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**Collected Orations of Pope Pius II. Vol. 10: Orations
64-77 (1462-1464). 4th version**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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

Vol. 10: Orations 64-77 (1462-1464)

4th version

2019

Abstract

Volume 10 of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* contains fourteen orations held by Pius II in the last years of his pontificate, from 1462-1464. It comprises the three very important orations from March 1462, the “*Existimatis fortasse*” relaunching his crusade project, the “*Per me reges regnant*” on the abolition of Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and the “*Superioribus diebus*” with a refusal to grant communion under both species to the Bohemians. It also contains the orations delivered at the reception of Saint Andrew’s Head in Rome, a major propaganda scoop for the papacy. And finally it contains the “*Sextus agitur annus*”, the prelude to his great crusade bull *Ezechielis propheta*, officially initiating his crusade.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Papal orations; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1460-1462; 15th century; Papacy; Wars against the Turks; Crusades against the Turks; Italian politics; Venice; Florence; Bosnia; Saint Andrew; Saint Andrew’s Head; Relics; Cult of relics; Siena; Sigismondo Malatesta; Malatesta Family; Salt mines of Cervia; Venezia; Venice; Florence; Firenze; Hussites; Bohemia; Communion under both species; Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; Papacy; France

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

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

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

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

20 July 2019

MCS

¹ 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

OO = Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2nd ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967]

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 64)

Oration “*Existimatis fortasse*” of Pope Pius II (1 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

After his return from Mantua in October 1460, Pope Pius II had not been very active in the matter of the crusade. In the face of the European rulers' skepticism and even directly negative attitudes towards a crusade, he was unsure of how to proceed, and moreover he had become engaged in two wars, one in the Papal States and one in the Kingdom of Naples. By March 1462, however, he had found a way, he thought, to reactivate the crusade project, viz. by holding the Duke of Burgundy to his crusade oath, made in January 1454 and publicized all over Europe. As he also knew that Venice was now ready to join a crusade, he summoned a small group of loyal cardinals and submitted the matter to them in the oration "*Existimatis fortasse*".

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Burgundy; Venice; Duc Philippe III le Bon; Duke Philip III the Good; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); King Charles VII; Doge Pasquale Malipiero; Crusades; War against the Turks; 1462; Cardinals; King Louis XI; Roi Louis XI; Venezia; Venice; Hungary; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1462

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In the years after the Congress of Mantua in 1459² it had become painfully obvious that the promises of kings, princes, and city states regarding the crusade against the Turks would not be kept, and that the whole Congress had been a failure. The pope himself had fought valiantly for the crusade and nobody could blame him for indifference in this regard, but this was a meager and bitter consolation³ to the pope who was deeply disappointed at the outcome and justifiably put the blame for the failure on the princes.

On the other hand, during these years the pope's energies and resources were tied up in two other wars, one in the Church States and one in the Kingdom of Naples, and it would really not have been possible for him at the same time to engage in a large scale war against the Turks.⁴

Still, his inability to make the Turkish matter progress was deeply distressing to him, and though he did not speak of it publicly, in his mind he kept returning to the crusade and how to organize it when the European powers, especially Germany and France, were so unenthusiastic, not to say directly opposed to it.

By the beginning of 1462, certain developments made him believe that the time had come to make another attempt. Evidently this new attempt could not be based on a general agreement⁵ between the European powers to go to war against the Turks – that had been tried at Mantua without success – but instead a coalition between a smaller group of powers might work and could possibly induce others to join up.⁶

The first development concerned the military situation in the Papal States and in the Kingdom of Naples: his enemies in the Church States were on the decline, and the military situation in the Kingdom was improving: it was mainly a matter of time before the three allies, the pope, the Duke of Milan, and King Ferrante would defeat the Angevin pretenders to the throne of Naples.

¹ CO, VII, 16; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 33-34; Ady, pp. 315-316; Boulting, pp. 341-342; Gregorovius, XIII, 1, pp. 98-99; Helmuth, pp. 122-14; Housley: *Pope*, pp. 230-232; Lucius, pp. 60-66; Müller, pp. 105-126; O'Brien, p. 184; Paparelli, p. 323; Pastor, pp. 186-187; Paviot: *Burgundy*; Paviot: *Ducs*, ch. 3; Setton, II, pp. 233-236; Voigt, IV, pp. 640, 676-677

² See orations "*Cum bellum hodie*" [56] and "*Septimo jam exactomense*" [54]

³ See oration "*Flentem et admodum dolentem*" [60]

⁴ See orations "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61] and "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75]

⁵ The *nationum consensus*, see Housley: *Pope*, p. 231

⁶ Bisaha, p. 48

The second development concerned Venice: at the time of the Congress of Mantua, the Venetians had pursued a strategy of accommodation with the Turks in order to safeguard their commercial and political interests in the East (they really did not share the pope's religious concerns)¹, and they had not been very helpful in the matter of the crusade, to say the least.²

In the meantime, it had become quite evident that the Turk would pursue his military expansion, including conquering lands belonging to the Venetians.³ So, Venice decided that the policy of appeasement was not working and that it would probably have to go to war against the Turks. As they were not strong enough to do it on their own, they began to search for allies.⁴

As early as 1461 there had been various contacts between the pope and Venice on the matter of the crusade.⁵ In Autumn 1461, the Venetians pointedly reminded the pope of his responsibilities with regard to the crusade against the Turks, and in January 1462 they decided to send an ambassador to Rome further this matter.⁶

In this situation, Pius decided to re-activate the crusade project. An alliance between the papacy and the frontline states, Hungary and Venice came to mind, but it would not be enough. However, one great European prince had consistently and over many years favoured the cause of a crusade, Duke Philippe of Burgundy, whose crusading fervour Piccolomini himself, as an imperial diplomat, had personally learnt of as early as 1451 – two years before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453⁷ - and later at the Diet of Regensburg in 1455.⁸

In the years following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Feast of the Pheasant⁹ where Duke Philippe and his court had vowed to reconquer Constantinople from the Turks, the duke endeavoured to organize a crusade against the Turks. However, the failure of three imperial diets and in particular the Diet of Wiener Neustadt in Spring 1455, the death of Pope Nicolaus V, the determined resistance of the French King Charles VII and his successor King Louis XI, and conflicts between the duke and his son Jean le Téméraire effectively blocked his efforts. During this period, however, the Duke did not cease to collect money and plan for the enterprise, and at the

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 674

² On the rather complicated matter of the Venetian position at the Congress of Mantua, see Picotti's conclusion, pp. 387-396

³ Babinger, ch. 3-4

⁴ Voigt, IV, pp. 674-676; Setton, II, p. 234

⁵ Mission of Cardinal Bessarion and a letter from the pope to Venice, see Bisaha, p. 48

⁶ Lucius, pp. 60-62; Setton, II, pp. 233

⁷ See oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17]

⁸ See oration "*Quamvis omnibus*" [21]

⁹ Lille, February 1454

Congress of Mantua his representatives had reiterated the offers of a contribution to the crusade made by the duke at the Diet of Regensburg in 1454.¹

By 1462 the difficulties and barriers preventing the duke from committing himself fully to the crusade which his heart so ardently desired² had not disappeared. However, Pius had an idea which he thought might clinch the matter: if the pope himself took part in the crusade, the duke could not honourably refuse to join up.³ So, under pressure from Venice, the pope decided that a double strategy based partly on an alliance preferably with Burgundy, France,⁴ Venice, and Hungary, and partly on his personal participation in the Crusade might be feasible.

But it was a delicate matter, depending on complex diplomatic negotiations, which would have to be conducted in secrecy.

In his coronation oath, the pope had promised that his crusading venture should be decided on together with the cardinals. So, in this phase he gathered six loyal cardinals, presumably including Bessarion and Carvajal and probably some cardinals that he had himself appointed, including his nephew, and submitted the matter to them with the very *emotional and almost desperate*⁵ oration "*Existimatis fortasse*",

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

At this time Pius brought together six of the cardinals he thought most loyal and prudent and said to them: [here follows the text of the oration]. The cardinals listened to the pope in amazement and shock. They did not doubt that any plan that attempted to support the cause of God must come from God, but faced with such a grand and strange and unprecedented proposal, they begged time for consideration. This they were granted. After conferring together for a number of days they came back to the pope and said that his intentions were worthy of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who like a shepherd did not hesitate to lay down his life for his sheep. Nothing could be said against such a praiseworthy and noble plan, though it seemed there might be some difficulties along the way. But when they specified what these were, the pope who had thought everything through in advance, easily

¹ Müller, p. 108; Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 127-161; Paviot: *Burgundy*, pp. 74-75

² Müller, p. 108

³ Bisaha, p. 48, 50; Müller, pp. 113-114

⁴ At the time Pius was aware that the French embassy, which was due in Rome in a week's time, would bring King Louis' offer of 70.000 soldiers for the crusade. So, in March 1462 Pius may be excused for having believed that Louis XI had not taken over his father's inveterate resistance to the crusading enterprise and that he would not play the crusade card in the matter of the Angevin claim to Naples - but he would soon be robbed of his illusions

⁵ Housley: *Pope*, p. 230

*answered them. Next they decided to write to the Venetians, who were urged to keep the matter secret and to communicate it to no one except those without whom a question of such importance could not legally be decided; it was vitally necessary that things be done in this way. The letter was written in the pope's own hand and can be found in the volume of his letters.*¹

The letter to Doge Malipiero was sent already on 8 March. It was received positively, and probably with some relief.²

Thus the procedure was set in motion which eventually resulted in a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, and the Papacy.

Helmrath has, somewhat dramatically, called the oration a pessimistic mixture of tearfulness (*Larmoyanz*) and sarcasm, reflecting Pius' perception of political motives – between illusion and realism.³ The pope's previous career as imperial diplomat had eminently suited him for a realistic and pragmatic assessment of political motives. He may therefore not have been surprised at the failure of the Congress of Mantua, but still he was sorely disappointed, not only because it had made evident how little influence the pope had on secular rulers, but also because the pope – with some justice – viewed the Turkish war of aggression against Europe as a mortal military, political, and cultural danger, which it would be in the princes' own vital interest to counter. His analysis of the failings of the clergy is quite clear-sighted and would naturally sadden the heart of any honest churchman, and above all the pope himself.

The incipit of the oration, "*Existimatis fortasse*", had some significance, though not many might have caught it. In his *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades II*⁴ Flavio Biondo had included his own fictive version of Pope Urban II's address to the Council of Clermont in 1095, effectively launching the First Crusade. The incipit in Biondo's version was "*Existimatis forte*". It is doubtful that even the cultured public knew Biondo's work, but Pius' choice of incipit was undoubtedly a signal that his own crusade initiative was an integral part and continuation of traditional papal crusade policies.

¹ Pius II: *Commentari* (Meserve, III, p. 461, 469)

² Voigt, IV, p. 677; Lucius, pp. 62-66; Setton, II, 235-236

³ Helmrath, p. 122-123

⁴ Liber III

2. Themes

2.1. Pius' engagement in the crusade

As Pius himself clearly states in the beginning of the oration he had not been very active in the crusade since the Congress of Mantua:

... maybe you believe, as most others, that We have been neglecting the common weal, since after Our return from Mantua, We have neither made preparations for nor spoken about the expedition to drive out the Turks and defend the Christian religion, although the enemy has pressed us ever more. We do not deny that We have remained silent ... [Sect. 1]

This seeming passivity made the pope vulnerable to accusations of having let his Italian policies and his war-mongering in Italy¹ deflect him from the more worthy cause of the crusade.

Pius could really not be blamed for the failure of the European powers to deliver on their – meager – promises at the Congress of Mantua, but nonetheless he himself was deeply embarrassed and pained by his enforced inactivity:

We have spent sleepless nights speculating, and tossing from side to side We bemoaned the calamities of our time. We were ashamed to be doing nothing when the Turks molested now Hungary, now Dalmatia with continuous warfare and made savage attacks wherever they wanted to. We seemed to be seeing the faces of all turned against Us, scolding Us for Our negligence because We did not come to the assistance of the Law of the Gospel that was being destroyed and allowed the Christian name to perish while We Ourselves were living in peace and quiet. Our soul swelled, Our bile was stirred up, and Our old blood boiled, and We wanted to immediately declare war against the Turks and fight for religion with all Our might. [Sect. 1]

The crusade might not only be a pious matter of defending the Christian Faith. Past history had made Pius' contemporaries rather indifferent to the crusade idea, and many believed that the papal crusade was purely a pretext for raking in money for the Papal Court or for bolstering papal authority, very much in decline since the Great Western Schism. Indeed, the low credibility and authority of the papacy did not favour the crusade project, even though the Turkish military threat to Europe and Christianity should have been obvious to all:

¹ See oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61]

Nobody trusts our words. We are like merchants who have stopped answering their creditors. We have lost our credibility. Whatever We do is interpreted in the worst way, and since all kings are greedy and the ecclesiastical prelates are slaves to money, they judge Our disposition on the basis of their own. Nothing is more difficult than extracting money from the greedy. [Sect. 3]

In spite of all problems, the pope, however, wished to press ahead with the crusade:

But remaining silent, day and night, We have become more and more convinced that We must take counsel for the common welfare. [Sect. 4]

There is no reason not to take the pope's words at their face value: he was – as he had been for years – truly, honestly, and deeply engaged in the crusade enterprise.¹

However, his deep motivations may have changed. In his various writings and orations on the crusade over the years there appears to be a change from a military, political, and cultural stance to a more religious and personal conviction. The religious element would of course have been much strengthened by his accession to the papacy. The personal one was connected with his own itinerary of faith and his longing to redeem the sins of his youth and his past life.

Nancy Bisaha has put it very well:

Towards the end of his pontificate, Pius' crusade had become a deeply personal as well as a carefully considered show of faith to the flock he had determined to lead by example.²

2.2. New strategy for mobilizing the crusade

The strategy of assembling the European powers and formulating a joint plan for the crusade had failed miserably at Mantua, and so had other strategies:

If We think of gathering an assembly, Mantua shows Us that it is a foolish thought. If We send legates to ask the kings for help, people mock them. If We impose tithes on the clergy, they appeal to a future council. If We issue indulgences and promise spiritual gifts to those

¹ Setton, II, p. 231

² Bisaha, p. 50

who contribute money, We are accused of greed, and people believe that it is all a matter of amassing money. [Sect. 2]

Instead of those failed strategies, Pius decided to try another way: to make an alliance with some important European princes and afterwards draw the other powers along.

The Doge of Venice, whose fleet would be essential to the crusade,¹ had already confidentially communicated his willingness to join a crusade sponsored by the pope, but that would not be enough. Who else might be willing?

One brilliant idea came to the pope's mind. For years, one great prince in Europe had proved an enthusiastic supporter of the crusade idea: Duke Philippe of Burgundy. At the Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454 he had promised to go on a crusade if one other major prince of Europe would go, e.g. the emperor, the King of France, or King Ladislaus of Hungary. The first two ones would not, and the third one had died prematurely. But if the pope himself, God's Vicar on Earth, greater than emperors and kings, would go in person, the duke's condition was fulfilled. And if the Duke of Burgundy came, then conceivably the French king would come too, and many others would join them.

So the crux of the matter was to make the duke commit himself definitively to the crusade:

Remaining silent, day and night, We have become more and more convinced that We must take counsel for the common welfare, and then one remedy has come to mind which We consider to be very potent – and indeed there may be no other. Listen now, as We explain it briefly. Afterwards you will give your opinions on Our plan.

In the year when Constantinople was lost, Duke Philippe of Burgundy made a public vow to God that he would go to war against the Turks and challenge our enemy, Mehmed, to a duel if only Emperor Friedrich or King Charles of France or King Ladislaus of Hungary or some other great prince whom he could honourably follow would also go to this war. Until now, none of these has been found willing to take up this great fight. Thus, Philippe considers himself excused since the condition of his vow has not been fulfilled. But he is only excused, he has not been freed: the obligation stands, the vow speaks for itself, the oath is not silent. The condition may still be fulfilled: a great prince may still take up this crusade and summon Philippe to follow him. And unless Philippe obeys, he will be guilty of breaking his oath and vow, something We believe he could not accept.

¹ Setton, II, p. 235

Therefore, though old and sick in body, We are contemplating to go to war against the Turks, for the Catholic Faith; to depart on this crusade; to summon Burgundy to follow Us who are king and pontiff and to require him to keep his oath and promise. There will be no excuse: if the Vicar of Christ who is greater than a king or an emperor goes to war, the duke will be obliged by his vow not to remain at home.

If Philippe agrees to Our wish, he will not come without a great and strong company. Many will follow this noble prince. The King of France will be ashamed not to send [at least] 10.000 soldiers since he has [already] promised 70.000. Many volunteers will come from Germany, England, and Spain. The Hungarians cannot fail to come as it is in their own vital interest. And when they see such great preparations, the Venetians will not refuse their fleet. In Asia, Caramannus and others who fear Mehmed's power will undoubtedly take up arms. The Epirotes, the Albanians, the Bosnians, the Rascians, the Wallachians, and the Bulgarians will rear their horns when they see the Christians reclaim Greece with so large forces. Who does not know that the Roman Pontiff can destroy the Turkish people if he is joined by the Venetians and Hungarians, followed by the Duke of Burgundy, and assisted by the King of France? [Sect. 5-7]

Pius' decision to go on the crusade in person has appeared *enigmatic* to some, and it has been conjectured that *it reflected genuine shock at the apathetic response to his congress and at the extent to which this derived from suspicion of his motives. It may have derived from hopes of replicating what Capistrano had achieved at Belgrade in 1456, and sharing that preacher's kudo.*¹ Undoubtedly, the idea of pope and cardinals going on a crusade appealed to Pius' sense of drama, but his decision was actually – as shown in the oration itself - based on a quite rational and clearheaded assessment:

- The only way to mobilize a crusade alliance between a sufficient number of European princes was to ensure the personal participation of the Duke of Burgundy.
- Since the duke had, in the famous Oath of the Pheasant, made his participation conditional on the participation of a higher-ranking prince whose leadership the duke could honourably follow, it was necessary to provide the leadership of such a higher-ranking prince.

¹ Housley: *Pope*, p. 230

- Since neither the King of France nor the emperor nor the King of Bohemia¹ were willing, the only higher-ranking prince left in Europe was the pope himself.

Therefore, Pius' solution was not the flight of a dramatic and fervent imagination, but the child of necessity.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The follow-up letter to the Doge of Venice was sent on 8 March 1462, and the six cardinals had discussed the matter between them for some days before giving the pope their assent. So, the meeting where the pope delivered the oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" was probably held around the 1st of March which is the date assigned to the oration for the purpose of the present edition.

The place was probably the pope's private apartment in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience was a small group of six loyal cardinals, and the format was an informal address from the pope to this group.

4. Text²

This oration³ was not included in the official compilation of Pope Pius II's orations from 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*.⁴

¹ Who as a Hussite heretic could not in any case lead a crusade of Christian nations

² For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

³ An early draft of an oration beginning with the word "*Existimavimus*" is contained in the BAV / Chis.J.VII.251, ff. 255r-258r. It is seemingly an oration to a group of cardinals (*virī fratres*) in which the pope describes the failure of the Congress of Mantua, reaffirms his determination to proceed with the crusade project, and asks the cardinals for their advice on how to proceed. It does not mention Pius' idea of holding the Duke of Burgundy to his crusade oath by announcing his own personal participation in the crusade. Apparently this oration was not held, but its existence confirms that though the pope did not speak publicly on the crusade from October 1460 (his return to Rome from Mantua) to March 1462 he was still very much concerned with the matter. The text was most likely written in 1461

⁴ For the orations included in the *Commentarii*, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, 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. 239r-240v **(S)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 345v-348v **(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

Three important editions 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. 460-463
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 1480-1491
[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. 461-469
[With an English translation]

4.3. Present edition

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

¹ For other editions, see the General Bibliography in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11

Text:

The present edition of the oration is based on the two principal manuscripts listed above, with the Corsinianus as the lead version.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this text, only two direct and indirect quotations have been identified, one from the Bible (Psalms) and one from Classical Sources (Virgil's *Aeneid*).

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(Hain, 3248). [Digitized version in Gallica, images 274-276]²

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

² <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Gallica&O=NUMM-60241>

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- *Pius II: Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
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7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {239r} Existimatis fortasse, fratres, quod plerique omnes rempublicam neglectui nobis esse, qui postquam e Mantua redivimus de propulsando Turcorum impetu deque tuenda Christiana¹ religione neque praeparamenta fecimus neque verba, quamvis urgerent hostes in dies magis. Tacuimus, non imus inficias. Nihil egimus adversus inimicos crucis, palam est. Verum taciturnitatis nostrae causa desperatio quaedam fuit, non negligentia. Facultas, non animus defuit. Cogitavimus saepenumero Christianas vires an cogere in Turcos ista vel illa via possemus et Christianae plebi consulere, ne fieret tandem praeda Turcorum. *Noctes* meditando plurimas *insomnes duximus* et nunc dextro incumbentes lateri, nunc sinistro infelices nostri temporis deploravimus casus. Pudebat nos nihil agere, cum Turci inde Pannoniam, hinc Dalmatiam bellis assiduis amplius et amplius urgerent atque ubi vellent gentium ferocius grassarentur². Videre videbamur cunctorum in nos ora conversa nobisque tamquam negligentibus allatrare, qui pereunti evangelicae legi non afferemus opem et quasi marcentes otio Christianum nomen ruere sineremus. Turgebat animus et quodammodo³ senilis fervebat sanguis commota bile:⁴ jamjam bellum placebat Turcis indicere atque omni conatu pro religione contendere.

¹ *omit.* S

² *crassarentur* R

³ *quamquam* R

⁴ *et add.* R

1. Pius' inactivity in the crusade matter

[1] Brethren, maybe you believe, as most others, that We have been neglecting the common weal, since after Our return from Mantua¹ We have neither made preparations for nor spoken about the expedition to drive out the Turks and defend the Christian religion, although the enemy has pressed us ever more. We do not deny that We have remained silent. And it is evident that We have done nothing against the enemies of the Cross. However, the cause of our silence was not negligence, but a kind of despair. It was the means that failed Us, not the courage. Often We have been pondering whether We could use this or that way to gather the Christian forces against the Turks and to help the Christian people from falling prey to the Turks. *We have spent sleepless nights*² speculating, and tossing from side to side We bemoaned the calamities of our time. We were ashamed to be doing nothing while the Turks molested now Hungary, now Dalmatia with continuous warfare and made savage attacks wherever they wanted to. We seemed to be seeing the faces of all turned against Us, scolding Us for Our negligence because We did not come to the assistance of the Law of the Gospel that was being destroyed, and allowed the Christian name to perish while We Ourselves were living in peace and quiet. Our soul swelled, Our bile was stirred up, and Our old blood boiled, and We wanted to immediately declare war against the Turks and fight for religion with all Our might.

¹ Pius came back to Rome in October 1460, i.e. a year and a half before he gave the oration "*Existimatis fortasse*"

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 9.166

[2] Sed cum vires hinc nostras metimur, inde hostium, non est Romana ecclesia, quae suis opibus debellare Turcos queat. Nemo, qui sapiat, fortio**re**m bello lacescit: aut superiore**m** aut certe pare**m** esse oportet, qui pugnam eligit. Nos Turco multo inferiore**s** sumus, nisi Christiani reges arma conjungant. Quaerimus hoc efficere, investigamus vias, nulla occurrit idonea. Si celebrare conventum venit in mentem, {239v} docet Mantua vanam esse cogitationem. Si legatos mittimus, qui regum auxilia petant, deridentur. Si decimas imponimus clero, appellatur futurum concilium. Si promulgamus indulgentias, et pecunias conferentes donis spiritualibus invitamus, avaritia coarguitur: corradendi¹ auri causa cuncta fieri creduntur.

¹ *em.*; corrodendi R, S

2. Failure of previous strategy

[2] But when We measure Our resources against those of the enemies, [We see] that the Roman Church cannot vanquish the Turks on its own. No wise man attacks one who is stronger. Anyone who chooses to make war must either be superior or equal [to the enemy]. We are much weaker than the Turks unless the Christian kings join arms. We are considering how to bring that about. We are examining the ways, but none suitable presents itself. If We think of gathering an assembly, Mantua¹ shows Us that it is a foolish thought. If We send legates to ask the kings for help, people mock them. If We impose tithes on the clergy, they appeal to a future council.² If We issue indulgences and promise spiritual gifts to those who contribute money, We are accused of greed, and people believe that it is all a matter of amassing money.³

¹ The Congress of Mantua, held from July 1459 to January 1460

² In spite of the papal bull, *Execrabilis*, forbidding – under the pain of excommunication - appeals to a future council which Pius II issued in January 1460

³ This was a general opinion in – e.g. - Germany, held among many others by the very influential Gregor Heimburg, one of the strongest critics of Pius, the Papacy, and the crusade

[3] Nemo fidem habet verbis nostris. Quasi negotiatores, qui respondere creditoribus desierunt, sine fide sumus. Quaecumque agimus, in partem deteriore[m] accipiunt, et quoniam sunt omnes reges avarissimi, omnes ecclesiarum praelati pecuniae servi, de suo ingenio metiuntur nostrum. Nihil difficilius est quam extorqueri¹ aurum ab avaro. Vertimus in omnes partes aciem mentis: nihil certum, nihil solidum invenimus, nihil non vanum occurrit. Quid agamus in tanta rerum mole? Periculumne certum adibimus et sponte trademur hosti? Aut rem ridiculam inchoabimus? Frustra niti et laborando infamiam quaerere extremae dementiae fuerit. Perplexa et nimis anxia diu mens nostra fuit et *renuit consolari anima nostra*, cum in deterius prolabi omnia cerneremus nec vel minima spes rei bene gerendae daretur.

[4] At cum dies noctesque taciti magis ac magis huc animo ferimur, ut de communi salute consilium inquiramus, unum tandem remedium in mentem venit nostro iudicio valentissimum, et forsitan non est aliud. Audite, paucis explicabimus; deinde nostram sententiam iudicabitis.

¹ extorquere R

[3] Nobody trusts our words. We are like merchants who have stopped answering their creditors: We have lost our credibility. All We do is interpreted in the worst way, and since all kings are greedy and all ecclesiastical prelates are slaves to money, they judge Our disposition on the basis of their own. Nothing is more difficult than extracting money from the greedy. We have turned Our mind in all directions, but We find nothing certain, nothing solid, and nothing substantial. What shall We do in this difficult situation? Shall We walk into certain danger and give Ourselves up to the enemy? Or shall We begin on some fool's errand? It would be extreme folly to labour in vain and get shame in return. So, for a long time We have been perplexed and anxious and *Our soul refused to be comforted*,¹ seeing everything going from bad to worse without even the smallest hope for success.

3. Towards a new strategy

[4] But remaining silent, day and night, We became more and more convinced that We must take counsel for the common welfare, and then one remedy came to mind which We consider to be very powerful – indeed there may be no other. Listen now, as We explain it briefly. Afterwards you will give your opinions on Our plan.

¹ Psalms, 76, 3: *renuit consolari anima mea*

[5] Philippus, Burgundiae dux, quo anno Constantinopolis amissa est, votum vovit publice Deo iturum se contra Turcos et bellum cum eis gesturum et hostem Mahumetum ad singulare certamen provocaturum, si vel Fridericus imperator vel Carolus Franciae vel Ladislaus Hungariae rex vel magnus alius quivis princeps, quem se sequi non dedeceret, ad hoc ipsum bellum proficisceretur. Nullus adhuc inventus est ex nominatis, qui se tanto proelio accinxerit. Excusatum sese Philippus existimat, quia non est impleta voti conditio. Excusatus est, non absolutus: stat obligatio, loquitur {240r} votum, nec tacet juramentum. Potest adhuc satisfieri conditioni, potest princeps magnus aliquis huic expeditioni se accingere ac Philippum, ut se sequatur, accire. Nisi paruerit, reus erit juramenti et voti violati, quod laturam ejus mentem haudquaquam arbitramur.

3.1. Involving the Duke of Burgundy

[5] In the year that Constantinople was lost,¹ Duke Philippe of Burgundy² made a public vow to God that he would go to war against the Turks and challenge our enemy, Mehmed³, to a duel⁴ if only Emperor Friedrich⁵ or King Charles of France⁶ or King Ladislaus of Hungary⁷ or some other great prince whom he could honourably follow would also go to this war. Until now, none of these has been found willing to take up this great fight. Thus, Philippe considers himself excused since the condition of his vow has not been fulfilled. But he is only excused, he has not been freed: the obligation still stands, the vow speaks for itself, the oath is not silent, for the condition may still be fulfilled: a great prince may still take up this expedition and summon Philippe to follow him. And unless Philippe then obeys, he will be guilty of breaking his oath and vow, something We believe he could not accept.

¹ May 1453

² Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

³ 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

⁴ Philippe made this vow at the famous Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454

⁵ Friedrich III of Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

⁶ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death. Disinherited in 1420 by his father, in the Peace of Troyes, 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 Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Archduke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death

[6] Sedet in animo nostro, quamquam¹ senili et aegroto corpore, bellum contra Turcos pro fide catholica suscipere et in expeditionem ipsam profisci Burgundoque, ut nos sequatur, edicere, qui regis ac pontificis locum tenemus, juramenti votique fidem requirere. Nulla patebit excusatio: rege major et imperatore bellum petet Christi vicarius; obnoxium voto ducem non decebit domi manere.

[7] Si annuat desiderio nostro Philippus, non veniet sine comitatu magno et valido. Nobilem principem multi sequentur. Regem Franciae decem millia bellatorum non mittere pudebit, qui septuaginta millia publice pollicitus est. De Germania, de Anglia, de Hispania sua sponte non pauci aderunt. Hungari, qui suam rem agunt, deesse non possunt, nec Veneti, ubi tantos viderint apparatus, classem negabunt. In Asia Caramannus et alii quibus Mahumeti potentia est suspecta² haud dubie arma corripient. Epirotae, Albani, Bosnenses, Rasciani, Valachi, Bulgari cornua erigent, quando tantis viribus a Christianis repeti Graeciam viderint. Quis nescit Romanum pontificem cum Venetis et Hungaris, sequente Burgundiae duce, adjuvante Franciae rege, Turcorum gentem posse delere?

¹ quamuis R

² est suspecta : suspecta est R

3.2. Pius' personal participation

[6] Therefore, though old and sick in body, We are considering going to war against the Turks for the Catholic Faith, to depart on this crusade, to summon Burgundy to follow Us who are both king and pontiff, and to require him to keep his oath and promise. There will be no excuse: if the Vicar of Christ who is greater than a king or an emperor goes to war, the duke will be obliged by his vow not to remain at home.

3.3. Broadening the alliance

[7] If Philippe agrees to Our wish, he will not come without a great and strong company. Many will follow this noble prince. The King of France will be ashamed not to send [at least] 10.000 soldiers since he has [already] publicly promised 70.000. Many volunteers will come from Germany, England, and Spain. The Hungarians cannot fail to come as it is in their own vital interest. And when they see such great preparations, the Venetians will not refuse to send their fleet. In Asia, the Karaman¹ and others who fear Mehmed's power will undoubtedly take up arms. The Epirotes, the Albanians, the Bosnians, the Rascians,² the Wallachians, and the Bulgarians will raise their horns when they see the Christians reclaim Greece with so large forces. Who does not know that the Roman Pontiff can destroy the Turkish people if he is joined by the Venetians and Hungarians, followed by the Duke of Burgundy, and assisted by the King of France?³

¹ The ruler of the Turkish tribe and principdom of Karaman, potential allies of the West against the dominant Osman Turks

² The Serbians

³ The emperor, Friedrich III is not mentioned. Evidently Pius had given up hopes for his involvement in the crusade

[8] Sed habenda est ante omnia certitudo de Venetis et eorum exploranda consilia, qui mores Turcorum potentiamque novere et, quibus viribus quibusque artibus superandi sint, non ignorant. Frustra Burgundis Gallisque hanc expeditionem suaserimus, nisi concurrant Veneti, quibus maria patent. His nostra inprimis aperienda sententia. Si non approbant, vana fuit cogitatio nostra. Si laudant, Francum ac Burgundum missa legatione hortabimur, ne desint Christianae religioni. Ex Franco auxilia postulabimus, Burgundum ex voto requiremus, quibus, ut par est, consentientibus propositum {348r} et iter nostrum publicabimus.

[9] Inter Christianos dissidentes quinque annorum indutias servari mandabimus. Parentes caelesti benedictione donabimus, rebelles anathemate feriemus. Episcopos, abbates atque omnis ordinis ecclesiastici viros ea in hoc opus auxilia jubebimus impendere, quae commode praestare possint. Inoboedientes excommunicabimus et tamquam ignis aeterni mancipia donabimus Diabolo. Reliquos Christi fideles, ut opem pro suis facultatibus afferant, indulgentiarum largitionibus et gratiis spiritualibus alliciemus. Et quis erit, qui audito pontificis motu non moveatur?

3.4. Importance of Venice

[8] But above all, we must be certain of the Venetians, and their intentions must be explored, for they know the Turkish conditions, and their power, and the forces and strategies needed to defeat them.¹ The seas lie open to the Venetians, so if they do not join up, it would be pointless to persuade the Burgundians and the French to join this crusade. Therefore, We must first approach the Venetians on this matter. If they do not approve it, our plan is futile. But if they do approve it, We shall send a legation to France and Burgundy and exhort them not to fail the Christian religion. From France We shall demand aid, and from Burgundy the fulfilment of his vow. If they agree to Our plan, as they ought to, We shall publicly announce it and Our course.

3.5. Mobilizing Christianity

[9] We shall demand that all Christians who fight each other observe a five year truce. Those who obey We shall grant Heaven's blessing; those who disobey We shall strike with a curse. We shall require bishops, abbots, and ecclesiastics of all ranks to contribute what they reasonably can to this undertaking. Those who do not obey We shall excommunicate and consign to the Devil as slaves of the eternal fire. The other Christian faithful We shall invite, with promises of indulgences and spiritual graces, to contribute according to their means.

Who will not be moved when he hears about the pope's undertaking?

¹ Pius already had reason to believe that the Venetians would join a crusade

[10] Nisi fallimur, haec unica via est, quae dormientes Christianos valeat excitare et regum ac populorum corda movere. Vulgata deliberatio quasi tonitru magnum excutiet somnum et ad tuendam religionem fidelium mentes eriget. Non arma, non equi, non homines aut naves deerunt. Terra marique facile struemus bellum, postquam certa res fuerit Romanum pontificem cum sacro senatu recto itinere communem salutem quaerere, nec alienum desiderare argentum, qui non modo suum aurum, verum etiam et ipsum corpus pro Christi nomine sit expositurus. Haec nobis in mentem venire. An ingenio nostro inventa sint, an deus inspiraverit vos iudicate.

3.6. Conclusion

[10] Unless We are mistaken this is the only way to rouse the sleeping Christians and move the hearts of princes and peoples. When the plan is announced it will like a thunderclap end the great sleep and stir up the faithful to defend religion. There will be no lack of arms, horses, men, or ships. We shall easily prepare for war on land and at sea when it becomes known that the Roman Pontiff together with the Sacred Senate¹ is going ahead for the sake of the common welfare, and that he does not desire anybody's money, since indeed he intends not only to expend his own funds, but to offer even his own body for the sake of Christ.

This is what We have been thinking of. It is now up to you to judge whether it is something We have imagined on Our own or whether it has been inspired by God.

¹ The College of Cardinals

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 65)

Oration “*Per me reges regnant*” of Pope Pius II (16 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438 had greatly diminished papal influence on French church affairs, and especially on appointments to ecclesiastical office. Since then, the popes had systematically tried to obtain the abrogation of the Sanction, but to no avail. When Louis XI became king in 1461, the situation changed, and for various reasons he decided to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. In March 1462, an embassy arrived in Rome to formally announce the abrogation to the pope and the cardinals. The embassy was received on 16 March in a public consistory where the pope gave the oration "*Per me reges regnant*", praising France, the French royal house, and King Louis. During the following years, conflicts between pope and king caused the king to take various measures augmenting his power over French church affairs, though not formally restoring the Pragmatic Sanction.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Gallican Church; King Louis XI; Roi Louis XI; Cardinal Jean Jouffroy; Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 1438; Church of France; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1462

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges² was issued by King **Charles VII of France** 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 by cathedral chapters and monastic chapters to ecclesiastical offices, prohibited the pope from bestowing and profiting from French ecclesiastical **benefices**, and limited appeals to Rome, with the consequence of greatly restricting the financial flows from France to Rome. The papacy considered the Pragmatic Sanction a mortal danger, deriving from the conciliarist movement, and it worked systematically to obtain its abrogation - and to prevent it from “spreading” to other countries, in particular Germany. Thus, Pope Eugenius IV, Pope Nicolaus V, and Pope Calixtus III had each tried to achieve the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, but in vain.

In his oration “*Responsuri*” to the French ambassadors at the Congress of Mantua, in December 1459, Pius seems to have considered 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:

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 himself 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. 52]

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

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:

¹ CO, VII, 13; Ady, pp. 207-214; Boulting, pp. 297-303; Combet; Lucius; Mitchell, pp. 197-200; Pastor, II, pp. 92-110; Reinhardt, pp. 293-296; Stolf, pp. 397-398; Voigt, IV, pp. 180-209

² On Pius II and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.5

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 they themselves do not obey their own superior? Whoever makes a law directed against another, must consider that he should obey it himself. [Sect. 62]

Already before he became king in 1461, Louis had had contacts with the pope on the matter and had practically promised to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. In July 1461 he became king after the death of his father, Charles VII, and the question was now: would he keep his promises?

Combet gave this summary of Louis' interests in the matter:

Le roi abolit la Pragmatique, mais ce fut surtout Jouffroy,¹ dont l'ambition était en jeu (il attendit le chapeau qu'il obtint), qui décida Louis XI. Jouffroy lui représenta que l'abolition aurait pour conséquence d'ôter toute influence aux seigneurs sur les nominations ecclésiastiques. Il insinua ... que le pontife instituerait en France un légat chargé de la collation des bénéfices et que l'argent ne sortirait plus du royaume. Le roi deviendrait l'unique dispensateur des bénéfices du royaume, il supprimerait toute cause de discord, et en donnant toutes les abbayes en commende, il pourrait récompenser à peu de frais ses serviteurs fidèles et en acquérir de nouveaux. Louis XI trouvait donc de très nombreux avantages à la révocation. Il prenait d'abord le contrepieds des actes de Charles VII. En second lieu, il préférait traiter plutôt avec le pape avec qui il pouvait aisément s'entendre – croyait-il – qu'avec les seigneurs de son royaume, contre lesquels il combattait. Il voulait détruire enfin cet instrument qui favorisait les autonomies locales au détriment de l'unité qu'il rêvait d'établir.²

In an exchange of letters between the pope and the new king of 26 October 1461 (from the pope to Louis, on the Pragmatic Sanction and on the crusade) and 27 November 1461 (from Louis to the pope, on the Pragmatic Sanction and on his obedience to the pope)³, Louis announced the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

The two letters contained not one word about the Kingdom of Naples. Louis, however, may indirectly - through Jean Jouffroy - have let the pope understand that in return for the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction he expected the pope's support for the French House of Anjou instead of the Spanish House of Aragon as rulers of the Kingdom of Naples,⁴ and Pius may have let him

¹ Jouffroy, Jean (ca. 1412-1473): Bishop of Arras 1453, Cardinal 1461, Bishop of Albi 1462

² Combet, pp. 7-8; Cf. Lucius, p. 40

³ OO, ep. 387-388, pp. 861-863

⁴ Blanchard, p. 232

understand that he was willing to consider this. But this does not appear to have been a formal condition of the abrogation, and Pius appears not have made a final and formal commitment to such a change of policy.¹

On 13 March 1462, an embassy from King Louis XI of France arrived in Rome to present the king's declaration of obedience to the pope, to formally announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, to offer a French contribution to the crusade against the Turks consisting of 70.000 soldiers, and to request the pope's support for the House of Anjou as rulers of the Kingdom of Naples.²

The French embassy was to be received in a public consistory of March 16. The day before, the pope had a meeting with the Milanese ambassador, Ottone da Carretto, in which he expressed his doubts concerning the military situation in Naples, his fear that Ferrante would succumb to the Angevin forces, and his anguished question whether it would be better to abandon Ferrante's cause and join the French side. The ambassador assured the pope of the Duke of Milan's continued firm support of Ferrante's cause and of his alliance with the papacy in this matter, and he managed to strengthen the pope's resolve to support Ferrante and to keep it firm during the following negotiations with the French ambassadors.³

The following day, the French embassy was given a splendid reception in a public consistory.⁴

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

Shortly afterwards, Louis sent Richard, Cardinal of Coutances,⁵ and Jean, Cardinal of Arras,⁶ as ambassadors to the pope. They were accompanied by the Bishop of Angers and the Bishop of Saintes, and some abbots and great nobles, among whom the most important was the Count of Chaumont,⁷ a man of venerable age and dignified manners. A number of doctors and secretaries of the king were part of the embassy, which was very distinguished and worthy of the king. Travelling with a long row of knights and servants, the embassy spent many days on the road and finally arrived in Rome on 13 March. It was met by the College of Cardinals except the two cardinals sent by the king. Then a public consistory was held in the Apostolic Palace. The ambassadors were conducted to the palace in a solemn

¹ Lucius, p. 43

² Lucius, pp. 67-69

³ Lucius, p. 68-69

⁴ Cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 8-9, pp. 328-329

⁵ Richard Olivier de Longueuil (1406-1470) : Bishop of Coutances 1453, cardinal 1456. Leader of the French Royal Council under Charles VII (-1461). Named Cardinal of Coutances (cardinalis Constantiensis)

⁶ Jean Jouffroy

⁷ Pierre de Chaumont

procession. The pope was seated in majesty on his high throne, the cardinals as usual on their benches, the order of bishops and notaries was placed as usual beneath the pope's seat; the rest of the quite numerous audience either stood or sat on the ground between the cardinals and the papal tribune. The king's ambassadors kissed the pope's feet and presented the royal letter whereafter they were placed behind the cardinals, close to the pope. Standing there they were requested to speak as they wished to.

Then the Cardinal of Arras held a long oration on the nobility of the French, the glory and great size of the kingdom, the courage and strength of the Gauls, the eminent virtue of Louis, and the Pragmatic Sanction and its introduction into the Kingdom of France and abrogation by Louis. Then he showed the public documents attesting that King Louis had abrogated and quashed the Pragmatic Sanction in his whole realm and dominion, and restored true and complete obedience to the Roman and First See and to Pope Pius as the Vicar of Jesus Christ: indeed, it was Louis' intention to be a good son to the pontiff and always to follow his wishes and instructions. The cardinal also mentioned the Turks whose sword threatens the Christians and is a great peril to the Catholic Faith. Louis was concerned about protecting religion. If Angevin rule was restored in the Kingdom of Sicily, and Genoa came under the French, as was reasonable, he would send 40.000 cavalry and 30.000 archers to Greece to fight the Turks. With such troops it would be easy to throw Mehmed out of Europe and to regain Syria with the Holy Sepulchre of Christ. He spoke much in this vein, more grandly and pompously than truthfully, mixing exaggeration with French vanity, and lying with reckless impudence.

When the Cardinal of Arras had reached the – long awaited and longed for – end of his oration, the pope at length praised the king's embassy and pious soul. He discoursed on the origins of the Kingdom of France and the glorious deeds of its kings, and said much about Louis' virtues and about the Pragmatic Sanction. His response is inserted into the volume containing his orations. Concerning the exaggerated, fictitious, and meaningless offer of 70.000 soldiers he said very little so as not to appear to countenance such nonsense. The pontiff was heard with rapt attention by all, as they seemed to revive after having been bored no end by the speech of the Cardinal of Arras. Men dislike listening to bragging, open lies, and vain pomposity. Well-spoken truth finds willing listeners. Therefore the oration of the Cardinal of Arras seemed very long-winded and the pope's very short.

Afterwards, Pius bade the Cardinal of Arras approach and in that same consistory he placed the red hat on his head and bade him sit among the cardinals.¹ He also decreed a three-day cessation of judicial and public business as well as prayers of thanksgiving in all the temples,

¹ Jouffroy had been appointed cardinal in the consistory of 18 December 1461, but had not yet received the red hat

and processions with the relics through all the City. After the consistory, the whole Curia and the people of the City rejoiced: in the evening bonfires were lit, trumpets were sounding, all the bells were ringing, the young people danced and sang. The men and the old exulted because they had seen the Pragmatic Sanction abolished before they died; they praised the pope in whose time this gift had been given; they praised the king to the skies for his great piety of mind. The whole thing seemed much more glorious and wonderful because it was so unexpected. Indeed, nobody had believed that the sickness of the Pragmatic Sanction could be healed after 24 years, under Pope Pius; all thought that it would have been enough for the Apostolic See if the evil simply did not grow worse.¹

¹ CO, VII, 13 (Heck, I, pp. 454-465): *Ludovicus paulo post legatos ad pontificem ire iussit Riccardum Constantiensem et Johannem Atrebatensem cardinales, quo secuti sunt Andegavensis et Sanctonensis episcopi et abbates aliquot et proceres nobilissimi, quorum princeps fuit Petrus comes Calvimontis, moribus et aetate gravis; fuerunt et doctores et secretarii nonnulli regis inter oratores adnumerati: praeclara legatio et digna rege. Quae magno equitum numero et longo famulorum ordine cum dies multos in itinere absumpsisset tandem III Idus Martii Romam ingressus est occurrente cardinalium collegio propter cardinales, qui missi a rege venerunt. Consistorium deinde publicum habitum in palatio apostolico. Legati solemniter pompa ad palatium ducti. Pontifex cum majestate sedit in alto solio, cardinales solito tenuerunt scamna, episcoporum et notariorum ordo ad scabellum pontificis pro more locatus; cetera multitudo quae aderat frequentissima, aut stetit aut in terra sedit id spatium occupans, quod cardinales inter et pontificis tribunal fuit. Legati regis, postquam pontificis pedes exosculati sunt et regias litteras reddiderunt, a tergo cardinalium e regione pontificis sortiti locum atque ibi stantes iussi, quae vellent, dicere. Ibi Atrebatensis de nobilitate Francorum, de regni gloria atque amplitudine, de Gallorum viribus, de Ludovici praestanti virtute, de pragmatica sanctione, quo pacto regnum Francia invasisset et quomodo illam Ludovicus eliminasset, longam orationem habuit, ac publica documenta exhibuit, quibus constabat Ludovicum regem ex omni regno ac ditione sua pragmaticam sanctionem ejecisse illamque protinus extirpasse et ad nihilum redegissee oboedientiamque primaeque sedi ac Pio pontifici tamquam Jesu Christi vicario veram et integram restituisset ac denuo resistere; esset enim Ludovici animus pontificis filium gerere atque ab ejus voluntate nutuque numquam discedere. Fecit et de Turcis mentionem, quorum gladius non sine magno Catholicae fidei periculo Christianis cervicibus immineret. Cogitare Ludovicum de tutela religionis. Si regnum Siciliae Andegavensi familiae pateat et Genua Gallicum subeat jugum, ut par esset, missurum in Graeciam contra Turcos equitum quadraginta milia, peditum, qui arcubus utantur milia triginta; qua manu facile possit Maumethes ab Europa deturbari, et iterum Syriam cum sacrosancto Christi sepulchro recuperari. Multaque circa haec magnifice et ambitiose magis quam vere locutus est ampullosa miscens verba, gallicas vanitates et aperta mendaci impudenti facie pro veris affirmans. Pontifex, postquam Atrebatensis expectatum et diu desideratum finem fecit, legationem regis et pium animum multis verbis collaudavit, regni Franciae originem exposuit et regum gloria gesta, multa de Ludovici virtute, multa de pragmatica sanctione locutus est. Responsio ipsa inter orationes ejus scripta est. De superstitiosa atque inani oblatione septuaginta milium pugnatorum paucissima dixit, ne approbare nugae videretur. Auditus est pontifex summa omnium attentione, tamquam pro taedio, quod in audiendo Atrebatensi contraxerant, refici viderentur. Audiunt homines invite gloriabundos nec aperta mendacia et vana grandiloquia sine molestia ferre queunt; veritas commode dicta benevolos invenit auditores. Atque hinc factum est, ut Atrebatensis oratio longissima, pontificis brevissima videretur. Qua finita Pius Atrebatensem ad se iussit accedere atque in eodem consistorio rubrum pilleum capiti ejus imposuit et inter cardinales sedere mandavit. Indixit et triduo justitium et supplicationes per omnia templa fieri et pompas sacrorum per Urbem duci. Dimisso consistorio universa curia et urbis populus exultavit: ad noctem lucere ignes, canere tubae, campanae resonare omnes, saltare juvenes, choros ducere, cantare, viri ac senes inter sese gloriari qui, priusquam morerentur, sublatam pragmaticam vidissent, laudare pontificem, cujus tempori id donum datum esset, regem extollere, cujus mentem tanta incessisset pietas: tanto res videri dignior atque admirabilior, quanto minus sperata fuisset; neque enim quisquam erat, qui post quattuor et viginti annos inveteratum pragmaticae morbum sub Pio pontifice auferri posse confideret; satis consultum iri apostolicae sedi existimabant omnes, si malum non ingravesceret*

Later events would show that Pius may not, at the time, have fully appreciated the importance of the Pragmatic Sanction in the French context, and the French king's determination to be in control of French ecclesiastical affairs generally and especially of ecclesiastical appointments. He may not have understood, either, to what extent Louis would use the Pragmatic Sanction and its principles in his subsequent dealings with the papacy: when relations between Rome and France were strained, the Pragmatic Sanction would be reactivated, in more or less mitigated forms,¹ and when Louis needed good relations with the Papacy it would be deactivated.²

Some historians view the affair of the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction as a high stake diplomatic game or duel between Europe's two most skillful political negotiators, Pope Pius II and King Louis XI. Without making formal promises, the pope supposedly – through Jean Jouffroy – made Louis believe that he was ready to abandon King Ferrante and support the House of Anjou in Southern Italy, thus obtaining the French declaration of obedience to the papacy and the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, without formal conditions attached. And after the abrogation had been announced in Rome, the pope would continue his complicated game by offering Louis a ceasefire – which would take so long time to come into effect that King Ferrante, aided by Milan and the pope – would be able to achieve effective military control of the Kingdom.³

On the other hand, Louis' reason for abrogating the sanction was not to restore papal power over the French church, but to subject it to French royal power, as later events clearly showed.⁴

In view of these later events, it may be asked if the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction was truly a victory of papal diplomacy, or if it was, whether it was worth it. The historian, Christian Lucius, concludes that it was:

Die Obedienz des Landes, das der Herd der antirömischen Bewegung gewesen war, bedeutete einen grossen moralischen Erfolg des Papsttums und einen Schweren Schlag für die konziliare Opposition, die sich an andern Stellen noch regte. Denn mochte auch bei dem politischen Gegensatz, der ja nicht lange zu verbergen war, die Grundlage der dem Papste

¹ Kendall, p. 129: *By a series of decrees in 1463-1464 the King virtually restored the Pragmatic Sanction of his father, but established the monarchy, rather than the French ecclesiastical hierarchy, as the master of the Church in France. Pius announced that the French were a parcel of fools governed by a fool and threatened to excommunicate Louis XI.* See also Blanchard, p. 231: *Avec le pape, la lutte est âpre. ... les péripéties de la Pragmatique Sanction – son abrogation, puis son retour sous des formes plus ou moins détournées – soulignent un manque de doctrine*

² Blanchard, p. 234: *Ainsi, dans ses relations avec la papauté, Louis XI n'a pas de ligne claire. Il se fonde sur l'évaluation qu'il fait avec le Saint-Siège. Il est donc changeant par nécessité, et alterne menaces et modération*

³ Pastor, pp. 105-106; Lucius, pp. 72-75

⁴ Cf. however Blanchard, p. 234

zugeständenen Rechte noch so brüchig, der materielle Gewinn endschliesslich noch so gering sein: aus der Position, die das Papsttum zurückgewonnen hatte, war es ohne weiteres nicht wieder zu verdrängen, und eine Erfolg blieb es unter allen Umständen, dass die ideellen Ansprüche der römischen Kurie einmal wenigstens anerkannt worden waren. Aber nicht nur als Papst, auch als italienischer Territorialfürst durfte Pius auf das Erreichte stolz sein. In dem kritischen Augenblick, wo die Augen aller italienischen Politiker auf ihn gerichtet waren, hatte er nicht versagt, ja er hatte durch dies diplomatische Meisterstück der politischen Welt bewiesen, dass er sich aus eigener Kraft auf seinen Posten behaupten konnte.¹

In this light, it is understandable that the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction would be remembered as a major achievement of Pius II, mentioned even in his epitaph.²

2. Themes

2.1. Praise of the Franks and the French royal house

The pope's praise of the Franks and the royal house of France was generous and without reservations:

... You³ have given the Church a great, safe, and exceptional force of protection in the illustrious House of the Franks, and You have chosen this particular family and granted it heroic virtues to defend the Roman Church and Christian religion against all attacks of evildoers. Indeed, just as in the Old Testament You loved the Hebrew Kingdom more than the others, thus in the New Law You especially love the family of the Franks. For that family guards the rights and the privileges of the blessed Peter and Paul with special devotion and sets the apostolic dignity above all. [Sect. 6]

He even “acknowledged” the descent of the Franks from the Trojans which was the noblest pedigree a royal house or a nation could have – emulating the Romans.⁴ His source concerning

¹ Lucius, p. 76

² Zimolo, pp. 70, 87, 111-112

³ I.e. God

⁴ Asher, p. 9: *Men of the Middle Ages, seeking illustrious forebears belonging to the distant part, saw in the participants in the Trojan War the most desirable ancestors. For some – including certain Germanic tribes – the Greeks seemed the more worthy to head genealogical trees. Many others, among them the British, the French and*

this pedigree was one of his favourite – medieval - historians, Otto von Freising, who was using medieval French chronicles. In his youth, Piccolomini had made fun of such pedigrees, but later – as in the case of the French – he used them unabashedly, even if his own sense of history was so well-developed that he might not really have believed them. In the oration “*Per me reges regant*”, he actually adds a reference to Plato according to whom – in Seneca’s version: *all kings come from slaves, and all slaves from kings*, thus somehow undermining the very idea of the noble pedigree.

2.2. Praise of King Louis

Pius’ is unstinting in his praise of Louis:

Glorious and to be honoured forever is indeed the fame of the kings named Louis. In our own Louis it has not decreased, but rather increased. Following in the footsteps of his ancestors, he shows himself to be the like of the kings named Clovis, Pepin, Charles, Philip, as well as his namesakes as king of France. He is the seventh outstanding king of those named Louis, true offspring of the Franks, true blood of Charlemagne, and true successor and heir to the kings named Louis. He is not broken by adversity nor gets puffed up by success. [Sect. 15]

Pius devotes some time to explain the difficulties between Charles VII and his son, Louis XI, putting the best face on it, and blaming – naturally – the bad counsellors of the father.

2.3. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438

In his oration, the pope did not deal specifically with why the Pragmatic Sanction was unacceptable to the Apostolic See. This he had done already in his oration “*Responsuri*” [52], held at the Congress of Mantua. But he very clearly tells the audience how great a danger the Pragmatic Sanction had posed to the papacy and his relief at its suppression:

other Germanic tribes, preferred to trace the origin of their peoples back to the band of Trojans whom tradition held to have survived defeat. For this there was a precedent in the story of Aeneas, and there can be no doubt, in view of the fact that the story of the Aeneid was well-known to French medieval writers, that the inspiration for the idea of the Trojan origin of the French came from Virgil

... without any helper and depending on his own counsel, his own mind, and his own steadfastness, he banned from his kingdom a plague that many did not consider a sickness, but health, which had great defenders, and which – under the guise of something good – threatened to destroy the Church. We feared that it would grow: now it is dead! We feared that it would spread to other kingdoms and infect other nations: now it has been destroyed [in that country] where it was born! We feared the ruin of the Church: now we are saved! Oh, good God, great is the evil extinguished today, and great are the dangers from which we have been freed! [Sect. 4]

Very soon the pope would bitterly regret his fulsome praise of Louis, as the king kept using and reshaping the principles contained in the Pragmatic Sanction according to the changing political and ecclesiastical situation in the realm and his own overall policy of strengthening royal power over French church affairs.

2.4. Neapolitan war

In spite of the very close family ties between the House of Anjou and the Valois dynasty,¹ neither Charles VII nor Louis XI materially supported the Angevins in their war for the Kingdom of Naples, undertaken by Jean d'Anjou on behalf of his father, King René, in late 1459.²

But even if they were sparing with money and soldiers, they exerted intense diplomatic pressure on both the Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan and Pope Pius II, partners in supporting the Spanish House as rulers of the Kingdom of Naples and keeping the French out of Italy.

¹ Charles VII had Marie, princess of Anjou, as his wife, the formidable Yolande of Aragon, nominal queen of Sicily, as his mother-in-law, King René of Anjou as his brother in law, and Charles of Anjou as his cousin, and Louis XI had evidently inherited this whole set of family ties

² Kendall, p. 119: *On becoming king, he [Louis] found it expedient to support the Angevin invasion of the Kingdom of Naples – he could not afford to ruffle too many princely sensibilities, and the chivalric House of Anjou, though endowed with a permanently empty purse and a talent for political failure, was popular in France. In the winter and spring of 1462 he had sought to persuade Sforza to abandon King Ferrante of Naples and espouse the Angevin cause, even threatening Sforza's ambassadors with war. The Duke of Milan was not to be moved, however, and the King had no intention of carrying his display of hostility beyond diplomatic language. He probably foresaw that René's son, Duke John, would be driven from the Kingdom of Naples, an event that came about in the spring of 1463. The lack of significant support from King Louis in terms of money and troops would be a major reason for Jean d'Anjou to join the revolt of the princes against King Louis in 1464, and the condition for his reconciliation with the king would be effective financial and military support for a future invasion of the Kingdom. In spite of Louis' promise of such aid, René would not get it, see Kendall, pp. 131 and 344. As early as March 1462, Louis actually let the ambassador of Milan understand that *he was prepared to accept the defeat of the Angevins in the Kingdom of Naples*, see Kendall p. 409, meaning that his continuous pressure for the pope to desert Ferrante was part of a greater political play that did not really concern the Kingdom of Naples*

At the Congress of Mantua in 1459, the ambassadors of Charles VII had demanded that the pope support the Angevin cause in the Kingdom of Naples, but the pope had resisted the pressures.¹ Soon after his accession, King Louis renewed the French diplomatic pressures, but in autumn 1461 the Milanese ambassadors estimated that Louis would not really promote the Neapolitan cause of his Angevin relations, and this assessment was communicated to the pope.²

Nonetheless, when Louis' ambassadors came to Rome in 1462 to formally announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction – as well as to present the new king's declaration of obedience to the pope - they once again took up the Neapolitan matter and requested that the pope recognize the French House of Anjou as the legitimate rulers of the kingdom. In his response, the oration "*Per me reges regnant*", the pope just mentioned the French claims, telling the ambassadors that *the matter would be discussed separately and at another time* [sect. 4].

When the festivities were over, the French ambassadors returned to the matter of the Kingdom of Naples, but the pope kept firm, staunchly reiterating his offer of either a proper judicial process to determine who had the right to the Kingdom, René d'Anjou or Ferrante of Aragon, or a mediation by parties friendly to both contendants, and a ceasefire to provide time for such solutions.³

The French ambassadors responded with dire threats, but they were bluffing since Louis would not really send an army to Italy to help the Angevins. As Pius was well aware of this, he allowed himself to call the bluff when – according to the *Commentarii* – he asked the ambassadors *why they insisted that the pope's few auxiliary troops should be withdrawn from the Kingdom of Naples if it was so easy for him, as the cardinal said, to send 70.000 soldiers through Italy against the Turks in Greece and Asia Minor? If such troops were mobilized and sent across the Alps, all would bow to the king: he would regain Genoa and speedily get possession of the Kingdom of Naples.*⁴ His Holiness' biting sarcasm would not have been lost on the ambassadors.

¹ See oration "*Responsuri*" [52]

² Lucius, p. 38

³ Lucius, p. 58, believes that the pope may have ventilated his doubts in front of the Milanese ambassador the day before the solemn reception of the ambassadors in order to pressure the Duke of Milan into intensifying his support of King Ferrante with a view to improving the military situation of the allied before a cease-fire, offered to the French, could take effect. See also Lucius, pp. 70-74.

⁴ CO, VII, 14 (Heck, I, p. 457): *Sed cur tantopere parva praesulis auxilia avocari de Regno petantur, si armatorum septuaginta milia facile regi est, ut Atrebatensis asseruit, per Italiam contra Turcos in Greciam atque Asiam mittere? Instruantur he copie atque Alpes transire incipiant, et omnes cedimus ei. Tum Genua regi patebit et nulla de Regni possessione mora fiet*

It is difficult to determine if King Louis truly wanted the Anjou to have the Kingdom of Naples. It would of course strengthen the French position in Italy (especially if the French could also come to possess the Duchy of Milan – to which the House of Orleans had a legitimate claim - and Genoa as well), but it would also mean a problematic strengthening of the Angevins, a great princely house in France whose loyalty towards the king was not certain, as later events would soon be showing.

At any rate, in spite of continued French public diplomatic pressure on the Duke of Milan and the pope, Louis in reality accepted their refusal to desert King Ferrante in Naples, and he even let the Milanese ambassador understand – in one of his carefully calculated asides to ambassadors – that the Kingdom of Naples was no longer a real issue.¹

2.4. War against the Turks²

Like his father, Charles VII, King Louis XI had not the faintest interest in a crusade against the Turks. Joel Blanchard says: *Louis XI n'a jamais vraiment voulu s'impliquer dans une croisade, mais il en fait une arme.*³

The two French kings had much more pressing problems at home and were quite happy that the buffer states, and especially Venice, would spend their resources on wars against the Turks – instead of against France.

The French offer of 70.000 soldiers to the crusade was so exorbitantly generous that the pope would not really comment on it, but wrote in his *Commentarii: Concerning the exaggerated, fictitious and meaningless offer of 70.000 soldiers he said very little so as not to appear to countenance such nonsense.*⁴

For Louis, the issue of French participation in the crusade was simply a diplomatic device, used to lure – hopefully - gullible popes into making tangible concessions in return. Though quite enthusiastic for the crusade, Pius, however, was nothing but gullible, and he did not believe that Louis would join the crusade if he could avoid it.

¹ Kendall, p. 408

² On Pius II and the crusade against the Turks, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1

³ Blanchard, p. 238

⁴ CO, VII, 13 (Heck, I, p. 456)

Pius, however, did think that France would feel morally and psychologically obliged to join the crusade if the Duke of Burgundy, as he had promised after the Fall of Constantinople at the Feast of the Pheasant in 1454, would participate. But to the pope's grief, Louis in the end directly forbade his uncle the duke to join the crusade which would therefore collapse miserably, ending with the pope's death in Ancona in August 1464.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

Authors give various dates for the consistory in which the oration was delivered: Voigt has the 15th of March,¹ Lucius, Pastor, Paparelli, and Helmrath the 16th,² and Combet the 17th.³ The 16th has been retained for the present edition.

The place was the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience were the participants in a public consistory, calculated to impress the representatives of the powers, the curia, and the Roman population with the importance of the event.

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

4. Text⁴

4.1. Manuscripts⁵

The text was disseminated both

¹ Voigt, III, p. 197

² Lucius, p. 69; Pastor, p. 105; Paparelli, p. 69; Helmrath, p. 141

³ Combet, p. 16

⁴ For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁵ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with a single asterisk

- individually (mostly in humanist collective manuscripts),
- as part of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* (1462),¹ extant in seven manuscripts, marked below with a **COR**,
- and as part of the *Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations* (1464),² marked below with **ANT**.

The following list of manuscripts is not exhaustive:

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 44r-53r (**R**) * **ANT**
- **London / British Library**
Egerton 1089, pp. 501r-502v (**M**)^{3 4}
- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 139r-144v (**G**) * **COR**
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 274r-284v **COR**
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
97 inf., ff. 176v-182v **COR**
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Dupuy 619, ff. 5r-16r
Italien 409, 157r-175v
- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
692 (35 B 20), 824-829
- **Roma / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano**
Misc. Arm. II 21, ff. 12r-25r **ANT**

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6.

³ Incomplete: comprises only sect. 1-4

⁴ The Egerton ms. shares variants with the group of manuscripts containing the *Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations* (1464)

Misc. Arm. II 55, ff. 373r-378v
Misc. Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 6r-17r **(H) * ANT**
Borghese 1, 121-122, ff. 15r-23v **ANT**
Fondo Pio 22, ff. 355r-378v

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**

Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 6r-18r **ANT**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 182r-188r **(D) * COR**
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 138v-143v **(A) * COR**
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 289r-298r¹ **(C) * COR**
Fondo Buoncompagni F 7, ff.
Urb. lat. 1028, t. I, ff. 119r-139r
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 195r-201r **(B) * COR**
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 80r-85v
Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 40r-49v **(L) * ANT**
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 21r-30v **ANT**
Vat. lat. 12256, ff. 27r-39r **ANT**

- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**

1549, ff. 21v-46r
4310, ff. 124r-132r **ANT**

- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele**

Vittorio Emanuele 492, ff. 186v-195r **(T) * ANT**

- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**

Ser. Nova, 12709, ff. 96v-99v **(W) * ANT**

4.2. Editions

The oration was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 103-114
[On the basis of the Luccensis 544]

¹ Stamped numbering of folios in the lower right corner of the recto folios

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition is based on the 11 manuscripts listed above with the siglum, with the Chisianus J.VIII.284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

Textual apparatus:

The variants common to the manuscripts H, L, R, T, W i.e. the manuscripts with the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's major orations from 1464, are given in bold types.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 26 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, of which 17 from the Bible and 5 from classical sources.

Biblical: 17

Classical: 5

Patristic and medieval: 3

Contemporary: 1

All: 26

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

Biblical sources: 17

Old Testament: 8

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Isaiah: 2
- 1. Kings: 1
- Proverbs: 3
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 9

- Matthew: 5
- John: 1
- Galatians: 1
- Hebrews: 1
- 1. Timothy: 1

Classical sources: 5

- Horace: 1¹
- Juvenalis: 1
- Pausanias: 1
- Seneca: 1²
- Vergilius: 1³

Patristic and medieval sources: 3

- Otto von Freising: 3⁴

Contemporary sources: 1

¹ Ars Poetica

² Epistolae morales

³ Aeneis

⁴ Chronica

- Poggio Bracciolini: 1¹

6. Bibliography

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¹ De avaritia 1

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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. J.VIII 286

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

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

M = London / British Library / Egerton 1089

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

T = Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / Vittorio Emanuele 492

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi data Romae oratoribus¹ regis Franciae²

[1] {139r} *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt.* Salomonis in parabolis haec verba leguntur, sed non sunt Salomonis³ nec sunt⁴ hominis ex⁵ peccato geniti. Sapientia Dei, filius Dei⁶, splendor paternae gloriae, idest ipsum Dei verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, introducit loquens. Ait enim paulo post eadem⁷ sapientia: *Dominus possedit me in⁸ initio viarum suarum, antequam quidquam faceret⁹ a principio, ab aeterno ordinata sum.* Haec est¹⁰ ergo, quae loquitur increata Dei sapientia, id est ipse Deus, Dei filius, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto unus est Deus. Sed quid sibi vult, cum ait: *Per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justa decernunt?* Profecto perinde est ac si dicat¹¹: non sunt reges, qui sapientiam spernunt; non sunt¹² reges, qui filium Dei non audiunt; non sunt reges, qui non auscultant evangelio¹³. Nec reges fuerunt, qui¹⁴ ante salvatoris adventum praecepta sapientiae neglexerunt¹⁵, nec Mosaicam legem, aut sanctos Dei prophetas audire voluerunt¹⁶.

¹ Ludovici *add.* C

² Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus Ludovici regis Franciae de extinctione Pragmaticae **D, G**; Responsio Pii papae II. data oratoribus serenissimi regis Franciae in consistorio publico cum illi per os cardinalis atrebatensis viri disertissimi obedientiam prestitissent et pragmaticam sanctionem abrogassent die xvi. Martii MCCCCLXII. **H, L, T**; Responsio Pii Papae II data oratoribus serenissimi regis Franciae in consistorio publico cum illi per os cardinalis Atrbatensis obedientiam prestitissent et pragmaticam sanctionem abrogassent. Die XVI. Martii 1462 **M**; Responsum Pii II. Pontificis Maximi datum Romae oratoribus Ludovici regis Franciae lege foeliciter **R**; Responsio domini Pii papae secundi data oratoribus serenissimi regis Franciae in consistorio publico cum illi per os cardinalis atrebatensis viri disertissimi obedientiam prestitissent et pragmaticam sanctionem abrogassent die xvi. Marcii anno domini Mo CCCCo LXIIo **W**

³ sed non sunt Salomonis *omit.* G

⁴ *omit.* C

⁵ **in H, L, R, T, W, M**

⁶ filius Dei : Dei filius M

⁷ ipsa W

⁸ ab W

⁹ fieret G

¹⁰ *omit.* **H, L, R, T, M**

¹¹ **diceret H, L, R, T, M**

¹² sim R

¹³ evangelia W

¹⁴ *omit.* R

¹⁵ sapientiae neglexerunt : neglexerunt sapientiae W

¹⁶ noluerunt G, L, T

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, given in Rome to the ambassadors of the King of France

1. Introduction: the wise king

[1] *By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.*¹ ² These words of Solomon are found in the Book of Proverbs, but they are not of Solomon himself nor of any man born of sin. They were said by the Wisdom of God, the Son of God, the splendour of the Father's glory, Himself the Word of God by which *all things were made*.³ For a little later, Wisdom itself says: *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before he made any thing from the beginning. I was set up from eternity.*⁴ This is what was said by the uncreated Wisdom of God, which is God Himself, Son of God, One God together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. But what does it mean: *By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.*⁵ It means that those who despise Wisdom are not kings. Those who do not heed the Son of God are not kings. Those who do not hear the Gospel are not kings. And those who, before the Saviour's coming, neglected the precepts of Wisdom or did not heed the Moosaic law and the holy prophets of God were not kings.

¹ Proverbs, 8, 15

² Also used by Piccolomini in his *De liberorum educatione* (Kallendorf), p. 127

³ John, 1, 3

⁴ Proverbs, 8, 22-23

⁵ Proverbs, 8, 15

[2] O, tu igitur, quisquis es, qui solio sedes¹ eburno et purpura indutus coronam gemmis onustam in capite geris, et² sceptrum tenes in manu, et³ auro fulgens jura⁴ dicis populo, et legionibus⁵ imperas, et regio⁶ tumes⁷ nomine: vis scire, an tanto fastigio sis⁸ dignus et⁹ an jure merito¹⁰ rex appellere¹¹? Delphicum illud oraculum in mente habeto: *Nosce te ipsum*. Inspice opera tua, et interiora tua cognoscito¹². Si gubernatrix illa et domina mundi¹³, mater et regina virtutum, sapientia mansionem apud te^{14 15} fecit¹⁶ et tecum habitat, et suae deliciae sunt esse tecum¹⁷, si recta praedicant labia tua, si veritatem meditatur guttur tuum, si audis filium Dei, si pares evangelio, si facis iudicium et justitiam, et¹⁸ publica commoda praefers tuis, haud¹⁹ dubie rex es, et tanti nominis²⁰ gloria dignus. Sin²¹ secus agis, tyranni²² personam induisti, non regis²³.

