *wherever a sin has been committed and there is death in that sin, there the high priest shall no go*.^{4 5} We desire the French people to be holy and unblemished and to say with the apostle: *For I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ*.⁶ But this cannot happen unless the blemish or the wrinkle of the sanction is removed. You know how it was established: certainly, it was never accepted by the authority of a general synod⁷ nor by any decree of the Roman pontiffs, but since it deals with ecclesiastical matters, it is not valid without the assent of the Roman See.

¹ On Charles VII and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, III, ch. 13

² This is a veiled threat of excommunication

³ Leviticus, 21, 11: *pontifex ... et ad omnem mortuum non ingreditur omnino*. Pius quotes the Latin text after Jerome

⁴ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 64 (Ad Fabiolam), 3. In: MPL, XXII, col. 610. Note the use of allegory

⁵ Elsewhere, Pius entertains the notion of a translation of the priesthood from the Jewish high priests to the Roman popes

⁶ 1. Corinthians, 11, 2

⁷ The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 built - with some modifications -

upon a number of key decrees of the Council of Basel, from the period in which it was recognized by Pope Eugenius IV. The council may not formally have approved the text of the Sanction, but it was not required to

[61] Ferunt aliqui¹ initium ei² datum, quia nimis onerarent Romani³ pontifices regnum Franciae nimiasque pecunias inde⁴ ⁵ corraderent⁶. Mirum⁷ si haec ratio Carolum movit, quem praecessoris⁸ sui magni Caroli imitatore⁹ decebat⁹ ¹⁰ esse, cujus haec verba leguntur: *In memoriam¹¹ beati Petri apostoli honoremus sanctam Romanam ecclesiam et¹² apostolicam sedem¹³, ut quae nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat¹⁴ ecclesiasticae magistra rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, et licet vix ferendum¹⁵ ab illa sancta sede imponatur jugum, tamen feramus et pia devotione toleremus.* Non est credibile Carolum, qui modo regnat, suo sensu¹⁶ hanc pragmaticam introduxisse. Deceptum putamus et pia¹⁷ menti¹⁷ suggesta fuisse¹⁸ non vera¹⁹. Nam quo pacto religiosus princeps²⁰ ea servari sivist²¹, quorum praetextu²² summa²³ sedis apostolicae auctoritas laeditur²⁴, et²⁵ religionis nostrae²⁶ vires enervantur, unitasque²⁷ ecclesiae et libertas perimitur? Durum verbum²⁸, durius²⁹ factum. Audite patienter, hortamur³⁰. Vulnera, quae putrescunt, non olei lenitate, sed vini potius³¹ austeritate sanantur³².

¹ idcirco *add. in marg.* D;
idcirco add. I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC
² initium ei : ei initium J
³ Romanos O
⁴ unde J; *omit.* AC
⁵ pecunias inde : inde pecunias
O, P
⁶ corroderent J, M, P, N, S
⁷ dirum M
⁸ praecessoris *corr. ex*
praecessores A; praecessores C, J,
R; praedecessoris D, **I, L, N, O,**
S, AC; predecessores P, V
⁹ dicebat C, M; decebant J

¹⁰ **imitatore⁹ decebat : decebat**
imitatore I, L, O, P, S, V, AC;
dicebat imitatore N
¹¹ memoria N, AC
¹² *omit.* J
¹³ *omit.* O
¹⁴ debebat S
¹⁵ *omit.* J
¹⁶ suo sensu *omit.* N
¹⁷ pia¹⁷ menti : pia mente S
¹⁸ esse R
¹⁹ fuisse non vera : non fuisse
vera C
²⁰ *omit.* R

²¹ sinisset *corr. ex* sivist L;
scivist J, M, V; sinisset N, R
²² praetexta N
²³ summae N
²⁴ legitur J
²⁵ *omit.* O, P, AC
²⁶ vestre R
²⁷ unitas B, M, P
²⁸ durum verbum : verbum
durum O, P, AC
²⁹ durum M
³⁰ *et add.* M
³¹ vini potius : pocius vini J, S
³² satiantur N; sanentur S

[61] Some say it was caused by the Roman pontiffs overtaxing the Kingdom of France and collecting too much money from it. It would be remarkable if such a reason could have moved Charles,¹ who ought to imitate his predecessor, Charlemagne, writing as follows: *In memory of the blessed Apostle Peter, let us honour the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. As she is our mother by virtue of her priestly dignity, she should also be our teacher by virtue of her ecclesiastical office. Therefore, we should be subservient to her with all meekness, and even when a barely tolerable yoke is put upon us by that Holy See, we should carry it and bear it with pious devotion.*² It is not believable that the Charles who reigns now could have introduced the Pragmatic Sanction on his own. We believe he was deceived and that falsities were presented to his pious mind. For how could a religious prince allow such things that serve as a pretext to damage and undermine the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, to weaken the sinews of our religion, and to destroy the unity and liberty of the Church? These words are hard, but the deed is even harder. We exhort you to listen patiently. Festering wounds are cleaned not with mild oil but with sharp wine.

¹ Charles VII

² Decretum, D.19.3. The text quoted by Piccolomini is a late

forgery. It was also used by Piccolomini in his oration against

the Austrians, the "*Sentio*" [20] (1452), sect. 97

[62] Non ponderamus causarum auditiones¹, non beneficiorum collationem², non alia multa, quae curare putamus. Illud nos angit, quod animarum perditionem ruinamque cernimus et nobilissimi regni gloriam labefactari³. Nam quo pacto tolerandum est clericorum iudices laicos esse factos? Pastorum causas oves⁴ cognoscere? Siccine *regale genus et sacerdotale* sumus⁵? Non explicabimus honoris causa⁶ quam⁷ diminuta est in Gallia sacerdotalis auctoritas: episcopi⁸ melius norunt⁹, qui pro nutu saecularis potestatis¹⁰ spiritualem gladium nunc exerunt¹¹, nunc reconduunt¹². Praesul vero Romanus, cuius parochia orbis est, cuius provincia nec¹³ Oceano clauditur, in regno Franciae tantum¹⁴ jurisdictionis habet¹⁵, quantum placet parlamento. Non sacrilegum, non paricidam¹⁶, non haereticum punire¹⁷ permittitur, quamvis ecclesiasticum, nisi parlamenti consensus adsit, cuius tantam¹⁸ esse¹⁹ auctoritatem nonnulli existimant²⁰, ut censuris²¹ etiam²² nostris praecludere aditum possit²³. Sic iudex iudicum²⁴, Romanus pontifex, iudicio²⁵ parlamenti subiectus est. Si hoc admittimus, monstruosam²⁶ ecclesiam facimus, et hydram²⁷ {132v} multorum capitum introducimus, et unitatem prorsus extinguimus. Periculosa haec²⁸ res esset²⁹, venerabiles fratres, quae³⁰ hierarchiam³¹ omnem confunderet³². Nam cur regibus, cur aliis praesulibus³³ sui subditi³⁴ pareant³⁵, cum ipsi superiori suo non³⁶ pareant³⁷? Quam quisque legem in alium statuerit³⁸, eam sibi servandam putet. Verendum est, ne prope adsit, quod ad Galatas³⁹ significare videtur⁴⁰ apostolus, quia *post discessionem*⁴¹ *revelabitur*⁴² *homo*⁴³ *peccati*. Adventum⁴⁴ quippe⁴⁵ Antichristi⁴⁶ sollicitant, qui discessionem⁴⁷ a Romana⁴⁸ ecclesia quaerunt⁴⁹, quam⁵⁰ prae se ferre⁵¹ videntur, quae sub obtentu pragmatice⁵² fieri dicuntur.

¹ auditores M; auditionem C, I, J, L, N, O, P, S, AC
² collationum M
³ labefacturi O
⁴ causas oves : oves causas P
⁵ suum P, AC
⁶ causam J
⁷ quantum AC
⁸ et P, AC
⁹ gnorunt P
¹⁰ status I
¹¹ exercent N, S, O, P, AC
¹² recludunt I, L; recludunt N, S; excludunt O, P, AC
¹³ omit. N
¹⁴ quantum O
¹⁵ habebit AC
¹⁶ parricidam D, I, L, N, S; patricidam P, AC
¹⁷ puniri C, R
¹⁸ totam O

¹⁹ tantam esse : esse tantam J
²⁰ extimant M
²¹ censurus M
²² ex O
²³ sit V
²⁴ iudicium B
²⁵ omit. M
²⁶ monstrosam AC
²⁷ ideam condram P; quamdam add. AC
²⁸ omit. J
²⁹ est B, I, J
³⁰ qui J
³¹ ierarchiam A, B, C, D, S; gerarchiam O, P
³² confunderent O
³³ praesidibus O, P, AC
³⁴ subiecti N, S
³⁵ parerent P, AC
³⁶ omit. M

³⁷ cum ipsi ... pareant omit. B, J, M
³⁸ statuunt O; statuit P, AC
³⁹ Thessalonicenses em. AC
⁴⁰ significare videtur : videtur significare O, P, AC
⁴¹ dissessionem B, S, O, P; discensionem J
⁴² omit. O, P, AC
⁴³ hora P, AC
⁴⁴ adventi O
⁴⁵ qui prope L
⁴⁶ Antechristi A, B, D, M, R
⁴⁷ discensionem J; dissessionem S, O, P
⁴⁸ Roma O
⁴⁹ ferunt M
⁵⁰ qua A, C // M, R; **qualem I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**
⁵¹ prae se ferre omit. O
⁵² sanctionis add. O, P, AC

[62] We are not overly concerned with the audition of legal cases, the granting of benefices, or many other things We believe can be remedied. No, what worries Us is to see the perdition and ruin of souls and the vanishing glory of this noble kingdom.¹ For how can it be tolerated that laymen have been made judges of clerics? That the sheep examine the cases of their pastors?² Are we not a *royal and priestly race*?³ For the sake of honour, We shall not explain how greatly priestly authority has diminished in France: the bishops know it better who, at the whim of the secular power, now take out their spiritual sword, and now put it back. The Roman Bishop, whose parish is the whole world, and whose province is only limited by the Ocean, only has as much jurisdiction in France as the Parliament allows him⁴. He is forbidden to punish a blasphemer, a murderer of near relatives, a heretic - even if he is an ecclesiastic - unless Parliament gives its assent.⁵ Many believe that its authority is so great that it precludes even Our censures. Thus, the Roman Pontiff, judge of judges, is subjected to the judgment of Parliament. If We allow this, We make a monster of the Church, create a hydra with many heads, and completely destroy unity. This would be a dangerous thing, venerable brothers, and one that would overturn all hierarchy. For why would subjects obey their kings or other bishops, for that matter, if these themselves do not obey their own superior? Whoever makes a law directed against another must consider that he should obey it himself. We must fear that the event mentioned by the Apostle to the Galatians⁶ is approaching: after the *revolt, the man of sin be revealed*.⁷ Those who wish to leave the Roman Church are, in reality, inciting the advent of Antichrist. And leaving the Church is what they seek who support the Pragmatic Sanction.

¹ The Kingdom of France

² Cf. Decretum, C.2.7.40: *Oves pastorem suum non accusent nec reprehendant (The sheep should not accuse or criticize their shepherd)*

³ 1. Peter, 2, 9: *Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium*

⁴ The role of the Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs was not part

of the Pragmatic Sanction, as already Felino Sandei remarked in a margin note in the ms. Lucca 541

⁵ Pius probably had in mind the case of the Bishop of Nantes and his troubles with the French Parliament, see EPI, vol. 10, letter *141, a letter he wrote to the

French king on behalf of Pope Calixtus III.

⁶ Error for Thessalonians

⁷ 2. Thessalonians, 2, 3: *Ne quis vos seducat ullo modo: quoniam nisi venerit discessio primum, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati filius perditionis*

[63] Sed credimus haec, ut ante diximus, regi vestro incognita esse, cujus natura benigna est et inimica mali. Docendus est et¹ instruendus², ne pestem hanc in³ suo regno⁴ ⁵ debacchari amplius et animas interficere sinat. Vos episcopi⁶ lucernae estis ardentis coram eo et candelabra lucentia in domo domini. Sic lucete, ut lux vestra tenebras omnes ac caligines pragmaticae sanctionis ex nobili ac⁷ ⁸ Christianissima Francorum gente depellat, solumque⁹ lumen solis¹⁰, idest veritatis splendor et claritas¹¹ ¹² eluceat. Quod si rex vester opera vestra fecerit, et vos mercedem prophetae¹³ recipietis¹⁴ a domino, et ipse¹⁵ par suis progenitoribus ac major¹⁶ per omnes¹⁷ orbis ecclesias et in Romana potissimum¹⁸ jure merito et erit et¹⁹ vocabitur Christianissimus²⁰.

¹ *omit.* O

² est et instruendus : et instruendus est V

³ *omit.* J

⁴ suo regno : regno suo P

⁵ in suo regno *omit.* AC

⁶ *omit.* O, P, AC

⁷ *omit.* N, S; et I, L, O, P, V, AC

⁸ nobili ac : nobilitate J

⁹ solum J

¹⁰ lumen solis : solis lumen I

¹¹ caritas I; veritas AC

¹² et claritas *omit.* J

¹³ *omit.* P, AC

¹⁴ recipiet N

¹⁵ *omit.* O, P, AC

¹⁶ ac major : majorque O, P, AC

¹⁷ omnis I

¹⁸ potissime D

¹⁹ *omit.* N

²⁰ Finis *add.* I, L, M, P, R, V; Laus deo *add.* N; explicit *add.* O;

Amen *add.* S

[63] But, as We have said before, We believe these things are not known to your king, who is kind by nature and an enemy of evil. He must be advised and informed so that he will not allow this plague to run wild in his kingdom and kill souls. You bishops are the candles before God and the shining lights in the house of God. Shine so that your light will drive all the shadow and darkness¹ of the Pragmatic Sanction out of the noble and Most Christian people of France so that only the light and clarity of the sun, that is of the truth, will shine forth. If the king does this for you, you will receive the prophet's reward from the Lord, and he himself will equal or even surpass his ancestors, and he will rightly be and be called Most Christian by all the churches of the world and especially by the Roman Church.

¹ Cf. 2. Peter, 1, 19

Appendix 1: Oration “*Responsurus*” of Andrea de Santa Croce (1 December 1459, Mantua)

A number of the arguments in the following text closely resemble arguments in Pius’ oration “*Responsuri*”, and the initia of the orations are almost identical. These similarities raise the question of the relationship between the two texts.

Date

In his oration, Santa Croce refers to the oration of the French ambassadors as having been given the day before (*pridie*). This was 30 November (see above), so Santa Croce’s oration would have been given on 1 December.

Manuscript

The oration is presently known to be extant in two manuscripts:

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale de France**
NAL 3198, ff. (P)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele**
Vitt. Em. 792, ff. 2r-29v

The Paris manuscript is damaged and in places difficult or impossible to read.

Edition

The text has been edited at least once:

- A. Pellicia: *Raccolta di varie Croniche, Diari et altri Opuscoli così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*. Tom. IV. Napoli, 1782, pp. 331-349 (PE)

It is not known on which manuscript Pellicia’s edition is based.

Present edition

The text is edited on the basis of the Paris manuscript (P) and Pellicia's edition (PE).

Pagination after Pellicia.

Literature

Abulafia, David: Ferrante I of Naples, Pope Pius II and the Congress of Mantua (1459). In: *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by B.Z. Kedar et al. Aldershot, 1997, pp. 235-249

Pellicia, Alessio Aurelio: In orationem Andreae de Sancta Cruce Commentarius praeuius. In: *Raccolta di varie Croniche, Diari et altri Opuscoli così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*. Tom. IV. Napoli, 1782, pp. 299-328

Andreas de Sancta Cruce jur. peritissimus consistorialis advocatus in clyto Ferdinando regi SAP¹

Scribit Plinius Isocratem viginti talentis unam suam vendidisse orationem, Demosthenem vero quinquaginta. Ego jussu tuae Majestatis Mantuam ad Universalem omnium Christianorum regum et principum conventionem per Pium II. Pontificem Maximum indictam accessi, ubi orationem infra descriptam pro tuorum regnorum defensione disserui. Scio nec materia, nec personis, nec loco aliquam per quemquam habitam orationem majori praemio dignam, nisi quod² pronuntiantis³ verborum ornatus inaequalitas esse posset. Recipiat eam Majestas tua, in qua titulos omnes tui principatus ascripsi et tuae personae ad regium solium meritum, postquam nostrorum temporum gesta rem publicam concernantia per me fideliter scripta. Si haec suo pretio compensabitur, destinare curabo, in quibus tui genitoris in Italia gesta ac tuos ad regni adeptionem successus perleges ad tuorum consiliorum ingerendis normam, cum ut plurimum ex praeteritorum notione praesentia et futura prudentius et accuratius ordinantur.

¹ Andreas ... SAP : Ferdinando
Regi Siciliae Andreas de Sancta
Cruce Advocatus PE

² quaedam PE

³ et *add.* PE

Andreae de Sancta Cruce, juris peritissimi¹ advocatque consistorialis et Ferdinandi regis, oratio adversus Gallorum oratores habita in concilio Mantuano²

[1] {331} Responsurus, sanctissime pater, ad ea, quae per illustres Christianissimi principis, Francorum regis, aliorumque principum Galliarum oratores pridie hoc in loco contra jura serenissimi³ principis Ferdinandi, regis Siciliae, vestrae sanctitatis devotissimi filii, dicta fuere, deducam brevissime ejusdem in regno Siciliae jura, per quae omnium aliorum jura hoc loco exposita inefficacia esse, manifestissime apparebit verbis caritate plenis, ad pacem et ad armorum depositionem tendentibus, et ad finem hujus sanctae⁴ congregationis et desiderii vestrae sanctitatis facientibus.

[2] In⁵ primo hoc unum praemisero, quod ea, quae per dictos oratores pridie hic dicta fuere, nec hujus sanctae conventionis loco nec tempore nec eorum dominis, pro quibus verba fecere, convenisse. Venit sanctitas vestra, maximo cum sui corporis ecclesiasticique status incommodo, zelo tutandae Christianae religionis incensa, ad hanc Mantuanam civitatem, ut devotissimos Christianae religionis principes conveniret exhortareturque, ut murum se facerent in die belli, ut uno spiritu, anima una, mutuaque caritate bellum contra fidei hostem inirent, dimisso contentionis tribunali judicio Romae, ne vestrae sanctitatis mens huic sanctae rei intenta privatis contentionibus turbaretur. Nec conveniebat hostibus fidei, quorum exploratores plurimos hic esse credendum est, nostras Christianorum principum infirmitates detegere, sed unanimi voluntate principum Christianorum eos terrere.

[3] Qui ergo hoc in loco Christianorum principum contentiones adducunt, rem loco impertinentem faciunt et contrariam⁶ ejus⁷, ad quod⁸ haec conventio {332} extitit instituta. Tempore hoc Christianae religioni bellum indictum est per hostes fidei, in pudicitias nostrarum virginum debacchantes. Veniunt contra nos unita potentia, quorum exercitus strepitum audimus. Et utinam solum de propagandis finibus, tollendis sedibus hominum natorumque nostrorum servitutibus ageretur. Sed de templis, de aris⁹, de sacramentis, de sepulchris, de parentum ossibus, de imaginibus, de annalibus, de litteris, de legibus nostris delendis atque perdendis intendunt. Sanctorum patrum editae constitutiones sunt, ac per duos immediatos

¹ *em.*; peritissimi P

² Andreae ... Mantuano : Responsio facta oratoribus regis et aliorum principum Galliae pro Ferdinando rege Sicilie in dieta Mantuana per Andream de Sanc-

ta Cruce utriusque juris doctorem regium et sacri Apostolici consistorii advocatum PE

³ sacratissimi PE

⁴ *omit.* P

⁵ si PE

⁶ contrarium P

⁷ eis PE

⁸ quae PE

⁹ de aris *omit.* PE

praedecessores sanctitatis vestrae litterae publicatae omnibus Christifidelibus, quibus mandatur hoc tempore per Christianos principes contentiones et arma deponi.

[4] Qui ergo inter Christianos principes novas contentiones adducunt et arma, rem temporis inconvenientem agunt, ac contra expediens Christianae religioni de directo mandatis apostolicis adversantur¹. Principes ii², quorum nomine agitur, sunt ex Christianissima Galliarum gente contra potentissimam Italiae partem, a quibus duabus potestatibus potissima sperantur³ hujusmodi⁴ belli praesidia. Sacris litteris mandatum est populo Dei bellum agente: qui non venient, gladio esse perdendos, ut de Jahel⁵ Galaad⁶ iudicium quinto⁷ legitur esse factum.⁸ Et Caesar in quinto commentariorum libro in fine asserit hoc esse moris Gallorum, ut qui ad commune bellum vocatus novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis cruciatibus omnibus affectus necatur. Si qui ad bellum non veniunt aut ultimi, gladio perdendi sunt.

[5] Quid contra eos, qui bellum contra hostes ordinari impediunt, ut bellum fidelibus inferant? Qui ergo hoc tempore de bello inter fideles agunt, rem eorum dignitatibus inconvenientem attemptant, ac divinas ipsorumque Gallorum consuetudinis poenas incurrunt. Concluditur ex his, quae pridie hoc in loco dicta fuere, nec loco nec tempori nec dominis eorum, qui praemissa exposuere, dignitatibus convenisse. Et hoc pro responso dari sufficeret. Sed ut auribus vestrae sanctitatis et aliorum, qui praemissa audierunt de jure {333} praefati serenissimi⁹ regis Ferdinandi, satisfaciam, non ut judiciales contentiones adducam, et jura breviter enarrabo, referamque primo, in quibus ambo convenimus, demum veras juris conclusiones eliciam.

[6] In hoc, beatissime pater, ambae partes pariter convenimus. Siciliae regnum ad Romanam spectare ecclesiam jure directo, Christiano principi infeudandum. Hoc Rogerii I. regis et Guilelmi II.¹⁰ recognitiones et investiturae demonstrant, qui regnum hoc signis, armis, et impensa Romanae ecclesiae acquisitum ab ecclesia Romana reverentissime receperunt. In hoc etiam ambo convenimus ad Fredericum II., Germaniae principem, Romanorum imperatorem, ut Romanae ecclesiae feudum devenisse, ac eo suis demeritis et sententialem iudicio fuisse privatum. In hoc etiam pariter convenimus Carolo, secundogenito Francorum regis, pro se suisque filiis masculis tantum et una femina deficientibus masculo per Clementem papam IV. primo fuisse concessum, ita ut suis armis et impensa Manfredum ex Frederici jure venientem ex¹¹ regno ejiceret, quadraginta octo millia ducatorum annis singulis Romanae ecclesiae pro censu daret, Beneventanam civitatem pro sede summi pontificis designaret, certamque militiam sua impensa

¹ adversantes PE

² hii PE

³ sperantur P

⁴ hic P

⁵ Jabes PE

⁶ Galaath PE

⁷ XIX PE

⁸ Judges, 4-5

⁹ sacratissimi PE

¹⁰ primi PE

¹¹ omit. PE

pro singulis Romane ecclesiae necessitatibus paratam haberet. Et¹ his modis et conditionibus in Lateranensi ecclesia Clementis papae IV. auctoritate extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCLXV.

[7] Cui Carolus II., ejus filius, successit in regnum, qui de eodem a Coelestino V. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCLXXXV. Hic rex quinque filios procreavit, cujus primogenitus Carolus, {334} Martello cognominatus, in regem Hungariae electus est. Secundus filius, Ludovicus, sanctam religionem minorum professus et sanctorum catalogo ascriptus. Tertius vero filius Robertus, sapientissimus princeps, in Siciliae regno patri successit. Quartus in principatum Tarenti, et quintus in ducatum Dyrachii est evector. Hic sapientissimus Robertus post patris obitum in Siciliae regno succedens a Clemente V. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCXV. Cumque unicus filius, Calabriae dux, patri praemoreretur, relictis duabus filiis, Johanna primogenita et Elisabeth, licet fratres et fratrum filios haberent, cupiens primogenituram fratri regi Hungariae et ejus filiis restituere, primogenitam Johannam et filio Andreae secundo genito regis Hungariae in uxorem dedit, ut tam primogeniturae jure quam² matrimoniali vinculo Andreas in regno succederet. Secundogenitam neptem primogenito fratris regis Hungariae matrimonio copulavit, sicque sapientissimus princeps neptes ambas reginas fecit, et Siciliae regnum primogeniturae restituit, et suae proli conjunxit.

[8] Et in hoc, beatissime pater, pariter convenimus. Succedentibus in regno Andrea et Johanna - ut supra relatam est - mortuo Roberto, cum juvenculus puer in Neapolitano palatio inter puellares delicias versaretur, ut virum cum uxore decet, praefata Johanna spiritu diabolico incensa factione plurium astantium puellarum virum juveniculum laqueo apud fenestram suspendit. Cumque ob scelestissimum facinus Romanae ecclesiae vindictam, cujus auctoritate plurimi interempti fuerunt facinoris conscii, Johanna vereretur, ac timens exercitum Ludovici, qui ex regno Hungariae ad vindicandam fratris mortem magno cum exercitu veniebat, ipsa in Gallias in provinciam Provinciae et civitatem Avinionensem, quae suae erant, aufugit³ ducto secum Carolo, filio ducis Dyrachii, sibi consobrino patruelis. Cumque ob Caroli pueritiam eum bello praeficere non posset, ut sibi praesidia conciliaret, Andegaviae ducem adoptavit. Hoc Andegaviae domus juris principium {335} ex viricida, e⁴ regno exule, Romanae ecclesiae hoste, nullum⁵ in Regno jus habente, cum viro competiisset ex Roberti patris institutione. Et si quod jus habuisset feudorum jure ex homicidio ipso jure privata extitisset.

[9] Abeuntibus Hungaris regina Johanna praeparata classe in regnum reversa est ac per regnicolas spe Caroli, patruelis filii, Dyrachii ducis juvenis, in regnum recepta. Haec videns Carolum, ducis Dyrachii filium patruelem, in virtutibus adolescere, ad quem regnum de jure spectabat, semotis regis Hungariae filiis, adoptionem de domo Andegaviae ducis⁶ factam revocavit. Et ne frustratus

¹ omit. PE

² ac PE

³ aufugitur PE

⁴ omit. P

⁵ nullo PE

⁶ em.; duce P, PE

dux Andegaviae¹ videretur², eidem provinciam Provinciae in compensam dedit, Avinionense civitate partim ob delicti poenam, partim pecunia accepta³ Romanae ecclesiae relaxata.

[10] Ea mortua Carolus, Dyrachii dux, ex filiis Caroli II. tertius cognominatus, successit in regnum, de quo per Urbanum VI. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCLo. Hic mortuo Ludvico rege in regnum Hungariae vocatus est, illucque accedens, Hungariae regnum pacifice assecutus, aliquorum factione extitit interemptus, remanente sibi Ladislao et Johanna filiis. Cumque Ladislaus minor⁴ esset, Andegaviae dux, adoptione Johanna I. ad regnum aspirans regimine⁵ {34v} destitutum exercitum potentissimum paravit ac regnum quasi totum occupavit. Sed a Ladislao, Caroli filio, suffragio Cajetanae civitatis, quae eum in regem recepit et recognovit, Andegaviae dux cum omni exercitu extitit e regno expulsus, ipseque rex Ladislaus pacificus per Bonifatium papam VIII.⁶ in ecclesia principis apostolorum extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCC. Hic ad Hungariae regnum et ad⁷ patris vindictam aspirans, et, cum maximo ac potentissimo exercitu progredere, veneno interemptus est et⁸ absque filiis decessit. Cui Johanna soror secunda⁹ cognominata successit in regnum, quae felicitatis recordationis Martini papae V. auctoritate extitit investita et coronata anno domini MCCCCXVII. Et licet contra eandem Ludovicus, Andegaviae dux, bellum movere praesumpsisset, nullo jure suffultus, eam in reginam {336} recognovit et veneratus est. Et cum ipse Ludovicus, Andegaviae dux, ipsi reginae praedecesserit, omnis spes suae adoptionis, quam sibi vindicare praesumpserat, sua morte evanuit, Johanna regina omnium approbatione, omni jure Andegaviae domus excluso, manente.

[11] Vexata Johanna praefata a praefato¹⁰ Ludovico, Andegaviae duce, et ejus gentibus oppressa, gloriosae memoriae Alfonsi, regis Aragonum, contra infideles bellum agentis, bello strenui, proximitate regni ulterioris Siciliae vicini, praesidia imploravit. Praefatus gloriosissimus rex, videns se juramento astrictum viduis oppressis auxilia petentibus non deesse, sed eas pro posse tueri, sua impensa et militia personaliter ad regni protectionem venit. Quo factum est, ut maternalem affectionem adoptionisque jus in dicti regni successione merito conquiescit eaque motus ad regni gubernacula protectionis jure vocari meruerit¹¹. Et licet sanctae memoriae Eugenius papa IV. pro Romana ecclesia, non pro principe aliquo regnum acquirere optaret¹², destitutus spe certas conditionales dispositiones¹³ in Renatum, Ludovici filium, fecit¹⁴, videlicet si Pragmatica Sanctio¹⁵ contra ecclesiae libertatem facta ex regno Franciae tolleretur, Andegavensis et Arelatensis ecclesiarum possessio eis, quibus apostolica sedes contulerat, pacifice

¹ facta revocavit ... Andegaviae
omit. PE

² videret PE

³ recepta PE

⁴ iunior P

⁵ regine P

⁶ IV. PE

⁷ *omit.* P

⁸ *omit.* PE

⁹ sua PE

¹⁰ *omit.* PE

¹¹ eaque motus ... meruerit
omit. PE

¹² optavit PE

¹³ depositiones P

¹⁴ fecerit P

¹⁵ *omit.* PE

assignaretur¹, et certa pecuniarum summa infra tempus certum pro necessitatibus recuperationis status ecclesiae incumbentibus solveretur, et Basiliense concilium ad schisma anhelans dissolveretur.

[12] His non secutis, ut dominorum et populorum regni Siciliae desideriis² satisfaceret, ne destrueretur, ipsique regno et terris Romanae ecclesiae pacem daret, revocatis quibuscumque aliis dispositionibus - ut dictum est - conditionaliter factis et non impletis, jure et necessitate status ecclesiae tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus exigentibus, regnum ipsum praefato gloriosissimo principi, Alfonso regi, qui pietate vocatus venerat, qui regnum protexerat, a quo recognoscebatur in regem³, qui ecclesiae terras a tyrannis oppressas protegere sperabatur, concedere statuit ac eum in regem praeficere, destinatoque {337} legato apostolico in Terracinam civitatem de regno investivit, ac per bonae memoriae cardinalem Sancti Pauli vulgariter nuncupatum, ad eum regem missum, bullam destinavit, qua ut ab omni catholico antistite coronam recipere posset permisit. Hic gloriosissimus rex Alfonsus⁴ volens sibi Romanam ecclesiam et regni jura benemeritis vindicare, videns marchiam Anconitanam praecipuasque Romanae ecclesiae terras, Assisium et Tudertum pluresque in patrimonio beati Petri a tyrannis oppressas, propriis⁵ regni⁶ sumptibus laboribusque⁷ non parcens magno cum exercitu personaliter in Marchiam profectus est. Quo factum est, ut omne patrimonium ecclesiae ad sanctae memoriae Eugenii papae manus et oboedientiam redire coegerit, ipso Eugenio ejusque fidelibus se non mediocriter juvantibus.

[13] Reversoque in regnum dicto rege, mandatis Eugenii papae obtemperante⁸, iterum congregato exercitu prope urbem venienti⁹ ad¹⁰ civitatem Tiburtinam, ut hiemaret, injunctum¹¹ est. Quo tempore praefatus pontifex Eugenius e vita assumptus est ac ab hoc saeculo migravit. In cujus pontificatus vacatione tanta cum reverentia ad ecclesiae unitatem et pacem se habuit, sacrum collegium exhortando ad futuram liberam sanctam futuri pontificis maximi electionem, optimos cives patriae monendo, discolos astantes minis et terroribus comprimendo, ut maxima pars pacis patriae et pacificae electionis secutae sibi ascribi potuerit. Relaxatis quoque¹² omnibus terris sanctae memoriae Nicolao papae V.¹³ pontifici assumpto, dimissaque libere Tiburtina civitate, et pro receptis dignis muneribus pro reparatione publicorum locorum compensata mutuatisque eidem pontifici, qui cum maxima paupertate pontificatum¹⁴ ingressus fuerat, ducatis quadraginta quinque millibus dandis certis armigeris, qui civitatem Esium Marchiae occupabant, eaque recepta per pontificem, omnibusque in pace dimissis, illatoque bello ad

¹ assignarentur PE

² omit. P

³ in regem : integer P

⁴ omit. PE

⁵ persone P

⁶ regiis P

⁷ laboribus P

⁸ obtemperans P

⁹ veniens P

¹⁰ in P

¹¹ ventum P

¹² relaxatis quoque :
relaxatisque PE

¹³ omit. PE

¹⁴ pontificium PE

poenam his, qui ecclesiae occupatoribus praesidia publica praestiterant eisque parumper¹ afflictis, in regnum Siciliae² reversus est.

[14] Demum Italicorum dominos de mutua occupatione certantes {338} adeo exercitibus tumultationibus terruit, ut arma deponere et ejus timore fodera ligamque inire didicerint³, quam ipse ut pacis amator amplexus est, totamque Italiam foedere pacis univit⁴. Romanum pontificem pro pacis conservatore deputari voluit, omnesque qui sibi adversati fuerant, ad gratiam recepit, tantaque justitia et pace ipsum regnum ejusque populum gubernavit, ut non lictoribus, non fascibus aut securibus, non armatis militibus, sed inermis ephebum⁵ principum juvenumque nobilium⁶ caterva comitatus spatiaretur in silvis ibidemque ut plurimum pernoctaret. Auditaque Constantinopolitanae civitatis clade omni⁷ populo ex Graecis, qui Christianam religionem tuebantur⁸, praesidia non mediocria praestitit, tandemque a sanctitatis vestrae⁹ praedecessore, Calixto papa, excitatus crucem¹⁰ assumpsit. Et nisi ipse pontifex secum de prudentia et certis privatis affectibus contendisset, talia Christianae religioni praesidia praestitisset, quod pericula, quibus agitur, et pro quibus haec sancta conventio facta est, minime imminerent.

[15] Postremo, cum se morti proximum vidit, Ferdinandum filium, trium summorum pontificum auctoritatibus ad regni Siciliae successionem admissum, et quem ad regni gubernacula adeo instruxerat, ut figuli more alterum sibi constituisset, haeredem testamento instituit, eumque in solio regio ante obitum videre voluit, ac per eum primo, demum per alios omnes astantes principes adorari {339} et revereri¹¹, consignatisque eidem¹² sceptro, fortissimis ac inexpugnabilibus arcibus, omnique regia suppellectili religiosissimus princeps animam Deo dedit.

[16] Et licet defecta omni Caroli prole, omnique Andegaviae domus jure sublato, triumque¹³ summorum pontificum auctoritatibus jus suum usque ad obitum fuisset firmatum ac stabilitum, ut sibi jus¹⁴ in nullo deesset, et ne ea, quae eo vivente facta fuerant, ejus reverentia facta fuisse per aliquos dici possent, Calixtus pontifex post ejus obitum, cum contra eum ejusque prolem minas et odia fulminaret, bullam edidit, per quam¹⁵, etsi contra Ferdinandum filium injuste inveheret, jus regium Alfonsi regis comprobavit et stabilivit, statuens usque ad ejus obitum ipsum regem fuisse. Quisque ex his¹⁶ faciliter, quod juris est, potest elicere, et quantae differentiae sit Andegaviae domus principium, medium et finis ab Alfonsi regis principii, medii et finis juribus.

¹ patris pro PE

² rebus *add.* PE

³ didicit P

⁴ vinxit PE

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ *omit.* PE

⁷ omnium PE

⁸ tutabantur P

⁹ sanctitatis vestrae : vestrae

sanctitatis P

¹⁰ calicem PE

¹¹ et revereri *omit.* PE

¹² ibidem P

¹³ trium P

¹⁴ *omit.* P

¹⁵ per quam : pro qua PE

¹⁶ iis PE

[17] Inchoavit Andegaviae domus a Johanna expulsa nullum habente jus, vocatus ad regni occupationem et Italiae pacis¹ perturbationem. Alfonsus rex a vera regina, in quam vera Caroli I. progenies declinaverat et finierat, vidua oppressa ad defensionis jus naturali jure permissum² ad regni tutelam et pacem.

[18] Medium Andegaviae domus fuit jus nullum habuisse, si quod jus sibi pollicitum fuisset, jure legitimo perdidisse et Siciliae regnum et ecclesiae terras saepius bello turbasse atque inquietasse. Medium Alfonsi regis extitit regnum quietasse, delinquentibus pepercisse, ecclesiam tutasse, ac optimis meritis jura regni continuo auxisse.

[19] Finis autem nostrorum temporum est Andegaviae domus, ut defecto omni jure successionis Caroli I. et sic nullo existente ex ipsius {340} Caroli vocatione jure ipsa, Andegaviae domo nullum jus habente cum de inferendo bello contra fidei hostes agitur, Christianorum conventionem impedire atque turbare. Finis vero Alfonsi et Ferdinandi est quattuor summorum pontificum auctoritate regium jus firmasse, jura omnia ecclesiae recognovisse, omnes subditos in eorum justitia et pace confovere, ac³ contra infideles, si non inquitetur, arma convertere.

[20] Explicato jure aeternae memoriae Alfonsi regis superest, ut ad serenissimi⁴ Ferdinandi regis jura condescendam. Etsi ex praemissis satis clare appareant sacratissimi Ferdinandi regis successionis jura⁵, tamen⁶ ut uberius ac manifestius sua post patris obitum jura innotescant, dico Ferdinandi regis in Siciliae regni successione legitimam successionem firmari, primo, patris desiderio et testamento, secundo, omnium principum et populorum unanimi electione, tertio, vestrae sanctitatis et Romanae ecclesiae auctoritate, quarto, paternarum virtutum imitatione.

[21] Primum⁷ fuerit sanctae memoriae Alfonsi regis continuatum desiderium, ut Ferdinandus filius sibi in Siciliae regno succederet, ex hoc facile comprehendi potest, cum XVIII continuis annis post prima litterarum rudimenta eum, ut sibi assisteret, injunxit feceritque, ut nihil verbo vel scripto regia auctoritate mandaretur, quin ejus filiationis et progeniturae denominatione fieret, nil regium expediretur, divinum humanumque jus concernens, quin Ferdinandus ut filius interesset, ac in eum regiam disciplinam figuli more componeret, omnium regni principum filios Ferdinando coetaneos secum ali ac secum regia disciplina imbui injunxit, ut sicut regni gubernacula ita et regiarum disciplinarum amicorumque⁸ notitiam relaxaret nulla in his mandandi, sed interessendi sola auctoritate concessa, ut primo in eum animam, postea linguam faceret eruditam regiae disciplinae. O clarissimum et perseverans regium desiderium! O maximam filii in patrem oboedientiam! O utriusque in alterum assensum pientissimum! O

¹ partis PE

² promissum PE

³ et PE

⁴ sacratissimi PE

⁵ omit. P

⁶ tum P

⁷ quantus PE

⁸ animorumque PE

sapientissimum consilium ad constituendum sibi {341} idoneum successorem! O per singulos orbis principes imitandam in natos regiam disciplinam¹!

[22] Erudiendum² apud se sapientissimum regem tot³ annis continuo regia dignitate educatum filium tacentem, nulla dicendi, sed solum⁴ audiendi auctoritate praeditum educasse, ut facile dici possit consilio fecisse, quod natura impossibile est patris in filium perseverasse substantiam. Compositis, quae in regno perfici poterant, cupiens Ferdinandi filii perfectionem in regiam dignitatem eum extra regnum regio exercitui praefecit, quod nisi experimento et decernendi auctoritate perfici non poterat. Demum completis omnibus regi convenientibus disciplinis, senio gravis⁵, superveniente obitus tempore, quod scriptis ac⁶ editis publicis praeconiis⁷ notum fecerat, executionem habere cupiens, Ferdinandum filium in solio sedentem videre voluit et ut regem per se primum, demum per cunctos alios astantes principes adorari. Sacris omnibus omnique thesauro regiaque suppellectili, fortissimis arcibus consignatis eum regem voluit vivens moriendo sentire. Ex quibus, quantum⁸ fuerit Alfonsi regis desiderium⁹, ut Ferdinandus filius in regno succederet, cunctis clarissime innotescit. Quod fuit primum, quo dixi, regium jus in Ferdinandum patris voto legitime fore transfusum.

[23] Superest, ut ad secundum deveniam, ut ostendam, quantus fuerit populorum assensus, ut Ferdinandus patris voto ac testamento haeres praeficeretur in Siciliae regnum. Omittam id, quod Alfonso rege vivente ostensum est, ne ipsius Alfonsi reverentiae ascribi posset. Mortuo Alfonso convocatis omnibus regni principibus communitatumque oratoribus in Capuanam civitatem tam concors¹⁰ quam unanimis, tam liber et prompto desiderio omnium regni procerum populorumque accessit assensus, ut regno praeficeretur, quod¹¹ neglectis minis et tumultuationibus, quae in limitibus regni fremebant, eundem in regem eligunt, et unicum regem regis haeredem filium et legitimum successorem laeto animo recognoscunt omnibus acclamantibus: "Vivat rex Ferdinandus," publicas {342} functiones et alia regia jura prompto animo offerentes, ad quae nullus ex regni principibus aut populis defuit, et ante alios Tarentini principis oratores. Et deputatis totius regni nomine ad bonae memoriae Calixtum papam, et demum eo mortuo ad sanctitatem vestram ex primoribus regni principibus illustribus, duce Andriae, comite Sancti Angeli, et Carolo de Campo Basso¹², quibus demum adjunctis extitit reverendus pater dominus archiepiscopus Beneventanus ex insigni regni prosapia, et doctoribus duobus ex primoribus consilii regni oratoribus.

¹ regiam disciplinam : regia disciplina PE

² erudiendos PE

³ quinquaginta P

⁴ sola P

⁵ gravior P

⁶ et PE

⁷ ut *add.* P

⁸ quantus PE

⁹ desiderius PE

¹⁰ consors PE

¹¹ quo PE

¹² Basio P; Vasio PE

[24] Ea a praefato praedessore et eo tunc vita functo a sanctitate vestra petierunt, quae regis filio haeredi et legitimo successor de jure et infeudationis forma bullarumque apostolicarum tenore ab apostolica sede debebantur, idest eundem de regno investiri et debite coronari, et ut a turbulentis comminationibus praefati sanctitatis vestrae praedecessoris¹ desisteret, nec eos in eorum pace turbaret, asserentes hanc omnium principum populorumque mentem fore, et ut eorum justis desideriis satisfaceret, adjicientes feudi dominum eadem lege astringi praefixo a jure tempore ad praebendam petitam investituram, quibus et vasallus ut petat, et quorum culpa deficeret easdem esse comminatas a lege poenas. Haec tam publica et nota sunt, ut non oporteat verbis ulterioribus magnifieri, ex quibus constat Ferdinandum in regem populorum voto et electione assumptum, quod fuit secundum.

[25] Quantum divina pontificalisque auctoritas ceremoniarumque forma regiae dignitati Ferdinandi regis ejusque successionem accesserint, repentina comminantis pontificis {343} mors et divina vestrae sanctitatis electio, illico post Alfonsi regis obitum non humanae cogitationi, sed miraculis ultra vires et potentias naturales emanantibus ascribenda iudicium perhibent, de quibus plurima commemorarem, quae ad divinam voluntatem et miraculo ascribi necessario fore concluderem, nisi defunctorum piacula suaderent silentium. Notissimum est divinum coruscasse iudicium, cui quantum sanctitas vestra adhaeserit et Dei sententiam et juris secuta absque alicujus praepudicio cunctis constat.

[26] Ceremoniarum debita forma quam² publica, quam³ celebris omnium applausu⁴ et devotione servata sit in ejus investitura et coronatione omnibus, qui in his⁵ interfuerunt, innotuit. Factae fuerunt coram omni populo, omnibus regni principibus ac populis praesentibus. Et post coronationem juramenta fidelitatis praestantibus eo⁶ ordine et modo, ut legibus injunctum⁷ est: vexillo sanctae Romanae ecclesiae pro investiturae signo eidem devotissime tradito, per ipsum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae et sanctitatis vestrae legato⁸ et omnibus successoribus legitime intransantibus juramentum fidelitatis, et observantiae omnium, quae in forma infeudationis continebantur, praestitum est⁹, praecedentibusque jejuniis, poenitentia, et lotionem corporis diebus septem, praeparatis sacris inter missarum sollempnia oleo sacro unctus, regiis insignibus decoratus: solio et sceptro regiis, ut iudicando cunctis regni populis recta iudicaret; gladio et armis, ut populos in die belli praecederet et eos ab hostibus tueretur; trabea veste, ut religioni et consiliis intenderet; regia corona et¹⁰ regalia insignia jure debito, ut¹¹ certa decertatione cepisse omnibus innotesceret¹²; pomo regio, ut eo regni possessionem sub sua potestate tenere omnibus appareret. Triumphali equitatu omnium applausu et oboedientia investitus et coronatus fuerit,

¹ *em.*; praedecessor P, PE

² atque PE

³ quae PE

⁴ plausu P

⁵ locis PE

⁶ et PE

⁷ juris statutum PE

⁸ legatum P

⁹ praestitum est *omit.* P

¹⁰ ut P

¹¹ et P

¹² certa decertatione ...
innotesceret *omit.* PE

ut recte dici possit in ejus dignitatis assumptione nil ex divinis favoribus et¹ sacrorum sollempniis et ceremoniis defuisse, sicque in eum nil defuisse², quod in vetere³ pontificali approbatione divino scriptoque jure pontificalibusque decretis sancitum est. Quod fuit tertium.

[27] Superest, ut ostendam {344} Ferdinandum regem paternae virtutis et sapientiae imitatore[m] et legitimum successorem fuisse, quod fuit ultimum. Maximum⁴ est ad regiam successionem, ut in regno successor a praedecessoris virtutibus non declinet. Indignatur populus, si filius a parentum virtutibus deviare[t]. Ideo ad Samuelem clamavit populus dicens: *“Ecce tu senuit⁵, et filii tui non ambulant in viis tuis. Constitue nobis regem etc⁶”* (Primo Regum VIII. capitulo⁷). Ferdinandus rex apud Alfonsum patrem - ut praemissum est - educatus tanta cura ejus virtutes studuit imitari, ut primo fidem et patrium affectum omnibus fidelibus conservaverit, nullo arcium custode, nullo praeside aut magistratu, nullis privilegiis contrariis aut immunitatibus post patris obitum ab iis⁸, in quos paterna fides fuerit commutato, tanto amore devotos patrios persecutus est, ut ea sola in eum dilectionis causa susceperit, si patrius devotus extiterit⁹.

[28] Religionis sacrarumque ceremoniarum observantiae adeo genitoris imitator extitit, quod etsi sanctae memoriae Alfonsus maximus¹⁰ ceremoniarum cultor cultor fuerit, in eo eum praevenerit, quo junior aetas, ut senem non ita patienter inclinet, in ipsum etsi aetate juvenem tantus inest observandarum sacrarum ceremoniarum zelus, ut si quem ex principibus senioribus astantibus sacris in jocum aut risum prosilire¹¹ aut verbum¹² a sacris alienum proferre contingat, tanta gravitate et animi indignatione contra indevotos se exhibuerit, ut ad religionis debitam reverentiam senili exemplo astantes etsi antiquiores compellat.

[29] Quid dicam de imitatione paternorum morum in servanda justitia, ut a muneribus illibata servetur¹³? Quid de ejus moderatione in verbis? Quid de vitae continentia? Prudentia in consiliis? Quid de linguae disertione atque verborum gravitate et moderantia in responsis? Quid de familiae cultu? Quid de militari disciplina? Quid de clementia in subjectos¹⁴? Quid de severitate in rebelles? Quid de animositate et constantia in rebus adversis? Quid de fortitudine et indefesso corporis labore {345} et exercitatione? Quid de ejus placabilitate in caros? In quibus omnibus patrem excedere et se suamque aetatem superare omnium judicium extat.

[30] De prudentia et sapientia plura referrem, quae in tam juvenili aetate admiranda ab omnibus judicantur, nisi quia convenientius est¹⁵ nota relinquere, quam si inchoato principio ablutionis instar tanta occurreret dicendorum copia, ut aut omissis injuriam aut omnibus explicatis vestrae

¹ ex P

² nihil defuisse : adfuisse PE

³ in veteri : inveterata PE

⁴ maximus PE

⁵ Senunti PE

⁶ omit. PE

⁷ VIII. capitulo : c. VIII. PE

⁸ hiis PE

⁹ extiterat PE

¹⁰ omit. P

¹¹ prosiliret PE

¹² dibum PE

¹³ tuetur PE

¹⁴ subjectis PE

¹⁵ ut add. PE

sanctitatis auribus taedium afferrem. Unius solius exempli relatione contentus ero, ut Salomonis primo inter concertantes mulieres de filiatione iudicio eum recta¹ ratione comparem. In conventu omnium principum et populorum in Capuana civitate, de supra² verbum fecimus, a pluribus exhortabatur, ut ad conciliandos sibi dominorum principum populorumque animos in eo sui principatus exordio ex publicis oneribus populis aliqua relaxaret. Regio animo omnibus consulentibus respondit regia consueta jura diminui non convenire, nec velle fidem populorum pretio sibi quaerere. Cujus animum omnes admirati aequa mente reverentiaque amplexi sunt. Omnesque tam principes quam populorum legati solitas functiones exsolvere promiserunt. Rex habito omnium assensu plura, quam petita fuerant, populis sua liberalitate dimisit, regem intrepidum, liberalissimum ac paterni animi imitatore[m] uno exemplo se exhibens.

[31] Ex quibus recte concluditur Ferdinandum regem patris voto ac³ testamento, populorum electione, divina pontificali[a] auctoritate, et paternarum virtutum imitatione in regnum Siciliae legitimum successorem et regem.

[32] Superest videre, an sanctitas vestra recte fecerit⁴ Ferdinandum regem investivisse⁵ et coronasse⁶, et an ejus investitur[um] veniat revocanda, et an alius investiendus sit, et an transire volentibus in regnum Siciliae contra Ferdinandum regem et bellum inferre debeat de jure aut aequitate vestra sanctitas assentire, quae et per hos Galliae oratores fuerunt in medium ducta atque petita. Hoc quidem de jure notissimum est dominum {346} feudi et quemlibet jurisdictionem investiendi habentem denegare non posse investituram et haereditariorum bonorum possessionem exhibenti legitimum testamentum non cancellatum, non abolitum⁷, et ad feudi successionem et investiturae concessionem admittere debere eum, si is⁸, ad cujus successionem venit, in possessione feudi usque ad mortem extiterat. Hoc feudorum consuetudines mandant. Hoc divi Hadriani edictum constituit, nec expedit in hujusmodi bonorum consignatione de proprietate tractare, sed necesse est talem successorem haberi, qualis et mortuus habebatur, proprietatis jure in eorum jure manentibus, nec ex eo juri alicujus praejudicantibus.

[33] Stat ergo juris necessitas⁹: quod¹⁰ etsi proprietatis jura ita notoria non extarent, prout sunt, et superius clarissime est deductum, non potuisse successor[um] Alfonsi regis regni titulum et regni possessionem et investituram denegare, nisi voluisset jura¹¹ feudi et vassalagii obsequia perdidisse. Non enim minus dominus feudi vassallo tenetur ad dandam infra tempus investituram et ad juris feudalis amissionem, si denegaverit, quam vassallus, si feloniam domino commiserit. Quis sanae mentis vestrae beatitudini persuasisset investituram et coronationem debitas denegare, jura feudalia ob denegationem amittere, vicinum regem ex illata injuria hostem sibi

¹ certa P

² super PE

³ et PE

⁴ fecit PE

⁵ investisse P

⁶ ornasse PE

⁷ abolitum P

⁸ jus PE

⁹ necessitate PE

¹⁰ qui PE

¹¹ regna P

vindicare? Investivit et coronavit sanctitas vestra eorum jurium, quae Alfonso regi competebant, et in quorum possessione pacifica¹ viginti annorum totius Christianitatis et ipsius Francorum regis approbatione pacifica fuerat. Conquisivit sibi census ecclesiae debitum et Beneventanam civitatem, ipsius Ferdinandi regis filialem oboedientiam, ac beneficium maximum, cum suis pecuniis, suo imperio. Jacobus Piccininus, strenuissimus capitaneus, civitatem Asissii et terram Gualdi, quas – ut asserebat – suo juri occupaverat, liberaliter restituit. Investivit sanctitas vestra, qui pacificus² erat possessor, regis filium, per tres vestrae sanctitatis praedecessores ut succederet habitatum, pro quo jure foederum Italicorum et ligae omnis {347} Italiae potentatus instetit, et quibus, nisi omnis Italiae bellum in se convertere voluisset, contradicere recte non poterat, et hoc fecit absque alicujus injuria et juris praejudicio.

[34] Tractemus – si sapimus – de eorum retractatione. Restituemus et Beneventanam urbem. Restituemus et Assisium et Galdum. Renuntiabimus et census promissioni. Vindicabimus amicum vicinum regem in hostem acerrimum. Cum jure suadente, cum de contractus rescissione agitur, oporteat omnia, quae facta sunt, revocare et in pristinum casum reducere. Namque et supremus princeps sicut et contractu, ita et rescissione contractus tenetur, suadente naturali jure, quibus et supremi principes obligantur. Qui haec assereret, non recte saperet. Petitur, ut Renatus de Andegavia, qui³ viginti annorum cursu regem Alfonsum passus est, investiatur. Qui haec petit, quid sit investitura, ignorat. Investitura est enim, prout lege deceditur, aut possessionis traditio aut recipiendae possessionis facultas, aut ad receptam superioris auctoritas. Clarum est duos non posse in solidum possidere eodem tempore. Sicque casu nostro Ferdinando rege possidente alteri possessio dari non potest. Possessorem etiam injustum possessione ejici causa non cognita leges prohibent. Sicque primo modo investitura alteri dari non potest.

[35] Secundo esset bellum inferre, quod⁴ contra oboedientem⁵ filium, juri se offerentem, contra pacificum possessorem, contra domino obsequentem in omnibus juri feudi convenientibus prohibitum est et ab omni humana lege alienum, cum superior legibus eum teneatur tueri et ab eo injurias propulsare. Sicque secundus modus investiturae alteri dari non potest.

[36] Tertio modo clarissimum est dari non posse, cum nisi possessori pacifico non competat, sicque ex his clare apparet, quam a jure alienum sit investituram petiisse. Quare transitus ad offendendum oboedientem regem petatur, non sine admiratione est, tum eo ipso, quo quis vim infert, contra se offerentem juri acquiescere, jus quod alias sibi de jure competeret, amittit, teneturque {348} superior jurisdictionali auctoritate, qua fungitur, armis suam jurisdictionem tueri. Sicque si aliena a jure sint, quae hoc in loco exposita fuere, vestra sanctitas et et hic sacer ordo dijudicet.

