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**Oration "Grave illis" of Pope Pius II (18 September 1459, Mantua). 3rd version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 80)**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 80)**

**Oration "*Grave illis*" of Pope Pius II (18 September 1459, Mantova). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**3<sup>rd</sup> version**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

The arrival of Duke Francesco Sforza at the Congress in Mantua on 17 September was very important, since it demonstrated the cordial relations between the duke and the pope to the world and created a momentum which made it possible for the pope to effectively begin the deliberations of the congress. The duke was received solemnly in a papal consistory where the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo gave an oration of behalf of the duke, to which the pope replied with the oration "*Grave illis*".

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Wars against the Turks; Francesco Filelfo; Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan

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## Foreword

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

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

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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# I. INTRODUCTION

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

The arrival of Duke Francesco Sforza at the Congress in Mantua on 17 September was very important, since it demonstrated the cordial relations between the duke and the pope to the world, and created a momentum making it possible for the pope to effectively begin the deliberations of the congress. The next day, the duke was received solemnly in a papal consistory where the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo<sup>2</sup> gave an oration of behalf of the duke - heavy (some would say tediously heavy) on history as was his style. Pius and Filelfo had an old acquaintance, probably begun when the young Piccolomini attended some lectures of Filelfo in Florence in the late 1420's.

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

*The next day the pope admitted Francesco to his presence at a public consistory. After kissing the pope's holy feet and personally delivering a short address, he was told to take his seat in the place reserved for the cardinal deacons. The duke then presented Francesco Filelfo, the distinguished satirist and poet, a man learned in Latin and Greek, to speak on his behalf. Filelfo began by praising both Francesco and the pope. He then spoke at length about the Turks – and at still greater length about the Greeks – stressing the necessity of a crusade, the duke's support for the venture, and the extent of the aid he was pledging to support the Christian cause.*

*When he had finished, the pope praised his speech in glowing terms and dubbed him "the Attic Muse". Then he turned to Francesco Sforza and told him he had lived up to his reputation and satisfied every expectation. He had followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father, who had exposed himself to great risks on behalf of the mother of the faithful, the Church of Rome. He had been an outstanding figure, the most accomplished soldier of his day, a second Ajax in battle, a second Nestor in counsel. He had feared no man but inspired fear in all. His exploits were celebrated by every man who drew breath. Pius himself as a youth had heard of them from his uncle Giovanni Tolomei, who had served under Sforza as a captain of his troops, and he had marveled at the courage and the glory of such a hero. The son had surpassed his unsurpassable father. He had triumphed over all those he had ever fought. He had won a title which the ancients bestowed on the very bravest Romans, and which was held in the highest esteem among Italians of our day. The dukedom of Milan had come to him not by succession from his father, which would have been an accident of fortune, but by popular election, a response to his qualities. In one respect alone had his father surpassed him: the father had always defended the cause of the Church, while the son had sometimes attacked it. Yet not even in this respect did he altogether yield to his father, for he had lately undergone a conversion from Saul to Paul. He had aided Pius' predecessor Calixtus against Piccinino, and during Pius' own pontificate he had often lent his support to the Church. Now he had come to*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 15-19; Pastor, II, pp. 59-61; Voigt, IV, pp. 63-65

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-filelfo\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-filelfo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)

*this congress and was nobly promising to use all his resources to defend not only the Church of Rome but religion itself, the Catholic faith, and the very name of Christ against the godless Turks. Truly he was acting as a Christian prince ought; if the rest turned out to be like him, not only would there be no reason for Christians to fear Turkish arms, but they might actually take the offensive and recover without difficulty Greece and Asia, which had been lost by the negligence of their forefathers. He hoped that Francesco's example would rouse the several Christian princes who seemed to be sleeping through the crisis, and that when they at last realized the danger that threatened the Christian faith, they would take up arms against the foe. If this happened, as he hoped, Francesco would stand in the first rank of those to whom the Church of Rome and all of Christendom would owe the profoundest debt of gratitude.*

*With these words the pope adjourned the meeting for the day to universal applause.<sup>1</sup>*

Though during the congress itself the duke appeared to actively support the pope's crusade, the future would show that he did not in reality want to engage himself in it, and he certainly did not want to become its leader or one of the leaders, as the pope desired. Of greater immediate importance would be the alliance with the pope, probably already forged in Mantua,<sup>2</sup> to keep the French from taking over the Southern Italian kingdom of Naples (Sicily).<sup>3</sup>

As for the duke's orator, the pope might be forgiven for any unholy satisfaction he might have felt from being addressed, in majesty, by Filelfo, an arrogant, patronizing man who had formerly acted as his teacher, now humbly bowing before his throne.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Themes

The themes of the oration are the usual themes of the pope's reply to princes' orators:

- Compliments to the orator
- Praise of the prince – unusually cordial
- Thanks for offers of contributions to the crusade
- Assurance of benevolence

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<sup>1</sup> CO, III, 20 (Meserve, II, pp. 81-83)

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 64

<sup>3</sup> See oration "Responsuri" [52]

<sup>4</sup> The nature and depth of Filelfo's and Piccolomini's relationship have been debated by scholars. Filelfo's own claim of Piccolomini having been his pupil for two years was repudiated by Piccolomini's cousin, Goro Lolli, and indeed it seems to be irreconcilable with the timetable of Piccolomini's studies and early life. But some connection there was, as testified by their correspondence in the 1430's

Interestingly, the recurrent theme of papal supremacy also in temporary matters was lacking. The pope might not have considered it political to ventilate it before one of the powerful secular lords in the Christian world.