¹ sedis M

² ac W

³ etiam W

⁴ materia W

⁵ nationibus W

⁶ regno W

⁷ tu ne es W

⁸ es W

⁹ etiam H, M

¹⁰ meritoque W

¹¹ appellari H; appellare M; appelletur T; appelleris W

¹² cognosceto L, R, T

¹³ mundo L, R

¹⁴ *omit.* C

¹⁵ mansionem apud te : aput te mansionem W

¹⁶ facit H; sit M

¹⁷ et tecum habitat ... esse tecum *omit.* W

¹⁸ si W

¹⁹ aut L, T; haud *corr. ex* aut M

²⁰ tanti nominis : tyranni non W

²¹ **si H, L, R, T, W**, B, M,

²² tyranni : tanti nominis regis W

²³ non regis *omit.* W

[2] You who are seated on an ivory throne, clad in purple, with a jewel-encrusted crown on your head, a scepter in your hand, shining with gold, who dictate the law to your people, who command legions, and who are proud of the name of king, do you wish to know if you are worthy of such great state and if you merit to be called king? Remember the Delphic Oracle, saying: "*Know yourself.*"¹ Look at your acts and know your inner self. If Wisdom, ruler and mistress of the world, mother and queen of virtues, has made its abode with you, lives with you, and delights in being with you, if your lips speak what is right, if your *mouth meditates truth*,² if you hear the Son of God, if you obey the Gospel, if you support law³ and justice, and if you prefer the common good to your own, then you are undoubtedly king and worthy of this glorious and great name. But if you act otherwise, then you are⁴ a tyrant, not a king.⁵

¹ One of the Delphic maxims, inscribed in the forecourt of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, according to the Greek periegetic (travelogue) writer Pausanias (10.24.1)

² Proverbs, 8, 7

³ "judicium"

⁴ "personam induisti"

⁵ This passage – partly borrowed from Poggio's *De avaritia*, 21 (Dialogus de avaritia, p. 84) – Piccolomini had already used earlier works, e.g. *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 274, n. 685)

[3] Sed quid de Ludovico, rege Francorum, dicemus, fratres? Quid ait, filii? Dignumne Ludovicum regio nomine iudicabimus? Regiane sunt¹ eius opera? Regiusne Ludovici animus? An legationem, quam² nunc audivistis³ pio et magno rege dignam censetis? An adhuc Dei sapientiam apud eum⁴ habitare iudicabitis⁵, qui tam insignem legationem et de re tam desiderata, tam utili, tam necessaria, tam sancta misit? Ante oculos vestros⁶ duos cardinales cernitis magni regis vicem⁷ agentes⁸, quorum dignitas et auctoritas quanta sit non {139v} ignoratis. Cum his astant reliqui oratores, doctrina, nobilitate, et⁹ virtute praestantes. Et quando similis hoc in loco vel visa, vel audita legatio est¹⁰? Et quid afferunt¹¹ regii legati? Quid petunt? Quid ajunt¹²? Omnia verba modesta sunt, obsequio, fide, reverentia plena. Afferuntur maxima, postulatur minima. Maximus rex se et sua primae sedi cum omni offert oboedientia, et¹³ auxilia pro defensione fidei¹⁴ maxima et amplissima dignaque domo Franciae, feramque illam pessimam, cui pragmatica sanctio nomen fuit, ante oculos nostros captivam ponit, immo¹⁵ extinctam et prorsus adnihilatam. Et quid¹⁶ hoc est¹⁷? Multas haec bestia devoravit animas, et plurimas devoratura videbatur, nisi Ludovici regis digito fuisset occisa. Maximus regis animus et maxima virtus, quae¹⁸ tale monstrum interemit.

¹ sunt ne T

² quae H

³ audistis W

⁴ apud eum *omit.* W

⁵ **dubitatis** H, L, R, T, W, M

⁶ *omit.* W

⁷ magni regis vicem : vicem magni regis W

⁸ vicem agentes : vices gerentes H

⁹ ac W

¹⁰ legatio est : est legatio G; *corr. ex* legationes M; legatione H, L, T

¹¹ differunt T

¹² agunt W

¹³ **omit.** H, L, R, T, W, M

¹⁴ defensione fidei : fidei defensione T

¹⁵ *omit.* W

¹⁶ quod M

¹⁷ hoc est : est hoc M

¹⁸ qui W

2. Abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

[3] But, brethren, what shall We say of King Louis¹ of France? What do you say, sons? Do we not judge Louis to be worthy of the name of king? Are his actions not those of a king? Does Louis not have a royal mind? Do you not think that the embassy we have just heard is worthy of a pious and great king? Do you not consider that the Wisdom of God lives with him who has sent such a distinguished embassy in a matter so important, so useful, so necessary, and so holy? Before your eyes, you see two cardinals representing this great king:² you know how great is their honourable dignity and authority. By them stand the other ambassadors, men of eminent learning, nobility, and virtue. When have we seen or heard, in this place, an embassy like this one? And what do the royal ambassadors bring? What do they request? What do they say? All their words are modest, filled with obedience, faith, and reverence. They bring much, they demand little. Their great king offers himself and all his to the First See, with all obedience, as well as help to defend the Faith. It is indeed a magnificent gift, worthy of the House of France. And he places that savage and evil beast called the Pragmatic Sanction as a captive before our eyes, nay, as killed and completely destroyed. Why is that important? It is important because this beast has devoured many souls and would have devoured many more unless it had been killed at the hands of Louis. Great is the spirit and great is the virtue of the king who killed this monster.

¹ Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death

² Cardinals Jean Jouffroy and Richard Olivier de Longueil. Pius' positive reference to the two cardinals representing the French king is an important testimony to his acceptance of cardinals as representatives of kings and princes, a practice which had been frowned upon or forbidden by several of Pius' predecessors and by the Council of Basel, see Cotta-Schönberg

[4] Nec¹ aliud petit quam jura sui sanguinis in regno Siciliae, quae multis verbis cardinalis Atrebatensis explicavit, de quibus seorsum alio tempore loquemur. An dignus amore, an dignus est laude Ludovicus? Et quem diligemus, quem laudabimus, si hunc negligimus²? Laudatur apud gentiles et magnus habetur Hercules, extinctor Hydrae; majus hic monstrum et periculosius interemit. Laudant Judaei suum Samsonem, ipsius Herculis fere coetaneum, qui sua nece multis abstulit necem. Multo hic laudabilior, qui sua vita servata multis praebuit vitam. Laudatur Caesar Constantinus, qui congregato apud Nicaeam patrum³ concilio vipereum Aarii virus ab ecclesia⁴ eliminavit. Gloriosior Ludovicus, qui per se ipsum roboratam multorum astipulatione periculosam sanctionem delevit. Extollitur maximis praeconiis Sigismundus imperator, qui apud Constantiam, Rhetiae urbem⁵, adunata⁶ magna synodo⁷, quod⁸ omnes⁹ damnabant et abhorrebant, schisma sustulit. Majus et utilius Ludovici factum, qui nullo adjutore, suo consilio, suo¹⁰ ingenio, sua constantia eam pestem ejecit e¹¹ regno suo, quae a¹² plerisque non pestis sed salus existimabatur¹³, et magnos habebat defensores, et sub specie boni totam¹⁴ videbatur ecclesiam pessumdata. Timebamus augmentum¹⁵ ejus, et ecce mortua est. Timebamus, ne penetraret ad alia regna, et alias nationes inficeret, et ecce ubi nata est, ibi occisa. Timuimus¹⁶ ecclesiae ruinam, et ecce salvatio! O bone Deus, quantum {140r} hodie malum¹⁷ extinctum est; ex¹⁸ quantis hodie periculis erepti¹⁹ sumus!

¹ haec H

² neglexerimus W

³ patruum L, M, R, T

⁴ ecclesiae L, T; ecclesiis W

⁵ *M: here the text stops. A margin note says: Manca qui il rimanente nell' originale*

⁶ coadunata H

⁷ synoda L, T

⁸ omit. W

⁹ qui add. W

¹⁰ omit. D, G

¹¹ de D, G, H

¹² omit. T

¹³ aestimabatur H

¹⁴ tota A, B, D

¹⁵ argumentum C

¹⁶ timebamus W

¹⁷ hodie malum : malum hodie W

¹⁸ et H, W

¹⁹ erecti B, C, H, L, R, T

[4] And the only thing he requests is the rights of his family in the Kingdom of Sicily, as explained in many words by the Cardinal of Arras.¹ We shall speak of this matter separately and at another time. But is Louis not worthy of love? Is he not worthy of praise? Indeed, whom could we love, whom could we praise if not him? The gentiles praise and admire Hercules² who killed the Hydra.³ But Louis killed a far greater and more dangerous monster. The Jews praise their Samson,⁴ who lived almost at the same time as Hercules, because by his own death he prevented the death of many⁵. But Louis is much more praiseworthy than him because he gave life to many by preserving his own. Emperor Constantine⁶ is praised because he gathered a council of the fathers in Nicaea⁷ and eliminated the Arian poison⁸ from the Church. But Louis is even more glorious since he personally abolished a dangerous Sanction that had grown strong by the approval of many. Emperor Sigismund⁹ is praised to Heaven because he gathered a great synod in Konstanz,¹⁰ a city in Rhaetia,¹¹ and ended a schism condemned and abhorred by many. But the deed of Louis is greater and even more beneficial for without any helper and depending on his own counsel, his own mind, and his own steadfastness alone he banned from his kingdom a plague that many did not consider sickness, but health, which had great defenders, and which – under the guise of something good – threatened to destroy the Church. We feared that it would grow: now it is dead! We feared that it would spread to other kingdoms and infect other nations: now it has been destroyed [in the very country] where it was born! We feared the ruin of the Church: now

¹ Jean Jouffroy

² Hercules: (myth.) Roman name for the Greek divine hero Heracles, who was the son of Zeus (Roman equivalent Jupiter) and the mortal Alcmene. In classical mythology, Hercules is famous for his strength and for his numerous far-ranging adventures

³ The Lernaean Hydra or Hydra of Lerna: (myth) more often known simply as the Hydra. An ancient serpentine water monster with reptilian traits in Greek and Roman mythology

⁴ Samson: one of the last of the judges of the ancient Israelites mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (Book of Judges chapters 13 to 16).

⁵ I.e. his fellow Jews

⁶ Constantine I the Great [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

⁷ First Council of Nicaea: a council of Christian bishops convened in Nicaea by the Roman Emperor Constantine I in AD 325. This first ecumenical council was the first effort to attain consensus in the church through an assembly representing all of Christendom

⁸ Arianism: a nontrinitarian belief which asserts that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, but is entirely distinct from and subordinate to God the Father. The Arian concept of Christ is that the Son of God did not always exist, but was created by - and is therefore distinct from - God the Father. The Ecumenical First Council of Nicaea of 325 condemned Arianism as a heresy

⁹ Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1387, King of Bohemia from 1419, and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1433

¹⁰ Council of Konstanz (1414-1418): The council ended the Great Western Schism by deposing or accepting the resignation of three papal claimants and electing Pope Martin V

¹¹ Rhaetia: a province of the Roman Empire, named after the Rhaetian people. It comprised the region occupied in modern times by eastern and central Switzerland, Southern Bavaria and the Upper Swabia, Vorarlberg, the greater part of Tirol, and part of Lombardy

we are saved! Oh, good God, great indeed is the evil extinguished today, and great are dangers from which we have been freed!

[5] Tua ope salvati sumus, optime Deus. Verum est, domine Jesu Christe, quod dixisti¹ apostolis tuis: *ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem saeculi*. Et iterum verum est², et verum experimur, quod beato Petro promisisti *Tu es Petrus, inquit³, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalent adversus eam*. Servasti verbum tuum; verax es, et *non est dolus in ore tuo*. Saepe concutitur ecclesia, sed non frangitur; saepe ventis agitur, sed non mergitur. Saepe nutat⁴, sed non cadit. Saepe oppugnatur, sed numquam⁵ expugnatur. Astat dextera tua, neque⁶ sinit⁷ hostes praevalere. Quot saevierunt adversus eam procellae, quot tempestatibus et⁸ persecutionibus in hanc usque diem exposita fuit, et numquam succubuit. Tuo semper munere majestatem suam servavit, quia non⁹ avertisti¹⁰ oculos tuos ab ea, dedisti ei¹¹ salvatores et protectores¹² multos, et modo per hunc, modo per illum sponsae tuae¹³, dilectae tuae consulisti.

¹ dixistis L

² domine Ihesu Christe *add.* W

³ Petrus inquit : inquit Petrus W

⁴ mutatur H, L, T

⁵ non G; nonquam R

⁶ nec W

⁷ possunt W

⁸ *omit.* G

⁹ *omit.* H, L, R, T

¹⁰ advertisti D, L, R

¹¹ eis A, B, C, D, G, L, T

¹² salvatores et protectores : protectores et salvatores G

¹³ suae H

3. Frankish House as protectors of the Apostolic See

[5] It is by Your help, Best God, that we have been saved. It is true, Lord Jesus Christ, what You said to Your apostles: *I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.*¹ And as we see, it is also true what You promised Saint Peter when You said: *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*² You have kept your word. You are truthful, and *guile is not found in your mouth.*³ The Church is often hit, but it does not break. It is tossed around by winds, but it does not sink. It often falters, but it does not fall. It is often attacked, but it is never overcome. For Your right hand assists it, and it does not allow the enemies to prevail. Until today the Church has been savaged by many storms and exposed to many gales and persecutions, but it never succumbed. You have always granted it to maintain its majesty, for You did *not turn away your eyes*⁴ from it, but gave it many protectors and saviours, and You helped your bride, Your beloved, now through one man and now through another.

¹ Matthew, 28, 20

² Matthew, 16, 18

³ Isaiah, 53, 9; 1. Peter, 2, 22

⁴ Deuteronomy, 15, 18

[6] Maximum vero et tutum et¹ singulare praesidium ejus in clarissima² Francorum domo collocasti; et³ hanc praecipue familiam elegisse videris, et⁴ heroicis⁵ ornasse virtutibus, ut esset quae⁶ Romanam ecclesiam et Christianam religionem⁷ adversus omnes malignantium defenderet impetus. {140v} Et quippe⁸, sicut in veteri testamento prae ceteris Hebraeorum regnum amasti, ita et⁹ in¹⁰ nova lege regiam Francorum familiam praecipua quadam dilectione et caritate prosequeris¹¹, quae beatorum Petri et Pauli jura ac¹² privilegia speciali tuetur affectu, et curam habet prae ceteris apostolicae dignitatis. Miramini fortasse, fratres ac filii, quod tantopere Francorum genus ac regnum extollimus: minus dicimus quam debemus, nec possunt¹³ aequari factis verba.

¹ ac W

² preclarissima W

³ *omit.* L, T

⁴ ac W

⁵ honorificis W

⁶ *omit.* T

⁷ quae *add.* T

⁸ quidem W

⁹ *omit.* R

¹⁰ *omit.* T

¹¹ prosequens W

¹² et H, W

¹³ possumus H

[6] But you have given the Church a great, safe, and exceptional force of protection in the illustrious House of the Franks, and You seem have especially chosen this family and granted it heroic virtues to defend the Roman Church and Christian religion against all attacks of evildoers. Indeed, just as in the Old Testament You loved the Hebrew Kingdom more than the others, thus in the New Law You especially love and cherish the family of the Franks. For that family guards the rights and the privileges of the blessed Peter and Paul with special devotion and sets the apostolic dignity above all. Maybe you are wondering, brothers and sons, why We so greatly extol the family and Kingdom of the Franks. Actually, We are saying less than We ought to, and Our words cannot match their deeds.

[7] Ab eo tempore, quo fuit Abraham, usque ad Christi adventum multa fuerunt regna - nam antea¹ non sunt historiae plenae de regibus. Periere illa vetustiora². Antiquissimum ponitur Assyriorum regnum, quamvis et Aegyptii et Aethiopes priores esse velint, et Scythae³ suam praeferant vetustatem⁴. Assyrios delevere Medi, et illos Persae, qui Macedonibus cesserunt, et Macedones⁵ Romanis, qui simul cum Parthis⁶ orbis imperium tenuere et Carthaginensium⁷ opes everterunt. Fuerunt et alia regna^{8 9} vetusta sed minora his, sicut¹⁰ Argivorum, Sitioniorum¹¹, Atheniensium, Lacedamoniorum, Trojanorum, Lydorum, et aliorum quamplurium. Et multi in his regnis scepra tenuerunt viri excellentes, sicut Ninus, et Arbaces¹², et Cyrus, et {140v} Croesus, et Priamus, et Agamemnon, et Cecrops¹³, et Aegylaus¹⁴, et Alexander, et Arsaces^{15 16}; et ex Romanis et Africanis multi. Quorumdam¹⁷ memoria periit, sed hi¹⁸, quorum¹⁹ extant nomina. Quamvis famam habent²⁰, salutem non habent. *Perierunt omnes viri divitiarum et nihil invenerunt in manibus suis*²¹, quia non fuit cum eis sapientia Dei, nec per eam regnaverunt, sed *ambulantes post desideria carnis in peccatis suis mortui sunt*. Soli ex veteribus regibus aliqui Deo accepti fuerunt, qui nunc cum eo regnant. Ex Hebraeis, sicut²² filius Isai, de quo gloriatur dominus, quia invenit *hominem iuxta cor suum*: ingens gloria David et regni ejus, cui cedit omnis antiquitas²³.

¹ omnia W

² vetustissima R, W

³ Scythi H

⁴ venustatem C

⁵ Macedoni H

⁶ Parthi C

⁷ Carthaginenses W

⁸ **omit. H, L, R, T, W**

⁹ et *add.* G

¹⁰ et *add.* T

¹¹ Siciomorum B

¹² Arsaces W

¹³ Cycrops W; et Firops *add.* R; Ceropes et Europs H; Cecropes et Europs L, T; Cecrops et Europs R

¹⁴ Egralus R

¹⁵ Arasses H

¹⁶ et Arsaces *omit.* W

¹⁷ quorum iam H; quorum W

¹⁸ ii H; si W

¹⁹ quorumdam W

²⁰ habeant W

²¹ *omit.* C

²² sicuti G

²³ iniquitas W

4. Noble origins of the Francs

[7] Before Abraham the history books do not tell about many kings, but in the period from Abraham to the coming of Christ there have been many kingdoms.¹ The older ones have all perished. The oldest one is considered to be that of the Assyrians, though both the Egyptians and the Ethiopians claim to be the first, and the Scythians insist that their own is the most ancient. The Assyrians were destroyed by the Medes, and the Medes by the Persians, who yielded to the Macedonians, who in turn yielded to the Romans. The Romans shared the government of the Earth with the Parthians and defeated mighty Carthage. There have been other old kingdoms, but minor ones like those of the Argives, the Sitionians, the Athenians, the Lacedaimonians, the Trojans, the Lydians and many others. Many exceptional men held sceptre in these kingdoms, like Ninus,² Arbaces,³ Cyrus,⁴ Croesus,⁵ Priam,⁶ Agamemnon,⁷ Cecrops,⁸ Agelaus,⁹ Alexander,¹⁰ and Arsaces.¹¹ And so did many in Rome and Africa. Some have been forgotten, some are still remembered. But though they are famed, they are not saved. *All the men of riches have have perished and found nothing in their hands*,¹² for the Wisdom of God was not with them, nor did they reign by Wisdom, but *walking after the lusts of their flesh they died in sin*.¹³ Of the kings of old only a few were pleasing to God and now reign with him: among the Hebrews, there was the son of Isai,¹⁴ in whom the Lord gloried, because he had found *a man according to his own heart*.¹⁵ Immense was the glory of David and of his kingdom, the greatest in all Antiquity.

¹ In the following section Pius follows Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, and in particular IV, 31-32

² Ninus : according to Hellenistic historians, the eponymous founder of Nineveh, ancient capital of Assyria

³ Arbaces: according to Ctesias, one of the generals of Sardanapalus, king of Assyria and founder of the Median empire about 830 BC

⁴ Cyrus II the Great (ca. 600 or 576-530 BCE): founder of the Achaemenid Persian Empire

⁵ Croesus (595- ca. 547 BCE): King of Lydia from 560 to 547 BC until his defeat by the Persians

⁶ Priam [Priamos]: (Greek myth.) In Homer, king of Troy during the Trojan War

⁷ Agamemnon: (Greek myth.): King of Mycenae or Argos, thought to be different names for the same area. Brother of Menelaus. When Helen, the wife of Menelaus, was abducted by Paris of Troy, Agamemnon commanded the united Greek armed forces in the ensuing Trojan War

⁸ Two legendary kings of Athens were called Cecrops

⁹ It is uncertain which Agelaus Pius is referring to

¹⁰ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedonia. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

¹¹ Arsaces I: founder of the Arsacid Parthian dynasty. Dates are unknown

¹² Psalms, 75, 6: *Dormierunt somnum suum, et nihil invenerunt omnes viri divitarum in manibus suis*

¹³ Galatians, 5, 16: *ambulantes post desideria carnis*; Jude, 1, 16: *secundum desideria sua ambulantes*

¹⁴ King David

¹⁵ 1. Samuel, 13, 14

[8] At si comparemus Hebraeos invicem ac Francos¹ post regnum² utrimque susceptum, non pudebit Francorum nomen anteferre eo tantum excepto quod³ de sanguine David natus est salvator mundi, *rex regum, et dominus dominantium*, Christus Dei filius, *cujus imperium super humerum ejus*, qui de se ipso ait: *data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra*. Non est, quod in hac parte Francorum gloria priscis Hebraeis aequari possit. At si cetera consideremus, longe superior erit, sive originem gentis animo volvimus⁴, sive regni amplitudinem, seu virtutem, et rerum gestarum magnitudinem pensitamus. Inspiciamus utriusque gentis originem. Hebraei ex pastoribus ad regnum⁵ venere, Franci ex Troja profecti stirpem regiam prae se tulerunt antequam regnarent, atque inde ortum habent, unde Romanorum principes Julius et Augustus sese natos esse gloriabantur. Exusto enim Ilio⁶ et Priami regno deleto, Trojanorum manus in Scythiam migravit, quae ultra Danubium ad Tanaim vergit. Juvenes erant regia stirpe creati, qui multitudinem secum duxere, nec Franci primo, sed Sicambri appellati sunt. Et diu, sicut ceterae gentes, Romano imperio servierunt.⁷

¹ invicem ac Francos : et Francos invicem W

² utriusque vel *add.* W

³ *In W the following section until the words Meroveum a quo in sect. 11] is placed in sect. 14, q.v.*

⁴ volumus H

⁵ ad regnum *omit.* C

⁶ Ilium W

⁷ *omit.* T

[8] But if We compare the Hebrews and the Franks after they became rulers, We shall not be ashamed to prefer the name of the Franks, except for one thing: from the blood of David was born the Saviour of the world,¹ *king of kings, and lord of lords,*² Christ the Son of God, *whose government is upon his shoulder,*³ and who says about himself: *All power is given to me in heaven and in earth.*⁴ In this respect, the glory of the Franks cannot equal that of the old Hebrews. But in everything else, it is far greater whether we consider the origin of the people, the size of the realm, their virtue, and the greatness of their deeds. Let Us look at the origin of both peoples. The Hebrews were shepherds before they became kings. The Franks came from Troy⁵ and descended from a royal line before they became rulers themselves.⁶ Their origin is the same as that of the Roman princes Julius⁷ and Augustus⁸ who were proud to be born [of the Trojan line]. For when Troy had been burnt and the kingdom of Priam destroyed, a group of Trojans migrated to Scythia, beyond Donau and Tanais. It was young men from the royal line who brought a crowd of people with them, and first they were not called Franks, but Sicambrians.⁹ For a long time afterwards they were subservient to the Roman Empire, like the other peoples.

¹ Cf. the genealogy of Christ in Matthew, 1, 16

² 1. Timothy, 6, 15; Apocalypse, 19, 16

³ Isaiah, 9, 6

⁴ Matthew, 28, 18

⁵ As Virgil had done for the Romans, a legend of Trojan origins was created for the Franks, at the latest in the 7th century, providing for them the same noble origins as had the Romans, cf. Werner, p. 25

⁶ Piccolomini's source for the Trojan origins of the Franks and their early history is Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, I, 25 and IV, 32. The main source of Otto von Freising's description of the origins of the Franks is the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (or *Gesta Regnum Francorum*) from 727.

⁷ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁸ Augustus (Gaius Octavius) (63 BCE-14 AD): Adoptive son of Julius Caesar. Founder of the Roman Empire and its first emperor, ruling from 27 BC until his death

⁹ The Sicambri, also known as the Sugambri or Sicambrians, were a Germanic people who during Roman times lived on the right bank of the Rhine river, in what is now Germany, near the border with the Netherlands. By the 3rd century the region, in which they and their neighbours had lived, had become part of the territory of the Franks, which was a new name that possibly represented a new alliance of older tribes, possibly including the Sicambri. Many Sicambri had however been moved into the Roman Empire by this time. An anonymous work of 727, the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, states that following the fall of Troy, 12,000 Trojans led by chiefs Priamus and Antenor moved to the Tanais (Don) river, settled in Pannonia near the Sea of Azov and founded a city called Sicambria. In just 2 generations from the fall of Troy (by modern scholars dated in the late Bronze Age 1550-1200 BCE) they arrived in the late 4th century AD at the Rhine. A variation of this story can also be read in Fredegar, and similar tales continue to crop up repeatedly throughout obscure, mediaeval European literature. Modern scholars, of course, reject it as an unhistorical legend

[9] At imperante Valentiniano¹, cum barbari rempublicam² invasissent, vocati³ in auxilium Sicambri egregiam operam navarunt, victoriamque pepererunt, propter quam rem libertate⁴ in decennium donati sunt⁵, et⁶ Franci primum⁷ appellati, ex virtute nomen⁸ adepti⁹. Hebraeis nomen indidit Heber, non quemadmodum Francis ipsa virtus. Elapso tempore¹⁰ cum tributum repeteretur, negatum est. Duo tunc erant Francorum duces priscae nobilitatis ac virtutis¹¹, juvenes Priamus et Antenor. Ventum est ad proelium, vulneratus¹² Priamus occubuit; victi Franci¹³ multis in¹⁴ bello desideratis¹⁵ in Germaniam profugerunt, {141r} et in Thuringia sedes posuere, Marcomede¹⁶ Priami et¹⁷ Sunone¹⁸ Antenoris jam defuncti filiis principatum obtinentibus, quibus mortuis, Faramundus Marcomedis¹⁹ filius communi consensu gentis imperium accepit, et primus omnium rex²⁰ Francorum est appellatus²¹, cujus regnum circa Moganum²² fuit, qui fluvius²³ e regione Maguntiae²⁴ Rhenum influit²⁵, et nunc Franconia in his locis habetur. Haec est Francorum origo, nobilissima profecto et altis subnixa²⁶ radicibus. *Omnes reges, inquit Plato, ex servis orti, et omnes servi ex regibus.* Franci, quamvis Romanis aliquandiu subjecti fuerunt, ex regno tamen ad regnum pervenere et quidem nobilissimum ac²⁷ maximum.

¹ Valentiniano H, L, T

² regnum W

³ vocanti W

⁴ libertatem D, G; libertati W

⁵ cui C

⁶ omit. C

⁷ omit. G

⁸ omit. W

⁹ triumpho add. W

¹⁰ decennii W

¹¹ virtute W

¹² vulneratus W

¹³ victis Francis : victis Francis H

¹⁴ omit. W

¹⁵ desolatis W

¹⁶ Marcomiro W

¹⁷ ac H

¹⁸ Sumone W

¹⁹ Marcomiri W

²⁰ omnium rex : rex omnium H

²¹ est appellatus : appellatus est T

²² Moganum B, C, **H, L, R, T, W**

²³ est add. W

²⁴ Moguncie W

²⁵ Rhenum influit : influit Rhenum G

²⁶ subnexa W

²⁷ et R, W

[9] But during the rule of Valentinian,¹ when barbarians had invaded the [Roman] State, the Sicambrians were summoned to help and did splendidly. Because they were victorious, they were given their freedom for ten years and were for the first time called Franks², a name reflecting their valour. The Hebrews got their name from [a man], Heber,³ and unlike the Franks they were not named after some virtue. When the 10 year period was over, the Franks were requested to pay their taxes again, but refused to do so. At that time the Franks had two young leaders, of old nobility and valour, Priam and Antenor. It came to a battle, and Priam was wounded and died. The Franks lost many men in the war and fled to Germany where they settled in Thuringia. Marcomedes, son of Priam, and Suno,⁴ son of the already deceased Antenor, became their princes. When they died, Faramund,⁵ son of Marcomedes, by common consent became ruler of the people. He was the first to be called King of the Franks. His kingdom was situated around the river Main that runs from the region of Mainz and flows into the Rhine. That region is now called Franconia.

This is the origin of the Franks. It is indeed a most noble origin with ancient roots. Plato⁶ says *that all kings come from slaves, and all slaves from kings.*⁷ But though the Franks were for a period under the Romans, they came from kings and became kings again - indeed of a most noble and great kingdom.

¹ Valentinianus I [Flavius Valentinianus Augustus] (321-375): Roman emperor from 364 to his death

² I.e. free

³ Heber or Eber: ancestor of the Israelites, according to the "Table of Nations" in Genesis 10-11 and 1 Chronicles 1

⁴ Legendary Frankish princes

⁵ Pharamond or Faramund: (ca. 370-427) legendary early king of the Franks, first referred to in the anonymous 8th century Carolingian text *Liber Historiae Francorum*

⁶ Plato (428/427 or 424/423-348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

⁷ Plato: *Theatetus*, 174E. Referred to by Seneca: *Epistolae morales*, 44, 4: *Platon ait neminem regem non ex servis oriundum, neminem servum non ex regibus*

[10] Nam quae comparatio regni Hebraici ad regnum Francorum? Hebraei in Syria tantum regnare, nec¹ eam universam possederunt². Judaea his³ regnum fuit et Palaestina regio⁴, et saepe vicinarum gentium praeda fuere. Francorum regnum ab alpibus Italiae usque in Oceanum protensum; rursus a Pyrenaeis montibus in Pannoniam procurrat⁵, et longo tempore Italiam cum Romano imperio tenuit. Quot praeterea regna sunt, quae reges ex Francorum domo susceperunt? Omittimus⁶ occidentalia. Ipsa caput et columen⁷ Hebraeae gentis⁸ Jerusalem multis annis ex Francia⁹ reges accepit et Francorum sanguini paruit. Quae una ratio satis est Hebraeos¹⁰ postponere. Quid Cyprum commemoremus usque in haec tempora a Francis regnatam¹¹; et Antiochiam olim diu et Tyrum et Sidonem, et Achaiam, et Thessaliam? Ipsa Constantinopolis et Graecorum imperium diu fuit in manu Francorum¹². Nec hodie regnum Franciae minus est quam¹³ tota Syria, multo vero nobilior et fortius. Numquam tanta¹⁴ Hebraeorum potentia fuit, quanta¹⁵ est¹⁶ Francorum, quamvis Salomonis opes et currus et equites et aedificiorum moles supra modum efferantur.

¹ ea H

² possiderunt C; possederant H, L, R, T

³ eis W

⁴ regia G

⁵ percurrat H

⁶ omittamus H

⁷ culmen W

⁸ Hebraeae gentis : gentis Hebraeae T

⁹ Francis R

¹⁰ Judeos W

¹¹ rectam W

¹² fuit in manu Francorum : in manu Francorum fuit T

¹³ quamvis H

¹⁴ *omit.* W

¹⁵ qualis W

¹⁶ et A, B, C, H, L, R, T

[10] And what about the Frankish Kingdom as compared with the Hebrew Kingdom? The Hebrews ruled only in Syria, and they did not even possess it all. Their kingdom was Judea and the region of Palestine, and they were often plundered by the neighbouring peoples. The Kingdom of the Franks stretched from the Italian Alps to the Ocean, and from the Pyrenean Mountains to Pannonia. For a long time, it held Italy as part of their Roman Empire. And how many other kingdoms were not held by the kings of the Frankish House? Let us pass over the Western kingdoms. Jerusalem, capital and column of the Hebrew people, had French kings for many years and obeyed the family of the French.

This one reason is sufficient to put the Hebrews in the second place. What shall we say about Cyprus which has been ruled by the French until today, as was Antioch for a long time, and Tyrus, and Sido, and Achaia, and Thessalia? Even Constantinople and the Greek Empire was for a long time in the hands of the French. Today, the Kingdom of France is just as great as the whole of Syria, but much more strong and noble. Never was the power of the Hebrews as great as that of the French, though Solomon's wealth, chariots, knights, and mass of buildings are praised extravagantly.

[11] Sed ad viros transeamus, ex quibus vera laus elicitur. Laudantur ex Hebraeis¹ regibus aliqui, multi vituperantur. Contra² in Francia multorum egregia facinora referuntur³, pauci reprehenduntur. Saul, qui primus apud Hebraeos regnavit, ipso⁴ Dei testimonio⁵ reprobatus est. Salomonis optimum regni principium, finis pessimus legitur. Filius ejus⁶ Roboam adolescentum stulto⁷ consilio credidit, et decem tribus a se alienavit. Reges aliqui⁸ sive in⁹ ¹⁰ Juda¹¹ sive¹² in Israel perniciosi fuerunt, nec excelsa abstulerunt, nec reipublicae alioquin bene consuluerunt¹³, praeter admodum paucos, qui viam David ambulaverunt. In Francorum genere {141v} paene innumerabiles reperti sunt viri excellentes et Deo grati. Namque - ut omittamus Clodium Faramundi filium, qui primus regni fines ex Germania propagavit in Galliam¹⁴, et¹⁵ Meroveum¹⁶, a quo Franci Merovingi¹⁷ dicti sunt, et alios quamplures, qui legem Christianam ignoraverunt - quis¹⁸ satis Clodoveum¹⁹ laudaverit²⁰, primi Hilderici filium, qui non solum²¹ Sygrium²² Romanum, sed Alamanos, Gothos, et Aquitanos a beato Dionysio²³ baptizatus bello superavit²⁴? [Cont.]

¹ Judeis W

² e contra W

³ et *add.* W

⁴ ipse W

⁵ Dei testimonio : testimonio Dei T

⁶ filius ejus : ejus filius W

⁷ adolescentum stulto : stulto adolescentum W

⁸ **reges aliqui : reliqui reges H, L, R, T, W**

⁹ *omit.* L, R, T

¹⁰ sive in : sine R

¹¹ Judaea H

¹² sine R

¹³ consulerunt L, T

¹⁴ in Galliam *omit.* W

¹⁵ *At this point W continues - after the lacuna beginning in sect. 8 - with the words: in Gallia constat fuisse reges et populos a principio usque ad nepotem*

¹⁶ Merovei W

¹⁷ Myrovingi W

¹⁸ qui W

¹⁹ Dodoveum B

²⁰ Clodoveum laudaverit : laudaverunt Clodoveum W

²¹ *omit.* G

²² Signum H; Gyrum W

²³ Remigio W

²⁴ bello superavit : superavit bello W

5. Rise of the Carolingians

[11] But let Us pass on to the men, for it is really those who should be praised. Of the Hebrew kings only a few are praised, and many are vilified. In France it is the opposite: many kings are reported to have performed great deeds, and only a few are rebuked for their actions. Saul¹ was the first king of the Hebrews: he was rebuked by God himself. Solomon² was excellent in the beginning of his reign, but the end was bad, as we read. His son, Roboam,³ trusted in the foolish advice of young men and alienated ten of the tribes. The other kings in Juda or Israel were wicked, and neither cared for things on high, nor took good care of their state, except for a very few who followed in the footsteps of David. In the Frankish royal family there have been almost countless excellent men, pleasing to God. Passing over Chlodio,⁴ son of Faramund, the first to extend the frontiers of the kingdom from Germany to France, and Merovech,⁵ from whom the Franks were called Merovingians,⁶ and others who did not know the Christian Law: who could adequately praise Clovis,⁷ son of Childeric I,⁸ who was baptized by Saint Denys⁹ and defeated not only Syagrius the Roman,¹⁰ but also the Alemanni, the Goths, and the Aquitanians. [Cont.]

¹ Saul: first king of a united Kingdom of Israel and Judah. His reign is traditionally placed in the late 11th century BCE

² Solomon: King of Israel and the son of David (Book of Kings: 1 Kings 1–11; Book of Chronicles: 1 Chronicles 28–29, 2 Chronicles 1–9). The conventional dates of Solomon's reign are circa 970 to 931 BCE

³ Rehoboam: Son of Solomon. Initially king of the United Monarchy of Israel but after the ten northern tribes of Israel rebelled in 932/931 BCE to form the independent Kingdom of Israel, he was king of the Kingdom of Judah, or the southern kingdom

⁴ Chlodio (ca. 392/395-445/448): king of the Salian Franks from the Merovingian dynasty

⁵ Merovech (d. 453/457): semi-legendary founder of the Merovingian dynasty of the Salian Franks which later became the dominant Frankish tribe

⁶ The Merovingians: Salian Frankish dynasty which ruled the Franks for nearly 300 beginning in the middle of the 5th century. Their territory largely corresponded to ancient Gaul as well as the Roman provinces of Raetia, Germania Superior and the southern part of Germania. The Merovingian dynasty was founded by Childeric I (ca. 457-481), the son of Merovech, but it was his son Clovis I (481-511) who united all of Gaul under Merovingian rule. During the final century of Merovingian rule, the kings were increasingly pushed into a ceremonial role. The Merovingian rule ended in 752 when Pope Zacharias legitimated Pepin's taking over the kingship and deposing Childeric III. See also the *oration "Responsuri" [52]*

⁷ Clovis I (ca. 466-ca. 511): first king of the Franks to unite all of the Frankish tribes under one ruler. He is considered the founder of the Merovingian dynasty, which ruled the Franks for the next two centuries. Modern historians have expressed doubt concerning Clovis' late baptism – indeed, he may have been a Christian all his life, and his father may have been a baptized Christian, too, see Collins, p. 105

⁸ Childeric I (ca. 440-481/482): Merovingian king of the Salian Franks and father of Clovis I

⁹ Error for Saint Remi (ca. 437-533): Bishop of Reims and Apostle of the Franks. On 24 December 496 he baptised Clovis I, King of the Franks. This baptism led to the conversion of the entire Frankish people

¹⁰ Flavius Syagrius (430-486/7): the last Roman military commander in Gaul, whose defeat by king Clovis I of the Franks is considered as the end of Western Roman rule outside of Italy

[11 cont.] Carolus major in domo Franciae primi¹ Pipini filius trecenta Saracenorum milia, si vero² quadrat historia, apud Aquitaniam unico proelio³ trucidavit, et ab immanissima⁴ gente Christianum nomen liberavit. Alter Pipinus hujus filius cum aliquandiu major domus fuisset, et⁵ multa edidisset⁶ praeclara opera, ad regnum tandem evectus⁷ bis Italiam intravit, ut Aistulfi Longobardorum regis insolentiam compesceret ac Stephano papae et Romanae ecclesiae pie consuleret. Perfregit iniquos Aistulfi conatus, pacem Italiae dedit, et beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum donis amplissimis honoravit.

¹ sedi W

² non W

³ bello W

⁴ iniquissima R

⁵ ac W

⁶ multa edidisset: edidisset multa W

⁷ devectus W

[11 cont.] During a single battle in Aquitania,¹ Charles,² Frankish Mayor of the Palace and son of Pepin I,³ destroyed 300,000 Saracens (if history agrees with truth) and liberated the Christian name from that cruel race. When his son, another Pepin,⁴ had been Mayor of the Palace for some time and achieved great things, he became king⁵ and twice invaded Italy in order to restrain the insolence of the Lombard King Aistulf⁶ and to piously assist Pope Stephanus⁷ and the Roman Church. He put an end to Aistulf's endeavours, gave peace to Italy, and honoured the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul with magnificent donations.

¹ The battle of Tours, 732, which stopped Islamic expansion into Europe

² Charles Martel (ac. 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

³ Error for Pepin II [Pepin of Herstal] (ca. 635-714): Frankish statesman and military leader who de facto ruled Francia as the Mayor of the Palace from 680 to his death

⁴ Pepin the Short (ca. 714-768): King of the Franks from 751 to his death. Father of Charlemagne

⁵ Here, Pius significantly downplays the role of the papacy in Pepin's accession to the royal throne which he had made much of in his oration "*Responsuri*" [51]

⁶ Aistulf (d. 756): Duke of Friuli from 744, King of Lombards from 749, and Duke of Spoleto from 751

⁷ Stephanus III (ca. 720-772) Pope from 768 to his death

[12] Pipino regi successit Carolus, cognomento magnus, cujus laudes nulla historia nova non habet, nulla poemata¹ post eum edita nomen ejus obtinere². Laudatissimus est inter omnes Carolus. Solem³ conabimur facibus⁴ adjuvare⁵, si ejus amplificare laudes tentaverimus. Notum est omnibus sidus, fulget⁶ in orienti⁷ et in occidenti⁸ Caroli⁹ stella, qui victis Baioariis, Saxonibus edomit, Sclavis ac¹⁰ Pannonibus¹¹ sub jugum¹² missis, ingressus Italiam Desiderium Longobardorum regem obsidione fatigatum cepit, Romanae ecclesiae suum decus reddidit, Italiam pacavit; Saracenos multis affecit cladibus, et¹³ patricius Romanorum, deinde imperator Augustus appellatus est, sub cujus alis tota ferme Europa conquievit. Et non solum ecclesiam Romanam magnis privilegiis decoravit, sed imperium ipsum magnificis operibus honestavit. Propter quas res id¹⁴ ei cognomen tributum est, quod ante ipsum tribus tantummodo viris¹⁵ communi omnium scriptorum¹⁶ consensu¹⁷ concessum invenimus, ut magnus¹⁸ vocaretur¹⁹. Id prius honoris Alexander, Philippi filius, qui usque ad Indiam victor penetravit. Deinde Gnaeus²⁰ Pompejus, qui omnia regna²¹ inter Tanaim²² et Nilum²³ Romano imperio adjecit²⁴. Postea Constantinus, Helenae filius, qui publice Christi ecclesias primus²⁵ aperuit, consecutus est. [cont.]

¹ poema H

² obtinere L, R, T

³ *omit.* H, L, T

⁴ fascibus D, G

⁵ solem *add.* H

⁶ fulgere H

⁷ oriente W

⁸ occidente W

⁹ *omit.* R

¹⁰ **et H, L, R, T, W**

¹¹ Saxonibus [*sic!*] W

¹² jussum W

¹³ **primo add. H, L, R, T, W**

¹⁴ ~~H~~ L; *omit.* T

¹⁵ iuris L, T

¹⁶ scriptor L, T

¹⁷ concessu W

¹⁸ magni W

¹⁹ vocarentur W

²⁰ vos W

²¹ tunc W

²² Thanay H, L, T; Tahnay R; Chanaym W

²³ Hilum H

²⁴ subjecit W

²⁵ *omit.* H, L, R, T

[12] Pepin was followed by Charlemagne¹ whose praises can be found in all modern histories and all poems published after his days. Indeed this Charles is the most honoured of them all. We should be trying to assist the sun with lit torches if we attempted to praise him further: his star is known to all. Indeed, Charles' star shines both in the East and in the West for he defeated the Bavarians, subjugated the Saxons, and sent the Slavs and the Pannonians under the yoke. Entering Italy, he besieged the Lombard King Desiderius,² who gave up in the end and was taken prisoner. Charles gave back its splendour to the Roman Church and pacified Italy. He defeated the Saracens in many battles and was named Patrician of the Romans. Later he was called August Emperor.³ Under his wings, almost all of Europe found peace. Charles not only adorned the Roman Church with great privileges, but he also enhanced the honour of the Empire itself through great deeds. Therefore he was given the surname "Great", which all writers agree had previously only been given to three men. The first to obtain this honour was Alexander,⁴ son of Philip,⁵ whose victorious campaign brought him as far as India. Afterwards came Gnaeus Pompejus⁶ who added all the kingdoms between Tanais and the Nile to the Roman Empire. Later came Constantine,⁷ son of Helena,⁸ who was the first to open Christ's churches to the public. [cont.]

¹ 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

² Desiderius (d. 786): Last king of the Lombard Kingdom, ruling from 756 to 774. Charlemagne, who married his daughter, conquered his realm

³ Here, too, Pius significantly downplays the role of the papacy in Charles' becoming emperor which he had made much of in his oration "*Responsuri*" [51]

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 Philip II of Macedonia (382-336 BCE): King of the Ancient Greek kingdom of Macedonia from 359 BCE until his assassination

⁶ Pompey the Great [Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus] (106-48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

⁷ Constantinus Augustus, Flavius Valerius Aurelius [Constantine I the Great] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

⁸ Helena Augusta, Flavia Iulia [Helena] (ca. 250-ca. 330): consort of the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great

[12 cont.] Quartus denique ex¹ domo Francorum Carolus dignus est habitus, qui tam praeclaris nominibus² aequaretur. Plures fuerunt in hac familia Caroli, digni laude, inter quos³ is, qui nuper decessit, haud immerito⁴ numerandus⁵, {142r} qui maxima regni sui⁶ parte dejectus in pueritia, vir factus⁷ divina ope et⁸ sua ingenti virtute avitum et paternum regnum recuperavit. Fuerunt et Philippi et Lotharii et Arnoldi⁹ et alii in domo Franciae clarissimi et fortissimi reges, quorum facta recensere longum esset¹⁰, quando¹¹ ad Ludovicos festinat oratio, quorum gloria in ea gente sublimis habetur.

¹ *omit.* H, L, T

² moribus W

³ et *add.* W

⁴ est *add.* W

⁵ est *add.* H, L, R, T

⁶ regni sui : sui regni G

⁷ *omit.* H

⁸ ac W

⁹ Arnulphi R, W; Arnuldi L, T

¹⁰ est R

¹¹ quoniam W

[12 cont.] And finally, the fourth one considered equal to these great men was Charles of the House of the Franks. In that family, several men named Charles were praiseworthy. The recently deceased Charles¹ deserves to be counted among them. In his childhood, he was deprived of most of his kingdom, but when he became a man he regained the kingdom of his ancestors and of his father with the help of God² and by virtue of his own strength and courage. In the House of France, there were other famous and strong kings, the Philips, the Lothars, the Arnolds, and others. It would take too long to speak about their deeds, as our oration now hastens towards the kings called Louis whose glory is considered the highest in that people.

¹ 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

² Significantly, Pius does not mention Jeanne d'Arc

[13] Septem hujus nominis¹ viros fama excellenti fulgentes in hac familia reperimus; nec nos latet fuisse plures, sed eos prosequimur, quorum sunt nomina illustriora. Primus fuit Ludovicus magni Caroli filius, qui tris² natos suos reges vidit; quorum natu major Lotharius etiam Romano praefuit imperio. Alter fuit Ludovicus, qui Germaniam regens, Pannonos³ ac⁴ Mysos⁵, qui nunc Rasciani vocantur, et⁶ Bulgari⁷ suae potestati subjecit⁸, Lotharii germanus. Tertium Ludovicum Lotharii filium ponunt, qui suscepto imperio Saracenos et Graecos Italia pepulit, et reddita ecclesiae pace suavissimus imperator est iudicatus⁹. Quartum Ludovicum eum memorant¹⁰, qui cum Conrado imperatore Germano inita societate ad praedicationem sancti viri Bernardi abbatis Claraevallis, cruce signatus, adversus Turcos ingentes copias in Asiam trajecit, multaque Saracenis intulit damna.

¹ hujus nominis : Ludovicos W

² tres H, W

³ Pannonios H

⁴ et W

⁵ Mysios H

⁶ ex W

⁷ Volgari W

⁸ subjiciens W

⁹ est iudicatus : iudicatus est T

¹⁰ commemorant W

6. Eminent kings named Ludwig/Louis

[13] In this family We find seven men of shining fame carrying that name. We are quite aware, of course, that there were more [kings called Louis], but here We shall only speak of those who were the most eminent. The first was Ludwig,¹ son of Charlemagne, who saw all his three sons as kings: Lothar,² the eldest, ruled the Roman Empire. The second Ludwig,³ the brother of Lothar, governed Germany and subjected the Pannonians, the Moesians, now called the Rascians⁴, and the Bulgarians. The third Louis⁵ was the son of Lothar. Having become emperor, he drove the Saracens and Greeks from Italy and restored peace to the Church. He was generally thought to be a most benign emperor. As the fourth remarkable Louis⁶ they name the one who, inspired by the preaching of Saint Bernard,⁷ Abbot of Clairvaux, entered an alliance with the German Emperor Konrad,⁸ took the cross, brought an immense force to Asia against the Turks, and inflicted great damage upon the Saracens.⁹

¹ Ludwig I der Fromme (778-840): King of Aquitaine from 781. He was also King of the Franks and co-Emperor (as Ludwig I) with his father, Charlemagne, of the Holy Roman Empire from 813.

² Lothar I (795-855): Holy Roman Emperor (817-855, co-ruling with his father until 840), and King of Bavaria (815-817), Italy (818-855) and Middle Francia (840-855).

³ Ludwig der Deutsche (c. 810-876): He received the appellation Germanicus shortly after his death in recognition of the fact that the bulk of his territory had been in the former Germania. Made the King of Bavaria from 817. He ruled in Regensburg, the old capital of the Bavarii. When his father, Ludwig I der Fromme, partitioned the empire toward the end of his reign in 840, he was made King of East Francia

⁴ I.e. the Serbians

⁵ Ludwig II (825-875): King of Italy and Roman Emperor from 844, co-ruling with his father Lothar I until 855, after which he ruled alone

⁶ Louis VII (1120-1180): King of France from 1137 to his death

⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153): French abbot and the primary builder of the reforming Cistercian order. Following the Christian defeat at the Siege of Edessa, the pope commissioned Bernard to preach the Second Crusade

⁸ Konrad III (1093-1152): first King of Germany of the Hohenstaufen dynasty

⁹ The Second Crusade, 1147-1149

[14] Quintus Ludovicus, signo crucis apud Lugdunum accepto, cum potentissima in orientem classe navigavit¹; Damiatam ab obsidione Soldani² liberavit; Saracenos graviter afflixit; res clarissimas gessit, et quamvis adversa fortuna captus fuerit, redemptus tamen non prius rediit quam Joppem³ et Sidonem et Caesaream maritimas urbes in potestate⁴ Christianorum constitutas, tutissimis⁵ moenibus⁶ et praesidiis communivit. Sextoque demum suae peregrinationis anno domum revisit, non ut quiesceret aut otio marceret⁷, sed ut fortior rediret in hostes.⁸ Neque enim diu moratus, aliam expeditionem adversus Saracenos in Africa morantes instituit, et cum tribus filiis adolescentibus ac Theobaldo rege Navarrae, et apostolico legato comitantibus Massilia⁹ solvens¹⁰, apud Tunisium¹¹ copias exposuit, non procul¹² ab antiqua Carthagine tantisque viribus civitatem obsedit, ut hostes¹³ de deditioe¹⁴ consulerent. Sed aborta¹⁵ lue¹⁶ in castris acerba, primo¹⁷ Johannem regis filium, deinde legatum, et postremo regem ipsum mundo ablatum caelo reddidit; nec tamen¹⁸ castra deserta sunt virtute Francorum. Supervenit Carolus, quem Siculi primum vocant, cujus opera his conditionibus pax facta est, ut Afri tributum pendentes evangelium Christi apud se libere¹⁹ sinerent praedicari. Tanti fuit momenti virtus²⁰ {142v} quinti Ludovici²¹, cujus etiam mortui valuit auctoritas. [*cont.*]

¹ ac add. W

² omit. W

³ Joppen H

⁴ potestatem W

⁵ tutissimas H; et add. H, L, R, T

⁶ moeniis H

⁷ marceresceret corr. ex marceret H

⁸ W: here is inserted the text missing above [from sect. 8-11]

⁹ Massiliam W

¹⁰ legens W

¹¹ Tunichium W

¹² longe W

¹³ cives W

¹⁴ cogitarent et add. W

¹⁵ aborta C, W

¹⁶ moralitate corr. from lite W

¹⁷ primum W

¹⁸ tantum B

¹⁹ omit. R

²⁰ quanti add. W

²¹ omit. W; quinti Ludovici : Ludovici quinti G

[14] The fifth [eminent] Louis¹ took the cross in Lyon and sailed to the East with a strong fleet.² He liberated Damietta³ from the siege of the sultan;⁴ he hurt the Saracens sorely and did great deeds. When his fortune faltered, he was taken prisoner, but when ransomed he did not return [to France] before he had strengthened the coastal cities of Joppe, Sidon, and Caesarea, held by the Christians, with strong walls and garrisons. In the sixth year of the expedition, he finally came back to his country, not to rest and enjoy peace, but to turn back, even stronger, against the enemies. So, he did not stay at home for a long time, but soon mounted another expedition against the Saracens in Africa.⁵ Sailing from Marseilles, with his three young sons, King Theobald⁶ of Navarra, and an apostolic legate, he landed his troops at Tunis, not far from old Carthage. He besieged Tunis so vigorously that the enemies began to discuss their surrender. But then a terrible plague broke out in the camp: first it took the king's son, Jean,⁷ from this world and gave him to Heaven, then the legate, and finally the king himself. But such was the strength and courage of the French that they did not leave the camp. Then Charles I⁸ of Sicily arrived. He achieved the making of a peace with the conditions that the Africans should pay tribute and allow the Gospel of Christ to be freely preached there. Thus the strength and courage of the fifth [eminent] Louis was so great that his authority outlasted his death. *[cont.]*

¹ Louis IX (1214-1270): Capetian King of France who reigned from 1226 to his death. Louis IX took an active part in the Seventh and Eighth Crusade (Tunis) in which he died from dysentery. Saint

² The Seventh Crusade was a crusade led by Louis IX of France from 1248 to 1254. Approximately 800,000 bezants were paid in ransom for King Louis who, along with thousands of his troops, were defeated and captured by the Egyptian army led by the Ayyubid Sultan Turanshah

³ 6 June 1249

⁴ Turanshah (d. 1250): Kurdish ruler of Egypt. A member of Ayyubid Dynasty, he was Sultan of Egypt for a brief period in 1249–50

⁵ The Eighth Crusade, 1270

⁶ Theobald II [Thibault] (c. 1239-1270): king from 1253 to his death. In July 1270, Theobald embarked with his father-in-law, King Louis IX of France, on the Eighth Crusade to Tunis. Louis died of dysentery at the siege. Theobald died at Trapani in Sicily while returning that same year

⁷ Jean Tristan (1250-1270): French prince. Accompanied his father during the Eighth Crusade to Tunis. At Tunis the army suffered an outbreak of dysentery. Jean Tristan was one of the victims

⁸ Charles I d'Anjou (1227-1285): Son of King Louis VIII of France, brother of Louis IX. Conquered the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstauffen in 1266, having 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

[14 cont.] Sextum Ludovicum Caroli secundi¹ Siciliae regis² filium ponimus, Francorum genere natum, qui relicto saeculo in religione³ beati Francisci ita caste, ita pie, ita munde vixit, ut post obitum inter sanctos Christi confessores ex decreto Romani pontificis⁴ Bonifatii VIII.⁵ relatus fuerit. Maximum est hoc Ludovici nomen in domo Francorum.

¹ *omit.* W

² Siciliae regis : regis Siciliae W

³ religionem H

⁴ presulis W

⁵ Eugenii III. H

[14 cont.] The sixth [eminent] Louis¹ - as We see it - was the son of King Charles II² of Sicily, of the French line. He left the world and lived in the order of Saint Francis so chastely, so piously, and so purely that after his death he was inscribed among the holy confessors of Christ by decree of the Roman Pontiff, Bonifatius VIII.³

So, great is the name of Louis in the House of France.

¹ Saint Louis of Toulouse (1274-1297): son of Charles II of Sicily. Louis was made archbishop of Lyon as soon as he reached his majority. Gave up all claims to his royal inheritance and joined the Franciscan order. In 1297, Louis became Bishop of Toulouse. Louis rapidly gained a reputation for serving the poor. Died at the age of 23

² Charles II the Lambe (1254-1309): King of Naples, King of Albania, Prince of Salerno, Prince of Achaea, Count of Provence and Forcalquier and Count of Anjou

³ Bonifatius VIII [Benedetto Caetani] (ca. 1230-1303): Pope from 24 December 1294 to his death

[15] Gloriosa Ludovicorum fama et in omne tempus celebranda, quae in Ludovico nostro haudquaquam imminuta est, sed aucta potius, qui suorum progenitorum¹ vestigiis inhaerens, talem sese conatur exhibere, quales fuere generis auctores Clodoveos², Pipinos, Carolos, Philippos imitatur, et Ludovicus nomine priores exprimit Ludovicos³: septimus inter eos, qui clariores habentur, vera Francorum soboles, verus magni Caroli sanguis, verus Ludovicorum successor et haeres, qui nec frangitur adversis rebus, nec secundis intumescit. Nostis, quae fuerint hujus regis pueritiae⁴ rudimenta, litteras didicit, et moribus imbutus optimis religionis amantissimus fuit, vitiorum hostis, virtutis cultor. In adolescentia multa ei adversa fuerunt⁵: accusatus ab improbis invitatus a patre recessit, quem sibi maligni et iniqui⁶ delatores infestum reddiderant, necesse fuit calumniatoribus cedere, bis bonus adolescens et⁷ in armis clarus et victoriis illustratus, patris conspectum fugere coactus est. Et quamvis multas urbes et multas provincias ex manu hostium recuperavit, et nomen excellens⁸ inter belli duces obtinuerit, plus tamen⁹ invidia potuit, quam sua virtus. Dulcem patris vultum¹⁰ maledica lingua sibi fecit amarum. Infortunatus¹¹ eo tempore juvenis non solum patris curiam¹² perdidit, sed Dalphinatu¹³ quoque ejectus est, qui more vetusto primogenitis¹⁴ est¹⁵ obnoxius. Exul igitur¹⁶ et extorris, sine imperio, sine dominio, sine terra, paucis comitatus amicis¹⁷ in Burgundiam migravit ad Philippi ducis, consanguinei sui, florentes¹⁸ opes, qui juvenem non ut exulem, sed ut dominum accepit et veneratus est, apud quem diu mansit, fuissetque proculdubio genitori reconciliatus, jam enim innocentiam filii pater noverat, nisi redditum¹⁹ timuissent, qui ejecerant.

¹ primogenitorum W

² Clodoneos A, B, C

³ Ludovicus H

⁴ in pueritia H

⁵ **fuere H, L, R, T, W**

⁶ maligni et iniqui : iniqui et maligni B, W

⁷ **omit. H, L, R, T, W**

⁸ excellentiae W

⁹ tantum B

¹⁰ vultum W

¹¹ inficiatus W

¹² gratiam W

¹³ Delphinatu H

¹⁴ primogenitus B, W

¹⁵ qui more ... obnoxius *omit.* H, L, R, T

¹⁶ *omit.* W

¹⁷ comitatus amicis : amicis comitatus R

¹⁸ *omit.* G

¹⁹ redditum H; rediturum W

7. King Louis XI

[15] Glorious and to be honoured forever is indeed the fame of the kings named Louis. In our own Louis¹ it has not decreased, but rather increased. Following in the footsteps of his ancestors, he shows himself to be the like of the kings named Clovis, Pepin, Charles, and Philippe, as well as his namesakes as king of France. He is the seventh outstanding king of those named Louis, true offspring of the Franks, true blood of Charlemagne, and true successor and heir to the kings named Louis. He is not broken by adversity nor gets puffed up by success. You know of his early childhood, how he learnt his letters, was given excellent manners, loved religion, shunned vice, and cultivated virtue. In his adolescence he suffered many setbacks. Having been accused by wicked men, he unwillingly left his father, whom malicious and evil men had turned against him so that he was forced to leave the field to the slanderers. Twice the good young man, distinguished both in war and victory, was forced to flee his father's presence. And though he recovered many cities and provinces from the hands of the enemies and gained an excellent reputation² as captain of war, his strength and courage could not overcome jealousy. Evil tongues embittered his father's sweet face against him, and at that time the unfortunate young man not only he lost his place at his father's court, but he was even expelled from the Dauphinée³ which by ancient custom is due to the firstborn.⁴ ⁵ Banished and exiled, without power, without dominion, without land, he went to Burgundy in the company of a few friends, [entrusting] himself to the flourishing fortune of his relative, Duke Philippe,⁶ who received and honoured the young man not as an exile, but as his lord. Louis stayed long with him, and he would undoubtedly have been reconciled with his father – who by now knew that his son was innocent – if those who had driven him away had not feared his return.⁷

¹ Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death

² "nomen"

³ Dalfinatus/Delfinatus: cf. Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 434

⁴ The Dauphin of Viennois (Dauphin de Viennois): title given to the heir apparent to the throne of France from 1350 to 1791 and 1824 to 1830

⁵ Pius may have believed this version of the events, painting the dauphin as the unjustly persecuted innocent, but few others did, and certainly not modern historians, like Du Fresne de Beaucourt and Kendall, who document the youth of Louis XI as that of a rebellious, plotting intrigue-maker, see Fresne de Beaucourt, V, 193-; VI, 29, 65, 70-; and Kendall, ch. 1-7

⁶ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death, see Vale, p. 170

⁷ As well they might, in the light of events after Louis' accession to the throne in 1461

[16] Sed ostendit in obitu¹ pius pater non bene se pium filium eiecisse, qui moriens eum sibi successorem ordinavit. Ludovicus, dum extra gratiam patris ageret, nihil impium cogitavit, nihil durum, sed tamquam Dei iudicium patris arbitrium tulit, dicens: “Haec mihi accidunt, quia non servavi divinam legem, non audivi filium Dei, non parui evangelio, non fuit Dei sapientia mecum. Ac² si Deus dederit, ut in regnum {143r} aliquando redeam, alium agam hominem; studebo Deo placere,” eique se saepius³ commendabat, ac beatorum⁴ apostolorum Petri et Pauli patrocinia implorabat. Erat sedulo⁵ in oratione, elemosynas, quas poterat, elargiebatur, et multa pro suo reditu vota vovit. *Exauditus est pro sua justitia*: mortuo patre cum summa omnium quiete⁶ in paterno et avito regno receptus⁷ est, clamante populo: *benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*. Et sicut de⁸ Alcibiade apud Graecos traditur, non tam ignominiose abiit, quam gloriose reversus est. Sed audiamus, quid agat Ludovicus in paterno solio⁹ collocatus: an ludis et¹⁰ choreis indulget? An vino madet? An crapula dissolvitur? An marcet in voluptatibus¹¹? Rapinas meditatur? An sanguinem¹² sitit? Nihil horum. Id¹³ tantum cogitat¹⁴, quomodo Deo gratias agat. Reddit vota, quae vovit. Sacrificia offert divinitati, quae sunt acceptissima: justitiam et¹⁵ innocentiam,¹⁶ pietatem. Expulit, ut fama est, lusores et blasphemos ex curia sua. Luxum non solum in rebus gravibus, sed etiam in vestimentis inhibuit. Ordinatur inordinata, nullum tempus inutiliter¹⁷ expendit, audit supplices, et nulli sua jura negat.

¹ in obitu *omit.* C

² at H

³ se saepius : sepius se W

⁴ *omit.* H, L, T

⁵ sedulus W

⁶ gratia W

⁷ susceptus W

⁸ *omit.* W

⁹ in paterno solio *omit.* W

¹⁰ an C

¹¹ **an add. H, L, R, T, W**

¹² sanguine H, L, R, T

¹³ *omit.* W

¹⁴ tantum cogitat : cogitat tantum H, L, R, T

¹⁵ *omit.* G, H, W

¹⁶ et *add.* G, H, W

¹⁷ tempus inutiliter : inutiliter tempus W

[16] But when the pious father died, he showed that he had not done well in driving his pious son away, for on his deathbed he appointed him his successor. While Louis was in disgrace, he did not entertain impious or bitter thoughts, but bore his father's decision as if it was a judgment of God, saying: "This is happening to me because I have not kept the Law of God, I have not heeded the Son of God, I have not obeyed the Gospel, and God's Wisdom was not with me. But if God grants me to some day return to the kingdom, I shall be another man and strive to please God." Often he commended himself to God and begged for the protection of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. He was assiduous in prayer, gave what alms he could, and made many vows for his return. *He was heard for his justice:*¹ for when his father died, he was received back into the kingdom of his father and his forefathers in complete peace and quiet, while the people shouted: *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*² And as it is reported about Alcibiades³ in Greece, the glory of his return was greater than the shame of his departure. But let us hear how Louis is doing now that he sits on his father's throne: Does he revel in games and dancing? Does he indulge in wine and drunkenness? Does he grow soft with pleasures? Does he plot robbery? Does he thirst for blood? No, he does none of these. He only thinks of how to thank God. He fulfills his vows. He offers pleasing sacrifices to God in the form of justice, innocence, and piety. As rumour has it, he has driven gamblers⁴ and blasphemers from his court. And he has forbidden luxury not only in important areas, but also in clothes. He brings order to disorder, spends all his time usefully, hears supplicants, and denies nobody their rights.

¹ Hebrews, 5, 7: *exauditus est pro sua reverentia*

² Matthew, 21, 9

³ Alcibiades (c. 450-404 BCE): prominent Athenian statesman, orator, and general

⁴ "lusores"

[17] O beatum Franciae regnum, cui talis rex praesidet! O felix exilium, quod tale remisit praesidium! Et utinam¹, qui regnant² omnes, aliquando fuissent miseri. Multum valet aliena vidisse praetoria, et alienum comedisse panem. Laudatur apud Homerum Ulixes, qui *multorum hominum mores vidit et urbes*. Nec noster David tam gloriosus fuisset, nisi praecessisset³ exilium et odium Saulis⁴. Digna sunt Ludovici opera, quae ceteri reges imitentur. Hoc est regem esse, id est sapientiam Dei secum habere, et per illam regnare. Non est igitur, cur dubitemus Hebraeo⁵ Francorum genus et regnum praeferre⁶, in quo tot clarissimi reges et imperatores floruerunt. Et nunc Ludovicus ei praeest⁷, ingens virtutis specimen⁸, et singularis documentum pietatis, qui ut⁹ matri suae ecclesiae Romanae et populis Franciae pie consuleret¹⁰, noxiam et perniciosam bestiam, quam vocavere pragmaticam, de regno suo eliminavit ac prorsus extinxit.

¹ nunc W

² utinam *add.* W

³ praecedisset H

⁴ Sauli R

⁵ Hebreis W

⁶ anteferre C

⁷ **qui** *add.* H, L, R, T, W

⁸ speciem L, T; speramen est W

⁹ qui ut : prout R

¹⁰ consuleret *corr. ex.* consulerent H; consulerent L, T

[17] Oh, happy Kingdom of France which is governed by such a king! Oh, happy exile which brought back such strength! May all rulers have tried to be miserable at some time. It is very important to have seen other palaces of government and to have eaten foreign bread. In Homer,¹ Ulysses² is praised as a man who *has seen the ways and the cities of many men*.³ And our David⁴ would not have had such glory if he had not first suffered exile and Saul's hate. The deeds of Louis are worthy to be imitated by other kings. This is to be a king: this is to have God's Wisdom as a companion and to rule through it. Thus, We should not hesitate to prefer the royal family and the realm of the Franks, where so many noble kings and emperors flourished, to that of the Hebrews. And now it is governed by Louis, a great example of virtue, an outstanding lesson in piety, for in order to piously help his mother, the Roman Church, and the peoples of France, he has completely destroyed that harmful and pernicious beast called the Pragmatic and cast it from his kingdom.

¹ Homer: In the Western classical tradition, Homer is the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Most modern researchers place Homer in the 7th or 8th centuries BC

² Ulysses [Odysseus] [Greek myth.]: Greek king of Ithaca and the hero of Homer's epic poem the Odyssey

³ Cf. Homer: *Odyssey*, 1.4. The quote is from Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 142

⁴ King David of the Bible

[18] Quid ait¹, fratres, quid censetis omnes. Audimus², quid³ tacite inter vos dicitis⁴: “Cedat Francia Hebraeis propter Christum salvatorem.” Cedat alioquin Hebraeus Franco, cedat et omnis antiquitas⁵. Nam quis Francorum sanguinem satis⁶ pro meritis laudaverit, ex quo⁷ tot pullularunt excellentissimae plantae⁸, tot illustres principes emanarunt⁹, tot *animae candidae* prodierunt, inter quas Ludovici praesentis regis¹⁰ splendidissimam fore confidimus, cuius gloriosa opera quamvis essent {143v} omnibus nota, hodie tamen extincta¹¹ pragmatica atque sepulta, et restituto apostolicae sedi decore pristino et¹² integra oboedientia reddita, et tam magnificis oblationibus pro tutela fidei nostrae factis, magis ac magis innotuere¹³. Nam quae¹⁴ regio¹⁵ in terris hujus egregii facinoris non rumore accepit? Quis non audivit quo animo, quo consilio, quo ingenio pragmatica sublata est¹⁶?

Ultra Sauromatas¹⁷ et glaciale Oceanum,

ultra anni solisque vias,

ubi caelifer Atlas axem humero premit stellis ardentibus aptum,

hujus praeclari facinoris fama penetrabit.

¹ dicitis H

² audivimus W

³ **quod H, L, R, T, W**

⁴ dicatis W

⁵ iniquitas W

⁶ *omit.* H

⁷ quot C

⁸ et *add.* H, L, T

⁹ emanaverunt W

¹⁰ praesentis regis : regis presentis W

¹¹ sanctione *add.* W

¹² ac W

¹³ innotescere H

¹⁴ quis W

¹⁵ *omit.* W

¹⁶ sublata est : est sublata sanctio W

¹⁷ Sauramatas W

[18] What do you say, brethren, what do you think? We hear what some are whispering among you: "France must yield to the Hebrews because of Christ Our Lord." But in all other matters, the Hebrews, and indeed all of Antiquity must yield to the French. For who can adequately praise the merits of the Frankish blood from which so many excellent plants grew, so many illustrious princes arose, and so many *shining souls* were born? Among them We are sure that the soul of the present king, Louis will be one of the most splendid. His glorious earlier were already known to all, but today they simply blaze forth as the Pragmatic Sanction has been annulled and buried, the honour of the Apostolic See has been restored, complete obedience to it has been declared, and magnificent offers of assistance to the protection of Faith have been made. What region on Earth has not received the news of this marvelous deed? And who has not heard with what courage, sagacity, and wisdom the Pragmatic has been annulled? The fame of this splendid deed will surely spread

beyond the Sarmatians and the icy Ocean,¹

beyond the path of year and sun, where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders the blazing star-studded sphere.²

¹ Juvenalis, 2, 1-2: *Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale Oceanum*

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6, 796-797: *super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus, extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*

[19] Annotabuntur haec in annalibus regum, et in archivis¹ ecclesiarum ad posteritatis memoriam recondentur. Nulla aetas de Ludovici laudibus conticescet². Apostolica sedes sibi et natis suis, et natis natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis tantae pietatis memor gratissima³ erit⁴. Nomen ejus cum Constantino I., cum Justiniano⁵, cum Theodosio, cum Carolo magno⁶, cum ceteris piis imperatoribus celebrabit. Hoc illi praestabit⁷ ecclesia, quae Christo militat in terra, nec triumphans illa in caelesti Jerusalem Ludovicum pro tam excellenti opere irremuneratum⁸ praeteribit, sed perseverantem⁹ in devotione suae matris, in tutela fidei, in administratione justitiae¹⁰, in dilectione Dei et proximi usque ad¹¹ finem vitae beatitudine¹² donabit aeterna¹³. Animam ejus laetitia plenam miro splendore lucentem fulgentemque suscipiet¹⁴ altissima Paradisus, et inter felices sanctorum choros in sede lucidissima collocatam ad visionem admittet omnipotentis Dei, ut cum angelis et aliis beatissimis spiritibus gloriae conditoris¹⁵ assistens summo et indeficienti bono fruatur, cujus et nos cum populo nobis commisso participes efficere¹⁶ dignetur pietas divina, cui est honor et gloria per infinita saecula. Amen.

¹ archiviis H

² conticescit A, C, D

³ semper W

⁴ gratissima erit : erit benivola gratissimum erit nomen ejus W

⁵ I. cum Justiniano *omit.* W

⁶ ipsumque *add.* W

⁷ hoc illi prestabit *omit.* C

⁸ irremuneratum D, H, L, R, T

⁹ per severitatem A; perseverantiam W

¹⁰ justitia T

¹¹ in W

¹² beatitudinem W

¹³ aeternam W

¹⁴ suscipi et D, G

¹⁵ condic/tionis A, B, C

¹⁶ fieri H

[19] These deeds will be written down in the annals of the kings, and they will be kept in the archives of the churches for the memory of posterity. No age will fail to praise Louis. The Apostolic See will remember this great act of piety and show gratefulness not only to him but also to his sons and their sons and all born to them. It will honour his name together with Constantine I, Justinianus,¹ Theodosius,² Charlemagne, and the other pious emperors. This he will be granted by the Church that fights for Christ on Earth.³ But neither will the Church that triumphs in Heavenly Jerusalem⁴ fail to reward Louis for his excellent deeds: if, until the end of life, he remains steadfast in his devotion to his mother,⁵ in the protection of the Faith, in the administration of justice, in the love of God and neighbour, the Church Triumphant will grant him eternal beatitude. Paradise on high will receive his soul, full of joy, radiating and shining with wonderful splendour. It will place his soul on a luminous seat among the blessed choirs of the saints and grant it the vision of Omnipotent God. Together with the angels and other blessed spirits, it will contemplate the glory of the Creator and enjoy the supreme and perfect Good. May the Divine Piety grant to Us and to the people entrusted to Us to share this Good. His is the honour and the glory through countless ages. Amen.