¹ jugi *add.* PE

² pacifice PE

³ jugi *add.* PE

⁴ qui PE

⁵ oboedientiam P

[37] Tetigerunt aliqua civitatem Januensem concernantia, in qua cum serenissimus Ferdinandus rex maximum interesse praetendat, pauca dicam, ut nil intactum remaneat. Est potentissima orbis terrarum caput Italia, pontificali, imperiali regioque jure decorata et sine horum jurium auctoritate indivisibilis, si monarchico ordine, quo Christiana religio gubernatur, cum ad instar superioris formata sit, vivere volumus, nec patrum terminos egredi. Januensis civitas juris Italici, quae ad censum, quo se aeternae memoriae Alfonso, regi Siciliae, obligaverat et solvere denegaverat, bello se subjecit ac plures ex optimatibus civibus debitum jus regium recognoscere volentes e civitate expulit, quo eidem jure legitimo indictum est bellum, non ad dominii civitatis submissionem, sed ad optimatum civium ad civitatem restitutionem contra tyrannidem contra jura civitatis exortam. In hoc bello jure pietate suffulto Ferdinandus rex haereditario jure successit. Sicque justum bellum habuit, et de Januensi civitate status alteratione nullatenus se immiscet; sed ut exclusa tyrannide civibus indebite exclusis ad civitatem admissis, suis legibus Italicoque jure gauderet pro posse studuit; qui ergo de ejus dominio se immiscuit, inconsulto pontificio, imperiali regioque Italico jure, etsi hoc fecerit inferiorum auctoritate pacto assensu juramentis, quae in hoc nulla sunt, indivisibiles leges Christiani ordinis pontificis imperialisque potestatum violat atque perturbat. Sicque tyrannicum jus usurpat, quod satis est ad omnem regiam dignitatem denigrandam, a quo quantum quilibet rex maxime, qui Christianissimum nomen sibi vindicat, cavere habeat diligenter advertat. Sunt enim indivisibilia jura regnorum nec inferiorum assensibus aut submissionibus violanda, nec ipsorum regum pactionibus et juramento {349} vallati, sine imperiali pontificali potestate, si Christianam legem profiteamur ac patrum terminos egredi non intendimus.

[38] Requirit igitur ipse Ferdinandus Rex vestram sanctitatem, hunc sacrum ordinem, omnesque astantes principes principumque oratores, ut sancta jura non violentur, arma contra eum deponantur, sua jura ad regnum a vestra sanctitate, cui immediate subjicit¹, protegantur et defendantur, nec permittatur, ut sibi bellum aliquod inferatur.² Alias protestatur se suumque regnum divino ac³ gentium humanoque juribus permittentibus armis tueri nec per eum stare quominus bellum in infideles inferatur, considerentque, qui ea agunt, quibus legibus, quibus divinis praeceptis contravenire nituntur. Insurgat pro Deo sanctitas vestra et illustrissimi principes, regum⁴ et principum oratores requirant Christianissimum regem et principes Galliarum, ut arma deponant, legibus, locis et temporibus se conforment⁵, divinas ultiones effugiant. Sunt principes gentium Christianissimarum, qui potentiam omnem saepius pro Christianae religionis tutela liberaliter posuere, facile est, ut assentiant Christianorum votis, ut arma hoc tempore deponant, et quod⁶ viginti annorum curriculo passi sunt, non innovent. Quod si fiet, maxima pars

¹ subjicitur PE

² et ut arma deponantur *add.* PE

³ *omit.* PE

⁴ regumque PE

⁵ confirmant PE

⁶ jugi *add.* PE

desiderii sanctitatis vestrae complebitur, quod Deus vestrae sanctitati et nobis concedere dignetur, qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen. Finis.

Appendix 2: Memorandum of French ambassadors (beg. December 1459, Mantua)

Manuscript

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ottobon. lat. 905, 53r-54r

Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography), see COR, vol. 1, ch. 9.

[1] {53v} Quamvis, beatissime pater, ea, quae praeposita fuerunt ultima Novembris¹ in praesentia vestrae beatitudinis per oratores Christianissimi Francorum regis, ab eadem beatitudine seriose et luculenter resumpta sint et sufficienter suae excellenti memoriae commendata, ita ut ulteriore scripto minime opus esse videretur, ordinationi tamen vestrae sanctitatis parendo praefati oratores substantiam expositorum et requisitorum sub brevi compendio in hanc formam redigerunt²:

1. Kingdom of Sicily

[2] Et primum quantum ad factum regis Siciliae attinet,

- quod in propositum extitit prae suppositis iuribus et titulis notoriis praedicto regi Renato in regno Siciliae pertinentibus et competentibus, prout die praescripta latius declaratum fuit et, dum opus fuerit, declarabitur,
- continuata insuper liliatorum possessione in regno praedicto CLXXXIII^{III}lorum annorum spatio vel circa,
- gravaminibus, vitiis et oppressionibus nihilominus illatis dicto serenissimo Siciliae regi Renato in hac parte et ad utilitatem favoremque Ferdinandi praedictum regnum manu violenta occupantis,
- consideratis etiam obsequiis retroactis temporibus assidue sedi apostolicae et fidei orthodoxae per Christianissimos Francorum reges, consanguineos proceres, magnates et regnicolas suos impensis, quae orbi universo nota sunt, quam ob causam ipsos inter ceteros principes catholicos ac universos Christicolos sedes apostolica commendatissimos semper habuit, quos praeterea praesens negotium cum pro interesse generali tum particulari multifarie concernit,

petunt et requirunt praefati oratores ea, quae sequuntur:

¹ 30 November

² After the verbal presentation of the French demands made to the pope on 30 November, the

pope had evidently asked the ambassadors to also present them in writing. See oration “*Responsuri*”, sect. 1: ... *in reply*

to your speech to Us some days ago - which was much longer than the written document presented over afterwards ...

[2] Primum est quatenus omnia facta et gesta ad utilitatem et in favorem Ferdinandi praejudiciumque et dispendium regis Renati cassare et annullare ac in pristinum statum reducere dignetur vestra sanctitas tam super infeudationem quam super coronationem dicti Ferdinandi ac aliis quibuscumque declarando ea cassa et nulla nulliusque roboris et efficaciae.

[3] Secundum, ut serenissimi regem Renatum Siciliae in vassallum ecclesiae recipiat vestra sanctitas, investituram praedicti regni sibi conferendo prout dictis liliatis tempore Caroli¹ primi semper continuatum extitit, et ut in talibus fieri est assuetum.

[4] Tertium dignetur praelibata sanctitas destinare legatum vel legatos sufficienti potestate suffultos ad praetactum Siciliae regnum praelatis, proceribus ceterisque viris ecclesiasticis et saecularibus significaturos declarationem pariter et investituram praemissas, ut deinceps parere et oboedire habeant serenissimo regi Renato veluti regi vero, ecclesiae vassallo, regni domino haeredique indubitato.

[5] Quartum, ut hoc rationabile et canonicum opus debitum et congruum sortiatur effectum dignetur saepefacta² sanctitas mandare capitaneis et rectoribus exercitus seu armatae ecclesiae quatenus impedimentum nullatenus inferre habeant comiti Jacobo Piccinino et suis nec aliis quibuscumque in auxilium domini ducis Calabriae ad recuperationem regni progressuris. Qui potius favores omnes licitos passagia {54r} et quaevis viveramina³ praestent, adeoque per universas terras et exercitum ecclesiae dicto comiti Jacobo et aliis quibuscumque, ut praedicitur, tutus sit accessus revocando et revocari faciendo omnes et singulos, qui sub praetextu mandatorum sanctitatis vestrae vel suorum ordinati sunt ad impediendum transitum dicti comitis Jacobi, suorum et aliorum quorumcumque ad succursum et auxilium praefati domini ducis Calabriae, offerentes saepefacti oratores nomine serenissimi principis, regis Renati praedicti, talem securitatem praestare sanctitatis vestrae, quod per antedictum comitem Jacobum aliosque suae comitiae nullum inferretur damnum terris et dominiis ecclesiae, et si quae facta forent, taliter reperabuntur quod saepefactam sanctitatem vestram merito debebit contentari.

2. Status of Genoa

[6] Alterum et secundum membrum insignis Januae domini statum concernens tripliciter extat divisum:

¹ Karoli doc.

² saepefacta doc.

³ *dub.* cod.

[7] Primo igitur iidem¹ oratores Christianissimae majestatis nomine ejusdem celsitudini regiae sanctitatem vestram exorant, ut Januenses tam in generali quam in particulari ejusdem majestatis subditos et oboedientes eorumque jura, facta et negotia dominumque Calabriae ac alios officiales auctoritate regia commissos ad regimen et tuitionem civitatis et domini Januae in sua speciali gratia singulariter commissos suscipiat eos omni favore prosequendo, prout celsitudo regia per dominum Cozeraneum certiorata spem et fiduciam singularem in eadem sanctitatem gerit.

[8] Secundo oratores praedicti nomine quo supra beatitudinem vestram² exorant, quatenus privilegia, jura et praerogativas³ Christianissimae majestatis conservando et protegendo attentis saepefactis criminibus et delictis commissis et patratis per Perrinum quondam de Campo Fregoso processibus super hoc agitatis sententiis, declarationibus et bonorum publicationibus idem et adversus eum secutis cassare dignetur vestra sanctitas et mandare cassari, seu pro infectis reputari omnes sententias obtentas pro parte dicti Perrini aut suorum in curia Romana vel coram quocumque iudice ecclesiastico in praedictum bancariorum de Avinione occanx⁴ obligationis vel fidejussionis factarum praedicto primo propter et ob causam reductionis civitatis Januae hosque bancarios a sententia vel sententiis excommunicationis in eorum latis causis praemissis absolvi, silentium imponendo quibuscumque dicti Perrini sese haeredes dicentes aut jus suum habere praetendentibus, ne occanx⁵ praemissa adversus dictos bancarios quicumque attentare praesumant, constitutoque de processu contra dictum Perrinum agitato, de quo saepefacti oratores promptam offerunt facere, fidem declarare obligationes, nomina et bona praedicta praefato Christianissimo Francorum regi pertinere, mandando insuper, ut sententiae pro jure praedictae celsitudinis regiae late in hac parte libere exequantur.

[9] Tertio attenda infidelitate archipraesulis Januae, praedicti Perrini fratris ipsiusque criminis conscii⁶, et ea de causa sit minus rationi consonum praedictum archiepiscopum in ea civitate moram protrahere et cives carere antistite, exorant dicti ambasiatores nomine quo supra quatenus vestra sanctitas praedictum archipraesulem ad aliam ecclesiam transferre dignetur, dictae civitati Januae talem praeficiendo pastorem, qui sedi apostolicae sacrosanctae sit obsequiosus, Christianissimae majestati fidus, civibus gratus et acceptus.

¹ idem cod.

² *dub.* cod.

³ praerogativas cod.

⁴ *dub.* cod.

⁵ *dub.* cod.

⁶ consilii cod.

Appendix 3: Response “*Jam certis lapsis diebus*” of French ambassadors (12 December 1459)

After D’Achery: *Spicilegium*, tom. IX (1669), pp. 323-329

Responsio legatorum Caroli VII. Regis Francorum ad orationem a Pio Papa II. Habitam in Conventu Mantuano, quae edita est in tomo VIII. Spicilegii, pag. 292

[1] {323} Jam certis lapsis diebus, beatissime pater, ad praesentiam vestrae Sanctitatis jussu Majestatis Christianissimi domini nostri Regis Francorum, veniam primum eidem, obedientiam et reverentiam filialem, sicut ... ejusdem Majestatis consuetum est, cum ea qua potuimus reverentia & devotione praestitum.¹ Nos quoque ad concludendum de succursu praestando fidei Catholicae, ob quem haec Conventio indicta est, venisse insinuavimus, paratissimos nos esse audire quae in praesenti Conventione aperientur, & in his cooperari omnibus modis rationabilibus. Quibus auditis vestra Sanctitas benigne nos suscepit, plures & celeberrimas laudes suis elegantissimis sermonibus Regi nostro Christianissimo attribuens.²

[2] Altera autem die³ ad ejusdem vestrae Sanctitatis praesentiam pro materia Regis Siciliae, & insignis Januae civitatis accessimus, vocatis tamen nobilibus Principibus, seu Principum Ambaxiatoribus qui domino nostro Regi faederibus, amicitia singulari & cognatione juncti sunt, sicut nobis in instructionibus expresse mandatum fuerat: in quibus causis quas pro tuendo non solum jure praefati domini Regis Renati, sed totius domus Regiae Francorum deduximus: nihil diximus animo quempiam accusandi, aut eorum qui jam vita functi sunt, aut qui adhuc in humanis agunt, sed duntaxat juris prosequendi gratia, quod praefatis regibus & incytae domui eorum competit: justamque rem petere arbitrate suos, quaerendo praefatum dominum Siciliae Regem in rem suam restitui, & in contrarium acta cassari.

[3] Super his cum ea modestia qua scivimus & potuimus {324} locuti sumus, sicuti Vestra Sanctitas pro sua clementia benigne interpretata est cum primum super his respondit, & quid insuper

¹ 21 November 1459. Oration “*Maximum et amplissimum onus*” of Guillaume Chartier

² Oration “*Multa hic hodie*” [49]

³ 30 November 1459

fiendum sit, vestra Sanctitas cum reverendissimis Patribus dominis Cardinalibus cogitare poterit, ut ipsius Regni praedicto domino Renato, cui debitum est, justa restitutio fiat, quam nullatenus in praejudicium succursus fidei Catholicae cedere putavimus; quin potius ad ejus auxilium singulare, dum ille strenuissimus & victoriosissimus Princeps dominus Dux Calabriae filius praenominati Regis, qui restitutionem Regni paterni, auxiliante sibi divino praesidio, manu valida prosequitur virtutibus optimis praeditus, in aetate convenienti constitutus, Regibus et magnis Principibus omnium fere nationum religionis Christianae conjunctus, magna auxilia ipsi fidei Catholicae Altissimo dirigente ferre poterit.

[4] Sed dum his in rebus super nostris petitionibus responsum disertissimum oratione¹ Vestrae Sanctitatis dictum est, aliqua dicta fuere, quibus pro tuendo Christianissimi domini nostri Regis honore, jure & fama cum omni reverentia vestrae Beatitudinis & Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae, ut fideles nuntii tanti Regis aliquid respondere compellimur.

[5] Non enim in primis subticere possumus unum, quod ipsius domini nostri Regis honorem admodum concernit: illud videlicet, quod inter cetera praelocuta enarrando beneficia Regibus & Regno Francorum a Sede Apostolica praestita dictum est, Zachariam Papam Legatum in Franciam mississe, & et per eundem tonsum fuisse Hildericum Regem, atque Pipino, Caroli Martelli filio Majori domus Regiae, longe tamen distante a sanguine Regio ipsius Regni regimen concessum extitisse, quo mortuo succedentibus sibi & Carolomanno & suis fiiiis, mortuo Carlomanno postulantibus Sedi Apostolicae Desiderio, relictaque dicti Carolomanni, & suis filiis, ad Regnum seu portionem Regni praedicto Carolomanno contingentem eosdem filios vocari. Sedes Apostolica rejectis supplicationibus praefatis, omnia {325} jura Regni collata in Pippinum, praefato Carolo Magno confirmavit, & in eum contulit. Quibus verbis ennui videtur, Christianissimos Francorum Reges exhinc successores non ex vera stirpe Clodovi descendisse necnon Regni dispositionem sedi Apostolicae competere.

[6] Ut autem hujus rei veritas omnibus innotescat, nec quidquam sinistrum animis audientium concipiatur, scimus ex Historiographis & Chronicis authenticis ac probatis, quibus fides adhibetur, quis fuit Clodoveus ille Christianissimus Rex, ad quem e caelo lilia transmissa fuere, sacraque unctio, & alia quae divinitus recepit, quae usque in hodiernum diem tum in ... tum in sacra unctione, tum in miraculis dietim coruscantibus, tum in curatione ulcerum, quae vulgariter escroüelles, latine vero scrophulae nuncupantur, & in vexillio auriflammeo ad Francorum Reges caelitus emisso, tum in aliis ... singularitatibus, & specialissimis praerogativis pluribus, & diversis modis impensis apud Francorum Reges permanent. E perlectis ad plenum historiis, & chronicis

¹ The oration "*Responsuri*" of 11 December 1459

authenticis clare constabit Pippinum praefatum a stirpe Clodovei & successoribus ejus descendisse, & a sanguine Regio processisse.

[7] In quantum vero Regem & Regnum ipsum tantis insignibus donis caelitus decoratum & illustratum concernit, certum est eosdem nulli in terra subjici, nec cuiquam humanae subjacere potestati. Intellexit praeterea haec decreta sacris Canonibus antiquorum Conciliorum, ac decretis summorum Pontificum confirmari, propter quae sicut devotus Ecclesiae filius, sicut Princeps Catholicus & Christianissimus eadem decreta cum aliquibus additionibus, quae Apostolicae Sedi nequaquam derogare videbantur, acceptare duxit.

[8] Unum aliud in postrema parte praelibatae orationis tactum est, cui aliqua ex parte etiam respondere cogimur. Arguitur quidem ipse dominus noster Rex, quod pragmaticam sanctionem in suo Regno sustinet, quae privilegiis sedis Apostolicae derogare praetenditur; atque exinde Regnum ipsum rugam atque maculam contraxisse allegatur. In qua re pro defendendis ipsius Regis et regni innocentia, honore, & fama, ut tenemur, aliqua in praesenti explicare duximus.

[9] Praesentata olim fuerunt decreta Concilii generalis Basiliensis Christianissimo nostro Regi, praesentibusque quamplurimis Principibus & Proceribus Regni sui, necnon {326} etiam absentium Oratoribus : ipse habita consultatione Archiepiscoporum, & Episcoporum atque Universitatum, aliorumque peritorum & prudentium Regni, informatus est quomodo haec erant edita auctoritate praefati Concilii, quod ex institutione duorum praecedentium Conciliorum Constantiensis & Senensis, necnon etiam duorum Romanorum Pontificum Martini quinti, & Eugenii quarti, ad reformationem Ecclesiae in capite & in membris fuerat convocatum.

[10] Nec in acceptatione praedicta ullatenus praejudicium privilegiis Apostolicae sedis afferre putavit, quam semper & venerari, et honorare decrevit. Quin etiam ab illo tempore ad Summum Pontificem subditi Regni illius, sicut ad Christi Vicarium et Pastorem summum recursum semper habuerunt. Nec aliquis de scitu ipsius Christianissimi Regis in Regno suo sibi quippiam eorum usurpare praesumpsit, quae ad solum summum Pontificem pertinere noscuntur. Et ulterius, Legatis & Nuntiis per eandem sedem missis saepenumero oblationes & variae aperturae factae sunt, in quibus semper benigne et pie Regis & Praelatorum animis ad quaeque rationabilia se dedit inclinatum. Et quidquid Canonice & rationabiliter in hac parte videbitur fiendum, ad hoc christianissima Majestas paratam se exhibebit, & observabit inconcusse.

[11] Quantum vero ad ea quae adversus Curiam Parlamenti ipsius domini nostri Regis objecta sunt, omnibus intelligere placeat, quod haec venerabilis Curia ex Ecclesiasticis & saecularibus viris jurisperitiam habentibus constituta, usque ad numerum octuaginta personarum, absque duodecim Patribus Ecclesiasticis & saecularibus, & octo Magistris hospitii regis, qui omnes de

corpore ipsius {327} Curiae existunt, quamplurimum necessaria est ad conservationem Ecclesiarum & jurium suorum, & de quibuscumque ad eos querimonia defertur, sive de Officiariis Regis, sive de quibuscumque aliis in ipso Regno, quantumcumque potentibus, per ipsam cuique Justitia ministratur. Quod si ita per omne regione Orbis Christiani fieret, non ita in multis patrimonialia Ecclesiarum direpta et delapsa forent, sicut, pro dolor!, esse referuntur. Tantaque ab antiqua fama est illius Curiae, quod nedum subditi aliorum Regnorum Christianorum in causis privatis ad iudicium illius Curiae recurrere voluerunt, prout & adhuc multi faciunt, sed etiam infideles interdum hoc idem fecerunt. Nec est verisimile quod tam solemnis Curia aliquid sinistrum agere vellet, quod sibi ad culpam & notam imputandum esse videretur.

[12] Super omnibus tamen praemissis Christianissimus dominus noster Rex pleniore deliberatione habita, & consultis viris peritis juris divini & humani, quorum in Regno suo copiosa est multitudo, poterit exinde quidnam agendum sit maturius & sanctius advisare. Sed haec pauca nos sui Oratores effari ad praesens duximus, ne defensionem justitiae, honoris, & famae ipsius domini nostri Regis intactam praeteriisse videamur. Et in his ad honorem Dei, universalis Ecclesiae, & sanctae Sedis Apostolicae obsequium, utilitatemque ac prosperitatem fidei Catholicae, & totius Christianitatis, & apud ipsum dominum nostrum Regem, & ubicumque poterimus pro viribus laborare curabimus.

[13] Quia tamen in articulis praecedentibus de facto Regis Siciliae mentionem facientibus verbis generalia sunt, & absque specificatione, ut de intentione dictorum Oratorum in materia praedicta sanctissimus dominus noster plenius valeat certiorari, supplicant Oratores praefati eidem sanctissimo domino nostro, quatenus supplicationes hac in re suae Sanctitati ex parte dictorum Oratorum porrectas admittere dignetur. Ad quae vestra Sanctitas, ultra rationes alias in parte hac allegatas, inclinari debere videtur zelo defensionis {328} fidei, ut votivus inde sequitur effectus causis & rationibus sequentibus.

[14] Nam praedictus Rex Renatus consanguineus est in linea masculina Christianissimo Regi, & fere omnibus majoribus Principibus Regni in tertio gradu. Christianissima Regina Maria Renati soror in secundo gradu. Regina autem Angliae filia est legitima praedicti Regis Renati, Rexque Angliae ipsius Regis filius in affinitate. Dominus Dux Calabriae praedictorum Regis & Reginae frater est, Principisque Walliae eorum heredis avunculus, & in parentela proximior ... consanguinei sunt germani idem Princeps, & filius praelocuti domini Ducis Calabriae. Dominus etiam Comes Cenomaniae, qui a juventute continuam traxit moram cum Christianissimo Rege, in cujus domo alitus ac suus praecarus & dilectissimus, germanus est ipsius Regis Siciliae.

[15] Et ultra haec, inter ceteras provincias, nationes, & territoria Regni nostri, citra praejudicium quorumcumque aliorum, nobiles & Proceres Andegaviae & Cenomaniae praefati Regis Renati

subditi, Regi nostro supremo & coronae servierunt prudenter, efficaciter & indefesse, unde vocem, famam, & nomen in Franciae Regno non modicum & merito meruerunt. Et cum de tanta materia, prout est fidei defensio, locus erit sermonem facere, eorum vox & opinio non mediocriter erunt importantiae.

[16] Et sit tanti Principes & nobiles quilibet suo respectu effectualiter cognoscant, vestram Sanctitatem erga dictum Regem Renatum in suis supplicationibus aures benignas inclinare, sibique in suis jure & ratione legitime favere, eorum ex parte nulli dubium est in materia praedicta fidei ferventiores & animosiores se praebere, ac exhortationibus & desideriis sedis Apostolicae promotiores & inclinatiores.”

[17] Similiter ut jura & praerogativae Christianissimae Majestatis {329} illibatae remaneant, placeat Sanctissimo domino nostro mandare sententias contra Perrinum de Campefrigoze latas per judices competentes, occasione maleficiorum & delictorum per dictum Perrinum perpetratorum in & adversus Regiam Majestatem : de quibus sententiis, necnon & de processu in hac materia agitato, iidem Oratores promptam offerunt facere fidem executioni debitae demandari, silentiumque imponi praetendentibus se illius Perrini heredes, aut ab eo causam habere super censuris & sententiis excommunicationis per eos, ut fertur, obtentis adversus mercatores Avenionenses, eosdemque mercatores absolve, quietos vero & pacificos erga praedictos, se, ut praemittitur, jus habere dicentes, teneri.

Appendix 4: Letters of Pius II to King Charles VII of 12 December 1459 and 10 January 1460

Letter of Pius II to King Charles VII of 12 December 1459

After Rainaldus, ad annum 1459, nr. 69

Pius Papa II Regi Franciae.

Charissime in Christo fili, salutem, etc.

Cum audivimus oratores tuae sublimitatis ad dietam hanc Mantuanam venire, vehementer Deo teste sumus laetati. Postquam etiam Mantuam attigerunt, in eorum ingressu et cum publice sunt auditi tot eos honoribus accumulavimus, quot potuerunt a nobis excogitari: nihil protinus omittentes, quod ad honorandum tuum regium nomen ac ad declarandam nostram in te charitatem spectaret. Sequentibus vero diebus, cum iidem oratores commendatum venissent charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Renatum regem illustrem et dilectos filios communitatem tuae civitatis Januensis, praeter expectationem nostram nonnullos principes et oratores ex iis, qui dietae causa hic sunt, vel testes vel spectatores expositionis suae secum duxerunt; auditi nihilominus a nobis patienter benigneque sunt. Verum quia omnis eorum oratio non tam praedictorum commendationem, quam accusationem nostram et Apostolicae Sedis continere est visa, ob id praecipue, quod charissimo in Christo filio nostro Ferdinando de Aragonia Neapolitanum regnum et regni coronam concessimus, non iudicavimus maculam hanc per eos impositam eidem Sedi, cujus defensores sumus, tacendo relinquere, praesertim cum nos tibi, et clarissimae domui tuae graviter injuriatos assererent. Exemplum itaque ipsorum secuti, die responsionis nostrae convocari et nos aliquos fecimus, qui defensae innocentiae nostrae auditores adessent: purgavimus in respondendo, quantum Deus largitus est nobis, objecta : ostendimus quae tuo nomine nobis imputabantur non tibi nos imputare, sed detractoribus nostris qui tuae pietati non vera inculcassent : aperuimus quoque praesentem necessitatem, quae petitionibus eorum non assentiri nos pateretur : denique nullum verbum fuit, nulla particula nostrae responsionis, quae non summam gloriam progenitorum tuorum et tuam, atque adeo totius gentis Gallicae resonaret. Factum semper nostrum, in quo notati maxime eramus, ea modestia excusantes, ut apud justos iudices solam innocentiam ejusdem Sedis nisi fuerimus velle probare. Quod si secus tuae celsitudini relatum jam esset vel forsitan referetur, sciat longe a vero esse quidquid aliter dicitur, nec nos, qui nomen tuum privatim et publice dignis continue laudibus celebravimus, potuisse in hoc conventu Christiano, ubi de tota religione nostra tractatur, in diversum sentire et loqui. Affuerunt principes nonnulli et principum oratores, affuerunt praelati quamplures hujus nostrae excusationis locupletissimi testes, ex quibus bonitas tua integram veritatem poterit, cum volet, cognoscere. Haec duplici ex causa ad te scribenda putavimus,

primum quia malignantium et detractorum plena omnia etiam noveramus, quibus more Sathanae omnis conjunctio molesta est, et charitas odiosa; deinde quia serenitatem tuam magni facimus plurimumque sicut debemus, et tormenti instar nobis esset, si causam alienori animo a Sede praedicta malorum artificiis esse intelligeremus etc.

Dat. Mantuae XII Decembris anno II.

Letter of Pius II to King Charles VII of 10 January 1460

After Rainaldus, ad annum 1460, nr. 17

Pius Papa II Regi Franciae.

Charissime in Christo fili, etc.

Venerunt ad nos oratores celsitudinis tuae, viri praestabiles et digni, qui a tanto rege ad Apostolicam Sedem, et in negotium fidei mitterentur. Gesserunt se omnibus in rebus diligenter ac studiose, nihil iudicio nostro praetermittentes, quod ad officium fidelium oratorum pertineat. Si petitiones tuas omnes illis instantibus non adimplevimus, Deo teste, non minor est nobis, quam tuae majestati anxietas : honor Apostolicae Sedis quam tueri toto posse debemus, et iustitiae debitum, in qua obligati omnibus sumus, facere hoc nos compulerunt : quod est necessitas pro Deo, tua bonitas imputare voluntati non velit. Amamus et in cordis visceribus gerimus tuum Christianissimum nomen, cujus veri praedicatores, quantum in nobis fuit, semper sumus inventi, et auctore Deo inveniemur in posterum. Negationes nostrae singulares tibi non sunt : facimus hoc idem cum reliquis Christianis regibus ac potentatibus, quibus frequenter non damus quod concedere cum Deo non possumus : hanc nostram institutionem. Tibi, qui veri ac justus es cultor, non dubitamus pro tua bonitate probatissimum esse. Quae autem ad negotium regni Siciliae pro officio nostro respondimus : oratores tui praedicti, et noster quem ad te destinabimus, eadem plenius referent. Si fideliter omnia exponant : non dubitamus, quin necessitatem nostram habeas excusatam. Unum hoc vere affirmamus : intentionem nostram erga charissimum in Christo filium Renatum regem illustrem optimam esse, et nec alienam ab officio indulgentissimi patris : cum quaecumque facultas se offeret contemplatione Christianissimae tuae domus, et sua, reipsa probabimus quod nunc verbis testamur. Et quoniam non dubitamus serenitatem tuam more progenitorum suorum negotium religionis Christianae, cujus causa conventum hunc Christianorum tanto labore peregrimus gloriose esse amplexuram, nos, ne quid ad hoc exequendum pia voluntati tuae obstaret, dietam unam indiximus et ad eam legatum nostrum obtulimus, qui inter inclitum regnum tuum, et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Anglorum regem illustrem et alios, quos negotium hujusmodi tangit, pacem seu treguas componat : tempus conveniendi proximum Joannis Baptistae festum duximus opportunum : loca quoque ea delegimus, in quorum aliquo partes ipsas consensuras facile putaremus. etc.

Dat. Mantuae, X Januarii, Anno II.

Appendix 5: Letter of King Ferrante I to Pope Pius II [undated]

From: *Regis Ferdinandi et aliorum epistolae ac orationes utriusque militiae*. [Vico Equense, 1586], pp. 304-305

This letter was probably written by Antonio Beccadelli (see Abulafia: *Ferrante*, p. 239)

{304} Pio Papae,

Clarissima multorum voce ac litteris nobis renuntiatum est, Pie pater beatissime, quam magnifice et tuae auctoritati convenienter insolentiae Gallorum responderis. Nam cum me illi minus legitime regno investitum ac recte creatum regem, mirabili copia et eloquentia declarasti. Attulisti in medium concessionem superiorum pontificum, fratrum cardinalium consensum, populorum ac procerum meorum atque adeo totius Italiae voluntatem propitium, optimi patris Alfonsi in catholicam ecclesiam benemerita, contra Gallorum regem male merita, quique ex rege Christiano nihil hodie praeter nomen obtineant: omnia officia, omnia beneficia, quae papae propria sunt, usurpasse ac profanasse; contumacias eorum prope innumerabiles, dominandi libidinem, in Italicos perpetua odia, conversationes intolerabiles.

Sed et illud jucundissimum auditu fuit, quod cum me propter natales meos regno indignum esse exclamarent, te palam fecisse nonnullos ex Hispanorum regibus, nonnullos ex Gallorum natu similes extitisse. Herculem {305} praeterea, Romulum, Alexandrum, Salomonem et alios plures reges, quos mortales universi divinis laudibus ferunt, illegitimo matrimonio ortos. Quippe neque ortum aut originem verum regem statuere, sed animi excellentiam morum sobrietatem, humanitatem, clementiam, liberalitatem, religionem, sapientiam et denique pontificum, quique Christi domini vicarii gerunt, oboedientiam atque observantiam.

Haec atque talia cum copiosissime ac constantissime disseruisses, omnibus quidem, qui aderant, tui animi generositatem, tuae amplissimae sedis dignitatem ac dignitatis majestatem exhibuisti, mihi etiam pietatem atque justitiam.

Quibus ex rebus tantas sanctitatis tuae laudes et gratias habeo, quantas nec verbis enarrare nec opera aut rebus satisfacere umquam possem. Obligasti me, obligasti progeniem meam in perpetuum. Continue te benefactorem, te dominum, te patronum decantabimus, nec minus semper et ubique gentium nos sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae observantissimos filios,

beneficiarios clientes esse profitebimur. Ita te justissimus Deus justitiae assertorem in pace et tranquillitate incolumen invictumque conservet.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 53)

Oration “*Advenisse te citius*” of Pope Pius II (December 1459). Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

In December 1459, when the business of the Congress of Mantua was almost concluded, Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg finally arrived. He was Pope Pius II's favourite German prince. Albrecht was received and highly praised by the pope in a public audience. There is no doubt that Albrecht's appearance at the Congress of Mantova was a great comfort to the pope, and it is possible that Albrecht would have accepted command of a Christian army, had one been formed.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Albrecht of Brandenburg; Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg; Albrecht III Achilles von Brandenburg

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Appendix: Oration “*Non ulla*” of Hertnidt vom Stein to Pope Pius II (6 January 1460, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In late December 1459, when the business of the Congress of Mantua was almost concluded, Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg finally arrived in Mantua. He was no stranger to the princely court of Mantua since his niece, Barbara, was the spouse of Margrave Ludovico Gonzaga. Albrecht was Pope Pius II's favourite German prince and one whom he thought might be an excellent commander of a joint European army against the Turks.²

In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote briefly about him and his visit, adding:

When he came to Mantua, the Cardinal of San Pietro³ left the ranks⁴ and went out to meet him. The pope received him at a public audience and showered him with praise for his prompt and generous promises of support against the Turks. He also presented him with a thousand ducats and two horses from Puglia. As part of the festivities for Epiphany, he awarded him the sword which was traditionally granted to the most worthy secular prince present at Christmas, as well as a cap adorned with pearls.^{5 6}

Voigt wrote:

Der letzte, der nach Mantua kam, war der Liebling des Papstes unter den deutschen Fürsten, das Haupt und das Schwert der kaiserlichen Partei, Markgraf Albrecht von Brandenburg. ... Im öffentlichem Consistorium versprach Albrecht mit grossherzigem Feuer seine Hülfe im Kampfe gegen die Ungläubigen, der Mann nach dem Herze des Papstes, wie er dastand, straff und fest an Gestalt, das kühne Antlitz von der Sonne gebrannt und von Narben eher geziert als gestellt. Gerade auf diesen Fürsten hatte Pius immer ein merkwürdiges Vertrauen gesetzt ...⁷

There is no doubt that Albrecht's appearance at the Congress of Mantua was a great comfort to the pope, and it is possible that Albrecht would have accepted command of a German crusade army had one been formed, but it was not, neither in Mantua nor later.

¹ CO, III, 45 (Meserve, II, pp. 190-193); Picotti, pp. 292-293; Voigt, IV, pp. 104-105

² Pastor, II, p. 68

³ The German Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues

⁴ "extra ordinem": instead of "left the ranks", I should prefer the translation "as an extraordinary gesture" / MCS

⁵ CO, III, 45 (Meserve, II, pp. 190-193). Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 73

⁶ The visit is not mentioned by Pius' contemporary biographers, Campano and Platina, see Zimolo

⁷ Voigt, IV, pp. 104-105

The pope received Albrecht in a public meeting (*publico auditorio*), where the Dean of Bamberg, Hertnidt vom Stein, gave the oration “*Non ullam*”¹ on Albrecht’s behalf, and the pope replied with the oration “*Advenisse te citius*”. Later, on the Feast of Epiphany, the pope gave the margrave the papal sword, traditionally bestowed on a secular prince at Christmas. This may indicate that Albrecht arrived after Christmas day, otherwise the sword would traditionally have been granted to him on that day. That the public reception and the bestowal of the papal sword were separate events is shown by the wording in the *Commentarii: Pontifex in auditorio publico eum excepit laudavitque magnificis verbis*² ... *In festo vero Epiphaniae ... ense ... et pilleum ... inter solemnia dedit.*

2. Themes

In the oration, the pope expressed his great satisfaction at the margrave’s arrival. He claimed that the margrave’s energy and leadership skills were such that he could personally ensure that there would be peace in Germany, allowing the promised German army to be gathered. He complimented him on his military skills, acquired and demonstrated in many wars. But such wars against other Christians – the pope said – necessarily brought guilt for the crimes of war, slaughtering of innocents, rape of women, burning of monasteries etc. All these sins would be expiated if the Margrave joined the crusade.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was probably delivered in the last week of 1459.

According to the Ottobon. Lat. 905, f. 52r, the oration on behalf of Albrecht was delivered by Hertnidt vom Stein after the solemn mass on the Feast of Epiphany, 6 January 1460, i.e. in connection with the bestowal of the papal sword. But since the pope’s own description of the events in the *Commentarii* (see above) clearly distinguishes between the reception of the margrave in a consistory where he praised him, evidently in response to an ambassadorial address on behalf of the margrave, either this dating is erroneous, or the pope’s memory may

¹ Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana / Ottobon. Lat. 905, ff. 52r-53r

² Oration “*Advenisse te citius*” [53]

have faltered. For the purpose of the present edition, the date of late December is retained, and the date of Hertnidt's oration in the Ottobon. 951 is considered to be erroneous.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors, and 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 address made on behalf of the margrave (*Probamus, quae tuo nomine dicta sunt*, sect. 1).

4. Text¹

The oration is included in a special Collection of Responses of Pope Pius II (1460)², largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, presently known to be extant in five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 182v-183v (**G**) *
- **Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 69r-71r (**J**) *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 84r-86r
Barb. lat. 1602, ff. 106r-108v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 181v-182r (**H**) *

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

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

² See *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

³ Manuscripts used for the present edition are indicated with the siglum. Manuscripts, for which an orthographical profile

is given in *COR*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

4.2. Editions

The oration was published by Mansi twice:

- 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. 303-304
[Based on the ms. in Lucca, G]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // II, pp. 190-192
[Based on the ms. in Lucca, G]

4.3 Present edition

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

Text:

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

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, three direct or indirect quotations have been identified: one from the Bible, one from a classical source (Homer), and one from a medieval source (Innocent III).

6. Bibliography

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

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

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2019-2020. [Final Version 2024].

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

Zimolo, Giulio C. (ed.): *Le vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina*. Bologna, 1964. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; t. III, p. II)

7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Ad Albertum marchionem Brandenburgensem

[1] {181v} Advenisse te citius, dilectissime fili, et optavisse quidem, et rebus gerendis nostro iudicio non parum conduxisset. Sed curasti¹, ne bellum civile inter Alemannos exoriretur: non minus reipublicae profuisti, quam si hic affuisses. Venisti tamen modo et omnes difficultates superasti. Nulla te potuerunt impedire impedimenta, quominus nostro desiderio² satisfaceres. Neque fluminibus, neque montibus retineri vera caritas³ potest. Et praesentia tua et verbis tuis mirum in modum nos recreas. Probamus, quae tuo nomine dicta sunt, et consilia tua non aliter quam viri prudentis et qui multa viderit et probaverit, amplectenda esse ducimus, de quibus tecum seorsum agemus.

[2] Verum quia natio germanica, ex qua tu ortus es, incluta et potens, in⁴ expeditionem contra Turcos obeundam duo et XL⁵ millia pugnatorum Christianae religioni pollicita est, ut hoc fiat, quod promissum est, duo necessaria esse videmus: unum, ut pax proximo anno Norimbergae⁶ composita stabilis sit, {182r} et nihil novi discidii⁷ suboriri sinatur, neque enim aliter educi exercitus posset. Alterum, ut ad cogendas copias ingens studium et diligentia solers adhibeatur. Utrumque in te situm est. Si voles, pacata erunt omnia, nec deerit validus contra Turcos exercitus, ubi tua solertia incubuerit. Novimus studium et diligentiam tuam: omnia fiunt quamvis difficillima, ubi tu⁸ animum intenderis. Age igitur, erige mentem, et his te rebus accinge, quae te possunt beatum et immortalem reddere. Multa hactenus bella gessisti: in Franconia, quae tibi patria est, in Misna, in Saxonia, in Bohemia, in Slesia, in Polonia, in Hungaria, in Austria, in Bavaria, in Svevia: nulla regio in Germania est tui non plena sudoris. A teneris, ut ajunt, unguiculis, versatus in armis adeo clarum gessisti militem et deinde ducem, ut non ab re Theutonicum te Achillem quidam nominaverunt. Tulisti saepe optima ex hoste spolia. Saepe vallum, saepe murum primus hostilem ascendisti. Erexisti pluribus in locis victoriarum trophaea, et ex manubiis⁹ hostium tua templa ditasti. Si cujuspian nostri temporis viri victura est fama, tua profecto victura est. Injuriam enim scriptores tuo nomini fecerint, nisi te priscis aequaverint, quos Graecia et quos Roma miratur¹⁰, belli ducibus.

¹ sed curasti : securitati J

² nostro desiderio : desiderio nostro G

³ retineri vera caritas : vera caritas retineri G

⁴ omit. J

⁵ XLta G

⁶ proximo anno Norimbergae : Norimbergae proximo anno G

⁷ dissidii G, J

⁸ cum G

⁹ manibus G

¹⁰ mirantur J

To Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg

[1] Beloved son, We had hoped you would arrive earlier, and We believe it would have greatly helped the matter at hand. But since you were endeavouring to prevent a civil war in Germany, you have benefited the [Christian] Commonwealth as much as if you had been present here. But now you have arrived and surmounted all difficulties. No barriers could prevent you from fulfilling Our wish. True charity cannot be held back by rivers or mountains. Your presence and your words are a tremendous comfort to Us. We approve of what was said in your name, and We wholeheartedly accept your advice as being from a wise man who has seen and experienced much,¹ and We shall discuss it separately with you.

[2] The glorious and mighty German nation from which you come has promised 42,000 soldiers to the expedition for the Christian religion against the Turks. We consider two things to be necessary for the fulfilment of this promise: the first is the stability of the Peace of Nürnberg from last year, and that a new conflict be not allowed to break out. Otherwise an army cannot be mobilized. The second is that great energy and careful diligence be shown in gathering troops. Both depend on you. If you will, all will be at peace. And if you show diligence, a strong army against the Turks will not be lacking. We know your energy and diligence: if you apply your mind, all - and even the most difficult - things will happen [as you wish]. Therefore, act, apply yourself to this task, and avail yourself of those things that can make you happy and immortal. Until now, you have conducted many wars: in Franconia, your fatherland; in Meissen, in Saxony, in Bohemia, in Silesia, in Poland, in Hungary, in Austria, in Bavaria and in Swabia. There is no region in Germany where you have not sweated and toiled. You have been in a military man since your tender years², first as a splendid soldier, later as a commander. It is not without reason that some have called you the German Achilles.³ Often you took spoils from the enemy. Often you were the first to climb up the rampart and the enemy's walls. Many are the places where you have raised memorials of victory, and you have enriched your temples with the spoils from your enemies. If there is anybody today whose fame will last, it is certainly you. An author would insult your name if he did not compare it to the generals of Antiquity, admired by Greece and Rome.

¹ Cf. Homer: *Odyssey*, 1.1

² "unguiculis"

³ Indeed, Pius himself was the first to call him so

[3] Verum quamvis te justa secutum bella putemus, inter Christianos tamen hactenus proeliatu es, quod difficile sine peccato fieri potest. Saepe innocens sanguis {182v} effunditur, interveniunt puellarum et nuptarum raptus. Dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper, diripiuntur ecclesiae, monasteria incenduntur, divina et humana miscentur. Apud victorem raro moderatio magis quam libido vindictae potest. Multa urgent conscientiam tuam, non dubitamus: non potuisti non laedere multos.

[4] At haec expiare Turconico bello facile poteris. *Pugnasti pro mundo hactenus; pugna nunc pro Christo. Pugnasti pro corpore; pugna nunc pro anima. Pugnasti pro fragili et caduca gloria; pugna nunc pro immortalis et aeterna laude.* Exerce te in hoc¹ bello, in quo possis omnes veteris culpa maculas expurgare, et te gratum creatori tuo reddere. {183v} Age, amplectere volenti animo hanc expeditionem, in qua si te armatum esse senserimus, magnam victoriae fiduciam capiemus. Nam te alterum in proelio David futurum speramus, de quo canebant, quia *Saul mille et David X millia stravisset hostium.* Tua persona pro magno nobis erit exercitu, et in te alterum Judam Macchabaeum, aut alterum Samsonem esse censebimus. Confortare igitur et esto robustus, et cum redieris ad fratres tuos, Germaniae proceres, stude, ut sedatis domesticis contentionibus, si quae pullulant, exercitus, qui promissus est, in Germania conflatur, et in hostes ducatur. Reliqua dominus deus pro sua misericordia felicia esse praestabit. Amen.

¹ in hoc : hoc in J

[3] We believe the wars you have conducted were just, but still, you have been fighting Christians, which easily leads to sin. Often the blood of innocents is shed, and girls and married women are raped. While the wicked glories, the poor is burnt, churches are robbed, monasteries set on fire, and the divine is mixed up with the human. For victors, the thirst for revenge is more important than moderation. So, We do not doubt that many things must burden your conscience: you could not avoid harming many.

[4] But all these [sins] you may easily expiate through the Turkish war. *Until now you have been fighting for the world: now fight for Christ. You have been fighting for the body: now fight for the soul. You have been fighting for a fragile and vain glory: now fight for immortal and eternal honour.*¹ Exert yourself in this war in which you may wash away all the stains of old guilt and make yourself pleasing to your Lord. Do act, and do generously accept this crusade. If We see you armed for it, We shall have great hopes for victory. For We hope that you will be another David in battle, about whom they sang that *Saul slew his thousands, and David his ten thousand.*² Your person will count as much as a great army, and We shall consider you to be another Judah Machabee or another Samson. So, be brave and strong, and when you return to your brothers, the German nobles, please endeavour to settle internal conflicts, if any are still festering, and to gather the promised army in Germany and lead it against the enemies. In his mercy, the Lord God will make all else go well. Amen.

¹ Innocentius III: *Registrum*, 11: 230 (MPL 215: 1545): *Pugnastis fortassis hactenus pro gloria*

transitoria, pugnate iam pro gloria sempiterna. Pugnastis pro corpore, pugnate pro anima.

Pugnastis pro mundo, pugnate pro Deo

² 1. Kings, 18, 7

Appendix: Oration “*Non ulla*” of Hertnidt vom Stein¹ to Pope Pius II (6 January 1460, Mantua)

According to Matthias Thumser, Hertnidt vom Stein arrived at the Papal Court, then residing in Siena, probably in the beginning of March 1459, to present Margrave Albrecht Achilles’ declaration of obedience to the new pope. Afterwards, he stayed with the court and followed the pope to Mantua.² He left Mantua before September 1459. Thumser does not mention him as a companion to Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg, when this prince came to Mantua towards the end of December 1459: *Nur kurze Zeit darauf und wahrscheinlich entgegen den Instruktionen seines Herrn verliess er Mantua und die Kurie und machte sich auf den Weg nach Bamberg ... So musste der Fürstenkongress im September desselben Jahres seine Beratungen ohne ihn aufnehmen. ... Obwohl Markgraf Albrecht um die Jahreswende doch noch persönlich nach Mantua kam und auch er feierlich seine Mitwirkung beim Kreuzzug gegen die Türken beteuerte, blieben Taten letztlich aus.*³

However, that Hertnidt vom Stein actually accompanied Albrecht Achilles on his journey to Mantua has been confirmed by Thumser in a personal communication of 30 June 2019.⁴

Among the other orations of Hertnidt vom Stein are his *De rectoralis dignitatis acceptatione et pro ipse honoris gratiarum actione* (Thumser, p. 19) and an oration to Emperor Friedrich III in the matter of the succession conflict in Stettin (Thumser, p. 193).

¹ Hertnidt vom Stein (c. 1427 - 1491): Chancellor of Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg, and later Dean at the Cathedral of Bamberg. See Thumser. Various Latinized forms of his name are documented in contemporary sources, Hertnidus (Thumser, p. 7), Hartungus (Thumser, p. 10), H[e]rtinidus (Thumser, p. 15), Herthnidus (Thumser, p. 18), Hernildus (Thumser, p. 20), Hertindum (Longolius, p. 93)

² Thumser, pp. 36 ff.

³ Thumser, pp. 41-42

⁴ *Man muss sich den zeitlichen Ablauf nun wohl folgendermaßen vorstellen: Hertnidt brach nach dem 23. Juli 1459 von Mantua nach Bamberg auf, sicherte sich dort seine päpstliche Provision und erhielt am 16. August Kanonikat und Dekanat. Das war eine flotte Reise, erscheint aber durchaus möglich. Einige Mona-*

te später kehrte er, nun zusammen mit dem Markgrafen, nach Mantua zurück und hielt dort die Rede. Die Annahme, dass er zwischendurch in Bamberg war, stützt seine Bezeichnung als Dekan in der Überschrift zur Rede.

Manuscript

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Ottob. 905, ff. 52r-53r

Literature

Longolius, Paul Daniel: *Sichere Nachrichten von Brandenburgculmbach ...* Achter Theil. 1759

Thumser, Matthias: *Hertnidt vom Stein (ca. 1427-1491). Bamberger Domdekan und markgräflich-brandenburgischer Rat. Karriere zwischen Kirche und Fürstendienst.* Neustadt, 1989. (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte. Reihe IX; 38)

Oratio habita per venerabilem et eximium doctorem dominum Hertardum de Lapide, decanum Parmbergensem, praesente illustri domino Alberto, Marchione Brandiburgensi, nomine et vice dignationis suae in ecclesia cathedrali in die epiphaniae immediate post missam celebratam per reverendum dominum cardinalem Rothomagensem

[1] {52r} Non ullam, pontifex alme, huic principi meo negligentiam assignabis, si, ut summo opere exoptabat, tuam tam cito haud adierit sanctitatem. Non profecto Arpinati¹ illa explicari posset lingua, quanto desiderio quantaque gratia ac diligentia videre te et coram alloqui concupierit, cum praesertim se eum profiteatur, qui pro innata tibi humanitate et singulari virtute magis tibi quam sibimetipsi debere soleat. Nonnullorum enim, qui potius bello quam pace gaudent, impedimento detentus ab itinere hucusque ad te revocatus defecit. Suam tamen in te mirificam oboedientiam, devotionem et affectum singularem demonstrare cupiens, gubernandae² patriae causa postposita, uxoriae affectionis zelo semoto³ ac cunctis suis, quae permaxima sunt, negotiis posthabitis, bello nunc paene fulminantem patriam deserere et tuae sacratissimae beatitudinis pedes promptus petere non dubitavit.

[2] Ignosces igitur, alme pontifex, potissimum mihi, qui ista oratoria arte omnino nudus in medio adire haud dubitaverim. Non enim temeraria honoris ambitio aut major gloria quaedam⁴ ad hoc me compulit, sed potius huius principis mei de me siquidem bene meriti officiorum magnitudo, cum equidem pro singularibus virtutibus suis et animi magnitudine obnoxium me etiam atque etiam profiteor. Porrecta igitur fronte accipies, accipies - inquam - barbaram hanc potius orationem quam luculentam. Non enim ex iisdem orta est locis, ubi tenuiori - ut ajunt - Minerva, sed potius pinguiori homines erudiri solent. Me enim abunde satis dixisse puto, sed oratorio isto dicendi genere derelicto huius principis mei tantum denudavero tibi voluntatem, cum igitur, clementissime pontifex, qualem vides, offero.

[3] Cujus animi magnitudo, corporis vires {52v} in rebus agendis, consilium in capiendis, administratio in gerendis, perseverantia ac labor haud umquam in eo, quod exoptaveras, tuae defuerint sanctitati. Non enim, ut nonnulli facere consueverunt, verborum prolixione homines sibi conciliare solet, sed quod semel dixerit, id regere vehementer exoptat.

[4] Primus igitur tibi, alme pontifex, immensas suo nomine et ago et habeo gratias, qui pro tua singulari in eum pietate postquam negotiorum, quorum te gratia in hanc urbem recipere et

¹ I.e. Cicero, who was born in Arpinum

² gubernande cod.
³ scemoto cod.

⁴ quendam cod.

Christiani nominis principes accersiri voluisti, salubrem deliberationem fecisti, ut ipsum iter jam agentem intellexisti, in hos dies operiri eum dignatus es. Verum etsi non tanti se meriti aut dignitatis esse cognoscat, adauctae tamen affectionis et paternae tuae in eum pietatis officia, quibus eum adhuc te in minoribus existente fovebas, mirum in modum jucundum reddidere. Exhortantur etiam eum et sibi animum adjungent accumulatissime tibi attributae virtutes non tibi solum, sed apostolicae sedi et universae Christianae religioni plurimum congratulari te hac nostra tempestate in summi apostolatus apicem deductum esse, cum Christianae fidei necessitati magna virtute, ingenti animo, plurimo labore succurrendum sit atque prae ceteris in utramque partem exercitatus et tam pii operis percupidus omnium iudicio comprobatus haberis.

[5] Non sane latet principem hunc meum, quanto consiliorum pondere, quanta animi magnitudine, quanta prudentia ac fortitudine, cum te Germani tenerent regiones, reipublicae et Romani praesulatus auctoritatis ferventissimum amatorem, eruditissimum expertissimumque advocatum et procuratorem exhibueris. Hac consilia principum, hic regum conventus, hic urbium concursus ac potentatum et nobilium plebeorumque exercitus aderant, quibus omnibus operae et sollicitudines tuae non deerant, propter quod primus in aula Caesareae majestatis veneraberis.

[6] Fuit nonnumquam et hic princeps¹ majus consiliorum tuorum particeps. Saepenumero audivit te cum summa animi admiratione inflexibiles Germanorum animos singulari eloquentia exorantem in tuam sententiam duxisse. Et ut ex reliquis unum, quorum tamen princeps ipse plurima saepe solet ex innumeris virtutibus tuis recensere, commemorem quam divino eloquio in Francfordensi contione cum de expeditione contra inimicos Christi provide ageretur, eorum principum et legatorum, qui aderant, animos in commiserationem commoveras, ut neminem ipsorum hic audiveris, qui non se adiutorem hujus profectus sanctae adversus Christianae gentis turbatores profiterentur. Multa denique commemorare solet, quae tua prudentia consilio, auctoritate, cura, gratia et sollicitudine in catholicae fidei utilitatem ac sedis tuae auctoritatem et conservandam et augendam ingenii tui subtilitate persuadendi acumen obtinueris, dicendi faciendique sollertia fueris consecutus.

[7] Jure igitur cum universa Christianorum plebe gaudendum sibi esse arbitratur eum pontificem, cunctorum moderatorem in terris et coadjutorem Dei creatum esse, qui priusquam dignitatem fuerit consecutus, eam prae cunctis tuebatur. Et veluti bonus imperator exercitus non nisi virtute bellandi expertus {53r} et ex multis laudabiliter consecutis victoriis comprobatus² diligitur, sic te quoque, qui inter tantos vitae fluctuosas undique procellas et sirenarum cantus naufragae paene naviculae Petri succurrebas ejusque nonnumquam gubernatori ferens auxilium, temone appenso in solidum, adjuabas producere portum, non injuria uti vigilem et expertum nauclerum in

¹ Albrecht von Brandenburg

² comprobatis cod.

summum gubernatorem delectum hac in parte salubriter Romanae sedi consultum esse vehementer exultat, quod ad hujus tuae profectionis in hanc urbem desideratam utilitas ...¹ testatur.

