Collected orations of Pope Pius II. Vol. 1

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

Vol. I: Introduction

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Abstract

During his career as official at the Council of Basel, as secretary and later top diplomat at the imperial court, as papal envoy, as cardinal, and as pope, Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II gave a number of orations as well as responses to ambassadors which taken together document his literary and oratorical gifts and throw valuable light on the political and ecclesiastical processes of the second third of the 15th century. Today, 80 of his orations and diplomatic responses are known to be extant, in a quite considerable number of manuscripts kept in European libraries. Of these 50 were published collectively by G.D. Mansi in 1755-1759, the only previous comprehensive edition. In the present edition, nine of Pius' orations are published for the first time.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Council of Basel; Holy Roman Empire; Papacy; 15th century; 1436-1464; Crusades; Turks; Hussites; Poetry; Women; Marriage; Sexuality; Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; Papal supremacy

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Foreword

My fascination with Pius II and my studies of his works go back more than 20 years and have been most rewarding both in terms of intellectual pleasure and in terms of output. In 2007, I published a Danish translation of his *Commentarii* on Wikisource,[1] and in the period from 2007 to 2016 five papers in peer-reviewed publications: *Two texts by Eneas Silvius Piccolomini on Denmark* (2007)[2]; *De Daniae regno aliqua non indigna cognitu: A picture of Denmark as seen by an Italian renaissance humanist, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) (*2010)[3]; *Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the Development of Cardinal Protectors of Nations* (2012, partly based on a manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen)[4]; *Nicholas V's only surviving oration, the Nihil est of 24 March 1447* (2016, together with Professor Anna Modigliani, Rome)[5]; and *[Pius II and the Turks]* (2016).[6]

Pius II's[7] literary work is a rich source of knowledge about the Renaissance in Europe, its secular and religious history, its politics (both European, imperial and Italian), diplomacy, geography and culture.

It is therefore completely justified that scholarly work on Pius II has intensified greatly over the last generation, resulting in a considerable number of editions, translations and monographs.

However, until recently, apart from his crusades speeches at the German imperial diets in 1454 and 1455, Pius' orations seem not have received the scholarly attention they merit.[8] [9] Piccolomini

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[1] https://da.wikisource.org/wiki/Af_en_renaissancepaves_erindringer

[2] Available in HAL Archives: https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00457736. Rev. translation of: Michael von Cotta-Schönberg: To tekster af Æneas Silvius Piccolomini om Danmark. In: *Umisteligt – Festskrift til Erland Kolding Nielsen.* Red. John T. Lauridsen and Olaf Olsen. Copenhagen. København, 2007, pp. 55-74

[3] Available in HAL Archives: https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00492242. Rev. translation of: Michael von Cotta-Schönberg: De Daniae regno aliqua non indigna cognitu : Danmarksbilledet hos en italiensk renæssancehumanist Æneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II). In: *Renæssancen i svøb : dansk renæssance i europæisk belysning 1450-1550.* Red. Lars Bisgaard, Jacob Isager and Janus Møller Jensen. Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008, pp. 83-110

[4] Michael von Cotta-Schönberg: Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the Development of Cardinal Protectors of Nations. In: *Fund of Forskning*, 51 (2012), 49-76. Slightly rev. version available in HAL Archives: https://hal-hprints.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00827914.

[5] Michael von Cotta-Schönberg & Anna Modigliani: Nicholas V's only surviving oration the *Nihil est* of 24 March 1447. In: *Roma nel Rinascimento,* (2016), 271-288. The oration, extant in a manuscript in Florence and erroneously attributed to Pius II, in some respects served as model for passages in Pius' papal orations

[6] (Translated title) Michael von Cotta-Schönberg: Pius II og tyrkerne. In: Turban og Tiara. *Renæssancehumanisternes syn på Islam og Tyrkerne*. Red. Pia Schwartz Lausten. København, 2016

[7] "Pius (II)" will be used throughout for the period covering Pius' whole life and his pontificate, and "(Enea Silvio) Piccolomini" for the period of his life before the pontificate

[8] Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 86: *Fast alle Reden erstmals gesammelt ediert hat Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bereits … Mansi, genau untersucht sind hingegen wenige*

[9] Another group of Piccolomini's writings, his poems, has not been studied much by scholars, even though they provide valuable insights into his personal and professional development, cf. Carson-Bird. One reason for this relative neglect may be that posterity has not thought highly of his poetical works

was one of the foremost speakers of his day, and his orations on the crusade against the Turks were masterpieces of rhetorical persuasion, although at the end of the day they could not change the fundamental political realities of his age, which certainly did not favour yet another Christian crusade against the infidels, or – more prosaically – a coordinated European military response to the Turkish war of aggression against Europe.

One of the reasons for the relative neglect of Piccolomini's orations in scholarly work may be that they have not been translated previously.[1] In 2010, I therefore undertook a project to make them available to researchers in an English translation, based on Mansi's edition from 1755-1759.

I soon discovered, however, that Mansi had based his edition mainly on a single, rather late manuscript, written in 1493, the Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544, containing the collected orations first compiled under Pius' direct supervision in 1462 and supplemented with a collection of his papal responses to ambassadors 1459-1460.

This manuscript, however, is at least twice removed from the original manuscript from 1462 with the papal orations, and it therefore contains a number of cumulated errors of transcription and bears the possible traces of a later stylistic revision (syntax).

Moreover, Mansi's edition excluded a number of orations which were not available at the time of the first comprehensive compilation in 1462, or were delivered afterwards, or were for reasons unknown deliberately excluded. A couple of them have been published after Mansi by later scholars, and others have not been published previously.[2]

I therefore decided to prepare a new and complete critical edition of all the orations available today, with English translations, brief introductions, and notes – providing, however, only a "light' edition 1) of the above-mentioned crusade orations from the imperial diets in 1454/55, since these have been edited by Helmrath in 1994 and in the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten,*[3] and 2) of the oration "*Sentio"* from 1452, since it has been announced that Dr. Julia Knödler is preparing her own edition of this oration.[4]

The project does not comprise an in-depth study of Pius' oratorical activity, nor of the individual orations, nor of the themes treated by Pius in his orations, nor of his rhetorics, though a brief sketch of the last two has been included in the present volume. Also, a codicological study of the manuscripts collated for the edition is outside the scope of the project: for such information, the reader must consult other research works and catalogues of manuscript collections.

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[1] Except those which were included in Pius' *Commentarii*
[2] And some, presumably, are actually extant, but unrecognized as orations of Pius II
[3] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten,* 19, 1, 1969, and 19, 2-3, 2013
[4] Märtl: *Anmerkungen,* p. 10, n. 31. See also Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis* (Wagendorfer), I, p. xii

A word of caution: the orations provide quite valuable information about the subjects covered by Pius, but these cannot be studied on the basis of the orations alone. It will always be necessary to study any subject in the orations in the context of Pius' other writings in order to get a comprehensive picture of his views on the matter.

My own university degrees are in philosophy (University of Louvain) and psychology (University of Copenhagen) supplemented with studies of theology (Conception Seminary, Missouri), and Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali (University of Copenhagen) - with a study of the vocabularies in the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan translation of Kambala's *Alokamala.*[1] These studies were obviously not directly relevant to this project, but in my early youth, during my studies in Louvain, I did undertake a comparative study of a certain group of medieval liturgical manuscripts, under the benevolent guidance of Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B. of the Abbey of Mont-César. Also one of my very first publications was a study of the expression "psallere secum invicem" in one of Pliny's letters, and I have also had occasion to make a comparative study of the monastic rules of Saint Benedict and Cassiodorus, so probably my study of Pius' orations represents the late reawakening of some dormant passion …

Specialists may judge whether the competences I have developed in connection with the present project have been sufficient for the task.

As for the model of editing the Latin texts, I decided, early on, not to follow the very exacting standards required for editing one single complete manuscript, but to follow a model appropriate to the editing a single text across various manuscripts. I decided upon the model employed in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library* rather than the very detailed model employed in many European editions of manuscript texts. Generally, it has been my aim to reconstitute the texts as written by Pius himself (often in various versions), relegating the accumulated scribal errors to the textual apparatus. In particular, I felt that the listing of orthographical variants and evident, insignificant scribal errors from the many manuscripts collated would burden the textual apparatus so much that it would become unusable (see chapter 9).

Concerning the English translations, these have been corrected and polished by Mrs. Lena Fluger, former interpreter at the EU Commission, and Mrs. Anne Jespersen of the University of Copenhagen. In some cases, I have - out of respect for the Latin text - disregarded their recommendations, and they were not consulted in connection with later changes and additions to

[1] This work was supervised by my Sanskrit teacher at the University of Copenhagen, Mr. Christian Lindtner. At the point of its publication in 1983, a New Year's firecracker caused a major fire in our home and the destruction of a great many of our possessions, including the typewritten manuscript of the vocabularies and all my files. Deciding that Sanskrift/Tibetan studies were too perilous, I then decided to switch to Italian Renaissance studies …

the text. There may, therefore, be errors and infelicities of language for which I take full responsibility, asking the forbearance of the reader.

From the beginning, I decided to fully avail myself of the advantages of digital scholarship, and to make the preliminary edition of the orations available to scholars via the web – as pre-print documents in the French scholarly digital archive HAL - as soon as I finished and revised them, instead of waiting 10 years for a publication of the whole body of orations in print. The disadvantage of this form of prepublication is that – in spite of my recommendation to readers to always check for the latest pre-print version - the earlier versions of the texts, with errors, warts and all, have to some extent survived both in researchers' individual files and in various research collections on the net, though they were deleted from HAL itself.

Another word of caution: As the reader will see, I have identified quite many of the quotations in Pius' orations, especially those where he himself indicates the quoted author. However, his practice of weaving quotations into his text – often with some degree of adaptation and often without mentioning the source – makes it quite difficult to ascertain when he is making use of a quotation, and I have undoubtedly missed a considerable number of such.

In general, I indicate my sources, excepting items of common knowledge as contained in general dictionaries like the Wikipedia, which I have used copiously - but critically - for elementary biographical information, dates etc. Individual works of classical authors are referenced in the notes, but not given in the bibliographies where there is only a general reference to the Loeb Classical Library (Digital edition).

I shall be happy to receive suggestions from readers for corrections and improvements of the text and for identification of quotes I may have missed.

I thank the Royal Library in Copenhagen for providing me with research facilities and its late director, Mr. Erland Kolding Nielsen, for encouraging and supporting my research on Pius II.

I also thank the staff of the libraries I have used, first among them the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Marciana, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. I finally thank Prof. Emer. Thomas Riis (Kiel University) for ascertaining some difficult readings in a couple of the manuscripts used.

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg
August 2019

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Appendix 1: Chronology

Appendix 2: Note on orations during emperor's visit to Florence 30.1.-6.2.1459

1. PIUS II AS ORATOR

Humanists, generally, were eager to act as orators and were often employed as such,[1] but often their oratorical activity was restricted to ceremonial and celebratory events. Few of them had Piccolomini's opportunities to make important political and diplomatic orations concerning quite serious matters, on behalf of an emperor, and addressed to exalted audiences including popes and imperial diets in Germany.[2]

Voigt wrote:

> *So sehen wir denn, wie die Humanisten sämmtlich einen so überschwanglichen Rednerdrang in sich fühlten, dass die Gelegenheiten des praktischen Lebens nicht ausreichen wollten und um ihrer willen vermehrt werden mussten. … Mit ihnen war Enea in der glücklichsten Lage: er fand in der That die reichste Gelegenheit, sein Studium im Leben zu verwerthen. In Basel gelangte er auf die Rednercanzel und es war nicht anders, als dass er vor dem allgemeinen Concil lateinisch sprechen musste; als Geschäftsträger zwischen Kaiser und Papst, als oftmaliger Gesandter zwischen Deutschland und Ungarn fand er widerum manchen Anlass zu lateinischen Reden, und als Papst gar konnte er sich diese Anlässe nach Belieben schaffen. Um so anziehender ist es, ihm in die Werkstätte seiner Kunst zu folgen und die Handgriffe derselben kennen zu lernen. Hier finden wir zugleich den Schlussel der Erfahrung … warum nämlich die Reden des Piccolomini oft ein so berauschenden und nie einen nachhaltigen Eindruck bewirkten.*[3]

Public speaking was only one of Pius II's many activities, but it was one in which he took very great pride, as seen in a number of passages from his *Commentarii*:

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[1] Frizzi, p. 71-72: *Nelle ambascerie che si mandavano per fausti e tristi avvenimenti, e dove si chiedeva un abile oratore, un'Umanista è il prescelto. L'orazione per tali circonstanze è un vero avvenimento: le città e i principi fanno a gara per riportare la palma. Firenze però, dove era maggiore il numero dei cittadini a ciò adatti, non adoperò sempre un Umanista, per così dire, di professione, ma molti della nobiltà si acquistarono nome di oratore. Le orazioni di Manetti rimasero lungo tempo famose: la sua arringa à Niccolo V fu un vero trionfo de' Fioretini; e basti dire che altra volta gli ambasciatori Veneziani ne ripeterono alcune frasi … Considerando tali fatti, non si può dare un giudizio generale su tutte le orazioni degli Umanisti: alcune ci appariscono veramente eloquenti ed inspirate da un sentimento sincero: ma altre non sono che essercizi di stile, nelle quali si cerca di fare un grande sfoggio di erudizione, come nei discorsi accademici e nelle "Prolusioni agli Studi", empiendole di argomenti ricercati e sottili, piuttostoché veri e persuadenti (Tali sono le orazioni del Poggio). Parlando dell'eloquenza, quale si manifesta in questi discorsi, mi sembra conveniente discorrere a questo punto delle lettere pubbliche degli Umanisti, delle quali vuolsi portare consimile giudicio. Alcune di queste sono arringhe vere e proprie: il tuono è oratorio, e talvolta vi troviamo mantenute le regole intorne all'esordio, la distribuzione delle parti, e la conclusione: altre, invece, semplici e senza inutili ornamenti, sono degne di essere studiate.* Frizzi's comment reflects the *general aversion to Renaissance panegyrics and speeches in the modern age* (Baldassari & Maxson, p. 515)

[2] Helmrath: *Vestigia,* p. 123

[3] Voigt: *Papst*, III, p. 271

- On the *"Audivi" [1]* (1436): *For two hours he declaimed before a most attentive and admiring audience. Afterwards, everyone who heard his speech had a copy made for himself.*[1]

- On the "*Non habet me dubium" [11]* (1447): *Two days later they were summoned to a secret consistory before Eugenius where Aeneas acted as a spokesman for the group; pope and cardinals alike greeted his speech with remarkable applause.*[2]

- On the "*Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454): *His oration lasted nearly two hours; but the audience was so utterly absorbed that no one even cleared his throat or took his eyes off the speaker's face. No one thought the speech too long, and all were very sorry to hear it end*.[3]

- On the "*Responsuri" [52]* (1459) to the French ambassadors: *a speech that commanded their rapt attention."*[4] [5]

1.1. Orations and life[6]

Pius' protegé, Giovanni Antonio Campano wrote about Pius' as orator:

> *… nec quemquam post hominum memoriam fuisse censeas, qui omni concione orbis terrarum, et saepius dixerit, & disertius.*[1]

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[1] CO, I, 8 (Meserve, I, p. 33)
[2] CO, I, 16 (Meserve, I, p. 71)
[3] CO, I, 27 (Meserve, I, p. 135)
[4] CO, III, 38 (Meserve, II, p. 38)
[5] Piccolomini did admire other humanists orators, like Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, and Poggio Bracicoloni, but otherwise he was not above disparaging other speakers, manifesting a professional jealousy which was somehow the reverse of his pride. The oration of the papal legate, Giovanni Castiglione, to the Diet of Regensburg (1454) merited this comment: *They heard numerous other delegates, but they listened to them with weariness and derision, especially to the bishop of Pavia, the Apostolic legate,* CO, I, 27 (Meserve, I, p. 135). And about Cardinal Bessarion's oration, which followed his own splendid "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]*, at the opening of the deliberations in Mantua, he wrote: *His oration received compliments, though it did reveal the extent to which Latin eloquence surpasses the Greek,* CO, III, 3 (Meserve, II, p. 39). And on Jean Jouffroy's oration to Pius on the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction (1462), the pope wrote: *Pontifex, postquam Atrebatensis expectatum et diu desideratum finem fecit,* CO, VII, 13 (Heck, I, p. 455)

[6] For general biographies of Pius II, see – among others in the general bibliography - Voigt, Pastor, Boulting, Ady, Mitchell, Paparelli, Baldi, Reinhard, Stolf. A note of caution: the most comprehensive biography remains Voigt's from 1856-1863. It is, however, deeply prejudiced against its subject and does not, of course, reflect the later editions of Pius' works and subsequent scholarly work on or relevant to Pius

1.1.1. Before the pontificate

Before he became pope, speechmaking was one of Piccolomini's functions in his capacity as official at the Council of Basel, secretary in the imperial chancery, and later trusted counsellor and diplomatic envoy of Emperor Friedrich III. Direct and discrete negotiations were of course an essential part of his diplomatic activities, too, but the public speech was important as an instrument of persuasion, shaping a common perception of the issue at hand, and constructing the public image of the emperor and his policies, and sometimes even developing them.[2]

When at the age of 18 Piccolomini was sent to study at the university of Siena, his family intended for him to pursue a lucrative career, e.g in civil law, which would allow him to restore the flagging fortunes of his branch of the Piccolomini family. However, the young man's personal inclinations were not in the direction of law or medicine or theology, but in the direction of the humanities and poetry. Though he managed to acquire some grounding in law, his major focus was on the classics, and especially his beloved Terence, Juvenal and Virgil, and presumably he already then began the collection of quotations and excerpts from such works he could get hold of and which would serve him later in his literary, and not the least in his oratorical activities. He also composed poems, including quite irreverent and explicitly erotic ones, like the *Hermaphroditus* authored by another student at the university, Antonio Beccadelli (Panormitano), who became a lifelong friend. In the late 1420's, Piccolomini travelled to other Italian university cities, e.g. Florence and Ferrara, where he made the acquaintance of a number of humanist scholars and luminaries, including Francesco Filelfo, whose lectures he may have followed for a brief period, and Leonardo Bruni, whom he much admired. During these travels he developed a broad understanding of Italian conditions, including politics and academic studies, especially within the humanities, and he began to develop the network of acquaintances and friends which would become an important instrument for his future career as diplomat and powerbroker.

He seemingly never took a degree from the university of Siena,[3] but in 1431/1432 chance or destiny propelled him into a career move which would determine the whole course of his extraordinary life. Domenico Capranica had been appointed cardinal *in petto* by the Colonna pope, Martin V, but when the pope died, the cardinals refused to acknowledge Capranica's status as cardinal, possibly because they did not want a dependant or ally of the powerful Colonna family to participate in the election of the next pope. They elected a Venetian, Gabriele Condulmer, who as pope refused to confirm Capranica as cardinal. Capranica then fled from Rome and travelled to the

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[1] Excerptum Epistolae Joannis Antonii Campani ad Cardinalem Papiensem, as quoted in MA, I, p. xxv. See also Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 271: *Campano sagt mit Recht dass keiner seiner Zeitgenossen so viele Reden gehalten und in so bedeutende Situationen*

[2] E.g. the oration *"Fateor" [15]* (1450), in which he announced – probably without specific instructions – that the emperor no longer desired an ecumenical council

[3] See oration *"Nisi satis exploratum" [8]* (1445), Introduction

recently opened Council of Basel in order to request his confirmation from the council. Passing through Siena, he picked up the young Piccolomini as one of his secretaries. Thus, Capranica became the first in a series of prelates[1] who would employ Piccolomini as secretary, introducing him to the management of affairs, even grand affairs like the Peace Conference in Arras, 1435, reconciliating Burgundy and France, and giving him ample opportunities to exercise and develop his analytical skills, and to compose letters and orations in Latin.

Having returned from a secret mission to King James II in Scotland[2], he eventually became an official - later on an important one - at the Council of Basel. He was a fervent supporter of the council in its opposition to Pope Eugenius IV, and he stayed with the council after the pro-papal party left in 1438. When the council elected an antipope, the Duke of Savoy who took the name of Felix V, Piccolomini became his secretary. As an official of council and antipope, Piccolomini greatly developed his administrative skills, his literary talents (in writings on conciliar matters and against Pope Eugenius IV), and his all-round competence in dealing with affairs of all kinds. During his time at the council, he held three orations: the "*Audivi"[1]* (1438) in which he pleaded for Pavia as the venue of the Reunion Council with the Greeks, the "*Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438), a sermon on the Feast of Saint Ambrose, and the "*Si ea quae justa" [4]* (1438), exhorting the council fathers to establish stringent procedures for the appointment of bishops. Added to these comes the "*Quid est" [3]* (1438), an address written for a Milanese ambassador exhorting Emperor-Elect Albrecht II to accept the imperial crown.

In 1442, his career took a radical turn: Pope Felix sent him to Frankfurt on a mission to an imperial diet where the new emperor, Friedrich III (Habsburg) would be present. While there, he came into contact with influential and high-ranking men at the new imperial court, who were impressed by his character and competences – and possibly, though less likely - also by his poetical skills. This had two unexpected consequences.

Firstly, the new emperor was persuaded to perform the coronation of a poet. He was not fond of poetry at all, but he was solicitous to perform the hallowed rituals of emperorship, and the coronation of poets was one such. And since a poet in the person of Piccolomini was at hand, Piccolomini became the first man to be crowned poet laureate by an emperor on German territory. Piccolomini was understandably and inordinately proud of this recognition of his poetical abilities, but it also had the practical effect of giving him license to lecture, including at universities.

Secondly, and more importantly, Piccolomini was offered a post as secretary in the emperor's imperial (in contradistinction to his Austrian) chancery. Pope Felix was eventually persuaded to

[1] Cardinal Capranica, Bishop Nicodemo della Scala, Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti, Cardinal Albergati, Cardinal Cervantes
[2] Probably to persuade the king to attack the English from the North, so they would be handicapped in their French ventures

give up his talented secretary, and in 1442 Piccolomini joined the imperial vourt. There he had a meteoric career, passing from secretary, to protonotary, to counsellor, to member of the Chamber Court.[1]

At the imperial court, he became involved in the affairs of the powerful chancellor, Heinrich Schlick, for whom he drafted a speech, the "*Si putarem" [5]* (1444), defending the choice of the chancellor's brother as Bishop of Freising. More importantly, he became the emperor's personal representative in negotiations with the pope in Rome, Eugenius IV, on German recognition of the Roman Rapacy, and in this connection he gave four orations, the "*Prius sanctissime praesul" [7]* (1445), apologizing to the pope for his support of the Council of Basel against he pope, the "*Et breviter me hodie" [10]* (1446), recommending – on behalf of the emperor – an embassy from the German princes to the pope, the "*Tritum est sermone" [12]* (1447) in which he defended the emperor against certain Hungarian complaints, and the very important "*Non habet me dubium" [11]* (1447), a prelude to the German declaration of obedience to the Roman pope.

In his period as secretary in the Imperial Chancery, he also found time in the autumn of 1445 to give two academic lectures at the University of Vienna, the "*Nisi satis exploratum" [8]*, a speech at the beginning of a semester, in the format which had by now become traditional at Italian universities, and the *"Aderat nuper" [9]*, a quodlibetal disputation on three subjects presented by the university, the important one being on the subject of poetry.

By then it had become quite evident to Piccolomini that as a penurious secretary without great family connections he could not have a great career. By the same time, his sexual powers had waned or disappeared, which freed him to choose a career in the Church. In short order he became priest (1446), papal subdeacon (1446), and bishop of Trieste (1447). In 1450, Nicolaus V transferred him from that see to the see of his hometown Siena, which caused him to be appointed prince of the Empire – since Siena was in principle a city directly under the Empire. He became papal legate to Germany and Central Europe (1449) and cardinal (1456). And finally, he was elected pope in the conclave of August 1458.

From the period when he received holy orders is the oration "*Non habet me dubium" [6]* which has the form of a sermon to the parishioners of Aspach, a parish he received as a benefice from the Bishop of Passau. The text is is a treatise on Christian life, taking stock of his views of religion and morality at the threshold between his secular and his religious life stages, and combining Christian teaching with classical stoic moral philosophy.

His notable secular and brilliant ecclesiastical career he owed neither to a grand family nor to a great fortune, but to his own extraordinary cleverness, his extensive knowledge and experience of

[1] Kammergericht

affairs, and to his brilliant diplomatic abilities, both as a dignified imperial representative, as a brilliant orator, as a skillful and charming negotiator, and as a consummate problem fixer. He was by no means successful in all the tasks laid on him, but in the main one, the re-establishment of ordinary relations between Germany and the Papacy he succeeded magnificently.

During his years as imperial diplomat, he represented the emperor on a number of diplomatic missions, apart from the already mentioned missions to the papal court.

In Milan, after the death of the last Visconti duke in 1447, he argued for that city's return to direct imperial rule, in the oration "*Est mihi non parum" [13].* In Naples, at the occasion of the emperor's betrothal to princess Leonora of Portugal in December 1450, he gave the oration "*Quamvis grandes materias" [14]*, in the form of the classical wedding oration which Italian humanists had recently revived. Returning from Naples to Austria, he visited Pope Nicolaus V in Rome and presented the emperor's formal request for the imperial coronation, in the oration "*Fateor" [15]*. In Benesov, next year, he communicated, in the oration "*Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* (1451), the emperor's refusal to hand over his ward, the boy-king Ladislaus, to Bohemia before his coming of age. In Vienna, later that year, he gave the official reply to the Burgundian ambassadors' address to the emperor on a joint crusade, in the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]*. At the imperial coronation in Rome the following year, 1452, he gave a number of orations on behalf of the emperor to the pope, among them the "*Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18]* at the arrival of the imperial party at the Basilica of Saint Peter's, and the famous "*Moyses vir Dei" [19],* in which he – again on behalf of the emperor - requested a crusade of the pope. Back in Austria in December 1452, he defended the pope's actions in relation to the Austrian uprising against the emperor, though the oration which he wrote in this context, the "*Sentio" [20],* was probably not actually held.

After the cataclysmic Fall of Constantinople he gave six orations at three imperial diets in 1454 and 1455 dealing with war against the Turks, who now threatened Europe directly, the "*Quamvis omnibus" [21] and "Tua verba" [78]* in Regensburg, the celebrated "*Constantinopolitana clades"* [*22]* in Frankfurt, and the "*In hoc florentissimo" [23]* , the "*Si mihi" [24],* and the "*Optasset" [25]* in Wiener Neustadt.

All his oratorical efforts in the cause of the crusade were in vain, however, and in 1455 he returned, disappointed, to his beloved Italy, to either pursue a life of learned leisure in his episcopal town of Siena, or if possible to further his ecclesiastical career at the papal court, which owed him, he felt – probably with some justice - the cardinal's hat which Pope Nicolaus V had promised the emperor to give him, but was unable to do so before he died.

His first stop was Rome, where, in August 1455, he presented the emperor's declaration of obedience to the new pope, Calixtus III, in the oration "*Solent plerique" [26]*.

Back in Siena, he was soon sent to King Alfonso V in Naples to pursue the diplomatic negotiations for a peace between Siena and the condottiero, Jacopo Piccinino, who – with the support of Alfonso himself – was trying to establish himself as lord of the city state of Siena, like Francesco Sforza had previously done in Milan. At the end of the – successful - negotiations Piccolomini gave the oration "*Modestius" [27]*.

During his stay in Rome, he presented a memorandum, in the form of an oration, the "*Res Bohemicas" [28],* on behalf of both the emperor and the young King Ladislaus of Bohemia, concerning the extremely thorny issue of the Bohemian Hussites' wish for papal recognition of their right to communicate under both species. In that text, a model of Realpolitik, common sense, diplomacy, and religious toleration, Piccolomini defended the Bohemian request. Pope Calixtus was apparently positive, but nothing came of it.

Piccolomini was finally appointed cardinal in December 1456. As a cardinal he made several high-profile interventions in the papal consistory, only mentioned in the *Commentarii*, but it is not known if they had proper oratorical form, and no texts are preserved.

1.1.2. During the pontificate

In August 1458, only a year and a half after his appointment as cardinal, Piccolomini was elected pope.

1.1.2.1. Popes as speakers

Before his pontificate, Piccolomini mainly spoke as the representative of a prince. Having become pope Pius II, he spoke as the prince himself.

Pius attached much importance to the ability of a prince to speek publicly on his own behalf.[1] [2] In the *Pentalogus* from 1443, he told the emperor:

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[1] Cf. Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 127-131

[2] This view was shared by other humanists like Ludovico Carbone who praised Eleanor of Aragon *for her eloquence. … when she enters the company of great men, she has no need of a translator or of your eloquence, Ludovico, since she herself will answer in her own words ambassadors, princes, chancellors, cardinals, and the pope* (D'Elia: *Renaissance*, p. 112). And in their dispatch to the Duke of Milan of 14 June 1456, his ambassadors carefully noted that King Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily had personally responded to the orations of ambassadors at the celebration of the peace between Siena and Jacobo Piccinino: *Apreso, sapia vostra excellencia che, essendo nel predicto giorno de heri sera con sua sanctità et fornito el parlare de le sopradicte cose, intrò in raxonamento de la festa haveva facta la magestà del re*

Patior equo animo te per alium respondere, quando apparati sermones coram te fiunt. At cum familiaris pedestrisque allocutio est, nequaquam te decet mendicare respondentem. Et si, quod verum est, inter nos dicere licet, nec te in maiestatis throno sedentem loqui dedeceret, quin potius ad magnum splendorem summamque laudem tibi cederet. Namque, ut Cicero ait, difficile dictu est, quantopere conciliet animos comitas affabilitasque sermonis. Quod cum in omnibus verum sit, tum maxime in principibus. Quod in Augusto declaratum sit, cui non minus eloquentia quam militaris disciplina ad robur imperii profuit. In tantum enim ille liberalibus studiis et presertim eloquentie incubuit, ut nullus etiam in procinctu bellorum laberetur dies, quin legeret, scriberet, declamaret. Refero tibi libenter antecessorum tuorum exempla, Helius Adrianus mirabilis eloquentie fuit. Gratianus et carmen facere et ornate loqui et explicare controversa rhetorum more scivit. … Atque, ut pretereamus antiquiores, Sigismundum tu ipse nosti. … Illum, quia per se loquebatur etiam in rebus magnis, omnes collaudabant, tantoque mirabantur magis, quanto rem magis obsoletam diligentius instaurare nitebatur. … Tu ergo, mi rex, incipe advocare litteras, amplectere viros doctos et hoc tibi ante omnia persuade utilem rem esse te publice loqui et respondere Latine his, qui te adeunt.[1]

Later, in the same text, Piccolomini said to the emperor:

Nam etsi dici hec omnia per alium possint, plus tamen momenti habet oratio principis maioremque venustatem. Summissus quicumque personam principis orando induit, nunquam in tantum disertus videbitur, quin calumpniis subiaceat. Sermo autem principis nunquam ita tenuis est, quin laudetur. Nec, cum loquitur princeps, reddere habet docilem vel attentum auditorem, nunquam defatigat eius oratio, nunquam longior est. Unum si verbum sententiosum ab eo sit dictum, totum per annum in ore vulgi est. Quidquid rex dicit, quasi oraculum dei magni excipitur. Tum oratores audientes stupidi fiunt, nec rationes principis, ut alterius, confutare sciunt. … Adde, quod nunquam alter, qui pro te loquitur, animo tuo ad plenum satisfacit, semper aliquid omittit cum aliud sit cogitata, aliud commissa proloqui. Maiores itaque nostri hec cogitantes per se ipsos respondebant, quos te maxime imitari decet. Nam qui per alium loquitur, ex duobus vitiis carere opinione alterius non potest. Aut enim ignorans creditur aut arrogans nimiumque superbus, quasi ipse loqui dedignetur. … Supplex autem postulo, et, si fas est, consulo, ut ita te disponas, ut venientibus ad te omnibus ipse

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a Napoli in questi dì de la pace concluxa, et qui, prima narrando l'ordine de quela solempnità, cioè de la predica haveva facto magistro Johanne Solerii et de un sermone haveva recitato domino lo episcopo de Sena, da poy narrò la summa et la substancia del parlare fece lì in publico ne le solempnitate de la missa la prelibata magestà, et hè questa: che prima se extexe in laudare et magnificare per fine al cello el nome de nostro Signore el papa, comandando da poy a meser Antonio Panhormita che dovese metere in scripto, per quanto sapesse stillo ellegantissimo, quelo haveva dicto de li meriti de nostro Signore, aciò ne aparese longa et perpetua memoria (Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli, nr. 148, letter of the Milanese envoys in Rome to Francesco Sforza of 14 June 1456, p. 414)

[1] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 66-68)

respondeas et presertim Latinum sermonem habentibus, ne, cum Latii rex sis, sermonem regni tui videaris ignorare, quod est Latine fari.[1]

Later again, Piccolomini – through Nicodemo della Scala, one of the participants in the *Pentalogus* – advised the emperor to give, in person, a certain crucial oration:

Orationem hanc si tute, rex, habueris, longe magis proficies, quam si alter nomine tuo peroraverit. Miras enim vires vox principis habet et nescio quid latentis energie. Animi omnium, qui te audient, in spem miram erigentur teque Germani omnes Alexandrum alium existimabunt. Is enim patre Philippo mortuo Macedones omnes in contione habuit, cum viginti annorum esset natus, in qua etate ita moderate de se multa pollicitus est, ut appareret eum plura experimentis reservasse, quo facto mirum sibi favorem omnium conciliavit. Idem et te, cesar, nunc continget si sic oraveris. Magna est enim, ut Cicero dicit, admiratio copiose sapienterque dicentis, quem qui audiunt intelligere etiam et sapere plus quam ceteros arbitrantur. Sin vero mixta est in oratione modestia et gravitas, nichil admirabilius fieri potest, nec tibi difficile erit orationem huiusmodi in Teutonicum conversum et, ubi opus fuerit, per hos dominos emendatam memorie commendare.[2]

And in the *De Liberorum Educatione,* to the boy-king Ladislaus the Posthumous, from 1450, Piccolomini wrote:

A prince, moreover, who always speaks through another deserves the name of ruled more than that of ruler.[3]

You should, then, learn several precepts of the art of rhetoric which have been taken from tested and and famous authors. You should know what the duty of an orator[4] *is, and you should learn how properly to discover, arrange, embellish, memorize, and deliver the parts of an oration.*[5] *But since our desire is that you be a perfect king more than a good orator, we do*

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[1] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 92)
[2] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz), pp. 262
[3] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf), p. 171-172
[4] "oratoris officium". Here, though, Piccolomini's focus does not appear to be "duty", but rather "office" or "function" or "task"
[5] The five parts of oratory, according to Cicero: *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 1.2.3: *The speaker, then, should possess the faculties of Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery. Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing. Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised. Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the matter, words, and arrangement. Delivery is the graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture. (Oportet igitur esse in oratore inventionem, dispositionem, elocutionem, memoriam, pronuntiationem. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant. Dispositio est ordo et distributio rerum, quae demonstrat quid quibus locis sit conlocandum. Elocutio est idoneorum verborum et sententiarum ad inventionem adcommodatio. Memoria est firma animi rerum et verborum et dispositionis perceptio. Pronuntiatio est vocis, vultus, gestus moderatio cum venustate)*

not require of you the eloquence of a Cicero or a Demosthenes. Yet we would desire this: that you be elegant in your speech for this will bring you great distinction and advantage. But since there are many things which a king is under the pressure of necessity to learn, one thing should not hinder the other; a moderate eloquence will be sufficient for a king.[1]

The emperor did not follow Piccolomini's advice on speaking for himself, but systematically had others speak for him in his own presence, among them - and amusingly so - Piccolomini himself who gave a great a number of orations for the emperor in Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, Rome and a number of Italian cities on the emperor's coronation voyage in 1452. That Piccolomini had given good advice to the emperor, at least in Italian context, is witnessed by the Archishop of Firenze, Antonio Pierozzo, who after the emperor's visit wrote:

Nil autem imperialis maiestatis visum est in eo, nec liberalitas, nec sapientia, cum quasi semper per alium loquebatur: sed multa cupiditas, cum munera honeste quaereret, & libenter acciperet. Demum reversus est in domum suam cum modica opinione virtutis suae.[2]

Piccolomini's recommendations to princes to speak in public on their own behalf would apply *a fortiori* to the pope, who according to Pius himself, was greater than all princes:

And who is your lord? Is it maybe a count, a marquess, a duke, a king, or an emperor? No, the one whom you obey is greater than them all: it is the Bishop of Rome, the successor of Saint Peter, the Vicar of Christ, whose feet all kings desire to kiss.[3]

Apparently, not all Renaissance popes spoke for themselves, but let others give the needed speeches on their behalf, just as secular princes would normally do, at least in diplomatic contexts.[4] The master of ceremonies of popes Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521), Paris de Grassis[5], once told his papal master that before Pope Pius II (1458-1464) the popes did not themselves give orations, e.g. to ambassadors, but let others speak on their behalf[6]:

Respondi bene moveri S.em Suam et profecto sic agendum esset pro actus et personae maiestate et quia etiam periculum evaditur si per alium sermo fiat prout factum fuerit fere ab omnibus pontificibus usque ad Pium II. qui cum orator perfectus et artem omnimodam et

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[1] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf), p. 171-172

[2] Pierozzo (Maturus, III, p. 554). Quoted after Baldassari & Maxson, p. 528

[3] The oration *"Flentem et admodum dolentem" [60]* (1460) to representatives of the Roman people, sect. 6

[4] Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani

[5] Paris de Grassis (ca. 1470-1528) joined the papal Office of Ceremonies in 1504, became its president in 1513 when he was also made Bishop of Pesaro, and stayed in that office until his death in 1528. His diaries as master of ceremonies cover the period from 1504-1521

[6] A.A. Strnad: *Johannes,* pp. 76-77

plenam haberet orandi in publicis locis et actibus incoepit ipse solus velle personaliter orare et oravit[1].

There are, however, documented exceptions to the general rule, as stated by de Grassis *("fere ab omnibus"*).

One such exception is Martin V (1417-1431), who gave an important oration – written by the Milanese humanist, Andrea Biglia - at the translation of the relics of Santa Monica to Rome, in 1430. Pastor wrote about the event:

> *Der Papst hatte diese ehrwürdige Beine in Ostia aufsuchen lassen. Nach der Ankunft derselben in Rom ordnete er eine ausserordentliche kirchliche Feier an. Martin V. selbst brachte das heilige Opfer dar und richtete dann auf die Augustiner-Eremiten, denen er den heiligen Leib anvertraute, und an das in der Kirche sich drängende Volk eine ergreifende Anrede. Nach dieser Rede … schritt Martin V. zur Übertragung der kostbaren Überreste in einen Sarg[2].*

Another is Eugenius IV, who – as Aeneas himself reported to the emperor - replied in person to Piccolomini's oration *"Non habet me dubium"[11]* (1447):

> *When the day of the audience had been set, we were recommended to meet at San Pietro and attend the solemnities of the mass. There the archbishop of Benevento, the bishop of Ferrara, and several others were sent to lead us to the secret consistory. Eugenius sat on a throne, a grave father and one most worthy of all veneration. About fifteen cardinals sat around him. There, after we had been received to kiss the pope's foot and all the intermediaries had departed, Aeneas delivered the oration, as had been decided beforehand. In it was said that the pope should embrace the desires of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne and it offended neither the pope nor the cardinals but was heard with pleasure by all. Many sought copies of his oration afterwards, not so much for its ornament as for its contents, which all said they knew. When Aeneas had finished speaking, Eugenius praised his work, condemned neutrality, and commended the king and the electors. He complained somewhat about the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, and he defended his action in deposing them. He concluded that he had to deliberate with his brothers about the principal matter.[3]*

A third example is Nicolaus V, who was an accomplished speaker before becoming pope. As pope, Nicolaus V personally delivered orations on at least seven occasions documented by contemporary sources.[4] The first of these occasions was the declaration of obedience presented by the ambassadors of King Alfonso V of Aragon on 24 March 1447 to which the pope responded directly.

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[1] Quoted from Pastor, III, 2, Freiburg 1956, p. 1141
[2] Pastor, I, pp. 178-179
[3] Piccolomini's letter-report to the emperor about his mission to Rome in 1447. In: Reject, pp. 247-248
[4] Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, pp. 272-273

The second occasion was the declaration of obedience presented by the ambassador of Florence, Giannozzo Manetti. On this occasion, wrote Vespasiano da Bisticci, the pope listened to the ambassador's very long oration and afterwards answered the oration personally.[1]

The third occasion was the reception of the French ambassadors on 12 July 1448: *Ils remirent une lettre du Roi,*[2] *et lui exposèrent l'objet de leur mission. L'archevêque de Reims prit la parole, "moult sollempnellement". Puis, les envoyés du Roi et des princes firent obeisance au Souverain Pontife et relatèrent brièvement les négociations entreprises pour la pacification de l'Église. Nicolas V répondit par un long discours."*[3]

The fourth occasion was the official request for an imperial coronation, presented on behalf of Emperor Friedrich III in the oration "*Fateor" [15]* by his ambassador, again Enea Silvio Piccolomini, on 28 December 1450. The pope replied in person as attested by the Milanese ambassador, Vincenzo Amidani, who wrote to his duke: *Nostro signore [Pope Nicolaus] conclusive gli rispose gratiosissimamente ad tutte le parti.*[4]

The fifth occasion was the canonization of Bernardino da Siena on 24 May 1450 when the pope himself spoke in praise of the saint[5].

The sixth occasion was the imperial coronation in Rome, 1452. When Friedrich III entered in Rome, on 9 March, he was escorted to the pope waiting for him together with the cardinals at Saint Peter's Basilica. The Duke of Milan's ambassadors wrote to their duke about the event*: l'imperatore ... posto sotto lo baldechino et acompagnato con tuto lo clero et li dottori apparati con lor habiti, a piede se conduxe alla chiexa de Sancto Pietro dove lo papa con li cardinali lo expectava, et gionto che li fu smontò da cavallo ... andò al papa qual se levà da sedere et abrazòlo et basòlo, et qui el vescovo de Siena dixe alcune parole. El papa lo rispuosi."*[6] The Bishop of Siena was, of course, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and his oration was the "*Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18],* to which the pope answered directly.

The seventh occasion was the emperor's farewell visit to the pope on 24 April 1452 when he left Rome for Austria. On that occasion, Piccolomini delivered the oration *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* in the emperor's name to which the pope replied directly:

> *Papa primum, que facta essent in honorem Cesaris, merito facta dixit, sed minora fuisse meritis. Imperium ecclesie favour dignissimum esse, passagium multam pre se ferre pietatem. Dignum opus esse, quod imperator promoveret, ecclesiam obnoxiam intendere. Motum se oratione Enee veluti quibusdam stimulis nolle in eo facto torpere. Consulendos esse ceteros Christianitatis principes eorumque auxilia querenda, relaturum se cesari atque in eo opera laboraturum.*[7]

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[1] Vespasiono da Bisticci: *Vite,* II, p. 553
[2] Charles VII
[3] Du Fresne de Beaucort: *Histoire,* IV, p. 277
[4] Letter from Vincenzo Amidani to Francesco Sforza, of 29 December 1450. In: *Carteggio,* I, nr. 162, p. 307
[5] Pastor, I, p. 178
[6] Letter from Niccolò Arcimboldi *et al.* to Francesco Sforza, 11 March 1452, in *Carteggio,* II, nr. 602, p. 771
[7] HA, I, p. 186

Yet another example is Pope Calixtus III. In July 1455 an embassy from King Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples came to Rome to present the king's declaration of obedience to the new pope. According to the Perugian ambassadors, who had performed a similar act some days before, the pope answered the ambassador in person, as follows:

> *Ad haec Summum Pontificem satis mansuete respondisse; gratis Regi pro tanta suscepta laetitiae habere immortales, atque ita semper fuisse sibi persuasum. Namque illi obvenissent, eadem quoque Regi obvenisse, cui Pontifex ipse longe et fidelissimus et carissimus ante adeptum pontificatum extitisset. De bello vero suscipiendo curam se quantum maximum posset habiturum, nihilque dimissurum intentatum. Orare atque obsecrare regem, ut constanter in ea belli suscipiendi opinione persisteret. Nam eo necessitatis ventum esse, ut non suscipiendum quidem, sed repellendum bellum videretur. Hostes potentissimos, fortissimos, non tam hostiliter, quam minaciter vastare omnia, conarique Relligionem nostram sanctissimam atque optimam funditus extirpare. Quod nisi res in Italia componeretur, fatalem illis fore aditum ad irrupendum resistente nemine. Quieta vero accomodare Italia non dubitari hostium Imperium esse haud magno negotio retrudendum; Nullam enim gentem neque mari neque terra posse cum Italia comparari, quae nisi factionibus intestinisque discordiis distraheretur, facile totius orbius imperium obtineret.*[1]

And when Piccolomini presented the emperor´s obedience, on 13 August 1455, the pope answered in person:

> *Two days afterwards, the pope held a public consistory in which – as is the custom – we gave an oration and presented the [declaration of] obedience. Then the pope said much in your praise. And since we had mentioned the Turkish matter according to the conclusion reached at the diet held in your presence, the pope also praised your and the nation's plans and confirmed that he would do everything [in his power] for the destruction of the Turks.*[2]

On the basis of the available evidence it may reasonably be concluded that De Grassis appears to have been mistaken: all the four popes before Pius II made orations on their own behalf, and Pius' speechmaking was not the innovation of a pope who, being himself an accomplished speaker, was therefore quite fond of speaking.

1.1.2.2. Pius' responses and orations

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[1] Io. Antonii Campani *Legatio Perusinorum ad summum pontificem Nicolaum Quintum [error for Calixtus III] et oratio ad eundem.* In: Antiquari, pp. 279-280

[2] Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana / Plut. LIV 19 / Aeneae Silvii Epistolae / ep. 94, ff. 64v-67r / f. 66r*: Tenuit papa post biduum consistorium, in quo – sicut de more est – sermonem habuimus et obedientiam prestititmus. Ibi de laudibus tuis papa multa disseruit. Et quoniam de rebus turchorum mentionem fecimus iuxta conclusionem habitam in dieta coram serenitate tua habita, multa commendavit propositum tuum et nationis et confirmavit sese omnia facturum quae ad exterminium turchorum tendunt*

Pius II may have been elected as a transition pope, expected to have a short and tranquil pontificate before him. But to the chagrin of many of the cardinals, he soon turned out to be an activist and energetic pope. Finally, he had the power to grapple with the major problems of Europe and Italy which he had seen bungled by a procrastinating and ineffectual emperor and self-willed, shortsighted princes, all only concerned with their own advantage or national interests – since the European system of nation states was now taking form - and not with the major, common issues confronting Christianity and Europe, mainly the Turkish threat.

Characteristically, all the main affairs of Pius' pontificate would be the subject not only of papal letters and bulls, but also of least one papal oration, given from the throne.

As a new pope, Pius had to present himself to the world and receive the recognition of the European rulers. Following hallowed custom, they sent embassies to the pope to congratulate the new pope and to present their formal declarations of obedience. The pope answered in person to the ambassadors' addresses, and in these responses or orations he affirmed the Papacy's traditional claim to supremacy both in religious and secular affairs.[1] The most important of these orations, given in 1459, is his response to the emperor's embassy, the "*Fabricator mundi" [40]*, his reponse to the Castilian ambassadors, the *"Dominatorem caeli" [35],* and his response to the ambassadors of the Archbishop of Trier, the *"Subjectam esse" [39].*

Paradoxically, the major issues during the pontificate of this cultured, learned, and peace-loving pope were three wars: the war – or crusade – to protect Europe against the Turks pursuing their war of aggression, the war in the Kingdom of Naples in support of the ruling Spanish house of Aragon against the French house of Anjou, and the war in the Church State to ensure the popes' control over its own territory.[2]

The crusade against the Turks he took up immediately after his accession to the papal throne. Already in October 1458, he assembled the representatives of the Italian and other powers in Rome and in the oration "*Ut apertum vobis" [29]* he announced his plans for a congress of princes to deal with this matter. The congress was to open in Mantua on the first of June 1459, but very few representatives of the princes had arrived on that date, and the pope gave a rather embarrassed speech of welcome to those who were present, the "*Magna pars vestrum" [43]*. Over the summer, a number of embassies from the princes did arrive, however (see oration *"Mirabitur fortassis" [79]),* and when the Duke of Milan (oration *"Grave illis" [80])* and the Venetian ambassadors (oration *"Fatemur insignes" [44]*) finally arrived in September, the pope could formally open the deliberations of the congress, with the grand oration "*Cum bellum hodie"*

[1] See sect. 6.3.1.

[2] As papal revenues from Europe diminished, the popes would have to rely much more on the revenues from the Papal State, and therefore full control over that territory and its finances was becoming quite essential to the papacy

[45]. The congress was not a success and was closed by the pope in January with the speech "*Septimo jam mense" [54],* bravely covering his disappointment.

At the Congress of Mantua Pius also gave orations of welcome to a number of princes and ambassadors, among them to Gregor Heimburg, representative of three German princes. Heimburg spoke to the pope with unheard of insolence, but Pius mastered himself and answered pleasantly with the orations "*Eruditissime"* and "*Dilectissime" [47-48]*.

During and after the congress, the pope also had to deal with the kingship of Naples. Ambassadors from King Charles VII of France and from the Anjou pretender to the throne of Naples, René d'Anjou, demanded that the pope should cease to support Ferrante of Aragon as King of Naples and instead invest René with the Kingdom. In the great oration, "*Responsuri" [52],* to the French ambassadors, in December 1459, and later, in the oration "*De regno Siciliae" [58]* of May 1460, to the ambassadors of King René who had followed him to Siena, Pius defended himself vigorously against the French complaints.

Apart from the great affairs of the pontificate, the pope dealt with a number of other issues: in Siena during the spring 1459 he presented the city with the Golden Rose and at that occasion held the oration "*Vetus majorum" [31]*. Some weeks later, he tried, in the oration "*Ingentes vobis gratias" [41],* to persuade the ruling class of Siena to include the Nobles and the Twelve, two political factions, in the city's government, but in vain.

In Siena 1460, he also made his first promotion of cardinals, giving at that occasion three short speeches, the "*Messis quidem"*, the "*Quamvis non dubitamus"*, and the "*Vocati estis" [55-57].*

During his protracted absence from Rome, the condottiero Jacopo Piccinino had entered Angevin service and allied himself with rebellious barons in the Roman territory and with a youth faction in Rome, aiming at taking over the City and ending priestly rule. So, in the autumn of 1460 Pius was forced to hasten back to Rome, where he quickly regained control of the City. In this connection he gave two orations, one the "*Flentem et admodum dolentem" [61]* to the Roman envoys urging him to return to Rome as soon as possible, and another to a large group of eminent Roman citizens welcoming him back, the *"Ingentes vobis quirites" [61].* In these orations he explained the cogent reasons for his engagement in the war in Southern Italy.

Next summer, in 1461, he performed his only canonization, of Saint Catherine of Siena, on which occasion he gave the oration "*Catherinam Senensem" [62].*

Some months later he received Queen Carlotta of Cyprus, coming to Europe to seek aid against rivals for the throne of Cyprus. The *Commentarii* records his short speech of welcome to the queen, the "*Pone lacrimas" [63].*

Half a year later, in the month of March 1462, three momentous issues came to the fore, each occasioning – within a very short time - a major papal oration. The first issue was the crusade against the Turks, which had lain more or less dormant since the abortive Congress of Mantua. In the remarkable oration *"Existimatis fortasse" [64]* the pope announced to a small group of cardinals his intention to reactivate the crusade project, which would now be based not on a Pan-European coalition, but on a smaller alliance between the Papacy and powers like Venice and Hungary, European frontier-states vis-à-vis the Turks.

Some weeks later, an embassy from King Louis IX of France arrived in Rome to solemnly announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges from 1438 which had greatly limited papal influence over French church affairs. The abrogation had been intensely desired by Eugenius IV and his successors, and the French announcement was seen as a great triumph for Pius II,[1] who returned the favour with the grand oration *"Per me reges regnant" [65].*

About the same time, an embassy from King Georg Podiebrad arrived in Rome to request papal confirmation of the Hussite practice of communion under both species. Pius had supported this confirmation in his oration *"Res Bohemicas" [28]* from 1456, but subsequent events had shown him that this course was untenable, and in the papal oration *"Superioribus diebus" [66]* he denied the Bohemian request and thus set in motion a momentous chain of events leading to wars and upheavals in Central Europe.

A month after these events, another important event took place: the reception of a most precious relic, the Head of the Apostle Andrew, in Rome, which – apart from the religious dimension – would be a major papal public relations exercise not only in terms of the rise of the Renaissance Papacy, but also in terms of mobilizing the crusade against the wicked Turks who had made it necessary for the Apostle Andrew "to flee" from his See of Patras. The great liturgical celebration was marked by two short papal orations, the *"Advenisti tandem"* and the *"Si loqui possent" [67-68].*

The few remaining years of Pius' pontificate were taken up with

- the reception of various embassies from the European powers, including Bosnia (oration *"Habemus fidem" [71]*),

- his difficulties with the city government of Siena which did not accede to his wishes for fully including the nobility and other political parties in the government of the city (oration *"Munera quae attulistis" [69]*),

[1] However shortlived it turned out to be

- the power struggle with the Malatestas of Rimini where the pope proved to be greatly inflexible (oration "*Quaecumque rogat" [70]*)

And finally, of course, the organization of the crusade, now together with Burgundy (oration "*Expectatis" [73]* to a Roman assembly of ambassadors) and Venice (oration "*Si essemus" [74]* to the Florentine ambassador), though Venice in the affair of the salt mines of Cervia proved to be an unreliable ally (oration "*Senatu intercedente" [72]* to the Venetian ambassador).

Pius' last three orations concerned the crusade, the first being the short oration *"Ecce, ecce" [78]* in consistory (August 1463), announcing the participation of Venice in the crusade, the splendid "*Sextus agitur annus" [75]* from September 1463, and the "*Succepturi" [76]*, his very last oration, held in Saint Peter's Basilica at his departure from Rome on 18 June 1464 for Ancona, where he would die some months later. These three orations may be seen as clear confirmation of the authenticity of Pius' engagement in the crusade, no longer as a geopolitical and military endeavour, but as a the expression of a religious faith which over the years and especially in the last part of Pius' life had matured and grown deep and true.

1.2. Orations and literary work

Orations were one of the genres of humanist literature, which also comprised textbooks, commentaries, treatises, letters, dialogues, translations, history, and poetry.[1] It was an important genre which often served the formulation of philosophical or scholarly ideas, concepts, and theories.[2]

It appears as if Piccolomini had deliberately set himself the goal to produce works in all the common genres of humanist literatures.[3] His *oeuvre* includes historical, geographical, and biographical works, monographs on various subjects (hippology, education of children, rhetoric, court life, the Empire, Islam) and poetry and a comedy. His erotic novel, *De Duobus Amantibus*, from 1444 – i.e. two years before he embarked upon his ecclesiastical career – would not have caused a sensation in the 21st century, but it most certainly did so in his own day. His three works

[1] Kristeller, p. 214

[2] Kristeller, p. 218. See also Wittschier, on Giannotto Manetti, who in several ways ressembled Piccolomini and was one of the most famous Italian orators of his time (p. 41): *Neben der rein politischen Aktivität, die Manetti innherhalb und ausserhalb der Toskana bis 1453 … betrieb war er zu gleichen Zeit auch schriftstellerisch tätig; es entstanden Traktate und historische Werke, aber vor allem 'orationes', die er als literarische Werke verfasste und z.T. gehalten hatte. Für Manetti war die Rede ein politisches Instrument, aber sie war auch Ausdruck des Philosophen, Theologen, Historiker, Philologen, der Manetti als politisch engagierter Humanist gleichzeitig war* (p. 24)

[3] Haller: *Pius,* p. 87: *Mit Ausnahme des grossen Epos sind bei ihm die üblichen Gattungen der humanistischen Literatur sätmlich vertreten*

on the Council of Basel are remarkable, not least because they are written from diametrically opposed angles: two of them from 1440, take the conciliarist view: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*, and *Libellus Dialogorum de generalis concilii authoritate et gestis Basili*ensium. The third one, from 1450, takes a papalist view: *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. His most outstanding work, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium quae Temporibus suis Contigerunt*, consists of almost 1000 pages of memoirs concerning events taking place during his own pontificate from 1458 to 1464. It is a unique document in its genre and constitutes an invaluable testimony of the function and development of Renaissance papacy and European politics and warfare in that period.

He also wrote a number of dialogues on contemporary issues and hundreds of private letters and official letters which he penned as secretary and official serving two popes, an antipope, an emperor, an ecumenical council, and a series of cardinals and bishops, and later as a prince of the church in his own right, and finally as pope.

Added to all these works come Pius' orations. As a conciliar and imperial official and diplomat, as a papal legate, and as pope himself he delivered – *mostly ex officio* - more orations than any other person in that age, as Campano said.[1] Orations were for him an important genre of literary activity, as witnessed by the care he took in polishing, editing, and publishing them in various ways.

Pius did not cultivate these different literary genres as isolated activities: they were highly interrelated and often also directly related to his diplomatic and political functions. To form a comprehensive understanding and picture of his activities, his works should be studied in their relationship with each other and with his activities in general, and this certainly also applies to his orations.

In these, there is considerable reuse of materials from his letters and other works, and inversely materials from his orations are reused in other works.

An example of a theme which recurred – with copious reuse of the same phrases and sources - in two orations, two treatises, and at least two letters is poetry and the related issue of the use of classical/pagan authors.

Piccolomini first spoke about this theme in his oration "*Si quis me roget" [2]* on Saint Ambrose at the Council of Basel in 1438. He returned to the theme in the *Pentalogu*s from 1443.[2] He also

[1] See above
[2] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 62-66)

wrote about it in his letter to Wilhelm von Stein of 1 June 1444,[1] and again in his oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]* at the University of Vienna in 1445,[2] and again in his treatise *De liberorum educatione* of 1450,[3] and again in his letter to Cardinal Olesnicki of 27 October 1453.[4] These texts, incidentally – and especially the letter to Cardinal Olesnicki - show how Piccolomini worked with the theme of poetry over the years and developed it, adding new sources and restructuring the *exposé.*

One of the many passages being reused in these texts concerns the poet Pindar:

In Piccolomini's source, Solinus' *Collectanea*, the passage ran like this:

> Succedit Carano Perdicca, secunda et uicesima olympiade, primus in Macedonia rex nominatus. Cui **Alexander Amyntae filius diues habitus**, nec inmerito; ita enim affluenter successus eius proficiebant, ut ante omnes Apollini Delphos, Ioui Elidem statuas aureas dono miserit. Voluptati aurium indulgentissime deditus: sicut plurimos qui fidibus sciebant, dum uiuit, **in usum oblectamenti donis tenuit liberalibus, inter quos et Pindarum lyricum.** Ab hoc Archelaus regnum excepit, prudens rei bellicae, naualium etiam commentor proeliorum. Hic **Archelaus in tantum litterarum mire amator fuit, ut Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam concrederet**; cuius suprema non contentus prosequi sumptu funeris, crinem tonsus est et maerorem quem animo conceperat uultu publicauit.[5]

In the *Pentalogus* (1443) it became:

> *Alexander ille Macedo, cui "dives" cognomen fuit, Pindarum valde dilexit et Archelaus eius successor in tantum singularem prudentiam admiratus est, ut summam ei reipublice crederet.*[6]

And in the letter to Wilhelm Stein (1444):

> *Alexander, Aminthe filius, rex Macedonum, Pindarum lyricum apprime dilexit. Archelaus, eius successor, in tantum poetas amavit, ut Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam crederet.*[7]

In the oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445) it was:

> *Alexander, Amyntae filius, rex Macedonum, Pindarum poetam apprime dilexit. Archelaus, qui ei successit, Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam credidit.*[1]

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[1] Epistolarium, nr. 144, pp. 287
[2] Oration *"Aderat nuper" [9],* sect. 7-24
[3] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf), pp. 207-221
[4] WO, III, I, nr. 177, pp. 332-336
[5] Solinus: *Collectanea*, IX, 13-15
[6] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 64)
[7] Epistolarium, p. 289

Piccolomini did not use this passage in the *De liberorum educatione* (1453), but he did so in his famous letter to Cardinal Olesnicki of 27 October 1453:

> *Alexander, Aminte filius, dives habitus, qui ante omnes Jovi Delphico statuas aureas misit, Pyndarum lyricum poetam apprime dilexit. Archelaus, qui ab eo regnum Macedonie accepit, Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam credidit …*[2]

Another passage in these texts concerned the poet Ennius, admired by Scipio.

In Piccolomini's source, again Solinus' *Collectanea*, the passage ran like this:

> *Africanus prior Q. Ennii statuam imponi sepulcro suo iussit.*[3]

It was not used in the *Pentalogus* (1443), but in his letter to Wilhelm Stein (1444) Piccolomini quoted it almost verbatim:

> *Africanus prior Quinti Ennii statuam sepulchro suo iussit imponi.*[4]

In the oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445) it became:

> *Scipio Africanus Major poetam Ennium adeo dilexit, ut eum viarum suarum omnium comitem habere voluit ejusque statuam in suo sepulchro collocari mandavit.* [Sect. 9]

And in the *De liberorum educatione* (1450):

> *… Africanus maior, qui non contentus Ennium poetam dilexisse, statuam eiusdem suo et maiorum suorum sepulcro imponi iussit*[5]

And in the letter to Cardinal Olesnicki (1453):

> *Africanus prior Quinti Ennii statuam imponi suo sepulcro jussit.*[6]

An example of the reuse of letters in orations concerns certain financial issues at the Council of Basel:

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[1] Oration *"Aderat nuper" [9],* sect. 9
[2] Letter to Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki of 27 October 1453. In: WO, III, I, p. 334
[3] Solinus: *Collectanea*, I, 122
[4] Epistolarium, p. 289
[5] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf), pp. 211
[6] Letter to Cardinal Zbigniew of 27 October 1453. In: WO, III, I, p. 334

In a letter to the Sienese city government of 25 October 1436, Piccolomini had written: *Indiget ut scitis concilium ingenti pecuniarum summa, opusque est secundum pacta cum Grecis facta … misisse ad Grecos duas galeas subtiles et totidem grossas trecentosque arcitenentes siue, ut aiunt, balistarios.*[1] In the oratio*n "Audivi" [1]*, which he wrote some weeks afterwards, he said: *Prioremque rem, si placet, examinemus, cujus tria sunt membra: ut locus in decreto aut nominetur aut comprehendatur; ut pecuniae necessariae praesto sint; ut trieriae grossae subtilesque habeantur trecentique arcitenentes, sive, ut vos dicere soletis, balistarii.* [Sect. 18]

In the same letter he wrote: *Dux enim Mediolani concilium petens omnem pecuniarum summam oportunam concessurum se pollicetur neque aliam cautionem petit nisi ut semidecimarum indulgentiarumque collectores sibi respondeant.*[2] And in the oration he said: *Ex indulgentiis reddi sibi mutuum petit, ut si nihil indulgentiae reddant, nihil recuperet*. [Sect. 27]

Another example are comments on the fall of Constantinople in letters to cardinals and Pope Nicolaus V, reused in his crusade orations at the German diets in 1454-55.

An example of reuse of orations in other writings are papal public documents issued after an event in which the pope had given an oration. Examples are the bull of canonization of Saint Catherine of Siena which reused material from his oration "*Catherinam Senensem" [62]*, held at the canonization ceremony; the letter to King Enrique IV of Castile which reused material from the oration "*Dominatorem caeli" [35]*, held at the consistory where the king's representatives declared his obedience to the pope; and the papal crusade encyclicals "*Vocavit nos Pius"* and "*Ezechielis"* which reused materials from his preceeding crusade orations.

Sometimes his letters throw a useful sidelight on an oration, like his letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti of 5 july 1454,[3] where he gave free rein to his pessimism concerning the coming Diet in Frankfurt, and the Europeans' will to join a crusade against the Turks. He concluded the letter with the words: *Si quid in communi redundabit boni, tanto id libentius videbo, quanto magis preter spem eveniet.*[4] The oration he gave at the diet was optimistic and enthusiastic, as it had to be, but the letter makes it clear that he was not naive at all.

An example of reuse of orations in his treatises is the description of the mission of prelates from the Council of Basel to European princes. In the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1436), this mission is described as follows:

> *The Bishop of Novara was sent to the King of France, and the Bishop of Lodi to England. The Bishop of Parma was ordered to far-away Poland when the father of the present king was still*

[1] Epistolarium, p. 57
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 58
[3] RTA, 19/2, p. 101-108
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 108

alive. … To the King of Aragon, who then resided in Sicily, was sent Abbot Ricci of Saint Ambrose. Nor were you, mighty Duke of Burgundy, neglected by the Lombard prelates. This mission fell to the Abbot of Cereto, that upright Father, whom you received with pleasure, both because of his country and because of his lord. For you know how greatly you are esteemed by the Duke of Milan who wants nothing more than to accommodate your wishes. To me that period seemed to resemble that of the apostles when they divided the provinces of the world between them, and each undertook a mission to preach the Gospel there. [Sect. 72]

14 years afterwards, in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius* [1450], Piccolomini described the same events in these words:

Bartolomeo of Novara went to Charles VII of France, a great king; Gerardo of Lodi to Henry VI of England; Delfino of Parma was dispatched to Poland and Prussia; the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan went to Alfonso V, king of Aragon; the abbot of Bonneval was sent to Castile; the abbot of Chiaravalle was ordered to the Duke of Burgundy, a great prince.[1]

So, Pius' orations are part of a broad-spectered literary activity, and they must be read and understood in the context of his other works, just as his other works must be read and understood in the context of his orations.

1.3. Orations and reputation

The importance of orations for the reputation of Italian humanists is witnessed by Vespasiano da Bisticci. Concerning Archbishop Antonino's oration of obedience to Pope Calixtus III on behalf of Florence he wrote: *The consistory was largely attended, and the archbishop delivered a remarkable speech which was highly praised by the Pope and all who heard it. It brought much credit to the speaker and to the city which had sent him.*[2] And on the same archbishop's oration of obedience to Pope Pius II: *On the election of Pius II he was again chosen as Florentine ambassador, and this second mission brought him yet greater honour than the first. … he returned to the consistory and delivered a speech even finer than that which he had spoken before Pope Calixtus.*[3] And on Giannozzo Manetti's oration of obedience to Pope Nicolaus V: *Giannnozzo spoke his oration with much dignity before the most illustrious men of Italy, some of whom had travelled a hundred and fifty miles or more to hear him. … At the end of the speech all the Florentines shook hands with one another just as if they had acquired Pisa and all its lands. In the court men talked about nothing but this oration, and the Venetian cardinals at once wrote back home to suggest*

[1] Reject, p. 332
[2] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite (*George & Waters, p. 160)
[3] *Ibid.* p. 162

that an orator might be added to the embassy which had already been chosen.[1] An oration may even had made a pope, as Vespasiano wrote: *After his [Pope Eugenius IV] death it became necessary to order the funeral rites within nine days according to custom; and, as on such occasions, a funeral oration was always made over the dead, this charge was now given to Maestro Tommaso [Parentucelli]. The oration was spoken with great dignity and eloquence, and gave such great satisfaction to all the College, and to the others present that it moved the cardinals to make him pope. I heard from the leaders of the College that the majority had chosen him, and that his reputation was greatly augmented by this noble oration.*[2]

A large number of Italian humanists routinely delivered orations in various contexts, and their personal reputation was greatly enhanced by their oratorical skills.[3] The more important ones, in Piccolomini's class, were men like Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini,[4] Giannozzo Manetti,[5] [6] Giovanni Aurispa, Andrea Biglia, Antonio da Rho,[7] Francesco Filelfo,[8] Antonio Beccadelli,[9] Cristoforo Landino,[10] Agostino Dati,[11] Alamanno Rinuccini,[12] Bernardo Giustinian, Guarino Filippo Beroaldo,[14] not to mention a Frenchman like Jean Jouffroy.[15] They were all reputed as excellent speakers, and Pius II is generally considered to be one of the very best.

However, Pius' is reputed to be not just an excellent orator, but one of the most remarkable persons in this period. His reputation rested upon his achievements as conciliar official and later imperial counsellor and diplomat, his activities as cardinal and pope,[16] and not the least his literary

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 380
[2] *Ibid.* p. 43
[3] Voigt: *Wiederbelebung,* p. 435 ff.; Voigt: *Papst*, III, p. 271
[4] Various orations of Poggio in his *Opera*, II
[5] Wittschier; CO*,* II, 41 (Meserve, I, p. 366): *Iannottius et ipse Florentinus fuit, vir admodum doctus, qui cum latinis graecisque litteris coniunxit hebraeas*
[6] Poggio, Bruni, and Manetti all died in 1459. Pius wrote about them in his CO, *ibid.*: *Fuit hic annus trium eloquentissimorum virorum dormitionibus insignis*
[7] Antonio da Rho: *Orationes*
[8] Filelfo: *Orationes*
[9] Beccadelli: *Orationes*
[10] Landino: *Orationes*
[11] Dati: *Orationes*
[12] Rinuccini: *Orationes*
[13] CO, II, 41 (Meserve, I, p. 364): *Guarrinus Veronensis, grandaevus et venerabilis senex, magister fere omnium qui nostra aetate in humanitatis studio floruerunt …*
[14] Beroaldo: *Orationes*
[15] Jouffroy's orations are listed in the Werkverzeichnis in Märtl: *Kardinal,* pp. 332-351
[16] Later times have not have considered his pontificate a great one. It was relatively short (six years) and was greatly occupied with the crusade and other conflicts imposed on him (wars in the Papal State and in Naples), which explains why he did not do or achieve much in the very urgent matter of the reform of the Church and of papal finances, even though he may have seen that reform was necessary and wanted to do something about it, commissioning proposals from Nikolaus of Cues and Domenico Domenici, and drafting a papal bull, the *"Pastor aeternus"*

work[1] and his orations where he had the most influential segments of the Empire (with Germany, Central Europe, and Italy) as his audiences. Thus, his oratorical activities have been quite important for the development of his reputation as the passages quoted below will show.

[1] Koller: *Kaiser*, p. 25: *Er war ein genialer Literat, er begriff was die Menschen interessierte, und fand früh Anerkennung*

1.3.1. In Pius' own age

Goro Lolli[1]

Plurima ejus (Pii) monumenta diuque permanebunt; multos habent praecones, vixque quicquam nostrae aetatis laude dignissima exprimi potest: in quo non partem ferat Pius. Erat in eo, ut scis, summa vis dicendi, qualem aetate nostra pace omnium dixerim nemo attigit, nec puto quemquam ullo unquam tempore extitisse, cujus eloquentia tam multis se vivente non dicam hominibus, sed nationibus patuerit. … Pium nulla Europae natio frequenter concionantem non audivit; non ad senatum, non ad populum, non ad iudices, sed ad universas nationes Romae saepe oravit. Idem Senis effecit & Mantuae, ubi totius Europae frequens habebatur conventus; ac jam Pontificatum adeptus, quo tempore clarus apud omnes, qui Christum colunt, evaserat: Antea enim Roma, Neapolis, Senae, Medionalum, Papia, & in Germania, Basilea in generali synodo, Vienna[2]*, Ratispona, Francfordia, Praga eum publice orantem viderunt.*[3]

Johann Hinderbach (1418-1486)[4]

In his oration of obedience, on behalf of the Emperor, Johann Hinderbach in April 1459 told the pope:

Quid dicam de preclaris et luculentissimis orationibus tuis, quas Beatitudo tua diversis in rebus, diversis in locis et conventionibus prestantissimorum hominum habuit, que adeo efficaces, adeo dulces et ad persuadendum apposite semper fuerunt, ut auditorum animos non humanos tantum verum eciam barbaros et Latine lingue inscios sua virtute potentes fuerint communire, quod in dietis tam Ratisponensi quam Franckfordensi apertissime extat comprobatum, quibus omnium animi, qui tum aderant in rebus adversus Turchos agitandis, adeo alieni primum fuere, ut nichil aut parum eis cordi esse viderentur, at ubi Beatitudinis tue oratione perfusi sunt, ita illius ubertate eorum corda et animi permoti fuerunt, ut iam omnes uno ore unaque sententia huic sancto proposito pioque operi paribus votis inhiarent. Qua in re Sanctitatem tuam Orpheo similimam iudicare possumus, qui saxa et volucres in humanam speciem suo cantu convertisse perhibetur.[5]

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[1] Pius II's cousin
[2] *Emendation;* Mansi has "vicina"
[3] Goro Lolli, in Ammannati Piccolomini: *Epistolae,* ep. 47, p. 493. In: Pius II: *Commentarii* (Bandini), 1614
[4] Colleague of Pius as imperial official
[5] Johann Hinderbach's oration *"Maximum et amplissimum munus",* sect. 10. Appendix to *Oration "Fabricator mundi" [40]*

Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459)

Aeneas deinde Senensis cardinalis, qui Pii nomen assumpsit, sequutus est, vir eloquentia praeclarus.[1]

Gianantonio Campano (1429-1472)[2]

Orationes usquequa divino illo spiritu habitas nemo est qui non habeat in manibus. Leguntur tanta omnium cum voluptate, quanta cum admiratione sunt auditae; nec quempiam post hominum memoriam fuisse censeas, qui omni foro, in omni concione orbis terrarum, & saepius dixerit, & disertius. Et tamen, proh hominum fidem! quae orationes, quibus de rebus habitae? Demus venustati[3] *apparatum illum ac divitias verborum, & Ciceroni tersitiem, nitorem, elegantiam relinquamus; dum fateamur nihil horum Pii orationibus defuisse.*[4]

Orationes nemo temporum nostrorum et nec veterum quidem tot habuit, omnes fere de rebus amplissimis, caeterum sententiis quam verbis illustriores, copia mira, et ad magnitudinem rerum excrescente.[5]

Lodrisio Crivelli[6] ***(ca. 1412 - ?)***

Tu vero, Pie pontifex, si quando haec in aures tuas penetraverit, scriptori sedulo veniam dabis, si clarissimae res gestae tuae et divina illa eloquentia, qua ceteris mortalibus omnibus aeque ac maiestatis gradu longissimi praestas, minus idoneis verbis explicabuntur.[7]

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[1] *Vitae quorundam pontificum* (1459) */ De Pio II.* In: Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera,* II, p. 792. As an important official at the Papal Court, Poggio Braccioloni may have heard of or heard in person the orations Piccolomini delivered in consistory meetings to popes Eugenius IV and Nicolaus V (the *"Et breviter me hodie" [10], "Non habet me dubium" [11], "Fateor" [15], "Moyses vir Dei" [19]*). And he would almost certainly have heard the oration *"Quam laetus quamque secundus"* which Piccolomini delivered when Pope Nicolaus received the Emperor at Saint Peter's, arriving in Rome in 1452 for his imperial coronation, an event which no important official in Rome would have missed. Being praised for eloquence by Poggio Bracciolini was no mean thing, especially since the section on Pius II in Poggio´s text is not otherwise without criticism of him

[2] Humanist protegé of Pius II

[3] *Emendation;* Mansi has "vetustati"

[4] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxvii: Excerptum Epistolae Joannis Antonii Campani ad Cardinalem Papiensem. The passage is followed in Campano's text by a long comparison of Pius with Cicero, whom – according to Campano – Pius surpasses: *Quis est igitur tam iniquus judex, qui existimet aut Ciceronem, aut quemvis alium vel magnitudine rerum, quas complexus est, vel frequentia dicendi, vel varietate locorum Pio esse comparandam (*p. xxix)

[5] Campano: *Vita*, p. 77

[6] Friend of Pius

[7] Crivelli: *De expeditione* (Zimolo), p. 3

Cum finem dicendi fecisset pontifex, silentium omnes aliquamdiu tenuit, demirantibus cunctis cum rei magnitudinem, in quam se pontifex destinasset, tum vero eius dicendi vim. Nihil enim Pii concionantis maiestate sublimius.[1]

Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi) (1421-1481)

Orationes circa duas & triginta habuit ad pacem Regum, ad concordiam Principum, ad tranquillitatem Nationum, ad defensionem Religionis, ad quietem totius Orbis terrarum spectantes … Conciones habet splendidas & rei accomodatas; movet affectus, ac eos denique sedat. Candorem et ornatum orationis nunquam intermittit, varios pro tempore sumit eloquentiae vultus.[2]

Giovanni Philippo del Legname (1420-?)[3]

Aeneas Silvius, vir eloquens, & orator bonus, Poëta Laureatus.