¹ Justinian I the Great (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus) (c. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

² Theodosius I the Great (Flavius Theodosius Augustus) (347 – 395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death

³ The Church Militant

⁴ The Church Triumphant

⁵ i.e. the Church

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 66)

Oration “*Superioribus diebus*” of Pope Pius II (31 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

In March 1462, an embassy from King Georg Podiebrad of Bohemia came to Pope Pius II to present the king's declaration of obedience and to permanently settle the issue of communion under both species, granted to the Bohemians by the Council of Basel through the so-called Bohemian Compacts. Communion under both species was, in itself, a matter of Catholic ritual and not of Catholic dogma. But the Hussite claim that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord not only for priests but also for the laity and that it was necessary for salvation went straight against the practice and teachings of the Church, as confirmed by the Councils of Konstanz and Basel, and it meant that for centuries the Church, by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, had been sending countless souls to Hell. In his final oration to the Bohemian embassy, the "*Superioribus diebus*" of 31 March, the pope stated that the Hussite teachings concerning communion under both species as necessary for salvation were a heresy. He denied the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts made by the Council of Basel on the grounds that the Bohemians had not fulfilled the conditions stipulated by the Compacts. And he refused to grant the right to communicate under both species because of the risks of continued doctrinal error in Bohemia, irreverence for the sacrament (spilling of Christ's blood), civil unrest, and continued international isolation and wars with the neighbouring countries.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Bohemian Compacts; Compacts of Prague; Hussite Compacts; Hussitism; Communion under both species; Communion under both kinds; Communion of the chalice; King Georg Poediebrad of Bohemia; King George Podiebrad of Bohemia; The Council of Basel; The Council of Konstanz; Compacts of Basel; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1462

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

1.1. Hussite schism

The main tenets of the Hussite schism² are contained in the Four Articles of Prague. They were:

- (1) Freedom of preaching;
- (2) Communion under both species³, also for the laity;
- (3) Poverty and no secular power for priests;
- (4) Punishment for mortal sins, especially public ones.⁴

Hussitism had been condemned by the Church in 1415, at the Council of Konstanz,⁵ but militarily and politically the movement was so strong that it became necessary for the Church to find a *modus vivendi*. At the Council in Basel a compromise formula was reached, viz. the Bohemian Compacts, which effectively granted the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

The Compacts were, according to Heymann, a weakened version of the Four Articles of Prague in which

the articles about freedom of preaching and the punishment of mortal sins were accepted in a general way but with more precise definitions of those who should have the right to preach, practically excluding all those not ordained, and of the authorities who should be entitled to proceed against the sinner. The third (now the fourth) article was eventually formulated in a way which would make it impossible to use it as a basis for the further confiscation of Church property. It was the former second article [viz. communion under both species] which did, in every respect, take first place in the new charter. No other issue could, in the minds of the Czech people, compare in importance with the question of the Eucharist.⁶

¹ CO, VII, 15; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 14-16; Boulting, pp. 312-316; Heymann: *George*, pp. 166-169, 177-186, 229-242, 248, 257-280, 317, 338-339; Kaminsky; Pastor, II, pp. 159-160; Voigt, IV, pp. 422-501 (building largely on earlier studies by Palacky); Oration "*Res Bohemicas*" [28]; Report of E.S. Piccolomini to Cardinal Juan Carvajal of 21 August 1451 on his visit to Hussite Bohemia, WO, III, ep. 12, pp. 22-56

² For a history of the Hussite schism, see – among others - the two books of George Heymann

³ Or "under both kinds"

⁴ Heyman: *Zizka*, p. 148

⁵ Council of Konstanz 1414-1418

⁶ Heymann: *George*, p. 7

The compromise between the Council of Basel and the Bohemians in the form of the Compacts did not solve the problems, however: the conflicts between the orthodox catholics and the Hussites in Bohemia continued, resulting both in wars and permanent political unrest and turmoil making the nation ungovernable for the catholic Habsburg monarchs, and in international isolation of the Bohemian nation.¹

Gradually it became quite clear to all parties that the Hussite issue had not been settled and that it would be necessary to achieve some permanent solution if Bohemia should become reunited with Rome and the nation come under effective royal and Habsburg rule.

1.2. Situation in 1455-1456 and the oration “*Res Bohemicas*”

In 1455/1456 Bishop Piccolomini - as an imperial diplomat acting on behalf of the Habsburg monarchs, Emperor Friedrich III and the very young King Ladislaus of Bohemia – in the oration/memorandum “*Res Bohemicas*” [28] presented his views on the solution of the Hussite schism to his own immediate predecessor as pope, Calixtus III, together with a recommendation of granting the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

When 6 years afterwards, in 1462, an embassy from the Bohemian King, now Georg Podiebrad, came to Rome to present the king’s declaration of obedience and to formally petition for papal confirmation or grant of this right, Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II, took the diametrically opposite view of the matter and denied a petition that he had himself recommended 6 years before.

In view of the importance of the matter, he must have had very good reasons for doing so. To understand his change of mind, it is necessary to look at how the situation relating to the Hussite schism had changed from 1456 and 1462.

1.3. Developments since 1455

1.3.1. Under Calixtus III (1455-1458)

Pope Calixtus III desired to end the Bohemian schism, and he believed that King Ladislaus and his governor, Georg Podiebrad, would be able to contribute effectively to an agreement on this issue.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 423

The conditions for finding some kind of solution to the Bohemian problem were indeed favourable, as George Heymann wrote:

At no time before or after was there so much optimism for a permanent settlement on both sides, in Rome and in Prague, than in the years following the meeting at Wiener-Neustadt¹ and Aeneas' great speech to Calixtus III², and especially in the years 1457-1458.³

However, in November 1457 King Ladislaus of Bohemia died at the age of eighteen, possibly poisoned⁴ at the instigation of Georg Podiebrad or Hussite church leaders like Rokycana.

This meant that the Kingdom of Bohemia was no longer ruled by a catholic monarch, whose example would conceivably strengthen the position of the catholics in the kingdom and who might be expected to actively support a process of ending the Hussite schism.

Ladislaus was succeeded as king by the governor of the realm, Georg Podiebrad, who though a Hussite by personal conviction was well thought of in Rome - partly because of the reports of Bishop Piccolomini - as a sensible man who would need the support of the papacy and with whom reasonable deals might be struck.

So, Pope Calixtus dealt with him agreeably and trustingly, and even allowed him to be crowned by two catholic bishops from Hungary, but only after he had made an oath, in secret,

- to obey the Roman and Catholic Church and the popes,
- to conform to the true Faith as professed by the Holy Roman Church,
- to defend the Faith,
- and to make his people abandon all errors, heresies, and teachings contrary to the Catholic Faith and bring it to obedience to and conformity and union with the Holy Roman Church and to restore its rites and forms of worship.⁵

Podiebrad himself may not have interpreted this oath as an abandonment of the practice of communion under both species, but he did promise to obey the popes and to restore catholic rites: there was, indeed, a good reason for him to insist that the oath should not be made public.

¹ The Imperial Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1455, February to April

² The "*Res Bohemicas*"

³ Heymann, p. 165; cf. Voigt, IV, p. 424

⁴ As many, including Piccolomini, thought

⁵ Voigt, IV, p. 425, 427 ff.; Heymann: *George*, p. 181

After the coronation, Georg would not or could not take effective measures in support of Catholic doctrine and ritual practice. He remained or had to remain a defender of Hussitism, and Pope Calixtus, before he died in 1458, had lost his illusions concerning the willingness or the ability of Podiebrad to contain, weaken, and end the Hussite schism.¹

1.3.2. Under Pius II (1458-1462)

In August 1458, Piccolomini became pope, under the name of Pius II.

As pope, Piccolomini was no longer a diplomat-fixer of thorny political problems like the Bohemian situation. He was the pope and primary guarantor of the purity of the Faith, a role which he took quite seriously. In the Bohemian matter, he might well accept the conditioned and limited continuance of the practice of communion under both species, which was not in itself a doctrinal matter. But in no way could he condone or appear to tolerate a heresy declaring, as Hussites did, that men could only be saved if they received communion under both species. Firstly, this went directly against established church doctrine. And secondly, it meant that the Church had for hundreds of years been sending the believers to Hell when it denied them the communion under both species, thus fundamentally failing in its primary task: to save the souls of men.

So, whereas a compromise on the ritual matter might be possible, a compromise on the doctrinal issue was absolutely impossible.

After the solution achieved by the Council of Basel, based on the Bohemian Compacts, experience had shown that the Hussites had continued with communion under both species without really accepting the conditions connected with the Compacts and without accepting the church's doctrine in the matter.

The pope's acceptance of a compromise on the ritual of communion would therefore be dependent on Rome's perception of a new Bohemian willingness to accept Church doctrine concerning communion and salvation. The position of the Bohemian ruler was rightly considered by Rome to be of paramount importance in this respect.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 431-432

Though he had his doubts concerning the role of Podiebrad in the death of King Ladislaus, Pius, in the beginning of his pontificate, still believed – though possibly with some misgivings¹ - that Podiebrad would be an able ruler and a valuable ally for the papacy in handling the Hussite schism and in organizing a crusade against the Turks.²

So when he invited Podiebrad to come to the Congress of Mantua in 1459, it was as a Catholic king – a fact which Podiebrad naturally exploited to present himself to the Bohemian catholics as a king recognized by the papacy.

Throughout 1459 and 1460, Podiebrad continued to “play” the pope and received his support as ruler of Bohemia.³

But no embassy from Bohemia to the pope was forthcoming⁴ and no offers from Podiebrad neither in terms of the Hussite schism, nor in terms of Bohemian participation in the projected crusade against the Turks. On the contrary, the pope received continuous complaints from catholics in Bohemia, and especially from the very important catholic city of Breslau, about the papal support of a proven heretic as King of Bohemia.⁵

During these years it was becoming clear that Podiebrad was not actively working for a solution of the Hussite schism. Moreover, in 1459-1460 he engaged in a plot with a number of German princes to take over the imperial power by becoming elected King of the Romans, the actual emperor, Friedrich III, continuing in a nominal function. In this context, also the threat of an ecumenical council, so perilous to the papacy, was ventilated. The plot failed, but Podiebrad had now revealed himself to be an adventurous and dangerous player on the European power scene and someone in whom the papacy should not naively place its trust. Voigt wrote:

Pius sah nun, dass der König ganz andere Entwürfe hegte als die Bekehrung der Hussiten, dass er sich verpflichtet, an die Spitze der antirömischen Partei des Reiches zu treten, dass er im Vertrage mit dem Mainzer die Hebung dieses deutschen Primates, die Basler Decrete, ein gemeines Concil in Deutschland zugesagt. Mochte er da Utraquist und Ketzer bleiben oder nicht, solche Artikel machten ihn zum gefährlichsten Ketzer, zum Feinde des römischen Supremats.⁶

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 432; Heymann: *George*, p. 230

² Heymann: *George*, p. 180-181

³ Voigt, IV, pp. 451-452

⁴ Voigt, IV, pp. 452-453

⁵ Heymann: *George*, ch. 10

⁶ Voigt, IV, p. 454; Heymann: *George*, ch. 10

The gloves came off.¹

In January 1462, a papal envoy came to King Podiebrad to let him know that his relations with Rome had now reached a critical and very serious state.²

Podiebrad understood that procrastination and subterfuge would no longer serve, and he soon dispatched a Bohemian embassy to the pope. One of the members of the embassy was the pope's old friend, Prokop von Rabstein, who had taken part in the earlier direct meetings between Podiebrad as governor of Bohemia and Piccolomini as imperial and papal diplomat.

The embassy reached Rome on 10 March 1462, some days before the arrival of a splendid embassy from the King of France coming to announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438.³

In the ensuing weeks, the pope conducted two extremely important negotiations at the same time, one with the French and one with the Bohemians. The negotiation with the French took priority and was highlighted by the papal oration, "*Per me reges regnant*" [65], celebrating a great diplomatic victory for the papacy. Although that victory proved to be rather short-lived, it undoubtedly influenced the negotiations with the Bohemians, since for the time being it seemed to assure the pope of peaceful relations with the French and remove the threat of an ecumenical council.⁴

The Bohemian ambassadors were received in two consistories. In the first, Prokop von Rabstein presented the king's obedience to the pope. Afterwards another member of the embassy, a Hussite priest, ill-advisedly argued for benefits of the communion under both species as divinely revealed and – indirectly - as necessary for salvation, an argument which the Holy See must consider as completely heretical.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius himself gives the following description of the event:

About this time ambassadors from Georg, King of Bohemia, came to Rome headed by Procop von Rabstein and Zdenek Kostka, distinguished barons of that Kingdom. Procop had long ago been very well known to the Pope when he was in minor orders.⁵ He had been his

¹ Heymann, pp. 236 ff.

² Voigt, IV, p. 458; Heymann: *George*, pp. 232-365 and ch. 12

³ See oration "*Per me reges regnant*"

⁴ Voigt, IV, 7, p. 459; Heymann: *George*, p. 262

⁵ "*cum in minoribus ageret*": rather, when he had not yet attained his present high position, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 10

close friend and his colleague in many embassies when both had been imperial counsellors. Therefore Pius eagerly embraced his old comrade and honored him with no mean gifts. Kostka was one of the King's few favorites and the companion of his perfidy. Procop had never swerved from the Catholic Faith. With them were two priests¹ who were glib talkers and bold champions of the Hussite madness. They were received with the honor due to ambassadors of a Catholic king and given public audience. Procop proffered obedience in the King's name. One of the priests with a sonorous voice and headlong delivery asked that the agreements of the Bohemians with the Council of Basle (which they called compacts) be ratified by authority of the Apostolic See. He said that the King earnestly desired this and that the kingdom expected it. Unless it were granted there could be no peace among the Bohemians. He discoursed at length on Communion under both kinds, calling it holy and divine as if without it there were no salvation.

The pope replied that he freely accepted the King's obedience, confident that it was sincere and complete. He described the one-time condition of the kingdom of Bohemia,² how rich, how flourishing, how pious it had been; then how it had fallen away, how the lofty palaces, its noble churches, its splendid monasteries had fallen into ruins and the kingdom had been reduced to poverty and misery. This had been the result of heresies and its withdrawal from the Church of Rome. Certain Bohemians had set themselves up more than was fitting, they had introduced foreign doctrines and had wrested from the priests their temporal goods on the ground that those who were in the service of God might not possess anything. Then they had invented an article called "concerning civil lordship," which they say is forbidden to priests. They said also that the Word of God was not fettered but all might preach it everywhere; that verily no sins could be tolerated in public office and that no one could be allowed to hold a magistracy who was known to be in the toils of mortal sin. Then too there had come to light the article concerning Communion which they call "under both kinds" and think necessary for salvation, which was not the invention of John Huss or of Jerome, who were burned at Constance, or of some doctor or learned expounder of the law, but this heresy was originated by a school teacher named Jacobellus, when he had read in John, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood ye have no life in you." "What are we doing?" he said. "The priests mock us; they close the gates of paradise when they keep the blood from us. They wish to be the only ones to enter into life." He was listened to by the untaught; the ignorant believed that no one could be saved unless under the species of wine he drank of the cup; and under the teaching and sponsorship of Jacobellus there

¹ Wenzel Urbensky, dean of S. Apollinar in Prague, and Wenzel Koranda the Younger

² Pius here reused materials from his oration/memorandum to Pope Calixtus III, the "Res Bohemicas" [28] of 1455/1456

was composed an article which said, "Communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation," just the opposite of what was declared to be true in the Council of Basle.

The Pope told also how the compacts had been granted by that same Council, what conditions had been laid down, and how the Bohemians has disregarded the terms imposed on them. Communion under both kinds had been allowed only to those in the kingdom of Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia who had practiced it before and still desired it. But they of their own initiative had given the cup even to infants and compelled those who were unwilling to drink. The priests who had been ordered to pronounce certain words when they administered to the people the Communion under both kinds had disobeyed outright. The agreements had been violated in a thousand ways by the Bohemians. It was idle any longer to give the name of compacts to what had ceased to be in force. Still the King's request must be discussed in consultation with the brethren. Then the meeting was adjourned.¹

The following negotiations with the Bohemians did not, and probably could not establish the basis for a compromise in the matter of the Bohemian schism. The Hussite priests in the Bohemian embassy staunchly upheld Hussite teachings, and King Podiebrad could not afford, had he been willing, to alienate his Hussite subjects *en bloc*. On his part, the pope would not, and could not compromise on the doctrinal issue. In the *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

After this the envoys were often summoned to the Pope and given audience in the presence of selected cardinals to see if any way could be found by which the kingdom of Bohemia might be brought into agreement with the Church and conform to the rest of Christendom. Procop, being a catholic, never swerved from the path of honor but nothing could persuade the others into it and they insisted that unless the compacts were confirmed it was impossible that the Bohemian people should remain quiet. It was therefore necessary to make a public reply to the demands made in public.²

So, without some, even a minimal commitment from Podiebrad to uphold his coronation oath, as understood by Rome, to affirm catholic doctrine and thereby recognize that the Roman Church had not been sending generations of believers and countless souls to hell by denying them the communion under both species, Rome could not budge on the question of rite, though this was not in itself the stumbling block of the matter. There were also other considerations than the doctrinal one, especially political considerations. But the basic issue for the Catholic Church was and had to be doctrinal: it could only grant communion of the chalice to the Bohemians if the

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 512-514). See also the report in Rainaldus, Ad ann. 1462, nr. 14 based on the following sources: *Jo. Papien. in comm. l. 6. Gob. l. 7, Cocl. l. 12*. See also Heymann, p. 270-275

² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, p. 514)

Bohemians acknowledged that this form of communion was not necessary for salvation. In the circumstances, confirming or granting the communion under both species to the Bohemians would be taken by the Hussites as an admission by the Church that the Hussite teachings on the Eucharist were right, and the Church's teachings wrong.

The pope's final decision was announced to the Bohemians in the very important oration, "*Superioribus diebus*" of 31 March.

Pius recounted the events of the day in his *Commentarii*:

Having called a consistory the Pope took his seat before the tribunal and delivered a speech about the compacts. He showed that in many ways they were obsolete; furthermore that the requests made could not be granted without grave danger. Finally he said that the King at his coronation had sworn to obey the pope of Rome; if he valued his soul he must accept the mandates of the Apostolic See, viz. that he should finally abandon the communion under both kinds and together with his household and all his subjects unite with the Roman and universal Church. If he did not, his kingdom could not stand.

*This speech of the Pope has been published with others. When it ended the consistory also ended.*¹

In his oration, the pope refused to recognize the grant of communion under both species made by the Council of Basel (on conditions which were not fulfilled by the Bohemians), and he also refused to make this grant by virtue of his own power as pope.

After the pope's oration,² an official of the papal court, Antonio Gubbio, publicly announced that the Compacts of the Council of Basel granting communion under both species to the Bohemians

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 514-515)

² Cardinal Ammanati Piccolomini, who was present, gave the following summary of the popes oration (quoted after Rainaldus, *ibid.*): *Obedientiam recipere se quamquam commune nimis ac diminutam, credituram Apostolicam sedem tum demum illos veram absolutamque praestare, cum pulsus erroribus ad ovile Domini Rex regnum reduceret, quod ut mature faciat per professam ea hora obedientiam se arctius imperare: calicem vero, quem tantopere commendassent, illis nec necessarium esse, nec sane esse etiam utilem, definisse Synodum Constantiensem: non licere ab institutis Ecclesiae, quae spiritu Dei regeretur, abire: instituisse autem, ut qui extra sacerdotium essent, calice abstinerent, quando de communicante turba effusionis, utrobique periculum est et ad viaticum agrorum sacerdote longius cum ferente servari difficile potest; tum autem ne indocta plebs, quae sensibus ducitur, nisi sub utraque specie non sumi a se totum Christum et integrum crederet: conventorum porro, quae memorarent, modo nullam vim esse, nec licere illis, quod crederent eorum omnem rationem bipartitam videri permitti, altera, ut qui unionem Romanae sedis servarent, ritumque in caeteris tenerent ecclesiae, sumendi quoque calicis usum haberent: altera vero permittit ut si se re inde ad concilium delata illi nihilominus desiderio calicis tenebantur, eumque missis legatis petierint indultum iri sacerdotibus suis facultatem illius iis tantum ministrandi, quibus et per aetatem liceret,*

had been annulled and quashed; that communion under both species was not necessary for salvation; and that the obedience declared by the King of Bohemia would only be considered as genuine when the King together with his whole Kingdom conformed to the Catholic Church.¹

Afterwards, the Bohemian ambassadors promised to relate the pope's message to their king and quite circumspectly requested that a papal envoy be sent back with them to directly convey the papal decision – and conceivably to deflect the king's foreseeable anger and turn it towards the papal envoy which is what actually happened.²

The momentous papal decision concerning the communion under both species was the starting point for a process leading, shortly before Pius' death, to the summoning of King Podiebrad to Rome to defend himself against accusations of heresy, to the king's excommunication by Pius' successor, and to later wars so detrimental to all parties, and first of all to Bohemia itself. It may also be reasonably believed that it contributed to a weakening of Podiebrad's position to the

et sponte sua pie deposcerent, lege perpetuo adjecta, ut praefari populis ante calicem debeant, non in pane carnem tantum, neque in vino sanguinem tantum, sed sub singulis totum Christum atque integrum contineri: illos non servasse conventa, synodum, quae obtulisset non indulsisse: cum ea non servarint, conventorum nullum beneficium esse, quod post ille non indulerit synodus: conventi nihil extare: non indulsisse autem, vel quod non petierint Bohemi, vel quod indigni ob neglectum habiti sunt: ita causam non superesse cur aut nos ex conventu appellant, aut Romanam sedem iis moveri oporteat: sed nec commodum pastori Ecclesiae, nec illis videri expediens nova nunc ratione id ipsum permitti: negasse hoc semper priores pontifices: ab iis in tanta re dissentire non sani esse consilii: laturas indigne caeteras gentes, his datam, prohibitam aliis participationem hanc calicis: nationes quietae operae pretium non esse nunc commovere: proclive quoque hos ad errorem videri, quod ad necessitatem salutis pertinere cum, si concedatur, rudis populus nimirum sit crediturus, quam rem potissimum damnet ecclesia: porro autem dividendorum animorum, et perpetuandi odii eam concessionem perpetuum causam afferre: esse in Bohemis parte adhuc sanam nobis conformem hanc dissimili ritu nunquam sensuram, conflicturam armis et animis: timendum proinde Domini vocem, desolatum iri quodcumque in se divisum sit regnum: aequius esse veteri sententia novam concedere, quam veterem nova, illam totius Ecclesiae probatam consensus, hanc quorundam tantum Bohemorum susceptam iudicio, reliquorum fidelium repudiatam decreto: circumstare insuper regnum potentissimae plebes Theutones, Hungaros, Polonos, infestas itidem illas usque futuras, ac mille licet proferantur sedis decreta putaturas versari eas in errore, sicut et nunc quoque existimant: nimiae quoque arrogantiae Bohemicam gentem damnaturas, quae plus contenderet, plus sibi deposceret, quam Christianorum reliqua multitudo, jurgia, obtrectationes, et pugnas hinc proventuras: inconsultum videri intus atque extra perpetuos sibi hostes concire, nominisque haeretici subire infamiam: expendisse diligenter haec Romanum Pontificem, inutile quod ab illis poscitur credere, nescire quid petant: dispensatorem se ministeriorum Dei esse, ad pastores opus pertinere gregem dominicum pascere, illumque in viam rectam statuere; non intelligere homines aliquando, quae vera sint bona; paenituisse saepe mortales peracti voti atque impetrati; quod oratores nunc petant ad vitam aeternam non pertinere; fumum quendam atque inanis gloriae ventum quaeri; hortari proinde eos contenti sint sub specie tantum panis corpus Domini sanguinemque assumere; ad salutem id ipsum sufficere, admonente Domino: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi. Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in aeternum; discipuli Emaus euntes in fractione panis Dominum agnovere: nollent pluris his esse, aut patres eorum sapientia anteire, qui sub una tantum specie Saramento accepto in Christo mortui sunt, ad notam illorum filiorum esse viam contrariam. Adjungant se igitur non erranti Ecclesiae, in unicaque religione uniant regnum potentissimum olim, post labefactatum, rediturum mox in antiquas opes et gloriam, si doctoribus errorum praeteritis in viam redierint primam, matremque audierint Romanam ecclesiam

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 466

² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 515)

extent that it would become impossible for him to establish his own family as a continuing royal dynasty.

2. Themes

2.1. Doctrinal issue

The doctrinal issue tended to get mixed up with issues of Church ritual and discipline and with other, political issues, but it was clearly the most important of the issues related to the Bohemian schism.

The Bohemian heresy did not consist in its desire to have communion under both species, since that was not against dogma and not against the practice of the Early Church as Pius had himself demonstrated in his oration/memorandum “*Res Bohemicas*” [28] of 1456. And communion under both species had not been abolished by the church for reasons of dogma, but out of reverence for the sacrament:

Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later, usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only received entirely under both species jointly. [Sect. 5]

The crucial error of the Bohemians was to maintain that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord and that it applied to all the faithful, including the laypeople, and that it was therefore necessary for salvation:

To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. [Sect. 6]

Such a teaching went straight against the teaching of the Church, as affirmed by two recent ecumenical councils, the Council of Konstanz and the Council of Basel:

Concerning your petition for communion under both species (or of the compacts), We have pondered the words of the speaker. He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating clergy should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. [Sect. 4]

The Bohemian teaching implied that by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, the Church had for centuries been depriving the laypeople of salvation and sent them to Hell. As the primary goal of the Church was to save souls and send them to Heaven, the Hussite teachings were therefore, absolutely unacceptable to the Church. The pope, therefore, could only exhort the Hussites to

not wish to know more than you should know, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ, having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory and conform to the rest of Christianity. [Sect. 18]

2.2. Bohemian Compacts

The concession to Bohemia of the communion under both species contained in the Bohemian Compacts was granted by the Council of Basel under a number of conditions. One of the most important conditions was that this form of communion could only be given to those who already had that usage. This meant that it could not be given to the children born after the concession was granted, and therefore the usage would die out in a couple of generations. Another condition was that the Bohemians should accept Church union, obedience to Rome, and conformity in all other matters to the teachings and the practice of the Church.

These essential conditions as well as others had not been fulfilled by the Bohemians, and therefore the concession as such was void:

So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no [grounds for your petition]. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether

you did not actually present a request, or whether the Council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice, who accept ecclesiastical union in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity with the Church. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession. [Sect. 9]

The pope concluded:

So, having examined all the compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust in them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment. This is what We have to say concerning the compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 11]

2.3. Papal grant of communion of the chalice

Even if the pope would not confirm the Compacts made by the Council of Basel, he could himself grant the right of communion of the chalice to the Bohemians.

He chose not to do so for the following reasons:

- The risk of continued doctrinal error, viz. the belief that communion under both species was necessary to salvation. [Sect. 13]
- The risk of irreverence towards the sacrament, i.e. the very reason for which the Church had abolished the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 14]
- The risk of internal conflicts in Bohemia, between the Hussites having the communion of the chalice and the orthodox Catholics (like the very insistent people of Breslau) who wanted to have the same form of communion as the rest of the Church. [Sect. 15]

- The risk of external wars, i.e. with the Germans, the Poles, and the Hungarians such as there had been in former years and which had brought poverty and misery to the once flourishing Bohemian nation. [Sect. 16]

The pope concluded:

So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, or the kingdom, or the people. ... What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory. [Sect. 17]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Superioribus diebus*" was delivered on 31 March 1462 in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience consisted of the participants in a full public consistory: the cardinals, the Bohemian ambassadors, important curials, and envoys from other powers.

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

4. Text¹

The text of the oration "*Superioribus diebus*" exists in two versions, an Early Version and a Final version. The Final Version is very close to the Early Version, few – and no significant - changes having been made to the original text.

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

4.1. Early version

The Early Version is extant in a number of manuscripts, typically humanist *Sanmmelhandschriften*.¹ The following list is not exhaustive.

4.1.1. Manuscripts²

- **Basel / Universitätsbibliothek**
O III 23, ff. 43r-46r
- **Görlitz / Milich'sche Bibliothek**
Ch 4, 78, ff. 381v sqq.³
- **Lepipzig / Universitätsbibliothek**
172⁴
183⁵
486, ff. 80v-82v⁶
1327, ff. 38r-41v
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
clm 215, ff. 237r-238v
clm 10454, ff.169r-171v
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent V App 15, 278v-280v⁷
- **Prag / Statni knihovna**
I G 34, ff. 106r-112v⁸

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1.

² Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with a single asterisk

³ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

⁴ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

⁵ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

⁶ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

⁷ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

⁸ Helmrath, p. 316

- **Regensburg / Bibliothek des Kollegiatsstiftes unserer Lieben Frau zur Alten Kapelle**
1884¹
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ottonob. lat. 905, ff. 65v-67v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**
II 5 / ff. 132r-136r
- **Weimar / Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek**
Q45, ff. 249r-250v
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
4453
4704,
4764, ff. 181v-184v **(W2)** *
11843
13760
Ser. nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364), ff. 99v-101r **(W1)** *
- **Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek**
Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332), ff. 41r-42v **(X)** *
- **Wroclaw / Bibl. Uniwersytecka (Rehdigeriana)**
478, ff. 381v sqq.²

4.1.2. Editions

- Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici*. Hannover: Freytag, 1700 / Appendix, pp. 159-163 **(LE)**

4.2. Final version

¹ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

² From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 144v-147v (**G**) *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 282r-288r
- **Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana**
97 inf., ff. 186v-190r
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 188r-192r (**D**) *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 146v-149v (**A**) *
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 290r-295v (**C**) *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 205v-209r (**B**) *

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version was published by Mansi, based on the Lucca ms.:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 93-101

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 edition of the Early Version is based on the two manuscripts in Vienna (**W1** and **W2**), the one in Wolfenbüttel (**X**), and the one edited by Leibniz.

The Final Version is based on the five manuscripts listed above with the siglum.
The Chis. J.VIII. 284 (**A**) has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Chis. J.VIII. 284 (**A**).

Textual apparatus:

The variants common to the manuscripts W1, W2, X, and the LE, i.e. the Early Version, are given in bold types.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible (1 from the OT and 10 from the NT).

Biblical: 11

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 9

Biblical sources: 11

Old Testament: 1

- Isaiah: 1

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

New Testament: 10

- Matthew: 2
- John: 5
- Acts: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography

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¹ References to the *Annales* are given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition)

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- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.
- *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

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

7. Sigla and abbreviations

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

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

W1 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364)

W2 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Cod. 4764

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

LE = Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici. Hannover: Freytag, 1700

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II Pontificis Maximi data oratoribus regis Bohemiae, Romae, in consistorio publico¹

[1] {146v} Superioribus diebus, cum audivissemus² vos, oratores carissimi filii nostri³, regis Bohemiae illustris⁴, quamvis aliqua ex tempore⁵ diximus, responsionem tamen solidam^{6 7} et efficacem cum fratrum⁸ consilio faciendam in aliud tempus⁹ reservavimus¹⁰, quam {147r} in¹¹ praesentiarum a nobis intelligetis¹². Hortamur, ut¹³ omnia cum caritate accipiatis¹⁴, quia¹⁵ tamquam pater¹⁶ in *caritate non ficta* loquemur¹⁷. Duo exposuistis in hoc ipso¹⁸ auditorio. Nam et¹⁹ oboedientiam nomine regio²⁰ praestitistis nobis et apostolicae sedi²¹, et usum communionis eucharistiae sub utraque specie regno Bohemiae et²² marchionatui²³ Moraviae concedi petivistis.

¹ Responsio domini Pii papae facta oratoribus regis Bohemiae super petitionem communionis eucharistiae sub utraque specie **W1**; Pii II Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus regis Bohemiae de compactatis et illorum heresi **D, G**; Responsio domini nostri sanctissimi domini Pii ad oratores Bohemos **W2**; Responsio Sanctissimi domini papae Pii II ad Bohemos anno etc. 1462 **X**; Responsum papae Pii II. datum oratoribus Regis Georgii declarans Bohemos abuti Compactatis **LE**

² audivissem **W1**

³ *omit.* **LE**

⁴ illustrissimi **LE**

⁵ parte **LE**

⁶ solitam **W2**

⁷ tamen solidam : solidam tamen **LE**

⁸ nostrorum **W1**; *omit.* **W2**

⁹ faciendam in aliud tempus : in aliud tempus faciendam **LE**

¹⁰ servavimus **D, G**; reservamus **W2**

¹¹ igitur **X**

¹² **accipientes W1; accipietis W2, LE; accepistis X**

¹³ *omit.* **C**

¹⁴ recipiatis **W2, X, LE**

¹⁵ duo *add.* **W1**; quum **LE**

¹⁶ *omit.* **W1**

¹⁷ *omit.* **W1**; loquimur **W2**; loquamur **LE**

¹⁸ *omit.* **W1**

¹⁹ *omit.* **X, LE**

²⁰ regis **X**

²¹ apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae **W2**

²² a **W1**

²³ marchionatu **W1**

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of the King of Bohemia, in Rome, during a public consistory

1. Introduction

[1] Ambassadors of Our dear son, the Illustrious King of Bohemia,

when We had heard you, some days ago, We said something directly,¹ [adding that] We would defer Our proper and considered response until We had discussed it with Our brethren.² This you will hear now. We exhort you to accept it all in love since We shall be speaking, as a father, *in unfeigned charity*.³

Two things you set forth in this assembly: in the name of your king you declared obedience to Us and the Apostolic See, and you petitioned that the use of the eucharistic communion under both species be granted to Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia.

¹ “ex tempore”. Cf. the report in Rainaldus mentioned above, Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.

² The College of Cardinals

³ 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

[2] Circa primum dicimus¹ multa² nobis exposita esse³ in laudem regis et per imperatoris oratorem⁴, et per dilectum filium Procopium⁵ equitem⁶, qui⁷ unus⁸ est⁹ ex vobis. Nam is multis¹⁰ verbis seorsum¹¹ nobis sincerum regis animum et optimum ejus propositum ad benemerendum de¹² sancta¹³ sede apostolica¹⁴ commendavit¹⁵. Laudamus regem¹⁶, qui¹⁷ portam domini videtur inquirere, per quam justii intrant, et sine qua non patet iter in¹⁸ caelum. *Qui non intrat per ostium, fur est et latro*. Ostium autem in¹⁹ ovile domini²⁰ est ipsa sedes²¹ apostolica, cui sunt traditae claves regni caelorum. Sapit igitur regia²² sublimitas, quae²³ verum²⁴ ostium quaerit, et vera pascua, et verum pastorem, et²⁵ nos, licet immeritos, tamquam Jesu²⁶ Christi vicarium sua honorat²⁷ oboedientia, et primae sedi²⁸ caput submittit²⁹.

¹ didicimus LE

² *omit.* W1

³ exposita esse : esse exposita LE

⁴ **imperatoris oratorem : oratorem imperatoris W1, W2, X, LE**

⁵ N W1

⁶ de Rabstein *add.* LE

⁷ *omit.* W1

⁸ unum W1

⁹ *omit.* W1

¹⁰ multum W2

¹¹ seorsim LE

¹² die W2

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ sede apostolica : sedi apostolicae W2

¹⁵ commendat X

¹⁶ laudamus regem : laudandus W1

¹⁷ quia X

¹⁸ patet inter in : non itur ad LE

¹⁹ *omit.* W2

²⁰ *omit.* W2, LE

²¹ fides W1

²² regis W2

²³ qui LE

²⁴ veram W1; rerum LE

²⁵ ut W1

²⁶ *omit.* LE

²⁷ honoret W1; honoravit W2

²⁸ suum *add.* W1

²⁹ caput submittit : submittit caput LE

2. Declaration of obedience

[2] Concerning the first point, much was said in praise of the king both by the emperor's ambassador¹ and by Our beloved son, the knight Prokop,² who is one of your number. Separately, he has said much to commend the king's³ sincere disposition towards Us and his good intentions to be of service⁴ to the Apostolic See. We praise the king who seeks the gate of the Lord,⁵ which the just pass through, and without which there is no way to Heaven. *He that entereth not by the door, the same is a thief and a robber.*⁶ The entrance to the Lord's flock is the Apostolic See which has been given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. His Royal Highness is wise, indeed, since he seeks the true gate, the true pasture, and the true shepherd, and since, with his [declaration of] obedience, he honours Us - though unworthy - as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and bows to the First See.

¹ The emperor's ambassador is not mentioned elsewhere

² Prokop von Rabstein [Rabenstein] (ca. 1420-1472): Bohemian noble. From 1453 to 1468 Chancellor of Bohemia. In their younger years, Piccolomini and Prokop were colleagues in the Imperial Chancery and became close friends

³ Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Regent of Bohemia during the minority of Kings Ladislaus the Posthumous. King of Bohemia from 1458 to his death

⁴ "ad benemerendum"

⁵ Cf. Matthew, 7, 13

⁶ John, 10, 1

[3] Verum quia regnum Bohemiae olim sub Romanae ecclesiae et antecessorum nostrorum oboedientia integra fuit¹, et ritum eumdem tenuit circa divina sacramenta, et postea pars magna² regni³ et⁴ marchionatus ab oboedientia⁵ recessit et ritum novum⁶ invenit⁷, quem ignoraverunt patres eorum, et multi excessus intercesserunt⁸, qui adhuc non parva in parte⁹ durant, non potest dici sufficiens regis oboedientia, nisi novitates¹⁰ tollantur¹¹, et omnia reducantur¹² ad¹³ pristinam vivendi normam. Quod¹⁴ si vult rex suae oboedientiae et suo debito satisfacere¹⁵, omnia tollat¹⁶ de regno suo necesse est¹⁷, quae sunt innovata contra mandata nostrorum¹⁸ praedecessorum et contra ritum universalis ecclesiae^{19 20}; et ita nos^{21 22} sibi praecipimus²³ in virtute oboedientiae nobis praestitae. Quod si fecerit, dicemus regem ipsum²⁴ veram et sufficientem oboedientiam praestitisse²⁵ eumque condignis²⁶ et²⁷ honoribus²⁸ et favoribus prosequemur²⁹. Alioquin cum regum³⁰ proprium sit ecclesiam tueri, et Romanis pontificibus reverenter assistere, et eorum parere mandatis, non satis esset³¹ verbo ac³² scriptis oboedientiam praestitisse non sequentibus operibus. Haec ad oboedientiam regis.

¹ integra fuit : fuit integrum LE

² **pars magna : magna pars W1, W2, X, LE**

³ Bohemiae *add.* W1

⁴ ac W1

⁵ ecclesia W1

⁶ ritum novum : novum ritum LE

⁷ in *add.* X

⁸ intervenerunt W2; *omit.* LE

⁹ parva in parte : in parte parva LE

¹⁰ novitatem LE

¹¹ tollant LE

¹² reducant LE

¹³ in W1, LE

¹⁴ igitur W1

¹⁵ ut *del.* A; ut *add.* W1, X, LE; tunc *add.* W2

¹⁶ tollant W1

¹⁷ necesse est *omit.* W2, X, LE

¹⁸ meorum W2

¹⁹ necesse est *add.* W2, X, LE

²⁰ quae sunt ... ecclesiae *omit.* A, B, C, D, G, W1

²¹ *omit.* LE

²² ita nos : nos ita W1

²³ *omit.* C; praecipite LE

²⁴ ipsam W2

²⁵ oboedientiam praestitisse : exhibuisse reverentiam W1

²⁶ dignis W1

²⁷ *omit.* W1, W2

²⁸ honoribus : laudibus W1

²⁹ prosequimur W2, X

³⁰ regi W1; regem W2

³¹ est LE

³² et W1; et in W2; aut LE

[3] Formerly, the Kingdom of Bohemia was in complete obedience to the Roman Church and to Our predecessors and kept the common rituals concerning the divine sacraments. Later, a large part of the kingdom and of the margravate left the obedience and invented a new rite, unknown to their fathers. Many other transgressions occurred that are, to a great extent, still lasting. Therefore, the obedience of the king cannot be said to be complete unless these novelties are abolished and all is brought back to the former norm of life. So, if the king desires to fulfil his obedience and his obligations, he must remove all those innovations from his kingdom that are contrary to the instructions of our predecessors and the rite of the Universal Church. This is what We command by virtue of the obedience to Us declared [by the king]. If he does that, We shall acknowledge the king's declaration of obedience as true and satisfactory, and We shall grant him honours and favours worthy of him. As it is the particular charge of kings to protect the Church, to reverently assist the Roman pontiffs, and to obey their commands, it is not enough to declare obedience in words and writings that are not followed up by actions. [We shall say] no more concerning the king's declaration of obedience.

[4] Ad petitionem vero communionis¹ utriusque speciei sive compactatorum² consideravimus³ verba proponentis, qui communionem ipsam etiam⁴ quoad laicos veritatem divinitus quodammodo revelatam⁵ visus est appellare⁶, approbando eam per praxim⁷ ecclesiae primitivae⁸, per auctoritatem sacrae scripturae⁹, per testimonia {147v} sanctorum doctorum, et¹⁰ per concessionem¹¹ sive¹² compactata concilii¹³ Basiliensis. Circa hoc¹⁴ non¹⁵ est necesse¹⁶ multum immorari¹⁷, nam satis hic¹⁸ articulus in Basiliensi concilio¹⁹ discussus est²⁰, et tandem fuit definitum²¹ non esse communionem²² sub utraque specie quoad laicos et²³ non conficientes de praecepto. Denique²⁴ magna²⁵ synodus Constantiensis prius diffinierat^{26 27}, quia²⁸ non licet²⁹ a consuetudine ecclesiae, quae regitur a spiritu sancto³⁰, recedere; et in illis conciliis³¹ abunde³²

¹ communicationis A, B, C, D, G, W1

² compactatoris W1; **concessionem add. W2, LE; concessionis add. W2, X**

³ **consideramus W1, W2, X, LE**

⁴ ipsam etiam : etiam ipsam W2, LE

⁵ veritatem ... revelatam *omit.* W1

⁶ aperire W1

⁷ eam per praxim : per praxin eam LE

⁸ praxim ecclesiae primitivae : primitive ecclesie praxim W1

⁹ sacrae scripturae : scripturae sacrae W1

¹⁰ sive W1; ac X

¹¹ confessionem W1

¹² per *add.* LE

¹³ consilii *et passim* W1, X

¹⁴ hec W1

¹⁵ *omit.* X

¹⁶ *omit.* X

¹⁷ etiam non X; morari LE

¹⁸ is W1

¹⁹ **Basiliensi concilio : consilio Basiliensi W1, X; concilio Basiliensi W2, LE**

²⁰ discussus est : est discussus LE

²¹ definitum LE

²² communicandum W1

²³ *omit.* X

²⁴ deinde LE

²⁵ magnus W2

²⁶ definierat LE

²⁷ prius diffinierat : diffinierat prius W1

²⁸ quod W2

²⁹ oportet W1

³⁰ regitur a spiritu sancto : a spiritu sancto regitur LE

³¹ con W1

³² aliunde W2

considerata fuit praxis ecclesiae primitivae¹ et² sacrarum auctoritas³ ⁴ litterarum⁵, et quid⁶ doctores, vel⁷ sancti vel⁸ scholastici assererent⁹ opportune animadversum.

3. Bohemian petition for either a papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts or a papal grant of communion under both species

3.1. Teaching of the Church

[4] Concerning your petition for communion under both species or for [confirmation of] the compacts), We have pondered the words of the speaker.¹⁰ He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating [clergy] should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz¹¹ had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. Both these councils amply considered the practice of the primitive church and the authority of Holy Scripture, and they took due note of the statements of doctors, saints, and scholars.

¹ ecclesiae primitivae : primatum ecclesiae W1; primitivae ecclesiae LE

² ac W1

³ *omit.* B, C; auctoritates W1

⁴ sacrarum auctoritas : auctoritas sacrarum W2

⁵ auctoritas litterarum : litterarum auctoritas LE

⁶ quod W2, LE

⁷ et W1, W2

⁸ et W1; *omit.* X

⁹ asseverunt W2

¹⁰ One of the Hussite priests being part of the embassy

¹¹ Council of Konstanz (1414-1418): ended the Great Western Schism and elected a new Roman pope, Martin V

[5] Nam omnes fere¹ uno ore loquuntur, quod² non est³ populus sub utraque specie communicandus, quamvis aliquando id⁴ factum fuerit⁶. Nam postea utiliter et salubriter sublata est⁷ laicis communio⁸ calicis⁹ ob¹⁰ reverentiam sacramenti, propter periculum effusionis in multitudine communicantium, et propter difficultatem conservationis, si pro viatico infirmorum reservaretur, nec non etiam¹¹ effusionis¹², si ut saepius oportet, ad non¹³ parum etiam¹⁴ distantes¹⁵ deferretur¹⁶. Tum vero ne rudis populus existimaret¹⁷ Christi corpus¹⁸ non integre recipi, nisi sub utraque specie¹⁹. Quod vero de compactatis adducitur paulo post absolvemus. Manifestum autem²⁰ est²¹, quia²² post generalem ecclesiae consuetudinem subtrahentem²³ laicis communionem²⁴ calicis, nulli fas est populum²⁵ sub utraque specie communicare, nisi vel generale concilium vel Romanus pontifex indulerit. Ac²⁶ propterea²⁷ nec²⁸ veritas appellanda est²⁹

¹ vero W2

² et W2

³ *omit.* LE

⁴ *omit.* W2

⁵ aliquando id : id aliquando LE

⁶ fuit LE

⁷ *omit.* LE

⁸ communere X

⁹ communio calicis : communicatio predicta W1

¹⁰ ad W1

¹¹ *omit.* LE

¹² effusionem W1, LE

¹³ ***omit.* W1, W2, X, LE**

¹⁴ *omit.* C

¹⁵ distans LE

¹⁶ **referretur W1; differetur W2, X**

¹⁷ estimaret W1

¹⁸ Christi corpus : corpus Christi W1

¹⁹ nisi sub ... specie *omit.* W1

²⁰ enim W2

²¹ autem est : est autem W1

²² quod W1, W2

²³ subtrahendam LE

²⁴ communicationem W1

²⁵ *omit.* LE

²⁶ at B

²⁷ praeterea LE

²⁸ ne X

²⁹ *omit.* W1

¹ talis² consuetudo neque³ utilis⁴ neque⁵ salubris⁶ iudicanda, quae absque sufficienti⁷ auctoritate introducta est.

[5] Almost all of them declare, as with one voice, that the people should not have communion under both species. Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only fully received under both species jointly. As for the claims concerning the compacts, We shall be dealing with them shortly. But it is clear that since it became the general custom of the Church to omit the communion of the chalice for laymen, it is unlawful for the people to receive communion under both species unless a General Council or a Roman Pontiff grants it. Therefore, the custom [of communication under both species] must not be considered [a matter of revealed] truth, nor useful, nor beneficial, since it has been introduced without sufficient authority.

¹ appellanda est : est appellanda W2

² communionis *add.* W1

³ nec W2

⁴ est *add.* LE

⁵ **aut W1, W2, X, LE**

⁶ salubriter X

⁷ sufficiente LE

[6] Illud autem damnabile est¹ et² prorsus³ haereticum appellandum⁴, si quis asserat⁵ talem⁶ communionem⁷ ad salutem esse necessariam, sicut Jacobellus putavit, et qui eum secuti sunt. Magna hominis illius praesumptio vel potius temeritas⁸, qui solis⁹ imbutus¹⁰ grammaticae¹¹ disciplinis¹², quibus¹³ pueros instituebat¹⁴, ausus est sacros et¹⁵ abstrusos¹⁶ evangelii sensus attingere et¹⁷ ad suum ingenium arcana filii Dei verba interpretari. Non est grammaticorum aut dialecticorum secreta divini codicis reserare, theologorum est¹⁸ et sacrae paginae professorum ista cognitio, et¹⁹ eorum quibus²⁰ data est scientiae²¹ clavis²², quae *aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit*. Eunuchus ille in Actibus Apostolorum, qui ex Aethiopia venerat in Jerusalem, cum legeret Isaiam, interrogatus ab apostolo Philippo {148r} an intelligeret, quae legeret: *et quomodo, inquit*²³, *possum intelligere, nisi exponatur*²⁴? [cont.]

¹ damnabile est : est dampnabile W1

² ac W1

³ *omit.* W1

⁴ **judicandum et appellandum W1; judicandum W2, X, LE**

⁵ asserit G, W1, LE

⁶ talium LE

⁷ communicationem W1

⁸ magna hominis ... vel potius temeritas *omit.* LE

⁹ solum LE

¹⁰ est *add.* LE

¹¹ grammaticis W1; grammatica LE

¹² disciplina LE

¹³ qui LE

¹⁴ instruebat W2, LE

¹⁵ *omit.* W1, W2

¹⁶ *add. in marg. A; omit. W1, W2, X, LE*

¹⁷ *omit.* LE

¹⁸ *omit.* B, W1

¹⁹ cuilibet *add.* W1

²⁰ *omit.* W1

²¹ scientia LE

²² scientiae clavis : clavis scientiae W1

²³ *omit.* X

²⁴ a te *add.* LE

[6] To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus¹ and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. Great is the presumption or rather the audacity of this man. Though he had only studied the disciplines of grammar, which he taught to boys, he dared to dabble in the holy and difficult senses of the Gospel, and to interpret the arcane words of the Son of God according to his own mind. But it is not the task of grammarians or dialecticians to expound the divine secrets of Scripture. That knowledge is reserved for theologians, biblical scholars, and those who have been given the key to the knowledge *that opens, and none shall shut: and shuts, and none shall open.*² When, in the Acts of the Apostles, the eunuch who had come from Ethiopia to Jerusalem was reading Isaiah, he was asked by the Apostle Philip if he understood what he was reading. He answered: *And how can I, unless some man shew me?*³ [cont.]

¹ Jacob of Mies

² Isaiah, 22, 22: *And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut, and none shall open (Et dabo clavem domus David super humerum ejus; et aperiet, et non erit qui claudat; et claudet, et non erit qui aperiat)*

³ Acts, 8, 31: *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?*

[6 cont.] At Jacobellus absque expositore¹, absque doctore² ausus est docere, quae non³ didicit, et absque calicis bibitione⁴ salvari neminem⁵ asseverare⁶ propter verba salvatoris⁷ apud Johannem dicentis⁸: *Nisi manducaveritis⁹ carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis¹⁰ vitam in vobis¹¹*, verborum¹² tantum et litterarum adnotans sonum, mentem¹³ praeteriens haud¹⁴ gnarus^{15 16}, quod spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam, neque advertens¹⁷ quod in eodem¹⁸ loco paulo post, cum scandalizati essent de tali¹⁹ sermone aliqui: *Verba mea²⁰*, inquit dominus²¹, *spiritus et vita sunt*: propter quod manifeste declarat, quia de spirituali manducatione ac²² bibitione locutus fuerat²³, potius²⁴ quam de sacramentali, cum²⁵ et²⁶ nondum²⁷ esset²⁸ institutum eucharistiae sacramentum.

¹ expositione X

² absque doctore *omit.* X

³ numquam W1

⁴ calicis bibitione : bibitione calicis LE

⁵ salvari neminem : neminem salvari W1, W2

⁶ debere asserere W1; asserere LE

⁷ Christi seu salvatoris W2

⁸ asserentis W1

⁹ manducatis W2

¹⁰ habetis LE

¹¹ carnem ... in vobis : etc. W2

¹² verbum LE

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ aut W1

¹⁵ ignarus W1

¹⁶ haud gnarus : nesciens LE

¹⁷ advertens B; advertendum est X

¹⁸ in eodem : eodem in W2

¹⁹ domini *add.* LE

²⁰ *omit.* LE

²¹ *omit.* W2

²² et W2, X, LE

²³ fuerit X

²⁴ prius C

²⁵ tantum W1

²⁶ *omit.* W2

²⁷ nondum : dum W1

²⁸ esse W2

[6 cont.] But without any instructor and teacher, Jacobellus dared to teach what he had not learnt, and to claim that nobody may be saved without drinking from the chalice, because of the Saviour's words to John: *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.*¹ But Jacobellus only took note of the sound of the words and letters,² but not of their meaning. He did not know that it is the spirit which gives life, whereas the flesh as such benefits nobody. And he failed to note what follows shortly afterwards³, when some were scandalized at such talk: *my words are spirit and life,*⁴ says the Lord. Thus the Lord clearly states that he had been talking about eating and drinking in the spiritual sense rather than the sacramental, since the sacrament of the Eucharist had not yet been instituted.

¹ John, 6, 54

² I.e. the literal sense

³ I.e. in the biblical text

⁴ John, 6, 64: *verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt*

[7] Et ita beatus Augustinus et alii quamplures¹ sancti doctores ejus² evangelii lectionem exponunt, qui revelatis oculis mirabilia consideraverunt³ de lege domini et sua doctrina sanctam ecclesiam illuminarunt⁴. Et licet dominus in ultima cena sub specie panis et vini communicaverit, quando id⁵ sacramentum instituit, et⁶ similiter apostolos in⁷ suam commemorationem facere jusserit, non tamen idcirco populis communio⁸ calicis mandata est. Apostolis tantum⁹ id¹⁰ dictum¹¹ fuit, qui tum¹² sacerdotes constituti¹³ fuerunt¹⁴ ¹⁵, et ad conficientes pertinet sub utraque specie Christum¹⁶ assumere¹⁷, et ejus mortem repraesentare, non ad laicos. Et¹⁸ haec¹⁹ veritas est²⁰ jam²¹ in duobus conciliis generalibus ²² ²³ declarata.

¹ complures X

² ejusdem W1, W2

³ considerarent X; considerarunt LE

⁴ illuminaverunt W1, W2; illuminarent X

⁵ illud W2

⁶ omit. X

⁷ omit. W1

⁸ communicatio W1

⁹ tamen W1, X

¹⁰ omit. LE

¹¹ id dictum : indicta W1

¹² tunc W1, LE; cum W2, X

¹³ instituti W1

¹⁴ fuerant W2

¹⁵ constituti fuerunt : fuerunt instituti LE

¹⁶ sub utraque specie Christum : Christum sub utraque specie W1

¹⁷ sumere W1

¹⁸ est W1

¹⁹ omit. LE

²⁰ veritas est : est veritas W2

²¹ illa LE

²² omit. W2, LE

²³ conciliis generalibus : generalibus conciliis A, D

[7] This is how that Gospel text was interpreted by Saint Augustine and many other holy doctors who pondered the wonders of divine law in the light of revelation¹ and illumined the Holy Church with their teaching. It is true that when, during the Last Supper, the Lord instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, He gave communion under the species of bread and wine and told his apostles to do likewise, in commemoration of Him: still He did not command that the [common] people [should receive] the communion of the chalice. This He said only to the apostles, whom He had then made priests, and His words only concern those priests who perform [the transubstantiation²]³ and re-enact His death, not laypeople. This truth has now been declared by two general councils.

¹ "revelatis oculis"

² I.e. the transformation of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood

³ "conficientes"

[8] Restat nunc ut petitioni vestrae respondeamus de communione¹, quam cupitis. Nos² sane regem vestrum, barones vestros, et³ populares omnes⁴ regni Bohemiae⁵ in domino diligimus et⁶ pro filiis habemus, dum Romanam ecclesiam loco matris habuerint et ei tamquam magistrae⁷ obtemperaverint. Magnus et misericors deus, cujus vices indigni gerimus in terra, homines pro liberis habet, eisque non omnia, quae petunt, sed utilia pro jucundis concedit. Ita et nos facere oportet erga⁸ vos Bohemos, qui pro⁹ laicis communionem¹⁰ calicis¹¹ desideratis et compactata concilii Basiliensis adducitis, quibus¹² id¹³ vobis concessum existimatis. Satisfaciendum est¹⁴ huic parti ne decipiamini et falsa pro veris capiatis¹⁵. Vidimus transsumpta compactatorum, quae nobis obtulistis, quibus diligenter inspectis non invenimus, quod illorum vigore communicare possitis¹⁶ laicos¹⁷ sub utraque specie.

¹ communicatione W1, LE

² nunc W1

³ omit. X

⁴ omit. W1

⁵ regni Bohemiae omit. W2

⁶ omit. LE

⁷ integrae LE

⁸ ergo W2

⁹ omit. X

¹⁰ communicationem W1

¹¹ omit. LE

¹² quod W1

¹³ est LE

¹⁴ esse LE

¹⁵ accipiatis W1, W2, X; recipiatis LE

¹⁶ possit LE

¹⁷ laicus LE

3.2. Pope's denial of the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian compacts

[8] It now remains to answer your petition concerning the communion you desire. We do love your king, your barons, and all the people of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the Lord, and We do consider them as Our sons as long as they consider the Roman Church as their mother and obey her as their teacher. The great and merciful God, whose Vicar on Earth We are, though unworthy, treats men as his children, and he does not give them all they wish, but only what benefits them, not that what pleases them. We must do the same towards you Bohemians when you request the communion of the chalice for laymen and appeal to the Compacts of the Council of Basel which you believe has given you this right. We must now address this issue so that you may not deceive yourselves and hold false things as true.

We have seen the transcripts of the Compacts which you have brought to Us, and having studied them carefully We do not find that they authorize you to give communion under both species to laymen.

[9] Compactatorum enim {148v} bipartita ratio est¹. Altera permittit et indulget, ut qui unionem recipiunt² ecclesiasticam³ et pacem⁴ realiter et cum effectu, et⁵ in omnibus aliis quam⁶ in usu communionis⁷ utriusque speciei fidei et ritui universalis ecclesiae conformes essent, et usum talis⁸ haberent, possint⁹ communicare sub utraque specie in regno Bohemiae et marchionatu Moraviae¹⁰. Altera promissionis¹¹ est, dicens quod facta in¹² concilio discussione super articulo communionis¹³, nihilominus si perseveraverint in desiderio habendi talem communionem¹⁴ et id¹⁵ per legatos indicaverint^{16 17}, concilium facultatem¹⁸ largietur sacerdotibus communicandi eas personas, quae in annis¹⁹ discretionis constitutae reverenter et devote postulaverint²⁰, cum adjunctione²¹, quod sacerdotes sic communicantes semper dicerent²², quod ipsi debent²³ firmiter²⁴ credere, quod non sub²⁵ specie panis caro tantum²⁶, nec sub specie vini sanguis tantum²⁷, sed sub qualibet specie est integer totus Christus. Neque tamen²⁸ reperitur, quod concilium postea²⁹ hujusmodi facultatem³⁰ dederit³¹. [*cont.*]

¹ ratio est : est ratio W1, W2, X, LE

² recipere LE

³ ecclesiae LE

⁴ patere W1

⁵ ut G

⁶ preterquam W1; omit. X

⁷ communicationis W1

⁸ tales W1; hujusmodi W2; talem LE

⁹ posse W1

¹⁰ et add. W1

¹¹ permissionis W1

¹² ex W1

¹³ discussionis W1

¹⁴ communicationem W1

¹⁵ non X

¹⁶ indicaverint LE

¹⁷ in desiderio ... indicaverint omit. W1

¹⁸ facultatis W2

¹⁹ in annis : inaniis A; inanis B, C

²⁰ postulaverunt X

²¹ additione LE

²² semper dicerent : dicerent semper LE

²³ deberent LE

²⁴ similiter LE

²⁵ solum W2

²⁶ caro tantum : tantum caro W1

²⁷ sanguis tantum : tantum sanguis W1

²⁸ enim W1

²⁹ omit. W1

³⁰ facultati W1

³¹ deerit W1

3.2.1. Sense of the Compacts

[9] The text of the compacts has two parts.

In the first, it allows and grants that all those [persons] in the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia who sincerely and effectively embrace ecclesiastical union and peace and who already follow this practice may receive communion under both species. The condition is that in all other matters than the communion under both species they conform to the Faith and rites of the Church.

In the second, it says that if, after a discussion in the council¹ concerning the issue of communion, the Bohemians still want to have such communion and formally state this through their legates, then the council will grant their priests the right to give [this form of] communion to those persons who have reached the age of reason and who ask for it with reverence and devotion. It adds the following: the priests who give communion must always firmly believe and tell [the communicants] that it is not just the flesh which is present in the species of bread, and the blood which is present in the species of the blood, but that the whole Christ is present in each species. However, it is not documented that the council afterwards actually granted this right. *[cont.]*

¹ The Council of Basel

[9 cont.] Sive igitur primam compactatorum partem sive¹ secundam adducitis, nihil habetis. Nam secunda pollicitationis est numquam impleta², sive³ quia non petivistis⁴, sive quia concilium ex rationabili causa⁵ recusavit⁶ concedere quod noxium videbat⁷ futurum, cum vestri sacerdotes non servarent conventa. Nec prima pars vobis subvenit, quia concessa⁸ est communio⁹ sanguinis¹⁰ usum habentibus et unionem recipientibus ecclesiasticam et conformitatem¹¹ in omnibus aliis praeterquam in articulo communionis¹². Sed unionem ecclesiasticam¹³ et conformitatem numquam recepistis¹⁴. Non igitur indulti fuistis capaces.

¹ sine A

² implete A, B, C, D, G, W1, X

³ *omit.* W1, W2

⁴ potuistis W1, W2; postulatis LE

⁵ rationabili causa : rationabilibus causis W2

⁶ recusabat W1

⁷ videbatur LE

⁸ concessio G

⁹ communicatio W1

¹⁰ calicis W2, X, LE

¹¹ et conformitatem *em.*

¹² communicationis W1

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ recipitis LE

[9 cont.] So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no [grounds for your petition]. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether you did not actually present a request, or whether the council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice and who accept ecclesiastical union and conformity in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity [with the Church]. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession.

[10] Quod autem¹ unionem et conformitatem non fueritis amplexi² liquet ex³ moribus vestris⁴. Nam sacerdotes vestri non instituuntur ad⁵ titulum beneficii, ut moris est in aliis regnis, per episcopos⁶ et habentes⁷ potestatem, nec⁸ servaverunt umquam mandata concilii, quibus praeceptum⁹ erat, ut *tantum habentes*¹⁰ *usum*^{11 12} *communicarent*, sed pueros et dementes communicaverunt¹³, et nolentes¹⁴ communicare sub utraque specie, noluerunt¹⁵ sepelire, et aliis modis coegerunt, et multis¹⁶ in rebus¹⁷ ritum universalis ecclesiae abjecerunt, et major pars vestrum usum communionis^{18 19} calicis accepit post compactata, quod minime licuit. Non est igitur, quod²⁰ de²¹ compactatis²² gloriemini. Nec illud vos²³ juvat, quod oratores concilii mandaverunt archiepiscopo Pragensi, Olumicensi, et Latolimibensi²⁴ pro tempore existentibus, ac presbyteris, ad quos pertineret²⁵, {149r} ut populum sub utraque specie requisiti communicarent juxta²⁶ conventa. Nam id²⁷ factum est vigore concessionis, cujus fecistis vos indignos, ut ante diximus.

¹ quod autem : cum W2

² complexi W1; complexi sive complexati LE

³ in W1

⁴ moribus vestris : vestris moribus W1

⁵ in LE

⁶ per episcopos : et episcopatibus LE

⁷ habentibus X

⁸ non LE

⁹ praecautum LE

¹⁰ rationis *add.* LE

¹¹ *add.* discretionis W1

¹² habentes usum : usum habentibus rationis W2

¹³ communicarent X

¹⁴ volentes X

¹⁵ nolulistis X

¹⁶ multum X

¹⁷ modis W1

¹⁸ *omit.* W1

¹⁹ et major ... communionis : majorem usum vestra communio LE

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ *omit.* C

²² quod *add.* W2

²³ illud vos : vos id X

²⁴ Lutholivibensi W1; Leitomisbensi X; Lytomericensi episcopis LE

²⁵ pertinet C, W1, LE

²⁶ capta W1

²⁷ illud W1, W2, X

3.2.2. Bohemian non-compliance with the Compacts

[10] That you have not accepted union and conformity is evident from your actual practice. Your priests are not appointed to the title of the benefice¹ by bishops or others who have that power, as is the custom in other kingdoms. And you have never kept the commands of the council which ordered you to give the communion [of the chalice] only to those who already followed that practice. Instead you have given this communion both to children and to the insane. And those who did not want communion under both species were refused burial and coerced in other ways, and in many areas you have rejected the rite of the Universal Church. And after the Compacts [were issued], the majority of you[r people] received the communion of the chalice which was certainly not allowed. [In conclusion,] you have no reason to pride yourselves in the Compacts. It does not help you[r cause] that the orators of the council mandated the bishops of Prague, Olmütz, and Leitomischl at the time as well as the priests concerned to give people communion under both species, when required to, according to the agreement. For this was done by virtue of the concession which, because of your own actions, you could not legitimately receive, as already explained.

¹ E.g. parish churches

[11] Inspectis¹ igitur compactatis omnibus² et bullis concessis, iudicamus de consilio³ fratrum nostrorum cardinalium sacerdotes vestros absque ulla potestate⁴ laicalem populum ad communionem calicis admittere⁵, decipere plebes⁶, et graviter peccare, dignosque gravi animadversione, et nisi resipuerint, se ac⁷ populum sibi credentem⁸ perditum ire⁹; quos admonemus, ut se corrigant, et nostra potius¹⁰ clementia quam ultione uti velint. Haec ad compactata, quae calicis communionem¹¹ minime vobis permittunt¹².

[12] Sed cupitis, ut apostolica sedes¹³ eam¹⁴ vobis¹⁵ indulgeat. Faceremus¹⁶ id libenti¹⁷ animo, si et vobis utile et nobis decorum¹⁸ esset, at¹⁹ neutrum hic est. Nam quomodo id nos²⁰ ²¹ concedamus, quod nostri praedecessores semper²² concedendum esse²³ negaverunt²⁴? Indigne id²⁵ ferrent aliae nationes et adversus nos murmurarent²⁶, quas²⁷ non expedit scandalizare. Vobis autem concessio²⁸ ipsa²⁹ et regno vestro multis de causis damnosa³⁰ esset³¹, sicut noxius est ipse usus³², quem servatis.

¹ perfectis W1

² *omit.* W1, LE

³ concilio X

⁴ ulla potestate : potestate ulla W1

⁵ admittentes W1

⁶ plebem LE

⁷ et W1

⁸ concreditum LE

⁹ iri X

¹⁰ *omit.* LE

¹¹ calicis communionem : communicationem calicis W1

¹² permittit X

¹³ apostolica sedes : sedes apostolica W2, X, LE

¹⁴ id W1

¹⁵ eam vobis : vobis eam X

¹⁶ facerem W2

¹⁷ libenti LE

¹⁸ decor W2

¹⁹ ut W2

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ id nos : hic W1; nos id LE

²² *omit.* W1

²³ *omit.* W1

²⁴ negarunt LE

²⁵ *omit.* LE

²⁶ reservarent X

²⁷ quos W1, LE

²⁸ concessa LE

²⁹ illa W2

³⁰ damnosum LE

³¹ multis de .. esset : damnosa esset multis de causis W1

³² ipse usus : usus ipse LE

3.2.3. Pope's judgment

[11] So, having examined all the Compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give the communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment.

This is [what We have to say] concerning the Compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice.

3.3. Pope's denial of the petition for papal grant of communion under both species

[12] But now you desire that the Apostolic See should grant you this communion. We should do so willingly if it would be to your benefit and Our honour, but it is neither. How can We grant what Our predecessors always refused? The other nations, which ought not be given cause for scandal, would not accept it and they would blame Us. For many reasons such a grant would be harmful to you and to your kingdom, just like the practice you follow is damaging.

[13] Nam cum fuerit¹ olim communis² opinio vestra, quod assumptio calicis esset³ de necessitate salutis, facile in eundem errorem populus⁴ prolaberetur, si ei permetteretur ex apostolico indulto; et⁵ maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt⁶ in communicando ea⁷ ⁸ facere⁹, quae¹⁰ iussi¹¹ fuerunt¹². Et vos etiam¹³ nunc dicitis communionem¹⁴ sub utraque specie populo¹⁵ utilem et¹⁶ salubrem¹⁷ esse¹⁸, et divinitus¹⁹ revelatam²⁰. Cui assertioni facile accederet credulitas necessitatis²¹. Ad quem vitandum errorem²² necesse est²³ a bibitione calicis²⁴ arcere populum²⁵.

¹ fuit LE

² fuerit olim communis : olim communis fuerit W1

³ fuerit W1

⁴ in eundem errorem populus : populus in eundem errorem W1

⁵ omit. W1

⁶ noluerint D, G, W1

⁷ omit. LE

⁸ in communicando ea : ea in communicando G

⁹ ea facere : facere ea W1

¹⁰ quod LE

¹¹ iussa W1

¹² fuere X, LE

¹³ vos etiam : etiam vos W2

¹⁴ communicationem W1

¹⁵ esse add. LE

¹⁶ omit. X

¹⁷ saluberrimam LE

¹⁸ omit. LE

¹⁹ esse add. W2

²⁰ revelatum W1

²¹ necessariorum W1

²² vitandam errorem : errorem vitandum W1

²³ ut add. W1; necesse est omit. W2

²⁴ omit. LE

²⁵ arcere populum : populus arceatur W1

3.3.1. Risk of doctrinal error

[13] For just as you once commonly believed that the communion of the chalice was necessary for salvation, the people would easily fall into the same error if it was now allowed by apostolic concession, and especially so if your priests did not act as bidden when they gave communion. Even now you claim that communion under both species is useful and beneficial and that it has been revealed by God.¹ This claim would easily lead to belief in its necessity, so to avoid that error it is necessary to forbid the people to drink from the chalice.

¹ Pius here refers to the assertions made by a Hussite delegate during the first reception of the ambassadors, see Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.

[14] Ad id urget¹ debita sacramento² reverentia, ne in populi frequentia calix domini³ male tractetur⁴, et pretiosissimus Christi sanguis⁵ (quod saepe factum est⁶) effundatur⁷ in terram⁸.

[15] Huc⁹ accedit quod maxima¹⁰ pars Bohemorum et Moravorum¹¹ ritum vestrum abhorret, et numquam ad illum posset¹² ¹³ inclinari. Quod¹⁴ si vobis indulgeretur¹⁵, quod petitis, numquam¹⁶ inter vos esset¹⁷ unio¹⁸. Semper durarent inter vos¹⁹ schismata essetque vobis omni tempore timendum domini verbum quia *omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur*. Aequius²⁰ igitur est et facilius, ut vos novum ritum et²¹ minime approbatum relinquatis, et illis conformemini²², quam illi vobis cedentes²³ ²⁴ antiquum et laudabilem usum rejiciant²⁵, ut sit pax inter vos, et id²⁶ ipsum sapiatis²⁷ omnes, et²⁸ vivatis tamquam fratres.

¹ ad id urget : additurque W1

² sacramenti W1, W2, X

³ alioquin LE

⁴ tractatur X; tractaretur LE

⁵ Christi sanguis : sanguis Christi LE

⁶ quod saepe factum est *omit.* B

⁷ effunderetur LE

⁸ terra W1

⁹ hinc W1

¹⁰ magna W1

¹¹ Moravianorum LE

¹² possit W2, X; poscit LE

¹³ ad illum posset : posset ad illum C, W1

¹⁴ *omit.* W2

¹⁵ indulgetur W1

¹⁶ minime W1

¹⁷ erit W1; *omit.* LE

¹⁸ sed *add.* W1

¹⁹ durarent inter vos : inter vos durarent W1, LE

²⁰ conveniens W1

²¹ etiam W1

²² conformamini W1

²³ quam ... cedentes : qui vobis accedentes LE

²⁴ credentes W2, X

²⁵ *omit.* W2; recitant LE

²⁶ *omit.* G

²⁷ sapietis X; sapiant LE

²⁸ sic *add.* LE

3.3.2. Risk of irreverence towards the sacrament

[14] Also the reverence due to the sacrament must be considered: the chalice of the Lord must not be handled irreverently in the thronging of people, and the precious Blood of Christ must not be spilt on the ground, has happened so often.

3.3.3. Risk of civil war

[15] To this should be added that a very large part of the Bohemians and the Moravians abhors your rite and can never be moved to [adopt] it. If We granted your petition, there would never be unity among you: the divisions among you would continue, and you would always have to fear the word of the Lord saying: *Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate.*¹ Therefore it is both more just and more easy that you abandon the new rite that has in no way been approved, and conform to the other [Christians] rather than that they should yield to you and abandon their old and praiseworthy practice: thus, there may be peace among you, you will share the common beliefs, and you will live like brothers.

