



HAL
open science

Oration “Non habet me dubium” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 January 1447, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 8th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 11)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

► **To cite this version:**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg. Oration “Non habet me dubium” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 January 1447, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 8th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 11). 2019. halshs-00965317

HAL Id: halshs-00965317

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00965317>

Submitted on 17 Sep 2019

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 11)

Oration “*Non habet me dubium*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 January 1447, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

8th version

2019

Abstract

In January 1447, Enea Silvio Piccolomini arrived in Rome on a mission from Emperor Friedrich III to the ailing Pope Eugenius IV. The mission was to declare the obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the pope, thus ending the state of German neutrality between the pope and the Council of Basel. This council had been dissolved by the pope in 1438, but it continued to function and even elected an antipope, Felix V. Piccolomini was accompanied by other ambassadors from German princes and prelates with the same purpose. The Germans posed a number of conditions to be met by the Apostolic See before obedience could be declared: holding a new general council, recognizing the authority of the general councils, removing the financial and legal burdens on the German Nation, and lifting the excommunication of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. The mission was successful, but the pope did not himself enjoy the fruits of this victory for the Papacy since he died some weeks later. As a reward for his diplomatic success, Piccolomini was, soon after, appointed Bishop of Trieste.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius; Aeneas Sylvius; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Council of Basel; Council of Basle; Holy Roman Empire; Apostolic See; Papacy; German neutrality; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th Century; 1447

Editor and translator

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

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 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

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

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

¹ 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**

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

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla and abbreviations

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Introduction [1-6]
2. God helps the pope by sending the German Princes to offer peace [7-11]
3. The peace brought to the pope by the German Nation [12-15]
4. Conditions for German obedience to the pope [16-23]
 - 4.1. Holding a new general council [18]
 - 4.2. Recognizing the authority of the general councils [19]
 - 4.3. Removing the burdens on the German nation [20-23]
 - 4.4. Lifting the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne [23-24]
5. Conclusion [25]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The final break between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council in Basel occurred in January 1438 when the pope translated the Council to Ferrara, thereby effectively dissolving it. In Ferrara, he opened his “own” council which he later transferred to Florence.

In this council participated the pope himself, the Byzantine Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the cardinals, and a number of Greek and Latin prelates and theologians. It succeeded in effecting a reunion between the Latin and Greek Churches, and though that reunion turned out to be shortlived, it greatly improved the status of the papacy and of the pope himself.

The council in Basel went on to suspend and later to depose the pope, and in 1439 it elected an antipope, Felix V, thus creating a new schism in the Church only two decades after the preceding council² had ended the Great Western Schism, with three popes.³

When Emperor Sigismund⁴ died in December 1437, the German prince electors assembled in Frankfurt to elect the new emperor.⁵ In this context, they also dealt with the situation in the Church, and on 17 March 1438 they declared their official neutrality in the church conflict.⁶ This state of neutrality received the adhesion of the other German princes and bishops as well as the new emperor, Albrecht II, and it lasted until it was finally brought to an end in 1447, partly through the agency of our Piccolomini.

In March 1439, a congress of representatives of the German Princes and Archbishops as well as of some foreign kings gathered in Mainz. There the German princes and prelates issued a solemn Acceptation of 26 decrees of the Council of Basel, although with some modifications.⁷ In doing so, they followed the example of France where King Charles VII had decreed the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.⁸ Emperor Albrecht adhered to the Acceptation, but without confirming it explicitly. It therefore did not have the full power of

¹ Piccolomini: *Report on embassy to Pope Eugenius IV, 1447*. In WO: II, pp. 237 ff. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1447; Ady, 95-97; Boulting, pp. 169-170; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, 255-261; Gill, pp. 162-164; Koller, pp. 106-110; Mitchell, pp. 101-102; O'Brien, pp. 63 ff; Paparelli, pp. 118-119; Pastor, pp. 260-262; Stolff, p. 204; Voigt, II, pp. 381-399;

² The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418

³ Gregory XII, Benedict XIII, John XXIII,

⁴ Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Bohemia and Roman Emperor

⁵ Albrecht V Habsburg (1397-1439): Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Roman Emperor as Albrecht II (uncrowned)

⁶ Stieber, p. 137

⁷ Stieber, p. 161

⁸ 1438

law, and *remained little more than a statement of expectations*.¹ Among the Basilean decrees not recognized by the Germans was the deposition of Pope Eugenius.

After 1439, the European powers and national churches gradually came to recognize Pope Eugenius as the legitimate pope and no longer recognized the Council of Basel. In this context, German neutrality became less and less tenable. It did, however, entail considerable advantages for the German princes and prelates who did not strictly observe the neutrality, but ably played the papal or the conciliar card to their own advantage.

After the death of Emperor Albrecht in 1439, Friederich III,² the new emperor, initially adhered to the German neutrality. However, from 1443 the imperial court gradually came to favour the papal cause, and through a rather convoluted course of negotiations and diets a basis was created for German recognition of the pope. The pope himself was not very helpful: at one point³ he even excommunicated two imperial electors, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, causing absolute fury in Germany.

As a secretary in the imperial chancery and a protégé and friend of Kaspar Schlick, the powerful imperial chancellor, Piccolomini came to be used in the process of negotiations, both at the papal court in Rome⁴ and at various German diets, and eventually he became the principal imperial negotiator in this whole matter.

Thus he played a crucial role at the Diet of Frankfurt, which assembled on 14 September 1446. On behalf of the emperor, he managed to formulate a compromise formula which did not completely satisfy the conditions either of the electors or of the pope. Nonetheless, it was accepted by the various parties at the diet, albeit not without some acerbity on the part of the two deposed electors and their supporters. Thus the road was opened to German recognition of the pope if he would agree to the conditions contained in the compromise formula.⁵

Afterwards it was decided to send an embassy from the emperor and of the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg as well as from other German princes and prelates to Rome to negotiate the matter and, in the case of success, to declare the obedience of the German Nation to Pope Eugenius.⁶

¹ Stieber, p. 169

² Friederich III Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria, elected Emperor in 1440. Officially King of the Romans until his imperial coronation in Rome in 1452

³ 21 January 1446

⁴ Where he became reconciled with Pope Eugenius on the first of his three imperial missions to that pope, in March 1445

⁵ Stieber, pp. 292-293

⁶ Stieber, p. 297

The German envoys arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447.¹ The imperial embassy was headed by Piccolomini from whose subsequent report to the emperor the following description is taken:

We gathered the next day at San Lorenzo in Damaso. Three things were discussed there. The oration which Aeneas had drafted was reviewed. It pleased all. Nothing in it was changed, except that "suspension of allegiance"² should be used whenever "neutrality" was mentioned. It was decided to seek an audience with the supreme pontiff through the efforts of the treasurer who had been sent to us, lest, by begging the goodwill of one cardinal, we should incur the indignation of another, since courts are full of envy and where one finds talents, one finds more jealousy ...

When the day of the audience had been set,³ we were commanded 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. Eugene sat on the throne, a grave father and one most worthy of 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 it was said that the pope should embrace the desires of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne and it offended neither the people nor the cardinals but was heard with pleasure by all. Many sought copies of his oration afterward, not so much for its ornament as for its content, which all said they knew. When Aeneas had finished speaking, Eugene 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 the cardinals about the principal matter.⁴

Some years later, in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* of 1450, Piccolomini wrote about the events:

They [the German ambassadors] met in Siena to enter Rome together and were received with great honour. All the prelates turned out. They were ushered to the pope and received a hearing. Aeneas gave an oration on behalf of all. He exhorted that there should be peace. He told the pope the mind of the nation. He asked restitution of the deposed prelates. He offered obedience. The pope was benign. He offered thanks to the king of the Romans, who had handled ecclesiastical affairs faithfully, and commended

¹ Pastor, I, p. 261

² "suspensio animorum"

³ 11 January 1447

⁴ WO, II, pp. 237- 263; translation quoted from Rejz, pp. 247-248.

*the prelates and princes who had sent envoys. He said he wanted to deliberate with his brothers and respond later.*¹

And in 1453, he wrote, in his *Historia Austriasis* (1. Version):

*Non tamen inter hec Federicus res ecclesie neglexit, sed Eneam atque Procopium equitem Bohemum ad Eugenium misit hisque facultatem dedit, si Eugenius notulas Francfordie conclusas acceptaret, ut nomine suo obedientiam ei restituerent. Qui cum Senas venissent in festo nativitatis, Maguntini et aliorum principum legatos ex conducto illic offenderunt atque cum his Romam profecti sunt, ubi maximo cum honore recepti fuerunt Eugenio obviam mittente omnes curiae prelatos preter cardinales. Iohannes de Lysura iam mutatus erat et in legationem Maguntini venit. Cum venissent in conspectum Eugenii, Eneas orationem habuit nomine omnium, que et pape et cardinalibus gratissima fuit.*²

In his *De Europa* from 1458, he had this comment on the events:

*Before he [Eugenius IV] passed away, however, the Germans, who, after observing the rivalry of the two popes, had maintained a kind of neutrality and refused to obey either of them, dispatched envoys to Rome – including me, as an emissary of Emperor Frederick – and restored their allegiance to Eugenius when he was close to death.*³

Even later, in his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Pius wrote:

The emperor's envoys found him [Johann Lysura] at Siena with the representatives of many other princes, and they all proceeded together to Rome. They were met at the first milestone by retainers of the pope and the cardinals and all the prelates of the Curia, who escorted them into the city like conquering heroes returning home. Two days later they were summoned to a secret consistory before Eugenius where Aeneas acted as the spokesman for the group; pope and cardinals alike greeted his speech with remarkable applause.^{4 5}

The content of Piccolomini's oration were the firm conditions of the German princes for giving up their neutrality, but they were presented with all his consummate oratorical and

¹ Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentaries*. Translation quoted from Rejcek, pp. 378-379

² Piccolomini: *Historia Austriasis*, 1. Version (Knödler, pp. 34-35)

³ Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 58, 231 (Brown, p. 261)

⁴ CO, I, 16 (Meserve, I, pp. 70-71)

⁵ Campano and Platina, Pius' contemporary biographers, barely mention the matter. Campano wrote: *Reliquiis contentionum Germanicarum tertia demum legatione sublatis, exceptus est Romae ob operam prospere navatam omnium ordinum supplicationibus* (Zimolo, p. 15). And Platina: *Quo facto ab imperatore ad Eugenium tertio missus, Germaniam Ecclesie Romane obtemperaturam sacramento ostendit* (Zimolo, p. 101)

diplomatic skills.¹ Reinhardt has this comment: *Nur zwei Jahre nach seiner Abschwörung hielt der Meisterrhetoriker Piccolomini am selben Ort und vor demselben Publikum erneut eine zutiefst doppeldeutige Rede. Im Namen der deutschen Gesandtschaft musste er Anliegen rechtfertigen, denen er bei seiner Versöhnung mit Eugen IV. eine Absage erteilt hatte.*² This criticism of duplicity appears to be misplaced: even if Piccolomini presented the German message most diplomatically, he kept strictly to the compromise which he had himself formulated at the preceding Diet in Frankfurt,³ and moreover his draft of the oration had been carefully reviewed beforehand with all the members of the embassy. Piccolomini's mission was evidently not to serve the particular interests of the German prince electors, but to further the ecclesiastical policies of the emperor. These included the alliance between empire and papacy, which was also the goal of his two masters, the emperor, whose secretary he was, and the pope, whose secretary he was, too, and quite officially so.⁴