Aeneam Piccolomineum Senensem, qui postea Pontifex fuerit, major rerum cura a poëticae studiis avertit: nescius poëta major fuerit, an orator, an historicus; ejus scripta demonstrant quantum ille Romanam linguam augere potuerit, ni coeli providentia illum majora curare voluisset.[4]

Bonifazio Simonetta (1430?-15?)[5]

Elegantia et mentis agilitate adeo emicuit, ut cum idem semper oraret mutato argumento, idem peroravit, & una[6] *regnorum ac Italiae intestina bella ac discordias sedavit.*[7]

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[1] Crivelli: *De expeditione* (Zimolo), p. 87
[2] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxx; Platina: *Vita (*Zimolo), p. 119
[3] Italian printer/editor
[4] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxxi
[5] Abbot of S. Stephano de Cornu
[6] *sic!*
[7] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxxii

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536)

Ut autem ad Italos veniam, quid Laurentio Vallensi, quid Philelpho veteris eloquentie observatius? Quid Aenea Silvio, quid Augustino Datho, quid Guarino, quid Poggio, quid Gasparino eloquentius?[1]

1.3.2. In later ages

It is understandable if Pius' contemporaries or dependants to some extent exaggerated his oratorical skills, but his reputation as an eminent speaker actually survived in later ages.

In the 18th century Justinus Schneegass called Germany, Italy, and all of Europe as witnesses to his eloquence:

Justinus Schneegass (1757)

Testis est Germania, ubi designatus est ipse caesaris legatus in comitiis imperii et conciliis Basilea, Ratisponae, Francofordiae, Pragae, Vienna, frequentissimorum principum applaudente corona splendidissimas habuit conciones.[2]

Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897)

Pius II. selbst hat offenbar als Redner in allen Zeiten seines Lebens seiner letzten Standeserhöhung mächtig vorgearbeitet; als grösster kurialer Diplomat und Gelehrter wäre er vielleicht doch nicht Papst geworden ohne den Ruhm und den Zauber seiner Beredsamkeit.[3]

Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891)

Er war Rhetor und Weltmann, der über alles geistreich zu reden wusste und über einen grossen Schatz von Wissen verfügte.[4]

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[1] Eramus: *Opus,* quoted in Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 121: Letter to a friend, 1489
[2] Schneegass, p. xv
[3] Burckhardt (1928), p. 214
[4] Gregorovius, III, 1 [1978], p. 281

Even Georg Voigt, who published his monumental biography of Pius II in 1856-1863, and who was often quite critical of Pius, praised his oratorical skills, see below.

1.3.3. In the present age

Testimonies to Pius' reputation as orator in the present age are:

William Boulting (1909)

No man of his time was more brilliant as an orator; he prepared his speeches carefully, held his audience spell-bound, and however earnest his exhortations, never failed to appreciate the effect he produced … Certainly, no man of his age made so many speeches on such important subjects before such distinguished audiences …[1]

Johannes Helmrath (1995, 2002)

For Johannes Helmrath, Piccolomini is not just *eine der bedeutendsten Figuren des Jahrhunderts,* but also *der wirkungsvollste Redner seiner Zeit,*[2] and *als Redner der Berühmteste seiner Zeit.*[3]

Der Piccolomini-papst darf als der bedeutendste und bekannteste Redner seiner Zeit, gewissermassen als oratorische Existenz gelten, wobei er seine Redekunst als Mittel und Verkörperung der Politik stetig nutzte und auch seine Karriere nicht zum geringsten ihr verdankte.[4]

Karoline Döring (2011)

Redner wie Piccolomini verbanden politischen Einfluss mit humanistischer Gelehrsamkeit in einzigartiger Weise.[5]

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[1] Boulting, pp. 217-218
[2] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 85-86
[3] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 116
[4] Helmrath: *Pius,* p. 84
[5] Döring, p. 453

Achim Thomas Hack (2015)

Beide (Pius & Bessarion) gehörte ohne Zweifel zu den sowohl erfahrensten als auch versiertesten Rhetoren des 15. Jahrhunderts.[1]

Giacchino Paparelli (1950)

quest'uomo che va senza dubbio annoverato tra i più persuasivi oratori del suo tempo.[2]

An objection to Pius' reputation as an eminent speaker has been raised: since he apparently was not a very efficacious speaker, his oratorical speaks must after all have been limited. An example of this objection is provided by

Giulio Zimolo (1964)

E grandi veramente i successi oratorii di lui, ma altrettanto effemeri; e, se furono il primo fattore dell'alta posizione da lui raggiunta, più que l'abilità diplomatica, e la vasta dottrina (Burckhardt, op. cit. I, p.271), ottenero poi generalmente in pratica assai scarsa efficacia, servendo più che ad altro a dare solennità all'apertura o alla chiusura delle trattative diplomatiche.[3]

Since Pius' reputation as a speaker was to a large extent connected with his crusade orations, the failure of the crusade project may be seen as justifying this objection. Other of his orations, too, did not have the desired effect: his oration *"Audivi" [1]* from 1436 did not lead to Pavia being designated as the venue for the future Union Council. His oration "*Si ea quae justa" [4]* from 1438 did not lead to the Council of Basel establishing new and stringent rules for the selection of candidates for episcopal office. His oration *"Est mihi non parum" [13]* from 1447 did not lead to the return of Milan to the emperor's direct rule. His orations to the Sienese governemt representatives, the *"Ingentes vobis gratias" [41]* from 1459 and the *"Munera quae attulistis" [69]* from 1462, did not lead to the full reintegration of the nobles into the government system of Siena.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the system of political decision-making in Pius' age no longer had a popular or senatorial assembly as fulcrum, which conditioned the development of

[1] Hack: *Pius,* p. 359
[2] Paparelli, p. 218
[3] Zimolo: *Vite*, p. 77, n. 4

classical deliberative or political rhetorics. Diplomats might make speeches stating their master's policies, viewpoints and proposals, and their speeches might actually greatly impress the audience, but afterwards the mechanism of negotiations behind closed doors took over, and the solid political realities would determine the issue of the matter, not the efforts of the most brilliant speakers. This applies to Piccolomini's crusade orations in the emperor's name, which were certainly not helped by the fact that the emperor was absent from some of the crucial diets, and – what was even worse - did not truly support the crusading cause, though his position and the situation made it impossible for him to say so publicly. Under those circumstances, even superb eloquence was hopeless.

As for Pius' papal crusade orations, they were eloquent interventions in a complex process of negotiation and influencing, which towards the end, with the commitment of the Duke of Burgundy to participate in the crusade, appeared to have a real chance of succeeding. That the duke finally postponed his coming with the required troops, thereby creating an impossible situation for the pope, was really not the fault of the pope or of the pope's rhetorics, but the result of the political and military situation between Burgundy, France, and England, and a direct command of the French king to the Duke.

As for the *"Audivi" [1],* Piccolomini himself was quite aware that Pavia was impossible as a venue for the future council, and his oration, indeed, had other, subtle aims.

As for the *"Est mihi non parum" [13],* exhorting in an otherwise well-argued oration the Milanese to return to direct imperial rule was, of course, quite illusory, given the political and military situation. The imperial initiative might have had a remote chance of success, if the emperor himself had come with a strong army and had been willing to pour money into the project, but he was not, and that was that.

In the case of Siena, again eloquence could not alter the fundamental political realities of the case, but Pius' assessment of the city's need for political concord was – and was later proved to be – quite correct, and his attempt to change the political system was a fair one, which ought not have been hopeless.

An evaluation of the efficacy of Pius' political oratory must be judged in the context of his total oratorical activity, his overall diplomatic activity, and the political contexts of the orations, and it must also take into consideration that the extant orations only constitute a part of his speeches.

Pius' orations, including the more protocolary and ceremonial ones, were an example of great political communication and splendid eloquence. When he failed to obtain the desired political results, it was not because of his oratorical deficiencies, but in spite of his oratorical excellence, and no other speaker could have succeeded where he failed. Political causes were after all, as

Piccolomini well knew and stated clearly himself in some of his writings, not determined by words, but by the three M's: might, money, and military.[1]

In conclusion, the earliest testimonies to Pius II's eloquence may be coloured by devotion to – and flattery of – a reigning pope. Still, his reputation as a truly excellent speaker in his own right has kept firm during the following centuries and today.

[1] E.g. HB, p. 627: *Utriusque regis electionem nonnulli calumniantur: vim adhibitam dicunt neque iure valere, quod metus extorserit. Nobis persuasum est armis acquire regna, non legibus*

2. ORATIONS OF PIUS II

2.1. Concept of oration

The humanist oration is in principle a speech to a live audience. However, apart from its function as an act of directly communicating a message to and influencing the audience, it was an important literary product in itself, which was mostly written in advance of the delivery, but also polished and to some extent revised by the author after delivery, and published, first in the form of transcribed manuscript copies, and later in the form of printed editions, either as part of collections of orations or as part of collected works of an author, or otherwise.

Humanist orations may be categorized on the basis of the classical division of orations into the genus judiciale, genus demonstrativum and genus deliberativum, but modern research is, in actual practice, using another typology based on subject, comprising funerary orations (studied by McManamon),[1] wedding orations (studied by D'Elia),[2] political orations (studied by Helmrath), epideictic or praise and blame orations (studied by O'Malley),[3] welcoming orations, diplomatic orations (studied by Maxson),[4] with the very special subcategory of orations of obedience to the pope,[5] [6] academic orations (studied by Müllner),[7] and *protestationes*, i.e. the orations that officials had to give at all kinds of festive and formal occasions,[8] including the orations *de justitia* given in Florence on certain occasions.[9] A special oratorical genre consists of the fictive orations which humanist historians, following Livy and other classical authors, put into the mouth of popes, princes, and generals.[10]

Apart from funerary orations and protestationes, Pius gave orations of all the above-mentioned types, but most were diplomatic orations.

There are some problems of definition or terminology concerning Pius' orations.

A first one concerns the **relationship between orations and responses** *(responsa or responsiones)*, i.e. replies to – mostly - ambassadorial addresses.

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[1] McManamon: *Funeral*
[2] D'Elia: *Renaissance*
[3] O'Malley
[4] Maxson: *Customed; Diplomatic; Florence; Lost*
[5] Maulde-La-Clavière: *La diplomatie.* For examples, see Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 194-195,258, 312)
[6] See below, sect. 7.7
[7] Mostly orations at the beginning of academic semesters and courses
[8] Kristeller, p. 218; Wittschier, p. 59 ff
[9] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 160, 162, 258, 281, 312, 380)
[10] Examples are an oration of Pope Urban II to the participants in the Meeting at Clermont, 1095, written by Flavio Biondo and included in his *Historiarum*, II, 3, and an oration of the Florentine ambassadors to Pope Gregory XI in Avignon, written by Poggio Braccioloni and included in his *Historia Florentina* (Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera*, II, pp. 57-63). For Piccolomini's fictive orations, see below sect. 2.7.

Mansi gave his edition of Pius' orations (1755-1757) the title *Pii Papae II … Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae.* However, in the text he gave some of the orations the title *Responsum.* In this, he followed the manuscript on which his edition was primarily based, the Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544 which contained a collection of orations and a collection of responses. The problem is that neither Mansi nor the manuscript used the two terms consistently, since some speeches were called an *oratio* and not a *responsum* even though they were in fact given in response to an ambassadorial address, like the "*Superioribus diebus" [66]* (1452), "*Per me reges regnant"* (1452) *[65]* and the "*De regno Siciliae" [58]* (1460), and some were called *responsum* in one context and *oratio* in another**.** It appears that the longer and more important responses were called orations, while the shorter and less significant ones were called responses, but this criterion seems not to be fully functional since some important orations like the "*Fabricator mundi" [40]* (1459) to the imperial ambassadors were called a responsum, whereas the text of his short response to the Sienese ambassador, *"Munera quae attulistis" [69]* (1462) has the margin note "Pontificis oratio" in the earliest manuscript containing the *Commentarii,* the Reginensis latinus 1995.

A second problem concerns the **relationship between orations and sermons.** Two of Pius' discourses were not orations, but formally sermons, preached or to be preached from the pulpit in a church. One of them, however, the "*Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438), though functioning as a sermon to the council fathers in Basel, on the feastday of Saint Ambrose, was rather an oration[1] and was indeed called an oration in the title of two manuscripts. The other one, the "*Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445)*,* was formally intended as a sermon to Piccolomini's parishioners in the Austrian parish of Aspach, but in reality it was a treatise on Christian life in the form of a sermon. Most of the manuscripts give it the title *Sermo*, but two – and among them the important Chis. J.VI.211, belonging to the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, later Pope Pius III, gave it the title *Oratio.* It may be noted that in the oration *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445) Piccolomini actually considered sermons a form of orations, though delivered by theologians, not trained in oratory.[2]

A third problem is the relationship between **orations and memoranda**. One text has the form of an oration, but is probably more of a memorandum, which was not delivered as an oratio, but given to the addressee. This is the oration "*Res Bohemicas" [28]* (1456), on the Bohemian matter, which had the form of an oration, but was probably never delivered as such, but given to the pope as a diplomatic memorandum on behalf of the emperor and King Ladislaus of Bohemia.

The fourth problem is that of the pope's **reply to an ambassador given as part of an informal discussion** – and not in a public setting - between pope and ambassador. This applies to the "*Si essemus ipsi" [74]* (1463) to the Florentine ambassador and the "*Quaecumque rogat" [70]* (1462)

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[1] Iaria: *Oratio,* p. 314: *Nel sermo di Piccolomini si possono riconoscere le parti canoniche previste dall'ars praedicandi, anche se il sermo tende piuttosto verso l'oratio*

[2] Sect. 14: *I do not deny this since those who make sermons to the people function, in this respect, as orators though they are actually theologians. However, unless they use the rules of oratory they will not have great success (though there are some who speak well by nature, and not through artfulness)*

to the Venetian ambassador. These texts are variously called *responsio* and *oratio* though the audience consisted of only one person, the ambassador. The texts of these orations in the first version of the *Commentarii,* the Reginensis Latinus 1995, contain – like the rest of the text of the *Commentarii* – numerous corrections done in the process of writing and not added afterwards. This shows that they were not copied from preexisting drafts prepared before the meeting with the ambassador, but were dictated directly to Patrizi (who usually took the pope's dictation) like the rest of the text.

A fifth problem concerns the **element of prayer**. Five of Pius' orations contained important elements or prayer. They were the "*Cum bellum hodie" {45]* (September 1459) which opened the deliberations of the Congress of Mantua, and the *"Septimo jam mense" [54]* (January 1460), which closed it. Two short orations, delivered at the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew in Rome in 1462, and included in the *Commentarii,* the "*Advenisti tandem"* and the "*Si loqui possent" [67-68]*, are partly addressed to the apostle Andrew and contain important elements of prayer: the frontier between paraliturgical text and oration is quite blurred. However, in the margin of the oldest manuscript containing the *Commentarii,* the Reginensis latinus 1995, they are explicitly designated as *oratio.* And also the last of Pius' orations, the *"Suscepturi" [76]* (1464), was a mixture of oration and prayer.

A sixth problem regards **orations not actually delivered**.

Written orations may not have been delivered for two reasons. Firstly, they were not intended to be delivered orally, but to be transmitted in writing, in some cases because the oration was not properly an oration but a work of another kind written in the form of an oration. And secondly, because actual circumstances impeded oral delivery of an oration intended for such.

Examples of humanist orations not delivered are two orations of Giannozzo Manetti. One is his *De saecularibus et pontificalibus pompis* describing the consecration of the cathedral of Florence by Pope Eugenius IV in 1436. In most of the manuscripts it is termed an oration, though it was probably a text of a different kind, a narration.[1] Another is his oration *"Si optata fierent",* written for the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452. It was not actually held, but given in writing to the Emperor, possibly because the rather charged schedule of the coronation festivities did not allow for a ceremonious delivery.[2] This procedure, incidentally, would appear to support Maxson's theory of the diplomatic speech as a cultural gift.[3]

Another example is the crusade oration of Gianantonio Campano, one of Pius' humanist protégés, intended to be delivered at the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1471, but not actually held, but which was nonetheless distributed widely and became very important for the development of the humanist "Germanenbild".[4]

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[1] cf. Wittschier, p. 52

[2] Wittschier, p. 113: *Als Friedrich III, im März 1452 zum Kaiser gekrönt wurde, überreichte Manetti eine Rede, die er nach Vespasiano da Bisticcis Angabe nicht gehalten hat;* Baldassari & Maxson, p. 530: *After arriving in Rome, Manetti presented a copy of an undelivered coronation speech to the emperor, perhaps on March 20. Such speeches, ordered or not, were common diplomatic fare in the fifteenth century*

[3] Maxson: *Customed; Diplomatic*

[4] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 91

A third example is the oration which Isotta Nogarola sent to Pope Pius II in the summer of 1459 as a (cultural) gift, demonstrating her learning and humanist culture.[1]

At least four of Pius' orations surviving in written form are believed or known to have not actually been delivered:

- the *"Quid est" [3],* written by Piccolomini for Bartolomeo Visconti, Milanese diplomat, for presentation to the Emperor-Elect Albrecht II in 1436. Pius himself writes in the *Commentarii* that *during the time allowed for deliberations, Aeneas gave Bartolomeo a written statement outlining why Albert should accept the crown and suggesting how the Hungarians could be induced to consent. When Bartolomeo read it out in the council, he was publicly thanked ….*[2] Nonetheless, historians have doubted that an oral delivery actually took place, and rather believe that the text was handed over in writing;

- the *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1438), a proper treatise on Christian life in the form of an oration/sermon, which was far too long (and in Latin) to be given as an oration to a congregation of German farmers;

- the "*Sentio" [20]* (1452), a vigorous and provocative defense of pope and emperor against the Austrian rebels, which Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg did not not allow Piccolomini to deliver, so as not inflame tempers further; and

- the "*Res Bohemicas" [28]* (1455), a quite important oration/memorandum on Bohemian affairs, on behalf of the emperor and Ladislaus the Posthumous, which was not mentioned in the *Commentarii* and was probably delivered in written form to Pope Calixtus III.

The seventh problem concerns the cases where **more than one version of an oration** survives. There are at least two reasons for such a case to occur.

The first is that after delivery Pius revised and polished his orations as he saw fit. Thus, many of his orations survive in two versions, and some in three. The question is: which version should be considered as the proper oration: the original one (the historical document) or the final one (the literary product)? The problem is further complicated by the fact that Pius usually delivered his oration on the basis of a memorized draft, which means that there is no record of the oration is actually delivered. In the present edition, priority is given to the Final Version (unless it is a completely rewritten text), but the Earlier Version is given either as variants or as juxtaposed text.

Cases of orations in more versions due to major subsequent revision are the "*In hoc florentissimo" / "Frequentissimus" / "Astantes" [23]* (1455), the "*Magna pars vestrum" / "Speravimus fratres" [43]* (1459), the "*Septimo jam mense / Octavum hic agimus" [54]* (1460), the "*Vocati estis" / "Maxima" [57]* (1460), and the "*Ingentes vobis" / "Fatemur quirites" [61]* (1460). Except for the *"In*

[1] Printed in vol. 12 of the present edition
[2] CO, I, 9 (Meserve, I, p. 39)

hoc florentissimo", these texts were revised in connection with their inclusion in the text of Pius' *Commentarii.*

The second reason for an oration existing in two versions is that for some reason it was not possible to deliver the oration as written beforehand.

Cases are the "*Quamvis non sine magna" / "Satisfacit abunde" [46]* to the ambassador of Savoy in 1459, where the expected person did not show up, and the "*Multa hic hodie" / "Placuit audisse" [49]* in response to a French ambassador in 1459 where the ambassador delivered an oration which was significantly different from the one prepared for by the pope.

The eigth problem concerns **orations written for others**, as humanists sometimes did, e.g. the oration on Saint Monica which Andrea Biglia apparently wrote for Pope Martin V[1], Gasparino Barzizza´s *Oratio gratulatoria ad Jacobum regem Sicilie citra accomodata alteri personae a qua erat pronuntianda,*[2] and Francesco Filelfo's oration to the emperor written for the eldest son of the Duke of Milan.[3] The Collected orations of Pius II contains two such orations: the *"Quid est" [3]* (1438) written for Bartolomeo Visconti in 1438, see above, and the *"Si putarem" [5]*, written for Kaspar Schlick (1444).[4] Both these texts were possibly – and in the last case most probably – revised by the speaker himself before delivery, and it is likely that the oration as delivered may have differed much from the final text as revised by Pius. Again, the solution chosen is to accept the final version, as a literary product.

In making the selection of orations to be included in the present edition, the choice was made to follow Mansi and include all known discourses having a written form and using direct speech, whether or not they were termed oratio, responsio or sermo in the manuscripts, with no regard for type, length, size of audience, actual delivery or alternative versions. Unlike Mansi, however, the orations given in the *Commentarii* are included in the present collection, and unlike Helmrath orations given in the *Commentarii* are accepted as orations even if they are not known from other manuscripts than those containing the *Commentarii.*[5] [6]

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[1] Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 272

[2] In the ms. Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / L 69 Sup

[3] HA, I, p. 137: *Interea Franciscus Sfortia … filium suum primogenitum … natum VIIII annorum, qui Latine oravit et intrepide coram cesare …* The duke had required Francesco Filelfo to write the oration, cf. HA, I, 138

[4] A third one may be Ladislaus Posthumous' oration *"Cum animadverto"* to Pope Nicolaus V, see below

[5] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 149: *Wir halten es angesichts dieser Problematik nur für vertretbar, diejeningen Reden in die Gesamtüberlegung einzubeziehen, die ausser in den 'Commentarii' auch anderweitig überliefert sind.* But also: Helmrath: *Pius,* p. 87: *Viele seiner Reden hat er in seine Commentarii wörtlich inseriert. Andere … nahm er mit Verweis auf das angesprochene separate "volumen orationum"ausdrücklich nicht auf. Von den Commentarii-Reden sind also nur wenige in separater Einzel- oder Sammelüberlieferung gleichlautend nachweisbar. Sie in diesem Falle mit höherer Authentizitätsvermutung hinsichtlich der konkreten Actio zu interpretieren, liegt nahe. Das ändert doch nichts an der Tatsache, dass auch die ausschliesslich aus den Commentarii bekannten Reden 'authentische' Texte zuminderst aus der Feder Pius' II. darstellen*

[6] NB: in the present edition, Piccolomini's interventions in the imperial council are not treated as formal orations, since they appear not to have been transmitted as such. Interventions he made as cardinal in the papal consistory have not survived. Another case of dubious status are three interventions of Piccolomoni in the emperor's council, one on the Diet of Regensburg (1454) (WO, III, II, pp. 527-528), another on the Prussian revolt against the German Order (WO, III, pp. 522-523), both reported in his *Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta,* and the third on the Austrian

Thus, for the purpose of the present edition the term oration is used in the broadest possible sense, as covering all texts of Pius which are a) included in the two previous comprehensive collections of his orations (the papal collection from 1462 with later versions, and Mansi's edition from the 1750s); b) included as orations in the *Commentarii* or in the collection of responses of 1460, c) or which are otherwise

- **extant in full,**
- **clearly designated as orations or responses, and**
- **written in direct speech.**

2.2. Extant orations

In the broad sense, as defined above, altogether 80 of Pius II's orations are extant.[1]

In chronological order[2] they are: [3]

2.2.1. Before the pontificate

1. **Audivi**[4]

   a) Oration
   b) 16 November 1436
   c) Basel
   d) Council fathers of the Council of Basel

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rebellion, reported in a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 6 Aril 1453 (WO, III, I, pp. 128-129). They are written in direct speech, but may be considered as verbal interventions in debates among counsellors, and not as proper orations

[1] Or 81, if the oration *"Cum animadverto",* an oration of obedience to Pope Nicolaus V, written for King Ladislaus Postumus, is – as the present editor believes – authored by Piccolomini. It is published as an appendix to the oration *"Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18]* (1452)

[2] Some responses to ambassadors received in Siena in March-April 1459 do not have an exact dating and their chronological order is therefore uncertain. Four orations were located after the indexing of the orations was finished, and therefore had to be given subsequent numbers (77-80). References to them are inserted in the chronological order

[3] For each oration are given: Number and incipit; a) Type; b) Date; c) Place; d) Adressee; e) Subject; f) (optional) Note

[4] Incidentally, we know from Piccolomini himself (see the very first words of the introduction to the Intermediate Version, "*Etsi numquam,"* of the "*Audivi": Etsi* ***numquam ante,*** *patres reverendissimi, vestra me contio loquentem audiverit*), that the "*Audivi"* was the first oration he gave at the council. If he had written other orations before, either they had not been delivered, or they had been written for and delivered by one of the council fathers

e) Venue of the future Union Council with the Greeks

2. **Si quis me roget**

   a) Sermon
   b) 4 April 1438
   c) Basel
   d) Council fathers of the Council of Basel
   e) Saint Ambrose

3. **Quid est**

   a) Oration
   b) 27 April 1438
   c) Wien
   d) Emperor-elect Albrecht II
   e) Imperial election
   f) The text was written for the ambassador of the Duke of Milan. It is uncertain whether it was delivered, or just handed over as a memorandum

4. **Sie ea quae justa**

   a) Oration
   b) 1438
   c) Basel
   d) Council fathers of the Council of Basel
   e) Appointment of bishops

5. **Si putarem**

   a) Oration
   b) 4 April 1444
   c) Vienna
   d) Imperial council
   e) Appointment of Bishop of Freising
   f) Text written for and to be delivered – in German - by the Imperial Chancellor. Probably heavily revised after delivery

6. **Non est apud me dubium**

   a) Sermon

b) 1445
c) Aspach
d) Parishioners of Aspach
e) Christian life
f) The sermon was really a treatise in the form of a sermon. Probably never delivered

7. **Prius sanctissime praesul**

a) Oration
b) 1 February 1445
c) Rome
d) Pope Eugenius IV
e) Enea Silvio Piccolomini's obedience to the pope

8. **Nisi satis exploratum**

a) Oration / Academic
b) 13 October 1445
c) Vienna / University
d) Academic assembly
e) Academic disciplines, incl. liberal arts

9. **Aderat nuper**

a) Oration / Academic (Quodlibetal disputation)
b) 25 November 1445
c) Vienna / University
d) Academic assembly
e) Moral knowledge vs. moral practice; poetry

10. **Et breviter me hodie**

a) Oration
b) 6 July 1446
c) Rome
d) Pope Eugenius IV
e) Relations between the Papacy and Germany

11. **Non habet me dubium**

a) Oration
b) 9 January 1447
c) Rome
d) Pope Eugenius II
e) German obedience to the pope

12. **Tritum est sermone**

a) Oration
b) January 1447
c) Rome
d) Pope Eugenius II
e) Emperor's wardship over King Ladislaus

13. **Est mihi non parum**

a) Oration
b) 21 October 1447
c) Milan
d) Popular assembly
e) Devolution of Milan to the emperor

14. **Quamvis grandes materias**

a) Oration / Wedding oration (*epithalamium*)
b) 10 December 1450
c) Naples
d) King Alfonso V
e) Marriage of Emperor and Princess Leonora of Portugal

15. **Fateor**

a) Oration
b) 28 December 1450
c) Rome
d) Pope Nicolaus V in consistory
e) Imperial coronation

16. **Petivistis ex Caesare**

a) Oration
b) 22 July 1451
c) Benesov
d) Bohemian assembly of nobles
e) Emperor's wardship over King Ladislaus

17. **Quamvis in hoc senatu**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 23 August 1451
c) Wiener Neustadt
d) Burgundian ambassadors, before the emperor and the imperial court
e) Crusade against the Turks

18. **Quam laetus quamque secundus**

a) Oration
b) 9 March 1451
c) Rome
d) Pope Nicolaus V, before the emperor and general public in Saint Peter's square
e) Imperial coronation

19. **Moyses vir Dei**

a) Oration
b) 24 March 1452
c) Rome
d) Pope Nicolaus V, before emperor in public consistory
e) Crusade against the Turks

20. **Sentio**

a) Oration
b) December 1452
c) Vienna
d) Participants in negotiation between Austrians and the Emperor
e) Papal support of the Emperor against the rebellious Austrians
f) Oration not actually delievered

21. **Quamvis omnibus**

a) Oration
b) 16 May 1454
c) Regensburg
d) Participants in imperial diet
e) Crusade against the Turks

[78. Verba tua / 21 May 1454]

22. **Constantinopolitana clades**

a) Oration
b) 10 October 1454
c) Frankfurt
d) Participants in imperial diet
e) Crusade against the Turks

23. **In hoc florentissimo**

a) Oration
b) 25 February 1455
c) Wiener Neustadt
d) Participants in imperial diet
e) Crusade against the Turks
f) Alternative versions: *"Frequentissimus" / "Astantes"*

24. **Si mihi**

a) Oration
b) 25 March 1455
c) Wiener Neustadt
d) Hungarian ambassadors
e) Crusade against the Turks

25. **Optasset**

a) Oration
b) 25 April 1455
c) Wiener Neustadt
d) Hungarian ambassadors
e) Crusade against the Turks

26. **Solent plerique**

a) Oration
b) 13 August 1455
c) Rome
d) Pope Calixtus III
e) Emperor's obedience to the pope

27. **Modestius**

a) Oration
b) 6 July 1456
c) Naples
d) King Alfonso V and Royal Court
e) Peace between Siena and Jacobo Piccinino[1]

28. **Res bohemicas**

a) Oration
b) 1455
c) Rome
d) Pope Calixtus III
e) Bohemian request for communion under both species
f) Probably not actually delivered as oration, but handed to the pope as diplomatic memorandum

[1] Wagendorfer erroneously considered this oration to be a crusade oration, see Wagendorfer: *Studien,* p. 133: … *hielt vor Alfons von Neapel erneut eine Türkenrede (note: die Rede gedruckt in den Opera omnia 498-499)*

2.2.2. During the pontificate

29. **Ut apertum vobis**

a) Oration
b) 10 October 1458
c) Rome
d) Participants in papal conference with Italian powers
e) Crusade against the Turks

30. **Quotiens nova**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 9 February 1459
c) Perugia
d) Ambassadors of Duke Louis I of Savoy
e) Obedience to the pope

31. **Vetus majorum**

a) Oration
b) 15 March 1459
c) Siena
d) City government of Siena
e) Golden Rose

32. **Christiani reges**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) March 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary
e) Obedience to the pope

33. **Clarae atque illustres**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) March 1459
c) Siena

d) Ambassadors of Margrave of Monferrat
e) Obedience to the pope

34. **Omnes ferme**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) March 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King Afonso V of Portugal
e) Obedience to the pope

35. **Dominatorem caeli**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) March 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King Enrique IV of Castile
e) Obedience to the pope

36. **Pius et misericors**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) March 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King Juan II of Aragon and Sicily
e) Obedience to the pope

37. **Conversa in nos hodie**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 15 March 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of Duke Philippe III of Burgundy
e) Obedience to the pope

38. **Si sacrosancto**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 15 March 1459
c) Siena

d) Ambassadors of four German princes
e) Obedience to the pope

39. **Subjectam esse**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) October 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of Archbishop-elect of Trier, Johann von Baden
e) Obedience to the pope

40. **Fabricator mundi**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 14 April 1459
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of Emperor Friedrich III
e) Obedience to the pope

41. **Ingentes vobis gratias**

a) Oration
b) 15 April 1459
c) Siena
d) City government of Siena
e) Sienese politics

42. **Habuisti dilecta filia**

a) Oration / Response
b) 28 May 1459
c) Mantua
d) Princess Ippolita Sforza of Milan
e) Compliment

43. **Magna pars vestrum**

a) Oration
b) 1 June 1459
c) Mantua

d) Attendants at the opening of the Congress of Mantua
e) Congress of Mantua
f) Alternative version "*Speravimus fratres*"

[79. "Mirabitur fortassis" / September 1459]

[80. "Grave illis" / 21 September 1459]

44. **Fatemur insignes**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 24 September 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of Venice
e) Congress of Mantua

45. **Cum bellum hodie**

a) Oration / with prayer
b) 26 September 1459
c) Mantua
d) Participants in the Congress of Mantua
e) Crusade against the Turks

[38. "Subjectam esse" / October 1459]

46. **Quamvis non sine magna**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 19 October 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of Duke of Savoy
e) Congress of Mantua
f) Alternative version "*Satisfacit abunde*"

47. **Eruditissime**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 29 October 1459

c) Mantua
d) Gregor Heimburg, ambassador of Duke Wilhelm of Saxony
e) Congress of Mantua

48. **Dilectissime**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 12 November 1459
c) Mantua
d) Gregor Heimburg, ambassador of Archduke Albrecht VI of Austria
e) Congress of Mantua

49. **Multa hic hodie**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 21 November 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of King Charles VII of France
e) Obedience to the pope
f) Alternative version "*Placuit audisse"*

50. **Britones hodie**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 26 November 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of Duke Francois II of Britanny
e) Obedience to the pope

51. **Exposcebat haud dubie**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 1 December 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of Emperor Friedrich III
e) Congress of Mantua

52. **Responsuri**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 12 December 1459
c) Mantua
d) Ambassadors of King Charles VII of France
e) Kingdom of Naples

53. **Advenisse te citius**

a) Oration
b) December 1459
c) Mantua
d) Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg
e) Congress of Mantua

54. **Septimo jam mense**

a) Oration / with prayer
b) 14 January 1460
c) Mantua
d) Participants in the Congress of Mantua
e) Congress of Mantua
f) Alternative version "*Octavum hic agimus"*

55. **Messis quidem**

a) Oration
b) 5 March 1460
c) Siena
d) College of Cardinals
e) Appointment of new cardinals

56. **Quamvis non dubitamus**

a) Oration
b) 8 March 1460
c) Siena
d) College of Cardinals
e) Appointment of new cardinals

57. **Vocati estis**

a) Oration
b) 8 March 1460
c) Siena
d) College of Cardinals
e) Appointment of new cardinals
f) Alternative version "*Maxima*"

58. **De regno Siciliae**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) May 1460
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King René d'Anjou
e) Kingdom of Naples

59. **Claritudo sanguinis**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 1460
c) Siena
d) Ambassadors of King Enrique IV of Castile
e) Crusade against the Turks

60. **Flentem et admodum dolentem**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 1 October 1460
c) Viterbo
d) Representatives of the Romans
e) Pius II's wars

61. **Ingentes vobis quirites**

a) Oration
b) 6 October 1460
c) Rome
d) Representatives of the Romans
e) Pius II's wars

f) Alternative version "*Fatemur quirites*"

62. **Catherinam Senensem**

a) Oration
b) 2 June 1461
c) Rome
d) Attendants at the canonization of Catherine of Siena
e) Catherine of Siena

63. **Pone lacrimas**

a) Oration / Response
b) 16 October 1461
c) Rome
d) Queen Carlotta of Cyprus
e) Cyprus

64. **Existimatis fortasse**

a) Oration
b) 1 March 1462
c) Rome
d) Cardinals
e) Crusade against the Turks

65. **Per me reges regnant**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 16 March 1462
c) Rome
d) Ambassadors of King Louis IX of France
e) Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

66. **Superioribus diebus**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 31 March 1462
c) Rome
d) Ambassadors of King Georg Podiebrad of Bohemia

e) Bohemian practice of communion under both species

67. **Advenisti tandem**

a) Oration / With prayer
b) 12 April 1462
c) Rome
d) Attendants at the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew
e) Saint Andrew

68. **Si loqui possent**

a) Oration / With prayer
b) 13 April 1462
c) Rome
d) Attendants at the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew
e) Saint Andrew

69. **Munera quae attulistis**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) July 1462
c) Abbadia
c) Ambassadors of Siena
d) Sienese politics

70. **Quaecumque rogat**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
e) October 1462
c) Petriolo
f) Ambassador of Venice
g) Sigismondo Malatesta

71. **Habemus fidem**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) November 1462
c) Rome

d) Ambassadors of King Stefan Tomašević of Bosnia
e) Situation of Bosnia

72. **Senatu intercedente**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) May 1463
c) Roma
c) Bernardo Giustinian, Ambassador of Venice
d) Salt mines of Cervia

[78. Ecce, ecce / August 1463]

73. **Expectatis**

a) Oration
b) 19 September 1463
c) Rome
c) Representatives of the Italian powers
d) Burgundy's participation in the crusade against the Turks

74. **Si essemus ipsi**

a) Oration / Response to ambassadors
b) 22 September 1463
c) Roma
d) Otto Niccolini, ambassador of Florence
e) Venice's participation in the crusade against the Turks

75. **Sextus agitur annus**

a) Oration
b) 23 September 1463
c) Roma
d) College of Cardinals
f) Crusade against the Turks

76. **Suscepturi**

a) Oration / With prayer

b) 18 June 1464
c) Roma
d) Attendants at the pope's departure for the crusade against the Turks
e) Crusade against the Turks

77. **Ecce, ecce**

a) Oration
b) August 1463
c) Roma
d) Cardinals in consistory
e) Venice's participation in the crusade against the Turks

78. **Verba tua**

a) Oration
b) 21 May 1454
c) Regensburg
d) Participants in imperial diet
e) Crusade against the Turks
f) Published as part of Piccolomini's *Historia de dieta Ratisponensi*

79. **Mirabitur fortassis**

a) Oration
b) September 1459
c) Mantua
d) Participants in Congress of Mantua
e) Congress of Mantua
f) Previously unknown oration

80. **Grave illis**

a) Oration / Reponse to orators
b) 21 September 1459
c) Mantua
d) Participants in Congress of Mantua
e) Thanks to Duke of Milan

Pius' judgment against Sigismondo Malatesta in Rome 1460[1] has not been included in the present list of orations, since the formal pronouncement of a judgment would seem not to fall into the category of orations, but in several ways the judgment actually functions as an oration.

2.3. Lost orations

During his life, Pius II gave a great many speeches, of which those extant today possibly only form a minor part, even though they include the more important ones. So, a large part of Pius' orations are lost today. There may be various reasons for the losses: a general one was negligence, as Campano said: *earum [orationum] magna pars exceptorum negligentia periit.*[2] In some cases the written versions somehow got lost during Pius' many travels. In other cases, he may have suppressed the orations on purpose since they conflicted with his later convictions and position, like some orations against Pope Eugenius IV which he may have held at the Council of Basel. In other cases, an oration may have been more or less improvised without time for a subsequent written edition. And finally, some orations may have been insignificant protocolary addresses, e.g. to ambassadors arriving at the imperial court, not deemed of sufficient interest to be kept.

Orations know to have been lost are the following:

- Two orations from the 1430's against Pope Eugenius II, mentioned by Francesco Filelfo in a letter to Piccolomini from 1434 to 1436.[3]

- An oration to the ducal senate in Milan on the appointment of a rector of the University of Pavia in 1433 or 1434.[4]

- An oration to the Venetian government from December 1446, defending the emperor against complaints from the Governor of Hungary, Janos Junyadi, that the emperor would not release the boy-king Ladislaus of Hungary from his wardship: *Vincent, a Hungarian and envoy of John the Voiwode, who had come to Venice, was there. He accused your majesty and commended his lord to the Venetians. We visited the Venetian senate. We expounded*

[1] Extant in BAV / Chis. J.V.175, pars II, ff. 72r-80r
[2] Campano: *Vita* (Zimolo), p. 77; Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 134
[3] Letter from Francesco Filelfo to Piccolomini of III Kal. martias 1936: Epistolarium, p. 47: *Tuas autem duas orationes in Eugenium pontificem maximum lectitaui quam accuratissme, quarum elegantiam probo, sed argumentum ipsum non laudo.* Piccolomini had not actually delivered these two orations, since his first oration delivered at the Council was the *"Audivi"* [1], see above
[4] CO, I, 4 (Meserve, I, p. 13): *Aeneas took up the case of the Novarese and made so powerful a speech that the post was taken away from the Milanese and given to the man from Novara.* See also Voigt: *Papst,* I, 4, pp. 79-80

the status of the case that was pending between you and the Hungarians, and strove to make apparent your innocence and the injuries done to you by the Hungarians. To those whom we knew not to be friends or whom we held suspect, we should not show ourselves to be poor, lest they should rejoice in our misfortunes and insult us, but it was necessary for us to show confidence and to have a clear mind. This we did abundantly. For that reason, the doge of Venice, who was accustomed to speak for all, said he condemned the deeds of the Hungarians, and that he did not doubt that your royal majesty would end these reversals with your honor intact.[1]

- Piccolomini's second oration in Rome, 1447, in a public consistory, on the German obedience to the pope.[2]

- Piccolomini's second oration in 1447 to the people of Milan on the devolution of Milan to the Empire[3]

- Piccolomini´s oration for Leonora of Portugal when she met her spouse, the emperor, for the first time Siena in March 1452.[4]

- Orations Piccolomini held on behalf of the emperor, at the imperial coronation in Rome, at the coronation with the Lombard Crown, at the imperial wedding ceremony, and at the imperial coronation.[5]

- Piccolomini' oration of thanks on behalf of the emperor to the pope and the cardinals after the coronation, after the emperor's return from Naples: *When the emperor returned and appeared again before the pope and the college of cardinals, Aeneas delivered two speeches in his name before a public audience. In one he thanked the pope and cardinals for the considerable favors they had granted the emperor; in the other he implored the*

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[1] Letter report of Piccolomini to the emperor on embassy to Rome in 1447, in: Reject, pp. 243-244

[2] Letter report of Piccolomini to the emperor on embassy to Rome in 1447: *Tum Eneas brevem ex tempore oratiunculam habit, nec tempus longiorem ferebat* (WO, II, p. 247)

[3] The oration is summarized in CO, I, 9 (Meserve, I, pp. 86-89)

[4] HA, I, p. 155: *Eneas imperatricis vice verbum faciens imperatricem gravi maris navigatione vexatam iam laboris omnis oblitam esse, quando sponsum et dominum suum incolumen letumque videret; quem, cum non visum amavisset, nunc magis ac magis arderet; dedisse se sibi, esse suam, venisse ad eius imperium; quo animo in se erit, inventurum eum; cupere, se ut reciproce amet comendatamque habeat, sibi se corpus animamque dedisse;* II, p. 582: *Ad ea Aeneas pauca imperatricis vice respondit. Leonoram gravi maris navigatione vexatam, iam laboris omnis oblitam esse quando sponsum et dominum suum incolumen laetumque cerneret, quem, cum non visum antea dilexisset, nunc magis ac magis amaret. Venisse ad eius imperium, inventurum experiundo caesarem, quo animo in se fuerit; nihil aliud eam petere, nisi ut mutuo ametur. Caesari dedisse se suum corpus et animum*

[5] CO, I, 23 (Meserve, I, p. 117)

pope to proclaim and prepare a crusade against the enemies of Christendom …[1] [the second oration is the "*Moyses vir Dei" [9]*]

- Piccolomini's two orations during the emperor´s second visit to Florence on his way back to Austria, on 5 and 6 May 1452. In the *Priorista,* Rinaldo Rinaldi wrote about the event: *Venerdi, a dì 5 di Maggio, entrò in Firenze per la porta a San Piero Ghattolini el serenissimo Imperadore, e incontro gli andò el signore arciveschovo di Firenze … e poi la Signoria et lor Collegi, et tutti gli ufici della terra ogniunio a suo loco; et giunto nell'antiporto, molte parole vi s'usorono: per la Signoria disse misser Carlo d'Arezzo, et per lo Imperadore rispuose il veschovo di Siena. … Sabato mattina, a dì 6, la Signoria co' Dieci delle Balya andorono a vicitare la maestà delle Imperio. El dicitore fu misser Carlo d'Arezzo, con quelle grate et buone et belle parole come si conveniva a uno sì fatto prencipe… et rincominciò a parlare il detto veschovo di Siena alla Signoria et à Dieci della Balya che llo Imperadore gli preghava che dovessino piacergli rendere et chavar di prigioine el signore Lodevicho da Marradi ch'era istato nelle Stinche ben 28 anni et uno abate de' Bardi et molto lo strinsse così dovessin fare. Fu risposto per misser Carlo d'Arezzo che lla Signoria era bene disposta ma che no llo potevano fare soli.. A dì detto [6 May] misser Giannozzo Manetti … tornò in Firenze.*[2] [3] [4] [5]

- Piccolomini's oration at the investment of Borso d'Este as Duke of Modena on 18 May 1452: *The new duke was publicly invested with the insignia of his rank, according to tradition. Afterwards it fell to Aeneas to deliver an oration on the graciousness of the emperor, the glories of the house of Este, the ability of Borso, and the exalted rank conferred upon him.*[6]

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[1] CO, I, 24 (Meserve. I, p. 119-121)

[2] Petriboni & Rinaldi: *Priorista*, pp. 362-363

[3] Lazzaroni, p. 391: *Entrò* [the emperor] *in Firenze il 5 Maggio per la stessa porta Gattolini, per la quale circa tre mesi prima ne era uscito. Fu ancora il Marsuppini a porgergli il salute per la parte della Signoria, e fu ancora il Piccolomini a ringraziarlo a nome dell'imperatore*]

[4] Wittschier, p. 113: *… sieht es doch nicht so aus, als sei eine dieser beiden improvisierten Reden schriftlich niedergelegt worden*

[5] HA, I, 650: *Ea Carolus Aretinus civitatis cancellarius ornatissime pronuntiavit vir sui temporis Latinae Graecaeque linguae peritissimus, cui et orationem solutam et carmen facere iuxta erat*. Here, Piccolomini does not mention the his own oration

[6] CO, I, 24 (Meserve, I, p. 123)**.** See also HA, I, p. 198: *In sublimi tribunal de laudibus domus Extensis deque dignitate nova meritisque plurimis Borsii Eneas episcopus Senensis, uti cesar iussit, vulgari sermone verba fecit*; HA, II, p. 656: *… de laudibus domus Estensis deque nova digntitate atque summis Borsii meritis Aeneas episcopus iubente caesare Italicis verbis et vulgo notis sermonem fecit.* See also Voigt: *Papst,* II, 60. Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 152, n. 82, erroneously identifies this oration with the text in MA, III, pp. 120-141, which is a highly censorious letter from Pope Pius II to Duke Borso d'Este

- Piccolomini's oration on behalf of the emperor on 5 May 1452 to the senate and doge of Venice[1]: *And when they got to Venice, no one but Aeneas was delegated to speak for the emperor on important matters before the senate and the doge.*[2] It is not clear whether Pius is here referring to formal orations or to negotiations, but it is likely that there would have been at least one formal oration at the arrival.

- Piccolomini's two orations on behalf of the emperor to the Hungarian ambassadors and one oration to the Bohemian ambassadors come to Vienna to discuss peace after the Austrian rebellion: *While there, he spoke on behalf of the emperor, twice before the nobles of Hungary who had assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and once before the Bohemians.*[3]

- Piccolomini´s oration on behalf of the emperor to the ambassadors of King Ladislaus come to negotiate peace, 1453, in Wiener Neustadt, as mentioned in the *Commentarii*: *Post haec cum legati Ladislai regis ad tractandam pacem, de qua Viennae desperatum erat, ad Federicum caesarem venissent, Aeneas his publice respondit.*[4]

- Piccolomini's oration to the emperor and his council, in summer 1453, on the Fall of Constantinople: *Ego quidem iam cesari non clanculum, sed in publico consilio de hac ipsa re non pauca verba feci. inveni mentem eius et volentem at apprime ardentem. sane multi ex senatoribus, qui aderant, dum me hortantem cesaremque respondentem audiverint, uberes lacrimas emiserunt.* [5]

- Piccolomini's oration on behalf of the emperor, held on 24 or 27 or 28 December 1453, in reply to an oration by the papal legate, Giovanni Castiglione: *Cum legati Romani presulis Nicolai quinti superioribus diebus Federicum tertium imperatorem accessissent eumque longa oratione adversus impios Turchos exercitium cogere et arma sumere adhortati essent commisissetque mihi sublimitas imperatoria sequenti die suo nomine et in eius presentia respondere.*[6] Castiglione's oration was the "*Si liceat flere",* and Piccolomini's oration in reply began with the words "*Oratio vestra"*, of which only the beginning is extant.[7]

- Piccolomini's oration on behalf of the emperor to the Venetian Senate and Doge in 1455: *There, although Doge Francesco Foscari, a most persuasive and imposing speaker, argued*

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[1] The emperor's party arrived in Venice on 21 May 1452
[2] CO, I, 24 (Meserve, I, p. 123): *At neque Venetias postquam ventum est, de rebus magnis apud senatum ducemque gentis alius quam Aeneas ex imperio caesaris loquendi provinciam accepit*
[3] CO, I, 25 (Meserve, I, pp.123)
[4] CO, I, 25 (Meserve, I, pp.125)
[5] Letter to Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues of 21 July / 10 August 1453. In: WO, III, I, p. 214
[6] Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, pp. xviii-xix, 6-7
[7] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten,* 19/1, pp. 50-55; See also Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 63

against the emperor's case, Aeneas nevertheless persuaded the senators to rescind their decree, which has forbidden the people of Pordenone to have any contact with Venetian.[1]

- Pius II's responses to the speeches of a number of Italian embassies known to have come to congratulate him on his election as pope, to present the obedience of their masters, to participate in the Congress of Mantua, or to represent their master on some diplomatic errand – and to which Pius would certainly have given a reply, e.g.
    - Pius' response to the ambassador of Milan, Tommaso Otto da Rieti (4 October 1458, Rome)[2]
    - Pius' response to the oration "*Scio, pater beatissime"*[3] (6 October 1458, Rome) of the ambassador of Milan, Lodrisio Crivelli[4]
    - Pius' response to the oration "*Inclyti ac magnificentissimi"*[5] *(*10 October 1458, Rome), of the ambassador of Florence, Antonino Pierozzi[6]
    - Pius' response to the oration "*Cum devotissimi"*[7] (December 1458, Rome) of the ambassador of Venice, Bernardo Giustinian[8]
    - Pius' response to the oration[9] for Bologna of Bornio da Sala (10 May 1459, Bologna)[10]
    - Pius' response to the oration of Jeronimo da Castello for the Duke of Modena at Pius' arrival in Ferrara (17 May 1459)[11]
    - Pius' response to the oration of Guarino Veronese (May 1459, Ferrara), mentioned in the Commentarii: *Guarrinus Veronensis … pontificem adiit dignamque suo nomine suisque moribus orationem habuit.*[12]

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[1] CO, I, 29 (Meserve, I, p. 145)
[2] Smith: *Lodrisio,* p. 35; Crivelli, p. 117
[3] Text in vol. 12 of present edition
[4] Smith: *Lodrisio,* p. 35; Crivelli, p. 117
[5] Text in vol 12 of present edition
[6] D'Addario
[7] Text in vol 12 of present edition
[8] Pistilli
[9] Summary of Bornio's oration and a very brief summary of Pius' response in CO, I, 37 (Meserve, I, pp. 162-163)
[10] Ballistreri
[11] Muratori, XXIV, col. 198, 205. Quoted in Burckhardt (1928), p. 213
[12] CO, II, 41 (Meserve, I, p. 364). Guarino apparently held the oration in a private capacity, and it is possible that Pius would not have given a formal response, but only some cordial remarks to a venerable humanist colleague

- Pius' response to the oration "*Antea maxime pontifex"* (14 August 1459, Mantua) of the ambassador of Burgundy, Jean Jouffroy (Burgundy)[1]

- Pius II's oration of welcome to the Bohemian ambassadors in March 1462.[2]

2.4. Erroneously attributed orations

A number of orations have – in some manuscripts - been erroneously attributed to Pius II[3]:

- *Oracio Pii Secundi contra pestilenciam.* In the manuscript: Augsburg / Staats- und Stadtbibliothek / 8° Cod. 15 / f. 12.

- Oration "*Nihil est"* of Pope Nicolaus V to the ambassadors of King Alfonso V (24 march 1447, Rome). In the manuscript: Firenze / Riccardiana / 913. [The title has Pii II]

- Aeneas Silvius: *Oratio fictitia Hannibalis ad Lucretiam*. In the manuscript: Einsiedeln / Stiftsbibliothek / 327

- The orations held on behalf of Emperor Friedrich on his first visit to Florence, 30.1.-6.2.1452[4]

2.5. Texts erroneously classified as orations

Some of Pius' texts have erroneously been designated as orations:

The letter report of 1447 to the emperor of Piccolomini's mission to Rome in 1447[5] is extant in several manuscripts, sometimes erroneously designated as an oration, as in "Æneae Sylvii oratio de morte Eugenii IV. et creatione Nicolai V."

[1] See Märtl, pp. 343-344. Also CO, III, 1 (Meserve, II, pp. 41-43,) with summary of Pius' response. Also vol. 12 of the present edition

[2] NB: Not the "*Superioribus diebus"*, which was given at the end of the ambassadors' stay in Rome. Summaries of the oration of welcome were given by Pius himself in CO, VII, 15 (Heck, II, p. 458-459), and by Jacopo Ammanati in his *Commentarii,* I, 6, quoted in *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rainaldus), ad ann. 1462, nr. xiv

[3] Sometimes orations of Pius II have erroneously been attributed to others, like the *"Responsuri"* which is attributed to Lorenzo Valla in the ms. Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI 77, ff. 109r-135r

[4] See Appendix 2

[5] A translation of which is published in Reject, pp. 243-273

2.6. Dubia

A case of dubious authorship is the oration *"Cum animadverto"* (1452) of the boy-king Ladislaus Posthumous to Pope Nicolaus V. Though the present editor is convinced – on the basis of internal evidence - that this oration was actually written by Piccolomini, the complete absence of external evidence of Piccolomini´s authorshop made it seem preferable not to publish the text as an individual oration, but only in an appendix to the oration *"Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18].*[1]

2.7. Fictive orations

Piccolomini contributed to the gerne of fictive orations in the classical tradition with the following:

- An oration to be held at a general meeting concerning an imperial expedition to Italy, included in Piccolomini´s *Pentalogus*.[2]

- An oration by Ulrich Eitzinger on the Austrian rebellion against the emperor, 1451, included in the *Historia Austrialis*.[3]

- An oration by Duke Philippe of Burgundy, at the Fete du Faisan, included in Piccolomini's *Historia de dieta Ratisponensi*.[4]

- An oration of King Henry V to his soldiers at the Battle of Agincourt, 1415, written by Piccolomini as pope and included in his *Commentarii.*[5]

[1] In one other case, the oration *"Si ea quae justa" [4],* external evidence of Piccolomini's authorship is missing, but in the light of internal evidence Haller unequivocally identified the oration as written by Piccolomini
[2] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 250)
[3] HA, II, pp. 463-466
[4] WO, III, I, 506-507
[5] CO, VI, 7

3. PRODUCTION

3.1. Improvisation

There are degrees of improvisation. In some cases, the speaker is truly unprepared. In other cases, the speaker expects to be asked to speak (as Piccolomini would at protocolary events involving the emperor) and will to some extent be able to consider his speech beforehand.

3.1.1. Unprepared improvisation

There may in the Renaissance have been some admiration for the gift of improvisation. An example is provided by the Vespasiano da Bisticci, according to whom Giannozzo Manetti was much admired for his being able to make an elegant, completely improvised reply to emperor Friedrich III, during his first vist to Florence in January 1452.[1]

Campano wrote about Pius' speechmaking:

> *Pronuntiabat voce sonora et gravi, verum eodem spiritu semper et crebris intervallis,* ***ut dicere ex tempore et sine cura videretur****.*[2]

But, following Cicero,[3] the humanists did not generally approve of unnecessary improvisation, as shown by Poggio Bracciolini, who, in his Fourth Invective against Lorenzo Valla, put these words into the mouth of Valla, defending himself to Cicero and other orators in Elysium: *Quid mirum – Valla respondit – non probari a vobis orationem ex tempore, nulla praemeditatione, inconsulte atque inconsiderate habitam? An es oblitus, Cicero, ut tute ipse asseris, te numquam nisi praemeditatum ad dicendum accessisse?*[4]

Pius himself did not favour such improvisations - though he was undoubtedly quite capable of them, being naturally eloquent and having perfect mastery of Latin and oral fluency in that language, a fair knowledge of such matters as he might have to improvise on, and a deep familiarity with court protocols and manners.

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[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (Greco, I, pp. 491-492)
[2] Campano: *Vita (*Zimolo, p. 77)
[3] Cicero: *Brutus,* 40.311
[4] Poggio Bracciolini: *Invectiva quarta in Vallam*. In: Bracciolini: *Opera,* II, p. 878

In his *De liberorum educatione* from 1450 he wrote:

> *Unpremeditated speeches of men (to say nothing of boys) are full of shallowness and carelessness, while thoughtful preparation prevents digression. But why speak of boys when the renowned orators, Pericles and Demosthenes, very often refused to address the people because they said that they were unprepared?*[1]

And in his quodlibetal lecture, the "*Aderat nuper" [9],* held at Vienna University on 25 November 1445, he said, with specific reference to quodlibet questions:

> *Indeed, I am not like Cineas, the legate of Pyrrhus, who according to the history books had so extensive a memory that he was able to greet each member of the Senate and the Equestrian Order by name already the day after coming to Rome. So, now I shall only make a reply concerning those three problems which I was able to recall. And I am not ashamed to admit that I was unprepared when these problems were presented, for also Demosthenes, the most outstanding orator of all the Greeks, once when he was asked a question in the Senate and required to give his considered opinion was not ashamed to answer that he had come unprepared. Some men are so eager for glory that they want to reply immediately to any question whatsoever, but such men often find great shame in stead of the glory they seek. For it is not human to be able to answer all questioners well. But the moderation of the present audience is so great that all are given time to reflect. Having used this time, I have now come, ready to answer your questions, excellent magister and shining light of this university, and not just to make a reply, but a satisfactory one.* [Sect. 2]

There were occasions, though rare, when Pius had to improvise an oration.

This happened when the French ambassadors arrived at the Congress of Mantua and were received in a papal consistory on 21 November 1459. It was generally expected that the French would cause a major crisis at the congress by publicly criticizing and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily: he had recognized Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of René d'Anjou who claimed the kingdom as his right. The pope had prepared a response oration, the "*Placuit audisse"* in answer to the expected harsh message from the French king. But to the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, the Bishop of Paris, Guillaume Chartier, gave an oration, the "*Maximum et amplissimum onus"*, which was quite pleasant and did not deal with the Sicilian matter which the French ambassadors preferred to discuss later. The pope then had to improvise another oration than the "*Placuit audisse".* It was afterwards written down – possibly on the basis of secretaries' notes from the meeting itself –

[1] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf, p. 175)

with the incipit "*Multa hic hodie" [49]*. This text bears the clear signs of improvisation and may not have been edited in a final form.
Apparently also Pius' responses to Gregor Heimburg at the same congress, the *"Dilectissime" [48]* and the *"Eruditissime" [47],* and his response to Hippolita Sforsza right before the congress, the *"Habuisti dilecta filia" [42]* were unprepared improvisations.[1]

3.1.2. Prepared improvisation

On other occasions, an oration would be improvised in the sense that it had not been written down beforehand, but still it would have been carefully prepared.

This might happen, for example, when a prince – or a pope – would have to improvise a response to an ambassador: the level of the protocolary function and the importance of the prince's words, which would soon be reported back to the ambassador's master, made careful preparation highly advisable. In his *Pentalogus*, Piccolomini gave the young emperor, Friedrich III, the following advice:

> *Hoc tibi preceptum esse ante volo, ut oratores, cum ad te veniunt, nunquam audias statim, sed eos biduum triduumve moreris. Quod tum illis gratum erit respirandi et se colligendi causa, tum tibi ad id, quod querimus, serviet. Interim ex tuis aliquis illos adeat, alloquatur blande, ostendat se gaudere eorum adventu: mox pedetentim, quid velint, sciscitetur tibique referat. Id cum intellexeris, voca alios ad te viros prudentes doctosque. Dic eis: "Ecce oratores illius principis assunt, hoc querunt, hoc volunt. Cras me adire volunt. Consulite, quid eis respondeam." Dicent ille hoc vel hoc, quod breviter comprehendens facile poteris memorie commendare dareque inde responsum. Secutus est hunc modum Iulianus cardinalis, dum Basilee in concilio presideret*.[2]

When he became pope, Pius undoubtedly followed his own advice to the emperor. On other occasions, too, during his long career as orator, he would have prepared himself for foreseeable cases of oratorical improvisation (e.g. protocolary court functions), either in his mind alone or by

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[1] Platina believed that Piccolomini improvised (*ex tempore*) the *"Audivi" [1]* from 1436, though in fact it was a very well prepared oration, which was even delivered on the basis of notes (or a complete manuscript, se below): *In conventu persaepe oravit, sed illa eius oratio egregia et elegans est habita, quam in eligenda concilii sede Avenioni, Utini et Florentiae Papiam, quae olim Ticinum dicebatur, anteferendam ostendit. … Nec abnuerim eam orationem* ***ex tempore*** *habitam, cum eius vices subire sit iussus, qui a Philippo missus ignoratione bonarum litterarum perturbate et inepte omnia dicere videbatur.* (Zimolo, p. 98)
[2] Piccolomini: Pentalogus (Schingnitz, pp. 72-74)

jotting down a few notes. It is also possible that in some cases he wrote out the introduction and then improvised the rest of the oration, as Giannozzo Manetti once did in the Venetian Senate.[1]

Also before he became pope, Piccolomini had occasion to consider his oration before an improvised delivery, see his report to the emperor on the embassy of obedience to the pope, 1447, where he wrote: *Tum Eneas brevem ex tempore oratiunculam habit, nec tempus longiorem ferebat*.[2]

3.2. Composition

Though complete improvisation would sometimes be necessary, and partial improvisation would sometimes be preferred, especially in the case of routine orations by fluent speakers, the normal practice of composing the text of the oration before delivery is widely attested.

Some examples:

In his life of the celebrated humanist Ambrogio Traversari, Vespasiano da Bisticci reported this episode from Florence:

> *… the bishop [of Elva] now asked the Florentines to hold to their bond, and made an effective public speech which was so subtle that it wanted a clever speaker to answer it. Now the chiefs of the government were anxious to evade their obligation, and they asked the gonfalonier if he was minded to answer the ambassador. He replied in the negative, adding that this charge should be given to Pier Acciaiulo as the most able citizen and an honour to the state. Piero accepted the task and composed his speech. Certain citizens, who were jealous that he should thus be honoured and preferred, went to the gonfalonier and said it was a disgrace that he, in his high position, should be supplanted by one of the Signori … the gonfalonier then told Piero that he would deliver the speech after all, and Piero agreed. The next morning the ambassador attended to receive the reply, which was to be given in the presence of the Assembly, the Signoria and many citizens. The gonfalonier, who was no orator, as soon as he began lost himself and could not say a word. Hereupon Piero, fearing that such an incident might bring disaster, offered to make the reply, but this offer was refused., … By this action Piero's fame*

[1] Maxson: *The lost*, p. 90: *the version of Manetti's speech that survives probably mirrored Manetti's spoken introduction – which was written beforehand – but is only a scaled-down, polished version of the remainder because Manetto spoke from notes without ever having created a written version for those sections*

[2] WO, II, p. 247

rose greatly, for the speech which he had prepared and written out gave clear proof of his abiity.[1]

And another episode, concerning the famed humanist Ambrogio Traversari, is reported by Vespasiano:

When he asked to be allowed to address the assembled Council [of Basel], a public audience was granted to him. At the Council there were many learned men, the greater part of whom had been drawn thither by the fame of this distinguished scholar. When he had come to the middle of his speech, he lost the thread of it. Finding himself in this predicament before so distinguished a gathering, he drew the written speech from his sleeve, found the place where he had erred, corrected himself and finished the oration without further impediment. … He was highly commended for the course he had taken in correcting his speech.[2]

So, he had manifestly written his oration before delivery, and had no qualms about showing the written text to his audience.

A similar mishap occurred when Johann Hinderbach on behalf of the emperor delivered the oration of obedience to Pius II on 14 April 1459. During the delivery he became so flustered that he completely lost the thread and was unable to continue even though the pope asked him to use the written text which a secretary behind him was holding (see below, sect. 7.7.3).

In his *Tractatus de funeribus,* the papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis (1470-1528), mentioned *that he had been forced at times to postpone funeral liturgies because the orator had been notified too late and was unprepared to speak at the appointed time.*[3] And later in the same text, he wrote that

Pietro del Monte and Giordano Orsini were apparently asked to prepare orations for the funeral obsequies of Calixtus III in 1456, when it appeared that the aged and ailing pope would die. However, Calixtus regained his health and outlived del Monte.[4]

On the subject of ambassadors' orations to the popes, de Grassis also, as he says in his *De Oratoribus Romanae Curiae,*

extended to eight to ten days the period between entry and public consistory, facilitating a degree of preparation that shorter notice precluded. He listed a string of tasks for envoys to

[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 275-276)
[2] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 209-210)
[3] McManamon: *Funeral,* p. 26
[4] McManamon;: *Funeral,* p. 176, n. 80

complete prior to their audience. They should send a copy of their oration to the papal secretary in advance so that the pope could prepare his response and the secretary make any necessary corrections."[1]

De Grassis also stipulated that

credentials in the vernacular should be sent in advance for translation into Latin, and the ceremonialists should listen to a run-through of the proposed oration, the better to advise on its style and on the tone of voice suited to the room (though not on the art of oratory)."[2]

And in a letter of 6 August 1436, Piccolomini himself expressed his admiration for a Sienese ambassador to the Council of Basel who had only one night to fundamentally revise a speech prepared beforehand, because circumstances had changed:

Est enim in illo uiro gratia, siue hec a diis data sunt seu fortuna hec hominibus contingunt, ut facile multitudinis animos ad sese alliciat faciatque mirum in modum attentos et beniuolos auditores et, quod est precipua dignum admiratione, orationem habuit in concilio minime premeditatam, elegantem et perpolitam adeo, ut stupore affecit quicumque audierint circumstantes. ego quoque permultum admiratus fui, qui sciebam ipsum solum noctem habuisse unam ad cogitandum que dicturus erat; nam quod se dicturum ab initio destinaverat pretermittere oportuit. reperit enim aliter se res habere quam ipse precogitasset …[3]

As for Pius, Voigt wrote that "*wir zweifeln nicht, dass Pius in den meisten Fällen seine Reden vorher ausarbeitete, schmückte und feilte."*[4]

In some cases, Pius himself directly states that he wrote the oration before delivery.

In the case of the *"Audivi" [1] (*1436), he said in the oration itself:

I often think on this matter[5] *and, reflecting on the judgments of many others, I considered that it would be useful to write on it and, breaking my long silence, through careful examination determine a place that is safer and better and where you may all go without discord. I have therefore written about the matter of choosing a venue, as much as it has seemed needful to me. Therefore, if it pleases you and is agreable to hear what is to your own advantage, then*

[1] Fletcher: *Diplomacy*, p. 66
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Epistolarium, pp. 50-51
[4] Voigt: *Papst*, III, 7, p. 274
[5] The venue for the Union Council with the Greeks

allow me to read to you what I have written and which may provide everybody with a better basis for discussion. [Sect. 92]

And later, in the *Commentarii,* he wrote about the *"Audivi" [1]:*

Aeneas was moved by the humiliation of this noble city [Pavia] and its prince [Filippo Maria Visconti], and that very night he composed a speech. Next day he went into the Council, where Giuliano, the papal legate, used his influence to get him permission to speak. For two hours he declaimed before a most attentive and admiring audience.[1]

In 1447, Piccolomini's draft of the oration to be delivered to Pope Eugenius IV, the *"Non habet me dubium" [11]*, was extensively discussed in the group of envoys, as Piccolomini told the emperor in his letter report of the mission:

We gathered the next day at San Lorenzo in Damaso. … The oration which Aeneas had drafted was reviewed. It pleased all. Nothing in it was changed, except that "suspension of allegiance" should be used whenever "neutrality" was *mentioned.*[2]

It is also clear that in the cases where others had to deliver a translation of Piccolomini's orations to German (and in one instance a Czech audience), which was done after, and not section by section during Piccolomini's discourse, the translator would have had to have access to Piccolomini's text before delivery, see below.

As pope, Pius would sometimes not be able to hold the oration in reply to ambassadors drafted in advance, but have to improvise another oration, as happened with the orations *"Quamvis non sine magna" [46]* (1459) and *"Multa hic hodie" [49]* (1459) (see above). The drafts were nonetheless included in the Collection of Pius II's responses (1460) and thus prove that they were written before the event.

And finally must be mentioned the famous oration "*Existimatis fortasse" [64]* from 1 March 1462, in which Pius relaunched his crusade-project, dormant since the failed Congress of Mantua more than two years before. Not only is Pius' early draft of the oration extant in a chancery copy, but it is even written by himself (manu propria).[3]

In conclusion, Piccolomini/Pius usually wrote preliminary versions of his own orations before delivery.

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[1] CO, I, 3 (Meserve, I, p. 33)
[2] Piccolomini's letter-report to the emperor on his mission to Rome in 1447 (Reject, p. 247)
[3] The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VII.251 / ff. 255r-258r

3.3. Revision

It is well-known that humanists generally revised the texts of their letters and orations – and other writings - before publication.[1] This poses, of course, a problem for historians who cannot know exactly what an orator, for example a diplomatic envoy, told a certain prince and audience at a certain time.[2] [3] But to the humanists, though the oratorical occasion in itself may have been quite interesting and important, the oration – like letters - was above all a literary genre, and as all their literary products their orations were revised and polished before publication.

Two letters of the Dutch humanist, Rudolph Agricola (ca. 1443-1485), document this practice:

- *Oratio tua apud me in sceda, qualem dixi, extat; eam emendatam aliquando tibi mittam, gratumque est mihi, quod non attigerim hactenus ipsam: forte aliquanto nunc copiosior meliorque exibit e manibus.*

  (Your speech I still have with me in draft form, as I delivered it; I will send it to you some day in a revised version. I am grateful that I have not touched it yet: perhaps it will now leave my hands in a rather more eloquent and better form.)[4]

- *Oratiunculam, quam Wormatiae in conventu sacerdotum dixi superioribus diebus, eam doctissimo viro domino Thomae Wolfo misissem, verum nondum uacauit mihi, ut eam recognoscerem et exscriberem. Dabo operam ut quam primum repurgatam eam perferendam ad illum curem.*

  (The little speech that I held in Worms at the meeting of priests a few days ago I would have sent to the very learned Mr. Thomas Wolf. But I have not yet had the time to revise and copy it. I will try to have a clean copy delivered to him as soon as possible.)[5]

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[1] E.g. Bernardo Giustinian, cf. Labalme, p. 134: *The very fact that Bernardo later considered his orations worthy of emending and polishing … shows that he was proud of them as works of rhetorical art, and it is as such that they were preserved.* Also Bernardo's father, Leonardo, another humanist and orator, polished his orations when he had the leisure to do it: *orationes ad quas emendandas expoliandasque quo plus ocii nactus fuit, eo etiam in suo genere elegantiores extitere* (Labalme, p. 134, n. 27, p. 257)

[2] Maxson: *The lost*, p. 84: *the differences between preserved copies of historical speeches and their original spoken performances have eluded full understanding by historians of the Renaissance. The assumption has typically been that written and oral versions of speeches were similar*

[3] Labalme, p. 134: *The merit of such orations [diplomatic orations] as historical sources, however, has been seriously doubted. The significance of political oratory in the fifteenth oratory is easily obscured, partly by the loss of the original vernacular orations, partly by the verbiage of the prepared or transcribed Latin speeches*

[4] Agricola: *Epistolae* (Laan/Akkerman), ep. 13, p. 97

[5] Agricola: *Epistolae* (Laan/Akkerman), ep. 40, p. 224

About the same time, in 1475, Alamanno Rinuccini only had two days to prepare the funeral oration for Matteo Palmieri. The version he published eventually was clearly more polished that the one he was able at write at such short notice.[1] And it is known that Gasparino Barzizza and Bernardo Giustinian polished their orations before circulating them.[2]

And in the case of oration of Gianozzo Manetti in 1448, Maxson has been able to show that the final published Latin version was greatly different from the spoken, Italian one.[3]

Like his fellow-humanists, Piccolomini generally revised the texts of his orations before publication.[4] In several cases a single oration went through at least two subsequent revisions.