¹ Matthew, 12, 25

[16] Postremo, si hoc¹ indulgeremus², quod quaeritis, offenderemus³ omnes vicinos {149v} vestros⁴, Theutones, Hungaros, Polonos⁵, eosque perpetuo vobis⁶ infensos⁷ redderemus⁸⁹. Nam videntes vos¹⁰ alium ritum habere, sicut hodie faciunt¹¹, semper reputarent vos errare. Et quamvis mille extarent indulta nostra, tamen appellarent vos¹² parum fideles et¹³ nimis arrogantes, qui¹⁴ plus velletis sapere quam ceteri Christiani. Nec possent vobiscum¹⁵ pacifice loqui, et nunc ab istis¹⁶, nunc ab illis molestaremini¹⁷, habentes et¹⁸ in regno infensos et extra regnum¹⁹.

¹ si hoc : quod si LE

² indulgemus W1, LE

³ offendemus LE

⁴ nostros LE

⁵ Bohemos C

⁶ *omit.* W2

⁷ offensos W1, X

⁸ *omit.* W2

⁹ perpetuo ... redderemus : infensos perpetuo redderemus nobis LE

¹⁰ *omit.* LE

¹¹ *omit.* LE

¹² *omit.* LE

¹³ vos *add.* LE

¹⁴ quia W1

¹⁵ vobis X

¹⁶ et *add.* X

¹⁷ vilescerent nostri LE

¹⁸ *omit.* C; eos LE

¹⁹ infensos et extra regnum : et extra regnum infensos W1

3.3.4. Risk of external wars

[16] Finally, if We granted your request, We would offend all your neighbours, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles and make them your permanent enemies. For, seeing you having another rite, as they do today, they would always believe you to be in error. And even if there were a thousand letters of permission from Us, they would still say that you have too little faith and too much arrogance, and that you believe to know better than the other Christians. They would not be able to speak peacefully with you, and you would be molested sometimes by one party and sometimes by another, having enemies both inside and outside the kingdom.

[17] Diligenter igitur¹ pensatis omnibus, quae pensanda in his rebus² fuerunt³, non videtur nobis⁴ quod⁵ vel⁶ regi vestro vel regno et⁷ populo conducatur⁸ id⁹, quod petitis, et quod illud vobis¹⁰ competit, quod ait dominus¹¹ filiis Zebedaei: *Nescitis¹² enim, quid¹³ petatis¹⁴*. Nos¹⁵ dispensatores sumus ministeriorum Dei. Ad nos pertinet pascere oves et gregem dominicum¹⁶ in viam¹⁷ salutis dirigere. Imitari nos convenit summum patremfamilias, qui noxia petentes nequaquam exaudit, et omnia dirigit in melius. Non¹⁸ intelligunt omnes, quae sunt vera bona, atque idcirco saepe homines poenituit¹⁹ voti sui fuisse compotes. Hoc, quod²⁰ petitis²¹, non est ad vitam aeternam, fumum quemdam et inanis gloriae ventum²² quaeritis²³.

¹ *omit.* LE

² in his rebus *omit.* X, LE

³ in his rebus fuerunt : fuerunt in his rebus W1

⁴ vobis X

⁵ ve W1; quid W2

⁶ *omit.* W1

⁷ vel W1

⁸ condecet W1

⁹ *omit.* W1

¹⁰ illud vobis : vobis illud W1

¹¹ ait dominus : dominus ait W1

¹² *omit.* W1, LE

¹³ quod W2, LE

¹⁴ petitis LE

¹⁵ vos LE

¹⁶ domini tum LE

¹⁷ via W1

¹⁸ nos W1

¹⁹ homines poenituit : poenituit homines LE

²⁰ vos *add.* X, LE

²¹ petiistis LE

²² inanis gloriae ventum : ventum inanis gloriae W2

²³ quaerentes LE

3.3.5. Pope's judgment

[17] So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, the kingdom, or the people. The words of the Lord to the sons of Zebedaeus apply to you, too: *You know not what you ask.*¹ It is Us who are *the dispensers of the ministries of God.*² Ours is the charge to guard the sheep and to lead the flock of the Lord to the road of salvation. We must imitate the supreme family father who never heeds those who ask for harmful things, but directs everything for the best. Not all understand what is truly good, and therefore many people have regretted it when their wishes were fulfilled. What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory.

¹ Matthew, 20, 22

² 1. Corinthians, 4, 1: *Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei.* NB: the NT has "mysteriorum", but the text used by Pius has "ministeriorum" (or there has been an error in the transmission of the text of the oration)

[18] Nos¹ vestrarum animarum² salutem optamus, atque³ idcirco negamus ea, quae sunt illi contraria, hortamurque⁴ sub specie panis corpus et sanguinem domini accipere⁵ contenti sitis, quod satis est ad salutem,⁶ dicente domino in eodem qui supra allegatus est loco: *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum.* Nec velitis pluris⁷ esse quam illi discipuli, qui euntes in Emmaus cognoverunt dominum in fractione panis. Nolite⁸ plus sapere quam oporteat⁹ ¹⁰ sapere¹¹ et pluris ¹² esse, quam fuerunt patres vestri, qui communicantes sub una specie in Christo¹³ mortui sunt. Et non bene congruit¹⁴ eorum nomini et famae hic¹⁵ novus ritus. Consolemini eorum memoriam et¹⁶ conformemini¹⁷ reliquae Christianitati, quia¹⁸ turpis est pars, quae suo non convenit universo. Quippe si relicto ritu novo ad pristinam consuetudinem redieritis, unietur¹⁹, et²⁰ in seipso et cum vicinis regnum vestrum et pristinae opes cum pristina pace gloriaque redibunt, eritisque in hoc saeculo felices, et²¹ in alio beati praestante domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est honor et imperium²² per infinita saeculorum saecula.²³ ²⁴

¹ non LE

² vestrarum animarum : animarum vestrarum W2, X, LE

³ idcirco saepe homines ... optamus atque *omit.* W1

⁴ ut *add.* W1

⁵ suscipere W1

⁶ optamus atque ... ad salutem *omit.* LE

⁷ plures W2

⁸ pluris esse ... panis nolite *omit.* LE

⁹ oportet W2, X

¹⁰ quam oporteat sapere *omit.* LE

¹¹ oporteat sapere : oportet W1

¹² plures W2

¹³ domino LE

¹⁴ convenit W1

¹⁵ huiusmodi W1

¹⁶ consolemini ... memoriam et *omit.* W1; consolamini eorum memoria LE

¹⁷ conformamini LE

¹⁸ *omit.* W1

¹⁹ vivetur C; vivetis [conveniet] LE

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ *omit.* X

²² honor et imperium : gloria et honor imperiumque LE

²³ **saeculorum saecula : secula saeculorum W1, W2, X, LE**

²⁴ Amen *add.* D, G, W1, W2, X

[18] We desire the salvation of your souls, and therefore We refuse to grant that which prevents it. We exhort you to be satisfied with receiving the Lord's body and blood under the species of bread [alone]. It is sufficient for salvation, as says the Lord in the same text quoted above: *I am the living bread which came down from heaven.*¹ *He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever.*² Do not wish to be greater than those disciples who, going to Emmaus, recognized the Lord in the breaking of the bread. Do not wish to know more than you should, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory, and conform to the rest of Christianity: it is shameful for a part to be in disharmony with the whole. If you abandon your new rite and return to the old custom, your kingdom will be united both internally and with its neighbours, and your former wealth will return together with your former peace and glory. You will be happy in this world, and you will be blessed in the next, as granted by Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is the honour and the power through the infinite ages of ages.

¹ John, 6, 41 and 6, 51

² John, 6, 59: *This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever. (Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit. Non sicut manducaverunt patres vestri manna, et mortui sunt. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum)*

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 67-68)

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

2019

Abstract

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

Keywords

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Advenisti tandem
2. Si loqui possent

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Hack, p. 325-327

³ Helmraath, p. 127

⁴ The College of Cardinals

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

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

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

¹ Cardinal Bessarion

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

³ CO, VIII, 2 (Gragg, pp. 527-528)

⁴ CO, VIII, 3 (Gragg, pp. 540-561)

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

2. Themes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Hack, p. 334-335

² Hack, p. 359, n. 161

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Date, place, audience, and format

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

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

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

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 596, has 11-12 April

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

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

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

4. Text¹

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

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

4.1. Manuscripts^{2 3}

NB: the following lists are not exhaustive.

4.1.1. As a single text

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

4.1.1.1. In collective manuscripts⁴

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

- **Köln / Stadtarchiv**
GB quart 218, ff. 156v-157r¹

- **München / Staatsbibliothek**
clm 215, ff. 268r-268r

- **Olmütz / Wissenschaftliche Staatsbibliothek**
M I 60, ff. 55v-57r²

- **Ottobeuren / Klosterbibliothek**
O. 22, ff. 128r-128v³

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Lat. 8316, ff. 187r-188v⁴

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 17, ff. 31v-32r
Barb. lat. 2009, ff. 1r-2v
Vat. lat. 5109, ff. 33v-34v⁵

- **Roma / Biblioteca Valicelliana**
H. 28, ff. 141r-141v⁶

- **Siena / Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati**
B V 40, ff. 63v-65v⁷

- **Torino / Biblioteca Nazionale**
H III 8, ff. 201r-201v⁸

- **Uppsala / Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek**
C 687, f. 78r-78v (U)

¹ Hack, p. 336

² Hack, p. 336

³ Hack, p. 336

⁴ Hack, p. 336

⁵ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

⁶ Hack, p. 336

⁷ Hack, p. 336

⁸ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2. As part of the Andreis

The Andreis contains both orations.

¹ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

² Hack, p. 337

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

4.1.2.1 In collective manuscripts

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

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

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

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

⁴ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

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

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

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

⁸ Digital BAV version

⁹ Kristeller. Approximative foliation

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

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

4.1.2.2. *In the Collected Orations of Pius II*

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

4.1.2.3. *In Pius II's Commentarii*³

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

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

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

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

¹ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2. Editions

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Kristeller (digital). No foliation

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

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

4.3. Present edition

Text:

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

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

4.4. History of the text

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

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

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

5. Sources⁴

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

Biblical: 7

Classical: 1

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 8

¹ See also Hack, p. 336

² Hack, p. 331

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

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

Biblical sources: 7

Old Testament: 3

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

New Testament: 4

- Luke: 1
- Acts: 3

Classical sources: 1

- Vergilius: 1¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ Aeneis

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

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- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
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7. Sigla

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E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I 97 inf,

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

M = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 265

N = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 266

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

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

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

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

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

U = Uppsala / Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek / C 687

V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vaticanus Latinus 5667

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Advenisti tandem

Pii II¹ oratio ad venerandum caput divi Andreae apostoli²

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

¹ Pont. Max. *add.* G

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

³ atque U; *omit.* G, X

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

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

⁶ saede U

⁷ furor expulit : expulit furor Q

⁸ et *add.* N

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

¹⁰ gracia U, X

¹¹ gloria volente : voluntate M, N

¹² domini M

¹³ licebit U, X

¹⁴ cum tuo germano aliquandiu : aliquandiu cum tuo germano X

¹⁵ patieris G

¹⁶ alma Roma : Roma alma U

¹⁷ hac G

¹⁸ *omit.* U

¹⁹ circumstat O, U

²⁰ Petrus apostolus *omit.* M

²¹ *omit.* N; piissimus U

²² quam in *add.* U

²³ germani N

²⁴ ex fratre Romani : Romani ex fratre P

²⁵ sunt *add.* E, M, N, O, R, V, U, X

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

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

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

¹ *omit.* X

² *omnes add.* X

³ *et add.* U

⁴ *omit.* U; *esse* X

⁵ *denique add.* U

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.687

⁷ Acts, 9, 15

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

¹ *omit.* M

² et assertor trinitatis *omit.* O

³ hodie gaudio : gaudio hodie N

⁴ hunc tuum : tuum hunc X

⁵ esse X

⁶ *omit.* U, X

⁷ dio M

⁸ residet N

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

¹⁰ saedem U

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

¹² *omit.* E, U

¹³ feruntur E, O, T, V

¹⁴ dominum in carne : in carne dominum G

¹⁵ *omit.* M, N

¹⁶ Christum est : est Christum X

¹⁷ qui G

¹⁸ sacramentum U

¹⁹ prae laetitia lacrimae : lacrimae prae laetitia U

²⁰ et *add.* P

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

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

²³ gaudeamus M, N, U

²⁴ exultemus E, M, N, U, X

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

²⁶ adventui U

²⁷ Andreas O

²⁸ *omit.* E

²⁹ tu E

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

³¹ esse X

³² ingrederis M; grediaris X

³³ ingrediaris urbem : urbem ingrediaris N

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

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

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

³ Proverbs, 16, 24

⁴ Acts, 9, 31

⁵ "viscera"

⁶ "intima cordis"

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

¹ religiosus G

² causa fuerunt : fuerunt causa T

³ namque X

⁴ poterit U

⁵ honoratissimum Q

⁶ omit. P

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

⁸ sacratissimo E; flagrantissimo M, U, X

⁹ profundi O

¹⁰ ore M

¹¹ quod X

¹² moestum N

¹³ advectanti N

¹⁴ nos M, X

¹⁵ mereris N

¹⁶ ac O; esse X

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

¹⁸ omit. M

¹⁹ contrectemus U

²⁰ esse X

²¹ incenia Q

²² in add. M, N

²³ omit. U

²⁴ esse X

²⁵ et esto ... populo omit. U

²⁶ omit. N

²⁷ ingressus tuus : tuus ingressus U

²⁸ noster advocatus : advocatus noster N

²⁹ esse X

³⁰ omit. X

³¹ et M, N

³² in eos add. M

³³ inest N

³⁴ omit. M, N

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

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

¹ multa sunt : sunt multa E, O, V

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

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

⁴ Liturgical text from Palm Sunday

⁵ Deuteronomy, 21, 8

⁶ "felix faustaque"

⁷ Psalms, 32, 22

2. Si loqui possent

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

¹ Pii oratio *add. in marg.* R

² inclita *add.* O

³ hoc *add.* E, P, Q, R, T, V

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

⁵ in eternam E, O, V

⁶ tui ossa : ossa tui P

⁷ afferret E, O, T, V

⁸ in regno Dei *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

⁹ ac O

¹⁰ in tuo solio *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

¹¹ ad E, O, Q, R, V

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

¹ The Apostle Peter

² Luke, 22, 32

³ I.e. their episcopal Sees

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

¹ dignissime Christi : Christi dignissime Q

² Christi apostole : apostole Christi O, T, V

³ cui E, O, Q, T, V

⁴ praecipue O

⁵ nobis magis : magis nobis O

⁶ ac populi *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

⁷ tui *add.* T

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

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

² "tenemus locum"

³ Saint Peter whose successor Pius is

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

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 69)

Oration “*Munera quae attulistis*” of Pope Pius II (July 1462, Abbadia). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

Pope Pius II had planned to spend the summer of 1462 in Siena. However, his demands for readmission to the city government of two political factions, the Nobles – to whom his family belonged – and the Twelve, brought him into conflict with the majority of the city's ruling class. A visit therefore seemed inadvisable, and he did not come. The oration "*Munera quae attulistis*" was delivered in reply to the Siennese envoys when they came, rather late, to invite him to visit the city.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Siena; Leonardo Benvoglianti; Papal Curia; 15th century; 1462; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

During a stay in his beloved home city Siena,² in the spring of 1459, Pius II had sought to reform the political system of the city, requesting the ruling coalition of parties to reintegrate among others the Nobles into the city government from which they had been excluded for more than fifty years. Among the noble families excluded from government office were the Piccolominis, but they had already been reintegrated into the government system as a special honour shown to the Sienese pope.³

In spite of the pope's multiple favours to Siena, including some early, extended summer stays in the city with the Papal Curia, he had only obtained meagre concessions from the city government.

In the summer of 1462, the Sienese ambassador Agostino Dato invited Pius to come as usual to spend the summer in the city, but later he himself and other leading citizens, Bartolomeo Assai and Leonardo Benvoglianti, an old friend of the pope, managed to stir up such opposition against the pope's plans for Siena that Pius had little inclination to go there.

Benvoglianti even gave a rousing speech to the city senate against the reintegration of the nobles into the government of the city. Among other things he said, as reported by Pius in the *Commentarii*:

"I was absent governing Tiferno when you voted at the Pope's urging to admit them [the nobles] to some of the offices. If I had been present, I should have spoken against it and it may be that many senators would have come over to my opinion. Pius, as you see, is not satisfied with what we promised. He wants more and grows more pressing every day. If you listen to me you will take back even what has been promised. For it was not, as many assert, your intention to stand by what you offered. You meant to deceive and temporize – if perhaps he might die before the time came to elect new magistrates. It is not yet the time and the elections can be postponed a year. Why should we anticipate them? We must decide according to the situation. Never shall the nobles with my consent have the keys to the city or the magistracy we call captain. For the moment I think we should vote that no further concessions beyond that already made should be given them. If anyone advises otherwise, he should be exiled." There were some who expressed milder views and made less serious charges against the nobles but it was voted to sustain Leonardo's motion whose purpose was considered to be that hereafter there should be no mention of any promise to

¹ CO, VIII, 12-13, IX, 4; Voigt, IV, 8, pp. 560-570

² On Pius' relations with Siena, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.5

³ See oration *"Ingentes vobis gratias"* [41]

the Pope.¹ The Pope had come from Acquapendente and Proceno and thence to the boundary between the lands of Rome and Siena. There he was sitting at lunch with four cardinals under a shelter of branches when the vote of the Sienese was brought to him. The Archbishop of Benevento received the letter and gave it to the Pope. When he had read it, he said: "How mistaken we have been in thinking that we should find here envoys from the Sienese to welcome us joyfully into their territory! No one has come to meet us. Instead of envoys an insulting decree greets us. We had resolved to spend the summer in Sienese territory in order to enrich our birthplace and we had given orders that the Curia should follow us. It might seem fitting for us to retrace our steps and transfer these emoluments to other peoples. But this is what the pernicious citizens who were responsible for the decree desire. They wish to sow discord between us and our country, for our discord is their opportunity. They shall not succeed. We will go and we will do good to the city which bore us and to the people of Siena even against their will. Then he finished his lunch and proceeded through Piano to Abbadia which he had selected as a suitable refuge from the July heat.²

Pius stayed in Abbadia during the month of July 1462. While he was there, envoys from Siena came to him to invite him, once again, to Siena for the rest of the summer. In his *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

In Abbadia four envoys from the Sienese waited on the Pope, bringing presents of precious wines, white bread, fat lambs and calves, and the fruits of the season. Their spokesman was Francesco Aringheri, who did his best to excuse the lateness of the embassy. After he had spoken for a long time about the affection of the Sienese for Pius and had commended to him the city and the people, he finally begged humbly that he would come to Siena and comfort his dearest sons with his presence. Leonardo Benvogliente, whose speech in the senate we have reported above, was also present and tried to cajole the Pope as if Pius were ignorant of his actions. Pius listened graciously to everything they said and then replied: [here follows the text of the oration "Munera quae attulistis"]. When they heard this, the envoys tried to do away with the Pope's objections and appease him, but they said nothing which he did not instantly reject and most of all he confuted the words of Leonardo, which were full of guile and vanity. When the discussion had been bandied back and forth for two hours, the envoys took their leave saying that they would report to the senate what they had heard.³

¹ The motion was carried by the Senate of Siena on 26 June 1462, see Voigt, IV, p. 560

² CO, VIII, 13 (Gragg, p. 565)

³ CO, IX, 4 (Gragg, pp. 574-575)

Eventually, Pius chose not to go to Siena that summer. And he was to be unsuccessful in his efforts to restore the Nobles and the Twelve to power.

2. Themes

- **Siena's insulting behaviour towards the pope**

Siena had committed the gross error of not meeting the pope and bidding him welcome when he entered Siennese territory. But worse was the hypocrisy of the Siennese representatives when they finally arrived, their humble words to the pope about the affection the Siennese towards him, the invitation to comfort them with his presence, and the cajolements of Leonardo Benvoglianti, former friend who had now become his political enemy and leader of the opposition against his wishes for political harmony in the Siennese state.

- **The threat from Florence**

Siena's alienating the Siennese pope was self-destructive given the permanent threat against its independence from its closest neighbour, rich and powerful Florence.

- **The two means of strengthening the state**

A small state like Siena could only survive if it had two things: wealth and harmony.

As for wealth, the pope had offered the city wealth through the stay of the Roman Curia in the summer periods, but the city government's rejection of the pope's proposals now made that impossible.

As for harmony, the disunity of the body politic and the regime's refusal to integrate all the major political factions in the city's governmental structure was a major flaw and weakness in its political structure, which would threaten its survival as an independent state.

Past events had already proven that the pope was right. Exploiting internal dissensions, the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino had, only some years before, come close to conquering the State of Siena and transform it into a personal dukedom. Piccolomini himself had been a key diplomatic

agent in the crucial negotiations leading to an acceptable, but costly peace for Siena.¹ And history would ultimately prove him right when enfeebled Siena was defeated by Spain and its Florentine ally in 1555. Afterwards it was ceded to its Florentine enemy, and the Sienese republic ended, for ever.

- **The pope's visit**

No wonder, the pope would not visit a city, however much he loved it, which under the cover of humble compliments insulted and defied him. He never saw it again.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Munera quae attulistis*" was given in July 1462, in Abbadia.

The audience consisted of the Sienese ambassadors, those cardinals who were with the pope, and members of the papal court.

The format was a short, direct papal reply to the ambassadors, in a rural setting, without any pontifical pomp whatsoever.

In a margin note in the *Reginensis*, the first edition of the pope's *Commentarii*, the address is termed an oration (*pontificis oratio*) as it is in the Table of Contents (*Commentariorum Rubricae*) at the beginning of the work (*Pii oratio acris et vehemens*).

4. Text²

This oration was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, which may have been completed by July 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*, book 9, chapter 4.³

¹ See oration "*Modestius*" [27], held at the conclusion of these negotiations in Naples, December 1456

² For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

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

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 274v-274r bis **(S)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 394v-395r **(R)**

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first version and the Corsinianus the final version, probably with a now lost intermediate version, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

4.2. Editions

Like Pius' other orations only published in the *Commentarii*, this oration was not included in Mansi's edition of Pius II's orations.

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. 523-524
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 1664-1668
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 574-575

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General bibliography

4.3. Present edition

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 the two principal manuscripts, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources

In this oration no direct or indirect quotations have been identified.

6. Bibliography

Fletcher, Catherine: *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*. Cambridge, 2015

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

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- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, 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

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 / Reg. lat. 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {274r} Munera¹, quae attulistis ex patria, grato recipimus animo. Si nobis fines vestros² intransibus urgente causa non occuristis, ipsi videritis. Pontifici maximo haud multum honoris affert Senensis populi legatio, in cuius comitatu numquam desunt et cardinales et {274v} maximorum regum ac principum oratores. E re vestra fuerat adventanti pontifici in finibus quam primum occurrere, ne quod inter vos nosque discidium ortum inimici³ vestri existimarent, quibus nihil molestius est quam vestrum civem in apostolico throno sedentem cernere, rebus vestris amicum. Vobis fortasse non ita videtur, qui decretis insolitis et inhonestis nostrum abalienare animum conati estis. Patriam nobis commendatis, et vos ipsi patriam persequimini et hostium agitis causam. Quis vestrae urbi quam Florentinus infensor est? Aemula civitas, dominandi avida, auro dives, late imperans vestris cervicibus imminet. Ad quartum lapidem inimicus adest vestrae ruinae semper invigilans. Hunc timetis nec remedium quaeritis adversus instantem procellam.

[2] Duo sunt quae rem vestram salvare possunt: divitiae atque concordia. Illas nos parare potuimus singulis annis per aestatem cum Romana curia apud vos commorantes: sicut grex ovium impinguat agros, ita et curia urbes. Quattuor jam perdidistis annos dum pauca, quae ordinis gentilhominum⁴ causa petimus, per invidiam contumaciter denegatis. Et nunc pertinaciae vestrae superbissimum edidistis decretum, adversus quod dicere aliquid aut hiscere capitale sit. Pluris vestra edicta quam evangelia facitis, neque ab re. Major est enim Leonardi et qui eum sequuntur quam Christi auctoritas. Forsitan et temporis brevitatis dignitatis aliquid addit. Lex vestra paucos dies permanet. Evangelia usque ad finem saeculi perdurabunt. Non vultis Romanam curiam. Opes contemnitis et quibus adversus insidias hostis defendi possitis arma respuitis nec concordiam, alterum adversus inimicos remedium, quaeritis. Suadere hanc possumus, praestare non possumus.

¹ Pontificis oratio *in marg.* R; Legatio Senensium et Pii oratio acris et vehemens adversus seditiosos *in marg.* S

² fines vestros : territorium vestrum R; agrum *add. in marg.* R

³ vicini R; inimici *corr. in marg. ex vicini* S

⁴ nobilium R; ordinis gentilhominum *corr. in marg. ex nobilium* S

[1] The gifts you have brought from Our country We accept with gratitude. You yourselves know your urgent reasons for not meeting Us as We entered your territory. But an embassy from the Sienese people is really not a great honour to the Supreme Pontiff who is always accompanied by cardinals and ambassadors from the greatest kings and princes.¹ It would have been in your own interest to meet the pope as soon as he arrived at your borders so that your neighbours would not think that a conflict had arisen between you and Us. For nothing annoys them more than to see one of your citizens sitting on the apostolic throne, kindly disposed towards you. But this may not seem so to you since you have been endeavouring to alienate Us by unprecedented and scandalous decrees. You recommend our country to Us, but at the same time you persecute it and advance the cause of your enemies. Who is more hostile to your city than Florence? A rival city, hungry for power, rich in gold, and with far-reaching power threatens you. Your enemy stands at the fourth milestone, and it is always plotting to destroy you.² You fear it, but you do not seek protection against the threatening storm.

[2] The two things which may save your state are wealth and harmony. We could have given you both if We and the Roman Curia had stayed with you every summer, for just like a flock of sheep fertilizes a field, the Curia enriches a city. You have now wasted four years while you stubbornly and jealously refuse Our few requests in the matter of the Nobles. And now you have defiantly issued a most arrogant decree and made it a capital offence to criticize or speak against it. You hold your own decrees higher than the gospels. Indeed, it is quite obvious that Leonardo and his followers have greater authority with you than Christ. Is it their shortlivedness that gives them greater worth? Your law lasts only a few days, but the gospels will endure until the end of time. You do not desire to have the Roman Curia with you, disdaining the wealth [it would bring you], and you do not seek [civic] concord, the other remedy against your enemies. Thus you scorn the arms with which you may defend yourselves against the attacks of your enemy. But We can only try to persuade you [to have harmony] - We cannot give to you.

¹ During the fifteenth century, the Papal Court gradually became “the centre of European diplomacy”, see Fletcher, p. 28

² As Pius had warned, Siena eventually succumbed to Florence: after centuries of rivalry and conflict, Siena was finally defeated by the **Duchy of Florence** in alliance with the Spanish crown during the Italian War of 1551-1459. Siena surrendered to **Spain** in 1555 and afterwards Spain ceded it the Florentine Grand Dukes of Tuscany

[3] Arbitrii vestri est unioni studere. Saepe de hac re verba fecimus, cum Senis ageremus. Diximus difficile munimentum civitatis esse amorem civium. Rogavimus, ut divisionis semina tolleretis, id est nomina ipsa factionum. Unum reipublicae corpus faciendum fore docuimus, cujus neque gentilhomines¹ {274r bis} neque duodecim expertes essent. Noluistis audire consilium, secuti estis desideria vestra. Frustra nobis civitatem commendatis, quam privatis affectibus itis pessum. Patriam, ut nostro consolemur adventu, efflagitatis et horrendis deterretis edictis. Repellitis et invitatis, vultis et non vultis. Nescitis, quid eligatis. Si voluissetis Romanam curiam ad vos proficisci, jam pridem de petitionibus nostris aliquid mitius decrevissetis. Cum dubitetis, nos quoque in dubio sumus, an veniendum sit. Pientiam ibimus templumque consecrabimus. Tempus interea et opera vestra nos admonebunt, quid sit faciendum.

¹ nobiles R; gentilhomines *corr. in marg. ex nobiles* S

[3] It must be your own decision to work for unity. We have often spoken about it when We stayed in Siena.¹ We told you that the love of the citizens is a strong bulwark for a city. We asked you to remove the seed of dissension, that is the names of your [political] factions. We showed you that you must create one body politic from which neither the Nobles nor the Twelve would be excluded. You have not wanted to heed Our advice, but have followed your own wishes. In vain do you commend your city to Us when you let it perish because of private passions. You beg Us to comfort our country with Our presence,² and [at the same time] you keep Us away with disastrous decrees. You invite and you push away. You will and you will not. You do not know what you want. If you had wanted the Roman Curia to come to you, you would now have issued decrees that were more favourable to Our requests. You are in doubt whether We should come, and so are We. We shall now go to Pienza to consecrate the temple³ there.⁴ Time and your conduct will then show Us what to do.

¹ See oration "*Ingentes vobis gratias*" [41]

² "adventus": arrival

³ The cathedral of the very small town of Pienza, named after Pius II, formerly Corsignano, and Pius' birthplace

⁴ Pope Pius consecrated the Cathedral of Pienza on 29 August 1462

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 70)

**Oration “*Quaecumque rogat*” of Pope Pius II (9
November 1462, Petriolo) Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

2019

Abstract

In autumn 1462, Pope Pius II's army finally managed to defeat the rebellious papal vicar of Rimini and Fano, Sigismondo Malatesta. The Venetians became concerned about the extent of the papal punishment of the Malatestas and the strengthening of papal power in the Papal States, and they despatched an ambassador to the pope, then taking the baths in Petriolo. When the ambassador had presented the republic's request for lenient treatment of Malatesta, the pope replied with arguments that were afterwards written down and edited as the oration "*Quaecumque rogat*". In this text, the pope reaffirmed the principle that effective rulership depends on consistently rewarding good citizens and punishing bad or criminal citizens. He also pointed to the example of Venice itself, reputed for its quite severe treatment of criminal or rebellious citizens and nobles. He ended with denying the request of the republic.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Republic of Venice; Venezia; Malatesta Family; Sigismondo Malatesta; Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta; Rimini; Papal States; 1462; Renaissance; Good government; 15h century; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

A permanent and serious risk to the Renaissance Papacy was the rebelliousness of the princes and barons in the Papal States. From the beginning of his pontificate, Pius had to deal with such princes. One of them was Sigismondo Malatesta, papal vicar and prince of Rimini and Fano and one of the most important power-holders in the Papal States.² He was also considered to be one of the great military leaders in Italy at the time, and together with the condottiero Jacopo Piccinino he presented a grave danger to the pope's control over the Papal States.³

As a princely *condottiero*, he sold his services to the highest bidder, sometimes to the direct enemy of his previous master. He thus, understandably, incurred the enmity of some of Italy's great princes, including the Aragonese rulers of Southern Italy. In late August/early September 1460 he made an alliance with the Angevin Duke of Calabria, come to conquer the Kingdom of Sicily from the House of Aragon,⁴ and entered a state of insubmission and – for all practical purposes – rebellion against his papal overlord. Pius II excommunicated him and in a highly dramatic ceremony in Rome consigned him to Hell⁵. More importantly, as soon as he could, the pope launched a papal army as well as Malatesta's rival neighbouring prince and bitter enemy, the Duke of Montefeltro,⁶ against him. After some reverses, the papal army vanquished the forces of Malatesta.⁷ At this point, Malatesta's Venetian neighbours got concerned and in spite of previous assurances to the contrary⁸ they intervened with the pope, demanding a lenient treatment of Malatesta. In his reply to the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Giustinian,⁹ the pope refused the request, which had the diplomatic support of Florence, Milan, and France¹⁰ though they would not engage themselves militarily or financially on Malatesta's behalf. But the pope

¹ CO, X, 27 (Heck, II, pp. 619-626); Caravale, pp. 80-84; Jones, pp. 176-239; Paparelli, pp. 250-259; Pastor, II, pp. 81-90; Soranzo, pp. 345-348; Voigt, IV, pp. 167-174;

² Jones, pp. 220-228

³ Jones, p. 152

⁴ Jones, pp. 226-227

⁵ On Christmas Day, 1460

⁶ Jones, p. 177

⁷ Especially the Battle of Sinigallia, 10 August 1462, followed 8 days afterwards by the Battle of Troia (there appears to have been some doubt about the exact dates of the battles, in which King Ferrante finally vanquished René d'Anjou, Sigismondo's master and ally at the time)

⁸ In his *Commentarii* the pope wrote of a previous exchange of letters with Venice: *Pius wrote to the Venetian Senate that by God's grace perfidious Sigismondo had been routed in battle and that he had decided to follow up the victory and punish his traitorous subject as he deserved. He asked them not to put obstacles in the way of a righteous war nor lend any aid to an enemy of the Church. The Senate wrote back that the Pope's request was just and so was the war; the Pope might advance boldly and hold to his purpose without fear of any interference from the Venetians, who recognized Sigismondo to be the Church's subject and deserving of punishment. Whether they kept that promise the following account will show.* (CO, X, 17 (Gragg, p. 668))

⁹ Written up as the oration "*Quaecumque rogat*"

¹⁰ Soranzo, p. 348

needed Venice and its fleets for the crusade against the Turks,¹ so next year he was finally pressured into negotiating a deal with Venice,² granting Sigismondo a humiliating peace, signed on 17 December 1463. Sigismondo made his abject submission to the pope and was confirmed as papal vicar of a very small territory, the city of Rimini itself and the area immediately around it. Malatesta's brother Domenico had submitted to the pope in time and got off slightly better.³

The interest of Venice, Milan, and Florence in this matter may have had an element of regard for a highly thought of family and a sometimes useful military leader. But, more importantly, as northern neighbours of the Papal States they would not have been much in favour of a serious strengthening of the Papal States and greater papal control of the states which would upset the delicate Italian power balance. The subtle opening remarks of the pope's oration indicate that he was quite aware of this situation.

At any rate, Sigismondo Malatesta was finished as an Italian power-holder⁴ and spent the few remaining years of his life fighting the Turks in Greece. Though the Malatestans lingered on for some generations, Pius had actually managed to break one of Italy's ruling families – to the great satisfaction of many.⁵

The pope may have had his revenge, but more to the point he had successfully defended papal control over the Church State, which was to become more and more important not only for the pope's role as an Italian secular prince but also as an economic basis for the papacy⁶ whose incomes from Europe were dwindling fast with the development of nation states and national churches – the Reformation looming on the horizon.⁷

Was it part of Pius' motivations in this whole matter to grant rulership of a part of the Papal States to his nephews, and to what extent was Pius' inflexible attitude towards the Malatestas motivated by his desire to carve out a principality for the Piccolomini family in the Church States? In the first version of his *Commentarii*, represented by the Reginensis 1995, he aired this possibility, directly mentioning his nephews:

¹ Soranzo, pp. 415-417, 444-446

² Jones, p. 238

³ Voigt, III, IV, 2, p. 173; Paparelli, pp. 258-259

⁴ Pastor, II, p. 90

⁵ Soranzo, p. 461; Jones, p. 239

⁶ At the Councils of Konstanz and Basel earlier in the century it had become clear that the Papacy would have to increasingly live off the incomes from the Papal States, and not from the Christian nations, cf. Jones, pp. 151-152

⁷ The importance which Pius himself attached to his victory over Malatesta is attested by its inclusion into the epitaph that Pius wrote for himself, cf. Paparelli, p. 250

For either the Church, which is just and blameless, will replace them [the Malatestas], or We shall grant the Malatesta lordship to Our nephews (nepotibus nostris) who will enter a permanent alliance with you and never oppose the decisions of your senate. [Sect. 10]

In the final version of the *Commentarii*, represented by the Corsianianus 147, the “our nephews” is changed into “better men” (*melioribus*), and in the copy of the *Collected Orations of Pius II* made somewhat later for the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, the Chisianus J.VI.211, it was changed into “other well-deserving men” (*alii benemerentibus*). These changes undoubtedly reflect the final settlement between the pope and Sigismundo Malatesta, where the Malatestas kept Rimini itself and Fano, whereas the papal nephew Antonio Piccolomini “only” received another part of their territory, Sinigallia, Mondavio, and Montemarciano - in addition to the dukedom of Amalfi and other important charges in the Kingdom of Naples, granted by King Ferrante I as the price for a marriage alliance with the family of his important ally, the Piccolomini pope.¹

Giving his nephews a lordship in the Papal States was certainly in line with what many previous popes had done, including Pius’ immediate predecessor, Calixtus III, who had even wanted to make one of his nephews King of Naples. It was not only a question of family aggrandizement to which all princes and lords of that age, including the pope, were bound, but also of ensuring the reigning pope’s control over the Papal States.² In the case of the Malatestas, this motive does make Pius II’s bitter fight against them as criminals and heretics appear somewhat less sincere.³

2. Themes

Three themes shall be mentioned here:

Firstly, the pope reiterates the principle which he had referred to before in other orations and writings that good government of a state reposes on two things: rewarding the good citizens and punishing the bad, i.e. the criminal, citizens. If this is not done consistently, the authority of the ruler disappears and the state collapses. In his oration, the pope said:

¹ Spozano, p. 450

² On Pius’ new policies in this area, see Caravale, pp. 83-84

³ Spozano, p. 461: ... *a nostro avviso, per questa impresa il suo [Pius II] nome non passa glorioso alla storia giacché i fatti ... dimostrano che il desiderio di soddisfare la propria ambizione e d’innalzare sulla rovina della signoria malatestiana la potenza dei Piccolomini non fu l’ultima causa, che lo spinse ad agire con tanta tenacia contro Sigismondo Malatesta e Malatesta Novello*

The state is maintained by two things: punishment and reward. No city can stand for long unless it subdues the wicked and raises up the good. [Sect. 2]

It was probably with some - unholy - satisfaction that the pope could point to Venice's own quite severe enforcement of law:

The Venetians have always been reputed to be extremely severe in keeping down crime, and therefore you have stayed in power for so long and increased your empire through the observance of your laws. You have not tolerated criminal citizens. Nobody in your city could sin without punishment. [Sect. 2]

Secondly, Pius argues that it is necessary for the whole not to be infected by the disease of a part. Caution is more merciful than amputation. Therefore, a criminal rebel like Sigismondo Malatesta must not be tolerated or treated leniently since that would put the whole state at risk.¹ The pope could even quote the Bible in support of this policy:

The provident shepherd drives the sick sheep far away from the flock. Doctors remove rotten flesh from the human body with knives and cautery, and they actually show most pity when they appear most cruel. All we Christians are one body in Christ and one flock. We must take care that an infected part of the body does not infect the healthy part, and that a sick sheep does not destroy the whole flock. All that harms the body must be removed. It is not merciful to spare one member and imperil the whole body. If thy eye scandalize thee, says the Lord, pluck it out, and cast it from thee. If thy foot scandalizes thee, cut it off and cast it from thee. And he declares that It is better for thee having one eye and one foot to enter into life, than having two eyes or two feet to be cast into hell fire. What does this mean? [It means that] the Lord admonishes us to cut off scandalous members so that they will not harm the rest of the body. And the governors of cities and the rulers of peoples are admonished to remove citizens who are a danger to the state so that they will not harm the many. [Sect. 4-5]

Thirdly, it is also worth noting Pius' analysis of the non-risk of foreign intervention [Sect. 8-9]: his international experience, developed during a long career as imperial and papal diplomat and later as ruler of the Papal States, was not to be denied, and his flair for political observation and analysis were still quite acute.

¹ Stolf: *L'image*, par. 46: *Pie II explique à l'ambassadeur pourquoi la fermeté devient une exigence de l'homme d'État lorsque le bien commun de la communauté est menacé par l'intérêt particulier. Si l'Évangile montre la voie du pardon pour les coupables repentants, on y trouve aussi la nécessité de couper le membre malade qui met en danger le corps tout entier*

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Quaecumque rogat*" was based on the pope's reply on 9 November 1462 to an address by the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Giustinian, during his stay at the Baths of Petriolo.^{1 2}

Only the ambassador was present, and the format of the pope's reply was a formal exchange of views and arguments, conducted in Italian, and followed by a more informal discussion. In view of the fact that only the ambassador was present at the time, designating the pope's response as an oration may be stretching the definition of an oration quite much. However, the ambassador's own preceding address is called an oration in the table of contents of the *Commentarii* (*Commentariorum Rubricae*) (*Oratio Bernardi Justiniani*), and in a margin note in the Reginensis it is called an oration (*Orationis finis*). Moreover, a response of the pope³ to the Florentine ambassador delivered the next year, also in private, is clearly designated as an oration in the sources.

4. Text⁴

The oration was not actually delivered as a formal speech, but written up later, in Latin, on the basis of the pope's discussion in Italian with the Venetian ambassador, for insertion into the *Commentarii*.⁵ There is evidence that the pope's reply to the ambassador during the actual discussion was not at all as negative and harsh as the text written later⁶ which was destined to form part of the pope's self-representation in the *Commentarii*, aimed at posterity.⁷

¹ Soranzo, p. 345; Jones, p. 234-235

² Apparently the pope enjoyed receiving ambassadors in the quite informal setting of the baths, see Goodman

³ The oration "*Si essemus*" [74]

⁴ For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁵ For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii*, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

⁶ Soranzo, p. 348, n. 1: *Ho riferito il tenore di questo colloquio, che ci fu tramandato solo dai Commentarii di Pio II; è vero che questi non danno una relazione imparziale; tuttavia, poichè i pensieri in esso espressi indirettamente corrispondono a quelli ben noti, che si facevano a Venezia e nella Curia Romana, a quella testimonianza mi sono attenuto nelle linee generali. Una lettera del Doge a Bernardo Giustiniani, scritta il 13 Novembre 1462 in risposta a quella, da cui ebbe notizia del colloquio, (Arch. di Venezia, Sen. Secr. reg. 21, c. 125 t) ci fa capire che Pio II non usò quei modi severi ed energici, che nei Commentarii disse di aver tenuto; egli trattò l'ambasciatore in una forma benevola e dimessa: parlò di dare a Venezia qualche compenso, l'assicurò che dopo la rovina dei Malatesti Venezia non avrebbe che guadagnato dal mutamento di Signoria della Marca e in Romagna. See also Jones, p. 235*

⁷ Soranzo, *ibid.*: *Pio II nei Commentarii tacque tutto questo ed altro, volendo far credere ai posteri di aver saputo tutelare la sua causa senza tergiversazioni, senza compromessi, senza paura*

The text of the oration was first inserted into *Pius Commentarii*, bk. 10, ch. 27, and later included in a late version of the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations (1464).¹

4.1. Manuscripts²

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 472v-475v (**R**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 330v-333r (**S**)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first version and the Corsinianus the final version, probably with a now lost intermediate version, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

The manuscripts containing the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations (1464) are:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 152r-154r (**G**)³ *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 196v-198v⁴ (**D**) *

¹ For orations included in the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6

² Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with a single asterisk

³ A late copy from 1493

⁴ D (and G) has variants in common with both the Reginensis and Corsinianus version of the *Commentarii*, and it therefore probably derives from the now lost intermediate version. This is also the case with other of Pius' orations inserted in the *Commentarii*

4.2. Editions and translations

The oration was published as an individual oration, by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 149-153
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

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) / II, pp. 622-626
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 1980-1994
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 681-686

4.3. Present edition

Text

The text is based on all four manuscripts listed above, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

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 the two principal manuscripts.

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 7 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, four from the Bible and three from other sources.

Biblical: 4

Classical: 2

Patristic and medieval: 1

Contemporary: 0

All: 7

Biblical sources: 4

Old Testament: 1

- Proverbs: 1

New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 2
- Titus: 1

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

Classical sources: 2

- Cicero: 1¹
- Vergilius: 1²

Patristic and medieval sources: 1

- Decretum Gratiani: 1

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ Philippicae

² Aeneis

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *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

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6. Sigla

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

G = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Pii Secundi¹ Responsum oratori Venetorum petenti, ut Sigismundo Malatestae parceretur²

[1] {330v} Quaecumque³ rogat suadetque Venetus senatus in partem accipimus meliorem, nec dubitamus verba menti consonare: amica esse consilia ducimus. Bellum, quod Malatestis indiximus, non ab re justum fatetur: nisi enim justa est ultio nostra in Sigismundum, nullam aliquando vindictam nostri majores justam exercuere. Satis vero correctum esse reum non recte judicat: atrocia delicta atrocem exigunt poenam. Merenti crucem sufficere scuticam quis dixerit? De furtis agitur, de rapinis, de adulteriis, de incestibus, de proditiionibus, de crimine laesae majestatis, de contemptu religionis, de impia haeresi. Et tu satis punitum dicis, cui pars agri adempta est, et in corpore nihil molestiae tulit? Subditi dedere poenas, Sigismundus adhuc intactus evasit.

[2] Dicis nos loco patris haberi, magnumque filii peccatum apud patrem levi poena mulctari.⁴ Omnes, qui reipublicae recte praesunt, subditos pro liberis habent, et senatus Venetus suos cives aut filiorum loco ducit aut fratrum. Si filii sunt Veneti suorum magistratum, cur tam rigide puniuntur, cum deliquerunt? Nempe quia duabus rebus respublica continetur, poena scilicet ac praemio, nulla diu stare civitas potest, nisi malos deprimat et⁵, bonos extollat. Et Veneti quidem in coercendis criminibus semper habiti sunt severissimi, atque idcirco diuturna est vestra potestas, et imperium servatis legibus auctum. Non tulistis perniciosos cives. Nulli apud vos licuit impune peccare.

¹ Pont. Max. *add.* G

² *Title after* D, G

³ Pontificis magnanima responsio *nota marg.* R; Pii responsum *nota marg.* S

⁴ *multari* G

⁵ *omit.* R

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the request of the Venetian ambassador to spare Sigismondo Malatesta

1. Venetian petition for papal mercy towards Sigismondo Malatesta

[1] We accept all petitions and recommendations from the Venetian Senate in a positive spirit: We do not doubt that they are sincere,¹ and We believe that their advice is well-intentioned.²

It was said, and quite correctly, that Our war against the Malatestas is just. Indeed, if Our revenge on Sigismondo is not just, then none of our ancestors have ever had a just revenge. However, the Senate errs in believing that the guilty party has been chastised enough: severe crimes demand severe punishment. Who would claim that the whip is enough for someone who deserves the cross? Here we are dealing with theft, robbery, adultery, incest, treason, crime against majesty, contempt of religion, and impious heresy. And you say that he has been punished enough when he has only lost a part of his territory and suffered nothing in person? It is his subjects who have suffered punishment, Sigismund has escaped untouched until now.

2. A state must reward virtue and punish crime

[2] You say that We should be like a father, and that a father punishes his son lightly even when the sin is great. All who govern a state rightly consider their subjects as their children, just like the Venetian Senate considers its citizens as sons or brothers. But if the Venetians are the sons of their magistrates, why are they punished so severely when they commit a crime? That is because a state is maintained by two things, punishment and reward, and therefore no city can stand for long unless it subdues the wicked and raises up the good. The Venetians have always been considered as extremely severe in keeping down crime, and therefore your power has lasted for so long, and you have increased your empire through the observance of your laws. You have not tolerated criminal citizens. Nobody in your city could commit a crime without being punished.

¹ “verba menti consonare”: that their words agree with their mind

² “amica”: friendly. This compliment to the Venetians, famous master-manipulators of Italian politics, was studiously hypocritical and might have been a veiled papal accusation against the Venetians of insincerity and duplicity

[3] Mille sunt horrenda Sigismundi scelera; quorum dumtaxat unum si¹ ex vestris civibus quispiam admisisset, non sineretis eum vivere: nullae preces, nullae pecuniae reum a morte redimerent. Et nunc Sigismundum, omnium sceleratorum sceleratissimum, venia dignum putatis? Filius Francisci Foscari, vestri ducis, quod in suspicionem necati cujusdam civis venisset, diris excarnificatum modis exilio damnavistis. Brutus, Romanorum consul, filios securi percussit, quod adversus patriam cum Tarquiniis conspirassent. Nec Torquatus adolescenti filio vitam reliquit, qui adversus imperium suum quamquam victor pugnasset in hostem. Et Nicolaus, marchio Estensis, aetate nostra Ugonem filium neci tradidit cum noverca in adulterio comprehensum. Quid censes?

¹ dumtaxat unum si : si dumtaxat unum R

[3] Sigismondo has committed a thousand horrible crimes. If a citizen of yours committed just one of them, you would not allow him to live: no entreaties and no money would save the guilty one from death. And now you consider Sigismondo, the most criminal of all criminals, to be worthy of forgiveness? When the son¹ of your doge, Francesco Foscari,² was suspected of having killed another citizen, you had him tortured horribly and condemned to exile. When the sons of Brutus,³ the Roman consul, conspired with the Tarquinians against his country, he had them beheaded.⁴ And Torquatus⁵ punished his young son with death because he had fought the enemy against his orders, even though he had been victorious.⁶ And, in our own time, Marquess Niccolò d'Este⁷ had his son, Ugo,⁸ put to death because he was caught in adultery with his stepmother.⁹ So, what do you think?

¹ Jacopo Foscari: In 1445, he was tried by the **Council of Ten** on charges of bribery and corruption and exiled from the city. Two further trials, in 1450 and 1456, led to Jacopo's imprisonment on **Crete** and his death there

² Francesco Foscari (1373-1457): **Doge of Venice** from 1423 to a few days before his death

³ Lucius Junius Brutus: the founder of the **Roman Republic** and traditionally one of the first **consuls** in 509 BCE

⁴ During Brutus' consulship the Tarquinians made an attempt to regain the throne. Amongst the conspirators were Brutus' two sons, **Titus Junius Brutus** and **Tiberius Junius Brutus**. The conspiracy was discovered and the consuls determined to punish the conspirators with death. Brutus gained respect for his stoicism in watching the execution of his own sons

⁵ Titus Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus held three **consulships of republican Rome**, first time in 347 BCE, and was also three times **Roman Dictator**.

⁶ During a war in which no man was allowed to leave his post, under penalty of death, Manlius's son left his post with his friends and defeated several Latin enemies in battle. Manlius berated his son and then handed him over for execution to the horror of all his men

⁷ Niccolò III d'Este (1383-1441): Marquess of **Ferrara**, **Modena**, and **Parma** from 1393 to his death

⁸ Ugo d'Este (1405-1425): the son of **Niccolò III d'Este** and his lover **Stella de' Tolomei**, a Siense family related to the Piccolominis

⁹ The affair between Ugo and his stepmother, Parisina (Laura) Malatesta developed during 1424. A maid reported it to Nicholò, who spied on the lovers and had them imprisoned in the castle where they were sentenced to death by decapitation

[4] Severos natura saepenumero¹ parentes dedit, {331v} et tu lege constitutos justitiae prorsus immemores esse voles? Exempla nobis Christi commemoras et beato Petro mandatum a domino datum, ut peccata dimitteret, et nobis idem faciendum asseris. Fatemur, ignoscendum est reis quando² reversos ad cor in veritate poenitet deliquisse, nec suo exemplo nocet impunitas. Providus pastor morbidas oves a³ grege procul abjicit. Medici ex humano corpore putridas carnes ferro demunt et cauterio, et tum maxime pietatem exercent, cum videntur esse crudeles. Omnes Christiani unum sumus in Christo corpus, et unus grex. Cavere oportet, ne pars corporis infecta partem inficiat sanam, et ne morbida facta pecus totum corrumpat ovile. Amovenda sunt omnia, quae corpori nocent. *Non est pietas uni membro parcere et totum corpus in discrimen adducere.*

¹ natura saepenumero : saepenumero natura G

² omit. G

³ e D, G, R

3. Refutation of the Venetian arguments

3.1 The Gospel

[4] Quite often parents given by nature have been severe, and now you want parents given by law to completely neglect justice? You remind Us of the examples of Christ and the commandment given by Our Lord to Saint Peter to forgive sins,¹ and you claim that We should do the same. Indeed, we must forgive sinners when in their heart they sincerely regret having sinned, and the lack of punishment does not set a bad example. The provident shepherd drives the sick sheep far away from the flock. Doctors remove rotten flesh from the human body with knives and cautery, and they actually show most pity when they appear most cruel.² All we Christians are one body in Christ and one flock. We must take care that an infected part of the body does not infect the healthy part, and that a sick sheep does not destroy the whole flock. All that harms the body must be removed. *It is not merciful to spare one member and imperil the whole body.*³

¹ Matthew, 18, 21-22: *Then came Peter unto him and said: Lord, how often shall my brother offend against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus saith to him: I say not to thee, till seven times; but till seventy times seven times*

² Cf. Cicero: *Philippicae*, 8, 15

³ *Decretum*, C.45.17

[5] *Si oculus tuus, inquit dominus, scandalizat te, erue eum et projice abs te. Et si pes tuus scandalizat te, abscide eum et projice abs te. Et asserit melius esse¹ cum uno oculo et² uno pede intrare in vitam aeternam, quam duos oculos vel³ duos pedes habentem mitti in gehennam ignis.* Quid haec sibi⁴ volunt? Admonemur a domino scandalosa membra praecidere, ne reliquo corpori noceant. Admonentur rectores urbium populorumque duces perniciosos reipublicae cives e medio tollere, ne multitudini officiant. Sigismundum nulla malefactorum poenitentia tenet⁵. Id ei molestum est, quod non pejora patravit: omissa deflet scelera, non commissa, nec potest ad Deum reverti, qui nullum credit esse Deum. Impletum in eo est, quod in sacris eloquiis scribitur: *Peccator, cum venerit in profundum malorum, contemnit.*

[6] Haereticus est. *Haereticum* jubet apostolus *post primam et secundam* admonitionem *devitari*. Commonuimus hominem bis, ter, quater atque iterum: nil profuit. Perversus est,⁶ ejus desperata salus. Quomodo possumus homini haeretico subditorum nostrorum gubernationem relinquere? Si peccasset in nos Sigismundus, dimitteremus ei. At peccantem in Deum, divinae legis mandata deridentem, {332r} Romanae ecclesiae insultantem, jura omnia pervententem, Christianae⁷ plebi non minus exemplo quam facto nocentem ac prorsus incorrigibilem non possumus impunitum relinquere. Ejicienda sunt haec monstra, ne praesint populis; auferenda sunt perniciosis bestiis regna, nec feris tam immanibus ulla permittenda potestas.

¹ *omit.* G

² *cum add.* G

³ *aut* R

⁴ *haec sibi : sibi haec* G

⁵ *teneat* G

⁶ *et add.* R

⁷ *Christiano* G; *Christianaequae* R

[5] *If thy eye scandalize thee, says the Lord, pluck it out, and cast it from thee. If thy foot scandalizes thee, cut it off and cast it from thee. And he declares that It is better for thee having one eye and one foot to enter into life, than having two eyes or two feet to be cast into hell fire.*¹ What does this mean? [It means that] the Lord admonishes us to cut off scandalous members so that they will not harm the rest of the body. And the governors of cities and the rulers of peoples are admonished to remove citizens who are a danger to the state so that they will not harm the many. Sigismondo does not regret any of his evil deeds. His only regret is that he has not done worse things. He deplores the crimes he has not committed, not those that he has committed, and he cannot possibly return to God since he believes that there is no God. In him is fulfilled what is written in Holy Scripture: *The wicked man when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth.*²

[6] He is a heretic. The apostle bids us to *avoid a man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition.*³ We have warned that man two times, three times, four times, and more, but without success. He is perverted, and there is no hope of his salvation. How can We possibly entrust the government of our subjects to a heretic? If Sigismondo had just sinned against Us, We would forgive him. But since he has sinned against God, derided the commandments of Divine Law, insulted the Roman Church, perverted all law, harmed the Christian people as much by his example as by his actions, and proven absolutely incorrigible, We cannot possibly leave him unpunished. Such monsters must be driven out so that they cannot govern peoples. Such monsters must be deprived of all lordship. And such savage beasts must not be given any power at all.

¹ Matthew, 18, 8-9: *Si autem manus tua, vel pes tuus scandalizat te, abscide eum, et projice abs te : bonum tibi est ad vitam ingredi debilem, vel claudum, quam duas manus vel duos pedes habentem mitti in ignem aeternum. Et si oculus tuus scandalizat te, erue eum, et projice abs te : bonum tibi est cum uno oculo in vitam intrare, quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehennam ignis*

² Proverbs, 18, 3: *Impius, cum in profundum venerit peccatorum, contemnit*

³ Titus, 3, 10

[7] Dicit non esse auditum aetate nostra aut parentum nostrorum nobilem aliquam domum funditus esse¹ deletam, indignumque² putas vetustissimam ac nobilissimam Malatestarum familiam nostro tempore prorsus eradicatum iri. Bis falleris. Non sunt Malatestae, ut arbitraris, antiqui ac nobiles: nova gens est et ante ducentos annos prorsus incognita. Vilis origo ex oppidulo vili Pennarum, proditionibus et malis artibus in lucem venit, imperio rebellis, et ecclesiae adversa. Utinam possit, ut digna est, e terra deleri. Non erit prima, ut arbitraris, familia nobilis extirpata. Quot vos Veneti illustres prosapias delevistis? Omittimus quamplures nobiles in Foro Julii, in Istria, in Dalmatia, et³ aliis provinciis imperio subjectis Veneto vestris decretis paterna possessione dejectos. Scaligeros, Carrarios praeterire non possumus, quorum alteros Verona ac Vicentia, alteros Patavio, quamvis essent nobilissimi, deturbastis, imperioque privatos avito, inopes in exilium egistis. Marsilium vero, cum paternam haereditatem vindicare conaretur, interceptum summo supplico damnavistis, duasque domos tota Italia clarissimas non horruistis extinguere. Unde ista severitas? Nempe quod reipublicae vestrae videbantur insidiari? Et illi quidem non subditi vestri erant, sed vicini, et hostes, et imperatoris Romani vicem agentes. In alienos extendistis manus, et alterius servos non timuistis corrigere ac funditus delere. Et audetis nobis suadere, ne subditos nostros quamquam proditores et omni scelere coinquinos eo quod nobiles sint, corrigamus? Injurii estis, qui nobis ea in servos nostros licere negatis, quae vobis ipsis in alienos arrogavistis. Filios dicitis Malatestas esse, non servos. Fuere filii quondam et liberi, servos fecere peccata. {332v} Non pudet nos vestra sequi vestigia et vestram imitari severitatem, quando hac una potissimum via res vestras crevisse vulgo creditur.

¹ fuisse R

² indignum G

³ in *add.* R

3.2. Historical precedents

[7] You claim it is unheard of, in our own time as well as in the time of our parents, that a noble house has been completely destroyed, and you consider it undeserved that the very old and noble family of the Malatestas should be wholly eliminated in our time. Here you make two errors. Contrary to your belief, the Malatestas are not an old and noble family. They are a new family and completely unknown if you go back more than 200 years Their origin is lowly, and they come from the insignificant village of Penna.¹ The family only rose from obscurity through treachery and wicked ploys, rebellious towards the Empire and opposed to the Church. May that family disappear from the Earth, as it has so richly deserved. And it would not, as you claim, be the first noble family to perish: how many many illustrious families have not been destroyed by you Venetians? Let us not mention the many nobles in Friuli, in Istria, in Dalmatia, and in other provinces subject to Venetian rule expelled from their paternal possessions by your decrees. But we cannot not pass over your expulsion of the Scaligeri² and the Carrara, the first from Verona and Vicenza, the second from Padua: they were of the highest nobility, but you removed them, deprived them of their ancestral power, and sent them into exile, penniless. When Marsiglio³ tried to recover his paternal inheritance, you took him prisoner and condemned him to death. Thus, you have not shied away from destroying two of the noblest houses in all Italy. Why this severity? Was it not because they seemed to plot against your state? They were not even your own subjects, but neighbours, foreigners, and vicars of the Roman Emperor. You have raised your hand against strangers and not feared to correct and destroy the servants of another. And yet you dare to urge Us not to correct Our own subjects though they are traitors and mired in every crime, just because they are noble? It is quite unfair of you to deny Us the right to do to Our own servants what you have arrogantly taken upon yourselves to do to the servants of others. You say that the Malatestas are Our sons, not Our servants. They may once have been sons and children, but their crimes have made them servants. We are not ashamed to follow in your own footsteps and to imitate your own severity, since it is commonly believed that this is the means by which, most of all, your state has grown.

¹ In the present-day region of Pescara, Italy

² The noble family of the Scaligeri or della Scala had the lordship of Verona from 1226 to 1387. After losing Verona, some of its members sought refuge at the Imperial Court. In his youth, Pius II had personally known and been employed by one of them, Bishop Nicodema della Scala of Freising, with whose succession he was intimately involved, see oration "*Si putarem*" [5]

³ The Carrara family was an important family of northern Italy in the period 12th-15th centuries. It had the lordship of Padua until 1405. After the fall of the Carrara family from power, Marsiglio da Carrara, son of Francesco II, tried several times to regain Padua, but in 1435 he was caught by the Venetians and condemned to death

[8] Sed ais Malatestas omnia prius temptaturos quam regno pellantur: vitam facilius homines quam dominationem relinquere. Certum id quidem est. Verum necessitati cuncta oboediunt. Non est Malatestarum potentia, quae viribus nostris resistere possit. Nudi auxilio sunt. Nisi vos opem perituris affertis, nemo in Italia est, qui sit eos adjuturus: non Florentini, non dux Mediolani, non Borsius, noster in Ferraria vicarius, non alius quispiam. Omnes bello nostro tamquam justissimo adversus proditores et impios favent. Vos, si jungetis cum Malatestis arma, fatemur¹, conatus nostros impedire poteritis, et hoc unum² rebus nostris periculum imminet. At hoc vestrum est auferre, nec sine dedecore vestro apostolicae sedis iudicium infringetis. Extant promissa vestra, quae nos certiores reddunt³ in cursu victoriae nostrae adversus Malatestas nullum a Venetis impedimentum fore timendum. Si secus evenerit, senatus vester et mendax et proditor invenietur, quod nobis in mentem venire non potest.

[9] Nec Francorum Turcorumve nos metus agitat. Ludovicus, Franciae rex, Cathalonico et Britannico bello distinetur: Italico, si sapit⁴, non implicabitur. Quod si ad res Italicas inclinaverit animum, Genuensium ante omnia rebellionem vindicabit⁵, qui a patre suo desciverunt. Difficilis est expugnatio Ligurum, et nobis non parvum datura tempus. Quod si recta via adversus nos exercitum mittere voluerit, montes et flumina intersunt, et Insubrium princeps nobis affoederatus, qui hostes transire non sinet. Nec Franci sunt, qui pecuniaria soleant auxilia mittere⁶, Italis praesertim, quorum fidem suspectam habent. Nec Turcis ad Ariminum via patet: nisi per Adriaticum sinum, cuius vos esse custodes asseritis, et in quo vestrae semper excubant classes, sine vestra negligentia penetrare in Italiam nequeunt.

¹ vos si jungetis ... fatemur : credimus vos

² unicum R

³ reddiderunt R

⁴ sapiat R

⁵ vindicabit R, D, G

⁶ soleant auxilia mittere : auxilia mittere soleant G

3.3. Low risk of foreign intervention

[8] You say that the Malatestas will do anything to avoid being expelled from their lordship since people will rather lose their life than their power. This is indeed so. But all must bow to necessity, and the power of the Malatestas cannot resist Our forces. They have been deprived of external assistance, and unless you give them aid, no one in Italy will help them: neither the Florentines, nor the Duke of Milan,¹ nor Borso,² Our own vicar in Ferrara, nor anybody else. All support Our war as a completely just war against traitors and impious men. We recognize that if you join arms with the Malatestas you may prevent Our plans – and this is the only peril that threatens Our cause. But this is a danger that you yourselves should remove, and if you obstruct the judgment of the Apostolic See it will be to your own shame. We have your written promises informing Us that We need not fear any opposition from the Venetians in Our victorious course against the Malatastas. If things turn out differently, your Senate will stand revealed as liars and traitors, something that We cannot imagine.

[9] Nor are we moved by fear of the French or the Turks. King Louis of France³ is involved in wars with England and Catalonia. If he is wise, he will not also get involved in a war in Italy. But should he turn his mind towards the affairs of Italy, he will first of all avenge the rebellion of the Genoese who deserted his father. The conquest of Liguria will be difficult and give Us much time. And should he decide to send his army directly against Us, there are mountains and rivers in between us as well as Our ally the Duke of Lombardy,⁴ who will not allow Our enemies to pass through [his territories]. And the French do not usually send financial help, especially not to Italians whom they mistrust. As for the Turks they can only get to Rimini through the Adriatic Gulf which you claim to guard and where your fleets are always deployed. So they can only enter Italy if you neglect your duty.

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**, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

³ Louis XI (1423-1483): **King of France** from 1461 to his death

⁴ Francesco Sforza

[10] Expugnabitur proculdubio Sigismundus, et infame delebitur Malatestarum nomen, nisi vestra respublica sese nobis¹ opponat, quod nulla ratio suadet. {333r} At vicinos mutare times², et antiquos servare cupis³. Mutabis⁴, nisi conatibus nostris obicem posueris⁵, verum justos pro iniquis, pro infidelibus fidos, pro inimicis amicos. Aut enim ecclesia illis succedet *justitiae tenax* et *nullius conscia culpae*, aut Malatestarum imperium melioribus^{6 7} elargiemur, qui cum vestra respublica perpetuo jungentur foedere, nec decretis umquam vestri senatus adversabuntur.

[11] Quibus de rebus indignae sunt preces, quas pro Malatestis effunditis, nec nos illis auscultare decet. Justo insequimur impios bello. Non sunt digni venia, qui Deum contemnunt, et quorum salus multorum perniciem affert. Punire nocentes oportet, ne tuta videatur iniquitas, neve facilitas veniae incentivum praebeat delinquendi. Non est in exigenda poena periculum, nisi a vobis proveniat. Nec causam habetis, cur coepta nostra impediatis et contra fidem feceritis victoriae nostrae cursum ablaturo. Hortamur igitur, ut de nostris subditis liberum nobis iudicium relinquatis, nec ea petatis ex nobis, quae rogati ab aliis nullo pacto concederetis.⁸

¹ *omit.* G

² *timetis* R

³ *cupitis* R

⁴ *mutabis* R

⁵ *posueritis* R

⁶ **nepotibus nostris R; melioribus corr. ex nepotibus nostris S; aliis benemerentibus D, G**

⁷ Nota pontificis animum in nepotibus *nota marg.* R

⁸ Orationis finis *nota marg.* R

[10] So, Sigismondo will undoubtedly be defeated, and the infamous name of the Malatestas will be destroyed unless your republic opposes Us, what you have no reason to do. You may fear a change of neighbours and prefer to keep the old ones. But unless you oppose Our endeavours, your neighbours will certainly change: you will have just neighbours instead of wicked, you will have loyal neighbours instead of disloyal, and you will have friends instead of enemies. For either the Church, which is *tenacious in justice* and *blameless*,¹ will replace them, or We shall grant the lordship of the Malatestas to better men² who will enter a permanent alliance with you and never oppose the decisions of your senate.

4. Rejection of Venetian petition

[11] For these reasons, your entreaties on behalf of the Malatestas have no merit, and We should not heed them. We are pursuing wicked men with a just war. Those who scorn God do not merit forgiveness, nor do those whose safety is harmful to many. Evildoers must be punished so that people will not think it safe to commit crimes, and so that easy forgiveness does not become an incentive to crime. [In this case,] there is no danger in exacting punishment unless it comes from you. But you do not have any reason to prevent Our undertaking, and you will break your own promise if you bar Our course to victory. So We exhort you to leave Us free to judge Our own subjects and not to request of Us what you would in no way grant if others asked it of you.

¹ See Introduction, sect. 1, on the nephews

² Cf. Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 12.648

Appendix: Oration of Bernardo Giustinian (9 November 1462, Petriolo)

After CO, X, 27 (Heck, II, pp. 620-622). With pagination after van Heck's ed.

NB: The address of the ambassador was probably highly redacted in connection with its inclusion in the papal Commentarii.

{620} *Hunc Pius Petrioli primum audiuit, et propter urbis eminentiam et hominis dignitatem apprime honoravit. Qui postquam semotis arbitris que vellet dicere permissus, in hunc modum uerba fecit:*

Bellum quod aduersus Malatestas geris, piissime maxime pontifex, iustum esse omnes censent atque inprimis senatus uenetus, qui Sigismundi mores optime callet et eius in te tuamque sedem piacula non ignorat. at cum aniamduerterit uictorie tue cursum et quantum agri ab eo abstulisti quantisque cladibus et ipsum et agrum eius affecisti, satis superque satis punita esse hominis scelera censet. si pro peccato filii maximo, ut uulgo dicunt, paulum supplicii satis est patri, tu non Sigismundi tantum, sed omnium fidelium pater es: paterna tu uti clementia decet. sedes apostolica, pia mater, nunquam redeuntibus ad se filiis sinum pietatis occludit, semper ad ueniam prona est. adeo misericordiam diligit, ut sepe iustitie preferat crudelitatemque uocitet omne iudicium clementis moderationis expers. parcere tui solii proprium est. septuagies septies iussus est Petrus, cuius locum tenes, in se delinquenti peccatum dimittere, et pro numero infinito finitus ponitur. peccauit in te Sigismundus et sepe et multum. quis nescit? at ueniam petenti quo pacto negabis, Iesu Christi vicarie? qui dominum tuum nosti pro suis orasse persecutoribus et in cruce latroni ueniam prebuisse parsurumque proditori lude fuisse, si humilatus misericordiam {621} implorasset. non uult deus mortem peccatoris; conuersionem et uitam cupit. Pleni sunt codices exemplis. Nihil ecclesia benignius est, nihil ad misericordiam magis pronum.

Quod intelligens senatus uenetus commendare tibi Malatestas audet ueniamque pro his petere quibus iam pridem et uicinis et amicis est usus. Non correctionem prohibet, que magna ex parte peracta est. extirpationem horret nobilissime familie; neque enim memoria nostra audiuimus in Italia preclaram aliquam prosapiam radicitus euulsam fuisse ac prorsus adnihilatam. uetustissimum et nobilissimum Malatestarum genus inter Italos memorant; multi in eo uiri prestantes claruerunt quorum egregia facinora non Ecclesie tantum romane, sed Italie uniuerse

et ipsi christiane reipublice admodum profuerunt. sit utile filiis preclaros habuisse parentes; aboleat maiorum uirtus peccata minorum. concedendum est aliquid priscis imaginibus. non tulit premia digna probitas, que solos extulit auctores. preclara uirtus plures etates illustrat. indignus est Sigismundus – non eo infitias – cui veniam prebeas, nec Dominicum laudo qui tibi aduersatus est, quamuis pro fratre arma suscipiens excusari potuit. at Carolus et Pandolfus et alii maiores meruere ut posteris suis ignoscas, si quid in te peccauere.

Digna est et respublica ueneta quam exaudias, tue sanctitatis et apostolice sedis obsequentissima filia. Agitur et in hac parte de statu suo. norunt Ueneti quos habuerunt in Malatestatum gente uicinos; mutationem uerentur ne deterior fiat conditio. quid habent sciunt; quid habituri sint nesciunt. multa eos timere oportet. suspecta sunt Italorum ingenia et nullum imperium metu uacat. oramus pietatem tuam ne rebus nostris incommodes aut in finibus nostris eos regnare permittas quorum ueremur insidias. cum Malatestis quiete uiuimus hactenus et uiuimus, sicut speramus, in posterum. suademus preterea paci ut italice consulas et pericula metiaris que hoc ex bello possunt emergere. minima sepe fauilla maximum excitauit incendium. nemo ex regno uolens eiicitur; omnia experiuntur homines priusquam dominatione priuentur. aspirant ad imperium Italie Franci et in regno Sicilie non {622} parum agri possident. quid, si Malateste reliquis destitutis auxiliis ad eos confugiant eosque sibi assumant dominos? exemplum omnes Romandiole tyranni sequentur nec Florentini Francis amici a rebus nouis abstinebunt.