The oration initiated a month of tough negotiating and bargaining while the pope took to his bed with an illness which turned out to be terminal. The Germans discussed whether they should suspend negotiations, awaiting the accession of the new pope, but Piccolomini persuaded them to proceed, supported by the representative of the Archbishop of Mainz who said that the declaration of obedience should be made *even if Eugene could only move one finger.*⁵

Having settled the remaining issues as far as possible, the German delegates

were taken to the pope, who was lying in an inner chamber. We admired him like one of the holy fathers. We venerated him and kissed his hand. The gravity of the man was great, and his face was full of majesty. That face made the pontiff known. When he saw us, he spoke benignly and ordered a few words said. We offered obedience to his

¹ In a letter to Siena of 23 January 1497, the abbot of San Galgano wrote about the oration: *Li ambasciadori de Re de Romani e degli electori ed altri principi oltramontani sono qua come per altra rendi avisate le M.S.V. Espose la ambasciata in nome di tucti gli alteri in concistorio segreto lo eloquentissimo huomo poeta misser Enea Piccoliuomini ciptadino vestro; espone in tal modo et con tanto ornate la ambasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingengno e la prudentia sua et non dubito che in breve saranno in qualche parte remunerate le virtu sue mediante le quali honore e gloria ne conseguita la cipta vestra. Etsi in somma adimando quarto cose ciascuna piu exorbitante e odiosa alla S.ta di N.S. e generalmente a tucto collegio de cardenali e per la mala conditione del tempo sara necessario che nella maggior parte sieno exalditi per schifare maggiori pericoli e scandali che advenerebbono se cosi non si facesse.* (Pastor, I, pp. 652-653). Translation in Ady, pp. 95-96. The abbot could not know that his predictions about the future career of Piccolomini were so true that three years later he would himself be passed over as new bishop of Siena in favour of ... Piccolomini!. See CO, I, 20 (Meserve, I, pp. 96-97); Paparelli, p. 132

² Reinhardt, p. 136

³ See Voigt, II, p. 382

⁴ Piccolomini's double function as imperial and papal official would be reinforced during the following years when he was at the same time official counsellor and diplomat of the emperor and papal nuncio to Central Europe. Such double functions were not unheard of at that time

⁵ Reject, p. 253

*holiness, and, having received from his hand the letter already drafted, we dispatched it to those at Mainz. ... The pope gave thanks to God and sent us away, weeping, with his blessing.*¹

Afterwards the results of the negotiation were confirmed by the cardinals in a public consistory, and great festivities were held in Rome. The pope died some weeks later, and it fell to the new pope, Nicolaus V, to bring the whole matter to a happy conclusion through the Concordat of Vienna of 1447 which settled German church affairs and relations between Rome and Germany. However, succeeding popes and the papal curia tended to undermine the terms of the concordat, and the whole issue of the “burdens on the German nation” would continue to poison relations between Germany and the papacy until it found its final solution about 70 years later, at the Reformation. In a historical perspective, this issue was really the most critical in 1447, and the failure of the papacy (and Piccolomini) to understand its importance, then and later, and to initiate much-needed reforms would prove to be a fatal mistake.

2. Themes

As custom at the papal court favoured,² Piccolomini took as his point of departure an appropriate biblical quote,³ indeed a very apt one. He then outlined the advantages of the settlement for the Apostolic See, and afterwards he announced the German conditions for the settlement.

These conditions were not an expression of Piccolomini’s personal convictions, but the compromise terms hammered out between the imperial diplomats and the German princes at the fateful Diet of Frankfurt some months before. As a spokesman for the emperor and the German princes, Piccolomini’s first task in Rome was to faithfully communicate the terms of this compromise to the pope and the papal court, notwithstanding his own personal opinions, and the text of the oration was indeed very carefully crafted and negotiated in the German delegation as late as a couple of days before its delivery. However, Piccolomini well knew that the presentation of the German requirements would be followed by negotiations with the papal court, and during that phase there would be scope for his diplomatic abilities to shape an agreement acceptable both to Germany and to the papacy.⁴

¹ Reject, p. 254

² Continuing a tradition derigiving the the medieval *ars praedicandi*

³ This is the only oration in which Piccolomini did so, probably as a rhetorical gesture aimed at Pope Eugenius

⁴ O’Brien mentions that “as imperial ambassador, Aeneas’ primary responsibility was to serve the interests of the emperor”. Hower, later she writes that “Aeneas was asking for concessions that effectively hindered the

The four conditions that the pope should agree to were

- to hold a new general council to settle church affairs and carry out much-needed reforms,
- to recognize the authority of the general councils,
- to remove the financial and other burdens on the German nation, and
- to lift the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne.

Concerning the convocation of a new council, Piccolomini said:

A council is requested because there are many things in urgent need of reform, both in the laity and in the clergy, and action must be taken to remove any cause for conflict in the Church. [Sect. 18]

Church reform had been somewhat neglected by the Council of Basel, too busy fighting the pope, and there was general agreement on the need for such reform. However, everybody knew that another council would certainly not be palatable to the Apostolic See. After all, the annoying habit of 15th century councils to depose the pope and deprive him of his incomes was not a greatly motivating factor for the popes. The imperial court might no longer be very interested, either, and it was probably felt that if this whole matter was dealt with tactfully, it was not really a key issue. The pope would issue a general acceptance of the idea, hedging it, however, with conditions which could not be fulfilled, for example the unanimous acceptance of the date and location of the council by the European princes. As for the princes, they had seen how the Council of Basel slipped out of their own control and even became the breeding place for certain democratic ideas and practices which they would not like much. So, though they maintained the idea of a council, as a permanent threat against the papacy brandished by individual kings in their conflicts with a reigning pope, they actually tolerated that it took two generations more before a pope summoned a new council¹ – in Rome and firmly under papal control.²

Concerning papal recognition of the authority of the general councils Piccolomini said:

[protection of papal sovereignty]", and the "content [of the oration] pitted Aeneas not simply against the conciliar policies of Eugenius ..." (O'Brien, p. 66). Such formulations appear to exaggerate Aeneas' personal role in the presentation of the German demands: on that occasion, he was simply – as a good diplomat – stating the demands formulated at the preceding Diet in Frankfurt

¹ In clear defiance of the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Basel on the holding of general councils every ten years

² The Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512–1517) with Church reform as its main agenda

... in Frankfurt your orators hinted at an ominous concept of the authority of the councils that was very painful to the people. This should now be completely eradicated by a letter from you. Your predecessors, whom you not only follow, but whom you equal and even surpass in good deeds, used to silence the audacity of evil people by making a public statement concerning their faith. It is not a new or unusual thing for the Roman popes to send a declaration of the purity of their faith to the Roman kings. Blessed Gregory, whose holy life matched his great authority, declares that like the four gospels he accepts and reveres four councils. We do not ask for such far-reaching and grand statements from you, but only what we mentioned before, and which we do not doubt that we shall receive from the Holy See. [Sect. 19]

The papacy would simply have to issue some satisfactory recognition of the authority of the general councils. How it would be expressed was left to skillful negotiators on both sides, but there would be no compromise on the basic principle. It must be kept in mind, however, that the popes were not against general councils, but against conciliarism, which would extend the powers of the council in Church government to a degree unacceptable to the popes, including appeals from a reigning pope to the next council. Even Piccolomini himself, as pope, would recognize that under certain conditions, e.g. a heretical pope, the general council was above the pope, and the line of popes to which Eugenius V and Pius II himself and all later popes belonged was established by the Council of Konstanz in 1417, deposing three concurrent popes and electing a new one in their place, Martin V.

Concerning the burdens on the German nation Piccolomini said:

We now have to speak about the burdens. May your Holiness listen benevolently and note the nation's moderation. The burdens in question are of two kinds: some have been removed by decrees of the Council of Basel, others need the assistance of Your Holiness. What has been abolished by the conciliar decrees are: the excessive [use of] reservations, the heavy annates, the frequent appeal of legal cases to the Roman Curia, and other procedures of this kind that had completely voided the ordinary jurisdiction. Though these matters had seemed very grave to the nation long before you were called to the height of the Supreme Apostolate, the nation did not on its own authority throw off the yoke - like the ten tribes did to Roboam, son of Solomon. Rather, it awaited the decisions of the Council of Basel, whose decrees it accepted, though with a number a modifications, and [only afterwards] it used these decrees. So that the nation may be free of this burden hereafter, it asks for your permission to apply these decrees in the future. You will observe the moderation in this request. [Sect. 20]

The issue of leaving the actual possessors of ecclesiastical offices and benefices in place, however, would be dealt with smoothly.

Concerning the reinstatement of the two archbishops and imperial electors of Cologne and Trier, the German position was not negotiable, and Eugenius' pragmatic successor, Nicolaus V, had no difficulty in settling the matter gracefully.

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Pastor,¹ the German ambassadors arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447, and according to Piccolomini himself the oration was given on the third day after the arrival in Rome, i.e. two days afterwards, on 9 January 1447.^{2 3}

The place was the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican.

The audience consisted of pope and cardinals assembled in a secret consistory and probably some few curials.

The format was that of a proper oration, written in advance, as witnessed by Pius himself in his report to the emperor: *The oration which Aeneas had drafted was reviewed.*⁴

4. Text⁵

The oration was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled (1462-1464) under his personal supervision. The reason for the non-inclusion may have been political: it might after all have been awkward for Pope Pius to publish, as pope, an oration addressed to a predecessor wherein he himself demanded a new general council, so – understandably – abhorrent to the Renaissance popes.⁶ If this is so, it would be an example of how Piccolomini's changed circumstances and papal policies determined the selection of texts for the compilation of his orations.