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

Pastor gives, with some hesitation, the date of the duke's arrival in Mantua as 17 September 1459,<sup>1</sup> and the pope himself states in the *Commentarii* that he was received the day afterwards (*postera die*), i.e. 18 September, in a public consistory where the orations were held.<sup>2</sup> This is also the date given in the 1515 edition of Francisco Filelfo's oration "*Cum essem*", held right before the pope's speech. However, the manuscript Ott. lat. 1170, which contains Filelfo's oration, gives the date 13. Kal. October, i.e. 19 September.

The place was the presumably the cathedral of Mantua where the sessions of the congress were held.

The audience consisted of the participants in the congress.

The format of the oration was a papal address to a prince from the throne.

### 4. Text<sup>3</sup>

So far, the text of the oration has only been identified in a single manuscript:

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ottobon. lat. 1170, ff. 313r-315r (**H**)

It has not been published previously.

The text is more succinct than the summary given by the pope in the *Commentarii*, see above. Though contentwise the text is close to the pope's summary, some salient points in the summary are missing, like the duke having earlier fought against the Church. And finally the style of the oration is not quite Pius'. It may therefore be conjectured that the text is not Pius' own, but a version established on the basis of notes from the event taken by the papal protonotary Gaspare da

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<sup>1</sup> Pastor, II, p. 59, n. 4

<sup>2</sup> CO, III, 20, 2

<sup>3</sup> For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

Volterra, who according to letters reproduced in the manuscript<sup>1</sup> directly after the text of the oration had been charged by the pope with producing the notarial account of the congress and its decisions. This may also fit the introductory notarial-style passage: *Filelfus ubi finem fecit, sanctissimus dominus noster dictis hoc retulit responsum*. The notary's text, however, may very well be the more faithful version of the pope's actual address, since addresses summarized or directly included in the *Commentarii* were often extensively revised and elaborated to fit the image of the pope himself and his interlocutor/s as well as the event which Pius wanted to leave for posterity.

### Present edition

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

The text is based on the BAV manuscript.

The pagination is from the BAV manuscript.

## 5. Sources

No direct or indirect quotations have been identified in this oration.

## 6. Bibliography

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> ff. 316r-318v

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

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

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

H = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ottobon. lat. 1170

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacis*. 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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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





## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Filelfus ubi finem fecit, sanctissimus dominus noster dictis hoc retulit responsum:

[1] {313r} Grave illis esse solet, qui cytharam aut lyram bene sonantem audierint, raucas deinde tibias insuavesque sonantes<sup>1</sup> audire auribus perferre. Ita namque Franciscus Philelphus, homo aetate nostra disertissimus, in vicem principis sui peroravit, ut quasi musam atticam loquentem audisse videamur. Ejus orationi oratio nostra nequaquam par esse potest.<sup>2</sup> Verum quia non suo, sed alieno nomine oravit, ad eum, cujus nomine oratum est, verba vertamus et quidem breviter. Brevem enim orationem jure brevis responsio sequi debet.

[2] Explicavit orator tuus, dilecte fili, Mediolanensium inclyte dux, causas tui ad nos felicissimi itineris. Plura locutus est de vili Turcorum ortu ac insidioso progressu adversus Christi cultores. Populorum principes ad Christiani nominis vindictam exhortatus est vehementer. Et demum quidquid in tua est potestate ad eam rem peragendam obtulit libenter. Nos intelligentes tui nobis jucundissimi adventus causam existere, animi tui reverentiam, {313v} quam erga hanc sedem apostolicam gerere solitus es, cujus vocationi tamquam matris et magistrae gentium te obligari existimasti, ac pium affectum, quem veluti orthodoxus princeps ad fidei tutamen habes, equidem non possumus non mirum in modum in tuae devotionis aspectu laetari ac pietatem tuam pro tanta in Romanam sedem reverentia et in fidem Christi affectione plurimum in domino commendamus, approbamus atque acceptam habemus.

[3] Quae vero de perfidis Turcis in praesentia commemorata audivimus, haud equidem agnovimus. Profecto ita res sese habet, quemadmodum modo ex ordine narrata fuit. Sunt enim Turci gens vilissima, servilis, fugitiva ab Scythia profecta in Persidem mediam et minorem Asiam, veluti aquarum alluvio decursa. Inde mare transmisso in omnes<sup>3</sup> Graeciae partes dilatata, demum per Triballiam, Vlachiam, Moldaviam atque aliquas nationes ad Savum usque per Danubii oras latrocinando diffusa nec quidem sua virtute, cum gens ignava, vila et abjecta existat, sed nostrorum hominum {314r} partim dissensione, partim incuria atque desidia. Ac quidem nobis videtur Turcos, quo sunt abjectiores, eo majori animo a nobis insectandos fore, ut nostri nominis gloriam turpiter deperditam domino auxiliante nostro tempore cum laude recuperemus.

[4] Quare, dilecte fili, egisti rem pro tua pietate dignam, cum ad hunc sacrum conventum veniens te tantis malis indolere ostendis et pro tua virili subveniente contendis. Hortationem hoc loco factam gratis auribus accepimus. Est enim tuae devotionis efficacissimum testimonium potens multorum animos ad rem capessendam permovere atque impellere. Quare animi tui ardorem ex hoc loco etiam ducimus collaudandum ac ita firmo judicio collaudamus hortantes eos omnes, qui bonum agere cupiunt, ut non in postremis disciplinam tuam habeant, sed eam tamquam belligerendae rei normam sectentur.