Quid de Turcis dicam? ais te uelle eorum conatibus resistere. quomodo foris bellum geres inquietus atque insegurus domi? quid, si, ut est maligna Sigismundi mens, ab eo Turcorum arma in Italiam inuitentur? non est longa nauigatio ex Aulona, quam uulgo Valonam appellant et a Turcis tenetur, usque Ariminum. omnia faciet Sigismundus priusquam sibi dominatus eripiatur. incertus est belli exitus et multa dies affert que nemo existimauit euentura esse. nunquam fortuna diu benigna est. uicisti hucusque et prospero fortune flatu es usus. quid, si more suo belli domina retro abeat? Nemo qui sapiat illi se credit. tum paci danda est opera, cum uincitur, nec secundis rebus inolescere conuenit. Contentare, pontifex presenti rerum statu ne, dum maiora queras, ea que tenes amittas. da pacem miseris et Malatestarum familiam, que satis correcta est, in gratiam recipito. Hec Veneti ex te petimus, hec oramus supplices. annue hoc gratie populo de te bene merenti et qui sanctam sedem apostolicam summo semper studio coluit. sincero hec animo dicimus non minus tue glorie quam nostre reipublice consulentes. amplectere in bonam partem que recta et bona ex mente procedunt.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 71)

Oration “*Habemus fidem*” of Pope Pius II (November 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

In November 1462, an embassy came to Pope Pius II from the King of Bosnia, Stefan Tomašević, to seek aid from the pope against the Turks, expected to launch a major assault against Bosnia in the near future. The pope replied to the ambassadors' address with the very brief oration "*Habemus fidem*", in which he promised what help the papacy was able to give, exhorted the king to reconcile and ally himself with Hungary, and promised to erect Roman Catholic dioceses in Bosnia. He formally denied the petition for a crown to be sent to the king, referring that matter to the king's feudal overlord, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (secretly instructing his legate to crown the king anyway). It would all be for nothing since next year the Turks invaded and conquered Bosnia.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Bosnia; Bosnian Church; 15th century; 1462; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Turks; Sultan Mehmed II; King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary; Venice; King Stefan Tomašević of Bosnia

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Appendix: Oration of Bosnian ambassador (November 1462, Rome)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

After the Turkish conquest of Serbia 1459, the next Christian dominion – or domino - to fall would be Bosnia. To what extent Bosnia was a Christian kingdom was somewhat doubtful, as there were actually numerous Paterenes or Manichaeans in the country as well as some muslims.² The last king of Bosnia, Stefan Tomašević, who succeeded to the throne in 1461, was a Roman catholic and naturally hoped for help from the pope and the Christian powers (Hungary and Venice) against a threatening Turkish attack. In November 1462 an embassy from the king reached Rome with a number of requests designed to strengthen his position as the ruler of the realm and its defender against the Turks.

The ambassadors held an oration to the pope to which he replied briefly with the address “*Habemus fidem*”, granting all but one of the Bosnian petitions. The petition denied by the pope was a request for being crowned, which Pius referred to Bosnia’s feudal overlord, King Matthias of Hungary.³

Trusting that Western aid would be forthcoming, Stefan Tomašević then refused to pay tribute to Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, a most incautious refusal which greatly provoked the sultan.⁴

Next year, in 1463, Sultan Mehmed II invaded Bosnia and easily conquered it. The king was killed, brutally, on 25 May 1463, and Bosnia became part of the Turkish empire for centuries.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about the visit of the Bosnian ambassadors:

About this time Stephen, who shortly before had become king of Bosnia on his father’s death, sent two envoys to the Pope, tall and dignified old men, one of whom delivered an address as follows: [here follows the text of the oration⁵]. Pius after hearing this called a counsel of his brethren⁶ and replied as follows [here follows the text of Pius’ reply]. The Bosnians, dismissed with such words, went away happy. They were followed by the Pope’s

¹ CO, XI, 13; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 30-32; Babinger, p. 232-239; Pastor, II, pp. 184-185; Voigt, IV, pp. 671-674

² The indigenous Bosnian Church was considered heretics by both the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. It is uncertain whether the members of the Bosnian Church were a branch of the Bogomils, also known as the Patarenes, a Manichaean sect, or whether they were members of the Catholic Church who had acquired some heretical beliefs and influences from Eastern Orthodoxy and fell into Schism

³ The pope actually gave his legate secret instructions to crown the king anyway

⁴ Babinger, pp. 233-234

⁵ See Appendix

⁶ The College of Cardinals

spokesman, Domenico of Lucca, who was to see that their requests were complied with by the Venetians and Hungary.¹

2. Themes

In his address to the Bosnian ambassadors, Pius

- declared his belief in the veracity of the Bosnian reports concerning the expected Turkish attack
- gave an optimistic (under the circumstances surprisingly optimistic) assessment of the Bosnian defense capabilities
- promised to send what aid he could, which would really amount to very little, given the financial circumstances of the papacy
- agreed to put pressure on the Venetians and Hungarians to send aid to the Bosnians, including making the hoard of weapons available which had been amassed in Dalmatia by the king's father
- agreed to create Roman catholic dioceses in Bosnia and to appoint bishops to them
- denied – for diplomatic purposes – to send a crown to the king (but secretly instructed his envoy to crown the king anyway)
- firmly exhorted the king to seek friendship and alliance with the King of Hungary

¹ CO, XI, 13 (Gragg, p. 742)

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration “*Habemus fidem*” was delivered in November 1462¹ during the audience for an embassy from the King of Bosnia, at the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience was the participants in a papal consistory, and the format was that of a papal response from the throne to royal ambassadors.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius used the term “oration” about the address of the ambassadors: *Stephanus ... sent two envoys to the pope, one of whom delivered an address [oration] as follows*² (*Stephanus ... legatos ad pontificem misit duos ... quorum alter ... orationem habuit.*)³ Concerning his own reply, he only wrote: *Pius replied as follows*⁴ (*Pius ... ita respondit.*)⁵ The text of the ambassadors’ oration included in the *Commentarii* was – like Pius’ response - quite probably redacted by Pius himself or his literary staff (in the form of a summary). It quotes or alludes to two favourite classical authors of Pius, viz. Terence and Virgil.

4. Text⁶

The “*Habemus fidem*” was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, of which the first version was completed in 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*, book 11, chapter 13.⁷

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, f. 366r (S)

¹ Voigt, III, IV, 11, p. 672. Babinger, p. 232, gives the date as November 1461

² Pius II: *Commentarii* (Gragg), p. 740

³ CO, XI, 13 (Heck, p. 683)

⁴ Pius II: *Commentarii* (Gragg), p. 741

⁵ Pius II: *Commentarii* (van Heck), p. 683

⁶ For the textual transmission of Pius II’s, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁷ For orations included in Pius II’s *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 513v-514v (R)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first edition and the Corsinianus the final edition, probably with a now lost intermediate edition, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

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) / II, p. 685
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2168-2171
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 741-742

4.3. Present edition

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 the two principal manuscripts.

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

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

6. Bibliography

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

Babinger, Franz: *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit – Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende.* München, 1953

Otto, A: *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer.* Hildesheim, 1962

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

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

7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {366r} Habemus¹ fidem legationi Stephani: eadem multis ex locis nuntiantur. Occidentis quaerit imperium² Mahumetus, qui orientale pervasit. Aptissima ejus desiderio Bosna est. Hanc portam – credibile est – inprimis perfringere conabitur. Non perficiet audente rege forti animo resistere. Ardua sunt montium claustra et aditus, quos facile tueri pauci queant. Conjugent Hungari arma et Veneti. Legatum ejus rei causa ad utramque gentem mittemus. Communem causam communibus adjuvabunt viribus. Nos tantum auxilii praestabimus quantum per facultates licebit. Arma, quae sunt in Dalmatia, ministrari jubebimus. Ecclesias cathedrales in Bosna mandabimus erigi et erectis constituemus episcopos.

[2] Coronam mittere sine praejudicio regis Hungariae haudquaquam possumus, cujus rex Bosnae vassallus est, et ad eum pertinet coronare regem. Sciscitabimur, quid sit animi ejus. Si aequo animo³ tulerit⁴, coronam, quae parata est, per legatum mittemus. Invito non faciemus injuriam, neque irritabimus eum, a quo sunt auxilia expectanda. Stephanus, si sapiat, Matthiam Hungariae regem omnibus sibi studiis conciliabit; quocum foedere ac benevolentia junctus difficile a Turcis pessumdabitur.

¹ Pontificis responsive *nota marg.* R

² quaerit imperium : imperium quaerit R

³ *omit.* R

⁴ ~~animo~~ *add.* R

[1] We believe Stefan's¹ embassy: the same [news] are coming in from many places. Having conquered the Oriental Empire,² Mehmed³ now wants the Western. Bosnia fits his designs very well: quite probably, this is the gate he will first try to break through. But he will not succeed if the king dares to resist courageously. The mountain passes are difficult, and the access roads can easily be defended by a few men. The Hungarians and Venetians will join the fight. We shall send a legate to each people to that purpose. They will aid the common cause with joint arms. We Ourselves shall send what aid We can. We shall order that the weapons kept in Dalmatia be made available to you. We shall order dioceses to be created in Bosnia and afterwards appoint bishops to them.

[2] A crown We cannot send without prejudice to the King of Hungary:⁴ the King of Bosnia is a vassal of his, and it belongs to him to crown the king. We shall ask him what he wants. If he accepts it, We shall send a legate with the crown which is being held in readiness. But if he does not, We shall not wrong him nor provoke the one you should look to for help. If Stephan is wise, he will try to by all means to win over King Matthias of Hungary. If he is united with him by treaty and friendship, it will be difficult for the Turks to destroy him.

¹ Stefan Tomašević (d. 1463): King of Bosnia from 1461 to his death

² The Byzantine Empire

³ 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 until his death. In 1453 he conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

⁴ Matthias I Corvinus (1443-1490): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to his death. After conducting several military campaigns, he was elected King of Bohemia in 1469 and adopted the title Duke of Austria in 1487

Appendix: Oration of Bosnian ambassadors (November 1462, Rome)

(Translation by Florence A. Gragg, pp. 740-741)

Most Holy Father, the King of Bosnia has sent us to you and bidden us to speak thus in his name: 'I am informed that Mahomet, Sultan of Turkey, intends to move against me next summer and has troops and engines of war in readiness. I am not in a position to withstand so severe an attack. I have begged the Hungarians and the Venetians and George¹ of Albania to come to my aid. I make the same request of you. I do not demand *mountains of gold*.² I am only eager that my enemies and my provincials should be assured that I am by no means without your favor. If the Bosnians know that I shall not be alone in the war they will fight more bravely and the Turks will not dare to invade my lands which are difficult of access and in many places have almost impregnable fortresses. Your predecessor, Eugenius,³ offered my father the crown and wished to build pontifical churches in Bosnia. My father refused in order not to draw upon himself the hatred of the Turks, for he was newly a Christian and had not yet expelled the Manicheans from his kingdom. I was baptized as a child and learned Latin and have whole-heartedly embraced the Christian faith. I do not fear what my father feared.⁴ I pray you to send me the crown and consecrated bishops. This will be a sign that you will not fail me if I am threatened by the disaster of a war. If I am crowned by you I shall inspire hope in my subjects and terror in my enemy.

When my father was alive you gave orders that the arms in Dalmatia under the control of the Venetians should be collected in the name of a crusade and sent to him. The Venetian Senate would not agree. Bid them to be sent to me. Perhaps you will find your command of greater effect, since the temper of the Venetians has changed and it is said that they are about to declare war on the Turks. I ask these things and also that you will send an envoy to the Hungarians to commend my cause to the King and urge him to join arms with me. In this way Bosnia can be saved; otherwise she is doomed to perish. The Turks have built a number of fortifications in my kingdom and are showing a kindly disposition toward the peasants. They promise that all who desert to them shall be free and they welcome them graciously. The inexperienced rustics do not understand their wiles and think their liberty will last forever. The people will be easily induced

¹ Skanderbeg

² Terentius: *Phormio*, 68. Otto, 1132

³ Pope Eugenius IV

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8.535

by such tricks to desert me unless they see me fortified by your aid, and the nobles, if they are deserted by the peasants, will not hold out long in their fortresses.

If Mahomet sought my kingdom only and did not mean to advance further, my lot might be endured and it would not be fitting that the rest of Christendom should be plagued to defend me. But an insatiable passion for power knows no limits. After me he will harry Hungary and the Dalmatians, who are now subject to Venice, and then through the Croatians and the Istrians he will aim at Italy, which he aspires to rule. He often talks of Rome and has turned his thoughts thither. If Christians allow him to make himself master of my kingdom, he will find here a very suitable province and very advantageous bases for fulfilling his ambition. I am the first to expect the storm. After me the Hungarians and Venetians will have to await their fate, nor will Italy be left in peace.

Such are the enemy's plans. I tell you what I have learned that you may not one day say you were not warned and accuse me of negligence. My father predicted to your predecessor, Nicholas V, and the Venetians the fall of Constantinople. He was not believed. Christianity to its great hurt lost a royal city and a patriarchal see and the prop of Greece. Now I prophesy about myself. If you trust and aid me I shall be saved; if not, I shall perish and many will be ruined with me.

This is the message Stephen bade me give you. Do you, who are the father of the Christian religion, give advice and aid.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 72)

Oration “*Senatu intercedente*” of Pope Pius II (May 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

After his victory over the Malatestas in the Church State late 1462, Pope Pius II had agreed to a petition from the Republic of Venice to deal more leniently with them than he had previously intended to. In the case of Domenico Malatesta, Lord of Cesena, the pope had even accepted the mediation of the Republic in the person of one of its top diplomats. While negotiations were going on concerning the return of Domenico's cities to the papacy in case he died without legitimate male issue, the Venetians secretly bought from Domenico the salt mines of Cervia, one of the cities which would *in casu* return to the papacy. As might be expected, the pope became furious at the double-dealing Venetians. Their ambassador was summoned and given a memorable dressing down as recorded in the text of the oration "*Senatu intercedente*".

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Republic of Venice; Domenico Malatesta; Salt mines; Cervia; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; 1462; 15th century; Venezia; Papal States

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Venice is treacherous [1-3]
2. Venice is impious [4]
3. Venice is doomed [5-7]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

After his victory over the Malatestas in the Church State late 1462, Pope Pius II had – with some reluctance - agreed to a petition from the Republic of Venice to deal more leniently with them than he had previously intended to.² In the case of Domenico Malatesta, Lord of Cesena, the pope had even accepted the mediation of the Republic in the person of one of its top diplomats.

The negotiations for a settlement seemingly went well but for the thorny issue concerning the return of a number of cities to the papacy in case Domenico died without legitimate male issue. The problem was not the return as such, which was in accordance with the general rules of feudal and vicarial possession, but how to ensure that the cities in question would actually revert to the papacy and not fall to some other lord.³

While these negotiations were going on, the Venetians secretly bought from Domenico the salt mines of Cervia, one of the cities which according to the agreement negotiated between the parties would return to the papacy. The Venetians had their reasons, but under the circumstances the sale was probably illegal, and at the same time it was highly duplicitous, in view of the fact that they were themselves acting as mediators of the negotiations.

As might be expected, the pope became furious at the double-dealing Venetians. Their ambassador was summoned and given a memorable dressing down as recorded in the text of the oration "*Senatu intercedente*".

However, the papacy and Venice were now allied in a matter of much greater importance: the crusade against the Turks, where the Venetians had finally – though for completely self-serving purposes - accepted the papal crusade and decided to go to war against the Turks.

The affair of Cervia could not be allowed to spoil this alliance, and the Venetians got off lightly. In any case, there was not much the pope could do.

In his *Commentarii* Pius wrote about the episode:

¹ CO, XI, 16

² See oration "*Quaecumque rogat*" [70]

³ The negotiations were not made easier by the pope's desire to grant lands, vacated by the Malatestas, to his nephews: Venice and the other Italian powers did not favour a more direct and stronger papal presence in the Church State, see CO (Totaro, II, p. 2630, n. 156)

While this discussion [the negotiations concerning the Malatestan cities] was going on, the Venetians with the good faith characteristic of barbarians or after the manner of traders whose nature it is to weigh everything by utility paying no attention to honor, bought Cervia from Domenico, agreeing to pay 4,000 ducats yearly to him for his lifetime and on his death to those he might designate, and in addition two hundred bags of salt. There are salt mines at Cervia where the very best salt is found. It is taken to the cities of Romagna and brings in a very large profit to the Malatestas. Since the Venetians supply the Ferrarese with salt (though much against the latter's will), fearing that it might be secretly furnished them from Cervia, they resolved to lay hold upon the place in any way they could, right or wrong. It was a fief of the Church of Rome and bound to return to it if the male line of the Malatestas should fail; and the Malatestas might not in any circumstances transfer it to any other family or gens; nor had the Venetians the right to buy it without the consent of the Church ... When Pius learnt the facts about Cervia, he sent for the Venetian envoy and asked him the reason for this and what excuse he had to give. He admitted what had been done with embarrassment and shame like a man who knew a base act could not be defended but he put forward motives of expediency seeing that the Venetians' income from salt (which is very large in the territory of Ferrara and neighbouring districts) was being seriously reduced by the secret importation of salt from Cervia. The state had been unwilling to stand the deprivation and had therefore bought the place as a means of recouping its losses. The pope replied: [Here follows the oration]. When the Venetian envoy heard this he shook with terror and for a long time stood dumb but at last, having no further defense for his city's cause, he said he hoped the Venetian Senate would in the future atone for its present misdeeds by profitable services to the Church of Rome; and so he withdrew from the Pope's presence.¹

2. Themes

The oration has three main themes:

- **Venice has acted treacherously and dishonourably:**

We are in the middle of negotiations and consultations with Venice on how Cervia and Malatesta's other cities shall return to the Church after his death, and now the Venetians have grabbed Cervia. Behold a noble deed! Behold the Senate's integrity! Behold the glory of the Venetian Republic! Is this how you keep faith? Is this how you care for decency? If

¹ CO, XI, 16 (Gragg, pp. 744-746)

Jacopo Piccinino who has often sold his loyalty, or if the greatest robber or thief in Italy had accepted to mediate between Us and Domenico, he would certainly never have permitted himself the indecency of seizing a city which was under negotiation: he would have feared infamy, he would have feared the voice of the people, he would have feared the label of traitor. But the Venetians are indifferent to such things. Their republic is quite cold-blooded: it does not feel shame, it does not grow red or pale; it does not falter. It always shows the same countenance: impudent and shameless. [Sect. 1-2]

- **Venice is impious**

Your greed and ambition have no limits. You do not care whether you amass riches lawfully or unlawfully, as long as you amass them. Neither justice nor injustice stands in the way of extending your dominions. It is fine for you to have more power if only your empire grows. Honesty is less important than power. You scorn God in Heaven. The republic is your God: this is what you worship, having abandoned the Creator of the Universe. [Sect. 4]

- **Venice is doomed**

With such morals you will not last. An empire built on bad foundations must perish. You will pay the penalty for your sins and you will not be allowed to deceive the Roman Church with impunity. Now that you are powerful, you insult your Mother, arrogant while favourable winds fill your sails. But the wind will change. Do not trust in air. Those who dwell in Heaven remember good as well as bad deeds. God knows and cares about what men do. He cares for His creation and He hates iniquity. You cannot escape His hand. Just when you think that your empire stands firm, some sudden and unexpected catastrophe will occur, and it will be completely destroyed by divine justice. [Sect. 7]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The pope's meeting with the Venetian ambassador took place in May 1463, at the Apostolic Palace in Rome.¹

¹ CO (Totaro, II, p. 2630, n. 156)

Only the ambassador is known to have been present, and the format was a direct and heated reply to the ambassador's embarrassed explanation of the Cervia affair.

In his *Commentarii* the pope did not call it an oration, but simply wrote: *Cui pontifex (The pope [said] to him)*. However, two other addresses to ambassadors in private meetings in the same period (1463) were in one way or another designated as orations.

4. Text¹

The oration was not actually delivered as a formal speech, but written later up in Latin on the basis of the pope's exchange in Italian with the Venetian ambassador, for insertion into the *Commentarii*, book 11, chapter 16. It was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, of which the first version had been completed in 1462.

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*,² with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, f. 367v-368v (**S**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, f. 515v-516v (**R**)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first edition and the Corsinianus the final edition, probably with a now lost intermediate edition, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

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

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.2. Editions

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) / II, p. 688-689
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2178-2186
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 744-746

4.3 Present edition

For principles of edition and translation, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, 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 the two principal manuscripts.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

5. Sources¹

In this oration, only one direct quotation has been identified, from the Psalms.

6. Bibliography

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *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. 2019-220

7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {367v} Senatu intercedente Veneto pacem Dominico promisimus. Te vice senatus concordiae mediatorem accepimus. Inter concordiae leges illa praecipua fuit, ut moriente sine virili sobole Dominico civitates ejus, quas ab ecclesia recepisset in feudum seu vicarium, ad ecclesiam reverterentur. Laudasti hanc legem, laudaverunt et Dominici procuratores, quamvis de modo contentio esset. Interea Cerviam ab eo, qui vendere non potest, senatus emit. Obstat natura feudi, obstat confiscatio propter rebellionem, obstat lis iam mota, obstant apostolicae litterae investiturae, quae omnem alienationem prohibent, obstat ipsa honestas. Agimus de Cervia et aliis Malatestae civitatibus, quomodo ad ecclesiam redeant illo vita functo. Cum Venetis ista tractamus et dum simul cogitamus, {368r} Veneti Cerviam sibi usurpant. En bella res! En senatus honestas! En gloria reipublicae Venetae. Siccine fidem servatis? Haec vobis cura decoris?

[2] Si Jacobus Piccininus, cujus saepe vendita fides est, si major, qui reperitur in Italia, praedo latrove inter nos et Dominicum concordiae partes assumpsisset, profecto numquam hanc turpitudinem admisisset, ut oppidum aliquod, de quo contenderetur, sibi arripisset: timuisset infamiam, timuisset populi voces, timuisset proditoris nomen. At Venetos nihil horum movet. Inanimis est respublica: non verecundatur, non erubescit, non pallet, non titubat. Unam semper faciem ante se fert, eamque procacem et inverecundam. Senatus decreto, non recta ratione honestum metimini. Sanctum est, quod senatui placuit, quamvis evangelio adversetur. Abrogant divinam legem consulta senatus.

[3] "Sal clanculum Ferrariensi populo Cervia praebuit, comminuit vectigalia nostra. Consulimus indemnitati. Non fraudabimur deinceps empta Cervia." En pulchra ratio! Cum alieno detrimento vestrum quaeritis emolumentum. Par vestra est et latronum furumque causa. Ab utilitate pendetis¹. Hoc pacto, quaecumque faciant homines, approbare licebit. Quis mentis compos actionibus suis non aliquid praefert utilitatis? Et leno et meretrix emolumenta sectatur. Quantum lucraretur vestra respublica, non quantum damni Romanae inferretis ecclesiae animo pensitatis.

¹ pendetis *corr. ex deducta* R; pendentis S

1. Venice is treacherous

[1] At the intercession of the Venetian Senate We promised peace to Domenico. You yourself We accepted as mediator on behalf of the Senate. One of the terms of peace had special importance: if Domenico dies without male¹ issue, the cities he has received from the Church either as a fief or as a [papal] vicariate shall revert to the Church. You yourself approved this condition, and so did Domenico's representatives, though there has been some disagreement concerning the procedure.² In the meantime your Senate has bought Cervia from Domenico though he did not have the right to sell it. Impediments [to this sale] are the nature of feudal possession, the confiscation [of Domenico's possessions] on account of his rebellion, the conflict now ended, the apostolic letter of investiture which forbids any alienation [of territory], and finally honesty itself. We are in the middle of negotiations and consultations with Venice on how Cervia and Malatesta's other cities shall return to the Church after his death, and now the Venetians have grabbed Cervia. Behold a noble deed! Behold the Senate's integrity! Behold the glory of the Venetian Republic! Is this how you keep faith? Is this how you care for decency?

[2] If Jacopo Piccinino³ who has often sold his loyalty, or if the greatest robber or thief in Italy had accepted to mediate between Us and Domenico, he would certainly never have permitted himself the indecency of seizing a city which was under negotiation: he would have feared infamy, he would have feared the voice of the people, he would have feared the label of traitor. But the Venetians are indifferent to such things. Their republic is quite cold-blooded: it does not feel shame, it does not grow red or pale, it does not falter. It always shows the same countenance: impudent and shameless. You measure honesty by your Senate's decrees, not by just reason. That is holy which the Senate decides even though it is against the Gospel: the Senate's decrees abrogate the Law of God.

[3] "Cervia secretly furnished salt to the people of Ferrara and thereby reduced our tax incomes. We have just sought to be indemnified. Now that we have bought Cervia, we shall be cheated no more." Oh, what a fine reason! You seek your own gain at another's loss. You have joined cause with robbers and thieves and are only concerned with your own advantage. In that way whatever men do may be permitted. What sane person will not prefer to act in his own interest? Also the panderer and the harlot seek their own profit. You are only concerned about your own republic's gain, not about the loss which you inflict upon the Roman Church.

¹ and legitimate

² I.e. how it could be guaranteed that the cities in question would actually return to the Church

³ Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian *condottiero* and nobleman who had been, for some years, a dangerous adversary of the pope in the Church States

[4] Nullus avaritiae vestrae modus est, nullus ambitionis. Jure an injuria cumuletis opes, nihil interest, dum cumuletis. Neque finibus imperii propagandis fas nefasve obstat. Pulchrum est augere vires, quocumque tandem modo crescat imperium. Honestas potentiam sequitur. Deum, qui est in caelo, contemnitis. Respublica vobis pro Deo est. Hanc colitis universitatis creatore relicto.

[5] Peribit hic Deus vester, peribit. Nolite immortalem credere. Majores fuere Athenienses, quam vos estis, majores Laedaemonii, majores Carthaginenses. Funditus tamen periire, cum essent injusti. Nulla potentia umquam Romano imperio major fuit. Et hoc tamen subvertit Deus, cum esset impium, sacerdotiumque substituit, quod divinae legis curam gereret. Roma sacerdotalis facta est, et major Italiae {368v} pars beato Petro, aeternae vitæ clavigero, et successoribus ejus in patrimonium cessit. Cuncti reges et imperatores Romano pontifici tamquam Jesu Christi vicario caput inclinant et pedes ejus exosculantur.

[6] Et vos, Veneti, Romanam contemnitis ecclesiam ac¹ jura ejus et² possessiones invaditis, mandata contemnitis et censuras: et creditis aeternam fore rempublicam vestram? Non erit aeterna nec diuturna. Dissipabitur cito male collecta multitudo. Piscatorum colluvies exterminabitur. Non potest insana civitas diu stare. Tabescit res vestra. Non veniet ad senium quam morbi taeterrimi et incurabiles in adolescentia opprimunt. Patrum nostrorum memoria magna fuit opinio justitiae Venetae. Castam esse ferebant civitatem et abstinentem et religionis amantem. Nostra aetate abiit omnis religio, omnis moderatio, omnis justitiae cultus. Pro his avaritia, rapacitas, ambitio, invidia, crudelitas, libido, omnes³ malae artes introiere.

¹ et R

² ac R

³ omnesque R

2. Venice is impious

[4] Your greed and ambition have no limits. You do not care whether you amass riches lawfully or unlawfully, as long as you amass them. Neither justice nor injustice stands in the way of extending your dominions. It is fine for you to have more power if only your empire grows in any way possible. Honesty is less important than power. You scorn God in Heaven. The republic is your God: this is what you worship, having abandoned the Creator of the Universe.

3 Venice is doomed

[5] But this God of yours shall perish, perish! Do not believe it is immortal. The Athenians were greater than you, and so were the Spartans and the Carthaginians, but when they became unjust, they were completely destroyed. No power was ever greater than the Roman Empire, but God put an end to it when it became impious, and He replaced it with a priestly rule which would care for God's Law. Rome became a priestly city and a large part of Italy became the patrimony of Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, and his successors. All kings and emperors bow to the Roman Pontiff as the Vicar of Jesus Christ and kiss his feet.

[6] Yet you Venetians scorn the Roman Church, usurp its rights and invade its possessions, and defy its commands and censures: and still you believe that your republic will last forever? It will not last forever, not even for long. Your [many territories]¹ have been gathered together by wicked means and they will be dispersed quickly.² The fishermen's refuse will be destroyed. An insane city cannot stand long. Your state will waste away. It will not reach old age since it has been beset by terrible and incurable ills already in its youth. Within the memory of our fathers, the justice of Venice was highly treasured. Your city was reputed to be decent, modest, and devoted to religion. But in our time all piety has disappeared, all moderation, all regard for justice. Instead have come greed, rapacity, ambition, jealousy, cruelty, lust, and all kinds of wicked practices.

¹ "multitudo"

² The pope appears to be referring to the Venetian territories on the Italian mainland, in Greece, and in the Mediterranean

[7] Non stabitis cum hisce moribus. Ruere necesse est imperium male fundatum. Dabit poenas flagitiorum vestrorum neque impune cedet Romanae ecclesiae illuisse. Potentes modo estis et insultatis matri vestrae, superbi dum carbasa vestra secundi impellunt venti. Mutabitur flatus. Nolite aerae confidere. Incolunt caelum superi, memores fandi atque nefandi. Non negligit facta hominum Deus. Curat, quae condidit, omnemque *odit iniquitatem*. Non potestis manus ejus evadere. Cum putabitis solidius esse imperium vestrum, tunc praeter opinionem subita vos calamitas involvet delebitque funditus divina justitia.

[7] With such morals you will not last. An empire built on bad foundations must perish. You will pay the penalty for your sins and you will not be allowed to deceive the Roman Church with impunity. Now that you are powerful, you insult your Mother, arrogant while favourable winds fill your sails. But the winds will change: do not trust in air! Those who dwell in Heaven remember both good and bad deeds. God knows and cares about what men do. He cares for his creation and he *hates iniquity*.¹ You cannot escape his hand. Just when you think that your empire stands firm, some sudden and unexpected catastrophe will occur, and your empire will be completely destroyed by divine justice.

¹ Psalms, 44, 8

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 73)

Oration "*Expectatis*" of Pope Pius II (19 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

In the summer of 1463, an embassy from the Duke Philippe III of Burgundy reached Pope Pius II to present the duke's contribution to a crusade against the Turks, including a promise to participate in person if the pope did so. The offer was formally made in an oration, the "*Si ut inquit Cicero*", by the Bishop of Tournai at a meeting in Rome on 19 September with the participation of embassies from the Italian states. The pope replied with the oration "*Expectatis*" in which he praised the duke, announced the formation of a crusading army, and reaffirmed his own determination in the matter of the crusade.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Duc Philippe III le Bon de Bourgogne; Duke Philip III the Good of Burgundy; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; 1463; 15th century Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Guillaume Fillastre Jr.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In the beginning of March 1462, Pope Pius II decided to reactivate his great crusade project and submitted his ideas to a small group of cardinals in the oration "*Existimatis fortasse*."² The main point in the pope's plan was to hold the Duke of Burgundy to his vow from 1454 to go on a crusade against the Turks and recover Constantinople - on the condition of the participation of at least one other great prince in the crusade. To do this it would be necessary for the pope to participate personally in the crusade, as no other great prince worthy to be followed by the duke was interested. Burgundy's participation, however, would not be enough: also Venetian participation was necessary. Hungary's participation would be necessary, too, but this was taken for given since – as the primary frontier state – the Hungarians would be the first to be attacked by the Turks.

With the assent of the group of cardinals, Pius very soon initiated a two-pronged diplomatic campaign: one to get a firm promise of joining the crusade from the Venetians, and another to get the Duke of Burgundy and the King of France to also join the crusade. If a crusade alliance between the Apostolic See, Burgundy, Venice and Hungary – and if possible France - could be established, Pius was sure that the other Italians and Europeans would join up.

The Venetians, typically, procrastinated, but after the death of Doge Malipiero in May 1462 and the succession of Doge Cristoforo Moro Venice began to move towards war, even though the new doge Cristoforo Moro's *failure of courage when the crusade seemed almost to be in the offing soon won him the contempt and the reprobation of his contemporaries*.³ On 28 July 1463 the Venetian Senate decided to declare war against the Turks,⁴ and on 12 September 1463 Venice and Hungary signed a treaty of alliance directed against the Turks.⁵

In the meantime, a papal envoy, Bishop Roverella of Ferrara, was dispatched to France and Burgundy. King Louis XI of France summarily rejected the invitation to go on the crusade: it was all invented by the pope, he said scornfully, in order to make France forget about the War in the Kingdom of Naples where the papacy – together with Milan - supported the Spanish House of Aragon against the French House of Anjou.

¹ CO, XII, 21, 28 (Heck, pp. 751, 755-758); Fillastre, pp. 9-14, 22-27; Müller: *Kreuzzugspläne*, p. 117-119; Pastor, II, pp. 223-224; Paviot: *Ducs*, 162-176; Prietzel, pp. 285-306; Setton, II, pp. 235 ff.; Voigt, IV, 683-686; Oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64], Introduction

² Voigt, IV, p. 684; Pastor, II, p. 223

³ Setton, II, p. 236

⁴ Pastor, II, p. 222; Setton, II, p. 224

⁵ Setton, II, p. 249

Proceeding to Burgundy, the envoy met the duke and managed to get his assent to join the crusade if the pope also went, and a promise to send ambassadors to the pope to negotiate the whole matter.¹

The protracted negotiations for a truce between England and France and the key role of Burgundy in this context as well as other problems delayed the sending of the Burgundian embassy. But when the truce had been signed in the summer of 1463, the duke believed that he would finally be free to go on the crusade and dispatched the promised embassy to the pope.² Arriving in Tivoli, where the pope spent the summer, the ambassadors requested and received the pope's promise to participate in the crusade in person and thereafter formally announced their master's willingness to participate, too.³

Having succeeded in creating the basis for a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, and the Papacy,⁴ the pope now proceeded to the next stage in his strategy: getting the other Italian powers to join up.

The pope therefore summoned a conference of the Italian states, to be held in Rome in the presence of the Burgundian ambassadors in September.

The meeting was held on 19 September in the form of a public consistory. First, one of the Burgundian ambassadors, Bishop Guillaume Fillastre Jr.⁵ of Tournai, gave a formal oration to the pope, the "*Si ut inquit Cicero*". Fillastre – an old acquaintance and maybe even friend of Pius – was himself an ardent supporter of the crusade and served as one of his duke's propagandists in the crusade cause.⁶ In his speech, Fillastre presented the offers of the Duke of Burgundy, the same as those he had made at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1454 and at the Congress of Mantua in 1459: 10.000 horse and 30.000 foot and a promise to attend in person – in spring 1464 – to take part in the reconquest of Constantinople.⁷ The pope replied with an oration addressed to the whole assembly. In his *Commentarii* he wrote about the event:

¹ Paviot, p.161

² Paviot, p. 164

³ CO, XII, 21; Pastor, II, p. 223

⁴ Another success for the papal diplomacy had been the peace treaty between the emperor and Hungary of July 1463 which effectively removed a grave obstacle to war against the Turks, see Voigt, IV, p. 683. It was possibly not known in Rome on 19 September 1463 that the treaty between the emperor and Hungary had been followed up by a treaty between Hungary and Venice, signed on 12 September, see Voigt, IV, p. 684, and Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nr. 50-51

⁵ Guillaume Fillastre [Fillâtre]: (-1473). Burgundian courtier, Benedictine abbot and, in 1460, Bishop of Tournai

⁶ Fillastre, p. 9-12. Fillastre had actually – as Burgundian ambassador – heard Piccolomini give some of his crusade orations in Germany, and others he apparently knew from copies

⁷ Paviot, p. 164

After some days he summoned the Burgundian envoys to a public consistory and bade them state their wishes. Guillaume, Bishop of Tournai, a professed monk and head of the mission, delivered a long speech packed with learning in which he discoursed on the Turks, their insolence and foul practices. He described their deeds and told what great injuries they had inflicted on the Christian religion. He dwelt still more on the nobility, antiquity, and learning of the Greeks, lamented their ruin, pointed out the dangers threatening Christians if they did not speedily arm in their own defense. He urged the pope, the cardinals, and all the embassies present not to delay longer in such a crisis but to take thought for Christendom and go to meet the enemy. He said that Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who had sent him, had determined to lead a fleet against the Turks the next spring and prosecute the war with all his might in defense of holy religion. Though an old man he would not spare his own person; he would march with the army and perform the duties not only of a captain but of a soldier unless he was prevented by illness; in that event he would send a substitute. The pope on hearing this spoke as follows: [Here follows the text of the oration]. With these words he dismissed the audience while all praised to the skies Philip's name and spirit.¹

The meeting was followed by a month of negotiations between the parties, and on 19 October 1463, the pope, Venice and Burgundy entered a three year alliance against the Turks.²

2. Themes

The oration has three major themes:

- **Praise for the Duke of Burgundy in general and for his contribution to the crusade and steadfastness in this matter in particular:**

Who can praise this prince enough? No Christian needs to fear the Turks less than Philippe, and still he is the first to promise to march against them and wage war for the sake of the sacred Gospel. Oh, princely spirit! Oh, glorious soul! Oh, noble blood!³ [Sect. 2]

¹ CO, XII, 28 (Gragg, p. 809)

² Setton, II, p. 249; Prietzel, p. 293

³ Pius had previously eulogized the duke in his orations "*Tua verba*" [77] (at the end of the Diet of Regensburg 1454) and "*Conversa in nos hodie*" [58] (at the presentation of the duke's obedience in March 1459), and had complimented him profusely in his crusade orations at the German diets in Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt 1454-1455

- **Fulfilment of the pope's strategy for the mobilization of a crusade, combining a Hungarian land army and an Italian fleet, with Burgundian support:**

Maybe God will now have mercy upon us and finally grant that a powerful and successful army be gathered against the Turks. For the flourishing Republic of Venice has armed a strong fleet and sent it against the enemies. And now that King Matthias of Hungary has gained the crown and achieved peace in his kingdom and is able to gather the armies he may, this noble prince has promised to come to the war with an elite force of soldiers. The other powers of Italy will - We hope - join up and the Western kings will not refuse their help. [Sect. 5]

- **The pope's own crusading zeal and resolve:**

And now, finally, we address you, distinguished ambassadors. Today, you have comforted Us with your oration and the magnificent promise of Philippe which is indeed worthy of his line and his name. But when you urge Us to work zealously for the defense of holy religion, you spur a horse that is already running: nothing is closer to Our heart than the defense of holy religion. At the Congress of Mantua, the whole Church heard Our plans and desires, but We went unheeded. We laboured in vain, but still We are not discouraged. We firmly intend not to desist from Our purpose before We have roused the Christian princes and peoples to defend the sacred Gospel and the Law of God. Therefore We have summoned the Italian powers to Our presence now – you see their embassies here – so that We may consult with them and you on the protection of religion. If We get the aid of the faithful and especially the Italians, then Rome and all of Italy and indeed all Christendom will soon see that We have not been lacking in Our determination to work for the welfare of the Christian Republic. [Sect. 6]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was given on 19 September 1463,¹ in the Apostolic Palace – or possibly in Saint Peter’s Church² - in Rome.

It was a response to the address of the Burgundian embassy, Bishop Guillaume de Fillastre (Jr.), the “*Si ut inquit Cicero*”, given at a public consistory.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, the Burgundian embassy, embassies from the Italian powers, and members of the papal court.

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

4. Text³

This oration was not included in the official Collected Orations of Pius II, of which the first version had been completed in 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*,⁴ book 12, chapter 28.

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 406v-408r (**S**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, f. 561v-563r (**R**)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first edition and the Corsinianus the final edition, probably with a now lost intermediate edition, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

¹ CO (Totaro), II, p. 2643, n. 132; Pastor, II, p. 223. Müller, p. 117, gives the date as 8 October

² See colophon of Phillastre’s oration, Appendix

³ For the textual transmission of Pius II’s, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁴ For orations included in Pius II’s *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.2. Editions

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) / II, p. 755-758
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2394-2403
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 809-812

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11.

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 the two principal manuscripts.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: Bibliography

5. Sources¹

In this oration, four direct and indirect quotations have been identified, all from classical sources: Cicero (2), Horace, and Terence. Pius' choice of sources in this oration may be in response to the classical tenor of the Burgundian ambassador's oration – otherwise, as pope, he would predominantly, but not exclusively, use biblical sources.

6. Bibliography

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- Rede des burgundischen Gesandten und Bischofs von Tournay Wilhelm Filastre in Sachen eines Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken, gehalten zu Rom am 8. Oktober 1463 im öffentlichen Consistorium vor Papst Pius II, hrsg. von Heinrich Volbert Sauerland. In: *Römische Quartalszeitschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (1891) 352-363

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

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

Paviot, Jacques: Burgundy and the Crusade. In: *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by N. Housley. London, 2004, pp. 71-80

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A. van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. A cura di L. Totaro. Milano, 1984
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- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. I-III. Lucca, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2019-2020

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7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {406v} Expectatis¹, venerabiles fratres filiique dilectissimi, Burgundis oratoribus auditis responsum nostrum non sine desiderio, ut arbitramur, in quo dignas pro meritis amantissimo filio nostro Philippo, Burgundiae duci, laudes attribuamus et quae sunt amplissima ejus praeconia in medium afferamus. Non tam possibilia quam justa desideratis: non est ea nobis dicendi vis, quae vestrae queat expectationi satisfacere. Multa et magna de Philippo dicenda essent, quae sine vena oratoris uberrima explicari non possent. Dicendum esset de nobilissimo familiae genere, cujus originem ab Illo repetunt, de corporis et animi dotibus, de justitia, de fortitudine, de moderatione, de humanitate, {407r} de ceteris virtutibus, quae in summo viro semper summae fuerunt. Dicendum esset de rebus ab eo clarissime gestis sive pacis fuerint tempora, sive belli, cujus tot fuere victoriae quot proelia, et tamen pluries cum hoste confluit² quam alius nostri temporis quispiam cum inimico suo concertaverit. Plena est omnis terra Gallica trophaeis ab eo positis, qui etiam ultra Rhenum in Germanica gente victoriarum signa defixit. Non sunt haec, quae noster possit percurrere sermo, ne dicamus explicare: acre ingenium et *os magna sonaturum* cupiunt. Senilis et arida vena nostra tantae rei non sufficit nec Philippus ista desiderat. Vera *virtus* ejus *se ipsa contenta* verborum lenocinia non requirit. Magna et praeclara operatus est non cupiditate laudis, sed ut Deo placeret. Ab eo praemium expectat, non ab homine, qui nihil potest non mortale largiri.

¹ Ita pontificis responsum *in marg.* R

² confluit Totaro [erroneously]

1. Praise of Duke Philippe of Burgundy

[1] Reverend brethren and beloved sons, having heard the ambassadors of Burgundy, you are no doubt looking forward to Our response in which We would praise and extol our beloved son, Duke Philippe of Burgundy, according to his merits. What you expect is just, but not possible, for Our eloquence cannot live up to your expectations. Many and great things should be said about Philippe, but they require exquisite oratorical gifts. We should have to speak about his most noble family, which descends from Troy,¹ about his physical and mental endowments, his sense of justice, his fortitude, his moderation, his humanity, and his other virtues which were always the great virtues of a great man. We should have to speak about his famous deeds both in times of peace and war, and his victories which are as many as his battles, even though he fought an enemy more often than anyone else in our time. The whole country of Gaul is full of trophies placed by him, and he also put up victory monuments across the Rhine, among the Germans. Our speech cannot list them, much less tell about them. They require a bright intelligence and a *tongue of noble utterance*.² Our old and dry vein [of speaking] cannot match so noble a subject. Moreover Philippe himself does not want this. True *virtue is content with itself*³ and does not require flattering speech. Philippe has done his great and noble deeds not from desire for praise, but to please God. He looks to God for his reward, not to mortal man who can only give mortal things.

¹ On the of the French monarchy's descent from Troy through the Franks, see *Oration "Per me reges regnant"* [65], Introduction

² Horatius: *Satirae*, 1.4.44

³ Cicero: *Philippicae*, 5, 35

[2] Sed esto, non possumus Philippo quantas meretur laudes impartiri nec ipse talia requirit. An propterea legationem hanc dignissimam praeteribimus et nullo prosequemur honore? *Minime gentium*. Dicendum est aliquid ad ea, quae modo proposita sunt, nec fraudanda est suo praeconio tam insignis legatio. Quid habet legatio Philippi? Quid mandat? Quid offert? Turcorum arma nostris imminere cervicibus dicit; clades quas passa est Christiana religio et quas passura videtur in medium affert; hortatur hostibus obviam eamus priusquam amplius invalescant. Philippum, si Turco bellum indicatur, si exercitus idoneus apparetur, in hanc expeditionem venturum nec corpori suo parsurum, ut incolumitati consulat sacrae religionis. Qualia vobis ista videntur, fratres? Quis non haec maxima et summa dixerit? Quis hunc principem satis collaudare potuerit? Nulli Christianorum minus timendi sunt Turci quam Philippo, et nihilominus primus est, qui se profecturum in eos gesturumque bellum pro sacro evangelio pollicetur. O mentem principe dignam! O excellentem animum! O sanguinem nobilissimum!

1.1. Contribution to the crusade

[2] But granted that We cannot praise Philippe as he deserves and that he does not require it, shall We therefore be silent about this splendid embassy and not honour it? *Not in the world!*¹ We must say something about the proposals made and not deprive this noble embassy of the praise due to it. What has Philippe's embassy for us? What does it require? And what does it offer? The ambassadors declare that the Turkish arms are threatening our necks. It mentions the defeats which Christendom has already suffered and which it will [seemingly] have to suffer in the future². It exhorts us to go against the enemies before they grow stronger. If war is declared on the Turks and if an adequate army is raised, then Philippe will join this expedition and not spare his own person in his efforts for the protection of holy religion. What do you think of all this, brethren? Who will not say that this is of the utmost importance? Who can praise this prince enough? No Christian needs to fear the Turks less than Philippe, and still he is the first to promise to march against them and wage war for the sake of the sacred Gospel. Oh, princely spirit! Oh, glorious soul! Oh, noble blood!

¹ Terentius: *Phormio*, 1034; *Adelphoe*, 335; *Eunuchus*, 625: *minime gentium*

² I.e. unless the Christian powers mount a crusade, as proposed by the pope

[3] Longissimum iter opponitur; rigidae superandae alpes, altissima transmittenda {407v} flumina, latissima trananda maria, vasta terrarum spatia ab occidente in orientem peragrandae: cuncta superare est animus. Nullum in causa Dei recusandum fore laborem, nullum vitandum periculum censet. *Amanti omnia sunt facilia*. Princeps Deo amicus nihil tam horribile putat, quin pro Dei honore sit subeundum. Ditissimus principum, maximis aequandus regibus, cui opes et deliciae omnes affluent, cui tot latissimae provinciae, tot clarissimae urbes, tot validae gentes, tot ditissimi populi serviunt, cui praesto assunt cuncta, quae mortales maxima ducunt, relinquere splendidam domum, amatam conjugem, carissimum filium, dilectam sororem, dulces nepotes, fideles amicos, ut Deo serviat, non veretur. Accedit aetas grandior, cui quiete opus esset; hanc quoque postponit, nihil sibi antiquius est quam Deo placere. Spernit omnia propter Deum. Nec vos hanc egregiam voluntatem aut levem aut novam putetis; solida est et jam pridem firmata.

1.2. Heroism

[3] There are indeed objections: ahead is a very long journey, steep Alps to pass, deep rivers to cross, great seas to sail over, and vast territories stretching from West to East to travel through. But Philippe is bent on surmounting all [difficulties]. He believes that in God's cause no labour must be refused and no danger avoided. *Nothing is hard for a lover.*¹ The prince loves God and he thinks that nothing is so terrible that it should not be endured in God's honour. He is the richest of princes, equal of the greatest kings. He abounds in riches and pleasures. Many vast provinces, many splendid cities, many strong and wealthy peoples serve him, and he has at his disposal all the things that men treasure most. Yet he does not fear to leave his splendid home, his beloved wife, his dear son, his cherished sister, his sweet nephews, and his faithful friends in order to serve God. His great age requires peace, but that, too, he puts behind him, for nothing is more important to him than to please God. He renounces everything for the sake of God. Do not think that his excellent intention is superficial or new: no, it is firm and has been formed long time ago.²

¹ Cicero: *Orator*, 10.33: *nihil difficile amanti puto*. Cf. Otto, 74

² The duke's crusade project had indeed been formed years before, see the works of Müller and Paviot

[4] Diu hoc propositum Philippo fuit: ab eo tempore, quo Turci Constantinopolim expugnare, hoc votum vovit, nec umquam ab eo recessit. Decimum fere annum in hac voluntate perseverat. Serenissimus imperator Fridericus complures in Germania conventus celebravit, in quis de suscipiendo contra Turcos bello consuluit: in omnibus aut praesens Philippus affuit aut legatos habuit. Nos eum Ratisponae in Norico supra Danubium vidimus eadem promittentem, quae nunc a suis oratoribus audivistis. In Mantuano conventu Johannem ducem Clivensem ab eo missum vidistis nec excidere memoria - ut arbitramur - egregia ejus promissa. Jamdudum obfirmatum hoc propositum magnanimo duci fuit, ut adversus Turcos proficisceretur. Non est profectus, quoniam non affuit consensus aliorum principum, qui ad tantam expeditionem obeundam sufficeret.

1.3. Steadfastness

[4] Long has Philippe had this purpose. At the time when the Turks conquered Constantinople he made an oath and never forgot it.¹ For ten years now he has persevered in this plan. The Most Serene Emperor Friedrich² has held several diets in Germany³ in which an expedition against the Turks was discussed. Philippe was either present or represented at all these meetings. We ourselves saw him in Regensburg on the Danube, in Bavaria,⁴ promising to do what you have now heard from his ambassadors. At the Congress of Mantua,⁵ you saw Duke Johan of Cleves,⁶ sent by him, and we trust that you have not forgotten his splendid promises. The great-souled duke⁷ has remained true to the promise he made long ago to march against the Turks. That he has not done so yet, is because the other princes could not agree on undertaking so great an expedition.

¹ Constantinople fell to the Turks in May 1453, and Duke Philippe made his vow at the famous Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454

² Friedrich III of Habsburg (1415-1493): **Duke of Austria** from 1424. Elected King of Germany and **Holy Roman Emperor** in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452. Piccolomini's one-time employer

³ The diets of Regensburg (Spring 1454), Frankfurt (Autumn 1454), and Wiener Neustadt (Spring 1455). The Duke of Burgundy participated personally in the Diet of Regensburg

⁴ "Noricum"

⁵ July 1459-January 1460

⁶ Johan I (1419-1481): **Duke of Cleves** and **Count of Mark**. Nephew of Duke Philippe of Burgundy

⁷ The Duke of Burgundy

[5] Nunc fortasse miserebitur nostri Deus exercitumque jam tandem in Turcos cogi validum ac felicem donabit, quando et Venetorum florentissima respublica classem armavit potentissimam et in hostem misit, et Matthias Hungariae rex coronam et pacem {408r} in regno consecutus, quas volet, armare copias poterit, et hic nobilissimus princeps cum lectissima militum manu ad hoc bellum venturum se pollicetur. Convenient, ut speramus, et reliqui potentatus Italiae nec reges Occidentis auxilia negabunt ostendetque pius Jesus Maumeteas spurcitas sibi odiosas esse, et pro nobis pugnans ante faciem nostram conteret hostes.

[6] Sed ut ad vos tandem, insignes oratores, verba nostra convertamus: consolati estis nos hodie oratione vestra et magnifica sponsione Philippi, digna profecto suo sanguine ac suo nomine. Quod autem nos hortamini, ut ad fidei sanctae defensionem navemus operas, currentem pungitis equum: nihil tam nobis cordi est quam sacrae religionis defensio. Audivit omnis ecclesia in conventu Mantuano consilia et desideria nostra. Non fuimus exauditi. Frustra laboravimus, nec tamen propterea defatigati sumus: stat animus ab inceptis non desistere, donec Christianos principes ac populos ad defensionem sacrosancti evangelii divinaeque legis excitemus. Ob hanc causam accersivimus per hos dies ad praesentiam nostram Italiae potentatus, quorum legationes astantes cernitis, ut cum his et vobiscum de tuenda religione consulamus. Quod si non defuerint nobis auxilia fidelium et praesertim Italorum, intelliget brevi non Roma solum, sed omnis Italia et ipsa tota Christianitas curam nobis et animum Christianae reipublicae consulendi non defuisse. Pietas tantum magni Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi nobis assit et suam potius misericordiam quam nostras metiatur iniquitates.

2. Formation of the crusade army

[5] Maybe God will now have mercy upon us and finally grant that a powerful and successful army be gathered against the Turks, for the flourishing Republic of Venice has armed a strong fleet and sent it against the enemies. And now that King Matthias of Hungary¹ has gained the crown and achieved peace in his kingdom and is able to gather the armies he may, this noble prince has promised to come to the war with an elite force of soldiers. The other powers of Italy will - We hope - join up and the Western kings will not refuse their help. Now pious Jesus will show that the Muhammadan filth is hateful to him, and fighting for us he will destroy the enemies before our eyes.

3. Pope's determination in the crusade matter

[6] And now, finally, we address you, distinguished ambassadors. Today, you have comforted Us with your oration and the magnificent promise of Philippe which is indeed worthy of his line and his name. But when you urge Us to work zealously for the defense of holy religion, you spur a horse that is already running: nothing is closer to Our heart than the defense of holy religion. At the Congress of Mantua, the whole Church heard Our plans and desires, but We went unheeded. We laboured in vain, but still We are not discouraged. We firmly intend not to desist from Our purpose before We have roused the Christian princes and peoples to defend the sacred Gospel and the Law of God. Therefore, We have summoned the Italian powers to Our presence now – you see their embassies here – so that We may consult with them and you on the protection of religion. If We get the aid of the faithful and especially the Italians, then Rome and all of Italy and indeed all Christendom will soon see that We have not been lacking in determination to work for the welfare of the Christian Republic. May the grace of the Great God and Our Lord Jesus Christ be with Us and may he help Us according to his mercy and not according to our iniquities.

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

Appendix: Oration of Guillaume Fillastre (Jr.) (19 September 1463)

Pius II's oration Expectatis was given in reply to the oration "Si ut inquit Cicero" by Guillaume Fillastre (Jr.), Bishop of Tournai and ambassador of Duke Philippe III of Burgundy.

Manuscripts

For a list of manuscripts containing Fillastre's oration, see Prietzel's edition, pp. 26-27 and, concerning the five manuscripts used for that edition, p. 144.

Editions

- Rede des burgundischen Gesandten und Bischofs von Tournay Wilhelm Filastre in Sachen eines Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken, gehalten zu Rom am 8. Oktober 1463 im öffentlichen Consistorium vor Papst Pius II, hrsg. von Heinrich Volbert Sauerland. In: *Römische Quartalszeitschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (1891) 352-363 (SA)
- Fillastre, Guillaume (Jr.): *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. "Ezechielis prophete"*. Hrsg. von Malte Prietzel. Ostfeldern, 2003, pp. 144-157

For a full critical edition of the oration, with introduction and notes, readers are referred to Prietzel's edition.

Present edition

Since Prietzel's edition of Fillastre's oration may be considered as the definitive one, the present edition is a "light" edition only based on two of the manuscripts used by Prietzel¹ and on the Trier manuscript as edited by Sauerland, and it only aims at providing a decent text of the oration to which the pope replied.

¹ Collated by me from digital copies made available by the Bibliothèque Municipale in Saint-Omer / MCS

- Saint Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 374, ff. 156r-160v (pag. blue) **(S)**
- Saint Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 661, ff. 87r-91v (pag. red) **(T)**
- Trier / Trierer Seminarbibliothek / R. II, nr. 11, ff. 180r-185v¹ **(SA)**

Pagination is after T.

The notes comprise textual variants and references to sources.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see Collected orations of Pope Pius II, vol. I, ch. 9.

¹ Cf. Sauerland, p. 353

Domini Guilelmi episcopi Tornacensis, domini Philippi Burgundiae ducis oratoris, ad papam Pium et sacrum dominorum cardinalium collegium oratio feliciter incipit. 1463

1

[1] {87r} Si, ut inquit Cicero, *magnum est onus me unum in hoc dignissimo conventu hominum audientium omnibus silentibus verba proferre, cum a te² etiam fere nemo est, pater beatissime³, qui non acutius atque acrius vitia indicet⁴, quam recta⁵ videat*, non mirum, si varios eventus orationis⁶ expectans iudicium hominum pertimescam.⁷ ⁸ Nam et secundum Aristotelem *concionarum⁹ difficilius est quam iudicio contendere¹⁰*, cum in iudicio iudex sit unus. Hic autem¹¹, quot audientes video, tot expecto meae confusionis iudices. Auget et metum, quod scientia deest, eloquentiaeque non assit facultas, quibus sciam¹² et humilia¹³ subtiliter et alta graviter et mediocria temperate disserere. Scio enim juxta Cassiodorum, quod *naturale est invenire, sed facundia¹⁴ decenter asserere, estque cunctis desiderantibus loqui¹⁵, res omnes ita diserte loqui, quas et prudentes se admirantur audivisse¹⁶*. Sed esto, *linguis hominum loquar et angelorum¹⁷, si caritatem non habeam, factus sum – secundum apostolum – velut aes sonans aut¹⁸ cymbalum tinniens¹⁹*.

[2] Quia ergo, quae dicturi sumus, pater beatissime, in caritate consistunt et ex²⁰ sola caritate procedunt, meo scabioso et rudi stilo dicam cum humilitate et reverentia et²¹ in *caritate non*

¹ No title T; oratio (corr. ex proposito) episcopi Tornacensis SA

² a te omit. SA

³ nemo est pater beatissime : pater beatissime nemo sit SA

⁴ Indicit SA

⁵ omit. SA

⁶ orationum S

⁷ pertimesco S, SA

⁸ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1, 116

⁹ concionarii T

¹⁰ Aristoteles: *Rhetorica*

¹¹ hic autem omit. SA

¹² scirem SA

¹³ humilima S

¹⁴ est add. SA

¹⁵ omit. SA

¹⁶ Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 10, 6, 4

¹⁷ sed add. T

¹⁸ et T

¹⁹ 1. Corinthians, 13, 1

²⁰ omit. T

²¹ omit. S

ficta^{1 2}, in caritate, inquam, quae *patiens est* et *benigna*, quae *non aemulatur nec agit perperam*, quae *non inflatur nec*³ *est ambitiosa*, quae *non quaerit*, quae *sua sunt*,⁴ sed quae Jesu Christi, ut per eam *operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*,⁵ pro quibus ut pro re publica juxta Senecam dicere non⁶ licet, sed⁷ certe facto opus est.

[3] Audivit bina⁸ legatione⁹ tuae sanctitatis¹⁰, pater beatissime¹¹, illustrissimus princeps, tuae beatitudinis humillimus et devotissimus filius, dominus noster Burgundiae et Brabantiae dux, comes Flandriae etc. Audivit flebilem orientalis ecclesiae¹² ruinam, cujus si quid residui erat, apud Graecos habebatur¹³, quam nunc, proh dolor, cernimus inimicorum Christi nominis¹⁴, spurcissimorum Turcorum, pedibus conculcari, ut iterum impleatur scriptura prophetici planctus Jeremiae dicentis: *Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium, princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo*.¹⁵

[4] Sciunt cuncti Graecos inter primos fidem Christi suscepisse, ad quos ut ad catholicos varias suas Paulus direxit epistolas. Quis ignorat extunc plurimos fuisse pontifices sanctosque patres et doctores, qui sanctitate vitae, scientia atque¹⁶ doctrina fidei nostrae nascenti magnam firmitatem praestiterunt. Inter quos fuere et¹⁷ ille magnus pater Basilius, Johannes Chrysostomus, Athanasius¹⁸, Eusebius et alii plures satis¹⁹ noti, quos - ne taediosus sim - omitto. Nonne residui fuerunt Graeci orientalis ecclesiae? Nonne apud eos fides mansit, quando ille *magnus draco* Mahometus duas *partes stellarum cauda*²⁰ sua de caelo traxit? Dum Asiam et Africam veneno suae legis infecit, ipsi nedum fidem servaverunt²¹, {87v} sed extunc²² se *murum*²³ posuerunt *pro*

¹ in caritate non ficta *omit.* SA

² 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

³ non SA

⁴ 1. Corinthians, 13, 4-5. This passage is also quoted Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 16, 19

⁵ Galatians, 6, 10

⁶ *omit.* S

⁷ *omit.* SA

⁸ bona SA

⁹ legationis SA

¹⁰ tuae sanctitatis : o SA

¹¹ sanctissime T

¹² orientalis ecclesiae : ecclesie orientalis S

¹³ habebitur T

¹⁴ nomine T

¹⁵ *Lamentations*, 1, 1

¹⁶ ac SA

¹⁷ ut T

¹⁸ Anastasius SA

¹⁹ *omit.* S

²⁰ Apocalypse, 12, 3-4

²¹ servarunt T, SA

²² extima T

²³ *omit.* T

*domo Israel*¹. Heu, heu, pater sanctissime², unde tam dignis tanta infelicitatis et miseriae jactura, ut, qui splendor et lux mundi quondam fuerunt, quasi opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis ab hostibus habeantur?

[5] Dignos quidem eos dico, quorum certe etiam post³ fidem catholicam fama carminibus poetarum illustrissima celebratur, qui licet⁴ secundum quosdam sub⁵ figmentis et fabulose⁶ plurima laude et admiratione digna de⁷ Graecia⁸ scripserint⁹, vetat tamen Lactantius illa falsa judicari¹⁰, nam – ut inquit libro Institutionum – si finxissent, vani fuissent: fatetur tamen, quod *rebus gestis bene quendam addiderunt colorem*¹¹.

[6] Graecis est testis Valerius Maximus, quod ceteris olim gentibus praestiterunt tum peritia litterarum, quarum fuerunt inventores, tum scientia rei militaris terrestris maritimaeque¹². Testatur et de eis^{13 14} Cicero dicens, quod ab ipsis humanitatem accepimus.¹⁵ Et idem in libro *De oratore* Athenas bonarum artium inventricem appellat.¹⁶ Priscianus quoque Grammaticus Graecos fontibus, Latinos vero rivulis comparat.¹⁷ Item¹⁸ et Justinianus imperator, qui fatetur jus Romanum a Graecis ortum habuisse.¹⁹ Similiter et Gratianus in principio decreti nomina translatorum²⁰ librorum Solonis²¹ et expositorum legum XII tabularum commemorans.^{22 23} Quid

¹ Ezekiel, 13, 5

² beatissime SA

³ praeter T, SA

⁴ celebratur qui licet : esse solebat quibus SA

⁵ omit. T

⁶ de add. T

⁷ omit. T

⁸ Graecis SA

⁹ em.; scripserit S; subscripsit T; scripserant SA

¹⁰ judicare T

¹¹ Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 1, 2, 19

¹² Marcus Cicero quoque SA

¹³ his SA

¹⁴ hiis T

¹⁵ Cicero: *Pro L. Valerio Flacco*, 62

¹⁶ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.4.13

¹⁷ Priscianus: *Institutiones grammaticae*, Introduction

¹⁸ idem T

¹⁹ Corpus juris civili, D. 1.2.4

²⁰ nomina translatorum : de translationibus SA

²¹ Psalamonis SA

²² mentionem facit SA

²³ Decretum Gratiani, D. 7.1-2

plura dicam, nisi quod¹ Horatius de eis² inquit: *Grais ingenuum, Grais dedit ore rotundo musa loqui.*³

[7] Peribit gens ista, pater sanctissime⁴? Peribit et urbs illa inclyta Bizantina⁵, a Pausania rege Spartarum⁶ condita, a Constantino, catholico Caesare, aucta et ab eo Constantinopolis dicta factaque Christiani imperii sedes et totius orientis caput. Erubescant Christiani, quod ipsa⁷ fieri debeat clipeus Mahumetissae legis, que religionis Christianae murus esse solebat. Sed peribit fides catholica? Peribit lex evangelica⁸? Peribit⁹ et ecclesia, mater nostra, quam¹⁰ dominus et salvator noster Jesus Christus gloriosissima sua morte plantavit¹¹, quam pretiosus apostolorum et martyrum sanguis rigavit, quam florere facit sacrarum virginum candida virginitas, quam fructu bonorum operum gloriosus confessorum chorus fecundat.¹²

[8] Hoc ne fiat et ne tolleretur et ne gaudeat *impius*¹³ hostis *in*¹⁴ *iniquitate* sua¹⁵ ¹⁶, quantas adhibuerit catholicus princeps noster¹⁷ diligentias, tua sanctitas novit, pater sanctissime¹⁸. Taceo sollemnes ambasias suas ad catholicos reges et principes orbis.¹⁹ Taceo, quid²⁰ Ratisponae²¹ {88r} de finibus terrae veniens personaliter obtulerit. Taceo suas devotas et spirituales²² sollicitationes ad sanctae memoriae Nicolaum et²³ Calixtum summos pontifices, praedecessores tuos, ad imperialem majestatem²⁴, ad illustres principes electores imperii sacri, quas singulariter

¹ forte S

² his SA

³ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 323-324

⁴ beatisime SA

⁵ Bisancium SA

⁶ Persarum S; Spartanorum SA

⁷ ista SA

⁸ an *add.* S

⁹ perit S

¹⁰ et *add.* S

¹¹ quam ... plantavit *omit.* T

¹² gaudeat ipsius hostis iniquitate sua *add.* S

¹³ ipsius SA

¹⁴ *omit.* SA

¹⁵ gaudeat ... sua : ne pereat S

¹⁶ Ezekiel, 33, 8

¹⁷ catholicus princeps noster : princeps noster catholicus S

¹⁸ beatissime S, SA

¹⁹ Among them to the emperor in 1451. On behalf of the emperor, Piccolomini responded to the Burgundian ambassadors' oration with the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17]

²⁰ quod SA

²¹ Ratisponere T

²² speciales SA

²³ ad *add.* S

²⁴ ad imperialem majestatem *omit.* SA

noscit tua beatitudo. Solum hic¹ rememorandum² decernimus³, quid in Francfordia conclusum extiterit⁴.

[9] In illa nempe⁵ Francfordiensi dieta, in qua tu, beatissime pater, adhuc in minoribus⁶ existens, ut legatus imperialis majestatis⁷ praesidebas, tua tam devotissima et suavissima oratione illustrissimos Germaniae principes, quos juvenes et robustos cernebas, arguebas, si domi manerent, cum princeps noster jam senex in Asiam se iturum offerebat.⁸ Nec vana fuit tua talis exhortatio. Nam Hungaris auxilia petentibus 30.000 peditum et⁹ equitum 10.000 illustris illa Germaniae¹⁰ natio instaurare decrevit, 6.000 ex his¹¹ in partem principis nostri distributis, quae portio licet quibusdam satis gravis videretur in respectu ad alios illius nationis principes et totius imperii¹² subditos, attentata¹³ etiam distantia terrarum dominiorumque¹⁴ principis nostri usque ad hostem. Talis tamen fuit fervor suae mentis ad hujus sanctae rei complementum, quod *jugum* illud suave sibi et *onus leve*¹⁵ judicavit annuitque liberalissime.

[10] Visa est demum et in Mantuano concilio¹⁶ istius catholici principis pura et sincera intentio, quam publice per illustrem nepotem et tunc oratorem suum, dominum ducem Clivensem, palam declarari fecit¹⁷, cujus¹⁸ rei et memores et testes esse possunt et¹⁹ tua sanctitas et hoc sacrum reverendissimorum²⁰ dominorum cardinalium collegium.

[11] Quid post haec contigit, tua beatitudo videt, pater beatissime. Zizania ita crevit inter praefatos²¹ Germaniae principes, ut suffocaret triticum,²² ne sacrificium offerre²³ possent Deo *in*

¹ -que SA

² rememorandam SA

³ decrevimus S

⁴ extiterat T, SA

⁵ namque T

⁶ adhuc in minoribus : in minoribus adhuc S

⁷ imperialis majestatis : maiestatis imperialis S

⁸ Fillastre refers to Piccolomini's oration "*Constantinopolitana clades*" [22], delivered at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1454

⁹ omit. SA

¹⁰ Germanica S

¹¹ ex his omit. SA

¹² in add. SA

¹³ omit. SA

¹⁴ dominorumque SA

¹⁵ Matthew, 11, 30

¹⁶ consilio S, TA

¹⁷ declarari fecit : fecit declarari SA

¹⁸ cui SA

¹⁹ omit. T

²⁰ reverendorum S; Romanorum SA

²¹ omit. S

²² Cf. Matthew, 13, 25-26

²³ efferre SA

azymis sinceritatis et veritatis,¹ ut decreverant². Nam tanto guerrarum furore³ se mutuo conquassarunt⁴, ut nec rem coeptam⁵ complere potuerint nec sciamus, quid pro futuro sperandum.

[12] Temptavit nihilominus piissimus princeps noster per oratores suos sollemnes et gravissimis sumptibus suis omnia, quae excogitare potuit, media pacis, ut pacatis⁶ animis posset cum eis libere domino *Deo reddere vota sua*.⁷ Sed, heu⁸, nec⁹ profuit nec exauditus est. Hoc fecit inimicus homo, seminator zizaniae, *serpens ille antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus et sathanas, qui subvertit universum orbem*,¹⁰ ut in apocalypsi scribitur. Sic anxius sedens tuae sanctitatis¹¹ devotissimus filius, dominus dux noster, cognoscens potentiam suam¹² exiguum esse ad¹³ debellandum {88v} hostem piasque suas¹⁴ sollicitationes incassum iri, quasi desperatus de re ipsa, ut Deus dereliquisset eam aut forsitan offensa divina majestas vindictam quaerat¹⁵ de peccatis nostris, gemensque in corde suo cum propheta dicebat: “*Domine, etsi*^{16 17} *iratus fueris, etiam*¹⁸ *misericordiae recordaberis.*”¹⁹

[13] Et ecce velut angeli Dei duo successive apostolatus tui nuntii, qui sanctam mentem tuam et gloriosum propositum tuum sibi amplissime detexerunt. Asseruerunt enim tuam beatitudinem principum et potentatum²⁰ hujus inclytae nationis Italicae fretam auxilio velle exercitum procurare potentem, quo possis²¹ hostis rabidi compescere furorem suaeque ambitioni frenare, possisque, pater sancte²², dispersos et vagos Christicolos aggregare et reunire tuo gregi, consolari desolatos, profugos quoque et exules ad proprias aedes²³ reducere. O quae potest

¹ 1. Corinthians, 5, 8

² decreverunt S

³ guerrarum furore : furore guerrarum S

⁴ concussarunt SA

⁵ aptam SA

⁶ pietatis SA

⁷ Cf. Psalms, 115, 14, 18

⁸ sed heu : nec heus S

⁹ non SA

¹⁰ Apocalypse, 12, 9

¹¹ sanctitati T

¹² potentiam suam : suam potentiam S

¹³ a S

¹⁴ omit. S, T

¹⁵ vindictam quaerat : quaerat vindictam S

¹⁶ si SA

¹⁷ domine etsi : etsi domine S

¹⁸ item nunc SA

¹⁹ Habakuk, 3, 2

²⁰ potestatum SA

²¹ posses SA

²² dare add. T

²³ ad proprias aedes omit. S

tanta existere¹ ubertas ingenii , quae tanta dicendi copia, quod tam divinum ac² incredibile genus orationis, quo quis possit, pater sanctissime, hanc tuam sanctam mentem dignis extollere laudibus? Magnificant cuncti, quod tua sanctitas, urbe relicta et quiete tua, corpori seni et jam variis aegritudinibus lasso non parcens, se pro hac re Mantuam transtulerit. Sed certe³ *glorificabunt nomen*⁴ tuum sanctum⁵, dum hanc perseverantiam intelligent et tuae sanctae mentis videbunt effectum.

[14] Dum autem haec audivit tuus⁶ athleta et devotissimus filius, dominus⁷ dux noster, tunc tali morbo⁸ pressus, quod quasi usu membrorum careret, *revixit spiritus ejus* et velut senex *Jacob* tamquam *de gravi somno evigilans ait: "Sufficit mihi, vadam et videbo eum."*⁹ Vidisses, pater sanctissime¹⁰, pro maestitia laetitiam et pro tristitia jucunditatem. Vidisses hominem semivivum subito resurgere. Audisses eum suis fidelibus et caris legationem sibi factam cum tanta hilaritate recensere¹¹, ut neque morbi neque tristitiae vestigium appareret. Et cum ob hoc spes redeat, nos, tuae beatitudinis humillimos et devotissimos servulos, hunc scilicet spectabilem et¹² magnificum strenuumque baronem ac¹³ hos duos generosos strenuosque milites et me, servum tuum¹⁴, ad pedes tuae sanctitatis venire jussit, scituros de hac re et ejus effectu¹⁵, quantum clementissima benignitas tua declarare dignabitur, dicturos etiam, quae sit in ea re ipsius catholici principis nostri mens et finalis intentio.