The revisions might be made immediately after delivery, so as to integrate ideas and improvements occurring to him in connection with the delivery of the oration, combined with a final polishing of the text. Or it could occur later, possibly in connection with requests for copies of an oration, or just because he liked from time to time to go over his past texts and refine and polish them further.

In connection with the compilation of his collected orations in 1462, the orations included in the collection were systematically revised.

The texts of the orations included in the compilation of 1462 would mainly have been available as drafts and copies in Pius' personal archives. It may safely be assumed that Pius himself played an active role in the process of revision. The revision was primarily aimed at two aspects: style and developments after the original speech was given. As far as style is concerned, the editing of the orations would aim at achieving that more refined, classical style which the humanists were developing at the time.

Other types of changes in the text would aim at correcting factual errors or viewpoints which had changed over time and were not befitting a pope in general, or Pius II himself.

An instance of such a correction concerns the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1436). The Chisianus J.VIII.284, which is presumed to be the oldest of the seven extant manuscripts containing the collection and

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[1] McManamon: *Funeral*, p. 27

[2] McManamon: *Funeral*, p. 176, n. 85

[3] Maxson: *The lost*, p. 90: *The unusual abundance of documentation for a speech delivered by Giannozzo Manetti in 1448 allows historians to peek past the preserved Latin version of the speech and catch glimpses of the original Italian spoken performance … the version of Manetti's speech that survives probably mirrored Manetti's spoken introduction – which was written beforehand – but is only a scaled-down, polished version of the remainder because Manetto spoke from notes without ever having created a written version for those sections*

[4] Nowak, p. 162: … *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, der seine Reden sogar im Nachhinein noch mehrfach redigierte, bevor er sie an Bekannte zu verschicken began ….;* p. 183

to have been produced under the direct supervision of Pius himself, states that the Turks are the *troianae ruinae* ***occultores*** [sect. 21]. The almost contemporary manuscript Vaticanus Latinus 1788 has *troianae ruinae* ***ultores*** as does the somewhat later Chisianus J.VIII.286, while the two most recent manuscripts examined, the Chisianus J.VI.211 and Lucca Bibl. Cap. 544 have *troianae ruinae* **cultores**. These variants do not seem to be due to scribal errors, but to intentional editing of the text. Both ***occultores*** and ***cultores*** *ruinae trojanae* seem somewhat strange, whereas ***ultores*** *ruinae trojanae* is a well-known Renaissance topos connected with the Turks. As, in 1436, Piccolomini still thought that the Turks were descended from or otherwise related to the Trojans, he might quite naturally have used the term ***ultores*** *ruinae trojanae* about the Turks. However, this term with its implications of Turkish closeness to the Trojans became quite unacceptable to him when he later read Aethicus and Otto von Freising and - under the impression of the Turkish expansion into Europe and the fall of Constantinople - developed the conception of the Turks as a barbaric people descending from those proto-barbarians, the Scythians. And when, as pope, he made this thesis central to his campaign for a crusade against the Turks, it became rather difficult for him to publish an edition of his orations where, in his very first oration, he called the Turks the avengers (*ultores*) of Troy. So, it may reasonably be hypothesized that he had ***occ-*** added to ***ultores***, making the Turks the ***occultores*** instead of the ***ultore****s* of the destruction of Troy, meaning more or less that they would hide or cover up that destruction. In the Vaticanus Latinus 1788, belonging to the humanist cardinal Ammannati, the ***occultores*** was changed back to ***ultores***, and later again, in the copy belonging to the pope's nephew, the Chisianus J.VI.211, the ***occultores*** was changed to ***cultores***, a less intrusive change, subtly indicating that the Turks relation to the Troans was just a geographical one.

In some cases, the revision of an oration is proven by passages in the text which could not very likely have been part of the preliminary version written before delivery.

One such case is the tears of Johann Grünwalder, mentioned in the introduction to the *"Si putarem" [5]* (1444) on the appointment of a bishop to the See of Freising, which occasioned a whole new introduction to the oration:

> *Most glorious Emperor, if I thought that you put tears and crying above justice, I would now beat my breast with my fists and scratch my face with crooked nails; I would would be crying and sobbing; and, prostrate before you, I would be wailing and sighing in order to make you look favourably upon the cause of my brother. But I know your integrity, your steadfastness, your seriousness, and your piety. I know that you prefer nothing to justice, truth, and reason. Therefore, omitting the tears that become women more than men, I shall defend the cause of my absent brother not with tears, but with truth. For according to Ennius,*
>
> *The mob has one advantage o'er its king:*
> *For it may weep while tears for him are shame.*

If a king may not weep, neither may a bishop, adds Jerome. Therefore, I marvel greatly at our opponent [Johann Grünwald] crying before your throne as a weak little woman. It is customary, indeed, for defendants who cannot defend themselves in other ways to seek mercy through tears. However, as Cicero says, judges should be like the laws and not consider tearful eyes, but the harmony between words and deeds. This is what I believe that you, Caesar, will do in the present trial concerning the See of Freising: you will not consider teary faces, but just words. [Sect. 2]

A second example is Pius' own outcry at the end of his oration "*Cum bellum hodie" [45],* when he opened the deliberations of the Congress in Mantua on 26 September 1459:

Oh, if only Godefroi was here now, and Baudouin, and Eustace, and Hugues the Great, Bohemund, Tancred, and the other mighty men who in former times passed through the armies of the Turks and regained Jerusalem with arms. They would not let Us speak so many words, but rising up they would shout, loudly and enthusiastically: "God wills it! God wills it," as they did once, before Urbanus II, our predecessor. But you are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations. [Sect. 42]

Pius, evidently, hoped for a positive reaction to his speech from the audience, and even if he might have had his doubts beforehand, he would not likely have written a passage about its absence of reaction into the draft text. It was presumably added during the revision after delivery.[1]

In one instance, a passage was revised due to a later occurring event. In the oration *"Constantinpolitana clades" [22],* Pius had told the Germans, in the version delivered in 1454:

Of foreign peoples only the Bohemians are now living in your country, a mighty and noble people. But they themselves claim to obey your empire, and they have a king of your own blood, the most noble Ladislaus. [Early Version, Sect. 32][2]

However, Ladislaus died three years afterwards, and in the final version of the text, included in the collection of orations from 1462, this passage was therefore altered to:

Of foreign peoples only the Bohemians are now living in your country, but according to their own history books they took over lands that had not been settled yet, and they did not expel any Germans. [Final Version, Sect. 32]

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[1] Housley, p. 219, considers, however, that this passage was part of the oration as drafted and delivered: *This of course was rhetorical sleight of hand, given that a set-piece oration was not intended to arouse an audience*

[2] *Soli ex alienis in vestro solo Bohemi sedent, potentissimi et nobilissimi populi. Sed et illi vestro imperio parere se ajunt, regemque habent vestri sanguinis, nobilissimum Ladislaum*

The orations Pius held after the middle of 1462, when the compilation of the papal collection of his orations was finished, were mostly included instead in the *Commentarii* composed from 1462 to 1464 (only a couple were included in later versions of the papal compilation of orations). There is evidence that at least some of these orations were heavily revised, to fit wthe image of his pontificate which Pius intended to leave for posterity in the *Commentarii.*

4. DELIVERY

The delivery of a written oration could be scripted (based on notes or a complete manuscript), memorized (delivered from memory), or translated (with translation following the Latin delivery).

4.1. Scripted delivery

On at least one occasion Giannozzo Manetti, writes Maxson, *like other orators spoke from notes rather than reciting a memorized speech. Palla Novello Strozzi in Florence, for example, has left reworked notes to his speeches that suggest he hammered out the exact language of his exordium beforehand, while devoting less attention to the remainder of his speech, in which he would presumably read his commission from Florence or extemporise based on its content.*[1]

From Bruneti's notarial account of the Council of Basel and from Juan de Segovia's history of that Council, it is evident that a number of speakers spoke on the basis of a manuscript, either reading the whole written speech from the manuscript, or speaking on the basis of an extensive synopsis with notes.

Bruneti habitually used the terms "narrare" or "relationem ferre" for people speaking to the council fathers, probably meaning that they spoke directly. In the following instances, concerning the choice of venue for the Union Council with the Greeks, he carefully stated that the speaker read from notes (*legit ex scriptis*), probably meaning that they read from a manuscript:

> [3 November 1436] *Magister Ysidorus de Rosate* ***legit in scriptis*** *commoditates locorum subiectorum illustrissimo domino duci Mediolani pro concilio future Grecorum.*[2]
>
> [5 November 1436] *Dominus Albiganensis narravit, quod ad ipsius noticiam pervenerit, quod nonnulli patres de concilio male contentabantur de nonnullis in quodam quaterno per dominum Ysidorum* ***pridie lecto*** *pro commoditatibus patriae subiectae …*[3]
>
> [5 November 1436] *Dominus Raymundus Taloni* ***in scriptis legit*** *commoditates civitatis Avinionensis.*[4]

[1] Maxson: *Lost*, p. 90
[2] Bruneti, p. 320
[3] Bruneti, p. 321
[4] Bruneti, p. 223

[9 November 1436] *Dominus Symon de Valle* ***inscriptis*** *nomine dominorum Venetorum* ***continuavit*** *commoditates Veneciarum.*[1]

Concerning Piccolomini himself, delivering the oration "*Audivi" [1]*, Bruneti noted:

[16 November 1436] *Dominus Eneas de Senis* ***in scriptis narravit*** *fere per horam cum dimidia commoditates civitatis Papiensis in future concilio Grecorum, rationes et motiva aperiendo.*[2]

Here, Bruneti uses the term "in sciptis narrare", not "in scriptis legere" as in the preceeding examples. Possibly he meant that Piccolomini had a manuscript before him on the basis of which he spoke, but not reading directly from it.

About the same events, Juan de Segovia has the following passages:

[31 October 1436] *Simon de Valle orator concilii* ***scripto recitavit*** *XXV. raciones ad commendacionem loci predicti …*[3]

[3 November 1436] ***Legens*** *vero [Ysidorus]* ***per quaternum*** *multas allegabat raciones … unde et cessavit* ***lectura*** *illius capituli papam tangentis …*[4]

[6 November 1436] *Post cuius dicta Raymundus Taloni cepit scripto legere commoditates ciuitatis Auinionensis …*[5]

Concerning the intervention of Piccolomini on 16 November, Juan de Segovia wrote as follows, stressing the formal character of an oration, but not mentioning the form of delivery:

Siquidem in concione ordinaria patrum XVIa die currentis Novembris Eneas Silvius Senensis oracione studiosa allocucione composita, in eius expressione moratus fere trium horarum spacio, cum laudes et commendaciones fecisset de loco Papiensi ad celebracionem oblato per ducem Mediolani, huius magnificencia velut supra cunctos principes abundancius exaltata, die altero posito avisamento … [6] [7]

[1] Bruneti, p. 325
[2] Bruneti, p. 334
[3] Juan de Segovia, IX, 22, vol. 2, p. 910
[4] Juan de Segovia, *ibid*., pp. 910-911
[5] Juan de Segovia, *ibid.* p. 912
[6] Juan de Segovia, *ibid.,* p. 915
[7] Note that Bruneti says the oration lasted one hour and a half, whereas Juan says almost three hours

Concerning the delivery of this oration, Piccolomini himself wrote - in the Intermediate Version of the oration:

> *allow me to read to you what I have written and which may provide everybody with a better basis for discussion.* [Sect. 42][1]

No other mentions of Piccolomini's mode of delivering his orations before the pontificate (with or without manuscript) have survived.

4.2. Memorized delivery

Humanists attached some importance to being able to speak from memory,[2] and they may have applied mnemotechnic rules derived from Cicero and Quintilian. The Venetian humanist, Leonardo Giustinian, father of the celebrated diplomat and orator Bernardo Giustinian (who served as Venetian envoy to Pius in 1462-1463), developed his own system, the *Regulae Artificialis Memoriae,* based on 15 specific rules.[3]

At the Papal Court, the practice at that time was that ambassadors addressing the pope would speak directly, not reading from a written text, but that a secretary with the written text of the ambassador's oration would be standing behind him, ready to whisper the words to the ambassador in case of need.[4]

That memorized delivery of orations was a common practice at the time is witnessed by the episodes involving Ambrogio Traversari and Johann Hinderbach related above (sect. 3.2.).

Vespasiano da Bisticci also relates an episode involving the Florentine humanist Benedetto d'Arezzo, answering a Hungarian diplomat of behalf of the city government:

> *He made his answer in Latin so excellent that the envoy, who who was a learned scholar, was astonished. On his departure Benedetto bade him farewell and, when the ambassador again complimented him on his oration, he again repeated the whole oration in Latin. The envoy*

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[1] *… sinite ut haec mea scripta legantur in medium, quae melius unicuique deliberandi praebeant facultatem*

[2] Hack: *Pius,* p. 362, n. 178: *Ein möglichst perfektes Gedächtnis war nach Auffassung der Renaissance eine wichtige Voraussetzung für einen guten Redner, weil es ein präzises Eingehen auf jedes der vorgetragenen Argumente erlaubte. So wird immer wieder berichtet, dass ein mit geschlossenen Augen dasitzender Zuhörer bei einer stundenlangen Rede bereits eingeschlafen erschien, dann aber noch auf jeden einzelnen Punkt präzise zu Replizieren wusste*

[3] Labalme, pp. 56-60

[4] Dykmans, p. 149

again expressed his astonishment that he should have repeated it without missing a word and praised his talent and his memory.[1]

That Piccolomini would expect a prince or pope to speak from memory is made evident from his *Pentalogus* where Nicodemo della Scala advises the emperor to give, in person, a certain crucial oration:

Orationem hanc si tute, rex, habueris, longe magis proficies, quam si alter nomine tuo peroraverit. ... Sin vero mixta est in oratione modestia et gravitas, nichil admirabilius fieri potest, nec tibi difficile erit orationem huiusmodi in Teutonicum conversum et, ubi opus fuerit, per hos dominos emendatam ***memorie commendare****.*[2]

In that same work, Piccolomini had also recommended that the emperor should give his reply to ambassadors after careful consideration of the petitions and memorizing of his answer, referring to the practice of Cardinal Giuliano at the Council of Basel:

Secutus est hunc modum Iulianus cardinalis, dum Basilee in concilio presideret. Veniebant regum et principum oratores ad concilium. Illos mox ad cenam invitabat, querebat ex eis, quid vellent, quid cause haberent. Nec in auditorium eos venire prius sinebat, quam omnia persensisset. Tum quoque re scita audientiam tantum differebat, quantum sibi ad parandum responsum existimabat sufficere. Post vero in concionem iam meditatus veniens incredibile est, quam ***memoriter perorate referret*** *et quam acute responderet.*[3]

There can be little doubt that Piccolomini, as an accomplished orator and proud of his oratorical skills, would - with some early exceptions like the *"Audivi" [1]* (see above) - have followed the practice of humanist orators in general and of the Papal Court in particular, and delivered his orations as memorized, without reading from a manuscript.

As for his orations during the pontificate, there is only one testimony concerning the mode of delivery (with or without manuscript). It is a passage in the oration *"Frequenciam principum",* by which the Burgundian ambassador Jean Jouffroy replied to the pope's grand opening oration, the *"Cum bellum hodie" [45],* at the Congress of Mantua on 26 September 1459:

oracio tua divinas gentilesque doctrinas omnes omnium historiarum et annalium succum expressit tuaque felicitas et promptitudo venustatem divine cuiusdam auctoritatis extulit voce ti[nnit]a ***et memoria fere divina, qua in tam profuso sermone nunquam hesitavisti*** *…*[4]

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[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 371)
[2] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 262)
[3] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 77)
[4] See the text of the oration in vol. 12 of the present edition

Here, Jouffroy expressly states that Pius spoke from memory and did not read the – long – oration from a manuscript.

In conclusion, Pius' memory was so well-developed that he was able to give even long orations from memory. However, his memory cannot have been so good that he had completely memorized the sometimes very long orations, like the *"Sentio" [20],* the *"Cum bellum hodie" [45],* the *"Responsuri" [52],* or the *"Per me reges regnant*" *[65],* full of complex reasoning, and references to historical events, *exempla* and *sentientiae*. It is therefore quite probable that the spoken orations did to some extent vary from the written drafts, which means that it is not possible to know what exactly Piccolomini/Pius said when he delivered his orations nor how he said it. He would not have been concerned about this, for to him the orations were a form a literature, and the written final product was in some ways more important than the spoken oration, though the solemn act of an oration e.g. to a prince or the pope would have its own great significance, of course.

4.3. Translated delivery

Humanists generally gave their orations in Latin. Indeed, the celebrated orator Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder disdained orators who gave speeches in the vernacular in order to be understood by the entire audience.[1]

Others were less finicky, like the Dominican friar, Federigo da Venezia, who at the funeral of Francesco da Carrera il Vecchio in 1393 first gave his funeral oration in Latin and thereafter in Italian to ensure that as many as possible would understand his words.[2]

In the diplomatic sphere, *the one common language* – according to D'Elia - *used between cities and governments was Latin. Ambassadors and chancellors spoke in Latin. Those who did not understand needed a translator.*[3]

But even the members of the city government in Florence did not generally know Latin or know it so well that they could understand a Latin oration, as witnessed by Bisticci reporting on a Latin oration to the emperor delivered by Giannozzo Manetti on 31 January 1452: *Risposto, fu giudicato* ***da tutti quegli sapevano latino*** *ch'erano intendenti, che meser Gianozo avessi parlato molto*

[1] McManamon: *Pierpaolo*, p. 37
[2] McManamon: *Pierpaolo*, p. 37
[3] D'Elia: *Renaissance,* p. 112

meglio lui impreditato che meser Carlo premeditato, et acquistò la matina uno grandissimo onore …[1]

Piccolomini normally gave his orations in Latin, but he would probably speak in Italian when he addressed predominantly Italian-speaking audiences, like in Milan in 1447 when he endeavoured to persuade a popular assembly to accept imperial rule. His oration on that occasion was likely delivered in Italian and only later translated into Latin (for the report to the emperor), as Manetti did with an oration to the Venetian government.[2]

It is believed that Piccolomini had some German - after all he lived in German-speaking areas for more than twenty years. It was probably sufficient for understanding German spoken language, but not for making speeches, and he therefore addressed his German audiences in Latin, including, apparently, the imperial council.[3]

This posed a problem, for often there would be audiences where many would not be able to follow a whole oration in that language.[4] [5]

The solution was, of course, to have somebody translate the oration into German (or, in one case, Bohemian).

This could be done in two ways: one was for him break his Latin speech into short sections and to have the translation given after each section. The other was to have the translation after he had finished the whole Latin oration. Both methods presented inconveniences, but apparently he chose the last one, since a piece-meal oration would presumably have been an oratorical catastrophe.

At the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1454, Piccolomini first delivered his opening and closing orations, the *"Quamvis omnibus*" *[21]* and the *"Tua verba" [78]* in Latin, and afterwards Ulrich Sonnenberger translated them it into German.[6]

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[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (Greco, I, pp. 518-519)

[2] Maxson: *The lost*, p. 90

[3] WO, III, I, p. 499: *His ab Enea dictis atque in Theutonicum sermonem expositis …*

[4] As seen above, Piccolomini recognized that the emperor should not address his own Germans in Latin, and he therefore, in the *Pentalogus*, had Niccodemo della Scala advise him to have a certain, recommended oration translated into German

[5] When the ambassador of King Juan II of Castile came to Florence to demand their aid to King Ferrante and was to address the Florentine representatives, Vespasiano da Bisticci *made bold to ask him whether he wished to state it in Latin, or in the vulgar tongue. He told me he proposed to make it in Latin. I replied that, seeing there were few who understood Latin, it would be more effective if he delivered it in the Tuscan dialect. He went to the palace, where were assembled the Signoria and many others who had been convoked, and spoke fluently in the vulgar tongue and was greatly praised, both for his elocution and for his able statement* (Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, p. 150))

[6] WO, III, I, pp. 547, 562 *(Hec cum Eneas latine pronunciasset, Gurcensis episcopus sermone patrio exposuisset …);* See also Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 113. Likewise, the oration of the papal legate, Giovanni di Castiglione, was after delivery

At the meeting with the Bohemian nobles in Benesov in 1451, Piccolomini first gave a relatively short oration, the *"Petivistis ex Caesare" [16],* in Latin, and afterwards Prokop von Rabstein translated it into Bohemian, revising it somewhat in order to make it more palatable to the Bohemians. Piccolomini himself wrote about the event:

> *Georg Podiebrad presided over their numerous assembly. We addressed them as follows: "You have requested of the emperor ..."* [here follows the text of the "*Petivistis ex Caesare*"]*. The oration inspired confidence and was accepted favourably. Our colleague, Prokop made it even more acceptable as he translated it into their [Czech] language for the benefit of those who did not understand Latin."*[1] [2]

The question is: how did the need for translation affect the audiences' perception and reception of Piccolomini's orations? Those who did not understand Latin or did not understand it very well might be impressed with his elegant and fervent delivery and the steady flow of sonorous Latin, but they would understand little or nothing. The Latin oration would probably lose much in translation, both in terms of elegance and substance, and since the German version would presumably be abridged, it would be less richly argued, and thus it might not be as persuasive and politically effective as the Latin version.

In his report on the Diet in Regensburg Piccolomini wrote that his own oration was followed by a *mirum silentium*, whereupon – as already mentioned - Ulrich Sonnnenberger, Bishop of Gurk rose and gave a translation into German.[3] Voigt drily comments *dass der Grund dieses Schweigens war vielleicht der Verlegenheit der Anwesenden, deren viele die Worte Enea's nicht eher verstanden bis sie der Bischof von Gurk in deutscher Sprache zusammengefasst*![4] Toews commented that *Unfortunately it* [the oration] *had to be translated for the benefit of some German representatives and so lost much of its effectiveness.*[5]

In conclusion, a number of Piccolomini's orations – including some of the most celebrated ones – were delivered in Latin and afterwards translated into the local language, resulting in a immediate loss a rhetorical quality and effectiveness. This might not be a major problem for Piccolomini, however, firstly since the matter at hand would be the object of proper diplomatic negotiations, more important than the oratorical formality, and secondly since very soon after delivery he had his orations disseminated extensively in written copies and eventually included them in his official

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translated from Latin to German by Johann Lysura, and the oration of the Burgundian ambassador was first delivered in Latin and afterwards in German (WO, III, p. 560: *His latine dictis ac deinde sermone Theutonico pronunciatis …*)

[1] HB, I, pp. 486-496

[2] Not being aware of this passage in the *Historia Bohemica*, Voigt claimed that Piccolomini had lied about the oration since the Prokop's Czech version differed from Piccolomini's Latin (Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 27)

[3] WO, III, I, p. 547

[4] Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 113

[5] Toews, p. 246

collection of orations and in his *Commentarii,* thus ensuring their availablity to the educated public which was the target group for his literary activity.

5. DISSEMINATION[1]

The dissemination of Pius II's orations falls in three phases: the manuscript phase from around 1435 to the end of the 15th century, the print phase from c. 1470, and the digital phase from ca. 2005.

5.1. Manuscript phase

A lively epistolary network ensured that humanists knew about each others works, including their orations. Thus, Poggio da Bracicolini's oration *In funere cardinalis florentini* from 27 September 1417 was known to Guarino Veronese already in January 1418.[2] Piccolomini was part of this network and used it intensively to disseminate his own orations.

Thus, the manuscript dissemination of Pius' orations appears to have been quite extensive, as witnessed by the great number of extant manuscripts which contain one ore more of these orations. And if Pius' humanist protégé, Gianantonio Campano is to be believed, the texts of the orations were generally available at the time: *Orationes usquequa divino illo spiritu habitas nemo est qui non habeat in manibus.*[3]

5.1.1. Copying of individual orations

Immediately or shortly after their delivery, many of Piccolomini's orations were copied, individually, either on his own initiative when he wished to send a copy to a friend or acquaintance, or on the initiative of other people who had heard the oration or heard about it and wished to have a copy.

He says himself, in his *Commentarii,* that when on 16 November 1436 he had held the oration "*Audivi" [1],* his very first oration, *everyone who heard the speech had a copy made for himself.*[4]

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[1] For the present editor's handlist of manuscripts and printed editions of Pius' orations, see vol. 12. Cf. also Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* ch. VI: *Die Überlieferung der Orationes des Enea Silvio.* Here Helmrath also announced that *ein vollständiges Panorama zur Handschriften- und Drucküberlieferung aller Reden des Enea Silvio wird vom Verf. derzeit erarbeitet.* This Panorama does not appear in Helmrath's bibliography on his web-page and it may not have been published

[2] Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera,* II, p. 10

[3] From Excerptum Epistolae Joannis Antonii Campani ad Cardinalem Papiensem, in: MA, I, p. xxvii)

[4] CO, I, 8 (Meserve, I, p. 33)

Also, his first oration to a pope, the *"Prius sanctissime praesul" [7]* from 1445, was read by many, Crivelli wrote:

> *Though many learned men had assembled there [in Basel], he was the only one to praise the majesty and the acts of the Council in his writings. For that reason, he knew that Eugenius was his enemy. But after the dissolution of the Council he came to the pope and presented a splendid apology,* ***which is now read by many,*** *showing so great virtue and uncommon gracefulness that the past was forgotten and he rose greatly in the estimation of the pope and the other fathers.*[1]

Today, this oration is only known in the version inserted into the *Commentarii*, but Crivelli cannot have referred to the *Commentarii* which only existed in very few copies until first published in 1584, but to individual copies of the oration.

In 1447, Piccolomini delivered the very important oration *"Non habet me dubium" [11]* to the ailing Pope Eugenius IV: *Many sought copies of his oration afterwards.*[2]

When Piccolomini had delivered the oration "*Quamvis grandes materias" [14]*, in Naples in 1450, at the conclusion of the contract of marriage between the Emperor and Princess Eleonora of Portugal, *many had copies of it made for themselves,* as, again, he wrote in the *Commentarii.*[3]

And when in 1455 he had delivered the oration "*Solent plerique" [26]* to Pope Calixus III*, afterwards, copies of this speech circulated widely.*[4]

Copies were often recopied and recopied as single documents, and eventually found their way into many humanist collective manuscripts, sometimes splendidly executed manuscripts[5] destined for important persons.[6] Actually, very few manuscripts containing only a single oration are still extant,[7] most of the individually transmitted orations being part of collective manuscripts.

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[1] Crivelli, p. 38*: … cum multi doctissimi viri eo convenissent, solus tamen illius synodi majestatem et res gestas scriptis suis illustravit. Quorum gratia cum se Eugenio infensum sciret, post concilii tamen dissolutionem ad Pontificem veniens et luculentissimo,* ***qui nunc a multis legitur****, usus apologetico vis tantae virtutis et non vulgaris gratiae dignitatisque locum, obliterata praeteritorum memoria, apud eum ceterosque patres invenit*

[2] Piccolomini's letter-report to the emperor about his mission to Rome in 1447. In: Reject, pp. 248

[3] CO, I, 20 (Meserve, I, p. 95)

[4] CO, I, 30 (Meserve, I, p. 147)

[5] Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale / Ms. 15564-67

[6] Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms.lat. 4314

[7] One example is the manuscript British Library / Add. 22161, which only contains the *"Responsuri" [52]*

5.1.2. Collection of Pius' II's Responses (1460)

Early in Pius' pontificate, probably in 1460, a first effort was made to gather his shorter addresses, mostly responses to ambassadors, in a special collection. The collection does not cover such responses from the first half year of his pontificate, which means that Pius' responses to the ambassadors of Italian powers like Florence, Milan, Venice, Naples, and presumably Siena are missing from the collection.

The collection comprises 22 shorter speeches from the period February 1459 to March 1460. The first one is the *"Quotiens nova" [30]* delivered on 29 February in Perugia to the ambassadors of Savoy. The last one is the *"Vocati estis" [57]* to the new cardinals, given in Siena on 8 March 1460. The collection does not include the orations *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* from the opening of the Congress of Mantua, the *"Responsuri" [52]* to the French ambassadors on the Kingdom of Naples, held during the Congress, the *"Septimo jam mense" [54]* at the end of the Congress, and the *"Messis quidem" [55]* to the new cardinals appointed in March 1460. Neither were the two responses to Gregor Heimburg representing German dukes included, probably because of Heimburg's scandalous behaviour towards the pope and his later appeal to a future council, expressly forbidden in the papal bull *Execrabilis* from 18 January 1460, which earned him to be excommunicated by Pius later, on 1 June 1460.

The speeches in the collection may be divided into three groups.

The first group contains 13 responses to ambassadors from kings and dukes, mostly transalpine, whose embassies would not have been able to reach the Papal Court earlier. They are responses to the ambassadors from Castile (two responses given on two different occasions), Aragon and Sicily (King Juan II), the Emperor, France, Brittany, Savoy, Portugal, Burgundy, Hungary, Trier, Monferrat, and Bavaria. The late arrival of the embassies from Savoy and Monferrat presumably had political significance.

The second group contains five addresses to embassies arriving at the Congress of Mantua. Four were responses to ambassadors from Savoy (two versions of the same speech), Venice, and the Emperor, and one was an address to Albrecht Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg, who had come in person.

The third is a miscellaneous group containing four orations. One was the oration held on 1 June 1459, when the Congress of Mantua was supposed to begin its work; one was an address to the city government of Siena (bestowal of the golden rose); and two were addresses to the cardinals in connection with Pius' first promotion of cardinals.

One version of the collection, known to Felino Sandei, may also have included the the oration "*De regno Siciliae" [58]* from May 1460. To the text of the oration *"Responsuri [52]",* sect. 42, in a manuscript in his possession (today the Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 541) Sandei added the following note: *Est alia responsio data per Pium oratoribus incipiens* De regno Sicilie *que est in libro responsionum Pii ubi late probat quod Renatus non potuit omissa via iuris movere arma et quod papa tenebatur defendere regem Ferdinandum a se investitum*. The collection of responses seen by Sandei does not appear to be any of the three manuscripts listed below.

The collection of responses – written in the same hand, not Pius' own - was included in a chancery copy of some of Pius' texts, the

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 153r-182v

and it is also extant in two other manuscripts:

- Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 26r-71r, and the
- Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 544, ff. 161r-183v.

The order of orations in the three manuscripts varies slightly.

5.1.3. Collected orations of Pius II / First version (1462)[1] [2]

In 1462, a collection was made of 22 of Pius' orations from the period May 1436 to March 1462.[3] The title of the collection in the basic manuscript containing the collection, the BAV / Chisianus J.VIII.284, is: *Orationes Aeneae Silvii Picolominei Senensis, qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius Secundus appellatus est. Editae fuerunt ante et post susceptum pontificatum.*[4] It did not include the texts included in the collection of responses from 1460, except the "*De regno Siciliae" [58]*, which was apparently included in at least one version of that collection (cf. above), and moreover it was far from complete, either because texts of the missing orations were unavailable or because the individual missing orations were for some reason decided to be unfit

[1] See Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 133. I concur generally with Helmrath's analysis of the relationship between the seven manuscripts containing the collection, but where Helmrath based his analysis on the chronology of the orations in each manuscript and some formal criteria (like the known date of two of the manuscripts), my own analysis rests primarily on the textual differences and similarities between the manuscripts, as documented in the critical apparatus of my edition /MCS

[2] For a codicological description of the seven manuscripts containing the collected orations of Pius II, see Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* pp. 307, 308, 309, 316, 318-320

[3] A new compilation of Pius' letters was also made during his pontificate, see CO, II, 2 (Meserve, I, p. 217)

[4] This title is not given in the six other manuscripts containing the collection

for the collection. Thus, it was not a comprehensive collection,[1] but rather a compilation of selected orations of Pius, including the most important ones.

Pius refers to this collection several times in his *Commentarii,* for example:

- concerning the oration "*Si mihi" [24]* (1450) to the Hungarian Ambassadors in Wiener Neustadt: *In hoc concilio jubente imperatore legatis Hungaris publice responsum dedit, quod in scriptis redactum editum est et inter eius orationes habetur.*[2]

- concerning the oration *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459) at the opening of the Congress of Mantua: *Eius oratio postmodum edita est, et inter alias eius continetur.*[3]

The compilation was made under the direct supervision of the pope himself. Possible participants in the project would have been Agostino Patrizi, the pope's secretary, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, the papal nephew, and Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, one of the pope's humanist protégés.

The prime manuscript containing this collection is the

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.284**

  The manuscript contains 20 orations, alternative versions not being counted as separate orations. Probable date: 1462, before October.

  This manuscript is most probably the one mentioned several times in the *Commentarii*. It was either the prime manuscript from which four others were copied, or it was copied from a common exemplar now lost, cf. the stemmata below. The hands of Patrizi and Todeschini Piccolomini can be traced in the manuscript.

The first version of this collection is also extant in four other manuscripts:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788**

  The pattern of variants shows that this manuscript was copied from the Chis. J.VIII.284 (or from a common *exemplar).* An oration from 10 October 1460, the "*Ingentes vobis quirites" [61],* has been added in a much later hand. Otherwise the order of the orations is the same

[1] See above, sect. 2.3: Lost orations
[2] CO, II, 28 (Meserve, I, p. 136-138): *At this diet, Aeneas gave a public adress at the emperor's command, replying to the ambassadors of Hungary. This was afterwards published and is included among his Orations*
[3] CO, III, 33 (Heck, I, p. 218)

as in Chis. J.VIII.284. The colophon says that the manuscript was copied by Leonardus Calendinus, a priest belonging to the household of Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati, whose hand can be traced in the manuscript. Probable date: 1462, before October.

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.286**

  The pattern of variants shows that this manuscript, too, was copied from the Chis. J.VIII.284 (or from a common *exemplar),* and that the two manuscripts, the Vat. lat. 1788 and the Chis. J.VIII.286, were not copied from each other. The oration from 10 October 1460, the "*Ingentes vobis quirites" [61],* was now fully integrated, written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The order of the orations was modified to better fit chronology. The colophon, again, says that the manuscript was copied by Leonardus Calendinus. Probable date: 1462 (after October) or 1463.

- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I 97 Inf**

  The pattern of variants shows that this manuscript was copied or derived from the Vat. lat. 1788, with some modifications in the order of orations to better fit chronology. It excludes the orations "*Ingentes vobis quirites" [61]* and the *"Frequentissimus",* an alternative version of the "*In hoc florentissimo" [23].* It adds the orations "*Septimo jam mense" [54]* from January 1459 and the "*Advenisti tandem"* and "*Si loqui possent" [57-8],* both from April 1462, as part of the whole *Andreis*.[1] There are no indications of a probable date.

- **Mantua / Biblioteca Communale / 100**

  The pattern of variants shows that this manuscript was copied from the Chis. J.VIII.284 (or from a common *exemplar).* It contains the same set of orations (with alternative versions) as the Chis. J.VIII.284, but the order has been modified to better fit chronology. It was made for Domenico Dominici, Bishop of Brescia. Date: September 1472.[2]

The relationship between the manuscripts, including the two manuscripts containing the 2nd and 3rd version of the collection (see below), as based upon analysis of the textual differences and similiarities, are shown in the two alternative stemmata below.

[1] I.e. a description of the ceremonies held in connection with the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew in Rome in April 1462, authored by Alessio de' Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi 1438-1462 and from 1462-1464 Archbishop of Benevento, and included verbatim in CO, VII, 1 (Heck, I, pp. 468-488)

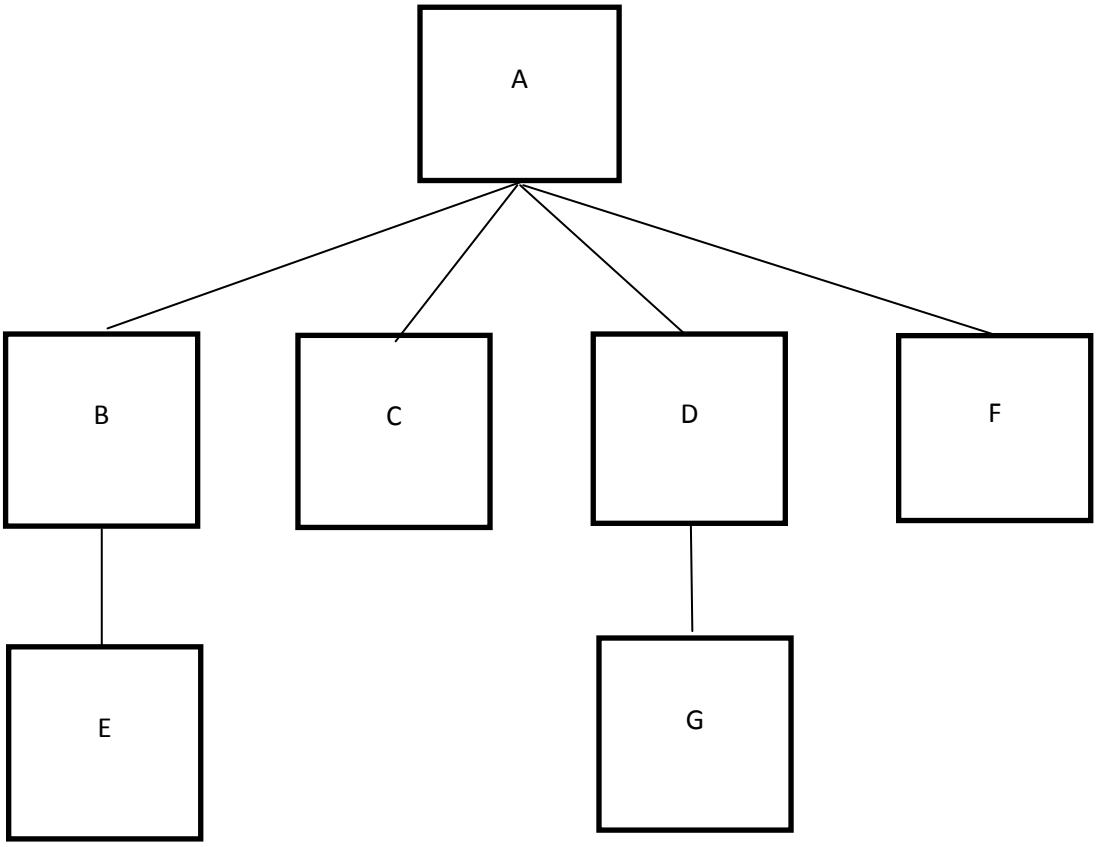
[2] On the fly-leaf: *Hic liber est mei Dominici episcopi Brixiensis vicarii urbis quem Rome feci scribi... 1472 mense aprilis*

In these stemmata, the following sigla are used:

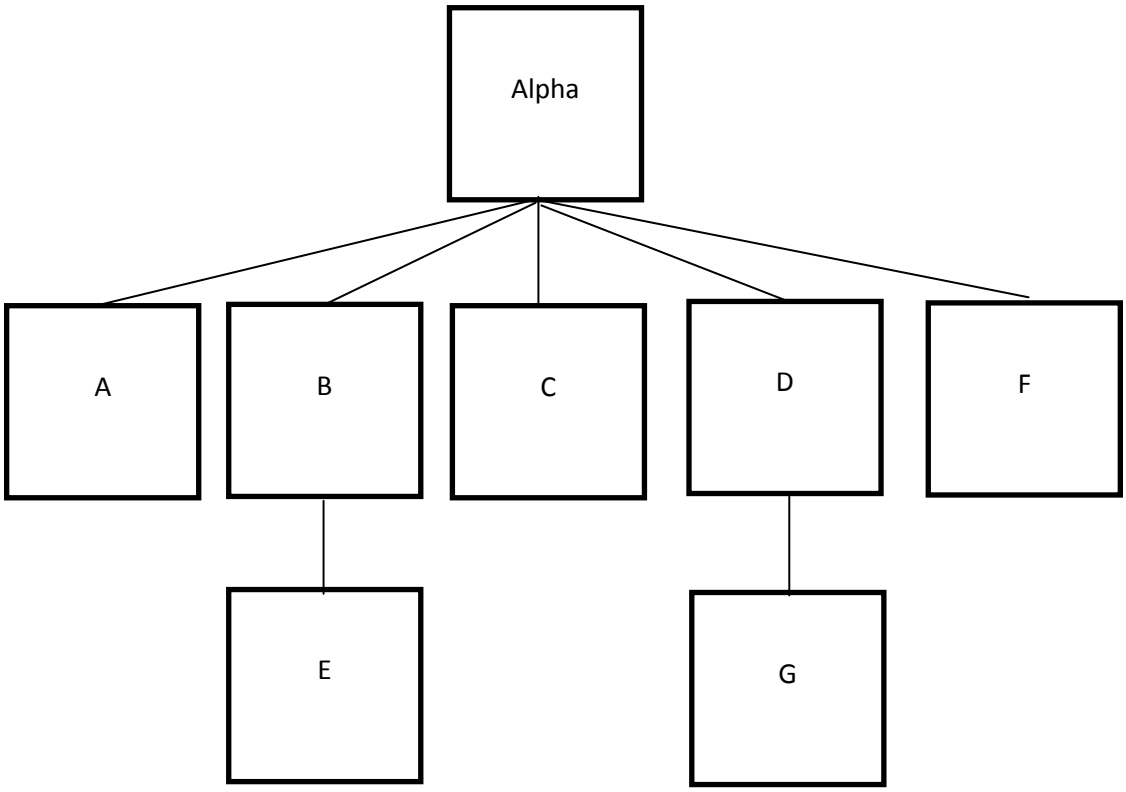
Aleph = a conjectured common exemplar, now lost

A = Roma / BAV / Chis. J.VIII.284
B = Roma / BAV / Vat. lat. 1788
C = Roma / BAV / Chis. J.VIII.286
D = Roma / BAV / Chis. J.VI.211
E = Milano / B. Ambr. / J 97 Inf.
F = Mantua / B. Comm. / 100
G = Lucca / B. Cap. / 544

Stemma I



Stemma II



5.1.4. Orations included in Pius II's Commentarii (1462-1464)

The *Commentarii* of Pius II contain eight orations delivered before April 1462, the

- "*Prius sanctissime praesul" [7]* from February 1445
- *"Ingentes vobis gratias" [41]* from April 1459
- *"Speravimus fratres"* from June 1459, a revised version of the *"Magna pars vestrum" [43]*
- *"Octavum hic agimus"* from January 1460, a revised version of the *"Septimo jam mense" [54]*
- *"Messis quidem"* [55] (1460)
- "*Maxima"* (1460), a revised version of the *"Vocati estis" [57]*
- *"Flentem et admodum dolentem" [60]* (1460)
- *"Pone lacrimas" [63]* (1461).

It is worth noting that of the eight orations from before 1462 included in the *Commentarii* three are alternative versions, heavily revised, of texts already included in the Collection of Pius's Responses (1460).

Later in the *Commentarii* follow all the nine orations delivered by the Pope after March 1462,[1] when the compilation of the first version of the comprehensive collection of the orations closed. They are the

- *"Advenisti tandem" [67]* (April 1462)
- *"Si loqui possent"*[2] *[68]* (April 1462)
- *"Munera quae attulistis" [69]* (July 1462)
- *"Quaecumque rogat" [70]* (October 1462)
- *"Habemus fidem" [71]* (November 1462)
- *"Senatu intercedente" [72]* (May 1463)
- *"Expectatis" [73]* (September 1463)
- *"Si essemus ipsi" [74]* (September 1463)
- *"Sextus agitur annus" [75]* (September 1463) – a very important oration

Of these orations, some were also included in later versions of the comprehensive collection, see below.

[1] The only exception is Pius' last oration, the "*Suscepturi" [76],* given on 18 June 1464 when he left Rome for Ancona, never to return

[2] As part of the Andreis, a narration of the events connected with the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew in Rome, in April 1462

The orations included in the *Commentarii* were revised before inclusion, sometimes heavily and even counterfactually, like the oration "*Quaecumque rogat" [70]* to a Venetian ambassador of October 1463. The revision was made partly with a view to improvement of style, and partly – and more importantly – with a view to fit the character of the *Commentarii* as a document which aimed at presenting a certain picture of the pope and thereby shaping the image of him to be held by future generations.

As the *Commentarii* were not published before 1584, in a heavily expurgated edition, this set of orations was unknown to the public for more than a century.

5.1.5. Orations included in letter collections (ca. 1462)

Some years into the pontificate, it was decided also to produce an official collection of Pius' letters as bishop (*in episcopatu*).[1]

The collection is extant in three manuscripts in the Vatican Library, the Urb. lat. 401, the Ottob. lat. 347, and the Vat. lat. 1787.

For unknown reasons it was decided to include two orations in the letter collection: the *"Sentio" [20],* written in 1452 but not actually held, and the *"Si mihi" [24],* held at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt in 1455.

5.1.6. Cardinal nephew's anthology of Pius' major orations (1464)

In 1463-1464, the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, curated the production of a small anthology of the major orations from the pontificate. The anthology was sent to his Piccolomini relative, Jacopo Silvio Piccolomini, with an accompanying letter dated 23 February 1464[2]:

[1] A collection of *epistolae familiares* had been produced previously, and later a collection of Piccolomini's letters as a cardinal and of his letters as a pope would be produced, too.

[2] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 138, n. 39: gives the date as "1464 (=1465)", possibly taking into account a calendar practice of the Papal Court placing New Year at the end of March. If the correct date is 1464, the anthology was completed while Pius was still alive. If the correct date year is 1465, the anthology was completed after Pius' death. The passage "feliciter regnantis Pii nostri" appears to indicate, however, that Pius was still alive and therefore the year must be 1464. Achim Thomas Hack gives the date as "24. Februar 1464", cf. Hack: *Pius,* p. 333

Franciscus Piccolhomineus Cardinalis Senensis Iacobo Sylverio Piccolhomineo Cremonensi amitino suo S.P.D.

Fateremur a dignatione tua iure negligentia nos posse culpari si causa dilationis in transmictendo cunctis manifeste non forent. Fuit hercle nobis semper cordi orationes feliciter regnantis Pii nostri II in unum congestas, ut expostulaverat, eidem destinare. Sed nimii negociis et crebrioribus concistoriis impediti animum ad id aliasque familiares curas intendere non valuimus. Nunc autem aliquid ocii nacti, ipsas conscribi curavimus adiecta etiam Andreide domini Alessii episcopi Clusini patrui tui quas scilicet indocta manu conscriptas Antonio servitori nostro dedimus ad te presentandas, epistolas eiusdem Pii ad paucos dies transmictere pollicentes ut animi voluptate qua S.ti suae famulando afficiebatur eiusdem scripta legendo non careat. Dominam Neram amitam Sylverium Nicolaumque amitinos salvos esse iubear dignatio tua quam hortamur stomachi prosperitati incumbere ut ipsa in pristinum redacta. Reditum tuum in curiam a nobis peroptissimam maturet. Valeat m.s memor. Ex urbe vii Kl. Martii M.CCCC.LXIIII manu propria.[1]

The collection gained some distribution and is extant in at least six manuscripts: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 5667; Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1 and Borghese I 121-122; Bibliothèque Royale / 15564-67; Biblioteca Casanatense / 4310; and Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele / 492.

The collection consists of the oratiions

- *"Cum bellum hodie" [56]*
- *"Advenisti tandem"* and *"Si loqui possent" [67-68] (as part of the Andreis)*
- *"De regno Siciliae" [58]*
- *"Catherinam Senensem" [62]*
- *"Per me reges regnant" [65]*

The Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. XXXII, 1, merges the collection of responses (1460) with the orations from the anthology inserted in their proper chronological order.

The Bibliothèque Royale / 15564-67 adds the oration *"Responsuri" [52].*

Some of the manuscripts also have Pius' crusade bull "*Ezechielis"* from 1463, and Campano's funeral oration given in Siena in 1465, on the first anniversary of Pius death.

An analysis of the variants shows that the orations have not been copied after the cardinal nephew's own manuscript containing the 2nd version of the Collected Orations of Pius II (1462),

[1] Poncelet: *Catalogus*, p. 134

see below, probably because the production of the anthology predated the production of that manuscript.

5.1.7. Collected orations of Pius II / Second version (1464 or after)

A second version of the Collected Orations of Pius II (1462) is contained in the manuscript

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211**

The pattern of variants and certain variants in particular[1] shows that this manuscript was most probably copied directly from the Chis. J.VIII.284. It was expanded from 20 to 25 orations through the addition of the "*Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438), *"Ingentes vobis quirites" [61]* (1460), *"Advenisti tandem" [67]* (1462), *"Quaecumque rogat" [70]* (1462), and *"Sextus agitur annus" [75]* (23 September 1463). Of these, the four last had already been included in the *Commentarii.* The "*Sextus agitur annus"* was apparently copied from the *Commentarii*, but not from the Reginensis Latinus containing the first version of the *Commentarii*, but from the Corsinianus 147 containing the second version (executed by Gobellinus and finished on 12 June 1464). The order of the orations was modified to further improve chronology.

The manuscript was made for the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, later Pope Pius III. It must have been completed after the completion of the Corsinianus 147, i.e. after 12 June 1464. That period was so hectic, with the pope departing from Rome six days afterwards for Ancona where he died on 13 August, that the production of the cardinal nephew's copy of the collected orations possibly took place after Pius' death.

The text appears to have been revised with a view to improving, i.e. classicizing, the syntax. The syntactical improvements may be due to Campano whom the pope had asked to go over the text of the orations and propose corrections of style.[2]

Besides the syntactical changes, this version contains one, significant, politically motivated textual change. The oration *"Quaecumque rogat" [70]* to the Venetian ambassador in October 1462 had been included in the first version of the *Commentarii* (the Reginensis lat. 1995). In that text, Pius aired the possibility of granting rulership the Malatesta territory of Rimini to his nephews, saying:

> *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.*[3]

[1] Example: in the oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]*, sect. 141, the Chis. J.VIII.284 has "iu", line shift, "niores", copied in the Chis. J.VI.211 as "in mores"
[2] Di Bernardo, p. 160
[3] Reg. lat. 1995, f. 475r

In the final edition of the *Commentarii* (the Corsianianus 147), the "our nephews" was changed into "better men" (*melioribus*). And when the oration was afterwards included in the cardinal nephew's copy of the Collected orations of Pius II, the Chisianus J.VI.211, it was changed again, into "other well-deserving men" (*aliis 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, Sinigaglia, Mondavio, and Montemarciano.[1] Also, Pius' death would greatly affect – for the worse - the status of his favourites, relatives and dependants, including his cardinal nephew, who might not have considered it politically wise to have texts floating around with proofs of Pius' blatant favouring of his own family.

5.1.8. Collected orations of Pius II / Third version (1493)

Like the second version of the collected orations, this version is known only from one manuscript, the

- Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

The manuscript contains a large collection of texts for the use of the Lucchese scholar and bishop, Felino Sandei. Among the texts are a collection of orations and responses of Pius II comprising two parts: a) The Collected orations of Pius II, and b) the Collection of responses of Pius II (1460). The manuscript was executed for Sandei in Rome, on the basis of manuscripts which were probably placed at his disposal by Cardinal Piccolomini Todeschini, an acquaintance or friend of his. Date: 1493.

This Collection of orations of Pius II is copied or derived from the Chis. J.VI.211, the cardinal nephew's copy of that collection. It contains the same set of orations as the Chis. J.VI.211 except two orations, the "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* and "*Responsuri" [52]*, which Sandei had already had copied for the purpose of his studies in an earlier manuscript, the Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 541, as well as the orations "*Quamvis omnibus" [21], "Constantipolitana clades [22],* and "*Solent plerique" [26]*, which had by then been published in a printed letter collection already in Sandei's possession. Compared to the Chis. J.VI.211, the order of the orations was modified to further improve chronology, and further changes of syntax appear to have been made.[2]

[1] Soranzo, p. 450
[2] The syntactical changes are so frequent that I consider them to be the result of an editorial revision, and not scribal errors, but this is conjecture / MCS

Being the latest link in a chain of manuscript transmission, the BCF 541 cumulates the errors of the preceeding manuscripts in the chain (at least the 211 and the 284 or the common exemplar). Nonetheless it has great importance for the dissemination of Pius' orations since it was this manuscript that Mansi used for his comprehensive edition of Pius' orations in 1755-1757 which became the primary source of knowledge about these orations for the next 250 years.

5.2. Print based

5.2.1. Early letter collections (1470-1518)[1]

In the period from 1470 to 1518, a number of printed editions of Pius' letter collections[2] were produced. For reasons unknown some of his orations – and not the same ones as those which were included in the manuscript collections of letters (see above) - were included among the letters.

These orations were four orations from before the pontificate, the

- *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445)
- "*Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452)
- "C*onstantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454)
- "*Solent plerique" [26]* (1455)

and one oration from the pontificate, the

- "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459).

Three of them, the "*Constantinopolitana clades"*, the "*Solent plerique"*, and the "*Cum bellum hodie"* were also the orations which have received the largest manuscript dissemination, which may have determined their inclusion in the printed letter collections.

Due to the great popularity of the print editions of the letters, these five orations became quite well-known.

[1] Häbler
[2] See ch. 11: General bibliography

5.2.2. Early editions of single orations[1]

Three of Pius' orations were published separately in the 15th century:

- *"Non habet me dubium" [11]* (1447) = Oratio de obedientia Friederici III. Roma: Stephan Plannck, 1488/1490 (Hain 208*; IGI 7827)

- *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455) = Oratio coram Calixto papa tertio, de obedientia Frederici III. Roma: Stephan Plannck, 1488/90 (IGI 7827)

- *"Suscepturi" [76]* (1464) = Pius papa secundus eloquentissimus, qui obiit Anno MCCCCLXIII in Ancona dum proposuerit contra Turcos composuit. Köln: Ulrich Zell, s.a. (Hain 173)

5.2.3. Opera omnia (1551/1571)

The letter collection of the Frankfurt printer/editor Koberger in 1478 (with reprints in 1481 and 1486 and anastatic reproduction in 1967) was simply integrated into the Basel printer/editor Heinrich Petri's edition of Pius' *Opera Omnia* in 1551, with a reprint in 1571. Thus, the five above-mentioned orations also entered the *Opera Omnia*-edition and thus gained even greated circulation.

To the previously published orations, the OO-edition added

- the "*Modestius" [27]* (1456)

5.2.4. First editions of Pius II's *Commmentarii* (1584/1614)

In 1584, a member of the Piccolomini family, Archbishop Francesco Bandini Piccolomini curated the publication of an expurgated version of Pius II's *Commentarii*[2] (with a reprint in 1614). Thus, the seventeen orations contained in the *Commentarii* (see above, sect. 5.1.4) came to the knowledge of the public, for the first time since they were delivered by Pius.

[1] See also Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 149

[2] Erroneously or falsely attritubued to Gobellinus, the copyist of the Corsinianus 147 containing the final version of the *Commentarii*

Modern critical editions of the *Commentarii* have been published by van Heck, Totaro, Boronkai, and Meserve[1] (see Bibliography).

5.2.5. Scholarly editions before Mansi (16th - 18th century)[2] [3] [4]

After the Opera Omnia-edition, the set of orations published in that edition as supplemented by a other orations were included individually in a number of scholarly editions of historical documents of various types: ecclesiastical, political, and national. These editions are based on one manuscript alone or on a previous edition, and are not critical, though some scribal errors may have been corrected.

In 1573, (with a reprint in 1577) Geuffroy published his *Aulae Turcicae* with the

- *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454)

In 1596, Reusner published his *Selectissimarum orationum et consultationum de bello Turconico variorum et diversorum auctorum volumina quattuor* with the

- *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452)
- *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454)
- *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455)
- *"Modestius" [27]* (1456)
- *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459)

In 1602 (with a new edition in 1717), Freher published vol. III of his *Germanicarum Rerum Scriptores*, with the

- *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1450)
- *"Fateor" [15]* (1450)
- *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452)
- *"Responsuri" [52]* (1459)
- *"Multa hic hodie" [49]* (1459)

[1] Work in progress
[2] For the individual editions see Bibliography
[3] In the introduction to his edition of the collected orations, see below, Mansi gave a survey of the previously printed editions of Pius' orations (MA, I, pp. ix-xiii)
[4] This survey is based on works known to editor as of July 2019. It is quite possible that other scholars of that period may have published orations of Pius in works not presently known to the editor / MCS

In 1659, the second volume of Contelori' *Elenchus Cardinalium* was published, posthumously, with the

- *"Quamvis non dubitamus" [56]* (1460)

In 1663 (with later reeditions), Rainaldi published vol. 19 in his continuation of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, with the

- *"Moyses vir dei" [19]* (1452)
- *"Quamvis non dubitamus" [56] (*1460)
- *"Vocati estis / Maxima"* [57] (1460)
- *"Pone lacrimas" [63]* (1461)

In 1672 (with a new edition in 1732), Labbé/Cossart published the *Sacrosancta concilia* with the

- *"Magna pars vestrum / Speravimus" [43]* (1459)
- *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459)
- *"Multa hic hodie" [49]* (1459)
- *"Responsuri" [52]* (1459)

In 1698 and 1713, Muratori published vols. 2 and 3 of his *Anecdota* (reedited as part of his *Opere* in 1770), with

- *"Sentio" [20]* (1452)
- *"Res Bohemicas" [28]* (1455),

both on the basis of the Collected Orations of Pius II, as contained in the manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I 97 Inf. Muratori apparently intended to publish all the orations in the Ambrosiana manuscript, but gave up the project in view of Mansi's comprehensive edition, in which some of the texts are actually based on copies made available to him by colleagues at the Ambrosiana.

In 1713, Müller published his *Reichstheatrum*, Theil I, with the

- *"Fateor" [15]* (1450)
- *"Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* (1451)
- *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452)
- *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454)
- *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455)

- *“Magna pars vestrum / Speravimus” [43]* (1459)
- *“Cum bellum hodie” [45]* (1459)
- *“Septimo jam mense / Octavum hic agimus” [54]* (1460)
- *“Flentem et admodum dolentem” [60]* (1460)

In 1723, Gigli published his *Diario Sanese,* Pars I, with the

- *“Vetus majorum” [31]* (1459)
- *“Habuisti dilecta filia” [42]* (1459)

In 1729, Pez published his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimorum*, tom.VI, with the

- *“Quid est” [3]* (1438)

In 1751, Senckenberg published his *Sammlung von ungedruckten und raren Schriften.* Tom. IV. Frankfurt, with the

- *“Solent plerique” [26]* (1455)

In 1751, Crivelli’s *De expeditione Pii papae* was published in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (reedited in 1925), with the

- *“Ut apertum vobis” [29] (*1458)
- *“Magna pars vestrum” [43]* (1459)

In 1752, Mansi published his *Ad concilia Veneto-Lebbeana supplementum,* vol. V (later integrated into his *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection)* with the

- *“Si quis me roget” [2]* (1438)
- *“Non habet me dubium” [11]* (1447)
- *“Magna pars vestrum” [43]* (1459)
- *“Fatemur insignes” [44]* (1459)
- *“Quamvis non sine magna” [46]* (1459)
- *“Quamvis non sine magna / Satisfacit abunde” [46]* (1459)
- *“Multa hic hodie” [49]* (1459)
- *“Exposcebat haud dubie” [51]* (1459)
- *“Advenisse te citius”[53]* (1459)
- *“Septimo jam mense” [54]* (1460)

- *"Tua verba" [78] (1454)*[1]

Thus, before Mansi´s comprehensive edition of Pius' orations, 14 of his 28 orations before the pontificate as well as 27 of his 48 orations and responses from the time of the pontificate, i.e. more than half of the extant orations, had already been published.

5.2.6. Mansi's *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae* (1755-1759)

In 1755-1759,[2] the prolific Lucchese scholar, Giovanni Domenico Mansi, published his comprehensive edition of Pius II's orations and responses, altogether 50 orations and responses of which 17 were from before the pontificate, and 33 from the time of the pontificate. He based his edition on the manuscript Biblioteca Capitolare Feliciana / 544, containing the third version of the Collected orations of Pius II (1462) (see above, sect. 5.1.8.), and adding some texts from other sources.

He did not include those orations and responses which were inserted into the *Commentarii,* already published in 1584 (1614) by Bandini Piccolomini (see above).

Though Mansi did correct a number of scribal errors in the available manuscripts, his edition was not a critical one, being based only on one manuscript, accumulating the scribal errors made in the preceeding manuscript/s in the line of transmission of the text, and adding some new errors connected with typesetting. Still, it gave scholars, clerics and the general interested public relatively easy access to a comprehensive collection of Pius' orations, and it has – to this day – remained the main source for these orations.

5.2.7. Scholarly editions after Mansi[3]

In 1766, J.G. Schwandtner published his *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, Tom. II, with the previously unpublished

- *"Tritum est sermone" [12]* (1447)

[1] As part of Piccolomini's report on the Diet of Regensburg 1454
[2] Vols. 1-2 containing the orations and responses, were published in 1755 and 1757. The third volume, containing other texts was published in 1759
[3] This survey is based on works known to editor as of July 2019. It is quite possible that other scholars of that period may have published orations of Pius in works not presently known to the editor / MCS

In 1770, Leibniz published his *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici*, Pars II, with the:

- *"Superioribus diebus" [66]* (1462)

In 1773, Cardinal Stefano Borgia published the third vol. of his *Anecdota litteraria ex mss. codicibus eruta,* with the previously unpublished

- *"Suscepturi" [76]* (1464), which he republished the year afterwards as an independent publication:

- Pius II: *Oratio de bello Turcis inferendo* ... [Cur.] Stephanus Borgia. Roma: Francesius, 1774

Today, this oration is only known from Borgia's edition.

In 1844, György Fejer published his *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, Tom. XI, with the previously unpublished

- *"Quid est" [3]* (1438)

5.2.8. Modern critical editions

In 1900, J. Haller published the previously unpublished

- *"Si ea quae justa" [4]* (1438)

In 1913, R. Wolkan published the

- *"Tritum est sermone" [12]* (1447)

In 1925, appeared the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (RTA), vol.13, with the

- *"Quid est" [3]* (1438)

In 1967, A. Lhotsky published the

- *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445)

In 1967 appeared the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (RTA), vol. 19/1, with the

- *"Quamvis omnibus" [21]* (1454)

In 1994, J. Helmrath published his *Deutsche Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/1455*, with the

- *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454)
- *"In hoc florentissimo" [23]* (1455)
- *"Si mihi" [24]* (1455)
- *"Optasset" [25]* (1455),

republished in 2013 in the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (RTA), vol. 19/2-3.

In 2005, Hejnic and Rothe published Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*,[1] with the

- *"Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* (1451)

In 2009, M. Wagendorfer and J. Knödler published Piccolomini's *Historia Austrialis*[2] with the

- *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452)

5.2.9. Present edition

Finally, the present edition provides critical editions and translations (the first ever[3]) of all the extant orations, of which the following nine orations are published for the first time:

- *"Si putarem" [5]* (1444)
- *"Nisi satis exploratum" [8]* (1445)
- *"Et breviter me hodie" [10]* (1446)
- *"Quamvis in hoc senatu"* (1451)
- *"Eruditissime" [47]* (1459)
- *"Dilectissime" [48]* (1459)

[1] For previous editions of the *Historia Bohemica,* see Hejnic & Rothe's edition
[2] For previous editions of the *Historia Austrialis,* see Wagendorfer & Knödler's edition
[3] Except for the orations contained in the *Commentarii,* translated by Gragg, Totaro, Meserve and Simonetta and other modern translators of the *Commentarii*

- *"Ecce, ecce" [77]* (1463)
- *"Mirabitur fortassis" [79]* (1459)
- *"Grave illis"[80]* (1459)

This brings the total number of extant and edited orations and responses of Pius II up to 80.[1]

5.3. Digital phase

The digital dissemination of the orations of Pius II began around 2005, when Google and other organizations initiated their great programs of retrodigitization of European literature, including old and not easily available editions of texts.[2]

Today almost all, if not all the print editions of Piccolomini's orations from 1470-1900, including Mansi's collected edition from 1755-1759, are available on the Internet.

Also, the present critical edition of the orations is available on the Internet as a preprint publication. Most of them appear to have been harvested and made directly searchable on the web.

This means that today the whole oratorical *oeuvre* of Pius II is easily and freely available in digital format to all interested parties.

[1] Not counting the *"Cum animadverto",* see above sect. 2.6.
[2] Baldassari & Maxson, p. 513-514

6. THEMES

The major themes of Pius' orations were dictated by the circumstances of the oration, e.g. the particular mission of the embassy which had been entrusted to Piccolomini by the emperor, or which had been sent to him as pope.

6.1. The Turks[1]

Already before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turkish expansion towards Europe was perceived as a threat – also by Piccolomini. In his Turkish orations, he spoke among others on three issues: the crusade against the Turks, the origin, history and culture of the Turks, and the atrocities of the Turks.

6.1.1. Crusade against the Turks[2]

The continued Turkish military advance into Europe in the 15th century constituted a deadly peril to the European states and to the Church. In his monumental biography of the Turkish sultan, Mehmed II, Franz Babinger wrote:

> *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 auszuersehen.*[3] [4]

Pius saw this quite clearly, as confirmed by Alfred Strnad: … *wie er* [Pius II] *uns in seinen "Commentarii" erzählt, fürchtete er mit vollem Recht, dass sich die Osmanen mit den bislang eroberten Gebieten bei weitem nich zufrieden geben würden …*[5]

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[1] There is an extensive literature on the humanists and the Turks and the crusading rhetorics in the Renaissance. See especially the works Robert Schwoebel, James Hankins, Johannes Helmrath, Margaret Meserve, Nancy Bisaha, Karoline Döring

[2] On Pius II and the Turks especially the works of Johannes Helmrath, Margaret Meserve, Nancy Bisaha, Karoline Döring, and Norman Housley have been consulted. Useful is also Wagendorfer: *Studien*, pp. 131-133

[3] Babinger, p. 539, 571

[4] And according to Andrew Wheatcroft, the Ottomans (and the Seljuks) considered *that the Roman empire belonged to them by right of conquest and had become their patrimony*. … *Ottomans regarded the Holy Roman Emperors of the west as usurpers to a title which belonged by right to them*, cf. Wheatcroft, p. 6. This view was also, apparently, held by George of Trebizond, who in a letter to Mehmed II of 25 February 1465 *"ranked him as the legitimate successor of the Roman Caesars"*, cf. Trame, pp. 185-186

[5] Strnad: *Johannes*, p. 77

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

> *… why were western powers so reluctant for such a long time to engage Turkish armies? The answer to this question can be found in part in the sermons given by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, at the conference of Mantua, held in 1459. At that conference, Pius II, in again attempting to call a crusade against the Turks – he had initially tried to do so in 1456,*[1] *with some success, as will be seen below – surmised that there were two reasons why there had not been a western response to Turkish incursions in southeastern Europe since the battle of Nicopolis: first the western European Christian powers had been too busy fighting other Christians, either in international or civil wars; and second the western European realms were too frightened by the Turks to go against them. To these, a third reason could be added for the lack of western military response against the Turkish invasion: the Hungarians were simply too successful in their wars against the Turks. To many in the west, there was no need for a crusade against the Ottomans, for the path to their further southeastern and central European conquests led through Hungary, and Hungary for a very long time after the battle of Nicopolis was able to defend itself.*[2]

It is no coincidence that De Vries refers to Pius II, since this pope is usually considered as one of the most important movers of a European military response to the Turkish advances, and his orations on the crusade against the Turks for a long time set the pattern of the Turkish orations, the *Türkenreden,* as Helmrath says.[3]

James Hankins called him *the greatest crusading pope of the Renaissance.*[4]

Norman Housley, examining the crusading ideas in 15th century Europe, set himself the task *to reassess the reputation of their most brilliant and highly-regarded exponent. Does Pius II deserve the praise he has showered on him?* Concluding his investigation, he wrote:

> *As Pius knew, typically better than anybody else, pope and emperor alike had lost too much authority to head up the military efforts of Catholic Europe. But, for his commitment and resilience, as well as the novel ways of thinking about crusade that underpinned them, he deserves the reputation that he has come to enjoy.*[5]

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[1] Or rather 1454-1455, at three German imperial diets (Regensburg, Frankfurt, Wiener Neustadt)
[2] De Vries, p. 544-545
[3] E.g. Helmrath: *Vestigia*, p. 123
[4] Hankins, p. 113
[5] Housley: *Pope*, pp. 210, 247

However one judges the importance and efficacy of Pius' actions as pope in the Turkish matter, it is difficult to deny that this was an almost life-long concern of Pius, which became more and more serious form him, especially after the Fall of Constantinople, and which in the end became the most important issue of his pontificate.

Already in 1436, at the Council of Basel in 1436, the young Piccolomini told the council fathers, in the oration *"Audivi" [1],* that the Turkish military threat against Europe would require a common European military response:

> *… great is the realm of the Turks, immense is the power of the Asiatics and enormous their riches. They have extended their Empire from Asia to Europe, and they have occupied the whole of Greece as if they were the avengers of the destruction of Troy. To expel them from Greece would not be the task of a single city or state, but of the entire Christian world.* [Sect. 20]

He also mentioned the Turks in the oration/memorandum written for a Milanese ambassador to Emperor-Elect Albrecht II in 1438, the *"Quid est" [3],* again focusing on the Turkish military threat, and arguing that Hungary would be better able to resist the Turks if the Crown of Hungary was united with that of the Empire.[1]

In 1446, in the oration "*Et breviter me hodie" [10] to* Pope Eugenius IV, Piccolomini for the first time described the loss of Asia and Africa to Christianity, and how the Turks (whom Piccolomini still called Teucrians) and Saracens[2], were threatening Christian Europe, the Turks through the Balkans and the Arabs through Moorish Spain, driving the Christians into a corner (*in angulum*) of Europe[3]:

> *Formerly, Asia believed in the crucified Christ and stayed, together with the western peoples, in the Ark of Faith. And so did Africa. But today, oh misery, the whole East is separated from us. Libya[4] has nothing in common with us. In Europe there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians, another by the Saracens, and yet another by schismatics infected with various heresies. Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner*. [Sect. 2]

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[1] Oration *"Quid est"*, sect. 4-5

[2] Generally, the Arabs, and sometimes, in a more restricted sense, the Mamluks

[3] The *angulum* theme Piccolomini had from Flavio Biondo who had used it in his Decades, II, bk. 3, where he put the following passage into the mouth of Urban II at Clermont: *Christianum nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*. Biondo had sent his text to King Alfonso of Aragon in 1443, but Piccolomini came into contact with Biondo during his visits in Rome in 1445 and 1446 and may have learnt of his work at that time, becoming – as Mertens says – *der fleissigste der frühen Leser Biondos* (Mertens: *Claromontani,* p. 74)

[4] I.e. Africa

And the papal measures to counter the Turkish aggression are mentioned:

> *… through your diligent endeavours the Greeks, who had been separated from the Latin Church for several centuries, as well as other Easteners have rejoined Church unity. Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums in order to protect the Hungarians, a wall protecting the Christian faith, to expel the Turks from Europe, and to free the miserable Greeks from their hands, those who were once the masters of the East, but now appear to be slaves.* [Sect. 3]

Five years later, in 1451, Duke Philippe III of Burgundy – desiring to expand his great venture of a "croisade bourguinonne" into a European war against the Turks – sent ambassadors to Emperor Friedrich (and other princes) to request an alliance in this matter. It fell to Piccolomini to answer the Burgundian diplomats on behalf of the emperor and in his presence, which he did in the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17],* stating the emperor's general agreement with the Burgundian proposals and his intention to take up the matter with the pope when he went to Rome for his coronation. In the oration, Piccolomini once again focused on the military threat of the Turks:

> *As for what you said in the second place, His Royal Highness knows it to be true for in recent years he has - to his great sorrow - been informed by frequent messages and letters about the Turks laying waste to Hungary and Greece ….*

But now he added the theme of Turkish and Arab cruelty.

And finally, he mentioned the concept of a joint European military expedition against the Turks, to be discussed between pope and emperor:

> *But seeing how greatly they grew [in power] – though to God it is the same to win with few or many - it did not seem possible, to human reason, to be able to destroy so great strength, so large a war apparatus, and so great forces, unless the whole of Christendom would rise up and go against the enemies with burning courage, common counsel and one mind. And now that your prince has declared his vital interest in the matter, His Royal Highness will take it up so much more willingly and recommend it to the pope, and he will do all he can for the peace of the Christian People and the defense of the Faith.* [Sect. 4, 6]

The year after, in connection with his coronation in Rome in March 1452, the emperor kept his promise about consulting with the pope on a crusade, and at that occasion he had Piccolomini deliver an oration to Pope Nicolaus V, the "*Moyses vir Dei" [19]*, again in the emperor's own presence and on his behalf, urging the pope to organize a crusade against the Turks:

Eagerly and earnestly desiring that there should be a crusade, in his days, against the impious followers of Muhammad, and directing all his energy and resources towards this goal, Holy Caesar Friedrich, August Emperor of the Romans, your most obedient son, has therefore decided first to consult, hear, and follow you, Vicar of the Great God, Holy Head, Perfect Leader, Eminent Governor, and True Teacher of the Christian people: your wisdom will know what should be done, your authority will impose it, and your power will execute it.

And later in the same oration:

If the Christians are to have peace between them, war should be turned against foreigners. In this matter, neither the shining spirit of the Germans, nor the noble heart of the French, nor the lofty mind of the Spaniards, nor the honour-loving spirit of the Italians will fail. All will single-mindedly obey Your Holiness' commands. Who may doubt the feasibility of a crusade decreed by the authority of the Roman pontiff and summoned by the order of the emperor? To me it seems that the thing is as much as done, and I have no doubts at all if you say the word and the emperor lends his hand. For who will fail to obey when he is summoned by your decrees and the command of the emperor? [Sect. 2, 20]

The catastrophe finally happened: Constantinople fell to the Turks in May 1453, causing a major shock and scare among the Europeans.