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<sup>1</sup> em.; sonans H

<sup>2</sup> em.; posset H

<sup>3</sup> em.; omnis H

When Filelfo finished, Our Most Holy Lord said this in reply:

[1] Usually, those who have heard a well-sounding cithara or a lyre afterwards find it unpleasant to listen to the raw and crude sound of flutes. In the same way, Francesco Filelfo, the most eloquent man of our age, spoke on behalf of his prince - it seemed that we were hearing an Attic muse – and now Our own oration cannot at all equal his oration. But since he did not speak in his own name, We shall now, however briefly, address the man on whose behalf he spoke, for a brief oration should be followed by a brief response.

[2] Beloved son, illustrious Duke of Milan, your orator has explained the reasons for your auspicious voyage to Us. He said much about the base origins of the Turks and their insidious advance against the worshippers of Christ. He vehemently exhorted the princes of the peoples' to avenge the Christian name. And finally he generously offered all that is in your power for this venture. We now know the cause of your joyuous arrival and your habitual reverence<sup>1</sup> towards this Apostolic See, whose summons as mother and teacher of peoples you considered as an obligation, and the pious disposition towards the protection of the Faith you have as an orthodox prince. Therefore, We can only be extraordinarily happy to see your devotion, and We highly commend, approve, and accept your piety as expressed in your great reverence towards the Roman See and your love of the Christian Faith.

[3] What was said now about the infidel Turks, We know quite well. Indeed the situation developed as described. The Turks are indeed a base people of slaves, fugitives from Scythia. Like a flood, they coursed through the middle of Persia and Asia Minor. Then they crossed the sea, spread over all of Greece, and went plundering through Serbia<sup>2</sup>, Wallachia, Moldavia, and other nations until they reached Savum and the shores of the Danube. They were able to do so not through their own strength and courage since they are a craven, vile, and despicable people, but because of the conflicts of our own people and their carelessness and cowardliness. It seems to Us that the more despicable the Turks are, the more courageously we should attack them so as to regain admirably – in our own time and with the help of the Lord - the glory of our name which was lost shamefully.

[4] Therefore, beloved son, you have acted worthily and piously in coming to this holy congress, showing how you deplore these great misfortunes and strive with all your power to remedy them. We accept the exhortation made just now, it is welcome to Our ears. Indeed, this very potent testimony to your devotion has the force to move and incite many others to take up this cause. Therefore, on Our part We find that your ardour of soul ought to be praised here, as indeed We do strongly praise it, urging all well-intentioned people to follow your guidance, not only in extreme situations, but as a general norm of fighting.

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<sup>1</sup> "animi tui reverentiam"

<sup>2</sup> "Triballia"

[5] Reliqua pars erat ea, qua tuus orator te et tua omnia pro sancti operis confirmatione nostrae arbitrationi sese permittere atque devovere affirmavit. Dedit, quod nostra de te spes ferebat.

[6] {314v} Optime nostro animo tua quadrat voluntas. Optime tui patris virtuti tuoque praestantissimo et excellentissimo nomini. Nam si noster animus et tuus in unum corpus confusus fuisset, non aliud, quam quod pollicitus es, expetisset. Patri vero tuo consonus es, quod ille omnium ductorum exercitus sui temporis corpore existens strenuo, animo provido, forti et libenti res maximas memoratu dignas gessit et huic Romanae sedi sua industria et labore saepe subvenit, quae omnia ipsis existentibus nobis admodum adolescentibus a Jacopo Tolomeo, secundum carnem patruo nostro, qui Sfortiae signa secutus sub eo ordines ductavit, audisse meminimus.

[7] Tu deinde patris tui virtutem secutus atque etiam supergressus, quanta egregia facinora patraris, in praesentiarum dicere consulto obmittimus. Sat enim et poetae et oratores et historici, quorum aetas nostra caelesti beneficio abundat, ea omnia commemorant. Sed illud haud silentio praeterire possumus, quod sanctae memoriae Calixto tertio, praedecessore nostro, diu adversus ecclesiae hostem opitulatus fuisti. Et {315r} nobis quoque in hac sede sedentibus quantum tua profuerit pietas, ipsi optime cognovimus, qui tuam fidem experti sumus. Perbelle igitur cum omnibus bene tua virtus quadrat nobiscum si pollicendo, quae volebamus, cum patre tuo atque tecum cum res memorabiles gerens illius gloriae atque tuae consentaneus existis.

[8] Quamobrem haec sedes summopere tua facta in domino commendat, et quantum pro tua tanta liberalitate et sponsione tibi dignas gratias rependere non valet, Deum optimum maximumque rogat, ut ipse pro nobis tibi praemia digna ferat. Attamen nos una cum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum cardinalium coetu nobilitati tuae, tuis fratribus, liberis et toti denique Sfortiadae familiae, quantum in nobis erit, alacri animo beneficiemus. Restat modo, ut cum jam ad omnem orationem tuo nomine habitam satis plura, quam credebamus, responderimus, aliud praeterea nihil, nisi quod, cum libuerit, circa rerum expeditionem consilium tuum nobiscum conferas, et nos nostrum tecum conferemus. Finis.