[8] Praeclara haec sunt et infinita, quae de ingenti virtutum tuarum ac meritorum acervo enervari possent, quae subticenda mihi potius esse censeo, quam ex multis pauca in modum referre, ne tenuiter referendo odiosus me potius reddam quam attentum. Hoc jure me dixisse velim pro singularissimis virtutibus tuis et mira in omnes pietate.

[9] Se² satis atque satis obnoxium tibi profiteri, testis enim mihi potest esse tota Germania, quanto labore, industria ac diligentia insudaveris³. Ac compositis quamplurimis Germaniae partium dissidiis ipsa quieta esset et tibi, ut te exoptare cognoscebat catholico more oboedientiam reddere non denegaret.

[10] Testes mihi praeterea esse possunt oratores tui, quos cum bellorum furor insonaret et *quadripedante putrem sonitu quateret ungula campum*⁴ nostris in regionibus esse voluisti, qui luce clarius cernere poterant non absque gravi jactura sua cum paci consultasse, cum si bellum illud prosecutus fuisset⁵, se victore palmam in manibus habere cognoscent. Videbat enim bellum illud, quod tum imminebat, tuae deliberationi impedimento fore. Quare tamquam oboediens filius paci manum imposuit furentemque bello Alamaniam totam quiescere cooperatus est.

[11] Testis est mihi - quod quidem potissimum arbitror - praesentia sua. Non enim tot aut frigora aut venti aut pluviae aut nives aut tot bellorum discrimina eum tenuere quin, ut toto affectabat animo, te peteret.

[12] Veram itaque, alme pontifex, morem, qui magis commendari tibi quam laudari voluit. Accipe igitur principem ipsum ex innata bonitate et commendandum in sedem tuam et devotionem et operibus fidelem et multa virtute approbatum, qui postquam a tua sanctitate accersitus ad hanc urbem extitit, etsi parum utilitatis praesentia sua afferre cognosceret ad eam rem, quam se consequi arbitrabatur. Voluit tamen⁶ inter ea impedimenta et varia pericula quibus hactenus detentus fuit, ut tua potuit clementia jamdudum novisse partimque ab eo semotis⁷ arbitris intelliget tibi morem gererere, etsi in eam deliberationem incidit, quam salubriter conclusam intelligit, tametsi nihil consultatio sua praeter divina illa ingenia, quae ex tua diligentia ad eam rem et exquisita et audita sunt, afferre posset. Nam quod suae fuerit sententiae, novit sanctitas tua, ipsum in Franckfordensi conventu⁸, cum simul imperiales collegae fuere, edidisse juxta⁹

¹ *one word illegible*

² Albrecht von Brandenburg

³ insudaverit cod.

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8.596

⁵ Albrecht von Brandenburg

⁶ tantum cod.

⁷ scemotis cod.

⁸ continue cod.

⁹ tantum *add.* cod

facultatem suam offerre se ad tam sanctam expeditionem praesto esse. Et futuris non deerit diebus legatis tuis in Nurembergensi dieta secundum facultatem personae et dominorum suorum et cooperari et efficere, quod tibi placitum et Christianae religioni utile videbitur.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 54)

**Oration “*Septimo jam exacto mense*” of Pope Pius II (14
January 1460, Mantova). Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

Abstract

Pope Pius II summoned the European powers to the Congress of Mantua in 1459 to mobilize a joint military reaction to the Turkish invasion of Europe in the form of a crusade. The response of the princes and cities was disinterested and sluggish, and only the pope's hard skills of negotiation and arm-twisting made it possible to obtain concrete promises of contributions to the war from the Italians and the Germans. On 14 January 1460, the pope closed the congress with an oration, the "*Septimo jam exacto mense*", in which he gave a summary of the promised and expected contributions, admitting that the congress had achieved less than he had hoped but claiming - with some justice - that it had actually achieved more than many sceptics had believed possible.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Popes and princes

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Version 1: Septimo jam exacto mense
 - 4.1.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.1.2. Editions
 - 4.2. Version 2: Octavum hic agimus
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Septimo jam exacto mense
2. Octavum hic agimus

Appendix: Papal bull *Ecclesiam Christi* of 15 January 1460

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Congress of Mantua lasted from June 1459 to January 1460, though it only began its work towards the end of September. It had been summoned by Pope Pius II in fulfilment of an oath made immediately after his election and in accordance with an electoral capitulation signed by all cardinals at the conclave in August 1458, where he was elected pope. The purpose of the congress was to discuss a joint European military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe in the form of a crusade. At the end of the Congress, on 14 January 1460, the pope gave an oration, the "*Septimo jam exacto mense*", in which he summed up the contributions to the war effort promised by the European nations. The results of the Congress were meagre but, according to the pope, acceptable, though they did not live up to his hopes and expectations.

The following months would show that the promises of the powers were not sincere and would not be kept. Already at the end of the congress, this was probably clear to all - even to the pope himself, an experienced politician with an intimate understanding of the European power plays. But for honour's sake, he had to uphold some degree of official optimism, and on 15 January 1460, he issued the bull *Ecclesiam Christi* in which he declared war on the Turks.²

In his *Commentarii*, Pius included a brief description of the event and an abbreviated version of the oration, beginning with the words "*Octavum hic mensem.*"³

Pius' contemporary biographers do not describe the end of the congress and its results⁴ - quite understandably so since by the time of their writing, it had become painfully obvious that the Congress of Mantua had been an embarrassing fiasco as had Pius' whole crusade adventure.

Still, the oath Pius had sworn to do everything in his power to organize a crusade against the Turks had been kept. The honour of the pope and of the Apostolic See had been upheld, and the Europeans could not have any doubts that after Calixtus III they had another pope who was fiercely engaged in the defence of Christianity.

And though Pius may have been disappointed at the results, his hopes for the conference may have been fulfilled, as Housley conjectures:

¹ CO, III, 47; Ady, pp. 179-180; Boulting, p. 278; Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 121; Paparelli, pp. 229-231; Pastor, II, p. 69-70; Picotti, pp. 317-321; Reinhardt, p. 268;

Setton, II, p. 214; Stolf, pp. 354-355; Voigt, IV, pp. 108-109

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 1-6, pp. 299-301, see Appendix

³ CO, III, 47 (Meserve, II, pp. 194-199)

⁴ Zimolo

For all his own spin-doctoring, Pius did not really expect Cum bellum hodie, any more than he had Constantinopolitana Clades, to turn the situation around. He knew that the purpose of the Mantua Congress was to make possible a series of gruelling but indispensable bilateral negotiations. And it was these that enabled him, in his second major Mantua address, Septimo jam exacto mense given on 14 January 1460, to expound in detail the various promises that had been made as well as the hopes that he still entertained of the uncommitted. Much as the imperial diets of 1454-55, the function of deliberative oratory at the congress was to set out one's stall, providing information, arguments, and perspectives that furnished a backcloth to more detailed discussions.¹

2. Themes

The main theme of the oration was the list of contributions, confirmed and expected, from the European powers to the crusade. With some justice, Pius could claim that

not all have been achieved as We intended, but neither have all failed. What the Christian princes have promised is not much, but it is not little, either, and at any rate, it is much more than many thought possible. [Sect. 4]

Reinhardt has this comment:

Mitte Januar 1460 zog der Papst die Schlussbilanz seines Kongresses. Er beurteilte die erzielten Ergebnisse als unbefriedigend, doch nicht als aussichtslos. Er hatte eine vollständige Kompromittierung des Heiligen Stuhls in letzter Minute und mit viel Glück verhindern können. Persönlich hatte er sein Gesicht gewahrt. An eine baldige Verwirklichung des Kreuzzugs konnten jedoch nur unverbesserliche Optimisten glauben.²

Quite remarkably, in the oration, the pope endeavours to persuade the audience that, from the beginning, he had not pleaded for a war of aggression against Turks to regain lost territories, particularly Constantinople and Jerusalem: from the outset, he had been quite aware that this would be impossible. He said:

¹ Housley: *Crusading and the Ottoman*, pp. 161-162

² Reinhardt, p. 268

We know that many men, hearing about the convocation of this council and learning about Our departure from the City, thought that Our plan was rash, reckless and too daring as if We had intended to call the kings to arms against the Turks and reclaim all of Greece and Asia from the enemies' hands ... Our idea was not to drag Muhammad away by his beard, to take the Turks and the Arabs away in chains, nor to reclaim Jerusalem and Constantinople - for We are not that headstrong and conceited - but to safeguard what was left of the Christian name. And We did not imagine that this could happen immediately, but considered that We should take counsel on this matter with the Christian princes. [Sect. 1-2]

Indeed, in the bull of summons to the congress, the *Vocavit nos pius* of 12 October 1458, the pope had only spoken of the defence of Christianity, and not of reclaiming lost lands.¹

And in his oration "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43], at the formal beginning of the congress on 1 June, the pope's focus had been on a defensive war against the Turkish invasion of Europe:

So, it is not without danger that We have left the patrimony of the Church to come to the aid of the Catholic Faith, which the Turks are seeking to destroy. We saw that their strength grew daily and that their armies, which had already conquered Greece and Illyria, were laying waste to Pannonia² and wreaking many calamities on the loyal people of Hungary. We feared what will happen if We are unwise: the Hungarians and the Germans and the Italians, or indeed all of Europe, will be defeated, which will inevitably lead to the ruin of our religion. [Sect. 1]

But in his great oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*" [45], delivered on 26 September 1459, he had also said:

There are two very important reasons [for going to war against the Turks]. The first is to avenge the wrongs we have suffered and regain what has been lost. The second is to escape the dangers that are threatening us. [Sect. 7]

Here, he clearly speaks not only of defending Europe against further losses but also about regaining what had been lost, which actually included not only Asia Minor as well as Northern Africa and the Levant with Jerusalem, as he said later in the oration:

... 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

¹ Crivelli, pp. 94-95

² Hungary

no war refused... Do come to your senses, wise men, regain your courage, strive to recover what has been lost and avenge the injuries suffered by you. [Sect. 13, 16].

And lastly, speaking about the rewards of the war, he said:

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. [Section 37]

Territories, cities, provinces and kingdoms to be distributed by the pope to the victorious Christians were not the fruit of a war of defence against further losses but of a war to reclaim what had been lost previously.

So, the war of defence against the Turkish invasion of Europe might have been the real and central focus of the pope's endeavours, but he had, as a matter of fact, also been arguing for a war to reclaim what had been lost in former ages, e.g. the Holy Land.¹

The abbreviated and revised version of the oration, the "*Octavum hic agimus*", included in the pope's *Commentarii* compiled in 1463 and 1464, only consists of a brief summary of the contributions promised by or expected from the European nations. The sections on the results of the congress in relation to the pope's expectations are not included. This might have been because the pope, in his *Commentarii*, did not wish to admit the failure of the congress, but as he does exactly that elsewhere in the *Commentarii*, the omission may not have any particular significance.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 14 January 1460 at the closing of the Congress of Mantova.²

The venue was the cathedral of Mantua.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors and members of the Papal Court present in Mantua and other participants in the congress.

¹ See Picotti, pp. 318-19; Helmraath: *Pius*, p. 121

² Picotti, p. 316. According to Voigt, IV, p. 108, the date was the 19th

The format was a papal oration from the throne.

4. Text¹

The oration is extant in two versions. The first version is the “*Septimo jam exacto mense*” which is identical with or close to the oration as actually delivered at the Congress of Mantua. The second version is the “*Octavum hic agimus*”, a greatly abbreviated version of the original oration.

4.1. Version One: *Septimo jam exacto mense*

4.1.1. Manuscripts

The first version is contained in two manuscripts, firstly a manuscript in Göttingen, and secondly, in a slightly revised version with some additions - in one of the seven manuscripts (and a somewhat late one) containing the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II,² compiled in 1462. It is not known why the oration was not included in the other manuscripts containing that collection, but the reason may have been that the text was not available at the time, or that it had already been decided to include a thoroughly revised version in the *Commentarii*.³

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 122r-126v (**H**)
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 160r-163r (**E**)

4.1.2. Editions⁴

The text was published twice by Mansi, probably on the basis of a handwritten copy of the text in Milan (**E**), sent to him by one Cl. Saxius⁵:

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

² *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

³ *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

⁴ *COR*, vol. 1, sect. 5.2

⁵ Mansi's edition in the *Orationes* has the margin note: Ex.

M.S. Cod. Ambrosianae Bibli-ot. Mediolan. misit Cl. Saxius et vulgata est a me primum in to. IV. [sic!] Suppl. Conc.

- 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. 305-309
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // II, pp. 78-86 (MA)

4.2. Version Two: Octavum hic agimus

The text of the “*Octavum hic agimus*” is known only from Pius’ *Commentarii*, bk. 3, ch. 46, where it forms part of his description of the end of the Congress of Mantua, in January 1460. It is a heavily abbreviated and revised version of the “*Septimo jam exacto mense*”.

In this context, it must be kept in mind that Pius’ *Commentarii* was not destined for publication in his own lifetime but was to be a monument of his pontificate, aimed at future generations. The version “*Octavum hic agimus*” thus gave a picture of the Congress not for contemporary propaganda purposes but as Pius wished it to be remembered in the future.

The main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 114r-114v (S)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 174r-175r (R)

Of these, the Reginensis contains the First version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the Final Version, both made under Pius’ personal supervision.

For the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see *COR*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General bibliography.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

Septimo jam exacto mense

The edition is based on both manuscripts listed, with the Milan manuscript as the lead text. Variants from Mansi's edition (MA) are given either as emendations or simply as variants.

The additions to the (later) version in the Milan manuscript are given in bold type.

Octavum hic agimus

The Corsinianus has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Septimo jam exacto mense

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

Octavum hic agimus

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 25 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the majority, 21, from the Bible, and 4 from classical sources (Horace, Vergil, Vegetius).

Biblical: 21

Classical: 4

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 25

Biblical sources: 21

Old Testament: 20

- Deuteronomy: 4
- Judges: 1
- Judith: 1
- Proverbs: 10
- Psalms: 4

New Testament: 1

- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 4

- Horatius: 1²
- Vegetius: 2
- Vergilius: 1³

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

² Carmina

³ Aeneis

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Septimo jam mense

Oratio Pii papae secundi in discessu vel in fine dietae¹ Mantuae²

[1] {160r} Septimo jam exacto³ mense, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac filii dilectissimi, **et octavo currente** finis⁴ adest Mantuani conventus, **quem non dissolvimus, sed nobiscum, quocumque duxerimus curiam nostram, transferendum duximus et auctoritate apostolica transferimus**⁵. Sed⁶ quoniam salvatore propitio finis bonus concessus est **earum rerum, quae hic tractandae fuerunt**⁷, gratias reddere divinae pietati convenit et cum propheta dicere: *date magnificentiam Deo nostro, Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia*. Sed ait fortasse quispiam: "Quid hic boni factum est? Quid sperare Christiani, quid timere Turci debent? Aut quae hic conclusa sunt, propter quae gratias Deo reddamus alacres?" Non latet vos, viri fratres, fuisse complures, qui audita convocatione hujus concilii et intellecta profectioe nostra ex urbe, consilium nostrum vel temerarium vel nimis audax judicarunt⁸, tamquam reges armare in Turcos et omnem Graeciam atque Asiam ex manibus hostium vindicare cogitaverimus.

[2] Nunc quoque non desunt malivoli et iniqui **homines**⁹, qui nihil hic actum esse laudabile dicunt et omnia depravant, contemnunt¹⁰, irrident, adversus quos recte inquit sapiens: *Ejice derisorem, et exhibit*¹¹ *cum eo jurgium*. Nos sane, cum animadverteremus¹² perdita Graecia Christianam plebem dietim acrius urgeri a Turcis, sacra nostra foedari et sanctum evangelium conculcari, non Mahumethem barba praehensum trahere, non Turcos aut Arabes in vincula {160v} rapere, non Jerusalem aut Constantinopolim recuperare, non ea vis animo, nec tanta superbia nostra, sed conservare, quod reliquum est Christiani nominis cogitavimus. Neque hoc nobis persuasimus statim fieri posse, sed consilium ejus rei cum principibus Christianis capiendum esse putavimus.

¹ *em.* MA; dietis E

² Oratio ... Mantuae: Oratio Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi pro conclusione conventus

Mantuani habita H

³ peracto H

⁴ et octavo currente *omit.* H

⁵ quem non dissolvimus ... transferimus *omit.* H

⁶ et H

⁷ earum rerum ... fuerunt *omit.*

H

⁸ judicarent MA

⁹ *omit.* H

¹⁰ contendunt H

¹¹ exhibit E

¹² animadverterimus H

Oration of Pius II at the departure from or at the end of the Congress of Mantua

[1] Venerable brethren in Christ and beloved sons, now that the seventh month has passed and we are in the middle of the eighth, it is time to close the Congress of Mantua. We do not dissolve it, but shall bring it with Us and by apostolic authority transfer it wherever We take our *curia*.¹ Thanks to our merciful Saviour, our business here has ended well: therefore, We must thank the Divine Piety and say with the prophet: *give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments.*² But maybe someone will say. "What good has been achieved here? What may the Christians hope for and the Turks fear? Or what has been decided here for which we should eagerly thank God?" Men and brothers, We know that many men hearing about the convocation of this council and Our departure from the City³ thought that Our plan was reckless and too daring as if We had intended to call the kings to arms against the Turks to retake all of Greece and Asia from the enemies' hands.

[2] Even now, malicious and wicked men claim nothing praiseworthy has been achieved here. They distort, despise, and deride everything. It is against such that Wisdom rightly says: *Cast out the scoffer, and contention shall go out with him.*⁴ In reality, when We heard that Greece was lost, that the Christian people were under daily and increasing pressure from the Turks, that our holy places were being profaned, and the sacred Gospel trod underfoot, Our idea was neither to drag Muhammad away by his beard, nor to take the Turks and the Arabs away in chains, nor to reclaim Jerusalem and Constantinople - for We are not that headstrong and conceited - but to safeguard what was left of the Christian name. And We did not imagine this could happen immediately but considered that We should take counsel on this matter with the Christian princes.

¹ Pope Eugenius IV had done the same at the end of the Union

Council in Florence (26 April 1441).

² Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

³ Rome

⁴ Proverbs, 22, 10

[3] Non altus ille spiritus Eugenii datus est nobis a domino, neque sublimis concessa Nicolai mens, neque vastus Calixti permissus animus. *Frigidus haeret nobis circum praecordia sanguis*. Illi per sese Turcis indixere bellum, copias armavere, classes instruxere. Nos tantam belli molem per se solam sustinere posse Romanam ecclesiam nequaquam arbitrati sumus. Sed conventu Christianorum indicto, res communes communi consilio gerendas censuimus, memores ejus sententiae: *quoniam cogitationes consiliis roborantur, et gubernaculis tractanda sunt bella*. Reprehenduntur haec in nobis, et timor audacia, consilium temeritas¹ appellatur. Garruli vero, quorum non parva copia est, nos urbem frustra reliquisse dicunt et frustra huc profectos, frustra hic dies plurimos consumpsisse, quoniam nihil² actum sit, de quo bene sperare fideles populi queant. Stulta calumnia, injusta reprehensio. Arguimur, quia *futurum* nescimus³, quod *magna caligine Deus*⁴ *occulit*⁵. *A domino diriguntur gressus viri*: quis autem hominum potest intelligere viam suam?

[4] *Quamvis caelum sursum*⁶, *et terra deorsum, et cor regum inscrutabile*, nostrum tamen fuit de principibus Christianis bene ac⁷ magnifice sperare, et hunc conventum magnos effectus parituros credere. Verum *sicut aqua profunda, sic consilium in corde viri: multae cogitationes hominum, voluntas autem domini permanet*. Existimavimus Christianos reges multa facturos. Deus autem, qui solus bonus est et solus sapiens, solusque novit, quid nobis expediat, hoc tamen⁸ fieri voluit, quod factum est, ad cujus consilium nulla potest curiositas hominum pervenire. {161r} Fatemur: non sunt facta omnia, quae putavimus, sed neque omnia praetermissa. Neque maxima, neque minima sunt, quae Christiani principes promiserunt. Et longe plus factum est, quam multi judicaverint⁹.

[5] Alius haec magnificis ampliaret verbis, nostrum est solam et nudam veritatem ostendere et dicere cum propheta: *Date magnificentiam Deo nostro: Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia*. "Quae opera?" dicit fortasse aliquis. Opera certe, quae in hoc conventu operatus est dominus, cujus voluntate factum est, ut omnes, qui convenerunt, uno animo et uno ore bellum Turcis indicendum suaserint. Ad quod nutriendum, quae subsidia promissa sint, et quae sperentur, quam¹⁰ brevissime referendum est. In qua re non servabimus dignitatum ordinem, sed ut quisque memoriae se obtulerit, ita et recensebitur.

¹ temeritatis E

² nil H

³ non videmus *add.* E

⁴ magna caligine Deus : Deus

magna caligine H

⁵ occulit MA

⁶ rursum H

⁷ et H

⁸ tantum E

⁹ judicaverint H

¹⁰ quae E

[3] The Lord has not given Us Eugenius' elevated spirit, nor Nicolaus' sublime mind, nor Calixtus' great soul - no: *Cold blood gathers around our heart.*¹ They declared war on the Turks by themselves, they mobilized armies, they prepared navies. We, however, never believed the Roman Church could sustain such a great burden of war on its own, but We considered that a congress of Christians had to be summoned for common discussion of common interests, remembering the saying that *designs are strengthened by counsels: and wars are to be managed by governments.*² This is what they criticize Us for, calling Our fear audacity and Our deliberation temerity. But the chatterboxes - and there are many - claim We left the City, came here, and spent many days in vain since nothing has been achieved, which can give good hope to the Christian³ people. This is foolish slander and unjust criticism. Should we be rebuked for not knowing *the future which God has hidden in a great darkness?*⁴ *By the Lord shall the steps of a man be directed.*⁵ What man can understand his course?

[4] Though *the heaven above, and the earth beneath, and the heart of kings is unsearchable,*⁶ We could reasonably have good, even magnificent hopes of the Christian princes and believe that great results would come from this congress. *Counsel in the heart of a man is like deep water.*⁷ *There are many thoughts in the heart of a man: but the will of the Lord shall stand.*⁸ We did believe the Christian kings would do much. But only God, who alone is good⁹ and wise, knows what is good for us. What we have achieved here is what He wanted. No human curiosity can penetrate his designs. We admit that We have not attained all We intended, but neither has all failed. What the Christian princes have promised is not much, but it is not little either, and at any rate, it is much more than many thought possible.

[5] Another might try to embellish the matter with high-sounding words, but Our task is to show the simple truth and nothing else, and to say with the prophet: *Give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments.*¹⁰ "What works?" someone may say. Indeed, those works which the Lord did in this congress, for it is by His will that all participants, with one mind and one mouth, agreed to declare war on the Turks. To further the matter, We shall briefly resume what aids have already been promised and what more we may reasonably hope for. In this, We shall not follow the order of rank but mention them as they come to mind.

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10.452:
*frigidus Arcadibus coit in
praecordia sanguis*

² Proverbs, 20, 18

³ "fideles"

⁴ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.29.30

⁵ Psalms, 36, 23

⁶ Proverbs, 25, 3

⁷ Proverbs, 20, 5

⁸ Proverbs, 19, 21: *Multae cogitationes in corde viri; voluntas autem Domini permanebit*

⁹ Judith, 11, 6

¹⁰ Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

[6] Nobilissima provinciarum Italia clericorum decimas, Judaeorum vigesimas, laicorum trigesimas pollicita est. Audistis oratores inclity Johannis, Aragoniae regis, qui propter Trinacriam atque Sardiniam Italis¹ annumeratus est, quam multa pro tuenda fide promiserint. Audistis et oratores Ferdinandi, Siciliae regis, qui, quamvis domestico implicitus bello est, Christianae tamen religioni suae praesidia non denegat. Franciscum Sfortiam, Mediolanensium principem, ipsi praesentem vidistis: verba ejus memoriae tenetis, quae Christianum animum et religiosam mentem ostendere. Quam liberalis **et magnifica**² fuerit Borsii, Mutinae ducis, oblatio non ignoratis: ad trecenta usque millia auri nummum legati ejus obligare dominum potuere. Ludovicus, marchio Mantuanus, insignis et modestissimus³ princeps, plus cupit ecclesiae subvenire, quam possit. Florentini, potens et praedives populus, **per legatos suos sese obligarunt. Idem fecere**⁴ Senenses et Lucani **non contemnendae civitates**⁵. Marchionem Montis Ferrati, antiquae nobilitatis principem, {161v} progenitorum suorum vestigia secuturum frater⁶ Guilelmus obtulit.

[7] Si vera locuti sunt⁷ Genuenses, ex illa quoque nobili ac potenti civitate non parva expectanda sunt auxilia. Ludovici, Sabaudiae ducis, qui non parvum in Italia dominium possidet, nondum responsum habemus; confidimus tamen filium, quem Cypris regem dedit, non derelinquet. De maxima et potentissima Venetorum republica nihil dicimus; ipsum tamen silentium nonnihil spei praestare potest. Est praeterea in Italia Romana ecclesia, urbs Roma, caput orbis, opulenta Bononia, nobilis Perusia, vetus Ancona **et**⁸ omnis ager Picenus, omnis Umbria, omne Patrimonium beati Petri, cujus nos potentes⁹ sumus, nec minora praestabimus, quam litterae nostrae promittunt, quae mox legentur. Sunt et fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, sunt officiales et ministri curiae: omnes suis opibus bellum juvabunt. Sic mater Italia sese exhibet. **Sic**¹⁰ *Dei perfecta sunt opera.*

¹ Italicis H

² et magnifica *omit.* H

³ moderatissimus H

⁴ per legatos ... fecerunt *omit.* H

⁵ non contemnendae civitates :
benigni homines per legatos

suos sese obligarint H

⁶ ejus *add.* H

⁷ oratores *add.* H

⁸ *omit.* H

⁹ parentes MA

¹⁰ *omit.* H

[6] Italy, the noblest of the provinces, promised a tenth from the clerics, a twentieth from the Jews, and a thirtieth from the laypeople. You have heard the great promises for the defence of the faith from the ambassadors of King Juan of Aragon,¹ who - because of Sicily and Sardinia - is counted among the Italians. You have also heard the ambassadors of King Ferrante of Sicily,² who, though involved in a civil war, will not refuse to come to the aid of his religion. Francesco Sforza,³ Duke of Milan, you saw yourselves when he was here, and you remember his words demonstrating a truly Christian soul and a pious mind. You know the generous and magnificent offer of Borso,⁴ Duke of Modena: his envoys offered 300,000 ducats on behalf of their lord. Marquess Ludovico⁵ of Mantua, an illustrious and modest prince, wants to help the Church more than he is really able to. The Florentines, that mighty and rich people, made binding offers through their envoys. The important cities of Siena and Lucca did the same. Guglielmo,⁶ brother of the Marquess of Monferrat,⁷ a prince of old nobility,⁸ promised that the marquess would follow in the footsteps of his ancestors.

[7] If the Genoese spoke truly, great help can be expected from that noble and powerful city. Duke Louis of Savoy,⁹ who possesses a large territory in Italy, has not yet given his answer. However, We are confident that he will not fail the son whom he sent to Cyprus as king.¹⁰ Concerning the great and mighty republic of Venice, We say nothing, but the silence in itself may give hope. In Italy, there are also the Roman Church and the City of Rome, capital of the world, opulent Bologna, noble Perugia, old Ancona, the whole territory of Piceno, all of Umbria, and the whole Patrimony of Saint Peter¹¹ whose lord We are: We shall not contribute less than We have promised in the letter that will be read out shortly. There are also Our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the officials of the curia: they will all contribute to the war as much as they can. This is what Mother Italy will do. And thus, *the works of God are perfect*.

¹ Juan II (1398-1479): King of Navarra from 1425 and of Aragon from 1458 to his death. King of Sicily and Sardinia. Brother of Alfonso V of Aragon

² Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

³ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁴ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

⁵ Ludovico Gonzaga III [Lodovico] (1412-1478): Marquess of Mantua from 1444 to his death

⁶ Guglielmo VIII Palaeologos (1420-1483): Marquess of Montferrat from 1464 to his death

⁷ Giovanni IV Palaeologus IV (1413-1464): Marquess of Montferrat from 1445 to his death

⁸ They descended from the Byzantine imperial Palaiologos dynasty

⁹ Louis I of Savoy (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death. Son of Duke Amédee VIII,

AKA antipope Felix V, one-time employer of Enea Silvio Piccolomini

¹⁰ Louis of Savoy (1436/1437-1482): King of Cyprus, reigning together with and in the right of his wife, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus until the couple was deposed in 1464. He was the second son and namesake of Louis I, Duke of Savoy

¹¹ In a general sense: the Church States

[8] Sed neque armipotens Germania, neque gloriosissimus imperator Fridericus, neque nobilissimi Austriae, Bavariae, Saxoniae ceterique duces, marchiones, comites populique potentes nationis ejusce otiosi esse volunt. Duo et quadraginta pugnatorum millia in hostes educere promiserunt, magnam militum et praevalidam manum, quae fugere nesciat. Audistis¹ Albertum marchionem, quem coram cernitis: non hic gregarius miles aut infimus princeps, sed dux² peritissimus est, qui plures ex hoste victorias tulit, quam alius nostri temporis legerit: multum est, quod ipse promittit, in cuius persona instar est non parvi³ exercitus.

[9] **Transeamus in Galliam**⁴. Philippus, Burgundiae dux, et nobilitate et potentatu admodum excellens, cujus dominia per Germaniam ac Galliam latissime patent, sex millia bellatorum pollicitus est. Credimus generosum animum principis⁵, ut captivitatem patris magnifice ulciscatur, etiam majora facturum⁶. Hungari⁷, quorum res agitur, duodecim millia equitum peditumque non {162r} parvum numerum sese armaturos affirmant. Et nos, si facultas aderit, quam speramus, parem equitum aliam adhibebimus.

¹ et *add.* H

² belli *add.* H

³ magni H

⁴ transeamus in Galliam *omit.* H

⁵ animum principis : principis
animum H

⁶ factorum E

⁷ quoque *add.* H

[8] But neither will Germany, mighty in arms, nor glorious Emperor Friedrich¹ be passive, nor the noble dukes, margraves, and counts of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and other lands, nor the powerful peoples of that nation. They have promised to bring 42,000 soldiers against the enemies, a great and strong force of soldiers who do not know how to flee. You have heard Margrave Albrecht² whom you see before you: he is not a common soldier or a small princeling but a highly experienced general who has gained more victories over his enemies than any other in our time. Great is his promise, and his person alone is like a large army.

[9] Let us now pass over to Gaul. Duke Philippe of Burgundy,³ of eminent nobility and great power, whose domains stretch far and wide across Germany and Gaul, has promised 6,000 soldiers. We believe this noble-minded prince will do even more, intent as he is on a brilliant revenge for his father's capture. The Hungarians, whose business it really is, declare that they will mobilize a large force of 12,000 horse and foot soldiers.

And if We have the means We expect to, We shall personally provide a troop of horse soldiers of the same size.

¹ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

² Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Prince elector from 1470

³ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

[10] Hic est exercitus, qui promittitur: septuaginta millium bellatorum et ultra, quem qui¹ non sufficere arbitratur, is neque rei bellicae peritiam habet, neque spem in domino. Romani, **qui orbem armis subegerunt**², quattuor legiones cum auxiliis ad omnem vim³ belli sustinendum⁴ idoneas putaverunt, nec plures in auxiliis milites, quam in legionibus esse sinebant. Fatemur non satis fuisse⁵ hic exercitus Xersi, neque Dario, neque Tamerlania⁶, quem patrum⁷ nostrorum memoria denescentena⁸ millia hominum in armis habuisse proditum est. Sed Alexandro magno, sed Hannibali Poeno, sed Scipioni Africano, sed Gnaeo⁹ Pompejo, sed Julio Caesari minores quam hae copiae satis superque satis fuissent, qui parva saepe manu innumerabiles hostium turmas delevere. Considerandum et est illud¹⁰, quod ad Gedeonem in libris Judicum dixisse dominum legimus: *Multus, inquit, tecum est populus, neque tradetur Madian in manus ejus, ne gloriatur contra me Israel et dicat: "Meis viribus liberatus sum"*. Tribuendus est domino¹¹ suus honor, et aliquid sibi reservandum¹² est. *Nam turris fortissima nomen domini, ad ipsam currit justus et exaltabitur. Speremus in domino, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros. Qui timet hominem, cito corruet. Qui sperat in domino, sublevabitur*, quamvis et humana ratione sperare nobis victoriam¹³ licet, cum terra marique magnis viribus aggressuri hostem simus. Curavimus enim et validam classem armari, sicut postea suo tempore cognoscetis.

¹ si quis H

² qui orbem ... subegerunt *omit.*

H

³ *omit.* H

⁴ molem *add.* H

⁵ fuisset H

⁶ Tamerlani H

⁷ patrum E

⁸ decies centena H

⁹ Greco H

¹⁰ est illud : illud est H

¹¹ Deo H

¹² servandum MA

¹³ victoria H

[10] This is the promised army: 70,000 soldiers or more. Anyone who considers this insufficient is ignorant of military matters, or he does he not trust in the Lord. The Romans who conquered the whole world considered four legions with their auxiliary troops enough for countering all military opposition,¹ and they did not allow the auxiliary troops to be larger than the [regular] legions.² We admit that such an army was not sufficient for Xerxes,³ Darius,⁴ and Tamerlane⁵ who, in the memory of our fathers, is said to have had 900,000 men under arms. But for Alexander the Great,⁶ Hannibal the Carthaginian,⁷ Scipio Africanus,⁸ Gnaeus Pompejus⁹ and Julius Caesar,¹⁰ smaller forces than those were enough and more than enough: often they destroyed innumerable enemy troops with a small force. Just think of what we read the Lord said to Gideon¹¹ in the books of Judges: *The people that are with thee are many, and Madian shall not be delivered into their hands: lest Israel should glory against me, and say: I was delivered by my own strength.*¹² The Lord must be given his honour, and something must be reserved for him. For *the name of the Lord is a strong tower: the just runneth to it, and shall be exalted.*¹³ Let us put our hope in the Lord, *and he will bring our enemies to nothing.*¹⁴ *He that feareth man, shall quickly fall: he that trusteth in the Lord, shall be set on high.*¹⁵ However, we may also hope for victory by human effort, when we attack the enemy with large forces both on land and at sea, for We have also undertaken to prepare a strong fleet as you will hear about later.

¹ Pius' source, Vegetius, says two legions with their auxiliaries, see Vegetius, 2.4 (p. 38): *In omnibus auctoribus invenitur singulos consules adversum hostes copiosissimos non amplius quam binas duxisse legiones additis auxiliis sociorum. Tanta in illis erat exercitatio, tanta fiducia, ut cuivis bello duae legions crederentur posse sufficere*

² Vegetius, 2.1 (p. 35): *In auxiliis minor, in legionibus longe amplior consuevit militum numeros adscribi*

³ Xerxes I the Great (519-465 BCE): fourth of the kings of the Achaemenid Empire. Ruled from 486 BC until his murder in 465 BC. Notable for his invasion of Greece in 480 BCE and his subsequent defeat

⁴ Darius III (ca. 380-330 BCE): originally named Artashata and cal-

led Codomannus by the Greeks: the last king of the Achaemenid Empire of Persia from 336 BC to 330 BCE. Defeated by Alexander in 334

⁵ Timur [Tamerlane] (d. 1405): Turco-Mongol conqueror and founder of the Timurid Empire in Persia and Central Asia. First ruler in the Timurid dynasty

⁶ 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

⁷ Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Punic Carthaginian military commander

⁸ Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder (236-183 BCE): one

of the greatest generals of ancient Rome. His main achievements were during the Second Punic War where he defeated Hannibal at the final battle at Zama

⁹ Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106 - 48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

¹⁰ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

¹¹ Gideon [Gedeon]: (Bible) Judge of the Israelites

¹² Judges, 7, 2

¹³ Proverbs, 18, 10

¹⁴ Psalms, 107, 14

¹⁵ Proverbs, 29, 25

[11] Neque Christiani milites effeminati instar Turcorum sunt. Virilis exercitus noster, ille muliebris¹ erit. Neque multitudo timenda hostium est, nam et Christianorum - ut diximus - ingentes erunt turmae, quibus et cruce signatorum accedent cunei, quorum virtus tertio ab hinc anno probata **magnam et praeclaram**² victoriam peperit. Haec sunt auxilia, quae dominus parare voluit, cujus {162v} *perfecta sunt opera*, **et**³ cui tam facile est cum paucis quam cum multis vincere. Numeravimus ea, quae tamquam certa promissa sunt auxilia: nunc sperata referamus.

[12] Quis Carolum Franciae regem tum religiosissimum tum potentissimum et nobilissimum orthodoxae fidei defuturum putet⁴, cujus majores idcirco Christianissimi dicti sunt, quia legem Christi adversus barbaros magnifice defenderunt? Oratores ejus, viri praestantes, optimam spem nobis fecerunt, regem hunc digna suo genere praestaturum⁵ auxilia. Nec Hispania, terra nobilis et praepotens, Christianae necessitati⁶ defutura est. Henrici, Castellae regis maximi et clarissimi, quamvis Granatensi bello detinetur, pecuniaria tamen subventio non denegabitur. Johannes Aragonensis, qui pluribus regnibus⁷ praeest, et in Italia et in Hispania late imperat, magno animo fidem **non solum ut Italus, sicut praedictum est, sed etiam sicut Hispanus**⁸ se tutaturum⁹ asserit. Alphonsus Portugalliae rex et ipse magnanimus, quamquam¹⁰ Ceptensem¹¹ Mauritanumque hostem premit, voti tamen memor adversus Turcos aliquid molietur.

¹ mulieribus E

² magnam et praeclaram *omit.* H

³ *omit.* H

⁴ putetur E

⁵ prestatur E

⁶ Christiani necessitati :
Christiana necessitate H

⁷ regibus H

⁸ non solum ... Hispanus *omit.* H

⁹ staturum MA

¹⁰ quamvis H

¹¹ Certensi H

[11] And Christian soldiers are not effeminate like the Turks. Our army is an army of men; theirs is an army of women. And we do not need to fear their numbers, for - as We have said - also the Christian troops will be enormous, to which will be added the bands¹ of those who have taken the cross, whose courage and strength was proven three years ago when they won a great and noble victory.² These are the forces which the Lord wished to prepare. His *works are perfect*,³ and He can win just as easily with few as with many.

We have enumerated those forces which have been promised as certain. We shall now speak of the forces we may hope for.

[12] Who can believe that Charles,⁴ the most religious, the most powerful, and the most noble King of France, will fail the orthodox Faith. His ancestors were called Most Christian because they splendidly defended the Law of Christ against the barbarians. His distinguished ambassadors gave us great hope that this king will make a contribution worthy of his line.

Nor will Spain, that noble and mighty country, fail Christianity in its need. Though Enrique,⁵ the great and famous King of Castile, is occupied with war in Granada,⁶ he will not refuse to make a pecuniary contribution. Juan of Aragon, king of several realms and ruler of large territories in Italy and Spain, declares that he will boldly come to the defence of the Faith not only as an Italian, as explained before, but also as a Spaniard. And though King Afonso⁷ of Portugal - he, too, magnanimous⁸ - is busy attacking the enemy in Ceuta and Mauretania, he will remember his vow and prepare something against the Turks.

¹ "cunei"

² At the Battle of Belgrade 1456

³ Deuteronomy, 32, 3

⁴ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death

⁵ Enrique IV (1425-1474): King of Castile from 1454 to his death

⁶ The Muslim kingdom of Granada which finally fell to Castile in 1492

⁷ Afonso V the African (1432-1481): King of Portugal and the Algarves. His sobriquet refers to his conquests in Northern Africa

⁸ Allusion to Alfonso V the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Naples

[13] Henricus, Angliae rex, haud contemnendam legationem missurus erat. Impedivit civile bellum, quo composito non est credibile pium principem Christianam religionem deserturum. Nec Scotorum rex Jacobus, etsi extra orbem positus esse videtur, auxilia sua Catholicae negabit ecclesiae. Neque Casimirus¹, Poloniae rex **Lituaniaeque magnus dux**², inultam esse animam patietur Vladislai fratris, quem Turci crudeliter obtruncarunt. Nec Georgius, qui regno Bohemiae praesidet, fortes suorum turmas religioni negaturus est, cujus non minor est animus, quam potentia. Christiernus quoque Dacorum³ Svetiorumque rex⁴, Gothicae gentis rector, nequaquam ultimus esse volet eorum regum, qui fidei curam gerunt. Verum haec sperata sunt auxilia. Illa, quae supra diximus magna ex parte promissa et affirmata, propter quae libet iterum atque iterum cum propheta dicere: *Date magnificentiam Deo nostro, Dei perfecta {163r} sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia.*

¹ Calimirus E

² Lituaniaeque ... dux omit. H

³ Danorum H

⁴ et add. H

[13] King Henry of England¹ would have sent an important embassy but was prevented by civil war. When that war is over, this pious prince will surely not desert the Christian religion. And though Scotland seems to be outside our world, James,² its king, will not refuse to aid the Catholic Church. Nor will Kazimir,³ King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, fail to avenge the soul of his brother, Wladislaw,⁴ savagely killed by the Turks. Nor will George,⁵ who governs the Kingdom of Bohemia, deny religion his strong troops whose bravery equals their strength. And Christian,⁶ King of the Danes and the Swedes, and ruler of the people of the Goths, will not want to be last among the kings who care about the Faith. These are the contributions We may reasonably hope for, whereas those We mentioned before have, to a large extent, already been promised and confirmed. Therefore, with the prophet, we may say again and again: *Give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments.*⁷

¹ Henry VI (1421-1471): King of England from 1422 to 1461 and again from 1470 to 1471

² James II (1430-1460) was King of Scots from 1437 to his death

³ Casimir IV (Jagiellon) (1427 – 1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440, and King of Poland from 1447 until his death

⁴ Vladislav III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434, and King of Hungary from 1440, until his death at the Battle of Varna between the Hungarians and the Turks

⁵ Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Regent of Bohemia during the minority of Kings Ladislaus the

Posthumous. King of Bohemia from 1458 to his death

⁶ Kristian I (1426-1481): Scandinavian monarch under the Kalmar Union. He was King of Denmark (1448–1481), Norway (1450-1481) and Sweden (1457-1464)

⁷ Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

[14] Sed quaeritis fortasse, fratres, quo pacto fiet hic exercitus, cum novae inter Germanos exortae lites ferantur, et Caesar de regno contendat Hungariae. Respondemus, quamvis *investigabiles viae domini, et judicia ejus abyssus multa*¹. *Qui tamen*² *ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter*. Nos legatum in Germaniam mitemus venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bessarionem, cardinalem Nicenum, virum doctum et rerum experientia praeditum, qui vel pacem componat, vel indutias belli statuatur. Qualis exitus rerum erit, nescimus. *Expectatio justorum laetitia, spes autem impiorum peribit*. Si bona erunt opera nostra, si Deo fideliter serviemus, *nihil proficiet inimicus in nobis, et filius iniquitatis non apponet*³ *nocere nobis. Quod timet impius, veniet*⁴ *super eum; desiderium suum justis dabitur*. Sufficit nobis praestare quae possumus. Reliqua Deo dimittenda sunt, cujus omnes viae salus ac salvatio. Ipse noster protector, si merebimur, et propugnator erit. Ipse hactenus ita res in hoc conventu direxit, ut agenda sint ei ingentes gratiae, qui misericordibus et pientibus oculis nos respicere dignatus est. De reliquo supplicandum est, ut vias suas erga nos in iudicio⁵ per misericordiam dirigat. Quare hortamur, ut omnes nobiscum divinam pietatem implorantes versiculis, quos pronuntiabimus in modum, qui subscriptus est, devote respondeatis⁶.

[Here follows a long prayer composed specifically for the occasion]

¹ et *add.* H

² tantum E

³ apponat E

⁴ venit H

⁵ *em.* MA; *judicia* E, H

⁶ implorantes versiculis ...
respondeatis : in hunc modum
imploretis H

[14] But, brethren, maybe you ask how this army may be formed since new conflicts have arisen in Germany and the emperor is engaged in a struggle for the kingship of Hungary. We shall answer that *the ways of the Lord are unsearchable,*¹ and his *judgments are a great deep.*² But *he that walketh sincerely, walketh confidently.*³ We shall send Our venerable brother, Bessarion, Cardinal of Nicaea,⁴ a learned and experienced man, to Germany to make peace or arrange a truce. We cannot know what the result will be. *The expectation of the just is joy; but the hope of the wicked shall perish.*⁵ If we do good works, if we serve God faithfully, *the enemy shall have no advantage over him: nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him.*⁶ *That which the wicked feareth, shall come upon him: to the just their desire shall be given.*⁷ It is enough for us to do what we can. All else must be left to God; all his ways are salvation. If we deserve it, He will be our protector and champion. Until now He has directed matters at this congress in such a way that we owe him immense thanks, for he has looked to us with merciful and pious eyes. Concerning the rest, we must beg that He will show us mercy when judging us. Therefore, We invite you all to send up prayers, together with Us, to pious God and to respond with devotion to the verses that We shall recite in the manner noted below:

[Here follows a long prayer composed specifically for the occasion]

¹ Romans, 11, 33

² Psalms, 35, 7

³ Proverbs, 10, 9: *Qui ambulat simpliciter ambulat confidenter*

⁴ Bessarion, Basilios (1403-1472): Cardinal and titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople

⁵ Proverbs, 10, 28

⁶ Psalms, 88, 23: *Nihil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere ei*

⁷ Proverbs, 10, 24: *Quod timet impius veniet super eum; desiderium suum justus dabitur*

2. Octavum hic agimus

[1] {174r} Octavum hic agimus mensem¹, fratres ac filii, eos expectantes, qui ad conventum vocati fuerunt. Nostis, qui venere. Deinceps sperare alicujus adventum, qui conferre aliquid ad rem nostram possit, vanum est. Licet jam hinc abire. Peregimus, quae hoc in loco facienda fuerunt. Utinam dei bene acta sit causa. Quamvis meliora concepimus quam invenimus, non tamen nihil omnino peractum est, neque spes omnis cecidit. Dicendum est, quo res deductae sint, ut sciant omnes, quid adsit spei, et qui reges quique populi ad tuendam fidem vel prompti fuerint vel negligentes.

[2] Hungari, si adjuventur, summo conatu et universis viribus suis Turcos invadent. Germani exercitum pollicentur duorum et quadraginta milium bellatorum, Burgundus sex milium², Itali exceptis Venetis ac Genuensibus cleri decimas, populi trigesimas annuorum reddituum ac vigesimas Judaicae substantiae, ex quibus navales copiae sustentari queant. Idem facit Johannes, rex Aragonum. Ragusaei duas triremes offerunt, Rhodienses³ quattuor. Haec tamquam certa sollemni stipulatione per principes ac legatos promissa sunt. {174v} Veneti quamvis publice nihil promiserint, cum tamen expeditionem paratam viderint, haudquaquam deerunt neque patientur, ut suis majoribus deteriores videri possint. Idem de Francis, de Castellanis, de Portugallensibus dicimus. Anglia civilibus agitata motibus spem nullam pollicetur neque Scotia in intimo abscondita Oceano. Dania⁴ quoque, Suecia⁵, ac Norvegia remotiores provinciae sunt, quam milites possint mittere, nec solis contentae piscibus pecuniam ministrare possunt. Poloni Turcis per Muldaviam contermini suam causam deserere non audebunt. Bohemos mercede licebit conducere: suo aere extra regnum non militabunt. Sic res Christianae se habent.

[3] Classem pecunia italica parabit si non Venetiis at saltem Genuae aut in Aragonia, nec minor erit, quam res ipsa deponat. Hungari viginti milia equitum armabunt, peditum haud minorem numerum, qui Germanis juncti ac Burgundis duodenonaginta milia militum in castris habebunt. Et quis non his copiis superatum iri Turcos arbitretur? His accedet Georgius Scanderbechius et Albanorum fortissima manus, et multi per Graeciam ab hoste deficient. Et in Asia Caramannus et Armenorum populi Turcos a tergo ferient.

¹ inquit *add.* R, S

² milia R; milium *corr. ex* milia
S

³ Rhodii S

⁴ Dacia S

⁵ Suetia S

[1] Brothers and sons, we have now been waiting eight months¹ for those summoned to this congress. You know who have come. It is foolish to wait longer for the arrival of others who might contribute to our cause. So, we are free to leave now. We have done what we came here to do. May God's cause have been served well, though We had planned for more than We got. But all is not over, nor has all hope vanished. We must now declare the results so that all may know what to hope for and which kings and peoples are ready or negligent with about defending the Faith.

[2] If we help the Hungarians, they will attack the Turks with all their might and forces. The Germans promise an army of 42,000 soldiers, and Burgundy 6,000. Except for the Venetians and the Genoese, the Italians promise a tenth of the yearly revenues of the clergy, a thirtieth of the yearly incomes of the people, and a twentieth of the fortunes of the Jews, for the maintenance of a naval force. The same does Juan, King of Aragon. The Ragusans offer two galleys, the Rhodians four. These promises have been formally confirmed by those princes and their envoys. Though the Venetians have promised nothing in public, they will not - when they see that the expedition is ready - fail us nor suffer to be seen as inferior to their ancestors. The same applies to the French, the Castilians and the Portuguese.

England is torn by civil war and gives no hope, and neither does Scotland, hidden away in the inmost Ocean. Denmark, Sweden and Norway are provinces so remote that they cannot possibly send soldiers, and content with fish alone they cannot contribute money. The Poles are neighbours of the Turks in Moldavia so they will not dare to fail their own cause. The Bohemians may be hired as soldiers since they will not fight for free outside their own country. This is the situation in the Christian lands.

[3] A fleet will be prepared at the expense of the Italiens, if not in Venice, then in Genua or in Aragon, and it will be as big as necessary. The Hungarians will come with 20,000 armed horse soldiers and at least as many foot soldiers. Joined with the Germans and Burgundians, they will form an army of 88,000 soldiers. Who does not think that such a force may defeat the Turks? To this should be added George Skanderbeg² and a strong troop of Albanians. Moreover, many in Greece will fall from the enemy. And in Asia, Karaman³ and the Armenian peoples will attack the Turks from the back.

¹ Since the formal opening of the congress, on 1 June 1459

² Georg Skanderbeg [Kastrioti] (1405-1468) 15th-century Albanian nobleman

³ Region in southern central Turkey, conquered by a Turkish people in 1256. Karaman was often in opposition to the Ottoman

Turks who conquered the region in 1458

[4] Non est, {175r} cur desperemus, tantum Deus ipse coepta secundet. Ite et narrate domi, quae hic gesta sunt, et ut promissa in tempore faciant dominos vestros admonitos reddite, utque propitia nobis sit divina pietas orationibus et operibus piis operam date.

[4] Thus, there is no reason for despair if only God will assist us in our undertaking. Go and tell them at home what has been done here, urge your masters to fulfil their promises in time, and endeavour by prayer and pious works to make the Divine Piety well-disposed towards us.

Appendix: Papal bull *Ecclesiam Christi* of 15 January 1460

From Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nos. 1-6.

[1] Ecclesiam Christi variis mundi turbinibus ac persecutionibus agitatam ex divinis scripturis et veterum annalibus semper agnovimus, quae cum a capite ac sponso suo Christo scilicet auctore regatur: cui, sicut ipse testatur, omnis potestas in caelo et in terra divinitus est attributa, numquam sine nutu divinae dispensationis talia sustineret, nisi ipse ad correctionem exercitationemque fidelium hoc inferri permetteret; interdum etiam impios et injustos occulto alio instinctu ad punienda populi sui peccata excitat : sic namque per ignaros et nescios errata populi sui corrigit et punit divina justitia, sicut quondam per Sennacherib, per Nabuchodonosor, per Antiochum aliosque quamplures populum Israeliticum delinquentem afflixit, sicut ipse per prophetam eloquitur: *Virga furoris mei Assur*; ipse autem non cognovit. Verum etsi prophanis et impiis tamquam instrumentis atque flagellis ad coercenda peccata utatur Altissimus, illos tamen impia vanitate superbientes, et quasi secures et serras contra eum, qui caedit vel secat in eis gloriantes, etiam per illos ipsos, quos prius flagellari permisit, emendatos atque correctos deprimit et conterit divina potentia: quae cum in divinis scripturis facta legantur et ad nostram instructionem scripta probentur, cunctos fideles oportet praesentem persecutionis angustiam et pari paenitentiae fructu divertere, et animos spe divina fundare, scientes se divina praedictione, et Prophetica in Psalmis contestatione commonitos, dicente Domino: *Si autem dereliquerint filii ejus legem meam, et in judiciis meis non ambulaverint, visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in verberibus peccata eorum : misericordiam autem meam non disperdam ab eis neque nocebo in veritate mea neque prophanabo testamentum meum.*

Quamquam autem Turchorum pressuram, et persecutionis instantis rabiem merito nostrae univocitatis incidisse profiteri humiliter debeamus, speramus tamen atque confidimus illis diutius saevire permissum, ut superbia eorum altius ascendente, et divinam ultionem provocante, jam quasi eorum malitia consummata, acriori vindicta plectantur, Ammoræorum et Amalechitarum exemplo, quod licet Deus propter peccatum in filios Israel saevire permisisset, illos tamen in manu eorum cum omni terra tradidit, praecipiens ut nemini parcerent, sed illos ultima internecione delerent. Quod si pridem multifariis gentilium atque haeticorum persecutionibus fideles suos voluit comprobare, istis tamen temporibus, vergente jam saeculi occasu, omnium abundavit iniquitas, et refriguit charitas multorum, gravior procella, et terribilior pressura, qualis ante non fuit, cervicibus nostris incumbit, cum radix illa peccati, minister diaboli, antichristi praecursor, perdidissimus Mahumet, spiritu superbiae elatus, in Christi cultores rabiem sui furoris exercet, qui illa miseranda et numquam satis deflenda Constantinopolitana caede ac

strage grassatus, nec tamen satiat, tamquam sanguinaria bestia hausto Christiano sanguine pollutas fauces explere non potest, sed novas in Dei cultores paenas excogitet, cujus insatiabilis carnificis tanta rabies est, tam inexplicabilis libido dominandi, ut totum Occidentem sibi subijcere, et totius Christiani nominis paret ac moliatur exitium, cujus cum execranda rabies intolerabilisque superbia semper excrescat, adesse jam diem ultionis ipsius, et vindictae tempora festinare creduntur.