[15] Ut igitur nos paucis absolvamus, cognoscit iste¹⁶ catholicus princeps noster immensa divinae largitatis sibi collata beneficia non solum amplitudine {89r} principatum, pace et tranquillitate suorum dominorum¹⁷, amore sincerrimo et benevolentia suorum subditorum, sed et¹⁸ maxime de tam gravis tamquam desperati morbi sibi reddita sanitate, non quidem hominum {158v}

¹ omit. S

² omit. T, SA

³ omit. S

⁴ Psalms, 85, 9

⁵ nomen tuum sanctum : nomen sanctum nomen tuum S

⁶ omit. T

⁷ omit. S

⁸ uno SA

⁹ Genesis, 45, 26-28

¹⁰ beatissime SA

¹¹ recenseri T, SA

¹² omit. S

¹³ omit. S

¹⁴ servum tuum : facturam tuam S, T

¹⁵ affectu S

¹⁶ ipse SA

¹⁷ dominorum SA

¹⁸ omit. SA

ingenio, non¹ arte medicinae, non beneficio naturae, sed sola divina benignitate, quae eum tamquam de morte reduxit² ad vitam. Et cum non habeat, *quid*³ retribuatur⁴ domino pro omnibus, quae retribuit sibi⁵ ⁶, si tua sanctitas in suo sancto proposito persistit⁷ et haec inclita Italica⁸ ⁹ natio, et instauret¹⁰ exercitus¹¹, prout honor fidei et necessitas rei exposcunt, concurret iste catholicus princeps noster seque ad defensionem fidei nostrae et in servitio Christi¹² dedicabit, et hoc verno proximo tempore se disponet et ordinabit juxta ea, quae per tuam sanctitatem cum principibus et potestatibus hujus nationis inclitae¹³ aut eorum oratoribus¹⁴ una nobiscum, qui mandato plenissimo fulti sumus, conclusum atque decretum fuerit. Et si – quod avertat Deus, cujus res agitur – contingeret ipsum dominum nostrum¹⁵ infirmitate aut impotentia corporali esse taliter occupatum¹⁶, quod nullo modo posset¹⁷ personaliter concurrere, quod sibi ad mortalem displicentiam esset, ipse eo casu mittet copias suas non minores illis sibi alias distributis, sed potius ampliores, si Deus facultates contulerit. Quas utinam secundum desiderium, quod huic sanctae rei gerit, augeat altissimus¹⁸.

[16] Restat ergo solum, ut armati clipeo fidei et spe salutis aggrediamur inimicum. Nos justam causam fovemus justumque bellum gerimus, ut si catholici auctori pacis pacifice famulentur¹⁹. Justum bellum est, quo pax quaeritur. Nam secundum Aristotelem in *Ethicis bellamus, ut pacem ducamus*.²⁰ Quem sequitur Cicero dicens: “Bellum ita suscipitur²¹, ut²² nihil²³ aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.”²⁴ Nullaque justior causa belligerendi²⁵ est quam servitutis depulsio, pro qua

¹ nec SA

² reducit SA

³ quod SA

⁴ tribuat SA

⁵ soli S

⁶ Psalms, 114, 12

⁷ persistit T

⁸ omit. SA

⁹ inclita Italica : Ytalia inclita S

¹⁰ instaurent SA

¹¹ exercitum SA

¹² Dei S, SA

¹³ nationis inclitae : inclite nationis SA

¹⁴ oratores T; oracionibus SA

¹⁵ contingeret ... nostrum : ipse dominus noster SA

¹⁶ occupatus SA

¹⁷ possit T

¹⁸ amen add. S

¹⁹ famulantur T; famulemur SA

²⁰ Aristoteles: *Ethica Nicomachea*, 10,8

²¹ suscipimus T

²² vel S

²³ nil S, SA

²⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1-23.80

²⁵ causa belligerendi : belligerendi causa S

certe vitae¹ periculo decertandum. Non eadem causa hostibus est, qui servitatem nostram quaerunt, qui injuste justos opprimunt, qui *loquuntur iniquitatem*,² *mala autem in cordibus*³ eorum. Ideo juxta Cassiodorum *utile est ad arma concurrere, quia locum apud adversarium justitia non potest invenire*.⁴

[17] Sed aliae iterum sunt nobis⁵ causae belli gerendi, pater sanctissime⁶, ut opem scilicet et auxilium feramus oppressis fratribus nostris⁷, qui tam infelici miseria premuntur, si beneficiorum memores, si grati, si humani esse volumus. Hoc etiam congruit maxime⁸ ⁹ dignitati tuae, qui Christianae monarchiae praesides *secundum ordinem Melchisedech*,¹⁰ ut rex scilicet et sacerdos. *“Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lapsis,”*¹¹ inquit¹² Ovidius. *Decet* etiam, juxta Cassiodorum, *regalis apicis dignitatem curam generalitatis* {89v} habere.¹³ Hoc testatur¹⁴ canon noster *regis officium esse liberareque*¹⁵ ab impiis *vi oppressos*.¹⁶ Censuit idem¹⁷ lex civilis dicens, quod *“congruit bono et potenti praesidi, ut pacata et quieta sit provincia, quam regit”*¹⁸. Et *“bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis”*¹⁹, ut ait evangelista.

[18] Praeter haec sunt et aliae causae belli, quae non solum tuam sanctitatem²⁰ et hunc dignissimum coetum, sed²¹ et hanc inclytam nationem, immo et universum Christianum orbem movere debent, pietas scilicet et²² religio. Ut beati Jeronimi verbis utar, pater piissime²³: *“Horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas prosequi.”* *Decem anni et eo amplius sunt, quod*²⁴ *inter*

¹ certe vitae : vite certe S

² Cf. Psalms, 30, 19

³ Psalms, 27, 3

⁴ Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 3.1.2

⁵ sunt nobis : nobis sunt S, SA

⁶ beatissime SA

⁷ oppressis ... nostris : fratrius nostris oppressis SA

⁸ omit. SA

⁹ congruit maxime : maxime congruit S

¹⁰ Psalms, 109, 4

¹¹ Ovidius: *Ex Ponto*, 2, 9, 11

¹² omit. SA

¹³ Cf. Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 1.23.1

¹⁴ et *add.* S, SA

¹⁵ liberare quoque SA

¹⁶ Decretum Gratiani, C.23.5.23 (809)

¹⁷ enim SA

¹⁸ Corpus juris civilis, D.1.18.13

¹⁹ John, 10, 11

²⁰ omit. SA

²¹ omit. S

²² atque S, SA

²³ beatissime SA

²⁴ omit. S

Constantinopolim et Hungariam Slavoniam quotidie Christianus¹ sanguis effunditur, ibique immanissimi hostes, Christiani nominis inimici, vastant, trahunt, rapiunt. Quot matronae, quot viduae, quot virgines Christi et ingenua nobiliaque corpora his beluis fuere ludibrio, capti episcopi², tracti³ aliorum captivorum greges, interfecti presbyteri et diversorum officia clericorum, subversae ecclesiae et ad altaria Dei stabulati equi⁴, martyrum aliorumque sanctorum suffossae⁵ reliquiae⁶ 7!

[19] Sed et, proh dolor, novissime et hoc anno menseque⁸ Majo regnum Bosniae, quod⁹ nobis residui¹⁰ erat, surripuerunt hostes, rege proceribusque regni crudeliter et proditorie jugulatis ac incluta regina cum familia tota¹¹, heu¹² tradita praedae, ita ut cum Jeronimo dicere cogor: *“Ubique luctus, ubique gemitus et plurima mortis imago.”*¹³

[20] Christianus orbis ruit¹⁴, et tamen cervix nostra¹⁵ erecta ad pietatem non flectitur! Quid putas, pater beatissime, nunc¹⁶ animi¹⁷ habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios¹⁸, Archades¹⁹ cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant²⁰ barbari²¹? Haec nempe regna magna fuere, ubi Christus colebatur, quae dietim expectant damnatae legi Mahumeticae supponi. Felix, qui haec²² non videt! Felix, qui non²³ audit! Nos miseri, qui hoc toleramus et patientes fratres nostros²⁴

¹ Christianis S

² omit. SA

³ capti S

⁴ stabulati equi : equi stabulati SA

⁵ suffocate T

⁶ requie S

⁷ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 16. Here, Fillastre applies Jerome's description of Barbarian (not Turkish, evidently) incursions into the Roman Empire in the 4th century to the Turkish attacks on Constantinople and Europe in the 15th

⁸ mense S; mense quasi SA

⁹ quidem S

¹⁰ residuum S, SA

¹¹ sua SA

¹² heus S

¹³ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 16

¹⁴ pavit SA

¹⁵ omit. SA

¹⁶ curam SA

¹⁷ anime SA

¹⁸ omit. SA

¹⁹ Archados SA

²⁰ imperitant SA

²¹ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 16

²² omit. T

²³ omit. SA

²⁴ patientes fratres nostros : fratres nostros patientes S; et fratribus nostris afflictis pii misericordes SA

tanta¹ percipimus² et tamen vivere volumus,³ cum dixerint⁴ patres nostri, zelatores Dei et legis: "Melius est nobis mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis nostrae et sanctorum." ⁵

[21] Si secundum Ciceronem *pietas est, per quam propinquis patriae benevolum officium et diligens tribuatur cultus,*⁶ si secundum apostolum *pietas ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vitae, quae nunc et futurae,*⁷ quare non miserebimur fratribus nostris afflictis, et ut mereamur, et⁸ maneat incolumis res publica Christiana? Nam - ut⁹ inquit Cassiodorus in epistolis: *"Pietas siquidem totum custodit imperium, et dum singulis vicissitudo digna redditur, incolumia rei publicae membra servantur."*¹⁰ Ut ergo misericordiam consequamur, simus misericordes¹¹ et pii fratribus nostris afflictis¹², sicut¹³ et pater noster caelestis misericors est.

[22] Post haec movere debet nos¹⁴ Christiana religio seu¹⁵ amor Deo debitus. Ait enim sapiens: {90r} *"Dilige eum¹⁶, qui te fecit."*¹⁷ Non solum¹⁸ nos fecit, sed refecit, dum nos redemit, et nos perficiet in gloria. Unde beatus Bernardus ait: *"De omnibus, quae sub caelo sunt, dixit¹⁹, et facta sunt. Sed numquid²⁰ solo verbo factum est, cum te, quem²¹ fecerat, refecit²²? Triginta tribus anni super terram visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est. In factis habuit calumniatores,"*²³ in verbis²⁴ contradictores. Pro te reficiendo egit mira, sustinuit dura, nec²⁵ solum dura, sed etiam indigna, ludibria, opprobria, flagella, sputa et hujusmodi²⁶ et, quod plus est omnibus, mortem

¹ omit. S; pati SA

² percipimus SA

³ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 17

⁴ dixerunt SA

⁵ 1. Machabees, 3, 59

⁶ Cicero: *De inventione*, 2.53.161

⁷ 1. Timothy, 4, 8

⁸ omit. SA

⁹ omit. S; A

¹⁰ Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 12.13.1

¹¹ Cf. Matthew, 5, 7

¹² simus misericordes ... afflictis : fratribus nostris afflicti pii simus et misericordes S

¹³ ut SA

¹⁴ movere debet nos : movere nos debet S; nos debet movere SA

¹⁵ et S

¹⁶ diligere eum : dilige S

¹⁷ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 32

¹⁸ autem add. S

¹⁹ dicit S

²⁰ nunquam SA

²¹ omit. SA

²² te add. SA

²³ Bernard of Clairvaux: *Sermones per annum*, 2: Feria IV hebdomadae sanctae

²⁴ dictis S

²⁵ et non SA

²⁶ hujus S

crucis. Quid pro Dei amore et cultu religionis fecerint¹ patres nostri², sacra testatur pagina: David, qui cultum Dei ordinavit ampliavitque³; Salomon, qui templum mirae pulchritudinis aedificavit; Joas, qui ejusdem⁴ templi ruinas restauravit; Ezechias, Josias, Mathathias⁵, qui vitae suae non parcentes templum Dei a gentibus profanatum mundaverunt. Et si aliorum regum et regnorum inspiciantur⁶ historiae⁷ et gentilium revolvantur annales, inveniemus⁸ subritos esse principatus regnaque translata, quia, cum essent regnorum ministri⁹, non est ab eis Deo et religioni exhibita debita¹⁰ reverentia. Nos ergo Dei amor indicat¹¹ et exempla patrum, ne sanguis fratrum nostrorum requiratur¹² a nobis.^{13 14}

[23] Moveat nos denique religiosa caritas, qua¹⁵ nostrum proximum¹⁶ diligere debemus. Scriptum est enim: *“Diliges dominum deum tuum”* etc., et sequitur: *“Et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.”*¹⁷ Et in Exodo scribitur: *“Pauperis misereberis.”*¹⁸ Et Salomon in *Proverbiis* dicit: *“Universa delicta operit caritas.”*¹⁹ Et si qua reverentia verbis Ciceronis est, audiamus, quid quondam lumine fidei accensus dicat: *“Homines,”* inquit, *“ad deos nulla re²⁰ propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.”*²¹ Praecipit hoc et lex evangelica. *“Omnia,”* inquit Lucas, *“quaecumque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, et vos illis facite similiter.”*²² Et Johannes evangelista²³: *“Qui habuerit substantiam²⁴ hujus mundi et viderit²⁵ fratrem suum necessitatem habere²⁶ et clausit viscera*

¹ fecerunt S, SA

² sicut *add.* S

³ atque ampliavit S

⁴ rei *add.* S

⁵ Malachias S

⁶ aspiciantur S, SA

⁷ annales S

⁸ revolvantur ... inveniemus *omit.* S

⁹ regnorum ministri : ministri regnorum S

¹⁰ exhibita debita : debita exhibita SA

¹¹ inducat SA

¹² exigatur SA

¹³ Ezechiel, 33, 6. This verse is also used as the starting point of Pius II's famous bull *Ezechielis prophetae*, which was written in the weeks following the meeting where Fillastre gave his oration. On this point Pius may have been inspired by Fillastre

¹⁴ quod verendum est *add.* S

¹⁵ quia S

¹⁶ nostrum proximum : proximum nostrum S

¹⁷ Luke, 10, 27

¹⁸ Exodus, 23, 3 (NB: with the opposite meaning)

¹⁹ Proverbs, 10, 12

²⁰ *omit.* SA

²¹ Cicero: *Pro Q. Ligario*, 38

²² Luke, 6, 31

²³ omnia inquit ... evangelista *omit.* S

²⁴ superbiam SA

²⁵ videret S

²⁶ habentem S

sua ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in eo?” Et sequitur: “Filioli, non diligamus verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate.”¹ Non dicamus – ut ait Salomon in Parabolis amico nostro: “Vade et revertere, et cras dabo tibi, cum statim dare”² possumus³. Item⁴ – ut ait Paulus ad Timotheum: “Si quis suorum et maxime domesticorum, ut nobis sunt Christiani, curam non habet, fidem negaverit et est infideli deterior.”⁵

[24] Sed esto, refrigescat, immo sit extincta caritas multorum, non sit fides, non sit religio: alia causa certe adhuc est, quae nos urgebit, videlicet recuperare Constantinopolim et eam eripere de manu infidelium, si nostris rebus, si huic Italicae provinciae, cujus jam *paries ardet*,⁶ si etiam totius⁷ Europae saluti consulere volumus. Nonne urbs illa in faucibus Hellesponti sita inter Asiam et {90v} Europam⁸ media aptissimaque maritimae⁹ et terrestri expeditioni clavis quaedam est¹⁰ Europae? Ejus certe commoditatem prospiciens, prudentissimus ille Constantinus sedem imperii ibidem non in vanum constituit. Nam cum antiquum odium inter Asianos et Europae populos semper fuerit, ut ex Graecis et Latinis historiis videtur¹¹, necessaria fuit Europae clavis illa, quod nobis nunc experientia manifeste demonstrat. Nam quamvis plerique ex Europa in Asiam triumphaverunt¹², ut Graeci in Troja, Alexander in oriente, Romani similiter et post haec Gallici sub duce Godefrido et post eum plures¹³ alii, nusquam tamen visi sunt usque modo Asiani in Europa triumphare¹⁴. Quod¹⁵ si quaeratur: “Unde hoc?”, ridiculosa est¹⁶ quaestio! Quis facile non ingreditur cameram vel arcam, qui claves habet? Ita jam¹⁷ postquam clavem habent Asiani, hostes in nos ingressi sunt, pater sanctissime¹⁸, ut in confusionem et opprobrium Christiani nominis decem regna - ut ajunt – ubi Christus colebatur, a decennio citra suae ditioni subegerunt, quae dicuntur ultra mille millia¹⁹ terrae in longitudine continere.²⁰

¹ 1. John, 3, 17-18

² Proverbs, 3, 28

³ possumus S

⁴ nam S

⁵ 1. Timothy, 5, 8

⁶ Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1.18.84

⁷ Azie et *add.* S

⁸ Europem T

⁹ maritimeque T

¹⁰ quaedam est : est quedam S

¹¹ videre licet S

¹² triumphaverint SA

¹³ quamplures S

¹⁴ triumphasse SA

¹⁵ de quo SA

¹⁶ haec SA

¹⁷ *omit.* SA

¹⁸ beatissime SA

¹⁹ milliarum S

²⁰ *omit.* SA

[25] *Accingere ergo gladio tuo super femur tuum,¹ potentissime²!* Ad te enim spectat hoc negotium, et nos tecum sumus, nec est³ formidanda hostis nostri potentia. Si gentem innumerabilem ducat⁴, inermes sunt; tu armatos habes. Vecordes sunt et timidi, tui vero audaces, animosi et strenui milites. Nec arguit, quod hos vicit⁵, quos hucusque aggressus est. Facile vincere potest, cum sibi non resistitur. *“Non nos frangat ista res,”* dicit Joab⁶, *“varius enim⁷ est eventus belli, et nunc huc, nunc illuc gladius consumit.”⁸* *Ne paveas repentino terrore et irruentes tibi potentias impiorum, dominus enim erit in latere tuo et custodiet pedem tuum, ne capiaris^{9,10}* ut in *Parabolis* scribitur.

[26] *“Infelices nimis sumus, si tantum Deo displicemus, ut per rabiem barbarorum illius in nos ira desaeviat,”¹¹* inquit Jeronimus in epistolis. Si sic est, quod absit, sacerdotis utere officio, cum arma clericorum lachrimae sint et orationes¹². Poenitentiam indice¹³, orationes¹⁴ funde: Deus offensus placabitur! *Ezechias egit poenitentiam, et centum octoginta¹⁵ quinque millia Assyriorum uno angelo, una nocte deleta sunt. Josaphat laudes domino¹⁶ concinnabat, et dominus pro laudante superabat. Moyses contra Amalech non gladio, sed oratione pugnavit.¹⁷* Pugnabit certe et dominus pro nobis, qui contra Sennacherib misit angelum suum. Favebit nobis, qui favit Mathathiae¹⁸, zelatori Dei et legis. Assistet, qui astitit Josue, qui Machabaeis¹⁹, qui Gedeoni²⁰, qui David contra Goliath, exaudietque preces nostras, qui Moysi oranti dedit victoriam, ponetque dominus hostem sicut *rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti*, quia dicit²¹: *“Haereditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei.”²²* Et juxta Ovidium patietur²³ *telis vulnera facta²⁴* suis. *Delebit*

¹ Psalms, 44, 4

² omit. T

³ omit. T

⁴ inducit SA

⁵ vicerit SA

⁶ Joel quia S

⁷ omit. S

⁸ 2. Samuel, 11, 25

⁹ capiat SA

¹⁰ Proverbs, 3, 25-26

¹¹ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 17

¹² et orationes omit. SA

¹³ indicas SA

¹⁴ orationem SA

¹⁵ octuaginta S

¹⁶ laudes domino : domino laudes S

¹⁷ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 17

¹⁸ Malathie S; monarchiae SA

¹⁹ qui Machabeis omit. SA

²⁰ Gedeon S

²¹ dixit T

²² Psalms, 82, 13-14

²³ patuere SA

²⁴ Ovidius: *Heroides*, 2.48

quoque eum dominus *sicut deletae sunt tabulae, vertet et ducet crebrius stilum super faciem ejus*¹ – ut libro regum scribitur - *illuoresque ipse deludet*² *et mansuetis* {91r} *dabit gratiam*.^{3 4}

[27] Fortiter ergo agamus nec timeamus! In hoc quippe bello periculum nobis esse non potest. Si vincamus, cuncta cum gloria, cum triumpho nobis patebunt. Si succumbamus, quod existimare nefas est, procul dubio juxta apostolum aureola martyrii coronabimur, cum in hoc agone legitime certaverimus,⁵ quam nobis concedat Christus, filius virginis⁶. Amen⁷.

¹ 2. Kings, 21, 13

² illudet SA

³ gloriam T

⁴ Proverbs, 3, 34

⁵ Cf. 2. Timothy, 2, 5

⁶ quam nobis ... virginis *omit.* T, SA

⁷ Ad sanctissimum et divinitatis instinctu omnium patrem Pium papam II. Guillelmi episcopi Tornacensis pro Christianorum expeditione in Thurcas elegans oratio explicit. Dicta Rome apud sanctum Petrum in consistorio publico a prefato Guillemo nobilissimi ducis Burgondie ambasciatore. Anno domini 1463 8a die Octobris SA

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 74)

Oration "*Si essemus ipsi*" of Pope Pius II (22 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

In Summer 1463, an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy came to the pope to announce the duke's promise of an important contingent of soldiers and of his personal participation in the crusade against the Turks. In a public consistory on 19 September, to which the pope had summoned the Italian envoys, the Burgundian embassy made a public announcement of Burgundy's participation. The following day, the pope invited the Italian ambassadors to a meeting and asked for their contribution to the crusade. Except the Venetians, with whom the pope already had an understanding, the Italian envoys declined to make firm commitments to the great cause, not having received powers from their masters to do so. The pope then, naturally, praised the Venetians, requesting that the other Italian states fulfil the commitments made at Congress of Mantua in 1459. After the meeting, the Florentine ambassador asked for a private audience with the pope in which he advised the pope to desert the Venetians and to let them and Turks destroy each other, thus freeing Italy from the fear of both powers. In the speech, "*Si essemus*", the pope politely but firmly rejected the Florentine proposal both on moral, military, and political grounds.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Venice; Florence; Venezia; Firenze; Italia; Italy; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1463; 15th century; Ottone Niccoloni; Otto Niccolini

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In September 1463, Pope Pius achieved a remarkable success for his grand crusade project: an embassy had come to Rome to announce the Duke of Burgundy's promise of an important contingent of soldiers and of his personal participation. The formal announcement was made on 19 September during a public consistory at the Apostolic Palace, in the presence of embassies from the Italian states.² The following day, the pope invited the Italian ambassadors to a meeting and asked for their contribution to the crusade. Except the Venetians, with whom the pope already had an understanding,³ the Italian envoys declined to make firm commitments to the great cause, not having received powers from their masters to do so. The pope then, naturally, praised the Venetians, requesting that the other Italian states fulfil the commitments made at Congress of Mantua in 1459. After the meeting, the Florentine ambassador asked for a private audience with the pope in which he advised the pope to desert the Venetians and to let them and Turks destroy each other, thus freeing Italy from the fear of both powers. In the speech, "*Si essemus*", the pope politely but firmly rejected the Florentine proposal both on moral, military, and political grounds.

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

The following day the Pope summoned the Italian embassies and asked what they would finally offer in defense of the Catholic Faith now that they had heard Philip's promise and were aware of the necessity for war. When they answered that they all were waiting to learn what burden the Pope would impose on them and that no one would fail in so holy a work to do all in his power, the Pope said: "Why need We waste time with many words? We have the decree of Mantua. We will keep to that if you so please. In it burdens are apportioned according to strength: one tenth of their income for three years is imposed on the clergy, one thirtieth on the laity, one twentieth of all their property on the Jews. This was approved by all peoples, though afterwards its execution was delayed because Italy was in confusion with new internal wars. Now peace is almost restored. Now it will be possible to wage war with the Turks. The necessary money can be collected according to the decree. We can think of no easier method or fairer distribution." The envoys answered that as private individuals they approved the Pope's words but as envoys they were not empowered to answer them. They requested permission to to inform their masters and ask their consent. Only the Venetian said, "My prince is far from needing this urging. He is already at war. He has sent a large and strong fleet against the enemies of the Faith and

¹ CO, XII, 29-30; Paparelli, p. 334; Pastor, II, pp. 224-226; Setton, II, p. 245-247; Voigt, IV, pp. 686-687

² See oration "*Expectatis*" [73]

³ See the oration "*Ecce ecce*" [77]

has already wrested part of Peloponnese from the Turks. He has accepted the tax of tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth and on his own initiative, with the consent of the Senate, has imposed further burdens on his subjects. Everything is being done which is thought necessary for victory. Our republic will not fail you in any respect." The Pope, after praising the Venetians for having undertaken the war in so courageous and noble a spirit, turned to the other ambassadors and said, "Go and tell your masters what we have said and add one thing more: that we do not ourselves want their money nor wish so much as to touch it. Let them themselves require of their subjects funds for soldiers and ships for us to use in war. Let them choose their own captains and raise their own standards on the ships. We should rather receive from them such aids to war than money." His words were received with approval and nothing further was done that day.¹

The Florentine envoy,² upset because he "suspected everything that seemed to increase the prestige of the Venetians"³, then requested a private audience with the pope. At the audience he warned the pope against the real intentions of the Venetians and the danger that success for their Turkish enterprise would enhance their power greatly and pose a menace to the other Italians.⁴ The best result for all would be if the Venetians and the Turks would destroy each other.

The alliance with Milan directed against powerful Venice was by now traditional Florentine policy,⁵ and in the matter of the crusade many Italians would agree with the Florentines. And so indeed did King Louis XI of France: when in May 1464 the Milanese ambassador, Alberico Maletta, reported to him that *the Turk was preparing a new attack upon the Venetian empire, Louis merely commented: "Would it be a catastrophe if the Turks gave them a good beating?"*⁶

Florentine fears of Venetian dominance in Italy were probably quite justified. However, in the crusade matter, they were also motivated - just as the Venetians had previously been - by the desire to maintain and extend their commercial interests in the Orient and to protect their colony in Istanbul, and in consequence their need to maintain good relations with the Turks. Thus, the dominant political group in Florence was quite opposed to the crusade⁷ and to some extent collaborated with the sultan, even to the point of becoming his informants.⁸ Florentine

¹ CO, XII, 29 (Gragg, p. 812)

² Ottone Niccolini = Otto di Lapo: (1410-1480) Florentine nobleman and juriconsult, often used as ambassador by the Florentine Republic, made Count Palatine by Pope Nicolaus V

³ CO, XII, 29 (Gragg, pp. 812-813); Setton, pp. 245-246

⁴ The Florentines also feared the Venetians as commercial competitors in the Orient, see Pastor, II, p. 224. The address of the envoy is given in the Appendix

⁵ Cardini, p. 473

⁶ Kendall, p. 408

⁷ Cardini, p. 460

⁸ Cardini, p. 474-475

opposition to the crusade had greatly contributed to the failure of the crusade projects of popes Nicolaus V and Calixtus III,¹ and their relations with Pius II in the crusade matter were both ambiguous and duplicitous, and after the Congress of Mantua the pope gradually developed a conviction that Florence, and not Venice, was the true enemy of his crusade project.²

The pope's description in the *Commentarii* of his meeting³ with the Florentine ambassador, Otto Niccolini, in September, is a much simplified and tendentious report on a complex diplomatic negotiation, and in the highly redacted text of his intervention, the "*Si essemus ipsi*" the pope's ire at the Florentine opposition to his crusade project transpires clearly.⁴

The pope actually had no illusions about Venetian motives and strength vis-a-vis the Turks and the rest of Italy. But in any case, he had high notions of clerical morality and the honour of the papacy – and he considered the Turkish peril as much greater for Italy than the Venetian and much more acute.

2. Themes

The main themes of the oration are as follows:

- As a man of the Church, the pope must generally be sincere and honest in all his actions.⁵ There can be absolutely no duplicity or dishonesty in his dealings with the Venetians, and no one must believe that the pope does not truly desire the crusade:

... if the Florentines allow Christianity to be destroyed and are indifferent to religion and Faith, God will hold them guilty of a grave sin, but they will keep their status among men. But if We show the slightest neglect in matters of Faith, We shall soon be condemned by all Christians. "Is it right for the Vicar of Christ," they say, "to neglect the defense of the Faith. We need a council to punish his negligence and elect a better pope." Even the smallest sin of the pope is considered to be enormous by the people. They want an angel [for pope], not a man. So hear

¹ Cardini, p. 457

² Cardini, p. 467

³ Or possibly at least two meetings, conflated into one in the *Commentarii*

⁴ Cardini, p. 481

⁵ See also Stolf, p. 187: *Dans les Commentarii, c'est l'image – mieux l'icône – du pape, la plus haute instance humaine de l'Église, que construit Piccolomini-Pie II, et qu'il entend laisser à l'appréciation de l'exigeante postérité*

from Us, Otto, words which may not be those of an angel, but do come from of a cleric raised above the common condition of men. [Sect. 1]

- The Venetians may not fight the Turks for religious motives but for motives of power, but in that they resemble all other nations – including the Florentines themselves:

We acknowledge that the Venetians, like all men, desire to have more than they have and to attain lordship over Italy and that they are not far from daring to aspire to the lordship over the whole world. But if the power of the Florentines was as great as that of the Venetians, they would have the same desire for domination. This is a common vice: nobody is satisfied with his own lot, no city has enough territory. [Sect. 2]

- The Venetians have heeded the pope's own request to go to war against the Turks, and they must now be helped since they do not match Turkish power:

We went to Mantua. We urged all Christians to take weapons against the Turks and not allow the enemies of the Faith to advance further against the Christians. The Venetians spurned our exhortations as did almost everybody else – to the great detriment of the Christian religion. Now the Venetians have changed their minds. Heeding Our legate, they have declared war on the Turk, armed a great fleet, and thoroughly terrified the enemy. Now they are asking for Our aid since they have no doubt that they are weaker than the enemy. It is Us who urged the Venetians to wage war for the sake of religion. They complied. Should We now refuse the help they are asking for? Who hearing this would approve? God may give the enemies of the life-giving Cross the notion that they may abandon the supporters of their law in a war. But We may, for no reason whatsoever, refuse to help those who fight for the Holy Gospel. [Sect. 4]

- If the crusade is successful, Venetian power will indeed grow, and they will try to subjugate the rest of Italy. However, they will soon be involved in a war with their present ally, the Hungarians, over Dalmatia, and they will not be strong enough to become masters of Italy:

Having grown richer and larger, Hungary will demand to get Dalmatia back from the Venetians. This will be denied, and then they will start a war which, for a long period, will free Italy from Venetian tyranny. In the meantime other hopeful situations will arise. Right now there is an alliance between Hungary and Venice against the common enemy whom

they fear more than each other, and there is silence concerning their conflict over Dalmatia. But when fear of the Turks is dispelled, that conflict will immediately start afresh. [Sect. 9]

- Joining the crusade is in the best interest of the Florentines themselves:

You resent Venetian growth in Greece, but by refusing an alliance of war, you leave your part of the future spoils of war to Venice, and thus you make them grow ever more. This is not being clever. It would profit your republic more to prepare such a fleet as you can, join Us, and seek to share in the winnings from the East. In that way your republic will act both honestly and profitably. But if the Florentines remain peacefully at home, when the pope goes to war and all the rest of Italy rushes to arms, then their city will be infamous and rouse God to anger: nobody will blame the Venetians when they march against you, nor will they come to your assistance. You will feel the just judgment of God for having abandoned Christians in a dangerous war against the Turks, and when you yourselves are in danger, you will be deserted by all. [Sect. 11]

The pope's words show how much confidence he now had in the crusade project – but his belief that Florence would be an isolated power in Italy if she did not join the crusade would soon prove to be an illusion.

A minor theme is the concept of the 'reason of state' which is used in other writings of Piccolomini/Pius and appears not to have been "invented" by Macchiavelli:

Secular princes and governors of cities do not care how they defend their power, as long as they do defend it. Therefore they often violate the Law of Nations and disregard honest morals. [Sect. 1]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The Latin oration "*Si essemus*" was based on the pope's reply on 22 September 1463 to the Florentine ambassador, Ottone Niccoloni, during a private audience in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican. Ambassador and pope presumably spoke in Italian.

4. Text¹

This oration was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, of which the first version had been completed in 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*,² book 12, chapter 30.

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, f. 409v-411v (S)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 564v-567r (R)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first version and the Corsinianus the final version, probably with a now lost intermediate version, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

4.2. Editions

The oration was not included in Mansi's edition which does not comprise orations only published in the *Commentarii*.

Some important editions and translations of the *Commentarii* are³:

- *Pius II: Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / II, p. 760-764
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2410-2422

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

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

³ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 814-817

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11.

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 the two principal manuscripts.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources

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

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¹ References to the *Annales* are given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to any specific edition)

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7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {409v} Si essemus ipsi, quo tu es loco, nec sacris imbuti nec Jesu Christi vicariatu decorati, fortasse idem sentiremus, quod ipse sentis, fucatisque rationibus tuis succumberemus. Sed non est principis eadem quae privati hominis mens, nec viris ecclesiasticis idem animus qui saecularibus. Multa in populo tolerantur, quae in clero nemo audire potest. Quae sunt plebi venalia peccata, in sacerdote mortalia ducuntur. Principes saeculi et rectores urbium quocumque tandem modo sua tueantur imperia non curant, dum tueantur, atque idcirco saepe jus gentium violant et moribus adversantur honestis. Populus victorem laudat nec turpitudini ascribit per fraudes ac dolos vicisse, si modo laicus est, qui stravit hostem. At si sacerdos insidiis inimicum perdidit, immo etsi aperte insidiantem necavit, injurius habetur: adeo justiore populus clericum vult esse quam laicum. Noli ergo mirari, Otto amantissime, si de rebus, quae modo gerendae sunt, alia est nostra quam tua vel Florentinorum sententia. Illi, si salva republica sua Christianam ire perditum sinunt, si religionem, si fidem negligunt, quamvis gravi scelere apud Deum obnoxii sunt, inter homines tamen suum retinent locum. At nos, si vel minima negligentia in his utimur, quae sunt fidei, mox omnium Christianorum vocibus laceramur. "En," inquit, "Christi vicarium sic sine defensionem fidei postponere decet? Concilio opus est, in quo negligentia puniatur et melior eligatur." Nulla in pontifice maximo tam parva culpa est, quam populi non ducant maximam. Angelum esse volunt, non hominem. Audi ergo ex nobis, Otto, verba etsi non angeli, at saltem clerici et hominis communem sortem excedentis.

1. Clergy must have higher morals than laymen

[1] If We were in your position and not in Holy Orders and distinguished with the office of Vicar of Jesus Christ, We should perhaps feel like you and yield to your specious reasoning. But the mind of a prince is not the same as the mind of a private person, and ecclesiastics do not have the same spirit as laymen. Many things are tolerated in the people which no one would accept in the clergy. A venial sin¹ in a layman is considered a mortal sin² in a priest. Secular princes and governors of cities do not care how they defend their power, as long as they do defend it. Therefore they often violate the Law of Nations³ and disregard honest morals.⁴ The people applauds the victor and does not consider it shameful to win by deceit and fraud, so long as it is a laymen who has vanquished the enemy. But if a priest destroys an enemy by guile and even if he kills someone who is plotting openly against him, he is considered to have done wrong. People want the cleric to act more justly than the layman. Therefore, my dear Otto,⁵ do not wonder if in the matter at hand Our viewpoint differs from yours and the Florentines'. Indeed, if the Florentines allow Christianity to be destroyed and are indifferent to religion and Faith as long as their own republic is saved, God will hold them guilty of a grave sin, but still they will keep their status among men. But if We show the slightest neglect in matters of Faith, We shall soon be condemned by all Christians. "Is it right for the Vicar of Christ," they say, "to neglect the defense of the Faith. We need a council⁶ to punish his negligence and elect a better [pope]."⁷ Even the smallest sin of the pope is considered to be enormous by the people. They want an angel [for pope], not a man. So hear from Us, Otto, words which may not be those of an angel, but do come from a cleric raised above the common condition of men.

¹ A lesser sin that does not result in a complete separation from God and eternal damnation in Hell as an unrepented mortal sin would

² Wrongful acts that condemn a person to Hell after death if unforgiven

³ "jus gentium"

⁴ A neat Renaissance statement of the Reason of State (*raison d'état*)

⁵ Otto di Lapo (Ottone Niccolini) (1410-1470): Florentine jurist and ambassador

⁶ An ecumenical council, which in certain matters is above the pope

⁷ A reference to conciliarism and the regrettable propensity of princes and others to call for a council whenever they disagreed with the pope

[2] Fatemur Venetos more hominum plura cupere quam habeant, atque Italiae dominatum quaerere nec procul esse quin ad orbis {410r} imperium aspirare audeant. Quod si Florentini pares Venetis potentia fuerint, par quoque imperandi desiderium gerant. Commune hoc vitium est: nemo sua sorte quiescit, nullius civitatis satis latus est ager. Victoria potiti adversus Turcos Veneti, Illyridis ac Graeciae possessores effecti, Italiam subigere conabuntur – non imus inficias – si modo barbarorum metu vacent et non externis bellis distineantur. Esto, subigat Italiam Venetus; quod factu difficillimum est.

[3] Quid ais? Venetis an Turcis parere mavis? Nemo Christianorum, qui vere Christianus sit, Turcorum praeferet imperium, sub quo pereant tandem ecclesiae sacramenta necesse est et alterius vitæ janua claudatur ab evangelio recessuris. Fateberis pessimum esse servire Turcis, optimum nec Turcis nec Venetis. Atque hoc te cupere futurumque id existimas, si Venetos Turcorum bello implicitos non adjuvemus. Consilium neque utile neque honestum praebes.

2. All states strive to extend their territory

[2] We acknowledge that the Venetians, like all men, desire to have more than they have and to attain lordship over Italy, and that they are not far from daring to aspire to the lordship over the whole world. But if the power of the Florentines was as great as that of the Venetians, they would have the same desire for domination. For this is a common vice: nobody is satisfied with his own lot, no city has enough territory. We do not deny that if the Venetians are victorious against the Turks and conquer Illyria and Greece, they will try to become masters of Italy, so long as they do not need to fear the barbarians and are not distracted by foreign wars. So, Venice will try to subjugate Italy – but it will be a very difficult thing to do.

3. Strategic dilemma: helping the Venetians against the Turks strengthens her position in Italy

[3] But what do you say? Whom would you rather submit to: the Venetians or the Turks? No true Christian will prefer Turkish rule, for under their rule the sacraments of the Church must disappear and the gate to the next life will be closed to those who desert the Gospel. You will say that the worst is to serve the Turks and the best is to serve neither the Turks nor the Venetians. This is what you wish to happen, and you think that it will, if We do not help the Venetians now engaged in war against the Turks. However your advice is neither expedient nor honest.¹

¹ The classical paired concept of "honestum et utile"

[4] Ivisimus Mantuam. Christianos omnes adhortati sumus in Turcos, ut arma caperent nec sinerent hostes fidei in Christianos ultra crassari. Spreverunt Veneti hortamenta nostra spreverunt et alii ferme omnes non sine maximo detrimento Christianae religionis. Nunc mutata est sententia Venetorum. Audito legato nostro apertum bellum indixere Turco et armata ingenti classe hostem perterrere. Suppetias a nobis petunt, ut qui se hoste inferiores esse non dubitant. Suasimus Venetis bellum pro religione capessero. Paruerunt. Nunc petentibus auxilium denegabimus? Quis haec audiens laudabit? Deus hanc mentem inimicis tribuat vivificae crucis, ut consortes suae legis in bello relinquunt. Nobis non licet pro sancto evangelio pugnantibus opem quovis pacto subtrahere. Dices in bellum Venetos non fidei defendendae causam, sed imperii cupiditatem adduxisse, Peloponnesum quaesivisse, non Jesum. Sit ita. Hoc satis est nobis, quoniam vincente Veneto Christus vincet¹. Turcorum victoria evangelii subversio est, quam totis conatibus tenemur avertere.

[5] Asseruisti Turcis atque Venetis contententibus futurum, {410v} ut ambo corruant, tamquam non sint majores Turci quam Venetorum opes. Falleris. Multo est inferior Turco Venetus quamvis classe maritima superior habeatur. Insulas et quae sunt in littore maris oppida vexare potest: in mediterraneis minimum est, quod efficere queat. Quod si Turcorum duces terrestres copias in oras Dalmatiae deduxerint, quemadmodum consilium cepisse videntur, facultatem armandi classem Venetis tandem eripient, qui remiges navalesque socios omnes fere ex Dalmatia legunt. Non tam facile terrae imperium quam maris acquiritur. Memoriae traditum est Rhodios et alios plerosque imperitasse mari, quorum in terra admodum parva potestas fuit. At qui longe lateque in terra dominati sunt, his proxima maria plerumque patuerunt.

¹ vincit R; vincet *corr.* ex vincit S

4. Venice must be helped

4.1 Whatever their motives, Venice has heeded the pope's request to go to war

[4] We went to Mantua. We urged all Christians to take weapons against the Turks and not allow the enemies of the Faith to advance further against the Christians. The Venetians spurned our exhortations as did almost everybody else – to the great detriment of the Christian religion. Now the Venetians have changed their minds. Heeding Our legate¹ they have declared war on the Turk, armed a great fleet, and thoroughly terrified the enemy. Now they are asking for Our aid since they have no doubt that they are weaker than the enemy. It is Us who urged the Venetians to wage war for the sake of religion. They complied. Should We then now refuse the help they are asking for? Who hearing this would approve? God may give the enemies of the life-giving Cross the notion that they may abandon the supporters of their law in a war. But We may, for no reason whatsoever, refuse to help those who fight for the Holy Gospel. You will say that the Venetians are not waging war to defend the cause of the Faith, and that it is not Jesus, but their own greed for power that has made them try to take the Peloponnese. So be it. But this is enough for Us, for if the Venetian wins, Christ wins. The victory of the Turks means the fall of the Gospel – something which we must try to avoid by all means.

4.2. Venice's military capacity is insufficient

[5] You asserted that if the Turks and the Venetians fight each other, they will both perish, as if the Turks were not stronger than the Venetians. You are mistaken. The Venetians are much weaker than the Turks though they may have the stronger fleet. They can harass the islands and the coastal cities, but can do very little in the interior regions. And if the Turkish captains lead their land armies to the shores of Dalmatia, as they seem to be planning to, they will finally deprive the Venetians of the means to arm a fleet, since they get almost all their rowers and seamen² from Dalmatia. It is more difficult to achieve mastery over land than over sea. History tells us that the Rhodians and many others had great sea power, but little land power. And those whose ruled large land areas often also had direct access to the neighbouring seas.

¹ The pope had sent Cardinal Bessarion to Venice in 1463 to exhort the Venetians to go to war against the Turks

² "navales socios". Gragg translates as "naval allies"

[6] Non est igitur existimandum Turcorum principatum, qui est in Asia terra et Europa latissimus, a Venetis posse deleri quamvis mare pro sua voluntate procurrun, quando in terra pugnaturi castra conferre castris nequeunt, equitum peditumque turmis ac robore multo inferiores. Quod si a nobis et aliis Christifidelibus non fuerint adjuti, cum dedecore damnoque nostrae religionis cito deficient. Maximi sumptus est classem in Orienti magnam alere nec diu id fieri. At si recedit classis, quaecumque illic quaesita sunt necesse est ad hostes illico deficient, quorum praesto aderunt exercitus, nisi prorsus ab Europa migrare Turci cogantur. Perparum est, quod in Graecia obtineri a Venetis aut servari queat.

[7] Non est ergo salubre consilium tuum, quod nec Venetos servat nec Turcos delet. Quod si perierint Veneti, frustra de servanda Italia cogitabis. Bellum maximum et periculosissimum inierunt, in quo sine perniciae Christianae religionis succumbere non possunt. Ferenda sunt laborantibus auxilia, adjiciendae vires, supplementa militum ministranda, atque omni ope nitendum, ne cedere cogantur hosti. Commune bellum est. Quaerenda est omni studio victoria, et nos quidem cum Philippo, Burgundiae duce, Venetis non deerimus, classes classibus jungemus, atque omnes maritimas urbes infestas reddemus Turcis. {411r} Ex altera parte Matthias Hungariae rex superiorem Moesiam, Macedoniam vicinasque regiones terrestribus copiis agitabit. Difficile erit Mahumeto, cui non desunt potentes in Asia inimici, omnibus in locis resistere. Vincetur, ut nostra fert opinio, atque ab Europa prorsus eliminabitur, nisi justus et misericors Deus nostris offensus iniquitatibus aliud – quod absit – de suo populo censuerit.

[6] So, we should not believe that the Venetians can destroy the Turkish realm which covers a considerable part of Asia and Europe: the Venetians roam the seas at will, but when they fight on land they cannot match the Turkish armies, as the Venetian cavalry and infantry are quite inferior in numbers and strength to those of the Turks. If they do not get help from Us and the other Christians, they will soon fail – to the shame and detriment of our religion. It is extremely expensive to maintain a large fleet in the Orient and it cannot be done for long. But if the fleet sails back [to Venice], its conquests¹ must quickly fall to the Turkish enemies whose armies will arrive quickly unless they are forced to leave Europe. The Venetians can only take and hold very little in Greece.

4.3. Western nations must unite in the war against the Turks

[7] Thus your proposal² is not expedient: it neither saves the Venetians nor destroys the Turks. If the Venetians perish, it will be vain to think of how to save Italy. The Venetians have engaged in a great and dangerous war: if they lose, it will necessarily harm the Christian religion. [Therefore] We must send aid to those who are labouring, we must add our strength, we must send more soldiers, and we must by all means prevent that they be forced to submit to the enemy. This is our common war. Victory must be sought at all costs. We Ourselves and Duke Philippe of Burgundy³ shall not fail the Venetians: we shall join our fleets with theirs and make all the coastal cities unsafe for the Turks. In the other direction, King Matthias of Hungary⁴ will wage war with his land army in Upper Moesia, Macedonia, and the neighbouring regions. Mehmed⁵ has no lack of powerful enemies in Asia,⁶ and it will be difficult for him to resist on all fronts. We believe that he will be defeated and completely repelled from Europe, unless the just and merciful God in anger at our sins has other plans for his people – may that not happen.

¹ In Greece

² See the Appendix

³ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

⁴ Matthias I Corvinus (1443-1490): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to his death. After conducting several military campaigns, he was elected King of Bohemia in 1469 and adopted the title Duke of Austria in 1487

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 until his death. In 1453 he conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

⁶ Asia Minor. Like their Turkish rivals, the Caramans

[8] Nec propterea Venetos Italiae jugum imposituros arbitramur, quando de Turcis triumphaverint. Non omnia, quae Turci occupant in Europa, Venetorum erunt. Peloponnesus illis cedit et fortasse Boeotia atque Attica et in Acarnania et in Epiro pleraque loca, quae mari cohaerent. In Macedonia Georgius Scanderbechius primas partes sibi vendicabit, in aliis Graeciae regionibus non deerunt Graeci nobiles, qui Turco ejecto tyrannidem occupent, quibus necesse erit libertatem relinquere. Reliqua, quae vergunt in Danubium, ut est Bulgaria, quae olim inferior Moesia dicta est, et Rascia quae superior, et Servia, et Bosna et ultra Danubium Valachia, quam prisci Daciam vocaverunt, in solo Sarmatico sive, ut quidam volunt Scythico usque ad Euxinum Pontum cuncta ad Hungaros pervenient, quorum aliquando fuere possessio.

[9] Nemo victis eliminatisque Turcis plus locupletabitur quam Hungarus: multo hic potentior erit quam Venetus. Ditatus atque auctus Dalmatiam a Venetiis repetet. Negabitur. Bellum deinde inter eos orietur, quod Italiam a Venetorum tyrannide longo tempore liberabit. Interea aliae atque aliae spes emergent. Nunc inter Hungaros ac Venetos adversus communem hostem, quem magis verentur, societas est et de lite Dalmatica silentium, quae Turcorum metu depulso e vestigio suscitabitur.

5. A victorious Venice will not pose a serious threat to Italy

5.1. Hungary will profit more than Venice from a victory against the Turks

[8] Moreover, We do not believe the Venetians capable of subjugating Italy if they win over the Turks. Not all Turkish possessions in Europe will fall to Venice. They will gain the Peloponnese and maybe Boeotia, Attica and some coastal areas in Acarnania and Epirus. But in Macedonia Georg Skanderbeg¹ will claim the chief parts, and in the other Greek regions there will be no lack of Greek nobles to seize power when the Turk is driven out, and it will be necessary to leave them in peace. The other territories bordering on the Danube are Bulgaria (which was formerly called Lower Moesia), and Rascia (which was called Upper Moesia), and Serbia, and Bosnia, and beyond the Danube there is Wallachia (which the old ones called Dacia), situated on Sarmatian – or as some say Scythian – soil, extending as far as the Black Sea.² All these territories will fall to the Hungarians to whom they once belonged.

5.2. Looming conflict over Dalmatia between Hungary and Venice

[9] No one will profit more from the defeat and expulsion of the Turks than Hungary which will become much more powerful than Venice. Having grown richer and larger, Hungary will demand to get Dalmatia back from the Venetians. This will be refused, and then they will start a war which will free Italy from Venetian tyranny for a long time. In the meantime other hopeful situations will arise. Right now there is an alliance between Hungary and Venice against the common enemy whom they fear more than each other, and there is silence concerning their conflict over Dalmatia. But when fear of the Turks is dispelled, that conflict will immediately start afresh.

¹ George Skanderbeg [Kastrioti] (1405-1468): Albanian nobleman

² "Euxinus Pontus"

[10] Non est, quod Italiae tantopere timeamus, nec Romanorum exempla vereri oportet. Longe distant a Romanis Venetorum mores. Multas licebit videre nives priusquam Veneti Italiam frenent. At nisi Turco potenter resistimus, cito et Hungari cedent et Veneti, nec mora fiet, quin nostra quoque libertas pereat. Occurrendum est praesenti periculo, quod a Turcis imminet. De Venetis suo tempore cogitabitur, {411v} si opus erit, nec deerunt valentia remedia.

[11] Providentes viros esse Florentinos ab ipsa pueritia didicimus, et res antequam fierent multo cernere. Atque hoc est, quod de imperio Veneto vaticinamini. Verum simile monstri est non videre propinqua eos, qui longinqua prospectant. Ardentibus aedificiis non affertis aquam: crematuris olim consulere properatis. Aegre fertis in Graecia crescere Venetos, atque ut magis magisque crescant operam datis, qui societatem belli declinantes, quae vestra futura erant spolia, Veneto relinquitis. Non est hoc sapere. Consultius agat vestra respublica, si pro suis viribus classem instruens nobis sese adjunxerit orientalisque praedae partem petierit. Hoc pacto honesti et utilis rationem habebit. Quod si otiosus domi Florentinus remanserit, cum papa in bellum ierit, et reliqua omnis Italia in arma prouerit, infame nomen urbis erit, et Deus illi succensebit, nec ducturos in eam Venetos quispiam arguet aut opem vobis afferet. Justum Dei iudicium illud experiemini, ut qui Christianos in bello contra Turcos periclitantes reliqueritis, in discrimine constituti et ipsi ab omnibus deseramini.

5.3. Problem of Venice must wait

[10] Thus, there is no reason why we should be so anxious concerning Italy or fear Roman precedents. The ways of the Venetians are very different from those of the Romans. We shall see many winters before Venice subjugates Italy. But if we do not resist the Turks forcefully now, both Hungary and Venice will soon succumb, and it will not take long before our freedom, too, disappears. It is the present danger that must be met, and that danger comes from the Turks. When time comes, we must think about Venice, if necessary, and then there will be no lack of powerful remedies.

6. Participation in the war is in Florence's own best interest

[11] From childhood We have learnt that the Florentines are clever men who see what will happen long before it does, and this is your prediction concerning Venetian dominion.¹ But when those who look afar cannot see what is right before them, they are [as blind] as brute animals.² You are not pouring water on the buildings that are on fire right now: no, you are hastening to save buildings that may burn in the future! You resent Venetian growth in Greece, but by refusing an alliance of war, you leave your part of the future spoils of war to Venice, and thus you make them grow ever more. This is not being clever. It would profit your republic more to prepare such a fleet as you can, join Us, and seek to share in the winnings from the East. In that way your republic will act both honestly and profitably. But if the Florentines remain peacefully at home when the pope goes to war and all the rest of Italy rushes to arms, then their city will be infamous and rouse God to anger: nobody will blame the Venetians when they march against you, nor will they come to your assistance. You will feel the just judgment of God for having abandoned Christians in a dangerous war against the Turks, and when you yourselves are in danger you will be deserted by all.

¹ I.e. that if Venice receives no help from the papacy and the other Christian nations in its war against the Turks, the Venetians and the Turks will destroy each other and free the rest of Italy from their domination. But if they receive help, they will defeat the Turks and gain dominion over the rest of Italy

² "monstra"

Appendix: Address of Ottone Niccolini¹ (22 September 1463, Rome)

Your holiness, what are you thinking off? Are you going to wage war on the Turks that you may force Italy to be subject to the Venetians? All that is won in Greece by driving out the Turks will become the property of the Venetians who, after Greece is subdued, will lay hands on the rest of Italy. You know the people's pride and insatiable greed for power. It is their continual boast that they are the successors of the Romans and that sovereignty belongs to them. They say that the successors of Trojan Aeneas ruled in their time, but that now the sovereignty belongs to the descendants of Antenor and they claim it for themselves. You are helping them in this by aligning your arms with theirs against the Turks and you do not see into what an abyss you are hurtling Italy. You are weaving a net of perpetual slavery for your contry. To say nothing of the losses to Italy, what will become of the Church of Rome? Do you think it will maintain its dignity? Will it not rather be the handmaid of the Venetians? The Venetians are not men to prefer divine to human things. They value worldly above ecclesiastical power. They hold the authority of the Pope less than that of the Doge. And do not think that the Office of Vicar of Jesus Christ will help you. 'This is our will', they will say. 'Thus the Senate has decreed.'² It will be useless to bring forward the sacred canons. Either the apostolic eminence will be destroyed entirely or the Venetians will arrogate it to themselves and unite it with the dogate, whether they choose to call it empire or kingdom. These are the dangers your wisdom must meet, not those lesser ones which we fear from the Turks. The Venetians are at war. They have dealt the Turks a heavy blow and have almost succeeded in taking from them the Peloponnese. There is no chance that the Turks and the Venetians can ever be reconciled. Undying hatred has been born between them. This is in my opinion what was most to be desired by us. Let them fight it out between them. Their strength is well matched. Turk will not utterly conquer Venetian nor Venetian Turk. The war will last a long time and at last Scripture will be fulfilled, 'When the strong meets the strong both shall fall.' And what results could be more desirable for us than that the strength of both the Turks and the Venetians should be so exhausted that at last they will let us have peace. Your purpose, as I understand it, is to free Italy and all Europe from fear of the Turk and to that end you are making a military alliance with Venice. I propose a more advantageous plan when I tell you that not only the Turks who are threatening the lives of Christians but the Venetians too must be thrown back and without expense or toil or danger and in perfect peace. You are wise enough, I think, not to despise or belittle the advice of the Florentines. This proposal I have brought you from the midst

¹ CO, XII, 30. Taken from Gragg, pp. 812-813

² The pope had said exactly the same to the Venetian ambassador in the oration *Senatu intercedente* [72], sect. 2, and may indeed have borrowed this passage for his written version of the Florentine ambassador's address

of the school of our wise men. We beg you to embrace a course which will be for the good of all Christendom.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 75)

Oration “*Sextus agitur annus*” of Pope Pius II (23 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2019

Abstract

By September 1463, it was clear that Pope Pius II had managed to create the basis for a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, and the papacy. Before proceeding to the final negotiations, it was necessary for him to obtain the consent to the crusade of the College of Cardinals: in his coronation oath he had promised to make the crusade against the Turks his highest priority, but to act in this matter only with the approval of the majority of the cardinals. On 23 September the pope summoned the cardinals to a secret consistory where he delivered the oration "*Sextus agitur annus*". In this oration the pope gave a well-reasoned account of his wars in Italy and their necessity, a lucid analysis of the ecclesiastical hierarchy's lack of credibility, and a passionate plea for a return to the ways of the Early Church and to the faith of its martyrs and confessors, detailed his strategy for mobilizing the crusade, and announced his provisions for the government of Rome in his absence.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Wars against the Turks; Crusades against the Turks; College of Cardinals; Wars in Italy; Neapolitan war of succession; Papal States; Kingdom of Sicily; Kingdom of Naples; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; Criticism of the clergy; Anticlericalism; 15th century; 1463; Early Church; Martyrs; Confessors; Church reform; Papal bull Ezechielis prophetae

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Appendix: Papal bull *Ezechielis prophetae*

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

Since the end of the Congress of Mantua in January 1460, Pope Pius II's great crusade project had been more or less dormant while the pope was engaged in two different, but connected Italian wars: a war against rebellious noble lords in the Church State and a war of succession in the Kingdom of Naples.²

By March 1462, the military situation and the very strained relations with France over the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had eased up³ so much that the pope was able to reactivate the crusade project and engage the papal diplomacy in a new strategy for the mobilization of the crusade:

Having learnt the lesson of Mantua, the papacy would no longer try to persuade all the European powers to enter, at the same time, a formal alliance of crusade against the Turks. Instead it would create an alliance between the papacy, Burgundy, and the two frontier states Venice and Hungary, and – if possible – France. If such an alliance could be established, other states would undoubtedly join up and send contingents of soldiers to the crusade.⁴

By September 1463 this strategy had largely succeeded:

- In July 1463, the emperor and King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had made peace concerning the Crown of Hungary, thus freeing Hungary for the war effort against the Turks. On 12 September 1463, Hungary and Venice entered an alliance against the Turks.
- On 28 July 1463, the Venetian senate decided to declare war on the Turk and join the pope's crusade.⁵
- In late summer 1463, an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy arrived at the papal court to announce the duke's willingness to take part in the crusade, on the condition of the pope, too, taking part in person. This promise was formally announced at a public consistory in Rome on 19 September 1463.⁶

¹ CO, XII, 31-32; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nos. 25-27; Ady, pp. 319-324; Boulting, pp. 343-348; Dall'Oco, pp. 507-515; Müller, 115-119; Housley, pp. 232-234; Paparelli, pp. 336-338; Pastor, II, pp. 226-233; Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 162-176; Prietzel, pp. 285-306; Reinhardt, pp. 353-356; Stolf, pp. 418-422; Voigt, IV, pp. 687-693;

² See oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61]

³ See oration "*Per me reges regnant*" [65]

⁴ See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64]

⁵ See oration "*Ecce ecce*" [77]

⁶ See oration "*Expectatis*" [73]

King Louis XI of France had summarily rejected the pope's invitation to join the crusade, and the very negative position of other Italian states with regard to an enterprise from which Venice stood to gain was clearly expressed by the Florentine ambassador in a private meeting with the pope on 22 September.¹

In view of initial Venetian military successes against the Turks in the Peloponnese, the pope, however, was confident that the formal alliance between the parties already committed to the crusade was in itself sufficient for a successful war against the Turks and would eventually convince the other states to join up – if not enthusiastically, then at least to some acceptable degree.

So, the pope was now free to take the last step before formally launching the crusade which was to persuade the majority of the cardinals to support his crusade plans. Their consent was necessary by virtue of the pope's coronation oath in which he had bound himself, as his highest priority, to organize a crusade against the Turks, but with the the consent of the majority of the cardinals.²

On 23 September the pope summoned the College of Cardinals to a secret (closed) consistory in which he gave the important oration "*Sextus agitur annus*".

In his *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

The next day the Pope called a secret consistory and addressed the cardinals as follows: [Here follows the text of the oration] The Pope had often shed tears as he spoke nor could the more rightminded of the cardinals keep from weeping.

With the exception of Cardinal Eruli of Spoleto, all the cardinals expressed their approval of the pope's plan for the crusade, though the French cardinals were in reality opposed to the project, as was their king.³

When he asked the others of their opinions he found no one who did not heartily approve and urge his going nor anyone who did not offer his property and his person. The Pope was happy at the approval of the Curia but imposed silence till the appointed day.⁴

¹ See oration "*Si essemus*" [74]

² See oration "*Ut apertum vobis*" [29]

³ Dall'Oco, p. 511

⁴ CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, pp. 817, 827-828)

On 19 October 1463, the treaty between Rome, Venice, and Burgundy concerning a crusade against the Turks was signed.¹ The treaty was to last for three years, and it included the personal participation of the pope and of the Duke of Burgundy. Could the duke not come - he was, after all, old and ailing - he would send the troops promised, under competent leadership.²

Pius wrote in his *Commentari*:

*During the preceding days the envoys of Burgundy and the Venetian ambassador had met with the pope and had made a treaty to the following effect: They had promised to wage war with the Turks with all their resources for one, two, or three years, as circumstances should demand, on condition that no one might withdraw from the war without his allies. The Pope had added that when Duke Philip came to Italy and was ready to go to Greece he himself would accompany him. The ambassadors, who had full powers, bound their masters by these conditions. Matthias, King of Hungary, made a similar agreement with the Venetians.*³

On that same day, in Hesdin, King Louis of France told his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy: *Beaux oncle, ... je vous verrai encore, si Dieu plaist, avant que vous parties en votre voyage. Toutesvoies je ne veul point aller en Turquie, mais je vous conduirai sur le port de Marseille.*⁴ The duke and the pope could justifiably believe that the French king would not prevent the duke from joining the crusade.

And three days later, on 22 October, Pope Pius II issued the great crusade bull *Ezechielis* to all Christendom.⁵

Pius wrote in his *Commentari*:

Pius with unshaken confidence in the aid of the Most High on October 22 in the sixth year of his pontificate called a public consistory, which was largely attended, for the ostensible purpose of answering the Burgundian envoys. He directed Gregorio Lolli to read the decree which had been issued with the advice and consent of all the cardinals, in which he dwelt on the necessity of making war against the Turks and of his going himself, the grounds for hoping for victory, the prizes for those who fought, and the punishments of the obstructionists. The decree was listened to with profound attention though its reading could

¹ Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nr. 41

² Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 162-176; Müller, p. 117-118

³ CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, p. 836)

⁴ Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 165-166

⁵ See Appendix

*barely be finished in two hours. The charm of the style, the novelty of the project, the readiness of the Pope to offer his life for his sheep drew tears from many of those present. The Burgundians thanked the Pope warmly for enabling them to take back to their master so welcome and so splendid an answer.*¹

It must have been one of the grandest moments in the life of Pope Pius II. It had seemed impossible,² but he had done it: the honour of God, of the papacy, and of Pius himself was saved.

It was, however, to be his last triumph.

2. Themes

The main themes of the oration are:

- **The two wars in Italy fought by the pope had been imposed upon him and they had to be ended successfully before he could resume the crusade cause.**

*Being involved in a war at home, We could not also fight abroad. We must either give up Rome or defeat the French who, ignoring Our commands, had invaded the Kingdom of Sicily against all law and right and armed Our vassals in the vicinity against Us. We simply had to take up arms not to attack, but to defend. First We must have peace at home, then We could go to war against the Turks. This was Our intention, this was all We were thinking about. Defending Ferrante, We fought for Christ. Attacking the lands of Sigismondo, We were fighting the Turks. [Sect. 5]*³

- **Now that the Italian wars are finished, the pope and the cardinals are free to go on a crusade against the Turks⁴ even if means giving their lives for their sheep**

Two serious wars have been fought, the War of Sicily and the War of Piceno, and though some regions remain in the Kingdom [that have not yet been defeated], We believe that they cannot be a problem: Ferrante must himself take care of the small obstacles still

¹ CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, p. 835)

² Pastor, p. 232

³ On Pius' Italian wars, see also "*Ingentes vobis, quirites*" [61]

⁴ On the crusade theme in Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.

remaining. This means that We are now free to take up arms against the Turks. We cannot and will not delay any further. Now We may fulfil Our desire; now it is right to fight for the Faith, as We always wanted to. God knows Our plans and He has finally opened the way. Often you have asked Us to do this. Now it is Us who ask you. Take care that your rebuke against Us may not be turned against yourselves. Now your faith, your religious conviction, your devotion will be revealed. If your charity is unfeigned, you will follow Us. For We shall give you an example, that as We shall do, you shall do also. We shall imitate Our Lord and teacher, Jesus Christ, the pious and holy shepherd, who did not hesitate to give His life for its sheep. We, too, will give Our life for Our flock since this is the only way we can help the Christian religion not to succumb to Turkish violence. [Sect. 13]

- **The general scepticism in Europe towards the crusade idea is largely due to moral corruption in the church and particularly in the ecclesiastical hierarchy¹**

We summoned a congress to Mantua: with what result? We sent legates to the provinces: they were mocked and derided. We imposed tithes on the clergy: they appealed to a future council, setting a harmful example. We ordered the preaching of indulgences: people claimed it was a trap to extort money, invented by a greedy curia. Whatever We do, people interpret it in the worst sense. We are in the same situation as bankers who have lost their credit: no one trusts us. The priesthood is despised, the name of the clergy is infamous. People say that we live a life of pleasure, that we amass money, that we serve ambition, that we ride on fat mules and noble horses, that we use cloaks with trailing fringes, that we go through the City with puffed out cheeks under our red hats, clothed in billowing cowls, that we raise dogs for hunting, that we spend much on performers and parasites, and nothing on the defense of the Faith. They are not entirely wrong: many cardinals and curials do just that, and, to be honest, the luxury and splendour of our Curia is excessive. Therefore people hate us and do not listen to us even when we speak the truth. [Sect. 16]

The criticism of the high clergy is a theme which was used by Pius already when, as a young official at the Council in Basel, he gave a sermon on Saint Ambrose, the “*Si quis me roget*” [2], to the council fathers.

- **Trust in the Roman Church and the hierarchy may only be restored through a return to the ways of the Early Church, the time of martyrs and confessors**

What do you think we should do faced with such stubborn opposition? Should we not seek a way to recover the credibility that we have lost? Of course you ask: “What way shall we take?” Certainly not a way that has been used in our times. We must tread a path that has not been used for a long time. We should seek and use those means by which our ancestors gained this great empire of the Church for us. ... Abstinence, chastity, innocence, zeal for

¹ On the theme of church reform, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.3.

the Faith, religious fervour, contempt of death, and eager acceptance of martyrdom put the Roman Church over the whole world, a Church that was first consecrated with the glorious martyrdom of Peter and Paul. Then followed a long series of pontiffs who, one after the other, were dragged before the tribunals of the gentiles: accusing the [pagan] gods as false and loudly proclaiming Christ as the true and only God, they died after atrocious torture and thus they tended the new plant. The followers believed that their teachers told the truth since they confirmed their teachings with their death and could not be made to deny them by torture. As true and proven shepherds they gave their lives for their sheep, imitating Jesus, their teacher and lord, the eternal and good shepherd, who was killed for His sheep on the Cross and thereby reconciled the human race with the pious Father. When the Romans had converted to Christ, the churches had been opened, and the Gospel spread everywhere, there were no more martyrs. In their place came the holy confessors who benefited the Christian peoples no less than the martyrs, by the light of their teaching and the splendour of their holy life, putting a bridle on men's vices which usually grow in times of peace. It is the martyrs and the confessors who made our Church great. It can only be saved if we imitate our predecessors who founded the realm of Church. And it is not enough to be confessors, to preach to the peoples, to castigate vice, and to extol virtues to Heaven. We must go even further back, to the martyrs who gave their lives for the testament of the Lord. There is nothing which we should not be prepared to suffer for the salvation of the flock entrusted to us, even if it means sacrificing our own lives. [Sect. 17-18]

At this stage the pope knew that he had not long to live. Even if he did not intend, of course, to fight personally, his death during a crusade would be some form of martyrdom, which he appeared to be seeking.¹

- **The pope's participation in the crusade, which would consist in praying**

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. Instead, We shall imitate holy father Moses who prayed on the mountain while the Israelis were fighting the Amalekites. We shall stand on the high stern of the ship or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, which is Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our fighting soldiers. A contrite and humbled heart the Lord wilt not despise. You [cardinals] will be with Us, except the old ones among you whom we grant to stay at home. You, too, will be praying, and by your good works make God have mercy on the Christian people. [Sect. 23]

Pius' sense of drama and powerful symbolic actions would not be denied!

¹ Bisaha, p. 51

- Arrangements for the government of Rome during the pope's absence, which would essentially be the same as during the Congress of Mantua, one cardinal being in charge of spiritual affairs and another in charge of secular affairs [Sect. 24]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" was given on 23 September 1463, at a secret consistory in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience was the College of Cardinals and probably some curial officials.

The format was a papal address to the cardinals.

In the *Commentarii* the text is referred to in this way: *Pontifex ... cardinales... hoc modo alloquitur* (*The Pontiff addresses the cardinals as follows*), and the word oratio is used in a margin note in both manuscripts.

In the collection of papal orations (Chisianus and Luccensis), the text has the title: *Pii II Oratio ad Sacrum Senatum ...*

4. Text¹

The oration was included first in book 12, chapter 31 of Pius' *Commentarii*,² completed at the end of 1463, and somewhat later in the second version of the Collected Orations of Pius II, prepared under the auspices of the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini.³

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

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

³ For the second version of Collected Orations of Pius II (1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.7.

4.1. Manuscripts¹

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 567r-574v **(R)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 411v-417v **(S)**

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first version and the Corsinianus the final version, probably with a now lost intermediate edition, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

The manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pius II in the version prepared for the cardinal nephew are:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 154v-160v **(G) ***
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 198v-204v **(D) ***

4.2. Editions

The oration was published as an individual oration, by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 168-181
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

Some important editions and translations of the *Commentarii* are²:

¹ Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

- *Pius II: Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / II, pp. 764-775
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2422-2454
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 817-827

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The text is based on all four manuscripts listed above with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

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 the two principal manuscripts.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 20 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, seventeen from the Bible and three from classical sources.

Biblical: 17

Classical: 3

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 20

Biblical sources: 17

Old Testament: 6

- Exodus: 1
- Daniel: 1
- Psalms: 4

New Testament: 11

- Matthew: 1
- John: 6
- Acts: 1
- Apocalypse: 2
- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 3

- Sallustius: 1²
- Vergilius: 2³

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

² De bello Catlinae

³ Aeneis

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ References to the *Annales* are given in this form: **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to any specific edition)

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7. Sigla

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

G = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Pii II oratio ad sacrum senatum de profecione contra Turcos¹

[1] {198v} Sextus² agitur annus, viri fratres, postquam beati Petri cathedram ascendimus. Quis vestrum interea defensionem fidei non multis magnisque precibus nobis commendavit? Quis non dixit bellum contra Turcum gerendum esse et omnes ecclesiae thesauros effundendos? Vestro consilio suasuque Mantuam ivimus, Christianos ut ibi reges in belli societatem accersiremus. {199r} Non successit ex sententia, non audiverunt Christiani vocem pastoris. Reversi domum perturbata omnia reperimus.

¹ Title from D, G

² Pii pontificis ad cardinales ardentissima oratio multis argumentis bellum Turchos sumendum ostendens *in marg.* R, S

Oration of Pius II to the Holy Senate concerning the expedition against the Turks

1. Introduction

[1] Brethren, it is now the sixth year since We ascended the Chair of Saint Peter.¹ Since then all of you have often and insistently commended the defense of the Faith to Us. All of you have said that it is necessary to wage war against the Turks and that all the funds² of the Church should be spent [in this cause]. On your advice and recommendation, We went to Mantua³ in order to summon the Christian kings to an alliance of war. We had no success there, the Christians did not heed the voice of their shepherd.⁴ And when We came home,⁵ We found all in turmoil.