[5] Finally, your orator declared that in support of this holy endeavour you entrust and devote yourself and yours to Our judgment, and thus he gave Us what We hoped for.

[6] Your intentions perfectly agree with Our own mind, but also with your own father's distinguished and excellent name. For if Ours and your mind were united in one body, it would desire just what you promised. And you are in accordance with your father, in his time an outstanding military leader with a strong body and a foresighted, powerful, and generous soul, who did great things worthy to be remembered. Moreover, he often with diligence and energy came to the help of the Roman See. We remember having heard of all this in early youth from Our uncle Jacopo Tolomei, who fought under Sforza as an officer.

[7] Later you yourself imitated and even surpassed your father's courage and strength – though We do not intend to speak about your outstanding deeds now, since they are sufficiently celebrated by the poets, orators, and historians, whom Heaven has given so plentifully to this age. But this We can hardly pass over, that for a long time you were helped of Our predecessor, Calixtus III of blessed memory, against the enemy of the Church.<sup>1</sup> And We also know very well how We too, who now occupy this See, have experienced your loyalty and benefited from your pious devotion. So, when you promise to do as We desire, your virtue is in perfect accordance with Us, with your father, and with yourself, since you perform memorable deeds and thus live up to both his and your own glory.

[8] Therefore, this See highly commends in the Lord your actions, and since it is not able to repay you with gifts of grace worthy of your generosity and promises, it prays to the Best and Greatest<sup>2</sup> God to grant you fitting rewards on Our behalf. But We Ourselves together with the college of Our venerable brethren, the cardinals, shall eagerly and as much as We can show benevolence to your own noble self, your brothers, your sons, and the whole Sforza family.

Since We have now responded more extensively than intended to the whole oration delivered in your name, there is now only left for Us to consult with you – when convenient – and to exchange views on how to proceed in the matter at hand.

The end.

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<sup>1</sup> The condottiero Jacopo Piccinino, see orations "*Modestius*" [27] (1456) and "*Responsuri*" [52] (1459)

<sup>2</sup> Classical epithets of the pagan Roman god Jupiter (Jupiter optimus maximus)

## Appendix: Oration “*Cum essem*” of Francesco Filelfo (18 September 1459, Mantua)

### Manuscripts

The oration is extant in a number of manuscripts, among them the following:

- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana**  
3814, ff. 198r-199v
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 113v-120r (T) (pagination)
- **London / British Library**  
15366, ff. 78v-81r
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ott. lat. 905, ff. 17r-20r  
Ott. lat. 1170, ff. 307v-312v<sup>1</sup> (U)
- **Torino / Biblioteca Ex-Reale**  
Varii 260
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**  
II, ff. 40v-43v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**  
Lat. XI 80 (3057), ff. 259v-262v  
Lat. XIV 113 (4709), ff. 39r-44v

### Editions

The oration has been published in a number of early editions of Filelfo’s epistles and orations, among them:

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<sup>1</sup> Available in BAV Digital

- Orationes Francisci Philelphi cum quibusdam aliis eiusdem operibus ad oratoriam summopere conducentibus. [Paris]: Jean Petit, [1515], ff. 92r-95r<sup>1</sup> **(PE)**

### Present edition

The present edition is based on the BAV Ott. lat. 1170 **(U)**, the Göttingen manuscript **(T)** and Petit's edition from 1515 **(PE)**.

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

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<sup>1</sup> <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100001016>

**Francisci Philelphi Oratio ad Pium secundum pontificem maximum, habita Mantuae in publica universalique christianorum contione pro duce Francisco Sfortia: die Martis quartodecimo Kalendas Octobres, MCCCCLIX.<sup>1</sup>**

[113v] Cum essem, pater beatissime, nomine atque iussu humanissimi principis hujus mei Francisci Sfortiae, inclyti Mediolanensium ducis, apud sanctitatem tuam in tanto hoc et tam florenti [114r] splendidissimoque coetu verba facturus de rebus maximis et clarissimis et cum necessariis, tum<sup>2</sup> Christianis omnibus non mediocriter conducturis, non poteram equidem non subvereri<sup>3</sup>, ne idem mihi accideret, quod gravissimis ac summis et oratoribus et philosophis usu aliquando venisse traditur. Nam et L. Crassus, cum paternam ulturus injuriam apud Qu. Maximum foret adversus Cn. Carbonem causam acturus, ne verbum quidem potuit emittere. Et Tyrtamus, cognomento Theophrastus, pauca admodum verba apud Atheniensem populum dicturus obmutuit. Demosthenes vero talis ille tantusque orator apud Philippum regem, Alexandri patrem, orationem habiturus idem est passus. Nam quid dixero de eloquentissimo viro eruditissimoque philosopho<sup>4</sup>M.T. Cicerone? Nonne in causa illa nobilissima Titi Annii Milonis, fortissimi viri et optime de se meriti, ita expalluit, ita tremuit, ita defecit, ut ineptius numquam oraverit? Haec igitur mecum repetens, pater beatissime, animoque volutans tum hujus loci<sup>5</sup> ornatissimi amplitudinem atque majestatem, tum incredibilem tuam divinamque sapientiam merito optimoque jure expavescebam, ne quid incipienti mihi, quod nollem, accideret. Sed jam me plane recreat ac reficit mitissimi tui istius vultus atque animi {114r} facilitas singularisque illa benignitas, quam nuper in urbe Roma coram ipse de te expertus, majore cum fiducia ad dicendum venio.

