



**Oration “Magna pars vestrum” of Pope Pius II (1 June 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 43)**

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 43)**

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

**7th version**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

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

## **Keywords**

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

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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 is a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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

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7. 1458-1459 (Orations 29-42)
8. 1459-1459 (Orations 43-51)
9. 1459-1461 (Orations 52-63)
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### II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**



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

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

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

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

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

In his *De expeditione papae*, Crivelli noted that the pope spoke “with misery in his eyes.”<sup>5</sup>

Pius’ contemporary biographer, Campano, wrote:

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

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

<sup>2</sup> See oration “*Ut apertum vobis*” [29], Introduction

<sup>3</sup> Picotti, p. 135

<sup>4</sup> CO, II, 1 (Meserve, pp. 3, 6-7)

<sup>5</sup> Crivelli, p. 101: *miserabilibus oculis*; Setton, II, p. 204

<sup>6</sup> Zimolo, p. 36: *Exposita ratione belli suscipiendi in Turchas, paucis inventis eorum qui se conventuros erant polliciti, religionis simul et Italiae vicem deploravit oratione admodum mesta et plena desperationis*

The event is not mentioned by Pius' other contemporary biographer Platina who otherwise took an unreasonably positive view of the whole Congress.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Themes

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

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

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

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

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

Shortly afterwards, the pope sent a letter, the *Jam duce altissimo*, to the princes who had not dispatched envoys to the congress, strongly urging them to do so, and warning them not to

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<sup>1</sup> Zimolo, p. 106

incur the eternal shame of deserting the Saviour and those who daily gave their lives for the Faith.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

The format was a papal oration from the throne.

### 4. Text<sup>2</sup>

The oration is extant in two versions:

The Early Version, the "*Magna pars vestrum*", was first copied and circulated individually, as testified by its presence in various humanist collective manuscripts, see below. One copy was presumably made available to Lodrisio Crivelli for inclusion in his *De Expeditione Pii Papae II* (which was never finished).<sup>3</sup> Later it was included in the papal collection of addresses to ambassadors compiled in 1462.<sup>4</sup> The Early Version is close to or identical with the oration as actually delivered.

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<sup>1</sup> Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 43: *ne redemptori suo et sibi cum sempiterna ignominia et clade eorum, qui quotidie dant sanguinem suo pro fide defuisse appareant*

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> Picotti, p. 137, n. 2, considers that the text is so short compared to the Final Version that it must be a draft text. It is quite unlikely, however, that a draft version would have been put into circulation after the event, and also that it would have been included in the official collection of Pius's responses, compiled in 1460. Also, the two versions have more or less the same length, and if anything the Final Version is a little shorter than the Early Version. Voigt, IV, p. 46, n. 1, believed that the version published by Crivelli is a - very emotional - version of Pius' own text that Crivelli himself had composed for inclusion in his *De expeditione* - "nicht ohne Glück in Pius' Weise". However, the version published by Crivelli is very close to the text of the other manuscripts containing the Early Version and is certainly not a third, independent version

<sup>4</sup> See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2

The Final Version, the "*Speravimus fratres*," is the version included in the pope's autobiography, the *Commentarii*.<sup>1</sup> It is much reworked and was presumably written two to three years after the Congress of Mantua, when the pope knew that the congress had been a fiasco, and before events in 1463 which made him believe that the crusade could actually be organized.

#### 4.1. Early Version: "*Magna pars vestrum*"

##### 4.1.1. Manuscripts<sup>2</sup>

The Early Version is extant in at least ten manuscripts: three manuscripts are humanist collective manuscripts which contain the oration as individually transmitted; five manuscripts contain the oration as included in a special collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors; and two manuscripts contain the oration as part of Lodrisio Crivelli's *De expeditione Pii Papae II*.<sup>3</sup>

##### Transmitted individually

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 120r-121v
- **London / British Library**  
Codex Harley, 4913, n. 2<sup>4</sup>
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Peter, Bibliothek**  
b VIII 15, ff. 188r-189r (P) \*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4