[2] Sane licet felicitatis recordationis Nicolaus papa V praedecessor noster post ipsius Constantinopolitanae urbis calamitosum exitium ad vindicandas Christi injurias, et illius furorem reprimendum, generalem expeditionem indixerit, regesque et principes, atque saeculi potentes, et cunctos Christifideles ad defensionem fidei excitavit, et ipsum pio studio felicitatis recordationis Callistus papa III fuerit imitatus, nullus tamen hactenus optatus fructus peccatis exigentibus secutus esse dignoscitur, nec interea destitit divina censura acrioribus nos verberibus excitare, Christianis finitimis caede, rapina, tormentis et miserabili servitute affectis, donec jam incendium sensim excrescens omnia per circuitum erumpente flamma conflagrare coepit. Nos vero, qui ipsis praedecessoribus, sicut Domino placuit, re infecta sublatis, divina favente clementia ad apicem summi apostolatus fuimus assumpti, divinae vocis cohortamur imperio, ut in tanto fidei Christianae discrimine periculum desidiae, quatenus possumus, declinemus. Itaque fidei urgente nos zelo in ipsis nostri apostolatus initiis ad excitandum Christianorum soporem Mantuam nos advehi fecimus, ubi in praesentiarum constituti generalem conventum pro fidei causa tenemus, multa cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S.R.E. cardinalibus ac principibus, tam ecclesiasticis quam saecularibus, sive eorundem principum legatis conferentes atque tractantes, post maturam et diutinam deliberationem, de eorundem fratrum consilio et assensu, necnon oratorum et praelatorum in conventu Mantuano praesentium unanimi voto, modo quo sequitur duximus providendum.

[3] In primis generale bellum atque expeditionem contra perfidissimos Turchos, Dei nostri accerrimos hostes, more praedecessorum nostrorum, qui generales expeditiones, vel ad liberandum Terram Sanctam, vel contra alios infideles indixerunt, ab omnibus Christifidelibus triennio duraturum, gerendum ac suscipiendum esse, decernimus, omnes et singulos Christianos ad praesidium ejus belli pariter pro viribus invitantes, decernentes pariter in tantae necessitatis articulo unumquemque pro viribus et secundum quod infra dicendum ex suis facultatibus debere conferre. Et quoniam Moyses, qui summi sacerdotis et Christi vicarii typum gessit, ad superandum Amalech figuram Christi portabat, in signo et sacramento crucis allevabat supinas manus, nec vincere adversarium potuit, nisi postquam stabilis in signo allevatis jugiter manibus orando perseveravit, utrumque intelligimus faciendum. Itaque scientes fidelibus de instantia orationis esse fidendum, mandamus, ut in omnibus civitatibus ac locis insignibus diebus Dominicis preces in sacrificiis ac missarum solemnibus, nominatim ad Dominum effundantur, ut

ipse, qui est propugnator invictus, propugnatores suos adjuvet, et pro sui nominis gloria decertantibus in proelio tamquam dominus fortis ac praepotens praeliator assistat : milites vero et bellatores ipso vivifico signo, quod Moyses in figura contra serpentem erexit, contra alterum vero serpentem diabolique ministrum Mahumetem volumus insignire, illius signi memoriam praeferentes, quod super domos, cum terram Aegypti Deus percuteret, jussit affigi : quandoquidem in imagine praecedens veritate complebitur, ut in agni sanguine et in signo Christi victoriae trophaeum sint relaturi.

[4] Insuper universos Christianorum principes, quacumque etiam imperatoria, regali aut reginali, ducali vel quacumque dignitate praefulgeant, voce Domini commonemus, ut cognoscant se reddituros esse rationem propter Ecclesiam sanguine redemptam, quam ab illo tuendam acceperunt, quorum Deus virtutem excitare nos jussit, ac ore prophetico commonere dicens: *Nunc reges intelligite : erudimini qui judicatis terram. Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascitur Dominus :* terribilis est enim qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis apud reges terrae. Meminerint Saulis exempli, qui pro eo quod non obedisset voci Domini, ut Amalechitas ejus hostes extrema interemptione non delevisset, a Domino reprobatus fuit ac regno mulctatus. Proinde illos per viscera misericordiae Domini nostri Jesu Christi obsecramus, et per tremendum ejus judicium obtestamur, ut ad defensionem Christianae fidei, sicut proprio et necessario incumbit officio, fortiter exurgant et potenter, scituri quia major est Dominus ad protegendum, quam diabolus ad impugnandum, Joanne in Epistola contestante atque dicente: *Major est qui in vobis est, quam qui in hoc mundo est :* habituri in medio sui Regem regum, principem pacis, electum prae consortibus suis, qui illis pugnantibus propugnator assistet, immarcescibiles coronas ab eo gloriae suscepturi.

[5] Omnibus autem, qui in hoc sancto opere Christo militare voluerint, et personaliter in hanc expeditionem accesserint, et in eadem per octo menses cujuslibet anni, quatenus tanto opere opus fuerit, in kal. Mensis Aprilis proxime futuri inchoandos, sive clerici sive laici, vel quacumque Ecclesiastica vel mundana praefulgeant dignitate, perseveraverint : necnon illis, qui etiam post mensem praedictum Aprilis ad hujusmodi expeditionem se conferrent, et vel per octo menses, ut praefertur, sive usque ad reditum exercitus ibidem permanserint, nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, et ex illa quam nobis licet indignis contulit Deus, ligandi atque solvendi potestate, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem, qualis per praedecessores nostros proficiscentibus in subsidium Terrae Sanctae, et in anno jubilaei urbis Basilicas visitantibus dari consuevit, concedimus et auctoritate Apostolica impartimur, confidentes in verbo illius, qui falli non potest, quique Patrem precatus eloquitur: *Pater, quos dedisti mihi volo, ut ubi ego fuero, et ipsi sint mecum, ut videant claritatem, quam mihi dedisti, priusquam mundus fieret.* Ominum, qui in hac sancta expeditione pro veritate fidei, et defensione Christianae religionis obierint, animas ad gloriam immortalitatis evectas cum

Christo, quem pia morte fuerint imitati, cuique fideles animas devoverunt, in aeternis sedibus regnisque caelestibus perenniter gavisuras : eos autem, qui propriis personis non accesserint, si pro se unum pugnatum emiserint, et per dictum tempus propriis facultatibus sustentaverint, tam mittentes quam bellatores et missos, alienis etiam expensis militantes, hujusmodi plenariae remissionis volumus atque decernimus esse participes.

[6] Ut autem omnis sexus, aetas atque conditio hujusmodi indulgentiae particeps esse possit, volumus, ut quaecumque caenobia, seu loca religiosorum marium vel mulierum, cujuscumque Ordinis seu professionis existant, qui pro singulis decem suppositis claustris sui unum bellatorem suis sumptibus per octo menses duraturum destinaverint, hujusmodi indulgentias plenariae consequantur. Quod si forte praefixo tempore non exacto ipsorum aliquos post iter arreptum in prosecutione pii et sancti operis ex hac luce migrare contigerit, volumus atque concedimus, ut praefatam indulgentiam integraliter consequantur etc.

Abrogat caeteras indulgentias, exceptis iis, quae urbis Basilicas lustraturis concessae sunt : cruce signatos in clientelam Apostolicam accipit omnibusque oneribus exsolvit : piratas et cum iis sentientes, qui bello sacro obstiterint, anathemate percellit aliisque paenis legibus constitutis mulctat.

Dat. Mantuae anno MCDLIX,¹ XVIII kal. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri annus II.

¹ Roman style = 1460

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 55-57)

**Orations “*Messis quidem*”, “*Quamvis non dubitamus*”,
and “*Vocati estis*” of Pope Pius II (5 and 8 March 1460,
Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-
Schönberg**

Abstract

In March 1460, Pope Pius II made his first appointment of new cardinals: five were published immediately, and one was kept secret for the time being. The five publicly appointed were Angelo Capranica, Berardo Erolì, Niccolò Forteguerri, a relation of the pope, Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, and Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, the pope's nephew and later pope himself under the name of Pius III. In this context, the pope gave three addresses, two to the "old" cardinals, and one to the new, explaining the necessity for appointing new cardinals, motivating the individual appointments, criticizing cardinals for loose and luxurious living, and telling the new cardinals what virtues were required of them.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; 1460; 15th century; Appointment of cardinals, 1460; Promotion of cardinals, 1460; Cardinals; Popes and cardinals; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
 - 2.1. Need for a sufficient number of cardinals
 - 2.2. Criticism of cardinals
 - 2.3. Virtues required of cardinals
3. Date, place, audience and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Messis quidem
 - 4.2. Quamvis non dubitamus
 - 4.2.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Vocati estis
 - 4.3.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.3.2. Editions
 - 4.4. Maxima
 - 4.5. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. To the cardinals on new cardinals: Messis quidem
2. To the cardinals on the newly promoted cardinals: Quamvis non dubitamus
3. To the new cardinals
 - 3.1. Vocati estis
 - 3.2. Maxima

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The relationship between pope and cardinals was crucial to the government of the Church. During the Middle Ages, the College of Cardinals had grown into an almost distinct organ of government, and groups of disaffected cardinals had caused several schisms when they elected rival popes - even the Great Schism, which ended with three popes at the same time.

After the end of the Council of Basel, marked by conciliarism and quite severe opposition against the pope, the time had come for the restoration of the papacy and the redevelopment of monarchic church government based on the papal office alone.

In this development, the nomination of new cardinals was quite important since it gave the pope the possibility to fill vacant positions in the College of Cardinals - or, if possible, to expand it - with his own candidates, including papal nephews, eventually obtaining a working majority of his own design.

The first nominations of cardinals made by the popes were therefore quite important for determining the power relations between the college of cardinals and the pope, and the process of nomination and appointment was naturally tense and often conflictual.

In the electoral capitulation, signed by all cardinals at the beginning of the conclave in August 1458, which elected Pius as pope, the second item after the War on the Turks concerned the appointment of cardinals, stipulating that the pope would only appoint new cardinals with the assent of the majority of the cardinals.²

Pius' first appointment of cardinals in the Spring of 1460 met with severe opposition from the cardinals, especially the senior ones. However, through his consummate skills of negotiation and arm-wrestling, Pius gained the upper hand and made the old cardinals approve the appointment of six new cardinals, one of whom was his nephew and another a close relative. One of the six appointments, the emperor's candidate³, had to be kept secret for reasons of international politics. Pius' own description in the *Commentarii* of the process is quite interesting and revealing - and entertaining.

In this connection, Pius gave three addresses: the first, the opening speech to the old cardinals on the necessity of appointing new ones, the "*Messis quidem*"; the second, the address to the

¹ CO, IV, 9-11 (Meserve), II, pp. 224-241; Raynaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 28-30; Zimolo, p. 55; Ady, pp. 242-243; Boulting, pp. 288-289; Paparelli, pp. 236-237;

Pastor, II, pp. 204-210; Stolf, pp. 355-357; Voigt, IV, pp. 528-534

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 4: *Item quod non creabit seu assumet aliquos cardinales etiam precibus quorumque impera-*

torum, regum, ducum aut principum nisi de consilio et consensu majoris partis dominorum cardinalium ...

³ The provost of Salzburg, Burchard von Weissbriach

old cardinals listing the appointees and their merits, the *“Quamvis non dubitamus”*; and the third one to the new cardinals on the virtues required of them, the *“Vocati estis”* with the alternative version, the *“Maxima”*.

Concerning the first oration, the *“Mensis quidem”*, Pius wrote in his *Commentarii*:

Once he was sure he would get much of what he wanted, he convened a sacred consistory on the Wednesday traditionally reserved for debating the creation of cardinals and spoke as follows: “The Harvest truly is great...” [here follows the text of the oration].¹

Concerning the *“Quamvis non dubitamus”* and the *“Vocati estis”* or rather the *“Maxima”*, he wrote:

Pius called a consistory in the cathedral that Saturday and gave orders that the three new cardinals who were present in Siena should be summoned. Before they entered, he spoke at length about their election, and their individual merits, proving to everyone’s satisfaction that their appointment had been both necessary and well deserved. Then the new cardinals came in. Pius had them take their places at the chancel and addressed them with these words: “My sons...” [here follows the text of the “Maxima”].²

2. Themes

2.1. Need for a sufficient number of active cardinals

The Council of Constance had decided that the number of cardinals should not exceed 24. By March 1460, three of the places in the College of Cardinals were vacant, which was in itself sufficient reason to appoint new cardinals. Moreover, eight cardinals were more or less permanently absent from Rome so that Pius only had 15 cardinals available, and of those several were too old and sick to be useful.

Pius told the cardinals:

The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few. Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot

¹ CO, IV, 9 (Meserve, II, p. 226-228)

² CO, IV, 11 (Meserve, II, p. 238-241)

the brambles and the weeds - heresies and bad morals, that is - if we want to bring an abundant harvest to the Lord's threshing floor and, in the end, store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the appointed workmen for this task. But you are few, and several of you are too old and sick to be used by Us. Therefore it is necessary to increase your number and appoint some others to bolster your feeble strength. ["Quamvis non dubitamus", sect. 1]

2.2. Criticism of cardinals

The pope took the opportunity to criticize the cardinals as a body for its habits of high living and conspicuous consumption, a theme to which he would return later during his papacy:

... you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. ["Quamvis non dubitamus", sect. 2]

2.3. Virtues required of cardinals

The virtues which Pius required of the new (and old) cardinals he described in the "Vocati estis" with these words:

We do not ask you to strip yourselves of the old man but rather to still be him unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this honourable office. Until now, you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious and pious: now these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than be such as you thought cardinals should be before you yourselves attained this splendid state.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The “*Messis quidem*” was given on Ember Wednesday in Lent, 5 March 1460, in Siena. The other orations were given on the following Saturday, 8 March, in the same city.

The audience of the “*Messis quidem*” were the cardinals assembled in a secret consistory¹. The audience of the two other orations were the cardinals assembled in a public consistory in the Cathedral of Siena² and those, curials and others, attending the consistory.

The format was a papal address from the throne.

4. Text³

4.1. *Messis quidem*

This text is only known from Pius’ *Commentarii*,⁴ bk. IV, ch. 9, where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460. The two main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii* are:

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 120v-121v **(S)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 182v-183v **(R)**

Of these, the Reginensis contains the first version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the Final Version, both made under Pius’ personal supervision.

For the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see COR, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography.

¹ Voigt, p. 528

² Voigt, p. 533

³ For the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see COR, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁴ For orations included in Pius II’s *Commentarii* (1462-1463), see COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.2. Quamvis non dubitamus

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.2.1. Manuscripts¹

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 179r-180v (**G**) *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 62r-64v (**J**) *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 75r-77v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 95r-98r
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 176r-178r (**H**) *

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

4.2.2. Editions

The text has been published at least three times:

- Contelorio, Felice: *Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549.* Romae: Lazaris, 1659, pp.51-54
[Based on an unknown manuscript] [FE]²

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

² Felorio, p. 50: *De his cardinalibus loquutus est Pius ad sacrum collegium in publico consistorio antequam pileum rubrum traderet, ut scribitur lib. 4.*

Commentariorum, sed quia oratio Pii non refertur, ideo eam accipite ex altero ejusdem Pii manu-scripto

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663, ad ann. 1459, nr. 28-29, [Reproduces Felorio]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae.* Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3. vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. II, pp. 89-91
[Based on the ms. in Lucca, G]

4.3. Vocati estis

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460):

4.3.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 180r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 64r-64v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 77v-78r
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 99r-99v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 178r **(H)** *

4.3.2. Editions

The oration appears not to have been published previously.

4.4. Maxima

This text is a heavily edited version of the "*Vocati estis*". It is only known from Pius' *Commentarii*, bk. IV, ch. 11, where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460.

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 123r-123v **(S)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 186r-186v **(R)**

The text was published by Rainaldus – on the basis of “Gobellinus”, i.e. the first edition of Pius’ *Commentarii* from 1584/1614:

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663 // ad ann. 1459, nr. 30

4.5. Present edition

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

Text:

“*Messis quidem*” and “*Maxima*”: Based on the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

“*Quamvis non dubitamus*” and “*Vocati estis*”: Based on the three listed manuscripts, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In these texts, 8 direct and indirect quotations have been identified, all from the Bible.

Biblical: 8

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 8

Biblical sources: 8

Old Testament: 3

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Isaiah: 1
- Machabees: 1

New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 2
- Colossians: 1
- Hebrews: 1
- 1. Peter: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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

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

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)

- Pii secundi Pontificis Maximi *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt*. A Ioanne Gobellino ... iamdiu compositi, et a Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo ex vetusto originali recogniti. Quibus hac editione accedunt Jacopi Piccolominei *Rerum gestarum sui temporis commentarii eiusdemque Epistolae*. 1584. [2nd ed.: Frankfurt: Aubriana, 1614
- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A. van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. A cura di L. Totaro. Milano, 1984
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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

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

FE = Contelorio, Felice: Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549.
Romae: Lazaris, 1659

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Messis quidem

[1] {120v} *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci.* Messis nostra, fratres, animarum salus est; ager, in quo metimus, ecclesia, quam vestro {121r} consilio regendam accepimus. Hanc contra Turcos et infideles alios tueri debemus; ex hac tribulos et malas herbas, hoc est haereses et pravos¹ mores, extirpare cogimur, si volumus messem ad aream domini multam afferre et denique puri purgatique tritici in horreo multum recondere. Vos ad haec operarii nobiscum estis constituti; sed pauci estis, et nonnulli ex vobis aut senio aut aegritudine impediti sunt, ne ipsis uti possimus. Necesse igitur est, ut numerum vestrum augeamus et aliquos assumamus, qui debilium vires suppleant. Curare tamen oportet, quamvis est id difficile, ut dignos tanto munere eligamus, ne dicat quispiam: *Multipicasti gentem et non magnificasti laetitiam.* Verum si dignitas haec merentibus danda est, in caelo quaeramus oportet, quos rubeo pileo donemus. Nos tamen ut homines eligemus homines, quando non caelum aut angelos, sed terram et homines recturi sumus.

¹ malos R

1. To the cardinals on appointing new cardinals: *Messis quidem*

[1] *The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few.*¹ Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church, whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot the brambles and the weeds² - heresies and bad morals, that is - if we want to bring an abundant harvest to the Lord's treshing floor and, in the end, store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the workmen appointed for this task. But you are few, and several of you are too old and sick to be used by Us. Therefore, it is necessary to increase your number and appoint some more to bolster your feeble strength. Though it is difficult, we must take care to select only such men as are worthy of this high office lest anybody may say: *Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy.*³ If We may [only] give the red hat to those who truly merit it, We would really have to search for them in Heaven. But we are men who have to choose other men since we are not governing Heaven and angels but Earth and men.

¹ Matthew 9, 37

² Cf. Hebrews, 6, 8

³ Isaiah, 9, 3

[2] Miramur autem tantam esse petentium turbam, nam quis est clericali caractere insignitus, qui non se dignum cardinalatus honore dijudicet, qui non petat, qui non instet et inter candidatos, ut ita dicamus, videri et esse velit? Nimum viluit haec dignitas, quando vel pueri eam sibi debere existimant. Fecerunt hoc nostri praedecessores, qui nonnullos prorsus indignos assumpsere. Licet de mortuis loqui: cardinalem Sancti Marci novistis, quem scurram vestri ordinis quidam appellavere. Vos quoque in causa estis, qui non eam gravitatem ac sanctimoniam servatis, quae hoc sit culmine digna¹. Ita enim vivitis, ut non ad republicam gubernandam electi, sed ad voluptates perfruendas vocati videamini. Non venationes, non ludos neque feminarum consuetudinem evitatis, convivia opulentiora, quam deceat, instruitis, vestimentis utimini nimum pretiosis, auro et argento abundatis, equos et famulos plures quam satis est alitis. Has delicias cupiunt omnes, nec quisquam est, qui sectari voluptates non sit idoneus. Quod si severitas, gravitas, abstinentia, doctrina, sanctitas, hanc tantummodo dignitatem elargiretur, {121v} pauciores eam peterent. Sed incidimus mores istos: non possumus prohibere petentes, non admittere facile possumus. Cogitate, qui sint idonei. De numero ipsi judicabimus, curaturi ne vel nimietate vilescat dignitas vel paucitate reipublicae non satisfaciat.

¹ digne R

[2] We do wonder about the great crowd of candidates, for apparently, all men of ecclesiastical rank believe themselves to be worthy of the office of cardinal. Who does not seek it, who does not pursue it, and - to put it that way - who does not want to be and to be seen as a candidate? This dignity has really been devalued if even boys believe they deserve it. This is a result of the actions of our predecessors who promoted several who were completely unworthy. Here, it is allowed to speak of the dead: you knew the Cardinal of San Marco, whom some called the clown of your order.¹ And to some extent, this also applies to you, for you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the commonwealth but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. All men seek such delights, and everybody is apt to pursue such pleasures. But if only strictness, seriousness, abstinence, learning, and holiness could qualify people for this high office, much fewer would seek it. But this is how it is: We cannot prevent people from seeking this office - but We can easily prevent them from obtaining it. Consider who are suitable. We Ourselves will determine their number, taking care neither to debase that honourable office by having too many or to fail the needs of the commonwealth by having too few.

¹ Angelotto de Fuschis [Fosco, Foschi, Fusco] (c. 1378-1444): appointed cardinal in 1431. May have had a reputation for avarice. When he died, killed in his sleep by a member of his house-

hold, a fortune was found in his coffers, see Cardella, pp. 61-65. See also Infessura: *Diario*, ad ann. 1444 (Tommasini, p. 43): *Dell'anno 1444 a dì 12 de settembre fu occiso Angelotto*

delli Foschi cardinale di Santo Marco, et occiselo uno suo camerarie, e robaolo, et per questa cacione lo detto camerario subito fu preso ...

2. Quamvis non dubitamus

Ad cardinales de noviter promotis cardinalibus

[3] {176r} Quamvis non dubitamus, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac dilecti {176v} filii, notissimas vobis esse¹ personas² eorum³, quos feria quarta proxime decursa in sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales assumpsimus, pro veteri tamen consuetudine de meritis ipsorum pauca dicemus. Quinque viri sunt, quos et nos et sacrum collegium fratrum nostrorum ad cardinalatus honorem hoc tempore duximus assumendos.

[4] Primus est Angelus, Areatinus episcopus, vere angelus et vita et morum honestate conspicuus. Huic frater fuit⁴ Dominicus tituli Sanctae Crucis in Jerusalem quondam magni nominis cardinalis. Non minor hic germano est; multa ejus extant, quae cum laude⁵ possumus commemorare. Vita omnis sua mundissima. Praefuit ecclesiae sibi commissae non sine magna subditorum utilitate. Praedicavit evangelium multis annis plebi suae. Correxerit mores, reformavit quaecumque invenit male disposita. In legationibus, quae⁶ sedes sibi apostolica mandavit, diligentissimus et fidelissimus extitit, et nunc Bononiae cum maxima civium gratia legationis munus exercet.

[5] Secundus est⁷ Berardus⁸, episcopus Spoletanus, apud Narniam non ignobili loco natus, qui cum per scholas Italiae cathedras magna cum auditorum dilectione atque utilitate rexisset, tandemque Romanam curiam accessisset, ab Nicolao, praedecessore nostro, qui ejus doctrinae culmen admirabatur, in palatium receptus referendariatus officium accepit, in quo ita se gessit, ut omnia sibi crederet. Nam verbum ejus verbum veritatis {177r} fuit, et jam⁹ tum dignus cardinalatu judicatus est. Apud Calixtum quoque carissimus fuit, nec ad promotionem ejus aliud obstitit quam invidia paucorum. In nostra vero familia receptus ob famae singularis odorem et nostram gratiam et aulicorum omnium benivolentiam meruit, primusque semper apud nos habitus est, cum et prudentiam ejus, et fidem, et doctrinam et admiraremur et diligeremus.

¹ etiam FE

² esse personas : personas esse

J

³ et J

⁴ frater fuit : fuit frater G

⁵ cum laude *omit.* FE

⁶ *omit.* J

⁷ secundus est *omit.* FE

⁸ Bernardus J

⁹ et jam : etiam J

2 To the cardinals on the new cardinals: *Quamvis non dubitamus*

To the cardinals on the newly promoted cardinals

[3] Venerable Brethren and beloved sons in Christ, though We do not doubt that you well know those persons whom We, last Thursday, appointed cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall follow ancient custom and say a few words about their merits. At this time, We and the Sacred College of our brethren found that five men should have the honour of being appointed cardinals.

[4] The first is Angelo, Bishop of Rieti,¹ truly an angel and remarkable for his integrity and character. His brother was Domenico,² once a highly reputed Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Angelo equals his brother. His many outstanding qualities are worthy of praise. All his life has been pure. He has governed the church entrusted to him to the great benefit of his subjects. For many years, he has preached the gospel to his people, corrected their manners, and reformed whatever he found needing improvement. In the missions entrusted to him by the Apostolic See, he has proven to be most diligent and faithful. And now he performs the office of legate in Bologna with great favour from the citizens.

[5] The second is Berardo,³ Bishop of Spoleto, who comes from a noble family in Narni. He has held many chairs at Italian universities and has lectured there to the delight and benefit of his audiences. In the end, he joined the Roman Curia. Nicolaus, Our predecessor, who admired his eminent learning, brought him into the palace and gave him the office of referendary. In this office, he did so well that Nicolaus gave him all kinds of tasks, for his words were words of truth. Already then, he was judged worthy to be promoted cardinal. Also Calixtus held him in great esteem, and the only barrier to his promotion was the jealousy of a few people. We took him into Our own household because of his exceptional reputation, and he has richly deserved Our favour and the goodwill of all the courtiers. He always had Our high regard since We admired and loved his prudence, loyalty, and learning.

¹ Capranica, Angelo (1415-1478): Appointed Cardinal in 1460

² Capranica, Domenico (1400-1458): Bishop of Fermo. Cardinal. He died just before the

conclave where Pius II was elected pope, and many believed that he would have been elected had he lived. Piccolomini's first employer

³ Berardo Erolì (1409-1479): Italian jurist. Appointed cardinal in 1460

[6] Tertius est Nicolaus, electus Theanensis, utroque jure consultus, qui sub Eugenio pontifice Viterbium ac¹ provinciam patrimonii pro gubernatore² aliquandiu summa cum laude administravit. Fuit hic, cum ageremus in cardinalatu curiae nostrae magister, domumque nostram et provide et pacifice rexit. In apostolatu vero nostro thesauriatus exercuit officium, quod fidem et dexteritatem ingenii maximam requirit, neque audivimus aliquando alium fuisse thesaurarium, qui ejus vel bonitatem vel circumspeditionem superaverit. Misimus eum ad reges et principes. Nihil ei commisimus, quod non prudenter absolverit.

[7] Quartus est Alexander, ordinis Augustinensium magister generalis, summus theologicae³ sapientiae doctor atque interpres, qui annos duos et XLta in religione versatus, eximius cultor et paupertatis et humilitatis exitit. Huic patria est Saxumferratum. Parentes ejus quinquennem aut paulo majorem⁴ dicaverunt, cum in fontem cadens mortuo similis extraheretur. Locus, in quo primo receptus est, beatae Mariae sacer habetur.⁵ In die beatae Mariae professionem emisit, et revolutis annis eadem festivitate et missam primam celebravit, et magisterium theologiae adeptus est, et in civitate beatae Mariae ad cardinalatum per nos assumptus est. Vir omni ex parte perfectus, vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron. Nescius, nihil⁶ petens et dignitates prorsus effugiens receptus est in consilium nostrum. Traxit nos odor boni nominis et vitae exemplaris verissima fama⁷. Nam etsi animus ejus honorem quemvis horreret, virtutes tamen ejus petebant, ne inhonoratus relinqueretur.

¹ et G

² gubernatione FE

³ theologiae FE

⁴ deum *add.* FE

⁵ beatae Mariae sacer habetur
in die *omit.* FE

⁶ nil FE

⁷ vitae ... fama : vita
exemplarissima FE

[6] The third is Niccolò,¹ Bishop Elect of Teano, specialist in both laws. Under Pope Eugenius, he, for a period, administered Viterbo and the province of the Patrimony² with great distinction. While We were a cardinal, he was the master of our household and governed Our house providently and peacefully. During Our pontificate, he has performed the office of treasurer which requires the greatest loyalty and flexibility. We have never heard of another treasurer who showed as much goodness and caution. We have also sent him on missions to kings and princes, and all the tasks We have given him, he has performed with sagacity.

[7] The fourth is Alessandro,³ General of the Augustinian Order and an eminent doctor and interpreter of theological wisdom. He has been a monk for 42 years and has always greatly cultivated poverty and humility. His home town is Sassoferrato. When he was five years old or a little older, he fell into a spring but was pulled out, more dead than alive. Afterwards, his parents gave him to God. The monastery⁴ where he was first received is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. He made his profession of vows on the day of the Holy Virgin, and years later, he celebrated his first mass and became a master of theology on that same feast day. He was also promoted cardinal by Us in the City of the Blessed Virgin.⁵ He is perfect in all ways and has been called by God like Aaron. He did not know he would be received into Our council; he did not seek it, and indeed, he has been fleeing all honourable offices.⁶ It was Us who took notice of his good name and true reputation for an exemplary life. He himself shied away from the honour, but his virtues required that he should have it.

¹ Niccolò Forteguerra (1419-1473): Elected Bishop of Teano in November 1458. Appointed cardinal in 1460. Related to Pius II whose mother was a Forteguerra

² In this context, the papal lands in Toscana

³ Alessandro Oliva [di Sassoferrato] (1407-1463): General of the Augustinian Order. Appointed cardinal in 1460

⁴ "locus"

⁵ Siena

⁶ "dignitates"

[8] Postremus est Franciscus, administrator ecclesiae Senensis, noster secundum carnem nepos, pontificii juris interpres, de quo non est cur verba faciamus, tum quia suspecta esset commendatio nostra, tum quod non modo nostro, sed cardinalium iudicio dignus hoc munere putatus est. Rogati ab eis promotionem ejus fecimus; ipsi, an bene consuluerint, videbunt.

[9] Hic in diaconum, ceteri in presbyteros cardinales vocati sunt. Spes nobis est utilem hanc promotionem futuram. Nam, excepto nepote nostro, reliqui omnes matura aetate sunt. Nemo infra quadragesimum annum¹ agit. Doctrina singulari excellunt; prudentia et rerum² experientia ingens³ in omnibus, nullae in his sordes, non⁴ ambitio⁵, non arrogancia, non avaritia, quae hominem excaecat et idolatram⁶ facit⁷, non libido, quae hominum vires effeminate, non crapula, non ebrietas dominatur. Vicerunt⁸ hi viri quaevis {178r} vitia, et mundae omnibus manus, sinceræ mentes, videntes et solertes animi: aptissimi profecto, qui vicario Jesu Christi et assistant et consulant. Audivistis, qui sunt, quos promovimus, nunc⁹ ut eorum tres, qui adsunt, videatis oportet. Ite vos, diaconi cardinales, atque eos adducite, ut in collegio vestro consedeant.

¹ *omit.* FE

² *omit.* FE

³ ingenii FE

⁴ non *corr.* ex nulla G

⁵ non ambitio *omit.* FE

⁶ idolatriam J

⁷ idolatriam FE

⁸ vixerunt G

⁹ hunc FE

[8] Last comes Francesco,¹ administrator of the Church of Siena, our nephew after the flesh, specialist in pontifical law. There is no reason to speak about him both because Our praise would be suspect, and because he was considered worthy of this office not only by Us but also by the cardinals. Since they requested his promotion, We granted it. They shall see if their advice was good.

[9] Francesco has been assigned to the order of cardinal deacons, the others to the order of cardinal priests. It is Our hope that this promotion will prove beneficial, for except Our nephew, all are of mature age, none being less than forty years old. They have remarkable learning, wisdom, and great experience in all areas. There is no meanness in them, no ambition, no arrogance, and no greed which blinds man and makes him an idolater. Also there is no licentiousness which makes man weak as a woman. They are not given to drunkenness and crapulence. They have defeated vice and have clean hands, sincere souls, and clear-seeing, astute minds. Indeed, they are perfectly capable of assisting and advising the Vicar of Jesus Christ. You have now heard whom We have promoted and should see the three who are present. So, go, cardinal deacons, and bring them here to take their seat with you as members of your college.

¹ Francesco Piccolomini Tode-schini (1439-1503): Appointed cardinal in 1460. Nephew of Pius

II through the pope's sister, Lau-domia. Elected pope, under the

name of Pius III, in 1503, but died within a month

3. To the new cardinals

3.1. Vocati estis

Ad novos cardinales, qui aderant

[10] {178r} Vocati estis, filii, fratres nostri, ad cardinalatus honorem. Magna vobis dignitas credita est. Collegium enim venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, ad quod modo recipiendi estis, nihil aliud est quam Christiani orbis senatus et militantis ecclesiae supremum tribunal. Judicare de religione, de fide, de omni majori causa vestri ordinis est. Curate ut tanto digni fastigio sicut crediti¹ estis, ita reperiamini. Non petimus, ut *veterem hominem exuatis*, sed potius retineatis, nisi si quid est latens, quod tantae gloriae non conveniat. Fuistis humiles hactenus: servate hoc decus. Fuistis casti: augete hanc virtutem. Fuistis sobrii: abstinentes, religiosi, pii, nunc his dotibus maxime pollere oportet. Non dabimus vobis aliam doctrinam, nisi ut tales esse conemini, quales existere cardinales debere judicastis, priusquam ipsi hunc splendorem consequeremini. Amen.

¹ traditi J

3 To the new cardinals

3.1. Vocati estis

To the new cardinals who were present

[10] Sons and brothers, you have been called to the honourable office of cardinal. Great is the honour given to you: the college of our venerable brethren, into which you will now be received, is nothing but the Senate of the Christian world and the supreme tribunal of the Church militant. It is the task of your order to judge in matters of religion and faith and in all major causes. Show yourselves to be worthy of this honour. We do not ask you *to strip yourselves of the old man*,¹ but rather to still be him, unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this illustrious office. Until now, you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious, and pious: now, these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than to be such as you thought cardinals should be before you yourselves attained this splendid state. Amen.

¹ Colossians, 3, 10

3.2. Maxima

[11] {123r} Maxima, filii, et excellentissima dignitate donati estis: ad collegium apostolicum vocati consilarii nostri et coniudices orbis terrarum eritis, *inter causam et causam, inter sanguinem et sanguinem, inter lepram et lepram* discernere vos oportebit. Successores apostolorum circa thronum nostrum sedebitis. Vos senatores urbis et regum similes eritis, veri mundi cardines, super quibus militantis ostium ecclesiae volvendum ac regendum est. Cogitate animo, quos viros, quae ingenia, quam integritatem haec dignitas requirit: humilitatem, non superbiam; liberalitatem, non avaritiam; abstinentiam, non ebrietatem; continentiam, non libidinem; scientiam, non ignorantiam; virtutes omnes, nullum vitium hic honos exposcit. Si fuistis hactenus {123v} vigilantes, nunc vigiletis oportet adversus malignum hostem, qui numquam dormit cogitans *quem devoret*. Si liberales fuistis, nunc opes in rebus honestis profundite et maxime in alendos pauperes! Si cibi potusque abstinentes fuistis¹, nunc praecipue luxuriam fugite! Absit avaritia, facessat crudelitas, exulet arrogantia! Sint *libri sacri semper in manibus vestris*, dies noctesque aut discite aliquid aut alios docete! Opera efficite per quae *lux vestra coram hominibus luceat*! Et denique tales estote quales esse debere cardinales dijudicastis, antequam ipsi hoc culmen ascenderetis!

¹ omit. C

3.2. Maxima

[11] My sons, the office¹ bestowed upon you is a very great and excellent one. You have been called to the Apostolic College to be Our advisors and co-judges of the world. You shall have to judge *between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy.*² As successors to the apostles, you will be seated around Our throne. You will be senators of the City and like kings. You will be the world's true hinges around which the gate of the Church Militant turns and by which it is governed. Consider what souls, what men, what minds, and what integrity this office requires: humility, not pride; generosity, not greed; abstinence, not drunkenness; continence, not lust; knowledge, not ignorance. This honourable office requires all the virtues and no vice. If you were vigilant before, now you must be especially vigilant against the evil enemy who never sleeps but is always seeking *whom to devour.*³ If you were generous, now spend your wealth on honourable things and especially on nourishing the poor. If you were abstemious in eating and drinking, now you must flee all luxury. Banish greed, cruelty, and pride. Always have the *holy books in your hands,*⁴ and spend day and night in learning or teaching. Endeavour to *let your light shine before men!*⁵ And, finally, be as you thought cardinals ought to be before you yourselves were raised to this exalted state.

¹ "dignitas"

² Deuteronomy, 17, 8

³ 1. Peter, 5, 8

⁴ 1. Machabees, 12, 9

⁵ Matthew, 5, 16

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 58)

Oration “*De regno Siciliae*” of Pope Pius II (May 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

In 1442, the French dynasty of Anjou was expelled from the Kingdom of Naples by King Alfonso V of the Spanish House of Aragon. In 1459, King René d'Anjou sent his son, Jean d'Anjou, to the Kingdom to try to win it back and expel Alfonso's son, Ferrante I. Ferrante had been invested with the Kingdom by Pope Pius II since the popes were the nominal suzerains of the Kingdom. In doing so, the pope simply respected decisions made by two previous popes as well as the Italian peace treaties of 1454/1455. At the Congress of Mantua in December 1459, the French embassy had demanded that the pope revoke Ferrante's investiture and grant it instead to King René. The pope refused the demands in a great oration, "*Responsuri*". After the Congress of Mantua, the pope went to stay for some months in his native city of Siena. An embassy from René d'Anjou followed him there and again presented the demands for an investiture of King René with the Kingdom of Naples. The pope again refused, in the oration "*De regno Siciliae*".

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1460; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King René d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Congress of Mantova

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Early Version
 - 4.2. Final Version
 - 4.2.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

0. Introduction [1-3]
1. Demand for investiture of King René [4-7]
2. Demand for papal aid against King Ferrante [8]
3. Demand for recall of papal troops aiding King Ferrante [9]
4. Angevin claim of prior provocation by King Ferrante [10]
5. Angevin invasion of the Kingdom of Naples [11-12]
6. Angevin rejection of papal mediation [13]
7. Angevin abuses against the pope [14-15]
8. Conclusion [16]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In 1442/1443, the French dynasty of Anjou was expelled from the Kingdom of Naples by King Alfonso V of the Spanish House of Aragon. In October 1459, at the height of the Congress of Mantua, King René d'Anjou sent his son, Jean d'Anjou, to the Kingdom to try to win it back and expel Alfonso's son, Ferrante I. Ferrante had been invested with the Kingdom by Pope Pius II since the popes were the nominal suzerains of the Kingdom. In doing so, the pope simply respected decisions made by the two previous popes, as well as the Italian peace treaties of 1454/1455. At the Congress of Mantua in December 1459, the French embassy - supported by an embassy from René d'Anjou - demanded that the pope revoke Ferrante's investiture and grant it instead to King René. The pope refused the demands in a great oration, the "*Responsuri*" [51].

A new Angevin embassy, led by Gerard de Harancourt and Raymond de Puget, arrived in Mantua on 4 January 1460 but was not received by the pope before he left Mantua for Siena. The Angevins followed Pius to that city but had to wait until May before they were given an audience during the pope's stay at the Baths of Macereto. During this audience they presented the Angevin claims to which the pope responded some days afterwards, back in Siena, with the oration "*De regno Siciliae*".

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

Meanwhile ambassadors from L'Aquila reached the pope, followed soon after by envoys from Jean of Anjou,² who urged him to abandon Ferrante and either support the cause of René or withdraw from the war altogether. The ambassadors presented letters from many lords and communes of the Kingdom who were bitterly opposed to Ferrante's regime. When the pope heard them, he said his sole object in the war was to put a stop to the violence and then settle the quarrel over the Kingdom by mediation. If René would agree to that, hostilities might cease. ... And so the envoys departed with nothing achieved.³

The Angevin victory at the Battle of Sarno on 7 July, however, gave Pius such a shock that - despite the heroic staunchness expressed in the *Commentarii* - he did for a moment consider giving in to the French, at least according to the Milanese ambassador at the papal court. However, the Duke of Milan and certain attractive offers of King Ferrante managed to strengthen the pope's resolve to support the Aragonese against the French.⁴

¹ Oration "*Responsuri*" [51], Introduction; CO, IV, 26; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nos. 67-68; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, VI, pp.

297-306; Pastor, II, p. 74; Voigt, IV, 2, pp. 143-144

² Son of King René d'Anjou, leader of the Angevin invasion of the Kingdom

³ CO, IV, 26 (Meserve, II, pp. 301-302)

⁴ Voigt, IV, pp. 144-145

2. Themes

The oration is a brief summary of the “*Responsuri*”, given to the French ambassadors in December in Mantua, with updates concerning developments in the intervening five month period.

The major themes of the oration are three demands of the ambassadors of King René, all roundly refused by the pope:

Concerning the **demand for the investiture** of King René, the pope motivated his refusal with the legal obligations of the papacy towards the Spanish House of Aragon as contracted by previous popes:

- Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) invested King Alfonso with the Kingdom of Naples, gave him the right to name his successor, and legitimated his son, Ferrante, recognizing him as heir to the Kingdom.
- Pope Nicolaus V (1447-1455) confirmed Pope Eugenius’ decrees on the matter.
- Pope Calixtus V (1455-1458) confirmed his predecessors’ actions, but when Alfonso V died, he revoked their legitimation of Ferrante and declared the Kingdom of Naples as having reverted to the Apostolic See, thus freeing his successor to invest whomever he wanted to with the Kingdom.

Legally, Pius also motivated his refusal with

- the peace treaties of 1454/1455, by which the Italian powers, including the papacy, recognized the reign of Alfonso V in the Kingdom of Naples and Ferrante as his successor.

Besides legal obligations, the pope also motivated his refusal with political considerations: all the Italian powers had requested the pope to invest Ferrante with Kingdom, and the princes, nobles, and communes had unanimously recognized Ferrante as their king.

Finally, he cited the military pressure exerted by Jacopo Piccinino who fought for King Ferrante at the time.

Concerning the two other Angevin requests, for **military support to King René's cause** and for **withdrawal of papal auxiliary troops from King Ferrante**, the pope's main argument was his moral obligation to support the king whom he had himself invested with the Kingdom - as long as this investiture had not been proven unlawful.

The pope also rejected the Angevin claim that Ferrante had attacked King René's lands before the Angevins attacked the Kingdom: this claim was unproven and unsubstantiated, and therefore, it did not release the pope from obligations towards Ferrante incurred under the Italian peace treaties.

The pope declared the Angevin invasion of the Kingdom illegal and in contravention of his own rights as feudal overlord of the Kingdom. He criticized the Angevin rejection of papal mediation and denounced various Angevin abuses against the papacy.

Several times he reiterated the offer to King René of a fair trial to determine the rights of the case, assuring him of his future support should it be proven that it was René who had the right to the Kingdom.

Despite the pope's offer to act as a fair judge in the case, it would have been clear to all that the pope's policies and his alliance with the Duke of Milan to keep the French out of Southern Italy, in reality, precluded a judgment in favour of King René. The offer of a fair lawsuit was, therefore, not very attractive to the Angevins, who instead put their hopes on a continuation of the war.

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Voigt, the oration "*De regno Siciliae*" was given in May 1460 in Siena.¹ And according to Pius himself, the ambassadors were received after his return to Siena from the Baths of Macereto, which he visited in May.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors and others participating in the public consistory during which the Angevin ambassadors were received.

The venue was probably the cathedral of Siena, which the pope used for high-profile public events.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 143

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

4. Text¹

The text is extant in two versions: an Early Version and a Final Version.

4.1. Early version

The Early Version is known only from one manuscript. It is written by Pius himself, not dictated to a secretary or a scribe, and it contains many erasures and corrections made directly during the process of composition. It is possible that this text is actually an early draft that was revised before delivery into a text which was closer to or identical with the Final Version.

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana²**
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 271-277r **(H)**

4.2 Final version

4.2.1. Manuscripts

The Final Version exists in seven manuscripts containing the comprehensive collection of Pius' orations, prepared under his direct supervision in 1462.³

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

² On the character and contents of this manuscript, see Helmuth, p. 318

³ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**¹
544, ff. 131v-135r **(G)** *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 262v-268v **(F)** *
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 182v-186v **(E)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 175r-179r **(D)** *
Chis. J.VIII 284, ff. 132v-135r **(A)** *
Chis. J. VIII 286, ff. 269r-275r **(C)** *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 186v-190v **(B)** *

Moreover it is extant in the manuscripts containing the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations (1464):

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 54r-60r **(R)**
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII, 1,² ff. 18r-25r **(J)**
Borghese I, 121-122, ff. 26v-32v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**
4310, ff. 132r-138v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 78r-80r **(V)**
Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 49r-55v **(L)**
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 31r-37r
Vat. lat. 12256, ff. 40r-47r

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in

COR, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² This manuscript also contains the Collection of Responses of Pius II (1460)

- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele**
Vittorio Emmanuele 492, ff. 195r-201r (T)

The text in these manuscripts is the same as the text in the seven manuscripts containing the comprehensive collection of orations, apart from common and individual variants deriving from errors of transcription. It does not appear to have been editorially revised.

The text is also contained in the following manuscripts:

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Fonds It. 409
- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
691 (35 B 20), ff. 811-814
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm II 21, ff. 44-11v
Arm II 55, ff. 377r-380v
Fondo Pio 22, 348r-354v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 18v-27v
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 78r-80v

4.2.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi, based on the manuscript in Lucca (G):

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 158-165

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

Early Version: the present edition is based on the Chisianus.

Final Version: The present edition is based on all the manuscripts marked with the siglum, with the Chisianus J.VIII 284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

In the Early Version pagination is from the Chisianus.

In the Final Version pagination is from the lead manuscript.

Presentation:

The Early Version and the Final Version are presented synoptically, the Early Version above, and the Final Version below. The parts of the text occurring in both versions (but with no regard to differences in grammatical form and word order) are marked in bold types.

Translation:

The translation is of the Final Version only.

5. Sources¹

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

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

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- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt.* Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
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Pius II: *Orationes.* [1436-1464]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae.* Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II.* Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025].

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

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)

7. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VIII. 284

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788

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

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

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

F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100

G = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544

H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VII.251

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

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

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

T = Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele / Vittorio Emmanuele 492

V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 3527

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II Pontificis Maximi¹ data oratoribus regis Renati, Senis

[1] [EV] {271r} De² regno Siciliae, cujus proprietates ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam pertinet, quamvis duo reges armis contendunt, non est tamen propositi nostri, cui jus competat, in praesentiarum diffinire: nam id partium allegationes et altam requireret indaginem. Ad ea tantum nunc responsuri sumus, quae vos, oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Renati regis illustris, coram nobis proposuistis, cum proximis diebus valitudinis recuperandae causa apud Balneas Petriolenses ageremus.

[1] [FV] {132v} De regno Siciliae, cujus proprietates ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam pertinet, quamvis duo reges armis inter se contendunt³, non est tamen propositi nostri, cui jus competat, in praesentiarum diffinire: id enim partium allegationes et altam requireret⁴ indaginem. Ad ea tantum nunc responsuri sumus, quae vos, oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Renati regis illustris⁵, coram nobis proposuistis, cum superioribus diebus valitudinis recuperandae gratia apud Balneas Macereti⁶ ageremus.

¹ Responsio ... max. : *omit.* **H, L, T, V** ; Pii II. Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus regis Renati Senis **D, G**; Responsio Pii Papae II data oratoribus Renati regis Andegavensis super petiti-

one ab eodem facta de regno Siciliae **J**; Oratio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi data oratoribus regis Rhenati **R**

² m.p. [=manu propria] *nota marg.* **H** [*in later handwriting*]

³ contendant **J**

⁴ requirerent **L, R, T, V**

⁵ quae *add.* **J**; qui *add.* **L, R, T, V**

⁶ Petrioli **J**; Petrioleum **L, R, T, V**

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of King René, in Siena

0. Introduction

[1] [FV] Two kings¹ are fighting about the Kingdom of Sicily, which belongs to Us and the Roman Church. We do not intend now to determine who has the right to it, for that would require a formal presentation of the claims of the [two] parties and a comprehensive investigation. For now, We shall only reply to the speech which you, ambassadors of Our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King René, gave in Our presence some days ago while We were recovering at the Baths of Macereto.²

¹ King René d'Anjou and King Ferrante I of Naples

² NB: In the Early Version, Pius says the Baths of Petriolo. Accor-

ding his *Commentarii*, bk. 4, ch. 15, he first went to Macereto, then back to Siena, then he returned to Macereto, and from

there he went to the Baths of Petriolo five miles from Macereto. See also Raynaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 30

[2] [EV] Et primum quidem illud, quod asseruistis de nobilitate et praestanti virtute regis ipsius atque insignis familiae suae Andegavensis, nequaquam negamus. Cognita nobis est altitudo sanguinis sui, quae ab ipsa magni Caroli et Francorum nobilissima stirpe procedit. Nec probitatem ejus ignoramus, neque inficias imus Andegavensem prosapiam de Romana ecclesia optime meritam esse, siquidem Francorum beneficia Christianae religioni praestita ipsos etiam Andegavenses illustrant. Et nos quidem Renatum regem ejusque domum apprime diligimus, sibi bene cupimus.

[2] [FV] Et primum quidem illud, quod¹ asseruistis de nobilitate et² praestanti virtute regis ipsius atque insignis familiae suae Andegavensis, nequaquam negamus. Cognita nobis est altitudo sanguinis, quae ab ipsa magni Caroli et Francorum nobilissima stirpe deducitur. Nec probitatem ejus ignoramus, neque inficias imus³ Andegavensem prosapiam⁴ de Romana ecclesia optime meritam esse, siquidem Francorum beneficia Christianae religioni atque ipsi ecclesiae praestita ipsos etiam Andegavenses {133r} illustrant. Et nos quidem Renatum regem ejusque domum singulari dilectione prosequimur⁵, sibi bene cupimus.

¹ *omit.* E; J, L, R, T, V

² de E

³ inficiamus J

⁴ pro sapiem L, T; pro sapientiae V

⁵ prosequuntur B, E

[2] [FV] Firstly, We agree with what you said concerning the nobility and eminent virtue of the king himself and of the distinguished family of Anjou.¹ We know the high nobility of the family descending from the noble line of Charlemagne² and the Franks³. We know its integrity, and We do not deny the excellent merits of the Anjou family in relation to the Roman Church since the Frankish services to the Christian religion and this Church also distinguish the Angevins. So, We greatly love King René and his House and wish him well.

¹ In 1350, the French King John II of the Valois dynasty gave the Duchy of Anjou to one of his sons, Louis, and from then on, the dukes of Anjou were part of the extended French royal family.

² 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

³ The Franks (Latin: *Franci* or *gens Francorum*) are historically first known as a group of Germanic tribes that roamed the land

between the Lower and Middle Rhine in, the 3rd century AD, and second as the people of Gaul who merged with the Gallo-Roman populations during succeeding centuries, passing on their name to modern-day France and becoming part of the heritage of the modern day French people

[3] [EV] Gereremus omnibus in rebus **suae** voluntati **morem**, si ea peteret, quae salva dignitate **facere** possemus. **Verum quae** requisivistis ex nobis, **absque injuria tertii et sine {271v} dedecore nostro fieri non possunt, sive de investitura regi Renato tradenda, sive de auxiliis sibi praestandis aut ab altera parte revocandis loquamur**¹, quae tria vos a nobis expostulastis, oblatione de homagio exhibendo, his precedentibus, facta. **Haec cur** neganda sunt, **aperta ratione monstrabimus**.

[3] [FV] Nec recusaremus² **suae** nobilitati in quavis re **morem** gerere, si modo ea peteret, quae **salva dignitate facere** valeremus. **Verum quae**³ per vos suo nomine requisita sunt, **absque injuria tertii et sine dedecore nostro fieri non possunt, sive de investitura regi Renato tradenda, sive de auxiliis sibi praestandis aut ab altera parte revocandis loquamur**. Haec enim **tria** sunt⁴, quae a nobis expostulastis, offerentes homagium, quando haec concederentur. At **cur haec** negare oporteat, **aperta ratione monstrabimus**.

¹ Investitura, auxilia alteri pariter non praestanda sed revocanda *in marg.* D

² recusamus J

³ salva dignitate ... quae *omit.* E

⁴ enim tria sunt : tria sunt enim T

[3] [FV] And We would never refuse to accommodate that noble [king] in any matter if only he asked for what We can give with Our honour¹ intact. But your petitions in his name cannot be granted without injury to a third party and dishonour to Ourselves, whether we talk of bestowing the investiture upon René, sending him auxiliary troops, or recalling auxiliary troops sent to the other party. For these are your three demands of Us, offering to do homage if they are granted. We shall now show, with clear reasons, why We must refuse.

¹ “dignitas”

[4] [EV] Vocati enim, sicut altissimo placuit, ad summi apostolatus apicem, regnum Siciliae haudquaquam possessore vacans invenimus. Ferdinandus, Alfonsi regis filius, id obtinebat. Alfonsus ab Eugenio quarto et Nicolao quinto¹, praecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus, investituram, et regium nomen, et facultatem haeredis instituendi, et legitimationem atque habilitationem filii ad regnum obtinuerat; et antequam obiret mortem, Ferdinandum haeredem in eo regno instituerat. Adductis regni baronibus in ejus verba jurare. Et quamvis Calixtus tertius, antecessor noster proximus, per mortem Alfonsi regnum ipsum ad Romanam ecclesiam devolutum declaraverit, proceres tamen regni universi et communitates apud Capuam convenientes Ferdinandum regnare supra se voluerunt sibi novum homagium praestitere. Neque unus in toto regno fuit, qui diversae voluntatis videretur. Ob quas res {272v} et Calixto, antequam vita excederet, et nobis, postquam illi suffecti fuimus, magnopere supplicarunt, ut quieti regni consulentes regem, quem concordi populorum voto nuncupassent atque in possessionem accepissent confirmare dignaremur.

[4] [FV] Vocati enim, sicut² altissimo placuit, ad summi apostolatus apicem, regnum Siciliae haudquaquam³ possessore vacans⁴ invenimus: Ferdinandus, Alfonsi regis filius, id possidebat. Alfonsus ab Eugenio quarto et Nicolao quinto⁵, praedecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus, investituram, et regium⁶ nomen, et facultatem⁷ haeredis instituendi, et legitimationem atque habilitationem filii ad ipsum regnum obtinuerat; et antequam mortem obiret, Ferdinandum haeredem in eo regno instituerat. Adductis⁸ regni baronibus atque civitatibus in ejus verba jurare⁹. Et quamvis Calixtus tertius, antecessor noster proximus¹⁰, per¹¹ mortem Alfonsi regnum ipsum ad Romanam¹² ecclesiam devolutum declaraverit¹³, proceres tamen regni universi¹⁴ ¹⁵ et communitates apud Capuam convenientes¹⁶ Ferdinandum supra¹⁷ se regnare voluerunt¹⁸ sibi novum homagium praestitere. Neque unus in toto regno fuit, qui diversae voluntatis videretur. Ob quas res et Calixto, antequam vita excederet, et nobis, postquam illi suffecti fuimus, magnopere supplicarunt, ut quieti regni consulentes regem¹⁹, quem concordi populorum voto expeterent, eis concedere dignaremur.