Ut ad rem<sup>6</sup> propius accedam, hic optimus princeps meus, ut est sanctitatis tuae et sacri hujus collegii cardinalium universaeque Romanae ecclesiae observantissimus, cum videret, quanto cum studio et diligentia et labore incumberes ad vindicandam Christianam<sup>7</sup> rempublicam ex atrocissima et taeterrima servitute Turcorum in pristinam suam et libertatem et dignitatem, indignum profecto et iniquum a se factum iri existimasset, si abs te tantopere perhumaniterque accersitus ad constitutam diem minus ipse quam primum venisset in pulcherrimum hunc perillustremque conventum tot venerabilium patrum et dominorum et principum. Intelligebat enim in tanto rerum discrimine, quo tota religio nostra fluctuat, celeritate plurima opus esse, ne dum praestolando consultandoque

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<sup>1</sup> Title: Oratio Francisci Philelphi ad Pium Secundum Pontificem Maximum, habita Mantue in publica universalique Christianorum contione pro duce Francisco Sphortia, anno 1459 **T**; Francisci Philelphi oratio ad sacrosanctum ecclesiae Romanae pontificem Pium secundum pro iliustrissimo excellentia sua ... [*illeg.*] ibidem presente **U**

<sup>2</sup> clarissimis et ... tum *omit.* **U**

<sup>3</sup> vereri **U**

<sup>4</sup> eloquentissimo viro ... philosopho : eruditissimo philosopho et eloquentissimo viro **U**

<sup>5</sup> hujus loci : loci hujus **U**

<sup>6</sup> igitur *add.* **U**

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



serius tempus teritur, divi<sup>1</sup> petri navicula ante naufragio obruatur, quam gubernaculo<sup>2</sup> fuerit rudentibusque munita. Itaque posthabitis omninoque praetermissis ceteris negotiis suis omnibus, quae circa novi principatus sui administrationem in tantis hujus nostrae tumescentis fluctuantisque<sup>3</sup> Italiae procellis atque tempestatibus neque parva neque<sup>4</sup> levia esse possunt, ecce, ut vides, non invitus paruit salutiferis {115r} admonitionibus et sanctissimis<sup>5</sup> jussis tuis, quippe qui, ut est vir non minus studiosus religionis et pietatis quam et<sup>6</sup> ingenti animo et consilio, animadvertibat te, pontificem maximum et sanctissimum, non sine causa in tanto itineris labore et infirmitate corporis ex apostolico illo solio Mantuam concessisse et universos Christianae fidei principes ac reges consultandi ferendaeque opis gratia instanti necessitati litteris ac nuntiis convocasse. Nam quid magis decet Christianum hominem, quam non modo pecunias atque vires suas pro illius nomine gloriaque offerre, sed etiam semetipsum, si opus fuerit, devovere, qui ut ipsi vita fruere aeterna, cum e domino servus fieri tum crudelissime et per omne ignominiae genus<sup>7</sup> mori voluit? Oh, divinam illam clementiam! Oh, liberalitatem et munificentiam obstupendam! Tu pro nobis Christe optime maxime, quo illius originalis delicti et perpetuae culpae reos inexpiabili facinore liberares, pudendam acerbissimamque mortem non solum non recusasti, sed ultro etiam<sup>8</sup> atque perlubenter depoposcisti. Nos autem ita simus impudentes, ita ingrati, ita mentis ac sensus inopes, ut facultates nostras atque vitam ipsam, si sit opus<sup>9</sup>, quam a te uno gratis accepimus<sup>10</sup>, in tanta tui nominis jactura et contumelia tibi<sup>11</sup> repetenti reddere dubitemus? Absit a regibus et principibus Christianis<sup>12</sup> tantum dedecus {115v}, tantum opprobrium, tantum nefas. Quid enim reliqui principes sint facturi, pater beatissime, quorum opes ac vires majores formidabilioresque sunt, quando unus hic Franciscus Sfortia ne dilectissimis quidem et fratribus et filiis parcere decreverit, modo possit aliquam opem salutemque afferre huic salutifero<sup>13</sup> pientissimoque operi? Novit certe princeps prudentissimus nos esse natos non nobis solis, sed bonis omnibus, sed toti fidei Christianae, sed immortalis Deo Christo Jesu redemptori nostro, cujus innocentem et sanctissimam civitatem pati ludibrio esse diritati<sup>14</sup> immanitatisque Turcorum turpissimum est et dedecorosum in primis. Eo enim omnis indignitas ducenda est indignior, quo ab indignioribus infertur hominibus: si homines quidem potius quam efferatae prorsus<sup>15</sup> et truculentissimae quaedam beluae Turci sunt appellandi, cum nihil in se humanitatis habeant praeter hominis figuram et eam sane ob flagitiosissimam turpitudinis foeditatem depravatam ac<sup>16</sup> nequam.