<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

<sup>3</sup> See oration "*Ut apertum vobis*", [29] Introduction

<sup>4</sup> Pastor, II, p. 50

Transmitted as part of Collection of Pius II's Responses

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

Transmitted as included in Crivelli's De Expeditione

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

#### 4.1.2. Editions

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

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

This edition was based on a manuscript made available to Muratori by Argelati. It is not known which manuscript it was, but according to Zimolo the text of the *De expeditione* in Muratori's edition is quite close to the text in the Trivulziana manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> Collated after Zimolo's edition. In a later version, the text will be collated directly from the manuscript in BAV

<sup>2</sup> Crivelli, p. XXXVIII

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

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

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

## 4.2. Final Version: “*Speravimus fratres*”

### 4.2.1 Manuscripts

The text of the Final Version belongs to a group of orations and responses to ambassadors which were included in Pius *Commentarii* and not in the official collection of his orations produced in 1462.<sup>1</sup> Since the *Commentarii* were intended to present a positive image of Pius’ pontificate, the orations and responses included in them were probably heavily edited.

In the *Commentarii* the oration is included in book 3, chapter 1, where it forms part of his description of the opening of the Congress in Mantua on 1 June 1459.

The two main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii* are:

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei<sup>2</sup>**  
Corsinianus 147, ff. 77r-77v **(S)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 116r-117r **(R)** \*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4

<sup>2</sup> The Lincei manuscript represents the final version of the text as it represents *what Pius intended to be the final version of the Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)

#### 4.2.2. Editions and translations<sup>1</sup>

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

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

The text has also been published individually:

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

#### 4.3. Present edition

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

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<sup>1</sup> For a more comprehensive list of editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11

*Text:*

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

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

*Pagination:*

In the Early Version pagination is from manuscript H.

In the Final Version is from manuscript S.

## 5 Sources<sup>1</sup>

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

Biblical: 5

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

**All: 5**

**Biblical sources: 5**

Old Testament: 1

- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 4

- Matthew: 3
- Luke: 1

**Classical sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.



Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

## 6. Bibliography

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

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

Crivelli, Leodrisio: *Leodrisii Cribelli De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*. A cura di Giulio C. Zimolo. Bologna, 1950. (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*; T. XXIII, P. V)

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

Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodiit auctor*. T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732. Coll. 203-205

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, cujus Johannes Dominicus Mansi ... 53 vols. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798

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

- Pii secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt. A Ioanne Gobellino compositi, et a Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo ex vetusto originali recogniti. Avram, 1614<sup>1</sup>
- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. II vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. by Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *Commentaries*. Ed. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. G.D. Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Orationes of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2015-2019. [Available via the Internet in HAL Archives]

Platina, Bartolomeo: *Vita Pii II Pontificis Maximi*. SEE Zimolo

Reinhardt, Volker: *Pius II. Piccolomini – Der Papst, mit dem die Renaissance begann*. München, 2013

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<sup>1</sup> The first edition of this work is from 1584

Setton, Kenneth M.: *The Papacy and the Levant*. 4 vols. Philadelphia, 1976-1984 (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society; 114+161-162)

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Zimolo, Giulio C. (ed.): *Le vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina*. Bologna, 1964. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; t. III, p. II)

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

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

**R** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

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

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

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

### Abbreviations

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

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

## Early Version: Magna pars vestrum

### Ad conventum Mantuanum<sup>1</sup>

[1] {178r} Magna pars vestrum, venerabiles fratres ac<sup>2</sup> dilecti filii, dum Romae adhuc ageremus, abunde<sup>3</sup> causas intellexit, propter quas in hac {178v} urbe Mantuana<sup>4</sup> Christianorum regum<sup>5</sup> et<sup>6</sup> populorum conventum indiximus, easdem nunc omnes a venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Coronensi<sup>7</sup>, qui publice peroravit, plenius intellexistis. Publica nos trahit necessitas, utinam utilitas sequatur, quam speravimus. Pauci adhuc venerunt ex his, qui vocati sunt. Ita natura comparatum<sup>8</sup> est. Non est hominibus ea publici boni cura quae privati. Omnes<sup>9</sup>, quae sua sunt, diligenter quaerunt<sup>10</sup>, pauci, quae Jesu Christi. Non tamen abjicienda spes est. *Jactemus cogitatum nostrum in domino, et ipse nos enutriet.* Hoc opus Dei est, quod coepimus. Opem ejus devotissime imploremus: non deerit invocantibus se divina miseratio. Si non adsunt, quos vocavimus, dolemus quidem. At tempus adest, venire adhuc<sup>11</sup> possunt, et venient, ut in domino Deo nostro piissimo confidimus<sup>12</sup>. Expectandum est donec<sup>13</sup> sciamus<sup>14</sup>, quae tandem sit regum et populorum Christi cultorum cogitatio atque sententia.