¹ Eugenius. Nicolaus *nota marg.*

D

² sumus ut J

³ haudquamquam L, T; aut quamquam V

⁴ vocans L, T, V

⁵ *omit.* G

⁶ regnum J, L, T, V

⁷ et facultatem *omit.* J

⁸ ac ductis R

⁹ iuuare A, B, C, E, F; L, R, T, V

¹⁰ proxime J; proximi L, R, T, V

¹¹ post J

¹² *omit.* J

¹³ declaraverat G

¹⁴ universae J

¹⁵ regni universi : universi regni R

¹⁶ Apud Capuam juratum *nota marg.* D

¹⁷ super J

¹⁸ voluerint V

¹⁹ regi G; rege L, R, T, V

2. Demand for investiture of King René

[4] [FV] When it pleased the Almighty¹ to call Us to the exalted Supreme Apostolate,² We did not find the Kingdom of Sicily without a possessor, for it was actually in the possession of Ferrante,³ son of King Alfonso.⁴ Our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs Eugenius IV⁵ and Nicolaus V,⁶ had granted Alfonso both the investiture, the name of king, the right to name an heir, and the legitimation and habilitation of his son [to inherit] this Kingdom. And before he died, Alfonso did appoint Ferrante as heir to the Kingdom. The barons and cities of the realm were summoned and swore to him. And although Calixtus III,⁷ Our immediate predecessor, declared that the Kingdom had reverted to the Roman Church at the death of Alfonso, all the nobles and the communities of the Kingdom met in Capua, and desiring Ferrante to reign over them, they took a new oath of homage to him. No one in the whole Kingdom dissented. Therefore, they begged Calixtus, before he died, and Us when We had succeeded him, to ensure peace in the Kingdom by deigning to grant them the king whom the people desired unanimously.

¹ "altissimus"

² In August 1458

³ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and

Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

⁵ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

⁶ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁷ Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

[5] [EV] Idem petierunt ex nobis Venetorum, ducis Mediolani, Florentinorum, et Mutinae ducis legati, commemorantes foedus Nicolai quinti tempore inter potentatus Italiae ad resistendum Turcorum conatibus percussum¹, in quo etiam ipse pontifex tamquam caput et custos pro tutela religionis intervenit. Neque enim amissa recens Constantinopoli et Turcorum principe magna minante salvari posse Christiana res videbatur, nisi quocumque modo pacata Italia servaretur. In eo autem foedere expressum erat Ferdinandum, Alfonsi regis filium, ejus regni regem futurum, neque minus cum eo quam cum patre foedus initum. Hortabantur itaque legati totius ferme Italiae, et quasi ex foedere, quod nos jam de consilio fratrum ratum habuissemus, requirebant, ne regnum Ferdinando negaremus, neve illi paternam haereditatem auferendo novis Italiam litibus implicaremus, quae tum Dei munere conquiescere cernebatur. Ad haec urgebat Jacobus Piccininus, qui sub ipso Calixti transitu nonnulla {272v} Romanae ecclesiae magni momenti oppida invaserat, neque expellendus apparebat, si novus ignis in regno sic excitaretur.

[5] [FV] Idem petierunt ex nobis Venetorum, ducis Mediolani², Florentinorum, et Mutinae ducis legati^{3 4}, commemorantes foedus⁵ tempore Nicolai quinti inter potentatus Italiae ad resistendum Turcorum conatibus percussum, in quo etiam ipse pontifex tamquam caput et custos pro tutela religionis intervenit. Neque enim amissa recens Constantinopoli⁶ et Turcorum principe magna minante salvari posse Christiana res videbatur, nisi quocumque modo pacata Italia⁷ servaretur. In eo autem foedere expressum erat Ferdinandum, Alfonsi regis filium, ejus regni regem futurum, neque minus cum eo quam cum⁸ patre foedus initum. Hortabantur itaque^{9 10} legati totius ferme Italiae, et quasi ex foedere, quod jam nos¹¹ confirmaveramus, requirebant¹², ne regnum Ferdinando negaremus, neve paternam illi haereditatem auferendo novis Italiam litibus implicaremus¹³, quae {133v} tum¹⁴ Dei munere¹⁵ majori ex parte conquiescere cernebatur. Ad haec urgebat Jacobus Piccininus, qui sub ipsum Calixti obitum nonnulla Romanae ecclesiae magni momenti oppida invaserat, neque expellendus apparebat, si novus ignis in regno excitaretur.

¹ omit. J

² Mediolanensis B, E, F

³ legatum E

⁴ Legati totius Italiae *nota marg.*

D

⁵ Fedus *nota marg.* D

⁶ Constantinopolis J

⁷ pacata Italia : Italia pacata G

⁸ quam cum : et J; eo *add.* V

⁹ igitur G

¹⁰ hortabantur itaque :

hortabanturque V

¹¹ jam nos : nos jam G, J

¹² requirebat A, B, E;

requirebatur J, L, R, T, V

¹³ implicabimus F

¹⁴ cum J

¹⁵ minere F

[5] [FV] The same was requested of Us by the envoys of the Venetians, the Duke of Milan,¹ the Florentines, and the Duke of Modena,² invoking the treaty made at the time of Nicolaus V³ between the powers of Italy concerning resistance to Turkish attacks. Since the treaty concerned the defence of religion, the pope joined it as head and guardian. For as Constantinople⁴ had recently been lost and the Prince of the Turks⁵ posed a great threat, it appeared that Christianity could only be saved if Italy somehow found peace. The same treaty acknowledged Ferrante, son of King Alfonso, as the future king of the realm, [declaring that it was] made with him as much as with his father. Thus, the envoys of almost all of Italy enjoined Us and, by the treaty, We had Ourselves confirmed, even demanded of Us not to deny Ferrante the Kingdom or to deprive him of his paternal inheritance. Otherwise, We would cause new conflicts in Italy, which at that time seemed, by the grace of God, to be mostly at peace. We also came under pressure from Jacopo Piccinino,⁶ who, at the death of Calixtus, had occupied several important cities⁷ belonging to the Roman Church and who could evidently not be driven out if a new fire flamed up in the Kingdom.

¹ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, the founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

² Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, from 1450 to his death

³ In 1454

⁴ In 1453

⁵ Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481): Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446, and later from February 1451 to his death. In 1453, he

conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

⁶ Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

⁷ Assisi, Gualdo, Noceria

[6] [EV] **Retulimus de ea re in sacro fratrum collegio, et simul postulata Renati regis, cujus oratores pari modo investituram petebant, in medium adduximus. Fratres ipsi, adversante nullo, Ferdinando investituram tradendam censuerunt, Renato juris viam offerendam. Secuti sumus consilia fratrum, investiri que Ferdinandum et coronari jussimus nullius juri derogando. Sic res gesta est. Nulli fecimus injuriam. Eugenii et Nicolai, sanctorum praesulum, iter perreximus; Italiae preces audivimus, paci consulimus; foedus servavimus. Et si declaratio Calixti valida fuit, ut est pro sententia maximi pontificis praesumendum, regnum ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam reversum, Ferdinando concessurum licuit nobis regnum, quod tum directo et utili dominio ad nos pertinebat, cui vellemus - absque ejus pia et justa reclamazione - committere. Placuit, et non sine causa placuit, Ferdinando, qui possessor esset, committere. Nostro itaque decreto Ferdinando rex appellatus est.**

[6] [FV] **Retulimus de ea re in sacro fratrum nostrorum collegio, et simul postulata Renati regis, qui pari modo regnum petebat, in medium adduximus. Fratres ipsi, adversante¹ nullo, Ferdinando investituram tradendam censuerunt, Renato juris viam offerendam. Secuti² sumus consilia fratrum³, investiri que Ferdinandum et coronari jussimus nullius juri derogando. Sic res⁴ gesta est. Eugenii et⁵ Nicolai, sanctorum praesulum, iter perreximus⁶; Italiae preces audivimus; foedus servavimus; paci et quieti subditorum consulimus. Nulli injuriam fecimus. Et si⁷ declaratio Calixti, cujus supra meminimus, valida fuit, ut est pro⁸ sententia⁹ summi pontificis praesumendum, regnum ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam jam redierat, licebatque nobis regnum, quod tum¹⁰ directo et utili dominio ad nos pertinebat, cui¹¹ vellemus¹² concedere. Placuit, et non sine causa placuit, Ferdinando, qui possessor esset, illud committere. Nostro itaque¹³ decreto Ferdinandus rex appellatus est.**

¹ adversante A, B, C, L, R, T,

² sicuti V

³ fratrum L

⁴ omit. V

⁵ omit. J, L, T, V

⁶ perreximus L, R, V

⁷ omit. J, L, T, V

⁸ omit. J

⁹ pro sententia : presentia L, T,

V

¹⁰ tunc J

¹¹ iam add. J, V

¹² velimus V

¹³ nostroque itaque : nostroque

G

[6] [FV] We referred the matter to the Sacred College of Our brethren¹ and, at the same time, related the demands of King René who also requested the Kingdom. Our Brethren unanimously recommended that the investiture be given to Ferrante, and that René should be offered a law suit. Following the advice of Our brethren, We ordered that Ferrante be invested and crowned while [declaring that] nobody's rights were set aside. This is what happened: We followed the path of the holy pontiffs, Eugenius and Nicolaus; We heeded the requests of Italy; We respected the treaty; We provided for the peace and quiet of the subjects; We injured nobody. And if the abovementioned declaration of Calixtus was valid, as must be presumed in the case of a judgement by a Supreme Pontiff, then the Kingdom had already reverted to the Roman Church and Us. Thus We had the right to grant the Kingdom, belonging to Us by direct and effective lordship², to whomever We wanted. We then decided, and not without good reason, to grant it to Ferrante, who already had factual possession of it. Thus, by Our decree, Ferrante was named king.

¹ The College of Cardinals

² "directum et utile dominium"

[7] [EV] **Nec regnum duos capit. Si nunc Renatum investiremus, duos reges fecisse videremur. Indignum esset unius pontificis decreto unius regni duos reges creari. Neque tolerabile quoquam pacto videretur {273r} uno investito rege alterum investiri, nisi prior aut male investitus reperiatur aut indignus regno iudicetur, nos autem hoc de Ferdinando indiscusso negotio haudquaquam dicere possimus. Atque idcirco investituram Renato impartiri non valemus, nisi prius aut investituram Ferdinandi reprobam, aut ipsum regno indignum ostendatis. Ad quas res, si juris via Renatus procedere voluerit, rectum apud nos iudicium inveniet, et nos aequi iudicis locum tenentes, quamvis nos suis litteris saepe suspectos allegaverit, quod quantum in Romano pontifice liceat juris interpretes norunt. Homagium vero, quod pro investitura ipsa praestaturum regem offertis, ex ipsa investitura dependet. Nec nos illud accipere recusabimus, postquam constiterit Renatum investiendum esse. Ad quam rem, si vobis, quae dicta sunt, non sufficiunt, rursus viam juris offerimus. Nam causa cognita nihil prorsus regi Renato negabimus, quod jure sibi concedendum sit.**

[7] [FV] **Nec regnum duos capit. Quod si modo nos Renatum investiremus, duos reges fecisse videremur, neque quisquam laudaret¹ unius pontificis decreto unius regni² duos reges creari, neque tolerabile duceret uno investito rege alterum investiri, nisi prior aut male investitus aut regno indignus reperiatur, quod nos de Ferdinando indiscusso negotio nequaquam dicere possumus. Atque idcirco investituram, quam petitis, concedere nullo pacto valemus, nisi prius aut³ investituram ipsam Ferdinandi invalidam ostendatis⁴, aut ipsum indignum regno. Ad quas res, si juris tramite Renatus procedere voluerit, rectum apud nos iudicium inveniet, et nos aequi iudicis locum tenentes, quamvis suis litteris saepe nos⁵ sibi suspectos insinuaverit⁶, quod quantum de Romano pontifice liceat⁷ juris interpretes norunt⁸. Atque haec⁹ ad investituram^{10 11}. Homagium vero, quod pro ipsa investitura facturum¹² regem offertis, ex eadem investitura dependet. Neque nos illud accipere recusabimus, postquam constiterit¹³ Renatum investiendum esse. Ad quam rem, si vobis¹⁴, quae dicta sunt, non satisfaciunt, rursus viam juris offerimus. Nam causa cognita nihil regi vestro negabimus, quod jure sibi concedendum appareat.**

¹ laudare F

² unius regni *omit.* G

³ ut J

⁴ ostendamus R

⁵ nobis V

⁶ sibi suspectos insinuaverit :
iudicium inveniet B, E

⁷ *omit.* R

⁸ norant J

⁹ quo *add.* J

¹⁰ insinuavimus *add.* J;

insinuaverit *add.* V

¹¹ ipsam Ferdinandi invalidam
add. B

¹² factarum L, T, V

¹³ constituerit V

¹⁴ nobis A

[7] [FV] A kingdom cannot have two [kings].¹ If We invested René now, We would make two kings. Nobody would approve of one kingdom getting two kings by decree of the same pope. Nor would anyone accept that a new king was invested when another one had already been invested unless it was shown that the first one had not been rightly invested or that he was unworthy to be king. This We cannot say about Ferrante in the absence of a proper discussion of the matter. Thus, We can in no way grant the investiture you request unless you first show that the investiture of Ferrante was invalid or that he is unworthy to rule. If René wants to follow the path of law, he will get a correct judgment from Us and find that We hold the place of a just judge - although in his letters, he has often declared Us to be suspect in this regard. The law people know the rights of the Roman Pontiff in such matters. This is enough concerning the investiture.

You offer that your king² will make homage [to Us] if he receives the investiture, but that depends on the investiture itself. We shall not refuse his homage if and when it is determined that it is René who ought to be invested. If you are not satisfied with this, We once again offer you the path of law. For when the matter has been properly investigated, We will not deny your king anything that he should rightfully be granted.

¹ This maxim, Piccolomini had used already in March 1435, in a letter to the government of Sie-

na: *Neque enim ut aiunt duos regnum capit* (EPI, 17: sect. 3)

² King René

[8] [EV] **Quod autem secundo loco petivistis de auxiliis regi Renato praestandis ad regni recuperationem ex supradictis juste fieri non posse colligitur, nam quae honestas fert, ut adversus eum copias mittamus regnoque illum deturbemus, quem ipsi regem constituimus? {273v} Liceret id facere postquam discussa causa jus ei non competere manifestum esset, at prius non licet. Nec nos hi sumus, qui res a nobis cum consilio et matura deliberatione gestas inconsulte ac temere revocemus. Feret itaque si justus est rex Renatus uti confidimus aequo animo, ea sibi negamus, que juste concedi non possunt.**

[8] [FV] **Quod autem secundo loco petivistis de auxiliis Renato regi ad recuperationem regni praestandis ex supradictis juste fieri non posse {134r} colligitur, nam quae honestas fert, ut adversus eum copias¹ mittamus, quem ipsi regem constituimus? Liceret id facere postquam discussa causa jus ei non competere manifestum esset, at prius non licet. Nec nos ii sumus, qui res a nobis cum consilio et matura deliberatione gestas inconsulte ac temere revocemus. Feret² itaque pro sua justitia aequo animo rex³ Renatus, si ea sibi negamus, que juste concedi non possunt.**

¹ copiam L, T, V

² fert E, R

³ res R

2. Demand for papal aid against King Ferrante

[8] [FV] In the second place, you requested that King René be given aid to recover the Kingdom. From what was said above, it is clear that it is not possible to do so with justice. Decency forbids Us to send troops against the one We Ourselves have made king. We would be free to do so after an examination of the case had proven that Ferrante did not have the right [to the Kingdom] but not before. Nor would We rashly and blindly revoke a decision made after consultation and mature deliberation. In his justice, King René should bear with equanimity that We deny him what We cannot justly give him.

[9] [EV] Sed adiecistis tertiam petitionem supplicantes, ut si Renato auxilia praestare nollemus, saltem eas copias ex regno Siciliae revocarem, quas Ferdinando suppetias misimus, atque hoc unum negari non posse arbitrati estis, tamquam in eo summa aequitas contineatur. Vellemus sane ita esset; neque enim libenter aliquid agimus, quod regi Renato suaeque domui molestum sit, neque ex animo nostro est subditos nostros armis operam dare percupideque his sumptibus levarem. Sed nil tam decet principem quam fidem servare. Meminimus supra ejus foederis, quod apostolicae sedis nomine inter potentatus Italiae Nicolaus percussit, Calixtus et nos comprobavimus, ne quies Italica turbaretur, et ingens in Christianos Turcis aperiretur porta. In eo cautum est, si quis ex nominatis in foedere turbetur bello impetatur, alios opem ferre debere. {274r} Non licuit nobis pacta refringere et ei auxilium negare, qui ex foedere illud peteret.

[9] [FV] Sed adiecistis¹ tertiam petitionem supplicantes, ut si Renato auxilia praestare nollemus, saltem eas copias ex regno Siciliae revocarem, quas Ferdinando suppetias² misimus, atque hoc unum negari non posse arbitrati estis, tamquam in eo summa aequitas contineatur. Vellemus sane ita esset; neque enim libenter aliquid agimus, quod regi Renato suaeque domui molestum sit, neque ex animo nostro est subditos nostros armis inter se decertare³. Et quantum ad auxilia missa pertinet, percupide his sumptibus levarem. Sed nil⁴ tam decet principem quam fidem servare. Meminimus supra ejus foederis, quod apostolicae sedis nomine inter potentatus Italiae Nicolaus percussit⁵, Calixtus⁶ postea et nos comprobavimus, ne pax Italica turbaretur, et ingens Turcis aperiretur in Christianos porta. In eo cautum est⁷, si quis ex nominatis in foedere molestetur bello⁸ impetatur⁹, alios opem ferre¹⁰ debere. Non licuit nobis pacta refringere¹¹ et ei auxilium negare, qui ex foedere illud peteret.

¹ aduersus B, E

² suppeti V

³ certare C

⁴ nihil J

⁵ perexit J

⁶ autem *add.* J

⁷ ut *add.* J

⁸ bello ut L, T, V

⁹ impetiatur R; impetratur L, T,

V

¹⁰ ex nominatis ... ferre : confederatorum bello molestaretur, idem ab aliis opem ferri J

¹¹ restringere J, L, R, T, V

3. Demand for recall of papal troops aiding King Ferrante

[9] [FV] But you added a third petition: if We will not send aid to René, then at least We should recall the troops from the Kingdom of Sicily,¹ which We have sent as aid to Ferrante. And you considered that this one thing could not be refused, as it would be the only fair and just thing to do. We would wish this were true. Indeed, We really do not like to do anything contrary to the interests of King René and his House, and We do not approve of Our subjects fighting between them. Moreover, We should happily be relieved of the costs of sending auxiliary troops. But the highest obligation of a prince is to keep faith. We referred, above, to the treaty between the powers of Italy made by Nicolaus in the name of the Apostolic See and later confirmed by Calixtus and by Ourselves so that the peace of Italy be not disturbed and an immense gate to the Christians be not opened to the Turks. In that treaty, it is stipulated that if any party named in the treaty be molested or attacked, the others should come to their aid. We were not at liberty to break this agreement and refuse to help him who sought help by the treaty.

¹ I.e. the Kingdom of Naples, the Island of Sicily belonging to King Juan II of Aragon

[10] [EV] Sed affirmastis unam in foedere clausulam esse, quae nos a ferenda ope liberabat, quia ei tantum auxilia praestanda sunt, qui a non lacessito invaditur hoste, subdidistisque provocatum a Ferdinando Renatum, cujus provincia a triremibus ejus prius vexata sit, quam classis Gallica in regnum mitteretur, ac propterea non posse Ferdinandum ex foedere agere, qui sibi ipsi provocaverit hostem. Atque hanc esse rationem, propter quam viri graves, Veneti et Florentini, Ferdinando auxilia negaverint. Nobis non constat nisi ex relatu vestro Ferdinandum quidquam novitatis in ditone Renati fecisse, propter quod merito provocator appellari queat, neque Venetorum aut Florentinorum consilia nobis aperta sunt. Verum illi de sua fide, nos de nostra respondere habemus. Credimus quidem viros prudentes et modestos nihil sine ratione agere. Sed diversi principatus diversos habent intuitus. Nobis illud exploratum est in pactis ac foederibus bonam fidem ante omnia spectandam esse. Nec {274v} morosum esse debere aut causas negandi nectere, qui ex foedere requiritur. Nec tam tolerandus est, qui contra pactum excipit, quam laudandus qui exceptioni renuntiat. Quod si quem servare promissa oportet, profecto id summo pontifici necessarium est, cujus dignitas quanto est major ceteris, tanto fides debet esse sincerior atque illustrior.

[10] [FV] Sed affirmastis unam in foedere clausulam contineri, quae nos a ferenda ope liberaret, nam ei tantum auxilia ex conventis praestanda sunt, qui a¹ non lacessito invaditur hoste, subdidistisque provocatum a Ferdinando² Renatum fuisse, cujus provincia a triremibus ejus prius vexata sit, quam classis Gallica mitteretur in regnum, ac propterea non posse Ferdinandum ex foederibus agere, qui sibi ipsi provocaverit ac lacessiverit hostem. Atque hanc esse rationem, propter quam viri graves, Veneti et Florentini, Ferdinando auxilia negaverint. At nobis non constat nisi ex relatu vestro³ Ferdinandum quidquam novitatis in ditone Renati fecisse, propter quod merito provocator⁴ appellari queat, neque Venetorum aut Florentinorum consilia nobis⁵ aperta sunt. Illi de sua fide, nos de nostra respondere habemus. Credimus quidem viros prudentes et justis amatores nihil sine ratione agere. Sed diversi⁶ principatus diversos habent⁷ intuitus. Nobis illud exploratum est in pactis ac⁸ foederibus bonam fidem ante omnia *expectandam* esse. Nec⁹ morosum esse¹⁰ debere aut causas negandi nectere, qui ex foedere requiritur. Et sane non tam tolerandus {134v} est, qui contra pactum excipit, quam laudandus qui exceptioni renuntiat. Quod si quem servare promissa et cavillationes refugere oportet, id profecto summo pontifici convenit, cujus dignitas quanto est major ceteris ac celsior, tanto fides debet esse sincerior atque illustrior.

¹ qui a : quia J, L, T, V

² provocatum a Ferdinando : a Ferdinando provocatum J

³ nostro E

⁴ provocatus J; provocato L, T, V

⁵ vobis J

⁶ diversos J

⁷ habere J

⁸ aut E

⁹ haec J

¹⁰ est J

4. Angevin claim of prior provocation by King Ferrante

[10] [FV] But you claimed the treaty contains a clause that would free Us from sending aid. For, according to the agreement, assistance should only be given to a party attacked by an enemy without prior provocation. You added that René had indeed been provoked by Ferrante attacking his province with galleys before the French fleet was sent to the Kingdom. Thus, Ferrante cannot invoke the treaty since he was the first to provoke and attack his enemy. And this is the reason why the Venetians and the Florentines, serious men, refused to help Ferrante. But Our only information about Ferrante having caused trouble in René's dominion is your own report, which is not sufficient evidence to consider him as the provocateur. Moreover, the deliberations of the Venetians and the Florentines are not known to Us. They are themselves responsible for how they keep their engagements, as We are responsible for how We keep Ours. We certainly believe them to be prudent men who love justice and do nothing without reason. But different governments have different perspectives. For Our part, it is quite clear that pacts and treaties require good faith more than anything else. And a party whose help is being requested by treaty should not be capricious or invent reasons to refuse. Indeed, it is less acceptable to make exceptions to a treaty than to avoid making such exceptions. And if anybody should keep promises and avoid quibbling, it is indeed the Supreme Pontiff: the greater and higher his dignity is, compared to the others', the more his word should be sincere and clear.

[11] [EV] **Servavimus igitur Ferdinando, quod nostri praecessores promiserunt, et nos ipsi per foederis ratihabitionem polliciti eramus. Misimus auxilia in regnum, non contra Renatum, sed pro Ferdinando, ne ille expelleretur e regno, quem constitueramus regnare donec aliud in re faciendum intelligeremus. Renatus in regnum classem validam misit Ferdinandumque velut hostem suum regno ejicere conatus est. Neque consiliorum suorum nos participem fecit, neque voluntatem nostram percontatus est. Eoque tempore novis Italiam bellis atque motibus conquassandam duxit, cum nos de tutanda adversus Turcos religione apud Mantuam in conventu principum ageremus. Et quis arguere nos audeat, etiam si foedera nulla extent, si de regno ecclesiae Romanae subjecto eum expelli vetamus sine juris cognitione, quem praedecessorum secuti viam fecimus regem?**

[11] [FV] **Servavimus igitur Ferdinando, quod nostri praedecessores per foedera promiserunt, et ad¹ quae nos ipsi per ratihabitionem et confirmationem eramus obnoxii. Misimus auxilia in regnum, non contra Renatum, neque enim ejus inimici sumus, sed pro Ferdinando, ne regno dejiceretur, priusquam regni causa decideretur. Renatus classem validam in regnum misit² Ferdinandumque velut hostem suum regno ejicere conatus est. Neque consiliorum suorum nos participes³ fecit, neque voluntatem nostram percunctatus est⁴. Eoque tempore novis Italiam bellis atque motibus conquassandam duxit, cum nos de tutanda adversus Turcos religione apud Mantuam in conventu principum ageremus. Et quis arguere nos audeat, etiamsi foedera nulla extent, si de regno ecclesiae Romanae subjecto eum sine juris cognitione⁵ expelli vetamus⁶, quem praedecessorum nostrorum viam secuti regem fecimus?**

¹ ea *add.* V

² in regnum misit : admisit J

³ particeps E

⁴ neque consiliorum ... est *omit.*

J, L, R, T, V

⁵ contagione G

⁶ petamus F

5. Angevin invasion of the Kingdom of Naples

[11] [FV] About Ferrante, We have only done what Our predecessors promised by treaty, and what We Ourselves were obliged to do by Our own ratification and confirmation of [this treaty]. We sent auxiliary troops to the Kingdom, not against René, for We are not his enemy, but to aid Ferrante so that he would not be driven out of the Kingdom¹ before the case of that Kingdom had been settled. René sent a strong fleet to the Kingdom² and endeavoured to expel Ferrante from it as his enemy. He did not share his plans with Us or ask about Our wishes in the matter. He decided to inflict new wars and troubles on Italy at the very moment We were occupied with the defence of religion against the Turks at the congress of princes in Mantua.³ And even if there were no treaties, who would presume to criticize Us if We forbid the expulsion of Ferrante from a kingdom subject to the Roman Church without a proper legal investigation? It is, after all, We Ourselves who - following the path of our predecessors - made him king.

¹ Or: robbed of his kingship

² The Angevin fleet sailed from Genoa on 3 October 1459, cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 80

³ Congress of Mantua, which lasted from June 1459 to January 1460. It had been summoned by Pius II as a meeting of European

princes to discuss and plan against the Turkish invasion of Europe

[12] [EV] {275r} **Dixistis licuisse Renato inconsulta sede apostolica, cujus regni directum dominium est, armis eum expellere, qui se¹ armis expulisset. At hoc minime concedendum est, neque reges inter suos vasallos talia ferunt. Forsitan tolerabilis esset, qui recens regno ejectus, nulla novitate a domino feudi facta, in ejectorem arma moveret. At in regno Siciliae neque adversus ejectorem arma movit ejectus, neque res integra est. Nam Ferdinandus haudquaquam Renatum ejecit, quamvis ejectoris haeres est. Neque res regni in eo statu perseverarunt, in quo erant ejectionis tempore. Nam Eugenius Alfonsum postea de regno investivit. Et, ut ante diximus, haeredis instituendi facultatem ei concessit, legitimo filio, quae omnia Nicolaus confirmavit; et nostra postmodum secuta investitura est. Quod si, ut tenetur, Renatus Romano praesuli dignam reverentiam praestitisset, profecto regnum nullo modo nobis inconsultis bello temptasset, sed eam viam aggressus fuisset, quam sibi obtulimus, justitiae atque iudicii. {275v} In qua, si victor evassisset, tum demum juste ad arma prosilire potuisset nec nostra tunc sibi auxilia defuissent prout numquam deerunt cum per iustitiae tramite incesserit. Sed sibi visum est, licitum esse, post duodeviginti annos, regnum armis repetere injussu directi domini, quod armis amisit, et eum bello lacescere, quem directus dominus summus pontifex investivit. Nos hoc prorsus alienum a jure censemus, atque idcirco ferendam opem possessori decrevimus, misimusque copias nostras, quae non sinerent indiscussa causa constitutum auctoritate nostra regem regno privari.**

[12] [FV] **Dixistis licuisse Renato inconsulta sede apostolica, penes quam directum regni dominium est, armis eum expellere, qui se armis expulisset. Quod nos minime concedendum² putamus, neque reges inter suos vassallos talia ferunt. Forsitan³ tolerabilis esset, qui recens regno ejectus⁴, nulla novitate a domino feudi facta, in ejectorem mox arma moveret⁵. At in regno Siciliae neque adversus ejectorem arma⁶ movit⁷ ejectus, neque statim post ejectionem, neque re integra. Nam Ferdinandus haudquaquam Renatum ejecit, quamvis ejectoris haeres est, et inter ejectionem et postea⁸ motum bellum duodeviginti intercesserunt anni. Neque res regni in eo statu perseverarunt, in quo erant ejectionis tempore. Nam Eugenius pontifex maximus ipsiusque regni dominus Alfonsum postea de regno investivit. Et, ut ante diximus, haeredis instituendi⁹ facultatem ei concessit, legitimo filio, quae omnia Nicolaus confirmavit; et nostra postmodum secuta¹⁰ investitura est. Quod si, ut tenetur, Renatus Romano praesuli suam reverentiam praestitisset¹¹, profecto inconsultis nobis nullo pacto regnum bello temptasset, sed eam viam fuisset aggressus, quam sibi obtuleramus, justitiae atque iudicii. In qua, si victor evassisset, tum demum juste et nostro cum auxilio prosilire¹² potuisset ad arma. Sed sibi visum est, ut {135r} asseruistis, licitum, etiam post longum tempus, impermissu directi**

¹ si J

² omit. T

³ forsitan J

⁴ neque statim post eiectionem
add. B, E

⁵ movit corr. ex moveret B

⁶ moveret at ... arma omit. E

⁷ neque adversus ... movit omit.

B

⁸ post B, E

⁹ haeredis instituendi : de
haerede instituendo J

¹⁰ insecuta G

¹¹ et R

¹² prosilire L, T, V

domini regnum armis repetere, quod armis amisit. Nec veritus est eum bello lacescere, quem superior dominus summus pontifex investivit. Nos haec a jure prorsus aliena censemus, atque idcirco ferendam opem possessori decrevimus, misimusque copias nostras, quae non sinerent constitutum auctoritate nostra regem indiscussa causa regno privari.

[12] [FV] You said that René had the right to expel him who had earlier expelled himself without consulting the Apostolic See, which has direct lordship over the Kingdom. We do absolutely not agree with this, and kings do not act thus towards their vassals. Maybe it could be tolerated that someone who had recently been expelled from a kingdom - without any changes made afterwards by the feudal lord - should quickly attack the one who expelled him. But in the case of the Kingdom of Sicily, the one who had been expelled did not make war on the one who expelled him neither directly after the expulsion nor at all¹. For it was hardly Ferrante who expelled René: he is the heir of the man who expelled him. And between that expulsion and the beginning of the present war, 18 years have passed. Moreover, the status of the Kingdom is no longer the same as at the time of the expulsion, for afterwards Eugenius, Supreme Pontiff and overlord of the Kingdom, invested Alfonso with it, legitimating his son and giving him - as We have already said - the right to appoint an heir. All this was confirmed by Nicolaus, and Our own investiture of Ferrante only occurred afterwards. If René had shown proper respect for the Bishop of Rome, as he was bound to, then he would certainly not have gone to war in the Kingdom without Our knowledge, but he would have followed the course of law and trial We offered him. If he had won, he could then have proceeded to make war justly and with Our help. But as you said, he considered that he had the right - even after a long time passed and without the permission of the direct lord - to reclaim with arms the Kingdom which he had lost to arms. And he did not fear to make war against him, whom his overlord, the Supreme Pontiff, had invested. This we consider to be completely illegal. And therefore, We decided to come to the assistance of the one who had actual possession [of the Kingdom] and sent Our troops to prevent that the one who had been made king by Our authority be deprived of the Kingdom without a proper legal investigation of the matter.

¹ "re integra"

[13] [EV] **Prius tamen quam auxilia mitteremus, viam concordiae temptandam duximus, misso in regnum venerabili fratre nostro, Bartholomeo Archiepiscopo Ravennate, qui et arma utrimque ponenda et pacem recipiendam partibus suaderet, quem rex ipse Ferdinandus benigne excepit, pars adversa adeo aspernata est, ut nec securitatem transitus ei praebere voluerit. Quibus ex rebus non licuit nobis petenti auxilia molestato regi non concedere, quando nec concordiae tractatus nec juris via per partem vestram reciperetur. {275v} Non est igitur, cur queramini de missione auxiliorum, quoniam ad eum tutandum missa sunt, qui nec iudicium nec concordiam refugit.**

[13] [FV] **Prius tamen quam auxilia decerneremus, viam concordiae temptandam duximus, misso in regnum venerabili fratre nostro, Bartholomeo¹ archiepiscopo Ravennate, qui et arma utrimque ponenda et pacem recipiendam partibus suaderet. Hunc rex Ferdinandus benigne excepit, pars adversa adeo aspernata est, ut nec securitatem transitus ei praebere voluerit. Quibus ex rebus non licuit² nobis petenti auxilia molestato regi non concedere, quando nec concordiae tractatus nec juris via per partem vestram reciperetur. Auxilia vero, quae missa sunt³, durantibus missionis causis, nemo revocanda esse affirmaverit. Non est igitur, cur de missione illorum conqueramini, nec revocare nos illa⁴ convenit, quae ad tutandum⁵ eum missa sunt, qui nec iudicium neque concordiam refugit.**

¹ Roverella *add.* J, L; Rov. *add.* T

² *ex add.* J, L, T, V

³ *omit.* J

⁴ revocare nos illa : nos illa
revocare J

⁵ curandum F

6. Angevin rejection of papal mediation

[13] [FV] But before deciding to send help, We wished to try the path of mediation. Therefore, We sent Our Brother, Archbishop Bartolomeo of Ravenna,¹ to the Kingdom to persuade both parties to lay down weapons and accept a peace.² He was well received by King Ferrante but treated so contemptuously by the opposite party that they would not even grant him safe passage. Therefore, We could not say no when the injured king asked for help since your party would accept neither mediation nor the course of law. As long as the causes for sending auxiliary troops persist, nobody may claim that the troops should be recalled. Thus, you have no reason to complain about Our sending these troops, nor is it proper for Us to recall them, for they were sent to protect the one who refused neither judgment nor mediation.

¹ Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna (1445). Appointed cardinal by Pius II in 1461

² Cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 30 and ad ann. 1461, nr. 4: papal letters concerning Roverella's mission to Naples

[14] [EV] Sed magna et multa sunt quae **homines vestrae partis in nos et apostolicam sedem peccaverunt. Nam comes Jacobus Piccininus, dum vestro stipendio militat, Ascolum, non ignobilem Piceni civitatem auferre conatus, haud dubie Romanae abstulisset ecclesiae, nisi qui ejus jussu parabant insidias, capti et supplico affecti fuissent. Idem per agrum ecclesiae injussu nostro transiens minime veritus est in contemptum apostolicae sedis arma ecclesiae in vexillis deferre, tamquam ejus dux esset, cujus vocem audire noluerat. Compertum quoque habemus Johannem Coxam pluribus modis enixum esse, ut civitatem Beneventanam nobis eriperet, sicut palam suo tempore monstrari poterit. Dux autem Sorae, qui et ipse vestrarum partium est, excaecatus auri cupiditate, familiari nostro, quem a praefectura arcis Beneventanae ad nos accersiveramus, publicam fidem dederat, ut per suam terram tuto iter faceret, moxque post eum satellites misit, qui veluti latrones {276v} crudelissimi excussum omni auro ceterisque rebus hominem immanissime obruncarunt. Haec licet nullatenus regi Renato placere credamus, per homines tamen vestrarum partium facta sunt, et in apostolicae sedis ignominiam tendunt.**

[14] [FV] Quod si stantibus rebus prout stant, rex vester de nobis querelam¹ facit, injurius est, nec res suas ex aequo² metitur³. Nobis autem multa⁴ occurrunt super quibus justam possemus⁵ querelam facere, siquidem **partis vestrae homines in nos et apostolicam sedem plurima peccaverunt⁶. Nam comes Jacobus Piccininus, dum vestro stipendio militat, Ascolum⁷, non ignobilem Piceni civitatem, haud dubie Romanae abstulisset ecclesiae⁸, nisi qui ejus jussu prodicionem parabant, capti et ultimo supplico affecti fuissent. Idem per agrum ecclesiae absque nostra licentia transiens⁹ nequaquam veritus est in contemptum apostolicae sedis insigne¹⁰ ecclesiae in vexillis deferre, tamquam ejus dux esset, cujus audire vocem noluerat. Compertum quoque habemus Johannem Coxam pluribus modis enixum esse, ut civitatem Beneventanam nobis eriperet, sicut palam suo tempore monstrari poterit¹¹. Dux autem Sorae, qui et ipse vestrarum partium¹² est, excaecatus auri cupiditate, familiari nostro, quem a praefectura arcis Beneventanae ad nos accersiveramus, publicam fidem dederat, ut¹³ per suam terram iter tuto^{14 15} faceret, moxque¹⁶ post eum satellites misit, qui veluti latrones crudelissimi excussum omni auro ceterisque rebus hominem immanissime obruncarunt. Haec licet nullatenus regi Renato aut ejus filio placere credamus, per homines tamen vestrarum partium facta sunt, et in apostolicae sedis ignominiam tendunt.**

¹ de nobis querelam : querelam de nobis G

² quo L, T, V

³ suas ex aequo metitur *omit.* R
[blank space in text]

⁴ *omit.* J, L, R, T, V

⁵ justam possemus : possemus justam G

⁶ patrauerunt J; pacaverunt L, T, V

⁷ Ascolum A, B, C, E, F; J, L, R, T, V

⁸ ecclesia L, T

⁹ transitus B, E

¹⁰ insignia J, L, T, V

¹¹ poterat R

¹² vestrarum partium : partium vestrarum G

¹³ iterque J; et L, R, T, V

¹⁴ tutum R; quod L, T; quid V

¹⁵ iter tuto *omit.* J

¹⁶ mox G

7. Angevin abuses against the pope

[14] [FV] As matters stand, if your king makes complaints against Us, he is obnoxious and does not assess his own cause reasonably. But We, on Our part, have many things that We could justly complain about. Indeed, men of your party have greatly abused Us and the Apostolic See: while being hired to fight for you, Jacopo Piccinino would undoubtedly have taken Ascoli, a major city in Piceno, from the Roman Church unless those who, at his command, were preparing treason had been caught and executed. He also passed through the Church territories without Our permission, daring to mock the Apostolic See by carrying standards with the arms of the Church - as if he were the general of the very one whom he disobeyed. We have also heard that Giovanni Cossa¹ tried to rob Us of the City of Benevento, as can be clearly proven at the proper time. [Another example is provided by] a member of Our household whom We had summoned from the prefecture of the Fortress of Benevento. The Duke of Sora,² who belongs to your party, gave him a safeconduct so that he might travel safely through his territory. But then the duke, blinded by greed for gold, quickly sent some of his attendants after him: as if they were savage robbers, they killed him cruelly and robbed him of his money and all his belongings. Though We cannot believe King René and his son would condone such a deed, it was done by men of your party, greatly damaging the reputation of the Apostolic See.

¹ Giovanni Cossa: Neapolitan noble, Count of Troia, fighting on the side of Anjou

² Duke of Sora: Piergiampaolo Cantelmi

[15] [EV] **Illud autem nescimus quo pacto Renatus ipse facere adductus sit, qui novissime suos nuntios in civitatem nostram Avinionensem et comitatum Venaysinum transmisit, jubens appellationem quandam legato et ceteris officialibus nostris exhiberi in qua de missione archiepiscopi Ravennatis conqueritur, et quem nos ad pacem perquirendam in regnum misimus, adversus se suosque sequaces missum affirmat, nosque suspectos sibi et graves asserens provocatque minus juste et verbis utens minus convenientibus. Quae nisi revocentur, in poenas illius bullae proculdubio incidet, quam Mantuae adversus provocantes ad futurum concilium de consilio conventus edidimus. Credimus ...¹ regem ipsum a ...² deceptum tamen hortamur, ut ab his desistat, caveatque sedem apostolicam offendere quae sibi benigna est: nec miretur, si suis votis non satisfacimus, cum honestas et justitia repugnet. Hoc nos facimus quod facimus, {277r} persuadeatque sibi nos sui honoris cupidos esse suaeque domui esse affectuosissimos. ...³ quod si petet ex nobis consentanea numquam frustrabitur.**

[15] [FV] **Illud autem nescimus qua ratione Renatus ipse {135v} facere adductus sit, qui novissime suos nuntios in civitatem nostram Avinionensem⁴ et comitatum Venaysinum⁵ transmisit, jubens schedulam⁶ quandam legato et ceteris officialibus nostris coram legi, in qua de missione archiepiscopi Ravennatis conqueritur, et quem nos ad pacem perquirendam et arma submovenda in regnum⁷ misimus, ipse adversus se suosque sequaces missum affirmat, nosque suspectos sibi et graves asserens verbisque parum suae dignitati convenientibus utens, ad futurum concilium provocat⁸, nesciens quantis se laqueis ac periculis involvat. Nisi enim provocationem ipsam quantocius⁹ revocaverit, in poenas ac censuras illius decreti proculdubio incidet, quod Mantuae adversus provocantes ad futurum concilium de consilio conventus editum est. Nos eum¹⁰ pro¹¹ paterna¹² caritate, qua sibi afficimur¹³, ut ab his desistat, hortamur, caveatque matrem suam, quae sibi benigna est, apostolicam sedem, offendere: nec miretur, si suis votis non satisfacimus¹⁴, cum honestas et justitia repugnet, persuadeatque sibi nos sui honoris¹⁵ cupidos esse, qui si petierit ex nobis consentanea numquam frustrabitur¹⁶.**

¹ *Illegible*

² *Illegible*

³ *Illegible*

⁴ Avinionem L, T, V

⁵ Vanaysinum E; Venai/ysim L, R, T, V

⁶ cedulam C

⁷ regna G

⁸ Renatus appellavit ad futurum concilium *nota marg.* D; Renatus ad concilium futurum appellavit *nota marg.* G

⁹ quam totius J, V

¹⁰ quod *add.* L, T, V

¹¹ quem R

¹² fraterna G

¹³ afficiamur L, T, V

¹⁴ satisfecimus E

¹⁵ honores E

¹⁶ frustrabimur R

[15] [FV] Further, We do not know what caused René to recently send his envoys to Our City of Avignon and the County of Venaissin¹, with orders to read a note to Our legate and other officials wherein he complained of the mission of the Archbishop of Ravenna, declaring that the man We sent to the Kingdom to arrange peace and a cessation of hostilities had in reality been sent to act against himself and his followers. He also stated that We Overselves were suspect to him and greatly vexatious. And, using words that do not befit his dignity, he appealed to a future council, ignoring the perils and noose he is moving into. For unless he quickly revokes that appeal, he will undoubtedly incur the punishments and censures stipulated by the decree which, on the advice of the congress, was issued in Mantua against those who appeal to a future council. Out of paternal love, We exhort him to abandon this course and not to offend his benevolent mother, the Apostolic See. So, he should not wonder that We do not agree to his wishes since decency and justice prevent it. But he should know that We greatly care for his honour and that We shall never deny him such petitions as We may honourably grant.

¹ City and territory in Southern France, owned by the popes

from 1348 until the French Revolution

[16] [EV] **De regno autem Siciliae, quia res ita se habent, sicut relatum, quae non possunt aliter esse quam respondimus, ...¹ Verum cum hoc tempore maxime necessarium sit Christianos reges inter se concordēs esse et arma in hostes fidei vertent, hortamur regem ipsum ut vel concordiae vel iustitiae viam aggrediatur nec velit armis quaerere, quod legibus consequi potest, si iustitiam fovet. Nos ei ad hoc favores quoslibet possibiles offerimus revocaturi omnia, quae Ferdinando praestamus auxilia, si adversari eum viae iuris concordiae quovis modo intellexerimus.**

[16] [FV] **De regno autem Siciliae, quia ita se res² habent, ut ante relatum est, ferat aequo animo responsiones nostras, et cogitans³ quae pacis sunt ad concordiam sese inclinet, maxime hoc tempore quando pernecessarium est Christianos reges de tutanda religione adversus hostes fidei sollicitos esse. Velit igitur aut concordiae aut iustitiae⁴ viam amplecti, neque studeat armis quaerere, quod legibus consequi potest, si iustitiam foverit. Ad quam rem, sicut prius saepe oblatum est, aequos iudices nos offerimus revocaturi omnia, quae Ferdinando praestamus auxilia, si adversari eum viae iuris concordiae quovis modo intellexerimus.**

¹ *Illegible*

² se res : res se G

³ et cogitans : excogitans B, E

⁴ concordiae aut iustitiae :
iustitiae aut concordiae J

8. Conclusion

[16] [FV] In the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily, the situation is as We have explained. Therefore, let René accept Our response with an even mind and move towards concord, considering how peace [can be made]. Especially at this time, it is very important that the Christian kings be concerned about protecting religion against the enemies of Faith. May he accept either the course of mediation or the course of justice and not strive to take by arms what he can get by law if he should favour [the course of] justice. As We have done so often before, We offer Ourselves as a fair judge, and if We learn that the course of law or mediation goes against Ferrante in any way, We shall recall all the auxiliary troops that We are now providing to him.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius; 59)

Oration “*Claritudo sanguinis*” of Pope Pius II (17 June 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

During his protracted stay in Siena, in 1460, Pope Pius II received an embassy from King Enrique IV of Castile. In his reply to the ambassadors, the pope acknowledged that the Congress of Mantua had failed to unite the European kings and princes in a common crusade against the Turks. Undaunted, he expressed his conviction that God Himself would cause the kings and princes to later join the crusade - it was after all God's own cause.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Congress of Mantua 1459; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors, King Enrique IV of Castile; King Henry IV of Castile; 15th century; 1460; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions and translations
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

After the Congress in Mantua, Pope Pius II went to Siena where he stayed most of 1460.

While there, he received ambassadors from King Enrique IV of Castile,¹ with his offers of contribution to the crusade against the Turks.

Pius gave a very short reply to their address,² the oration "*Claritudo sanguinis*".

In his *Commentarii*, he wrote:

... King Henry of Castile and León, who ruled a large part of Spain but had sent the Congress of Mantua an insignificant embassy unworthy of his standing, now sent the bishop of León to the pope together with one of the first nobles of his realm, as if to repair his reputation. These men entered Siena with a splendid retinue; the pope received them at a public consistory where they delivered a speech more distinguished for its lofty elegance than its sincerity. For when they were asked about the extent of their authority, it emerged that they had no power to offer the pope anything for the defence against the Turks.³

2. Themes

As Pius, possibly with some degree of exasperation, reminded the Spanish ambassadors, an embassy from the king had already the year before come before him and delivered a traditional speech with effusive and lengthy praises of both king and pope. Pius therefore felt that he could dispense with answering those parts of the ambassadors' speech and quickly came to the issue at stake, the crusade.

By now, he was able to see clearly – and to tell the ambassadors – that the Congress of Mantua had failed to unite the European kings and princes in the common cause of a crusade against the Turks:

¹ Enrique IV (1425-1474): King of Castile, nicknamed the Impotent. Ruled from 1454 to his death

² The ambassadorial address was delivered by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. The text does not appear to be extant, see Lopéz Fonseca, p. 19; Trame, p. 103

³ CO, IV, 21 (Meserve, II, p. 283). Cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 44

The Christian princes prefer fighting each other to opposing the enemies of Faith. Some, in their lust for power, drive their neighbours from their homes; others resist being driven away, and all are more concerned about their own injuries than about Jesus Christ. All are occupied with their private matters and neglect the public. Some are slothful and only care for pleasure and enjoyment, totally forgetting about the Christian religion. [Sect. 2]

But, unshaken in his belief that the crusade was God's cause, the pope remained staunchly - some would say foolishly - optimistic:

The Saviour's Church shall not lack men who will take arms against the enemies. And though many kings are now sluggish, the Lord will enflame their hearts when He wants to, for He can clothe even nude bones with flesh and put the soul back [in the body] that it left. We are sure that, among the others, Our dear son, your king, will not desert the Faith in which he was born. [Sect. 3]

The pope would become sorely disappointed.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The Castilian ambassadors were received by Pope Pius during his long stay in Siena, which lasted for most of 1460. It is not known exactly when, but in the *Commentarii*, the event is reported after the initiation of canonical procedures in the autumn of 1460 against Archduke Sigismund of Austria and Gregor Heimburg - in connection with the archduke's violent undertakings against the Cardinal of Kues. However, according to Trame, the Castilian ambassadors appeared before the pope in Siena on 17 June, and this date has been retained for the present edition.¹

The venue was, as the pope says, the Cathedral of Siena, and the occasion must have been a public consistory in which the cardinals, ambassadors with their retinues, curials and other interested persons participated.

The format was a papal response from the throne to an ambassadorial address.

¹ Trame, p. 103. See also Rainaldus, *ibid.*

4. Text¹

4.1. Manuscripts²

The oration is included in a collection of Responses of Pope Pius II (1460),³ largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in five manuscripts, of which those given a siglum are used for the present edition:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 177r-178r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 59r-60r **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 71r-72v
Barn. lat. 1692, ff. 90r-92v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 174r-175r **(H)** *

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

4.2 Editions

The oration was published by Mansi, based on the Lucca manuscript:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Beneditini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 211-212.

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

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in

COR, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

³ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

4.2. Present edition

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

Text:

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

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 7 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 6 from the Bible and one from Seneca.

Biblical: 6

Classical: 1

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 7

Biblical sources: 6

Old Testament: 3

- Job: 1

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

- Psalms: 2

New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 2
- 1. Peter: 1

Classical sources: 1

- Seneca: 1¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography

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López Fonseca, A. & Ruiz Vila, J. M.: *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Discursos al servicio de la Corona de Castilla.* Madrid, 2013

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt.* Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)

¹ Epistolae ad Lucilium

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)

- *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003 ff.

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]

Trome, Richard H.: *Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo, 1404-1470, Spanish diplomat and Champion of the Papacy*. Washington, DC, 1958

7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Ad oratores regis Castellae

[1] {174r} Claritudo sanguinis et morum elegantia singularisque virtus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici, Legionis et Castellae regis illustris, cum anno jam revoluto hoc ipso templo nobis et apostolicae sedi oboedientia¹ suo nomine praestaretur, pluribus verbis recensita et explicata fuit. Et nunc vos, praestabiles oratores ejus, hisdem² de rebus verba fecistis abunde. Non est cur immoremur, nec de nostris meritis loquemur, quae scimus quam tenuia sunt, quamvis sermone vestro supra modum magnificata.

[2] Ad id transeundum est, quod vestrum ad nos adventum coegit, hoc est defensio catholicae et apostolicae fidei. Haec, quanto in periculo sit, et a vobis plane dictum est et omnes intelligunt. Sed possumus illud Sallustianum subjungere: *Omnes agnoscunt³, et⁴ nemo succurrit*, rursusque cum propheta conqueri: *Quoniam tribulatio proxima⁵ est, et non est, qui adjuvet*. Hinc Turci occupata Graecia, Rascia subacta, Valachis magna ex parte oppressis, infesta in Hungariam signa inferunt. Inde Saraceni Baeticae promontoriis et nobilibus agris petiti⁶ vicinas circum⁷ Hispanias⁸ vexant. Christiani principes inter se potius armis contendunt quam hostibus fidei resistere velint. Alii cupidine dominandi vicinos⁹ domo pellunt; alii, ne pellantur, obsistunt, et omnes pluris suas faciunt injurias quam Jesu Christi. Omnes privatis rebus intenti sunt, publica negliguntur. Quidam vero desides solis incumbunt aut deliciis, aut voluptatibus, Dei nostri et religionis Christianae prorsus obliti. Propter quod licet cum psalmista dicere: *Omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt, non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*.

¹ omit. G

² jisdem J

³ ignoscunt G, H

⁴ sed J

⁵ omit. G

⁶ potiti J

⁷ circa G

⁸ Hispaniam G

⁹ vicinum J

To the ambassadors of the King of Castile

[1] A year ago in this very temple,¹ you, distinguished ambassadors, declared obedience to Us and the Apostolic See in the name of Our beloved son in Christ, Enrique, Illustrious King of Leon and Castile. You spoke then, at length, about his noble blood, exquisite manners, and exceptional virtue, and now again, you have spoken abundantly on these matters. Therefore, We have no reason to dwell on them, nor shall We speak about Our own merits: We know them to be , though you made much of them in your speech.

[2] So, We move on to the reason for your visit, the defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith. You have clearly stated - and all know - the danger that threatens them. We may add, with Sallust: *Everyone acknowledges it, but nobody comes to their rescue.*² And We may lament with the prophet: *Tribulation is very near: for there is none to help me.*³ In one direction, the Turks have occupied Greece, subjugated Rascia,⁴ and laid waste to most of Wallachia, and now they are moving against Hungary. In the other direction, the Saracens have moved towards the promontories and noble lands of Baetica⁵ and are laying waste to the areas of neighbouring Spain. The Christian princes would rather fight each other than oppose the enemies of the Faith. Some, lusting for power, drive their neighbours from their homes; others resist being driven away; and all are more concerned about their own injuries than about Jesus Christ's. All are occupied with their private affairs and neglect the public. Some are slothful and only care for pleasure and enjoyment, wholly forgetting about our God and the Christian religion. Therefore, we may say with the psalmist: *They are all gone aside, they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, no not one.*⁶

¹ The Cathedral of Siena

² Not Sallust, but Seneca the Younger: *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium*, 1.4: *every one forgives*

them, but no one comes to their rescue

³ Psalms, 21, 12

⁴ Serbia

⁵ Andalusia

⁶ Psalms, 13, 3

[3] Nos, cum videremus imminens fidei discrimen et impendens rei publicae malum, relicta propria sede, non sine corporali gravamine Mantuam petivimus¹. Quae ibi gesta sunt, Christiani² omnes novere. Magna spes fuit res Christianas ad portum salutis conduci posse. Sed filius iniquitatis non dormit, *circuens quaerit quem devoret*. Antiquus serpens membris suis³ auxilio est. Inveteratus dierum malorum cuncta pervertere nititur, quae pro Deo honore parantur. Sed confidimus victurum Christum Mahumetique cornua tandem minutatim confringi. *Supra firmam petram fundata est Christi ecclesia*. Flant venti, sed non diruunt aedificium. Naviculam Petri fluctus involvunt, sed non submergunt. *Vineam domini Sabaoth ferae silvarum invadunt, sed non vindemiant*, quia promisit dominus *futurum se nobiscum usque ad consummationem saeculi*. Non deerunt ecclesiae salvatoris, qui arma in hostes sumant. Et quamvis torpent multi reges, excitabit tamen corda eorum cum voluerit {175r} dominus, qui etiam ossa carnibus nuda iterum vestire potest, et spiritum reponere, unde exivit. Inter ceteros vero⁴ carissimum filium regem vestrum non deserturum fidem, in qua natus est, confidimus, qui et in Mantua⁵ magnifice sese obtulit, et nunc quoque se offert. Audiemus vos suo nomine seorsum, et plane presseque desideria sua et consilia postulataque cognoscemus, justisque optatis nullo modo deerimus.