¹ Pastor, I, p. 260

² CO, I, 16 (Heck, I, p. 64): *Tertia die ad Eugenium vocati in consistorio secreto auditi sunt, quo in loco nomine omnium Eneas oravit*

³ Ady and Mitchell give the date 12 January

⁴ Reject, pp. 247-248

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

⁶ Cf. O'Brien, p. 62-64. O'Brien does not mention the omission of the oration from the official papal compilation of orations, but quite plausibly surmises *that when Pius II wished in his 1463 bull In Minoribus that some of his earlier writings had "languished into obscurity," he counted this oration among such texts*

4.1 Manuscripts¹

The oration is extant in the following manuscripts:

- **London / British Library**
Arundel MS 138, ff. 4r-6v (**L**)
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 70, ff. 365r-368v (**M**)*
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms. lat. 4314, ff. 183r-194r (**P**)*

4.2 Editions

- Martene, Edmond & Ursin Durand: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*. Vol. 8. Paris: Montalant, 1733, coll. 980-988²
- Gaertner, C.: *Corporis juris ecclesiastici catholicorum novioris quod per Germaniam obtinet*. T. I. Salzburg, 1797, pp. 94-105
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759 // Tom. I, pp. 108-120
[Reproduced the edition of Martène/Durand]

4.3 Present edition

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

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² Martène and Durand do not indicate which ms. was used as the basis for their edition, but it cannot have been one of the manuscripts used for the present edition

Text:

The edition is based on all three manuscripts listed above and the edition by Martène and Durand. The lead text is the BNB 4314.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Paris 4314.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 30 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	20
Classical	3
Patristic and medieval	7
Contemporary	0
All	30

The biblical quotations dominate heavily, and there is only one quotation from the classics, a “safe” quotation from Cicero. Piccolomini had probably adapted his oratory style to the pope, who might not have appreciated usage of gentile classical authors.

Biblical sources: 20

Old Testament: 11

- Genesis: 1
- Exodus: 2
- Deuteronomy: 1
- 1. Chronicles: 2
- 3. Kings: 1
- Proverbs: 3

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini’s use of sources, see *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 9

- John: 1
- Luke: 2
- Matthew: 2
- 1. Corinthians: 2
- 2. Corinthians: 1
- 2. Thessalonians: 1

Classical sources: 3

- Cicero: 3¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 7

- Decretum Gratiani: 3
- Hilaire of Poitiers: 1
- Jeronimus: 1²
- John Chrysostom: 1
- Ps. Isidore: 1

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography³

Ady, Cecilia M.: *Pius II (Æneas Silvius Piccolomini) – the Humanist Pope*. London, 1913

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Card. Caes. Baronius desinit MCXCVIII usque ad annum MDXXXIV. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Köln: Friessem, 1694

Azzaro, Claudio: *Il papato nel Medioevo*. Bologna, 2006

¹ De officiis, 1; Philippicae, 1; Pro lege Manilia 1

² Epistolae

³ Abbreviations used in the notes are given in bold types

Boulting, William: *Aeneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini – Pius II) – Orator, man of letters, statesman, and pope*. London, 1908

Cotta-Schönberg, Michael von & Anna Modigliani: Nicholas V's only surviving oration the *Nihil est* of 24 March 1447. In: *Roma nel Rinascimento*, (2016) 271-288

Du Fresne de Beaucourt, Gaston: *Histoire de Charles VII*. 6 vols. Paris, 1881-1891

Gaertner, C.: *Corporis juris ecclesiastici catholicorum novioris quod per Germaniam obtinet*. T. I. Salzburg, 1797, pp. 94-105

Gill, Joseph: *Eugenius IV – Pope of Christian Union*. Westminster, Md., 1961

Helmrath, Johannes: The Empire and the Council. In: *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. by Michiel Decaluwe *et al.* Leiden, 2017, ch. 14

Koller, Heinrich: *Kaiser Friedrich III*. Darmstadt, 2005

Martène, Edmond & Ursin Durand: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collection*, tom. VIII. Paris, 1733, coll. 980-988

O'Brien, Emily: *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy*. Toronto, 2015

Paparelli, Gioacchino: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini – Pio II*. Bari, 1950. (Biblioteca di cultura moderna; 481)

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

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Europa* (1458)

- Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II *De Europa*. Ed. A. van Heck. Citta del Vaticano, 2001. (Studi e testi; 398)
- Piccolomini, Aenas Silvius: *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*. Transl. R. Brown. Washington, DC, 2013

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II* (1440)

- Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Historia Austriasis*. [1453-1458]

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

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Report on embassy to Pope Eugenius IV, 1447*. In WO: II, pp. 237 ff.

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

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

Pius II: *Epistolae*

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien. (Fontes rerum austriacarum; 61-62, 67-68)
- *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected letters Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki, G. Christiansen & P. Krey. Washington, DC, 2006

Pius II: *Orationes*

- Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020

Rainaldus *SEE Annales*

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

Stieber, Joachim W.: *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire. The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church*. Leiden, 1978. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought; 13)

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

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

7. Sigla and abbreviations

L = London / British Library / Arundel MS 138

M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

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

MA = Martene, Edmond & Ursin Durand: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*. Vol. 8. Paris: Montalant, 1733

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

Oratio quam habuit dominus Eneas Silvius Episcopus Tergestinus pro fideli Alamanorum obedientia reconsiliationeque scismatis ac celebrando concilio coram Eugenio papa quarto ¹

[1] {183r} Non habet me dubium, pater sanctissime, quin apud te sit illa domus, quam dominus in evangelio supra firmam petram laudat aedificatam, ad quam recurrendum est regnante diluvio. Nam extra eam non est salus, et ejus decorem diligere se propheta testatur, persuasumque² mihi jam^{3 4} dudum fuerat in hoc⁵ amplissimo loco neminem loqui decere⁶, nisi vel summa doctrina⁷ vel auctoritate⁸ vel vitae⁹ sanctimonia¹⁰ praestantem. Rursus quoque¹¹ nihil huc afferri rebar oportere, nisi *perfectum*¹² *ingenio*, *elaboratum*¹³ *industria*, rebusque ipsis illustratum esset, nec immerito, nisi¹⁴ fallor. Quis enim aliter¹⁵ vel coram te, summo pontifice, aeterni regni clavigero ac Jesu Christi vicario, vel coram his gravissimis ac¹⁶ sapientissimis patribus verba faciens commendatur^{17 18}?

¹ Oratio ... quarto : Oratio domini Aeneae oratoris illustrissimi Romanorum regis Friderici super scismate recitata coram Eugenio [*sic!*] papa L; Oratio facta per reverendissimum patrem ac dominum Tergestine ecclesie episcopum in facto declarationis coram Eugenio Papam III M; Oratio, quam habuit dominus Aeneas Sylvius, episcopus Tergestinus, pro fideli Alamannorum oboedientia, reconciliationeque schismatis, ac celebrando concilio coram Eugenio papa IV MA

² persuasum M

³ omit. L

⁴ mihi jam : iam mihi L, M

⁵ omit. P, MA

⁶ debere L, M

⁷ summa doctrina : doctrina summa M

⁸ vel auctoritate omit. L

⁹ vita M

¹⁰ sanctitate L, M

¹¹ quin M

¹² perfecto M

¹³ et laboratum L

¹⁴ ni L, M

¹⁵ velit L

¹⁶ hac et passim L

¹⁷ commandetur M, P

¹⁸ verba faciens commendatur : commendatus verba facere L

Oration delivered by Enea Silvio, Bishop of Trieste,¹ on the loyal obedience of the Germans, the healing of the schism, and the celebration of a council, before Pope Eugene IV

1. Introduction

[1] Holy Father, I do not doubt that yours is that house which the Lord praises in the Gospel as built on solid rock, and where people may seek refuge in times of deluge. For outside that house there is no salvation,² and the prophet declares to love its beauty.³ For a long time I have been convinced that in this exalted⁴ place only those should speak who are distinguished through profound learning, authority and holiness of life. Moreover, I thought - and justly so, I believe - that only such things should be brought forth here that have been *refined by the intellect, elaborated with care*,⁵ and which are highly important⁶. For, otherwise, how could anybody be charged with speaking before you, Supreme Pontiff, Keybearer of the Eternal Kingdom and Vicar of Jesus Christ, and before these serious and wise Fathers.⁷

¹ Piccolomini had not yet been appointed Bishop of Trieste when he delivered this oration

² The traditional axiom: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. This theme, in the sense of communion with the Apostolic See, was also used three months later, by the new pope, Nicolaus V, when he gave the oration "*Nihil est*" to the ambassadors of Aragon, coming to declare the obedience to the Apostolic See of their master, King Alfonso V the Magnanimous. See Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani

³ Psalms, 25, 8

⁴ "amplissimo"

⁵ Cicero: *Pro lege Manilia*, 1.1

⁶ "rebus ipsis illustratum"

⁷ The 15 cardinals present at the secret consistory

[2] Haec ego, cum¹ alias ad te missus {183v} mecum tacitus² expendissem³, in tuae sanctitatis conspectu tacere potius quam⁴ loqui voluissem. Sed⁵ quoniam solus eram, qui legationis regiae munus⁶ obibam⁷, quod voluntas repulit⁸, necessitas impulit. Nunc vero secundo ad te remissus⁹, sperabam¹⁰ nobilis equitis ac clarissimi collegae mei beneficio et eloquentia hoc fasce¹¹ levare, qui et¹² prudentius, et gravius et ornatius¹³ multo¹⁴ quam ego desiderium regum electorumque principum complevisset¹⁵. Sed nescio quid factum sit, ut mihi potissime nihil apto et multum repugnanti sit onus dicendi mandatum¹⁶. Forsitan quia tecum alias fui¹⁷, vel quia sum Italus, *habere* nonnihil¹⁸ *energiae*¹⁹ vel notitia vel communis patria creditur. In me aliud nihil est, quod mihi prae ceteris facit dicendi²⁰ necessitatem. At ego, etsi magnum est iubentis imperium, etsi²¹ parere majoribus cupio, neutiquam²² tamen in praesentiarum tuam alloqui sanctitatem²³ fuissem ausus, nisi²⁴ me res ipsae, de quibus est agendum²⁵ ²⁶, maximae²⁷ reipublicae Christianae²⁸ plurimum {184r} necessariae commovissent, nisi et animum illi darent, quorum nomine verba fient, sublimes altique principes, quos intueberis, dum me audies, et quod tuae mihi negassent aures, praestabunt illis. Nec enim vel pauca sunt vel ab ingratis²⁹ missa principibus, quae mihi oranda incumbunt.

¹ tum MA

² tacite L; taciturnum M

³ perpendissem L

⁴ priusquam P, MA

⁵ *omit.* L

⁶ regiae munus : regimen L

⁷ habebam L

⁸ refugit L

⁹ missus M

¹⁰ asperabam L

¹¹ face P

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ oracius M

¹⁴ multa L

¹⁵ explevisset L, M

¹⁶ argumentum M

¹⁷ *omit.* P, MA

¹⁸ latentis *add.* M

¹⁹ latentis *add.* L

²⁰ facit dicendi : dicendi faciat L, M

²¹ et M

²² rectumque sit L

²³ non *add.* L

²⁴ in *add.* L

²⁵ *omit.* P

²⁶ est agendum : agendum est L, M

²⁷ et *add.* L

²⁸ et *add.* L.