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<sup>1</sup> Oratio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi in conventu Mantuano habita P, X

<sup>2</sup> et P, X

<sup>3</sup> aliunde G

<sup>4</sup> Mantua X

<sup>5</sup> principum P, X

<sup>6</sup> ac T, V

<sup>7</sup> Caronensi V

<sup>8</sup> compertum G, J

<sup>9</sup> homines P

<sup>10</sup> curant *interlin.* T

<sup>11</sup> ad hunc V

<sup>12</sup> piissimo confidimus : confidimus piissimo P, X

<sup>13</sup> ut P

<sup>14</sup> sacius P

## To the Congress of Mantua

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Bartolomeo Lapacci Rimbertyni (1402-1466): Bishop of Coron from 1449 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 20, 16

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



[2] Si venerint, qui rebus gerendis consilio et auxilio esse possunt, prosequemur alacri et magno animo coeptum negotium, nec ambigimus, quin<sup>1</sup> opitulante divina pietate Christianam religionem ab hostili vexatione magnifice defendamus. Si minus, quod magni Dei bonitas avertat, intelligent omnes potestatem nobis<sup>2</sup> bene gerendae rei, non<sup>3</sup> voluntatem defuisse. Vos interea monitos atque oratos<sup>4</sup> volumus, ne taedeat in hoc loco moram trahere, et si quae<sup>5</sup> sunt incommoditates<sup>6</sup> aequo animo perferre. Nam cum *sitis sal terrae*, et *lucerna supra candelabrum posita*, condimentum {179r} omnibus esse debetis ad bene agendum<sup>7</sup>, et cunctis lumen ad veritatem<sup>8</sup> praebere<sup>9</sup>, qui sunt in domo Dei, id est in ecclesia domini nostri<sup>10 11</sup> Jesu Christi. Apostoli Dei sua corpora<sup>12</sup> tradiderunt et animas suas posuere, ut sanctum<sup>13</sup> Christi evangelium salutaremque legem huic mundo praedicarent atque insererent<sup>14</sup>. Et nos pro suscepta majorum fide atque<sup>15</sup> religione tutanda aut labores vitabimus aut sumptus? Imitemur eos, quorum tenemus locum, nec<sup>16</sup> gravemur<sup>17</sup> pecunias<sup>18</sup>, rem vilem, exponere, qui pro Christi nomine proprium sanguinem tenemur<sup>19</sup> effundere.

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<sup>1</sup> quod P, X

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* P, X

<sup>3</sup> nec P, X

<sup>4</sup> esse *add.* P; exoratos X

<sup>5</sup> qua T, V

<sup>6</sup> incommoda T, V; commoditates X

<sup>7</sup> gerendum T

<sup>8</sup> virtutem P, T, V, X

<sup>9</sup> praebendi J

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>11</sup> domini nostri *omit.* P, T, V, X