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

<sup>2</sup> tabernaculo T, PE

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

<sup>4</sup> nec T

<sup>5</sup> et sanctissimis : atque U

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

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

<sup>8</sup> ultro etiam : etiam ultro U

<sup>9</sup> si sit opus *omit.* U

<sup>10</sup> tibi *add.* U

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>12</sup> absit absit *add.* U

<sup>13</sup> saluberrimo U

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>16</sup> et U

Quis unus omnium Turcos ignoret fugitivos esse Scytharum servos eosque pastores, qui ex ergastulis illius vasti et inhospitabilis montis Caucasi cum in Persiam ac Mediam latrocinatum descendissent nullumque certum incolerent domicilium praeter obsoleta lustra et horrentes silvarum latebras, primum Justiniani<sup>1</sup> {116r} temporibus ad Hellespontum usque clandestinis insidiis impetum facientes, eodem<sup>2</sup> ductore et collatrone perditissimo Boccano urbem opulentissimam<sup>3</sup> Bosphorum repentina vi captam diripuerunt. Deinde ubi laxius, ut homines humiles abjectique<sup>4</sup> negliguntur contemnunturque, imperante Constantinopoli Alexio Comneno<sup>5</sup> tantum rebus suis incrementum fures obscurissimi continuis latrociniiis attulerunt - nam quid non consequatur assiduitas?<sup>6</sup> - ut jam auderent aperto etiam Marte cum imperio illo orientali<sup>7</sup> de principatu contendere. Usu enim fieri quotidie videmus, ut quo quis humiliore ignobilioreque natus genere fortunae impudentia usus fuerit, eo se arrogantem, insolentem, superbiorum praestet.

Et ne sim in re minime jucunda narrando prolixior: ubi Turci per Theodorum Cantacuzenum, qui Johannem Palaeologum ut<sup>8</sup> pupillum et generum impius circumscriptor<sup>9</sup> patrio avitoque regno fraudarat, ex Asiatica Mysia in Thraciam Gallipoli ad Hellespontum<sup>10</sup> tradita perinde atque socii sunt traducti, nunc socerum, nunc generum Horcane ductore fallentes, ut sunt ad omne improbitatis genus proclives atque anhelantes, brevi temporis {116v} curriculo magna ex parte Thracia occupata, duce Amurato, Horcanis, filio in Triballos, qui nunc Servi appellantur<sup>11</sup>, irruere. Quo in loco<sup>12</sup> ubi magna utrimque caede jam<sup>13</sup> perpetrata Amarus a Lazaro strenuo atque<sup>14</sup> fortissimo Triballorum duce, qui se pro patria immaculatam hostiam devovens cum duodecim intrepidis<sup>15</sup> commilitonibus in castra ipsa intra crudelissimi sceleratissimique tyranni tentorium impetum fecerat, multis vulneribus confossus occiditur.

Huic ubi Baizetes<sup>16</sup> filius successisset non re minus fulmen quam nomine, id enim Baizetes Turcorum lingua significat, non solum Thessalia Christianis et Boeotia est erepta, sed ipsa etiam nova Roma, Constantinopolis, ita vallata et pressa diuturna obsidione oppugnationibusque continuis et tremendis, ut profligato jam ad Nicopolim Sigismundo, rege Hungariae<sup>17</sup>, cum toto<sup>18</sup> et tam rebus

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<sup>1</sup> Augusti *add.* U

<sup>2</sup> eodemque PE

<sup>3</sup> urbem opulentissimam : opulentissimam urbem U

<sup>4</sup> ut homines ... abjectique *omit.* U

<sup>5</sup> Constantinopoli Alexio Comneno : Alexio Comneno Constantinopoli U

<sup>6</sup> nam quid ... assiduitas *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> imperio illo orientali : orientali imperio illo U

<sup>8</sup> quasi U

<sup>9</sup> circumscriptor U

<sup>10</sup> Gallipoli ad Hellespontum tradita *omit.* U

<sup>11</sup> qui nunc ... appellantur *omit.* U

<sup>12</sup> quo in loco *omit.* U

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>14</sup> strenuo atque U

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>16</sup> Bais.. *et passim* U, PE

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>18</sup> tanto U

omnibus ornatissimo exercitu fortium virorum ad trecenta millia post internitionem tantae Gallorum nobilitatis, post ludibriosam et barbaram ac spurcissimam contumeliam tot principum, tot ducum<sup>1</sup>, post jam prope extinctum Christianum et<sup>2</sup> nomen et cultum<sup>3</sup> nisi<sup>4</sup> repente Christus Jesus, qui se de inimicis suis ulcisci dignatus est: Thomyrin Massagetam cognomento Tamberlanum, quoniam pede altero esset claudus, cum innumerabili firmissimoque misisset exercitu, ipsa inquam nova Roma,<sup>5</sup> Constantinopolis, ex illo usque tempore et capta vi esset et versa in praedam. At noluit tum Deus omnipotens tantam pati indignitatem<sup>6</sup>, quin potius perspicue omnibus gentibus declaravit frustra esse humanos cogitatus omnes, qui divino careant auxilio. Victus est igitur et captus illico a Thomyride Tamberlano fulmineus ille et horribilis Baizetes nulla pugna, nulla concussione hastarum, nulla ensium vibratione, sine ullo prorsus sagittarum jactu. Nam ante universus Baizetae exercitus fugae turpissimae terga dedit, quam descensum esset in aciem. Oh, mirabilem Dei providentiam! Oh incomprehensibilem immensamque potentiam! Oh caritatem, qua nos complecteris, infinitam! Et nos miseri nondum prospicimus<sup>7</sup>, non respicimus?