²⁹ insciis L

[2] When I was sent to you on another occasion,¹ I pondered on this, and I would rather have stayed silent before you than speak. But since [at that occasion] I was the only one charged with the royal mission,² necessity obliged me to do what personally I wished to avoid. Now, having been sent back to you a second time, I was really hoping that I would be relieved of this burden through the kindness and eloquence of the noble knight, my esteemed colleague,³ who could fulfil the wish of the king⁴ and the prince electors much more intelligently, seriously and elegantly than I. But the burden of speaking has now, somehow, fallen on me who am quite unqualified and very reluctant to do so. The reason may have been that I was with you before⁵ or that, being Italian, I am considered to *have some vigour*,⁶ or some knowledge of things, or maybe it is because of our common fatherland. Otherwise, I have nothing that points to me rather than others as the speaker. But though the power of the one who ordered me to speak⁷ is great, and though I desire to obey my superiors, 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 me⁸: what your ears would have denied to me personally, they will grant to them, for the things which we have been charged with saying are neither unimportant⁹ nor set forth by unwelcome princes.

¹ The German mission to Eugenius IV in April 1446 when Piccolomini delivered the oration "*Et breviter me hodie*" [10] to the pope. He had actually been on a previous mission to Eugenius, in the beginning of 1445, but this mission was confidential and not referred to here

² Piccolomini represented Friedrich III, whereas the other ambassadors represented the prince electors and other German princes

³ Prokop von Rabstein

⁴ Friedrich III, formally referred to as king since he had not yet been crowned emperor. Later in the oration, Piccolomini uses the title of emperor for the as yet uncrowned Friedrich III

⁵ I.e. on earlier mission/s to the pope

⁶ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Paulinum* (53), 2. MPL, XXII, col. 541

⁷ Friedrich III

⁸ The princes are, of course, in Germany but they are present in the person of their representative, Piccolomini

⁹ "pauca": few

[3] Ceterum, quia moris est coram te loquentibus breviusculam sibi aliquam, unde exordiantur, ex sacris litteris sententiam¹ assumere, non adversabor ipse² consuetudini³, quam⁴ discere magis⁵ quam docere oporteret. Inter auctoritates autem⁶, quas sacrosanctis possum ex codicibus mutuari⁷, nulla mihi aptior⁸ nullaque nostro convenientior proposito visa est illa, quam nobis Paralipomenon affert: morabatur in praesidiis inclytus David; *accesserunt ad⁹ eum viri de¹⁰ Benjamin et Juda, quibus obviam David egressus: "Si pacifici venitis," inquit, "ad me, ut auxiliemini mihi, cor meum jungatur vobis. Si autem insidiamini¹¹ mihi¹² pro adversariis meis, cum ego¹³ iniquitatem in manibus non habeam¹⁴, {184r} videat Deus patrum nostrorum et judicet."* Ad quem illi: *"Tui sumus, o David, et tecum, fili Isai¹⁵, manebimus. Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat¹⁶ Deus tuus."*

¹ sententiam MA

² *omit.* L

³ *omit.* M

⁴ quia M

⁵ quam discere magis *omit.* MA

⁶ auctoritates autem : autem auctoritates M

⁷ imitari L

⁸ altior L

⁹ *omit.* M, P

¹⁰ *omit.* MA

¹¹ insidiari P

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ virga P

¹⁴ non habeam *omit.* P

¹⁵ Ysaac P

¹⁶ adjuvet L

[3] It is customary for people speaking before you to begin with a short sentence chosen from Holy Scripture, and I shall not go against this custom which one should follow rather than teach.¹ Among the authoritative statements that I can borrow from the Holy Books none seems more appropriate for our purpose than one found² in the Paralipomenon³: Glorious David was staying with his guards. *And there came also of the men of Benjamin, and of Juda to the hold, in which David abode. And David went out to meet them, and said: If you are come peaceably to me to help me, let my heart be joined to you: but if you plot against me for my enemies whereas I have no iniquity in my hands, let the God of our fathers see, and judge.*⁴ But they said to him: *“We are thine, O David, and for thee, O son of Isai: peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.”*⁵

¹ *“discere magis quam docere”*: *locus communis*

² *“affert nobis”*

³ Paralipomenon = Book of Chronicles

⁴ 1. Chronicles (Paralipomenon), 12, 16-17

⁵ 1. Chronicles, 12, 18

[4] Aptissima, sicut mihi videtur, ad propositum nostrum¹ verba sunt. Quaeris enim forsitan ex nobis, pater sanctissime, an amici venimus, quid quaerimus, quid afferimus, dum nos nomino - non nosipsos, qui adsumus nuntios², sed dominum Caesarem Fridericum, tuae sanctitatis³ devotissimum filium, ac praeclarissimos principes et reverendissimos patres sacri imperii electores, tum⁴ proceres et⁵ praelatos tibi deditissimos, quorum hic oratores vides, intelligi volo. Sumus igitur non solum amici, sed etiam adjuutores. Pacem afferimus, pacem quaerimus, atque idcirco cum filiis Benjamin et Judae dicimus: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat⁶ Deus tuus.*

[5] Plena pacis petitio est, plena pacis oblatio. *Pacis nomen⁷*, ut inquit orator, *dulce est, et res ipsa tum⁸ jucunda, tum⁹ salutaris¹⁰*. *Qui ineunt pacis consilia*, teste {185r} Sapiente, *sequitur¹¹ eos gaudium*. Dominus vero in evangelio *beatos esse pacificos* tradit. Ideoque jubet in epistolis doctor gentium, ut, quae sunt pacis, sectemur, mercedemque¹² repromittens: *Pacem, inquit, habete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum*. Hujus igitur tam sanctae rei, tam utilis, tam necessariae, tam¹³ commendatae¹⁴ et nuntii et¹⁵ petitores sumus, ac propterea repetimus: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat¹⁶ Deus tuus.*

¹ propositum nostrum : nostrum propositum L, M

² *omit.* P, MA

³ tuae sanctitatis *omit.* M

⁴ tibi L

⁵ ac L

⁶ adjuvet L

⁷ morem L

⁸ *omit.* L

⁹ *eciam add.* L

¹⁰ salutariam L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² mercedem MA

¹³ *omit.* L

¹⁴ commendato M

¹⁵ ac L

¹⁶ adjuvet L

[4] These words seem to me to be highly appropriate to our purpose. Maybe you ask us, Holy Father, if we come as friends, what we ask for, and what we bring you? And when I say “we” I do not mean the envoys present here, but the Lord Emperor, Friederich,¹ devoted son of Your Holiness, and the glorious princes and reverend fathers, electors of the Holy Empire, and nobles and prelates, who are greatly devoted to you, whose ambassadors you see before you. We come not just as friends, but as helpers. Peace is what we bring you. Peace is what we ask for, and therefore we say with the sons of Benjamin and Judah: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

[5] Our petition is one of peace, and so is our offering. For as the Orator² says, *the name of peace is sweet; and the thing itself not only pleasant but salutary.*³ And the Wise One says: *Joy followeth them that take counsels of peace.*⁴ And in the Gospel the Lord says that *blessed are the peacemakers.*⁵ Therefore, in his epistles the Doctor of the Gentiles⁶ bids us follow peace, and he promises us a reward, saying: *Have peace. And the God of grace and of love shall be with you.*⁷ We are here both as messengers and petitioners of such peace, so holy, so advantageous, so necessary and so commendable. And therefore we say again: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

¹ Emperor Friedrich III, King of the Romans, styled Emperor though not yet crowned as such

² Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC): Roman philosopher, politician, lawyer, orator

³ Cicero: *Philippics*, 13.1

⁴ Proverbs, 12, 20

⁵ Matthew, 5, 9

⁶ A traditional title of Paul the Apostle

⁷ 2. Corinthians, 13, 11

[6] Super his verbis tria jacimus nostrae orationis fundamenta, et, quae ultima sunt verba thematis, prius recipimus. Ostendendum est enim, quomodo te Deus tuus adjuvet,¹ dum Germaniae principes in tuum dirigit² auxilium. Monstrandum est, quam ferimus pacem. Dicendum est, quam cupimus³. Sic enim⁴ pacificum esse⁵ nostrum adventum intelliges, et cor tuum, sicut speramus⁶, nostris jungetur principibus eruntque illi tui et manebunt tecum in perpetuum⁷. *Adjuvat igitur te Deus tuus, sanctissime⁸ pater, adjutores namque tui⁹ Germanos {185v} principes dedit.* Altius sunt aliqua repetenda, si quo pacto nostri te adjuvent¹⁰ principes referimus¹¹, quod brevissime faciam.

¹ adjuvat M, MA

² origunt L; erigit M

³ petimus MA

⁴ et *add.* L

⁵ *omit.* M, P, MA

⁶ aspiramus L

⁷ in principium MA

⁸ beatissime L

⁹ tibi L, M

¹⁰ *illeg.* L; juuent M

¹¹ referendum est L

[6] These three words we make the basis of our oration, and first we deal with the last words of the theme. For we have to show how it is God himself who helps you when the German princes send help to you. Secondly, we should explain the kind of peace we bring you. And [thirdly,] we should state what kind of peace we ask for. Thus you will understand how we come in peace, and – as we hope – your heart will be united with our princes, they shall be yours, and they shall remain with you forever. *Thy God helpeth thee*, Holy Father, for He has given you the German princes as helpers. In the following I shall, very briefly, explain how the princes will help you.

[7] Exorto pridem apud Basileam dissidio, quod omnibus notum¹ est, doluerunt imperii sacri principes, dum vulnerari ecclesiam et inconsutilem Christi tunicam scindi videbant², moxque ad componendam in ecclesia pacem navare³ operas statuerunt. Quod ut commodius facerent, utque nationis seditiones facilius⁴ evitarent, et ne processibus contrariis involverentur, quibusdam protestationibus⁵ usi sunt, devotionem tamen suam, quam erga te sanctamque⁶ sedem apostolicam gerebant, nihil propterea imminuentes: sic animorum suspensio orta est. Hanc Albertus, indelebilis⁷ memoriae Romanorum rex, amplexus est. Huic et invictissimus noster Fridericus Caesar⁸ assensum praeiuit, tum⁹ ne a suis electoribus id exigentibus dissentiret, tum ne plus sapere velle videretur¹⁰, quam suus sapuerat antecessor, {186r} speravitque¹¹ regia serenitas vel pacem extemplo reperire vel melius rem cognoscere.

[8] Elaboratum est saepe et multum pro concordia, sed quamvis tua sanctitas semper bonum¹² consuluerit, nonnullorum tamen culpa factum est, ut omnes incassum hactenus conatus abierint¹³, ut frustra principes saepe¹⁴ convenerint¹⁵, frustra nunc huc, nunc illuc transmissae fuerint legationes. Ea de re statuit regia majestas, statuerunt et sui principes modum suspensionis animorum ponere, convenientesque nuper Franckfordiae partim personaliter, partim per¹⁶ legatos, ac scientes te illi succedere, cui dictum est: *Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua; et dabo tibi¹⁷ claves regni caelorum; et pasce oves meas*, et plurima his sororia, recta vulgataque via oboedientiam tibi praebere decreverunt.