¹ petimus G, H

² omit. G

³ suo G

⁴ enim J

⁵ Mantuam J

[3] When We saw the peril threatening the Faith and the calamity hanging over the commonwealth, We left Our own see and went to Mantua, not without great physical discomfort. What happened there, all Christians know. There was great hope that Christendom would be brought into safe harbour. But the son of iniquity¹ does not sleep, but *goeth about seeking whom he may devour*.² The old serpent helps his followers. The old one of evil days strives to overthrow all that is done in God's honour. But We trust that Christ will be victorious and that Muhammad's horns will gradually be broken. Christ's *Church is built upon solid rock*.³ The winds blow, but they do not destroy the building. The waves overflow Peter's Bark, but they do not sink it. *Wild beasts of the wood have invaded the Lord's vineyard, but they shall not gather the vintage*,⁴ for the Lord has promised that He *will be with us even to the consummation of the world*.⁵ The Saviour's Church shall not lack men who will take arms against the enemies. And though many kings are now sluggish, the Lord will enflame their hearts when He wants to, for He can clothe even nude bones with flesh and put the soul back [in the body] it had left. We are sure that, among the others, Our dear son, your king, will not desert the Faith in which he was born. In Mantua, he made magnificent offers, and so he does now. We shall listen, separately, to what else you have to say in his name and hear, clearly and in detail, his desires, advice, and requests, and We shall in no way fail to grant his just wishes.

¹ The devil

² 1. Peter, 5, 8: *circuit, quaerens que devoret*

³ Matthew, 16, 18

⁴ Cf. Job, 24, 6 and Psalms, 79, 14

⁵ Matthew, 28, 20

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 60)

Oration “*Flentem et admodum dolentem*” of Pope Pius II (1 October 1460, Viterbo). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

On his way back to Rome in September/October 1460, after the Congress of Mantua and a protracted stay in Siena, Pope Pius II was met in Viterbo by envoys from Rome, begging him to return to Rome as quickly as possible. In his response to the envoys, the oration "*Flentem et admodum dolentem*", the pope promised to return as soon as possible, underlining some positive results of the Congress - otherwise a failure - as well as the advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy, and the reasons for his protracted stay in Siena.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Congress of Mantua, 1459; Rome; Siena; Viterbo; Renaissance orations; Rome; Roma; Papacy; Renaissance oratory; Responses to ambassadors; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1460

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
 - 2.1. Usefulness of the Congress of Mantua
 - 2.2. Advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Introduction [1-2]
2. Congress of Mantua as proof of the pope's dedication to the defence of Christianity [3-4]
3. Troubles in Rome [5]
4. Advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy [6]
5. Pius' return to Rome [7]
6. Reasons for the delay [8]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

Having left Rome in January 1459, to go to the Congress of Mantua, Pope Pius II was absent from the City for almost two years. When he finally returned, after a protracted stay in his beloved Siena, he returned to a city plagued by rebellious youths and the attacks of the Roman barons allied with the condottiero Jacopo Piccinino, who was in the service of the Angevins trying to reconquer the Kingdom of Naples.

The pope left Siena on 10 September 1460 and arrived in Viterbo on 30 September.

In Viterbo he was met by envoys from Rome, begging him to return to the City as quickly as possible. In response, the pope delivered the oration "*Flentem et admodum dolentem*".

Four days afterwards he left Viterbo and arrived back in Rome on 6 October.

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

At Viterbo the pope gave audience to the Roman envoys in the presence of the college of cardinals. Since they were all almost equally eloquent, they each took turns in speaking, lest any one seem superior to the next. They described how Rome grieved at Pius's absence, the many troubles that had arisen, the reluctance of the Romans to see him depart, their resentment at his tarrying among strangers, the joy with which they now anticipated his return. The walls of the houses, the very walls of the city rejoiced to hear that Pius was on his way home. They applauded the pope's acts at the Congress of Mantua – his speeches, his arguments, judgments, and replies. They commended to his care both the city, the capital of the world, and its citizens; they begged him to forget the sins that the youth of the city had committed. The Romans would be at peace, and would lead better lives, if only Father Pius returned to see his sons as soon as he could.

When the pope had spoken,

The envoys received the pope's reply with enthusiasm and communicated it to the Conservators of the city. The people of Rome were overjoyed at the thought that the Curia would soon be back with them.²

¹ CO, IV, 39; Pastor, II, p. 76;
Voigt, IV, pp. 150-151

² CO, IV, 39 (Meserve, II, pp.
354-355)

Pius' 19th century biographer, Georg Voigt, had this comment on the oration:

Die längere, zum Teil strafende Rede, die er ihnen seinen Commentarien gemäss gehalten haben will, ist so unpassend, dass wir sie für eines der oratorischen Kunststücke erklären müssen, mit denen er faule Flecke zu verhüllen pflegt.¹

However, the text of the oration contained in the *Commentarii* appears to be neither negative nor severe towards the Romans, and Voigt's judgment seems not to be well founded.

2. Themes

2.1. Usefulness of the Congress of Mantua

By autumn 1460, it had become abundantly clear that the Congress of Mantua had been a failure in terms of organizing a crusade against the Turks. This was, of course, a bitter disappointment to the pope, as he himself states, since the European and in particular the Italian princes and powers - for various reasons - did not wish to engage in a war against the Turks.

However, it would also have been made clear to the world that the pope had honestly and energetically endeavoured to fulfil his oath (and the electoral capitulation at the conclave which elected him in 1458) to make the crusade against the Turks his highest priority.² The responsibility for the European inactivity versus the Turks was squarely and manifestly placed on the European princes and states.

In his oration, Pius said:

Though We did not achieve the results We had hoped for, We do not regret the idea and the efforts spent on it. The whole world now knows that what We lacked was not courage but resources. Now, nobody can accuse Us of staying comfortably in Rome while letting the true faith be destroyed, for though We are old and burdened with illness, We feared neither cold, nor snow, nor rain. We travelled far and visited foreign regions. We summoned the princes, admonished the peoples, waited long, and did everything We could to provide for

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 150

² See oration "Ut apertum vobis" [29]

the common good. Very few came, and even fewer treasured religion higher than their own comfort. So what can anybody criticize Us for now?

It is the princes of this world who must be blamed for their indifference: they did not want to hear the Vicar of Christ when he came to take counsel for the commonwealth. So We returned as victors, not over the Turks but over all the Christian princes. We may not have gone [to war] against the enemies, as We wished to, but We do hope that a seed has been sown whose grain we may later harvest. Sweet is the memory of Our labours: God will not deprive Us of their reward. [Sect. 3-4]

It was a bitter consolation, but somehow it was a consolation, not the least to a man who held the honour of the papal office as dearly as Pius did.

2.2. Advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy

Another theme and one Pius would take up again and develop in his later oration to the Roman citizens, the *“Ingentes vobis gratias”* [61], was the advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy not only in terms of the supreme status and prestige of the papacy but also in terms of economic benefits:

In the oration, he said:

You are wise, men of Rome, to respect, revere, and venerate your lord, for it is he who gives you fame and wealth and brings you riches from the whole world. Indeed, the Roman Curia, which you nourish, nourishes you in return and brings you gold from all countries. [Sect. 6]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The date of the oration is probably 1 October 1460, and the place is Viterbo.

The audience consisted of the Roman ambassadors and their retinues, as well as the cardinals and curials present.

The format was a papal response to representatives of his Roman subjects.

4. Text¹

This oration was not included in the official compilation of Pope Pius II's orations but only in his *Commentarii*, book 4, ch. 39,² where it forms part of the description of the pope's return to Rome after the Congress of Mantua and a prolonged stay in Siena.

4.1. Manuscripts

The two main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 143r-144r **(S)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 218v-220r **(R)**

The Reginensis contains the first version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the Final Version, both made under Pius' personal supervision.

4.2. Editions

For the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see COR, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography.

The text was also published in:

- 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 ...* Theil I. Jena, 1713, pp. 665-666

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

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1462-1463), see COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

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

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

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

Biblical: 5

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 5

Biblical sources: 5

Old Testament: 3

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

- Deuteronomy: 2
- Daniel: 1

New Testament: 2

- Luke: 1
- 1. Peter: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography

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[English translation]

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- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols.. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]

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

7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Pii responsum¹

[1] {143r} Flentem et admodum dolentem flentes ipsi et vehementer dolentes urbem reliquimus, quae patria nostra est non minus quam Senae. Nam domus Piccolominea, quae nos peperit, olim ex Romana Senas migravit, sicut Aeneadum nomen ac Silviorum in familia nostra frequens ostendit. Nos Romae cardinalatum accepimus, et in ea urbe ad summum pontificatum evecti sumus. Vidimus quanta fuit Romanorum alacritas, cum auditum est cardinalem Senensem Calixto successorem datum. Vos mihi testes estis numquam memoria hominum tam laetos fuisse quirites.

[2] Erat igitur molestissimum ex ea urbe recedere, quae tam merita de nobis esset, et jam animus praesagiebat, quae postea inter vos emergerunt mala. At volentes animo necessitatem ecclesiae ac fidei catholicae, quam Turci conculcare nituntur, et quod unum erat remedium Christianae salutis, si cum principibus conveniremus tuendamque religionem communibus opibus ac consiliis acciperemus, inviti ac volentes iter ingressi sumus: inviti reliquebamus dilectam sponsam, volentes studebamus matri nostrae amantissimae subvenire.

¹ *In marg. R*

Pius' response

1. Introduction

[1] When We left the City,¹ the people was desolate and crying, and so were We, for the City is Our fatherland just as much as Siena. Indeed the House of the Piccolomini, from which We descend, in former times migrated from Rome to Siena - as witnessed by the frequent occurrence of the names Enea and Silvio in our family. In Rome We were created cardinal and in that City We were raised to the Supreme Pontificate. We saw how greatly the Romans rejoiced when they heard the Cardinal of Siena had succeeded Calixtus: you are my² witnesses that never, within living memory, have the citizens been so happy.³

[2] Therefore, it was extremely hard for Us to leave the City to which We owed so much, especially since We had forebodings of your later troubles. But We had to consider the urgent needs of the Church and the Catholic Faith, which the Turks are aiming to destroy, as well as the fact that the only way to save Christianity was to meet with the princes and plan for defending religion with joint resources and minds. Therefore We set off both unwillingly and willingly: unwillingly because We had to leave Our beloved spouse,⁴ and willingly because We were eager to come to the aid of our beloved mother.⁵

¹ To go to the Congress of Mantua

² Pius almost always used the plural of majesty in his orations

as pope, but not here - probably a lapsus

³ CO, I, 37 (Meserve, II, p. 203): *Old men said they had never*

seen such delight among the people of Rome

⁴ Rome

⁵ The Church

[3] Quod si non successit, ut speravimus, non tamen consilii laborisque poenitet. Intellexit universus orbis vires nobis, non animum defuisse. Nemo jam nos accusaverit, quod Romae in deliciis agentes fidem orthodoxam perire sinamus, qui senio atque infirmitate gravati nec frigora nec pluvias neque nives horruimus. Per aliena auspicia¹ longam ivimus viam. Vocavimus principes, admonuimus populos, expectavimus, omnia fecimus, ut communi consilio publicae consuleremus utilitati. Advenere perpauca²; pauciores {143v} fuere, quibus religio potior quam voluptas videretur. Et quid est quod jam nobis valeat imputari?

[4] Ipsi saeculi principibus tota imputanda est negligentia, qui venientem ad se Christi vicarium de re publica consulturum audire noluerunt. Revertimus igitur domum, si non Turcorum, at Christianorum omnium principum³ victores. Si non itum est, ut optavimus, in hostes, speramus tamen tale semen in terram jactum, cujus aliquando secabimus segetem. Dulcis est nobis memoria laborum, qui apud Deum sua mercede non fraudabuntur.

[5] Illud vero excoquit mentem nostram, quod inter vos factum accepimus. Dolemus furta, homicidia, adulteria, sacrilegia juventutem vestram tam multa, ut fama est, perpetrasse, nec vos arguimus, qui punire crimina parati eratis, si nostri magistratus praesto fuissent. Illos accusamus, qui per ignaviam ac desidiam tantopere debacchari adolescentes permisere. Fidem vestram probamus, qui temptati modis compluribus⁴ ab officio non recessistis. Viri sane et probi et prudentes estis, qui vestri domino constanter servitis, quamvis vestra servitus regnum est.

¹ hospitia R

² quam pauci R

³ *supralin.* R; *omit.* S

⁴ quampluribus S

2. Congress of Mantua as proof of the pope's dedication to the defence of Christianity

[3] Though We did not achieve the results We had hoped for, We do not regret the idea and the efforts spent on it. The whole world now knows that what We lacked was not courage but resources. Now, nobody can accuse Us of staying comfortably in Rome while letting the true Faith be destroyed, for though We are old and burdened with illness, We feared neither cold, nor snow, nor rain. We travelled far and stayed under foreign roofs.¹ We summoned the princes, admonished the peoples, waited long, and did everything We could to provide for the common good. Very few came, and even fewer treasured religion higher than their own comfort. So what can anybody criticize Us for now?

[4] It is the princes of this world who must be blamed for their indifference: they did not want to hear the Vicar of Christ when he came to take counsel for the commonwealth. So We returned victorious, not over the Turks but over all the Christian princes. We may not have gone [to war] against the enemies as We wished, but We do hope that a seed has been sown whose grain we may later harvest. Sweet is the memory of Our labours: God will not deprive Us of their reward.

3. Troubles in Rome

[5] But We were greatly worried by the news from Rome. We are grieved at the reports of the many plunders, killings, rapes and sacrileges perpetrated by your young men. We do not blame you, for you were ready to punish the crimes if only Our own magistrates had been willing. No, We blame those who, out of cowardice and indolence, let the young men run wild. We commend your loyalty, for though you received many tempting offers, you did not fail in your duties. Indeed, you are honest and prudent men, for you staunchly serve your lord, to serve whom is lordship.

¹ "hospitia"

[6] Et quae civitas invenitur Roma liberior? Vos sine ullo vectigali estis, vobis nulla imponuntur onera, vos magistratus in urbe geritis honestissimos. Vina vestra, frumenta vestra quanti vultis venditis. Domus vestrae pensiones vobis uberes pendent. Et quis praeterea vester dominus est? Forsitan comes, marchio, dux, rex, imperator? Major his omnibus est¹, cui paretis: Romanus praesul, beati Petri successor, Jesu Christi vicarius, cujus pedes cuncti reges osculari desiderant; recte hic *rex regum* et *dominus dominantium* pro Christi reverentia dicitur, cujus vices in terris gerit. Sapitis, viri Romani, qui hunc vestrum dominum observatis, colitis, veneramini, nam is est, qui vos praeclaros efficit, qui vos ditat, qui tote ex orbe ad vos divitias affert, siquidem Romana curia, quam pascitis, ipsa vos pascit et aurum ex omni regione ad vos portat.

[7] Gaudemus quia bonum vestrum et cognoscitis et conservatis, gaudemus nos expectare laetam urbem, quando et laeti pergimus {144r} illuc. Hora nobis annus est prae cupiditate revisendi sacra urbis moenia et sancta martyrum atque apostolorum ossa et terram illam pio sanguine rigatam, et caros quirites, quos veluti filios amamus. Nulla gens carior nobis est quam Romana. *Desiderio desideramus* quam primum esse cum familia nostra et cum *peculiari populo* nostro in sede nostra.

¹ *omit. S*

4. Advantages to the Romans accruing from the papacy

[6] And what city has greater freedom than Rome? You do not pay taxes, no burdens are imposed on you, and you have honourable offices in the City. You can sell as much of your wine and grain as you wish. Renting out your houses is most profitable. And who is your lord? Is it a count, a marquess, a duke, a king, or an emperor? No, the one you obey is greater than them all: it is the Bishop of Rome, the successor of Saint Peter, the Vicar of Jesus Christ whose feet all kings desire to kiss. Out of reverence for Christ, whom he represents on Earth, he is justly called *King of Kings*¹ and *Lord of Lords*.² You are wise, men of Rome, to respect, revere and venerate your lord, for it is he, who gives you fame and wealth and brings you riches from the whole world. Indeed, the Roman Curia, which you nourish, nourishes you in return and brings you gold from all countries.

5. Pius' return to Rome

[7] We are happy that you acknowledge and care for your advantages, and We are glad to look forward to a joyous City since that is where We are joyfully going now. An hour seems like a year to Us, so intensely do We desire to see the holy walls of the City again, the shrines of the martyrs, the bones of the apostles, the soil irrigated with pious blood, and the dear citizens whom We love as sons. No people is more dear to Us than the Roman people. *With desire We desire*³ to be with Our family and *peculiar people*,⁴ in Our own See - and the sooner the better.

¹ Daniel, 2, 37

² Deuteronomy, 10, 17

³ Luke, 22, 15

⁴ Deuteronomy, 7, 6

[8] Quod si Mantuano peracto conventu non statim huc advolavimus et Senis¹ remorati sumus, tres fuere causae: prima ut apud balneas valitudini consuleremus. Altera ne per aestatem Romam ingrederemur, quo tempore ex Gallia mitique caelo redeuntibus noxius ac pestifer est aer. Tertia ut Senenses civili et externo bello jam pridem exhaustos curiae nostrae mora paululum reficeremus, quibus consulentes Romae consulimus, nam Senae occidentem versus urbis est murus. Nec nos vobis aut alteri cuiquam mentiti sumus: quo tempore promisimus reditum, eo revertimur. Non tam cupide nos expectatis quam libenter ad vos pergimus. Morabimur hic brevissimo tempore, dum quae sunt ad securitatem itineris necessaria praeparantur, nam ultra progredi absque praesidio non est tutum. Diem profectionis cum fratrum consilio statuemus, statutum mox intelligetis.

¹ *omit. S*

6. Reasons for the delay

[8] There are three reasons that We did not come straight back here after the Congress of Mantua but stayed for a time in Siena: firstly, We took the baths for reasons of health. Secondly, We did not want to come to Rome during the summer when the climate is harmful and dangerous to people coming from the milder climate in Gaul¹. Thirdly, We wanted to give some relief to the Sieneese, exhausted by civil and foreign war, by having Our Curia stay there for some time. To assist them is to assist Rome, too, for Siena is Rome's western wall. We have not lied to you or anybody else, for We are returning when We promised to. Our eagerness to return is even greater than your eagerness to receive Us. We are only staying here² for a short period while the necessary preparations for safe travel are made, for it is unsafe to travel further without a guard.³ We shall decide the day of departure on the advice of Our brethren,⁴ and you will be informed as soon as the decision has been made.

¹ Gallia Cisalpina = Northern Italy

² In Viterbo

³ The rebellious barons around Rome made it unsafe for the

pope to travel without a strong military guard. Indeed, Pius' ally, the Duke of Milan, sent the pope an escort of 500 horse

soldiers as his escort to Rome, cf. Voigt, III, IV, 2, p. 151

⁴ The cardinals

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 61)

Oration “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” of Pope Pius II (6 October 1460, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

After the Congress of Mantua, Pius II stayed for most of 1460 in Siena and only arrived back in Rome in the beginning of October. His return put an end to a dangerous uprising of the youth of Rome, allied with the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino fighting for the Angevins, who were trying to wrest the Kingdom of Naples from the Aragonese. He was received cordially enough by the population, but still felt it necessary to summon its representatives and explain to them why he supported King Ferrante of Naples in his war against the Angevins, thus causing Picinnino and the Roman barons to devastate the region around Rome. His defence took the form of an oration, the *"Ingentes vobis gratias."*

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Il Regno; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante I of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King René d'Anjou; Duke Jean II d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Sicilian War of Succession 1458-1462; Jacopo Savelli; 1460

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
 - 2.1. Wars
 - 2.2. Defence against accusation of bellicosity
 - 2.3. Papal supremacy
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Early Version: *Fatemur quirites*
 - 4.2. Final Version: *Ingentes vobis quirites*
 - 4.2.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2.2. Editions and translations
 - 4.3. Present edition
 - 4.4. History of the text
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Introduction: Loyalty and prudence of the Romans [1]
2. Unjust criticism of the pope [2-3]
3. War in the Kingdom of Naples [4-8]
 - 3.1. Italian League, 1455 [4]
 - 3.2. Accession of King Ferrante [5]
 - 3.3. Legal situation [6]
 - 3.4. War in the Kingdom started by King René [6]
 - 3.5. Ferrante 's demand for aid [7]
 - 3.6. Legitimacy of the pope's actions [8]

4. Rebellion of the Roman barons and the youth in Rome [9-12]
 - 4.1. Actions of Jacopo Piccinino [9-10]
 - 4.2. Conspiracy against the papacy [11]
 - 4.3. Pope as lord of the Roman barons [12]
5. Conclusion [13-14]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

When, in January 1459, Pius II left Rome to go Mantua for the European Congress on war against the invading Turks, he was planning on extended visits to Siena on the way to and from Mantua, so it was clear that he would be absent from Rome for an extended period.

He knew his absence would provide an opportunity for the barons and counts of the Papal States to plot and intrigue to obtain greater independence from their papal overlord. He made his dispositions accordingly and left Rome knowing the risk but trusting that his lieutenants would be able to control the situation.

However, two events he had not foreseen radically changed the situation.

One was a rebellion of the Roman youth who - following the pattern of former uprisings² - made yet another attempt, now under the leadership of one Tiburzio di Maso, to overthrow papal rule and establish a Roman republic.

The other was the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples by the Angevins, under the leadership of King René's son and heir, Jean II d'Anjou, to expel King Ferrante and the House of Aragon from the Kingdom and re-establish Angevin rule. Allied with the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, Pope Pius intervened in the war on the side of King Ferrante and sent troops to his aid.³

When the Italian condottiere, Jacopo Piccinino, joined the Angevin cause and managed to create an alliance between the Angevins, several barons in the area of Rome, and the rebellious youth in the City, the situation became quite dangerous to the papacy.

A rather belated effort on Pius' part saved the day: from Siena, he summoned the papal troops from the Church State to counter Piccinino's forces.

When he finally arrived in Rome, he was greeted enthusiastically by the people, including many of the youths who had recently run riot in the City.

He did, however, have a problem of public relations: many Romans felt, that if he had not intervened militarily in the Kingdom of Naples on the side of King Ferrante, he would not have

¹ CO, V, 1-4; Pastor, II, 88; Voigt, IV, pp. 151-152;

² The rebellions of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 and of Stefano Porcaro in

1453, just six years before, under Pope Nicolaus V

³ On this war and the papal intervention, see the introduc-

tions to the orations "*Responsuri*" [52] and "*De regno Siciliae*" [58]

incurred the enmity of the Angevins and created the basis for an alliance between Piccinino, the rebellious barons, and the youth in Rome. The pope, therefore, summoned representatives of the people at the Apostolic Palace, and in the oration *“Ingentes vobis quirites”*, he explained the facts of the matter to them, i.e. why the war in Naples and the war with the barons was unavoidable and not due to his personal bellicosity.

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

... in the City all sorts of things were said about the pope’s actions. Many criticized him for the war he had undertaken in support of Ferrante, and the French cardinals¹ were spreading dark rumours. Wishing to have the people’s goodwill, Pius then summoned the cardinals and the magistrates and the leading citizens of the City and held the following oration to them [here follows the text of the oration]. When he finished, the Romans were overjoyed, seeing not only the courage and determination of their lord but also the great legitimacy and justice of his actions. They thanked him profusely for explaining to them the origins, the course of the war, and its motives, which many had not known. They put their possessions, their wives, and their children at the disposal of the pope to meet any danger in the evil and unjust war started by enemies.²

2. Themes

The main themes of the oration are the war between Aragon and Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples and the rebellion of the Ghibelline Roman barons and the youth in Rome. To these are added the pope’s defence against accusations of personal bellicosity and a brief reference to papal supremacy.

¹ The French cardinals naturally supported the cause of the French House of Anjou

² CO, V, 4 (Meserve, III, pp. 28, 47)

2.1. Wars

Concerning the war between Aragon and Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, Pius repeated the arguments in defence of his actions that he had advanced in the oration "*Responsuri*" [52] to the French ambassadors in December 1459 in Mantua and in the oration "*De regno Siciliae*" [58] to the Angevin ambassadors earlier in the same year of 1460 in Siena.

Concerning the Roman rebellion, Pius described the military measures and intrigues of the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino in French service and his collusion with the Ghibelline barons of Rome, the Savelli and the Colonna, and with the rebellious youth of Rome led by Tiburzio di Maso.

His description of the rebels' plans to attack and plunder the rich citizens of Rome would undoubtedly have made them reflect carefully on whom to support in this conflict as would the pope's reminder of the enormous economic and other advantages which the presence of the Church government, the Curia, brought to Rome, advantages which would no longer accrue to the City if it rejected papal government.

2.2. Defence against accusation of bellicosity

D.S. Chambers¹ has presented Pius II as an irascible and surprisingly bellicose pope² who *reveals a fascination or even positive zest for war, although he sometimes attempted to deny it.*³ He therefore took an ambiguous but generally approving stance about papal commitment to military violence.⁴ Pius also declared to the cardinals, says Chambers, that *he would not engage himself in combat, he was not strong enough*⁵ - making it appear that the reason he would not fight in person was lack of strength, not lack of will. Chambers also claims that Pius' campaigns may well have reinforced the general trend in contemporary warfare of employing ever more violent firepower.

That Pius had a vivid interest in things military, the *res militaris*, is confirmed not only by the material used by Chambers but others texts in Pius' works. For example, in his *Commentarii*, he mentions that his own father in his youth fought in the armies of the Duke of Milan.⁶ Also, in his orations at the German crusade diets in 1454-1455, he had revealed some knowledge - partly based on classical authors like Vegetius - of military matters. And Chambers understandably

¹ Chambers, ch. 3

² Chambers, p. 53

³ Chambers, p. 55

⁴ Chambers, p. 57

⁵ Chambers, p. 56

⁶ CO, I, 1 (Meserve, I, p. 6-7)

quotes the *Commentarii*, where Pius talks about the troop of soldiers accompanying him to Tivoli in the summer of 1461:

On the farther bank he was met by Federigo and the Cardinal of Teano with ten squadrons of cavalry who accompanied him as a bodyguard as far as Monte Lucano. The Pope was delighted with the brightness of their arms and the equipment of horses and men. For what fairer sight than troops in battle array? The sun flashed on their shields and from their helmets and crests was reflected a dazzling light. Every armed company seemed a forest of lances. The youth dashed hither and thither making their horses caracole, brandishing their swords, whirling their spears, and making a show of fighting.¹

Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the three princes Pius most admired were great military leaders: Duke Philippe of Burgundy, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, whom he had even named the German Achilles for his personal bravery in war and his military expertise.

However, the claim that Pius was bellicose would appear to be unwarranted. The wars he fought in the Church State and in the Kingdom of Naples were vital to the survival of the papacy's temporal dominion, which it would be his primary responsibility to defend.^{2 3} And the war against the Turks he perceived as necessary to the survival of Christian Europe. So, his wars were not the outcome of a personal penchant for war but a necessary - and pugnaciously fought - defence of the essential interests of the papacy and of Europe.

In no way was he a bloodthirsty and bellicose personality. His personal attitude to war and enemies - partly based on Cicero - is very well summed up in his oration (or moral treatise) "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6] of 1445:

¹ CO, V, 26 (Gragg, p. 393)

² Carocci, p. 82: *For almost the entire period in question, the Orsini, Colonna and other Roman families enjoyed extremely ample margins of power. From this point of view, parallels in other Italian states are very few, at least in such an accentuated form. None of the other states had such a powerful aristocracy, installed at such a short distance from the capital and capable of keeping the sovereign in a 'state of torment', as Alexander VI put*

it. In innumerable cases, throughout the entire fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, baronial families incited disorder and even all-out wars which threatened, weakened and sometimes virtually nullified papal authority. A (partial) limitation to the strength and turbulence of the barons was achieved only in the sixteenth century. In the previous century, starting from Pius II, the attacks made by popes on some of these families produced only short-term results.

³ That defence of papal control of the Church state was considered a legitimate and necessary enterprise is witnessed by humanist funeral orations: *Italian orators applauded churchmen for defending their institution's liberty ... More frequently, the liberty of the Church was used in a reductionist sense to mean the vindication of papal control over the Papal State in Central Italy* (McManamon, p. 78)

In war, you must keep your word to your enemies. Moreover, you should not treat them cruelly, for they, too, are men, and they may even think they are fighting a just war. On our part, we should take care not to engage in war without reasonable cause, and the counsels of peace should always prevail over arms. When necessary, we should not decline to fight for our faith, country, and truth, but we should show moderation so as not to be regarded as cruel, faithless and inhuman. We should not thirst for blood: after a victory, the authors of evil should be punished, with moderation, but the many should be spared. And though civil law declares that the victor may legitimately keep the spoils of war, a Christian should not take any such; he should not destroy cities, nor plunder, nor slaughter the crowd, but consider it sufficient to get peace through war. [Sect. 129]

As for Chamber's claim that Pius told his cardinals he would have fought in person if he had been strong enough,¹ Pius, in his oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75] to a group of cardinals on 23 September 1463, actually said that *We do not, of course, go to fight in person: We are weak of body and, moreover, a priest who should not wield the sword* [Sect. 23]. In this statement, the last part of which Chambers omits, Pius does acknowledge that though he indeed does not have the physical strength to fight in person, the major reason for not doing so is another: as a priest, he should not. Actually, the primary reason for the pope going to war in person was not personal gratification but to force the Duke of Burgundy to join the crusade, too.²

And finally, Chambers' claim that Pius' campaigns may well have reinforced the general trend in contemporary warfare of employing ever more violent firepower exaggerates Pius' importance for the development of canons in European warfare: princes and their military advisors were quite able to pursue that development on their own – without help from the pope. Indeed, the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, seven years before, had been decisively helped by German canon specialists working for the Turkish sultan.

2.3. Papal supremacy

As he had done in many responses to princely ambassadors, Pius in this oration, too, affirmed the claim of papal supremacy:

¹ Chambers, pp. 56-57

² See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64], sect. 5-6

What can be more glorious than to be subjects of the lord who has power over all men, who is the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, whose feet all kings wish to kiss, and whom God has given the right to open and close the gates to Heaven. [Sect. 1]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

It is not clear from Pius' *Commentarii* how soon after his return, he summoned the leading citizens of Rome and gave the oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*". According to Pastor, the pope returned on 6 October and immediately ("alsbald") summoned the leading citizens to a meeting where he delivered the oration. In view of Pastor's expression "alsbald", the date is given here as the 6 October, but it may have been somewhat later.

The place was the Apostolic Palace.

The audience consisted of the cardinals and the leading citizens of Rome.

The format was a papal oration from the throne to his Roman subjects. In view of the fact that the Roman citizens addressed by Pius probably did not understand Latin at all or very well, it is quite possible that Pius delivered his oration in Italian, though it was (later?) written in Latin.¹

4. Text²

The text is extant in two versions, the Early Version beginning with the words "*Fatemur quirites*", and the Final Version beginning with the words "*Ingentes vobis quirites*".

¹ On addressing non-Latin speakers in Italian, see COR, vol. 1, sect. 4.3

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

4.1. Early Version: *Fatemur quirites*

Presently, the "*Fatemur quirites*" is only known to be extant in two manuscripts:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 183v-186v (**G1**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 278-282v (**H**)

It was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, 128-134
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

4.2. Final Version: *Ingentes vobis quirites*

4.2.1. Manuscripts

The "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" was not included in the oldest manuscript containing the Collected Orations of Pius II compiled in 1462¹ but was added in later manuscripts:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 147v-151r (**G2**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 295v-301r (**C**)
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 192r-195v (**D**)
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 213r-216r (**B**)

In Vat. Lat. 1788, the oration is added at the end of the ms. in a much later hand.² In Chis. J.VIII.286 and Chis. J.VI.211 the oration is part of the integral manuscript and written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. This incidentally supports the notion that Vat. lat. 1788 was produced before the Chis. J.VIII.286.

¹ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

² Without abbreviations

The Final Version was also included in Pius' *Commentarii* from 1463¹ and is thus contained in the two main manuscripts containing that work:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 230v-235v (R)
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 152v-156r (S)

4.2.2. Editions and translations

The Final Version, too, was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, 119-127
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

It has also been published as part of the *Commentarii*, e.g.

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 308-314
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano: Adelphi, 1984 / I, pp. 854-875
[with Italian translation]
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. / III, pp. 28-47
[With English translation]
- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Translated by Florence Alden Gragg. Northhampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 358-359
[English translation]

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The Early Version has been edited on the basis of both of the listed manuscripts. NB: due to problems of fading ink, the Chisianus is in many places rather difficult to read and collate.

The Final Version has been edited on the basis of all the manuscripts listed. Though the Reginensis and the Corsinianus have very ably edited previously, they, too, have been collated directly, as a matter of principle, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

Presentation:

The texts of the two versions are presented synoptically on the left page, with the Early Version above, and the Final Version below (sometimes continued on the right page). Bold type indicates identical text in the two versions (except for different word order, different grammatical forms, and variations between *et/ac/atque*).

Pagination:

Early Version: Pagination is from the the Luccensis.

Final Version: Pagination is from the Chisianus J.VIII.286.

4.4. History of the text

This oration has the most complex history of all Pius' orations:

- 1) The oldest extant copy of the Early Version ("*Fatetur quirites*") is contained in Chisianus J.VII.251, and is written by Pius himself (*manu proprio*), probably before its delivery in October 1460 since the text bears all the signs of an original composition/draft.

- 2) No version of the oration was included in the oldest manuscript containing the Collected Orations of Pius II from 1462, the Chisianus J.VIII.284, nor was it originally included in the second oldest, the Vaticanus Latinus 1788. The Final Version (*"Ingentes vobis quirites"*), however, was included in the third manuscript containing this collection, the Chisianus J.VIII.286. Later - probably much later - it was added to the Vaticanus Latinus 1788, possibly copied after the Chisianus J.VIII.286 with which it has some variants in common.

- 3) In 1463, the *"Ingentes vobis quirites"* was also included in Pius' *Commentarii*, the first version of which is contained in the Reginensis 1995 from 1463, and the second in the Corsinianus 147, completed in June 1464.^{1 2}

- 4) Later, the *"Ingentes vobis quirites"* was copied from the Corsinianus into Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini's³ copy of the Collected Orations of Pius II, the Chisianus J.VI.211. Except for certain scribal errors, the text in the cardinal's manuscript agrees with the text in the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, and when those two disagree between them, it follows the Corsinianus. So, the cardinal's copy would have been written after the Corsinianus which was completed in June 1464. Van Heck does hypothesize, however, that there was an intermediary manuscript between the Reginensis and the Corsinianus⁴, from 1463/1464, and if that is true, the text in the Chisianus J.VI.211 may have been copied from that manuscript.

- 5) In 1493, both the *"Fatetur quirites"* and the *"Ingentes vobis quirites"* were included in Felino Sandei's copy of the Collected Orations of Pius II, generally copied after the cardinal nephew's exemplar. However, since the *"Fatetur quirites"* was not included in the cardinal nephew's manuscript, Sandei had access either directly to the Chisianus J.VII.251 (possibly at that time in cardinal's possession) containing this version or to another manuscript derived from or related to that manuscript. For the Final Version, Sandei used the copy of Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini, whom he knew personally, the Chisianus J.VI.211.

When more than one version of Pius' orations is extant, the Early Version may usually be considered as the one closest to the oration as actually held. In this case, however, it is possible that the Early version (*"Fatetur quirites"*) was just a draft contained in the Chis. J.VII.251, which Sandei somehow got access to and published in his collection together with the oration actually held, the Final Version (*"Ingentes vobis quirites"*).

¹ CO (Heck, I, p. 5, 9); (Totaro, I, p. xxiv)

² It is quite possible that the Reginensis predates the Chisianus J.VIII.286, so that the inclusion of

the oration in the *Commentarii* came before the inclusion in the (later manuscripts with the) Collected Orations of Pius II

³ The cardinal was Pius II's nephew

⁴ CO (Heck, I, p. 10); (Totaro, I, p. xxiv)

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 7 from the Bible and 4 from classical sources.

Biblical: 7

Classical: 4

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 11

Biblical sources: 7

Old Testament: 4

- 1. Chronicles: 1
- Psalms: 3

New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 1
- Luke: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 4

- Cicero: 1²
- Juvenalis: 1
- Lucanus: 1³
- Vergilius: 1⁴

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

² Philippicae

³ De bello civili

⁴ Aeneis

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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7. Sigla

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vaticanus latinus 1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VIII.286

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VI.211

G1 = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544 / ff. 183v-186v

G2 = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544 / ff. 147v-151r

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

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis latinus 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[EV] Ad quirites Romae pro bene recta Roma Pio absente¹

[FV] Oratio Pii II Pontificis Maximi habita Romae ad quirites ostendit cur bellum pro regno Siciliae susceperit²

¹ *omit. H*

² Oratio ... susceperit : Pii Secundi oratio ad quirites de ratione suscepti belli pro defensione

Ferdinandi regis Siciliae **D, G2**; *no title H*; Oratio Pii de ratione belli suscepti *nota marg. R* [NB: *the words Oratio Pii are in Pius'*

own handwriting]; Pii oratio *nota marg. S*

[FV] Oration of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff on why he had undertaken the war for the Kingdom of Sicily, delivered in Rome to the citizens

[1] [EV] {183v} Fatemur, **quirites, ingentes vobis**, deberi laudes, **qui nobis** absentibus **rei publicae causa** lasciviente magna parte **juventutis** vestrae et quietem **urbis** multifariam perturbante, **baronibus** insuper undique **novas res** molientibus nec valentibus magistratibus et iudicibus nostris temerarios ausus compescere, **in officio tamen perseverastis**, et nobis **redeuntibus** integram **urbem reddidistis**. Fideles fuistis ac prudentes: fideles, **quia non audivistis eos, qui vos alienare a vero domino conati sunt**; prudentes, **quia**¹ bene ipsis² **consuluistis**. Nam quae utilitas vobis³ major **potest esse**⁴ **quam curiam** Romanam **alere**, quae vos **alitur, et** toto ex orbe Christiano **opes**⁵ ad vos defert? Quae gloria excellentior vobis contingere⁶ potest **quam subesse domino, qui beati Petri successor est et Jesu Christi vicarius, cujus** osculari **pedes cuncti reges desiderant, cui divinitus datum est caeli portas vel aperire vel claudere**. Laudamus ergo et fidelitatem et circumspectionem vestram et in utraque re constantiam.

[1] [FV] {295v} **Ingentes vobis, quirites**, habemus gratias, **qui nobis reipublicae causa** procul agentibus, quamvis hinc **juventus** petulans crassaretur in **urbe**, illinc⁷ **baronum** rapacitas popularetur agros et **novas res** quaereret, **in officio tamen perseverastis**, et tandem **redeuntibus** salvam **urbem reddidistis**. Licet fidem et prudentiam vestram extollere: fidem, **quia non audistis eos, qui vos a vero domino alienare conati sunt**; prudentiam, {296r} **quia** rei vestrae salubriter **consuluistis**. Nam quid civitati Romanae utilius **esse potest quam** eam **curiam alere**, unde **alitur, et** quae⁸ **opes** undique affert? Quid gloriosius **quam** ei **subesse domino**, qui super omnes mortales habet imperium, **qui beati Petri successor est**⁹ **et Jesu Christi vicarius, cujus** exosculari **pedes cuncti reges desiderant, cui divinitus datum est caeli portas vel aperire vel claudere**. Sapitis certe, qui ei domino fidem servatis, *cui servire regnare est*.

¹ vobis *add.* G1

² bene ipsis : ipsis bene G1

³ *omit.* G1

⁴ vobis *add.* G1

⁵ *omit.* G1

⁶ vobis contingere : contingere vobis G1

⁷ aliorum *add. in marg.* S

⁸ *omit.* B, C

⁹ *omit.* S

1. Introduction: Loyalty and prudence of the Romans

[1] [FV] Citizens, while We were in foreign parts, occupied with public affairs, the unruly youth ran riot in the City,¹ and rapacious barons laid waste to the fields and plotted for a change of regime.² But you remained loyal, and when We came back, you returned the City to Us safely. For that, We owe you immense thanks. We must praise both your loyalty and your prudence: your loyalty because you did not heed those who tried to estrange you from your true lord; and your prudence because you have protected your own interests so well. For what can be more advantageous to the City of Rome than to sustain the Curia, which in turn sustains you and brings you wealth from everywhere?³ And what can be more glorious than to be subjects of the lord who has power over all men, who is the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, whose feet all kings wish to kiss, and whom God has given the right *to open and close the gates to Heaven*.⁴ You are indeed wise to keep faith with a lord *to serve whom is to rule*.⁵

¹ Urbs = Rome

² The barons in the Church State more or less permanently plotted to become more independent of their papal overlord

³ The presence of the Papal Curia was a major economic advantage to a city because of the consumption (wine, food, housing, clothing etc.) of the court and the curials, the closeness to a great power center, and the

great number of visitors. In the classical ages, unsurprisingly, the imperial court had had the same importance to Rome and the Romans as did the Papal Court in the Middle Ages, see Gregorovius: I, I, p. 54: [in 403 AD] *Die Römer, vor den Invasionen der Sarmater und Germanen zitternd und durch die Abwesenheit des cäsarischen Hofes um die reichsten Quellen ihres Wohlstandes*

gebracht, bestürmte ihre ohnmächtigen Kaiser [Honorius] mit Bitten um die Rückkehr in die verödete Stadt; so bestürmten ihren Enkel fast ein Jahrtausend später die Päpste, Avignon zu verlassen und ihren Sitz wieder in dem zerfallendem Rom einzunehmen

⁴ Matthew 16, 18-19

⁵ From the *Missa pro pace* in the Roman missal

[2] [EV] Verum quia nobis relatum est **nonnullos esse, qui vestras aures perniciosis et falsis rumoribus implere** student, **nos** auctores¹ **belli** accusantes, **qui cum pacem habere possimus, arma** movere {184r} magis cupimus, **et in regno Siciliae** injustam **causam** fovemus, **unde** nunc **bellum domi et circa** moenia **urbis** excitatum est, **necessarium duximus vos in contionem** accersiri, ac de his rebus **ad verum disserere**, et ut intelligatis omnes, quoniam bellum semper **odivimus, pacis cupidi et otii, et justissima** nobis bellandi et **necessaria**, non voluntaria data est causa.

[2] [FV] Sed non idcirco in praesentiarum vos accersivimus, ut de vestra laude faceremus verba. Alia vocationis est ratio. **Sunt nonnulli**, ut accepimus, **qui vestras aures perniciosis et falsis rumoribus implent**, et **nos bella**² amantes incusant, **qui cum pacem habere possimus, arma** praeferimus, **et in regno Siciliae causam** tuemur iniquam, **unde bellum domi et circa** muros **urbis**³ exortum sit, et vos nostra culpa plectamini. Quibus ex rebus **necessarium duximus vobis in contionem** vocatis de rationibus⁴ hujus belli **ad verum disserere**. Sic enim et nos arma **odire**⁵ et **pacem et**⁶ **otium** cupere cognoscetis, **et** hanc belligerandi⁷ causam non modo **justam** sed **necessario** esse nobis impositam.

¹ accusatores G1

² belli D, G2, R, S

³ vobis G2

⁴ rationibus *corr. ex causis* R

⁵ odisse D, G2, S

⁶ atque D, G2, R, S

⁷ belligerendi C; bellandi S

2. Unjust criticism of the pope

[2] [FV] But We have not summoned you here today to praise you. It is for another reason that you have been invited. We hear that many are filling your ears with pernicious and false rumours and accusing Us of loving war because We prefer to have war when We could have peace. We are claimed to defend a wrong cause in the Kingdom of Sicily,¹ which has resulted in war both within and around the walls of the City, and therefore you suffer through Our fault. This is why We have found it necessary to summon you to this assembly to tell you the true reasons for this war. Thus you will understand that We hate war and desire peace and quiet, and that this war is not only just but has also been forced upon Us by necessity.

¹ In the Neapolitan War of Succession 1459-1462, the French House of Anjou fought the Spanish House of Aragon, which had ousted it from the

Kingdom in 1442/1443. Since then, the popes had favoured the House of Aragon, partly to avoid French encirclement, partly to minimize French influence

on the papacy - with the risk of a return to Avignon (in the case of the election of a French pope)

[3] [EV] **Nec nos somnia referemus et nugas inanes, quibus delectantur et nutriuntur aemuli nostri, sed ipsam nudam et sinceram veritatem** prosequemur, **cujus vis¹ hespero splendidior est et semper in fine victrix est. Deus novit corda hominum solus, et ipse renes² nostros³ scrutatur, et scit, quia non mentimur. Nihil nobis pace carius est, cuius nomen dulce est, et res ipsa⁴ cum jucunda, tum salutaris. In ea bene servitur Deo, et subditorum status floret, paretur legibus, et nulli fas est impune peccare. Contra bellum mala omnia nutriens, divina et humana confundit. Non sumus nec illi, qui sanguinem sitimus⁵ humanum⁶, nec nostrae sedis est ferrum stringere, aut discordias serere. Quietem noster animus et subditorum concordiam semper optavit. Sed quomodo in bellum tracti simus, audite, breviter rem absolvemus, et an justam causam habeamus manifestissime cognoscetis.**

[3] [FV] **Nec nos somnia referemus et inanes nugas, quibus delectantur et nutriuntur inimici nostri. Veritatem ipsam sinceram et nudam** afferemus in medium, **cujus si videri facies possit⁷, {296v} splendidior est** quam Lucifer aut Hesperus **et in fine semper victrix. Deus novit corda hominum solus, et ipse renes nostros scrutatur, et videt, et scit, quia non mentimur. Nihil nobis pace carius est, nihil acceptius, cuius nomen, ut inquit orator, dulce est, et res ipsa** tum jucunda, tum salutaris. In ea legibus oboeditur, subjectis consulitur, Deo servitur, nulli fas est impune peccare, sua virtuti praemia et sua redduntur stipendia vitio. Contra bellum mala omnia nutriens, divina et humana quaeque confundit. Odimus bellum, cuius finis non est pax. Horremus strages hominum, nec sanguinem sitimus humanum, nec nostrae sedis est ferrum stringere, aut discordias serere. Quietem noster animus et subditorum pacem semper optavit. Sed quomodo in bellum tracti fuerimus, audite, brevis narratio est.

¹ series *dub.* H; series *in marg.*

G1

² rationes G1

³ nostras G1

⁴ res ipsa : ipsa res G1

⁵ sitiamus G1

⁶ hominum G1

⁷ posset G2

[3] [FV] We shall not be talking about those dreams and that empty nonsense, which delight and sustain Our enemies. No, We shall speak that pure and naked truth, which - could it be seen directly - shines brighter than Lucifer¹ and Hesperus² and always wins in the end. For *God alone knoweth the hearts of men and searcheth our reins*,³ and He sees and *knoweth that We lie not*.⁴ Nothing is more dear and pleasing to Us than *peace*, whose *name*, as the Orator⁵ says, *is sweet, the reality brings welfare*.⁶ During peace, laws are obeyed, subjects are looked after, God is served, no one may commit crimes with impunity, virtue is rewarded, and vice gets its just deserts. War, on the contrary, fosters every kind of evil and throws the divine and the human into disorder. We detest any war whose end is not peace. We abhor the slaughter of men, We do not thirst for human blood, and it is not the task of Our See to wield weapons or to sow discord. Our heart always desired quiet and peace for Our subjects. But hear now how We were drawn into this war: it will not take long to tell.

¹ Lucifer: "the morning star, the planet Venus", or, as an adjective, "light-bringing". Later, Christian tradition came to use the Latin word for the devil as he was before his fall

² Hesperus: The evening star

³ 1. Chronicles, 28, 9; 2 *et alibi*

⁴ 2. Corinthians, 11, 31

⁵ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC): Roman statesman and author

⁶ Cicero: *Philippica*, 2.113: *Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris*

[4] [EV] **Cum occupasset Mahumetus, Turcorum princeps, regiam urbem Constantinopolim, et victoria tumens non Graecis tantum, sed Hungaris, Italis, et reliquis Christi cultoribus, extrema omnia minaretur, Italia vero gravibus inter se odiis contenderet, et sese armis laniaret, dedit operam Nicolaus pontifex, antecessor noster, ut *convenientes in unum*¹ Italici potentatus lites deponerent, et ut Turcis commodius resisti posset, non solum pacem inter se statuerent, sed foedus quoque percuterent, quo alter alteri subveniret, si quis in foedere comprehensus² a quovis offenderetur. Hujus foederis caput et conservator institutus est Romanus praesul. Vivebat tunc Alfonsus, Aragonum et Siciliae rex, fama clarus, qui post Romanorum praesulem primus in eo foedere nominatus est, {184v} et pro se ac filio suo Ferdinando futuro rege intervenit et ita receptus est. Hoc foedus, Nicolaus ut fieret suasit, et Calixtus successor ejus approbavit, et nos quoque de consilio fratrum mox ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti illi benediximus.**

[4] [FV] **Cum occupasset superioribus annis Mahumetus, Turcorum princeps, regiam urbem, quam vocant Constantinopolim, et victoria tumens non Graecis tantum, sed Hungaris, Italis, Theutonibus, et reliquis Christi cultoribus, extrema omnia minaretur, Italia vero gravissimis bellorum flagraret incendiis, dedit operam Nicolaus pontifex maximus, noster antecessor, ut *convenientes in unum* Italici potentatus arma deponerent, et ut hosti religionis Turco facilius obviam iretur, non solum pacem inter se statuerent, sed foedus quoque {297r} percuterent, quo alter alteri subveniret, si cui ex foederatis injuria fieret. Foederis caput et conservator et director institutus est Romanus praesul. Vivebat tunc Alfonsus, Aragonum et Siciliae rex, fama clarus, et opibus atque consilio potens, qui post summum pontificem primus in conventis appositus est suo nomine ac filii, Ferdinandi regis, haeredis futuri, quem extra matrimonium natum regni capacem apostolica privilegia reddiderant. Hoc foedus Nicolaus, ut fieret, persuasit, Calixtus successor approbavit, et nos de consilio fratrum confirmavimus.**

¹ in unum *omit.* G1

² si cui ex foederatis *corr. ex in* foedere comprehensus R

3. War in the Kingdom of Naples

3.1 Italian League, 1455

[4] [EV] Some years ago,¹ Mehmed, Prince of the Turks,² conquered the royal City of Constantinople. This victory made him so ambitious that he now direly threatens not only the Greeks³ but also the Hungarians,⁴ the Italians, the Germans, and the other believers in Christ. As Italy was then being consumed by enmity and war, Pope Nicolaus, Our predecessor,⁵ endeavoured to make the Italian powers *meet together* and lay down their weapons, [desiring] them not only to make peace but also to enter a treaty of mutual assistance if one of the parties to the treaty was attacked.⁶ The aim of this treaty was to make it easier to oppose the Turk as the enemy of our religion. The Roman Pontiff was made head, guardian and leader of the alliance. At that time, Alfonso, famous King of Aragon and Sicily,⁷ both powerful and wise, was still alive. After the pope, he was the first signatory to the treaty, not only in his own name but also in the name of King Ferrante,⁸ his heir. Ferrante was born outside marriage but had been legitimated by apostolic privilege and declared heir to the kingdom. Nicholas persuaded all to join this treaty; his successor Calixtus⁹ approved it; and We confirmed it, on the advice of Our brethren.

¹ In 1453, seven years before

² Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481): Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446 and later from February 1451 to his death. In 1453, he conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

³ I.e. those parts of Greece which the Turks had not yet conquered, especially the Peloponnese

⁴ The Christian frontline state against the Turks

⁵ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁶ The Italian League of 1455

⁷ Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of

Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

⁸ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁹ Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borja Pope

[5] [EV] **At cum obiisset Alfonsus Calixto vivo, filiusque regnum a Calixto exposceret, non annuit pontifex sed regnum devolutum ad ecclesiam declaravit statuens illud etiam armis vindicare. Sed obiit etiam ipse intra quadragesimum diem. Nos suffecti ecclesiam turbatam et undique laceratam invenimus: Assisium, Galdum, Nuceriam Piccininus per proditionem occupaverat. Arces ecclesiae munitissimas, qui pro Borgia¹, Calixti nepote, obtinuerant, restituere recusabant. Ferdinandus investituram regni petebat, nisi obtineret². Cum Piccininus illi militaret, et nos milite careremus, videbamus non parvum discrimen impendere. Deduximus rem ad senatum apostolicum³, et cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris negotium discussimus. Placuit omnibus, nullo dissentiente, Ferdinandum investitum iri, quamvis et Renatus idem peteret. Misimus cardinalem Ursinum, qui eum investivit et coronavit. Sed nihilominus jus suum, si quod haberet, Renato illaesum servavimus. Erat tunc Ferdinandus pacati⁴ regni possessor, universitas regni eum petebat, potentatus Italiae omnes pro eo supplicabant.**

[5] [FV] **At cum obiisset Alfonsus vivente Calixto, filiusque regnum ab eo exposceret, non annuit pontifex, sed regnum ad ecclesiam devolutum declaravit, statuens illud etiam armis vindicare - jure an injuria non est hujus ratiocinationis. Cogitationes ejus repentinus obitus intervertit, qui quadragesimum intra diem Alfonso est subsecutus. Nos suffecti ecclesiam turbatam et undique laceratam invenimus: Assisium, Galdum, Nuceriam Piccininus per proditionem invaserat. Arces ecclesiae munitissimas praefecti, quos Borgias, Calixti nepos, imposuerat, restituere abnuebant. Ferdinandus investituram regni petebat; nisi impetraret, bellum minabatur. Nos milite carebamus; illi Piccininus militabat, et dux Mediolani erat amicus. Videbamus non parvum ecclesiae discrimen impendere. {297v} Rem ad senatum deduximus. Placuit cardinalibus omnibus, etiam Gallicis, Ferdinandum investitum iri. Latinus cardinalis Ursinus in regnum missus Ferdinandum investivit coronavitque. Renato, si quid juris competiit, haud ablatum est. Ferdinando regni principes, duces, barones, comites, populares omnes oboediebant, eumque sibi constitui regem petierant, et in ejus verba juraverant.**

¹ Borsio G1

² *Textus corruptus* G1, H

³ senatum apostolicum :
apostolicum senatum G1

⁴ *omit.* G1

3.2. Accession of King Ferrante

[5] [FV] When Alfonso died, Calixtus still lived. Alfonso's son now demanded the Kingdom of the pope, but he refused, declaring that the Kingdom had reverted to the Church and that he would reclaim it with arms if necessary.¹ Whether he did so justly or unjustly is not our concern here. At any rate, Calixtus' plans were soon prevented by his own death, occurring 40 days after that of Alfonso. When We succeeded him,² We found the Church in turmoil and harassed from all sides: Piccinino had occupied Assisi, Gualdo, and Nocera³ by treason. The commandants appointed by Borgia,⁴ Calixtus' nephew, refused to hand over the strongholds of the Church. Ferrante was demanding to be invested with the Kingdom and threatened with war if he did not get it. We had no troops, whereas Ferrante had Piccinino fighting for him, and the Duke of Milan⁵ was his friend. Seeing what great danger threatened the Church, We brought the matter before the Senate. All the cardinals, even the French,⁶ voted that Ferrante should be invested. Cardinal Latino Orsini⁷ was sent to the Kingdom, where he invested and crowned Ferrante. This was done without prejudice to the rights of René if he had any. All the princes, dukes, barons, counts, and peoples of the Kingdom obeyed Ferrante: they petitioned for him to be made their king and swore the oath of fidelity to him.