¹ Pius II became pope in August 1458

² "thesauros"

³ The Congress of Mantua, July 1459 to January 1460

⁴ Cf. John, 10, 16

⁵ To Rome, in October 1460

[2] Johannes Andegaviae, Renati filius, navigia quae cardinalis Avinionensis sacra pecunia contra Turcos in Rhodano comparaverat, sibi arripuerat, et instructa classe adversus Christianos in regnum Siciliae duxerat, atque Italiam, quae pace gaudebat, bello infestaverat. Misimus suppetias Ferdinando, qui rex erat a nobis constitutus, ne de regni possessione sine iudicio ejiceretur. Rem difficilem inchoavimus. Regni barones paucis demptis omnes adversus Ferdinandum rebellaverant. Magnum et¹ memorabile Franciae nomen haud parum in regno valebat. Accesserat Piccininus, Piccinini filius, qui a rege Ferdinando ad Francos defecerat, et tamquam *belli fulmen* terrorem provincialibus ingesserat.

¹ ac D, G, R

2. Wars in Italy

[2] Jean d'Anjou,¹ the son of René,² had seized the ships built and equipped with holy funds [collected] against the Turks by the Cardinal of Avignon³ in the region of the Rhone. He formed a fleet, and bringing it to the Kingdom of Sicily⁴ he [used it] against [other] Christians, thus inflicting war upon an Italy that was at peace. We sent aid to Ferrante,⁵ the king appointed by Us, so that he would not be deprived of the possession of the Kingdom without proper judgment. Our undertaking was difficult because almost all the barons of the Kingdom had rebelled against Ferrante and because the great and famous name of France still counted for much in the Kingdom. Piccinino,⁶ the son of Piccinino,⁷ deserted King Ferrante and joined the French, and arriving like *a lightning of war* he put fear into the hearts of the inhabitants of that province.

¹ Jean II d'Anjou (1424-1470): Son of King René d'Anjou. As heir-apparent he was styled the Duke of Calabria

² 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 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

⁴ At that time the former Kingdom of Sicily had been divided into a Southern Italian part, the Kingdom of Naples (usually but inappropriately called Kingdom of Sicily), ruled by King Ferrante of Aragon, and the Sicilian part, ruled by his uncle Juan II of Aragon

⁵ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁶ Piccinino, Jacopo (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman. Son of Niccolò Piccinino. Captain of the troop of mercenaries called the Bracceschi, after Braccio da Montone

⁷ Niccolò Piccinino (1386-1444): Italian condottiero and nobleman. Father of Jacopo Piccinino. Captain of the troop of mercenaries called the Bracceschi, after Braccio da Montone

[3] In agris ecclesiae familiae nobiles aut aperte cum hostibus sentiebant aut auxilia clam ministrabant, Ursinis exceptis atque Comitibus, quos aere conduximus. Sabellus intromissis Braccianis omnem Sabinam totumque Latium reddidit infestum. Columnenses in Campania saepe res novas moliti sunt. Eversus, Anguillariae comes, modo unum, modo alterum furari oppidum aggressus etiam vitae nostrae ferro ac veneno insidiatus est. Gentilis Salensis Urbem Veterem occupare temptavit, et Ficullam nobis eripuit. Rebellaverunt et nobiles in Arce Canali munitissima, quam putabant inexpugnabilem.

[4] Quid Sigismundus Malatesta? Quot nobis molestias intulit? Liberatus ab hoste, cui prorsus¹ erat impar, beneficio nostro pacemque consecutus Muldavium et alia oppida, quae jure pignoris tenebamus, per fraudem dolosque nobis eripuit, ad hostes defecit, Gallorum stipendia meruit, copias nostras in Piceno profligavit, omnemque late agrum populatus est. Perusini, novarum cupidi rerum, non tam nobis quam Piccinino favebant. Reatini vix in officio mansere. Romana juvenus crassari² per urbem, rapinas caedesque facere, hostemque accersire. Adversus tot tantasque difficultates nec Veneti nec Florentini, ut ex foedere tenebantur, auxilia praebuere. Dux Mutinae immemor juramenti Gallorum partes enixissime juvit. Solus {199v} Franciscus Mediolanensium princeps Ferdinando nobisque auxilio fuit.

¹ penitus G

² grassari G

2.1. War in the Church State

[3] Except the Orsini¹ and the Conti whom We hired as captains, the noble families in the Church lands either supported Our enemies openly or aided them in secret. Savelli brought in the Bracceschi² and made all of Sabina and Lazio enemy territory. The Colonna in Campagna repeatedly stirred up rebellion. Count Everso of Anguillara³ endeavoured to steal one city after the other, and he even plotted to kill Us with sword and poison. Gentile da Sala⁴ tried to occupy Orvieto and robbed Us of Ficulle. Also the nobles in the well fortified Rocca di Canale rebelled, believing it to be impregnable.

[4] And what about Sigismondo Malatesta?⁵ How much did he not harm Us? Having been freed from a much stronger enemy⁶ and obtained peace through Our own benevolent intervention,⁷ he deceitfully and cunningly robbed us of Mondavio and other cities that We held in pledge. He defected to Our enemies, was hired by the French, overcame Our forces in Piceno, and laid waste to a large territory. The rebellious Perugians favoured Piccinino more than Us. The Reatines⁸ hardly stayed loyal. The Roman youth rioted in the City, robbing and killing, and summoned the enemy. In so many and great difficulties, neither the Venetians nor the Florentines sent help, though they were obliged to do so by treaty.⁹ The Duke of Modena¹⁰ neglected his oath and greatly helped the French cause. Only Prince Francesco of Milan¹¹ sent help to Ferrante and Us.

¹ The Orsini, the Conti, the Savelli, the Colonna, and the Anguillara were Roman baronial families, the first four with popes among their ancestors

² The Bracceschi: a troop of mercenaries founded by Braccio da Montone ca. 1406

³ Everso II degli Anguillara (d. 4 September 1464) was an Italian condottiero, a member of the Anguillara family

⁴ Gentile da Sala: Italian condottiero

⁵ Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417-1468): Lord and Papal Vicar of Rimini and Fano (from 1432)

⁶ King Ferrante I

⁷ At the Congress of Mantua

⁸ People of Rieti

⁹ The Lega Italica of 1455

¹⁰ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

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

[5] Vidimus per id tempus vos ferme omnes trepidare metu, nec quisquam vestrum consilia nostra probabat. Ruituram ecclesiam arbitrabamini, nec poteratis de nobis non dura loqui, qui re Turcorum obmissa¹ bellum Gallicum suscepissemus Ferdinandique magis causam quam Christi defenderemus. Existimabatis ex animo nostro zelum fidei penitus decidisse, nec ullam nobis esse curam tuendae religionis. Falsa opinio fuit, male de nobis opinati estis. Non videbatis cor nostrum neque introspicere mentem poteratis. Nulli molestiores fuere quam nobis Turcorum victoriae, nullae ab illis subactae gentes, nullae urbes eversae, nullae Christianorum animae raptae sine singulari maerore nostro atque intensissimo² dolore. Ardebat animus subvenire miseris, pudebat crassari³ hostes in agris fidelium neque invenire resistentes. Sed quid ageremus? Occupati bello domestico foris pugnare non poteramus. Aut Roma cedere oportebat aut Gallos vincere, qui spretis jussionibus nostris contra jus fasque Siciliae regnum invaserant vassallosque nostros in circuitu contra nos armaverant. Necessaria sumpsimus arma, quae defenderent, non quae offenderent. Pacare prius domum oportuit, deinde Turcos bello petere. Huc mens nostra, huc cogitationes omnes intentae fuerunt. Pro Christo pugnavimus, cum Ferdinandum defendimus. Turcis intulimus bellum, cum Sigismundi concussimus agros. Vidit ex alto pius atque optimus Deus animum nostrum nobisque affuit, et direxit consilia nostra. *Misit de caelo angelum suum* atque hostes conterruit et contrivit⁴.

¹ omissa D; amissa G

² intentissimo D, G

³ grassari G

⁴ attrivit D, G, R [*Heck does not give the variant contrivit in S; Totaro has attrivit, not the contrivit*]

[5] During that time, We saw almost all of you trembling with fear, and none of you supported Our plans. You thought the Church would perish, and you could only speak harshly about Us for abandoning the matter of the Turks: We had undertaken a war against the French, and defended the cause of Ferrante rather than the cause of Christ. You believed Our soul had lost its zeal for the Faith and that We did not care about protecting religion. But you were wrong, and you misjudged Us. You could not look into Our heart and mind. Nothing was more hurtful to Us than the Turkish victories. Every people defeated by them, every city conquered, every Christian killed caused us great sorrow and intense pain. Our heart burnt with desire to help people in their misery. We were ashamed that the enemies could lay waste to the territories of the faithful without meeting any resistance.

But what could We do? Being involved in a war at home, We could not also fight abroad. We must either give up Rome or defeat the French who, ignoring Our commands, had invaded the Kingdom of Sicily against all law and right, and even armed Our vassals in the vicinity against Us. We simply had to take up arms not to attack, but to defend. First We must have peace at home, then We could go to war against the Turks. This was Our intention, this was all We were thinking about. Defending Ferrante,¹ We fought for Christ. Attacking the lands of Sigismondo,² We were fighting the Turks. From on high, the Pious and Best God saw Our heart, he helped Us and directed Our plans. *He hath sent an angel from Heaven;*³ he has terrified Our enemies and destroyed them.

¹ Ferrante I

² Sigismondo Malatesta

³ Acts, 12, 11

[6] Sabellus omnibus exutus oppidis praeter duo prostratus ante pedes nostros veniam petiit. Tiburtini, qui et ipsi propemodum ad hostes defecere, arcis subire jugum coacti sunt. Columnenses humiliati summis precibus, ut eos ab inimicis protegeremus pro vetustate dignitateque domus obtinuere. Eversus pavidus tremensque domi quiescit. Canalenses funditus deleti sunt. Gentilis quoque amisso patrimonio in exilium actus. Perusini {200r} dicto parentes effecti, Reatini nulla imperata recusant. Anconitani Martianum, quod malis artibus¹ a Sigismundo receperant, jubente legato ecclesiae tradiderunt. Julius Camertinus, qui unus fuerat ex conspiratoribus a Sigismundo citatis, domi contra naturam quiescens oppidum Scorticatae, quod non recto titulo invaserat, trepidus reddidit.

[7] Quid de Sigismundo sit actum, tenetis omnes. Cum Senegalliam nobis eripuisset, invasus ab exercitibus nostris fugatus profligatusque est, vixque cum paucis evasit. Muldaviium deinde vi captum, quamvis externo milite abunde munitum esset, et omnia vicariatus oppida in potestatem recepta. Transivere copiae in agrum Ariminensem, brevique Mundainum, Montemflorum, Verruchium, Sanctum Archangelum et circumjecta castella partim vi, partim deditione nostri duces obtinuere. Miro fortunae afflatu, immo² vero mirabili providentia Dei atque misericordia inexpugnabilia, quae putabantur loca, et quae nec Piccininus nec Franciscus Sfortia, praeclari duces, quamvis temptassent, evincere nullo pacto valuerunt, brevi tempore capta sunt. Itum est ad Fani moenia, urbs magna et potens et in littore maris jacens, unde saepe auxilia suscepit³, obsessa tandem manus dedit. Recepta est⁴ et Senegallia et Gradaria, quae Franciscum Sfortiam⁵ in obsidione jacentem delusit.

¹ Martianum quod malis artibus : qui malis artibus Martianum D, G, R [*Heck does not give the variant in S, and Totaro does not give the variant in R*]

² modo D, G

³ cepit G

⁴ omit. D, G

⁵ omit. D, G

[6] When Savelli had been deprived of all his cities except two, he cast himself at Our feet and asked forgiveness. The people of Tivoli who had almost defected to the enemy were forced to accept the yoke of a fortress. When the Colonna had been brought low and begged for Our protection against their enemies, they obtained it out of consideration for the great age and dignity of their house. Everso stays peacefully at home, in fear and trembling. The da Canale were completely destroyed. Gentile lost his domains and was sent into exile. The Perugians do as they are told, and the people of Rieti obey all commands. The people of Ancona had received Martino from Sigismundo by some sordid transaction, but on the order of the [papal] legate¹ they gave it to the Church. Giulio da Camerino², one of the men who had been accused of conspiring with Sigismondo, stays peacefully at home, quite unnaturally for him, and trembling with fear has given back the town of Scorticata which he had occupied illegally.

[7] As for Sigismondo³ you all know what has happened. When he had taken Senigallia from Us, he was attacked by Our armies and thoroughly beaten. He was forced to flee and escaped with only a few men. Afterwards Mondavio was conquered though it was garrisoned by a large troop of hired soldiers, and all the towns of the Vicariate fell into Our power. Our troops entered the territory of Rimini, and in short order Our captains gained Mondaino, Montefiore, Verrucchio, Sant'Arcangelo and the fortified cities in the vicinity either by force or by surrender. The wondrous winds of fortune, or rather the wonderful providence and mercy of God made it possible for Us to conquer in a short time a number of places thought to be unconquerable - and which famous captains like Piccinino and Francesco Sforza had tried in vain to win. [Our army then] pushed forward to the walls of Fano, a great and strong city situated at the sea, from where Sigismondo had often received help and supplies.⁴ It was besieged and eventually surrendered. Also Senigallia and Gradara were taken, [cities that] Francesco Sforza⁵ had [formerly] been unable to take when he besieged them.

¹ Pius' relative, Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri

² Possibly Giulio Cesare di Varano (d. 1502)

³ Sigismondo Malatesta

⁴ Or: the sea from which Fano had often received help and supplies

⁵ Francesco Sforza had been one of the most successful military leaders in Italy, before he became Duke of Milan. The remark serves to underscore the brilliance of the papal captains

[8] Nihil Sigismundo remansit praeter Ariminum et quaedam in Apennini montibus nivosa loca et in Etruria Cisterna. Magna Dei ultio: peste, fame, atque bello conteritur, qui paulo ante superbus per contemptum atque irrisionem interceptis episcopi Cornetani ornamentis equitem ex suis quemdam jusserat illa induere atque obequitantem per castra quasi legatum summi pontificis populo atque militiae benedicere. Sic sacrorum contemptoribus Deus retribuit. Dominicus Malatesta, cum Sigismundo fratri opem tulisset, nostrisque¹ conatibus adversaretur, magna parte agri mulctatus² est fuissetque Cesena rejectus, nisi resipiscens ad misericordiam nostram convolasset. Haec in agris ecclesiae gesta, extra regnum.

¹ nostris D, G

² mult... *et passim* G

[8] Sigismondo has nothing left but Rimini and some snowy places in the Appennine Mountains and Cisterna in Toscana. Great was God's revenge: before, Sigismondo had been arrogant, contemptuous, and sarcastic. Once he even seized the vestments of the Bishop of Corneto and ordered one of his knights to put them on and ride through the camp blessing the people and the soldiers as if he was a papal legate. Now, he suffers plague, hunger, and war. Thus God punishes those who scorn the sacred.

Domenico Malatesta¹ came to the assistance of his brother Sigismondo and opposed Our efforts: he was deprived of a large part of his territory and would also have been expelled from Cesena unless he had come to his senses and begged for mercy.

This is what happened in the lands of the Church, outside the Kingdom.²

¹ Domenico Malatesta Malatesti (AKA Novello Malatesta (1418–1465): Italian condottiero, brother of Sigismondo Malatesta. Lord of Cesena

² The Kingdom: The Kingdom of Naples (Sicily) is often referred to as simply the Kingdom (Il Regno), being – at the time - the only such in Italy

[9] Referamus nunc breviter, quanto nos favore¹ misericors Deus in ipso regno prosecutus est. Transeamus Campaniae recuperationem, cuius magna pars ad hostes {200v} defecerat, concordiam Ursi Ursini, res Calabrum, expugnationem Cossentiae, reditum marchionis Crotoniatis et Sancti Severini familiae. Ad majora veniamus. Quid Trojana victoria gloriosius, in qua omnes hostium vires in unum conjunctae infelix proelium commisere? Johannes Andegavensis, cuius auspicio res gerebantur, et Piccininus, formidatus copiarum imperator atque invictus existimatus, primariique² duces turpem arripere fugam coacti sunt. Troja deinde in potestatem venit, et Johannes Cossa regia liberalitate dimissus. Contra principem Tarentinum ductae copiae Asculum illi eripuerunt. Dux Melfiae ad Ofantum regi se dedit, et paulo post princeps ipse relictis Francis {569r} atque abjurata Piccinini societate suo regi reconciliatus est, cum quo maxima procerum caterva in gratiam rediit. Neapoleo, nostri ductor exercitus, ad compescendam Sorani ducis temeritatem profectus, Insulam, et Soram, et Arpinum, et alia pleraque magni momenti castella illi eripuit ac frenum imposuit.

¹ nos favore : favore nos G

² primorumque D, G

2.2. War in the Kingdom of Naples

[9] We shall now briefly relate how greatly merciful God has favoured Our cause in the Kingdom itself. Let Us pass over the recovery of Campagna, the greater part of which had defected to the enemies, as well as the agreements with Orso Orsini, the affairs in Calabria, the conquest of Cosenza, and the return of the Marquis of Crotona and the Sanseverino family.

Instead We turn to the greater events. What could be more glorious than the victory at Troia where all the enemy forces had gathered for a battle which turned into a disaster for them? Jean d'Anjou, having the over-all command,¹ and Piccinino, a much feared general reputed to be invincible, were forced to flee in shame with their captains. Afterwards Troia was taken,² and Giovanni Cossa³ was given leave to depart by the generous king who then brought his forces against the Prince of Taranto and took Ascoli Satriano from him. At Ofanto, the Duke of Melfi yielded to the king, and shortly after the prince⁴ deserted the French, abandoned his alliance with Piccinino, and was reconciled with his king. With him a great many nobles returned to the king's grace. Our captain Napoleone⁵ set forth to tame the reckless Duke of Sora and took Isola, Sora, and Arpino as well as many other important fortified cities from him, and put the reins on him.

¹ "cujus auspicio res gerebantur"

² August 1462

³ Giovanni Cossa: Italian condottiero

⁴ The Prince of Taranto

⁵ Napoleone Orsini (ca. 1420-1480): Italian condottiero

[10] Recuperavit et agrum abbatiae sancti Germani et Pontem Corvum olim Eugenio ab Alfonso ereptum. Antonio Spinello, praecipuo Gallici nominis assertori, tantum terroris incussit, ut subito morbo correptus obierit. Nepotes ejus¹ in arce Vilhelmi, quam putant inexpugnabilem, ecclesiae vexilla erexerint. Duxit et adversus Ruggerottum, Celani comitem, qui Piccinini armis adjutus privatam imperio matrem in carcerem conjecerat. Huic brevi tyrannidem ademit, atque, ut Ferdinandus decreverat, comitatum nepoti nostro Antonio tradidit. Ex altera parte Alexander Sfortia ab Apulis per asperos montes in Aprutios duxit conjunctusque Matthaeo Capuano et Roberto Ursino in Caudolas Piccininumque contendit, qui apud Archas castra tenebant. Non fuit animus hostibus cum Alexandro manus conserere: mutatis castris ad munitiora montis loca migraverunt, ac misso caduceatore pacem petentes post paucos dies compositis rebus suis Ferdinando se submisere.

¹ *omit. G*

[10] He also recovered the lands of the Abbey of San Germano¹ as well as Pontecorvo, once taken from Eugenius² by Alfonso.³ He scared Antonio Spinelli, a great supporter of the French cause, so much that he died of sudden illness. His nephews hoisted the standards of the Church over the Rocca Giulielma, believed to be impregnable. He also led the army against Count Ruggerotto of Celano, who with military assistance from Piccinino had deprived his own mother of the government and thrown her into prison. Napoleone soon put an end to his usurpation and on Ferrante's order transferred the countship to Our nephew, Antonio.⁴

In the other direction, Alessandro Sforza⁵ led his troops from Puglia over rugged mountains to Abruzzo. There he joined forces with Matteo da Capua⁶ and Roberto Orsini⁷ and moved on against the Caldora and Piccinino whose camp was at Arce. The enemies had no desire to fight Alessandro and moved their camp to better fortified positions on the mountain. Then they sent a herald to sue for peace: after a few days the matter was settled, and they submitted to Ferrante.

¹ The famous Abbey of Monte Cassino

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

³ 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

⁴ Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini: Nephew of Pope Pius II and brother of the later Pope Pius III

⁵ Alessandro Sforza (1409-1473): Italian condottiero. Brother of Francesco Sforza. Lord of Pesaro

⁶ Matteo da Capua: Italian condottiero

⁷ Roberto Orsini: Italian condottiero

[11] Duxit et Alexander adversus Aquilanos, qui omni spe auxilii destituti mox deditionem fecere, quamvis liberos et uxores commesturos se olim dixerant, priusquam Francos relinquerent, ut saepe major oris quam animi ferocitas reperitur. Ferdinandus {201r} vastata Rossani principis agrorum magna parte in planitiem Sinuessanam ingredi conatus est, quae mari, flumine, ac montibus clausa difficillimos habet aditus. Vicit omnia constans animus divino favore adjutus: munimenta disjecta sunt, et omne praesidium ad Turrim, quam vocant Balnearum, locatum magna vi repulsum. Obtenta est planities, et ager omnium ditissimus direptioni datus, atque usque ad portas Sinuessae procursum¹. Consternatus tandem animo Rossani princeps, quamvis Andegavensis cum duabus equitum turmis auxilio advenisset, pacem nihilominus petiit, mulctatusque nonnullis munitissimis locis in pristinam benivolentiam receptus est. Johanni libertas data intra quindecim dies quocumque vellet extra regnum abiret. Is apud Aenariam se recepit, ibique Cathelani fidem secutus, qui suum dominum prodidit, egens maerensque latitat. Haec illi praemia sunt violatae fidei et ecclesiasticae classis in Christianos armatae.

[12] Sic Deus in suos hostes ulciscitur. Quis non haec divina opera recognoscat? Non sunt haec nostra, viri fratres. Deus, Deus est, qui Italia orditur et textit. Maximum regnum quadringentis circiter millibus passuum protensum, nusquam minus quam centum millibus latum, tot urbibus, tot munitis arcibus referctum², tot baronibus, tanta militia plenum, cum uno anno concordii rebellione ad Francos defecisset, paucissimis aut civitatibus aut baronibus cum Ferdinando remanentibus, donante altissimo, cujus est *regna de gente in gentem transferre*, huc denique redactum est, ut omnia Ferdinandi nomine teneantur, exceptis in Aprutiis Ortona, in Apulis Manfredonia, Bestia, Sancta Severa, et Arce Luceriae et Campi Bassi comitis parvula regione³. In Calabris Manthea et si qua sunt aliis sine nomine locis. In Tyrrheno mare e regione Neapolis Castrum Ovi semidirutum ab hostibus detinetur, et non procul a Bais arx Aenariae, in qua diximus Johannem latere. Reliqua nostris et sociorum armis evicta ad officium rediere.

¹ percursum G

² refertum D, G

³ religione D, G

[11] Then Alessandro¹ led his troops towards the Aquilans who, having no hope of help, soon surrendered. Previously they had said that they would eat their own children and wives before they abandoned the French, but as is often the case their language was stronger than their fierceness. Ferrante laid waste to a large part of the Prince of Rossano's lands and sought to enter the plain of Sessa which, being closed in by sea, river, and mountains, is rather difficult of access. But perseverance aided by God's favour overcame all difficulties: the enemy's fortifications were destroyed, and the whole garrison at the Torre de' Bagni was defeated in an intense battle: the plain was occupied, and that very rich territory given over to plunder. Eventually they reached the gates of Sessa. Then, finally, the Prince of Rossano lost courage, and though Anjou came to his assistance with two horse companies, the prince sued for peace. Having been fined to hand over several well-fortified places, he regained the king's grace. Jean was given the freedom to go, within 15 days, wherever he wanted to outside the Kingdom. He went to Ischia where he is staying now, sorrowful and destitute, trusting the loyalty of a Catalan who betrayed his own lord.² This was the result of breaking faith and arming the Church's fleet against other Christians.

[12] This is how God avenges himself on his enemies. Who does not see that all this is God's doing and not Ours, my brethren? God it is, God it is who directs and protects Italy. The great Kingdom³ is about 400.000 passus long and nowhere less than 100.000 passus broad. It contains many cities, many fortresses, many baronies, and it is full of soldiers. In the course of one year it entered a state of general rebellion and defected to the French. Only few cities and barons remained loyal to Ferrante. But with the help of the Lord who *transfers kingdoms from people to people*,⁴ the point has now been reached where all is held in Ferrante's name except Ortona in Abruzzo, in Puglia, Manfredonia, Vieste, San Severo, and the fortress in Lucera, and the small region of the Count of Campobasso, in Calabria, Mantea and possibly some other places without name. In the region of Naples on the Tyrrhenian Sea the enemy holds the half-destroyed Castel dell'Ovo, and not far from Baia the fortress of Ischia where - as We have said - Jean⁵ is hiding. The other territories have been defeated by Our weapons and those of Our allies and have returned to their lawful allegiance.

¹ Alessandro Sforza

² I.e. Ferrante, of the Catalan dynasty (of Aragon)

³ Kingdom of Naples

⁴ Daniel, 2, 21: *transfert regna, atque constituit*; Psalms, 104, 13

⁵ Jean d'Anjou

[13] Quorsum haec, quaeritis, tam longa narratio? Nempe ut intelligatis beneficia magni dei, quibus et¹ Romanam Ecclesiam et vos nosque cumulavit, {201v} ut cogitetis una nobiscum vicem rependere atque habere gratias largitori. Peracta sunt duo gravissima bella, Siculum ac Picense, et quamvis reliquiae in Regno nonnullae remanserint, satis est quod nostris cogitationibus impedimento esse non possunt. Ipse per se Ferdinandus minuta haec, quae restant, evellere offendicula sufficit. Nobis iam liberum est adversus Turcos arma capessere. Non possumus amplius nec volumus differre. Nunc desiderium nostrum implere licet. Nunc pro fide pugnare fas est, quod semper optavimus. Novit deus cogitationes nostras hisque viam iam tandem expeditam reddidit. Rogastis nos saepius, ut hoc² ipsum ageremus. Nunc vos rogabimus. Cavete, ne quod in nobis reprehendistis, increpare possimus in vobis. Nunc vestra fides, vestra religio, vestra devotio in lucem veniet. Si vera erit, *non ficta caritas* vestra, nos sequemini. *Exemplum* dabimus vobis ut, *quemadmodum* nos ipsi facturi sumus, *ita et vos faciatis*. Nos autem magistrum et dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, pium et sanctum *pastorem*, imitabimur, qui *pro suis ovibus animam ponere* non dubitavit. Ponemus et nos vitam nostram pro grege nostro, quando aliter Christianae religioni, ne Turcorum viribus conculcetur, subvenire non possumus.

¹ omit. G

² id D, G

3. Crusade

3.1. Pope's plan for the crusade

[13] What is the purpose of this long narration?, you ask. It is that you may understand the favours our great God has shown the Roman Church and you and Us, so that together we may consider what to do in return, and how we should thank the giver. Two very serious wars have been fought, the War of Sicily and the War of Piceno, and though some regions remain in the Kingdom [that have not yet been defeated], they cannot hinder Our plans: Ferrante must himself take care of the obstacles still remaining. This means that We are now free to take up arms against the Turks. We cannot and will not delay any further. Now We may fulfil Our desire. Now it is right to fight for the Faith, as We always wanted to. God knows Our plans, and He has finally opened the way. Often you have asked Us to do this. Now We will ask you! Take care that your rebuke against Us may not be turned against yourselves. Now your faith, your religious conviction, your devotion will be revealed. If your *charity is unfeigned*¹ and true, you will follow Us. *For We shall give you an example, that as We shall do, you shall do also.*² We shall imitate Our Lord and teacher, Jesus Christ, the pious and holy *shepherd*, who did not hesitate to *give his life for his sheep*.³ Let us, too, give Our life for Our flock since this is the only way we can help the Christian religion not to succumb to Turkish violence.

¹ 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

² John, 13, 15: *Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis*

³ John, 10, 11; 1. John, 3, 16

[14] Armabimus classem quantam pro facultatibus¹ ecclesiae instruere poterimus. Ascendemus navem, quamvis senes² morbisque conquassati. Dabimus vela ventis atque in Graeciam et Asiam navigabimus. Et: "Quid ages," dicet quispiam "in bello, senex sacerdos? Mille morbis oppressus, et in proelium ibis? Quid togata valebit in pugna cohors? Quid sacer ordo cardinalium praestabit in castris? Vix tympana tubasque ferent, ne dicam bombardas hostium. In deliciis egere iuventam, et tu senium macerabis armis? Inconsulte agis. Melius domi cum cardinalibus atque omni curia remanebis. Classem vero argento paratam fortique et *assueto malis* milite instructam mittes in hostem aut Hungaris aurum suggeres, qui copias quam validissimas in Turcos agant."

[15] Pulchre dictum et utile, si adsit aurum. Sed unde id corrademus? Aerarium nostrum diutino bello exhaustum est, nec proventus Ecclesiae ii³ sunt⁴, qui {202r} tantae rei sufficiant, quamvis divino munere aluminis vena reperta est, quae magis ac magis divinae pietati nos obligat et ad tuendam religionem invitat. Omnis pecuniarum summa, quae singulis annis ad cameram nostram pervenire potest, trecenta millia auri nummum haudquaquam ascendit. Mediam partem custodes arcium et praefecti provinciarum et belli duces et aulici nostri consumunt, neque his sumptibus carere apostolatus potest. Quis reliquum ad debellandos Turcos sufficere dixerit? Intelligitis pro vestra prudentia⁵ longe majori pecunia opus esse. Vix decies centena millia in annum sufficiant Turconico bello, quod triennale aut certe longius futurum in Mantua viri docti iudicavere.

¹ facultate G

² senes *corr.* ex senex D; senex G

³ hi D, G

⁴ *omit.* G

⁵ providentia D, G

3.2. Pope's personal participation in the crusade

[14] We shall arm as large a fleet as the Church has the means to. And though We are old and burdened with illness, We shall take ship, raise the sails, and travel to Greece and Asia. Someone may say: "And what would you do in the war, old priest? You are suffering a thousand ills, and now you will go to war? What can the togate crowd¹ contribute to the war? What can the sacred order of cardinals do in the army? They can barely endure the trumpets and the horns, not to say the enemies' canons. They have spent their youth in pleasant occupations, and now you will burden their old age with arms? You are acting foolishly. You better stay at home with the cardinals and the whole Curia. Use instead the money to prepare a fleet with a troop of strong soldiers, *used to hardships*,² and send it against the enemy, or you could give the money to the Hungarians to send a strong force against the Turks."

3.3. Problems of financing the crusade

[15] That is well and reasonably said, if only there was any money. But where shall We get the money? Our treasury has been exhausted by the long war, and the incomes of the Church are not sufficient for so great a venture, even if the alun vein has been found – by God's grace - which puts us in great debt towards merciful God and urges Us to protect religion. The total sum of money that can reach Our chamber barely amounts to 300.000 ducats per year. Half of it is spent on the commanders of fortresses, the governors of provinces, the captains of war, and our courtiers, and these expenses are necessary to maintain the papal administration.³ Who will claim that the rest⁴ would suffice for making war on the Turks? You are wise enough to know that much more money is needed. At least a million per year will be needed for a Turkish war which according to the specialists in Mantua⁵ might well last three years or more.

¹ Classical expression designating people in togas as opposed to people in military uniforms, i.e. civilians

² Cf. Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.630

³ "apostolatus"

⁴ I.e. about 150.000 ducats a year

⁵ At the Congress of Mantua. Among the specialists were Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan

[16] Audimus insusurrations vestras: "Si adeo difficile bellum censes, qua spe pergis non apparatis viribus quae sufficiant?" Istuc venimus. Bellum necessarium cum Turcis imminet. Nisi sumimus arma atque occurrimus hosti, actum de religione censemus. Tales inter Turcos erimus, qualem¹ inter Christianos Judaeorum despectam cernimus gentem. Nisi bellum sumimus, infames sumus. At bellum sine pecunia geri non potest. Quaerere occurrit hoc loco: ubi pecuniam perquiremus? "A fidelibus Christianis," respondebitis. Urgemus amplius: Quo pacto? Quonam modo? Omnes temptatae viae sunt, nulla voto respondit. Indiximus Mantuae conventum: quis inde fructus emersit? Misimus in provincias legatos: sprete atque irrisi fuere. Imposuimus clero decimas: appellatum est pernicioso exemplo ad futurum concilium. Jussimus indulgentias praedicari²: aucupium id esse ad extorquendas pecunias dixere et inventum curialis avaritiae. Omnia quaecunque agimus in partem deteriore populus accipit. Ea conditio nostra est quae mensariorum perdita³ fide: nihil creditur nobis. Despectui sacerdotium est, et infame nomen cleri. Aiunt nos in deliciis agere, cumulare pecunias, ambitioni servire, mulabus insedere pinguioribus ac nobilioribus equis, extendere fimbrias paludamentorum, et inflatis buccis sub rubenti pilleo et ampliori cucullo per urbem vadere, canes ad venandum {202v} alere, histrionibus et parasitis multa largiri, in defensionem fidei nihil. Nec omnino mentiuntur: sunt plerique inter cardinales et reliquos curiales, qui haec agunt et, si verum fateri volumus, nimius est curiae nostrae vel luxus vel fastus. Hinc odiosi populo sumus adeo, ut nec vera dicentes audiamur.

¹ *em.* Heck; quales D, G, R, S

² praedicare G

³ prodita D, G

3.4. General scepticism concerning the crusade

[16] We hear you whispering: “If you believe that the war is so difficult, what can you hope for if you press on out without sufficient troops?” We are coming to that now. An unavoidable war with the Turks is threatening. Unless We take arms and go to meet the enemy, We believe that our religion is finished. We [Christians] shall be living among the Turks like we see Jews living among the Christians [today], as a despised people. Unless we go to war, we shall become despised too. But one cannot make war without money, so now the question must be asked: from where do we get the money? “From the faithful Christians,” you answer. We insist: “How? in what way?” All methods have been tried, but none of them work. We summoned a congress to Mantua: With what result? We sent legates to the provinces: they were mocked and derided. We imposed tithes on the clergy: they appealed to a future council, setting a harmful example. We ordered the preaching of indulgences: people claimed it was a trap to extort money, invented by a greedy curia. Whatever We do, people interpret it in the worst sense. We are in the same situation as bankers who have lost their credit: no one trusts us. The priesthood is despised, the name of the clergy is infamous. People say that we live a life of pleasure, that we amass money, that we serve ambition, that we ride on fat mules and noble horses, that we use cloaks with trailing fringes, that we go through the City with puffed out cheeks under our red hats, clothed in billowing cowls, that we raise dogs for hunting, that we spend much on performers and parasites, and nothing on the defense of the Faith. They are not entirely wrong: many cardinals and curials do just that,¹ and, to be honest, the luxury and splendour of our Curia is excessive. Therefore people hate us and do not listen to us even when we speak the truth.

¹ Pastor, II, pp. 226, saw in these remarks a barely veiled criticism of the young cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, whom Pius had previously criticized for his living, but Dall’Oco, pp. 508-509, considers that the pope is here stigmatizing the moral corruption of the clergy in general

[17] Quid agendum in tanta contumacia censetis? An non quaerenda via est, qua perditam fidem recuperemus? Utique dicitis: “Et quae via huc nos ducet?” Nulla certe nostris temporibus usitata: ad insueta jam pridem itinera transeundum. Quaerendum est, quibus artibus maiores nostri hoc nobis imperium ecclesiae latissimum pepererunt atque illis utendum. Principatus enim *facile* his modis *retinetur, quibus ab initio¹ partus est*. Abstinencia, castitas, innocentia, zelus fidei, religionis fervor, contemptus mortis martyriique² cupido Romanam ecclesiam toti orbi praefecerunt. Primi Petrus et Paulus inclyto martyrio dicaverunt. Secuti deinde pontifices alter post alterum longa serie ad gentilium tribunalia rapti, dum falsos deos accusant Christumque verum et singularem deum manifesta voce fatentur, exquisitis suppliciis mortem obiere eoque pacto *novellae plantationi* consuluerunt. Credidere discipuli magistros vera locutos, qui suam doctrinam morte³ firmassent nec ullis potuerint⁴ ab ea tormentis avelli, veri et probati pastores, *qui pro gregibus suis animam posuerunt*, magistrum et dominum imitati Jesum, aeternum et optimum *pastorem, qui pro suis ovibus* in ara crucis occisus humanum genus pio patri *reconciliavit*.

[18] Conversis deinde ad Christum Romanis, apertis ecclesiis, et evangelio passim disseminato cessavere martyria, et sancti confessores introiere, qui doctrinae lumine sanctiorisque vitae fulgore non minus Christianis plebibus profuerunt⁵ quam martyres, vitiis hominum frena ponentes, quae solent in pace latius evagari. Ab his et ab illis⁶ ecclesia nostra magna effecta est. Servari non potest, nisi praedecessores nostros imitemur, qui regnum ecclesiae condidere. Nec satis est confessores esse⁷, praedicare populis, fulminare vitia, virtutes in caelum tollere: ad priores {203r} illos accedendum est, qui pro testamento domini sua corpora tradiderunt. Nihil est, quod pro salute gregis nobis commissi perpeti non debeamus, etiam si *anima ponenda* sit.

¹ ab initio : a principio G

² martyrii G

³ suam doctrinam morte : sua doctrina mortem S [*Totaro has suam doctrinam morte!*]

⁴ potuerunt D, G

⁵ profuerunt D, G

⁶ ab illis : aliis D, G

⁷ omit. D, G

3.5. Return to the ways of the Early Church

[17] What do you think we should do faced with such stubborn opposition? Should we not seek a way to recover the credibility that we have lost? Of course you ask: "What way shall we take?" Certainly not a way that has been used in our times. We must tread a path that has not been used for a long time. We should seek and use those means by which our ancestors gained this great empire of the Church for us. For *sovereignty is easily preserved by those practices which brought it into being in the first place.*¹ Abstinence, chastity, innocence, zeal for the Faith, religious fervour, contempt of death, and eager acceptance of martyrdom set the Roman Church above the whole world, a Church that was first consecrated with the glorious martyrdom of Peter and Paul. Then followed a long series of pontiffs who, one after the other, were dragged before the tribunals of the gentiles: accusing the [pagan] gods as false and loudly proclaiming Christ as the true and only God, they died after atrocious torture and thus they tended *the new plant.*² The followers believed that their teachers told the truth since they confirmed their teachings with their death and could not be made to deny them by torture. As true and proven *shepherds they gave their lives for their sheep,*³ imitating Jesus, their teacher and lord, the eternal and good *shepherd, who was killed for His sheep*⁴ on the altar of the Cross and thereby reconciled the human race with the pious Father.

[18] When the Romans had converted to Christ, the churches had been opened, and the Gospel spread everywhere, there were no more martyrs. In their place came the holy confessors who benefited the Christian peoples no less than the martyrs, by the light of their teaching and the splendour of their holy life, putting a bridle on men's vices which usually grow in times of peace. It is the martyrs and the confessors who made our Church great. It can only be saved if we imitate our predecessors who founded the realm of Church.⁵ And it is not enough to be confessors, to preach to the peoples, to castigate vice, and to extol virtues to Heaven. We must go even further back, to the martyrs who gave their lives for the testament of the Lord. There is nothing which we should not be prepared to suffer for the salvation of the flock entrusted to us, even if it means *sacrificing our own lives.*⁶

¹ Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 2.4-5: *imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est*

² Psalms, 143, 12

³ John, 10, 11

⁴ John, 3, 16

⁵ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 136, has this comment: *Immer öfter stilisierte der leidende Papst im im letzten Pontifikatsjahr die Selbstentäußerung, seine Hinfälligkeit ... Martyrium und Triumph; zugleich beschwor er die Schlichtheit, Askese und die religiöse Glut des Urchristentums, die Kirche und die Papsttum einst gross gemacht hätten; ein Gedanke der auch als Reflex auf die aktuelle Kurienkritik und als Reformimpuls zu verstehen ist*

⁶ John, 10, 11

[19] Turci modo istam, modo illam Christianorum provinciam vastant. Bosnia hoc anno capta est, et rex gentis obruncatus. Trepidant Hungari, trepidant vicini omnes. Quid agemus?¹ Armatas illi copias mittemus obviam? Non est aurum, unde parentur. Quid ergo? Reges hortabimur, illi occurrant atque hostes e nostris finibus propulsent? At hoc frustra temptatum est. Non belle dicitur: "Ite!" Fortasse melius audient: "Venite!" Hoc temptare libet. Stat sententia in bellum contra Turcos pergere Christianosque principes, ut nos sequantur, facto simul et verbis invitare. Fortasse cum² viderint magistrum et patrem suum, Romanum pontificem, Jesu Christi vicarium, senem et aegrotum in bella vadentem, pudebit eos manere domi: arma capient defensionemque sacrae religionis fortibus animis amplectentur. Haec nisi via Christianos in bellum excitat, nescimus aliam. Hanc ingredi placet. Scimus rem senio nostro pergravem esse nosque ad certam quodammodo mortem profecturos. Neque hanc recusamus. Cuncta deo committimus. *Fiat voluntas eius*. Moriendum nobis aliquando est, neque interest quo in loco, dum bene moriamur. *Beati, qui moriuntur in obsequio domini*. Mors bona malam vitam redimit. Nobiscum bene actum putabimus, si Deo placuerit in ejus servitio nostros finire dies. Vos, qui tantopere nos adhortati estis in Turcos movere bellum, domi in otio remanere non decet: oportet membra suo coaptari capiti et illud *sequi, quocumque ierit*.

¹ faciemus G

² cum *corr.* ex non S

3.6. Drawing the princes to the crusade by papal example

[19] The Turks are laying waste to one Christian province after another. This year they have conquered Bosnia and killed the king of that people. The Hungarians are trembling, indeed all the neighbouring peoples are trembling. What shall we do? Shall we send armed troops? We do not have the money to hire them. What then? Shall we exhort the kings to meet the enemies and drive them from our lands? That has already be tried, but in vain. So, it is not enough to say: Go! But maybe they will heed us if we say: Come! This we may try. We have therefore decided to go to war against the Turks and to urge the Christian princes, in words and deeds, to follow Us. When they see their teacher and father, the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, going to war, old and sick as he is, then maybe they will be ashamed to stay at home, then maybe they will, with brave hearts, take arms to defend holy religion. If We cannot rouse the Christians to war in this way, We do not know of any other. So this is the way We have decided on. We know that Our old age makes it perilous and that We shall be going to certain death. We do not refuse it; We entrust everything to God. May his *will be done*.¹ We must die sometime, but the important thing is not where We die, but only that We die well. *Blessed are those who die in service to the Lord*.² A good death redeems a bad life. We shall consider it a good end if it pleases God to let Us end Our days in his service. And you who have urged Us to make war on the Turks should not stay at home in peace, but like members [of a body] do as the head and *follow whithersoever he goeth*.³

¹ Matthew, 6, 10 and elsewhere

² Cf. Apoc, 14, 13

³ Apocalypse, 14, 4: *These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*

[20] Quod agimus necessitatis est: promissa est profectio nostra Philippo Burgundie duci. Votum is voverat profecturum se contra Turcos in bellum, si aut imperator aut rex Franciae aut alius princeps, quem se sequi non dedeceret, idem agere proponeret. Intelligebamus quanti momenti esset profectio Philippi, quem magna pars Occidentis sequitur. Cupiebamus hunc¹ iter incipere atque, ut aiunt, glaciem perfringere primum haud dubitantes, quin eum maxima nobilium ac procerum {203v} multitudo sectaretur. Verum neque imperator, neque rex Franciae, neque princeps alius eo superior in Turcos proferre arma apposuit animum². Solutum se voto Philippus existimabat, cujus non esset impleta conditio. Venit in mentem excusationem hanc ei surripere vocatisque sex cardinalibus, quorum fides ac taciturnitas spectata nobis erat, anno ab hinc fere secundo propositum nostrum aperuimus. Obstupuere ad primum sermonem cardinales, rem maximam et superioribus inauditam temporibus probare non poterant. At postquam saepe consultatum³ est, et hinc pericula fidei, inde Romanae ecclesiae⁴ detrimenta aequis lancibus ponderata sunt, in sententiam nostram omnes concessere.

¹ hoc D, G

² apposuit animum : animum apposuit G

³ consultum *corr. ex* consulatum D; consultum G

⁴ Romanae ecclesiae : ecclesiae Romanae G

3.7. Promises of Venice and the Duke of Burgundy

[20] We are only doing what is necessary: Our departure has been promised to Duke Philippe of Burgundy.¹ He had vowed to set out against the Turks if either the emperor or the King of France or another prince whom it would not be shameful for him to follow decided to do the same. We understood how important was the departure of Philippe whom a great part of the West follows. We desired him to start and to break the ice, so to say, convinced that a great host of nobles and magnates would follow him. But neither the emperor nor the King of France nor any other prince superior to the duke has decided to go to war against the Turks. Since his condition was not fulfilled, Philippe was considering himself freed from his vow. But then it occurred to Us how to deprive him of this excuse. Almost two years ago,² We summoned six cardinals whose loyalty and discretion We could count on and told them of Our intentions.³ First, the cardinals were stupefied at Our words and could not support a venture of such magnitude, unheard of in former times. But after frequent consultations in which the dangers threatening the Faith versus the possible harm to the Roman Church were fairly considered all finally agreed to Our plan.

¹ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

² In the beginning of March 1462, i.e. a year and a half before

³ See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64]

[21] Scripsimus itaque senatui Veneto propositum nostrum indicto silentio, ejusque principis consilium et auxilium postulavimus¹. Placere Venetis meditata nostra atque auxilium promiserunt, summaque fide silentium servavere². Episcopum deinde Ferrariensem ad Ludovicum regem Franciae misimus, qui veluti somnia dicta nostra contempsit, ratus idcirco talia nos effinxisse, ut ejus animum a rebus Italicis averteremus, quamvis majora ejus fuere somnia, qui se uno anno victurum Angliam atque Hispanicis contentiones pacaturum jactitavit, deinde per Italiam domitis Genuensibus subactoque Siciliae regno facile in Graeciam trajecturum, omnes barbaras nationes edomiturum. Sprevit Ferrariensis gloriabundum regem et ad Philippum, ut erat jussus, recta se contulit, ad quem cum venisset lectulo cubantem atque inter cetera dixisset necessarium ei esse³ contra Turcos arma sumere votoque satisfacere, nam et nos ipsi in eam expeditionem profecturi essemus, qui regis et sacerdotis locum teneremus, "Probe ades," inquit, "episcope, nam hoc mihi nuntio sanitatem affers. Faciam, quae jubet pontifex, euntem sequar, brevi ad eum legatos de tota re transigenda missurus." Ecce adsunt legati, audivistis eorum postulata, defensionem fidei nobis suadent atque in Turcos bellum. Promissa Ferrariensis exigunt, venturum principem dicunt, {204r} si nos pergimus, si minus, domi mansurum. Quid aimus? Promissa duci et Venetis profectio sine dedecore summaque turpitudine negari non potest; non est integra res, ire oportet.

¹ postulantes D, G

² servare D, G

³ ei esse : est ei G

[21] We therefore wrote¹ to the Venetian Senate of Our intentions, asking for the doge's advice and support – and demanding complete silence on the matter. The Venetians approved of Our plans and promised to help, and they loyally kept strict silence. Then We sent the Bishop of Ferrara² to King Louis of France,³ but he rejected Our words as pretenses and claimed that it was all a scheme devised by Us to turn his attention away from the affairs of Italy.⁴ Actually, his own phantasms were greater for he boasted that in one year he would defeat England and settle the conflicts with Spain, then he would pass through Italy, subdue the Genoese, subjugate the Kingdom of Sicily, and then easily cross over to Greece, and tame all the barbarous nations. Ferrara turned from the braggart king in contempt and went directly to Philippe, as he had been instructed to. When he arrived, he told the bedridden Philippe, among other things, that he had to go to war against the Turks and fulfil his vow since We Ourselves, who hold the place of both king and priest, would set out on this crusade. Philippe replied: "Its is good that you have come, bishop, for with this message you make me well again. I shall do as the pontiff commands and follow him when he sets out. Very shortly, I shall send my legates to deal with this whole matter." Now, the legates have arrived. You have heard their requests. They urge Us to undertake the defense of the Faith and the war against the Turks. They require the fulfilment of the promises made by Ferrara.⁵ They declare that their prince will come if We set out, but if not, he will stay at home. What do We say to this? We cannot without shame and great indecency go back on Our promises to the Duke and the Venetians. The matter is unfinished. We simply must go.

¹ On 8 March 1462

² Lorenzo Roverella (d. 1474): Bishop of Ferrara from 1460

³ Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death

⁴ Louis XI wanted the pope to give up his support of King Ferrante of Aragon as King of Naples and instead support the Angevins who had formerly ruled that Kingdom

⁵ The Bishop of Ferrara

[22] Periculosum iter ingredimur, non negamus, nobis scilicet, qui senes et valetudinarii sumus; ceteris non item, quando spes magna victoriae consequendae oblata est. Neque enim soli in hostem pergimus. Venetorum valida classis et maris domina nos comitabitur. Aderunt et alii potentatus Italiae. Dux Burgundiae occidentem attrahet secum. A septentrione urgebit Hungarus et Sarmata. Rebellabunt per Graeciam Christiani atque in castra nostra procurrent. Albani, Servi, Epirotae libertatis tempus advenisse gaudebunt, et partes nostras adjuvabunt. Nec deerunt in Asia motus Caramanni, et Jansae, et aliorum, qui Ottomannos oderunt. Adsit tantum divinus favor ad victoriam; cetera succurrunt.

[23] Nec nos pugnaturi pergimus corpore debiles et sacerdotio fungentes, cujus non est proprium versare ferrum. Moysen illum sanctum patrem imitabimur, qui pugnante adversus Amalechitas Israele orabat in monte. *Stabimus in alta puppe* aut in aliquo montis supercilio habentesque ante oculos divinam eucharistiam, id est dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Ab eo salutem et victoriam pugnantibus nostris militibus implorabimus. *Cor contritum et humiliatum non despiciet dominus*¹. Eritis et vos nobiscum exceptis senibus, quibus, ut remaneant, ignoscimus; orabitisque pariter et operibus bonis Christiano populo divinitatem reddetis propitiam.

¹ Deus noster G

3.8. Participation of other powers

[22] We do not deny that personally We are setting out on a perilous journey since We are old and sick, but it will not be perilous to others since there is great hope of victory. And We do not go against the enemy alone, for a strong Venetian fleet, master of the sea, will join Us. So will other Italian powers. The Duke of Burgundy will draw the West with him. From the North the Hungarians and the Sarmatians will press forward. The Christians will rebel throughout Greece and flock to our camps. The Albanians, the Serbians, and the Epirotes will rejoice that the day of liberty has arrived and support our cause. And in Asia the Caramanni, the Jansae, and the others who hate the Ottomans will rise. If only God favours our victory, all the rest will follow.

3.9. Pope's role

[23] 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. Instead, We shall imitate holy father Moses who prayed on the mountain while the Israelis were fighting the Amalekites.¹ We shall *stand on the high stern* of the ship² or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our fighting soldiers.³ *A contrite and humbled heart the Lord wilt not despise.*⁴ You will be with Us, except the old ones among you whom we grant to stay at home: you,⁵ too, will be praying, and by your good works make God have mercy on the Christian people.

¹ Exodus, 17, 8-13

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10.261 etc.: *stans celsa in puppi*

³ Pius' sense of drama does not deny itself! Chambers, p. 56-57, has the following, flippant, comment: *Fortunately Pius did not have to put this to the test (what if there had been no convenient mountain near the scene of battle to which he could retire, or what if his physical weakness prevented him from keeping his arms up, the detail about Moses' participation which he does not mention?)*. In fairness to Pius, Moses actually sat on a stone and had support from Aaron and Hur (*And Moses' hands were heavy: so they took a stone, and put under him, and he sat on it: and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands on both sides*, see Exodus, 17, 12). A couple of young cardinals supporting the frail pope's arms would indeed perfect the dramatic image of the praying pope. Moreover, what Pius actually says is that: *We shall stand on the high stern of the ship* [not quoted by Chambers] *or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, which is Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our soldiers*. So, primarily, he would be standing on the high stern of the ship. That scene is actually depicted on a golden coin minted in connection with the pope's departure for Ancona the next year, cf. the Introduction to the oration "*Suscepturi*" [75]

⁴ Psalms, 50, 19

⁵ I.e. the old cardinals remaining in Rome

[24] Cogitatis dum ista dicimus: "Quod erit interea Romanae regimen ecclesiae? Recusabunt ultramontani ultra mare te sequi, nec in absentia tua satis tutum erit ecclesiae patrimonium." Istuc pergimus. Omnia provisa sunt. Audite: Romanam curiam et omnia eius officia et duos pariter legatos ex ordine vestro apud urbem relinuemus: alter spiritualibus negotiis praeerit, temporalibus alter. Invenient omnes, quod quaerent, non iniqua petentes. Majores tantum causae et perdifficiles et rariae ad nos deferentur. Vicarius noster justitiam temperabit, beneficia conferet, viduatis providebit ecclesiis, {204v} succurret egentibus, dispensabit, gratias elargietur pro dignitate et meritis personarum. Alter subditis ecclesiae jus dicet et propulsabit hostem, praesidio militum fultus¹, quorum ductor erit Antonius, nepos noster; huic equitum tria millia, peditum duo millia relinuemus, quorum pars apud Picenses manebit. Hoc pacto, quantum humana possumus ratione prospicere, in tuto dimittemus omnia. Sed nihil est, in quo magis speremus quam *in adiutorio altissimi; nisi enim dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat, qui custodit eam*. Pro deo nostro propriam sedem et Romanam ecclesiam relinquimus, et hanc canitiem atque hoc debile corpus suae pietati devovemus. Non erit immemor nostri. Si non dabit redditum, dabit in coelum aditum, et primam sedem sponsamque suam conservabit² indemnem. Audistis propositi nostri seriem. Vos nunc vicissim animi vestri sententias promite.

¹ fulctus S

² servabit G

3.10. Arrangements for the government of the Church

[24] As We speak, you are thinking: “How will the Roman Church be governed in the meantime? Those from beyond the mountains¹ will refuse to follow you across the sea², and in your absence the Patrimony of the Church³ will not be safe.” We are coming to that. All has been taken care of: hear how. We shall leave the Roman Curia and all its offices together with two legates from your order in the City. One legate will be in charge of the spiritual matters and the other of the temporal. All whose requests are just will get what they seek. Only the very important, difficult, and rare cases will be forwarded to Us. Our vicar will administer justice, confer benefices, provide for the vacant sees, assist the needy, issue dispensations, and bestow graces according to the rank and merits of the persons concerned. The other one will administer justice to the subjects of the Church and repel enemies. He will dispose of a company of soldiers commanded by Antonio, Our nephew,⁴ whom We shall leave 3.000 horse and 2.000 infantry. A part of that company will be placed in the Piceno. In this way We shall leave everything safe – at least as far as human reason can foresee. But most of all We trust *in the protection of God on high*;⁵ *Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it.*⁶ It is in our God’s cause that We leave Our own see and the Roman Church, and We dedicate Our white hair and weak body to merciful God. He will not forget Us. If he does not grant Us to return, he will grant Us entrance to Heaven and preserve the First See and His bride unharmed. You have heard Our plan. Now its is your turn to give your opinions.

¹ The nations north of the Alps

² The European land army was supposed to march through Hungary and the Balkans, not to go by sea

³ The Church States

⁴ Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini

⁵ Psalms, 90, 1

⁶ Psalms, 126, 1

Appendix: Papal bull *Ezechielis prophetae*

The papal bull “*Ezechielis prophetae*” was issued on 22 October, right after the conclusion of a crusade alliance between the Apostolic See, Burgundy and Venice. It formally launched a papal crusade against the Turks, to begin in the course of the next year 1464.

Manuscripts¹

The bull is extant in a considerable number of manuscripts, among them:

- Brno / Moravska Zemská Knihovna / Dietrichstein cod. II, 123, ff. 75r-93v
- München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 15183, ff. 135v-139r
- Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Latin 4314, ff. 74r-95r
- Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Latin 5565A, ff. 101r-129v **
- Roma / Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / 491, ff. 207r-222v
- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 5667, ff. 62r-77r
- Saint-Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 374, ff. 67r-74v **
- Saint-Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 746/1, ff. 42v-53v **
- Utrecht / Universiteitsbibliotheek / 386, ff. 259r-269r
- Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI 080 (3057), ff. 262v-270r
- Würzburg / Staatsarchiv / Mainzer Urkunden, Weltlicher Schrank, Lade 1, Nr. 98 **

Editions

The bull has appeared in print several times, and firstly in Mainz, already the year after it was issued,² and soon afterwards in the early printed letter collections of Pius II, which appeared some years after his death, e.g.

- Pius II: [Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis]. [Cur.] Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481, nr. 412 [With later editions of 1486 and 1496] [ISTC ip00717000; ISTC ip00719000; ISTC ip00720000]

From the early letter collections, it entered into the Opera Omnia editions 1551 and 1571:

¹ Manuscripts collated by Prietzel are marked with a double asterisk, **

² cf. Voigt, IV, p. 692

- *Pius II: Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2nd ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967], pp. 914-923

and later also, in an abridged version, the *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rainaldus), ad ann. 1463, nos 29-40.

To the knowledge of the present writer – the first and only critical edition is Prietzel's:

- *Die Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. "Ezechielis prophete"*, 22. Okt. 1463. In: Fillastre, Guillaume (Jr.): *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. "Ezechielis prophete"*. Hrsg. von Malte Prietzel. Ostfeldern, 2003, pp. 158-204

Present edition

Since Prietzel's edition of *Ezechielis* may be considered as the definitive one, the present edition is a "light" edition only based on a manuscript not used by Prietzel, the

- *Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Lat 4314, ff. 74r-95r (P)*

and the early letter edition by Koberger (1486) **(KO)**.

NB: For a full critical edition with introduction and notes, readers are referred to Prietzel's edition.

Pagination is after P.

The notes comprise textual variants (black) and references to sources (green).

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. I, ch. 9-10.

Pius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis et singulis Christ fidelibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem

[1] {74r} Ezechielis prophetae magni sententia est, *venientem gladium* nisi annuntiaverit *speculator*, animarum, que perierint, *sanguinem de manu ejus* {74v} *requirendum fore*.¹ Quod veriti sanctae memoriae² praedecessores nostri, Nicolaus V. et Calixtus III. ab eo tempore, quo Turcorum efferata³ rabies Constantinopolim expugnavit, venturum ad interiora Christianitatis hostile gladium clamare non cessarunt. Comminuere⁴ Christianos principes ac populos, quanto in periculo esset nostra religio, nisi occureretur hostibus, priusquam amplius invalescerent. Suasere, ut arma sumerent, defensionem catholicae fidei subirent, furentibus bestiis obviam irent, nec sinerent immanem draconem, Maumethem⁵, fideles devorare animas. Videbant ferocem illius animum occupata Constantinopoli minime quieturum, cujus inexplebilis esset dominandi cupiditas. Nec dubium, quin orientali subacto imperio ad occidentale aspiraret.

[2] Annuntiata est in tempore futura⁶ calamitas, sed non est credita. Non fuerunt auditae sanctae pastorum voces. Utiles admonitiones surda pertransivit aure {75r} Christianus populus. Hungari tantum sub Calixto vigilantes arma sumpserunt, qui de tuendo regno solliciti, dum suos fines observant, custodiunt nostros. Ex ipsis Hungaris ac Theutonibus et aliis vicinis non pauci, quamvis magna ex parte pauperes et secundum saeculum ignobiles, incltyti vero in conspectu domini⁷, crucem⁸ assumpserunt et magno in hostes spiritu perrexerunt, quorum potissime ausibus apud Albam Graecam – quam nostri Belgradum vocant – Turcorum ingentes copiae profligatae sunt⁹ et Maumethes ille, terribilis ac ferox, turpem arripuit fugam. Nationes aliae, tamquam nihil ad eas Turcorum facta pertinerent, in suis sedibus quiete manserunt.

[3] Nos deinde, sicut domino placuit, quamvis indigni tanto munere, Calixto successimus, qui mox in apostolatus initio Mantuanum conventum indiximus, in quo de communi utilitate Christianorum consilii ageremus. Venit in mentem, quod per Esaiam scribitur: “*Super montem excelsam ascende* {75v} *tu, qui evangelizas Sion; exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Jerusalem; exalta, noli timere.*”¹⁰ Dictum id¹¹ nobis putavimus. Satisfecimus – ut arbitramur –

¹ Ezekiel, 33, 6

² Romanae P

³ effrenata KO

⁴ commonere KO

⁵ Machomete... *et passim* KO

⁶ futuro KO

⁷ Dei KO

⁸ domini KO

⁹ fuerunt KO

¹⁰ Isaiah, 40, 9

¹¹ *omit.* P

praecepto. Affuimus in tempore praefinito, non sine sumptu et labore gravi. Ostendimus fidelibus Christianis vulnera sua, et quae passi fuerant, et quae passuri videbantur, nisi seipsos adversus Turcos defenderent. Clamavimus quasi tuba. Exaltavimus vocem nostram.¹ Audivit omnis ecclesia, sed non exaudivit verba nostra. Non fuit plus ponderis nostris quam praedecessorum² nostrorum³ vocibus. Frustra conati sumus. Incassum abiire⁴ labores.

[4] Interea quantum creverint Turcorum vires, difficile dictu est, auditu miserum. A Mare⁵ Pontico usque ad amnem Savum⁶ et ab Aegaeo Pelago usque ad Danubium nobilissimas interjacentes provincias suae possessionis fecere. Transiverunt et ipsum Danubium Vallachiaeque magnam partem occupaverunt. Penetraverunt et Savum atque agros Hungariae longe lateque vastaverunt. Hoc anno Bosnam {76r} invaserunt universumque regnum sibi subjecerunt et insulam Lesbon. Quanta vero crudelitate in subactis urbibus ac provinciis usi sunt, *horret animus* dicere. In Constantinopoli Graecorum imperator obtruncatus est⁷, et caput ejus hasta suffixum per castra delatum. Rascianis⁸ principibus eruti sunt oculi. In Lesbo⁹ multitudo puerum palo transfixa. In Bosna regem, qui salutem pactus sese dederat, cum patruo suo Maumethes, ipse humano sanguine insatiabilis, sua manu – ut fertur – jugulavit. Quis nobiles viros, quis sacerdotes commemoraverit ad caedem raptos, senes ac *juvenes in plateis immanissime trucidatos*.¹⁰ Ubique cruor caesorum visus, *ubique morientium gemitus*¹¹ auditus. Nulla reverentia matronarum, nulla virginum. Foedum relatu est, quantum hoc genus hominum in libidinem sit immersum, cui omnes abominationes gentium pseudopropheta, quem venerantur, indulsit. Quid de sacrosanctis ecclesiis dixerimus¹²? Templum illud {76v} sanctae Sophiae, Justiniani opus, toto orbe memorabile, Maumethis spurcitiis reservatum est. Reliqua sacraria aut diruta sunt aut polluta, altaria disjecta atque protrita, imagines sanctorum deletae aut luto foedatae, nulla salvatoris Christi aut gloriosissimae matris ejus statua sine singulari probro dimissa, simulachrum crucifixi per derisionem in castra delatum, saxis et luto petium et¹³ tandem in caeno¹⁴ relictum.

¹ Cf. Isaiah, 58, 1

² praedecessoris KO

³ *omit.* KO

⁴ abire KO

⁵ a mare : amari KO

⁶ Sanum *et passim* KO

⁷ *omit.* P

⁸ Fastianis KO

⁹ Lesbon KO

¹⁰ 1. Machabees, 2, 9

¹¹ Jeronimus: Epistolae, 60

¹² *dicemus* KO

¹³ ac P

¹⁴ sceno KO

[5] O domine Deus! *Venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus caeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae. Effuderunt sanguinem eorum, et non erat, qui sepeliret.*¹ Quamvis non potest laedi tua majestas nec tua gloria minui², decet tamen servos tuos, decet³ miseros Christianos, quae tuam velut in contumeliam fiunt, totis conatibus avertere et⁴ ulcisci. Non tulit Phinees⁵ adulterantem Zambri⁶, sed zelo {77r} incensus domini Madianitae⁷ scortum et illum interfecit.⁸ *Vidit Matatthias sacrificantem idolis Hebraeum, et⁹ doluit, et contremuerunt renes ejus, et accensus est furor ejus secundum iudicium legis, et insiliens trucidavit eum super aram.*¹⁰ Sed quid est zelus noster, quae cura religionis? Blasphematur sancta trinitas, conculcatur evangelium, sacra nostra prorsus abjiciuntur, Christianum nomen funditus eradicatur, et subticemus. Nemo est, qui pro communi salute assurgat. Stat mater ecclesia dolens et gemens¹¹, et non est, qui consolatur¹² eam. Et quid dici de nobis potest infelicibus Christianis, nisi propheticum illud: *“Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris, subsannatio et illusio his, qui in circuitu nostro sunt.”*¹³

[6] Majores nostri Jerosolimam perdidere et omnem Asiam et¹⁴ Libyam. Nostro tempore Graecia est amissa et Europae maxima pars. In orbis angulum¹⁵ redacta Christianitas est. Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi sepulchrum, nisi Saraceni {77v} velint, videre non possumus. Quaestus causa nobis illud ostendunt. Patriarchales sedes veneratu dignissimae, Constantinopolitana, Antiochena, Alexandrina et Jerosolimitana, *jugo servitutis oppressae*¹⁶ aut¹⁷ a Saracenis occupantur aut a Turcis, non sine dedecore atque¹⁸ ignominia Christiani nominis.

[7] Romanam ecclesiam, matrem omnium fidelium ac magistram, quam beati apostoli Petrus et Paulus suo martyrio dedicarunt, nunc nobis eripere Maumethes interminatur. Et faciet, nisi tandem excitemur a somno et conatus ejus studemus elidere. *Vae vobis Christianis principibus,*

¹ Psalms, 78, 1-2

² nec tua gloria minui *omit.* P

³ nos *add.* KO

⁴ atque KO

⁵ Phinehas, son of Eleazar

⁶ Zimri

⁷ Madiate P

⁸ Numbers, 25, 6-15

⁹ *omit.* P

¹⁰ 1. Machabees, 2, 24

¹¹ dolens et gemens : gemens et dolens P

¹² consoletur KO

¹³ Psalms, 78, 4

¹⁴ ac P

¹⁵ orbis angulum : angulum orbis KO

¹⁶ Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 1, 1, 30

¹⁷ *omit.* KO

¹⁸ et KO

vae nobis, ut quid nati sumus videre contritionem populi nostri et¹ contritionem sacrae religionis!² Videmus fratres nostros in manus inimicorum rapi et diversis excarnificari suppliciis et non movemur. Videmus in dies Christianorum provincias ab infidelibus invadi et non angimur, sed in domo quiescimus. Quot jam regna a evangelio sunt³ aliena? {78r} Quae gens⁴ non haereditavit terram domini et non obtinuit spolia ejus?⁵ Sive orientem respicimus sive meridiem, sive in arcton vertimus oculos, omnis ecclesiae compositio⁶ ablata⁷ est. Ancillam videmus, quae fuit libera⁸ et domina gentium.⁹ Ecce substantia¹⁰ nostra et pulchritudo nostra et claritas nostra magna ex parte dissoluta¹¹. Coninquinaverunt eam Turci et Saraceni et aliae foedissimae gentes.¹² Quid nobis adhuc vivere,¹³ nisi cogitamus de tanta infamia resurgere¹⁴ ac pristinum recuperare decorem? Commovemur vehementer, dum talia mente volvimus, angimur, cruciamur, nec animo possumus esse quieto, nisi principes Christianos pro tutela sacrae religionis adversus impios Turcos arma sumere videamus.

[8] Pastoralis officii nostri est – quis nescit – domini gregis curam gerere, qui ejus loco successimus, cui dictum est a domino: “Pasce oves meas.”¹⁵ Oves Christifideles populi sunt. His consulere nos oportet, has protegere {78v} et totis conservare conatibus, ne luporum aut aliarum bestiarum morsibus pateant. Sed quid agat infelix pastor, ubi luporum innumerabiles turmae gregem invadunt¹⁶ jussique canes insurgere, latrare ac defendere caulas obaudiunt ac diffugiunt? Haec impraesentiarum conditio nostra est. Turci tamquam lupi et immanes bestiae ovile dominicum, id est Christianam plebem, lacerare conantur et lacerant. Vocavimus in auxilium principes Christianos tamquam custodes Christianae plebis. Aures claudunt. Nolunt audire vocem pastoris. Post sua quisque desideria pergit.

[9] Quid agemus? Soline lupos, hos est Turcos, aggrediemur? Non sunt vires nostrae, quae tantam vim inferre¹⁷ queant. Nimium crevit Turcorum potentia. Non potest eorum imperium deleri nisi

¹ ac P

² 1. Machabees, 2, 7

³ a evangelio sunt : sunt a evangelio P

⁴ jam add. KO

⁵ 1. Machabees, 2, 10

⁶ ecclesiae compositio : compositio ecclesia P

⁷ oblata KO

⁸ cf. 1. Machabees, 2, 11

⁹ Lamentations, 1, 1

¹⁰ sancta KO

¹¹ desolata KO

¹² 1. Machabees, 2, 12

¹³ 1. Machabees, 2, 13

¹⁴ surgere KO

¹⁵ John, 21, 17

¹⁶ mandunt P

¹⁷ ferre KO

Christianorum magno conatu magnisque classibus et exercitibus. Non habet apostolica sedes, unde ista conquirit, nisi Christiani reges Christianique populi opem afferent¹. At hoc eis hactenus {79r} suadere non potuimus. Conventum fecimus, legatos misimus. Omnia tentavimus, quae visa sunt ad excitandos animos pro tempore necessaria. Non profecimus. Quomodo nunc proficiemus? Quid ergo? Negligemusne fidei defensionem? Minime quidem! *“Pastor bonus”*, inquit in evangelio veritas, *“animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. Mercenarius autem et qui non est pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriae, videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.”*² Admonemur his verbis, quidnam agere debeamus. Extrema omnia tentanda sunt pro salute dominici gregis. In gravioribus morbis graviora adhibent remedia medici. Idem et nos facere convenit. Non decet pastorem suas oves relinquere. Occurrere lupis oportet, etiam si sit anima pro grege ponenda. Pastor bonus imitandus est, dominus noster Jesus Christus, et optimi praeceptoris vestigiis inhaerendum, qui, verbo quod docuit, opere {79v} adimplevit.

[10] Alios hactenus exhortati sumus defensionem fidei suscipere atque in bellum ire, missuri legatos et alia facturi, quae nostrae facultates sufferre possent, mansuri pro necessitatibus ecclesiae apud septa ovium, quae restant nondum³ expugnatae. Nunc majora promitemus, et quando aliter excitare Christianorum torpentia corda non valemus, nosipsos periculis objectabimus nostrumque caput offeremus adversus Turcos⁴ in bellum, et quantum nobis ecclesia Romana et patrimonium beati Petri ministrare poterit, tantum pro fide catholica protegenda exponemus et profundemus in hoc itinere.

[11] Nec soli proficiscemur in hostes. Clarissimo genere natus et amabilis Deo princeps Philippus, Burgundiae dux, in hanc expeditionem venturum se offert, non sine delecta militum manu et exercitu valido. Potentis et clari Venetorum ducis Christofori Mauro ingens et formidanda classis superioribus mensibus in Graeciam navigavit totamque fere {80r} Peloponnesum vi atque armis hosti eripuit⁵ Isthmumque peninsulae, qui⁶ sex millibus passuum inter duo maria patet, paucis⁷ – ut ajunt – diebus excitatis muris ac turribus clausit. Memorabile factum et inter preclara veterum opera numerandum! Haec eadem classis, ut promissum est, nobis non deerit. Spondent quoque ceteri Italiae potentatus pro sua religione⁸ et in commune bonum affectione praecipua et⁹ tam sancto digna opere auxilia. Favente nobis altissimo maritimum bellum feliciter absolvemus, quoniam non sunt Turci pares in pelago Venetis. Ex altera parte in terra pugnabunt Hungari,

¹ offerant KO

² John, 10, 11-12

³ mundum P

⁴ offeremus adversus Turcos : adversus Turcos offeremus KO

⁵ hosti eripuit : eripuit hosti KO

⁶ que P

⁷ undecim KO

⁸ regione P

⁹ omit. KO

genus hominum ferox in bello¹, et qui² jam Turcos vincere didicerunt. Inclytus rex gentis Matthias jam coronam et pacem in regno consecutus ingentes poterit armare³ atque in proelium ducere copias. Haec nobis certissima sunt belli praesidia. Cum his ibimus, cum his Dei proelium decertabimus. Erunt et Albani nobiscum, et multi per Graeciam – ut speramus – {80v} et alias hosti subjectas provincias a Turcis deficientes castra nostra sequentur. Christiani enim sunt oderuntque Maumethem. Hosti parent coacti *metu*, qui *non est diuturnus magister officii*.⁴ Ut primum spes libertatis affuerit, adversus insolentes dominos cornua erigent. Nec deerunt in Asia motus⁵, ut sunt in omni gente atque in omni provincia male pacati homines et novitatum cupidi, qui tempus expectant.