Captus igitur et non multa post obtruncatus per multam contumeliam ille tam potens, tam elatus, tam formidabilis Baizetes cum nonnullos filios reliquisset, ceteris demum deinceps omnibus per sultanum fratrem strangulatis arcus nervo, ex quo poesta Cyricis dictus est, solus hic sultanus Cyricis in tyrannida successit, nihilo quidem<sup>8</sup> minus quam Baizetes pater Christianis perniciosus. Nam et Mysos, qui citra Danubium sedent, {117v} et ultra Danubium Wallachos, et Moldaviam subjugavit adjecitque quidquid Mari Aegaeo Jonioque adjacet praeter solam Peloponnesum ad Illyricos usque.

Qui posteaquam animam efflasset, secutus est Amorathus, filius ob Amorathum proavum ita nominatus. Is omnium primum post strangulatum Mustapham fratrem<sup>9</sup> urbem Constantinopolim permagno et accerrimo munitus exercitu obsedit mensibus tribus oppugnavitque fortissime, quo tempore illic me continebam disciplinae Graecae consequendae gratia<sup>10</sup>. Quam ubi nequisset expugnare<sup>11</sup>, agro igni ferroque vastato abiit adortus Thessalonicam in Macedonia, quae Turcorum metu Venetis se dederat<sup>12</sup>. Hanc posteaquam dies tris continuos oppugnat, tandem expugnat agitque in praedam.

Murum Isthmi, qui Peloponensem<sup>13</sup> per continentem ab Aegaeo ad Jonium pelagus tutabatur, cum coepisset per incolarum proditionem, solo aequavit inde abacta ingenti praeda. Qui ubi

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<sup>1</sup> tot ducum *omit.* PE

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

<sup>3</sup> et cultum *omit.* U

<sup>4</sup> nisi U

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

<sup>6</sup> Deus omnipotens ... indignitatem : tantam pati indignitatem Deus omnipotens U

<sup>7</sup> respiscimus U

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>9</sup> post strangulatum ... fratrem U

<sup>10</sup> quo tempore ... gratia *omit.* U

<sup>11</sup> nequisset expugnare ... expugnare nequisset U

<sup>12</sup> dedissent U

<sup>13</sup> Peloponesum U

saepenumero<sup>1</sup> pugnasset cum Hungaris et id quidem infeliciter, demum ubi apud Varnam cum iisdem Hungaris manum conseruisset essetque unius Johannis Voivodae, clarissimi belli ducis, calliditate summaque virtute superatus atque ingenti cum caede in fugam versus, factum est subito audacia atque animositate regis Wladislai, ut e victo {118r} victor evaserit Hungaris cunctis non tam fugatis quam per subitam animorum consternationem ob intolerabilem dolorem, quem ex interempto rege animo conceperant<sup>2</sup>, ultro fugientibus. In qua quidem Christianorum fuga illud vulnus vel maximum nomini Christiano infixum est, quod Julianum Caesarinum, Sancta Crucis Cardinalem, virum vero dignum Romana ecclesia, Hungari frustra a fuga revocantem crudelissime trucidarunt.

Amorathum autem<sup>3</sup> hunc<sup>4</sup> non multis post annis majores calamitates in Christianum populum aerumnasque molientem peropportune<sup>5</sup> mors e medio sustulit relicto Mahometo filio uno certe omnium, qui sunt, fuerunt, futurique sunt, impurissimo adolescente et omni immanitate immaniore. De hoc autem taetro diroque portento, de hoc – inquam - tam {94v} truculento, tam saevo, tam horrendo, tam funesto prodigio, quid dicendum, quid sentiendum, quid tenendum sit, nescio. Illud certe scio neminem umquam alterum ex omni hominum memoria exitisse, qui brevi adeo tempore tanta trepidatione atque terrore universum prope terrae<sup>6</sup> orbem affecerit. Et ne id quidem mirum! Quas enim calamitates unus hic alter impius {118v} et abominabilis<sup>7</sup> Mahometus tam paucis annis Christiano populo intulit? Nobilissimum illud orientalis imperii emporium Novam Romam<sup>8</sup>, Constantinopolim, heu miseram nostram infelicemque tempestatem, num latissimi illi<sup>9</sup> altissimique muri crassissimaeque turrets, quae singulae munitissimas arces repraesentabant<sup>10</sup>, cum viderentur omni adamanti solidiores, num ulla hominum aut ingenia aut vires tutari potuerunt, quo minus a Turcis captum et in miserabilem<sup>11</sup> praedam versum omnibus gentibus sit exemplo nihil esse nobis superbiendum? Nonne paulo post Peloponnesus eodem tacta fulmine periit? Quid enim Triballos, quid Illyricorum, quid Dalmatiae reliquias commemorem, quos omnes assiduis incursionibus et incendiis premit ac perdit idem nefarium abominabileque monstrum?

Verum quid Triballos memini? Hos enim Mahometus jam omnis egit in aerumnosissimam servitutem. Nunc ultimo exitio Pannoniis imminet. Eoque faciliorem sperat de his<sup>12</sup> victoriam, quod Spondorobum, Triballorum emporium, expeditum per Danubium transitum in Hungaros praebet. Hungari vero ipsi, etsi sunt tum animorum ferocia, tum robore corporum, peritiaque bellandi adversus Turcos aptissimi, tamen quia {119r} intestinis seditionibus assidue inter se digladiantur,

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<sup>1</sup> sepius U

<sup>2</sup> interempto rege ... conceperant : interempti regis U

<sup>3</sup> in qua quidem ... autem *omit.* U

<sup>4</sup> vero *add.* U

<sup>5</sup> opportune U

<sup>6</sup> terrarum U

<sup>7</sup> et abominabilis *omit.* U

<sup>8</sup> Novam Romam *omit.* U

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>10</sup> crassimaeque turrets ... cum viderentur : qui U

<sup>11</sup> ac luctuosissimam *add.* PE

<sup>12</sup> iis PE

sunt ad rem tantam tamque necessariam<sup>1</sup> imbecilliores. Quo fit, ut nisi propediem a ceteris Christianis principibus eorum imminente extremoque periculo succuratur, indubitato sint perituri. Illius autem populosissimi regni belicosissimique eversio, quod omen Deus avertat, quantam sit cladem cunctis Christianis illatura, quis est tam rerum nescius, qui ignoret?