During the next two years, three imperial diets were held, in Regensburg May 1454, in Frankfurt October 1455, and in Wiener Neustadt March-May 1455. The central topic of these diets was the military response to Turkish expansion into Europe. At each diet, the main speaker was Piccolomini who, as the emperor's spokesman, invited the German princes to go to war against the Turks.[1]

At the Diet of Regensburg, he told the assembly, including the Duke of Burgundy, in the oration "*Quamvis omnibus" [21]*, about the past defeats inflicted upon the Christians by the Turks, including a dramatic description of the Fall of Constantinople. He then issued an urgent warning against the strong threat to Europe presented by a Turkish sultan bent on conquering and eradicating Christianity:

And - as rumoured and reported quite reliably by people who know him - the prince of the Turks is quite elated by his acquisition of this great city and will certainly not want peace and quiet. On the contrary, he is contemplating even greater things and is gathering large armies

[1] These orations have been studied extensively in Helmrath: *Die Reichstagsreden,* and have been published in the RTA. See also Helmrath: *German;* Helmrath: *Pius*; and Helmrath: *Vestigia*, p. 123

and great fleets, intending to invade the Christian lands, one after the other, by land and by sea. Indeed, he wishes to completely destroy the Christian name.

And finally came the vibrant exhortation to a crusade against the Turks:

Our most important task is to demand of Your Excellencies that you absolutely do not depart from here before you have made a unanimous decision to not only defend what remains of Christianity, but also to reclaim, as far as possible, what is still in the hands of the enemies. [Intermediate and Final Version, sect. 6]

It should be noted that at this point the crusade, according to Piccolomini, would not only have the purpose of defending Europe against the Turks, but also to reconquer lands previously lost to the Turks and the Arabs, including the Holy Land with Jerusalem.

The Diet in Regensburg ended with a unanimous decision to raise a crusade against the Turks and a decision to summon a new diet to discuss its practical organization.

This diet met in Frankfurt half a year afterwards, in October.

In the meantime, the terror caused by the Fall of Constantinople had greatly abated, and there was no enthusiasm among the Germans for a crusade. Piccolomini was quite aware of this, but, undaunted, he held the powerful oration "*Constantinopolitana Clades" [22].* In this oration Piccolomini, following classical models, dealt with three main issues of the war, i.e. justice (*justitia*), benefits (*utilitas*), and feasibility (*facilitas*).

Concerning the justice (*justitia*) of the war Piccolomini referred to the injuries and damages inflicted upon the Christian religion by the Turks, the need for the Christians to protect themselves against further attacks, and the fact that the war was requested by the two heads of Christianity, the emperor and the pope – and even by God himself! [cf. section 9]

Concerning the benefits (*utilitas*) of the war Piccolomini firstly pointed to the need for self-defense:

If you take up arms in defense of the Hungarians, the Albanians, the Serbians, and the other peoples who are neighbours of the Turk and who share our faith, you will protect not only your allies, but also yourselves, your wives, and your children from this terrible danger. This is, Princes, the great benefit of the war as I see it. [Sect. 22]

Secondly, he pointed to the benefits of showing gratitude, in this case to God who had not only created the Germans as men, but also given the German Nation empire over the Latin Christian

World [Sect. 24-26]. And finally, Piccolomini described the spoils of war that would fall to the victors, though he also advised against them as a motive for war. [Sect. 29].

Concerning the feasibility (*facilitas*) Piccolomini claimed that the Germans were, in all matters, better suited for war than the Turks:

> *You have an abundance of all that is considered necessary for war, you are strong soldiers, and you have experienced leaders who are lucky in war. Moreover, it is reasonable to hope that God will favour his own cause. And finally, your enemies are greatly inferior to you. Thus, there is absolutely no reason for you to shy away from a war that is so just and so advantageous.* [Sect. 36]

The audience much appreciated Piccolomini's oratory, but its support of the crusade project was still rather lukewarm. It was decided to deal with the matter again at a third diet, at the Imperial Court in Wiener Neustadt.

This diet opened on 25 February 1455 with an oration by Piccolomini, the "*In hoc florentissimo" [23].* In this oration, the focus was on two major issues: how Christians should conduct a war, and the unimportance of Turkish superiority in numbers.[1]

On the Christian war, Piccolomini told the audience that all victories come from God, who only gives them to those who are just and good. When Christians suffer defeats, it is because of their sins.[2] For a crusade to succeed they must therefore repent of their evil ways, and do away with vice, including pride, greed, cruelty and licentiousness, and idleness. A Christian war should be conducted on the basis of the following principles:

> *in war, you must keep your word to your enemies. Moreover, you should not treat them cruelly for they, too, are men, and they may even think that they are fighting a just war. On our part, we should take care not to engage in war without reasonable cause, and the counsels of peace should always prevail over arms. When necessary, we should not decline to fight for our Faith, country, and truth, but we should show moderation so as not to be regarded as cruel, faithless, and inhuman. We should not thirst for blood: after a victory, the authors of evil should be punished, with moderation, but the many should be spared.[3] And though civil law declares that the victor may legitimately keep the spoils of war, a Christian should not take any such, he*

[1] There is some doubt about which text Piccolomini actually used for his oration to the diet, see introduction to the *"In hoc florentissimo"*

[2] This had become a topos of religious and humanist crusade oratory, based on traditional models – including the Old Testament and Saint Augustine - of explaining the defeats and misfortune of believers in God. Cf. McManamon: *Funeral,* p. 80*: The advance of the Turks in the Quattrocento was interpreted as proof of Christian immorality*

[3] Actually, Piccolomini borrowed these Christian principles from Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.11.34-35; 1.23.81

should not destroy cities, nor plunder, nor slaughter the crowd, but consider it sufficient to get peace through war.[1] [Sect. 129]

On the Turkish superiority in in numbers, Piccolomini had these encouraging words:

> *An army which is too large is always at risk of being slaughtered. But if your army gathers in the numbers that have been decided, it will neither be contemptible because of its smallness nor defeated because of its great numbers. You will have experienced leaders and strong and disciplined soldiers, ready for the signals. You will be fighting as armed against unarmed, skilled against unskilled, brave against cowards. For, as Aristotles testifies, the Asiatics are not warlike. To this should be added that the Turks are not loved by the Greeks. They will be fighting surrounded by enemies, and once they begin to flee, they shall have to fear not only you, but also their Greeks. So, since you will be fighting in God's cause, there is no reason for you to fear the numbers of the Turks for God can just as easily win with small forces as with large ones. Indeed, he would rather win with few soldiers so that the victory will be seen to be his entirely.* [Sect. 36]

When the Hungarian delegation arrived at the diet, Piccolomini gave another oration of welcome, the *"Si mihi" [24],* rehashing the themes from his earlier orations, but with special focus on Hungary, the frontier state between the Turks and Christian Europe, and the relations between the emperor and his young cousin, King Ladislaus of Hungary.

Before the end of the diet, the pope died, and with a general sigh of relief the diet was closed and the crusade project put on hold. It fell to Piccolomini to announce to the Hungarians, in the oration "*Optasset" [25]* of 23 April, the formal postponement of the military expedition until May 1456, but everyone would have been aware that this was probably tantamount to a cancellation of the whole venture, and that German help to Hungary would not be forthcoming soon.

At the Diet in Wiener Neustadt, it thus, finally, became obvious that the emperor and the empire was unwilling and unable to mount a joint military expedition against Turks.

Afterwards, Piccolomini was dispatched to Rome to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to the new pope, Calixtus III. In his oration to the pope, the "*Solent plerique" [26]*, Piccolomini also spoke on the war against the Turks, making it quite plain that as the emperor was not able to organize a military expedition, it now fell to the pope to do so in the form of a proper crusade:

[1] Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.81: *Bellum autem ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur*

As you know, the emperor is endeavouring to oppose this pestiferous beast and these evils. But as already said, his plans have been blocked. However, he does not give up, and he does not lose courage: he is disappointed, but he is not worn down. If one way does not work, he will try another. As Emperor of the Romans, Champion of the Church, Protector of the true faith, Duke of Austria, pious prince and Christian, he will certainly do everything which he ought to do for the protection of our religion. But since it is the joint task of all the faithful to cast out the Turks and to avenge the injury to Christians, and since it requires great expenses and great forces, the emperor begs of Your Holiness, as Vicar of Christ, that together with him and before the enemy approaches any further, you should endeavour to make the Christian powers keep peace between themselves, turn their weapons against the infidels, and chase the common enemy out of Europe. This may seem difficult in this unhappy time of ours when we are so disunited; but nothing is impossible for a dedicated man. Those who are vigilant, insistent, and energetic will succeed in everything they wish for: toil triumphs over every obstacle. [Sect. 18]

Therefore, arise, open large the coffers of the Church, open the gates of Heaven, promise a just reward for the labours, bestow generous spiritual gifts on Christ's soldiers, send workers into the field who may reap a harvest to please the Lord. This is your task, this is how you can please both God and men. [Sect. 22].

Pope Calixtus was actually quite eager to start a crusade against the Turks, but he was hampered by a war in Italy.

On 6 June 1456, the peace between Siena and Jacobo Piccinino, negotiated in Naples under the auspices of King Alfonso V, was proclaimed and celebrated with a religious ceremony in the cathedral. On that occasion, Piccolomini gave an oration, the *"Modestius" [27],* in which he reminded the king of his promise to join a crusade against the Turks with a powerful fleet:

In the past year, the Holy Apostolic See has sent legates, demanded tenths, granted indulgences, and commissioned ships. Moreover, Your Majesty has taken the cross and published many and great threats against the enemies of the Faith. But nobody believed that a crusade could take place when the storm of war wasted the regions close to the Roman Curia and almost entered the suburbs of the City. But now that the Italian conflicts are completely solved, we must expect that you will, with a great and powerful fleet – 500 sails, you usually say – sail to the East in order to avenge the injury to God and Our Saviour, recover Constantinople, and restore the whole of Greece to the Christian name. [Sect. 3]

When Calixtus III died in August 1456, the cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Piccolomini who took the name of Pius II.

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

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

> *First, he will swear and promise to pursue, with all his might, the expedition, already begun, against the infidel enemies of the Cross, for the expansion and propagation of the Faith, until its successful conclusion, according to the means of the Roman Church and on the advice of his brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, or the majority of them.*[1]

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

> *I, Pius II, promise and swear to keep each and all [of the above clauses], as far as I can, with God, and [safeguarding] the honour and the justice of the Apostolic See.*[2]

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

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

Undoubtedly, there were other motives, too. Pius' personal itinerary of faith made the crusade a worthy and logical expression of his belief in God and of his passionate need to redeem himself after a youth which he now deeply regretted.[3]

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

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

[2] Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 8: *Ego Pius II praemissa omnia et singula promitto et juro servarem quantum cum Deo et honestate et justitia sedis apostolicae potero*

[3] Cf. the papal bull *In minoribus agentes,* of 1463. English translation in: Reject, nr. 78, pp. 392-406

And to say openly what I think: the most certain way to have the Christian kings and all the faithful nations submit willingly to you as the Vicar of Christ is to undertake a spirited and magnificent defense of our Faith, just like you have inspired hope by making your vow, by promoting peace in Italy, and by designating wise legates, and as you appear to be completely intent on working, with all your force, to destroy the filthy and impious Turkish people. [Sect. 22]

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

But the most glorious title which may be written on your sarcophage is to be called the pope who regained Constantinople, lost under your predecessor, and who avenged the shared injury. [Sect. 22]

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

After his coronation, Pius soon decided that the starting point would have to be a meeting with the European princes to decide in common on such a crusade.

The idea of European Congress on the crusade was not new. It had been proposed by the Duke of Burgundy in connection with his diplomatic offensive for a European crusade against the Turks in 1451.[1]

And in his letter of 13 July 1453 to Pope Nicolaus, announcing the Fall of Constantinople, Piccolomini had written that it was incumbent on the pope to organize a joint military action against the Turks and that the pope should ask kings, princes, and cities to send representatives to a congress on this matter.[2]

A week afterwards, in a letter to Cardinal Nicholas of Cues, of 21 July, he repeated the idea, urging the pope and the cardinals to summon the princes to a meeting on a war against the Turks.[3]

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[1] See above, and cf. RTA, 19/1, p. 143

[2] WO, III, I, nr. 109, p. 201: *Quanto melius tantum armorum tantumque militiae in hostes fidei verteremus? Verum, beatissime pater, non scio, cui magis quam vestre sanctitati hec cura debeatur. Vestrum est jam assurgere, scribere regibus, mittere legatos, monere, hortari principes atque communitates in aliquem communem locum aut veniant aut mittant, nuncque dum malum est recens Christianae rei publicae consulere festinent, pacem aut indutias inter socios fidei componant atque junctis viribus adversus salutifere crucis inimicos arma moveant*

[3] WO, III, I, nr. 112, p. 214: *Vocent reges et principes in certum aliquem locum, dicant conveniendi diem, mittant legatos de latere summi pontificis, exponant mala, que passa est modo Christiana res publica, dicant que futura*

The idea of a congress is also mentioned in Piccolomini's *Dialogus,* begun in 1454 and published in 1457, where he had Constantine the Great, in Heaven, make this request of Christ after the Fall of Constantinople, which Constantine himself had established as the capital of the empire:

> *Allow me to leave Heaven and go to Earth, and let those [from Heaven] who wish to, come with me to consider the affairs of mortal men and to hold a meeting of Christians to provide for your religion.*[1]

The proposal had actually been implemented when, after the Fall of Constantinople, the emperor summoned imperial diets on the crusade, inviting the European powers to participate. But these initiatives had failed to produce a crusade.

The same did a – very poorly attended - conference of ambassadors summoned by Pope Calixtus III in Rome.[2] [3] Cardinal Piccolomini must have been closely associated with this initiative, too.

Nonetheless, very shortly after his coronation, Pius began to discuss the matter of a congress with the College of Cardinals and when he had decided to hold the congress, he, in the oration "*Ut apertum vobis" [29]*, submitted the question of the venue for the congress to a forum of curials and envoys of Italian and other European powers present in Rome, on 10 October 1459.

Eventually, it was decided to hold the congress in Mantua, to open on 1 June 1459.

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

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

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timentur pericula, providendi modos aperiant, inter Christianos aut pacem aut inducias belli componant, crucem predicent, remissionem peccatorum polliceantur; intonet apostolica tuba, nihil negligat, nihil hoc tempore omittat. Non est michi dubium, si locus rebus accomodus nominetur, quin reges aut veniant aut mittant bonisque animis hoc fidei negocium amplectantur

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

[2] Rainaldus, ad ann. 1457, nos. 36-37; ad ann. 1458, nos. 9, 35. See also Pastor, I, p. 585

[3] Picotti, pp. 49-51

Towards the end of September, all the Italian powers were represented in Mantua, and most of the European powers, with France as a notable exception, see Pius' oration *"Mirabitur fortassis"* [79] from that month.

The Congress could begin.

At a solemn meeting of the delegates, in the Cathedral of Mantua on 26 September 1459, the pope gave his opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]*, one of his most famous orations, and indeed writings.

In this oration, he again based himself on the triple concepts of justice, feasibility and benefits of the war.

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

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

the [books of the] Sibyl to you. Unless we go against them, they will come, the Turks, they will come, and take our country and people. [Sect. 17-18].

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

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

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

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

Piccolomini's reference to wars in Asia Minor in Antiquity was an expression of a curiously synchronous concept of history: those wars were fought 1.500 years ago and so much had changed in the meantime that it could only be ignored at one's peril.

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

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

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

The audience, therefore, may have admired the pope's eloquence, but they remained quite skeptical concerning the fundamental realities of the matter. Pius correctly sensed the mood of the assembly, when towards the end he exclaimed: *You are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations* [sect. 42], proving that if he may in some respects have been naïve, he was by no means stupid.

During the following months, it became abundantly clear that the European powers, including the key-player Venice, were in reality opposed to a crusade against the Turks.

Again putting a brave face on it, Pius, in his concluding oration, the "*Septimo jam mense" [54]* summed up the promises of the ambassadors and said:

> *… when We heard that Greece was lost, that the Christian people was under daily and increasing pressure from the Turks, that our holy places were being profaned, and the sacred Gospel trod underfoot, Our idea was neither to drag Muhammad away by his beard, nor to take the Turks and the Arabs away in chains, nor to reclaim Jerusalem and Constantinople – for We are not that headstrong and conceited - but to safeguard what was left of the Christian name. And We did not imagine that this could happen immediately, but considered that We should take counsel on this matter with the Christian princes. The Lord has not given Us Eugenius' elevated spirit nor Nicolaus' sublime mind, nor Calixtus' great soul - no: cold blood gathers around our heart. They declared war on the Turks by themselves, they mobilized armies, they prepared navies. We, however, have never believed that the Roman Church could sustain such a great burden of war on its own, but We did think that a congress of Christians had to be summoned for common discussion of common interests, remembering the saying that designs are strengthened by counsels, and wars are to be managed by governments. This is what they criticize Us for, calling Our fear audacity and Our deliberation temerity. But the chatterboxes, and there are many of them, claim that it was in vain that We left the City, came here and spent many days fruitlessly, since nothing has been achieved which can give good hope to the Christian people. This is foolish slander and unjust criticism. … We did believe that the Christian kings would do much. But only God, who alone is good and wise, knows what is good for us. What we have achieved here is what He wanted. No human curiosity can penetrate his designs. We admit that We have not achieved all that We intended to, but neither have all failed. What the Christian princes have promised is not much, but it is not little either, and at any rate it is much more than many thought possible. Another might try to embellish the matter with highsounding words, but Our task is to show the simple truth and nothing else, and to say with the prophet:* Give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments. *"What works?," someone may say. Indeed those works which the Lord did in this congress, for it is by His will that all participants with one mind and one mouth have agreed to declare war on the Turks*. [Sect. 2-5]

Note that by now there is no talk af reconquering Constantinople or the Holy Land, only of defending Europe against further Turkish military aggression.

In the years after the Congress of Mantua it became painfully obvious that the promises of kings, princes and city states of contributions to 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 consolation 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, the pope's energies and resources were during these years tied up in two other wars, one in the Church State to restore papal control and one in the Kingdom of Naples to support the Spanish dynasty of Aragon and keep the French out of Southern Italy, so it would really not be possible for him at the same time to engage in a large scale war against the Turks.

Still, the pope's 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 agreement 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.

A first development concerned the military situation in the Papal States and in the Kingdom of Naples: his enemies in the Church States were being defeated, and the military situation in the Kingdom was much improving. It was mainly a matter of time before the three allies, the pope, the Duke of Milan, and King Ferrante would defeat the Angevins.

A 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), and they had not been very helpful in the matter of the crusade.

In the meantime, it had become quite evident that the Turk would pursue his military expansion, including conquering lands belonging to the Venetians. 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.

As early as 1461 there had been various contacts between the pope and Venice on the matter of the crusade. 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 to further this matter.

In this situation, Pius decided to re-activate the crusade project.

In his coronation oath, the pope had promised that his crusading venture would 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 oration "*Existimatis fortasse" [64].*[1]

On the failure of his previous strategy for mobilizing a crusade Pius said:

> *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:

> *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]

[1] The incipit *"Existimatis fortasse"* was quite significant, since it also formed the beginning of the oration in Clermont 1095, which Flavio Biondo put into the mouth of Urban II (Flavio Biondo: *Decades*, II, bk. 3)

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

> *But remaining silent, day and night, We have became 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.

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.*[1]

But, however much Pius' religious motivation for a crusade had grown, it was undeniable that the earlier strategies for its mobilization 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 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, 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 III of Burgundy. At the Feast of the Pheasant in January 1454 he had promised to go on a crusade if one other major prince of Europe

[1] Bisaha, p. 50

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. In the oration Pius told the cardinals:

> *Remaining silent, day and night, We have became 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.*
>
> *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]

Some days afterwards, the six cardinals assented to the pope's plan.

Afterwards, procedure was set in motion aiming at a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, the Papacy - and France, if possible.

Venice: already on 8 March a letter was sent to Doge Malipiero in Venice. It was received positively, and probably with some relief. Nonetheless, Venice typically procrastinated, but after the death of Doge Malipiero in May 1462 and the succession of Doge Christoforo Moro, it began to move towards war. Finally, on 28 July 1463, the Venetian Senate decided to declare war against the Turks.

When the news of the Venetian declaration of war reached Rome, in the beginning of August 1463, the pope gave a short triumphant address to the cardinals in a consistory, the *"Ecce ecce" [77],* in which he first spoke of the Venetian decision itself, pointing out that the Venetians 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 1459, had now, four years after, seen the wisdom of the papal project.

The second theme of the oration was that 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]

The third theme was assistance to the Venetians and the planning of the crusade, to be launched following 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 expedition they have launched, and giving them aid this year. Secondly, we must consider the expedition to be made next year. [Sect. 2]

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.

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.

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. 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.

As for Hungary on 12 September 1463 Venice and Hungary signed a treaty of alliance directed against the Turks.

Having succeeded in creating the basis for a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy and the Papacy, 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 of Tournai, gave an address to the pope. 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 leave personally - in spring 1464 - to take part in the reconquest of

Constantinople. The pope replied with an oration to the whole assembly, the "*Expectatis" [73],* in which he said:

> *Who can praise this prince [the Duke of Burgundy] 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!* [Sect. 2] *… Maybe God will now have mercy upon us and finally grant that a strong 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 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. The pope's reply to the ambassador, in which he held both the high grounds of papal morality and the low grounds of a worldly politician, was afterwards written up as an oration, the "*Si essemus ipsi" [74]*.

In view of the initial Venetian military successes against the Turks in the Peloponnese, the pope was confident that the formal alliance between the parties already committed to the crusade was in itself sufficient for an effective 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 being necessary by virtue of the pope's coronation oath.

On 23 September the pope summoned the College of Cardinals to a secret (closed) consistory in which he gave the very important oration "*Sextus agitur annus" [75]*.

The main themes of this oration were:

- **The two wars in Italy which the pope had been fighting had been forced upon him and they had had to end 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 had to 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 were fighting for Christ. Attacking the lands of Sigismondo, We were fighting the Turks. [Sect. 5]

- **Now that the Italian wars were finished, the pope and the cardinals were free to go on a crusade against the Turks even if it meant giving up 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 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 is 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 hierarchy**

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]

- **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 in this difficult situation? 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 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 welcome.

- **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!

- **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]

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.

On 19 October 1463, the treaty between Rome, Venice, and Burgundy concerning a crusade against the Turks was signed. 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.

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*. The duke could thus justifiably believe that the French king would not prevent him from joining the crusade.

Three days later, on 22 October, Pope Pius II issued the great crusade bull *Ezechielis* to all Christendom.

In his *Commentari,* Pius wrote about the events*:*

> *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* [the papal bull Ezechielis] *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 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, but he had done it: the honour of God, of the Papacy, and of Pius himself was saved.

[1] CO, XII, 37 (Gragg), p. 835

It was, however, to be his last triumph.

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 himself and Jean, and because of the unfinished negotiations for peace with England, and the spectre of another war between France on the one side and England/Burgundy on the other side.

On 23 February 1464, King Louis 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 if the negotiations with the English failed, the duke should 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.

The duke 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 message evidently caused despair and doubt at the Papal Court, but eventually the pope decided 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.

During the ceremony of departure from Rome, held at Saint Peter's Basilica, the pope gave the oration "*Suscepturi" [76],* in which he motivated his personal participation in the crusade and asked for the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints. He 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." 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]

So, he had to go himself, convinced that only if he did so, would the princes follow. The hope proved to be foolish, but his faith was great and unshaken, as he prayed to the saints:

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]

Pius 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 finally 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.

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 there is no doubt, however:

The crusade project of Pope Pius II was based on a quite realistic assessment of the Turkish danger to Europe and Christianity. 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.

6.1.2. Origins, history and culture of the Turks

The Turkish descent from the Trojans was a topos of among early humanists,[1] and it was even part of a French national myth of the origins of the French.[2]

Pius wrote about the origin and history of the Turks in several of his works, including a number of the orations:

In the "*Audivi" [1]* (1436), he expressed the conviction that the Turks were somehow related to the Trojans, and that they had conquered Greece as avengers of Troy.[3]

In the orations "*Quid est" [3]* (1438) to emperor-elect Albrecht II, the oration "*Et breviter me hodie" [10]* (1446) to pope Eugenius IV, and again in the oration "*Tritum est sermone" [12]* (1447) to the same pope, he used the name Teucri for the Turks.[4] As Teucri was the name Virgil had used for the Trojans, Piccolomini's use of that same name for the Turks was consistent with a belief in the descendance or some other kind of relationship beween the Turks and the Trojans, glorious ancestors of the Romans.

His studies of Otto von Freising's historical works and the work of Aethicus Ister later led him to reject the existence of such a relationship and to claim instead that the Turks descended from the Scythians.

In the oration "*Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454) at the imperial diet in Frankfurt he told the audience:

> *Many think that the Turks come from Asia Minor and call them Teucrians (though the Teucrians certainly did note hate letters). But this is not so: the Turks are a Scythian people that have come from the middle of Barbary. According to the philosopher Aethicus, they dwelled beyond Euxinum and the Pirrichian Mountains by the Northern Sea. It was an unclean, inglorious people, debauched and practicing all kinds of sexual excesses. According to your Otto, Bishop of Freising, the Turkish people came out from the Caspian Mountains at the time*

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[1] The descent of the Turks from the Trojans was a common belief at the time. One example: The canon regular Timoh of Verona "claimed that Mehmed was attracted to Italy by its riches and the graves of his Trojan ancestors", see Schwoebel, p. 31-32, quoting Iorga: *Notes et extraits,* IV, p. 74-75. See also Meserve: *Empires*, pp. 22-64, and Heath

[2] Asher, p. 10: *According to the Fredegar chronicle, the exiled Trojans split into two groups, of which one populated Macedonia. The other elected a king called Francio, after whom they were named Franks … While they were wandering about Europe, some separated themselves from the main body and elected as king Torquotus (or Torcoth): from this group were descended the Turks*

[3] Oration *"Audivi" [1],* sections 20-21

[4] On Piccolomini´s use of the term "Teucri" and switch to the term "Turci", see Helmrath: *Pius,* p. 110-111: *Enea Silvio, der zunächst auch ganz selbstverständlich von Teucri sprach, machte spätestens 1447 in Form einer Sprachreinigung ernst. Pedantisch wurden seine Briefe und Reden purgiert oft mit rhetorischer correctio. "Turci, ne dicam Teucri."* Actually Piccolomini used the term Teucri for the Turks as late as 1453, in a letter to Cardinal Zbignew Olesnicki of 10 September 1453. (WO, III, I, p. 251)

when Pippin ruled the Franks, set off on the long road to Asia Minor, and stayed there ever since. Having lived for many centuries under a pleasant sky and in a gentler country, they have acquired some culture, but still they reek of their former uncouthness, and they have not completely put off their barbarous manners. They still eat the flesh of horses, bisons, and vultures, they are slaves of lust, they indulge in cruelty, they hate letters, and they persecute the studies of humanity. Now, learned and eloquent Greece has fallen into their hands: how anybody can deplore this enough, I do not know.[1]

And in the oration "*Solent plerique" [26]* (1455) to Pope Calixtus III, he said:

Now, we shall deal with the second part of our mission which is the protection of the Christian cause against the Turks. I do not call them Teucrians for I would never fall into the error of attributing the name of those who are thought to be the fathers of the Roman people to that barbarous and filthy people. For the Trojans and the Teucrians are the same people from which arose the Aeneids and the Julian clan which founded the Roman Empire. But the Turks, who now occupy those regions where Ilion and Neptunian Troy were once situated, descend from the Scythians. When Pippin ruled the Franks they migrated to Asia Minor and gradually subjugated that province. They are a foul and disgraceful race, licentious and addicted to all kinds of debauchery. At that time they worshipped pagan idols, today the follow impious Muhammad, the bitter enemy of our religion. [Sect. 15]

6.1.3. Atrocities of the Turks

In his great crusade orations at the imperial diets in Regensburg and Frankfurt and at the Congress of Mantua, Pius appealed strongly to the emotions of the audiences. Central to this theme was the cruelty of the Turks which was fast becoming a topic of humanist crusade literature.[2]

He had already used the theme of Islamic cruelty towards Christians in the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]* to Burgundian ambassadors at the Imperial Court in 1451, saying:

His Royal Highness also has personal knowledge of the blasphemies perpetrated by the sultan, for inspired by fervent devotion he desired to see the country where Our Lord was born and suffered, and to kiss the earth trodden by His feet. At great risk, he crossed the archipelago with its islands, visited Jerusalem, and travelled through Syria. There His Highness saw the tyrannical frenzy of the savage sultan, a monster more than a man, and his impious treatment

[1] Oration *"Constantinopoliatana clades" [22]* (Final Version), sect. 13
[2] De Vries, pp. 550-555; Döring, p. 437-438; Smith: *Pius*

of the Christians: he robs Christian men, innocent, just, and dear to God, of their home, he plunders their estate, he loads them with chains, shuts them up in prison, and punishes them with wild beasts, swords, and fire. And not content with a brief endurance of their sufferings, and with a simple and swift exhaustion of pains, he sets on foot tedious tortures, by tearing their bodies; he multiplies punishments by lacerating their vitals. Nor can his brutality and fierceness be content with ordinary tortures; his ingenious cruelty devises new sufferings.[1] *So His Royal Highness knows about the doings of the sultan and the plots of the Turk. He suffers and feels with the Christian people.* [Sect. 4]

Interestingly, this description of Islamic cruelty Piccolomini took from a letter by Cyprian of Carthage, who lived more than three centuries before Muhammad!

Having rehearsed the description of Turkish cruelty during the conquest of Constantinople in the oration *"Quamvis omnibus" [21],* held at the Diet of Regensburg in May 1454, Piccolomini gave it full oratorical flow in the oration "*Constantinopolitane clades" [22],* held half a year later in Frankfurt:

Without any provocation whatsoever, Mehmed (as the ruler of the Turks is called) went to war against the Greeks, and besieged and conquered the poorly defended Constantinople. There, in the final peril of his fatherland, Emperor Constantine was killed, fighting desperately against the Turks as they entered the city. His head was set on a spear and carried around for all to see. The Greeks were slaughtered atrociously. Not only those who tried to defend themselves, but also those who had thrown down their weapons and surrended were killed. I accept that many were killed in the first furious assault. But I find it horrible and revolting that when the city had been conquered, the arms laid down, and the citizens enchained, then the worst atrocities took place, then sons were killed before the eyes of their parents, then noblemen were butchered like cattle, then priests were tormented and monks tortured, then holy virgins were ravished, then matrons and daughters-in-law were abused. Oh, miserable city! Oh, unhappy people! Oh, accursed Mehmed! Who can tell this without shedding tears? Everywhere you would see mourning, murder, blood, and corpses.

Mehmed himself - with fearsome face, wild eyes, terrible voice, cruel words, and horrible gestures - demands murder, and now he orders this one, now that one to be killed. He washes his hands in the blood of Christians. He defiles everything. He pollutes all. The temples of our God are given over to the pseudoprophet; the divine altars are torn down; the bones of

[1] Cyprianus: *Ad Demetrianum,* 12. MPL, 4, cols. 553-554: *innoxios, justos Deoque caros domo privas, patrimonio spolias, cathenis premis, carcere includis, gladio, bestiis, ignibus punis, nec saltem contentus es dolorum nostrorum compendio et simplici ac veloci brevitate poenarum admoves laniandis corporibus longa tormenta, multiplicas lacerandis visceribus numerosa supplicia; nec feritas atque immanitas tua usitatis potest contenta esse, tormentis excogitat novas poenas ingeniosa crudelitas*

martyrs and other saints now reigning with Christ are thrown to pigs and dogs; the statues are smashed, the paintings destroyed. Not even the icon of the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven, the glorious Virgin Mary, is spared. A crucifix of Christ, Our Lord, is brought to the camp with much shouting and scornful laughter and to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets. There it is mocked, spat upon, and soiled. Oh, unatonable crime! Oh, dishonour to the Christian people! Oh, eternal shame to our name: the sign under which we have been redeemed and saved was mocked by the rotten people of the Turks, [putting up a sign saying]: "This is the God of the Christians!" in order to show that what we are venerating is an empty symbol. [Final Version, sect. 9-11]

Pius also used the theme of Turkish cruelty in his grand oration "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* at the Congress of Mantua in 1459, but with less emphasis, and greater focus on the past Christian losses to Islam and the clear present Turkish military threat against Europe.

Indeed, he may have developed a more nuanced with of the matter, as De Vries believes:

Pope Pius II did come to realize that the image of Turkish evil and violence was untrue, a sentiment he expressed frequently throughout his lengthy letter to Mehmed II written sometime around 1459. Indeed, Pius even seems to understand that the military depredations which others had ascribed solely to the Turks – "many cities have been destroyed, sacred buildings burned, virgins raped, and matrons violated" – were the responsibility of both sides, Turk and Christian, who "have contended for supremacy by the sword."[1]

6.1.4. Turkish victories as God's punishment of Christians' sins

Already in his crusade oration *"Quamvis in hic senatu*" *[17]* of 1451 Piccolomini had – with references to Cyprian - touched on the theme of Turkish victories being God's punishment of the Christians for their sins or a form of trial of their faith:

So, His Royal Highness knows about the doings of the Sultan and the plots of the Turk. He suffers and feels with the Christian people. But these things are done with God's permission for because of our sins our adversary has been given power to cause us grief, as it is written: "Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon came to Jerusalem, and besieged it; and the Lord delivered it into his hand …" Now power is given against us in two modes, as Cyprian says, either for punishment when we sin, or for glory when we are proved. About the first it is written: "Who hath given Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to robbers? hath not the Lord himself, against whom we have sinned? And they would not walk in his ways." About the second the Holy Spirit says through Moses: "The Lord your God will afflict you and send you hunger that the things that

[1] De Vries, p. 550

were in thy heart might be made known, whether thou wouldst keep his commandments or no." For faith, if when tried it shall stand fast, is crowned. And Paul says: "There must be also heresies: that they also, who are approved, may be made manifest among you. This way the faithful are approved, the wicked detected, and even before the Day of Judgment, the souls of the righteous and of the unrighteous are already divided, and the chaff is separated from the wheat, for virtue is perfected through adversity." So, these things happen with the permission of God so that He may examine our hearts and minds with the test of truth. [Sect. 4]

He returned to theme of punishment in his oration "*In hoc florentissimo" [23]* (1455), at the diet in Wiener Neustadt:

Concerning the defeats that our forefathers suffered at the hands of the infidels and those that we are now suffering daily, we should not believe that Divine Piety is against our religion and favours the sect of our enemies. For them God hates, since nobody can please God without Faith. The reason that he castigates us is that Faith without works is dead. God gives our enemies victory unto death, but us he sends captivity unto life. In the second Book of the Machabees it is written, that it is a token of great goodness, when sinners are not suffered to go on in their ways for a long time, but are presently punished. For, not as with other nations, (whom the Lord patiently expecteth, that when the day of judgment shall come, he may punish them in the fulness of their sins:) Doth he also deal with us, so as to suffer our sins to come to their height, and then take vengeance on us. And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: but though he chastise his people with adversity he forsaketh them not. "But," you say, "worshippers of God have often been defeated by people who do not know God." This evidently happens because of our sins. For we never read about God now opening the sea, now closing it for the sake of infidels. Nor has a pillar of fire burnt for them in the night, nor has a pillar of cloud been given them as protection against the heat; nor has the sun stood still, nor has the flow of rivers stopped, nor has the walls of cities fallen because of prayers alone, as it is reported to have happened for those who served God. So why should we not place our hope in true Faith and pure innocence? Let us expect victory, if we are good, and let us fear captivity and death if we are wicked. [Sect. 18]

Pius did not develop this theme of God's punishment of the Christians in his other crusade orations, though he does mention of the sins of the Christians, the need for repentance, and God's consequent forgiveness and aid.

6.2. The Empire

The Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, and the Ecumenical Council were the three international institutions known to Pius II. Authoritarian by nature, he sincerely believed in them, only to

become disillusioned and disappointed with all three which he came to intimately know during his career as an important official of the Council of Basel, later as an imperial diplomat and prince, and later again as cardinal and pope.

His major work on the empire is *De ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii* from 1446**,** but he also deals with various aspects of the Empire in his orations, i.e. the notion of four empires, the translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks, and the power and status of the Holy Roman Emperor.[1]

6.2.1. The Four empires

Basing himself on Otto von Freising, *"non futilis auctor",* Piccolomini in his "*Constantinopolitana clades" [21]* (1454) propounded the traditional concept of four empires in world history:

> *In the whole world, four empires have been considered great and oustanding: the Empire of the Assyrians, the Empire of the Greeks, the Empire of the Carthaginians, and the Empire of the Romans. The first one may be called the Eastern Empire, the second the Northern Empire, the third the Southern Empire, and the fourth the Western empire.* [Sect. 3]

6.2.2. Translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks

Following traditional papal teaching, Pius in several orations reiterated the medieval papal claim that one of his predecessors transferred the whole Roman Empire from the Greek emperors in Constantinople to the Franks, in the person of Charlemagne:.

In the oration *"Sentio" [20]* (1452) he said:

> *The Roman Empire was vested in the Greeks in the East, but when they were asked for help against the Lombards and did not send it, Pope Stephanus – or was it Hadrian? – transferred it to the Germans in the West.* [Sect. 24]

Having become better informed in the meantime, he said in the oration *"Responsuri" [51]* from 1459 to the ambassadors of King Charles VII that:

[1] See Nederman: *Humanism,* for a balanced view of Piccolomini's theory of imperial power

… the Roman Pontiff, Leo III, granted Charles an even greater one [boon]. Leo IV, who reigned [in Constantinople] between two Constantines, one his father, and the other his son, neglected Italy, and fell into heresy as he abhorred and forbade the cult of images. Scandalized [at this development], Pope Leo transferred imperial rule from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne. What greater [boon] could the Apostolic See bestow on the House of the Franks than honouring it with Roman imperial power and giving it lordship over the lands and princely power over peoples and nations? What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?, says the Lord in the person of the prophet. The family of the Franks was honoured above all others, having received imperial power and being placed on the summit of the mountains by the Roman Church. And, contrary to what you say, the Franks were not granted half an empire nor were two empires created, one belonging to the Greeks and the other to the Latins. Never would the Roman pontiffs have committed the absurdity of entrusting a sword to an enemy of the Faith.[1] *The empire was transferred [to Charles] entire and undivided. It was Charles himself who shared the empire, first with Irene, empress and mother of Constantine VI, and afterwards with Nicephorus, first as patrician and later as emperor. Thus, he kept only half of what he had received as a whole, leaving the Eastern parts to the Greeks and keeping the Western parts for himself.*[2]

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

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

Incidentally, Pius himself, in another context (the dynastic struggles in the Kingdom of Naples) stated that it is not the coronation which makes the king. In the *"Responsuri" [52]* (1459) he replied to a French objection:

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

[2] Oration *"Responsuri" [51],* sect. 17-18. See also Oration *"Sentio" [20],* sect. 24

[3] Collins, p. 273*: It is doubtful if any of the participants in the dramatic imperial coronation in St. Peter's on Christmas Day in the year 800 knew exactly what they were doing or precisely what was intended to mean*

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

The thesis of a papal translation of the Roman Empire from the Greeks to Charlemagne had not been invented by Pius II. It developed gradually from the second half of the 9th century, nourished by the conflict between popes and emperors, and found its succinct scholastic formulation by Pope Innocent III, for whom the translation was not the result of historical circumstances, but an expression of papal supremacy over the whole world, including the empire and the emperors. Through its inclusion in the decretal *Venerabilem*, the translation of the empire became firmly embedded in the official teaching of the Church from where Pius had it.[1]

Pius also knew the theory from Otto von Freising, whom he much admired, and who in his *Chronica* from 1143-1146 had written as follows:

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

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

6.2.3. Emperor's power and status

That the empire and imperial power was a living reality to a younger Piccolomini is witnessed by the oration "*Quid est" [3]* (1438) to emperor-elect Albrecht II, which he wrote for Bartolomeo Visconti:

So, if we are obliged to risk our life for our country and for the good of its citizens, how much more are we obliged to risk it for the Empire and for the good of all? So important is the

[1] Innocentius III: *Venerabilem* (May 1202) (MPL, CCXVI, col. 1065A): *Unde illis principibus jus et potestatem eligendi regem, in imperatorem postmodum erigendum, recognoscimus, ut debemus, ad quos de jure ac antiqua consuetudine noscitur pertinere, praesertim cum ad eos jus et potestas hujusmodi ab* ***apostolice sede pervenerit, quae Romanum imperium in persona magnifici Caroli a Graecis transtulit in Germanos.*** *Sed et principes recognoscere debent, et utique recognoscunt, quod jus et auctoritas examinandi personam electam in regem et promovendam in imperatorem ad nos spectat, qui eam inungimus, consecramus et coronamus*

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

salvation of all that it even drew the Son of God himself from the Kingdom of Heaven to his death. The apostles and the other martyrs died, under torture, for Salvation. This I say so that you may understand how much each of us is bound to the Empire, comprising not only one city or region, but the whole world. I am sure that those who are not willing to give their property or even their life for the Empire are in error.

Therefore, if you are called to the Empire, you should put everthing else aside and prepare yourself for governing it. Neither Austria, Hungary, or Bohemia, or even the preservation of your own body and life should hinder you. For the public charge of the Empire is more important than all these, and whoever lets them be a hindrance commits a great sin. The Empire asks, nay begs you: you see how it is being scourged on all sides and how greatly it needs to be restored. … if the Empire fails, there will be a general conflagration as its members, without a head, come into open conflict. [Sect. 2-3]

Indeed, as shown at the Council in Konstanz (1414-1418), the imperial institution was necessary for solving a schism which was destroying the Church and restoring church unity, as Piccolomini stated later in the same oration:

However, there are far more important issues about which you would have no answer. For if you care about religion and feel any pangs of conscience, you must accept the Empire. Do you not see how great is the danger of a schism? Do you not see how the Church is being torn apart, the Council disagreeing with the pope and the pope with the Council? Who may take take care of this if you do not rule the Empire? Indeed, as a mere king, you would not be able to achieve nearly as much in this matter. If you refuse the Empire, the pope will hope for another emperor more in his favour, and the Council will do the same. Everywhere there will be great conflicts. Now, both sides are waiting to see what you will do. And certainly, if you want to, you may reunite the Church, something that would give you as much glory as it did your father-in-law in Konstanz. But if you refuse to govern the Empire, I do not doubt that the schism will be of the utmost severity. If that is what you want, you commit a grievous sin, and you will be considered as the cause of the division in the Church since you did not want to unite Her when you could. [Sect. 8]

And in the oration *"Non habet me dubium" [11]* (1447) to Pope Eugenius IV, Piccolomini said:

As for the Holy Empire who can adequately describe its exalted status? Who can by words do justice to the dignity of His August Highness? The Saviour deigned to be born under Augustus, to be enrolled, and to have a didragma be paid for himself and for Peter. And the divine oracle bids to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Some claim that the Imperial Highness has received so great a privilege from Heaven that as long as the Empire stands, we shall not have to fear the coming of Antichrist. As the Apostle Paul states: He who now holdeth do hold,

until he be taken out of the way. *The power and authority of this great office have passed to the present Holy Emperor, Friedrich. You shall receive from us the obedience owed to you by this great prince, the lord of the world, and the highest of all rulers, and by his princes, and by the German nation.* [Sect. 14]

The Austrian rebellion against the emperor, refusing to free the boy-king Ladislaus from his wardship, gave Piccolomini the opportunity to expound, in the oration "*Sentio"[20]* (1452), the feudal nature of the Empire:

… the Austrians call King Ladislaus their lord, and they do so rightfully, nobly, and truly – that nobody will deny. However, I claim that the Austrians have two temporal lords, one being the emperor, and the other being Ladislaus, and Ladislaus not as a king, but as a duke. … If we ask how the Principality of Austria came to Ladislaus, [the chronicles] will tell you that he is prince by right of succession. If we examine from where the predecessors of the predecessors had their power, they must say that the Duchy derives from the Empire. … The emperors had the lordship of this region, and it was they who granted the country, with the status of a duchy. During the reign of Friedrich II, Duke Albrecht of Austria fought the Hungarians at the river Leitha and was killed by his own. As he had no heirs, the duchy devolved upon the Empire, and Friedrich ruled it through vicars for the rest of his lifetime.

When Friedrich died, the province suffered a number of calamities and eventually fell into the hands of the Bohemian King Ottokar, but in the end reverted to the Empire, thanks to Rudolf, Prince of the Romans. For Rudolph laid siege to Vienna and forced it to surrender, and having conquered Ottokar in a great battle, he took both his country and his life. Not long afterwards, in an assembly of princes held in Augsburg, he made his son Albrecht duke of this region. From him it came to our Ladislaus through unbroken succession. Albrecht received Austria from his father, the King of the Romans, as a feudal possession. Thus Austria is a principality under the Empire. Ladislaus is the Prince and Lord of Austria – that I acknowledge – but only on condition that he recognizes Friedrich as his own lord and prince, and that he yields the same obedience to the emperor as he demands from his own subjects. For though the lordship of Austria has properly been transferred to Ladislaus, Austria is still a lordship directly dependent on the Empire. So let all who declare themselves to be the partisans of Ladislaus beware not just to support one lord, when they actually have two, and not to offend one or both of them, since they are subject to both the duke and the emperor.

If somebody asks: "Who should be obeyed, if they disagree?" nobody in his right mind would give priority to the duke; logic points to the emperor. This may seem a severe statement, but if the reason for it is understood, it becomes more acceptable. [Let us take an example:] the Duke of Austria commands all men able to bear weapons to go to war. A baron, who had received [his possessions as] a feud from the duke, forbids his men to do so. Who would not

give greater weight to the command of the duke? But as the baron is to the duke, so is the duke to the emperor. It is unworthy to disobey the commands of one's superior if one wants to be obeyed by his own inferiors. If someone argues that this rule has become obsolete and that another custom has grown up in its place, then I shall reply, with Cyprian, that a custom is erroneous if it is not based on good reason; it is not erroneous because it is based on an old law. What men should follow is not a senseless custom, but honest reasoning. It would be unworthy, absurd, and criminal if those people whom I have entrusted to you should prefer you to me, and that those whom you rule in my name should fight against me. That would be like a son hitting his father at the command of his teacher, or like a cleric drawing his sword against the pope at the command of his bishop. [Sect. 46-49]

To Pius, as pope, there was no doubt that the Empire and the emperor represented the highest secular authority and power on Earth. In his oration, "*Fabricator mundi" [40]* (1459), to the imperial ambassadors in Spring 1459, he stated that Christ himself, his apostles, and the Church fathers, recognized the secular pre-eminence of the imperial institution, and so did the Roman Church. A couple of quotes will suffice:

The evangelist says that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled. According to jurists, this passage shows that the emperor was the lord of the world. [Sect. 3]

And later, in the same oration:

When his apostles, Peter and Paul, stated that the king must be honoured, they were, in fact, talking about the Roman Emperor who was their king then. And though many emperors persecuted the Christian Faith, nonetheless the holy fathers continuously prayed to God for the safety of the Roman Empire, being sure that Antichrist will not come as long as that empire stands. This was the position of Tertullian as well as of Cyprian, and Aurelius Augustine. And this is how those words of the Doctor of the Gentiles should be interpreted: that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way. And then that wicked one shall be revealed: whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth. *Also the words of the royal prophet may be brought up in this context:* And there will be abundance of peace, till the moon be taken away. *Thus, according to these men, the evil times of Antichrist will not begin before the destruction of the moon, that is the Roman Empire.* [Sect. 5]

On the relationship between the Papacy and the Empire, see below sect. 6.3.1.

6.2.4. Emperor's wardship over King Ladislaus the Posthumous

The emperor's wardship over his cousin, Ladislaus, Duke of Austria, crowned King of Hungary, and elected King of Bohemia, was the cause of much discontent and diplomatic activity in which Piccolomini was involved.

In the oration "*Tritum est sermone" [12]* to Pope Eugenius IV (1447), he had to counter the complaints of the Governor of Hungary, Janos Hunyadi, against Emperor Friedrich in his capacity of guardian of Ladislaus. He argued against the Hungarian demand for the extradition of King Ladislaus, stating that

- The emperor is the most appropriate guardian of Ladislaus
- The boy king cannot govern Hungary
- The boy king has other realms with equal rights
- The emperor cannot not accept the Hungarian claim that Hungary is an electoral kingdom
- The Hungarians are a rebellious people, wherefore it would be dangerous for Ladislaus to be handed over to them

Some years later, in the oration "*Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* (1451) to a meeting of Bohemian nobles, he had to argue against a similar demand of extradition from the Bohemians. In his argumentation for the emperor's decision Piccolomini brought forward the following reasons:

- Sending the boy-king to Bohemia would not profit the Bohemians because, since being still a child he could not govern effectively

- It would be necessary to set up of tutelary government, with a number of political complications and rivalries as consequences

- Moreover, the cost of establishing a royal court would be high and would have to be paid for by the Bohemians

On the other hand, keeping the boy in the emperor's wardship was a quite reasonable course of action, since

- Ladislaus was still a very young boy

- the emperor was his uncle and closest relative, and

- the emperor's preeminent position made him the most suitable guardian for an underage king

Finally, Piccolomini explicitly stated that the Bohemian threat to elect another king if Ladislaus was not sent to them was not credible and would therefore not impact on the emperor's decision.

In 1452, it was the turn of the Austrians to demand the extradition of Ladislaus, their duke. The emperor was forced by military means to release Ladislaus from his wardship, and an unsuccessful follow-up peace conference was held in Vienna. For this conference, Piccolomini had prepared the oration *"Sentio" [20],* which, however, he was not allowed to deliver, though he probably made his views known otherwise.

In the oration he defended the emperor's wardship over Ladislaus in these terms:

- The Austrians's disobedience towards Ladislaus' feudal superior, the emperor, was not in the best interest of Ladislaus

- The Austrian complaints about the emperor's treatment of Ladislaus were unfounded since

    - Ladislaus was not treated as a prisoner
    - Ladislaus was given proper nourishment
    - Ladislaus' participation in the emperor's coronation journey to Rome was not dangerous for him but highly advantageous
    - Ladislaus was not robbed of his inheritance
    - The Hungarians and the Bohemians were not slighted
    - Being a ward of the emperor was more honourable than being the ward of Count of Cilli
    - The Austrian rebellion did not profit Austria
    - The Austrian rebellion was shameful

Notwithstanding these excellent arguments, arms prevailed, and in the end the emperor was forced to hand Ladislaus over to the Austrians.

6.3. The Church

6.3.1. Papal supremacy

6.3.1.1. Views before the pontificate

In Piccolomini's oration *"Audivi*" [1] (1436), the conflict between council and pope is stated rather clearly, but politely. On the one hand, he did recognize that the pope is the head of the Church, as

successor of Peter and Vicar of Christ. On the other hand, he insisted that Christ has given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven not only to Peter and his successors, but also to the Church as a whole. And a scandalous and criminal pope, not just a heretic or schismatic one, may be judged by the Church. In both statements the Church would represented by a council. So, more or less indirectly, Piccolomini here asserts the supremacy of the council over the pope:

> *For you should not despise the Holy See and the true successor of Peter and the Vicar of Christ. He is our head which should never be separated from us, for a body cannot be complete without its head. He is the bridegroom of the Church; he is the captain of the ship; he is - as people say - God on Earth. Through Peter and Peter's successors, Christ our Saviour has given him* ***the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven****, though I do not deny that they have also been given to the Church as a whole. To him has been given so great an authority, so great a power, so great a knowledge of the divine mysteries that he is to be revered above all. Indeed, the papal dignity is so venerable that we must honour and revere the pope – even an evil one. So, whatever lust he may have indulged in or whatever crime he may have committed,* ***he must not be held in contempt before the Church has passed judgment.*** [Sect. 33]

But long before he became pope himself, Piccolomini had accepted the concept of papal supremacy.

Already in the oration "*Si putarem" [5]* (1443), written for the imperial chancellor Heinrich Schlick in 1443, he had said, quoting pseudo-Isidore's false decretals:

> *… as may be read in the letter of Saint Clement: The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See.*[1]

And later, in the same oration, he quoted some of the biblical passages traditionally used to prove the pope's supremacy:

> *… it was God himself, and not man who said to Peter and his successors: Feed my lambs, Take the net into the deep; Confirm the brethren; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and other similar things that may be read in the gospels.* [Sect. 42]

[1] Decretum, D.22.2. (col. 74). Cf. Pseudo-Isidore: *Letters of Pope Anacletus,* 3, 34 (MPL, 130, col. 78): *Haec vero apostolica sedes caput et cardo, ut praefatum est, a domino* … Used by Piccolomini in other orations, too, e.g. the "*Non habet me dubium*," [11] sect. 19

In the oration "*Sentio" [20]* (1452), Piccolomini defended Pope Nicolaus' monitorium to the Austrian rebels against the emperor with a statement on papal power in secular affairs based on the *Decretum Gratiani*:

> *… in the words of Leo the Great: Anyone who tries to diminish the power of the Holy See, is really trying to violate, impiously and presumptuously, that solid foundation of the rock of Christ which the Lord himself has built. But, like a ship, the Roman See must of necessity suffer many storms and many winds blowing against it: some are resentful because they have been denied bishoprics, others are angry because of money issues, others are moved by fear, and others again are agitated in matters of petitions [to the Holy See]. However, the bark of Saint Peter may be buffeted by storms, but it does not sink; it may be hit, but is not destroyed; it may be attacked, but it is not overcome, for the gates of hell do not prevail against it.*
>
> *For these reasons, we warn our adversaries not to belittle the sacred canons nor to disparage the decrees of the Roman See. In the Gospel the Lord says:* He that despiseth you despiseth me. *And Gregory says*: It is not right to wish or be able to disobey the precepts of the Apostolic See. *And Agatho writes to all bishops:* Thus, all the sanctions of the Apostolic See should be accepted as if they were confirmed by Blessed Peter himself. *Indeed, those who dare molest the Roman Church should be condemned with an eternal curse and considered as belonging to those impious men who do not rise again at the [last] judgment, and who ought to feel the anger of omnipotent God:* Let their habitation be made desolate: and let there be none to dwell in their tabernacles.
>
> *In Deuteronomy we read that the judgment between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy belongs to the High Priest. Who, here, excludes the secular domain from the [authority of] the Apostolic Highness? When the priesthood was transferred, was not the law transferred together with it? In Isaiah the Lord says:* I have set thee over the nations, and over kingdoms, to destroy, and to build, and to plant.
>
> *Who would say that the bishop of the New Law is inferior to the pontiff of the Old Testament? Know you not, says Paul to the Corinthians, that we shall judge angels? How much more the matters of this world? If we want to carry the name of Christian, to be called sheep of the Lord's flock, to be saved, then we must revere the Vicar of Christ and obey his precepts. For he it was he whom the Lord chose when he made Peter the pastor of his flock, saying:* Feed my sheep. *And again*: And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven. *And the Lord Our Saviour did not entrust any particular domain to Peter, but gave him responsibility in all matters without limitation.*

Therefore, the old and holy fathers confirmed that the Roman Church, consecrated by the martyrdom of the blessed Peter and Paul, is venerable and preeminent in the whole world. And there is no doubt that any matter concerning Christians, wherever they are, is entrusted to that Church which is designated as the head of the whole body. The pontiffs are endowed with such great powers and authority that several of them have excommunicated kings and emperors. If you need concrete examples, Pope Innocent struck Emperor Arcadius with the anathema because he had consented to the expulsion of John Chrysostom from his see. And Zacharias deposed the King of the Franks not because of evil deeds but because he was unfit for so great a power, and then replaced him with Pippin, the father of Charlemagne.

The Roman Empire was vested in the Greeks in the East, but when they were asked for help against the Lombards and did not send it, Pope Stephen – or was it Hadrian? – transferred it to the Germans in the West. And if we believe the historian Otto, Leo also crowned Charles as the first German Emperor. Gregory VII put the chains of excommunication on Emperor Heinrich III because he refused to make satisfaction when the Saxons accused him of simony. His son then seized the imperial power, but he too was excommunicated, by Calixtus II, when he wanted to retain the investiture of bishops, against the will of the clergy. Later, however, he gave in and gained absolution. What shall I say about Friedrich II? About Otto IV? About Manfred, the son of Emperor Friedrich? About Conradin? It would indeed take long to enumerate all those princes who in their arrogance were struck from their high position by the Roman See.

… Blessed Ambrose, a saint, but not the bishop of the universal Church, even excommunicated Emperor Theodosius the Great from the Church because of a sin that did not seem very grave to other priests.

Let your doctors who would deprive the Roman Pontiff of his power in secular matters take note of this and beware. For as the canons say: He who infringes on the rights of any Church, commits an injustice, but he who tries to deprive the Roman Church of the privilege bestowed on it by Him who is the head of all the Churches undoubtedly falls into heresy: the former is branded as unjust, but the latter must be considered as a heretic. ***Contrary to the delirious blabberings of our adversaries, the authority of the Roman Church is not limited to spiritual matters, for in the Gospel the Lord gave it power in all things, and to Saint Peter, the keybearer of eternal life, he gave power both in the earthly and the heavenly realm.*** *And what [he gave] to Peter, [he] also [gave] to Peter's successors as bishops of the City of Rome.*

Our adversaries argue that Gelasius, Cyprian, Nicolaus, and Gregory declare that neither should the emperor seize the powers of the Papacy, nor should the pope usurp the name of emperor. To them we reply, with Innocent III, that the Roman Pontiff does not exercise secular jurisdiction nor give judgment in secular matters indiscriminately and without good cause, but only rarely and with good cause. For whenever nobody else can or dares give judgment in a

secular matter, whenever a secular matter is evidently conducted criminally and divine majesty is being offended, and no secular judges oppose it, and whenever justice is denied, the Roman Pontiff is free to intervene, for ***his pontifical magisterium is concerned not only with the affairs of priests, but also with secular affairs****. Thus conflicts about the kingship in Hungary were often solved by the judgment of the Roman Pontiff. Thus struggles in France were ended. Thus a wastrel king in Portugal was given a coadjutor by the Roman Pontiff. Thus conflicts were brought to an end in many regions when there was no responsible secular superior. Thus His Roman Highness has often given rights of legitimacy and secular dignity to laymen born in adultery. And thus, when the Empire was vacant, did he sometimes act in the emperor's stead.* [Sect. 19-27]

And in his *Dialogus,* finished in 1457, the year before he became pope, Piccolomini put this statement in the mouth of Bernardinus of Siena:

… on Earth the Vicar of Christ holds the first place, he who is the head of the Church Militant, the teacher and prince of the Christian people. Do you not know that Peter was told to feed my sheep,[1] *and* whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven.[2] *Peter was made shepherd of the sheep with full power to bind and to loose. Among the sheep are not only the common people, but also kings and emperors – if they want to considered as Christians. … The power of Peter is large and absolute, and it has been entrusted to him to bind and to loose not only this and that but everything.*[3]

6.3.1.2. Teachings during the pontificate

When he became pope, Pius II in his replies to ambassadors presenting their master's declaration of obedience to the new pope routinely asserted papal supremacy, in line with with traditional teachings developed by the medieval Papacy, and also by contemporary writers[4] like Juan de Torquemada, Piero da' Monte, Domenico de' Domenichi, and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, the last one entertaining quite radical notions about the pope's supreme power also in secular matters.[5]

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[1] John, 21, 17

[2] Matthew, 16, 19

[3] Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, pp. 85-87: *Quia non vides in terris Christi vicarium primum tenere locum, caput ecclesie militantis esse, Christiani populi magistrum et principem. Nescis quia dictum est: Pasce oves meas, et quecumque ligaveris super terram erunt et in celis? Pastor ovium Petrus cum plena potestate ligandi atque solvendi creatus est; inter oves Christi non plebes dumtaxat, verum etiam reges atque imperatores habendi sunt, si modo Christiani videri volunt. … Ampla et absoluta potestas Petri est, cui non hoc aut illud, sed omne ligandum solvendumque commissum est*

[4] Cf. Modigliani: *Ideologische*

[5] Trame, p. 199

Though the pope, personally, might be a frail human being, nobody should be mistaken about the supremacy of the Apostolic See, Pius told the ambassadors. In doing so he used those references to the gospel which had become topical arguments for the eminent position of the popes.

To the ambassadors from Savoy he said, in the oration "*Quotiens nova*" *[30]* (1459):

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

In some orations he did present a more developed concept of the matter.

Thus in the oration "*Dominatorem caeli" [35]* (1459) to the ambassadors of King Enrique IV of Castile, he endeavoured to give proofs of this supremacy based on the fundamental notion of the unity of God. God is the one ruler of Heaven and Earth, though he delegates the rule of Earth to one man:

> *Only the Christians respect the pristine authority of their fathers who alone knew the Way of Life and who had taken a page of the New Testament from the Old Book. Though they affirm that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three persons, they proclaim that there is only one God, one substance, and one power that rules all things, both those which are above, in Heaven, and those which are below, on Earth. And Christian truth recognizes the omnipotence of God, who ordains everything according to his Will, and who is content that just as the Heavenly Court has only one ruler, likewise the government of the world should depend on the will of one alone.* [Sect. 4]

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

> *… we read in the Gospel that all power is given to Christ the Saviour in Heaven and on Earth. If all power has been given to Him, it must include royal power which Jesus actually used when*

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

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

But no human reasoning or authority can alter the divine will of Christ as expressed in the words to Peter, already quoted, that the primacy has been given to the Roman Church, and that it is this Church that has been entrusted with the vicarship of the Great God. Whoever governs the Roman Church is the teacher of Faith, the pastor of the sheep, the interpreter of divine law, and the head of all the Christian people. All should obey him who wish to avoid the punishments of eternal fire and to reign with the holy apostles and with Christ the Saviour. [Sect. 10]

Shortly afterwards, in his oration "*Fabricator mundi" [40]* to the imperial ambassadors in April 1459 Pius used the sun-and-moon allegory on the Papacy and the Empire:

When God, the maker of the world and the father of nature, first created the sky, he placed two great lights in it, the sun and the moon. The sun He put in charge of the day, and the moon in charge of the night. Ancient writers thought that the sun signified the Roman Pontiff, whereas the moon signified the Empire, and they taught that the souls of men are subject to the pontifical office, whereas their bodies are subject to the imperial. Comparing these two offices, people have debated how much they differ in importance. There has also been some uncertainty whether the priesthood has the power of both swords. But all such uncertainty disappears if one reads the Holy Gospel which confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ the Lord. Furthermore there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place, and it is evident that two swords were kept among the companions of Christ, that is the priesthood. This means that supreme authority is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. Some object that in that fearful night Jesus ordered Saint Peter to put his physical sword back in its sheath, but this objection is not valid since Jesus did not deny that it was indeed his sword. On the contrary, he claimed it as his own, showing that it should be wielded at his command – though not by his own hand. This is the interpretation of the pious doctor, Bernhard. [Sect. 1-2]

And, finally, it is worth mentioning Pius' oration "*Subjectam esse" [39]* (1459) to the ambassadors of the Archbishop of Trier. In this oration he again expounded the concept of papal supremacy, this time, however, also adducing arguments from natural history – partly borrowed from the *Decretum Gratiani*:

> *The Apostle Paul states, authoritatively, that every soul is subject to higher powers. This statement is worthy of divine praise, and it destroys the damnable folly of those who deny the eminence and primacy of the Roman See. All that originates in God is orderly, and where there is order, all things lead back to one. Among the bees there is one king. The cranes follow one. The elephants obey their leader. If animals without reason know how to observe order, then why should man be governed by disorder? The gentiles, who do not know God, may live in this error. But in the Church, the work of God and his one spouse, his white dove, uncorrupted and unblemished, there is only one prince and one head from whom everything else flows.*
>
> *And if, as Job says, the life of man upon Earth is a warfare, then our Church is nothing but the army of Christ. All men fight, but not all for God. Only the Catholic Church is an army that brings salvation. In that army, Christ, the lord and general, died for his soldiers. He was better than Codrus of Athens whom the Greeks revere, and better than the Decii whom the Romans extol. But Christ left Peter as his Vicar and, giving him the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, he entrusted his army to him. And, to quote Cyprian, though the rest of the apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honour and power, the primacy and the exalted dignity and the plenitude of authority belonged to Peter. The Lord himself said:* Feed my sheep**,** And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven *etc., and this is how his disciples got Peter as their leader and teacher.*
>
> *Through many different successions the authority and majesty of this great office has devolved upon Us. We know how unworthy We are of the honour given to Us. We are quite aware of our imperfections, and We do not occupy this exalted throne without fear and trembling. But that is what has pleased Him who lifteth up the poor from the dunghill: that he may sit with princes, and hold the throne of glory. We do not have Peter's merits, but whatever be Our personal qualities, We have been put in his place and are occupying his See. Whoever does not gather together with that See scatters**.** Here the pristine authority of the fathers is maintained; here the undivided tunic of the Lord is kept; here springs the fountain of life; here is the garden enclosed; here is Noah's Ark outside which no one can be saved. Let other princes beware who make laws to their own advantage and endeavour to put bridles on the Apostolic See: this prince gives laws to others, he does not accept them from others. All who oppose this prince puts up altar against altar, army against army, and camp against camp.*
>
> *But, as We have said, according to the Apostle there is only one Church, one prince, one body and one Spirit, one hope of your calling, One Lord, one faith, one baptism. Woe the man who*

breaks that unity. In the army camps of old it was a strict rule that no soldier could set up his tent so far from the praetorium that he could not hear the sound of the trumpet. If he did that he was punishable by death. The same thing Our Saviour ordained in the Gospel when he ranked those who do not hear the voice of the Church among the publicans and the heathens. Such are all who oppose the commands of the Roman Pontiff. [Sect. 1-4]

Apart from doctrinal arguments and arguments from natural history, Pius also used historical arguments to prove that the Papacy had power over the the secular rulers, as exemplified both by the King of the Franks and the emperor. In the oration *"Responsuri" [52]* (1459) he repeated his claims from the *"Sentio" [20]* (1452), see above, that a pope had deposed the Frankish King Childebert and made Pippin III king in his stead:

In the hands of the useless King Childeric their kingdom lost its vigour and was sliding towards extinction. Our predecessor, Zacharias, would not tolerate the ruin of this noble realm, but sent legates who tonsured the king and enclosed him in a monastery. Then they gave the title of King and the government to Pepin, the majordomus [of the kingdom]. [Sect. 16]

And another pope, Leo III, later transferred the emperorship from the Byzantines to the King, appointing Charlemagne as new emperor.

In the absence of scholarly studies of the matter, the extent to which Pius based his claims of papal supremacy on traditional sources vs. contemporary writings on the power of the popes[1] remains an open and tantalizing question.

6.3.2. Councils

Though Pius II probably always accepted that an ecumenical council had the responsibility and power to depose a heretic or schismatic pope and in this sense was above the pope, his conception of the relationship between council and pope developed greatly from his early conciliarist days to his later papalist period.[2]

In the oration *"Audivi" [1],* held at the Council of Basel in 1436, as mentioned above, he acknowledged the pope's preeminent position, based on Christ granting the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven to Saint Peter and his successors, the popes. He added, however, that these keys had

[1] Like Juan de Torquemada's *Flores sententiarum beati Thomae de potestate summi pontificis*, composed at the request of Cardinal Cesarini, in Basel 1436-1437, and which the young Piccolomini must have known, and Torquemada's later treatise to Pope Eugenius IV *De potestate papae*

[2] See *inter al.* Walther: *Ekklesiologische,* and Iaria: *Enea*

also been given to the Church as whole, which was, of course represented by the Council, and also stated that the Church could pass judgment on a criminal pope, and not just on a heretic or schismatic pope:

By 1450, Piccolomini was now so firmly papalist that his views of the ecumenical council had changed drastically. In the oration *"Fateor" [15],* on behalf of the emperor, he told Pope Nicolaus V:

> *… we must now speak of the General Council and about its venue, matters that may be of great benefit. Though the Church is now united under you as its head and as true Vicar of Christ, there are still a number of oustanding issues that would seem to require a general meeting of bishops. Many Christian princes are in open conflict: concord must be sought. The morals of both clergy and laity are rapidly deteriorating: morals must be restored. Many oppress the Church: its liberty must be regained. Though your own authority is sufficient for dealing with these issues, the implementation of [any measures] is not easy without a meeting of prelates and the agreement of the princes. Therefore the emperor wishes for a general council to facilitate matters. But what kind of general council? A general council that is not abortive, illegitimate, controversial, or ambitious; a council in which the minor members obey the major members, and in which no member is in disagreement with its head; a council, I say, that does not dispute the Keys of the Supreme Shepherd, but which has its focus on the common good. The authority of the Bishop of Rome is supreme: why discuss it? All power in the Church derives from Christ, its prince, and it is distributed through the Roman Pontiff, as its head, to the other members of the mystical body. This is the profession and the faith of the emperor. He believes in the Gospel and in the oracles of Jesus Christ. He knows that the Lord said to Peter and his successors:* Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven; Thou shalt be called Cephas; Feed my lambs; Launch out into the deep and let down your nets*; and other pronouncements of this kind which fill the books of the Gospels. If anyone searches for something more, he will find darkness, and not light, and he will be more foolish than he who lights a candle in open and glaring sunshine.* [Early Version, sect. 22-23]

Piccolomini no longer talked of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven also having been given to the whole Church. No, the authority of the pope is supreme.

And after the imperial coronation, he said to the pope in the oration "*Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452), again of behalf of the emperor and this time in his presence:

Another one would maybe have demanded a general council of decrees of reform, but what greater council can we have than the presence of Your Holiness and the Holy Senate?[1] *In vain do people demand a council, if they do not accept the commands of the Roman Pontiff. Where Your Holiness is, there is the council, there are the laws, there are the morals, there are the decrees, and there is the salutary reform.* [Early Version, sect. 24]

And finally, in his papal oration *"Multa hic hodie" [49]* to the French ambassadors in 1459 he said unequivocally:

Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.[2] *Anyone who separates himself from the union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom.* [Sect. 6]

The development of Piccolomini's ideas concerning council vs. pope is reflected in his conception of the appeal to a council against the pope. This question he deals with extensively in the oration "*Sentio" [20]*, against the Austrian rebels against the emperor, who had appealed their case from Pope Nicolaus V, supporting the emperor, to a future council. In this oration, Piccolomini argued specifically against the Austrian appeal to a future council:

But they add a second part in which they appeal to the council that has been indicted or will be indicted. This is a slippery, uncertain, and unstable ground from which we shall easily cast down our adversaries. We have shown above that only in one case can an appeal be made from an undoubted pope, but that this is not the present case. Therefore the appeal is void. But let us give our adversaries something; let us be kind; let us make friends of the mammon of iniquity; let us say that something is true that we know to be false: let us say that it is lawful to appeal the acts of the Roman Pontiff to a council. So what? Shall we then leave the victory to the enemy? Certainly not. But what will we answer? Please listen, all of you. They appeal to the council that has been or will be indicted. The first term is false, the second is ridiculous. Until now nobody has heard that a council has been indicted and in fact it has not been indicted. "But," they say, "it has been promised to the King of France that a council would be celebrated in his kingdom in the year after the Jubilee," and since that year has passed they think that a council has been indicted. Here they draw furrows in the thin dust; here they will harvest oats without kernels, and they will gather no wheat. In such an important matter, it is a very superficial person who is moved not by fact, but by opinion and who follows rumours

[1] I.e. the College of Cardinals

[2] The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – however shortlived - reunion between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and recognized the power of the Papacy, which was being challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

and silly fables. We are now in the second year after the Jubilee and, God willing, we shall soon be entering the third, and we have not yet heard that a council has been indicted. Who does not understand that their ignorance is affected and false? "Then he does not keep his word to the king," our adversaries reply. That is pure calumny, for the promise of a council to the king was not given unconditionally, but on the condition that the other kings and princes would agree. But these mostly rejected [the idea]. The kings of Aragon, England and Portugal do not want a council to be held in France. I myself, at the command of the emperor, in a public consistory in Rome at the end of the Jubilee Year, argued against holding this council – and with good reason! Our adversaries know this, and therefore they proposed an alternative by appealing to a council already indicted or to be indicted in the future. They are blabbering fools, not learned men: trusting in the snares of syllogisms and dialectical tricks, they invent empty glories. But rushing forward they will be dashed against the rock of truth, and they will not enjoy the fruits of their endeavours. For someone who allows an appeal to a council clearly designates either a council in session or a council to be held in the near future. But a council that has not yet been indicted is neither in session or is to be held, and it cannot – either as a matter of fact or as a matter of hope - be called a council. Who is so stupid, or perverse, or shameful that he would appeal to a judge who has neither been born nor is going to be? The lawgivers decided on a one-year period in which to make an appeal, and in certain cases two years. But our own wise men here stipulate a period of ten years, for they claim that in Konstanz it was decreed that councils should be celebrated every ten years. What a beautiful and useful thing, fostering peace and concord: someone has robbed me of my house and lands, and I summon him to the court. My adversary is ordered to return the things that he has taken with force. He then appeals to a council, postponing the matter for ten years! How will that trial end? And who will wait for ten years? Time glides by imperceptibly and cheats us in its flight. *Heavy expenses, the shortness of life, and a thousand kinds of death will grant the case to the appellant. But why do I worry about ten years? I fear that it will take twenty years, no, hundred years before another council is celebrated – to be indicted according to the needs of the time, as the Roman Pontiff sees fit. I do believe that our adversaries wanted to imitate the Areopagites: when a dubious and most difficult case was sent to them from Asia, and they did not see any way to solve it and pass a judgment, they sent both the accuser and the accused away and bade them return in a hundred years. I am unmoved by their claim that "the Council of Basel was dissolved a long time ago: the time for another council approaches, and it should not be held after the ten-year- period has lapsed." If they observe the Roman Curia, the ten-year period has actually elapsed a long time ago, and it is folly to wait for a term that has already expired. And if they want to have councils every ten years, they are stupid to follow the Savoyards for those people prolong them for twenty! God gave the mortals days for labour and nights for rest, and though they occur at different times, after a year no more night-time has flowed than daytime. Who will not divide the time of the Church, too, so that some time is given to conciliar labours and some time to rest – without a council? The burdens must be reasonable, and all must be arranged according to the circumstances and the times,*

something which is clearly entrusted to the judgment of the Roman Pontiff. But if only a council was now in session or would be held soon, as Our Lord[1] *desires: then that Holy Synod would pursue nobody more than those dreamers; it would punish those inventors of calumnies and deceitful appeals; it would break that impious mind-set and the arm of perversity; it would impose silence on those criminal voices; it would confound these evil manipulations; and it would demonstrate that you cannot go against the sacred canons with impunity.* [Sect. 110-113]

Piccolomini's basic argument was that an appeal to a future council destroys a properly functioning judicial system and therefore justice and people's rights. It is an important argument since it was the basis for his later papal decree, *Execrabilis,* from 1460, which has often been considered as the final papal blow to conciliarism and a condition of the rebirth of the Roman Papacy, after the Great Western Schism and the deposition of a pope by the Council of Basel.