¹ omnibus notum : notum omnibus L

² scindi videbant : videbant scindi L

³ omit. L

⁴ facinus M

⁵ protestibus M

⁶ sanctam L

⁷ indelibilis M

⁸ Fridericus Caesar : Caesar Fridericus M

⁹ dum M

¹⁰ saperetur M

¹¹ speramus L

¹² bene L; boni M

¹³ abierunt M

¹⁴ principes saepe : sepe principes L

¹⁵ convenirent L

¹⁶ omit. M

¹⁷ dabo tibi : tibi dabo L, M

2. God helps the Pope by sending the German Princes to offer peace

[7] When some time ago, there arose in Basel the conflict known to all, the princes of the Holy Empire grieved to see how the Church was being hurt and how the seamless¹ tunic of Christ was being torn apart. Very soon they decided to endeavour to restore peace in the Church. To better do this, and to more easily avoid dividing the German nation and becoming involved in legal disputes, they issued a certain declaration,² but they never, [for that reason,] lost any of their devotion to you and to the Holy Apostolic See. Thus arose the “suspension of the minds”.³ Albrecht, King of the Romans, of imperishable memory, accepted this declaration, and Friederich, our Unconquered Emperor, also gave his assent. This he did so as not to enter into disagreement with his electors who demanded his adherence, and also because he did not wish to appear to be claiming to understand more about the matter than his predecessor. At any rate, His Serene Highness hoped to achieve peace soon and to become better informed about the matter.

[8] Much has been done, and often, in the cause of union, but although Your Holiness were always acting in the interest of the common good,⁴ it so happened that, through the fault of a number of people, the efforts were unsuccessful, the princes often met in vain, and embassies were sent hither and thither in vain. Therefore, His Royal Majesty and his princes have decided to put an end to the “suspension of minds”. They recently met in Frankfurt, either in person or through legates, and, knowing you to be the successor of the one to whom it is said: *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,*⁵ and *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,*⁶ and *Feed my sheep,*⁷ and other similar things, they decided to offer obedience to you in the proper and ordinary way.

¹ “inconsutilis”

² i.e. the declaration of German neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel of 1438

³ “animorum suspensio”

⁴ “bonum”

⁵ Luke, 22, 32

⁶ Matthew, 16, 19

⁷ John, 21, 17

[9] Sed quia nonnulli aderant tam ex Basilea quam ex aliis locis, qui longe aliter sentiebant aliterque¹ suadebant, magna contentio fuit, et anceps proelium² nunc huc, nunc illuc acies³ inclinata. Cum levasti manus⁴, {186v} hoc est cum oratores tui⁵ benigne responderunt, ex parte tui⁶ nostrorumque principum validius pugnabatur. Cum vero brachia remisisti, hoc est⁷ cum oratores tui duriores fuerunt, languidior erat cuneus tuorum vincebantque⁸ adversarii. Similis pugnae faciem⁹ habemus in Exodo: fervente namque¹⁰ inter populum Dei et Amalech proelio, ascenderunt Moyses et¹¹ Aaron¹² in verticem collis, Josue vero cum electis viris pugnabat, cumque levaret Moyses manus¹³, vincebat Israel. Sin autem paululum remisisset, superabat Amalech. Et¹⁴ ut sim brevis, non cooptabo singula, ut possem, singulis.

[10] Sed vera est Chrysostomi sententia: *Non cessat impugnari ecclesia, non cessat insidias pati, sed in Christi nomine semper superat¹⁵, semper vincit. Et quamvis alii insidientur, quamvis alii repercutiant eam fluctus, fundamentum tamen, quod supra petram est, non quassatur¹⁶.* Exploratum est, quod inquit Hilarius: *Proprium esse ecclesiae solet, ut tunc {187r} vincat, cum laeditur, tunc¹⁷ intelligat, cum arguitur, tunc¹⁸ segura sit, cum destruitur¹⁹²⁰, tunc obtineat, cum superata videtur.* Nam etsi multotiens²¹ desperatae res viderentur, ad extremum tamen, cum ante oculos hominum²² tuae sanctimonia vitae, tua clementia, tua liberalitas²³, tua benignitas posita²⁴ est, impletum est, quod inquit Sapiens: *Cum placuerint Domino viae hominis, et²⁵ inimicos ejus vertet²⁶ ad pacem.*

¹ et aliter L

² sentiebant aliterque ... proelium *omit.* M

³ acie P, MA

⁴ munus L

⁵ tam L

⁶ tua L, M

⁷ *omit.* L

⁸ vincebant L

⁹ faciam M

¹⁰ fervente namque : ferventeque L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² et Hur *add.* L; orare *add.* M

¹³ manum L

¹⁴ *omit.* L

¹⁵ superabat M

¹⁶ cassatur L

¹⁷ tum L

¹⁸ cum M

¹⁹ deseritur M

²⁰ tunc segura sit, cum destruitur *omit.* P, MA

²¹ multoties MA

²² omnium L, M

²³ libertas L

²⁴ imposita M

²⁵ eos *aut* eorum L; *eciam* M

²⁶ vertit L, M

[9] But, as many from Basel¹ and other places were present at the meeting having very different opinions and arguing for a different course, there was much disagreement, and the battle moved now in this direction, now in that. When you raised your hand, that is when your orators replied obligingly, the fight was strong on yours and our princes' part. But when you lowered your arms, that is when your orators were harsh, your troops grew sluggish, and our opponents prevailed. We have a similar kind of war in Exodus: when the battle raged between the people of God and Amalec, Moses and Aaron went up to the summit of the mountain while Joshua fought together with chosen men. When Moses raised his hands, Israel won,² but when he lowered them, even for a short while, then Amalec prevailed.³ But for the sake of brevity, I shall not go into the detail of this matter though I could.

[10] But Chrysostom⁴ is right when he says: *The Church is always under attack, she is always always being plotted against, but in the name of Christ she always conquers, and though she is sometimes threatened by traps and hit by floods, she has a foundation that is based on a rock and that cannot be destroyed.*⁵ We have learnt what Hilary⁶ says that *it is characteristic of the Church that she usually wins when she is being wounded, she gains in understanding when people argue against her, and she prevails when she seems to be conquered.*^{7 8} For although many times the situation seemed desperate, in the end, when your holiness of life, your mercy, generosity and your kindness had become obvious to all, the saying of the Wise One was fulfilled: *When the ways of man shall please the Lord, he will convert even his enemies to peace.*⁹

¹ I.e. representatives of the Council of Basel, opposing the pope

² 16 years later Piccolomini, as Pope Pius, would use this image again in the oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75] when speaking of his crusade against the Turks: during the battle, he would, like Moses, stand on a mountain or in the high poop of a ship holding up his arms and praying the success of his warriors. The identification of the pope with Moses is significant

³ Exodus, 17, 8-13

⁴ John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407): Archbishop of Constantinople, an important Early Church Father

⁵ John Chrysostom: *De conversione Matthaei*, hom. 14. Chrysostom has a number of similar quotes, e.g. Migne: *Patrologia Graeca*, LI, cols. 77-79

⁶ Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 300-ca. 368): Bishop of Poitiers and a Doctor of the Church

⁷ Hilary of Poitiers: *De trinitate*, 7, 4. MPL, X, col. 202

⁸ These two quotations in combination, from John Chrysostom and Hilary of Poitiers, Piccolomini had already used in his *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum libri II* from 1440, Chrysostom even twice, cf. Hays' ed., pp. 44 and 188. Piccolomini did not know Greek, so he must have had the knowledge of this *sententia* from a Latin source, possibly a treatise by some conciliarist author, or some collection of *sententiae* used in ecclesiological debates

⁹ Proverbs, 16, 7: *cum placuerint Domino viae hominis inimicos quoque eius convertet ad pacem*

[11] Namque non solum regia majestas¹, quae semper tibi² deditissima fuit et quasi alter Josue pro te pugnavit, non solum principes sui electores atque alii³ viri electi tuum statum tuumque decus tuebantur, sed quamplures⁴ alii, qui malignandi causa confluerant^{5 6}, permoti sunt et in tuum versi favorem. Quibus ex rebus manifestum est, quia *te adjuvat Deus tuus*⁷, Germanosque principes tibi efficit adjuutores, quod fuit orationis nostrae membrum⁸ primum, propter quod dicimus⁹: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat Deus tuus.*

[12] Sed non monstravimus adhuc¹⁰ beatitudini {187v} tuae^{11 12} qualis et quanta pax est, quam sanctitati tuae¹³ afferimus. Membri namque secundi destinata¹⁴ materia fuit, quam nunc breviter absolvimus¹⁵. Nihil erraverim, clementissime pater, si maximum¹⁶ esse atque amplissimum dixerim munus, quod apostolicae sedi jam sumus exhibituri. Non¹⁷ enim unius urbis uniusve¹⁸ provinciae sive¹⁹ regni, sed maximi et²⁰ inclyti nominis Theutonici, nobilissimae atque latissimae²¹ nationis Germanicae declarationem et oboedientiam sumus exhibituri²². Quod si gloriabundus de populo suo dicebat Moyses: *Non est alia natio tam grandis*²³, *quae habeat deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut dominus Deus noster adest cunctis obsecrationibus nostris.*

¹ majestas L

² semper tibi : tibi semper L, M, MA

³ quasi *add.* L; qui quasi *add.* M

⁴ plures P, MA

⁵ confluerint M

⁶ quoque *add.* L

⁷ te ... tuus : deus tuus te adjuvat L; te deus tuus adjuvat M

⁸ membrorum L

⁹ diximus L, M

¹⁰ ad hoc M

¹¹ quaenam L

¹² beatitudini tuae : beatissime pater L; sancte pater M

¹³ sanctitati tuae : tuae sanctitati L

¹⁴ distinctam L

¹⁵ absolvemus L, M

¹⁶ magnum L, M

¹⁷ nam L

¹⁸ unius L, M

¹⁹ unius vel L; unius ve M

²⁰ *omit.* M

²¹ aptissimae M

²² prebituri L, M

²³ natio tam grandis : tam grandis natio L

[11] For not only His Royal Majesty, who was always greatly devoted to you and fought for you like another Joshua, and not only his prince electors and other excellent men who were upholding your position and your dignity, but also many others who had actually gathered with the purpose of maligning you, were deeply moved and turned in your favour. Therefore it is evident that *thy God helpeth thee* and has made the German princes your helpers. This was the first part of our oration, and therefore we say *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

3. The peace brought to the pope by the German Nation

[12] We have not yet shown Your Beatitude the nature and the extent of the peace that we are offering Your Holiness, for this was to be the subject of the second part of our oration that we shall now briefly set forth. I shall not be mistaken, Most Merciful Father, if I say that it is a very great and generous offering that we make to the Apostolic See. For we shall be presenting the declaration and the obedience not just of one city, or of one province, or of one kingdom, but of the great and illustrious Teutonic Name, the most noble and great German Nation. It is like Moses said triumphantly about his own people: *Neither is there any other nation so great that hath gods so nigh them, as our God is present to all our petitions.*¹

¹ Deuteronomy, 4, 7

[13] Quae est enim alia¹ gens tam incluta et cetera hujusmodi²? Quanto³ magis de natione Germanica licet nostris principibus gloriari, quae ab Alpibus Italiae usque in Oceanum, et a Rheni fluente usque in Tartarorum barbariem protensa⁴, tot splendoras urbes in se continet, tot latissimas provincias, {188r} tot amplissima regna, tot venerandas ecclesias, tot potentes⁵ principes, tot populos, tot linguas diversas? Nempe si, teste Sapiente, *in multitudine populi dignitas regis et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis*⁶, ingens gloria est nostris principibus, ingens dignitas, sed major tuae sanctitati modum in mirum^{7 8}, quae declarationem et oboedientiam receptura est hujus nationis⁹, in qua non solum principes ac reges potentissimi sunt, sed ipsum regnorum omnium caput, Romanum imperium, est constitutum. Vetus dictum¹⁰ est, sanctissime¹¹ pater, per duo luminaria magna, quae Deus in firmamento posuit¹², sanctam apostolicam sedem et sacrum imperium¹³ significari. Duo sunt, inquit unus ex tuis antecessoribus, *quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur, regalis potestas et auctoritas sacra pontificum*.