Expergiscimini ergo, expergiscimini tandem principes et populi Christiani. Ferte periclitantibus auxilium, ferte Christo Jesu, ferte vobis ipsis, ferte filiis uxorisque vestris. Nolite pati, per Deum immortalem, nolite pati tantam pestem, tantam perniciem adversus Christianam rempublicam diutius invalescere, incrudescere, debacchari. An ignoratis fore, ut subjugatis Hungaris, qui vobis<sup>2</sup> clipeo sunt et muro, continuo vobis sit de vestra et libertate et gloria saluteque pugnandum?

Laudatur a viris sapientibus et L. Brutus et Manlius Torquatus, quod proprios filios virgis caesos securi percuti iusserint ducti illi quidem, ut ajunt<sup>3</sup>, alter disciplina rei militaris, alter salute patriae. Laudatur Curtius, quod se in profundissimum terrae<sup>4</sup> hiatus illum periturus praecipitavit, quo metu mortis patriam<sup>5</sup> solveret. Laudantur tres Decii, pater, et<sup>6</sup> {119v} filius, ac nepos, quod in extremis reipublicae periculis sese deinceps pro patria devoverint. Laudatur M. Attilius Regulus, qui ut fidem hosti servaret, ad acerbissimos<sup>7</sup> corporis cruciatus, ad dedecorisissimam contumeliam, ad indubitatum mortem redire non dubitaret. Laudantur, inquam, laudantur, cum alii multi<sup>8</sup> tum Phileni et Codrus, qui honestam mortem turpi vitae<sup>9</sup> ingenti animo<sup>10</sup> praetulerint<sup>11</sup>. At hos omnes qua ratione ductos arbitremur? Alia nempe nulla, nisi ut umbratilem et inanem hujus<sup>12</sup> saeculi gloriam<sup>13</sup> vel mortui viderentur assecuti<sup>14</sup>.

Nos autem, qui ad hujus vitae celebrem<sup>15</sup> gloriam aeternam quoque atque caelestem gloriam simus assecuturi, cunctabimur diutius obviam ire pulcherrimis gloriosissimisque triumphis? Iam tandem felicissima signa in barbaram Turcorum illam et abjectam servilemque nationem tollenda sunt te auctore et duce atque vexillifero, pontifex maxime<sup>16</sup> pietissime, Pie secunde, qui Christi vices in terris gerens omnia pro animi tui magnitudine et incomparabili sapientia divinaque virtute constitutus, geres<sup>17</sup>, moderabere, perficies.

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<sup>1</sup> tamque necessariam *omit.* U

<sup>2</sup> nobis U

<sup>3</sup> ut ajunt *omit.* U

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* U

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

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

<sup>7</sup> crudelissimos U

<sup>8</sup> nonnulli U

<sup>9</sup> preferre *add.* U

<sup>10</sup> praeferre *add.* PE

<sup>11</sup> pertulerint U

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>13</sup> assecuti *add.* U

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>17</sup> reges U

Quis adeo sit a fide Christiana alienus, quis ita abhorrens ab omni humanitate, quis tam suis rebus sibique adversus, qui in re tam pia, {120r} tam necessaria, tam laudabili, tam utili beatitudini tuae parere subterfugiat atque<sup>1</sup> nolit<sup>2</sup> vitam suam, si sit opus, Deo offerre, quo tanto dedecore amarissimoque flagello Christiana respublica liberetur?

Nam quod ad Franciscum Sfortiam, Mediolanensium ducem, principem meum, attinet, hic eo consilio abs te accersitus eo animo huc venit, ut omnia sit pro tua et sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae voluntate jussuque facturus. Non modo enim et universam tibi substantiam et exercitum suum<sup>3</sup> omnem pollicetur ad hanc rem tantam<sup>4</sup>, tam sanctam, tam Deo hominibusque acceptam, sed fratres etiam ac filios, praesertim cum non ambigat ceteros quoque principes regesque Christianos idem singulos pro sua facultate facturos. Ac multo sane alacrius et libentius ipsemet praestantissimus princeps meus, ut est<sup>5</sup> invicto et excelso animo religionique deditissimus et sanctitatis tuae observantissimus<sup>6</sup> in tam praeclaram tamque<sup>7</sup> salutiferam expeditionem profisceretur, si per Italicarum rerum conditiones ei liceret<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> subterfugiat atque *omit.* U

<sup>2</sup> atque *add.* U

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

<sup>4</sup> et *add.* U

<sup>5</sup> eum T

<sup>6</sup> et sanctitatis ... observantissimus *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> praeclaram tamque : illustrem et tam U

<sup>8</sup> Dixi *add.* T

<sup>9</sup> Oratio habita Mantuae ab eodem Francisco Philipho in publico universalique consistorio XIII. Kal. Octobris MCCCCLVIII *add.* U