6.3.3. Criticism of the clergy and return to the ways of Early Church

Pius II had a keen sense of the need for reform of the clergy, not the least of the high clergy, and he saw the solution in a return to the ways of the Early Church.

Already in 1436 he criticized, in the oration "*Audiv*i" *[1]* to the council fathers in Basel, the bishops' excessive dependence on secular princes in these terms:

If I may say so, Fathers, today you defer unduly to the princes, and you do not dare do anything that displeases them. For my own part, I certainly do not approve of this attitude, and I find that our forefathers did not act in this way, and neither did the Apostles. Though they had the whole world against them, they preached the truth everywhere, and in the cause of truth they fled neither from threats nor death nor cruel torture. Thus it came about that the Christian name filled the whole world. But when fear of death and desire for riches came in, truth was deserted, and justice was flung to the ground and ignored. [Sect. 49]

Some years later, he told the council fathers to their faces, in the oration/sermon *"Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438), that bishops nowadays as compared with the time of Saint Ambrose were greedy and simoniacal: *… ambition, so prevalent in the present age, had not yet blemished the Church, and bishoprics were not yet sold for money.* [Sect. 8] And later on, in the same text:

[1] i.e. the pope

But we today – oh, what shame! – we do not care about men, but about money. We are concerned not about souls, but about silver and gold. A bishopric is valued not for its number of people, but for the size of its incomes. A diocese may have countless souls and an infinite number of people, but if it is not awash with money, nobody will want to go there, and it will lie about unwanted as if it was a piffling inheritance. However, if a diocese is prosperous and its incomes large, everybody will turn their eyes towards it. Nobody is appointed bishop there after careful scrutiny, because the bishop is put in charge not of the people, but of the money. Indeed, if that is what we want, I advise that clerics should not study the Holy Scriptures like preachers, but the abacus like bean counters. Thus, when they are promoted to the episcopate, they will know both how to deal with money and how to set up accounts. [Sect. 13]

Piccolomini's rise in the church hierarchy and his elevation to the Papacy did not mitigate his views on these problems.

In 1460, in the oration "*Messis quidem" [55],* he told the cardinals that

This dignity [of the cardinalate] has really been devalued if even boys may believe that they deserve it. This is a result of the actions of our predecessors promoting several who were completely unworthy. Here it is allowed to speak of the dead: you knew the Cardinal of San Marco whom some called the clown of your order. And to some extent this also applies to you, for you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the Commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. All men seek such delights, and everybody is apt to pursue such pleasures. But if only strictness, seriousness, abstinence, learning, and holiness could qualify people for this high office, much fewer would seek it. [Sect. 1]

And finally in 1463, the year before he died, he described the moral bankruptcy of the hierarchy and the needs to return to the ways of the Early Church, saying, in the magnificent oration *"Sextus agitur annus" [75]*, to the College of Cardinals:

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.

What do you think we should do in this difficult situation? 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 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. 16-18]

Pius' dramatic appeal for a return to the ways of the Early Church may have been somewhat unrealistic. It shows, however, that he felt keenly the need for a reform of the Church though time – and probably other constraints – prevented him from going further than having proposals for reform drawn up by Domenichi and Kusa.[1]

6.3.4. Hussite heresy

Piccolomi wrote extensively about the Hussites in Bohemia, and if anybody in Europe was a specialist on Hussitism, it was he: he was in Basel during the discussions with the Hussites, being close to Cardinal Cesarini who, by then, favoured a peaceful solution to the Hussite problem. He had travelled in Bohemia, even visiting the Hussite city Tabor and having direct debates with Taborite theologians and laymen. He had had extensive discussions with the Hussite governor of

[1] See Miethke

Bohemia, Georg Podiebrad. And he had written a book on Bohemian history, including the Hussite period.

By the 1450's the most serious question opposing the Hussites and the Roman Church was the question of communion under both species, which had been granted to the Bohemians at the Council of Basel. This issue was not a doctrinal one: after all, communion under both species had been the norm – also for laymen – during the first millennium of the Church. The doctrinal issue consisted in the Hussites claiming that communion under both species was necessary for salvation, thereby condemning the practice of communion under the species of bread alone which the Church had practiced for centuries, implicitly claiming that the Church had thus condemned generations of souls to Hell instead of bringing them to Heaven. Such a claim was of course completely unacceptable and heretical to the Roman Church.

Apart from his various writings and letters on Hussitism, Pius spoke about the central claim of communion under both species in two orations.

The first one, the "*Res Bohemicas" [28]* (1456), was written in the form of an oration to be delivered to Pope Calixtus III on behalf of the emperor and King Ladislaus of Bohemia, but it was possibly handed over to the pope as a written memorandum.

In this oration, Piccolomini described the rise and later development of the Hussite schism, presented the Bohemian request for papal confirmation of communion under both species, and discussed eight alternatives to such a grant, i.e. war, debate, preaching, silence, ecclesiastical censures, withholding priests, financial subsidies, new treaties. Concluding that none of them would work, he discussed the solution of actually granting the Bohemian request, presenting the reasons for and against.

The first reason for a papal confirmation was that communion under both species as such was not against Church dogma:

> *We have already said that the Bohemian petition should be denied if the grant of communion*[1] *violates the integrity of our Faith. Here we should not proceed blindly or with closed eyes. No Christian wants to cause prejudice to the Faith. Our salvation depends on the purity of our Faith, nothing in it must be changed nor subtracted. It is better to die than to oppose Divine Law. The testament of Our Saviour must be safeguarded with all possible care. So what? Do we petition for something that is against divine dispensation or the command of Christ? Only a foolish and insane person, Holy Father, asks for something from your throne that is either unjust or impious. Your See is a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up, from where nothing*

[1] i.e. the communion under both species

impure can come. The decisions of your heart are mature and well-considered. From there one can only get pure gold and silver seven times refined. The pronouncements coming from you are salubrious and have nothing impure.

So consider this: do the Bohemians demand something that is against your Faith and apostolic tradition? Absolutely not. For those who take the sacrament of the Eucharist under the species of bread and wine neither go against divine commands nor orthodox faith, if only they do it out of devotion and with permission from the Church, and do not claim that they are obeying a command from Our Lord. If this form of communion were a heretical crime, then those fathers, learned and filled with the zeal of faith, who assembled from the entire world at the Council of Basel, would never have granted it. It is indeed a fact that communion under both species was granted by the authority of this council. So, demanding it does not go against the faith, and neither the creator of this great sacrament, Christ Our Lord, nor his disciples forbade this form of communion. Indeed, at the time of the birth and first development of the Church it was the accepted rite that not only men, but also women should drink from the chalice. The Eastern Church still observes this rite and is not - for that reason - accused of violating Faith.

The Latins, however, treated the sacraments of Christ with greater reverence, understanding how much we should honour and revere the body and blood of the son of God supreme, who thunders from on high. They also understood with how great awe the divine flesh and heavenly blood must be treated. Fearing that the holy would sometimes be treated uncautiously and spilt on the earth when distributed to the masses, they gradually abolished the communion of the chalice for the people. And thus, with the passing of time, it became the normal practice in the Latin Church that no layman might presume to demand the chalice of the Lord. For the Latin Church knows that the whole and complete body of Christ is contained in the sacrament administered under one species, and that laymen do not need to take communion under both species in order to be saved. But I have never read nor heard who initiated this custom and when the prohibition of the chalice for the people was introduced.

It is clear, however, that before the Council of Konstanz neither the Roman Pontiffs nor the Universal Synods are found to have condemned this form of communion. On the contrary, many decrees are extant which appear to mandate the communion of the chalice. It was in Konstanz that, for the first time, a canon was promulgated condemning those who on their own authority disregard the custom of our fathers and claim that communion must be under both species. And in Basel it was declared and decreed that that communion of the chalice is absolutely not an obligation based on a divine command: people who believe differently are in error, and those who use this form of communion without the permission of the Church should not be tolerated.

But although the Bohemians at some time preached that nobody can be saved without the communion of the chalice, they have later abandoned this error - whether sincerely or as a pretense (for we cannot look into the hearts of men). Still they believe that they receive some kind of grace with the chalice, and therefore they require this form of communion under the authority of the Roman See. Though the matter is important and their demand primitive and unfounded, it does not go against the law of the Gospel nor apostolic tradition. [Sect. 39-42]

Piccolomini then stated the advantages of granting the Bohemian request:

If we grant their demands, we draw a powerful people, a large kingdom, and the most warlike peoples of Europe back into the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, we unite the divided peoples of Bohemia, we give King Ladislaus a tranquil region, we give the neighbouring peoples peace, we become reconciled with a strongly armed people whom we can mobilize against the Turks. Above all, we open the gates of Paradise to an infinite number of souls, and this is what I consider to be the most important of all, for nothing more pleases the Greatest and Best God, who rules in Heaven, than gaining souls. It is difficult to say, or even to imagine, how much the population of Bohemia and Moravia has grown. If we grant their demands, this people will be gained for Christ; if we deny the demands, it will be gained for the Devil. This I say, confidently and on the authority of the [aformentioned] wise men, that with this agreement we shall benefit countless souls and innumerable peoples. For though the leaders of the people may perhaps be acting deceitfully, the multitude is sincere and sins out of ignorance, not out of defiance. When they realize that they have been deceived and agree to a union, they will confront deception more cautiously in the future, and as – with your permission - they drink from the chalice - they will become participants in eternal life. Can anybody think that it is a small thing to benefit the many peoples living in Bohemia and Moravia? To open the Kingdom of Christ to so many peoples? We shall be gaining not gold and silver, but souls which far surpass all metals and jewels. [Sect. 43-44]

Then Piccolomini refuted the objections to the grant, which concerned the untrustworthiness of the Bohemians who had not respected the conditions made by the Council of Basel for its grant of communion under both species, the issue of the archheretic Rokycana wanting to become Archbishop of Prague, the other unsolved Hussites errors, the matter of the stolen Church properties, the reaction of the Bohemian catholics and the Germans and other nations who had remained loyal to Rome and opposed, even fought against the Hussites.

Piccolomini ended this part of his argumentation with a vibrant appeal to toleration of religious and ritual diversity, see below sect. 6.3.8.

In conclusion, Piccolomini - cautiously but clearly - recommended that the pope should grant the Bohemian request for a papal conformation of their permission to have communion under both species:

> *For our part, we only know as much as we understand. But since we have seen the fathers in Basel grant the Bohemians the right to drink from the chalice – before the council was dissolved by virtue of apostolic authority – we think, rather than believe, that it should be granted to them again and for the same reason. And we are not moved by the arguments of those who refuse to finally come to terms with the Bohemians because they have not observed the earlier agreements properly. For on their side, the Bohemians can bring up many reasons why they should not be considered as having broken their word.*
>
> *But even if they had broken their word, they should be forgiven, for the Lord said to Peter that a brother who sinned against him should be forgiven not just seven times, but seventy time seven times. The Bohemians should be admonished and invited back with great love, as brothers and joint heirs to the kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ.*
>
> *If they accept our admonishments and observe the agreements, we shall have gained the souls of brothers.*
>
> *If they do not, then our situation is not worse than before. We lose nothing. But Your Piety will be praised before the just God and among men since you did all you could to bring back the wayward flock. All will scorn their stubbornness and praise your spirit of accommodation.* [Sect. 64-65]

Six years afterwards, in March 1462, ambassadors of King Georg came to Rome to petition the pope, now Pius II, for the papal confirmation of the Bohemians' permission to communion under both species which Pius had himself, as Bishop Piccolomini, recommended to Pope Calixtus III.

On 30 March, the pope – after intense deliberations with his cardinals and advisers - gave his judgment from the throne, in the oration *"Superioribus diebus"* [66]:

> *… 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*. It is Us who are the dispensers of the ministries of God. 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.

We desire the salvation of your souls, and therefore We refuse to grant that which militates against 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. He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever. *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 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: 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.* [Sect. 16-18]

Why did Pope Pius II take the diametrically opposite view of the matter now, denying a petition that he had himself recommended six 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 to 1462.

In 1456, Pope Calixtus III was quite amenable to a solution concerning the Bohemian schism and believed that King Ladislaus and his governor, Georg Podiebrad, would be able to contribute effectively to ending the schism.

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-Neustadt[1] *and Aeneas' great speech to Calixtus III, and especially in the years 1457-1458.*[2]

[1] The Imperial Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1455, February to April
[2] Heymann: *George,* p. 165; see also *Voigt*: *Papst*, IV, p. 424

However, in November 1457 King Ladislaus of Bohemia died at the age of eighteen. Many, including Piccolomini, believed that he had been poisoned 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.[1]

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 why he insisted that the oath should not be made public.

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.[2]

In August 1458, Piccolomini then 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

[1] Voigt: *Papst*, IV, p. 425, 427 ff.; Heymann: *George,* p. 181
[2] Voigt: *Papst*, IV, p. 431-432

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.

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

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 misgivings - that Podiebrad would be an able ruler and a dependable ally for the Papacy in handling the Hussite schism and in organizing a crusade against the Turks.[1]

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 legitimate himself vis-a-vis 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.[2]

But no embassy from Bohemia to the pope was forthcoming,[3] and no offers came from Podiebrad concerning the Hussite schism and 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.[4]

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[1] Heymann: *George,* p. 180-181
[2] Voigt: *Papst*, IV, pp. 451-2
[3] Voigt: *Papst*, IV, p. 452-453
[4] Heymann: *George,* ch. 10

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.

The gloves came off.

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.[1]

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 on France, coming to announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438.

In the ensuing weeks, the pope conducted two extremely important negotiations, 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 to remove the threat of an ecumenical council.[2]

The Bohemian ambassadors were received in two consistory meetings. 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 gave the following description of the event:

[1] Voigt: *Papst*, IV, p. 458; see also Heymann: *George,* pp. 232-365 and ch. 12
[2] Voigt: *Papst,* IV, p. 459; Heymann: *George,* p. 262

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.[1] He had been his 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 priests 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, 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 was composed an article which said,

[1] "cum in minoribus ageret": meaning something like "when he was in lesser circumstances", i.e. in his early career before reaching high office and dignity (not: when he was in minor orders!)

"Communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation," just the opposite of what was declared to be true in the Council of Basle.[1]

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.[2]

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.[3]

So, without some - even a minimal - commitment from Podiebrad to uphold his coronation oath (as understood by Rome) and 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 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

[1] The Hussite teachings referred to by the pope are often called the Four Articles of Prague
[2] CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 512-514). See also the report in Rainaldus, Ad ann. 1462. Also Heymann: *George,* p. 270-275
[3] CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, p. 514)

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 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 reasonably be believed that it contributed to a weakening of Podiebrad's position to the extent that it would be impossible for him to establish his own family as a continuing royal dynasty.

6.3.5. Pragmatic sanction of Bourges

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had been issued by King Charles VII of France on 7 July 1438. It was based on a number of key decrees of the Council Basel limiting the power of the popes in general and over the national churches in particular. It required election rather than appointment to ecclesiastical offices, prohibited the pope from bestowing and profiting from 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 and worked systematically to obtain its abrogation and to prevent it from "spreading" to other countries, in particular Germany.

Pius II spoke about this matter in two famous orations:

At the Congress of Mantua in 1459, the French ambassadors had severely criticized his support of a Spanish dynasty in the Kingdom of Naples rather than a French, and moreover they had not made any commitments whatsoever in the matter of the crusade against the Turks. In his reply to the ambassadors, the oration *"Responsuri" [52],* the pope defended himself against the French complaints, and - apparently feeling that he had nothing to lose - at the end took up the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. He seemed to consider that some form of compromise might be found concerning ecclesiastical appointments and the appeals from French courts to Rome. But he would not and could not condone that clerics would be judged by secular courts and not by ecclesiastical courts, and generally he could not accept that the French Parliament would have greater authority in religious matters in France than the pope himself:

> *We are not overly concerned with the audition of legal cases, the granting of benefices, or many other things We believe can be remedied. No, what worries Us is that We see the perdition and ruin of souls and the vanishing glory of this noble kingdom. For how can it be tolerated that laymen have been made judges of clerics? … The Roman Bishop, whose parish is the whole world, and whose province is only limited by the Ocean, only has as much jurisdiction in France as the Parliament allows him. He is forbidden to punish a blasphemer, a murderer of near relatives, a heretic – even if he is an ecclesiastic - unless Parliament gives its*

assent. Many believe that its authority is so great that it precludes even Our censures. Thus the Roman Pontiff, judge of judges, is subjected to the judgment of Parliament. If We allow this, We make a monster of the Church, create a hydra with many heads, and completely destroy unity. [Sect. 62]

In this area, the pope was fighting to uphold the authority of one of the two supranational institutions 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 French against the consequences to royal authority:

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

Here, Pius follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, Eugenius IV, who – faced with the rebellious, conciliarist council fathers at the Council of Basel – wrote in a circular letter, a *Liber Apologeticus*, of June 1436, to the princes of Europe: *Why are they [i.e. the council fathers] so eager to reduce this monarchy [i.e. the Papacy], which God has established by his own word, to a popular state and to a democracy*?[1], warning the princes that the revolt of the council against the papal monarch was a threat to all monarchic governments.

And then, to general astonishment – and, in France, considerable frustration - Louis IX who had succeeded Charles VII as King of France, abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction and sent ambassadors to the pope to announce this happy event. Louis had his own motives, of course, and his solemn act of abrogation was not aimed at restoring papal influence in French Church matters nor the outflow of money from France to Rome, but rather to soften the pope's stance on the Kingdom of Naples and induce him to support a French dynasty instead of the Spanish. Pope Pius was perfectly aware of this, but nonetheless a great celebration was in order now that the beast of the Pragmatic Sanction had finally been killed and that he had in this regard achieved what his predecessors were unable to.

In the oration *"Per me reges regnant" [65]* (1462), Pius extravagantly praised the French, their royal house, and King Louis himself. Jubilantly he said:

But, brethren, what shall We say of King Louis 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

[1] Quoted after Stieber, pp. 27-28: *Cur monarchiam hanc, quam Deus suo ore instituit, ad popularem status et ad democratiam deducere festinant*

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 acting on behalf of this great king: you know how great are 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.

And the only thing he requests is the rights of his familiy in the Kingdom of Sicily, as explained in many words by the Cardinal of Arras. 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 Hercules who killed the Hydra. But Louis killed a far greater and more dangerous monster. The Jews praise their Samson, who lived almost at the same time as Hercules, because by his own death he prevented the death of many. But Louis is much more praiseworthy than him because he gave life to many by preserving his own. Emperor Constantine is praised because he gathered a council of the fathers in Nicaea and eliminated the Arian poison from the Church. But Louis is even more glorious since he personally abolished a dangerous Sanction that had been strengthened by the approval of many. Emperor Sigismund is praised to Heaven because he gathered a great synod in Konstanz, a city in Rhaetia, and ended a schism condemned and abhorred by many. But the action 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, 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 the very country] where it was born! We feared the ruin of the Church: now we are saved! Oh, good God, great, indeed, is the evil extinguished today, and great are the dangers from which we have been freed! [Sect. 3-4]

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.

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.[2]

On the other side, 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.

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 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*

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[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: *Louis*, p. 231*: Avec le pape, la lutte est âpre. ... les péripéties de la Pragmatique Sanction – son abrogation, puis son retour sous des forms plus ou moins détournées – soulignent un manque de doctrine*

[2] Pastor, pp. 105-106; Lucius, pp. 72-75

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 eigner 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]

6.3.6. Christian life

In 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini was appointed parish priest of the Marienkirche in the parish of Aspach), in the diocese of Passau. The oration "*Non est apud me dubium" [6]* is written as if it was his first, introductory sermon to his parishioners. The sermon probably was never actually held, quite possibly because of lack of time. The main theme is twofold: how to ensure a happy life on Earth, and how to gain eternal life in Heaven. The choice of subject is indicative of the new, positive humanist focus on earthly life in contrast to medieval concepts of earthly life as a valley of tears and of flight from the world (*fuga mundi*) to the sphere of the divine. In his prescriptions for a happy life on Earth, Piccolomini relies heavily on classical Stoic concepts of eliminating emotions that disturb the soul. The way to Heaven, as described by Piccolomini, goes through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great social order of the world, and also towards one self. His notions of obligation and his many concrete pieces of advice to his parishioners derive to a large extent from classical authors, and especially from Cicero, but he also draws heavily on both the Old and the New testament and the Church Fathers.

In the - very long - oration, Piccolomini said:

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

[1] Lucius, p. 76
[2] Zimolo, pp. 70, 87, 111-112

It behooved Christ to suffer, and thus to enter into his glory. Virtue is a difficult thing, narrow is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that may find it! But I tell you and swear to you that Paradise takes a smaller effort than does hell. If the way of life is narrow, it is because it does not have to be broad since not so many will walk it. Few find it because few seek it. But everybody who ever searched diligently for it has found it. Virtue is difficult until it becomes a habit. When it has become a habit, a hardened skin so to speak, it is no longer difficult. Christ suffered not for his own sake, but for ours. We are not bound to endure great sufferings because we have to live our life [here on Earth], but to experience easy, sweet and delightful things. He who is Truth itself bears witness, saying in the Gospel: Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. *Who has anything to say against this? Is the testimony of Christ not sufficient?*

Lactantius says that the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life*. Many are preaching that the way to Heaven is arduous and that Christ's precepts are difficult. Christ himself contradicts them when he says:* Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men. *And in the epistle of the Apostle John:* His commandments are not grievous. *We do not need more witnesses, unless we want to call one of the gentiles to our aid. Seneca, a most perspicacious Roman philosopher of the Stoic school, gave many precepts to his friend Lucilius for living morally, adding* that it is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care, - and without this nothing is pleasant. *So, don't you see, good men and honourable women, that the precepts of the Law are light and joyful? I said it before and I repeat: if we so wish, a road is open to us that offers a joyful life here and after our death leads us to the joys of eternal life.* [Sect. 10-12]

6.3.7. The Holy

Pius spoke on saints and holiness in three of his papal orations, the "*Catherinam Senensem" [62]* (1461) on the occasion of her canonization, and the "*Advenisti tandem"* and the "*Si loqui possent" [67-68],* both pronounced at the reception of the relic of Saint Andrew's Head in Rome in 1462.

6.3.7.1. Holiness

Concerning the concept of holiness, Pius, in the oration "*Catherinam Senensem" [62]* (1461), distinguished between three subconcepts:

- **"holy" in the sense of "religious"**

  The lawyer Trebatius gave this definition: Holy is the same as sacred and religious, and Holy Scripture wholly agrees with him for we read in Ezra: You are the holy ones of the Lord and the holy vessels*; and in the Book of Kings:* I have no common bread at hand, but only holy bread, *and in the Psalms:* lift up your hands to the holy places*, where "holy" means "sacred and religious". The poet speaks in the same sense when he says*: And you, most holy prophetess, *calling the Sibyl holy. Taken in this sense, there is no doubt that the Roman Pontiff and other bishops can make men and things holy. Indeed, they are called priests*[1] *because they "give sacred things" and "make things holy", as it is said in Exodus:* thou shalt make a holy vesture for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty.

- "**Holy" in the sense of "inviolable"**

  In a second sense of the word, we call that holy which ought not to be destroyed or violated. It is in this sense that we call laws and envoys holy: name sacred to peoples throughout the centuries*. But to issue laws and to appoint envoys is done not only by popes, but also by kings and peoples.*

- **"Holy" in the sense of "divine"**

  In a third, deeper and more honourable sense of the word, we use the word "holy" as meaning that which is unsullied, pure, and immutable, and somehow approaches the divine, as we read in Leviticus: be holy because I am holy*; and in Wisdom:* thy saints had a very great light*; and in Proverbs:* I have known the science of saints; *and this:* Thou wilt not give thy holy one to see corruption*. And in Maro:* And you, oh most holy spouse, happy were you in death; and again: I will descend to you, a soul holy and innocent of that reproach*. And, according to Cicero, Ennius rightly calls poets "holy," for inspired by the divine spirit they sing of great things.*

  We declare that in this sense of the word "holy" neither We nor any other man can make anybody else holy. For every man has his own will, and nobody is good or holy without wanting to be. [Sect. 2-4]

[1] "Sacerdotes"

6.3.7.2. Saints

Canonization

Concerning canonization of saints, Pius carefully explained – also in the *"Catherinam Senensem"* that the canonization is not an act by which the Church makes somebody a saint, but a declaration that the Church believes somebody to be a saint, having already entered Heaven, and allows worship of the saint in the form of *veneration* (*cultus duliae*), but not of *worship* which is reserved to God (*cultus latriae*). The Church also allows the faithful to pray to the saints for their intercession with God. This is quite important, since the veneration of saints and prayers for their intercession give people hope for divine assistance, and therefore they form the basis for a whole system of religious beliefs and practices and for a large economy or industry of holiness, viz. pilgrimages, sale of relics, and offerings to the saints and the churches where they are buried. There was also a political dimension of sainthood when a royal or princely family wanted to improve its reputation and legitimacy through the canonization of one its members. Canonizing saints and regulating their veneration are therefore significant elements and symbols of papal power.

Pius also explained why it is the Roman See that has the sole right to canonize people. If it was up to the people or local authorities to decide who was a saint or not, it was likely that quite unworthy persons might gain the status of saints – as had indeed happened a number of times.[1]

Saintly virtues

A section in the *"Catherinam Senensem"* reads like a veritable catalogue of saintly virtues:

> *She received or rather extorted the so-called penitential habit of Saint Dominic. She performed the services of a maid in her father's house, generously helped the paupers of Christ, took intense care of the sick, and with patience as her shield and Faith as her helmet overcame the temptations of the Devil and the incessant attacks of malign spirits. She comforted the imprisoned and the distressed as best she could. Only religious and holy words came from her, and all her talk was about morals, the studies of the good arts,[2] religion, piety, contempt of the world, the love of God and one's neighbour, and the Heavenly Fatherland. No visitor left her without having learned something and become a better person. Learning had been infused into her, it was not acquired. She was a teacher before she was a disciple. Indeed, when teachers of Holy Scripture and even bishops from great dioceses arrogantly put very difficult*

[1] Oration *"Catherinam Senensem",* sect. 5-10

[2] Here the humanist pope manages to slip in the liberal arts – though it is doubtful that Catherine would have been much concerned with these, and that they would actually be a sign of holiness

questions on the divinity to her, she answered them wisely and so well that those who had come to her as wolves and lions left her as meek lambs. Indeed, many of them greatly admired the virgin's divine wisdom, and having distributed their possessions among the poor they accepted the Cross of the Lord and afterwards lived an evangelical life. [Sect. 12]

Asceticism is important, too, of course:

What shall We say about her austerity of life? We admire Moses and Eliah who were able to fast for 40 days: this virgin extended the fast from Ash Wedneday to Pentecost, having the Eucharist for her only food. We admire the abstinence of an Antonius, a Paulus, a Macharius, and a Hilarion who only ate cabbages and legumes: this virgin ate even less, subsisting, for almost eight years on vegetable juice, and she was even only able to keep a little of it down. We admire the Brahmans, the Indian gymnosophists, who are reported to sustain both cold and hot weather, though nude: this virgin suffered more, though clothed, for she lay on hard bed, slept neither day or night, and did not rest even for a twentieth part of her time. She disciplined her flesh with knotted strings, had almost permanent headache, burnt from fever, and suffered back pain. She also fought with demons and was much plagued by them. But even in such difficult circumstances she did not neglect the works of charity. She assisted people who were treated badly; she rebuked sinners and called them to penitence; she made peace among people quarrelling; and she gladly gave precepts for salvation to all. [Sect. 13]

And saintly miracles were quite essential, too, though Pius is sparing in his decription of them, being in general somewhat sceptical with regard to miracles, as he had probably seen or heard of too many spurious cases of such (cf. below, sect. 6.3.7.4):

This virgin also had the spirit of prophecy and predicted many things before they happened. Apart from the vow of Gregorius, she revealed many other hidden things, too. Frequently her spirit left the body, and floating above the ground she enjoyed the vision of God. She cured many melancholics. She commanded fevers and other illnesses in the name of Christ. [Sect. 15]

6.3.7.3. Relics

Quite interesting are the indications of belief in the saints' real presence in their relics, which evidently motivates why relics were so important to the medieval Church. In the "*Advenisti tandem" [67]* (1462), Pius spoke to the skull of Saint Andrew as if it was Saint Andrew himself:

Oh, sacred and fragrant head of the holy apostle, finally you have arrived. 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. … 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****.*

And the day afterwards he said, in the oration *"Si loqui possent" [68]:*

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.[1]

The souls of the saints' are in Heaven, but their relics make them present in a special way on Earth, as objects of veneration and invocation.

6.3.7.4. Miracles

In Pius' mind there was no doubt that God actively intervened in the affairs of men.

In his oration *"Dominatorem caeli" [35]* (1459) to the ambassadors of the King of Castile he examined various concepts of God and, speaking about the gentiles of old, he said that

Some in foolish error and dark stupidity, thought that there is no God and that human affairs are directed by uncertain chance. Others believed that God exists, but not as One. Unwise speculation made them claim that there are many gods, who even have conflicts between them. They are subdivided into various sects, some believing that the gods care about human matters, others that they ignore them. Some of the pagan peoples were closer to the truth: though they claimed that there are many gods, they professed that one of the gods is the father of all the other gods, their leader, ruler, and lord, and they did not hesitate to declare

[1] *Orations "Advenisti tandem" / "Si loqui possent",* sections 2-5

that it is he who has created the world and governs and rules it. Clearly, the most eminent of these people is Plato. [Sect. 2]

In his oration *"In hoc florentissimo"* [23] (1455) he developed the concept of divine intervention further, in the sense that God is pleased with pious men and acitively supports them. Piccolomini actually quotes another pagan author, Aristotle, to buttress this view:

> *Our books are full of such examples: moral uprightness is often victorious, and impiety succumbs.* I am who am, *says the Lord*, and my counsel is not with the godless. *This is known to Aristotle who says, in his Ethics*: For if, as generally supposed, the gods have some concern for human affairs, it would be reasonable to believe also that they take pleasure in that part of us which is best and most closely related to themselves (this being the intellect), and that they reward those who appreciate and honour it most highly; for they care for what is dear to them, and what they do is right and good. *It is clear that all this applies to the wise man, and it stands to reason that the one who is most dear to the gods is also a very happy man.*[1] [Sect. 15]

Miracles is a form of divine intervention in the life of men. Basically, Piccolomini reasons in his oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445), the miracles related in the Bible are not greater than the great miracle of nature that is also God's creation. For a woman to conceive through the Holy Spirit is no more miraculous than for her to conceive by a man's sperm: it is all God's doing. The biblical miracles may be exceptions to the laws of nature, but they as well as nature herself are created by God: they are both, and equally, a manifestation of God's omnipotence:

> *Consider that God is omnipotent, and do not believe that it is a greater work for him to make women conceive from the seed of a man than to make a virgin conceive from the breath of the Holy Spirit. And do not think it is a greater miracle that Christ is present in a little piece of bread than that Christ physically and through closed doors could enter a room where the disciples were staying. Know that the hands of God are not bound, and do not believe that anything is impossible for him who created the world from nothing.* [Sect. 78]

In former times, God had performed miracles, in the sense of events against the laws of nature, first of all through Christ and secondly through his apostles. By these miracles or signs, God proved to the men the divinity of Christ, the basis of the Christian message. In the grand oration *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459) Pius said:

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[1] Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, X, 8 (1179a 25-27). Quoted after the translation from the Greek by J.A.K. Thompson and H. Tredennick, p. 335. Presumably known to Piccolomini through Leonardo Bruni's translation into Latin

We shall show clearly that Christ is this God. There is no safer and easier way to do this than by referring to His miraculous works. For when the Jews asked him if He was Christ, he answered: I speak to you, and you believe not: the works that I do in the name of my Father, they give testimony of me. *So, away with the syllogisms of logicians and the subtleties of orators: the very acts of Christ show His divinity, and the Faith of our religion is proven not by words, but by deeds. So let us put before the eyes of our mind this man who, when invited to a wedding, changes water into wine. Wherever He travels, He heals the sick - just by a word. He makes the mute speak and the lame walk. He gives sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf. He strengthens the members of the palsied. He cleanses the lepers. And not only does He restore the strength of those who have weakened, He even calls the dead who have lain in their tomb for four days back to life as if they are waking up from sleep. He knows the secrets and the inner thoughts of men. He foretells the future. He drives out demons. He walks on water with dry feet. He commands the winds and the sea. And, in the end, He is, willingly and as He Himself had foretold, arrested by the Jews, cruficied, killed, buried, and on the third day He resurrects and shows Himself to his disciples so they can feel and touch His body. He eats and drinks with them, and after 40 days He ascends into Heaven as they are looking on. What shall we say after so many signs? When He was asked by the disciples of John:* Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?, *did He not answer them by pointing to his miracles? The surest proof of divinity are miracles. If many philosophers think that God is nature itself, then why should we not rather believe that He is God whom miracles show to have mastery over nature? … The miracles We have mentioned here and many others, too, are related in the four gospels; they are confirmed by four trustworthy witnesses. To these should be added the letters of the Apostle Paul and the Acts of the Apostles which make it clear that the miracles of Christ prove His mastery over nature.* [Sect. 29-30]

On the miracles of the apostles, Piccolomini said, in the oration *"Res bohemicas" [28]* (1455):

And the apostles would not have illuminated the world with their preaching if there had not been signs that people believed to have come from God. When, in the name of Jesus, the apostles restored sight to the blind, health to the lepers, and life to the dead, they easily won the faith of the multitude. [Sect. 27]

Today, God may himself intervene in the affairs of men, for example through the bestowal of victory in wars - or even through weather phenomena favouring papal events and ceremonies![1]

The concept of divine intervention in the wars of men is a quite important argument in Pius' crusade orations, particularly in view of the Turkish superiority in manpower.

[1] As described in several places in Pius' *Commentarii*

In the oration *"In hoc florentissimo" [23]* (1455) Piccolomini, quoting Augustine, told the assembled princes that God gives victory to whom he wills:

> *… the gate to victory is opened for good men and closed for evil men at the nod of God. That the gentiles had the same notion is shown by the fact that they called Victory a godess who was sent by the Good and Great Jupiter. Obeying the king of the gods, she came to those to whom he sent her and stayed on their side. In book 4 of his* De Civitate Dei *Augustine comments:* This might be said with truth, not of that Jupiter whom they fashion to match their fancy as king of the gods, but of the true King of the ages: that he sends, not Victory (who is no real being), but his angel, and gives victory to the man of his choice.[1][Sect. 16]

So, God still intervenes in the affairs of men, but – with one important exception – he does not allow men to perform miracles. In the *"Res bohemicas" [28]* (1455) Piccolomini said:

> *Today, however, the Lord does not favour us to the extent of letting us perform miracles. And, indeed, our own acts do not merit such signs.* [Sect. 27][2]

The exception is, of course, the saints who were even required to perform miracles before their sainthood could be declared in the process of canonization. As mentioned above, Pius' himself described the miracles of Saint Catherine of Siena, in the oration *"Catherinam Senensem" [62]* (1461). And in the oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445) he had told his parishioners in Aspach:

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

Still, there was no reaspon to be naïve. The educated class was quite aware that tricksters and hypocrites would regularly try to impress the faithful by apparent miracles, as Poggio Bracciolini relates about Antonio da Fano, in his *Contra Hypocitas Dialogus* (1448):

> *Contraxerat enim ostentatione quadam percallida, veterator ille, sancti viri nomen. Asserebat diebus octo perseveraturum absque ullo cibo, solo Eucharistiae sacramento contentum.*[3] *Ejus rei, ut periculum fieret, jubebat se in loco solitario secludi absque ulla esui aut potui accomodata. Dietim, unicam hostiam, & vini quantum satis sacrificio esset, petens; formosior postea quam accesserat, nihilo macilentior egrediebatur: quod omnes in admirationem stuporemque, tanquam caesitus cibo praebito, attraxerat. At postmodum paulo ante vitae finem patuit illius dolus, quem socius quidam ejus, qui rem norat, reseravit. Gestabat in cellam*

[1] Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 4, 17
[2] *Hodie autem non est ita nobiscum domini manus, ut mirabilia per nos operari velit*
[3] Like Saint Catherine of Siena, see above

occulte sub vestibus corrigiam oblongam ac palmo latam corio cocto ab anteriori parte pendentem, optimi vini plenam, expressi ex pluribus panibus assis, in quos saepius vinum infuderat. Tum candelas complures grossiores ex saccharo conficiebat, exterius cera illitas, quas secum deferens, tanquam pro lumine usurus, corpus reficiebat. Id, velut insigne abstinentiae miraculum, hominem celeberrimum reddidit vitae sanctitate.[1]

Piccolomini reported a similar case in his *Commentarii in Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de dictis et factis Alphonsi Regis*, adding that *A miracle should always be regarded with mistrust.*[2]

He evidently shared the general skepticism towards miracles generated by charlatans and sensationalists, which explains how he got into difficulties with the Franciscan order, enthusiastically promoting the miracles and sainthood of their illustrious member, Giovanni da Capistrano. Piccolomini knew Capistrano personally and had actually invited him to preach in the countries of Central Europe. Though Piccolomini claimed to highly respect Capistrano, he had not personally observed him perform any miracles. In the *"Res Bohemicas" [28]* (1455) he said:

Actually, there were many rumours about Giovanni di Capistrano and his miracles that I am not prepared to discuss. In this matter I leave the discernment of truth to others who may be more interested in novel things. [Sect. 27]

This lack of enthusiasm evidently offended the Franciscans, forcing Piccolomini to defend himself, as he did in a letter of 25 September 1453 to his friend Leonardo dei Benvoglienti:

Si frater Johannes mihi succenset, rem se non dignam facit, nec propterea virtutem suam non colam. Suo nomini sueque fame favebo, dum vixero, neque bonum virum timebo, qui nec deum timere debeo, ut Senece visum est, incedens recta. Loquar tecum et libera voce dicam. Multa ego de miraculis illi[u]s patris audivi, nihil supra naturam ab eo factum vidi.[3]

6.3.8. Religious toleration

In that age, religious toleration in general and toleration of ritual diversity in particular was somewhat unusual, though men like Ramon Llull and Piccolomini's friends since the Basel period, Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues[4] and Juan de Segovia, began to develop this theme.

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[1] Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera,* II, pp. 69-70

[2] Lib. 2: *Suspectum est enim quicquid prodigiosum.* Quoted in translation by Boulting, p. 221

[3] WO, III, I, p. 285

[4] Nederman: *Worlds*, pp. 85-98*: It is not so much "optimism" as accommodation to thoroughly ingrained forms of group identity that lies beneath his [Cusa's] call for "one religion in a variety of rites". The medieval ideal of the* Respublica Christiana *is at least tacitly shown to be unworkable in its traditional formulation. In place of this ideal*

Segovia formulated his thoughts on peaceful dialogue with Islam in his *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Saracenorum*, which he sent to Picccolomini personally in 1457.

And in his famous *De pace fidei* from 1453, Nikolaus von Kues wrote that

> *where conformity of mode cannot be had, nations are entitled to their own devotions and ceremonies, provided faith and peace be maintained. Perhaps as a result of a certain diversity devotion will even be increased, since each nation will endeavor with zeal and diligence to make its own rite more splendid, in order that in this respect it may excel some other [nation] and thereby obtain greater merit with God and [greater] praise in the world."*[1]

The cardinal even coined the phrase: *"Una religio in rituum varietate."*[2]

Piccolomini was probably directly influenced by Nikolaus when three years afterwards he wrote in his oration *"Res Bohemicas"* (1456):

> *But if that* [restoring communion under both species generally] *should be the will of the Holy Spirit, then we should neither want to nor be able to resist*. Alas, it is wrong for man to rely on the gods for anything against their will! *says [the poet]. It is God who has given us the Faith and our rites and ceremonies. What is of the Faith will not change, and what is the Truth now will alway be the Truth. The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver refined seven times. What is true Faith for the Indians, is also true Faith for the Spaniards.*
>
> *But ceremonies and solemn holy rites are found to be different in different peoples. The Divine Piety has not told us what rites please him most, though it may be assumed that those which are more common are more pleasing to God. For only with divine approval do ritual ceremonies grow and spread to all the world and are accepted by it. It is not for us to oppose those forms of devotion that are not contrary to divine law.*

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comes a recognition that the unity of faith is not undermined – in fact, may be enhanced by the multiplicity of national practices and identities. In some ways, then, the path to toleration pioneered by De pace fidei *has surprising resonance at the end of the twentieth century.* In his *De usu communionis ad Bohemos,* from the early Basel period, Nikolaus von Kues had declared that *No one doubts that a different rite could exist without danger and preserving the unity within the same Church. When, however, presumptuous rashness prefers some rite or other to unity and peace, even if that rite should be good, holy and praiseworthy in itself, it is damnable* (Nikolaus von Kues*: De usu* (Izbicki), p. 17)

[1] Nikolaus of Kues: *De pace fidei,* XIX, 67 (quoted after the translation of Hopkins): *Ubi non potest conformitas in modo reperiri, permittantur nationes – salva fide et pace – in suis devotionibus et ceremonialibus. Augebitur etiam fortassis devotio ex quadam diversitate, quando quaelibet natio conabitur ritum suum studio et diligentia splendidiorem efficere, ut aliam in hoc vincat et sic meritum maius assequatur apud Deum et laudem in mundo.* See Moudarres, p. 46

[2] See Watanabe, p. 11

So, should it happen that the sharing of the chalice spreads to other peoples, we must believe that this is God's will. We are all bound to believe in him, and it is not Bohemia, but God himself who will overcome us. He himself will largely provide the ways in which he will be served reverently and with due caution.

Since the Bohemians are our brothers and share the baptism that we as Christians revere, we should show compassion and not anger at their ignorance. Christ has suffered both for them and for us, and we should use all means to save them. For us to be saved and not become servants of the Devil, Our Lord and God accepted to descend from the summit of Heaven to the Earth, to take on flesh, to suffer the human condition, to be arrested, to be bound, to be scourged, and finally to die horribly on the tree of the cross. So how can we think that he would, in his mercy, rather let the Bohemians perish than grant them the drinking of his blood which he actually gave to the men of the early Church? [Sect. 63]

This statement should be seen together with Piccolomini's statement on converting peoples by war, also in the *"Res Bohemicas":*

But, let us assume that the Bohemians will succumb to our military might: would that really be a holy and honourable way of converting Bohemia? The early Church did not draw straying people back to the way by sword or fire, but by kind words and gentle exhortations. It always abhorred bloodshed. Too much blood will colour the earth before Bohemia is subdued by the sword. They will fall, and our people will fall, too. We shall send countless souls to hell before the Bohemians will declare themselves defeated. What is bought by human blood is far too expensive. A mind is not acceptable to God if it only adores the crucified [Lord] because it has been coerced through war. The Bohemians who survive the war may be forced to accept our rites, but they will not do so voluntarily. They will accept our faith through fear alone, and not with their hearts. They will always be thinking about how to escape servitude. [Sect. 22]

Toleration of ritual diversity and rejection of war and violence as means to convert other peoples are the signs of the tolerant humanism – coexisting with rather conservative views on politics and the Church - of a man who stood at the crossroads between the middle ages and the modern age.

Interestingly, in the oration *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455), Piccolomini seems to recognize that the Turkish enemy may actually practice some degree of religious toleration:

Moreover, many taxes, many extorsions of money, and many robberies burden the Christian people, and many are the abuses of our princes, not to say tyrants, against their subjects. Therefore, I greatly fear that when the Turk comes and lightens the burdens on our peoples, they will willingly bow the neck, ***especially if he grants freedom of Faith*** *– for he is a clever enemy.* [Section 23]

6.4. Pius' wars

There can be no doubt that Pius had some fascination with military matters. His own father had served in the army of the Duke of Milan, his revered model, Virgil's Pius Aeneas, was a mighty warrior, and the the twin concept of *arma et litterae* was dear to humanists,[1] including Piccolomini.
An example from the oration *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459):

> *Also the Greeks, although once courageous and brave, have not kept their former vigour. Almost all who are subject to the Turks have become weak and lost their former spirit with regard to military matters and letters.* [Sect. 21][2] [3]

Pius' fascination with military matters also transpires glimpsewise in a description in the *Commentarii* of the glorious sight of horse soldiers in shining armor accompanying the pope on one of his summer travels. *The pope was delighted by the resplendent arms and horses and the splendididly uniformed soldiers. For what is more impressive than an army set in array[4]?*[5] But, most importantly, it is expressed in the very long sections of the *Commentarii* describing his wars in Central and Southern Italy – in concious and politically motivated imitation of Julius Caesar.[6]

Still, Pius' wars were not endeavours indulged in by a warlike prince, but imposed on the pope by dire necessity as seen by this very experienced and sagacious observer of European, Italian and papal affairs.

As pope, he was involved in three wars. The first was the crusade against the Turks. The second was the war of succesion in the Kingdom of Naples (Sicily) where King Ferrante of the Aragonese dynasty from Spain and King René d'Anjou of the Angevin dynasty from France fought about the crown. The third one was the war in Church State against nobles, e.g. the Malatestas, and generals, e.g. Jacopo Piccinino, who wanted to carve out their own independent principalities.

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[1] Military leaders who were also men of learning were thus much admired, e.g. Duke Federigo of Urbino and Alessandro Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, see Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 116-117): *Signor Alessandro deserved high praise in every respect, and was the second great captain produced by this age who combined military skill with the love of learning, the first being the Duke of Urbino*

[2] *Graeci quoque, illustres quondam animae, haudquaquam vigorem antiquum retinent. Degeneraverunt ferme omnes, qui Turcis parent, neque in armis neque in litteris pristinum referunt spiritum*

[3] Another example is from the oration *"Britones hodie",* sect. 3: *Britones autem fortunae cedentes in Galliam confugere … viri fortes et armorum et litterarum periti*

[4] Canticle, 6, 1

[5] CO, V, 26

[6] O'Brien: *Arms*

These wars together has led a modern scholar to accuse Pius of personal bellicosity[1], an opinion which was actually held by many Italians at the time, in Rome and even in the College of Cardinals.

Pius defended himself against these accusations in the orations *"Ingentes vobis quirites" [61]* (1461) and the *"Sextus agitur annus" [75]* (1463).

The most succinct and effective defense he gave in the "*Sextus agitur annus" [75]* from 1463, when the two Italian wars were practically ended, saying:

> *Jean d'Anjou, the son of René, had seized the ships built and equipped with holy funds [collected] against the Turks by the Cardinal of Avignon in the region of the Rhone. Having formed a fleet, he brought it to the Kingdom of Sicily and [used it] against [other] Christians, inflicting war upon an Italy that was at peace. We sent aid to Ferrante, 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, the son of Piccinino, 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.*
>
> *Except the Orsini 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 Bracceschi and made all of Sabina and Lazio enemy territory. The Colonna in Campagna repeatedly stirred up rebellion. Count Everso of Anguillara endeavoured to steal one city after the other, and he even plotted to kill Us with sword and poison. Gentile da Sala 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.*
>
> *And what about Sigismondo Malatesta? How much did he not harm Us? Having been freed from a much stronger enemy and obtained peace through Our own benevolent intervention, 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 Reatines 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. The Duke of Modena neglected his oath and greatly helped the French cause. Only Prince Francesco of Milan sent help to Ferrante and Us.*

[1] See Chambers

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 Chistian 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 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. 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; he has terrified Our enemies and destroyed them.

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, but in fear and trembling. The da Canale were 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 Martiano from Sigismundo by some sordid transaction, but on the order of the [papal] legate they gave it to the Church. Giulio da Camerino, one of the men who had conspired 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.

As for Sigismondo 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 taken 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 Franceso 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. It was besieged and eventually surrendered. Also Senigallia and Gradara were taken, [cities that] Franceso Sforza had [formerly] been unable to take when he besieged them.

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 Malatesta 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 [of Naples].

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 Crotone 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, who had over-all command, and Piccinino, a much feared general reputed to be invincible, were forced to flee in shame with their captains. Afterwards Troia was taken, and Giovanni Cossa was given leave to depart by the generous king who then brought his forces against the Prince of Taranto and took Ascolo Sastriano from him. At Ofanto, the Duke of Melfi yielded to the king, and shortly after the prince 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 Napoleone 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.

He also recovered the lands of the Abbey of San Germano as well as Pontecorvo, once taken from Eugenius by Alfonso. 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.

In the other direction, Alessandro Sforza led his troops from Puglia over rugged mountains to Abruzzo. There he joined forces with Matteo da Capua and Roberto Orsini 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.

Then Alessandro 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 temper. 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. This was the result of breaking faith and arming the Church's fleet against other Christians.

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 Kingdom is about 400.000 passus long and nowhere less than 100.000 pasus 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, 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 – Jean is hiding. The rest has been retaken by Our armies and those of Our allies and has returned to its allegiance.

"What is the purpose of this long narration?", you ask. It is that you may understand how great favours God has shown the Roman Church and you and Us, so that you together with Us 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 conquered], We believe that 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. [Sect. 3-12]

6.5. Siena

The political situation in Siena, Pius' beloved home city, was of great concern to the pope.

During his prolonged stay in Siena, in the spring of 1459, Pius endeavoured to reform the political system of the city republic.

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.

He probably had at least three motives for this initiative: firstly he may have desired to favour a political class to which his own family had belonged for generations and whose exclusion from the city government had hit them badly. Secondly, he wished to make the Republic of Siena an important part of his political power base as pontiff. And thirdly, there is no reason to doubt that the pope had a genuine concern for his home city and clearly saw that its political divisions threatened its peace and development.

After a series of preliminary negotiations, and even public relations exercices like bestowing the papal Golden Rose on the city government,[1] the pope, towards the end of his stay, directly addressed the city government on this thorny issue. In his oration "*Ingentes vobis gratias" [41]* (1459) to the ruling parties, he told them that

both before and during our cardinalate, We took great pains to help and defend your cause. And now, too, having been called to the Supreme Pontificate by divine counsel, We have preserved your freedom, your cause, and your dignity that were direly threatened. For nothing

[1] See the oration *"Vetus majorum" [31]* (1459)

is more important to Us than the safety and liberty of Our fatherland which are now yours by the divine gift of Our elevation [to the papal throne].

But this happy state will not last long unless you change your ways and reform your [system of] government. For the One who is our Truth itself cannot lie, and He says in the Gospel that Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation. And what city was ever more divided than yours? In other cities there have often been two parties which fighting each other brought them to ruin. But in your [city], a part of the people has lost all hope of [sharing] government. For though the nobles have been given share in some offices, they are excluded from the palace [of government]. And those [parties] that hold the government, called the Nine, the Reformers, and the People, live in mutual jealousy and conflict. Each wants to surpass the others and be seen as the better one. This diversity of names in itself undoubtedly creates factions in the people and pushes it in various directions.

And, what is more serious, before Our pontificate a new conflict arose. Some citizens who governed the city together with you were executed, or exiled, or fined and banished. Maybe their punishments were just, but they were a loss to the city: a number of your own people died, and those who were exiled or banished are planning to return and are plotting against you day and night, and there is no lack of people in the city who favour them because of ties of familiy or friendship. Indeed, the more people you have driven out of the city, the greater is the number of those who oppose you and plot political change.

Internally, Your body politic is suffering from these and many other evils. Externally, you yourselves know how many conflicts you are involved in. Your neighbours hate you, your friends are far away. Who can have good hopes for a city that has security neither within nor without? But God gave you safety from external forces when He placed Us on the Chair of Saint Peter: as long as We are occupying it, nobody will dare to wage open war against you. Your enemies are aware of the strength of the Apostolic See, and knowing that We are of this city, they fear to go to war against you just as much as against Us. Under Our shadow, you are safe enough from those outside. But we cannot defend you against those who are inside. We can only advise you and urge you to love each other and to govern your state in harmony since this is the only sure protection of all cities. For the love of the citizens is a strong and invincible defense. You know the words of Sallust: Harmony makes small states great, while the mightiest are undone by discord. *Concord it is what preserves cities. If justice – mother and queen of virtues - reigns among you, you will always be united and this city secure. Justice is the essence of equity which distributes punishments and rewards among men according to their deserts. Blessed is the city that is governed by justice.*

And you, Sienese, will be happy if you share the public offices with those who merit it. This you have failed to do for a long time. Instead you have been treating the eminent nobles of the city

as slaves even though it was their forefathers who founded this city and who, more than fifty years ago, on their own initiative transferred the government of the city to you, without having been forced to do so. Now you must turn back to the path of justice: you should honour the nobles and put them in the place of those you have driven out or killed. The emply places should be refilled, and you should make as many new friends as you have made enemies. For we should all see to it that nobody hates us, and if that is not possible, then to forge friendships that are stronger than the enmities. Such friendship you will have from the nobles if they step into the places of the condemned. This is advantageous as well as honourable. For how can you show gratefulness if you do not honour those whose fathers entrusted the state to you and founded this city. They never rebelled even though you treated them outrageously. Indeed, they bore all with equanimity and were ever ready to obey your orders. Because of your internal divisions there were times when they could have raised their horns, but they would rather serve the city in peace than master it by sedition.

Who would not consider such citizens as worthy of governing? The well-ordered city desiring to grow deeper roots punishes the bad citizens and rewards the good. No wise man will want to stay in a city where virtue is not rewarded. So, if you are wise, you will accept the nobles as partners in governing the city and not let them be inferior to yourselves, since by now the tumour of wealth has been removed and they have become like yourselves – and somewhat more humble! This is the best means to keep your liberty and to preserve your city.

This is the advice that We give to Our beloved country. If you reject Our exhortations, We cannot have good hopes for this republic. Ruin threatens a divided city, and peace cannot dwell where justice is in exile. If you give the nobles their due, you will not only get ready help from Us, should misfortune arise, but you will also be assisted and protected by the omnipotent hand of God, who always favours the just party. [Sect. 2-7]

Some years later, in the oration *"Munera quae attulistis" [69]* (1462), a very frustrated Pius told the ambassadors of Siena, who had arrived insolently late to welcome him on Sienese territory and invite him to stay in the city:

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 you than Florence? A rival city, hungry for power, rich in gold, and with far-reaching power threatens you. Your enemy is at the fourth milestone, and it is always

plotting to destroy you. You fear it, but you do not seek protection against the threatening storm.

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 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.

It must be your own decision to work for unity. We have often spoken about it when We stayed in Siena. 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 very names of your [political] factions. We showed you that you must create one body politic from which neither the Nobles nor the Twelve should be missing. 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, and [at the same time] you deter Us 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 temple there. Time and your conduct will show Us what to do. [Sect. 1-3]

Pius' efforts and advice to Sienese were in vain, but 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.

6.6. Poetry

Piccolomini, himself a poet laureate, crowned by the emperor, defended poetry against its detractors in several of his writings. Among them is the oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]*, a quodlibetal lecture held at the University of Vienna in 1445. In this oration Piccolomini spoke on three of the subjects proposed for the disputation by the academics, the second one being: *Why are there so*

few poets in our time when apparently they are both very useful and necessary? In his reply to this question, Piccolomini drew on materials developed for his discussion of the same topic in the *Pentalogus* and other works written some years before, giving it a better structured and more closely reasoned treatment appropriate to the academic contest.

By way of introduction to this theme, Piccolomini first showed, by a series of examples, how poets were highly honoured in Antiquity.

He then went on to speak of three subthemes:

- Usefulness of poetry
- Necessity of poetry
- Rarity of poets

6.6.1. Usefulness of poetry

Poetry is useful for two reasons: firstly it it fulfils a moral purpose by praising virtue and blaming virtue, and secondly it fulfils a religious purpose by praising God.

Piccolomini proved his point by referring to a number of examples derived mostly from the Bible, Basil's *Ad adolescentes*, Cicero's *Pro Archia* and *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and Solinus.

6.6.2. Necessity of poetry

For any society to thrive, it is necessary that citizens live morally and abandon vice: *cities do no live well without men who are able to convince citizens to live morally and to abandon vice.* [Sect. 16]

Piccolomini identified three kinds of men, or three professions, who perform this function: orators, theologians, and poets.

Like poets, orators have an important function in the persuasion of men to live morally. Some may think that they do it better than poets because they have a much broader store of words and concepts to use.

Related to orators are the theologians who have a professional duty to convince people to live morally and do so primarily by sermons, a form of oratory.

And then there are poets who persuade people to live morally through verses, i.e. short and cogent verbal messages.

Piccolomini observed that orators use long and disconnected concepts that are not easy to remember, whereas theologians are not trained as orators and therefore do not speak well. Thus, both orators and theologians fall short in their function of persuading people to live well.

Poets, however, have a privileged language in which to foster morals since they are able to coin striking phrases and concepts in a linguistic form (the metre) which makes it easy for people to remember them. Thus poets are far superior as promoters of morals, and therefore they are necessary to society.

6.6.3. Rarity of poets

The four reasons for the rarity of poets, Piccolomini told the University, are:

- Only few people have the great knowledge and many and varied skills needed in poets
- God only gives the gift of poetry to a few men
- As human virtues decrease with time, so does poetry
- Poets are not honoured as they deserve

6.7. Some minor themes

Apart from the major themes, Pius' orations touch on many minor themes which throw an interesting sidelight on cultural and other aspects of the Renaissance. The following are mentioned as examples, only.

6.7.1. Women

In a break with traditional misogyny, Piccolomini in his oration *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1450) – written in the manner of the classical wedding oration *(epithalamium)* as revived by Italian humanists - presented a vivid praise of women.

Other Renaissance humanists had praised women, like Boccaccio, but in Boccaccio's case the praise went to extraordinary women whose virtue almost made them men.[1] In the preface to his *De mulieribus claris (On Famous Women)*, he wrote:

> *If we grant that men deserve praise whenever they perform great deeds with the strength bestowed upon them, how much more should women be extolled – almost all of whom are endowed by nature with soft, frail bodies and sluggish minds – when they take on a manly spirit, show remarkable intelligence and bravery, and dare to execute deeds that would be extremely difficult even for men.*[2]

In other words, women are by nature inferior to men, and the best ones of them are those who have or develop masculine qualities. Boccaccio's editor/translator, Virgina Brown, has this comment:

> *It should be remembered, however, that this condescending manner of praising with faint damns is characteristic of the cultural legacy inherited by Boccacio from Antiquity and the Middle Ages. If such attitudes are Boccaccio's they are also attitudes common to the men of his time and education. In Boccaccio's defense it may be said that in certain respects he succeeds in escaping the prejudices of his sex and his sources. In general, he is much more expansive than his sources in praising women's intellectual powers or their literary accomplisments or their moral virtues or their artistic creations.*[3]

Piccolomini echoed this conception when in his *De Europa* from 1458 he wrote, about queen Margaret the I of Denmark and Norway and her conflict with King Albrecht of Sweden in 1389:

> *Albert felt contempt for the government of his female neighbour and began to provoke war with Denmark and Norway. Margaret mustered her troops and came to meet him, and on a wide open plain they fought a battle which made it seem as if she had donned the spirit of a man and her enemy that of a woman*[4]*. Defeated, taken prisoner, and led in a triumphal procession, Albert lost his kingdom.*[5]

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[1] Boccaccio, p. 9
[2] Boccaccio, p. 6
[3] Boccaccio, p. xix
[4] *"tamquam ipsa viri, hostis feminae animum induisset",* cf. Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 33 (Opera omnia, p. 406). This is probably an indirect quote from Cicero, e.g. *De officiis,* 1, 61: *vos enim juvenes geritis muliebrem, illa virgo viri*
[5] Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 33 (Brown, pp. 168-169)

In general, Piccolomini undoubtedly shared a cultural conception of women as the weaker sex, dependent on men. In his first oration, the *"Audivi" [1]* from 1436, he quoted Homer, saying that *silence makes a woman beautiful, but this does not apply to a man.* And in the moral dissertation/oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6],* written in 1445 or 1446, some months before Piccolomini became a priest, he said that men were the superiors of women, quoting the Bible in support:

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

And later, in the same oration:

> *Concerning wives, my command to you is the same as Paul's to the Ephesians:* Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the church and delivered himself up for it. *This is a very important saying, beloved, for although it is proper that your wives be subject to you, it is not right for you to rage and be violent against them, but, as Paul commands,* you ought to love them as your own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself.
>
> *And if your wife is shrewish, garrulous, and headstrong, you should not drive her away, but rather imitate Socrates. When he was asked by his friends to drive his quarrelsome wife, Xantippe, from his home, he replied: "No, at home I learn how to behave in public. For as I suffer and learn to tolerate such a woman at home, I practice how better to bear up with other people's boisterous aggressiveness and abuse in public."* [Sect. 135]

And later again, with remarkable insistence upon the sexual equality (or mutual superiority) of the spouses, Piccolomini wrote:

> *Moreover, beloved, Paul says to the Corinthians:* Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife: and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render the debt to his wife: and the wife also in like manner to the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body: but the husband. And in like manner the husband also hath not power of his own body: but the wife. [Sect. 137]

These passages reflect traditional cultural and religious conceptions of women's lower status in relation to men, but they are not misogynistic.

In he aformentioned oration *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14],* Piccolomini, inspired by other humanists and their wedding orations, directly attacked the misogynistic view of women, handed down from philosophers of Antiquity and – mistakenly, he argues - from the Bible and from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

His argument falls in three parts:

The philosophers of Antiquity simply spoke foolishly and hypocritically for they did not themselves follow their own philosophical advice, men were generally worse than women, and the responsibility of marital failure was usually that of the man.

As for the Bible, the negative statements on women do not concern women in general, but certain evil women. Otherwise, the Bible contains many examples of excellent women.

As for the Church fathers, their negative statements usually have the purpose of exhorting men who had promised to live in chastity, e.g. monks, to beware of seductive women, and – as was the case for the Bible - do not concern women in general. And the chastity problem works both ways: celibate women, too, should beware of the temptations of the opposite sex.

In this text, Piccolomini was the spokesman for a new view of woman, in complete contrast to the traditional, misogynistic view (which he actually seems to have shared in his younger days, especially concerning their fickleness and infidelity.)[1]

This is what he said in the oration:

> *But let us hear what is being said against women and afterwards we shall judge the truth of the matter:*
>
> *These people say that in the Holy Scriptures there are many negative statements on women, and that Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory, as well as other Doctors of the Church revile women. They also point to Virgil, Juvenal, and the whole fierce troop of poets, and especially to the relentless Cato, who claimed that women are greedy, fickle, and cruel. They mention examples of bad women and describe disasters caused by them. Then they go on to quote the philosophers who when they were consulted on marriage dissuaded it or would not presume to give any advice since they feared the great calamities for the world that they*

[1] Cf. e.g. Piccolomini's letter to Johann Vrunt of 20 November 1445 (Epistolarium, p. 495)

would cause. They mention Metellus Numidicus who according to Gellius in his De noctibus Atticis*, said that* If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them nor at all without them, we must take thought for our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure of the moment.

And this is more or less what those mistaken censors usually have to say against the female gender and against marriage.

But unless I am mistaken, all these opinions can easily be refuted. Firstly, that which is written against women in Holy Scripture concerns certain wicked women. We admit that evil may indeed also be found in the female sex, but we do not, therefore, hold that all women are evil. Otherwise we should also have to blame all men. It is written about women that you cannot find one among thousands*, but in the Psalms we read about men that* there is none that doth good: no not one.

And in the Satyrical Poet:

For honest men are scarce; hardly so numerous
As the gates of Thebes, or the mouths of the enriching Nile."

And later he says, consistently:

If I discover an upright and blameless man,
I liken him to a boy born half beast,
Or to fishes found by a marvelling rustic
Under the plough, or to a pregnant mule.

As for the holy Doctors, when they express loathing of women or justly condemn some of them, they do so because they are exhorting men who wish to be chaste to flee and to abhor women. The same they say about men to women consecrated to God and to married women: indeed, it has been said often, and it must be said even more often! For men who have promised continence should fear women as enemies, as women [who have made the same promise] should fear men.

As for the poets, it is not strange that they attack women, for neither do they spare men. In Livy, Lucius Valerius answered the great Cato quite properly - when he obtained the annulment of the Lex Oppia - that it was quite unfair to women. Concerning the crimes [of women] there is really nothing to discuss, for we men commit the same crimes, but more and worse. Nor I am moved by the examples of wicked women, or the old disasters to the human race caused

by women. For if we should want to examine the evil deeds of women and men, from Cain, the first betrayer, to Judas, that heinous criminal, and compare the wicked acts of the two sexes done until this day, we would see that women are quite innocent compared with men. But as I am pressed for time, I shall be brief.

I now come to the philosophers of whom, according to Lactantius, no one lived as he wrote. Who can calmly hear that Socrates, the source and summit of philosophers, and according to Apollo the wisest them, failed in his marriage and had two wives, not being content with one? In my opinion, the maligners of women should remain silent rather than speak foolishly. And those who rely on the authority of Metellus do not know that he himself was condemned by learned men as one whose advice is neither truthful nor appropriate. And wiser men have thought that preferably he should have said that quite often there are no troubles in a marriage. Or he should have said that if there are sometimes troubles, they are small, insignificant, and easy to bear, and that they are overshadowed by the great advantages and pleasures of marriage. And if problems occur, they do not do so in all marriages, nor are they caused by the evil nature [of women], and when they do occur it is because of the fault and injustice of some men. But I shall say no more about this, since it is well known that there are decent men and good women who can have fair, holy, and honourable marriages. [Sect. 3-7]

6.7.2. Marriage

In the same oration, he treated marriage under three headings: its dignity, its benefits, and its joys.

Its dignity is derived from its having been created and honoured by God. Its benefits consist in its being the institution that keeps society and families together and ensures the preservation and the propagation of the human race. And its joys are the comforts and the love offered by one's wife, the delightful children, and the sexual pleasures.

He said:

… as marriage consists in the union of male and female, how could it be praiseworthy if one of its parts were defective and imperfect? Marriage is not like Daniel's statue, whose feet were made partly of iron and partly of clay. Nor do we see it as that creature of Horace whose upper part was that of a lovely woman and its lower part that of a fish. No, we consider marriage to be sacred, complete, and perfect in its two parts. …

Now we must say something about the benefits of marriage. It seems to me that there are three things to recommend in marriage: the honourable dignity, the great advantage, and the sweet joy. All these are to be found in marriage. Let us now examine them individually.

It seems to me that the most valuable things are those which are the oldest and have the most eminent authors. And marriage is indeed a very old institution since it began with our first forefathers. It also has the noblest possible author, God, the Omnipotent Father, and the whole Trinity. For, according to Jerome, marriage was instituted when the Lord said: Increase and multiply, and fill the earth.

For, contrary to the opinion of the Athenians, we do not say that Cecrops, their king in very old times, was the one who instituted marriage – which is why, in Antiquity, he was depicted as having two parts, as the first who joined the male to the female in a legitimate union. Indeed it was long before the foundation of Athens, in the very beginning of the world, that God himself and not a man, the creator and not someone who had been created, the ruler and founder of the earth, consecrated marriage whose dignity is so great that once it has been made, it cannot be unmade, as Scripture says: What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. *Those who are legitimately joined in marriage are considered to be united with God's assent. Thus Our Mother the Church, the governor of morals, the teacher of life, the messenger of truth, considers marriage as one of the greatest of the divinely revealed sacraments that she dispenses. And therefore Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour, Man and God, desired to be born of a married woman and to participate in weddings as well as to honour marriage with the first miracle he is said to have performed.*

Having heard about the dignity of marriage, let us now examine its advantages, though these are easier to understand than to state. For what is it that sustains houses, cities, provinces, kingdoms, and even the human race itself, if not marriage? What is marriage other than the seedbed of human society? What unites families? What makes peoples grow? What permanence will peoples have if they do no grant marriage? What peace, what faith, what love would there be among humans, if we lived without legitimate weddings, as Plato wished, abusing women all the time? I shall not even mention the countless advantages that the private household gains from marriage.

I pass quickly to the joys of marriage. May joy be found in marriage? Indeed! Both in his Politics *and in his* Ethics*, Aristotle, the most brilliant of philosophers, writes that there is joyful friendship between spouses. From the founding of Rome until 500 or - according to Tertullian - 600 years afterwards no divorce occurred, so great was the joy in marriages. Can there be anything sweeter, more delightful, and more joyous than the life of him who has got a willing and fertile wife? When he comes home, leaving the buzz of the marketplace, the wearisome business of the court and the labours of state, he finds true comfort and a true lover in his*

companion in a divine and human household, and he sees sweet children, a delight to himself and their mother: is it not for them that he toils, and gathers, and lives, and in whom he will live on after death?

But why quote human witnesses, where divine authority has spoken: the oracle of Genesis says that therefore a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they shall be two in one flesh*. It as great, powerful pleasure and a great, exultant joy that unites two bodies in one flesh. Aristophanes even thought that there was one soul in the two bodies*. [Sect. 8-13]

6.7.3. Sexuality

Before he became a priest, Piccolomini had a free and uninhibited conception of sexuality, strongly at variance with church doctrine, and indeed he himself had extensive sexual experiences with women, married and unmarried, as reflected in his erotical writings from that period.

A summary of his views is given in a letter he wrote to his father in Siena in 1443, at the age of 38:

Certainly, you begot no son of stone or iron, being flesh yourself. You know what kind of rooster you were. I am no eunuch, nor one of the frigid. Nor am I a hypocrite, wishing to seem, rather than to be, good. I will admit my error freely because I am neither more holy than David, nor wiser than Solomon. This fault is ancient and entrenched, but I do not know anyone who lacks it. It is quite clear that this plague, if it is a plague to use nature's[1] *gifts – although I do not see why sexual intercourse ought to be condemned so much – is broadly compatible with nature, which does nothing wrongly. In all lovers it arouses this appetite so that the human race will be continued.*[2]

In his early 40's, Piccolomini experienced a gradual waning or rather failing of his sexual powers and desires, which was on the one hand quite painful to him, but on the other hand freed him of the happy, licentious ways of his youth, made it possible for him to sincerely embrace the deeper religious sentiments of his mature years, and opened the path to priesthood and a religious career. At that time his thoughts on sexuality were dark and bitter as witnessed in a letter to his friend Johann Vrunt in 1446:

[1] In other contexts, Piccolomini equalled nature with God in the sense that nature was God's own creation, but he did not dare to do so in the present context, since that would be to directly negate the Church's view of sexual morality
[2] Reject, p. 160

> *What is fornication other than death? … How brief is the pleasure which is experienced with women? What momentary joy! Is he not a fool enough who, for the sake of temporary and momentary things, squanders things eternal? … Dearest brother, I am full, stuffed. Venus makes me nauseous! It is also true that my powers have declined. I am sprinkled with gray hairs; the muscles are withered; the bones, rotten; the body is shrivelled with wrinkles. Neither am I able to bring pleasure to a woman; nor is a woman able to bring pleasure to me. … To me, by Hercules, there is too little merit in chastity. For in truth, I might declare that Venus more has run away from me than I from her. But I carry, on, by God's grace, because there remains no more appetite than power to sate it.*[1]

This dark mood is completely absent from his oration in Naples in 1450, the *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]*: one might conjecture that he now fondly remembers his former lovers as partners in delights offered by nature for the propagation of humankind, and not as the revulsive seductresses of innocent young men: *It as great, powerful pleasure and a great, exultant joy that unites two bodies in one flesh* [Sect. 13].

As for the sexual pleasures in marriage, a similar development seems to have taken place. In the sermon written shortly before his becoming ordained, the "*Non est apud me dubium" [6]*, Piccolomini told his future parishioners that

> *when the spouse cannot be continent, then the debt must be rendered. Not without reason does he say 'debt', which means that it cannot be avoided. But if anybody uses marriage for pleasure and not for necessity, then he certainly does not avoid fornication, but actually commits it.* [Sect. 137]

Sex must not be enjoyable – even between married people.

Four years afterwards, in Naples, he had returned to his youthful conception of sexuality as legitimately pleasant – though now, bishop of Holy Church, he considered it as limited to marriage[2]:

> *But why quote human witnesses, where divine authority has spoken: the oracle of Genesis says that* therefore a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they shall be two in one flesh.[3] *It as great, powerful pleasure and a great, exultant joy that unites two bodies in one flesh. Aristophanes even thought that there was one soul in the two bodies.* [Sect. 13]

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[1] Reject, pp. 236-237

[2] D'Elia: *Renaissance,* p. 108: *Humanists, however, differ from this literature [medieval chivalric romances] in that the passion that they praised was not adulterous, but can and should be found within marriage*

[3] Genesis 2, 24

Piccolomini's remarks in Naples may to some extent have been influenced by the ambiance of a court that was certainly not averse to sensual pleasures.[1]

6.7.4. Intelligence gathering

In the Renaissance, as always, intelligence was extremely important, and the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1436) contains a couple of references to how such intelligence was obtained and disseminated.