¹ enim alia : alia enim M

² istiusmodi L, M

³ quanta L

⁴ pro censu M

⁵ potencias M

⁶ regis MA

⁷ imminet L

⁸ modum in mirum : iam imminet M

⁹ hujus nationis : nationis hujus L, M

¹⁰ et *add.* L

¹¹ beatissime L

¹² fecit L; facit M

¹³ sacrum imperium : imperium sacrum L

[13] For what other people is so illustrious etc.? Greatly may our princes glory in the German Nation that extends from the Alps of Italy to the Ocean, and from the river Rhine to the barbaric region of the Tartars, and that contains so many splendid cities, so many great provinces, so many large kingdoms, so many venerable churches, so many mighty princes, so many peoples, so many different languages. If, as the Wise One witnesses, *in the multitude of people is the dignity of the king: and in the small number of the people the dishonour of the prince*,¹ then the glory and dignity of our princes are truly immense.² But, remarkably, even greater glory accrues to Your Holiness who is to receive the declaration and obedience of this nation where not only the princes and kings are very powerful, but where even the head of all kingdoms, the Roman Empire, is based. There is an old saying, Holy Father, that the two *lights that God placed on the firmament*³ signify the Holy Apostolic See and the Holy Empire. And one of your predecessors said that *this world is primarily governed by these two: the power of kings and the holy authority of the popes*.⁴

¹ Proverbs, 14, 28

² This praise of Germany prefigures Piccolomini's treatment of Germany in his *De Germania*, of 1458

³ Genesis, 1, 14: *Let there be lights made in the firmament of heaven*

⁴ Decretum Gratiani, D.96.10 (col. 340): Pope Gelasius to Emperor Anastasius: *Duo sunt quippe, imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur: auctoritas sacra Pontificum et regalis potestas*. See also Azzaro, p. 17

[14] Praetereo nunc apostolicam sedem, quae nihil aliud est quam refugium ac patrocinium orbis terrae. Taceo de sacro reverendissimorum¹ collegio coetuque cardinalium, qui recte {188v} mundi consilium totiusque militantis ecclesiae senatus appellari potest. Quis satis imperii sacri privilegia possit exprimere? Quis satis Augustalis² culminis perorare valeat dignitatem? Sub Augusto nasci salvator et censum ferre dignatus est, didragma³ pro se Petroque solvi, et reddi, quae Caesaris essent Caesari, divinum jussit oraculum. Tantum quoque ex alto suscepisse⁴ privilegium Caesaream sublimitatem quidam⁵ asserunt⁶, ut imperio stante nihil⁷ sit, cur Antichristi formidemus adventum. Sic enim⁸ apostoli Pauli verba commentantur: *Qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat*. At hujus amplissimae dignitatis⁹ potestas et auctoritas¹⁰ in divinum¹¹ Caesarem Fridericum modernum rite¹² translata est. Hujus igitur maximi principis, mundi domini, inter omnes, qui regnant, altioris, suorumque principum ac nationis Germanicae debitam ex nobis recipies¹³ oboedientiam.

¹ romanorum L, M

² magiestralis L; augusti alis M

³ dedragma M, P

⁴ *omit.* L

⁵ quandam L

⁶ assouit L

⁷ nil M

⁸ *omit.* M

⁹ dignitas M

¹⁰ et auctoritas *omit.* P, MA

¹¹ dominum L; diurnum M

¹² modernum rite: legitima quae L

¹³ et acipies L

[14] I pass over the Apostolic See which is none other than the refuge and the protection of the whole world. And I shall say nothing about the Holy College and assembly of the most reverend cardinals which may rightly be called the council of the world and the senate of the whole Church Militant.¹

As for the Holy Empire, who can adequately describe its exalted status?² Who can with words do justice to the dignity of His August Highness? The Saviour deigned to be born under Augustus, to be enrolled,³ and to have a didragma be paid for himself and for Peter. And the divine oracle bid to *render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*.⁴ 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*.⁵ 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 most exalted of all rulers, and by his princes and by the German nation.

¹ The classical rhetorical of stating a "praetermissio" is, of course, as here, a way to mention precisely what is omitted

² "privilegia"

³ Luke, 2, 1: *And it came to pass that in those days there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled*

⁴ Matthew, 22, 21: *reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris Caesari*

⁵ 2. Thessalonians, 2, 7: *For the mystery of iniquity already worketh: only that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way (nam mysterium iam operatur iniquitatis tantum ut qui tenet nunc donec de medio fiat)*

[15] Sed quoniam de natione loquimur, haec est¹ illa natio, pater sanctissime², quae viros habet {189r} industrios, litterarum capaces, rei militaris peritos, pacis cupidos³, fidei zelatores et ad omnia gnaros⁴, quaecumque agant. Haec est illa natio, quae non modo hoc, modo illud, sed semper idem vult, quando rectum est, quod semel voluit.⁵ Haec est illa natio, quae non⁶ leviter recipit aliquid⁷, nec facile deserit. Quod⁸ si post dissidium⁹ ortum animorum suspensionem tardius¹⁰ videtur relinquere, confidit¹¹, quia utilius¹² tecum¹³ manebit, nec¹⁴ divelli¹⁵ umquam a tua devotione poterit. Atque ista pax est, quam tuae sanctitati offerimus¹⁶, propter quam dicimus¹⁷: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adiutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat Deus tuus.*

¹ *omit.* L

² pater sanctissime : sancte pater M

³ cupidus M

⁴ natos L, M

⁵ haec est illa natio ... voluit *omit.* L

⁶ nec L, M

⁷ aliquod M

⁸ et L

⁹ fastidium M

¹⁰ serius L

¹¹ confide L, M

¹² *omit.* L, M

¹³ diutius *add.* L, M

¹⁴ ne L

¹⁵ duelli M

¹⁶ offerimus M

¹⁷ diximus L, M

[15] But, since we are mentioning that nation, this is a nation, Holy Father, that has industrious men, literate, experts on war, but desirous of peace, zealous in matters of faith, and good at all it does. This is not a nation that wants now this, now that. No, it always wants the same thing that it once wanted, if only it is the right thing. This is the nation that does not accept anything lightly, and does not give it up easily. After the conflict¹ arose, it may have seemed slow in ending its "suspension of the minds", but now it is convinced that it is better to stay with you, and it could never stray from its devotion to you. So, this is the peace that we are offering to Your Holiness, and because of that we say: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

¹ I.e. the conflict between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel

[16] At si pacem cupis huiusmodi, pater sanctissime¹, quemadmodum cupere te confidimus, opus est, ut nationem² Germanicam beneficio pacis quoque³ impartiaris, ut sit quoque⁴ pax⁵ adiutoribus tuis. Quis enim sic pacem⁶ aliis largiatur, quod⁷ pacis ipse remaneat⁸ expers? *Quis pascit gregem⁹, et de lacte gregis non manducet¹⁰? Quis os tritulantis¹¹ alliget bovis?* Afferunt pacem {189r} Germani principes, sed pacem etiam expetunt. Cupiunt enim¹² aliqua, quae nisi obtineant, nec curari vulnera possunt, nec pax nationis haberi.

[17] Ea¹³ quattuor principalia sunt: primum est, ut generale concilium in tempore¹⁴ locoque¹⁵ designando convocetur. Alterum est, ut professio potestatis, auctoritatis et praeeminentiae generalium conciliorum catholicam militantem ecclesiam repraesentantium per tuos oratores Franckfordiae¹⁶ facta, tuis litteris approbetur. Tertium est, ut nationi Germanicae super gravaminibus opportune provideatur. Quarto et ultimo loco¹⁷, ut quae in praejudicium duorum principum electorum vel suarum ecclesiarum acta sunt, ex tuae¹⁸ sanctitatis clementia revocentur et in pristinum singula statum redigantur. Quibus per tuam¹⁹ sanctitatem concessis, pax firma tibi erit, pax apostolicae sedi, pax nationi Germanicae, pax toti ecclesiae. Deorsum²⁰ ista breviter et succincte libabimus²¹.

¹ sancte M

² quoque *add.* L, M

³ *omit.* L, M

⁴ etiam M

⁵ etiam *add.* L

⁶ sic pacem : pacem sic L

⁷ ut L, M

⁸ remanet P

⁹ greges L

¹⁰ manducat L, M

¹¹ tritulantis M

¹² namque L

¹³ et M

¹⁴ parta L

¹⁵ *omit.* L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ petimus *add.* L, M

¹⁸ tua L

¹⁹ *omit.* M

²⁰ seorsum hec L

²¹ libavimus L; libamus M

4. Conditions for German obedience to the pope

[16] But if you desire this peace, Holy Father, as we are confident you do, then it is necessary that you also give the German Nation the benefit of the peace so that your helpers, too, may have peace. For who gives peace to others if he himself cannot have it? *Who feedeth the flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock?*¹ *Who shalt muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.*² The German princes bring peace, but they also ask for peace. They require something, and if they do not obtain it, the wounds cannot be healed, nor can the nation have peace.³

[17] Their four major requirements are these: firstly, that a general council be convoked, at a time and in a place to be determined. Secondly, that you should approve in writing the declaration on the power, authority and preeminence of general councils representing the Catholic Church Militant, made by your orators in Frankfurt. Thirdly, that the burdens on the German Nation be dealt with in suitable manner. And fourthly and lastly, that what has been enacted with prejudice to two prince electors and their churches should be revoked by the mercy of Your Holiness and they themselves restored to their former state. If these requests are granted by Your Holiness, there shall be a firm peace for you, for the Apostolic See, for the German Nation, and for the whole Church.