[12] Non erit facile Turcis tot locis occurrere. Difficile defenditur, quod⁶ a multis oppugnatur. Quod si aliquis⁷ innumerabiles hostium copias esse dixerit nec putaverit in castris fidelium⁸ parem numerum cogi posse, respondemus multum inter sese distare homines et alios natura imbelles esse, alios feroces. Virtus spectanda est magis quam numerus. *Non est in multitudine exercitus victoria belli. De caelo fortitudo*⁹ conceditur. Tam facile Deo nostro est in paucis vincere quam in multis. Nostra causa Dei est. Pro lege Dei pugnabimus. *Ipse dominus*¹⁰ *conteret {81r} hostes ante faciem nostram*.¹¹

[13] Audimus susurrare aliquos. Non desunt, qui murmurantes ajunt: “Quid ages in bello, senex, aegrotus sacerdos? Non est bellare tuum. Nec potes nec debes ferire gladio, qui loco ejus suffectus es, cui praecepit dominus, ut *gladium in vaginam mitteret*.”¹² Reges tuo jussu tenentur ensem exercere. Tuum est justa bella gerentibus benedicere.” Fatemur, non convenit nobis effundere sanguinem, quando per alios possumus justitiae fideique necessitate subvenire. Quod si religio in periculo est et absque nostro non potest ferro defendi, non est nobis vetitum, quod Samueli et Eliae legitur fuisse permissum. Sed non est hoc propositum nostrum, ut gladio pugnemus in bello. Nam quo pacto strinxerimus ensem, qui vix manum ad benedicendum populum¹³ possumus elevare? Oratione pugnabimus, non ferro; precibus adjuvabimus proeliantes, non brachiis. Erimus in alta puppi aut in {81v} aliquo monte propinquo, dum

¹ ferox in bello : in bello ferox KO

² *omit.* KO

³ derivare KO

⁴ Cicero: *Philippicae*, 2, 36, 90

⁵ metus KO

⁶ undique *add.* KO

⁷ quis KO

⁸ fidelibus KO

⁹ 1. Machabees, 3, 19

¹⁰ Deus KO

¹¹ 1. Machabees, 3, 22

¹² John, 18, 11

¹³ *omit.* P

proeliabitur, et nostris benedicemus, hostibus vero maledicemus, quemadmodum de Moyse legitur in bello Amalechitarum, quo orante vincebat Israel, cessante orare succumbebat. Orabimus et nos sine intermissione pro bellatoribus¹ nostris. Hoc praestare poterimus. Hoc sedulo faciemus. *Cor contritum et humiliatum*² non despiciet dominus.

[14] Possemus et hoc ipsum domi manentes facere, nec minus valeret preces. Sed non est sola orationis causa, quae propriam sedem relinquere cogit et in bellum trahit. Ut alios excitemus, pergimus. Exemplo nostro invitare quamplurimos³ studemus. Sequentur et nos venerabiles fratres nostri, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, quemadmodum ad hoc ipsum, qui validi sunt, sponte se obtulerunt. Sequentur et episcopi complures et alii minoris ordinis sacerdotes ac⁴ clerici, non oraturi tantum, verum etiam pugnaturi, cum res⁵ postulaverit. Expertas quoque {82r} bellorum et robustissimas militum cohortes et fortia pectora juvenum ex agris ecclesiae ducemus ad proelium, qui nobis oratione pugnantibus ferro pugnent.

[15] Ibimus extenso dominicae crucis vexillo. Sanctissimum⁶ Christi corpus praecedet et sanctarum reliquiarum arcula. Salvatorem in bella vadentem sequemur. Ipsi cohaerebimus, ipsi preces assiduas porrigemus, ab ipso salutem implorabimus. Miserebitur nostri – ut arbitramur – piissimus Jesus, nec populum suum in hostium manus venire permittet, cujus pretiosissimus sanguis in ara crucis effusus a maligno nos hoste liberavit. Et quis erit Christianorum tam feri, tam lapidei, tam ferrei pectoris, qui audiens Romanum pontificem, beati Petri successorem, domini nostri Jesu Christi vicarium, aeternae vitae clavigerum, patrem ac magistrum universorum fidelium cum sacro senatu cardinalium clerique multitudine in bellum pro tuenda {82v} religione proficiscentem, libens domi remaneat? Et quae poterit excusatio quemquam juvare? Senex, debilis, aegrotus in expeditionem pergit, et tu juvenis, sano ac robusto corpore, domi delitescas? Summus sacerdos, cardinales, episcopi proelium petunt, et tu miles, tu baro, tu marchio, tu dux, tu rex, tu imperator in aedibus popriis otiaaberis? Siccine perverti hominum officia patieris, ut quae sunt regum, sacerdotes agant, et quae nobilitati conveniunt, subire clerum oporteat.

[16] Necessitas ire nos urget, quia non possumus alio pacto pro divinae legis defensione Christianorum animos commovere⁷. Utinam et hoc modo commoveamus⁸! Non pergimus in

¹ proelioribus KO

² Psalms, 50, 19

³ invitare quamplurimos : quamplurimos invitare KO

⁴ et KO

⁵ ipsa *add.* KO

⁶ sacratissimum KO

⁷ commonere KO

⁸ commoneamus KO

bellum¹ tamquam nostri sit officii, sed quoniam consulere aliter² fidei non valemus. Nescimus an hoc sufficiens erit remedium. Mandavit dominus beato Petro, ut titubantes fratres sua conversione firmaret³, dicens: “*Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat {83r} fides tua. Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.*”⁴ Quod Petro dictum est, et nobis dictum intelligimus. Confirmare fratres, qui titubant, debemus. Conformabimus vos, fratres et filios – ut speramus – hac protectione nostra. Et ita *non praevallebunt portae inferi adversus*⁵ ecclesiam Dei⁶ nobis commissam.

[17] An denegabitis nobis⁷ auxilia vestra, et caput vestrum, patrem ac magistrum in hostes proficiscentem fideles Christiani relinquitis? En quanta gloria vobis erit crucem domini cum sacratissimo corpore Jesu Christi ipsumque Romanum praesulem sine vestris praesidiis in hostes⁸ pergere? Noscite, reges ac principes, officium vestrum. Idcirco geritis gladium⁹, ut ecclesiam fidemque tueamini atque ut malos et iniquos homines debita poena coerceatis. Et quinam homines peiores quam Turci reperiuntur, qui fidem sanctae trinitatis abicientes et salvatorem Christum verum¹⁰ Deum esse negantes abominabilem complexi legem Mahumetis¹¹ ¹²in omnia scelera prolabantur {83v} et jam maximam orbis partem suis nefandissimis abusibus foedaverunt et legem conantur evangelicam dissipare? Adversus hos gladium dedit vobis divina majestas, in hos illum exercere debetis ac divinam ulcisci contumeliam. An non pudet tam diu tam foedam gentem tam turpiter in Christianos esse crassatam? An bellum non satis justum, non satis necessarium esse putatis *adversus nationes, quae convenerunt disperdere nos*¹³ *et sancta nostra*¹⁴ ¹⁵

[18] Accingimini¹⁶ jam tandem, et quoniam sine nobis ire non voluistis, ite nobiscum! Sumite arma et scutum, et venite in auxilium nostrum, immo vero in auxilium¹⁷ vestrum et universae rei publicae Christianae. Exemplum de Philippo recipite, quem nec domesticae deliciae, quibus

¹ bello KO

² consulere aliter : aliter consulere KO

³ confirmaret KO

⁴ Luke, 22, 32

⁵ Matthew, 16, 18

⁶ omit. P

⁷ omit. P

⁸ hostem KO

⁹ geritis gladium : gladium geritis KO

¹⁰ omit. P

¹¹ omit. P

¹² complexi legem Mahumetis : Machometis complexi legem KO

¹³ vos KO

¹⁴ vestra KO

¹⁵ 1. Macchabees, 3, 58

¹⁶ accingimini KO

¹⁷ in auxilium omit. KO

provinciae suae multum¹ abundant, nec suorum preces nec itineris longitudo aut difficultas nec senectus ipsa ex proposito suscipiendi contra Turcos belli usque in hanc diem dejicere potuerunt {84r} neque favente domino in futurum dejicient! Imitamini hunc nobilissimum principem! Mementote professionis vestrae, quam in baptismo² subiistis! Cogitate, quantum Deo tenemini et quantum proximo! Reddite vicem ecclesiae pro susceptis beneficiis! Estote grati altissimo, qui vos creavit ex nihilo nec animalia bruta aut lapides, sed homines rationales esse voluit.

[19] Et cum *primi parentis culpa*³ damnati essetis ac mancipia facti daemonum, *misit filium suum in similitudinem carnis peccati*,⁴ qui *morte sua mortem nostram*^{5 6} deleret. Stupenda et inaestimabilis caritas! Ut servum redimeret, *filio*⁷ *non pepercit*.⁸ Dominus Jesus in cruce pro nobis inter latrones pependit. Innocens agnus *cum sceleratis deputatus est*.⁹ *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*¹⁰ everberatus, laceratus ab impiis, difformis¹¹ apparuit. *A planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis*¹² *non erat in eo sanitas*¹³ neque *species neque decor*.¹⁴ Sic placitum patri, qui propter peccata nostra *tradidit illum; propitiatorem enim* {84v} *proposuit illum*¹⁵ *per fidem in sanguine suo*.¹⁶ *Iniquitates nostras ipse portavit*¹⁷ *et livore ejus sanati sumus*,¹⁸ qui, *cum inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem filii ejus*.¹⁹ O crudelis Christiane! O ingrata! O mentis inops! Potesne ista audire et non animo²⁰ commoveri et non cupere pro illo mori, qui pro te mortuus est? De honore illius agitur, qui te de diabolica servitute pretiosissimo suo sanguine²¹ redemit. De Christi nomine disceptatur, de fide catholica, de baptismo, de ceteris ecclesiae sacramentis, de sacrosancto evangelio. Adversus haec omnia Turci militant. Haec evertere et prorsus delere conantur. Et tu nihil contra moliris!

¹ plurimum KO

² baptisate KO

³ Gregorius I.: *Moralia in Job*, 4, intro.

⁴ Romans, 8, 3

⁵ vestram KO

⁶ Gregorius I.: *Moralia in Job*, 18, 34. Cf. also the preface of the Easter mass: *qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit*

⁷ suo *add.* KO

⁸ Romans, 8, 32

⁹ Luke, 22, 37: *cum iniquis deputatus est*; Isaiah, 53, 23: *cum sceleratis reputatus est*

¹⁰ Psalms, 44, 3

¹¹ deformis KO

¹² *omit.* KO

¹³ Isaiah, 1, 6

¹⁴ Isaiah, 53, 2

¹⁵ eum KO

¹⁶ Romans, 3, 25

¹⁷ Isaiah, 53, 11

¹⁸ Isaiah, 53, 5

¹⁹ Romans, 5, 10

²⁰ *omit.* P

²¹ suo sanguine : sanguine suo KO

[20] Quid agis, iners? Redde te gratum Deo et cogita, quonam pacto creatori redemptorique tuo aliqua ex parte satisfacias. Et quoniam peccator es, redime tuas iniquitates hac tam sancta et salutifera profectione. *An divitias bonitatis domini et patientiae ac¹ longanimitatis ejus {85r} contemnis? An ignoras, quoniam bonitas Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit²? Cave, ne secundum duritiam³ tuam et impenitentem cor iram tibi thesaurizes in die irae et revelationis justi iudicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus.⁴ Convertere et agito poenitentiam ab omnibus iniquitatibus tuis, et non erit tibi ruina.⁵ Propterea expectat dominus, ut misereatur⁶ tui. Projice praevaricationes antiquas et fac tibi cor novum et spiritum novum⁷ et veni, milita pro domino, ne morte moriaris aeterna. Cogita de proximis tuis et fratribus Christianis, qui vel sunt in captivitate Turcorum dura servitute oppressi⁸ vel captivari in dies atque in servitutum rapi verentur. Si homo es, humanitas te trahere debet, ut opem feras homini indigna ferenti; si Christianus, pietas evangelica, qua jubemur proximos tamquam nosipsos⁹ diligere. Considera proximorum tuorum Christifidelium aerumnas, in quos Turci {85v} desaeviunt: filii a¹⁰ complexu parentum et infantes ab uberibus matrum eripiuntur. Violantur uxores in conspectu virorum. Senes tamquam inutiles occiduntur¹¹. Juvenes tamquam boves aratro junguntur et terram vomere vertunt. Miserere fratrum tuorum! Affer opem tam¹² dura¹³ ferentibus!*

[21] Quod si nihil horum te trahit, at saltem de tua salute cogita. Nec te tutum idcirco existimes, quia mansionem fortasse procul a Turcis sortitus es. Nemo tam remotus est, quin reperiri queat. Si vicinum dimiseris in periculo, qui ante te proximus est igni, dimitteris tu ipse similiter a vicino, qui retro te habitat. Tales oportet nos esse in alios, quales erga nos illos cupimus invenire. Nolite auxilia Gallorum sperare, Theutones, nisi et vos Hungaris, nec vos Galli Hispanorum, nisi Theutonibus opem fertis. *Qua mensura metieritis, eadem remetietur et vobis.¹⁴* Nec propterea sibi quispiam blandiatur, quoniam principatu polleat¹⁵ aut regno. Constantinopolitanus imperator et Trapezuntius et rex Bosnae et Rasciae etiam¹⁶ domini et alii quamplures principes

¹ et KO

² adduxit KO

³ duritiam KO

⁴ Romans, 2, 4-6

⁵ Ezekiel, 18, 30

⁶ Isaiah, 30, 18

⁷ Ezekiel, 18, 31

⁸ pressi KO

⁹ nosmetipsos KO

¹⁰ e KO

¹¹ violantur uxores ... occiduntur *omit.* P

¹² iam KO

¹³ dira P

¹⁴ Matthew, 7, 2

¹⁵ pallear KO

¹⁶ *omit.* KO

capti {86r} et crudeliter occisi, quid sit expectandum, edocent. Nihil tam contrarium Mahumethi quam nomen regium. Orientis adeptus imperium, ad occidentale festinat. Novam erigere monarchiam conatur. Uni Turcorum imperio et uni Mahumetheae legi cuncta submittere studet.

[22] Si potestis talia ferre, principes ac populi Christiani, manete domi, nec jam de subvertenda Turcorum formidabili potentia cogitate. At si servile jugum horretis, si contumelian Dei et proximi tolerare nequitis, si pudet semiviros Asiaticos Graecorum gentem, quod numquam antea fecerunt, subegisse eoque superbiae prorupisse, ut Europam sibi totam brevi tempore perituram sperent, si cor virile vobis est, cor nobile, cor altum, cor Christianum, sequimini vestigia patris vestri, sequimini castra nostra, venite in auxilium fidei, venite in auxilium fratrum, *opponite vos murum pro domo*¹ Dei. Cogitate de vestra salute, de vestra gloria. Nolite permittere, {86v} ut sine vestris auxiliis proficiscamur in Turcos. Mittite subsidiarias acies! Juvate Christianum exercitum! Quanto fortiores ibimus, tanto citius auxiliante domino cum victoria revertemur. Nec putetis insuperabiles Turcos esse: vinci² possunt, et saepe victi fuerunt.

[23] Quantum valerent Turcorum arma³, Belgradus ostendit. Minor est Turcorum potentia quam fama feratur. Imbellem atque inermem multitudinem ad proelium ducunt, quam tamquam pecudum gregem dissipare licebit. Nec ipsa Turcorum agmina gravioris armaturae usum didicere. Raras loricas, rariores toraces induunt, nec galeas more nostro lucentes ostendunt. Raro teguntur corpora ferro. Accinate utuntur et arcu. Parma se protegunt et galeris⁴ pillosa quadam materia duraque contextis. Quod si Latinas inciderint acies rigentes⁵ calibe ferratasque hastas et cataphractos equos et manubalistarum sagittas, intelligent cum mulieribus se hactenus {87r} pugnasse⁶, nunc cum viris esse certandum.

[24] Diximus, quae nobis hactenus promissa sunt auxilia et quanta spe victoriae procedamus. Quod si vos quoque conjunxeritis arma et auxiliares addideritis turmas, multo alacriores ibimus. Nec dubium, quin orientales ingressi provincias, tanto majorem ad nos concursum inveniemus dedentium se populorum, quanto validior fuerit noster exercitus. Si movebimini vos, Christiani occidentales, et animarum vestrarum pastorem secuti fueritis, movebuntur et multi ex Graecia atque Asia Christiani, qui verum esse Christi vicarium Romanum pontificem non dubitant. Jamdudum non fuit in oriente Romanus praesul. Ut primum innotuerit adventasse latinam classem Romanum vehentem praesulem, innumerabiles turmae – non dubitamus – ad visendum

¹ Ezekiel, 13, 5

² et *add.* KO

³ Turcorum arma : arma Turcorum KO

⁴ galeis KO; caleris P

⁵ tegentes P

⁶ pugnasse KO

beati Petri successorem cum fletu et lacrimis sacros osculaturi pedes accurrent¹ seseque et sua promittent ei². Hac spe freti, venerabiles fratres ac filii {87v} dilectissimi, his rationibus persuasi, his consiliis moti, venerabilibus fratribus nostris cardinalibus hoc ipsum suadentibus, corpus nostrum canitiemque nostram et seniles ac debiles artus huic sanctae expeditioni consecramus dominoque commendamus, statuentes circa nonas Junias, quae proxime instant³, Anconam petere atque in ejus portu navem conscendere et cum ea classe, quam interim nostro et aliorum sumptu poterimus instruere, Adriaticum ingredi pelagus et ulterius recto itinere adversus hostes fidei proficisci, non dubitantes, quin Philippus, Burgundiae dux, maritimis armatis copiis ad idem tempus praesto assit Venetique validam classem - de qua dictum est - expeditam in mari habeant, et tam ille quam isti sese nobis jungant sub vexillis ecclesiae ac vivificae crucis signo adversus impios Turcos auctore domino feliciter pugnaturi. Cruce signati autem, qui suis aut mittentium sumptibus in hac pia expeditione {88r} militaturi sunt, ut navigia aequo pretio ad trajiciendum Venetiis habeant, curabimus.

[25] Eapropter vos omnes et singulos cardinales, patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates et cujuscumque conditionis viros ecclesiasticos, religiosos et saeculares, qui de sorte domini effecti estis, vos quoque imperatorem, reges, duces, marchiones, comites, communitates, barones, nobiles, milites, cives et alios quoscumque fideles sive in urbibus commemoremini sive in agris per viscera misericordiae⁴ domini nostri Jesu Christi, per passionem ejus, qua nos redemit, per judicium extremum, in quo stabitis ante tribunal ejus accepturi *unusquisque secundum opera sua*,⁵ per spem vitae aeternae, quam *repromisit dominus diligentibus se*,⁶ obnixè monemus, requirimus et obsecramus, ut, quae commode potestis, in hanc sanctam expeditionem⁷ auxilia conferre⁸ non differatis, sed in tempore praedicto ad nos mittatis. Veniat per seipsum, qui validus est et commode potest. Qui vero non venerit⁹, mittat alium seu¹⁰ alios {88v} juxta vires suarum facultatum. Si neque alium mittere potest, de bonis suis a Deo collatis, quantum secundum conscientiam suam potest, per fideles manus in hanc expeditionem contribuat aut in cistis reponat, quae ad hoc opus in singulis diocesibus constituentur.

¹ occurrent P

² *omit.* P

³ quae proxime instant *omit.* P

⁴ *omit.* P

⁵ Apocalypse, 22, 12

⁶ James, 2, 5

⁷ nobis *add.* KO

⁸ praebere KO

⁹ venit KO

¹⁰ aut KO

[26] Nec dubitet quispiam magna praemia consecuturos eos a domino¹, qui tam² sanctum opus ac³ tam necessarium pro suis viribus adjuverint. Manifestum enim exploratumque est *omnibus qui sacrosanctam religionem fidemque orthodoxam adjuverint, auxerint, defenderint, certum esse in caelo diffinitum locum, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur.*⁴ Credendum est semper sacris veteribusque sermonibus post hanc vitam migrandum esse in alteram asserentibus, et qui pie in hoc saeculo vixerint⁵ legemque domini servaverint⁶, in altero vitam beatam sine fine consecuturos, alios vero miseram. Infallibile propheticum illud est, *quod nec⁷ oculus vidit nec auris audivit {89r} nec in cor hominis ascendit,*⁸ *quae promisit dominus diligentibus se,*⁹ et quod Paulo teste *non sunt condignae passionis hujus saeculi ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in vobis.*¹⁰ Justissimus est retributor dominus, qui nec bona sine praemio nec mala sine poena praeterit. Confidite in Deo et non confundemini.¹¹ Date de bonis vestris ei, qui dedit vobis, et *centum accipietis pro uno et vitam aeternam possidebitis.*¹²

[27] Quam ut certius consequi valeant, qui nostris exhortationibus oboedientes hoc sanctum opus et necessarium juxta possibilitatem suam adjuverint, nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, auctoritate confisi, de plenitudine potestatis caelitus nobis concessae, omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui in hanc expeditionem nobiscum venerint aut per Hungariam aut aliam viam contra Turcos arma protulerint et per annum aut ad minus per sex menses, si amplius non poterint¹³, in bello perseveraverint, {89v} plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et veniam elargimur, ita ut pro satisfactione delictorum et poenarum, quae fuerunt imponendae, succedat labor itineris atque militiae, nec sacerdos aliam poenam confitentibus injungant, qui venturi sunt, volentes eos, qui – ut praemisum est – ad hoc sanctum opus proficiscuntur, omnem gratiam et indulgentiam consequi, quam nostri praedecessores proficiscentibus¹⁴ in subsidium terrae sanctae et in anno jubilaio Romam petentibus dare consueverunt, non dubitantes, quin animae illorum, quos ad hoc bellum proficisci bona mente contigerit, cum beatissimis sanctorum patrum et angelorum

¹ eos a domino : a domino eos KO

² hoc KO

³ et KO

⁴ Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.13.13. Here the pope adapts a Cicero-quotation to the Church

⁵ vixerunt KO

⁶ servaverunt KO

⁷ neque KO

⁸ 1. Corinthians, 2, 9

⁹ James, 2, 5

¹⁰ Romans, 8, 18

¹¹ Cf. Romans, 9, 33

¹² Matthew, 19, 29

¹³ potuerint KO

¹⁴ omit. P

Dei spiritibus post hanc vitam in caelestibus sedibus collocentur et consortes in perpetuum Christi factae aeterna felicitate fruantur.

[28] Quod si forsitan anno non exacto ipsorum aliquos post iter arreptum in prosecutione tam pii et tam sancti operis ex hac luce migrare contigerit, volumus et concedimus, ut tales nihilominus {90r} praefatam indulgentiam consequantur integraliter¹. Similiter et eos, qui non venientes alium vel alios suis expensis secundum suarum virium facultatem transmiserint vice sua ad annum vel² ad minus ad sex menses in hoc bello militaturos, ita ut non solum mittentes indulgentiam et gratiam hujusmodi consequantur, sed etiam missi. Et ut omnis aetas et sexus et cujuscumque professionis³ homines hujus sanctae indulgentiae participes esse possint, volumus, ut personae quorumcumque monasteriorum seu locorum religiosorum, marium seu mulierum, cujuscumque ordinis seu professionis existant, que pro singulis decem suppositis claustris sui unum bellatorem destinaverint, hac eadem indulgentia et gratia plenaria⁴ gaudeant et missus ipse gaudeat.

[29] Idem concedimus et indulgemus universis fidelibus, qui non valentes per se singuli alium mittere duo simul tresve aut quattuor aut plures usque ad decem unum miserint, qui vice eorum in bello pugnaturus {90v} aut aliud opus utile facturum interfuerit, volentes ut et ipse pariter⁵ gratiae particeps fiat, si per annum aut ad minus per sex menses continuaverit aut post iter arreptum in via decesserit. Insuper, qui commode venire aut alium per se vel cum alio aut aliis mittere non valens, quantum per hebdomadam cum familia sua exponere consueverit, in arca in sua civitate vel diocesi ob hanc causam instituenda⁶ imposuerit, indulgentiam hujusmodi pariter assequatur. Volumus autem et apostolica auctoritate mandamus, ut quicumque huic operi tam sancto se obligaverint, salutare signum vivificae crucis vestibus imprimant et in humeris suis illius memoriam portent, cujus passione ab aeterna damnatione redempti sunt, ipsum imitantes, cui ad nostram redemptionem eunti⁷ *factus est principatus super humerum ejus*⁸ et qui nos admonens ad sectanda vestigia sua, qui *vult, inquit, venire post me, abneget {91r} semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.*⁹

[30] Ne vero haec nostra profectio et ipsum profectionis tempus fideles populos lateat, mandamus omnibus et singulis per totum orbem metropolitanis in vim ejus, quam nobis debent,

¹ consequantur integraliter : integraliter consequantur KO

² aut KO

³ profectionis P

⁴ plenarie KO

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ constituenda P

⁷ crux imposita fuit cum KO

⁸ Isaiah, 9, 6: *factus est principatus super humerum ejus*

⁹ Matthew, 16, 24

oboedientiae, ut ipsi primum in ecclesiis eorum cantata missa sollemni spiritus sancti et convocato populo has nostras litteras publicent et in circuitu ecclesiarum processiones faciant, deinde copias earum authenticas suffraganeis suis quantocius mittant illos monentes, ut¹ hoc ipsum in suis ecclesiis cum devotione et diligentia faciant.

[31] Ceterum in tanto religionis Christianae² discrimine, quantum a Turcis impraesentiarum cernitur imminere, nulli dubium esse debet, quin Christiani omnes, tam reges et principes quam alii potentatus et privati homines, ad defensionem catholicae fidei et sanctae legis evangelicae juxta possibilitatem suam cum bonis et corporibus {91v} suis de necessitate salutis viriliter assurgere et indesinenter assistere teneantur. Eapropter fideles ipsos, Jesu Christi cultores, universos et singulos, cujuscumque status et conditionis fuerint, sive pontificali sive imperatoria aut regali praefulgeant dignitate, harum serie monemus et³ requirimus et in vim promissionis factae in sacri susceptione baptismi et in vim juramenti praestiti, cum dignitatum suarum infulas susceperunt, et per oboedientiam nobis debitam eis et eorum singulis mandamus, ut hanc sanctam expeditionem, ad quam profecturi sumus non sine maximo corporis nostri dispendio, modis, quibus possint, quam celerrime adjuvare et promovere festinent, ab illo, cujus causa agitur, exuberantia suscepturi praemia et in praesenti vita et in futura.

[32] Negligentes autem negligentur, et in extremo judicii die minime inter illos invenientur, quibus dicturus est dominus: *Venite, benedicti patris {92r} mei, percipite regnum.*⁴ Nam quo pacto cum Christo regnaturus est, qui temporale regnum aut delicias aut voluptates pro Christo non vult relinquere, cum dicat ipse Christus in evangelio: *“Qui diligit patrem suum aut⁵ matrem suam aut uxorem aut filios plus quam me, non est me dignus.”*⁶ Considerate ista, fideles Christiani, et mente revolvite diligenter, ne ignorantes ignoremini, et tandem poeniteat non adjuvisse in periculo constitutam Jesu Christi religionem et fidem. Caveant sibi, qui tales extiterint.

[33] Tu vero, quicumque fueris, Christiane fidelis, qui pro tuis facultatibus expeditionem contra Turcos subeundam adjuveris, *benedictus esto in civitate et benedictus in agro, benedictus fructus ventris tui et fructus terrae tuae fructusque jumentorum tuorum et armentorum et gregum tuorum⁷, benedicta horrea tua et benedictae reliquiae tuae.*⁸ *Benedictus esto ingrediens et egrediens. Det dominus inimicos tuos, qui consurgunt {92v} adversum te, corruentes in conspectu*

¹ et *add.* KO

² religionis Christianae : Christianae religionis KO

³ ac KO

⁴ Matthew, 25, 34

⁵ et KO

⁶ Cf. Matthew, 10, 37

⁷ *omit.* KO

⁸ Deuteronomy, 28, 3-5

*tuo,*¹ et mittat dominus benedictionem super cellaria tua et super² opera manuum tuarum³ et abundare te faciat omnibus bonis⁴ et constituat te in caput et non in caudam.⁵ Tibi autem, qui nolens audire verba nostra non modo juvare opus sanctissimum, ad quod anhelamus, negligis, verum etiam volentes⁶ juvare⁷ impedis aut deterres,⁸ non solum novissima illa tremendi examinis dies coram redemptore tuo, cui omnia dedit pater in manus, ad sempiternum supplicium est expectanda, sed misera interim per omnem vitam timenda calamitas. Justum est enim veri Dei iudicium, justae ultiones suae. *Considerat semitas*⁹ pedum tuorum nec falli in faciem potest, paratam vero bonorum operum et malorum gerens mercedem.

[34] Nec irremuneratum, quod bene, nec impunitum, quod male gesseris, esse permittet. Fidelis autem populi sui et sanctae ecclesiae suae et legis suae catholicam {93r} causam perturbans, ubicumque eris, invenieris ab eo et, quae divinae voces iniquis denuntiant, erunt tuo capiti omnibus horis¹⁰ trepidandis, ne videlicet *maledictus sis in civitate, maledictus in agro, ne mittat dominus super te esuriam et sitim et increpationem in omnia opera tua, ne egestate, febre et frigore te percutiat, ne sis semper calumniam sustinens et oppressus cunctis diebus et stupens ad terrorem eorum, quae videbant oculi tui, ne det tibi dominus cor pavidum et deficientes oculos et animam errore consumptam et ne sit*¹¹ *vita tua quasi pendens ante te et ne timeas die ac nocte*¹² *et non credas vitae tuae.*¹³ Adversus vero hanc iram domini Dei tui potestas nulla tua, nomen nullum tuum nec terrenum privilegium poterit praevalere. *Sagittae ejus acutae* penetrant ad intima cordis et *carbones desolatorij*¹⁴ animam nocentem exurunt.

[35] Vos vero, infelices piratae et infelices latrones, qui vel terra vel mari diabolo militantes in Christianos latrocinia exercetis, si euntes ad hanc {93v} sanctam expeditionem, si redeuntes ab ea impedire, capere¹⁵ vel spoliare quocumque praetextu eritis ausi, vos, inquam, cum adiutoribus vestris, cum fautoribus ac receptoribus anathema estote et ab ecclesia prorsus¹⁶ alieni. Vos

¹ Deuteronomy, 28, 6-7

² omnia *add.* KO

³ Deuteronomy, 28, 8

⁴ Deuteronomy, 28, 11

⁵ Deuteronomy, 28, 13

⁶ valentes P

⁷ adjuvare KO

⁸ One of those would be King Louis of France who was blocking the Duke of Burgundy's participation in the crusade and in the end would directly forbid it

⁹ Proverbs, 31, 27

¹⁰ omnibus horis : horis omnibus KO

¹¹ tibi *add.* KO

¹² die ac nocte : nocte ac die KO

¹³ Passages from Deuteronomy 28

¹⁴ Psalms, 119, 4

¹⁵ capere KO

¹⁶ penitus KO

quoque, qui scienter his venditis aliquid, emitis ab his¹ aliquid, portum aut loca ejus conceditis, cum eis publice vel occulte communicatis, pariter anathema estote. In vos autem, universitates locorum et civitatum, mandamus per ecclesiarum praelatos interdicti sententiam ferri, nolentes ullum privilegium sedis conciliorumve² quamcumque³ verborum vim habeat, vos ab hac poena defendat, etiam si de verbo ad verbum inseri vel particulatim illud exprimi vel recenseri oporteret.

[36] At tu, domine Deus, qui nosti corda hominum et renes eorum scrutaris et nihil ignoras eorum, quae fiunt, si bene agunt Christiani principes privatique homines, si de tuo honore solliciti sunt, si expeditioni, quam pro tuendo evangelio praeparamus, quae praestare possunt, {94r} auxilia non denegant, adjuva eos, *dirigeque*⁴ *gressus*⁵ eorum *diesque multiplica*,⁶ retribue mercedem pro beneficiis⁷, conserva eis regna et principatus, patrimonia et possessiones auge et tandem ad *pinguia pascua*⁸ tua et divites mensas accersito. Quod si corde indurato sua potius quam tua quaerentes, privatas causas magis quam publicas curant, avaritiae student, voluptatibus ac deliciis indulgent et nos ad tua bella vadentes nolunt associare aut auxilio juvare, cum possint, quin potius opem ferre volentes impediunt, aut converte illos, domine, et sana, quod infirmum est, aut quod noxium est, ne noceat, cohibeto.

[37] Angustias nostras aspicias, pie Deus, de excelso sancto tuo et nosti, quia praeter gloriam nominis tui et praeter salutem gregis dominici nil aliud quaerit vox nostra. Memento, domine Jesu Christe, quoniam beato Petro et successoribus ejus *claves regni caelorum*⁹ tradidisti, volens quaecumque ligarentur ab eis in terra, ligata esse in caelis, et¹⁰ quae {94v} solverentur, soluta.¹¹ Ecce adsum beati Petri successor, impar meritis, auctoritate non minor, indignus vicarius tuus. Respice ad preces nostras et exaudi nos de alto solio tuo. Benedicito, quibus ipsi benedicimus, et quibus maledixerimus, maledicito. *Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordiae tuae. Adjuva nos, Deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, domine, libera nos et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.*¹² Da felicem cursum coeptis nostris. *Ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum, qui effusus est a Turcis, introeat in conspectu*

¹ ab his *omit.* P

² collegiorumve P

³ quantamcumque P

⁴ dirige KO

⁵ Proverbs, 3, 6 *etc.*

⁶ Deuteronomy, 11, 21

⁷ benefactis KO

⁸ Ezekiel, 34, 14

⁹ Matthew, 16, 19

¹⁰ *omit.* KO

¹¹ Matthew, 18, 18

¹² Psalms, 78, 8-9

tuo. Audi¹ gemitus compeditorum, et redde vicinis² nostris septuplum in sinu eorum, improprium eorum³, quod exprobraverunt tibi⁴. Respice super populum tuum benignis oculis. Fac nos ire cum prosperitate ad bellum tuum et⁵ reverti felices. Da nobis victoriam de tuis hostibus, ut tandem recuperata Graecia, per totam Europam dignas {95r} tibi cantemus laudes tibi que perpetuo serviamus et omnis terra te adoret et nomini tuo psallat in saecula saeculorum.

[38] Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominicae, millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo tertio, undecimo kalendas Novembris,⁶ pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

¹ aut KO

² inimicis KO

³ *omit.* KO

⁴ Psalms, 78, 10-12

⁵ ac KO

⁶ 22 October 1463

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 76)

**Oration “*Suscepturi*” of Pope Pius II (18 June 1464,
Rome). Translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

2019

Abstract

In spite of the Duke of Burgundy's failure to appear in person to participate in the crusade against the Turks, Pope Pius II decided to go ahead as planned. On 18 June 1464, he left Rome, mortally ill, to go to Ancona from where a crusade fleet would sail against the Turks. But he died on 15 August, at the moment when the Venetian fleet finally came in sight. Afterwards the crusade collapsed. During the ceremony of departure from Rome, held at Saint Peter's Basilica, the pope gave the oration "*Suscepturi*", in which he motivated his personal participation in the crusade and asked for the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Saints; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1464; 15th century

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The continued ill health of the Duke of Burgundy and his reconciliation with his son, Jean le Témeraire, Count of Charolais, opened the perspective of Jean becoming regent when the duke left for the crusade. This perspective was quite unacceptable to King Louis of France because of the deadly enmity between him and Jean, and because of the unfinished negotiations for peace with England and the spectre of another war between France and England.

On 23 February 1464, King Louis therefore informed the duke of his objections to his leaving for a crusade at the present time and reminded him of the necessity of his presence at the signature of a renewed truce or peace with England. And in case the negotiations with the English failed, the duke could not be absent on a crusade with his military forces, a crusade moreover in which the Venetians would only participate until they had gained the Peloponnese and could sign a separate peace treaty with the Turk. In conclusion the king commanded the duke to stay at home and not leave on a crusade.²

Duke Philippe had to comply with his sovereign's command. In late March 1464 a message from the duke arrived in Rome, announcing a delay of his departure until Spring 1465.

The pope decided, however, that the military situation, his own health, and his honour as pope, would allow no more procrastination, and he left Rome on 18 June, mortally ill. Before leaving the City, he visited Saint Peter where he gave the short address/prayer³ "Suscepturi"

His protégé, Cardinal Jacopo Ammanati, wrote about the event:

*Cupiens igitur Pius sanctissimus profectionem suam in Turcos perficere, quae fidelibus repromissa iam erat ad XIII.m Kalendas Iulii in basilicam Sanctorum Apostolorum mane descendit, sicut suus erat mos semper, cum Urbem relinquebat, atque, ibi veneratis aris et successu rerum pie deprecato, Romam egressus est, patribus et praelatis lecticam eius ferentibus.*⁴

¹ Pastor, II, pp. 232-261; Paviot, 162-176; Voigt, IV, pp. 697-724

² Paviot, p. 170

³ Like the oration/prayers "Advenisti tandem" [67] and "Si loqui possent" [68] at the reception of Saint Andrew's Head in Rome two years before. Also the opening and closing orations at the Congress of Mantua had been combined with prayer texts

⁴ Ammanati, vol. 2, ep. 74, p. 502

He arrived in Ancona, the port of departure, on 19 July, but he had to wait for the Venetian galleys. When the sails of the arriving ships were seen from Ancona, on 15 August 1464, the pope drew his last breath.

It was all over: everybody except the frontier states heaved a sigh of relief, and the crusade collapsed.

Duke Philippe of Burgundy would not get the crusade he had dreamt about for so long. When the Bishop of Tournai later reminded him of his vow, the old man began to cry.¹

And neither had Pius II gotten his crusade, nor the martyr's death he seemed to be wishing for as his personal sacrifice to God.

Was it all the great folly of a great man, or was it a sound political/military initiative based on a realistic perception of the Turkish threat? Scholars have differed on this question.

To the present editor of Pius' orations there is no doubt, however:

The crusade project of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II was based on a quiet realistic assessment of the Turkish danger to Europe and Christianity.² It may have contained less admirable political, financial, cultural, and even self-serving elements, but with the progress of time and Pius' growing into his role and responsibilities as pope it became a sincere religious enterprise and an expression of his deepening faith.

We may only guess what would have happened had the military and political circumstances allowed the French king to let the Duke of Burgundy leave for the crusade, but in the final judgment it would be churlish to doubt Pius II' sincerity and faith in the crusade matter.

A quite unscholarly quote from *Fear and trembling*³ by the the Danish philosoper, Søren Kierkegaard, may be allowed:

Not one shall be forgotten who was great in the world. But each was great in his own way, and each in proportion to the greatness of that which he loved. For he who loved himself became great by himself, and he who loved other men became great by his selfless devotion,

¹ Paviot, p. 175

² This view is shared by modern scholars like Babinger, see Babinger, p. 539: *Welche Absichten der Staatenlenker Mehmed II. mit dem Abendlande hatte, steht ausser Zweifel. Wie einst Alexander der Grosse gegen Osten zog ... so plante Mehmed II den Westen als Ziel seiner Angriffe und Eroberungspläne auszuerschen.* See also Wheatcroft

³ <http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=2068&C=1870>

*but he who loved God became greater than all. Everyone shall be remembered, but each became great in proportion to his expectation. One became great by expecting the possible, another by expecting the eternal, but he who expected the impossible became greater than all. Everyone shall be remembered, but each was great in proportion to the greatness of that with which he strove. For he who strove with the world became great by overcoming the world, and he who strove with himself became great by overcoming himself, but he who strove with God became greater than all.*¹

2. Themes

The oration *Suscepturi* has two main themes:

- **The reasons for the pope's personal participation in the crusade.**²

As the papal finances did not allow the pope to finance the crusade on his own, it would have to be organized and financed by the European states in common. But what the pope could do was to participate personally in the crusade which would put pressure on the secular princes and especially the very prestigious Duke of Burgundy to join it. In the oration the pope said:

Someone will say: "It is indeed the custom to grant the sign of the cross to those who are going to fight the enemies of religion. But will old and sick Pius really take arms and go into battle? Such aid and defenders are not what is needed today. The Turkish wars require young warriors, experienced captains, and large armies. It would be more useful if Pius stayed at home and sent a legate with troops to fight in his place."³ Those who reason thus know little about the resources of the Apostolic See and the ways of men. The treasury of the Roman Church can only contribute very little, and kings and peoples will rather follow the pope himself than a papal legate. Our strength consists in authority and reverence, not in wealth. [Sect. 1]

¹ Søren Kierkegaard: *Fear and trembling*. Princeton, 1941 [Frygt og bæven. Copenhagen, 1843], Ch. 1: A panegyric of Abraham

² On the theme of a crusade in Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.

³ These remarks show that the pope's personal participation in the crusade "remained highly contentious", cf. Housley, p. 216

- **Prayers to Jesus, the Holy Virgin and the saints to intercede for the crusaders with God**

And all you holy apostles and all the saintly men and women of God whose relics are kept in this holy temple and all over the City: Our body shall leave, but Our soul is always with you. You reign in Heaven together with Jesus Christ: humbly We beg you to intercede for Our endeavours with Merciful God so that, in the voyage and war We are undertaking for the Christian religion, he shall make Us do his will and grant that our standard with the life-giving Cross shall win and triumph wherever it goes. [Sect. 1]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered by Pope Pius II on 18 June 1501, in Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome.

The occasion was the pope's departure for the crusade against the Turks.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, Roman notables, and probably also common people from Rome come to say goodbye to the pope. Everybody would have known that it was probably the last time they saw him, so it must have been quite a dramatic and emotion-laded event.

The 18th century editor of the text, Cardinal Stefano Borgia, designated it as an oration.

4. Text

No extant manuscripts with the text of the oration appear to be known.

The oration was published twice by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, once as part of his *Anecdota litteraria*, and once as an individual publication:

- Stefano Borgia: *Anecdota litteraria ex mss. codicibus eruta*. 1773 / III, p. 287.

- Pius II: *Oratio de bello Turcis inferendo ...* [Cur.] Stephanus Borgia. Roma: Francesius, 1774

Cardinal Stefano Borgia¹ had acquired the manuscript on which his edition is based from his friend, Archbishop Francesco Maria Piccolomini.² The archbishop also gave the cardinal a golden coin, minted at the occasion of Pius' departure, showing the pope standing in a boat before the Holy Eucharist and praying with lifted arms. Pius had referred to this very theme in his oration "*Sextus agitur annus.*"³

Text:

The text is reproduced from Cardinal Borgia's edition.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the Borgia edition.

5. Sources⁴

In this oration, 13 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible.

Biblical: 13

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 13

¹ Stefano Borgia (1731-1804): Italian Cardinal, theologian, antiquarian, and historian

² Francesco Maria Piccolomini (1695-1784): Bishop of Pienza from 1741 to 1772 when he resigned and was appointed titular Archbishop of Perge

³ Pius II: *Oration "Sextus agitur annus"*, sect. 23

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

Biblical sources: 13

Old Testament: 10

- Genesis: 1
- Ezekiel: 1
- Psalms: 6
- Tobit: 2

New Testament: 3

- Luke: 1
- John: 1
- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Pii Papae II

[1] {287} Suscepturi hodie dominicae crucis passionisque signum non dubitamus, venerabiles fratres ac filii, quin plerosque vestrum admiratio teneat. Quis enim res novas atque insolitas intuetur et non miratur? {288} “Pugnaturos,” dicit aliquis, “adversus religionis hostes crucis munire signo mos fuit. Piusne senex, aegro corpore, arma induet et manum conserturus proelio intererit? Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget. Juvenes bellatores, expertos duces, numerosos exercitus Turconica bella requirunt. Utilius domi manebit Pius, emisso legato cum copiis, qui pro se pugnet.” Qui hoc pacto ratiocinantur, nec vires apostolicae sedis nec mores hominum satis metiti sunt. Perparum est, quod aerarium ecclesiae Romanae conferre potest, nec principes aut populi sunt, qui tam legatum pontificis quam ipsum pontificem sequi velint. In auctoritate et reverentia vires nostrae, non in opibus consistent.

Oration of Pope Pius II

1. Reasons for the pope's personal participation in the crusade

[1] Venerable brethren and sons, today We are going to take the Lord's cross, the sign of his passion. Undoubtedly many of you are wondering, for all who see new and unusual things wonder. Someone will say: "It is indeed the custom to grant the sign of the cross to those who are going to fight the enemies of religion. But will old and sick Pius really take arms and go into battle? Such aid and defenders are not what is needed today. The Turkish wars require young warriors, experienced captains, and large armies. It would be more useful if Pius stayed at home and sent a legate with troops to fight for him." Those who reason in this way know little about the resources of the Apostolic See and the ways of men. The treasury of the Roman Church can only contribute very little,¹ and kings and peoples will rather follow the pope himself than a papal legate. Our strength consists in authority and reverence, not in wealth.

¹ In an earlier oration, the pope had estimated that the yearly incomes of the Apostolic See amounted to 300.000 ducats a year, whereas the crusade would cost more than 1.000.000 ducats a year for three years, see oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75], sect. 15

[2] Matthias, rex Ungariae, magnanimus et clarae memoriae genitori suo persimilis, dubius erat, an hoc anno in Turcos arma proferret. At audita profectioe nostra “En,” inquit, “summus sacerdos cano capite debilibusque membris in castris erit, {289} et ego juvenis robusto corpore domi manebo? Non faciam!” jussitque mox cuncta parari ad bellum necessaria. Aderit et Cristophorus Maurus, dux Venetiarum, aetate et sapientia plenus, gravi senatorum comitatu circumdatus, quem nullus legatorum nostrorum ex urbe sua eduxisset. Quid de Ludovico, Francisci excellentis Mediolanensium principis filio, dicemus ejusque fratre Tristano, qui splendidum equitatum peditatumque validum ad nos deducturi sunt? Putatisne legato etiam cardinali haec subsidia fuisse mittenda? Fallitur, si quis ea opinione tenetur. Dignitati nostrae ob locum, quem tenemus, et Franciscus ipse, et Florentini, et Senenses, et Borsius, Mutinae dux, et marchio Mantuanus, et Bononienses, et Lucenses, et Ragusei, et Rhodiensis militia ea nobis auxilia promittunt, quae nullus potuisset extorquere legatus.

[2] King Matthias of Hungary,¹ magnanimous and like to his famous father,² was uncertain whether he should go to war against the Turks this year. But when he heard about Our departure, he said: “Now the Supreme Pontiff goes to war, whitehaired and frail as he is. Should I then stay at home who am young and strong? No way!” And then he ordered all that is necessary for war to be prepared.

Cristoforo Moro,³ Doge of Venice, will come too, an old and wise man, with a following of worthy senators. No legate of Ours could have made him leave his city.

And what shall We say about Ludovico Sforza,⁴ the excellent son of the Prince of Milan,⁵ and his brother Tristano⁶ who will bring Us a splendid cavalry and a strong infantry? If anybody believe that such aid would have been sent to a legate, even if he is a cardinal, he is mistaken. It is because of Our exalted position that Francesco,⁷ the Florentines, the Sienese, Duke Borso of Modena,⁸ the Marquis of Mantua,⁹ the Bolognese, the Lucchese, the Ragusans, and the Military Order of Rhodes send Us auxiliary troops which no papal legate could have wrested from them.

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

² Janos Hunyadi (1406-1456): leading Hungarian military and political figure. Regent of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

³ Cristoforo Moro (1390-1471): Doge of Venice from 1462 to his death

⁴ Ludovico Maria Sforza [Ludovico il Moro] (1452-1508): Second son of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan. Duke of Milan from 1494 until 1499. He was twelve years old when Pius gave the oration

⁵ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁶ Tristano Sforza (1424-1474): Son of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Giovanna Columbina d'Acquapendente

⁷ Francesco I Sforza

⁸ Borso d'Este (141-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

⁹ Ludovico III Gonzaga [Lodovico] (1412-1478): ruler of the Italian city of Mantua from 1444 to his death

[3] Quid de regulis Dalmatarum atque Illyrici referemus? De Albanis, de Graecis, de tyrannis Asiae Turco infestis? Quis putet tantam {290} in eis commotionem legatum apostolicum facere posse, quantam Jesu Christi vicarium? Addite fidelis populi per Italiam, Germaniam, et alias transalpinas provincias excitationem, quam nostra profectio factura est? Nisi fallimur, ingens populorum concursus aderit. Utinam et Philippi clarissimi ducis Burgundiae adventum prava consilia non impedissent. Totus profecto Occidens cum tanto principe, qui se comitem nobis promiserat, sumpsisset arma. Non tamen diffidimus, quin adhuc aut ejus personam ad nos venientem intueamur, aut ejus auxiliaries copias. Haec sunt, quae nos crucem sumere atque in hostem proficisci et suadent et urgent.

[4] Dicitis forsitan, "Non omnia fient, ut existimas. Adversus hostem potentissimum bellum instruis." At potentior illo Deus est, cujus evangelium defensuri pergimus, nec nos ii sumus, qui omnes cogitationes nostras futuras ratas arbitremur. Illud scimus quoniam nemo in Deo sperans {291} confunditur. *In domino faciemus virtutem, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros.* Quamquam hujusmodi naturae bellum est, ad quod pergimus, ut vincere gloriosum, vinci salutiferum est. Ad obsequium Dei vadimus, ejus erit cuicumque voluerit victoriam dare. Nobis ferendum erit aequo animo, quidquid suae pietati placebit, cujus judicia occulta esse possunt, injusta esse non possunt.

[5] Non tamen tentaturi Deum his periculis caput nostrum objectabimus, ex quibus humano judicio salvi emergere non possimus. Si sequentur Christiani signa nostra, ut par est, confidimus magnum aliquid pro gloria divini nominis efficere posse. Si minus, consulemus ecclesiae Romanae et nobis ipsis, quo melius licebit. Pius et optimus *Deus, qui corda et renes hominum scrutatur, et cui nihil potest esse secretum*, veniam nobis dabit, si relictis a Christifidelibus desperata proelia non aggrediemur.

[3] And what shall We say about the princes of Dalmatia and Illyria? About the Albanians, the Greeks, and the rulers of Asia Minor who are enemies of the Turk?¹ Who believes that an apostolic legate could stir them up more than the Vicar of Jesus Christ? Add to that the excitement Our departure will cause among the faithful people throughout Italy as well as Germany and the other transalpine lands. Unless We are mistaken, there will be a large rallying of people. If only bad advice had not prevented the noble Duke Philippe of Burgundy² from coming! Indeed the whole West would have gone to war with this great prince who had promised to accompany Us. We still hope to see either he himself or his auxiliary troops. This is what persuades and urges Us to take the cross and go to meet the enemies.

[4] Maybe you say: “Not all will happen as you think. You are waging war against a very powerful enemy.” But more powerful than he is God whose Gospel we are setting out to defend. And We do not believe that all Our plans will succeed. But this We know, that no one who puts his hope in God will be disappointed. *Through God we shall do mightily: and he shall bring to nothing them that afflict us.*³ Moreover, the war We are going to is one in which victory brings glory and defeat brings salvation. We are departing to serve God, and He will give the victory to whom he wills. We must bear with serenity whatever he decides in His mercy, for his judgments are inscrutable,⁴ but they cannot be unjust.⁵

[5] When We are walking into dangers from which We cannot escape safely – at least as humans must judge - We are not trying to tempt God. If the Christians follow Our banners, as they should, We believe that We may achieve great things for the glory of the divine name. If they do not, We on Our part shall do Our best for the Roman Church and Ourselves. The merciful and good⁶ God *searcheth reins and hearts,*⁷ and *no secret is hid* from Him.⁸ If We are deserted by the Christians, He will give forgive Us that We do not enter into hopeless battles.

¹ Some of the enemies being other Turkish tribes who were rivals of the Ottomans

² Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

³ Psalms, 59, 14: *In Deo faciemus virtutem; et ipse ad nihilum deducet tribulantes nos*

⁴ Cf. Psalms, 50, 8

⁵ Cf. Tobit, 3, 2; Apocalypse, 16, 7; 19, 2

⁶ “optimus”

⁷ Apocalypse, 2, 23

⁸ Ezekiel, 28, 3

[6] At tu, pissime ac maxime Jesu, fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate patris, cooperante spiritu [292] sancto, damnatum aeterna morte primi parentis culpa genus humanum tuo pretioso sanguine redemisti et legem evangelicam, quae iter pararet in coelum, tradidisti, minime patieris, ut arbitramur, nos pro tua religione frustra conari. Pro gloria tua sancti nominis, pro sacramentorum tuorum observantia, pro caeremoniis tuis, pro divinissimo evangelio tuo quantum dederis conservando, adversus blasphemam gentem Turcorum expeditionem paramus. Non est, cur illos nobis praeferendos existimemus. Quamquam peccatores sumus, et tuis mandatis non semper oboedimus, te tamen colimus, te veneramus, te cum patre et spiritu sancto unum Deum in trinitate personarum adoramus. Tibi templa erigimus, tibi thura incendimus, tibi dies ac noctes canimus laudes, et *in omni tribulatione nostra* ad te confugimus. Turci contra te Deum esse negant, et sceleratum Mahumetem pseudopphetam sequentes tuum nomen conantur delere de {293} terra, ecclesias tuas destruunt, altaria proterunt, imagines foedant, et universae tuae legis sacra contemnunt.

2. Prayers for the crusade

2.1 To Jesus

[6] But you, pious and great Jesus, Son of the Living God, obeying Your Father's will and aided by the Holy Spirit, You have, with *Your own precious blood*,¹ redeemed the human race, condemned to eternal death though the fault of the first parent,² and You have given us the Law of the Gospel which prepares the way to Heaven. We believe that You will not permit Our undertaking for your religion to fail. In so far as You grant it, We are preparing this expedition against the blasphemous people of the Turks for the glory of Your holy name, for the distribution of your sacraments, for your rites, and for the protection of the divine Gospel. There is no reason for You to prefer them to us. Though we are sinners and do not always obey your commandments, it is us who worship and venerate you, it is us who adore you together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One God in the Trinity of persons. It is us who build temples to You, who burn incense to You, who sing praises to you day and night, and *in all our troubles* we flee to you.³

The Turks, on the other hand, deny your divinity and following Muhammad, the criminal pseudo-prophet, they are endeavouring to efface Your name from Earth, they destroy Your churches, they tear down Your altars, they desecrate Your pictures, and they scorn all the holy [commandments] of Your Law.

¹ From the hymn *Te Deum*

² The original sin by Adam – and Eve, cf. Genesis 3

³ Cf. Psalms, 31, 7

[7] Nihil habent in se Turci, propter quod eis opituleris, qui nec te dominum, nec patrem recognoscunt, et te velut hostem persequuntur. Nos servi tui sumus, quamvis aliquando rebelles. Et filii tui sumus per creationem et adoptionem, quamvis saepe inoboedientes. Parce nobis, domine, parce peccatis nostris et miserere nobis, nec velis *propter iniquitates nostras* Turcorum nos impietati subicere. Noli eorum arma nostris praeferre. Mitte nobis *auxilium de loco sancto tuo*, et da nobis vincere hostes tuos, quia tua est victoria et tuum regnum, *tui sunt caeli, et tua est terra*, et nihil est, quod tuae possit resistere voluntati. Precamur, clementissime Jesu, ne nos tuae majestati militaturos ope tua destituas. Adesto nobis et exercitui tuo, nec tuae passionis trophaeum, quod nobis pro vexillo erit, sine angelorum tuorum praesidio deseras. *Illumina vultum tuum super nos*, et salvi erimus.

[7] The Turks have nothing which may give You reason to help them: they recognize neither You nor Your Father as Lord; no, they persecute You as an enemy. It is us who are Your servants, though we sometimes rebel, and it is us who are Your sons by creation and adoption,¹ though often disobedient. Forgive us, Lord, forgive our sins, have mercy upon us, and do not subject us to the impious Turks *for our iniquities*.² Do not prefer their arms to ours. *Send us help from Your sanctuary*,³ and grant us to defeat Your enemies, for Yours is the victory and yours is the power, *Yours are the heavens, and Yours is the earth*,⁴ and nothing can resist Your will. We ask You, merciful Jesus, not to deprive us of your help, now that we are going to war for Your majesty. Accompany us and your army, do not fail the trophy of your passion,⁵ which is our standard, and do not leave us without the protection of the angels. *Cause the light of Your countenance to shine upon us*,⁶ and we shall be saved.

¹ Cf. 1 Romans, 8, 15

² Tobit, 13, 5: *He hath chastised us for our iniquities: and he will save us for his own mercy (Ipse castigavit nos propter iniquitates nostras, et ipse salvabit nos propter misericordiam suam)*

³ Psalms, 19, 3

⁴ Psalms, 88, 12

⁵ i.e. the Cross

⁶ Psalms, 66, 2

[8] Tu quoque mitissima virgo, regina coeli, mater Dei Maria, advocata nostra, fons pietatis, faveto coeptis nostris, adesto nobis in bello et propitium reddito filium tuum, ne magis peccata nostra quam hostium perfidiam animadvertat. In te confidimus, in te speramus. Nihil tibi negaturus est filius, quod pro nobis rogaveris.

[9] Et tu *puer propheta* et plusquam propheta Johannes Baptista, qui Jesum digito monstrans, *ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, palam dixisti, exsurge adversus impiam gentem, quae tuam prophetiam deridet, placatum nobis Jesum, Turcis infensum reddito, et vos pariter, divinissimi apostoli Petre ac Paule, quorum corpora sub hoc altari jacent, capita in basilica Lateranensi servantur, adeste precibus nostris, et auxilium nobis a domino implorate, cujus evangelium praedicastis. En vides, Petre, pastor ovium, aeterni regni claviger, quam diminitus est grex dominicus, cujus tibi {295} et succesoribus tuis cura commissa fuit, porrige manum, ne amplius pereat, et juva, ut quod perditum est recuperetur. Et tu, Paule, cujus per totam Graeciam insonuit tuba, nonne vides exitiabile dogma Mahumetis illic praedicari, ubi tuae solebant epistolae et tua mandata servari? Acceptius es proculdubio Deo, pro cujus nomine martyrium pertulisti. Audiet pro nobis te rogantem Dominus. Porrige pro nobis preces.

2.2 To the Virgin Mary and the saints

[8] And you too, Most Gentle Virgin Mary, *Queen of Heaven*,¹ Mother of God, *our advocate*,² *fountain of piety*,³ favour our endeavours, be with us in the war, and make your Son show us his mercy and not take greater notice of our sins than of the faithlessness of our enemies. We trust in you. We hope in you. Your son will deny you nothing you ask for.

[9] And *thou child, prophet*,⁴ nay, more than a prophet, John the Baptist, who pointed to Jesus and publicly declared: *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world*,⁵ rise against the impious people that scorns your prophecy, and cause Jesus to be pleased with us and hostile to the Turks.

And you too, holy apostles Peter and Paul, whose bodies lie under this altar⁶ while your heads are kept in the Lateran Basilica, hear our prayers and beg help for us from Our Lord whose Gospel you preached.

Peter, Guardian of the Sheep, Keybearer of the Heavenly Kingdom, you see how the Lord's flock has shrunk, the flock which was entrusted to you and your successors: stretch out your hand so that it will not be further destroyed and help us to regain what was lost.

And you Paul whose trumpet sounded in all of Greece: don't you see how the deadly teachings of Muhammad are being preached there where your own epistles and commandments were once held in honour? Undoubtedly you are more pleasing to God for whose name you suffered martyrdom. May the Lord hear you when you intercede for us. Pray for us.

¹ Cf. the hymn *Regina coeli*

² From the hymn *Salve regina*

³ From the hymn *Dies irae*

⁴ Luke 1, 76

⁵ John, 1, 29

⁶ The main altar of Saint Peter's Basilica where the ceremony of the pope's departure was held

[10] Nec tu, apostole dive Andrea, beati Petri germane, cujus honoratum caput coram aspicimus, ne, quaesumus, auxilium subtrahe tuum: adesto, ut recuperemus tuam sedem, ex qua te Turci depulerunt. Acceptae sunt tuae preces domino. Adjuva nos, et si qua est indignatio Dei super nos, averte illam. Ecce divini apostoli et omnes sancti et sanctae Dei, quorum reliquiae in hoc sancto templo et ubique per urbem conservantur, corpore a vobis recedimus, animo semper vobiscum manemus. Vos in coelo regnatis {295} cum Christo Jesu: supplices oramus, ut divinae pietati coepta nostra commendetis, ut in hoc itinere atque in hoc bello, quod pro religione Christiana suscipimus, suam nos facere voluntatem elargiatur vexillumque suae vivificae crucis, quocumque pervenerit, vincere ac triumphare concedat. Amen.

[10] And you, Holy Apostle Andrew, brother of Saint Peter, whose revered head we see before us,¹ do not, we pray, deprive us of your help. Be with us so that we may reclaim your See from which the Turks expelled you. Your prayers please the Lord: help us, and if God is still angry with us, avert his anger.

And all you holy apostles and all the saintly men and women of God whose relics are kept in this holy temple and all over the City: Our body shall leave, but in spirit We are always with you. You are reigning in Heaven together with Jesus Christ: humbly We beg you to intercede for Our endeavours with Merciful God so that in the voyage and war We are undertaking for the Christian religion he shall make Us do his will and grant that our standard with the life-giving Cross shall win and triumph wherever it goes. Amen.

¹ The relic of the Head of Saint Andrew was received in Rome on 12 April 1462 and placed in Saint Peter's Basilica, see oration "*Advenisti tandem*" [67]. It was taken from its place in the Cathedral of Patras and brought to Italy by a Palaeologus prince fleeing from the Turks. When it was received in Rome, Pius promised it that he would try to restore it to its see in Patras during a future crusade

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 77)

**Oration "*Ecce, ecce*" of Pope Pius II (August 1463, Rome).
Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

2019

Abstract

At the Congress in Mantua 1459, the Venetians had been extremely reluctant to support a papal crusade against the Turks, to the great frustration of the pope and the gleeful satisfaction of those cardinals who opposed the papal crusade plans. In the following years, the Venetians would come to realize, however, that their hopes for peaceful coexistence with the Turks were in vain, and that the Turkish threats to their Mediterranean empire had to be countered. So, in a major change of strategy, they gave up their resistance to the papal crusade plans and began to exert pressure on the pope to launch his crusade against the Turks, together with as many European allies as possible. They formally decided to go to war against the Turks on 28 July 1463. The pope received the news of the Venetian decision some days later and immediately announced it to the cardinals requiring them to discuss both how to assist the Venetians in their present military venture against the Turks and how to proceed in the manner of the papal crusade to be launched the following year.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Venezia; Venice; Turks; Crusades; War against the Turks; 1463; 15h century; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. New Venetian crusade strategy [1]
2. Papal response [2]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

At the Congress in Mantua 1459, the Venetians had been extremely reluctant – and not without some reason - to support a papal crusade against the Turks,² to the great frustration of the pope and the gleeful satisfaction of those cardinals who opposed the papal crusade plans. In the following years the Venetians would come to realize, however, that their hopes for a peaceful coexistence with the Turks were in vain, and that the Turkish threats to their Mediterranean empire had to be countered. So, in a major change of strategy, they gave up their resistance to the papal crusade plans and began to exert pressure on the pope to launch his crusade against the Turks, together with as many European allies as possible. On 28 July 1463, they formally decided to go to war against the Turks, and the day afterwards Cardinal Bessarion sent a message the pope announcing the Venetian decision.³ The pope received the message some days later and immediately announced it to the cardinals in a secret consistory, requiring them to discuss both how to assist the Venetians in their present military venture against the Turks and how to proceed in the manner of the papal crusade to be launched the following year.

In his *Commentarii*,⁴ the pope wrote about the Venetian decision:

Bessarion⁵ meantime had reached Venice where he was received with great enthusiasm by the state and loaded with distinguished honours as a mark of reverence for the Holy See. On being given audience in the Senate he easily persuaded the citizens (who were already convinced) to do what he wanted, namely to issue a public declaration of war against the Turks. For the Venetians, though they had left the admiral of the fleet free to decide as to making war, nevertheless were shrewdly keeping the plan secret and had no intention of making it public till they had inflicted some great disaster on the enemy. But when they had heard Bessarion and learned the will of the Pope, who was offering himself as their ally in the war, they published the Senate's decree, which declared the Turks enemies of the Venetians. With such high courage war was declared, more galleys were added to the fleet, which had already sailed, and reinforcements of troops were sent.⁶

In this text, the pope did not mention his address to the cardinals.

¹ Pastor, II, pp. 246-248. See also orations “*Expectatis*” [73] and “*Si essemus*” [74]

² Picotti

³ Pastor, II, p. 247

⁴ CO, XII, 20 (Heck, II, pp. 750-751)

⁵ Cardinal Bessarion, whom the pope had sent to Venice to negotiate the crusade matter

⁶ CO, XII, 20 (Gragg, pp. 804-805)

2. Themes

The very short oration has three themes:

- **The Venetian decision to go to war against the Turks: those who were considered to be most opposed to a war against the Turks were now the first to actively engage in this war:**

... those whom all said were sleeping and sluggish, were the first of all to take arms for the honour of God. All were criticizing the Venetians, saying that they were the only ones who refused to provide aid in this great need of the Christians. But see, now they are the only ones who are vigilant, who act, who undertake to come to aid the Christians and to take revenge on the enemy of Christ, the persecutor of our faith! [Sect. 1]

The pope may be forgiven for enjoying a moment of unholy satisfaction that the Venetians who had so stubbornly resisted his crusade plans at the Congress in Mantua in 1459¹, had now, four years after, seen the wisdom of the papal project.

- **All should imitate the Venetian example, a clear invitation to the other Italian powers to do as the Venetians had now done – and a veiled rebuke:**

Let now all the others be moved by the example of those whom they were condemning! Let them follow those whom they were blaming! Let them do just one little bit of what they are doing, whom they called sluggards. [Sect. 1]

- **Assistance to the Venetians and the planning of the crusade, to be launched next year:**

Venerable brothers, now it is your duty to assist Our beloved sons, the Venetians, in their great and praiseworthy undertaking. They must not be left alone in this great affair. Rather, they must be supported with all means, and especially by us who are responsible for the Christians. Therefore, we must consider two things: firstly, how to help the Venetian in the

¹ See Picotti, and Voigt, IV, p. 75: *Die beiden Venetianer [at the Congress of Mantua] mischten sich wenig in die Discussion; ihnen lag mehr daran, den Congress erfolglos hinzuziehen, als ihn mit Ernst zu unterstützen.*

expedition they have launched, and giving them aid this year. Secondly, we must consider the expedition to be made next year. [Sect. 2]

As the pope was speaking, a Burgundian embassy was on its way to the pope to announce the Duke of Burgundy's participation in the crusade, which would lead, some months later, to a formal alliance between the Apostolic See, Burgundy, and Venice – with Hungary as a fourth partner in the crusade.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The Venetians declared war against the Turks on 28 July 1463. The pope would have received news of the Venetian decision within a week's time, and may be presumed to have immediately informed the cardinals, indicating a date in early August.

The place was presumably the Apostolic Palace in Rome, and the audience were the cardinals assembled in consistory, probably a secret (closed) consistory.

The format was a short informal papal address in consistory.

4. Text¹

The pope's address was probably noted down as it was being delivered, by a secretary who wrote about the pope in third person: *Post haec addidit ...*

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

4.1. Manuscripts¹

- **Roma / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano**
Fondo Pio 22, f. 470r (S)
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat XIV 265, ff. 142v-143r (V)
Lat XIV 228, ff. 390r-390v (X)
Lat XIV 267, 49r (Y)

4.2. Editions

The text has not been edited previously.

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 text is based on all four manuscripts.

Pagination

Pagination is from the Lat XIV 265.

¹ For the individual transmission of Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1.

5. Sources

In this short address, no direct or indirect quotations have been identified.

6. Bibliography

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

7. Sigla

S = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Fondo Pio 22

V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 265

X = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 228

Y = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 267

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Gravissima et Christianissima verba Pii pontificis maximi ad sacrum collegium reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalium quando illustrissimus Venetorum senatus arma sumpsit contra perfidum Mahometum¹ Turcum² fortissimo imperatore magnae classis Ludovico procuratore Sancti Marci³

[1] {142v} Ecce, ecce, quomodo Deus excitavit fidelem populum suum, dilectos filios⁴ nostros, senatum et dominium Venetum! Ecce, quomodo hi, quos dormire et desides esse omnes dicebant, primi omnium in honore Dei arma susceperunt⁵. Obloquebantur omnes⁶ de Venetis. Hi soli esse⁷ videbantur⁸, qui in tanta Christianorum necessitate subvenire recusarent: ecce, ecce soli vigilant, soli laborant, soli parant se ad subveniendum Christianis, ad ulciscendum inimicum Christi, persecutorem fidei nostrae! Moveantur nunc ceteri exemplo eorum⁹¹⁰, quos damnabant! Sequantur eos, quos culpabant! Faciant vel minimam particulam eorum, quae faciunt hi, quos desides vocabant! Benedicti sint dilectissimi filii nostri Veneti. Benedicta sit eorum tam pia et¹¹ sancta intentio. Benedicat Deus¹² Christianissimam rempublicam et conatus¹³ eorum adjuvet, eisque honorificentissime adversus Turcos¹⁴ praestet victoriam¹⁵.

¹ Mahometum *add.* V, Y

² Turcam S

³ fortissimo ... Marci *omit.* V, Y

⁴ 1463 *add.* V, Y

⁵ sumpserunt X

⁶ *omit.* X

⁷ cum Y

⁸ dicebantur V, Y

⁹ *omit.* X

¹⁰ exemplo eorum : eorum exemplo V, Y

¹¹ tam V, Y

¹² que Y

¹³ senatus V, Y

¹⁴ Turchas S

¹⁵ et *add.* V

Grave and Christian words of Pius, Supreme Pontiff, to the Sacred College of the Most Reverend Lords Cardinals, when the illustrious Venetian Senate went to war against the Mehmed, the Infidel Turk, 1463

[1] See, see, how God has aroused his faithful people, Our beloved sons, the Senate and Realm of Venice! See, how those whom all said were sleeping and sluggish, were the first of all to take arms for the honour of God. All were criticizing the Venetians, who were seen as the only ones who refused to provide aid in this great crisis of the Christians. But see, now they are the only ones who are vigilant, who act, who move to aid the Christians and to take revenge on the enemy of Christ, the persecutor of our Faith! Let now all the others be moved by the example of those whom they were condemning! Let them follow those whom they were blaming! Let them do just one little bit of what they are doing, whom they called sluggards. Blessed be Our beloved sons, the Venetians. Blessed be their pious and holy endeavour. May God bless that most Christian republic and assist their endeavours, and may He grant them, most honourably, a victory against the Turks.

[2] {143r} (*Post haec addidit:*) Officium vestrum est, venerabiles fratres¹, in eorum tanto et² laudabili proposito adjuvare dilectos filios nostros Venetos. Non sunt soli in tanto negotio relinquendi. Adjuvandi sunt omni conatu, a nobis³ praesertim, qui curam Christianorum gerimus. Propterea duo a nobis considerata sunt: primo de adjuvando Venetos in hac prima expeditione, quam fecerunt, et dando⁴ eis aliquod subsidium pro hoc anno praesenti. Secundo considerandum est de expeditione facienda pro anno futuro⁵.

¹ etiam venerabiles fratres : o fratres venerabiles X

² tanto et : tam V

³ vobis Y

⁴ et dando : in dando Y; dedando X

⁵ 1464 *add.* V

[2] (*And afterwards he added*): Venerable brothers, now it is your duty to assist Our beloved sons, the Venetians, in their great and praiseworthy undertaking. They must not be left alone in this great affair. Rather, they must be supported with all means, and especially by us who are responsible for the Christians. Therefore, we must consider two things: firstly, how to help the Venetians in the expedition they have now launched, and giving them aid this year. Secondly, we must consider the expedition to be made next year.¹

¹ I.e. the papal crusade against the Turks, to be launched in 1464, together with Burgundy and Hungary