Speaking of relations between the pope and the Duke of Milan, Piccolomini mentions a certain Roberto of Florence. We may presume that this Roberto was Roberto Martelli, the manager of the Medici Bank's office in Basel from 1433-1438. Piccolomini calls him a *diligent gatherer of news, who is in possession of many letters* [sect. 39]. Quite evidently the network of an international bank was an important instrument for gathering and disseminating news on matters affecting its affairs, even including copies of letters between princes.

Another intelligence network is the prince's network of spies (*exploratores*). Among the three things in favour of choosing the territory of the Duke of Milan as the location for the council is the fact that he can eliminate all risk to the council, *for the prince, being placed in a highly dangerous situation, endeavours to know through spies the secrets of many lords and various city states* [sect. 81]. Stated quite matter-of-factly! A prince who wants to eliminate every kind of danger must necessarily know about the affairs and plans of his enemies – and of his allies - and a spy network was apparently quite the acceptable thing.

Through his voluminous correspondence Piccolomini was himself a veritable hub of intelligence, and some of his youthful activities might actually have come rather close to spying, cf. his letter to the ruler of Piombino with its detailed information about the fleet and fortifications of Genova.[2]

Elsewhere, Piccolomini mentions another valued source of information: the couriers who were travelling all over Europe and from whom valuable information, even of remote places, might be obtained.

And – again in the *"Audivi" [1]* - our geography-interested Piccolomini refers to those sea maps used by seamen to sail along coasts, probably the so-called portolans [sect. 25]. In the oration *"Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438) there is another reference to a map: *on a small tablet men depict the configurations of the earth* [sect. 6], a quotation lifted from Jerome.

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[1] Cf. the erotic poems of two Neapolitan courtiers, Antonio Beccadelli and Giovanni Pontano (Giovano)
[2] WO, I, I, pp. 4-6

6.7.5. Order

All during his life and career, Piccolomini was occupied by order and structure, a personal trait that may have been reinforced by his experience of social disorder in Siena which had led to the loss of status and to economic difficulties for his own family[1]. Moreover, the conflicts, tumults, and divisions of the Council of Basel, eventually leading to a new schism in the Church, had shocked him and may be believed to have set in motion the personal development which led him from the conciliarist party to the papal party.

It is therefore not at all surprising that in his oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445) on the twofold theme of the happy life on Earth and gaining eternal life in Heaven, Piccolomini described the way to Heaven as going through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great hierarchial order of the world, and also towards one self. He said:

> *… those who desire to enter [Heaven] do not need just one coin, but four. Yes, I know that you are now asking: what kind of coins is needed, and whose picture must they carry? I shall tell you right away, but do care to bring these copper coins if you want to keep Saint Peter happy. The first coin is to give our superiors their due. The second coin is to lead our inferiors well. The third coin is to treat our equals well. And the fourth coin is to govern ourselves well. These are the four copper coins that must be given to Saint Peter by all who desire to enter the court of the Heavenly Kingdom.* [Sect. 72-73]

And in the oration *"Sentio" [20]* (1452) he said that human power must have order, in the sense of obedience to the higher, legitimate power:

> There is no power but from God, *writes Paul to the Romans*, and those that are ordained of God. *But human powers must have order:* He that is high hath another higher, *says Ecclesiastes. In his books of Confessions, Augustine says that* the greater power must be obeyed rather than the smaller. … *And finally, concerning this matter, [we may quote] these words of the Apostle:* He that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. [Sect. 49]

In the oration *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455), Piccolomini told Pope Calixtus III that the lack of order in the social body was a threat to the security of the West vis-à-vis the Turkish military threat:

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[1] See also Jean Jouffroy's oration of 16 March 1459 to Pius II, the *"Quae pulchri decoris"(*Appendix to Pius' oration *"Conversa in nobis" [37]*), sect. 14: *Nos naturam sequimur omnia reducentem ad unum et aevum ordinem, quo inferiora superioribus, potentiora potentioribus semper obtemperant*

Yet there is one thing we are lacking, one thing we must search for, and when we have it, we shall easily frighten and dismay our enemies. That one thing is order without which nothing can be done properly. We lack order, Holy Father, and plan. But that is for you and our emperor to find and to give to the enterprise. For if you, the two great lights, the heads of the world, the salt of the earth, and the leaders of the world, do not impose an order that makes it possible for the Christian forces to unite in this undertaking, we can have no hope and the Turks will have no fear that a Christian army may gather. [Sect. 27]

As pope he took up this theme again in the oration *"Subjectam esse" [39]* (1459), now as basis for the claim of papal supremacy:

The Apostle Paul states, authoritatively, that every soul is subject to higher powers. This statement is worthy of divine praise, and it destroys the damnable folly of those who deny the eminence and primacy of the Roman See. All that originates in God is orderly, and where there is order, all things lead back to one. Among the bees there is one king. The cranes follow one. The elephants obey their leader. If animals without reason know how to observe order, then why should man be governed by disorder? The gentiles, who do not know God, may live in this error. But in the Church, the work of God and his one spouse, his white dove, uncorrupted and unblemished, there is only one prince and one head from whom everything else flows. [Sect. 1]

And on the same theme he said, in the oration *"Catherinam Senensem" [62]* (1461):

If the blind gentiles thought it was wrong to choose gods after one's own desire (so that their false religion would become disordered), should such practice in relation to saints not be even more forbidden to Christians, among whom all must done according to order. We know that our master, Jesus Christ, is the Son of God and the Wisdom of the father, ordained from eternity. And we heed these words of Paul: all that is, is ordained of God. *But if the Church is the work of God - as indeed it is - then all who act outside the Church overturn order, as they do who disobey the Roman Pontiff. And whereas they ought to be members, they usurp the right of the head. Christ founded and ordained his Church on the apostolic rock. Where there is order, there is both head and members. The head commands, and the members obey. For the Church is as an army set in array, the true army of Christ, where all is done in an orderly fashion on the general's command. Where the Kingdom of God is, there, too, is order and harmony. In Hell there is no order, but only eternal horror, the seat of Lucifer, and the prison of all who oppose the Roman Church.* [Sect. 8]

6.7.6. The people

As a member of the Sienese nobility, a social class excluded from government and marginalized, Piccolomini never forgot his class origins nor his distrust of "the people" and of democracy.

The Council of Basel (1431-1437) was a powerful expression of conciliarism and an exponent of a democratic government of the church in opposition to papal, monarchic government, and Piccolomini – as an enthusiastic participant in the council - at the time certainly favoured this movement.

However, this did not translate into his political views: even to the young Piccolomini, the people was a dangerous animal, as witnessed by his oration *"Audivi"* [1] (1436) where he said that those who were boasting of the name of liberty (i.e. democracy), were in reality *slaves … who believe that freedom is to have many masters* [sect. 63]

And later in the speech, he says about the common people that it *is mostly unstable, seditious, quarrelsome, eager for political change, and opposed to peace and quiet* [sect. 85].

In the oration *"Sentio" [20]* (1452) he pursued this theme, saying about the relationship between a prince and his people:

> *Though there was no reason for changing the government, the common vice of men enflamed the Austrians. Rulers cannot stay popular for a long time. An old government becomes hateful, and – as is the way of the populace: the man of the future is the favourite* [sect. 62].

And later:

> *The people took up arms against their lord, the people resisted their prince. But if is permissible to act through rebellion, what prince will be safe? What state can subsist?* [Sect. 86]

6.7.7 Fatum and Fortuna

The classical concepts of Fatum and Fortuna survived into the Renaissance, as indeed they have done until today. In the oration *"Fateor" [15]* (1450) he directly acknowledged the classical pagan use of these concepts saying: *Here the gentile would say: Allmighty fortune and inevitable fate came in the way.* [Sect. 13]

6.7.7.1. Fortuna

Piccolomini mostly used the concept in the classical sense of the capricious ruler of men's lives.

Some examples:

Oration "Quid est" [3] (1438) to Emperor-elect Albrecht II

Great is your luck which in a very short time has made you king from duke and then added one Kingdom to the other. Now Fortune offers you the Empire, too. Of course, your own qualities merit it fully, but, still, do not scorn Lady Fortune for she is easily angered and wants to be honoured. If you reject her once, she will never come back. But if you receive her gladly, she will pour benefits over you with generous hands. So, accept what not only your good Fortune, but God himself and men offer to you. It you refuse it, people will think that it is because of cowardice and pusillanimity. They will say that here is a man who does not want to do anything that takes an effort and who refuses what he should gladly accept for the sake of the common good. [Sect. 7]

Oration "Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18] (1452) to Pope Nicolaus V

Often Caesar [Friedrich III] has been invited through your letters and envoys, and he did wish to come earlier. But while he was preparing this voyage, a stepmotherly Fortune changed conditions for him more times than Hydra grew new heads before Hercules. Therefore, he finally had to cut through the inextricable knots of Fortune rather than to untie them – just like they say that Alexander did with the knot on Gordias´ chariot. [Sect. 1]

Oration "Res bohemicas" [28] (1455) to Pope Calixtus III

For when peace had bred wealth, and wealth had bred pride and soft living, Fortune began to rage against them [the Bohemians] and confound all. [Sect. 6]

However, as a good Christian Bishop Piccolomini could not accept that the world was ruled by an agency (or pagan goddess) like Fortune, rather than by God's will, as he said in the

Oration "Conversa in nos hodie" [37] (1459) to ambassadors of Burgundy

The gentiles would call these things a boon of Fortune, but we believe that that there is no such being as Fortune, and we hold that all things on Earth and in Heaven happen at the nod of God. [Sect. 4]

Oration "Cum bellum hodie" [45] (1459) at the Congress of Mantua

But who can countenance that the world, as also Democritus thought, obeys fortune and chance, and not divine providence? [Sect. 26]

A special case is the concept of Fortune of war. Also here, Piccolomini sometimes used the concept in a quite general sense, as in the

***Oration "Res bohemicas" [28]* (1455)**

*And although the fortune of war did sometimes desert the Bohemians, they never suffered as great a defeat as the ones they inflicted on us. [*Sect. 8]

But in the same oration he takes care to make a proper Christian statement of the matter:

Even if there be high hopes for a victory, nothing is certain, and doubtful is the outcome of war. Even a small error may cause the total defeat of an army. Fortune is considered to be the ruler and governor of battles, and not without reason have the poets imagined her to be blind. It is foolish to fight before a blind judge. But let us state the truth as it is: Fortune is nothing, and the outcome of war depends on God. Why should we hope for victory today more than yesterday? We are neither better men, nor do we have a prophet who will be there as God's messenger to promise victory. [Sect. 21-22][1]

6.7.7.2. Fatum

[1] To the Renaissance mind, *fortuna* in the sense of God's will did not preempt man's usage of his own faculties, cf. Bernardo Giustinian: *Since* fortuna *to Bernardo was an instrument of God's will, his suggestion here [Oratio funebris to Doge Foscari] is that God helps those who helps themselves and that an inner strength would always triumph over outer events. Such strength, such* virtù, *he was careful to point out, was no less a property of the man of government that of the man of war. / Illa mihi visi est singularis, illa pene divina animi virtus, qua numquam eum principem, aut adversis fractum, aut secundis elatum vidimus; quis enim interdum non offendatur ex* fortuna *invida? At suimet favoris impatiens obstinata* virtus *nihil non potest (Oratio funebris, p. 43). (Labalme, p. 127)*

Fate, too, Piccolomini uses in a properly christianized version, as in the

Oration "Si mihi" [24] (1455) at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt

And if somebody has great courage and nobility and is worthy of being set above others, then let him not be aggrieved if he is passed over. Nay, let him remember what Titus, son of Vespasian, used to say: imperial power is the gift of fate, divine providence that is. [Sect. 10]

and the

Oration "Fateor" [15] (1451) to Pope Nicolaus V

However, passing over the opinion of Chrysippus, I declare that we may rightly understand fate as the inevitable consequence of something that descends from the fountain of divine providence and disposes everything in the right place and time. For we cannot believe that God, who created all things, has exempted men's actions from the laws of his providence. [Sect. 13]

6.7.8. Social criticism

Piccolomini does not much focus on social criticism, but in his oration *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455) there is a remarkable example of such where he notes that the living conditions of people in the Christian kingdoms are so poor that they might actually welcome Turkish rule – especially in the event that the Turks would allow toleration of the Christian religion:

> *Moreover, many taxes, many extorsions of money, and many robberies burden the Christian people, and many are the abuses of our princes, not to say tyrants, against their subjects. Therefore, I greatly fear that when the Turk comes and lightens the burdens on our peoples, they will willingly bow their neck, especially if he grants freedom of faith – for he is a clever enemy.* [Section 23]

7. RHETORICS

As mentioned in the Foreword, an investigation of Pius' rhetorics falls outside the scope of this edition. The following section will therefore be limited to a mere sketch of his rhetorics.

Pius´ crusade rhetorics, have been studied by Johannes Helmrath in his *Die Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/55 – Studien zur Reichstag und Rhetorik (*Universität Köln, 1994). Though this study focuses on Piccolomini's crusade orations at the German imperial diets after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, it may also serve as a general introduction to Pius' rhetorics in general and his political rhetorics in particular. And Helmrath's analysis of the rhetorics in Piccolomini's oration *Constantinopolitana clades [22]* is a model of its kind, as are the studies of Blusch and Kaiser.

7.1. General remarks

Pius II certainly had a high appreciation of rhetorics (oratory, eloquence). Already in his very first extant oration, the "*Audivi" [1]* (1436), he had told the council fathers in Basel:

> *I do not despise the art of speaking and eloquence even though I am aware that many in this assembly claim to detest them and do not have any eloquence at all nor want to have it. But in my own opinion – and Cicero is my witness:* The power of eloquence is the mistress of things … It is she alone that makes us able to learn what we do not know and to teach others what we do know. [Sect. 6]

That he considered oratory as a very important instrument of politics is witnessed by a remark in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444: *Orationes senatum regunt, populos ducunt, leges suadent.*[1] Also should be named the passage in his *Historia de Dieta Ratisponensi* (1454), where he says: *Homo eloquens et auctoritate praeditus facile omnes in suam sententiam trahit.*[2]

Several of Piccolomini's works contain important passages and advice or instructions on rhetorics,[3] especially a letter of 1443 to Duke Sigismund,[4] his treatise *De liberorum educatione* of 1450 to King Ladislaus,[5] and a letter of 1453 to Archbishop Olescnikci of Krakow.[1]

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[1] Epistolarium, p. 289
[2] WO, III, I, p. 552
[3] The *Artis Rhetoricae Praecepta*, often attributed to Pius II, e.g. by Baca, is not written by him, but by one of his cubicularies, Albrecht von Eyb, who, may have been inspired by Pius, see Hermann, pp. 179-185, and Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 122
[4] Letter to Sigismund of Austria of 7 December 1443. In: Epistolarium, nr. 99, pp. 204-216
[5] Piccolomini: *De liberorum (Kallendorf),* pp. 245-246

Piccolomini recognized that though oratorical skills could to some extent be acquired through study and practice, a natural oratorical talent would be essential. In his *Historia de dieta Ratisponensi* he said about Nikolaus von Kues and Johann von Lysura: *Creverunt ambo, ita ut in omnibus Theutonie concionibus primi viderentur atque aurige rectoresque populi dicerentur, quoniam preter sapientiam et scientiam litterarum, innata quoque eloquentia cunctos excellerent.*[2]

7.2. Genres

Classical rhetorics distinguished between the *genus judiciale* (dikanikón) of the law-courts, the *genus demonstrativum* (epideiktikón) concerned with praise and blame, including wedding and funeral orations, and the *genus deliberativum* (symboleutikón) aiming a persuading the audience to to make certain decision in a given case, including political orations.[3]

Some of Pius' orations fall easily into these categories: the "*Sentio" [20]* (1452) against the Austrian rebels clearly belongs to the genus judiciale, the "*Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1450) at the conclusion of the negotiations of the contract of marriage between the Emperor and Princess Eleonora of Portugal to the genus demonstrativum, and the "*Constantinopolitana clades"* [22] (1454) at the imperial diet in Frankfurt to the genus deliberativum. In his crusade orations at the German diets, Piccolomini used the classical triad *utilitas, honestas,* and *facilitas* connected with the genus deliberativum.

But, generally, it is not quite easy to classify Pius' orations according to the classical division.[4]

Firstly, it must be considered that most of his orations before the pontificate may have had political aims, but many of them did not have the function of persuading the audience, but rather of communicating to the audience the decisions[5] and policies[6] of his master, the emperor, on the basis of diplomatic instructions. And during the pontificate, when he spoke in his own name and right, only a few of his orations had persuasive aims[7], but were declarations[8] and explanations[1] of his policies as pope.

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[1] Letter to Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki of 27 October 1453. In: WO, III, I, nr. 177

[2] WO, III, II, p. 548

[3] Cf. Helmrath: *Die Reichstagsreden*, p. 13

[4] Kaiser, p. 92, on the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]: Die Clades-Rede stellt sich als eine Hybridform aus unterschiedlichen Redegattungen dar: Vordergründig ist sie eine Beratungsrede (›genus deliberativum‹) – ohne dabei allerdings eine echte Entscheidungssituation anzuerkennen*

[5] E.g. the emperor's decision not to release the boy-king Ladislaus, from his wardship, in the oration *"Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* (1451)

[6] E.g. on the holding of an ecumenical council, in the oration *"Fateor" [15]* (1450)

[7] E.g. the *"Responsuri" [52]* (1459)

[8] E.g. *"Superioribus diebus" [66]* (1462)

Secondly, many of his orations contain elements from all three classical genres, and even heterogeneous elements like prayers, e.g. the "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459). This, of course, is not against classical rhetorical principles: Cicero himself said that the perfect oration integrates elements from all three genres, coinciding more or less with the functions of *docere, movere*, and *delectare*.[2]

It may therefore be questioned how useful the classicial division of the genres of rhetorics is for the general understanding and analysis of Pius' orations.

7.3. Models

Of the classics, Pius took Cicero[3] and Quintilian as his oratorical models, as well as Aristotle's *Rhetorica*.[4] Like other humanists he had studied their oratorical works,[5] and at some point he also obtained Antonio Loschi's rhetorical analysis of 11 orations of Cicero, the *Commentum XI orationum Ciceronis*, from 1413.[6]

A living model of rhetorics Piccolomini had in the person of Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, president of the Council of Basel, Piccolomini's mentor and friend, and a brilliant speaker. Much later, as a cardinal himself, Piccolomini wrote about *that indisputably great and admirable man, in whom it was hard to decide which was superior, his erudition or his eloquence.*[7]

On Cesarini's oratorical influence on Piccolomini Voigt said:

> *So haben wir in Cesarini's Reden die Muster und Vorbilder für die des Enea Silvio zu suchen. Die Antike Eloquenz herrschte hier vom Präsidentensitz eines Concils herab, das wiederum der christlichen Welt Gesetze gab. Mit innigster Verehrung blickte Enea zu dem grossen Cardinal hinauf, kein Mensch hat auf seine Bildung einen so durchgreifenden Einfluss geübt. … In der geheimen Freude, die Cesarini an dem glänzenden Fluge seiner Seele und seiner Worte empfand, glaubten wir eine Anwandlung der Eitelkeit nicht verkennen zu dürfen. Wie nun das Krankhafte und das Unsittliche unvergleiclich mehr Ansteckungsstoss in sich tragen als ihre*

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[1] E.g. *"Ingentes vobis quirites" [61]* (1460)
[2] Cicero: *Orator,* 21, 69: *Erit igitur eloquens … is qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat*. Cicero: *De optimo genere oratorum,* 1, 4: *Optimus est enim orator qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. Docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium*
[3] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 83, speaks of the *"ciceronisch geprägten Reden eines Enea Silvio"*
[4] In a translation by George of Trapezunt, see Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden,* p. 126-127
[5] See McManamon: *Pierpaolo,* p. 37: *In many ways, Vergerio simply recapitulated the standard system of rhetorics offered in "Ciceronian" handbooks like the De Inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium*
[6] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 127
[7] Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Brown), 31, p. 88

Gegensätze, so ahmte Enea als Redner gerade diese Verirrung des Meisters am glücklichsten nach. Er nahm ganz dessen Weise an, mehr zum Herzen und zum Billigkeitsgefühl, als mit scharfen Argumenten zu sprechen. Weil aber die Worte ihm nicht aus dem Herzen, am wenigsten aus einem so grossen Herzen kamen, fand er sich desto mehr auf die Kunstgriffe der Rhetorik gewiesen. In der pathetische Exaltation, im Prunke mit classischen Citationen, in wortreichen Schilderungen, im Superlativischen Lobe hebt er weit über das Mass hinauss, das Cesarini doch in den meisten Fällen zu halten wusste.[1]

Another contemporary model was Gasparino Barzizza's *De praeceptis elocutionis.*[2]

Generally, Piccolomini appears not to have been inspired by the medieval models of *artes praedicandi*. He did, though, use elements from these in his sermon on Saint Ambrose, *the "Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438), and his oration to Eugenius IV, the "*Non habet me dubium*" *[11]* (1447), took a biblical quotation as its theme: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat Deus tuus.*

7.4. Style

Concerning Piccolomini's style, one of his contemporaries, Giovanni Philippo del Legname, had this to say:

Tenuit medium dicendi genus & ad omnia accomodatum; venustus in eo sermo magis quam comptus; crebrior affectibus quam figuris; suus tamen non alienus; & cum veteribus sit similis a recentiorum figura non abhorret; vim scilicet verborum non sonum secutus; candidus alloqui veteris et recentis historiae scrutator.[3]

And Georg Voigt wrote, quite eloquently:

Er war ein Kunstredner. Deshalb aber ist eine ungewöhnliche Begabung zum Reden nicht wegzuleugnen. Sie tritt in denjenigen Reden, die er nicht nur zum Putz und Prunk hielt, in den politischen, am glänzendsten hervor. Wenn er als Papst den Gesandten der Weltmächte antwortete, pflegte er die Worte derselben so künstlich zu recapitulieren, dass er die Sache zu erschöpfen schien, wenn er seine Rede darnach eintheilte. Und doch ging er über den

[1] Voigt: *Papst,* I, p. 222-223. See also Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 82, 182: *Persönlich hat Enea Silvio als Redner ganz offentsiclich das Vorbild des Kardinals Giuliano Cesarini (-1444) unmittelbar beeindruckt, die souveräne Eleganz und bezwingende Beredsamkeit, mit der dieser damals eben Dreissigjährige von 1431 bis 1437 das pulvergeladene Konzil von Basel leitete.* Helmrath also mentions the imperial chancellor, Heinrich Schlick, als rhetorical model for Piccolomini

[2] Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 123

[3] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxxi

bedenklichen Punkt oft glatt hinweg und verbreitete sich mit grossen Eifer über solche Materie, die eigentlich der Erörterung kaum bedurft. Mit derselben Meisterschaft hob er aus den Behauptungen der Gegner solche Puncte heraus, an die sich eine Wiederlegung am leichtesten knüpfen liess. An Gründen, wenn auch nur scheinbaren, an künstlichen, die Sache auf den Kopf stellenden Wendungen, an verfänglichen Fragen fehlte es ihm nicht. Durch Einwürfe, die er dem Gegner im dem Mund legte, bevor dieser an sie gedacht, und die er dann leicht entkräftete, schien er die Möglichkeit jedes Widerspruchs abzuschneiden. Durch kühne, grossartige Phrasen, durch einen Sturmlauf der Redefiguren konnte er sich das Ansehen einer unerschütterlichen Überzeugung oder der flammmenden Begeisterung geben, die Dialektik des Hörers betäuben, die seine aber hinter dem Lärm der Worte desto freier spielen lassen. So mancher mochte während einer solchen Rede gewonnen und umgestimmt werden, aber die Bedenken waren nur eingeschläfert, nicht aufgelöst, sie erwachten, wenn der umwirbelnde Dunst entwichen war. … wir verstehen … dass die schönen Worte zur praktischen Politik wenig thaten, dass der geschmeichelte Redner sich getäuscht finden musste, wenn er auf die Erschütterung der Gemüther gewisse Speculationen gebaut. Man lernte seine Rede bewundern und blieb doch unempfindlich gegen ihren Inhalt.[1]

And:

Diese Kunst der Eloquenz, so hoch Enea ihre Wirkung im Ganzen anschlägt, so gern er sie auf das angeborene Genie zuruckführt, besteht im Einzelnen dann doch aus Regeln und Kunstgriffen, die sich lernen und üben lassen. Ihr Gegensatz ist die Einförmigkeit und Dunkelheit der Scholastiker. Sie soll zum Herzen sprechen, überzeugen und hinreissen, zugleich aber auch ergötzen und den Künstler loben. Klarheit und Leichtigkeit sind daher ihre ersten Forderungen. Lieber will Enea der Weitschweifigkeit, lieber der "seinen Nachlässigkeit" beschuldigt werden als dem Leser durch rätselhafte Kürze oder gekünstelten Ausdruck beschwerlich fallen. Er wünscht zu schreiben , wie ein geistvoller Mensch spricht, wenn er sich gehen lässt, wenn er weder seine Gelehrsamkeit und seine überlegene Geschmacksbildung zeigen will. Das war es, was man an Filelfo's und zumal an Poggio's Stil bewunderte. Dock schliesst dieses Streben die mühsame Feile nicht aus. So legt Enea einen hohen Werth auf die "Mannigfaltigkeit der Worte," die allerdings einen reichen Sprachschatz und eine gewisse Gewandtheit des Geistes voraussetzt. Ehe er sich in einigen Zeilen desselben Ausdrucks bedient, sagt er lieber dasselbe fünfmal mit immer neuen Ausdrücken. Nur muss die rednerische Klimax sorgfältig eingehalten werden. Ferner will er den Wohlklang durch ein feines und geübtes Ohr überwacht wissen. Demgemäss soll ein bedeutender Satz auch mit einem schwerwiegenden Worte schliessen … Barbarismen tadelt er, wenn sie ihm im österreichischen Barbarenlande in derber Weise entgegentreten … Doch war die Periode des

[1] Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 274

tullianisch-ängstlichen Stilismus noch nicht angebrochen und auch Enea macht gern eine gewisse Freiheit des Ausdrucks geltend gegen die kleinlichen Krittler, gegen den "plebejischen Hausen der Grammatiker." Auch finden wir schnell ebensoviele Barbarismen aus seinen eigenen Werke heraus … [1]

Concerning Piccolomini's first extant oration, the *"Audivi" [1]* (1436), Voigt made the following remarks which may also serve as a general comment on Piccolomini's oratorical style:

Wie leicht und flüssig rollt die Rede dahin, wie so klar und rund sind ihre Perioden, wie wohlgeordnet und eingetheilt die Gedanken und Argumente, wie lebhaft und eindringlich die Wendungen, wie zierlich die Bescheidenheitsflosceln, wie wortreich und begeistert die ausgeschütteten Lebeserhebungen! Und doch, die rechten Licht- und Glanzpuncte gab der polirten und eleganten Rede erst die Fülle der classischen Citationen aus Virgilius und Sallustius, aus Ennius und Cicero, aus Livius und Juvenalis, ja irgend ein glücklich aufgegriffener Vers aus dem Homeros oder Euripides, alle verschwenderisch und bunt durcheinander gemischt. Solche Sprüche und Beispiele gläntzten, wie am goldenen Geschmeide der Besatz von Edelsteinen, oder wie im silbern-strömenden Bächlein hineingeworfene Blumen. Der Hörer wurde von Wort zu Wort, von Satz zu Satz, von einer Schönheit zur andern mit fortgetragen, er wusste vor Entzücken kaum, wie ihm geschah.[2]

Comparing Piccolomini's style with Cicero's, favourably, Campano wrote to Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini:

Lenius vetustati[3] *apparatum illum ac divitias verborum, et Ciceroni tersitiem, nitorem, elegantiam relinquamus, dum tamen fatemur nihil horum Pii orationibus defuisse … Neque enim Pius Cicerone jejunior aut siccior venit ad dicendum, nec ille paratior ad forum oraturus quam hic ad solium accedit.*[4]

It has been discussed to what extent Piccolomini's Latin was Ciceronian. Some of his contemporaries were not satisfied, among them Campano, who after Pius' death – finally – dared to say: *De verborum delectu non nihil illi Germania detraxerat, coacto saepe apud barbaros cultiora negligere.*[5] And Raphaello Maffei (1451-1522), though admiring Pius' eloquence, was less impressed by his Latin: *Eloquio quodam naturali, ac laterum firmitate magis quam literis clarus*

[1] Voigt: *Papst,* III, p. 257-258
[2] Voigt: *Papst,* I, p. 223-224
[3] venustati?
[4] Excerptum Epistolae Joannis Antonii Campani ad Cardinalem Papiensem, quoted in MA, I, p. xxvii
[5] *Ibid.*

habebatur; scriptaque ejus, quanquam sermone carent Latino, vim tamen, & virtutes ostendunt oratoriae.[1]

Konrad Benedikt Vollman has given this assessment of the matter:

> *Il latino di Enea Silvio è il "buon" latino delle bonae litterae e cioè degli autori classici con Cicerone in testa. È un latino che si distingue dal latine "barbarico" dei non umanisti nell'ortografia, nella sintassi e nel lessico. … Piccolomoni non apparteneva al gruppo del tipo Nosoponus erasmiano, che anatemizzavano ogni parola non contenuta nel lessico ciceroniano. Questo ci spiega perchè il Piccolomini accetasse ed approvasse oltre agli autori classici anche padre latini … sebbene il loro latino si distinguesse da quello dell'antichità pagana.*[2]

And in his analysis of the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454), Ronny Kaiser wrote:

> *Nicht nur das Vokabular ist typisch ciceronianisch, auch weist die Rede stilistisch keinerlei manieristische Allüren auf, sondern ist geprägt von klaren syntaktischen Konstruktionen, einer intensiven, aber doch übersichtlichen Verwendung von Partizipialkonstruktionen (Ablativus Absolutus und Participium Coniunctum), konjunktivischen Relativsätzen und der Verwendung von Gerundiva und Gerundia. Diese Form der sprachlich-rhetorischen 'imitatio' schlägt sich darüber hinaus in der pointierten Verwendung rhetorischer Figuren – wie Hyperbata, Anaphern, Chiasmen, Parallelismen, Trikola und Klimaxe – oder anderer Stilmittel – wie Evidentia/Demonstratio, Prokatalepsis, Interlocutio, Praeteritio, Synkrisis (etwa in Form der Motive der 'laus urbium' und urbs capta' und dem Vergleich zwischen Deutschen/Germanen und Türken) – nieder. So dokumentiert die Clades-Rede eine Bandbreite ciceronianischer Latinität und Rhetorik, die die humanistische Sprachdominanz Piccolominis deutlich hervorhebt.*[3]

In conclusion: modern scholars appear to accept that Piccolomini mastered the classical, even Ciceronian rhetorics, as later developed by the great Latin fathers.

To the present editor, comparing the orations of Pius with the elaborate and often convoluted rhetorics of other humanist speakers, his rhetorical style is one of elegant simplicity.

7.5. Structure

[1] Quoted after MA, I, p. xxxi
[2] Vollmann: *Enea*. The Italian version of Vollmann's paper has been cited here rather the earlier German version, because the Italian appears to a later revision of the German
[3] Kaiser, pp. 92-93

A clear structure in orations was rated highly in Antiquity and by the best humanist speakers.

At the end of the introduction to his orations, the excellent humanist orator like Manetti carefully enumerated the points of his oration and gave his division of the following "narration".[1]

Piccolomini did the same, at least in his longer, formal orations, not only listing the parts (*membra*) of the oration in the introduction, but also telling the audience, during the oration, when he was passing from one part to the other.

An example, from the *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459), will suffice:

In the introduction, Pius said:

> ***Tria,*** *ut nostra fert opinio, principaliter explicanda et suadenda sunt.* ***Primum*** *est, ut causas justas atque urgentes ostendat, propter quas pugnare oportet.* ***Secundum,*** *ut facultates adesse doceat belli gerendi, et certam quodammodo victoriae spem faciat.* ***Tertium*** *ac postremum, ut magna assecuturos praemia victores patefaciat. In his hodie nobis elaborandum est, atque in his tota nostra consumetur oratio.* [Sect. 6][2]

And in the oration, he said, when passing to the first part:

> *De causis belli gerendi dicere oportet.* [Sect. 7][3]

And, in passing to the second part:

> *Audistis, viri praestantissimi ac nobilissimi, quas ob causas in Turcos pugnare oporteat, nam et susceptae injuriae id exposcunt, et in futurum Christianorum indemnitati consulendum est. Nunc quod erat* ***secundum*** *orationis nostrae membrum, id est an possitis hoc bellum gerere et an victoria speranda sit, animadvertite.* [Sect. 20][4]

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[1] Wittschier, pp. 53-54, 61, 71, 92. See also Maxson: *Diplomatic,* pp. 33, 37

[2] *We consider that there are mainly three things to explain and argue. Firstly, [Our oration] should show that there are just and urgent causes for fighting. Secondly, that we have the means to make war and reasonable hope for victory. And thirdly and lastly, that the victors will gain great rewards. These are the matters that We shall be addressing today, and this is what Our whole oration will be about*

[3] *So, now We shall speak about the reasons for the war*

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

And, in passing to the third part:

> *Nec plura de secundo et principali membro.* ***Tertium*** *et ultimum modo, si placet, quam brevissime absolvamus. Hoc est, quae praemia consecuturi sint adversus hostes fidei pugnaturi.* [Sect. 36-37][1]

Another example, from the oration *"Res bohemicas" [28]* (1455):

> *Ceterum, quia de tollenda Bohemiae labe curam gerimus,* ***duo*** *principaliter nobis exponenda sunt.* ***Alterum*** *quomodo regnum hoc labefactum sit;* ***alterum*** *quo pacto purgari et ad pristinam possit reduci sanitatem. Atque in his duobus tota nostra consumetur oratio*. [Sect. 4][2]

Apart from the introduction (with captatio benevolentiae and division of oration), the structure of Piccolomini's orations is quite simple and based on the 2-4 main points of his message, as seen in the above examples. The RTA-edition of Piccolomini's orations at the imperial diets in 1455-1455 show how a classical oratorical structure can be read into the text, but further research will be necessary to determine to what extent Piccolomini employed classical principles in structuring his orations.[3]

7.6. Exampla and sententiae[4]

When drafting an oration Pius would select a number of appropriate e*xempla* and *sententiae*[5] from his files of excerpts from classical and other authors.

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[1] *I shall say no more on this, the second and principal issue. The third and last issue We shall deal with briefly now, if you please: what will be your reward when you fight the enemies of the Faith*

[2] *Since we are dealing with how to end the Bohemian disaster, we must primarily talk about two matters: firstly, how this realm fell into error; and secondly, how it may be cleansed and restored to its former health. My whole oration will deal with these two issues*

[3] The text of the oration *"Audivi" [1]* in the basic manuscript containing the papal Collected Orations of Pius II from 1462, the Chis. J.VIII.284, provides a rare example of how a classical oratorical structure was shown by the margin notes of the text

[4] Curtius, pp. 57-61

[5] This was a general humanist practice. Filelfo, Poggio, and Jouffroy excelled in using historical material in their orations, as did Bernardo Giustinian, see Labalme, p. 251: *The use of historical examples in rhetoric and rhetorical devices in history are both found in Bernardo's work. In all his orations, references to the past had been included … History, to be sure, was useful to Bernardo in ways other than providing historical examples for the purpose of rhetoric. The lessons of the past could furnish the diplomat with a sense of things to come, with precedents he could use as markers when he had to make his own way*

In doing so, he had three purposes: clarification, embellishment, and authority. Quite often all three purposes would be served at the same time.

7.6.1. Clarification

Firstly, Piccolomini would quite often clarify and illustrate a point in an oration by quoting examples from classical authors. For example, in the oration *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445) he claimed that the indifference to poets in his own time contrasted greatly with the the veneration of poets in Antiquity, clarifying and illustrating his claim with the following references to the past:

> *In the old days when wisdom (sapientia) and virtue flourished, the honour shown to this discipline was so great that when a poet finished his work, he was - like a general after a victory – crowned with a laurel wreath and carried through the city on a triumphal chariot wagon, followed by celebrating citizens.*
>
> *Julius Caesar, founder of the Roman Empire, and Augustus, his successor, considered it as a great honour to be received into the college of poets, and Julius was not angered that Accius did not rise when he entered the college, for he knew that he was a better poet.*
>
> *And Scipio Africanus loved Ennius so much that he wanted him as a companion on all his travels and ordered a statue of him placed in his own tomb.*
>
> *When the Spartan general, Lysander, besieged Athens and learnt that the poet Sophocles had died and not yet been buried, he made a truce so that the poet could be given a fitting burial.*
>
> *Alexander, the son of Amyntas, King of of the Macedonians, greatly loved Pindar the poet.*
>
> *His successor, Archelaus, followed the counsels of Euripides, the writer of tragedies.*
>
> *When Alexander the Great had crossed over to Asia and seen Hector's tomb, he said: "O fortunate adolescent who was sung by such a trumpet!" Indeed he would have liked to have another Homer to sing his own praises, but he was not that fortunate. As Flaccus says, he instead gave the poet Choerilus many gifts though he was quite inept.* [Sect. 8]

7.6.2. Embellishment

Secondly, Piccolomini would sometimes throw in a quote from the classics not to illustrate or clarify a point, but simply to add elegance and culture to his oration. An example is a quotation in

the *"Audivi" [1]* (1436) from Varro (via Macrobius) on food production in Italy, though he explicitly states that this quote is not relevant to the issue at hand:

> *The neighbouring country overflows with wine and all kinds of foodstuffs. I will not heed the words gushing forth from Varro: Campanian lands bear the best grain for our use, Falernum the best wine, Casinum the best oil, Tusculum the best figs, Tarentum the best honey, and the Tiber the best fish. It may have been so at his time, but today all these things are to be found in Pavia and the other regions of Lombardy.* [Sect. 54]

7.6.3. Authority

And thirdly, Piccolomini would quote classical authors to lend authority to his statements. This authority would derive from the quoted author's own reputation, but generally it would also derive from its very antiquity,[1] since Piccolomini believed that the older something is and the more eminent the author, the greater is its authority, as he said in the oration *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1451):

> *Illa meo judicio digniora videntur, quae sunt antiquiora, quaeque praestantiores inveniuntur auctores habere.* [Sect. 9]

The authority of antiquity is a central tenet of Italian Renaissance humanism. It is certainly shared with Poggio Bracciolini who in his *Oratio in laudem matrimonii* (ca. 1458) wrote:

> *… quanta sit antiquitatis auctoritas, quantum illi ab omnibus tribuatur, nemo sanae mentis ignorat. Respicimus enim res antiquas et diutina vetustate notas non mediocri veneratione, et in summam admirationem trahimur ob earum contemplationem. Multum honoris certe concedimus antiquitati. … trahuntur omnes in laudem venerationemque rerum antiquarum et eas suspensis animis admirantur, praecipue quae maxime vetustatem representare videantur.*[2]

Thus, Piccolomini told the young Duke Sigismund, in a letter of 5 December 1443, that the sum of knowledge needed by a prince was contained in the Bible and in the writings of classical authors,

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[1] Blusch, p. 130: *Um überzeugend zu wirken, geht es ihm [Piccolomini] nicht bloss um die bei einen oder anderen Schriftsteller vorgefundene ihm nützlich erscheinende Sachausgabe sondern auch darum, wer es gesagt hat, d.h. er will sich für seine Zwecke über das blosse Zitat hinaus überdies auch der Autorität etwa eines antiken Schriftstellers versichern*

[2] Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera,* p. 908

and not in modern (medieval) authors like Thomas Aquinas, Pierre de Blois, and Alexander of Hales: *"hanc novam turbam"*.[1]

And thus, he frequently quoted Cicero, a figure of supreme authority in the Renaissance, as he did when speaking of eloquence in the oration *"Audivi" [1]:*

> *I do not despise the art of speaking and eloquence even though I am aware that many in this assembly claim to detest them and do not have any eloquence at all nor want to have it. But in my own opinion – and Cicero is my witness:* The power of eloquence is the mistress of things … It is she alone that makes us able to learn what we do not know and to teach others what we do know. [Sect. 6]

In his desire for lending authority to his arguments through the use of exempla and sententiae from Antiquity and in general to use historical precedents to prove a point or justify a course of action, Piccolomini sometimes would blithely ignore the fact that more than a thousand years had passed since then and that in the meantime conditions had changed to such a degree that the particular historical fact was irrelevant to modern concerns, challenging his conception of antiquity as authority. This curious absence of historical perspective would in some instances rob his arguments of common sense and credibility. An example is his reference, in the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454), to Aristotle in support of his claim that the Turks were not warlike:

> *An army which is too large is always at risk of being slaughtered. But if your army gathers in the numbers that have been decided, it will neither be contemptible because of its smallness nor defeated because of its great numbers. You will have experienced leaders and strong and disciplined soldiers, ready for the signals. You will be fighting as armed against unarmed, skilled against unskilled, brave against cowards.* ***For, as Aristotles testifies, the Asians are not warlike****.* [Sect. 36]

The Asians referred to by Aristotle were the peoples of Asia Minor in the 4th century BC, and certainly not the Turks who, according to Piccolomini himself, had not arrived in Asia Minor before the 9th century, i.e. more than 1000 years afterwards.

In spite of his awe of classical authorities, it does happen that Piccolomini criticises such authorities, on moral grounds.

[1] WO, I, p. 230. But seven years later, in his *De liberorum educatione* from 1450, he also said (bypassing medieval authors): *Nostri temporis Leonardi Aretini, Guarini Veronensis, Pogii Florentini, Ambrosii Camaldulensis, volumina tersa sunt legentibusque frugifera*. (Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf), pp. 222-224)

In the oration *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445) Piccolomini blames Plato for his ideas of having women in common in his ideal state:

> *And to say plainly what I think, it is actually to the very great honour of poets that they are excluded from Plato's city! For what good man would want to live in Plato's city where, as Aristotle says in the Politics, all women are held in common, sexual intercourse being promiscuous like that of animals, sons uncertain, and parents unknown? This will be enough concerning Plato.* [Sect. 20]

And in the oration *"In hoc florentissimo" [23]* (1455) he rejects Aristotle's view on the criteria for choosing public servants, *in casu* generals:

> *Therefore, to return to what was said above on the authority of Aristotle, if I had to choose a general, I would accept neither moral integrity without military competence nor military competence without integrity, for in the first case I would fear to tempt God and in the second to provoke him. But if I simply had to choose one of these alternatives, I should not listen to Aristotle for I would rather tempt Divine Piety by choosing the good man than provoke Him by choosing the skilled one. This I say on the condition that the candidate possesses indubitable moral integrity. But such a bird is rare on earth and very similar to a black swan, and it cannot be recognized as such even if it should exist somewhere. Therefore, the safer course is to choose competence. For Aristotle's claim that few people have military competence and many more people have moral integrity is completely false.* [Sect. 19]

In the same oration and on the same issue, Piccolomini also rejects the authority of that venerable Roman, Fabricius, *magna gloria magnisque gestibus vir:*

> *Among the Romans, this view was followed by Fabricius, a man of great honour and great achievements, for - according to Gellius - Fabricius helped Publius Cornelius Rufus, a thieving and greedy man, who sought the consulate in a time of crisis for the republic. His reason was that Rufus was a vigourous man, a good fighter, and skilled in military matters. But for my part I do not agree with Aristotle, and I think that we should not bow to Fabricius'authority in this matter. For if, as we have said, all victory is from God, who will doubt that it is granted through good officers pleasing to God, rather than through despicable ones?* [Sect. 13]

In these cases, Christian morality is the norm for accepting the authority of the classics, as Christian dogma is generally the norm to be used in determining which views and teachings of the pagan authors of Antiquity to accept.

7.7. Oratory as an instrument of diplomacy[1]

Before becoming pope, Pius II had been the foremost diplomatic orator of his age, and after he became pope he was the addressee of a great number of ambassadors' orations to which he replied, sometimes in the form of short, protocolary responses, sometimes in the form of important orations. It comes, therefore, as no surprise that by far the large majority of his orations consists of diplomatic orations. In the following, three major functions of his diplomatic orations will be examined: expressing esteem, conveying the message, and declaring recognition.

7.7.1. Expressing esteem

One function of the diplomatic oration was to express the esteem in which a prince or a state held the ruler or state visited by the ambassador. This esteem was expressed firstly in direct praise, often extravagant, of the ruler, and secondly in the ornate style and elaboration of the speech.[2]

Brian Maxson has studied the diplomatic orations of the Renaissance under this aspect and has coined the expression of orations as "cultural gifts". Maxson's thesis is that an ornate oration by a diplomat represented a form of diplomatic gift. According to Maxson, the initial oration held by a diplomat arriving on some mission to a foreign court *rarely addressed political specifics directly. Instead, orators delivered short or long panegyrics, ranging from as little as five to ten minutes to over an hour. … Opening orations served more to meet ceremonial requirements than to advance specific diplomatic negotiatons …*[3] [4]

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[1] See Maxson: *Diplomatic*

[2] Labalme, pp. 132-133, on Bernardo Giustinian's orations: *Usually, however, his speeches which have been preserved are formal orations of greeting, departure, congratulations, or condolence, carefully prepared in a highly ornate Latin, similar in style to the funeral oration already discussed. As Bernardo once put it, those who praise should be prolix in all things, and the occasion for a formal oration was nearly always one where praise was considered due.The subject, his ancestors, and his country had all to be extolled, to be compared, favourably compared, with the sages and cities of antiquity. The richness of classical allusions, the cleverness of the compliments, the effectiveness of the delivery, all these made up the virtù of the orator. Rhetorical praise was a strenuous art …*

[3] Maxson: *Diplomatic,* p. 28

[4] Cf. Labalme, p. 132, on Bernardo Giustinian's diplomatic orations: *There are other sources besides the official ones [i.e. diplomatic instructions etc.] mentioned above. Chief among these, for Bernardo's work, are the orations which he made during these missions. These were distinct from the practical negotiations with the givernment to which he had been sent, although in the case of his speech to Pius II in 1463, he was dealing directly with the substance of his mission*

Piccolomini came to the Papal Court on diplomatic missions for the emperor in 1445, 1446, 1447, 1450, and 1455,[1] and (except in 1445) he delivered a formal oration to the pope in consistory at the beginning of the visit, to be followed by negotiations with the Papal Court.

Thus, in 1446, he gave the oration *"Et breviter me hodie" [10]* and in 1447 the oration *"Non habet me dubium" [11]* both to Pope Eugenius IV, in 1450 the oration *"Fateor" [15]* to Nicolaus V, and in 1455 the oration of obedience *"Solent plerique" [26]* to Calixtus V.

In the first three of these orations Piccolomini presented only the briefest of compliments to the pope and then proceeded directly to the political matters to be negotiated.[2] That he completely mastered the praise function is shown by the oration "*Solent plerique" [26]:* even if the panegyrical element – quite obligatory in orations of obedience - was much toned down, with a clever excuse, and only took up about one tenth of the oration, it was still quite impressive:

> *Holy and supreme pontiff, almost all who are sent to offer obedience to this holy Roman See use to praise, extravagantly, not only the person occupying that see, but also the person who has sent them. I should do the same now as, together with my colleague, the eminent and excellent jurist, Johann Hinderbach, I offer you obedience in the name of the emperor. I am certain, however, that after your accession to the supreme pontificate, which all acknowledge to be inspired by God, many legates from princes and cities have arrived here. They know a great deal about you and are accomplished speakers, and am I sure that they have congratulated you yourself and the Roman Church, and that they have magnificently and elaborately praised the holy apostolic senate, which elected you, as well as your pious acceptance of the office bestowed upon you. These men have discerningly set forth the high nobility of your ancient lineage, the glorious deeds of your ancestors, and the whole course of your life so that everybody in this audience knows that you are of noble birth, an accomplished scholar, a subtle and forceful debater, a learned and eminent doctor, an astute counsellor of kings, a just judge in the courts of law, a holy and gracious bishop, a truthloving and uncorrupt cardinal. Therefore I do not need to spend time on praising your life. Indeed, until now it has been such that it would be delightful to hear it praised even a thousand times. But I am not competent to adequately praise your outstanding and almost divine virtues, and you are not one to be concerned with trifling chatterings and inane popularity. Your conscience is enough for you, and it desires that crown of merit which is given not by man, but by the king of ages himself, the just judge who neither deceives nor is deceived. So, we shall only say only about Your Beatitude that we believe you to be like a brilliant and auspicious star sent from Heaven,*

[1] He also, of course, accompanied the emperor at his coronation in Rome in 1452 and addresses the pope several times in this context, but this would be a somewhat different situation from his coming on an imperial mission to the pope and addressing him in the absence of the emperor

[2] This practice was also followed by the Spanish diplomat and bishop, Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo, contemporary of Pius II, on his political mission to various European princes, cf. Trame, pp. 30-33, 49-53, 77-79

under whom the ship of Saint Peter, which is sinking pitiously, will rise again splendidly. The noble country of Spain, where you come from, has often sent energetic and strong men to the Apostolic See and to the Empire, as is shown by the deeds of Damasus and Theodosius, whose equal we believe you to be in every way, especially as we now see how you are a keen defender and a sure guardian of the imperial city of Siena, my homecity, devoted to letters and tranquility. [Sect. 1-4]

That panegyrics – as a ceremonial gift - were a normal part of orations of obedience to the pope, was actually confirmed by Pius himself – as pope - when in 1459 he told the Portuguese ambassadors, in the oration *"Omnes ferme" [34],* that

Almost all who come to Us to declare obedience begin by praising, extravagantly and to their best ability, the Roman See and Us who occupy it. [Sect. 1]

A very special form of the oration as gift is the oration delivered in Latin by children. At the age of 15, Donato Accaiuoli gave a speech at the appointment of a university rector in Florence.[1] At the age of eight, the eldest son of the Duke of Milan delivered an oration written by Francesco Filelfo to Emperor Friedrich III,[2] and Poggio Bracciolini wrote an oration to the emperor for his twelve-year old son, Giovan Baptista (not delivered).[3] Piccolomini himself probably wrote the oration *"Cum animadverto"* for the 12 year old King Ladislaus, to be delivered to Pope Nicolaus.[4] And as pope, he himself was addressed by another child of the Duke of Milan, the 13 year old princess Ippolita Sforza, in an oration which was distributed widely and to which the pope replied graciously with the *"Habuisti dilecta filia" [42].* These examples document, as D'Elia writes, *a fondness for child prodigies and a belief in the difficulty and importance of a classical education in Italian society.*[5]

7.7.2. Conveying message

Apart from the gift (praise) function of the diplomatic oration, it had of course also the function of conveying a concrete message from one ruler to another.

In the case of Piccolomini's orations, this function was clearly the primary one.

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[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 278)

[2] HA, I, p. 137: *Interea Franciscus Sfortia … filium suum primogenitum … natum VIIII annorum, qui Latine oravit et intrepide coram cesare …* HA, I, 138

[3] Schizzerotto: *In occasione dell'entrata in Roma di Federico III, il B. doveva forse recitare l'orazione augurale latina composta del padre, il quale tuttavia abbandonò il proposito giudicando il destinatario avido e sciocco e non all'altezza di un imperatore*

[4] Published in Appendix to the oration *"Quam laetus quamque secundus"* [18] (1452)

[5] D'Elia: *Renaissance*, p. 48

As he delivered his diplomatic orations on behalf of the emperor, the message was usually to communicate imperial policy in the matter of the diplomatic mission.

In the extant orations such policies concerned:

- German recognition of the Roman Papacy
- The emperor's wardship over the young King Ladislaus
- The devolution of Milan to the emperor at the extinction of the Visconti dynasty
- The imperial coronation
- The Austrian rebellion against the emperor
- The military response to the Turkish war of aggression, in the form of a crusade
- The marriage between the emperor and Princess Eleonora of Portugal
- The settlement of the Hussite problem
- Peace between Jacopo Piccinino and Siena (on behalf of Siena, not on behalf of the emperor)

7.7.3. Declaring recognition

Diplomatic orations could also have the function of recognizing a ruler, as when princes or states sent ambassadors to salute a new king or prince.[1] This practice was in many case just a matter of festive formality, but in the case of a disputed sucession it could become a heavily political issue. Thus, Venice delayed sending an embassy to greet the new King Ferrante in Naples in 1458 until matters had settled and the king was firmly seated on the throne.[2]

In the case of the pope, rulers would traditionally send ambassadors to a new pope to declare their obedience to him in a formal oration. Though the ambassadors would also hand over the public version of their instructions or *procuratorium*[3] [4], the importance of the oral declaration as part of the ambassador's oration is shown by an episode which occurred when the imperial

[11] E.g. the Venetian mission to the new King of France, Louis XI, cf. Labalme, p. 157

[2] Labalme, pp. 143-153

[3] See Pius II's letter to King Enrique IV of Castile of 27 February 1459 (Appendix to oration *Dominatorem caeli*): *Venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Ovetensis, et dilectus filius frater Alfonsus de Palencuela consiliarii et oratores tui litteras tuae serenitatis ingenti fide et devotionc plenas nobis humiliter praesentarunt, et procuratorium tuum regio sigillo munitum facunde ac graviter nobis in generali consistorio permanentibus perorarunt, tuam integerrimam fidem et devotionem erga nos et Apostolicam Sedem ac ardentissimum animum circa exaltationem fidei Catholicae cum praecipua virtutum et meritorum tuorum commendatione expresserunt*

[4] At the end of his declaration of the emperor's obedience to Calixtus III, in the oration *"Solent plerique" [26],* sect. 14, Piccolomini carefully stated: … *and we show you the reverence and obedience which the Roman emperors are known to have offered to your canonically elected predecessors, as bidden both by law and by custom. This – and the extent of our mandate – is shown by the present holy [letter]*

ambassador, Johann Hinderbach, presented the emperor's declaration of obedience to Pope Pius II on 14 April 1459. According to Paris de Grassis, papal Master of Ceremonies of Julius IV and Leo X, Hinderbach completely botched the job, probably overwhelmed by the solemnity of the occasion, creating the highly awkward precedent of an ambassador who was not able to deliver the prepared oration,[1] which he was supposed to know by heart, or even the most important part of it, the declaration of obedience itself. Hinderbach became so confused that he could not come to the end, and appeared *not to know where he was and who he was*. Seeing it, Pius asked him – three times - to read the rest of the oration of which a secretary standing behind Hinderbach was holding a copy, but the ambassador was by then so thoroughly flummoxed that he was not even able to do that:

> *… legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Interbach obedientiam nomine imperatoris eidem Pio prestare vellet, inter orandum sic defecisse dicitur, ut nunquam potuerit ad ulteriora progredi, etiam quod ipsius oratoris scriba post tergum esset habens cedulam orationis recitande, quod videns pontifex maxime quantum sibi periculi imineret responsuro ad non proposita, instanter bis ac tertio ipsum oratorem monuit, ut saltem pro honore communi legeret ipsam orationem sic scriptam, non potuit obtinere. In tantum enim ille infelix orator a memoria et a se ipso exciderat, ut ubi et quis esset nesciret.*[2]

Hinderbach's failure to properly present the formal declaration of obedience to the pope created two problems: could the imperial obedience be considered as properly declared if it had not been pronounced by the ambassador? And should the pope give his response, written beforehand, to an oration which had not been finished and even lacked the most essential element?

The first problem Pius solved by considering that the emperor's letter[3] of obedience was sufficient, and he very soon formally acknowledged the imperial obedience in a letter to the emperor himself.[4]

As for the second problem it is not known how it was solved. De Grassis considered that in such cases the pope should not respond in person, and it seems that Pius had later reached the same conclusion. On the other hand, his oration of response is included in the official collection of Pius' responses without any mention that it was not actually held.[5] Most probably it was held, since not holding it would further dramatize the very embarrassing situation created by the ambassador.[6]

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[1] Such an omission actually became the subject of a chapter in de Grassis' ceremonial, cf. Stenzig, I, p. 255: *Quid agendum si orator obedientiam prestans inter orandum ante obedientiam praestationis clausulam deficiat*

[2] Stenzig, I, p. 256. See also II, 654-656

[3] "instrumentum"

[4] Stenzig, I, p. 255; II, p. 655

[5] But this is also applies to some other of his orations which he most likely had not actually held

[6] Cf. Stenzig, I, p. 255: *sed tamen papa aliquid loquatur habito respectu ad mandatum et litteras iam ibidem publice lectas … prout factum fuisse legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Hinderbach …*

But if he held the oration as planned, he might charitably have excluded the compliment to the ambassador for his excellent speech which was included in the prepared draft [sect. 9].

So, the oration with the solemn declaration declaration itself was considered to be the formal act of a ruler's recognizing a new pope.

Reciprocally, the pope's agreement to hear an oration of obedience and to accept the declaration of obedience was tantamount to recognizing the prince's status as ruler. Ordinarily, this went without saying, but in cases of disputed kingship it could be quite important. In April 1459, the imperial ambassadors first stopped in Florence and refused to proceed to Siena to present the declaration of obedience of the emperor, whom a party of Hungarian nobles had chosen as king, because Pope Pius has already received and heard the oration of obedience of the ambassadors of

King Matthias I of Hungary, whom another party had already chosen and installed as king.[1] The pope only extricated himself from this situation by declaring that it was the firm practice of the Holy See to recognize that man as king who was actually occupying the throne, and by other conciliatory measures. And somewhat later, Pius got into trouble with loyal catholics of Bohemia, because he had received the declaration of obedience of their Hussite King Georg Podiebrad.[2]

The importance of the princely ambassadors' oration and declaration of obedience sometimes led them to try to extort concessions from a new pope before they would deliver the oration. This Piccolomini himself did in 1455 when he was sent to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to Pope Calixtus III, but the pope squarely refused to be blackmailed in this way.[3] And when the French ambassadors arrived in Mantua in November, everyone held their breath while the ambassadors debated whether to delay their oration and declaration of obedience until the pope had recognized the Angevin claims on the throne of Sicily (Naples).[4]

The format of the ambassador's oration of obedience was quite standard and contained three elements:

- Praise of the pope
- Praise of the ambassador's prince ad his house
- Formal declaration of obedience

[1] See Pius´oration *"Christiani reges" [32]* to Hungarian ambassadors and his oration *"Fabricator mundi" [40]* to the imperial ambassadors
[2] See oration *"Superioribus diebus" [66]*
[3] See oration *"Solent plerique" [26]*
[4] See oration *"Multa hic hodie" [49]*

Johann Hinderbach in his oration of obedience to Pius II himself, the *"Maximum et amplissimum munus"*[1] said:

> *At non me preterit huius aule apostolice vetus consuetudo ab his, qui pontifici obedientiam prestituri veniunt, observata: Solent enim primum in throno sedentis novi pontificis genus, mores et vitam, electionem sanctam atque eligencium vota meritis ac dignis efferre laudibus, eius vero qui se mittit dignitatem, amplitudinem et in hanc sedem sua maiorumque suorum merita ac demum debitis reverentie devotionibus eam recognoscentes obedientiam profiteri, quod et nobis profitendum censuimus.* [Sect. 4]

For an example of praise of the pope in an oration of obedience, see above Piccolomini's *"Solent plerique" [26]* to Pope Calixtus III, section 7.7.1.

The same oration contains an example of praise of the ambassador's prince, in casu the emperor.

The formal declaration of obedience could and did take various forms, according to how the individual ruler conceived of his relationship with the Papacy. In their oration of obedience to Pius II, the French ambassadors spoke of filial obedience:

> *… cum jam omnium oculos in nos conjectos attente cernimus prospicere, et verbum regium nostrae vocis organo avide praestolari, opportunum credimus seclusis exordialibus praeludiis, quibus absurdum ante materiam effluere et in materia principali succingi nostrae legationis causas in medium ducere, hunc nobis ex regia ordinatione praecipua morem et ordinem praefigentes, ut primum* ***huic sanctae sedi et sanctitati tuae ex parte Christianissimi regis nostri more praedecessorum laudabili oboedientiae, reverentiae filialis, devotionis et laudis honorem debitum impendamus.***[2]

Nobody was fooled about the limits intended by the expression "filial devotion", especially not the pope himself who noted in his *Commentarii*:

> *Tandem obedientiam regis nomine prestitit filialemque illam appellauit, ut seruilem excluderet.*[3]

In the *"Solent plerique" [26]* to Pope Calixtus III, Piccolomini himself made the following declaration:

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[1] Published in Appendix to the oration *"Fabricator mundi" [40]*

[2] Oration "*Maximum et amplissimum onus"* of Bishop Gauillaume Chartier of Paris, on 21 November 1459, sect. 8, see oration *"Multa hic hodie" [49],* Appendix 2

[3] CO, III, 37

Nos igitur jussioni parentes ejus nomine, qui sacro Romano imperio praesidet, sanctitatem tuam tamquam domini nostri Jesu Christi locumtenentem in terris, ac magistram et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus; te certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te pastorem dominici gregis, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem salutaris vitae, te clavigerum regni caelestis profitemur, tibique omnem reverentiam et oboedientiam exhibemus, quam Romanorum imperatores praedecessoribus tuis canonice intrantibus praestare comperti sunt, sive jure, sive consuetudine suadente; quod, quantum nobis permissum sit, praesenti sacra docebitur.

(Therefore, obeying the command given to us, we recognize, in the name of the ruler of the Roman Empire, Your Holiness as the vicar on Earth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and as the teacher and leader of the Universal Church. We acknowledge you to be the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, the pastor of the Lord's flock, the true interpreter of the holy gospels, the teacher of moral life, the bearer of the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, and we show you the reverence and obedience which the Roman emperors are known to have offered to your canonically elected predecessors, as bidden both by law and by custom. This – and the extent of our mandate – is shown by the present holy [letter].) [Sect. 14]

As for the format of the papal response to the ambassadors' orations of obedience, there was probably no standard.

Some popes answered the ambassadors' orations of obedience in person.[1]

In 1447, Pope Nicolaus V in his reply, *"Nihil est",* to the Aragonese ambassadors' oration of obedience, spoke about the model Christian prince as champion of the Church, King Alfonso and the Papacy, and the declaration of obedience, adding the traditional papal protestation of humility.[2]

And 8 years later, in 1455, when Pope Calixtus replied to the Aragonese ambassadors' oration of obedience, he seems mostly to have spoken about King Alfonso's contribution to the crusade against the Turks.[3]

Pius II himself mostly used a format of response containing the following five elements:

- **Supremacy of the papacy**

[1] See above, sect. 1.1.2.1.
[2] Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani
[3] Io. Antonii Campani Legatio Perusinorum ad summum pontificem Nicolaum Quintum [error for Calixtus III] et oratio ad eundem. In: Antiquari, pp. 279-280

Example, from the *"Omnes ferme" [34]* (1459) to the ambassadors of King Alfonso: *The Apostolic See,* i.e. the Roman Church, *was set above all the other sees by divine dispensation … To that see was given the power to open and close* the gate of *Heaven* [sect. 1]. Indeed, this reference to Matthew 16, 18 is the central biblical argument used by the popes to support their claim to Roman supremacy.

- **Personal unworthiness for the exalted, papal office**

This sentiment was probably quite sincere, but as an expression of personal humility it was also a ritual formula of traditional ecclesiastic and papal discourse. In the *"Omnes ferme" [34]* Pius said:

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

- **Merits of the prince and the House of the prince**

In the oration *"Quotiens nova" [30],* the Duke of Savoy merited the following: *Mighty is this prince, and vast are the lands that he rules. His forefathers were of Saxon blood, and some authors claim that the Saxons themselves descend from the Macedonians. The family of Savoy is related to the French and Burgundian nobility. It unites noble fame with noble manners. And Louis himself is a most gracious prince, easily approachable and devoted to religion. He upholds justice, and serves equity. We praise his devotion and piety*. [Section 5]

In his orations to the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy, the *"Conversa in nos" [37],* Pius used a model employed by Ambrose of Milan in his praise of the prince: *Ambrose says that a complete laudation comprises family, character, office, actions, and judgment*. [Sect. 2]

- **Acknowledgement of the declaration of obedience**

In the oration *"Pius et Misericors" [36]* Pius thanked King Juan II of Aragon for his declaratioon of obedience in these words: *And now he has, through his distinguished and worthy ambassadors, after the custom of his forefathers, freely declared his complete obedience to Us and the Apostolic See. Though he simply does his duty, the declaration of obedience of so great a prince is a signal honour for the Roman Church. For if we compare the kings of the world with respect to the strength of their subjects, the splendour of their cities, the vastness of their territories, their resources and spirit, we must no doubt place this king among the foremost. Thus, his deference and his devotion is most welcome to Us.* [Sect. 3]

- **Assurance of the goodwill of pope and cardinals towards the king and his House**

  Again from the *"Pius et misericors" [36]: And together with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall always and to our greatest ability show this excellent and pious king particular favour and grace.* [Sect. 4]

To these five elements comes a sixth, relevant in the context of Pius' projected crusade and the Congress of Mantua to which he had summoned the European princes:

- **Thanks for the promises of aid to the crusade**

  Once again from the *"Pius et misericors*" [36]: *Moreover We have heard and with pleasure accept his offers with respect to the crusade against the Turks. We trust that he will not do less than he promises for he has an abundance of arms, horses, ships, men and money. They were given to him by God, and if he does not use them for the honour of God, he will provoke the divine will against himself. But this is not a king who says one thing and thinks another. His promises give Us great hope. We pray God in Heaven to keep him safe and to strengthen his resolve in this matter.* [Sect. 4]

7.8. Selected topoi

According to Johannes Helmrath, analysis of topoi is essential to understanding the orations of Pius II: *Bei so hochgradig aus einem "Vorratsmagazin" (Wehrli) von Zitaten, Exempla, Topoi und Gemeinplätzen, also tradionell bekannten, anerkannten und konsensfähigen Argumentations-trägern zusammengesetzten Texten wie den Reden eines Enea Silvio kommt man ohne Topos- und Motivanalysen nicht aus.*[1]

[1] Helmrath*: Reichstagsreden,* p. 45

Some examples of Pius' use of topoi:

7.8.1. Captatio benevolentiae (Modesty)[1]

In his orations before the pontificate, Piccolomini was careful to include the traditional *captatio benevolentiae.*[2] An integral element of this was the expression of the speaker's modesty in the form of self-deprecating statements.[3] [4] Such statements could contain various elements:

7.8.1.1. Feebleness

In the *"Si quis me roget"[2]* (1438), Piccolomini said to the council fathers:

> *… he [the Archbishop of Milan] has asked me to give an oration on this great man [Saint Ambrose] before an audience of so many and so great Fathers, even though the task is completely beyond me. I fear that - just as I cannot turn him down - I cannot either meet his requirements. For the greatness of Ambrose's deeds overwhelms me.* [Sect. 2][5]

Simona Iaria has this comment: *Allora Enea Silvio non rifugge dal topos classico della falsa modestia, mettendo in dubbio le proprie capacità per ben disporre gli ascoltatori, norma que viene dall'oratoria forense e ha le radici in Cicerone … e in Quintiliano … .*[6]

7.8.1.2. Command to speak

In the *"Quamvis omnibus" [21]* (1454), Piccolomini told the Imperial Diet that his (higher-ranking) fellow ambassadors had commanded him to deliver the oration of behalf of the emperor:

> *… the matter concerning which Holy Emperor Friedrich … has summoned a conference in this famous place is of the highest importance and concerns all Christianity, and therefore my Most Reverend and Magnificent Lords and Colleagues, the orators of His Imperial Majesty, have deemed it useful to explain more fully to this august assembly the reasons for the meeting and*

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[1] See Curtius, pp. 83-85
[2] As a pope, he did not, of course, use the *captatio benevolentiae* since such would not befit the dignity of his exalted office
[3] Cicero: *De inventione*, 1, 16, 22; Quintilianus: *Institutio oratoria,* 4, 1, 8
[4] For an analysis of the *ficta modestia* in the orations of Andrea Biglia, one of Piccolomini's teachers at the University of Siena, see Schnaubelt, pp. 258-259
[5] Iaria: *Enea,* p. 310
[6] Iaria: *Enea*, p. 310

to set forth the intention of His Imperial Majesty in taking counsel with you concerning the Christian Commonwealth. As you see, the task of speaking has fallen to me, the most insignificant of all, and though I gladly obey my betters in this matter, I should have wished to be replaced with someone who could give a more suitable oration. [Sect. 1]

Even better was, naturally, a royal command as in the oration *"Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]* (1451):

In this royal senate there are many men excelling in learning and eloquence who would perform this task of speaking much better than I. But since Our Most Serene and Pious Lord, the King of the Romans, has seen fit to charge me with answering, in his name, the speech which you, distinguished ambassadors, made some days ago on behalf of your Illustrious Lord, His Highness the Duke of Burgundy, I ought not and cannot refuse to comply with the wishes of His Highness. I shall therefore obey the royal command and briefly summarize what you said so elegantly and wisely, and afterwards give the king's reply, [Sect. 1]

But an archbishop would also do, as in the oration *"Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438):

Moreover, he [Archbishop Pizzolpasso of Milan] has asked me to give an oration on this great man [Saint Ambrose] before an audience of so many and so great Fathers, even though the task is completely beyond me. I fear that - just as I cannot turn him down - I cannot either meet his requirements. [Sect. 2]

7.8.1.3. Divine assistance

It would, of course, always be proper to invoke God's help, as in the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [21]* (1454):

Therefore, by the authority of my colleagues I am now requested to set forth his [the emperor's] mind, his opinion, and his intentions on these issues. As I would rather seem stupid through obedience than clever through defiance, I have taken this almost unbearable burden upon my shoulders, trusting in help from Him who would rather have obedience than sacrificial victims. [Sect. 5]

7.8.1.4. Compliments to the audience and to the prince addressed

Compliments to the audience would be expected, as in the *"Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438):

the majesty of your [assembly] overawes me. [Sect. 2]

And in the oration *"Fateor" [15]* (1450) to Pope Nicolaus V, Piccolomini said:

Holy Father, Supreme Pontiff, I do declare that anyone who speaks before Your Holiness ought really to be nervous because of the exaltedness of your throne – indeed, there is no higher throne on earth – and because God has granted you personally a golden intellect, rich in all kinds of learning. [Sect. 1]

7.8.1.5. Appeal to the benevolence of the audience

And it would not hurt, either, to appeal to the audience's benevolence, as again in the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454):

And I do not fear to falter under this great burden since some here will lend me a hand if I stumble. And I obey so much more gladly that I see your numerous and kindly disposed assembly. [Sect. 5]

And in the *"Fateor" [15]* (1450):

For these reasons, it would not be strange at all if I, lacking both the thoughts and words appropriate for addressing such majesty, were now confused and as pale as a man who awaits his turn to orate before the altar at Lugdunum. But I am encouraged by the immense benevolence and the indescribable kindness of Your Holiness who are used to hearing not only great and eloquent men, but also – and with unoffended ears – the lowly and unlearned. [Sect. 1]

7.8.1.6. Importance of the topic

Also the importance of the topic would be used to captivate benevolence, as in the *"Non habet me dubium" [11]* (1447) … :

I should never have dared to address your Holiness now, unless I had been forced to do so by those very matters we are dealing with, and which are extremely important to the Christian Commonwealth, and if I had not been given courage by those high and exalted princes in

whose name I shall be speaking and whom you will see before you as you are listening to me: what your ears would have denied to me, they will grant to them, for the things which we have been charged with saying are neither unimportant nor set forth by unwelcome princes. [Sect. 2]

… and as in the *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1450) to King Alfonso V and his court:

So please listen, Serene Highness, and all who are present, and lend your ears to my speech, for though I do not myself deserve it, the matter on which I shall speak definitely merits it, as it is a great matter, wonderful, rare, and most honourable. [Sect. 2]

7.8.1.7. Need for speech

An orator might also advance the urgent need for him to speak, as did Piccolomini - quite elaborately - in the *"Audivi" [1]* (1436):

I have been thinking intensely about whether I should intervene in the debate, or silently let the river take its own course. On the one hand, it seemed that a private and unlearned man ought to remain silent in the assembly of very learned men I see around me. Indeed, the whole world may be rightly ruled and governed by their counsel and authority! And I thought it would be improper for an insignificant person such as myself me to open his mouth in an assembly where not only doctors in the various branches of knowledge, but also council fathers with every kind of qualification are present. On the other hand, when I considered my obligations towards your fellowship, and when I repeated to myself the words of my oath, I found it necessary to speak up if I were to keep it. For I have always kept that oath religiously and supported this council whenever I could and had the possibility. I have spoken about your works everywhere, and where I could not speak I wrote. Always – and may God love me for it! - did I praise this council; always did I consider it necessary for the salvation of the Christians; and always have I been so passionately engaged in the council, to which I have given myself, that I would gladly sacrifice my own body and everything else I have in its service. Thus it seemed unseemly and absurd not to speak up in favour of something for which I am ready to give my life. If you have an obligation to give your life for your country, you have an even greater obligation to give it for the council. And if you should shun no danger for the sake of the council, then why should you withhold your words and the sound of your voice? Who will praise your silence if your speech would be useful? Homer says that silence makes a woman beautiful, but this does not apply to a man. I have come to the conclusion that I should, nay I must speak up in this grave danger to the Sacred Council, as I have not as yet heard anyone say the things you shall hear from me now, if you so permit. [Sect. 2-5]

7.8.2. Unworthiness for papal office

Since times immemorial it had been the customs of the popes to protest their personal unworthiness for the high office they occupied.

Pius had heard his predecessor, Nicolaus V, make such a statement to the Aragonese ambassadors in 1447:

> *Quod vero ad nos et ea, quae de nobis multa dixistis, attinet, absit omnino, ut tanto pontificatu dignos nos esse iudicemus. Sumus enim testes et conscii fragilitatis debilitatisque nostrae et quales viros, quam probatos, quam sanctos haec excelsa sedes exquirit, certe non ignoramus, quorum numero nos omnino non esse cognoscimus.*[1]

When he became pope himself, he told the ambassadors of Savoy, in the oration *"Quotiens nova" [30]* (1459):

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

Such a reply he generally made to ambassadors when they praised him, ritually and extravagantly, in their orations of obedience.[2]

7.8.3. Urbs capta

[1] Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

[2] It is worth noting that in his *Pentalogus* (1443) Piccolomini had told the emperor that when ambassadors praise him, he should answer deprecatingly and attribute such merits to God, see Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 78)

After the Fall of Constantinople, in 1453, Pius would make eloquent use of the Urbs capta-topos.