On this matter, we shall now speak briefly and concisely.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 9, 7

² 1. Corinthians, 9, 9. Both quotes were used by Piccolomini in his oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6], but in another context, showing that Piccolomini had the quote from Decretum Gratiani, C.13.1.1 (col. 718)

³ The silken glove comes off!

[18] Concilium sane propterea petitur, quia plurima necessario sunt¹ reformanda, nedum in {190r} populo, sed etiam in clero, et providendum est^{2 3}, ut omnis⁴ dissidii⁵ fomes⁶ in ecclesia sopiatur⁷. Et habet haec petitio plurimum honestatis⁸, nec quisquam est, qui non putet honestum generale concilium convocari. Venerabile est et⁹ in omnium populorum, gentium nationumque reverentia generalis concilii nomen. Tanta quoque¹⁰ conciliorum dignitas est, ut ex his non solum Romani pontifices, sed etiam ipsi^{11 12} Caesares ingentem gloriam sint¹³ assecuti. Praetereo¹⁴, quae multis in locis synodaliter et utiliter gesta sunt. In Constantiensi concilio schisma, quod circiter annis¹⁵ quadraginta vexarat¹⁶ ecclesiam, abolitum¹⁷ est. Ex quo fit, ut¹⁸ honesta sit et sancta concilii postulatio. Super qua re plurima diceremus, nisi quia te numquam invenimus¹⁹ convocationi²⁰ concilii repugnantem, si²¹ quae vel olim Alberto regi oblata fuerunt²², vel quae²³ nuper Franckfordiae tui polliciti sunt oratores memoriae repetamus²⁴.

¹ necessario sunt : sunt in ecclesia L

² *omit.* P

³ providendum est : est providendum M

⁴ omnes L

⁵ discidii M

⁶ sordes L

⁷ sopiantur L

⁸ honestatem L

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ tanta quoque : tantaque L

¹¹ etiam ipsi : ipsi etiam L

¹² *omit.* M; episcopi P, MA

¹³ sunt M

¹⁴ pretereoque L

¹⁵ circiter annis : annis circiter L

¹⁶ vexavit L; vexerat M

¹⁷ aboletum M

¹⁸ quod M

¹⁹ convenimus in L; in convocatione M

²⁰ invocationi P

²¹ sed M

²² fuere L

²³ *omit.* L

²⁴ reputamus M

4.1. Holding a new general council

[18] A council is requested because there are many things in urgent need of reform, both in the laity and in the clergy, and action must be taken to remove any cause for conflict in the Church. This request is highly meritorious, and everybody considers it appropriate to convoke a general council. The name of "General Council" is greatly revered and honoured by all peoples and nations. So great is the dignity of general councils that through them immense glory has accrued not only to the Roman pontiffs, but also to the emperors. I pass over what has so usefully been done in local synods. In the Council of Konstanz, the schism that had plagued the Church for almost 40 years was brought to the end. Therefore, the demand for a council is honest and holy. I should say more about this matter if we did not know that you have never opposed convoking a council,¹ and if we keep in mind what was offered to King Albrecht and what your orators recently promised in Frankfurt.²

¹ Actually, Pope Eugenius and the Roman Curia had systematically opposed all proposals for a council over which the pope would not have complete and certain control

² In his edition of the oration, Mansi made this note: *Vix in animum inducere potuissem, Eugenium jam inde a tempore Alberti Caesaris spem fecisse Germanis de Concilio tertio quodam in loco habendo*, MA, p. 119, n. 4

[19] Sed migramus jam ad petitionem secundam, cujus tenorem superius recensuimus. Scimus, pater beatissime¹, {190v} in ea te sede sedere, quae *cardo et caput ecclesiae*², *ut factum est a domino et non ab alio constituta est*^{3 4}. *Et sicut cardine ostium regitur, sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae, domino disponente, reguntur*. Nihil est quod aut regia majestas⁵ aut principes sui⁶ de tua vel fide vel sinceritate vel doctrina mussent⁷. Sed innuerunt⁸ apud Franckfordiam conceptum⁹ quemdam mentis^{10 11} sinistrum de auctoritate conciliorum oratores tui, qui plebi gravior videbatur. Is¹² nunc penitus tuis litteris extinguendus est. Consueverunt antecessores tui¹³, quos tu non solum sequeris¹⁴, sed aequas, ac praecedis benefaciendo, obmutescere facere malorum hominum audaciam, dum rationem omnibus de sua fide reddebant. Nec novum est nec¹⁵ inusitatum¹⁶ Romanos pontifices¹⁷ Romanis regibus suae fidei puritatem rescribere. Beatus Gregorius, cujus vita sanctior an auctoritas major fuerit incertum putes¹⁸, sicut quattuor evangelii libros, sic quattuor concilia se suscipere ac venerari fatetur. {191r} Non tam lata nec tam magnifica de te verba petuntur, sed solum quoddam, ut¹⁹ supra diximus, quod ab hac sanctissima sede non haesitamus adsequi, cujus sublimitas in humilitate fundatur, cujus auctoritas in honestate stabilitur, cujus est omnia facere, quibus salus quaeritur animarum, et omnia fugere, quibus scandalizari fratres queant. Duas jam²⁰ petitiones absolvimus.

¹ pater beatissime : beatissime pater L

² *omit.* L, M

³ *omit.* M

⁴ constituta est : est constituta L

⁵ magiestas L

⁶ tui MA

⁷ inissent M

⁸ invenerunt L; imminuerunt M

⁹ *omit.* M

¹⁰ rumorem M

¹¹ apud Francfordiam ... mentis : quemdam rumorem L

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ clementissime pater *add.* L

¹⁴ sequaris L

¹⁵ neque L, M

¹⁶ inusurpatum L, M

¹⁷ Romanos pontifices : Romanis pontificibus M, P

¹⁸ putans M

¹⁹ quoddam ut : quod L, M

²⁰ igitur M

4.2. Recognizing the authority of the general councils

[19] Now we pass on to the second petition we mentioned earlier. We know, Holy Father, that you are occupying the see that is *the hinge and the head of the Church, as was done by the Lord himself and not instituted by anybody else. And just as the gate is governed by the hinge, thus God ordered it so that all the churches are ruled by the authority of the Holy See.*¹ Neither His Royal Majesty nor his princes have any objection against your faith, your sincerity or your teaching. But in Frankfurt your orators hinted at an ominous concept of the authority of the councils that was very painful to the people.² This should now be completely eradicated by a letter from you. Your predecessors, whom you not only follow, but equal and even surpass in good deeds, used to silence the audacity of evil men by making a public statement concerning their faith. It is not a new or unusual thing for the Roman pontiffs to send a declaration of the purity of their faith to the Roman kings. Blessed Gregory³ whose holy life matched his great authority, declares that like the four gospels he accepts and reveres four councils. We do not ask for such far-reaching and grand statements from you, but only what we mentioned before, and which we do not doubt that we shall receive from that Holy See, whose greatness is founded on humility, whose authority is balanced by honesty, and whose task it is to do all that leads to the salvation of souls, and to avoid all that may cause scandal among the brethren.

We have now presented two of the petitions.

¹ Decretum Gratiani, D.22.2 (col. 74): Epistola Pseudo-Isidori Anacleti Ep. III, 3: *Haec vero apostolica sedes caput et cardo, ut praefatum est, a domino ...* Used by Piccolomini in several orations

² In this case, the concept of people includes also the ruling class

³ Gregorius I (ca. 540 – 604): Pope from 590 to his death

[20] Modo quod¹ supersit² de³ gravaminibus⁴ dicendum est. Audiatur⁵ benigne sanctitas tua, modestiamque nationis⁶ attendat. Gravamina⁷, de quibus agitur, bifariam dividuntur: alia per decreta tolluntur⁸ concilii Basiliensis⁹, alia tuae sanctitatis indigent auxilio. Quae decretis abolentur, sunt reservationes nimiae¹⁰, annatae¹¹ graves, causarum ad Romanam curiam frequentes advocaciones, et cetera istius modi, quibus ordinaria jurisdictio erat penitus¹² evacuata. Quae licet dudum ante tuam ad summi apostolatus apicem vocationem nationi gravia viderentur, non tamen ut decem illae tribus apud¹³ Roboam, filium Salomonis, auctoritate propria jugum excussit, {191v} sed Basiliensis concilii provisionem expectavit, cujus decreta cum nonnullis modificationibus acceptavit¹⁴, hisque¹⁵ est usa. Ergo ut¹⁶ posthac¹⁷ sine¹⁸ gravamine natio sit, quod his¹⁹ decretis in futurum uti possit²⁰, per te liceat, petitur. Habes hujus partis modestiam.

¹ quo P, MA

² supra M, P, MA

³ *omit.* L, M

⁴ nominibus L

⁵ audeat et oro L

⁶ orationis L

⁷ gravamenta M

⁸ tolluntur M

⁹ *omit.* M

¹⁰ minute L

¹¹ amare L

¹² erat penitus : penitus erat L, M

¹³ ad L

¹⁴ expectavit cujus ... modificationibus *omit.* L

¹⁵ iis MA

¹⁶ ergo ut : ut ergo L, M

¹⁷ post hoc M

¹⁸ *omit.* L

¹⁹ iis MA

²⁰ in futurum uti possit : uti possit in futurum L

4.3. Removing the burdens on the German nation

[20] We now have to speak about the burdens. May your Holiness listen benevolently and note the nation's moderation. The burdens in question are of two kinds: some have been removed by decrees of the Council of Basel, others need the assistance of Your Holiness.

What has been abolished by the conciliar decrees¹ are: the excessive [use of] reservations,² the heavy annates,³ the frequent appeal of legal cases to the Roman Curia, and other procedures of this kind that had completely voided the ordinary⁴ jurisdiction. Though these matters had seemed very grave to the nation long before you were called to the height of the Supreme Apostolate, the nation did not⁵ on its own authority throw off the yoke - like the ten tribes⁶ did to Roboam, son of Solomon.⁷ Rather, it awaited the decisions of the Council of Basel, whose decrees it accepted,⁸ though with a number a modifications, and [only afterwards] it used these decrees. So that the nation may be free of this burden hereafter, it asks for your permission to apply these decrees in the future. You will observe the moderation in this request.