<sup>12</sup> sua corpora : corpora sua T, V

<sup>13</sup> secundum G

<sup>14</sup> miscerent J

<sup>15</sup> ac P, X

<sup>16</sup> ne P, X

<sup>17</sup> gravemus P, X

<sup>18</sup> pecuniam P, X

<sup>19</sup> sanguinem tenemur : tenemur sanguinem G

[2] If those who can advise and assist Us in the matter at hand do come, We shall eagerly and resolutely pursue Our undertaking. And We do not doubt that, with the help of Pious God, We shall be able to splendidly defend the Christian religion being harassed by enemies. If – what the Good God forbid – those invited do not come, then all will understand that the reason for Our failure is not lack of will, but of strength. In the meantime, We urge and request that you do not tire of waiting here, but do bear any discomfort with equanimity. For since *you are the salt of the Earth*<sup>1</sup> and *candles set on a candlestick*,<sup>2</sup> you must be a stimulus for all to do well and be a beacon of truth for all<sup>3</sup> those who are in the House of God, that is in the Church of Our Lord, Jesus Christ. God's apostles gave their bodies and souls to preach and bring the holy Gospel of Christ and the law of Salvation to the World. Should We then avoid any labour and expense in defense of the Faith and religion of our fathers? No, let Us imitate those whose place We hold, and let Us, who are obliged to shed Our own blood for the sake of Christ, not hesitate to spend money, that base thing.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 5, 13

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 5, 15

<sup>3</sup> Luke, 8, 16

[3] Nos certe huc venimus nullam privatam ob causam, nullum quaerimus proprium emolumentum. Ut ab initio diximus, salus reipublicae nos traxit. Venimus<sup>1</sup> non sine gravibus incommodis et periculis terrarum ecclesiae, neque sine offensione nostri corporis. Si qui adsunt legati principum aut<sup>2</sup> civitatum ad res gerendas mandatum habentes, audiemus eos et cum eis conferemus. Nos nullam viam adhuc suscepimus, neque<sup>3</sup> hunc aut illum procedendi<sup>4</sup> modum aggressi sumus. Libet omnium audire consilia, res diligenti examine<sup>5</sup> discutere, et, quod majori et saniori parti placuerit, id<sup>6</sup> prosequi. Si reperiemus principes ad rem hanc idest ad<sup>7</sup> defensionem Christianae religionis intentos, invenient et ipsi Romanum praesulem pro communi utilitate ardentissimum. Quidquid nostrarum virium erit<sup>8</sup> ad hoc salutare opus conferemus, neque sumptus fugiemus, neque labores. His nunc paucis contenti sumus. Alio tempore, cum plures aderunt<sup>9</sup>, pluribus utemur<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> nos *add.* P, X

<sup>2</sup> et *corr. ex* aut T

<sup>3</sup> nec P, X

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

<sup>5</sup> examinatione P, X

<sup>6</sup> et saniori ... id : parti placuerit et saniori P, X

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

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* P, X

<sup>9</sup> aderint G, J

<sup>10</sup> agemus T, V

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

## Final Version: Speravimus fratres

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> quanta R

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> Hungary

[3] Agite, fratres; agite, filii. Convertimini ad Deum toto corde, vigilate, orate, jejuniis et elemosynis peccata vestra redimite, facite opera digna poenitentiae. Sic enim placatus Deus nostri miserebitur et audentibus nobis hostes tradet in manus nostras. Nos hic tam diu manebimus donec animos principum exploremus. Quod si venturi fuerint, simul cum ipsis reipublicae consulemus. Si minus, necessarium erit domum repetere eamque sortem ferre, quam dominus dederit. Verum defendendae religionis propositum quoad vires vitaque suppetant numquam deseremus, nec durum putabimus, si res petierit, *pro nostris ovibus animam ponere*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> verum defendendae ... ponere *written in Pius' own hand* R

[3] So, act, brothers; act, sons! Return to the Lord with all your heart, make vigils, pray, and redeem your sins with fasting and alms, do works of penitence.<sup>1</sup> For thus God will be well pleased with us and show us mercy, and if We are brave and courageous, He will deliver our enemies into our hands. We shall stay here until We know the minds of the princes. If they come, We shall consult with them concerning the Commonwealth. If not, We must go home and bear the outcome as the Lord will give it. However, as long as We live and have any strength left, We shall not fail the cause of defending religion, and, if necessary, We shall not find it hard *to give our lives for our sheep*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Joel, 2, 12

<sup>2</sup> John 10, 11 and 15



## Appendix: Reply of the Imperial ambassador

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

### Manucripts

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

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

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