An example from the *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* (1454) will suffice:

> *Without any provocation whatsoever, Mehmed (as the ruler of the Turks is called) went to war against the Greeks, and besieged and conquered the poorly defended Constantinople. There, in the final peril of his fatherland, Emperor Constantine was killed, fighting desperately against the Turks as they entered the city. His head was set on a spear and carried around for all to see. The Greeks were slaughtered atrociously. Not only those who tried to defend themselves, but also those who had thrown down their weapons and surrended were killed. I accept that many were killed in the first furious assault. But I find it horrible and revolting that when the city had been conquered, the arms laid down, and the citizens enchained, then the worst atrocities took place, then sons were killed before the eyes of their parents, then noblemen were butchered like cattle, then priests were tormented and monks tortured, then holy virgins were ravished, then matrons and daughters-in-law were abused. Oh, miserable city! Oh, unhappy people! Oh, accursed Mehmed! Who can tell this without shedding tears? Everywhere you would see mourning, murder, blood, and corpses.* [Sect. 9]

7.8.4. Conclusions[1]

Humanist diplomatic speakers would sometimes end their oration to a ruler with a polite request for further meetings. According to Maxson, *these conclusions usually contain a phrase that declares the diplomats have more substantive materials to discuss in future meetings with the ruler, implying that the speech just concluded dealt only with ceremonial concerns.*[2]

Leonardo Bruni concluded an oration to King Alfonso V with these words:

> *Ceterum, serenissime princeps, alia quedam particularia habemus tue serenitati seorsum referre, quae alias cum tempus locusque dabitur referemus.*[3]

And the same Bruni finished an oration to Pope Martin V thus:

> *Sunt alia quedam a nobis seorsum tue beatitudini exemplificanda, que cum tempus dabitur exponemus.*[4]

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[1] Curtius, pp. 89-91
[2] Maxson: *Politics,* p. 398
[3] Bruni: *Opere*, p. 846
[4] Bruni: *Opere,* p. 810

And, in 1451, Giannozzo Manetti, ambassador of Florence, concluded an oration to the king Alfonso V in this way:

> *Certain other things remain that, when it pleases Your Kingly Loftiness, we will relate in a more opportune location and time.*[1]

Johann Hinderbach ended his oration of obedience to Pius II of behalf of the emperor, the *"Maximum et amplissimum munus"* (1459) with these words[2]:

> *… pleraque circa hanc rem necessaria semotis arbitris cum tue clemencie placuerit lacius exponemus*.

Gregor Heimburg finished his oration *"Ne cui mirum"* to Pius II (1458) thus:

> *Cetera, quae ad rem pertinent, suis locis et temporibus explicabimus …*[Sect. 20]

Piccolomini himself used this topos at least two times in his orations. One was the *"Fateor" [15]* (1450) to Pope Nicolaus V where he said, at the very end:

> *When it pleases Your Clemency, there are a number of other matters which we would take up with you in private.* [Sect. 24b]

The second was the *"Solent plerique" [26]* (1455) to Pope Calixtus V which he finished with the words:

> *There are other things pertinent to this matter that we should like to relate to Your Holiness whenever it may please you.* [Sect. 29]

Since these orations were highly political and substantive, Piccolomini's use of this topos appears to be an exception from Maxson's general statement (se above).

As pope, he also made a reverse use of the topos when ended his oration *"Quotiens nova" [30]* (1459) to the ambassadors from Savoy with the words:

> *What else you will tell us, in private, We shall hear benignly and gladly*. [Sect. 5][3]

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[1] Maxson: *Diplomatic,* p. 41
[2] See Appendix to oration *Fabricator mundi [40]*
[3] See also his orations *"Dilectissime"* and *"Eruditissime"* [47-48] to Gregor Heimburg

7.8.5. Arma et litterae

The interesting conjunction of *arma* and *litterae*, much used by humanists, was employed by Pius too, as in the oration *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459):

> *Also the Greeks, although once courageous and brave, have not kept their former vigour. Almost all who are subject to the Turks have become weak and lost their former spirit with regard to military matters and letters.* [Sect. 21]

7.9. Rhetorical devices[1]

Pius II used classical rhetorical devices skillfully and systematically.
In his comments on such devices used by Piccolomini in the oration *"Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* Blusch says that Piccolomini – and Campano – *gleich ob es um hyperbaton, Anapher, Homoioteleuton, Parallelismus, Chiasmus, Klimax usw. geht, mit Wort- und Gedankenfiguren durchaus umgehen verstehen.* Blusch also specifically mentions polysyndeta and asyndeta.[2]

And Kayser stated that Piccolomini's *Form der sprachlich-rhetorischen 'imitatio' [of Ciceronian language] schlägt sich darüber hinaus in der pointierten Verwendung rhetorischer Figuren – wie Hyperbata, Anaphern, Chiasmen, Parallelismen, Trikola und Klimaxe – oder anderer Stilmittel – wie Evidentia/Demonstratio, Prokatalepsis, Interlocutio, Praeteritio, Synkrisis … nieder.*[3]

Below follow some examples of other devices which he used frequently:

7.9.1. Personification

One such was personification, i.e. the use of an abstract idea in the shape of a person.

Two examples from the orations may be mentioned:

***Oration "Audivi" [1]* (1436)**

[1] In the broad sense, including figures of speech of all kinds
[2] Blusch, pp. 101-105
[3] Kayser, pp. 92-93

Here, the Ecumenical Council herself steps forward to support Piccolomini's words against local patriotism influencing the choice of the future venue for the Union Council. She says:

Let us imagine that the council is a person and consider what she should do. If you ask her where she is from, she will not call herself Italian or French, German or Spanish, but she will insist that she is Christian and that she only desires what may benefit the Christian name. Her task will be to remove the thorns from the field of the Lord, that is to eradicate heresy, to reform morals, and to restore peace everywhere. She will take care not to act unjustly, and she will observe the precept of Pythagoras: Step not beyond the beam of balance! *She will take pains not to be found ungrateful towards anybody. She will preserve her liberty to live morally and to make the right decisions. She will not pursue delinquents to the point of making them desperate, nor tolerate them to the point of encouraging them.* [Sect. 13]

***Oration "Sentio" [20] (*1452)**

In this oration, Austria herself comes forth to shame the rebels against the emperor:

If Austria could speak, she would call these men ungrateful sons and rebuke them thus: "Why, stupid men, do you persecute your prince, who has kept you in peace at home and in honour abroad? Before this time, four of my sons ruled the Roman Empire, Rudolf, Albrecht, Friedrich, and the second Albrecht. None of them was crowned in Rome, none of them entered Italy. Only this one has brought me and you the honour of an [imperial] coronation. But you seem to consider good deeds as bad deeds, and you keep neither the peace nor your oath to your prince. The glory that has accrued to me, to your princes and to your sons, you throw away. My name, that Friedrich had made illustrious in the whole world, you have tainted. And you have caused a conflagration – both for me and yourself – that I do not know when you will be able to extinguish. If I had not given birth to you, all the peoples around us would have admired me and called me blessed, enjoying immense praise and a secure peace." Thus Austria would have rebuked her sons if she had been able to speak. [Sect. 73]

7.9.2. Ekphrasis

In Pius' orations, there occurs one instance of *ekphrasis*[1] or a least a passage with an ekphrastic element.

***Oration "Conversa in nos hodie" [37]* (1459)**

… Our abilities cannot satisfy your expectations nor can Our eulogies do justice so great a great prince. We should rather imitate that painter who painted the terribly sad Andromache at Hector's funeral. It now remained for him to paint Hector's mother, the unhappy Hecuba, but with an even more sorrowful face. But since he was unable to add more [sadness to his portrayal], he painted the mother with her head veiled, so that the imagination of the onlookers would provide what his art could not. In like manner, We shall imitate this painter and veil Our praises of Philippe before you, trusting your intellect much more than Our own. [Sect. 1]

[1] Ekphrasis: a vivid, often dramatic, verbal description of a visual work of art, real or imagined

7.9.3. Apostrophe

Apostrophe[1] was commonly used by humanist orators.[2] In Pius' orations there are several cases, for example

***Oration "Audivi" [1]* (1436)**

In this oration to the council fathers at Basel, Piccolomini suddenly addresses the Duke of Burgundy directly:

Passing over the tireless endeavours, both inside and outside the council, of the Bishop of Albenga, a man distinguished not only by his family, but also by his virtue of soul, what shall I say about the other prelates? The Bishop of Novara was sent to the King of France, and the Bishop of Lodi to England. The Bishop of Parma was ordered to far-away Poland when the father of the present king was still alive. You see his coat of arms, painted by widows, on the tapestry right in front of you. May God help the present king to successfully resist the attacks of the infidels. To the King of Aragon, who then resided in Sicily, was sent Abbot Ricci of Saint Ambrose. ***Nor were you, mighty Duke of Burgundy, neglected by the Lombard prelates. This mission fell to the Abbot of Cereto, that upright Father, whom you received with pleasure, both because of his country and because of his lord. For you know how greatly you are esteemed by the Duke of Milan who wants nothing more than to accommodate your wishes.*** *To me that period seemed to resemble that of the apostles when they divided the provinces of the world between them, and each undertook a mission to preach the Gospel there. A similar task was entrusted to the ducal prelates because at that time many other prelates had not yet arrived.* [Sect. 72]

In two other instances – in the same oration - he addresses the Duke of Milan:

I have kept for the end the question of how much, celebrated Fathers, you may trust the prince. I shall have said quite enought about this issue, if I show you the prince's devotion to the Church, his love of yourselves and the Sacred Council, his justice and fairness towards his subjects, his clemency and mildness towards his enemies, and his generosity and benevolence towards all. If I do that, then who will deny that you can trust this prince implicitly? As I begin to speak about this, I hope that my eloquence will be worthy of the subject. ***For that is what***

[1] Apostrophe: occurs when a speaker breaks off from addressing the audience (e.g. in a play) and directly addresses a third party

[2] McManamon: *Funeral,* p. 14: [From Poggio Bracciolini's funeral oration on Cardinal Zabarella] *The oration then shifted from narrative to direct address to Zabarella, as the orator attempted to enhance the emotional appeal of his discourse by using apostrophe and anaphora*

you merit, oh victorious Prince! Even the greatest orators and the most excellent poets would find it hard to do justice to you, so I hope that you will forgive Aeneas[1] if he speaks on your behalf not as well as he would like to, but as well as he is able to*. And you, great Fathers, do not be surprised if you do not hear an oration worthy of this great prince. For, indeed, his admirable virtues, his memorable deeds, and his incredible skills of war and peace are so manyfold that no oration can do them justice.* [Sect. 68]

… the whole world knows how he behaved towards the Most Serene Kings of Aragon and Navarra: beyond all conceivable generosity! Indeed, the duke may on other occasions have surpassed everybody else in generosity, but here he surpassed himself. ***Oh eminent lineage! Oh true child of Galeazzo! Is there any sort of man who does not love you? Is there any people so barbarous, so obtuse, so remote from all humanity that they do not cherish your name?*** *Cicero believes that on account of their virtue and uprightness we feel a sort of affection even for those whom we have never seen. So, here is one whom all should revere, and I believe that even his enemies must praise him as they daily hear such things about him*.]Sect. 77]

***Oration "Non est apud me dubium" [6] (*1445)**

In this oration, Piccolomini adresses Pythagoras:

I now leave our own and pass on to the gentile authors. What about you, Pythagoras, who never saw the commandments of Christ or heard his Gospel? [Sect. 19]

7.9.4. Anaphora

Pius used anaphora[2] as a dramatic device of persuasion.

***Oration "Cum bellum hodie"* [45] (1459)**

Ipse *nos fari jubet.* ***Ipse*** *in ore nostro verba posuit.* ***Ipse*** *nos bellum suadere in Turcos imperat.* [Sect. 3]

[1] Piccolomini himself

[2] A rhetorical device that consists of repeating a word or a sequence of words at the beginnings of neighboring clauses, thereby lending them emphasis

Cum Christianis nobis sermo est, qui ditem Italiam, nobilem Galliam, fortem Hispaniam, bellicosam et populosam Germaniam incolunt: ***his*** *arma,* ***his*** *equi,* ***his*** *homines,* ***his*** *pecuniae abunde suppetunt,* ***his*** *vires longe majores quam Turcis adsunt.* [Sect. 20]

Generally, he was also quite fond of ordinary repetition for dramatic effect:

Oration "Cum bellum hodie" [45] **(1445)**

In this oration, Piccolomoni told the assembled representatives of the European powers that the Turks would certainly be coming:

Venient, venient *Turci, nisi obviam imus, et auferent nobis locum et gentem.* [Sect. 18].

And, in the next passage, he used the same figure (with anaphora):

Credite nobis, **proceres,** ***credite nobis****. Non est cur amplius dissimuletis, non est cur amplius differatis arma sumere:* ***si*** *agros vestros,* ***si*** *focos,* ***si*** *uxores,* ***si*** *liberos,* ***si*** *libertatem,* ***si*** *fidem ipsam, in qua baptizati et renati sumus, retinere cupitis****,* ***bellum, nobis credite, bellum*** *geratis oportet.* [Sect. 19]

7.9.5. Accumulatio

Another rhetorical device which Pius was quite fond of and used with highly dramatic effect is the *accumulatio*.[1] Some examples are:

Oration "Constantinopolitana clades" [22] (1455)

Non est de rebus levioribus hoc bellum: ***pro patria, pro liberis, pro uxoribus, pro focis, pro libertate, pro vita, pro fide, pro religione, pro sanctis martyribus, pro magnis apostolis, pro gloriosa matre Dei, advocata nostra, regina caeli, Maria, pro filio Dei, pro redemptore, pro salvatore, pro maximo et certissimo Deo vestro, pro spiritu sancto directore, pro patre aeterno, pro divinissima trinitate,*** *quam spurcidus ille Mahumetus persequitur, committendum est proelium. Cogitate, principes, quo redacta est Christiana religio, quantum*

[1] Accumulatio is a figure of speech, part of the broader group of *enumeratio*, in which the points made previously are presented again in a compact, forceful manner. It often employs the use of climax in the summation of a speech

in orienti, quantum in meridie diminuta est nostra fides. ***Sumite alta corda, induite fortes animos! Defendite matrem vestram ecclesiam, quae vos Christo regeneravit! Accingimini gladio super femora vestra, potentissimi, occurrite inimicis Christi****!* [Sect. 47]

Oration "Cum bellum hodie" [45] (1459)

En sapientem hominem, qui se Dei prophetam audet nominare, ***temerator antiquae legis, corruptor novae, prostitutor animarum, verus procurator Orci, et primus Sathanae satelles,*** *cujus auditores inferni mancipia sunt, quales Turcos esse non dubitamus, adversus quos armis contendere sacrificium fuerit et acceptissimum Deo spectaculum.* [Sect. 27]

And:

Sed illud ***omnem ambiguitatem excludit, omnem titubationem avertit, omnem credendi moram expellit,*** *quod multis saeculis priusquam Christus carnem indueret,* ***nativitas ejus ex virgine, sanctimonia vitae, miraculorum patratio, praedicatio, legis edictio, captivitas, tormentorum perpessio, crucifixio, mors, resurrectio, in caelum ascensio, et reliqua****, quae de ipso legimus, ita in propheticis scripta reperiebantur.* [Sect. 33]

7.9.6. Exclamatio

Pius was also fond of exclamations:

Oration "Sentio" [20] (1452)

En solidam et inconcussam fidem! [Sect.135]

Oration "Si quis me roget" [2] (1438)

O vocem omnium laude dignam! O animum pastoris egregium! [Sect. 28}

Oration "Non est apud me dubium" [6] (1443)

O rem magnam, stupendam, incredibilem, inauditam! [Sect. 10]

Oration "Sentio" [20] (1459)

Proh, qualis iniquitas, qualis insolentia, qualis arrogantia! [Sect. 87]

7.9.7. Rhetorical questions

Piccolomini also often used the rhetorical question. Examples:

Oration "Si quis me roget" [20] (1438)

Quis est, qui martyrem neget Ambrosium? [Sect. 28]

Oration "Sentio" [20] (1452)

Quis Austrialium causam non probaverit? Quis eos non bene fecisse dixerit, qui non suo tantum, sed domini quoque sui jure sunt usi? [Sect. 35]

7.9.8. Irony and sarcasm

Piccolomini would sometime use irony and sarcasm to stigmatize the position of oppponents:

Oration "Sentio" [20] (1452)

Sed objurgant Caesarem Austriales, qui tenerrimo delicatoque puero grande iter commisit, asperum, periculosum. "Spem nostram," inquiunt, "pacem, quietem, dominum nostrum ad Italiam hiemali tempore duxit." ***En pulchram accusationem****!* [Sect. 55]

Oration "Res bohemicas" [28] (1455)

Ad sextos illos nunc transeundum est, qui presbyteros Hussitarum consecrandos negant; sic enim, ut illis videtur, deficientibus, qui calicem ministrent, sacerdotibus, et ipsa duplex communio deficiet. ***Bella sane cogitatio, bella inventio,*** *ne dicam, deliratio!* [Sect. 34]

7.9.9. Antithesis

He was also fond of antithesis, as the following examples show:

Oration "Si putarem" [5] (1445)

Quis fastus, quis ambitus te ducit, Johannes, ut vivere nolis, nisi ecclesiae Frisingensi praeficiaris episcopus? Cur te efficis tanti? Cur tibi tantum arrogas? Tu ne Ambrosio melior, aut Gregorio sanctior, vel doctior Augustino? Illi ***fugiebant vocati****, tu* ***repulsus accedis.*** *Illi* ***plorabant retenti****, tu* ***defles exclusus.*** *Illi* ***abire rogabant,*** *tu* ***manere precaris****.* [Sect. 22]

Oration "Constantinopolitana clades" [22] (1454)

Illi, cum pro patria morerentur, tum ***maxime exulabant;*** *nos, cum morimur, tum* ***finimus exilium, tum patriam ingredimur.*** [Sect. 50]

Oration "Sentio" [20] (1452)

Quid Austriales agant, quibus cum ***veritate manentibus felicitas,*** *cum* ***falsitate recedentibus miseria*** *repromittitur?* [Sect. 135]

… non ***ultionem timere****, sed* ***sperare veniam*** *mereantur.* [Sect. 135]

… compulsos, qui Ladislai rebus studebant, quod ***precibus assequi*** *non valebant, a****rmis exquirere****.* [Sect. 35]

Oration "Ingentes vobis gratias" [41] (1459)

Potuissent aliquando per divisiones vestras cornua erigere: ***maluerunt in civitate per quietem servire quam per seditionem dominari.*** [Sect. 5]

Oration "Magna pars vestrum / Speravimus" [43] (1459)

Turci pro sua damnatissima secta non recusant mortem; nos pro sancto Christi evangelio nec subire sumptus nec labores perferre vel minimos possumus. [Sect. 2]

7.9.10. Praeteritio

Not infrequently Piccolomini would tell his audience that he wanted to pass over a certain subject, only to comment on it to such an extent that it would not seem he had bypassed it at all. Examples are:

Oration "Cum bellum hodie" [45] (1459)

Namque, ut ***praetereamus*** *deliramenta et ineptias illas, quibus angelos corporeos de flamma ignis creatos, interituros affirmat, et Origeni consentiens daemones aliquando salvando scribit, et coelum de fumo factum, et lunam ab initio aeque splendidisse cum sole, sed volitantis angeli Gabrielis ala tactam fulgorem amisisse.* [Sect. 26]

Oration "Non habet me dubium" [11] (1447)

Praetereo *nunc apostolicam sedem, quae nihil aliud est quam refugium ac patrocinium orbis terrae. Taceo de sacro reverendissimorum collegio coetuque cardinalium, qui recte mundi consilium totiusque militantis ecclesiae senatus appellari potest.* [Sect. 14]

Oration "Solent plerique" [26] (1455)

[After brief but high praise of pope and lavish praise of emperor:] *De his ergo et aliis quamplurimis rebus cumulatissime perorandum illi erit, qui Fridericum nostrum digne pro meritis laudare decreverit. Sed non sunt haec onera, quae nostris humeris committi debeant.*

Satius est tacere quam tanti principis tenui, ut nostra est, oratione percurrere. ***Praetermittimus*** *igitur servatum ab aliis morem, et omissis hoc loco tuis ac Caesaris nostri laudibus, ad ea veniemus, quae coram te dicere atque agere jussi sumus munusque nostrum quam breviter absolvemus.* [Sect. 11]

7.9.11. Metaphors

Piccolomini did use metaphors[1], but somewhat sparingly. An example:

Oration "Res bohemicas" [28] (1455)

Praedicatores eorum, sicut eis mos est, diebus singulis plebes instruent, et pestifero ***lacte nutrientes*** *populum laetabundi sese jactabunt, quia jam silentium de suis erroribus factum sit.* [Sect. 28]

And a late one:

Oration "Britones hodie" [51] (1459)

Hi [Britones], postquam semel Romanae sedis matris suae ***suxerunt ubera*** *et* ***lac divinae legis bibere didicerint****, numquam apostarunt …*

7.9.12. Invective

In his orations, Pius usually treats opponents with sarcasm and irony (see above), but very rarely with invective language, as when he described the Turks as the "fex" of the world.[2]

[1] Metaphor: An implied comparison between two dissimilar things that have something in common
[2] Cf. Ledo

7.9.13. Incipits

Pius was quite capable of giving his orations sonorous and meaningful and even solemn incipits, like "*Constantinopolitana clades", "Per me reges regnant", "Cum bellum hodie", "Fabricator mundi", "Dominatorem caeli", "Moyses vir Dei", "Res bohemicas", "Christiani reges", "Pius et misericors", "Optasset Caesarea majestas".*

But mostly he began his orations with quite simple expressions like *"Audivi", "Si mihi", "Quid est", "Si putarem", "Non est apud me dubium", "Multa hic hodie", "Responsuri".* He even had five orations begin with the word *quamvis: "Quamvis omnibus", Quamvis in hoc senatu", "Quamvis grandes materias", "Quamvis non sine magna", "Quamvis non dubitamus".*

Some of them were borrowed from classical and patristic authors like "*Solent* ***plerique omnes***[1]*", "Quamvis* ***grandes materias***[2]*", "****Tritum est sermone****"*[3]*, "****Si quis me roget***[4]*".*

Two borrowed incipits were charged with significance. One was the *"Moyses vir Dei*" [19] from 1447, which Piccolomini took from the papal bull of Pope Eugenius IV *"Moyses vir Dei"* of 4 September 1439 against the Council of Basel. The use of this incipit from a papal decree condemning the Council of Basel, in an oration to Pope Nicolaus IV and in the presence of the emperor, was in itself an political statement, subtly implying imperial support of the Papacy against conciliarism. The other was the *"Existimatis fortasse" [64]* from 1462 in which Pius announced the resumption of his grand crusade project to a group of cardinals. Pius had this incipit from a fictive oration which Flavio Biondi put into the mouth of Pope Urban II at the council in Clermont, 1095, and which began with the word *"Existimatis forte".*[5] Reusing this incipit was a way of declaring that Pius' crusade project continued centuries of papal crusade policies and initiatives.

[1] Classical expression used e.g. by Plautus
[2] Jerome: *Epistola ad* Heliodorus (60), 1
[3] Cicero: *De officiis,* 1, 10, 33: *… est … tritum sermone proverbium*
[4] Terentius: *Andria,* 258: *Si quis nunc me roget*
[5] Biondi: *Decades,* II, 3

8. SOURCES

8.1. Collection of source materials

In an age where books were expensive and difficult to obtain, and there was no easy access to storehouses of knowledge like university libraries or the Internet, humanists and scholars would have to create their own knowledge collections to which they could have immediate access.

In 1459, Battista Guarino, youngest son of Guarino Veronese, much admired by Piccolomini, published his treatise *De ordine docendi et studendi*[1] in which he gave the following advice to students:

> *Let them read the remaining historians, from whom they will excerpt the customs, manners, and laws of various peoples, the various fortunes that befell individuals of genius and their vices and virtues.*[2]
>
> *Let them [the students] not be satisfied with listening to the teacher only, but let them study for themselves the commentators on the authors and mark "down to the roots", as they say, their maxims and the force of words. Let them look for new maxims with specific applications. Writing glosses in books is also extremely profitable, the more so if they have some hope of publishing them someday … Writing of this kind wonderfully sharpens the wit, polishes the tongue, produces fluency in writing, leads to precise factual knowledge, strengthens the memory, and, finally, affords students a storeroom, as it were of commentary and memory aids…* [3]
>
> *… they should hold fast to the practice of always making excerpts of what they read … Let them excerpt those things in particular which seem worth remembering and are rarely found. This practice will also serve greatly to develop a rich and ready diction if students, in the course of their miscellaneous reading, will note down maxims pertinent to a given topic and collect them in one particular place, reviewing at night any excellent thing they have read or heard*

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[1] Kallendorf: *Humanist*, pp. 296-299

[2] *Reliquos deinde historiographos ordine perlegent, hinc variarum gentium mores instituta leges, hinc varias hominum fortunas ingeniorum et vitia et virtutes* ***excerpent*** (*ibid.,* p. 287)

[3] *… sententias et vocabulorum annotent. Novas ipsi sententias et ad rem* ***scribere*** *accomodatas exquirant. Explanationes quoque in libros scribere vehementer conducet, sed tamen magis si sperabunt eas in lucem aliquando produituras. … Hoc exercitationis genus mirifice acuit ingenium, linguam expolit, scribendi promptitudinem gignit, perfectam rerum noticiam inducit, memoriam confirmat, postremo studiosis quasi quandam expositionum cellam promptuariam et memoriae subsidium praestat* (*ibid.,* p. 294)

during the day, like the Pythagoreans. The process stamps these ideas into memory so strongly that they can be expunged only with the greatest difficulty, and the stamping will be stronger still if they refresh their recollection of all the precepts on some fixed day of the month.[1]

These passages are a very apt description of what Pius II did all his life: whenever he could get hold of a book (a manuscript), he would study it intently and make excerpts to be stored and used in his later writings. He may also have had annotated (glossed) books in his personal possession. His studies thus fed directly into his writings via his collection of excerpts from books read and his personal collection of annotated books, which he would also consult, if possible, when composing an oration.

In a letter to Cardinal Ammanati defending the recently dead Pius against the attacks of Francesco Filelfo, Pius' cousin, Goro Lolli, wrote abut the young Piccolomini's studies in Siena:

Sed parum ab his[2] *hausit, praeter grammaticam. Domi erat studiosissimum, ubi libris ab amicis sibi commodatis die noctuque vigilans utebatur tanta diligentia, ut vix somno et cibo indulgeret. … Accedebat aviditas discendi, et inopia urgebat, ne nimia incommoditate librorum dominos efficeret, diligentiam majorem cumulans,* ***ex libris plurima excerpit****.*[3]

In his *Pentalogus* (1443), Piccolomini himself told the emperor:

Non enim mea sunt, que hic continentur, sed maiori ex parte clarissimorum auctorum, a quibus venatus sum.[4]

In the academic lecture *"Aderat nuper" [9]* (1443) at the University of Vienna, he said to his audience:

Et nos quoque, si sapimus, in poetarum libris, cum ***excerpimus,*** *quod veritati amicum consentaneumque sit, cetera omnia transgrediemur.*

(And we, too, if we are wise, should ***excerpt*** *from the poets' books only what is in accordance with truth, and bypass everything else.)* [Sect. 21]

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[1] *Sed omnino illud teneant, ut semper ex iis quae legunt conentur excerpere … Erit hoc etiam ad orationis tum copiam tum promptitudinem valde idoneum, si inter legendum ex variis libris,* ***sententias quae ad eandem materiam pertinens adnotabunt, et in unum quendam locum colligere****, Pythagoreumque more quicquid excellens interdiu legerint vel audierint vesperi commemorabunt. Imprimuntur enim ea confirmatione adeo ut non nisi difficillime ex memoria aboleri queant; validior etiam illa erit impressio si statuto aliquot mensis die praeceptorum omnium memoria renovabitur (ibid.,* p. 294-296)

[2] Piccolomini's first teachers at the university of Siena

[3] Ammannati Piccolomini: *Epistolae,* nr.47. In: Pius: *Commentarii* (Bandini, 1614), p. 494

[4] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 52)

And in his *De liberorum educatione* (1450), he wrote to Ladislaus, the boy king:

> *Sic et lectione veterum et novorum qui scripserunt prudenter auctorum, duplex te utilitas comitabitur. Nam et vitam studio virtutum efficies meliorem, et grammaticam peritiamque sermonis* ***optimorum et ornatissimorum verborum ac sententiarum magnam tibi suppellectilem comparabis.***
>
> *(Thus a twofold advantage will accrue to you from reading ancient and modern authors who have written with practical wisdom. Through zeal for virtue you will make your life better, and you will acquire the art of grammar and skill in the use of the best and most elegant words, as well as a great store of maxims.)*[1]

How exactly Piccolomini organized his collection of excerpts is not known, but probably he had two subcollections, apart from his personal library of annotated books. One subcollection, which he certainly had, consisted of fascicles with excerpts from a particular work. An example of such a fascicle is extant in the manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 260r-262v, consisting of excerpts of a number of passages from Jerome's letters, written in Piccolomini's own hand, and several of them used by him in a number of early orations, e.g. the "*Si quis me roget" [2]* (1438).

The other subcollection, which he possibly had, would be thematic, as recommended by Battista Veronese, where excerpts on a particular subject, e.g. *avaritia,* would have been collected. It is not known if Piccolomini actually had such a collection, and whether it had the form of a fascicle by theme, or consisted in a number of sheets bundled together per theme.

Apart from the great authors, Cicero, Vergil, Juvenal and others, excerpted for use in his personal knowledge collection, Pius would also make extensive use of works where other authors and scholars had summarized and "repackaged" knowledge from a great range of literature. Such works were works like Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum,* Isidore of Sevilla's *Etymologiae*, the *Decretum Gratiani*, and also classical works like Macrobius, Valerius, and Pliny.[2]

An example of Pius' use of Burley, in the oration "*Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1444) is:

> *… since we are still talking about pleasures, let us look at the evil consequences of the pleasure of eating and of sex – not with regard to losing the Kingdom of Heaven, for that has already been dealt with – but how it robs us of a happy life on Earth and causes an infinite number of*

[1] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf, pp. 218-219)
[2] Medieval florilegiae come to mind, too, but Pius' use of such in his orations has not been documented.

calamities, disturbances of the mind, and unrest of soul that make it impossible for joy to prevail. So be aware that ***mankind suffers no greater or more dangerous plague than the pleasure of the body****,*[1] *as Archytas of Taranto, a famous philosopher, used to say.* [Sect. 51-52]

And from Isidore, in the oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]* (1445):

*Poetry is useful in another way, too, for the praises of our God are not sung better and more sweetly than in the verses of poets****. Thus, according to Isidore, all the psalms of the Hebrews are composed as metric verses and - like in the Roman Flaccus and the Greek Pindar - their verses are now in Iambic, now in Alchaic, and now in Sapphic metre.*** [Sect. 12]

And from the *Decretum Gratiani*, in the oration "*Non est apud me dubium"[6]* (1445):

You must honour your bishop and obey him both in words and in acts, not oppose his decisions, not give him any trouble, never speak out against him, never criticize his words or deeds, for you are the sheep. As holy Pope Pius[2] *says:* ***"The sheep should not rebuke their shepherd. The people should not make accusations against their bishop, nor should the common people make complaints against him, for the disciple is not above the teacher, nor the servant above his lord. But bishops should be judged by God who chose them for his eyes."***[3] *And Pope Eusebius says:* ***"The sheep who have been entrusted to the shepherd should not critizise him nor make any accusations against him, unless he has strayed from the true faith."***[4]

*And again Pope Evaristus: "****Neither the people nor ordinary persons should make complaints or accusations against a bishop, even a bishop who is not yet ordained, for the life of the rulers is ordained by God according to the merits of their subjects****." And Calixtus adds:* ***"Bishops are sometimes led astray because of the people****." From the sayings of these holy men, you understand, beloved, that it is your duty not to criticize your bishop in any way unless he rejects the Christian faith, but to obey him, to carry out his decisions, and to defend his state and honour.* [Sect. 98-99]

And from Macrobius, in the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1436):

The neighbouring country overflows with wine and all kinds of foodstuffs. I will not heed the words gushing forth from Varro: ***Campanian lands bear the best grain for our use, Falernum the best wine, Casinum the best oil, Tusculum the best figs, Tarentum the best honey, and***

[1] Burley, 23 (Archytas), p. 92: *Nulla pestis capitalior quam voluptas corporis.* See also p. 90
[2] Pius I (died c. 154): Pope from c. 140 to his death
[3] Decretum, C.6.1.9 (col. 555). Pseudo-Isidore: *Letter of Pope Pius I,* 1, 1 (MPL, 130, col. 112)
[4] Decretum, C.2.7.13 (col.485). Cf. Pseudo-Isidore: Decretales / Letters of Pope Eusebius, 2 (MPL, 130, col. 232B)

the Tiber the best fish.[1] *It may have been so at his time, but today all these things are to be found in Pavia and the other regions of Lombardy.* [Sect. 54]

And from Valerius Maximus, in the oration *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* (1452):

When the emperor reached the age of reason and began to know the sacraments of our Faith, he soon became devoted to religion and began to set growth of the worship of God above all else, as his natural goodness and noble blood urged him to do. For the princes of the House of Austria, among whom have been many kings and emperors, hoped to be successful ***when they had served the divine name well and unshakeably****.*[2] [Sect. 7]

Piccolomini would also profitly greatly from classical historical works, like Livy, which he used as storehouses of information on persons, places, and events.

An example of his use of Livy, in the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1436) is:

And when there was a conflict between them, the Supreme Pontiff [Eugenius IV] was overcome by the duke's [Filippo Maria Visconti] forbearance: he had to admit that the duke had used legitimate weapons and legitimate force against him and only in self-defense, ***just as - according to Livy - Camillus spoke in the Tusculan Senate****.*[3] *And do we not know that this enmity - if you can really call it that - was ended through the conclusion of a peace already more than a year ago.* [Sect. 37]

Pius' access to such literature made it possible for him to acquire, use and display in his orations as well as in his total literary work an astonishingly broad knowledge and comprehension of the world. It opened history and made the past present to him in an exceptional way, and he used this knowledge to the full in his argumentation for viewpoints and policies.

Pius' collection of excerpts from books was being produced, developed and augmented continually during the course of his life and studies, and would have been a quite essential and necessary aid in the preparation of his orations, replete with ideas, examples and quotations from the great literature of the past – and to some, but much lesser extent - the present.

[1] Macrobius: *Saturnalia,* 3, 16, 12
[2] Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia,* 1, 1, 9
[3] Livius: *Ab urbe condita*, 6, 26, 1-2. The event took place in 382 BC

8.2. Pius' literary canon

In some of his youthful works, Piccolomini sketched a literary canon, which actually provided the basis of literature from which he himself freely borrowed his examples, maxims etc. for his orations and other works, though this basis would be broadened in his later life as other works became available to him.

An example of such a canon is included in his *De liberorum Educatione* (1450)[1] and contains the following:

Bible

Genesis
Kings
Maccabees
Judith
Esdras
Esther
Gospels
Acts

Classical writers

<u>Poets</u>
Virgil ("above all")
Ovid
Claudian
Horace
Juvenal
Persius
Martial ("pernicious")
Tibullus
Propertius
Sappho

[1] Piccolomini: *De liberorum* (Kallendorf, pp. 221-225)

Playwrights

Plautus
Terence
Seneca the Younger

Historians
Lucan
Statius
Livy
Sallust
Justinus
Quintus Curtius
Arrian
Valerius Maximus
Suetonius

Orators
Cicero ("the most brilliant of all")

Patristics

Ambrose
Lactantius
Jerome
Gregory the Great

Contemporaries

Leonardo Bruni
Guarino Veronese
Poggio Bracciolini
Ambrogio Traversari
Gregorio Correr

Another example is contained in Piccolomini's letter to the young Duke Sigismund of Austria of 5 December 1443.[1]

8.3. Use of sources

In general, Piccolomini uses his quotations quite aptly and appropriately, respecting the original sense of the passage – except when he employs biblical quotations in the "spiritual sense" as was common in that age.

There are lapses, of course, and sometimes he purposesfully misapplies a quotation to fit his purpose. An example is his description, in the oration *"Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]* (1451) of Turkish and Arab atrocities against Christians:

> *There His Highness saw the tyrannical frenzy of the savage Sultan, a monster more than a man, and his impious treatment of the Christians:* ***he robs Christian men, innocent, just, and dear to God, of their home, he plunders their estate, he loads them with chains, shuts them up in prison, and punishes them with wild beasts,, swords, and fire. And not content with a brief endurance of their sufferings, and with a simple and swift exhaustion of pains, he sets on foot tedious tortures, by tearing their bodies; he multiplies punishments by lacerating their vitals. Nor can his brutality and fierceness be content with ordinary tortures; his ingenious cruelty devises new sufferings****.* [Sect. 4]

This description of Islamic atrocities consists in a quotation from the early Christian author, Cyprian, who lived from ca. 200 to 258 AD, and who was not writing about the Arabs and the Turks at all, of course, but about the Roman Emperor Valerian's persecution of the Christians, which Cyprian experienced personally.

Another example, from the same oration, is a passage from Cicero:

> *For he knows that* ***all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged*** *the Faith of Christ*[2] ***have a special place prepared where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness.***[3]

Cicero, of course, does not speak about the defenders of Christianity, but about those who defend the fatherland.

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[1] WO, I, pp. 229-230

[2] Cicero has "the fatherland" (patriam)

[3] Cicero: *De re publica,* 6, 9, 13 (Somnium Scipionis*): **omnibus, qui** patriam **conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur***

The following account is based on the *Index of Sources* in vol. 12 of the present edition of Pius' orations. The reader is cautioned that a number of Pius' unacknowledged borrowings from other authors have not yet been identified.[1]

8.3.1. Total use

In total, 1.603 quotations in Pius orations have been identified:

Distribution of quotations over main categories of literature

Bible	743[2]	46%
Classical	507	31%
Patristic and medieval	301	19%
Contemporary	52	
All	**1.603**	

This table shows that by far the greatest number of quotations are from the Bible, followed by the classical authors, with patristics in the third place, and rather few contemporaries.

8.3.2. Use of biblical sources

The number of identified quotes from the Bible in Pius' orations are:

New Testament	
Acts	11
Apocalypse	09
Colossians	04
1. Corinthians	30
2. Corinthians	17
Ephesians	12
Galatians	11
Hebrews	09

[1] There are other methodological issues which complicate the picture, so that the account of the occurrences of quotations cannot give an exact picture, but only a broad outline

[2] 388 from the New Testament and 355 from the old

James	09
John	49
1. John	05
Luke	38
Mark	02
Matthew	105
1. Peter	14
2. Peter	02
Philippians	12
Romans	23
1. Thessalonians	03
2. Thessalonians	03
1. Timothy	11
2. Timothy	04
Titus	05
All	**388**

The five NT books most quoted by Pius are: Matthew 105 times (27%), John 49 (13%), 1. Corinthians 30 (8%), Romans 23 (6%), and 1. Peter 14 (4 %). Otherwise, almost all books from the NT are quoted.

Old Testament

Baruch	01
Canticle	04
1. Chronicles	07
2. Chronicles	01
Daniel	13
Deuteronomy	33
Ecclesiastes	04
Ecclesiasticus	22
Esdras	01
Exodus	15
Ezekiel	09
Genesis	10
Isaiah	31
Jeremiah	10
Job	04
Joel	01
Jonah	01

Joshua	02
Judges	04
Judith	05
1 Kings	11
2 Kings	04
3 Kings	03
Lamentations	04
Leviticus	02
1 Maccabees	03
2 Maccabees	02
Malachi	01
Numbers	06
Proverbs	34
Psalms	98
Tobit	04
Wisdom	06
All	**355**

The five OT books most quoted by Pius are: Psalms 98 times (28%), Proverbs 34 (10%), Deuteronomy 33 (9 %), Isaiah 31 (9%), and Ecclesiasticus 22 (6%). Otherwise, almost all books from the OT are quoted.

8.3.3 Use of classical sources

Aesop	02
• *Fables*	*02*
Aethicus Ister	02
Aristotle	11
• *Ethica Eudemon.*	*01*
• *Ethica Nicom.*	*02*
• *Politica*	*07*
• *Rhetorica*	*01*
Arrian	03
• *Anabasis Alex.*	*03*

Boethius	01
• *De consolatione philosophiae*	01
Cassiodorus	04
• *Historia tripartita*	*04*
Cicero	161
• *De amicitia*	*10*
• *De finibus bonorum et mal.*	*03*
• *De inventione*	*04*
• *De legibus*	*01*
• *De natura deorum*	*04*
• *De officiis*	*38*
• *De oratore*	*06*
• *De re publica*	*06*
• *De senectute*	*05*
• *Epistolae familiares*	*02*
• *In Catilinam*	*02*
• *In Pisonem*	*01*
• *Orator*	*02*
• *Philippicae*	*07*
• *Pro Archia*	*10*
• *Pro lege Manilia*	*18*
• *Pro Ligario*	*01*
• *Pro Marcello*	*03*
• *Pro Milone*	*01*
• *Pro Quinctio Roscio Comoedo*	*01*
• *Pro Sulla*	*01*
• *Tusculanae disputations*	*35*
Claudianus	03
• *De tertio consulatu Honorii*	*03*
Codex Justinianus	01
Ennius	01
Ennodius	01
• *Epistolae*	*01*

Euripides	01
• *Phoenician*	*01*
Gellius	11
• *Noctes atticae*	*11*
Homer	09
• *Iliad*	*01*
• *Odyssey*	*08*
Horatius	20
• *Ars poetica*	*05*
• *Carmina*	*09*
• *Epistolae*	*04*
• *Satirae*	*05*
Jordanes	01
• *De origine Getarum*	*01*
Julius Caesar	02
• *De bello Gallico*	*02*
Justinus	06
• *Epitoma Hist. Philippicarum*	*06*
Juvenalis	38
• *Satirae*	*38*
Laertius	02
• *Vitae philosophorum*	*02*
Livius	05
• *Ab urbe condita*	*05*
Lucanus	07
• *De bello civili*	*07*
Lucretius	01

- *De rerum natura* *01*

Macrobius 14

- *Saturnalia* *14*

Martialis 01

- *Epigrammata* *01*

Ovidius 09

- *Metamorphoses* *09*

Pausanias 01

Persius 01

- *Satira* *01*

Plato 05

- *Republic* *05*

Plautus 02

Persa *01*

Trinummus *01*

Plinius 01

- *Historia naturalis* *01*

Plutarch 15

- *De liberis educandis* *03*
- *Moralia* *04*
- *Vitae* *08*

Publilius Syrus 04

- *Sententiae* *04*

Quintilianus 05

- *Institutio oratoria* *05*

Sallustius 13

- *Bellum Jurgurthinum* *03*
- *Bellum Catilinae* *10*

Seneca the Younger	17
• *De beneficiis*	*01*
• *De clementia*	*01*
• *De ira*	*01*
• *Epistolae morales*	*11*
• *Phaedra*	*01*
• *Phonissae*	*01*
• *Troades*	*01*
Solinus	05
• *Collectanea*	*05*
Sophocles	01
• *Ajax*	*01*
Statius	05
• *Thebais*	*05*
Suetonius	10
• *Vitae Caesarum*	*10*
Tacitus	02
• *Annales*	*02*
Terentius	12
• *Adelphoe*	*02*
• *Andria*	*04*
• *Eunuchus*	*02*
• *Heautontimoroumenos*	*03*
• *Phormio*	*01*
Ulpianus	01
• *De testamento*	*01*
Valerius Maximus	17
• *Facta et dicta*	*17*
Vegetius	11

- *Epitoma rei militaris* *11*

Vergilius 61
- *Aeneis* *55*
- *Eclogae* *02*
- *Georgica* *04*

All **507**

The five classical authors most quoted by Pius are: Cicero times 161 (32%), Virgil 60 (12%), Horace 20 (4%), Seneca the Younger 17 (3 %), and Macrobius 14 (3%).

8.3.4. Use of patristic and medieval sources

Ambrosius 07
- *De obitu Theodosii* *01*
- *De officiis ministrorum* *02*
- *Expositio in Lucam* *01*
- *Historia de excidio Hieros.* *01*
- *Sermo contra Auxentium* *02*

Augustinus 14
- *Confessiones* *02*
- *Contra Faustum* *02*
- *De baptism contra Don.* *02*
- *De civitate Dei* *04*
- *De libero arbitrio* *01*
- *De moribus ecclesiae cath.* *01*
- *De quantitate animae* *01*
- *Homiliae in festum Innocent.* *01*

Basil of Caesarea 12
- *Ad adolescentes* *12*

Beda the Venerable 03
- *Hist. ecclesiast. gentis Angl.* *03*

Bernard de Clairvaux 02

- *De consideratione* *01*
- *De laude novae militiae* *01*

Burley, Walter 31
Lib. de vita et moribus phil. *31*

Clemens, ps.- 01
- *Epist. ad Jacobum apost.* *01*

Coelestinus 01
- *Epistolae* *01*

Cyprianus 17
- *De mortalitate* *02*
- *De oratione dominica* *01*
- *De unitate ecclesiae* *11*
- *Epist. ad Demetrianum* *01*
- *Epist. ad Fortunatum* *02*

Decretum Gratiani 65

Egidio Romano 01
- *De regimine principum* *01*

Eusebius of Caesarea 01
- *De vita Constantini* *02*

Gregorius I 02
- *Homiliae in evangelia* *01*
- *Homiliae in Ezehielem* *01*

Guiges 01
- *Scala paradise* *01*

Hilaire of Poitiers 01
- *De trinitate* *01*

Ignatius of Antioch 01
- *Letter to the Philadelph.* *01*

Innocentius III	03
Isidoro de Sevila	02
• *Etymologiae*	*02*
Isidorus, ps.-	01
• *Decretales*	*01*
Jacobus de Voragine	04
• *Legenda aurea*	*04*
Jean de la Rochelle	01
• *Tract. de divisione multipl.*	*01*
Jeronimus	54
• *Epistolae*	*54*
Jeronimus, ps.-	07
John Chrysostom	02
• *De Matth. Conversione*	*02*
Lactantius	11
• *Divinae institutiones*	*11*
Liturgical texts	04
• *Dies irae*	*01*
• *Exultet*	*01*
• *Regina caeli*	*01*
• *Salve regina*	*01*
Martin de Braga	01
• *De formula honestae vitae*	*01*
Origenes	01
• *In epist. Pauli ad Romanos*	*01*
Otto von Freising	22

- *Gesta Friderici* *08*
- *Chronica* *14*

Paulinus 21
- *Vita sancti Ambrosii* *21*

Petrus Hispanus 01
- *Summulae logicae* *01*

Sozomen 01
- *Historia ecclesiastica* *01*

Tertullianus 04
- *Apologeticus* *04*

Zeno da Verona 01
- *Sermo de avaritia* *01*

All **301**

The five patristic and medieval authors most quoted by Pius are: Decretum Gratiani 65 times (22%), Jerome 54 (18%), Paulinus 21[1] (7%), Otto von Freising 22 (7%), and Augustine 14 (5%).

8.3.5. Use of contemporary sources

Barbaro, Francesco 01

Biondo, Flavio[2] 17
- *Historiarum ab inclinatione* *16*
- *Letter to King Alfonso V* *01*

Bracciolini, Poggio 10
- *De avaritia* *08*
- *Invectiva in delatores* *01*
- *Oratio ad patres rr.* *01*

[1] In one work only, the *"Si quis me roget" [2]*
[2] On Pius' use of Biondo, see Wagendorfer: *Studien,* pp. 119-126

Bruni, Leonardo	07
• *De militia*	*03*
• *De studiis*	*01*
• *Laudatio urbis Florentia*	*03*
Concilium Basiliense	06
• *Decr. Quemadmodum in con.*	*06*
Decembrio, Pier Candido	01
• *De laudibus Mediolanensium*	*01*
Filelfo, Francesco	01
• *Letter to Charles VII*	*01*
Isidore of Kiev	02
• *Letter to Nicolaus V*	*02*
Leonardo of Chios	02
• *Epistola ad Nicolaum papam V*	*02*
Niccolò Sagundino	04
• *Oratio ad Alfonsum V*	*04*
Tedaldi, Jacopi:	01
• *Relazione sulla conquista …*	*01*
All	**52**

8.4. Classical pagan literature

8.4.1. Controversy on use of pagan literature

The church fathers like Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome and medieval ecclesiastical authors, scholars like John of Salisbury and even eminent ones like Pope Innocent III[1], had been using classical authors with abandon. However, the reading and use of classical, pagan authors[2] had – for centuries - been a problem as well as bone of contention between a large segment of the clergy[3] on the one side and classically formed churchmen of the early Church and the new humanists of the Renaissance on the other.[4]

The opponents pointed to the plurality of false gods and the blatant immorality of these gods, and to erotic themes unacceptable to Christians.

A strong, early defender of using classical, pagan literature, or rather the acceptable parts of it, was Basil the Great in his *Ad adolescentes.* His arguments were taken up by Leonardo Bruni who made them available to his contemporaries by publishing the *Ad adolescentes* in a Latin translation.

This translation was known to Piccolomini. In his defense against the objections to using classical pagan authors, which he first took up in the oration "*Si quis me roget" [2]*, a sermon on Saint Ambrose to the fathers at the Council of Basel in 1438, he used the well-known arguments, concepts and images developed by church fathers like Basil the Great, Jerome, and Augustine, indeed a worthy company. Said Piccolomini:

> *It seems to me that both before and after becoming a bishop he [Ambrose of Milan] read rhetorical works and that he did not neglect the delights of words or the flowers of secular eloquence. His example must be highly disappointing to those who would forbid a clergyman [to read the] poets and the orators, imitating, I think, Plato and Jerome: the first one banned poets from his city, and the second one said that he had been scourged by an angel because he was too fond of Cicero.*
>
> *But let those who rest their case on Jerome listen to Jerome himself: writing to Damasus, he cites the allegory of the captive woman from Deuteronomy, saying:* This is what we use to do when we read the philosophers, when their book or books of secular learning come into our hands. If we find something useful in them, then we convert them to our teachings. If we find

[1] Moore, p. 16: *Scriptural quotations are the main ingredient of nearly everything he wrote, although the works are also seasoned with quotations from classical authors*

[2] Indeed, classical authors had themselves discussed the appropriateness of using myths and stories of the immoral acts of gods in their writings, see Shucan, p. 38: *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Dichtern hatte zwar schon lange begonnen; seit Xenophanes den Dichtern vorgewürfen hatte, sit erzählten Unmoralisches über die Götter, seit Plato die Dichter ausdrücklich die Dichter als für die Jugend gefährlich aus seinem Vorbildstaat ausgeschlossen hatte, war die Frage nicht mehr verstummt*

[3] Including a pope, Martin V

[4] See e.g. Schucan, pp. 38-41

anything that is superfluous or dealing with idols, sex, and the care of secular matters, we delete it. But concerning the others things, we shave their heads and pare their nails with a sharp blade.

And in another letter to a Roman rhetor he pursues the matter, with many quotations from the Old and the New Testament in his own support: Is it surprising that I too, admiring the fairness of her form and the grace of her eloquence, desire to make that secular wisdom which is my captive and my handmaiden, a matron of the true Israel?

So, it is evident to me that our Ambrose also read the secular authors, saying that it would be wise also to look for gold in dirt. However, he was certainly not content with this type of literature exclusively, and from his mouth you did not hear expressions like "Almighty Jove!, By Hercules!, By Castor!" and the like which, according to Jerome, are omens rather than names. In this he followed his bees that, according to Basil, one of the most learned men among the Greeks, do not indiscriminately visit every flower, nor seek to remove all the nectar from the flowers on which they alight, but only draw from them what they need to make honey, and leave the rest. *This is what Ambrose usually did with the poets for he did not use them indiscriminately, but only where they praise virtue or castigate vice. For the rest, he closed his ears to them just like those poets tell about Ulysses fearing the song of the sirens.* [Sect. 23-25]

Piccolomini took up this theme again in 1445, in his oration "*Aderat nuper" [9]*, held at the University of Vienna. To the traditional arguments he added the argument that only some poets were unacceptable to Christians and that poets and poetry as a whole should not be blamed just because a few poets err, for in that case also philosophers and philosophy, and theologians and theology as a whole must be rejected. Piccolomini supported this argument with a reference to the many philosophical theories unacceptable to Christianity and to the plethora of heresies produced by theologians:

What is said in the poems about gods is not the fault of the poets but of the times since [at that time] people worshipped idols. And it is not just poets who speak about gods: the philosophers and all the writers of that age (except the Jews) talk about [gods] and claim to worship them. That they tell of crimes is not objectionable for they do so in order to deter men from such crimes, just like theologians do. Those who approve of vice are actually very few, and all should not be blamed for what only two and three do. We should not condemn poetry because a few poets are in error, for if we go that way, we would follow no teaching at all; we should despise even philosophy, the mother of all sciences, for it is a fact there are philosophers who have erred. What can be said to be more soft or languorous than the view of Epicure who based all happiness on pleasure and denied that souls are immortal? Pythagoras denies the existence of Hell and believes that after death the souls of men transmisgrate to other living beings. And Averroës thought that all bodies share one soul.

What about the theologians whom we today honour most of all? Did they never err? What about Arius, what about Eutyches, what about Nestorius, what about those almost countless others who caused division in the Church? And in our own times, what about Jan Hus and Jeronimus who were burnt in Konstanz? So many heresies could not have flourished, if these men had not flaunted their title of theologian. But just as theology is not at fault because many theologians err, poetry too is not harmed because many poets nourish errors. And that may not be called evil which we may use for the good, for otherwise neither the liberal nor the mechanical arts were acceptable since we can use them for the bad. [Sect. 18-19]

8.4.2. Use of pagan literature on general moral issues

The use of classical pagan authors like Cicero in statements on general moral issues would be safe.

One example from the oration "*Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445) will suffice. In speaking about friends, Piccolomini used an admonition from Cicero's *De amicitia*:

To put it more clearly: you may have participated in murder, plunder, adultery, and been drinking and eating together excessively because of a friend, but, as Cicero says, it is no justification whatever of your sin to have sinned in behalf of a friend.[1] [Sect. 125]

8.4.3. Use of pagan literature in specifically Christian contexts

The use of general maxims or statements on morals, geography, and politics drawn from Cicero and other classical authors might have been safe, but it is somewhat surprising that a speaker at the Council of Basel, in the oration "*Audivi"]1]* (1436), would be free to refer to the pagan Gods (*Astrea withdrew to the Gods above*, Juvenal[2]), even if the reference was poetical. And applying pagan attributes to the God of the Christians like Terence's *The one who shakes the lofty vaults of heaven with his thunder!*[3] would seem to be risky.

Other striking examples, once again using Terence, are from the oration "*Res Bohemicas" [28],* which he wrote in 1455 when he was no longer a young layman, but bishop of Siena, soon to be cardinal:

[1] Cicero: *De amicitia*, 37
[2] Sect. 49
[3] Sect. 7

The Latins, however, treated the sacraments of Christ with greater reverence, understanding how greatly we should honour and revere the body and blood of the son of God supreme, who thunders from on high. [Sect. 41]

But if that [restoration of communion under both species generally] should be the will of the Holy Spirit, then we should neither want to nor be able to resist. Alas, it is wrong for man to rely on the gods for anything against their will! says [Virgil].[1] [Sect. 43-44]

And the application of Jupiter's traditional epithet Optimus et Maximus to the Christian God (in the same oration) may have sounded like a clarion call in some ears:

nihil est, quod illi maximo atque optimo Deo caelum regenti animarum lucro fiat acceptius.

(nothing more pleases the Greatest and Best God, who rules in Heaven, than gaining souls). [Sect. 43]

Piccolomini continued his use of pagan references in specifially Christian contexts throughout his career, even as pope.

Striking is his reference, in the grand papal oration to the assembled representatives of Christianity *"Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459), to Orcus, God of the Underworld in Roman mythology:

This is indeed a wise man who dares to call himself the prophet of God, but who dishonours the Old Law while corrupting the New, who prostitutes souls, who is truly a procurator for Orcus and the first disciple of Satan, and whose followers are the slaves of Hell – such as we do not doubt the Turks to be. [Sect. 27]

Even the Sibyls would be quoted, as supporting the testimony of the Old Testament prophets, as he did – also - in the "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459):

But all doubt and dithering and hesitancy to believe is removed by the fact that many centuries before the incarnation of Christ, His birth from a virgin, His holiness of life, His performance of miracles, His preaching, His issuing a law, His arrest, His torments, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension into Heaven and all else that we read about Him were foretold by the prophets. Read Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, David, Solomon, and the other prophets: all the events in the life of Christ related by the evangelists were foretold by the prophets under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, recognizing Christ as both God and man. Nor

[1] Vergilius: *Aeneis,* 2, 402

should we belittle the authority of the Sibyls who, according to Firmianus and Augustine, foretold the birth of the Lord long before they happened and famously proclaimed the divinity of Christ. [Sect. 33]

Finally may be mentioned that as pope he himself wrote the liturgical office of Catherine of Siena whom he canonized in 1461, with remarkably pagan expressions even in the religious hymns and prayers in this office.[1]

8.4.4. Parallel use of Christian and pagan authors

Striking are also such passages where Piccolomini makes parallel use of use of pagan and Christian authors to argue a point, which might be really provoking to more traditionally minded churchmen.

There were eminent patristic models, however. To take just one, Jerome would often make such usage of pagan and Christian authors. An example is his letter of consolation to Heliodorus on the death of Nepotian where he first refers to the consolatory writings of Anaxagoras, Telamon, Crantor, Cicero, Plato Diogenes, Clitomachus, Carneades, Posidonius, before finally coming to New Testament.[2]

Piccolomini's parallel use of pagan and Christian authors, in imitation of favourite classical authors, is especially noteworthy in his oration "*Non est apud me dubium"* (1445), a sermon to his parishioners in Asbach, but really a treatise on Christian life which is a synthesis of classical, pagan philosophy (stoicism) and Christian teaching.

In this oration, Piccolomini wrote:

> ***Lactantius*** *says that* the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life.[3] *Many are preaching that the way to Heaven is arduous and that Christ's precepts are difficult.* ***Christ*** *himself contradicts them when he says:* Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men.[4] *And in the epistle of the* ***Apostle John:*** *His commandments are not grievous.[5] We do not need more witnesses, unless we want to call one of the gentiles to our aid.* ***Seneca****, a most perspicacious Roman philosopher of the Stoic school, gave many precepts to his friend Lucilius for living*

[1] Apparently they were "sanitized" in a later age
[2] Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Heliodorum* (60), 5
[3] Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 1, 4
[4] Matthew, 15, 7
[5] 1. John, 5, 5

morally, adding that it is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care, - and without this nothing is pleasant.[1] *So, don't you see, good men and honourable women, that the precepts of the Law are light and joyful? I said it before and I repeat: if we so wish, a road is open to us that offers a joyful life here and after our death leads us to the joys of eternal life.* [Sect. 12]

And on passions:

Now, if you please, let us consider the matter more specifically so that you may see clearly that there is no sin without affliction, that sensual pleasure is fleeting and that enjoyment brought by vice will fade away quickly. Now listen, you just souls that are to be saved with the help of God. Do not heed my words, but the words of ***the holy Doctors****, words of justice, words of wisdom, words that may take away your afflictions and bring consolation, joy and salvation. For* all that is in the world, *says* ***John the Apostle****,* is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.[2] ***Lactantius*** *says the same, though in other words:* There are, then, three emotions that drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust… anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures.[3] *Where John has pride, Lactantius has anger. But anger is born from pride. However, we who are dealing with realities shall not quibble about words. So let us follow the order of Lactantius, who seems to have wanted to include pride under desire. Let us strive to banish those illnesses and to free our minds from sickness. For it is the task of the priest to heal souls, to remove empty cares, to liberate from desire, and to chase way fears.* ***[Cicero]*** [4] [Sect. 16]

And on greed:

… if we want be cured completely, there are other wounds to heal. For if the body still feels back pain, for example, when the fever it is gone, then it is not yet cured. In the same way, the soul is still sick if greed remains after pride has been removed. So, let us now talk about the vice of avarice, a danger to many men. If you want to cure this illness, then listen. For it is really a plague, and it can only truly be known by those who make the proper efforts. According to ***Cicero****,* avarice is an intense belief, persistent and deeply rooted, which regards

[1] Seneca: *Epistulae Morales,* 2.20.12
[2] 1. John, 2, 16
[3] Lactantantius: *Divinae Institutiones,* 6, 19
[4] Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2.4.11 : *The power of philosophy is to cure the souls, to send the empty cares away, to relieve from passion, to scare fears away. (Philosophiam mederi animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahere, cupiditatibus liberare, pellere timores).* Piccolomini takes the liberty of susbstituting priests for philosophers!

money as entirely desirable.[1] *And in his book On Free Will,* ***Augustine*** *considers that* greed is wanting more than is enough.[2] [Sect. 30]

Some define avarice as having an immense greed or rather hunger for amassing riches. This vice is censured and condemned both by human and divine judgment. ***Paul*** *said to the Ephesians:* For know you this and understand: That no fornicator or unclean or covetous person (which is a serving of idols) hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.[3] *And* ***Ecclesiasticus*** *says:* Nothing is more wicked than the covetous man.[4] *And again:* There is not a more wicked thing than to love money.[5] *The greedy man has his soul for sale, and he breaks the two greatest commandments in the Law: he does not love God, but idols, and he does not love his neighbour whom he despoils. And* ***Sallust*** *says:* Avarice entails the pursuit of money which no wise man covets.[6] *Now you understand that avarice contains a sin that is great and damnable.* [Sect. 31]

And in the *"Catherinam senensem" [62]* (1461), the pope said on the concept of holiness:

In a third, deeper and more honourable sense of the word, we use the word "holy" as meaning that which is unsullied, pure, and immutable, and somehow approaches the divine, as we read in ***Leviticus****:* be holy because I am holy; *and in* ***Wisdom:*** thy saints had a very great light*; and in* ***Proverbs****: I have known the science of saints; and this: Thou wilt not give thy holy one to see corruption. And in* ***Maro****: And you, oh most holy spouse, happy were you in death; and again: I will descend to you, a soul holy and innocent of that reproach. And, according to* ***Cicero, Ennius*** *rightly calls poets "holy," for inspired by the divine spirit they sing of great things.* [Sect. 4]

8.4.5. Development over time

Pius' use of quotations in his orations developed greatly over time.

Firstly, the proportion of classical (pagan) authors to biblical and Christian authors changed. In the first extant oration, the *"Audivi" [1]* (1436) there were only quotations from classical (pagan) authors, and none from biblical and Christian authors. In his earlier orations, from the secular

[1] Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.11.26: *Est autem avaritia opinatio vehemens de pecunia, quasi valde expetenda sit, inhaerens et penitus insita*
[2] Augustinius: *De libero arbitrio,* 3, 17, 48. MPL, 32, c. 1294. Quoted from Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia,* p. 12
[3] Ephesians, 5, 5
[4] Ecclesiasticus, 10, 9
[5] Ecclesiasticus, 10, 10
[6] Sallustius: *De conjuratione Catilinae*, 11.3

period, he would still be using classical authors to a great extent, though the quotations from biblical and patristic sources would rise and eventually become dominant in the orations he gave as a pope, though some appropriate quotations from the classics would still be there.[1]

Secondly, whereas before the pontificate he would have many quotations, he would as pope – apart from the great oration "*Cum bellum hodie" [45]* (1459), become more and more sparing with such. The reasons for this development was presumably that speaking as a pope he did not to need to demonstrate his eloquence and learning by using quotations from other sources, and – maybe more importantly – as pope he possessed supreme authority on Earth, as he believed, and references to other authorities would in a sense belittle his own.

8.4.6. Use of Greek literature

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, learned authors who did not know Greek nonetheless made frequent references to Greek literature and authors whom they knew from Latin translations of single works like Aristotle's *Politica*, from classical Latin authors like Cicero, and from collections like Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, Walter Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, or medieval florilegia.

An example of such a medieval learned author is John of Salisbury, who in his *Isocraticus* (1159) among others quoted Diogenes Laertius, Xeonophon, Plato, and Antigonus, though he *knew scarcely any Greek.*[2]

An example of a Renaissance author and celebrated speaker who had no Greek himself, but referred extensively to Greek literature in his orations,[3] is Cardinal Jean Jouffroy: *Die zeitgenössische Übersetzungstätigkeit verfolgte er aufmerksam: selbst des Griechischen nicht mächtig, sammelte er Übersetzungen klassischer griechischer Autoren und vergab auch Übersetzungsaufträge für Werke, an denen ihm besonders gelegen war, etwa Schriften des Johannes Chrysostomus.*[4]

Contrary to humanists like Leonardo Bruni and Francesco Filelfo, Pius, too, did not read Greek, which was probably a source of personal chagrin. But still, in his orations, he frequently directly or indirectly quoted to Greek literature, actually more than 50 times. Unable to use the Greek

[1] He certainly did not go as far as Pastor appears to believe, see Pastor, II, p. 28: *In seinen Schriften wird ängstlich alles vermieden, was an heidnische aufgefasst werden könnte*
[2] John of Salisbury: *Policraticus* (Pike, p. 203-204)
[3] E.g. the oration *"Antea, maxime pontifex",* delivered to Pius II on 14 August in Mantua, see vol. 12 of the present edition
[4] Märtl: *Kardinal*, p. 286

sources directly, he had access to other sources which made it possible for him to tastefully – and often quite meaningfully and relevantly – enrich and embellish his orations with references to Greek literature, philosophy, and history. He did have access to some Latin translations of Greek works, and indeed he had in his own possession Latin translations of Aristotle. Otherwise, he found in classical Latin literature, and especially Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, and Gellius many references to Greek literature which he would borrow for his own texts.[1]

An example of a Greek quotation borrowed from Cicero occurs in the oration *"Non est apud me dubium" [6]* (1445):

> *… be content with your fortune, beloved, and if your means are not very great, then rejoice because you do not lack food. The philosopher Anacharsis said:* **My clothing is a Scythian mantle** *(that is a hairy pelt, just as we read about John the Baptist):* The camel gave him a hairy covering), **my shoes are the tough skin of the soles, my couch is the earth, and I live of milk, cheese and mea*t.*[2]**

Pius' lack of Greek would evidently handicap his access to Greek literature, but his copious use of Greek sources shows that he did find a way to compensate quite effectively for this handicap.

8.5. Sharing or plagiarizing

Authors of that age freely used the works of other writers, without always acknowledging the source. In his *Policraticus* from ca. 1159, John of Salisbury wrote: *I have been at pains to use appropriate matter from other writers, provided I found it profitable and helpful, occasionally without giving credit; partly because I know that your [Thomas Becket] familiarity with writers has for the most part already made it known to you; partly to inspire the ignorant with the love of reading. … The very material which I for the most part use belongs to others, unless it be that whatever has been well said by anyone I make my own, and again, to inspire confidence and carry weight, in the words of the author.*[3]

The question arises: to what extent did Pius acknowledge the sources he used, and when he did not do so: why did he not? In dealing with this issue it is necessary to avoid an anachronistic application of present day attitudes and laws concerning intellectual rights and plagiarism to the Renaissance.

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[1] Canfora has documented his use of Lucian´s Menippus his *De curialium miseriis,* see Canfora

[2] Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes,* 5.32.90: *Mihi amictui est Sycthicum tegimen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames, lacte, caseo, carne vescor*

[3] John of Salisbury: *Policraticus,* Bk. 1, Introduction (Pike, p. 9)

As documented below, Piccolomini sometimes acknowledged his use of other authors and sometimes not. This was not only the case in his orations, but also in his other works, e.g. the De curialium miseriis, see Canfora: *Tra le altre fonti usate nel* De curialium miseriis*, se ne signala qui una, antica, che è parsa significativa perché Piccolomini allude a essa senza nominarla. In altri casi, invece, egli tende a indicare espressamente le "auctoritates" antiche di cui si serve*.[1]

When Piccolomini in 1438 quoted from Poggio Bracciolini's *De avaritia* in his oration *"Si quis me roget" [2]*, he did not acknowledge the source, but when he again used the *De avaritia* in his *Pentalogus* from 1443, he did refer directly to Poggio.[2]

8.5.1. Acknowledged use

First, it should be noted that Pius, during his whole career as orator, quite frequently acknowledged his use of a source in the text of the oration. In those cases, he would most often just mention the author, but in some cases he would add the title of the work, and only in a couple of instances the chapter.

8.5.1.1. With mention of author only[3]

Some examples are:

Oration "Audivi" [1] (1436)

In the *"Audivi"* 48 quotations have been identified, 19 directly acknowledged with author, but without the title of the cited work. Examples:

- ***Homer says*** *that* **silence makes a woman beautiful**, but *this does not apply to a man.* [Sect. 4][4]

[1] Canfora, pp. 492-493

[2] Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 274): *ut est Poggiii Florentini in tractatu, quem de avaritia scripsit sententia*

[3] In his article comparing Piccolomini's oration *"Constantinopolitana clades"* (1454) with Campano's oration *Contra Turcos* at the Diet of Regensburg in 1471, Blusch noted that *In dieser Hinsicht empfinde ich es als einigermassen bezeichnend, dass Enea Silvio mit Namensnennung des angeführten Autors zitiert … wohingegen Campano keinen einzigen mit Erwähnung des Namens zitiert.* (Blusch, p. 129)

[4] Piccolomini does not mention that he had this quote from Leonardo Bruni's *De Militia,* and indeed he not infrequently quotes an author indirectly through another author, e.g. quotations from Greek authors he had lifted from Cicero

- *But in my own opinion – and* ***Cicero is my witness****: The power of eloquence is the mistress of things … It is she alone that makes us able to learn what we do not know and to teach others what we do know.* [Sect. 6]

- *And may that apply to you which* ***Caesar - according to Sallust*** *- required in deliberations: Members of the Senate, all men who deliberate upon difficult questions had best be devoid of hatred, friendship, anger and pity.* [Sect. 7]

Oration "Si quis me roget" [2] (1438)

But why am I marshalling gentile authors against greed when countless of our own [Christian] authors attack it. If only it was as easy to banish this sin as it is to hate it! ***Zeno*** *in one if his sermons rightly said that "God hates avarice: it is a deep lust, a blind desire, an insane storm, boundless greed, worry without rest which never attains its goal".*[1] [Sect. 1]

Oration "Quamvis grandes materias" [14] (1450)

In this oration from the middle of Piccolomini's career there are about 17 identified quotations, of which 16 acknowledged author (and of those 16, six with mention of the work):

- *Most Serene Prince and Victorious King, small wits cannot grasp great matters,* **says Jerome***.* [Sect. 1]
- Nor do we see it as that creature **of Horace** *whose upper part was that of a lovely woman and its lower part that of a fish*. [11]

8.5.1.2. With mention of author[2] and work[3]

Some examples are:

Oration "Audivi" [1] (1436)

I presume that you know the sentence from ***Cicero's De Natura Deorum*** *to the effect that in a discussion you should not consider the debaters, but their arguments.* [Sect. 11]

Oration "Quamvis grandes materias" [14] (1450)

They mention Metellus Numidicus who according to ***Gellius in his De noctibus Atticis****, said that If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them nor at all without them, we*

[1] Zeno of Verona: *Sermo (Tractatus),* 3: *De avaritia,* 1, 21, p. 68

[2] Pius often quasi-epithets to indicate a specific author: Comicus = Terence; Satyrus = Juvenalis; Orator = Cicero; Apostolus = Paul; Sapiens = Book of Wisdom

[3] Quotes from the Bible, where only the Bible (often as Holy Scripture) is mentioned, without the particular book in the Bible, are considered as acknowledged quotes

must take thought for our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure of the moment. [Sect. 4]

8.5.2. Unacknowledged use[1] [2]

Renaissance humanist writings are replete with unacknowledged uses of sources. An appropriate example is the *captatio benevolentiae* which the Archbishop of Florence, Antonino Pierozzi, used in his oration of obedience to Pope Calixtus, the *"Quia eum",* which he had borrowed, adapted, and developed from Piccolomini's oration to Pope Nicolaus V, the *"Fateor" [15]* - excluding the classical references! Incidentally, he did not reuse it again, when three years later he delivered the Florentine oration of obedience, the *"Inclyti et magnificentissimi"* to Pius himself as newly elected pope[3]:

Pierozzi: Oration "Quia eum" (1455)

Beatissime pater *et domine, quia* ***eum, qui coram tua loquitur sanctitate, commoveri*** *contingit et tremere****, tum propter celsitudinem throni tui, quo in*** *humanis* ***nullus est altior, tum propter*** *intelligentiam* ***tuam divino*** *munere* ***auream****, utriusque juris et sacrae sophiae notitiam* ***fecundam,*** *necnon propter reverendissimos dominos cardinales venerandosque antistites et doctores egregios adstantes variis scientiis refertos,* ***mirandum*** *non* ***est si nunc ego, cui nec sententiae suppetunt, nec verba quibus adiri debet tanta majestas, palleo*** *et paene voce deficio. Verum quamvis me tua terreat magnitudo, invitat tamen* ***humanitas****, animum allicit* ***tuae sanctitatis immensa benignitas, quae non solum magnos disertosque viros, sed humiles et indoctos inoffensa aure solet audire****,* ***hujusque consistorii moris est non*** *tam* ***loquentis quam mittentis*** *aestimare* ***personam***.[4]

Piccolomini: Oration "Fateor" (1450)

Fateor, ***pater beatissime,*** *maxime pontifex,* ***eum qui coram tua sanctitate loquitur*** *non immerito* ***commoveri, cum propter celsitudinem throni tui, quo nullus est in*** *terris* ***altior, tum***

[1] The editor is quite aware that he has far from idenfied all the instances of unacknowledged use of sources in the orations, but aims at identifying more instances of such use in future versions of this work / MCS

[2] The following analysis does not comprise commonly used expressions like "ut in buccam venit" or "Gallia togata"

[3] Vol. 12 of the present edition. Vespasiano da Bisticci mentions and praises both orations (Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, p. 160, 162))

[4] *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rainaldus), ad ann. 1455, nr. 20. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, Pierozzi quotes the Early Version of the *"Fateor",* not the Final Version as revised for inclusion in the Collected orations of Pope Pius II (1462)

propter *ingenium* ***tuum divino*** *dono* ***aureum*** *et omni doctrinarum genere* ***fecundum****. In cujus praesentia, qui verba facit, nisi juxta praeceptum apostoli sermonem habuerit sale conditum, illius notam Pisonis incurrat, de quo scribit Hieronymus, quia cum loqui nesciret, tacere non potuit. In hoc enim orbis terrae primo maximoque auditorio non futiles et importuni locutores, sed facundi oratores audiendi sunt, Ulyssi pares, quem sapienti facundia praeditum vocem, ait Homerus, non ex ore mittere, sed ex pectore. Quibus ex rebus* *nihil* ***mirandum esset****,* ***si nunc ego, cui nec sententiae suppetunt, nec verba, quibus adiri tanta majestas debeat****, sic turbarer ac* ***pallerem****, ut olim Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram. Sed adjicit animum mihi* ***tuae sanctitatis immensa benignitas*** *atque indicibilis* ***humanitas, quae non solum magnos disertosque viros, sed humiles et indoctos aure inoffensa audire consuevit, morisque semper hujus sacri consistorii fuit, non*** *tantum* ***verba loquentis****,* *quantum* ***mittentis personam*** *existimare****.*** *His accedit nobilis orationis materia, quae dubium est petenti utilior an concedenti gratior sit futura, cujus tanta honestas est, tanta utilitas, ut absque oratoris adminiculo persuadere se ipsam facile queat.* [Sect. 1-2]

Archbishop Pierozzi, whom Pius greatly estimated,[1] was known for his upright and moral character and was canonized later by the Church. He would hardly have quoted his contemporaries in a fashion that would be morally questionable or go against what was acceptable practice at the time.