¹ Pope Calixtus III wished to give the Kingdom to one of his Borgia nephews

² In August 1458

³ Three cities in papal territories

⁴ Don Pedro Luis Borgia

⁵ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiere, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁶ Pius is careful to point out that also the French cardinals had

supported the continuation of the Spanish dynasty of Aragon in the Kingdom

⁷ Latino Orsini (1411-1477): Italian Cardinal. Of the Roman Orsini family

[6] [EV] Pater eum instituerat haeredem¹ in eo regno, Eugenius et Nicolaus, nostri antecessores², Alfonsum de regno illo investierant, et Ferdinandum legitimaverant, et ut a patre rex institui posset indulserant. Si vero devolutum ad ecclesiam³ erat regnum, ut Calixtus censuerat, sive ad filium **pertinebat ex testamento** paterno et aliorum decreto pontificum, **licuit** nobis facere, quod fecimus, non est cur aliquis querimoniam juste faciat, et maxime cum juris viam Renato apertam reliquimus⁴. Nam et **Romae, et Senis et Mantuae semper oratoribus** ejus justitiam **obtulimus**. Sed **ipse plus in armis quam in jure confidens**, cum essemus **Mantuae** et operam daremus, ut Christiani principes expeditionem **contra Turcos** pararent et Christianam fidem ac religionem defenderent, **classem {185r} validam in regnum misit cum filio** suo duce Johanne. Principes et **barones regni ad res novas concitavit, pacem illarum partium turbavit, rapinis, incendiis, caedibus, omnia foedavit**, et nobis in conventu Mantuano publicam Christianorum salutem quaerentibus maxima praestitit impedimenta. Nam inde factum est, ut res fidei pro dato ordine expediri nequierit, **quamvis adhuc speramus** in domino, quia non peribunt **labores nostri pro communi salute suscepti**.

[6] [FV] Aut⁵ regnum **ex testamento** patris ad Ferdinandum **pertinuit**, et jure illi concessum est; aut ad Renatum, et nihil ei ablatum, cum salvum esse⁶ velint apostolicae litterae jus alienum. At cum de jure dubium esset et uterque coloratum prae se titulum ferret, **licuit** possessorem praeferre. Si neutri jus competiit, non tulit injuriam, qui jure caruit. Si devolutioni fuit locus, et Calixti declaratio vim habuit, quae superest Renato vel alteri querela, si cum fratribus nostris regnum ad ecclesiam devolutum Ferdinando concessimus? Nos hic **Romae**, priusquam discederemus, **et Mantuae** in conventu **et Senis** quotiens de regno ab **oratoribus** Renati fuimus interpellati, **semper** juris viam **obtulimus**. **Ipse vero plus in armis quam in jure confidens, dum nos Mantuae contra Turcos** intenti sumus, **classem validam cum filio in regnum misit** **ex⁷** pecuniis comparatam, quas cardinalis Avinionensis ex decimis cleri Gallici contra Turcos promissis triennio ante congregaverat. **{298r} Barones regni ad res novas concitavit, pacem illarum partium turbavit, rapinis, caedibus, incendiis omnia foedavit**, expeditionem contra Turcos impedivit, et quantum in se fuit, Christianam religionem pessumdedit, **quamvis speramus adhuc labores nostros pro communi utilitate susceptos** haud omnino perituros.

¹ *omit.* G1

² nostri antecessores *omit.* G1

³ devolutum ad ecclesiam : ad ecclesiam devolutum G1

⁴ reliquerimus G1

⁵ at G2

⁶ *omit.* D, G2

⁷ his *add.* R, S; et his D, G2

3.3. Legal situation

[6] [FV] So, either the Kingdom belonged to Ferrante by his father's testament and was lawfully granted to him,¹ or it belonged to René, in which case nothing had been taken from him since the apostolic letter preserved the rights of all other parties. But since there was doubt about the legal issue, and both Ferrante and René advanced a specious title to the Kingdom, it was legitimate to prefer the one who had actual possession of it.² If none of them had the right, none of them suffered any damage. But if the Kingdom had indeed reverted [to the Papacy] and Calixtus' declaration was valid, then why could René or anybody else complain that We, together with Our brethren, granted Ferrante the Kingdom, which had reverted to the Church? Each time René's ambassadors brought up this matter - both here in Rome, before We left, at the Congress of Mantua,³ and [afterwards] in Siena⁴ - We offered him the course of law.

3.4. War in the Kingdom started by King René

But while We were occupied in Mantua with [the crusade] against the Turks, René - trusting more in arms than in justice - sent his son with a strong fleet to the Kingdom, a fleet raised with funds gathered three years before by the Cardinal of Avignon⁵ from tithes on the French clergy and destined for use against the Turks. He incited the barons of the Kingdom to rebellion, disturbed the peace of those regions, polluted all with robbery, killing and fire, impeded the expedition against the Turks, and - as far as he could - endeavoured to destroy Christian religion, though We still hope that Our own efforts for the common good will not be have been entirely in vain.

¹ By the pope, as feudal overlord of the kingdom

² According to the well-known maxim of Roman law: *Melior conditio possidentis* (Better is the condition of the one who has possession)

³ Congress of Mantua (June 1459-January 1460): summoned by Pius II to organize a European military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe

⁴ Pius stayed in Siena from February to September 1460

⁵ Alain (II) de Coëtivy (1407-1474): French prelate. Bishop of Avignon, Uzès, Nîmes and of Dol, titular cardinal of Santa Prassede, later cardinal-bishop of Palestrina and cardinal-bishop of Sabina. Called the Cardinal of Avignon

[7] [EV] **Ferdinandus, cum se in periculo cerneret, deficientibus a fide subditis, et armis hostium dietim invalescentibus, auxilium a nobis petiit, penes quos est directum *regni* dominium, commemoravitque foedus, de quo supra diximus. Rogavit, ne sibi pereunti deficeremus, ne promissam posthaberemus fidem. Nos bono animo esse jussimus, quia non deficeremus ei. Sed priusquam copias nostras in regnum mitteremus, venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum Ravennatem eo direximus, qui utramque partem¹ juberet arma deponere, et *viam pacis* aut amicabilem tractu aut juris ordine quaereret. Is cum transeundi publicam fidem a duce Johanne peteret, non obtinuit. Respondit etiam ille se non habere mandatum a patre tractandae pacis. [cont.]**

[7] [FV] **Ferdinandus, cum se in periculo cerneret, deficientibus a fide subjectis, et armis hostium in dies magis ac magis praevalentibus, suam ruinam cognosceret, auxilium a nobis petiit, penes quos esset directum² dominium. Commemoravit foedus, de quo supra diximus. Rogavit, ne sibi pereunti deficeremus, ne promissam postergaremus fidem. Promisimus auxilia, jussimus bono animo esset³. Verum priusquam copias in regnum⁴ mitteremus, archiepiscopum Ravennatem eo direximus, gravem et justum virum, qui partem utramque juberet ab armis discedere, et *viam pacis* aut tractantibus amicis aut juris ordine quaerere. Iter erat per terras jam Renato parentes faciendum. Petitur a filio publica fides; ille se a patre missum, ut bellum gerat, non ut quaerat pacem, respondet. [cont.]**

¹ utramque partem : utrimque
G1

² esset directum : directum
esset D, G2

³ esse B
⁴ regno B

3.5. Ferrante's demand for aid

[7] [FV] Seeing that his subjects were deserting him and that the enemy's forces grew stronger daily, Ferrante realized his extreme danger and requested help from Us as the direct overlord of the Kingdom. He also invoked the treaty mentioned above, asking Us not to abandon him in his critical situation nor to set aside Our promise. So We promised him help, asking him not to despair. But before sending troops into the Kingdom, We dispatched the Archbishop of Ravenna, a serious and just man,¹ to invite both parties to desist from war and seek the *path of peace*² either through the mediation of friends or through the course of law. As he was to travel through territories now loyal to René, the archbishop requested a safeconduct from René's son who answered that he had not been sent by his father to seek peace, but to wage war. [cont.]

¹ Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna

(1445). Appointed cardinal by Pius II in 1461

² Luke, 1, 79; Romans, 3, 17

[7 cont.] [EV] **Interea Ferdinandum armis premebat¹, et prope erat, ut expelleret²**, tanta erat baronum nonnullorum **perfidia** atque iniquitas. **Nobis**, qui Ferdinandum **regem** constitueramus, haud decorum erat illum **vi atque armis sine legibus, sine judiciis, sine ulla juris via paterno regno deturbari**. **Misimus** itaque **auxilia, non quae Renatum regno privarent, sed quae Ferdinandum in sua possessione tenerent**; et hoc quidem **nobis non solum ex foedere incumbebat, verum etiam ex** eo quia **regni** domini et directores sumus, et ad nos pertinet, quantum ex alto datur, violentiam omnem a nostris subditis prohibere. **Quod si nostris auxiliis non bene successit, nihil tamen magis de justitia nostra dubitamus, neque semper justa** secundum homines **causa superior** est, unde illud Lucani: **Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni**.

[7 cont.] [FV] **Interea Ferdinandum** acius urgebat **armis, et prope jam erat, ut** regno dejiceret, adeo regnicolarum inconstantia ac **perfidia** res immutaverat. **Nobis** turpissimum videbatur eum, quem **regem** appellavissemus, **vi atque armis sine iudicio, sine legibus, sine causae cognitione paterno regno {298v} deturbari**. **Misimus** **auxilia, non quae Renatum regno privarent, sed quae Ferdinandum in sua possessione tuerentur**; quod **non solum ex foedere nobis incumbebat, verum etiam ex** dominio **regni** directo, quod penes Romanam ecclesiam consistit. **Quod si non bene successit** - nam copiae nostrae debellatae fuerunt, et jam hostes ad nos arma verterunt, et nostros populantur agros - **nihil tamen minus de justitia nostra** confidimus. Non **semper justa superior** invenitur **causa: Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni**, apud poetam legitis.

¹ premebatur G1

² expelleretur G1

[7 cont.] [FV] In the meantime, he pressed Ferrante more and more with his troops and was almost at the point of driving him from the Kingdom - so much had the inconstancy and perfidy of the subjects of the Kingdom changed the situation. We considered it utterly unacceptable if he whom We Ourselves had appointed king should be expelled from his father's Kingdom with arms, without a judgment, without a trial, and without a proper investigation of the matter. So We sent troops, not to deprive René of the Kingdom but to protect Ferrante in his possession of it. We were obliged to do so not only by the treaty but also as direct overlord of the Kingdom, which belongs to the Roman Church. Though We were not successful - for Our troops were defeated, and the enemies have now turned their weapons against Us and lay waste to Our lands - We still trust in the justice of Our cause. It is not always the just cause that wins: *if the victor had the gods on his side, the vanquished had Cato*,¹ as the Poet² says.

¹ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1.126: *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*. Cato's moral authority was superior to that of

the (pagan) Gods. Which means that a defeated cause may be morally superior and that the ju-

stice of a war is not decided by victory

² Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65): Roman poet

[8] [EV] **Christianorum et saepe Judaeorum** victae sunt acies **pro religione pugnantes**. **Fatemur omnem a Deo victoriam esse; sed aliam** dispositione {185v} concedi, permissione **aliam**¹. **Nec nos arcana Dei attingimus, cujus *judicia abyssus multa***, sed **secundum quod homines judicant**, judicium facimus. Certe **nemo est, qui** secundum leges **injustam**² causam nostram judicare **possit**. Quod si aliquando **partes nostrae** victae sunt, **ita placuit pio Deo, non propter justitiam hostium, quae summa est injustitia**, sed propter peccata nostra. **Castigavit nos Deus noster**³, **inquit propheta, sed morti non tradidit nos; multae tribulationes justorum, sed de omnibus his liberabit eos dominus**. Quomodo justus potest esse dux Johannes, qui habita justitiae oblatione ab eo, qui est iudex et dominus regni, inconsulto ipso **domino** et contradicente **ad arma prorumpit**⁴ **et violentiae viam** aggreditur? **Intelligitis plane** omnes, arbitramur, quoniam juvantes Ferdinandum, ne via facti opprimatur, **justam** favemus⁵ causam, nec duci Johanni ulla de nobis **querela** esse potest.

[8] [FV] **Saepe Christiani ac Judaei** in bello cecidere **pro religione pugnantes**. **Fatemur omnem a Deo victoriam esse, sed** disponi **aliam**, permitti **aliam**. **Nec nos arcana Dei attingimus, cujus *judicia abyssus multa***. At **secundum quod homines judicant, nemo est, qui** bellum nostrum **possit injustum dicere**. **Si partes nostrae** semel succubuere, **ita Deo placitum fuit, non propter justitiam hostis, quae summa est injustitia**. **Castigavit nos Deus noster, ut inquit propheta, sed morti non tradidit nos; multae tribulationes justorum, sed de his omnibus liberabit eos dominus**. De justitia partis adversae quid attinet disputare, quae oblatam a vero iudice justitiam respuit, **et violentiae viam** elegit, at⁶ vetante **domino prorumpit ad arma**? Quo facto, etiam si jus ei competiisset⁷, ab eo cecidit. Et praesertim quod, ut ante diximus, conatus nostros pro {299r} defensione fidei contra Turcos perturbavit. **Intelligitis jam plane**, quirites, nostrae causae honestatem, et quod nullam contra nos **justam querelam** reliquimus⁸ adversariis.

¹ permissione aliam : aliam
permissione G1

² et justitiam G1

³ Deus noster *omit.* G1

⁴ ad arma prorumpit : prorumpit
ad arma G1

⁵ fovemus G1

⁶ ac D, G2, R, S

⁷ competiisset B

⁸ relinquimus S

3.6. Legitimacy of the pope's actions

[8] [FV] Often, Christians and Jews have fallen in war, fighting for religion. We declare that all victories come from God, but some are ordained by Him, whereas others are only allowed. We cannot penetrate the secrets of God *whose judgments are a great deep*.¹ But as men must judge, nobody can say that Our war is unjust. It is true that Our side was defeated once², but this happened because it was God's will, not because the enemy[']s cause] was just - nay, it is rather the height of injustice. As the prophet says, *The Lord hath chastised me: but he hath not delivered me over to death*; ³ *Many are the afflictions of the just; but out of them all will the Lord deliver them*.⁴ There is no reason to discuss the justice of the adversary's cause since he has rejected the justice offered by the true judge, chosen the course of violence, and taken arms despite the prohibition of the overlord. That action has deprived our adversary of any rights he may have had, especially since it interfered with Our own efforts for the defence of the Faith against the Turks, as We have said. Thus, citizens, you clearly see the justice of Our cause and that We leave our adversaries no grounds for legitimate complaints.

¹ Psalms, 35, 7

² Battle of Sarno, 7 July 1460

³ Psalms, 117, 18: *Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me*

⁴ Psalms, 33, 20

[9] [EV] Sed **audite** ulterius, si nos de ipso justam habemus querelam vel de suo genitore. **Praeterimus** quod **scripta multa** contra nos **et legationes miserit** ad reges¹ et populos nostram innocentiam accusans. **Tacemus** illud quod paulo ante attigimus, quod conventui Mantuano et **fidei** defensionis² plurima³ **impedimenta** praestititerit. Tacemus, quod **Jacobum Piccininum** ad sua stipendia conduxerit, qui **vexilla** ecclesiae sine **nostro** jussu deferre ausus est. Tacemus **alia multa, ut breviores simus.**

[9] [FV] Nunc quas ipsi nobis injurias intulerint, **audite. Praeterimus scripta multa**, quibus nomen nostrum dehonore conati sunt, **et legationes ad** concitandos contra nos principes **missas. Tacemus impedimenta**⁴ expeditioni contra Turcos apparandae, quae possunt trahi ad causam **fidei**. Omittimus **Jacobum Piccininum** eis militantes **vexilla** nostra injussu nostro detulisse Aesculanamque urbem nobis furto surripere temptavisse. Silemus **alia multa, ut breves simus.**

¹ nationes G1

² dissensionis G1

³ multa G1

⁴ praestita *add.* D, G2, R, S

4. Rebellion of the Roman barons and the youth in Rome

4.1. Actions of Jacopo Piccinino

[9] [FV] Hear now what injuries they have inflicted upon Us. We pass over the many writings wherein they endeavoured to blacken Our name, as well as the embassies sent to other princes to stir up opposition against Us. We remain silent on the obstacles to Our preparations for the expedition against the Turks and what they could contribute to the cause of Faith if they wished. We pass over how Jacopo Piccinino, while fighting for them,¹ hoisted Our standards without Our command and tried to steal the City of Ascoli from Us. And for the sake of brevity, we remain silent on many other things as well.

¹ "eis militanem"

[10] [EV] **Illud silere non possumus: significavit nobis** nuper Jacobus **Piccininus, se** hominem¹ **esse ducis Johannis,** et ab eo in mandatis habere **non Ursinos** solum, sed omnes ecclesiae subditos et **nos** et **urbem invadere,** seque hactenus multo **minora fecisse quam jussus esset**²; obtemperareque sibi necessum esse. **Nos vero compertum habemus, non solum ex his, qui deprehensi**³ **sunt, verum ex** litteris et sigillis illorum, qui conspiracybus interfuerunt, comitem **Jacobum convenisse cum** aliquibus subditis nostris et cum **juventute** illa, cujus supra meminimus, territorium urbis invadere, **Tibur diripere,** Romam **ingredi, aperientibus portas** his, qui socii vocantur ex **juventute** praedicta; **domos curialium,** mercatorum **et opulentorum civium praedae exponere, et alia multa nefanda** committere, **quae omnia proculdubio patrata fuissent, nisi noster exercitus ex Aprutio festinasset** {186r} obviamque currenti Jacobo advolasset, **nos celeri passu repetissemus urbem.**

[10] [FV] **Illud silere non possumus,** quod idem **Piccininus nobis** novissime **significavit se** scilicet **Johanni duci** Calabriae militare jussumque **esse non Ursinos**⁴ modo, **sed nos,** subjectos nostros Romanos, **urbem,** et omne patrimonium beati Petri armis **invadere: minora fecisse quam juberetur,** posthac imperata facturum, cuncta igni ac ferro vastaturum. **Nos vero compertum habemus, non solum ex his, qui deprehensi sunt, verum** etiam **ex** chirographis conspiratorum, qui miro modo et divina quadam ope in manus nostras pervenere, **Jacobum** Piccininum **convenisse cum** Tiburtio et nonnullis baronibus per circuitum urbis morantibus, Romanum populari agrum, **Tibur diripere, juventute portas aperiente urbem ingredi**⁵, **domos curialium,** {299v} negotiatorum **et opulentorum civium praedae exponere,** camerarium capere ac pecunias ejus inter se partiri, nepotem nostrum obtruncare, filiabus et uxoribus vestris vim inferre, pueros ad militiam rapere, **et alia admodum multa aggredi nefanda. Quae proculdubio patrata fuissent, nisi noster exercitus ex Aprutio festinans currenti** occurrisset **Jacobo,** et **nos urbem celeri passu repetissemus.**

¹ omnino G1

² erat G1

³ deprensi G1

⁴ Urbinos B, C

⁵ urbem ingredi : ingredi urbem

G2

[10] [FV] But this We cannot pass over: the same Piccinino has just informed Us that he now fights for Duke Jean of Calabria,¹ and that he has received orders to attack not just the Orsini,² but Us and Our subjects, the Romans, the City, and the whole Patrimony of Saint Peter.³ Until now he has done less than ordered to, but now he will do as ordered and lay waste to all with fire and sword. Indeed, from prisoners taken and from letters of the conspirators having fallen by divine intervention into Our hands, We now know that Jacopo Piccinino had agreed with Tiburzio⁴ and several barons from around the City to devastate the Roman territory, to pillage Tivoli,⁵ to enter the City through gates opened by the youth, to plunder the homes of the officials of the Curia, the merchants, and the wealthy citizens, to take the Camerlengo⁶ prisoner and divide his fortune between them, to kill Our nephew,⁷ to rape your daughters and wives, to carry off your sons to military service, and to do many other horrible things. And they would undoubtedly have done so if Our army had not hastened back from Abruzzo to face the rapidly approaching Piccinino, and We Ourselves had not returned quickly to the City.

¹ Jean II d Anjou (1424-1470): Son of King René d'Anjou. As heir-apparent, he was styled the Duke of Calabria

² Orsini, noble Roman family with extensive holdings of land around Rome

³ Loose designation of the Papal States

⁴ Tiburzio di Maso (executed 31 October 1460) was a leader of an anarchic faction in Rome that briefly attempted to restore the

medieval commune of the city, the last attempt at populist government in the States of the Church. Conspired with Jacopo Piccinino

⁵ Tivoli: the classical Tibur, is an ancient Italian town in Lazio, about 30 kilometres east-northeast of Rome

⁶ Ludovico Trevisan (1401-1465): Italian prelate, who was the Chamberlain of the Apostolic Camera, Patriarch of Aquileia

and Captain General of the Church. Known as the Cardinal of Aquileia and the Cardinal Camerlengo

⁷ Antonio Piccolomini (d. 1493): Nephew of Pius II who appointed him Commandant of Castel Sant' Angelo. In 1461, he was created Duke of Amalfi, after his marriage to Maria of Aragon, an illegitimate daughter of King Ferrante, on 23 May 1461

[11] [EV] **Deo** referimus **gratias, quod tam nefarii ausus praeventi sunt et** quod vos nosque tanto discrimine liberati sumus. **Quomodo igitur justus dux Johannes, qui talia contra nos molitur? Si** rex regni est aut **haeres futurus regis, subditus noster est. Et quid** magis impium est, **quam dominorum fallere dexteras? Si** non est illi **de regno** expectatio, **Christianus** tamen est, ut credimus: et¹ **quomodo Christi vicarium persequi** audet, et **ministro utitur Piccinino, qui omnes subditos** nostros **pertentat? Si quis** sit in urbibus ecclesiae, **qui vel prece vel pretio fidem venalem habeat**²? De Jacobo nihil satis dici potest. Decebat Perusii natum ecclesiae subditum nulli se obligare contra ecclesiam. Sed quae **fides jam in armis est? Ipse** sua facta **viderit**. De duce **non possumus satis**³ mirari, **qui regio sanguine natus** ea moliatur, quae diximus.

[11] [FV] Immortali **Deo gratias** agimus, **quod tam nefarios praevenimus ausus et tantum** avertimus malum. **Quomodo igitur justis** adversarii? Quo pacto **Johannes** excusatum se reddet, **qui talia contra nos molitur** et ducem Calabriae se vocitat? **Si** dux est Calabriae et **regis futurus haeres, et noster subditus est. Et quid** scelestius **quam dominorum fallere dexteras? Si** nihil ad eum **de regno**, at Christianum se dicit. **Si Christianus**, quo ausu **Christi vicarium persequitur?** Aut qua conscientia **ministro utitur Piccinino, qui omnes** per circuitum ecclesiae **subditos pertentat? Si quis** adsit, **qui vel**⁴ **prece vel pretio** suo de more **fidem venalem habeat**, quid Piccininum nominamus? Quasi **fides sit** ulla **in armis**, et non omnes militiae astricti perjurio infames, sceleribus nobilitati, tamquam ministri diaboli urbes ac regna perturbent? Piccininus ex Perusinis ortus **ipse** sibi **viderit**, quem domestica trahunt exempla. Johannem **non satis possumus** admirari, **quem regio sanguine** natum abhorrere⁵ {300r} scelera putabamus.

¹ *omit.* G1

² venalem habet : habeat
venalem G1

³ *omit.* G1

⁴ *omit.* G2

⁵ horrere D, G2, S

4.2 Conspiracy against the papacy

[11] [FV] We give thanks to immortal God for having been able to prevent these criminal ventures and avert such great evil. So, how can the adversaries be in the right? What excuse has Jean for plotting against Us and calling himself Duke of Calabria?¹ If he is Duke of Calabria and the heir to the Kingdom, then he is Our own subject. What is more heinous than *to break allegiance with one's lord*?² And even if he should have no claims to the Kingdom, he does call himself a Christian. But if he is a Christian, how can he dare to persecute the Vicar of Christ? Or how can he, in conscience, use the services of Piccinino, who is testing all the subjects of the Church in that region to see if there is anyone whose loyalty - like his own - may be bought with entreaties or money! But why mention only him? Can there be any faith in arms at all? Are not all military men infamous perjurers? Are they not notorious for the crimes? Do they not like servants of the Devil bring disturbance to cities and kingdoms? Piccinino comes from Perugia: let him beware of the examples from his home city. As for Jean, We cannot wonder enough since We really thought that someone of royal blood would abhor such crimes.

¹ Traditional title of the crown prince of the Kingdom of Naples

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.613: *dominorum dextras fallere*

[12] [EV] Sed ajunt quidam et in **vulgo** haec verba disseminant **nec duce[m] Johannem nec Piccininum contra nos** venisse: **Ursinis tantum** inimicari nocereque. **Nos quae comperimus, exposuimus. Illa verissima sunt¹; haec falsa**, nec umquam auditum est, quod nobis promissa securitas sit², ut plerique garrunt. **Sed esto, Ursinos tantum invadere** voluit: **an non Ursini subditi ecclesiae sunt? An qui eos laedit, nos laedit?** Nobis et de **Columnensibus, et³ Comitum, et⁴ Sabellis, et⁵ Ursinis cura** esse debet, **dum fideliter agunt⁶, et qui contra eos militat, contra nos militat: justissimaque sunt arma nostra in illos. Sed quoniam de Sabellis fecimus mentionem⁷, scitote Jacobum Sabellum unum esse ex his, qui cum Piccinino** convenerant ad ea, quae supra diximus, et qui illum in terras nostras vocavere. **Rogavimus, ut desisteret, daturi veniam de praeterito. Noluit** et⁸ copias Piccinini hostis nostri in oppidis suis retinet. Justissime ergo eum corrigimus, **parsuri⁹ semper et boni patris officio** usuri, ubi ad oboedientiam redierit.

[12] [FV] Quidam **vulgo** dicunt, **nec Johannem nec Piccininum contra nos** arma movisse: **Ursinis tantum** intulisse bellum. **Nos, quae certa comperimus, exposuimus. Illa verissima sunt, haec falsa. Sed esto: Ursinos dumtaxat invaserint. An non Ursini ecclesiae subditi sunt? An qui eos laedit, nos non¹⁰ laedit?** Nos et¹¹ **Ursinorum, et Columnensium, et Comitum, et Sabellorum, dum in officio perseverant, curam gerimus, et qui contra eos militat, contra nos militat¹². Justissima ergo in eos¹³ sunt arma nostra**, et honestum bellum pro subditorum salute susceptum. **Sed quoniam de Sabellis fecimus mentionem, scitote Jacobum Sabellum unum esse ex his, qui cum Piccinino** conspiravere. Quod si negaverit, praesidium testimonium affert, quod in Palumbaria ab illo recepit. **Rogavimus, ut resiperet¹⁴ ejiceretque Braccianos milites, daturi praeteritae culpae veniam¹⁵. Noluit** audire. Damnavit eum in Capitolio senator. Juste in eum animadvertimus, **parsuri** si se correxerit, nec **boni patris officium** redituro negabimus umquam.

¹ verissima sunt : sunt verissima

G1

² *omit.* G1

³ de G1

⁴ de G1

⁵ de *add.* G1

⁶ agent G1

⁷ fecimus mentionem :

mentionem fecimus G1

⁸ *omit.* G1

⁹ passuri G1

¹⁰ *omit.* B

¹¹ ut B

¹² contra nos militat *omit.* B, C

¹³ in eos *omit.* D, G2, S

¹⁴ resipisceret G2

¹⁵ daturi ... veniam : veniam daturi praeteritae culpae D, G2; veniam praeteritae culpae daturi S

4.3. Pope as lord of the Roman barons

[12] [FV] Some gossip that neither Jean nor Piccinino has attacked Us: they have only made war on the Orsini. But all We have said We know to be certain. What We say is true, and what they say is false. Let Us assume, however, that they have only attacked the Orsini. But are the Orsini not the subjects of the Church? And those who harm them, do they not harm Us, too? We care for both the Orsini, the Colonna, the Conti, and the Savelli:¹ as long as they remain loyal, those who fight them fight Us. Therefore, Our fight against the enemy is entirely just, and the war We have undertaken against them for the safety of Our subjects is legitimate.

But since We have mentioned the Savelli, you should know that Jacopo Savelli is one of those who conspired with Piccinino. If he denies it, it is proven by his accepting a garrison from Piccinino in Palombara.² We have asked him to come to his senses and expel the Braccian³ soldiers, and We have promised to forgive his error, but he would not heed Us. The senator⁴ has condemned him at the Capitol.⁵ We have admonished him justly, and We shall forgive him if he repents and refuse to become his good father again if he returns to Us.

¹ Noble families of Rome with extensive holdings around Rome. Their rise was due to a member of the family having become pope

² Palombara Sabina is a town and *commune* in the province of Rome

³ Piccinino's troops in former times belonged to the great Perugian condottiere, Braccio da Montone (Andrea Fortebraccio,

1368-1424) and were still called the *Bracceschi*

⁴ Head of the civil government of Rome

⁵ In the Renaissance: Seat of the Senator of Rome

[13] [EV] **Non sumus ergo belli amantes, nec voluntarie arma tractamus, sed coacti. Sed pro pace habenda, pro focus, pro aris, pro uxoribus, pro liberis vestris, bellum gerimus. Nec nos primi sumus, qui pro regno Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae, decertamus. Scitis Martini et Eugenii {186v} et ante illos Clementes, Bonifacii, et Nicolai, et multi priores ante illos quid egerint et, quanta exposuerint, ut hi obtinerent, quos illi¹ investiverant. Facessant hi rumores contra nos; sileant qui nobis detrahunt²; nolite vos aures adhibere his³, qui nos carpunt. Namque si umquam pontifex fuit, qui otia diligeret et hujus urbis quietem, nos illi sumus, qui Romam⁴ tamquam patriam amamus et vos omnes non solum uti filios pro dignitate sedis, sed ut fratres habemus quod generis nostri⁵ origine⁶, nam Piccolominea domus, unde nobis origo est, ex hac urbe Senas venit, quod Aeneae nomen in familia nostra usurpatissimum indicat.**

[13] [FV] **Non sumus ergo belli amantes, nec sponte tractamus arma, nec pro re⁷ levi certamus: pro fide retinenda, pro auctoritate ecclesiae conservanda, pro subjectorum⁸ quiete, pro salute civium, pro focus, pro aris, pro uxoribus, pro liberis vestris, quiritibus, bellum suscepimus. Nec nos primi sumus, qui pro regno Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae, sumpserimus arma. Eugenii IV. et Martini V. meministis ferme omnes; {300v} patres vestri Clementes, Bonifacios, Nicolaos viderunt. Quis illorum non bello se immiscuit, ut reges, quos instituerant, pro gloria Romanae sedis in regni possessione servarent? Facessant igitur vani rumores, sileant qui nos sine causa bellare contendunt. Et vos, filii amantissimi, nolite his vocibus auscultare; comescite maledicos, veris tantum sermonibus aures adhibete. Si quis umquam pontifex dilexit otium et hujus urbis amavit quietem, nos illi sumus, qui Romam tamquam patriam diligentes et vos omnes pro sedis dignitate filios, pro⁹ patriae caritate fratres, pro majorum gloria veluti¹⁰ parentes habemus et colimus. Nam et nos ab origine Romani sumus: Piccolominea domus, quae nos genuit, Senas ex hac urbe migravit, sicut Aeneadum Silviorumque nomen in familia nostra frequentissimum indicat.**

¹ ipsi G1

² detrahant G1

³ adhibere his : his adhibere G1

⁴ urbem G1

⁵ generis nostri : nostri generi
G1

⁶ *Textus corruptus*

⁷ omit. B

⁸ subditorum S

⁹ omit. B, C

¹⁰ omit. D, G2

5. Conclusion

[13] [FV] So, We do not love battles; We do not willingly make war; and it is not a trifling cause that We are fighting for. No, We have gone to war to protect the Faith and to preserve the authority of the Church. Citizens, We have gone to war for the peace of Our subjects, for the safety of Our citizens, for your hearths, your altars, your wives, and your children. And We are not the first to have taken up arms for the Kingdom of Sicily, which belongs to the Church. Almost all of you will remember Eugenius IV¹ and Martin V,² as your fathers would remember popes like Clemens, Bonifacius and Nicolaus.³ Which of them did not go to war to keep the kings appointed by them in possession of the Kingdom - to the honour of the Apostolic See? So, away with false rumours, and let those be silent who accuse Us of fighting without good cause. And you, beloved sons, do not hear such voices. Restrain the evil-speakers. Only lend your ears to those who speak the truth. If any pope ever loved tranquillity and cherished this city's peace, it is We, who love Rome as Our own fatherland. The dignity of Our See makes Us consider and respect you as sons, the love of Our fatherland as brothers, and the glory of Our ancestors as parents. For We, too, are of Roman origin: the House of Piccolomini, from which We descend, migrated to Siena from this City, as witnessed by the very frequent occurrence of the names of Aeneas and Silvius in Our family.

¹ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

² Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. His election at the

Council of Konstanz effectively ended the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)

³ Presumably Clemens V, Clemens VI, Bonifacius IX and Nicolaus IV, medieval popes who

fought for the Anjou possession of the Kingdom of Sicily/Naples, see oration "*Responsuri*" [52], sect. 13 ff

[14] [EV] **Amamus** ergo hanc civitatem, in qua summum apostolat¹ consecuti sumus², et unde **ortum habemus**, et inter vos tamquam³ filios, parentes⁴ fratresque cupide versamur, nec vellemus vos implicare bellis, sed potius quiete donare et **opibus** cumulare. **Verum ubi justitia et necessitas urget, non solum bellare, sed vitam ponere parati sumus, ne vel dignitas sedis, vel hujus urbis gloria pereat.**

[14] [FV] Dicunt adversarii nos hanc urbem habere odio. Et quo vultu haec ajunt? Qua ratione? Quo colore? Hinc **ortum habet** prosapia nostra, Romani ac Senenses semper amici fuere. Hic nos sacri presbyteratus accepimus ordinem, hinc episcopatum, hinc cardinalatum et summi apostolatus apicem sumus adepti. Et quis eam civitatem odio habeat, in qua summis honoribus cumulatus fuerit, semper amatus, numquam laesus? **Amamus** vos, quirites, et super omnes homines magnificamus⁵; nec nobis major cura est, quam ut Romanum populum honoribus atque **opibus** cumulemus, {301r} quod sine pace fieri non potest. Atque idcirco pacem semper⁶ quaesivimus. **Verum ubi justitia et necessitas urget, non solum bellare, sed vitam ponere sumus parati, ne vel dignitas** nostrae **sedis, vel hujus urbis gloria pereat.** Pacem, quae nihil insidiarum habeat, nihil⁷ turpitudinis secum ferat, nec recusavimus umquam, nec recusaturi sumus. Haec fuere, quirites, quae vobis nota esse voluimus. *Sibyllae folium recitavimus.* Mendax et vanus est, qui alia vobis suggerit. Nolite audire mendaces, neque frangamini paucis incommodis agitati. Post tempestatem aderit serenitas. *Sustinete modicum*, cito finietur hoc bellum, et pax pulcherrima cum vestra et nostra gloria reformabitur.⁸

¹ summum apostolat¹ : summi apostolatus apicem G1

² consecuti sumus : sumus adepti G1

³ inter *add.* G1

⁴ *suprascr.* H; *omit.* G

⁵ magnificamus D, G2, S

⁶ pacem semper : semper pacem

B

⁷ nil G

⁸ Finis orationis pontificis et Romanorum ingens letitia *nota marg.* R

[14] [FV] Our adversaries claim We hate this City.¹ On what grounds do they say that? Here, in this City, is the origin of Our family; the Romans and the Sieneſe were always friends. Here We were ordained prieſt,² here We were appointed biſhop,³ here We became a cardinal,⁴ and here We were elevated to the Supreme Apoſtolate.⁵ Who could hate a city where he had received ſuch great honours, where he was always loved, and never harmed? We love you, citizens, and We eſteem you above all other men. Our greateſt deſire is to heap honours and wealth on the Roman people. But this is not poſſible without peace, and that is why We have always ſought peace. But when juſtice and neceſſity require it, We are ready not only to fight but to give Our life to preſerve the dignity and honour of Our See and the glory of this City. However, We have never reſused and ſhall never reſuſe an honeſt and honourable peace.

This, citizens, is what We wanted you to know. *We have recited a leaf of the Sibyl.*⁶ Anyone who claims the oppoſite is a liar and falſe. Do not liſten to liars, and do not let a few setbacks diſcouraſe you. After the ſtorm comes peace. *Bear up a little more*⁷: this war will ſoon be over, and ſweet peace will be reſtored - to your honour and Ours.

¹ With ſome reaſon, ſeeing that Pius actually preferred to ſtay away from Rome for much of his reign

² 1446

³ 1447. He was appointed biſhop by Pope Nicolaus V in Rome but conſecrated later in Vienna

⁴ 1456

⁵ 1458

⁶ Juvenalis, 8.16: *credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae*

⁷ 2. Corinthians, 11, 1

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 62)

Oration “*Catherinam Senensem*” of Pope Pius II (29 June 1461, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

On 29 October 1461, Pope Pius II canonized Catherine of Siena during a ceremony held in the Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome. On this occasion, the pope gave an oration, the "*Catherinam Senensem*", in which he defined the concepts of holiness and canonization, and spoke of the life and miracles of the saint. The pope was careful to point out that it is not the pope (or the Church) who creates saints but the saints themselves, with the help of God. The Church only declares that they are saints, being with God in Heaven, and allows the faithful to pray to them and ask for their intercession with God.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Saint Catherine of Siena; Saint Catherina of Siena; Santa Caterina di Siena; Concept of Holiness; Saints; Canonizations; Canonization of Catherine of Siena; Miracles; Asceticism; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1461

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

0. Introduction [1]
1. Concept of Holiness [2-4]
 - 1.1. Holy in the sense of “sacred” and “religious” [2]
 - 1.2. Holy in the sense of “inviolable” [3]
 - 1.3. Holy in the sense of “pertaining to the divine” [4]
2. Concept of canonization [5-10]
3. Life and miracles of Catherine of Siena [11-15]
 - 3.1. Life and character [11-12]
 - 3.2. Asceticism [13]
 - 3.3. Role in the return of the papacy to Rome [14]
 - 3.4. Miracles [15]
4. Canonization of Catherine of Siena [16-18]

Appendix 1: Papal bull “Virgo Catharina” of 29 June 1461 on canonization of Catherine of Siena

Appendix 2: Three hymns composed for the office of Saint Catherine of Siena by Pope Pius II

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

Like many of his predecessors, Pius II systematically promoted the interests of his family, and he also greatly favoured his home city, Siena,² appointing many Sieneese to official positions in the Papal States and at the Curia. Moreover, in 1460, he bestowed the papal “Golden Rose” on the city government of Siena, granted it the city of Radicofani, and raised Siena from a diocese to an archdiocese.

In 1461, the time had come to grant the city another saint, Catherine of Siena, besides Bernardino da Siena, canonized by Pius’ predecessor, Nicolaus V, in 1450. As canonizations at that time were much less frequent than in later periods, the canonization of two saints from Siena in eleven years was quite remarkable, as Pius himself says in the oration.

Catherine of Siena was quite worthy of being proclaimed a saint. Indeed, her canonization was a popular measure since she was already considered a saint in parts of Europe,³ and her role in the restoration of the papacy was generally believed to have been quite important.⁴ Her canonization had been prepared by former popes,⁵ and Pius himself had already discussed it at the Congress of Mantua,⁶ where it met with some resistance from the Franciscans who preferred the canonization of one of their own, friar Giovanni da Capistrano.⁷

Pius does not mention it in his oration, but Catherine of Siena had actually been a great believer in the idea of a crusade, and in that sense, her canonization might indirectly promote the crusade project so dear to Pius.⁸

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

Meanwhile, the pope had been asked by his fellow citizens to enrol the blessed Catherine of Siena among the holy virgins of Christ;⁹ he called a meeting of the bishops then in Rome, where three cardinals who had investigated her life and miracles reported all they had learned. When the assembly was asked its opinion, they unanimously approved her canonization. Pius had a stage erected in Saint Peter’s Basilica: here, after celebrating mass,

¹ CO, V, 24; Boulting, p. 336; Giunta; Mitchell, pp. 238-239; Paparelli, pp. 259-264; Pastor, II, pp. 202-204; Reinhardt, pp. 301-303; Stolf, p. 377; Voigt, IV, pp. 561-571

² Voigt, IV, pp. 561-571

³ Giunta, pp. 57-59

⁴ Pastor, II, pp. 202-204

⁵ Giunta, pp. 60-63

⁶ Giunta, pp. 63-64

⁷ Zimolo, p. 57, n. 3; Voigt, IV, pp. 599-606; Boulting, p. 336; Paparelli, pp. 259-264

⁸ Castellini

⁹ Already a month after the coronation of the new Sieneese pope, the Sieneese ambassadors were instructed to raise the matter with the pope, see Giunta p. 63

he delivered a sermon on the merits of the maid.¹ This we will not insert here since it is included in the volume of his collected speeches. When he had finished, he decreed that Catherine be enrolled with the usual ceremonies in the catalogue of sainted virgins, and he established an annual feast day in her honour. He granted a seven-year indulgence to all who visited the tomb where her bones are kept. The cardinals, bishops, and other prelates present all voiced their approval. He himself dictated the bull of canonization, which is included in the volume of his collected letters.²

Pius' contemporary biographer Campano just wrote that, *with splendid ceremony,³ he entered the name Catherine of Siena, who was said to have performed many miracles, in the list of holy virgins.⁴*

2. Themes

The four major themes of the oration are

- The concept of holiness
- The concept of canonization
- The life and miracles of Catherine of Siena, and
- The canonization of Catherine of Siena

Concerning **the concept of holiness**, Pius distinguishes between three subconcepts:

- holiness in the senses of “religious”
- holiness in the sense of “inviolable” (e.g. ambassadors), and
- holiness in the sense of “divine”

Concerning the **concept of canonization**, Pius carefully explains that the canonization is not an act by which the Church makes somebody a holy saint, but a declaration that the Church believes somebody to be a holy saint, having already entered Heaven, and allows worship of the saint in the form of *veneration* (cultus duliae), but not of *worship*, which is reserved for God (cultus

¹ The event was depicted by Pintoricchio in one of the frescoes in the Libreria Piccolominea in the Cathedral of Siena

² CO, V, 24 (Meserve, III, pp. 131-133)

³ Giunta, p. 64

⁴ Zimolo, p. 57: *Caterinam Senensem, cuius multa extare miracula ferebantur, in divarum retulit numerum, apparatu aequo magnifico*

latria). The Church also allows the faithful to pray to the saints for their intercession with God. This is quite important since the veneration of saints and prayers for their intercession give people hope for divine assistance, and therefore they form the basis for a whole system of religious beliefs and practices and for a large economy or industry of holiness, viz. pilgrimages, sale of relics, and offerings to the saints and the churches, where they are buried. There was also a political dimension of sainthood when a royal or princely family wanted to improve its reputation and legitimacy through the canonization of one of its members. Canonizing saints and regulating their veneration are, therefore, significant elements and symbols of papal power.

Pius also explains why it is the Roman See that has the sole right to canonize people. If it was up to the people or local authorities to decide who was a saint or not, it was likely that quite unworthy persons might gain the status of saints - as had indeed happened a number of times.

Concerning **the life and miracles of Saint Catherine**, Pius is not sparing in his praise. He does not overly dwell on the miracles, though.

As might be expected, he describes in some detail Catherine's contribution to the papacy's return from Avignon to Rome. It had not been forgotten by the papacy, and indeed, her achievement in this respect had been of the utmost importance to the development of the papacy. In the context of an ongoing war of succession in the Kingdom of Naples, where Pope Pius II and the Duke of Milan had made an alliance to keep the French out of Italy (and implicitly to prevent the return of the papacy to Avignon after the election of a French pope), the pope's insistence on Saint Catherine's role in the return of the popes from Avignon to Rome was politically significant.

Concerning the **canonization of Saint Catherine**, Pius carefully points out that all the usual criteria of sainthood are present in this case and that the canonization is requested by the faithful and approved by the hierarchy. He may have felt this declaration to have been necessary in view of his rather uninhibited expressions of Sieneese local patriotism in connection with the canonization, even in the papal canonization bull.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Catherinam Senensem*" was given on 29 June 1461 in Saint Peter's Church in Rome.

The audience consisted of cardinals, prelates, curials, and a large congregation of faithful from many places, including Siena, obviously.

The format was an oration/sermon from the throne.

4. Text¹

4.1. Manuscripts²

The text is contained in a good number of manuscripts, among them the following:

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 85r-91r **(R)** * **
- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 135r-138v **(G)** *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 268r-274r
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I 97 inf, ff. 172v-176v
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. II 3, ff. 6r-16v
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 138r-145r **(H)** * **

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

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in

COR, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

Borghese I, 121-122, ff. 32v-38r **

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**

Barb. Lat. 82, ff. 263r ff.

Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 162r-170r

Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 179r-182r **(D)** *

Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 135v-138v **(A)** *

Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 273r-279r **(C)** *

Ross. lat. 771 (X 51)

Vat. Lat. 1788, ff. 191v-195r **(B)** *

Vat. Lat. 5667, ff. 55v-61r **(L)** * **

Vat. Lat. 12255, ff. 38r-43v **

Vat. Lat. 12256, ff. 48r-55r **

- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**

4310, ff. 139r-144v **

- **Roma / Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele**

Vittorio Emmanuele 492, ff. 200v-206v **(T)** **

The oration was included in the Collected Orations of Pius II compiled in 1462, represented by the manuscripts A, B, C, D, G.¹ Later, in 1464, it was also included in Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's major orations,² contained in the manuscripts listed above with a double asterisk.

4.2. Editions

The oration was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. by Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 137-145
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca]

¹ See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

² See COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The edition is based on the manuscripts listed above with the siglum, with the Chisianus J.VIII.284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination follows the lead manuscript.

Textual apparatus:

The variants common to the manuscripts H, L, R, T, i.e. the manuscripts with the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's major orations from 1464, are given in bold type.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 23 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, of which 16 are from the Bible and 6 from classical sources.

Biblical: 16

Classical: 6

Patristic and medieval: 1

Contemporary: 0

All: 25

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

Biblical sources: 16

Old Testament: 13

- Exodus: 1
- Leviticus: 1
- Canticle: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 1. Esdras: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 7

New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 1
- Apocalypse: 1
- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 6

- Cicero: 1¹
- Macrobius: 1
- Statius: 1²
- Vergilius: 3³

Patristic and medieval sources: 1

- Decretum Gratiani: 1

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ Pro Archia

² Thebais

³ Aeneis

6. Bibliography

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

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

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)

- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]

Reinhardt, Volker: *Pius II. Piccolomini - Der Papst, mit dem die Renaissance begann*. München, 2013

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7. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII. 284

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788

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

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

G = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544

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

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

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

T = Roma / Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / Vittorio Emanuele 492

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Pii II Pontificis Maximi habita Romae in basilica Sancti Petri pro canonizatione beatae Catherinae Senensis¹

[1] {135v} Catherinam Senensem in catalogum² hodie sanctorum³ Christi⁴ virginum relaturi dignum existimamus, venerabiles⁵ fratres ac filii dilectissimi⁶, quid sibi velit sanctitatis vocabulum, cur sanctorum canonizatio sit introducta, et an virgo ipsa hujus honoris digna sit, paucis aperire, ut his satisfiat, qui haec suspensis animis expectant, quales adesse non paucos⁷ {136r} arbitramur.

¹ Oratio ... Senensis : Pii II Pontificis Maximi oratio habita in canonizatione beatae Catherinae Senensis **D, G**; Canonizatio Beatae Caterinae Senensis per

Pium II. Pontificem Maximum facta **H**; *no title* L, T

² cathalogum H; cathalogum A, B, C, D, H, L, R, T

³ sanctoni H

⁴ *omit.* T

⁵ *omit.* C

⁶ venerabiles ... dilectissimi *omit.* H

⁷ adesse non paucos : non paucos adesse G

Oration of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, given in the Basilica of Saint Peter's in Rome, on the occasion of the canonization of Saint Catherine of Siena

0. Introduction

[1] Venerable Brethren and beloved Sons, today We shall enter the name of Catherine of Siena into the catalogue of Holy Virgins of Christ. For the benefit of the many eagerly expectant people We see here today, We shall briefly explain the meaning of the word "holiness",¹ the reasons why the canonization of saints was introduced, and why the virgin Catherine is worthy of this honour.

¹ "Sanctitas"

[2] De sanctitatis significatione primum dicemus. *Sanctum idem esse*¹, quod *sacrum et religiosum* Trebatius jureconsultus diffinivit, cui et sacra eloquia abunde consonant. Nam quod est in Esdra: *Vos sancti estis Deo, et vasa sancta*; et in Libris Regum: *Non habeo panes*² *laicos*³ *ad manum, sed panem tantum*⁴ *sanctum*; et in Psalmis: *Extollite manus vestra in sancta*, ad *sacrum et*⁵ *religiosum* refertur. Et ad hunc intellectum poeta locutus est: *Tuque, o sanctissima vates*; sacram enim Sibyllam vocat. In quo sensu nulli dubium est, quin Romanus pontifex et episcopi⁶ reliqui sanctificare vel homines vel res alias possint, qui sacerdotes idcirco dicuntur, quia⁷ sacra dant resque sanctificant, ut est⁸ illud Exodi: *Facies vestem sanctam Aaron fratri tuo in gloriam et decorem*.

[3] Secundo modo sanctum dicimus, quod neque corrumpi, neque violari debet, quemadmodum sanctas leges et sanctos appellamus legatos: *Sanctum populis per saecula nomen*. Leges autem edere et legatos constituere non solum pontifices⁹, sed reges, et populi consueverunt¹⁰.

¹ est H, R

² pane L, T

³ laycas H

⁴ tamen D, G; totum R

⁵ omit. D, G

⁶ ipsi H, L, T

⁷ qui L, R, T

⁸ omit. D, G

⁹ pontifex R

¹⁰ consueuere H

1. Concept of “holiness”

1.1. “Holy” in the sense of “sacred” and “religious”

[2] First, We shall speak about the meaning of the word “Holiness”. The lawyer Trebatius¹ gave this definition: *Holy is the same as sacred and religious*,² and Holy Scripture entirely agrees with him for we read in Esdras: *You are the holy ones of the Lord and the holy vessels*,³ and in the Book of Kings: *I have no common bread at hand, but only holy bread*,⁴ and in the Psalms: *lift up your hands to the holy places*,⁵ where “holy” means “sacred and religious”.⁶ The poet⁷ speaks in the same sense when he says: *And you, most holy prophetess*,⁸ calling the Sibyl holy. In this sense, there is no doubt that the Roman Pontiff and other bishops can make men and things holy. Indeed, they are called priests⁹ because they “give sacred things”¹⁰ and “make things holy”,¹¹ as it is said in Exodus: *thou shalt make a holy vesture for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty*.¹²

1.2. “Holy” in the sense of “inviolable”

[3] In a second sense of the word, we call that holy¹³ which ought not to be destroyed or violated. In this sense, we call laws and envoys holy: *name sacred to peoples throughout the centuries*.¹⁴ But to issue laws and appoint envoys is done not only by popes but also by kings and peoples.

¹ Trebatius Testa, Gajus (fl. 1st century BCE): jurist of ancient Rome and protégé of Cicero. His writings included a *de religionibus* and *de iure civili* but these books are lost. He was, however, frequently cited by later jurists

² Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 3.3.5. Piccolomini had already used this quotation in his *De gestis concilii Basiliensis Commentarii* from 1440: *Sanctum enim (ut*

Macrobio Trebatium referenti placet) interdum idem est quod sacrum, idemque quod religiosum

³ 1. Esdras 8, 28

⁴ 1. Kings, 21, 4

⁵ Psalms, 133, 2

⁶ “sacrum et religiosum”

⁷ Vergilius Maro, Publius [Virgil] (70-19 BCE): Roman poet

⁸ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.65

⁹ “Sacerdotes”

¹⁰ “sacra dant”, cf. Decretum, D.21.1: 1) *sacerdos autem nomen habet compositum ex Graeco et Latino quod est sacrum dans*; 2) *sacerdotes vocantur quia sacrum dant*. From Isidore: *Etymologiae*, VII, ch. 12

¹¹ “res sanctificant”

¹² Exodus, 28, 2

¹³ “sanctum”

¹⁴ Statius: *Thebais*, 2.486

[4] Tertio modo et¹ pressius² et honorificentius hoc nomen accipimus ad³ sanctum, quod mundum purumque sit, quod beatum, quod immutabile, et aliquo modo⁴ ad divinitatem videtur accedere, sicut⁵ in Levitico legimus: *Estote sancti, quia ego sanctus sum*. Et in Sapientia: *Sanctis tuis maxima erat lux*. Et in Proverbiis: *Novi scientiam sanctorum*. Et illud: *Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem*. Et apud Maronem: *Tuque, o sanctissima conjunx⁶, felix morte⁷ tua*. Et iterum: *Sancta ad vos anima atque⁸ istius⁹ inscia culpa descendam*. Et Ennius, teste Cicerone, *jure suo sanctos appellat poetas* tamquam divino quodam¹⁰ spiritu grandia canant. In hisce sensibus fatemur neque nostrum esse, neque mortalis cujuspian sanctificare quempian. Est enim homo sui arbitrii; neque invitus quisquam¹¹ bonus est aut sanctus.

¹ *omit.* G

² et pressius : expressius H

³ **id H, L, R, T**

⁴ aliquo modo : aliquando H

⁵ sicuti G

⁶ **coniux corr. ex. coniunx L;**

coniux H, R, T

⁷ morti T

⁸ et G

⁹ instuis L; instituis T

¹⁰ quoddam H

¹¹ quisque C

1.3. “Holy” in the sense of “pertaining to the divine

[4] In a third, more profound and more solemn sense of the word, we use the word “holy” as meaning that which is unsullied, pure and immutable, and which somehow approaches the divine, as we read in Leviticus: *Be holy because I am holy*;¹ and in Wisdom: *Thy saints had a very great light*;² and in Proverbs: *I have known the science of saints*;³ and this: *Thou wilt not give thy holy one to see corruption*.⁴ And in Maro:⁵ *And you, oh most holy spouse, happy were you in death*;⁶ and again: *I will descend to you, a soul holy and innocent of that reproach*.⁷ And, according to Cicero,⁸ Ennius⁹ rightly calls poets “holy,” for, inspired by the divine spirit, they sing of great things.¹⁰ We declare that in this sense of the word “holy” neither We nor any other mortal man can make anybody else holy. For every man has his own will, and nobody is good or holy without wanting to be.

¹ Leviticus, 11, 44

² Wisdom, 18, 1

³ Proverbs, 30, 3: *Non didici sapientiam, et non novi scientiam sanctorum*

⁴ Psalms, 15, 10; Acts, 2, 27; 13, 15

⁵ Virgil

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 11.158-159

⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 12.648

⁸ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman and author

⁹ Ennius, Quintus (ca. 239-ca. 169 BCE): Roman writer, often considered the father of Roman poetry

¹⁰ Cicero: *Pro Archia poeta*, 17-19

[5] Cum tamen sancti canonizantur, sanctitatis vocabulum ad beatitudinem refertur, et immutabilitatem, et quendam quodammodo¹ divinitatem, quas res nemo praestare potest nisi solus Deus². Mortalis autem immortalem aut miser felicem aut homo Deum efficere quis potest? Sua quemque innocentia et sua virtus beat³, non tamen absque adjutorio⁴ Dei, in cuius gratia morientes humanae opis^{5 6} non egent, dicente scriptura: *Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur*. Et: *Non derelinquet dominus sanctos suos*. Quod si humana opera esset⁷ opus ad beatitudinem consequendam, multi suo stipendio privarentur, cum fallax sit mortale iudicium. At Deus omnia videns, omnia intelligens, summa iustitia praeditus, pius et misericors, nullum patitur suo praemio fraudari. *Mirabilis {136v} Deus in sanctis suis*, quos ab initio rerum elegit, et scripsit in libro vitae, quando vult et ubi vult, ad se vocat, perfectaue illos beatitudine impartitur⁸, nec nostro indiget ministerio. Nec sanctorum felicitas nostra laude crescit, aut vituperio minuitur; absque ullo metu summo et incommutabili bono fruuntur. Gloria haec est omnibus sanctis ejus.

[6] Quidquid illis a nobis praestatur, nostra causa praestatur. Namque cum pii et religiosi sumus, cum Deum cultu latriae et sanctos ejus cultu duliae veneramus, peccata nostra redimimus⁹. Cumque propter iniquitates nostras summi Dei pulsare aures saepenumero vereamur¹⁰, ad sanctos ipsos recurrimus, qui nostris infirmitatibus intercedendo subveniant. Sed cavendum fuit, ne dum patrocinium quaerimus, offensionem incurramus, eis intercessoribus¹¹ utentes, quos Deus odierit¹². Irritatur enim divinitas, non placatur, cum propitiator minus idoneus adhibetur. Quibus ex rebus provide statuit antiquitas, eos tantummodo sanctos a Christifidelibus colendos esse decernens, qui magno et alto sanctae¹³ sedis apostolicae iudicio probati receptique essent.

¹ quodammodo H

² omit. R

³ habeat H, L, T

⁴ auditorio D

⁵ operis L, T

⁶ humanae opis : humani operis

H

⁷ esse H

⁸ impartitur T

⁹ reddimimus R

¹⁰ veneramus R

¹¹ intercessionibus R

¹² oderit G

¹³ omit. H

2. Concept of canonization

[5] As regards the canonization of saints,¹ the word “holy” refers to beatitude and immutability and some kind of divinity,² things that only God can give. For who else can make a mortal immortal, an unhappy happy, or a man God? All men are made blessed by their own innocence and virtue, but not without the help of God. Those who die in His grace do not need human assistance, as Scripture says: *Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord.*³ And: *The Lord will not forsake his saints.*⁴ If human assistance was needed to attain the state of beatitude, many would be deprived of their reward since human judgment is fallacious. But God sees all, he understands all, He is supremely just, pious, and merciful, and He will not suffer anybody to be deprived of his reward. *God is wonderful in his saints,*⁵ whom he has chosen from the beginning and written into the book of life. He calls them to Him when and where He wishes, and He grants them perfect beatitude without need for our ministry. The felicity of the saints is not increased by our praise, nor is it diminished by our blame: they are enjoying their supreme and unchangeable boon without any fear. Such is the glory of all saints.

[6] What we give them, we give for our own sake.⁶ For when we are pious and religious, when we adore God and venerate the saints, we redeem our own sins. And if we, as often happens, fear to address⁷ God directly because of our iniquities, we have recourse to the saints [asking them] to intercede for our infirmities. But when we ask for protection, we must take care not to commit an offence by using intercessors⁸ who are not pleasing to God. For the divinity becomes displeased and is not happy if we use unsuitable propitiators. Therefore, in Antiquity, it was decided that the Christians might only venerate such persons as saints who had been approved and accepted by the great and high judgment of the Apostolic See.

¹ “sancti”

² I.e. the third sense of the word, see above

³ Apocalypse, 14, 13

⁴ Psalms, 36, 28

⁵ Psalms, 67, 36

⁶ Cf. oration “*Si quis me roget*”, sect. 1: *If anybody asks me, Reverend Fathers, why our forefathers introduced commemorations of holy men, I can answer easily: they did not do so for the sake of the holy men themselves so that they would receive praise for a well-lived life, but for*

our sake so that we will follow their examples. For why would they need our praise when they have been received by the Great God and are enjoying the supreme and ineffable splendour of divinity? And why would they want the praise of mortal men when they are living with Christ and are continuously praised by the voices of angels? No, they are blessed, and we are not able to give them anything or take anything away from them. This passage is from 1438, i.e. 23

years before the “*Catherinam Senensem*”. Pius also used the theme in the introduction to his *Commentarii*, written about a year afterwards: *The perfect happiness of the blessed [the saints] is neither increased by the praise of mortals nor diminished by their scorn*, CO, Preface (Meserve, I, p. 3)

⁷ “*pulsare aures*” : i.e. knock on God’s ears

⁸ “*intercessores*”

[7] Similis cautio apud gentiles fuit, qui etsi caeci erant, verae lucis cognitione privati¹, non tamen² apud eos sibi quisque colendos deos³ assumpsit, sed cultus ex auctoritate majoris pependit. Et apud Romanos quidem in potestate senatus hoc fuit decernere. Scribit enim Tertullianus Tiberium Caesarem, cum per litteras Pilati de Christi miraculis fuisset edoctus, voluisse illi divinos honores decernere, senatumque⁴ non aliam ob causam adversatum, nisi quia sibi⁵ non⁶ fuisset scriptum. Sed noluit verus Deus diis⁷ falsis adnumerari, neque cum pluribus coli, qui⁸ unus est et ipse zelotes. Senatus autem, qui Christum respuit, Simonem magum amplexus est eique statuam decrevit, tamquam Deus esset. Multos illi deos colebant; sed unum omnium regem putabant Jovem, non illum Cretensem, Saturni filium, sed numen⁹ quoddam aeternum et incomprehensibile. Quod si rite gentilitatem interpretemur, perinde apud eos facti ex hominibus dii habebantur, ac¹⁰ illi, quos nos appellamus sanctos. Siquidem sacri codices nunc angelos, nunc homines deos vocant, ut est illud: *Deus stetit in medio deorum, in medio autem deus dijudicat*. Et iterum: *Vos dii estis et filii excelsi omnes*.

¹ ~~deceptique essent~~ *add.* H; ~~re-~~
~~ceptique essent~~ *add.* L;
receptique essent *add.* T

² tantum B

³ colendos deos : deos colendos
G

⁴ senatusque H, L, T

⁵ *omit.* H, L, T

⁶ sibi *add. suprascr.* H

⁷ deis H

⁸ et *add.* H

⁹ nomen H

¹⁰ et H

[7] Similar caution was used by the gentiles: although they were blind and did not know the true light, nobody could choose themselves which gods to worship: divine worship depended on higher authority. In Rome, it was the Senate which had the power to decide this. For Tertullian writes that when Emperor Tiberius had been informed by Pilate about the miracles of Christ, he wanted to grant him divine honours. But the Senate was against it purely because Pilate had written to the emperor, not the Senate. However, the true God did not want to be numbered among false Gods, and He, who is the One God and even a jealous God, did not want to be worshipped together with many gods. The Senate, spurning Christ, accepted Simon Magus instead and decreed a statue in his honour as if he were a god. The Romans worshipped many gods, but they believed Jupiter to be the one king of all, not the Jupiter of Crete, son of Saturn, but some eternal and incomprehensible divinity. If We understand the gentiles correctly, those men they considered gods were such as we call saints. Indeed, Holy Scripture sometimes call angels or men gods, as in: *God hath stood in the congregation of gods: and being in the midst of them he judgeth gods.*¹ And again: *You are gods and all of you the sons of the most High.*²

¹ Psalms, 81, 1: *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum; in medio autem*

deos [Pius' text has "deus"]
dijudicat

² Psalms, 81, 6: *Dii estis, et filii
Excelsi omnes*

[8] Quod si apud caecam gentilitatem nefas fuit deos sibi quemquam¹ pro sua voluntate deligere, ne falsa illorum religio confunderetur, quanto id magis de sanctis inter Christianos debet esse prohibitum, quos nihil absque ordine facere decet? Scimus, quia magister noster Christus est Dei filius et sapientia patris ab aeterno ordinata. Nec illud ignoramus Pauli, qui² *omnia ordinata esse* dicit, *quae sunt a Deo*. Quod si ecclesia Dei opus est, ut est profecto, {137r} extra ecclesiam omnes agunt, qui ordinem intervertunt, quales sunt, qui Romano pontifici³ non oboediunt; et cum debeant esse membra, ea⁴ sibi arrogant, quae sunt capitis. Ecclesiam quippe super apostolica petra Christus fundavit et ordinavit. Ubi ordo, ibi caput et membra; et illud imperat, ista parent. Est enim ecclesia sicut *castrorum acies ordinata* et verus Christi exercitus, in quo ducis⁵ imperio cuncta per ordinem geruntur. Qua regnum Dei patet, ibi⁶ ordo est et concordia. In inferno autem nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat, qui Luciferi sedes est, et omnium carcer, qui Romanae adversantur ecclesiae⁷.

[9] Nostri vero antecessores idonei dispensatores ministeriorum Dei omnia secundum ordinem statuerunt. Ii⁸, cum animadverterent defunctorum memoriae modo imagines, modo statuas, modo etiam fana dicari et sacra peragi, veriti⁹ ne plebes deciperentur aut daemonibus¹⁰ aut damnatis animabus litantes, eos tantum pro sanctis colendos esse mandavere, quos Romana primaque sedes recepisset, quae non levi rumore aut opinione vana, sed maturo consilio et longa digestionem sanctorum canonizationes admittit, nec sanctum aut beatum aut immortalem efficit¹¹ quem canonizat, sed sanctificatum a Deo, immortalem factum, ac beatitate donatum esse declarat.

¹ quemcumque H

² quia C

³ pontifice G

⁴ *omit.* H, L, T

⁵ duas T

⁶ ubi H

⁷ adversantur ecclesiae :
ecclesiae adversantur G

⁸ hii R

⁹ Veneti B

¹⁰ demoniis H

¹¹ efficit D, G, H, R, T

[8] If the blind gentiles considered it wrong to choose gods after one's own head because it would bring disorder to their false religion, should such practice in relation to saints not be even more forbidden to Christians, among whom all must done according to order? We know that our master, Jesus Christ, is the Son of God and the Wisdom of the Father, ordained from eternity. And we heed these words of Paul: *all that is, is ordained of God*.¹ But if the Church is the work of God - as indeed it is - then all who act outside the Church overturn order, as they do who disobey the Roman Pontiff and, despite being members, usurp the right of the head. Christ founded and ordained his Church on the apostolic rock. Where there is order, there is both head and members. The head commands, and the members obey. For the Church is *as an army set in array*,² the true army of Christ, where all is done in an orderly fashion on the general's command. Where the Kingdom of God is, there, too, is order and harmony. In Hell, there is no order but only eternal horror, the seat of Lucifer, and the prison of all who oppose the Roman Church.

[9] But as proper dispensers of the ministries of God, Our predecessors established an orderly practice: when they saw that people sometimes dedicated images, statues and even shrines to the memory of the dead and performed sacred rites to them, they feared that people would be deceived into making offerings to demons or damned souls. Therefore, they decided that only those accepted as saints by the Roman and First See might be revered as saints. This See only permits the canonization of saints after mature deliberation and a lengthy procedure, and not on based on superficial rumour or fickle public opinion. And when it canonizes a person, it does not make him or her holy, blessed or immortal but only declares that he or she is made holy and immortal and blessed by God Himself.

¹ *Romans, 13, 1: there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God*

(non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt)

² *Canticle, 6, 9*

[10] Neque hodie demum beata virgo Catherina caelum ingreditur, sed tum¹ primum ingressa est, cum ex hac luce migravit. Neque salvator dominus in ultima tantum iudicii magni die auditur dicens: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum*, sed quotidie vox² ejus apud bene pieque morientes auditur: *Sancti mei, qui in carne positi certamen habuistis, mercedem laboris ego reddam vobis*. Quod beatae Catherinae nemo dictum³ negaverit, cum carnis ergastulum relinquens: *In manus tuas, inquit, domine, commendo spiritum meum*. Nec nos in praesentiarum virginem ipsam sanctificaturi sumus, sed sanctam esse et publice colendam declaraturi. De cujus meritis pauca nunc attingenda recepimus, quando superioribus diebus⁴ de vita et miraculis ejus et multa et maxima publice audivistis. Verum taceri prorsus ejus praeconia in hac solemnitate non convenit, in qua sua canonizatio celebratur. Libet igitur pauca in medium adducere, quae ut⁵, opinamur, non inviti audietis.

[11] Virgo haec parentibus nata bonis melior ipsa emersit, prius Deo se dedicans⁶ quam⁷ Deum posset per aetatem cognoscere⁸. Virguncula sex annorum, ut domino serviret, eremum concupivit. Angelicam salutationem edocta quotiens paternam domum ascendit, per singulos gradus flexo geniculo beatissimam virginem matrem domini salutavit, et⁹ anno major virginitatem suam consecravit {137v} Christo, quem sua in majestate sedentem manifestissima visione contemplata est, et arcana caelestis aulae vidit, quae non potest effari lingua mortalis. Mundanas¹⁰ delicias a se omnes abdicavit, orationi totam se dedit, corpusculum suum¹¹ jejuniis, vigiliis¹², ac verberibus afflixit. Coaequales puellas, ut idem facerent, et docuit et persuasit. Pubes effecta scissis crinibus mortale¹³ conjugium recusavit, convicia et maledicta hominum sprexit.

¹ cum H, L, R, T

² vos R

³ deberi H; deum L, R, T

⁴ omit. R

⁵ in hac solemnitate ... adducere quae ut omit. H, L, T

⁶ se dedicans : sede dicans L, T

⁷ quoniam H, L, T

⁸ agnoscere H

⁹ omit. R

¹⁰ mundanas R

¹¹ omit. H, R

¹² omit. R

¹³ maritale H

[10] Moreover, the blessed virgin Catherine does not enter Heaven today, for she already entered it when she left this world. Nor is it only on the last day of the great judgment that the Lord Saviour says: *Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom.*¹ No, whenever people die well and piously, he says: *My saints, who fought when you were in the flesh, I shall reward you for your labours.*² Nobody will deny that this is what he said to the blessed Catherine when she left the prison of the body, saying: *Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.*³ Thus, today We do not make this virgin holy, but We only declare that she is holy and may be venerated publicly. Concerning her merits, We shall only say a few things now since you have heard so many and so great things about her life and miracles over the last days. However, it is not proper to completely omit her praises on this solemn feast of her canonization. So let Us just say a few words - We think you will hear them gladly.

3. Life and miracles of Catherine of Siena

3.1. Life and character

[11] This virgin was born of good parents, and she became even better herself. She dedicated herself to God even before she was old enough to really know him. As a small girl of six years, she wanted to go to the desert to serve the Lord. Having been taught the Salutation of the Angel,⁴ she saluted the Blessed Virgin, Mother of Our Lord, on bended knees and on each step, every time she went up the stairs in her father's house. When she grew older, she dedicated her virginity to Christ, whom, in a clear vision, she saw enthroned in majesty. She also saw the secrets of the Heavenly Court, which no mortal tongue can speak of. She renounced all worldly pleasures, gave herself totally to prayer, and chastised her little body with fasting, vigils and scourging. She taught and persuaded her girlfriends of the same age to do the same. When she reached the age of puberty, she cut off her hair and refused marriage with a mortal man, disdaining the mockery and insults of men.

¹ Matthew, 25, 34: *Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum*

² Liturgical text from the Feast of Martyrs

³ Psalms, 30, 6; Luke, 23, 46

⁴ The prayer *Angelus*

[12] Beati Dominici habitum, quem vocant de poenitentia, extorsit potius quam impetravit¹. Ancillare officium in paterna domo exercuit. Pauperibus Christi larga manu subvenit. Aegrotantibus summa diligentia ministravit. Diabolicas temptationes et assiduas malignantium spirituum pugnas² patientiae clipeo et fidei galea superavit. Incarceratos³ et oppressos, quibus valuit, modis consolata est. Nullum⁴ ab ea verbum non religiosum, non sanctum excidit, omnis sermo ejus de moribus fuit, de bonarum artium studiis, de religione, de pietate, de contemptu mundi, de Dei amore et proximi⁵, de caelesti patria. Nemo eam accessit, qui non doctior meliorque abierit. Doctrina ejus infusa fuit, non acquisita. Prius magistra visa est quam discipula, quippe quae sacrarum litterarum professoribus ipsisque magnarum ecclesiarum episcopis difficillimas de divinitate quaestiones per arrogantiam proponentibus prudentissime respondit et adeo satisfacit, ut agnos mansuetos remiserit, quos tamquam lupos ac⁶ leones acceperit, quorum nonnulli divinam in virgine⁷ sapientiam admirati. Distributis mox inter Christi pauperes, quae possidebant, bonis et accepta domini cruce vitam deinde evangelicam egerint.

[13] Quid de vitae austeritate summaque abstinentia dicemus? Miramur Moysem⁸ et Eliam, qui XL dierum jejunia tolerarunt: haec virgo a die cineris⁹ usque in Pentecostem¹⁰ jejunium¹¹ produxit, sola¹² eucharistiae communione contenta. Miramur Antoniorum, Paulorum, Machariorum, et Hilarionum¹³ abstinentiam, qui solis aut oleribus aut leguminibus victitarunt: hujus virginis tenuior cibus extitit, quae per annos ferme octo minimo herbarum succo, eoque parum¹⁴ retento sustentata est. Miramur Bragmanos¹⁵ Indiae gymnosophistas, quos ferunt frigus et aestum pertulisse nudos: majora haec virgo sub veste perpessa est, quae strato jacens duro, dies ac noctes ducebat insomnes, nec vigesimam partem sui temporis quieti dabat. Spinosis cordulis carnem suam macerabat, dolore capitis paene assiduo torquebatur, aestuabat febribus, nec illorum¹⁶ cruciatu carebat, luctabatur cum {138r} daemonibus¹⁷, multisque illorum¹⁸ molestiis vexabatur. Nec tamen in tantis laboribus deficiebat, nec caritatis opera negligebat. Assistebat miseris indigna ferentibus, peccatores arguebat et ad poenitentiam revocabat; dissidentes componebat, praecepta salutis omnibus laeta dabat.

¹ increpavit H, L, R, T

² pugnas *corr.* ex pugnans L; pugnans T

³ carceratos H

⁴ *omit.* R

⁵ et proximi *omit.* H

⁶ et H

⁷ *em.*; virginem A, B, C, D, G, H, L, R, T

⁸ Moysen D, H, R, T

⁹ cinerum H

¹⁰ Penthecosten C; Pentecosten D, G, R

¹¹ jejunia G

¹² solam L, T

¹³ Hi/yliariorum H, R

¹⁴ *omit.* C

¹⁵ Bragmanas G; Braginanos L, T

¹⁶ illorum R

¹⁷ demoniis H

¹⁸ *omit.* H, L, R, T

[12] She received or rather extorted the so-called penitential habit of Saint Dominic. She performed the services of a maid in her father's house, generously helped the paupers of Christ, took diligent care of the sick, and, with patience as her shield and Faith as her helmet, overcame the temptations of the Devil and the incessant attacks of malign spirits. She comforted the imprisoned and the distressed as best she could. Only religious and holy words came from her. All her talk was about morals, the studies of the good arts,¹ religion, piety, contempt of the world, the love of God and one's neighbour, and the Heavenly Fatherland. No visitor left her without having learned something and become a better person. Learning had been infused into her; it was not acquired. She was a teacher before she was a disciple. Indeed, when teachers of Holy Scripture and even bishops from great dioceses arrogantly asked tough questions about the divinity, she answered them wisely and so well that those who had come to her as wolves and lions left her meek as lambs. Indeed, many of them greatly admired the virgin's divine wisdom, and, having distributed their possessions among the poor, they accepted the Cross of the Lord and afterwards lived an evangelical life.

3.2. Asceticism

[13] What shall We say about her austerity of life? We admire Moses and Eliah, who were able to fast for 40 days: this virgin extended the fast from Ash Wednesday to Pentecost, having the Eucharist as her only food. We admire the abstinence of an Antonius, a Paulus, a Macharius, and a Hilarion who only ate cabbages and legumes: this virgin ate even less, subsisting for almost eight years on vegetable juice, and she was even only able to keep a little of it down. We are amazed by the Brahmans, the Indian gymnosophists, who reportedly sustain both cold and hot weather, though nude: this virgin suffered even more, though clothed, for she lay on a hard bed, slept neither day nor night and did not rest even for a twentieth part of her time. She disciplined her flesh with knotted strings, had almost permanent headaches, burnt from fever, and suffered from back pain. She also fought with demons and was much plagued by them. But even in such difficult circumstances, she did not neglect the works of charity. She assisted people who were treated badly; she rebuked sinners and called them to penitence; she made peace among people who were quarrelling; and she gladly gave precepts for salvation to all.

¹ Here, the humanist pope manages to slip in the liberal arts – though it is doubtful that Catherine would have been much con-

cerned with these and that they would really be a sign of holiness. Interestingly, the passage on the liberal arts is not repeated

in the papal bull (see appendix), which otherwise quotes the oration verbatim

[14] Pro pace Florentinorum usque in Avenionem profecta est, ipsique gratias habere Italos decet, per cujus operam Romana curia ad eos rediit. Audite, Romani, audite omnes: res memoranda sacris annalibus atque recenti digna historia: Annos¹ quattuor et septuaginta Romana curia trans alpes peregrinata fuerat. Apostolica sedes per multas deducta manus tandem ad Gregorium XI. sanctitatis opinione celebrem pervenerat. Is cum episcopum quemdam redargueret, quod procul ab ecclesia et sponsa sua vitam ageret, hoc responsum habuit: "Cur tu, pater sancte, qui me arguis, apud ecclesiam tuam non trahis moram, sed multo quam ego meam, tu tuam sponsam a te procul absentem contemnis?" Tactus hoc responso veluti monitu divino pontifex penitioem palatii partem ingressus solus Deo vovit, quam primum posset Romam petere, neque hoc mortali cuipiam revelavit. Sed cum navaret ad recessum operas, et rex Franciae multique Galliarum principes ejus propositum impedire nunc precibus, nunc minis adniterentur, dubius quid ageret, hanc virginem ad se accersitam consuluit, an Romam accedere deberet. Cui virgo: "Quid me," inquit, "pontifex, vilem femellam² interrogas? Tute scis, quae Deo promiseris; servato, quae vovisti." Attonitus his dictis praesul omni haesitatione rejecta itineri se commisit, et navigio in Italiam vectus Romam petiit.

[15] Fuit enim in hac virgine spiritus³ prophetiae, multa praedixit antequam fierent, et cum⁴ hoc Gregorii votum tum alia multa occultissima revelavit. Rapiebatur a spiritu extra se et in aere suspensa frequenter visione divina⁵ fruebatur. Languores⁶ multos curavit, febribus ceterisque morbis in Christi nomine imperans. Propter quas res duobus Romanis pontificibus, Gregorio, cujus modo meminimus, et Urbano sexto acceptissima fuit, ita ut eorum legationibus fungeretur, multisque et magnis spiritualibus gratiis ab eis donaretur.

¹ annis R

² famellam C; heminellam H

³ species *corr.* ex spes H

⁴ tum H

⁵ visione divina : divina visione
H, L, T

⁶ languores A, B, C, D, R, L

3.3. Role in the return of the papacy to Rome

[14] She even went to Avignon in a matter of peace for the Florentines. The Italians owe her thanks because it was through her efforts that the Roman Curia returned to them. Hear it, Romans, hear it, all of you, for it is worthy of being recorded in the sacred annals and an important event in recent history. For 74 years, the Roman Curia had been residing in a foreign country beyond the Alps.¹ The Apostolic See passed through many hands and finally came to Gregory XI,² whom many consider to be a saint. When he rebuked a bishop for living far away from his church and spouse, the bishop answered him: “Why do you rebuke me, Holy Father, when You yourself do not stay with your own Church and, much more than I, disdain your spouse who is far away from you?” The Pontiff was struck by this answer as if it was a rebuke from God. He went into his private rooms in the palace, and when he was alone, he swore to God he would return to Rome as soon as possible, telling nobody about it. But when he tried to leave, the King of France³ and many French princes strove by entreaties and threats to prevent him from doing as he wished. Unsure what to do, he summoned the virgin and asked her advice about returning to Rome. The virgin answered him: “Why, o Pontiff, do you ask me, a lowly woman? You know quite well what you promised to God. Keep your promise!” Deeply moved by this answer, the Pontiff cast all hesitation away, left [Avignon], sailed to Italy, and came to Rome.

3.4. Miracles

[15] This virgin also had the spirit of prophecy and predicted many things before they happened. Apart from Gregory’s vow, she revealed many other hidden things. Frequently, her spirit left the body, and floating above the ground, she enjoyed the vision of God. She cured many melancholics and commanded fevers and other illnesses in the name of Christ. For these reasons, two Roman Pontiffs, Gregory, whom We have just mentioned, and Urban VI,⁴ held her in the greatest esteem, used her on missions, and granted her many great spiritual boons of grace.

¹ In Avignon, France

² Gregorius XI [Pierre Roger de Beaufort] (ca. 1329-1378): Pope from 1370 to his death. Seventh and last of the Avignon popes,

and last pope before the Great Western Schism

³ Charles V (1338-1380): King of France from 1364 to his death.

⁴ Urbanus VI [Bartolomeo Prignano] (ca. 1318-1389): Pope from 1378 to his death

[16] O igitur gloriosa et beatissima virgo, quae tantum decus patrum¹ nostrorum memoriae tradidisti, atque urbem Senam tantopere exornasti. Gaudemus² sane, fratres, et gloriamur³ patriae nostrae secundum carnem tantum splendorem esse concessum, ut nostra aetate cives duo⁴ Senenses in caelesti Jerusalem ascriberentur⁵: rara laus et nostris alias inaudita temporibus. Bernardinum, nobili loco apud {138v} Senenses natum, Nicolaus V., praedecessor noster, pontifex maximus, in catalogo⁶ sanctorum Christi confessorum adnumeravit, cujus excellentissimas virtutes et admiranda opera non solum audivistis ab aliis, sed ipsi vidistis, qui vestro⁷ sub aevo clarens, doctrina sua mundum implevit. Catherinam, ejusdem urbis alumnam, ipsi modo inter acceptas Deo⁸ virgines et caelo donatas relaturo sumus, cujus ante annos octuaginta defunctae tam clara et illustra fama est, ac si heri aut nudiustertius decessisset. Neque enim ingentia facta facile obscurantur.

[17] Loquuntur Catherinam, ejusque signa et prodigia mirantur et celebrant non Senenses modo, apud quos nata et adulta est, aut Romani, apud quos obiit, sed Florentini, Pisani, Lucenses, Genuenses, et ipsi transalpes Avenionenses, inter quos aliquandiu summa cum laude versata est. Veneti quoque huic virgini testimonium perhibent⁹, miro¹⁰ virtutum¹¹ suarum odore¹² afflati. Ad Germanos insuper et Hungaros flagrantia¹³ sanctitatis ejus pervenit. Si quidem rex Hungariae, dux Austriae et Pataviensis episcopus¹⁴ canonizationem ipsius a nostris antecessoribus per nuntios et epistolas petierunt. Idemque pari modo a nobis efflagitavit carissimus in Christo filius noster¹⁵, Fridericus, Romanorum imperator Augustus.

¹ patrum A, B, D, G, L, T

² **gaudeamus** H, L, R, T

³ gloriemur H, R

⁴ duos H, L, T

⁵ adscriberentur H

⁶ cathalogo A, B, C, D, R;

cathalogum H; cathalagum L, T

⁷ nostro R

⁸ Dei R

⁹ prohibent L, T

¹⁰ mirum H

¹¹ in *add.* L, T

¹² odorem H, L, T

¹³ fragrantia H

¹⁴ Pataviensis episcopus *omit.* C

¹⁵ *omit.* R

4. Canonization of Catherine of Siena

[16] Oh, glorious and blessed virgin, who has so greatly contributed to the reputation of our fathers and adorned the City of Siena so magnificently. We rejoice, brethren, and are proud that this splendid honour has been given to Our fatherland after the flesh and that, in our time, two Sienese have been inscribed in the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is a rare distinction, indeed, and otherwise unheard of in our time. Bernardino,¹ who came from a noble family in Siena, was entered into the catalogue of the Holy Confessors of Christ by Our predecessor, Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus V. You yourselves have not only heard from others about his excellent virtues and admirable works but have seen them yourselves, for he was renowned in your own time and filled the world with his teaching. And Catherine, a native daughter of the same city, We Ourselves shall now declare to be among the virgins pleasing to God and given to Heaven. Though she died 80 years ago, her fame is as great and illustrious as if she had died only some days ago. Great deeds are not easily forgotten.

[17] Catherine and her signs and miracles are told, admired and celebrated not only by the people of Siena, where she was born and grew up, or of Rome, where she died, but also by the people of Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Genoa and even Avignon beyond the Alps where she lived for a time in great honour. Also the Venetians bear witness to this virgin, moved by the wonderful odour of her virtues. The splendour of her holiness has even reached the Germans and the Hungarians. Indeed, the King of Hungary, the Duke of Austria, and the Bishop of Passau have sent envoys and letters to Our predecessors requesting her canonization. And the August Emperor of the Romans, Friedrich,² Our dear son in Christ, has begged Us to do the same.

¹ Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444): Franciscan preacher and saint

² Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King

of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

[18] Non est igitur, venerabiles fratres, cur dubitemus hanc prudentissimam virginem apud militantem ecclesiam sua dignitate donare, quae jampridem coronata est apud triumphantem. Conveniunt omnia, quae tanto in opere desiderari solent. Adest vita purissima, nullius conscia culpae¹. Adest integerrima fides. Adest flagrantissima² caritas. Adest signorum et miraculorum supra naturam virtus, sicut perpulchre recitavit advocatus. Adest fama celebris. Adsunt preces principum et rogamina populorum. Adhbita est omnis solemnitas, quae in tanto negotio requiritur. Audacter igitur canonizationem ejus absolvere possumus. Sed nihil est, quod sine³ divina⁴ gratia rite perfici queat. Homines sumus, labi, errare, et decipi possumus. Solus Deus est, qui falli non potest. Quapropter oratos vos omnes, qui adestis, facimus, ut⁵ una nobiscum spiritus sancti misericordiam et assistentiam imploretis, ne⁶ nos in hoc negotio sinat aberrare, sed ea nobis inspiret, quae suae sint beneplacita⁷ voluntati et fidelium utilitati conducant^{8,9}.

¹ conscia culpae : culpae conscia
R

² fragrantissima H

³ **omit. H, L, R, T**

⁴ *omit.* H

⁵ **omit. H, L, R, T**

⁶ **neque D, G**

⁷ *omit.* R

⁸ **concedant H, L, R, T**

⁹ Amen *add.* R

[18] Thus, there is no reason, venerable Brethren, why We should hesitate to let the Church Militant recognize the honour of this wise virgin,¹ who has already been crowned by the Church Triumphant. All the proper conditions in such an important case have been fulfilled: Her life was pure and without any sin.² Her faith was unblemished, and her love burning. Her signs and miracles showed supernatural virtue, as it was movingly told by the advocate.³ Her fame is great, and We have received requests from the princes and demands from the peoples. All the solemn procedures required in such an important affair have been followed. We can, therefore, proceed to her canonization with confidence. But nothing can be done rightly without the grace of God. We are men, we may fall, err and be deceived. Only God cannot be deceived. Therefore, We ask all of you who are present to beg, together with Us, for the mercy and assistance of the Holy Spirit that He will not let Us err in this matter but inspire Us to do what may please His will and benefit the faithful.

¹ Probably an allusion to the ten prudent virgins - and a reuse of a title of the Virgin Mary

² Here Pius - unabashedly - applies the expression "in scia culpae" which Vergil had used about Queen Amata of Latium (Aeneid, 12.648), to a Catholic saint. The

office he wrote for Saint Catherine also contains some expressions and concepts from classical pagan literature. The world would know and note that the pope himself knew, appreciated, and used such literature, true humanist and lover of the liberal

arts, such as he also claimed Saint Catherine to have been

³ The advocate charged with defending Catherine's holiness in the procedure of canonization had made a public report on one of the preceding days

Appendix 1: Papal bull *Virgo Catharina* of 29 June 1461 on the canonization of Catherine of Siena

After Rainaldus, ad ann. 1461, nr. 124

Pius Papa II ad perpetuae rei memoriam

[1] Virgo Catharina ex civitate Senensi oriunda, mediocribus orta parentibus, prius Deo sese dedicavit, quam Deum posset per aetatem cognoscere. Sex annos nata, ut domino serviret, eremum concupivit, et urbe egressa in caverna quadam loco solitario delituit, quamvis jubente spiritu paululum demorata domum redierit. Angelicam salutationem edocta quoties paternae domus scalam ascendit, toties per singulos gradus flexo geniculo beatissimam virginem matrem domini salutavit, et anno major virginitatem suam consecravit Christo, quem sua in majestate sedentem mirabili visione contemplata est, et arcana caelistis aulae vidit, quae non potest effari lingua mortalis. Mundanas delicias a se omnes abdicavit, orationi totam se dedit, corpusculum suum jejuniis, vigiliis, ac verberibus afflixit. Coaequales puellas, ut idem facerent, et docuit et persuasit. Pubes effecta scissis crinibus mortale conjugium recusavit, convicia et maledicta hominum sprexit. Beati Dominici habitum, quem feminae gestant, de poenitentia nuncupatae, extorsit potius quam impetravit. Ancillare officium in paterna domo exercuit, nihil magis cupiens quam vilis apud homines et abjecta videri. Pauperibus Christi, nam id pater sibi indulserat, larga manu subvenit, aegrotantibus summa diligentia ministravit. Diabolicas temptationes et assiduas malignantium spirituum pugnas patientiae clipeo et fidei galea superavit. Incarceratos et oppressos, quibus valuit, modis consolata est. Nullum ab ea verbum non religiosum, non sanctum excidit, omnis sermo ejus de moribus fuit, de religione, de pietate, de contemptu mundi, de Dei amore et proximi, de caelesti patria. Nemo ad eam accessit, qui non doctior meliorque abierit. Doctrina ejus infusa fuit, non acquisita. Prius magistra visa est quam discipula, quippe quae sacrarum litterarum professoribus ipsisque magnarum ecclesiarum episcopis difficillimas de divinitate quaestiones proponentibus prudentissime respondit et adeo satisfecit, ut tamquam agnos mansuetos remiserit, quos tamquam lupos et leones acceperat, quorum nonnulli divinam in virgine sapientiam admirati, distributis mox inter Christi pauperes, quae possidebant, substantiis accepta domini cruce vitam deinde evangelicam egerint.

[2] Summa hujus virginis abstinencia fuit et mirabilis vitae austeritas, nam cum vini et carni-um usum prorsus abjecisset, nec pulmentariis ullis uteretur, ad extremum eo deducta est, ut nec legumina ederet, nec pane visceretur nisi caelesti, quem verus Christianus in sacramento sumit altaris. Inventa est aliquando a die cinerum usque in Pentecostem jejunium perduxisse, sola eucharistiae communionem contenta, per annos circiter octo minimo herbarum succo, eorumque parum retento et communionem sacra sustentata est: ad cibum quasi ad supplicium pergebat. Ad communionem altaris, quae illi fere quotidiana fuit, quasi ad caelestes nuptias invitata esset, summa cum alacritate proficiscebatur. Cilico sub veste utebatur, quo carnem macerabat: nullae illi plumae, nulla pulminaria erant, lectum sibi ex asseribus confecerat, atque in eo jacens brevissimum somnum accipiebat, raro enim ultra duas horas interdum noctuque dormiebat, reliquum omne tempus vigilando, orando, praedicando, opera misericordiae agendo, contrivit. Spinosis cordulis carnem suam macerabat, dolore capitis paene assiduo torquebatur, aestuabat febribus, nec illorum cruciatu carebat, luctabatur cum daemonibus, multisque illorum molestiis vexabatur, sed aiebat cum apostolo: *Cum informor, tum fortior sum*. Nec enim in tantis laboribus deficiebat, nec caritatis opera negligebat. Assistebat miseris indigna ferentibus, arguebat peccatores et blandissimis verbis ad poenitentiam revocabat; praecepta salutis omnibus laeta dabat, quid sectandum, quid fugiendum esset alacri vultu ostendebat; dissidentes summo studio componebat, multa extinxit odia, et mortales sedavit inimicitias.

[3] Pro pace Florentinorum, qui cum ecclesia dissidebant et interdicto suppositi erant ecclesiastico, Appeninum et Alpes transire atque usque in Avenionem ad Gregorium XI. pontificem maximum proficisci non dubitavit, cui votum suum de petenda urbe Roma in occulto factum et soli sibi ac Deo notum sese divinitus cognovisse monstravit. Fuit enim in ea spiritus prophetiae, et multa praedixit antequam fierent, et occultissima revelavit. Rapiebatur saepe a spiritu et in aere suspensa divinis contemplationibus pascebatur, adeo extra se acta, ut expuncta percussaque nihil omnino sentiret, idque frequenter sibi contingebat, cum divinissima reficeretur Eucharistia. Magnum et sanctum erat in plebibus Catharinae nomen: undique ad eam aegroti et malignis vexati spiritibus deducebantur, et multi curabantur languoribus et febribus in Christi nomine: imperabat et daemones coge- bat ab obsessis abire corporibus propter quas res duobus Romanis pontificibus, Gregorio, cujus paulo ante meminimus, et Urbano sexto acceptissima fuit, ita ut legationibus eorum fungeretur, multisque et magnis spiritualibus gratiis ab eis donaretur.

[4] Eadem cum vitae agonem jam peregisset anno aetatis suae tertio circiter ac trigesimo, in urbe Roma diem suum clausit, de cujus animae in caelum assumptione et gloriosa receptione, stupendae et admirabiles revelationes factae reperiuntur apud eas personas, quae virginem dilexere, maxime vero apud ejus confessorem Raymundum Capuanum, sacrae theologiae magistrum, qui postea generalis totius Ordinis Praedicatorum pater, magister et rector effectus est: is namque, cum Genuae ageret, ea nocte, qua virgo migravit, hora matutina intra

dormitorium apud imaginem matris domini eam contemplatus est miro splendore fulgentem, et verba ad se consolatoria dicentem. Corpus aliquandiu servatum, denique in ecclesia fratrum Praedicatorum, quae de Minerva dicitur, Rome conditum est non sine maxima populi devotione ac reverentia, cujus tactu plerique aegroti salutem consecuti sunt, adeo ut nonnullis saluti fuit ea tetigisse, qua sacrata virginis membra tetigere. Postea quoque virgo ipsa jam caelo recepta vota supplicantium benigne audivit, et, ut a sponso et domino suo Christo Salvatore exaudirentur, curavit: multi enim ex diversis aegritudinibus curati sunt, qui audita Beatae Catharinae gloriosissima fama, ejus patrocinium supplices petivere.

Addidit pontifex haec omnia rite probata perpensaque, et cardinalium senatum ac praesules caelitem honores illi decernendos censuisse, quorum secutus sententiam illam in sanctorum ordine reposuit, et sacram illius memoriae recolendae diem primam Maji recurrentis singulis annis Dominicam instituit: tum ejus sepulchrum in Praedicatorum ecclesia eadem die lustraturis nonnulla indulgentiarum praemia elargitus est, adjecta diplomati haec temporis nota: "Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominicae MCDLXI. III. Kal. Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno III."

Appendix 2: Three hymns composed for the office of Saint Catherine of Siena by Pope Pius II

After: Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II *Carmina*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 1994. (Studi e Testi; 464), pp. 209-213

Ad (primas) vesperas

Hec tue, uirgo, monimenta laudis,
Que tuis leti, Catherina, sacris
Hoc quidem pacto modulamur omnes
perfer Olympo.

Si satis digne nequeant referri,
annuas nobis ueniam, precamur:
non sumus tanti ingenii, fatemur,
optima virgo.

quis fuit dignas modulatus unquam
uirginis laudes? quis in orbe toto
femine inuicte peritura nunquam
carmina pandet?

predita exemplis, Catherina, claris
moribus prestans, sapiens abunde,
temperans, fortis, pia, iusta, prudens
ethera scandis.

quem latet virtus facinusque clarum,
quo nequit dici sanctius per orbem?
uulnerum formam miserata Christi
exprimis ipsa.

nam breuis, meste misereque vite
et malis cunctis penitus referte
fortiter spernens pretiosa queque
sidera adisti.

gratias summas habeamus omnes
filio magni genitoris almo,
spiritum sanctum ueneremur et sit
laus tamen tua.

Amen.

Ad laudes

iam ferox miles tibi sepe cessit
et duces iras posuere sevas,
in necem diram populo minati
sepe senensi.

quid quod et sacris studiis frequenter
uiribus summis operam dedisti?
littere docte lepideque claris
urbibus extant.

niteris uerbis reuocare lapsos,
niteris rectum suadere cunctis;
sic ais: "tantum probitas beatos
efficit omnes."

iura tu seue tremebunda mortis
fortiter temnens, nihil extimescens
premium nostre vocitare uite
sepe solebas.

unde cum tempus properaret ipsum,
quo sacros artus cineresque busto
linqueres, celos aditura flentes
 ipsa docebas.

sic sacrum Christi uenerata corpus,
hostiam libans lacrymis obortis
dixeras cunctis documenta uite
 uoce suprema.

gratias summas habeamus omnes
filio magni genitoris almo,
spiritum sanctum ueneremur et sit
 laus tamen tua.

Amen.

Ad matutinum

Laudibus, virgo, nimis efferenda
iure censeris, quoniam triumphos
ipsa celorum probitate mira
 nacta refulges.

premium sancte tamen ipsa vite
et simul munus probitatis alme
accipis celo cumulata cunctis
 denique rebus.

tu grauem sacris meritis refertum
orbis exemplar pietate plenum,
predicatorum uenerata patrem
 ordine fulges.

nulla iam rerum placuit uoluptas,
nullus ornatus, nitor ecce nullus
corporis. semper fugiens inique
 crimina vite.

sepius corpus domitans acerbe
(quam pie flagris, cruor hinc et inde
fluxerat riuis!) hominumque demum
 crimine flebas.

qui per ingentes uariosque casus
orbe terrarum cruciantur omnes
quotque vel curis agitantur ipsi
 undique diris.

suppetent nobis totidem canenda
si tue laudes repetantur omnes;
tu quidem longe pietate cunctis
 inclyta, prestas.

gratias summas habeamus omnes
filio magni genitoris almo,
spiritum sanctum ueneremur et sit
 laus tamen tua.

Amen.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 63)

Oration “*Pone lacrimas*” of Pope Pius II (16 October 1461, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Abstract

In 1461, the rule of Queen Charlotte of Cyprus and her husband Louis of Savoy was successfully challenged by the queen's half-brother Jacques II de Lusignan. The queen fled to the West, where she first went to the pope, Pius II, in Rome to beg for help. In his oration to the queen, the pope gave comforting words and promise of aid to her travel to her father-in-law, Duke Louis I of Savoy, and the promise of wine and grain to her besieged troops in Cyprus, but he also used the occasion to denounce the duke's refusal to contribute to the crusade against the Turk.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Charlotte de Lusignan, Queen of Cyprus; Louis of Savoy, King of Cyprus; Louis de Savoie, King of Cyprus; Jacques II de Lusignan, King of Cyprus; Louis I, Duke of Savoy; Louis I de Savoie; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1461

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions and translations
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In 1458, the fourteen-year-old Princess Charlotte de Lusignan succeeded her father, Jean II, on the throne of Cyprus. She was crowned on 7 October, and a year afterwards, she married her cousin, Louis de Savoie, who arrived in Cyprus on 4 October 1459 and was crowned king. The couple was not to enjoy their lordship over Cyprus for long, for the year after, in 1460, the queen's illegitimate halfbrother, Jacques II de Lusignan, claimed the kingdom for himself. Louis was besieged in the castle of Kyrenia, and Charlotte fled to Europe to raise help to regain the kingdom.

First she came to Rome, in October 1461. On the sixteenth,² she was received by Pius II and made her plea to him for help.³ Pius responded courteously in the oration "*Pone lacrimas*" and provided money and horses for her travel to her father-in-law, Louis I of Savoy, who gave her a very cool reception. Thereafter, she returned dejectedly to Cyprus.

The royal couple was finally deposed in 1464 and came to Europe. Charlotte died in Rome in 1484.

2. Themes

In his oration, Pius gave the queen words of comfort and assurance of aid for her further travel.

However, he could not resist the temptation to blame her misfortunes on the unfriendly attitude towards the papacy of the House of Savoy, especially the refusal of Duke Louis I of Savoy to contribute to the crusade. It also rankled the pope that Charlotte's husband had not made an appearance at the Congress of Mantua on his way to Cyprus in September 1459.

The pope said:

Your sufferings are cruel but not rare. The throne of a realm is unstable. No power lasts long. Fortune rejoices in elevating some and tearing others down, and now it is playing with your family: it has given the throne to your brother and sent you into exile. We believe that

¹ CO, VII, 7; Pastor, II, p. 176-178;
Voigt, IV, pp. 653-656

² Pastor, II, p. 177

³ The probably fictive oration
"*Infelices domus*" in the *Com-
mentarii*

you are expiating the sins of your father-in-law and your husband. For when your father-in-law was asked, at the Congress of Mantua, to promise his aid to the defence of the Faith against the Turks, as did the other princes of Italy, he could in no way be persuaded to pledge even the smallest contribution. And when your husband set off to sail to you,¹ he did not deign to come to Us in Mantua though it would have been quite easy for him to go via the Po to the mouth of the Mincio. Both father and son showed Us contempt.

Therefore, We told the cardinals: "The House of Savoy despises the Church and does not see fit to promise its aid to religion. This young man, who is now going to Cyprus, will suffer for it. He believes he shall have the kingdom as his dowry, but he is wrong: he will be expelled. Hopefully, he will escape the enemy's troops. His father, who arrogantly refused to help Us against the Turks, will come and beg Us to help his son." [Sect. 1-2]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Pone lacrimas*" was given on 16 October 1461 in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience was restricted to a few people (*inter paucos*), and the format was a - somewhat informal - papal response to a princess.

4. Text²

This oration was not included in the official compilation of Pope Pius II's orations from 1462 but only in his *Commentarii*.³

¹ In September 1459, during the Congress in Mantua

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

³ For the orations included in the *Commentarii*, see COR, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.1. Manuscripts

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

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 223r-223v (S)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 324v-325r (R)

Of these, the Reginensis contains the first version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the final version, both made under Pius' personal supervision.

4.2. Editions and translations

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

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 433-434
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 1392-1393
[With an Italian translation]
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. and transl. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. (The I Tatti Renaissance Library) / III, pp. 385-386
[With an English translation]

The oration was also published in the:

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663. / Ad annum 1461, nr. 33
[And in later editions]

¹ For other editions, see
Collected orations of Pope Pius,
vol. 1, ch. 5

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

Though the Reginensis and the Corsinianus have very ably edited previously, the text has - as a matter of principle - been collated from the two principal manuscripts, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this very brief oration, only one direct or indirect quotation has been identified, from Horace's Odes.

6. Bibliography

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

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)

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

- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
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- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northhampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43)

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025].

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

7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {223r} Pone¹ lacrimas atque confide, filia: non te deseremus. Nota tua nobilitas et tua calamitas nobis est. Indigna pateris, non insolita. Instabile regni solium est. Nulla potentia longa. *Hos erigere, illos deprimere fortuna gaudet*, et nunc in tuo genere ludit: thronum tuum fratri dedit, te in exilium misit. Tui soceri, ut arbitramur, et tui viri peccata luis. Socer rogatus in Mantuano conventu ea pro defensione fidei adversus Turcos² promittere, quae reliqui Italiae principes pollicerentur, nullo pacto persuaderi potuit, ut vel minimi auxilii spem faceret. Vir tuus, cum ad te navigaret, haudquaquam dignatus est ad nos usque Mantuam proficisci, quod sibi erat facillimum per Padum ad hostia³ Mincii evecto. Contempserunt nos ambo, pater et filius.

[2] Propter quam rem diximus inter cardinales: “Contemnit ecclesiam Sabaudiae domus nec religioni dignatur polliceri opem. Hic adolescens, qui modo in Cyprum navigat, poenas dabit. Dotale regnum se possessurum existimat. Fallitur: ejicietur. Utinam manus hostiles evadat. Pater ejus, qui nobis auxilia adversus Turcos impudenti voce negavit, ad nos {223v} supplex veniet filio rogaturus opem. Faxit Deus, ut nos opitulari possimus.”

¹ Pii responsio *nota marg.* R

² Turchos *et passim* S

³ ostia S

[1] Put away your tears, daughter,¹ and have faith: We shall not fail you. Your nobility and your misfortune are known to Us. Your sufferings are cruel² but not rare. The throne of a realm is unstable. No power lasts for long. *Fortune rejoices in elevating some and tearing others down*,³ and now it is sporting with your family: it has given the throne to your brother⁴ and sent you into exile. We believe you are expiating the sins of your father-in-law⁵ and your husband.⁶ For when your father-in-law was asked, at the Congress of Mantua, to promise his aid to the defence of the Faith against the Turks, as did the other princes of Italy, he could in no way be persuaded to pledge even the smallest contribution. And when your husband set off to sail to you,⁷ he did not deign to come to Us in Mantua though it would have been quite easy for him to go via the Po to the mouth of the Mincio. Both father and son showed Us contempt.

[2] Therefore, We told the cardinals: “The House of Savoy despises the Church and does not see fit to promise its aid to religion. This young man, who is now going to Cyprus, will suffer for it. He believes he shall have the kingdom as his dowry, but he is wrong: he will be expelled. Hopefully, he will escape the enemy’s troops.⁸ His father, who arrogantly refused to help Us against the Turks, will come and beg Us to help his son. May God give that We shall then be able to.”

¹ Charlotte of Cyprus (Lusignan) (1444-1487): Queen of Cyprus and Princess of Antioch, as well as titular Queen of Jerusalem and Armenia. Daughter of King Jean II of Cyprus. In 1458, she succeeded to the throne. Married Louis of Savoy in 1459. With the support of the Muslim Egyptians, her illegitimate half-brother, Jacques, forced her to finally flee the island in 1463, and he was later crowned king. She made a military attempt to regain her throne but was unsuccessful and died childless in Rome

² “indigna”

³ Cf. Horatius: *Carmina*, 1.34.15: *hinc apicem rapax fortuna cum stridore acuto sustulit hic posuisse gaudet*

⁴ Jacques II (the Bastard) of Cyprus (Lusignan): (ca. 1438/1439 -1473): illegitimate son of Jean II of Cyprus and half-brother of Charlotte of Cyprus. In 1460, with support from the Egyptian Mamluk sultan, Jacques challenged her right to the throne, blockading her and her husband in the castle of Kyrenia for three years. After Charlotte fled to Rome in 1463, Jacques was crowned King

⁵ Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death.

Son of Duke Amédee VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, employer of Enea Silvio Piccolomini from 1440-1442

⁶ Louis of Savoy (1436/1437-1482): King of Cyprus, reigning together with and in the right of his wife, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus from 1460 to 1464 when he and his wife had to go into exile. Louis was the second son of Louis I, Duke of Savoy, and his wife Anne of Lusignan, daughter of King Janus of Cyprus, Queen Charlotte’s grandfather

⁷ In Autumn 1459, during the Congress in Mantua

⁸ Or “the enemies’ hands”

[3] Evenere praedicta. Utinam falsum fuisset vaticinium nostrum. Placuit Deo contumaciam plectere et Sabaudiensis et tuae domus. Quotiens mater tua apostolicae sedis mandata contempsit? Quanta fuit tuorum progenitorum aliquando superbia? Portant filii peccata parentum. Nemo sine causa miser est. Deus his te casibus probat, filia. Spera in eo, et ipse te liberabit. Horridam tempestatem placida serenitas sequitur. In quiete finitur labor. Quaecumque postulasti ex nobis feres. Equos dabimus, quibus ad socerum pergas, et sumptus itineris, frumentumque et vinum in Ancona rediens paratum invenies, quod navibus ad obsessos vehas. Exercitum ipsa in Sabaudia et in Gallia coges, quo regnum vendices.

[3] Our predictions have come true. If only Our prophecy had been false! It has pleased God to punish the defiance of both your own house¹ and the House of Savoy. How often did your mother² not spurn the decrees of the Apostolic See? How great was not sometimes the arrogance of your ancestors? Children bear the sins of their parents. Nobody suffers without cause. It is God who is trying you through these misfortunes, daughter. Put your hope in Him, and He will make you free. After a terrible storm follows blessed peace, and trouble ends in tranquillity. From Us, You will get what you ask: We shall give you horses and travel funds so you can go to your father-in-law. And when you return, grain and wine will be ready for you in Ancona, which you may ship to the besieged. An army to reclaim your kingdom you must gather yourself in Savoy and France.

¹ The Cypriote Royal House of Lusignan

² Helena Palaiologina (1428-1458): Byzantine princess of the Palaiologos family, who became

Queen consort of Cyprus and Armenia, titular Queen consort of Jerusalem, and Princess of Antioch through her marriage to King Jean II de Lusignan of

Cyprus and Armenia. She was the mother of Queen Charlotte of Cyprus