And both Piccolomini and Poggio Bracciolini quoted Cicero's oration *Pro Sulla* without acknowledgement, Piccolomini in the oration *"Audivi" [1]* (1936): *Estne gens ulla tam barbara, tam effera, tam ab omni humanitate alienata",* and Poggio in his oration *Contra fidei violatores* (ca. 1457): *Nego fuisse ullam umquam gentem tam barbaram, tam efferam nationem, tam immanes crudelitate populos.*[2]

And Piccolomini in his oration *"Nisi satis exploratum" [8]* (1445)[3] and Filippo Beroaldo (1453-1505) in his oration on Livy and Silius Italicus[4] quoted the same passage from Francesco Barbaro's introduction to his translation of Plutarch's *Life of Aristides* (1416), both without acknowledging the source.

More examples from Piccolomini's orations of unacknowledged use of sources are:

- [From Terence:] *But you, oh God,* ***The one who shakes the lofty vaults of heaven with his thunder!***[5] *who benevolently takes care of the human race, who has wanted to gather this*

[1] CO, II, 29: *vir memoria dignus*
[2] Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera,* IV, p. 895. Both are quoting from Cicero: *Pro Sulla*, 76
[3] Sect. 7
[4] Acccording to personal communication from Victoria Pineda (Univ. of Extremadura) of 18 November 2018
[5] Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 590

council, and who has caused us to deal with the matter of the Greeks, I ask you: grant me the ability to give good counsel and grant this assembly to discuss the matter well and profitably [*"Audivi" [1],* Sect. 7]

- [From Juvenal:] We know ***It is a poor thing to lean upon the fame of others, Lest the pillars give way and the house fall down in ruin.***[1] [*"Quamvis grandes materias" [14],* sect. 23]

In some instances Piccolomini makes it plain that he is referring to another text, but without specifically acknowledging the source, as in an example from the *"Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* (1450):

- *Who can calmly hear that Socrates, the source and summit of philosophers, and according to Apollo the wisest them, failed in his marriage and had two wives, not being content with one?*[2] [Sect. 7]

And in other instances, he would without any acknowledgement at all quote texts which were presumably known to his audience, especially such from the Bible. An example from his last great oration, the *"Sextus agitur annus" [75]* (1463) is:

- *But with the help of the Lord who* ***transfers kingdoms from people to people***[3] *the point has now been reached where all is held in Ferrante's name except Ortona in Abruzzo.* [Sect. 12]

Why did Pius sometimes acknowledge an author and sometimes not?

As there was, in that age, no concerns and laws concerning intellectual property and copyright, there was no legal or economic reason for him to acknowledge his use of other authors.

But might there have been a moral and intellectual one?

In his *Elegantiae* (1444), Lorenzo Valla wrote about a case of unacknowledged use of his writings:

> *When out of friendship, I began reading a book by one of those people, with him [the book's author] present, I discovered some things of my own; I thus learned what had been stolen from me without my knowledge … I was perturbed and I said to the man, "I recognize this little lesson. I claim it as my own chattel and I can have you up on charges under the law of*

[1] Juvenal: *Satirae*, 8.76-77
[2] Diogenes Laertius: *The lives of eminent philosophers* / Socrates
[3] Daniel, 2, 21: *transfert regna, atque constituit;* Psalms, 104, 13

kidnapping (mancipium meum affero, teque plagiaria lege convenire possum)."[1] *Reddening he laughed it off with a witticism, saying that it was appropriate to behave this way among friends.*[2] *My response was that this was not behaviour, but misbehavior.*[3]

Some generations later Pietro Bembo distinguished between *"imitating (imitare) and … borrowing (sumere), and claimed that all writers borrow – and borrow legitimately both their material (materia, res) and their arrangement (ordo); the best borrowers, like Virgil, improve on the loan."* [4]

Nonetheless, Berthe Widmer had this caustic comment on Piccolomini's use of Pierre de Blois, Lucanus and Juvenal in his *De Miseria curialium*:

> *In der Tat aber ist es immer wieder erstaunlich, mit welcher Unverfrorenheit sich dieser Humanist literarische Diebstähle geleistet hat, und dies zu einer Zeit, da andere Schriftsteller, solche etwa vom Schlage eines Poggio Bracciolini, scharf darauf achteten, wer fremde Schreibkunst für eigene ausgebe, und solche mit beissendem Spott bedachten, beinahe auch unerklärlich, warum er sich zu verschwiegen Kopieren herabliess, wo man doch meint, er habe soviel Witz und Wortgewandtheit besessen, um selbständig zu denken und eine eigene Feder zu führen. …*
>
> *Seine Zitate aus Juvenal müssen zum Grossteil ebenfalls als Plagiate bezeichnet warden, weil der Name des Satirikers viel zu selten auftaucht, als dass sich der Leser eine Vorstellung davon machen könnte, wie vieles, gerade Bestes eben aus seiner Feder stammt.*[5]

It must be considered, however, that quoting classical and patristic authors would be quite natural for Piccolomini, since it lent authority to his statements. Moreover, and quite importantly, it demonstrated his own learning. So, he had strong incentive to acknowledge his use of sources, and no incentive not to acknowledge them.

Piccolomini much admired the contemporary authors he quoted, but he did not consider them as authorities on par with the classics, and therefore he might not have thought they should be acknowledged as the authors of passages used by him.

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[1] Björnstad: *Introduction*, 8: *The Latin noun Plagiarius denotes someone who abducts the child or slave of another.* Valla's threat of suing his friend was a joke (with a serious point, though), for laws and consequently lawsuits concerning intellectual property were inexistent at that time. Indeed, some decades afterwards printer/publishers would happily "steal" and edit publications from colleagues, as happened with Piccolomini's own early printed letter collections

[2] As the proverb says: Friends have all things in common

[3] Valla: *De linguae* (Loewenstein). This quote is owed to Björnstad: *Introduction*, p. 10-11

[4] Eden, p. 21

[5] Widmer: *Zur*, pp. 182-183

A seen from the above, Pius' practice of quoting other authors in his orations is rather complex. He quite often acknowledged or signals such usage, and in those cases where he did not make an acknowledgement, there is no evidence that he intended to covertly appropriate other authors' texts. Rather, he may have acted as a partner in a generally accepted practice of sharing a common literary heritage.

9. PRINCIPLES OF EDITION[1]

9.1. Text

9.1.1. Textual basis

The edition of the text of the *individually transmitted orations* is based on a great number of manuscripts in European and some American libraries, the main ones being – unsurprisingly - the Vatican library, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the Biblioteca Marciana, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Library, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Many more manuscripts than those consulted for the present version of the edition are extant, and some further manuscripts may be collated for future versions. But the presently collated manuscripts generally appear to be sufficient for establishing a decent version of Piccolomini's original texts, and it is possible that further collation will mostly only result in additional variants without improving the quality of the edition.

The text of the orations included in the *Orations of Pius II* (1462) is based on all seven manuscrips containing that collection.

The text of orations only included in Pius' *Commentarii* are based on the Reginensis 1995 and the Corsinianus 147.

The text of the orations included in the *Collection of Papal Responses* (1460) is based on the group of manuscripts indicated in the edition.

9.1.2. Lead manuscript

In general, the manuscript containing the last version as edited or corrected by Pius himself or under his own supervision was chosen as the lead manuscript, since this version would be the final result of Pius' own composition and reworking of the oration as a literary product. The text in the lead manuscripts has only been emendated in case of obvious errors.

[1] On principles of edition in recent editions of Piccolomini's writings, see *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 38-42); *Historia Austrialis* (Wagendorfer/Knödler), I, pp. clxxviii-clxxxiii; *Dialogus* (Henderson), pp. lxiv-lxviii; *Commentarii* (Heck), I, pp. 5-13; (Totaro), pp. xxii-xxvii; (Meserve), pp. 379-381

Thus, in the case of the orations contained in the *Collected Orations of Pius II* (1462), the Chisianus J.VIII.284, prepared under Pius direct supervision was chosen as the lead manuscript. In the case of orations contained in the *Collection of papal responses* (1460), the Chisianus J.VII.251 was chosen as the lead manuscript, since this manuscript is a chancery copy containing texts on which Pius worked directly (including several autographs). In the case of orations only included in the *Commentarii*, the Corsianus 147 was chosen as the lead manuscript, since "this version was what Pius intended to be the final version of the *Commentarii*."[1] In other cases, the manuscript containing the version of the oration closest to the text as finally edited by Pius was normally preferred.

9.1.3. Ortography, punctuation and capitalization

In accordance with the principles followed in in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library*, "*spelling,*[2] *punctuation and capitalization have been modernized throughout.*"[3] [4]

<u>Orthography</u>

Among the autographs of Pius II extant today there is only one oration - or rather a very early draft of an oration, the "*Existimatis fortasse" [64],* which has been studied by Martin Wagendorfer in his article on Pius' orthography.[5] Generally, Wagendorfer regrets that modern research has somewhat neglected the study of humanist orthography in general and Piccolomini's in particular: "*… wohin die von ihnen [i.e. the humanists] tatsächlich praktisierte Orthographie nur in Ausnahmefällen – meist in Zusammenhang mit Studien zur humanistischen Schrift – und meist nur en passant analysiert wurde.*"[6]

However, a proper orthographical study of all the – many - manuscripts containing orations of Piccolomini are outside the scope of the present edition. It would prohibitively time-consuming,[7] and it would burden the textual apparatus with so many variants of no interest in terms of semantics and textual transmission that it would become unusable.

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[1] Pius II: *Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)
[2] Following modern lexicographical practice. As for orthographical variants, see below
[3] Pius II: *Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)
[4] This practice appears to be quite common, see Wittschier, in his edition of some orations by Giannozzo Manetti, p. 151: *Viele der orthographischen Abweichungen sind nicht in den Variantenapparat aufgenommen worden, um diesen nicht unnötig anschwellen zu lassen*. And McManamon, *Funeral,* p. xi: *In quoting Latin sources, I have decided to standardize orthography and punctuation according to modern criteria.*
[5] Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*
[6] Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 431
[7] As Wagendorfer recognizes, see Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie,* p. 432

A complicating factor is the orthographical inconsistency of many scribes who use alternative forms of spelling in the same text, sometimes even in the same sentence, e.g. *Nihil erit, victa Ungaria, Turcis invium, nichil insuperabile,* and *quo nichil maius, nihil melius* in the manuscript Biblioteca Marciana / XIV 219, f. 19r and 22r.

Also, scribes would often employ the form of spelling they were used to, rather than the form employed in the manuscript they were copying.

The most common variations in the manuscript texts' of Pius orations from modern lexical use are, unsurprisingly,

- doubling of consonants (aufferre)
- dedoubling of consonants (e.g. diferre)
- addition of aspirate (e.g. habundare)
- deletion of aspirate (e.g. exibere)

- ci for ti or the opposite (ocium)
- cq for dq (e.g. quicquid)
- ch for (michi; nichil)
- e for diphthongal ae or oe (e.g. anime; obedientia) [e for diphthongal ae or oe]
- ihe-/je- (e.g. iherarchia)
- ii for i (e.g. ii) [single vowels for double vowels in forms of first person demonstrative]
- iu for ju (e.g. jus)
- mpn/mn (e.g. dampnum) [epenthetic h]
- nq/mq (e.g. tanquam)
- o/u (e.g. jocundus)
- ti/ci (e.g. mendatium)
- u/v (e.g. uolo)
- ut/ud (e.g. aput)
- y/i (e.g. hystoria)(y as graphematic replacement of i/ii]

To accommodate those who might be interested in the orthography of the collated manuscripts, the orthographical profiles of a number of the manuscripts collated for the present edition have been included in vol. 11.

9.1.4. Presentation, divisioning, headings and pagination

The Latin text and the English translation are juxtaposed, the Latin text on the left pages, and the English translation on the right pages.

If there are more than one version of an oration, i.e. an Early Version and a Final Version, the Early Version is given above and the Final below (if there is an Intermediate Version it is integrated with either the Early Version or the Final Version). In those cases, identical passages in two versions are marked in bold types, with no account being made of differences in grammatical form (nor of et/ac/atque).

Quotations are given in the cursive, including such quotations which differ slightly from the original. In those cases the original text is generally given in the notes.

The divisioning into numbered sections is the editor's own. The divisioning serves three purposes: to make the text more easy to read, to make it possible to make references to the text both for editor and reader, and to serve as basis for the indexing of the orations (persons, places, subjects, and sources).

The section titles are the editors own, but have only been included in the English translation.

Pagination of the Latin text follows the lead manuscript.

The number of a new page (folio r or v) is not indicated in the middle of a word, but after the whole word (e.g. not appro- {33v} batione, but approbatione {33v}). This may not be an "orthodox" solution, but it does improve the reading experience.

9.2. Critical apparatus

9.2.1. Variants[1]

The exacting standards of editing a single manuscript have not been followed, since the present edition is one of texts contained in many manuscripts. Moreover, acribious notation of all variations in the single manuscript would be practically impossible and destroy the value of the critical apparatus.

The main function of the collation of manuscripts should be, in the case of Pius' writings, to reveal the various layers of the text as edited and revised by Pius himself.

Since book printing was invented and took off during Pius' own life, the span of time in which manuscript copying of his texts took place was short, and consequently - for most of his orations - the number of manuscripts containing them is low. Therefore, the textual history of Pius' manuscript orations is generally neither very extensive nor especially interesting.

From the outset, the editor aimed at a selective textual apparatus, indicating only important variants. But as the collation process was an ongoing one, it could not be known in advance if any given variant would be confirmed by a manuscript collated later as important in terms of textual history. Therefore, the critical apparatus actually ended up containing quite many non-important variants.

However, in order to make the critical apparatus a meaningful tool of analysis,[2] the choice was made to generally exclude from the apparatus,

- insignificant scribal errors without importance for the textual transmission
- orthographical variants from accepted usage (see above)
- inadvertent repetition of words and passages

[1] Concerning variants, the practice in modern editions appears to vary from great to lesser selectivity, the Tatti Renaissance Library representing a high degree of selectivity and German editions a lower degree, though even the recent RTA-edition of Piccolomini's Reichstagsreden claims only to give important variants (e.g. "mit Berücksichtigung nur markanten Varianten", RTA, 19/2, p. 558

[2] In the sense of providing useful information to scholarly readers who may otherwise be tempted to skip over an important data source, note Tom Keeline's humourous regrets that *it is a truth universally known that no one except textual critics and pedants actually read an apparatus* (Keline, p. 342)

As insignificant scribal errors are considered errors such as consist in the deletion, addition or substitution of 1-2 letters in a word which do not change the meaning of the text, but result in "non-existing" words or lead to grammatical incongruence.

In case of emendations of the lead manuscript, the reading of the lead manuscript is placed in the apparatus.

9.2.2. Corrections and marginalia

Corrections and marginalia in the collated texts have only been indicated in the apparatus when

- they add information to the text, and/or

- they are shared with at least one other manuscript and throw light over the transmission of the text

9.2.3. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the textual apparatus:

- *add.:* addit
- *dub.:* dubious text
- *em*.: emendation
- *corr. ex:* correction from (e.g. "abundans *corr. ex* abundant"). NB: no mention is made of the form of correction (marginal, interlinear)
- *in marg.:* in margine (in the margin)
- *omit.:* omittit
- *aut:* or
- *illeg*.: illegible

10. PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLATION

Generally, the translation is inspired by one of Pius' own literary models, Leonardo Bruni (1369-1447) who, in a letter to a friend commented on his own translation of Plato from Greek to Latin in these terms*: Of course I much prefer to render a Greek word directly, if it is not clumsy or absurd, but this is not always possible. In such cases I do not timidly believe that it is an insult to majesty to avoid something which seems nonsensical. In those cases, I use a somewhat different term in Latin, as long as the meaning is kept. It is Plato himself who bids me to do so: he had an exquisite language when speaking to the Greeks, and he does not wish to appear clumsy to the Latins.*[1]

In the present translation, these main principles have been followed:

- To give a "close" translation which as far as possible expresses in modern English what Pius wanted to say with his Latin orations in the 15th century.

- It should not be a text which breaks down the distance between the 21st century and the 15th. Thus the translation may reflect the historical and cultural distance, which should not be eliminated using language where the intended meaning of the author is being diluted or changed just to fit modern conceptions.

- The translation should respect Pius' "ornate" or "classicising" style, when he uses it. Thus, the use of colloquialisms and slang is generally avoided, and sometimes terms have been used which have become infrequent today or have acquired a somewhat different meaning (e.g. temple for church)

- The translation must be easy to read, wherefore heavy Latin structure with many participial and absolute constructions, and relative clauses are replaced with direct parallel main clauses, without loss of the temporal sense.

On the other hand,

- the translation should not be so close that it directly transposes terms and passages which give no meaning or a different meaning in modern English. Thus, e.g., superlatives, so abundantly uses in Renaissance oratory, are toned down in those cases when they would appear artificial, stilted, and *recherché*s in direct translation. Another example is the double negation which has often been dissolved in the translation (e.g. *frequent* in stead of *not infrequent*; *know* instead of *not being unaware of*).

[1] I am sorry to have lost the reference to this quotation / MCS

As for individual terms, some indications may be useful:

- *Apostolicus*: Pius usually does not use the adjective "papalis", but prefers the term "apostolicus", which has been respected in the translation.
- *Mortales:* usually translated as "men", and only in special instances as "mortals"
- *Orator*: usually rendered as orator, but sometimes as ambassador
- *Tantus/quantus:* Often it has been found unnessary and burdensome to directly translate tantus/quantus
- *Videri:* The same applies to the term videri which is often seen with a meaning close to "to be"
- *In minoribus (agentes):* has sometimes been translated as "(being) in minor orders", but it this is erroneous. The expression means something like "(being) in lesser circumstances" and is used to designate a person's status previous to his present more elevated one, e.g. kingship or papacy. A free translation like "in former days, before being elevated to my/his present high/exalted office" has been preferred.[1]

When the translation of a word or an expression is very free, the Latin word with quotation marks is given in a note.

For the sake of textual clarity, words which do not correspond to words in the Latin text have sometimes been inserted into the translation (between square brackets).

Concerning the form of names of persons and places, see the Index of Persons and the Index of Places in vol. 11 of the present edition.

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[1] In the *"Moyses vir Dei" [19]* Piccolomini used this expression about the emperor, but the emperor certainly was never a minor cleric. Piccolomini also used the expression in the *"Sentio" [20]* about Tommaso Parentucelli and himself when they attended the Congress of Arras in 1435, as members of the household of Cardinal Albergati. But Parentucelli had already been ordained a priest in 1423, twelve years before, and was therefore no longer in minor orders, and Piccolomini only entered the clerical state twelve years afterwards. And, finally, Piccolomini used it in *"Solent plerique" [26]* about Calixtus III, when as cardinal he received the emperor in 1452, in Rome, and was certainly no longer in minor orders. Piccolomini also used the expression in a letter he dictated on behalf of Calixtus III to the emperor and King Ladislaus the Posthumous, where Pope Calixtus told king Ladislaus: *te hic Romae in minoribus constituti vidimus,* referring to his own status as cardinal (Opera omnia, ep. 331, p. 820). It may be noted that Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, contemporary Spanish diplomat and official of Pius II, used the expression in the sense of holding "a lesser dignity than the present one", cf. Trame, p. 209

Names of persons have been retained in the original language[1] (with certain exceptions, see the Index of Persons). It may seem strange to English-speaking readers to read "Emperor Friedrich" instead of "Emperor Frederick", but most will now accept "King Louis" instead of "King Lewis" which was used formerly. The practice of using the original form of names has been followed in a spirit of cultural internationalism, for which the editor requests the reader's tolerance.

The same courage, however, was not shown concerning names of places: well-known places like Rome have been given in English. This leads to somewhat inconsequential forms like "Duke Philippe of Burgundy". In this area complete consistency appears to be really difficult.

Texts from the Bible are quoted from the Douai-Reims edition, sometimes in a form slightly modified to fit Pius' text.

Rare is the translation in which no unrecognized errors have survived,[2] and this applies evidently to the present translation, too: the reader's generous benevolence is solicited!

[1] The translation of names is a problem that has been vexing many scholars and historians. Usually, English-language authors translate names into their English form, but to varying degrees, and the practice appears to develop over the years. See the remarks of Sean Ward in *Sophia of Hanover: Memoirs (1630-1680).* Ed. and transl. by Sean Ward. Toronto, 2013

[2] Without malice, I take some consolation in evident errors of translation by eminent scholars in other texts of Piccolomini. Thus *infulatus,* which simply means "mitred" (bishops and abbots), has been translated as "having distributed fillets"

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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. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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Appendix 1: Chronology

00 = Indeterminate date
SPR = Spring
ULT = Ultimo

ESP = Enea Silvio Piccolomini
PI = Pius II

Works of Piccolomini are given in cursive (e.g. *Historia Bohemica*). His orations are given in the cursive with quotation marks and number (e.g. *Oration "Audivi" [1]*)

1405

OCT-18 Birth of Enea Silvio Piccolomini in Corsignano

1415

APR-06 Decree “Haec Sancta” at Council of Konstanz

MAY-29 Deposition of Pope John XXIII at Council of Konstanz

SEP-21 Birth of Duke Friedrich V (Habsburg) in Innsbruck

1417

OCT-09 Decree “Frequens” at Council of Konstanz

NOV-11 Election of Pope Martin V at Council of Konstanz. End of Great Western Schism

1423/1424

Council of Pavia and Siena

1423/1431

ESP: Studies at University of Siena

1423

JUL-1423 Birth of Louis, Dauphin of France

1428

Cinthia

1431/1464

Letters

1431

FEB-20 Death of Martin V

MAR-03 Election of Pope Eugenius IV

JUL-23 Opening of Council of Basel

1432

APR-15 ESP: Arrival in Basel as member in household of Cardinal Capranica

ULT ESP: Secretary to Bishop Nicodemo della Scala

1433

ESP: Secretary to Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti

MAY-31 Coronation of Emperor Sigismund

NOV-26	Signature of Bohemian Compacts (Prague)
DEC-15	Papal bull *Dudum Sacrum,* reconizing the Council of Basel

1434

JUN-04	Flight of Pope Eugenius IV from Rome

1435

	Nymphilexis
FEB-02	Death of Queen Giovanna II (Naples)
JUN-17	ESP: Departure from Basel to Arras in the household of Cardinal Albergati
AUG-05	Sea battle of Ponza: Genoa defeats Alfonso V who is sent as prisoner to Milan
SEP-21	Arras: peace between Charles VII and Bourgogne
OCT-00	ESP: Departure from Arras on mission for Cardinal Albergati to Scotland

1436

	ESP: Birth of Piccolomini's first son, in Scotland
	Pilgrimage of Duke Friedrich V (Habsburg) to the Holy Land
JUN-00	*Libellus apologeticus* issued by Pope Eugenius IV
SPRING	ESP: Return from England to Basel
NOV-16	*"Oration Audivi" [1]* on Pavia as venue for Union Council

1437

MAY-21	ESP: Letter to Pietro da Noceto on tumultuous session at Basel
SEP-18	Papal bull *Doctoris Gentium* of Eugenius IV, transferring the Council of Basel to Ferrara
DEC-00	Departure of Cardinal Cesarini from Basel
DEC-09	Death of the Emperor Sigismund in Znaim

1438

JAN-08	Opening session of the Council of Ferrara
JAN-09	Final break between Council of Basel and the pope
JAN-24	Suspension of the pope by the Council of Basel
MAR-04	Arrival of Greek emperor and patriarch at Council of Ferrara
MAR-17	Declaration of neutrality between pope and Council of Basel by Imperial Diet in Frankfurt
MAR-18	Election of Duke Albrecht of Austria as emperor
APR-04	*Oration "Si quis me roget" [2]* on Saint Ambrose
APR-22	Visit together with Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti to Albrecht II in Vienna
APR-27	*Oration "Quid est" [3]* on imperial election of Albrecht II
JUL-07	Pragmatic sanction of Bourges

	Oration "Si ea quae justa" [4] on appointment of bishops

1439

JAN-10	Transfer of council to Florence
MAR-26	German assembly issues Acceptation of reform decrees of Council of Basel
JUN-24	Death of Duke Friedrich IV (Habsburg)
JUN-25	Deposition of the pope by Council of Basel
JUL-06	Decree on church union *Laetentur coeli* at Council of Florence
JUL-28	Start of Friedrich Vs wardship over Duke Sigismund (Habsburg)
OCT-27	Death of Albrecht II, King of the Romans
NOV-05	Election of antipope Felix V by Council of Basel

1440

	De gestis Basiliensis concilii commentariorum libri duo
	Libellus dialogorum de Generalis Concilii authoritate et gestis Basiliensium
FEB-02	Election of Duke Friedrich V of Austria as emperor Friedrich III (Frankfurt)
FEB-22	Birth of Ladislaus Postumus
JUL-27	Coronation of Wladislaw III as King of Hungary

1441

	Repudiation by the Greeks of Union with Rome
NOV-20	Pace between Milan, Venice and the Holy See

1442

FEB-00	ESP: Conciliar mission to Strassbourg. Affair with Elizabeth
JUN-17	Coronation of Friedrich III as King of Germany (Aachen)
JUL-00	Imperial Diet in Frankfurt
JUL/SEP	ESP: Mission for Council of Basel to Friedrich III (Frankfurt)
JUL-27	ESP: Laurel coronation as poet by Friedrich III
NOV-00	ESP: Appointment as secretary in imperial chancery
DEC-00	ESP: Visit of Kaspar Schlick to pope Eugenius in Florence
DEC-19	Death of Queen Elizabeth (Luxemburg) of Hungary

1443

JAN-00	Reappointment of Kaspar Schlick as imperial chancellor
FEB-26	Entry of Alfonso V into Naples as king
MAR-00	*Pentalogus*
MAR-07	Departure of pope and council from Florence to Rome
AUG-00	Declaration of obedience to Eugenius IV by Aragon and Milan

AUG-13	Death of Nicodemo della Scala, bishop of Freising
SEP-28	Return of Pope Eugenius to IV Rome

1444

	Dialogus de Donatione Constantini
	De curialium miseriis
	Historia de duobus amantibus
	De natura et cura equorum
	Chrysis
APR-04	*Oration "Si putarem" [5*] on See of Freising
AUG-00	ESP: Imperial mission to Imperial Diet in Nürnberg
NOV-10	Battle of Varna. Death of Polish king and of cardinal Cesarini

1445

	Oration "Non est apud me dubium" [6] to parish of Aspach
JAN-00	ESP: First imperial mission to the pope. Reconciliation with Eugenius IV
FEB-00	*Oration "Prius sanctissime praesul" [7*] delivered before Eugenius IV (Rome)
APR-01	ESP: Departure from Rome for Austria
JUL/AUG	Military expedition of Friedrich III in Western Hungary
OCT-13	*Oration "Nisi satis exploratum" [8]* at the opening of the academic year (Vienna)
NOV-25	*Oration "Nuper aderat" [9]* at the yearly solemnity of the Law Faculty (Vienna)

1446

JAN-00	Deposition of archbishops of Cologne and Trier by pope
JUN-05	Election of Janos Hunyadi as regent of Hungary
MAR-00	ESP: Ordination as deacon, later as priest
MAR-01	*De ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii*
JUL-08	ESP: Appointment as papal secretary
SUM	ESP: Second imperial mission to the pope (Rome)
07-06	*Oration "Et breviter me hodie" [10]* to the pope (Rome)

1447

	ESP: Appointment as Bishop of Trieste
JAN-00	ESP: Third imperial mission to the pope (Rome)
JAN-09	*Oration "Non habet me dubium" [11]* to the pope (Rome)
JAN-11	*Oration "Tritum est sermone" [12]* to the pope (Rome)
FEB-07	Declaration of German obedience to the pope (Rome)
FEB-00	ESP: Appointment as papal subdeacon
FEB-05/07	Concordat of the German princes

FEB-23	Death of Eugenius IV (Rome)
MAR-06	Election of Nicolaus V (Rome)
AUG-00	Rehabilitation of archbishops of Cologne and Trier
AUG-13	Death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (Milan)
OCT-21	*Oration "Est mihi non parum" [13]* (Milan)

1448

JUN-15	45th session of Council of Basel. Decision to continue in Lausanne
JUL-10	Rome: French obedience to Nicolaus V
AUG-17	Battle of Kossovo: the Turks defeat Hunyadi
OCT-31	Death of Emperor Johannes VIII (Constantinople)

1449

00-00	Retirement from Imperial Court of Kaspar Schlick
JAN-06	Accession of Konstantinos XI Palaeologos (Constantinople)
APR-01	Agreement between Nicolaus V and Felix V. Abdication of Pope Felix
APR-25	Dissolution of Council of Basel (Lausanne)
JUL-00	Death of Kaspar Schlick

1450

	De viris illustribus
	De Liberorum educatione
	De rebus Basiliae gestis stante vel dissoluto Concilio Commentarius
	Accession of Francesco Sforza as duke (Milan)
	Rome: Jubilee Year
	ESP: Death of father, Silvio Piccolomini (Corsignano)
	ESP: Appointment as imperial counsellor
	ESP: Appointment to the imperial Cameral Court
	ESP: Transfer to See of Siena. Prince of the Empire
	ESP: Imperial mission to Naples on marriage of the emperor
DEC-10	*Oration "Quamvis grandes materias" [14]* to King Alfonso (Naples)
DEC-28	*Oration "Fateor" [15]* to Pope Nicolaus (Rome)

1451

	Letter from Francesco Filelfo to Charles VII on the Turkish question
JAN-07	Death of Felix V (Geneva)
JUL-22	*Oration "Petivistis ex Caesare" [16]* to Bohemian nobles (Benesov)
AUG-23	*Oration "Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]* to Burgundian ambassadors (Wiener Neustadt)
OCT-14	Meeting of Austrian opponents of the emperor in Mailberg

1452

	Austrian rebellion against the emperor
FEB-24	Meeting of emperor with Eleonora of Portugal
MAR-09	*Oration "Quam laetus quamque secundus" [18]* to the pope (Rome)
MAR-16	Wedding of emperor and Eleanora (Rome)
MAR-19	Imperial coronation of Friedrich III (Rome)
MAR-24	Departure of emperor from Rome for Naples
MAR-29	Arrival of emperor in Naples
APR-20	Departure of emperor from Naples
APR-24	*Oration "Moyses vir Dei" [19]* to the pope (Rome)
MAY-21	Arrival of emperor in Venice
JUN-20	Arrival of emperor in Wiener Neustadt
SEP-04	Handover of Ladislaus the Posthumous from emperor to Ulrich of Cilly
SEP-06	Handover of Ladislaus the Posthumous from Ulrich of Cilly to Ulrich von Eitzing
OCT-28	Coronation of Ladislaus as King of Bohemia (Prague)
DEC-00	*Oration "Sentio" [20]* (Vienna)

1453

	Historia Gothorum
	Historia Australis
APR-05	Begin of Mehmed II's siege of Constantinople
MAY-29	Fall of Constantinople to the turks
JUN-29	Arrival of letters announcing the fall of Constantinople in Venice
JUL-00	Arrival of news of Constantinople at Imperial Court (Graz)
JUL-08	Arrival of news of Constantinople at Papal Court
JUL-12	ESP: Letter on the fall of Constantinople to the pope
SEP-30	Crusade bull of pope Nicolaus V

1454

	Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta
	Dialogus (published 1457)
FEB-17	Banquet of the Pheasant (Burgundy)
APR-09	Peace of Lodi
APR-18	Peace between Venice and the turks
MAY-00	Imperial diet in Regensburg
MAY-16	*Oration "Quamvis omnibus" [21]* to imperial diet (Regensburg)
MAY-21	*Oration "Tua verba" [78]* to imperial diet (Regensburg)
SEP-00	Mehmed II campaigns and consolidates his conquests in Serbia
OCT-00	Imperial Diet in Frankfurt
OCT-15	*Oration "Constantinopolitana clades" [22]* to imperial diet (Frankfurt)

1455

FEB-00	Imperial diet in Wiener Neustadt
FEB-25	*Oration "In hoc florentissimo" [23]* to imperial diet (Regensburg)
MAR-24	Death of Pope Nicholas V (Rome)
MAR-25	*Oration "Si mihi" [24]* to Hungarian ambassadors (Wiener Neustadt)
APR-08	Pope Calixtus III elected (Rome)
APR-23	*Oration "Optasset" [25]* to Hungarian ambassadors (Wiener Neustadt)
SUM	ESP: Imperial mission of obedience to Pope Calixtus III
AUG-13	*Oration "Solent plerique" [26]* to Pope Calixtus III (Rome)

1456

	Oration "Res Bohemicas" [28] to Pope Calixtus III (Rome)
	Commentarii in Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de dictis et factis Alphonsi Regis
JUL-06	*Oration "Modestius" [27]* to King Alfonso V (Naples)
JUL-22	Battle of Belgrade: crusaders defeat the Turkish army
AUG-11	Death of Janos Hunyadi (Belgrade)
OCT-23	Death of Giovanni da Capistrano (Belgrade)
DEC-18	Appointment as cardinal (Rome)

1457

	De Germania
NOV-23	Death of King Ladislaus (Prague)

1458

	De Europa
	Historia Bohemica
FEB-00	Cession of Genova by doge to the French king
MAY-11	Arrival of Jean d'Anjou in Genova to govern in the name of the King of France
MAY-24	Death of King Alfonso V (Naples)
JUL-14	Papal bull of Pope Calixtus III declaring Kingdom of Naples as having reverted to the Holy See
AUG-06	Death of Pope Calixtus III (Rome)
AUG-14	Death of Cardinal Capranica (Rome)
AUG-16	Opening of conclave (Rome)
AUG-17	Electoral capitulation approved by all cardinals (Rome)
AUG-19	Election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini as pope (Rome)
OCT-10	Oration "*Ut apertum vobis"* [29] to ambassadors (Rome)
OCT-13	Papal bull *Vocavit nos Pius* with invitation to Mantua or Udine (Rome)

1459

JAN-20	PI: Departure from Rome
FEB-01	PI: Arrival in Perugia
FEB-04	PI: Reappointment of all the papal referendaries, incl. Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo
FEB-09	*Oration "Quotiens nova" [30]* to the ambassadors of Savoy (Perugia)
FEB-19	PI: Departure from Perugia
FEB-22	PI: Arrival in Corsignano
FEB-24	PI: Arrival in Siena
FEB-25	*Oration "Dominatorem caeli" [35]* to the ambassadors of Castile (Siena)
MAR-00	*Oration "Christiani reges" [32]* to the ambassadors of Hungary (Siena)
MAR-00	*Oration "Clarae atque illustres" [33*] to the ambassadors of Monferrat (Siena)
MAR-00	*Oration "Omnes ferme" [34]* to the ambassadors of Portugal (Siena)
MAR-00	*Oration "Pius et misericors" [36]* to the ambassadors of Aragon (Siena)
MAR-00	*Oration "Si sacrosancto" [38]* to the ambassadors of German princes (Siena)
MAR-15	PI: Bestowal of the Golden Rose on Siena
MAR-15	*Oration "Vetus majorum" [31]* to Sienese (Siena)
MAR-15	*Oration "Conversa in nos hodie" [37]* to the ambassadors of Burgundy (Siena)
MAR-22	Birth of Prince Maximilian of Austria
APR-14	*Oration "Fabricator mundi" [40]* to the ambassadors of the emperor (Siena)
APR-15	*Oration "Ingentes vobis gratias" [41]* to the Sienese (Siena)
APR/JUN	Campaigns of Mehmed II in Serbia
APR-23	PI: Departure from Siena
APR-25	PI: Arrival in Florence
MAY-05	PI: Departure from Florence
MAY-09	PI: Arrival in Bologna
MAY-15	PI: Departure from Bologna
MAY-17	PI: Arrival in Ferrara
MAY-25	PI: Departure from Ferrara
MAY-27	PI: Arrival in Mantua
MAY-28	*Oration "Habuisti dilecta filia" [42]* to Ippolita Sforza (Mantua)
JUN-01	*Oration "Magna pars vestrum" [43]* to Congress of Mantua
JUN-18	Election of Diether of Isenburg as Archbishop of Mainz
AUG-18	Arrival of the ambassadors of Burgundy in Mantua
SEP-00	*Oration "Mirabitur fortassis" [79]* to Congress of Mantua
SEP-18	Arrival of the Duke of Milan in Mantua
SEP-18	*Oration "Grave illis" [80]* to Duke of Milan
SEP-23	Arrival of Venetian ambassadors in Mantua
SEP-24	*Oration "Fatemur insignes" [44]* to ambassadors of Venice (Siena)
SEP-26	*Oration "Cum bellum hodie" [45]* to the Congress of Mantua
OCT-00	Arrival of Jean d'Anjou with fleet at the coasts of Naples

OCT-00	*Oration "Subjectam esse" [39]* to ambassadors of Archbishop of Trier (Mantua)
OCT-19	*Oration "Quamvis non sine magna"* [46] to ambassadors of Savoy (Mantua)
OCT-29	*Oration "Eruditissime" [47]* to Gregor Heimburg (Mantua)
NOV-10	Arrival of Duke Sigismund of Austria in Mantua
NOV-12	*Oration "Dilectissime" [48]* to Gregor Heimburg (Mantua)
NOV-14	Arrival of ambassadors from France, Bretagne and King René in Mantua
NOV-21	*Oration "Multa hic hodie" [49]* to ambassadors of France (Mantua)
NOV-22	Arrival of imperial ambassadors in Mantua
NOV-26	*Oration "Britones hodie" [50]* to Breton ambassadors (Mantua)
DEC-01	*Oration "Exposcebat haud dubie" [51]* to imperial ambassadors (Mantua)
DEC-11	*Oration "Responsuri" [52]* to the French ambassadors
DEC-00	*Oration "Advenisse te citius" [53] to* Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg (Mantua)

1460

JAN-14	*Oration "Septimo jam mense" [54]* to Congress of Mantua
JAN-18	Papal bull *Execrabilis* condemning appeals to future councils
JAN-31	PI: Arrival in Siena
MAR-05	PI: First promotion of new cardinals
MAR-05	*Oration "Messsis quidem" [55]* to cardinals (Siena)
MAR-08	*Oration "Quamvis non dubitamus" [56]* to cardinals (Siena)
MAR-15	*Oration "Vocati estis" [57]* to new cardinals (Siena)
MAY-00	*Oration "De regno Siciliae" [58]* to ambassadors of King René d'Anjou (Siena)
JUN-00	PI: Letter to cardinal Borgia rebuking him for his dissolute manners
JUN-11	PI: Stay in Petriolo
JUL-07	Battle of Sarno: Victory of Jean d'Anjou
JUL-17	*Oration "Claritudo sanguinis" [59]* to the ambassadors of Castille (Siena)
AUG-08	PI: Excommunication of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol
AUG-13	Appeal of Duke Sigismund to General Council
SEP-10	PI: Departure from Siena
OCT-01	*Oration "Flentem et admodum dolentem" [60]* to Roman envoys (Viterbo)
OCT-06	*Oration "Ingentes vobis quirites" [61]* to the Romans (Rome]
OCT-18	PI: Excommunication of Gregor Heimburg

1461

	Epistola ad Mahumetem
	De Asia
FEB-23	Appeal of Archbishop Diether of Isenburg to general council
MAR-00	Ousting of French from Genova
MAR-06	Diet of Nürnberg demands a new general council

JUN-29	PI: Canonization of Catherine of Siena
JUN-29	*Oration "Catherinam Senensem" [62]* to the faithful (Rome)
07-00	Submission of Savelli
07/08	PI: Stay in Tivoli
07-02	Battle of Castel Leone: Sigismondo Malatesta defeats the papal troops
07-14	Death of King Charles VII of France
08-15	Coronation of King Louis XI of France (Reims)
OCT-16	*Oration "Pone lacrimas" [63]* to Queen Carlotta of Cyprus (Rome)

1462

MAR-01	*Oration "Existimatis fortasse" [64]* to cardinals (Rome)
MAR-10	Arrival of Bohemian embassy in Rome
MAR-13	Arrival of French embassy in Rome
MAR-16	*Oration "Per me reges regnant" [65]* to French ambassadors (Rome)
MAR-31	*Oration "Superioribus diebus" [66]* to Bohemian ambassadors (Rome)
APR-11	PI: Head of Saint Andrew arrives at Ponte Molle
APR-12	*Oration "Advenisti tandem" [67*] to faithful (Rome)
APR-13	*Oration "Si loqui possent" [68]* to faithful (Rome)
JUL-99	*Oration "Munera quae attulistis" [69*] to ambassadors of Siena (Abbadia)
AUG-13	Battle at Mandolfo: papal troops defeat Sigismondo Malatesta
AUG-18	Battle of Troia. Victory of King Ferrante
OCT-00	Oration "*Quaecumque rogat"* [70] to ambassador of Venice (Rome)
NOV-00	Oration "*Habemus fidem"* [71] to ambassadors of Bosnia (Rome)

1463

	Epitoma supra decades Blondi
APR-26	Papal Bull *In minoribus agentes*
MAY-00	Acquisition by Venice of Cervia salt mines from Domenico Malatesta Novello
MAY-05	*Oration "Senatu intercedente" [72*] to ambassador of Venice (Rome)
AUG-00	*Oration "Ecce, ecce" [76]* to cardinals (Rome)
SEP-19	*Oration "Expectatis" [73]* to ambassadors in Rome
SEP-22	*Oration "Si essemus ipsi" [74] to* ambassador of Florence (Rome)
SEP-23	*Oration "Sextus agitur annus" [75]* to cardinals (Rome)
OCT-00	Submission of the Malatestas
OCT-22	Papal bull *Ezechielis* on the crusade

1464

	Commentarii rerum memorabilium

JUN-14	PI: Summons to King Georg Podiebrad to appear at the Papal Court to defend himself against heresy
JUN-18	*Oration "Suscepturi" [76]* to faithful (Rome)
JUN-18	PI: Depature from Rome for Ancona
AUG-13	PI: Death in Ancona

Appendix 2: Note on orations during the emperor's visit to Florence 30.1.-6.2.1452

On his way to Rome and his imperial coronation there in 1452, Emperor Friedrich III (Habsburg) visited Florence from 30 January to 6 February. During the visit, two orations of welcome were held on behalf of the Florentine government and two orations of thanks on behalf of the emperor.

Four Florentine sources report on these orations: the Priorista and three biographies of Giannozzo Manetti, one by Naldo Naldi, and two by Vespasiano da Bisticci. The information in these sources does not agree with information in three sources related to Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, the first his *Commentarii*, the second his *Historia Austrialis*, and the third comprising four letters, a letter from himself to the city government of Siena, a letter from himself to a Milanese ambassador, and two letters from the city government of Siena to Piccolomini.

In the following, the divergence between these sources[1] will be examined.[2]

1. Florentine sources

1.1. Orations on 30 January

When the imperial party approached Florence, it was met outisde the city by a party of Florentine representatives, one of whom gave a speech of welcome, which was answered by a member of the emperor's party. The Florentine sources report on this event as follows:

1.1.1. Priorista / Matteo Rinaldi[3]

E al dì detto [30 January 1452] … venne il sopradetto Imperadore, e ismontò in detto luogho di San Ghallo con gli infrascritti huomini … Monsignore Henea, veschovo di Siena, uditore dello Imperadore, et costui è molto adoperato et rispondeva a chi parlava allo Imperadore.[4] *[Later*

[1] For full bibliographical references, see above, ch. 10: General bibliography
[2] I thank Brian Maxson for valuable comments and insights in e-mail correspondence on this matter / MCS
[3] Petriboni & Rinaldi: *Priorista,* p. 17: *Since Pagolo Petriboni died sometime between 1443-1445, it is reasonable to assume that the narrative was resumed by Matteo Rinaldi*
[4] Piccolomini generally acted as the spokesman for the emperor

addition in margin: Questo messer Enea Piccolomini fu poi Papa Pio II]. … Et quando i X della Balya furono inginocchiati a piè della maestà dello Imperadore, ***messer Carlo d'Arezzo[1] parlò nel cospetto di tutti*** *con quella magnificentia che si richiede a uno sì fatto principo da uno poeta et quanto s'aparteneva a parlare in nome di detto uficio della Balya che rapresentavano i nostri Signiori in quel luogho.* ***Monsignore di Siena rispuose per detto Imperadore*** *e di poi rimontorono a cavallo …[2]*

1.1.2. Naldo Naldi: *Vita Jannotii Manetti*

Quapropter quum ad hunc ipsum Florentini, quem Imperatorem vocitant, honestandum meditarentur, Legatos vicinti creavere, qui venienti obviam essent profecturi … Ex viginti Legatorum numero unus fuisse Iannotius perhibetur. Huic, qui erat ex Collegio, quod summo semper adhaeret Magistratui, mandatum, est ut nomine populi Florentini ad Imperatorem esse orationem habiturus, quocumque in loco eum advenirent. ***Legati quum accessissent quadam pompa, quod eos ducenti equites multique juvenes primarii vestibusque pulcherrimis ornati, comitarentur in planitie Valliae, quae vicus est ad septimum lapidem, Imperatorem Florentiam versus proficiscentem invenere.*** *… Appropinquante Imperatore Florentinis Oratoribus, ad terram ex equis veneraturi eum prosiliere omnes. Ille [the emperor] vero ubi venit in conspectum Legatorum, dicitur constitisse una cum purpuratis suis hominibusque nobilissimis … Inter quos Aeneas vir doctissimus adfuit, et qui sequentibus temporibus sub nomine Pii Calixto pontifici esset successurus.* ***Tunc Iannottius luculentam habuit orationem****, loco, tempori, ac personae accomodatam****. Cui ad ea, quae dixisset, Aeneas respondit*** *ut omnium, qui cum Imperatore adventassent in Italiam eloquentissimus - neque aliter decuit, quum pariter suos doctrina, ingenio, eloquentia Iannotius, qui antea perorasset, facile superaret.[3]*

1.1.3. Vespasiano da Bisticci / Vite

[Giannozzo Manetti] … tornò Firenze, et fu tratto di collegio, et in questo tempo passò lo 'mperadore in Italia, et fu fatto meser Gianozo uno de' quindici ambasciadori, che gli andorono incontro con degnissima compagnia, con comessione che, dove, dove lo trovassino, meser Gianozo gli parlassi a nome della Signoria, et ricevessilo. Andando inverso il Mugello, lo trovorono a Vaglia, accompagnato da meser Carlo Pandolfini e meser Otto Nicolini. Ismontò lo 'mperadore con tutti i signori ch'erano con lui et con messer Enea, che lo fece fare cardinale lo 'mperadore, di poi fu papa Pio. Meser Gianozo ismontò, lui e tutti gli ambasciadori ismontorono. ***Fece meser Gianozo una degna oratione acomodata secondo il tempo et il luogo, di poi meser Enea rispuose in nome***

[1] The Florentine chancellor Carlo Marsuppini
[2] Priorista, pp. 351-353
[3] Naldi, col. 576

dell'imperadore *molte accommodate parole, et rimontorono a cavallo, et vennone alla via di Firenze, dove fu molto onorato …*[1]

1.1.4. Vespasiano da Bisticci / *Commentario della Vita di Messer Giannozzo Manetti*

Nel 1451[2] *passò lo 'mperadore Federigo in Italia per andare a Roma per la corona. In questo tempo era messer Giannozo di collegio et ordinossi in Firenze di fargli grandissimo onore, et per questo feciono venti ambasciadori ad andargli incontro … Fu facto di questi venti messer Giannozo, essendo di collegio, et commesso a lui che in nome del popolo di Firenze facesse una oratione allo Imperadore dove lo trovasse. Andorono detti ambasciadori, accompagnati circa cavagli dugento, et accompagnati da molti giovani vestiti ricchissimamente, il simile gli ambasciadori. Trovorono lo 'mperadore a Vaglia … Come lo 'mperadore giunse presso a dov'erano gli ambasciadori, ismontarono tutti a piè, et l'Imperadore si fermò di qua dal fiume con tutti i signori et gentili uomini ch'erano con lui et com messer Enea, dipoi papa Pio, che stava con lui. Gli ambasciadori s'appresarono allui, et messer* ***Giannozo fece una gentile oratione acomodata secondo il luogo, et messer Enea rispose nel nome dello Imperadore …***[3]

As seen, the Florentine sources do not agree on the speaker for Florence: the Priorista states that the Florentine speaker on 30 January was Carlo Marsuppini, whereas Naldi followed by Bisticci state that the speaker was Giannozzo Manetti. The Florentine sources, however, agree that Piccolomini was at the emperor' side and that he gave a speech in answer to the Florentine speech of welcome.

1.2. Orations on 31 January

The day after the emperor's arrival, he was visited by a numerous delegation from the city government. Chancellor Carlo Marsuppini spoke for the city, a member of the imperial party spoke for the emperor, and Giannozzo Manetti made an improvised reply to a specific request made by the imperial spokesman on the emperor's behalf.

1.2.1. Priorista / Matteo Rinaldi

Lunedi, a dì 31 di gennaio nostri magnifici Signori insieme coll' uficio de' X della balìa andorono a vicitare lo 'nperadore a Santa Maria Novella, e ***il dicitore fu misser Carlo d'Arezzo****, lo quale*

[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (Greco, I, p. 517-518)
[2] Stile fioretino, i.e. 1452
[3] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (Greco, I, p. 577)

expuose con gratiose et adorne parole come si conveniva a uno sì fatto prencipe ... Lo Inperadore mostrò per li atti sua e gesti avere di tale visitatione e imbasciata gran consolatione, et non rispuose et ***fece rispondere a monsignore lo veschovo di Siena, cioè misser Enea*** *suo segretario, a tt[utt]o o a parte a parte rispuose con grande magnificentia con molte allegheria ringrantiando molto e Signori et quel popolo della gran magnificentia et benignità avevano usato verso di lui, et offerse sé et suo chose a ogni beneplacito di detta Signoria et di detto popolo, etc.* ***Poi chiese di gratia a detta Signoria che gli concedessino tutti e pregioni ch'erano nelle Stinche, et massimamente el signor Lodovicho da Marradi, ch'era istato nelle Stinche circha a anni ventoto. Fugli risposto che*** *lla Signoria in sé non lo poteva fare sanza le vie hordinate delle nostra città antichamente, ma che sopr'a cciò arebbono buon provedimento. …*[1] [2]

1.2.2. Naldo Naldi: *Vita Jannotii Manetti*

Mox vero quum summus Magistratus una cum CC. civibus … domi visere statueret Imperatorem, qui jam urbem Florentinam ingressus erat, dandumque foret alicui hoc negotii, ut Latine apud eum loqueretur, maxime convenire videbatur, ut haec Iannotio provincia demandaretur, quoniam ex Collegio esset hominum illorum, qui primi esse in Urbe post primos censentur ab omnibus. Verum Cosmus Medices, ne tanto Iannotius honore afficeretur, operam dedit, ut ***Carolus Aretinus Florentini Populi Scriba, quem unice diligebat, esset orationem habiturus. Quod quidem sumto bidui spatio ad cogitandum quod foret dicturus, effecit ille satis sua cum laude. Sed quum Aeneas vir eloquentissimus ad ea, quae verba fecerat, Carolo respondisset,*** *factum est ut cum quaedam ille nomine imperatoris a summo Magistratu expetiisset, quibus respondendum ex tempore videretur, numquam Carolus adduci potuerit, ut respondendi curam esset suscepturus. Nam licet principes instarent Civitatis atque pro imperio summus eum jam Magistratus cogeret, ut quod jussus esset, Carolus exsequeretur, negavit tamen id se esse facturum, nisi prius ad ea, quae responsurus erat, per aliquod spatium meditatus fuisset. Quamobrem qui antea Jannotio invidissent, coacti sunt summis precibus contendere ab eo, ut hanc susciperet respondendi provinciam, quia nemo reperiretur in tanto conventu hominum, qui melius illo sciret aut elegantius posset Latine verba facere. Quum aliquando* ***Jannotius*** *honestissima de causa, non autem pertinacia, obstitisset suadentibus, tamen victus caritate in patriam, illis assensus est, qui eum*

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[1] Later the text continues: *Et di poi detto dì [2 February 1452] venne a hore 20 un chavallero che mandò il Chapitano di Livorno come a salvamento della gratia di Dio era giunto nave dov'era suso la Imperadrice … Et nel proprio dì [3 February 1452] el serenissimo Imperadore mandò contro alla Imperadrice in Pisa el conte di Signa … Domenicha, a dì 6 [6 February 1452] … e tutti gli alti Signori appresso con tutti gli ufici di Firenze accompagnorono lo 'nperadore insino nell' antiporto di San Piero Ghattolini, e 'l sinischalcho dello Imperadore chiese di gratia alla Signoria gli donasse lo stendardo, et chosì fu fatto et diliberato, et portoronselo.* [Here follows a description of the emperor's departure from Florence.]

[2] Petriboni & Rinaldi: *Priorista*, pp. 353-358

obsecraverant, ***responditque Imperatori ad ea, quae paulo ante petiisset****, tanta cum elegantia et copia, ut admirarentur omnes atque obstupescerent; Cosmum vero illius, quod antea cepisset, consilium impediendi hominis maxime paeniteret, quum plane perspiceret, quodcumque in Jannotium tentasset, ad summam ipsius laudem redundare, quum affirmarent omnes, multo elegantius tempore Jannotium fuisse loquutum quam praemeditatus Carolus antea dixisset …*[1]

1.2.3. Vespasiano da Bisticci / Vite

Venuto lo 'mperadore in Firenze, allogiò a Sancta Maria Novella. Ora la Signoria voleva andare a vicitarlo come richiedeva l'onore loro. Fecciono richiedere tutti i cittadini della città che fussino in Palagio la mattina ch'era disputata di parlare all'Imperadore et vollono che ognuno si mettesi la più bella veste che egli avessi, in dono, et a questo modo si ragunò tutta la nobiltà delle città, ch'era cosa degna a vedere. Ora la 'nvidia in questi atti fa l'uficio suo, perché avendosi a parlare in nome della Signoria, era più degna cosa, et più si conveniva che parlassi uno membro della Signoria, che uno che istessi colloro ch'era il cancelliere. Era più conveniente che parlassi meser Gianozo, sendo di collegio, che è membro della Signoria, che meser Carlo d'Arezo, ch'era cancelliere. Nientedimeno chi non volle che messer Gianozo avessi questo onore, ordinò che meser Carlo parlassi lui in nome della Signoria, et dissoglielo inanzi parechi dì. Venendo la matina ch'egli s'aveva a andare, feciono uno numero di più di dugento cittadini. Andati al conspetto dello Imperadore, ***meser Carlo, come era ordinato, parlò in nome della Signoria. Parlato, lo 'mperadore commisse a meser Enea che fu di poi papa Pio, che rispondessi a quanto s'era parlato, et propose altre cose oltre alla risposta, alle quali bisognava rispondere impremeditato.*** *La Signoria chiamò meser Carlo, perché rispondessi. Disse nollo volere fare, perché non si poteva rispondere sanza pensarlo. Dettoglielo più volte nolla volle fare per le ragioni dette alla Signoria. Et chi era stato autore di torla a meser Gianozo a chi si conveniva, si volsono a meser Gianozo e pregoronlo che rispondessi, aciochè eglino non avessino tanta vergogna, disse non si convenire allui, che l'aveva a fare meser Carlo; feciono grandissima istantia che rispondessi, monstrandogli la vergogna che sarebe loro a non rispondere, sendovi lo 'mperadore et il Re d'Ungaria et tanti altri signori. Conosciuto meser Gianozo la vergogna che ne seguitava loro, l'acettò a fine che chi aveva cerco di farli vergogna gli tornassi adosso. Dissongli quello volevano che rispondessi di subito. Veduto istare ognuno sospeso et lo 'mperadore aspettare la risposta, et non vi essere chi rispondessi,* ***meser Gianozo cominciò a rispondere****, et fece in modo che, non ch'ella paressi improviso la sua risposta, ma ella parve premeditato, aliena da quella che s'era parlata inanzi allui. Risposto, fu giudicato da tutti quegli sapevano latino ch'erano intendenti, che meser Gianozo*

[1] Naldi, col. 577. The text continues: *Postea vero, quoniam se optime gessisset, magno consensu omnium additus est numero duorum Legatorum, qui cum Imperatore Romam erant profecturi … Tertius orator quum Jannotius accederet Romae fuit ad plurimos menses …* [Col. 577-578] *Hoc autem quo fuit Romae tempore de Imperatore coronando scripsit Orationem, quam coram non habuit, verum editam misit ad eumdem, dum Romae moram faceret* (col. 578)

avessi parlato molto meglio lui impreditato che meser Carlo premeditato, et acquistò la matina uno grandissimo onore …[1]

1.2.4. Vespasiano da Bisticci / Commentario della Vita di Messer Giannozzo Manetti

Venuto lo 'mperadore in Firenze, s´ordinò che v'andasse la Signoria con tutti i cittadini della città ornati quanto era possibile. Furono più di dugento cittadini con la Signoria. Et avendosi in palagio a ordinare chi parlasse in latino in nome della Signoria, essendo messer Giannozo di collegio, et non v'essendo de'i signori chi sapesse latino, pareva a' più che si convenisse per onore della Signoria che messer Giannozo, essendo suo membro come è detto parlasse lui. La invidia lavorò et potè tanto che chi poteva non vollono che dicesse lui credendo fargli vergogna, gli fece onore a doppio, così gl'intervenne sempre in ogni cosa che ebbe a fare. Fu comessa a messer Carlo d'Arezzo, ch'era cancelliere, inanzi dua dì che s'avesse a fare. Per tutti si connobbe giucarci passione. Andato la mattina la Signoria co' collegi et con tutti i nobili cittadini della città a Santa Maria Novella dove era allogiato lo 'mperadore, giunti, lo 'mperadore aveva seco il re d'Ungheria et tutti i baroni et signori, ché ve n'era infiniti, et messer Enea appresso di lui; fece ***messer Carlo l'oratione in nome della Signoria benissimo. Facta l'oratione, lo 'mperadore, secondo la consuetudine, si ristrinse co' sua et comisse a messere Enea che rispondesse et proponesse certe cose che domandava lo 'mperadore.*** *La Signoria si volse a messer Carlo et commandogli che gli rispondesse et dissongli quello che aveva a rispondere. Messer Carlo, non si sentendo sofficiente a rispondere improviso, disse non lo potere fare. Sollecitandolo che lo facesse, essendovi pieno la sala, non volle aconsentire. Costretti dalle nicistà, non vi essendo altri che potesse rispondere, se non messer Giannozo, dissono a messer Giannozo che lo facesse lui, egli fece resistenza dicendo che non s'aspectava a llui et essere uficio di messer Carlo, che aveva parlato il dì. In questo luogo fece miracoli, ché chi cercò di fare vergogna a messer Giannozo gli fece grandissimo onore. Istette forte messer Giannozo a non voler rispondere, in ultimo, vedendo istare tutti i cittadini sospesi, lo 'mperadore et il re d'Ungheria con tutti que' signori aspectare la risposta,* ***messer Giannozo****, che era zeloso dell'onore della sua patria, veggendo la vergogna ne seguitava, intesa la volontà della Signoria quello che voleva che si rispondesse, riprese tutte le parti domandate dallo 'mperadore, et* ***rispose in latino a parte a parte elegantissimamente.*** *Fece la mattina in questo acto grandissimo onore et alla patria et a sè, et fu giudicato da tutti gl'intendenti che messer Giannozo avesse parlato molto meglio improviso assai che non parlò messer Carlo premeditato.*[2]

Thus, the Florentine sources agree that on 31 January Carlo Marsuppini gave a prepared oration at the Signoria's welcome to the emperor, that Piccolomini replied on behalf of the emperor, and that Manetti gave an improvised reply to Piccolomini's speech.

[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (Greco, I, pp. 518-519)
[2] *Ibid.,* II, pp. 578-579

2. Piccolomini sources

It is, however, difficult to reconcile the Florentine sources reporting the presence of Piccolomoni at the emperor's side and speaking for him during his first visit to Florence, 30 January to 6 February. with Piccolomini's own letters and works. According to these, Piccolomini was actually in Talamone, awaiting the emperor's betrothed, Princess Leonora of Portugal, when the emperor stayed in Florence.

In his *Commentarii* he wrote:

> *Itaque lx diebus apud Talamonem Aeneas … demoratus est. … Quo is [the emperor] die Florentiam intravit, eodem imperatrix Liburnii portum applicuit.* ***Aeneas quoque simul die una et imperatoris et imperatricis litteras accepit,*** *quae se suosque collegas propere Pisas iubebant petere.*[1]

Thus, Piccolomini was not with the emperor when in the evening of 2 February the emperor received a message[2] about the princess' arrival in Livorno on 30 January, the same day as the emperor's arrival in Florence. Piccolomini was only informed about the arrival through letters both from the emperor and the princess, reaching Talamone on the same day, most probably on 5 February.[3]

In Piccolomini's *Historia Austrialis,* Piccolomini described the emperor's travel to Rome and his first visit to Florence.

In the first version of that work, he wrote:

> *… sic per Alpes Apenninas tunc nivosas et asperas iter Florentiam dirigit. Interea legati Cesaris*[4] *cum dominabus imperatricem, ut supra diximus, in portu Thalamonis magno affecti tedio prestolabantur. … Denique mirabile dictu est – neque casu factum videri potest, neque humana industria gestum, sed divini dispensatione consilii actum – tempestate navigandi data velisque vento datis cum neque de cesare imperatrix neque cesar imperatricis ullam notitiam haberet, quo die cesar Florentiam intravit, eodem imperatrix portum Pisanum applicuit. Ubi intelligens prope cesarem esse ad eum misit sciscitans, ibine an Thelamone descenderet,*

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[1] CO, I, 22: *So Aeneas spent sixty days waiting at Talamone. … On the same day [30 January] he [the emperor] entered Florence the empress … landed at Livorno. Likewise on the same day Aeneas received letters from both the emperor and the empress commanding him and his party to go at once to Pisa.* If Piccolomini had been with the emperor in Florence, the emperor would evidently not have had to send him a letter

[2] Priorista, see above

[3] The letter of city government of Siena of 4 February with the letter from the princess could barely have reached Piccolomini in Talamone on the same day

[4] Among them Piccolomini

narravitque se maris importunitate quassatam. Cesar ei, ut illic descenderet, iussit misitque ad illam Iohannem episcopum Ratisponensem, Vanconem ducem Slesie, Michaelem comitem Magdeburgensem, Georgium de Staremberg, Iohannem Vngnad, Vlricum Sonenberg, Iacobum de Castro Romano et alios plures nobiles.[1] *Legatis*[2] *quoque, qui apud Thalamonem cum dominabus expectabant,ut se statim Pisis reciperent atque imperatrici obviarent, mandavit. Qui per asperos et devios montes e vestigio ad eam venere. … nec imperator imperatricem ad se venire Florentiam voluit, sed pergens Senas eam ad se illuc duci iussit. In Florentia vero occurrerunt cesari legati duo … cardinales … cum his Senas profectus est …*[3]

In the second version, he wrote:

Ingressus est autem Federicus Florentiam XII. Kl. Februarii[4] *exceptus honore maximo summaque totius populi et alacritate et aviditate, quod multis annis ante seculis non contigerat. … Postquam diu flatus orientales imperatricis cursum tenuerunt, occidentales demum aurae surgentes datis ex insperato vento velis, cum neque de caesare imperatrix neque de imperatrice caesar ullam haberet notitiam, mox ut caesar Florentiam venit, Leonora Pisanum portum applicuit. Ibi cum caesarem prope affore didicisset, mirabili gaudio repleta mox ad eum misit sciscitans, ibine an Thalamone, ubi expectabatur, descenderet, narrans se non modice longe navigationis tedio atque importunitate quassatam. Federicus eam apud Lyuurnum descendere iubet eamque qui suo nomine suscipiant, Iohannem episcopum Ratisponensem, Vanconem ducem Slesie, Michaelem comitem Magdeburgensem, Georgium Starembergium, Iohannem Vngenodium, Vlricum Sonenbergium, Iacobum de Castro Romano primos suae curiae viros mittit. Legatis etiam, qui apud Thalamonem cum matronis ac virginibus imperatricem manebant, ut se Pisis reciperent suaeque conjugi sese offerent perquam celeriter, imperavit, qui per asperrimos ac desertos pene montes confestim ad eam venere. … Ipse [the emperor] quoque parumper Florentiae moratus … salutato senatu Senas profectus est …*[5]

As seen, there is no mention in the *Historia Austrialis* of Piccolomino being with the emperor in Florence on his first visit and speaking for him. It may be noted that Pius' biographers, including G. Voigt, do not mention Piccolomini being in Florence on that occasion. They all follow Pius' own description in the *Commmentarii,* placing him in Talamone.

[1] But not Piccolomini, who was in Talamone
[2] Including Piccolomini
[3] HA, I, pp. 146-151
[4] Here Piccolomini's memory fails him: the emperor arrived in Florence in 30 January 1452, cf. HA, I, p. 552
[5] HA, I, pp. 559-561

In Wolkan's edition of Piccolomini's correspondence there are four letters relevant to this question[1]:

One is a letter from Piccolomini to the city government of Siena, dated Talamone 23 December 1451, in which he says: *Nos [the imperial delegation sent to welcome the future empress] - omnibus consideratis – decrevimus hoc in portu [Talamone] potius quam alibi reginam prestolari.*

The second is a letter from Piccolomini to a Milanese ambassador, Sceva de Curte, dated Talamone 27 January 1452, three days before the emperor's arrival in Florence, in which he says: *De regina nostra non aliud habemus, nisi quia ad Villam Francam pervenit ultima decembris. Postea nihil secutum est, quod sciamus. Ego hic expectando tabesco.*

The third is a letter from the city government of Siena to Piccolomini, dated 4 February 1452, beginning with the Words: *Episcopo Senensi, existenti in oppido Thelamonis scriptum est hoc pacto: Tabellarius, presentium lator, dat venire ad vestram reverendam paternitatem cum licteris serenissimae regine. Ille enim, ut asserit, vobis ceterisque oratoribus imperialibus injungunt, ut una cum mulieribus et comitiva istic [in Talamone] existente ad Portum Pisanum concedere debeatis, quo affirmat ipsam serenissimam reginam pervenisse et inde directa via nostram ad urbem venturam.*

The fourth is a letter from the city government of Siena to Piccolomini, dated 5 February 1452, beginning with the words: *"Episcopo Senensi, existenti in oppido Thelamonis scriptum est hoc exemplo.*

There can be no doubt that the Sienese government knew perfectly well the whereabouts of Piccolomini, the emperor's representative and their own bishop, in this highly sensitive situation where special efforts were made to avoid the future empress going to the rival city of Florence and to ensure that she went directly to Siena, as seen from their letter to Piccolomini of 4 February. Indeed, if Piccolomini had travelled at all speed from Talamone to Firenze on 27 January of after, he would surely have passed Siena, directly on the route, so that the city government would have immediately known that he was no longer in Talamone.

So, these letters corroborate Piccolomini/Pius's own report in the *Commentarii* that he was in Talamone when the emperor arrived in Florence on 30 January.

But, let us imagine for a moment that Piccolomini had actually rushed from Talamone, where he was on 27 January, to the emperor and entered Florence in his company on 30 and 31 January. He would then have stayed in Florence to 3 February, the day after the emperor in the late evening

[1] WO, III, I, pp. 61-68

received notice of the princess' arrival, and then rushed off to Pisa to receive the empress and conduct her to Siena. Why would he not proudly report this in the *Historia Austrialis* and in the *Commentarii*? Accompanying the emperor and being received with him as a close and esteemed imperial official in the glorious city of Florence and speaking for him would be a grand moment in Piccolomini's life which he would not likely forget, and which would fit perfectly into his description of the imperial coronation voyage, for which he had to a great extent been responsible. In Piccolomini's narration of events, his personal role was consistently underscored and even aggrandized, so it would completely out of character for him to omit this episode from his writings.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, there are three possibilities:

a) *Both the Florentine sources and the Piccolomini sources are correct*. In that case, Piccolomini must have travelled at speed from Talamone on 27 January or afterwards to join the emperor before his arrival in Florence on 30 January, speak for him, and stay with him until he received notice of the princess' arrival, and then rushed to Pisa to meet her. Piccolomini's own report that he received messages of the princess' arrival while being in Talamone is erroneous or false.

b) *The Florentine sources are in error and the Piccolomini sources are correct*. In that case, another person than Piccolomi spoke for the emperor during his visit in Florence.

c) *The Florentine sources are correct and the Piccolomini sources are nor correct.* In that case,

- Piccolomini would have accompanied the emperor in Florence,
- the Sienese government would have been uninformed of his rapid departure from Talamone and travel to Florence though he would have passed through Siena on the way
- Piccolomini would for some unknown reason have chosen not to mention his presence at the emperor's side and his own official orations for the emperor during the emperor's first visit to Florence
- Piccolomini's report in the *Commentarii* that he was in Talamone when on the same day (5 February) he received letters from both the emperor and the princess informing him on her arrival would be erroneous or false since he would then have been travelling from Florence to Pisa to officially receive the princess

The present writer considers that Piccolomini would not have failed to mention his accompanying and speaking for the emperor in Florence, nor his strenuous travel activity to make this possible. And he would not have erroneously or falsely claimed to have been notified about the princess' arrival through letters from both emperor and princess while was staying in Talamone. He is therefore – on the basis of presently available evidence - inclined to accept that the Florentine sources are in error.

As there is no reason to doubt that speeches of welcome were made to the emperor and that a member of the emperor's entourage responded on his behalf, the question then becomes: who made these responses? One possibility is the German ecclesiastic and lawman Henrich Leubing who actually spoke for the emperor in Siena some days later. Another possibilty is the imperial official Johann Hinderbach who some years later made the oration of obedience on the emperor's behalf to the newly elected Pius II. But this is conjecture: on the basis of presently available evidence, it is not known who spoke for the emperor on his first visit to Florence.

A second question is: How did the presumed error enter the Florentine sources? Further research must elucidate this question, if possible, but it may reasonably be conjectured that the second Vespasiano da Bisticci report (the *Commentario*) relied on his report in the *Vite*, which again relied on the report in Naldi's *Vita Giannotti Manetti,* to which Bisticci refers twice in his *Vite*[1]. Naldi's *Vita* has some similarities with the report by Rinaldi in the Priorista (Piccolomini replying for the emperor), but there are also important divergences (Marsuppini vs. Manetti speaking to emperor on 30 January) which complicate the issue of their mutual relationship.

It is possible, that the Florentine sources somehow confound the events at the emperor's second visit to Florence, on his return voyage to Austria, where Piccolomini actually did accompany emperor Friedrich and would quite naturally have replied on behalf of the emperor to any speech adressed to him.

<u>Timeline A / Piccolomini sources</u>

Early December:	Piccolomini and imperial party of welcome takes up residence in Talamone
30 January:	Emperor without Piccolomini arrives in Florence. Greeted at arrival. Princess arrives in Livorno
31 January:	Official reception of emperor in the city
2 February:	[around 20.00 o'clock] News of princess' arrival received in Florence
4 February:	The Sienese government sends princess' letter on to Piccolomini in Talamone

[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci: *Vite* (George & Waters, pp. 372, 385)

5 February:	Piccolomini in Talamone receives letters from emperor and princess announcing her arrival. The Sienese government sends letter to Piccolomini in Talamone

Timeline B / Florentine sources

Early December:	Piccolomini and imperial party of welcome takes up residence in Talamone
27 January:	Piccolomini leaves Talamone and travels north to join the emperor between Ferrara and Florence, passing Siena on the way
30 January:	Emperor with Piccolomini arrives in Florence. Greeted at arrival. Piccolomini speaks for the emperor. Princess arrives in Livorno
31 January:	Official reception of emperor in the city. Piccolomini speaks for the emperor
2 February:	[around 20.00 o'clock] News of princess' arrival received in Florence
3 February:	Piccolomini leaves Florence and travels to Pisa to officially receive the princess
4 February:	The Sienese government sends princess' letter on to Piccolomini in Talamone
5 February:	The Sienese government sends letter to Piccolomini in Talamone