¹ I.e. decrees of the Council of Basel during the period when it was still recognized by Pope Eugenius

² I.e. the reservation of ecclesiastical benefices for expectant candidates

³ I.e. a form of tax to the Roman Curia in connection with the bestowal of high ecclesiastical offices

⁴ I.e. local

⁵ At the accession of Pope Eugenius

⁶ Of Israel

⁷ 3. Kings, 12, 16

⁸ Some decrees were not accepted by the Germans, notably the decrees suspending and deposing Pope Eugenius

[21] Nunc honestatem sequentis¹ agnosce². Dum locus neutralitati fuit, quamplures viri praestantes ecclesiarum metropolitanarum, cathedralium, monasteriorum diversarumque dignitatum et beneficiorum, vel integram vel majorem partem³ bonorum possessionem sunt assecuti, quidam tua, quidam aliorum auctoritatibus⁴. Horum pax securitasque deponitur. Quod⁵ si in magna multitudine⁶ possessorum⁷ nonnulli comperiuntur injustis ditati titulis, tolerabilius est tamen⁸ paucos injuste possidere cum pace, quam multos juste⁹ possidentes pace¹⁰ turbari. Sunt enim quaedam¹¹ sui natura injusta, quae communis boni causa et publicae pacis intuitu sororia justis fiunt. Laudatur apud veteres magnusque habetur Sicionius {192r} ille, qui restitutis in urbe sua sexcentis exulibus¹², non quae prius habuerant bona reddidit, sed accepta mutuo pecunia, quanti res eorum fuerant, accipere jussit. Indignum namque vir¹³ bonus putavit longi temporis praescriptionem¹⁴ possessionem¹⁵ movere. Similiter et in omni unione vel nostra vel majorum nostrorum tempestate celebrata possessorum conditio semper melior fuit¹⁶. Nec ab re, nam si secus fiat, pax omnibus¹⁷ abrumpitur.

¹ sequentem P, MA

² cognosce P, MA

³ majorem partem : majoris partis L

⁴ auctoritate M

⁵ at L

⁶ in magna multitudine : magna in multitudine L, M

⁷ possessores MA

⁸ est tamen : tamen est M

⁹ multos juste : juste multos L

¹⁰ omit. L, M

¹¹ quidam M

¹² exulibus MA

¹³ ubi M

¹⁴ omit. L, M

¹⁵ possessione L, MA

¹⁶ melior fuit : fuit melior L

¹⁷ omnis L, M

[21] Now, recognize the decency of the following [petition]. During the period of Neutrality, many excellent men acquired complete or extensive possession of the properties of metropolitan churches,¹ cathedral churches, monasteries and various ecclesiastical offices and benefices, some by your authority, others by other authorities.² We ask for peace and security for these persons. Among so many, there are of course some who do not have legitimate title to the properties in their possession. However, it is more acceptable that a few hold possession unjustly than that many who hold possession justly should be troubled. For certain things are unjust by nature, but are treated as if they were just for the sake of the common good and with a view to public peace. The old ones had great respect for that man from Sicyon who after 600 exiles had been received back in his city did not restore their property to them, but took a public loan and bade them receive an amount equivalent to their former property.³ For this good man considered that the [reinstatement] of the longtime [exiles] ought not end other people's possession [of their former properties]. Similarly, in every reunification effected in our own time and in the time of our forefathers the condition of actual possession has always been the favoured one.⁴ And quite reasonably so, for otherwise everybody would suffer from the ensuing loss of peace.

¹ If a German bishop had had his election to his episcopal see confirmed by the Council in Basel, his appointment was not legal in the eyes of the pope, and opposite, and neither was his possession of the properties of his church. As many German prelates were in this irregular situation, it was very important for the Germans that their recognition of the pope would not have the consequence that the appointments of these prelates and their possession of church properties would now be invalidated

² Mainly the Council of Basel

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 2.23.81-82: *At vero Aratus Sicyonius iure laudatur, qui, cum eius civitas quinquaginta annos a tyrannis teneretur, profectus Argis Sicyonem clandestino introitu urbe est potitus, cumque tyrannum Nicoclem improvise oppressisset, sescentos exules, qui locupletissimi fuerant eius civitatis, restituit remque publicam adventu suo liberavit. Sed cum magnam animadverteret in bonis et possessionibus difficultatem, quod et eos, quos ipse restituerat, quorum bona alii possederant, egere iniquissimum esse arbitrabatur et quinquaginta annorum possessiones moveri³ non nimis aequum putabat, propterea quod tam longo spatio multa hereditatibus, multa emptionibus, multa dotibus tenebantur sine iniuria, iudicavit neque illis adimi nec iis non satis fieri, quorum illa fuerant, oportere ...*

⁴ Beata conditio possidentis: principle of Roman law

[22] Cetera, quae petemus¹ in scriptis, leviora sunt. Annates² enim remitti vel jus decretorum, vel tuae liberalitatis est munus, et³ relaxari censuras^{4 5}, quae contra foedus neutralitatis actae⁶ sunt, pium⁷ aequumque⁸. Si tamen inter haec aliquid est, quod apostolicae sedi grave videatur⁹, supplicant principes, ut tua sanctitas, quae patienter jam annis¹⁰ quindecim omnia¹¹, quae acta sunt, toleravit, nunc etiam pro parvo tempore patientiam habeat, et oboedientiam nationis, ut offertur, recipiat. Quo facto, omnia in¹² melius redigentur¹³. {192v} Est enim intentio regiae majestatis¹⁴ et suorum¹⁵ principum hanc sanctissimam sedem, quae per Dei ordinationem ex munificentia Caesaris¹⁶ mirifice sublimata fuit, omnem dignitatem suam¹⁷ retinere, omne jus, omnem splendorem, omnem potestatem, ad quas res suis temporibus enixe laborare intendunt¹⁸. In Franckfordiensi dieta non fuit otium¹⁹, ut erat voluntas, de provisione tuae sanctitati²⁰ tuaeque sedi facienda transigere.

¹ petimus L, M

² dampnatos L; annatarum M

³ omit. M, P, MA

⁴ censuris M

⁵ pium add. P; prium et rasande add. L; vium [?] rescindi add. M

⁶ acta L, M

⁷ omit. P

⁸ pium equumque : equum L, M

⁹ videtur L

¹⁰ jam annis : annis jam L

¹¹ quindecim omnia : ante decimam horam L

¹² omit. M

¹³ dirigentur L

¹⁴ magiestatis L

¹⁵ et suorum : suorumque L

¹⁶ Caesarum M

¹⁷ dignitatem suam : suam dignitatem L

¹⁸ laborare intendunt : laborem tendunt L

¹⁹ actum L

²⁰ sanctitati M

[22] The rest that we shall ask for in our written petitions are less difficult, for the remission of annates is a matter either of the conciliar decrees or of your own generosity. And to annul the ecclesiastical censures enacted against [the participants in] the pact of Neutrality is pious and fair. However, if there should be anything in this that seems difficult to the Apostolic See, the princes beg Your Holiness to patiently accept what was done 15 years ago and that you will have patience for a short time and accept the obedience of the nation as offered. When that has been done, everything may be arranged in a better way. For it is the intention of His Royal Majesty and his princes that this Most Holy See, raised up wonderfully by God's command, through the munificence of emperors, should retain all its dignity, all its rights, all its splendour and all its power. In time they will direct all their efforts towards this goal. At the Diet of Frankfurt¹ they did not have the time, even though they had the will, to settle the matter of providing for Your Holiness and your See.

¹ September 1446

[23] Quarta nunc et ultima petitio superest. Coloniensem et Treverensem ecclesias earumque praelatos res ista concernit, cujus honestas eo major est, quo tuae naturae, humanitati¹, dignitati sedique apostolicae convenientior est. Nihil ad nos attinet, beatissime pater, de tuarum sententiarum viribus disputare, cum primae² sedis³ facta⁴ solius Dei iudicio⁵ reserventur. Sed formidamus scandalum, nisi tua clementia in hac ultima petitione preces nostras⁶ exaudiat. Namque praelati magno conatu⁷ ⁸ magnoque potentatu⁹, amicis et clientelis fulti¹⁰, in opibus¹¹ amicisque¹² fidentes¹³ sine spoliis, sine incendiis, sine magno ecclesiarum {293r} damno amoveri facile nequiverunt¹⁴. In veteri testamento cautum est, ne quis haedum in lacte¹⁵ matris suae¹⁶ coquat, quod minime absurdum fuerit interpretatum, si quis praelatum in ecclesiae suae¹⁷ sanguine mulctandum esse negaverit¹⁸. Scis, beatissime pater, quam sancta est Coloniensis ecclesia, quam vetus Treverensis, quam venerabiles ambae, quam toto memorabiles orbe¹⁹. Scis quantum cleri, quantum populi sub se habeant. Nolite tua beatitudo duas illas ecclesias, quae duo magna nationis Germanicae luminaria sunt²⁰, nostris²¹ periclitari²² temporibus.²³

¹ *omit.* M

² quidem *add.* L

³ sedi L

⁴ facto M

⁵ iuris L

⁶ preces nostras : nostras preces L

⁷ cognatu P, MA

⁸ magni conatu : magni natu M

⁹ clari *add.* L

¹⁰ circumfulti L

¹¹ *illeg.* L

¹² artibus L; actibusque M

¹³ fidentibus L

¹⁴ nequeunt L

¹⁵ ventre P, MA

¹⁶ matris suae : suae matris L

¹⁷ *omit.* MA

¹⁸ negavit L; negaveris M

¹⁹ orbi L

²⁰ *omit.* M

²¹ nostrisque L

²² periclitare M

²³ et *add.* L

4.4. Lifting the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne

[23] Our fourth petition remains [to be presented]. It concerns the churches of Cologne and Trier and their prelates.¹ This is a matter of honour well suited to your character, humanity and to the Apostolic See. It is not our task, Holy Father, to dispute the legality² of your judgments, as the acts of the First See are reserved for the judgement of God alone.³ But we fear a scandal unless Your Clemency hears our prayers in this last petition. For prelates who have great influence and great power, who are supported by friends and clients, and who may rely on wealth and friends, cannot easily be removed without plunder, conflagration and great damage to the churches. In the Old Testament there is a warning not to *boil a kid in the milk of his dam*.⁴ This verse may reasonably be interpreted as meaning that a prelate should not be punished with the blood of his church.⁵ You know, Holy Father, how holy is the Church of Cologne, how old is the Church of Trier, how venerable they both are, and how renowned in the whole world. You know how numerous their clergy and their populations are. Your Holiness, please do not endanger these two churches, the two great lights of the German Nation.

¹ I.e. their archbishops

² "de viribus"

³ According to the principle maintained by the medieval popes: *Nobody may judge the pope* (since the pope is God's vicar on Earth, and nobody may judge God)

⁴ Exodus, 23, 19: *nec coques hedum in lacte matris suae*

⁵ An interesting use of allegory, typical of the time!

[24] Multis rationibus hunc locum consolari possemus, sed scimus tuam consuetudinem, clementiam, pietatem, generositatem¹. Scimus cardinales, episcopos² aliosque praelatos, quos ad te redeuntes non extulisti solum³ jacentes, sed amplificasti⁴ etiam eorum pristinas dignitates⁵. Scimus, quia nulla res^{6 7} magis Deo proxima est⁸ quam salutem hominibus⁹ dare¹⁰. Ideo parcimus verbis, teque solum¹¹ oratum facimus, ut tua beatitudo¹², quae in alios¹³ saepe multos benignissima¹⁴ reperta est, nunc etiam erga {293v} praelatos et principes, de quibus agimus, et ipsorum ecclesias, sui sit memor ipsius, innataque¹⁵ sibi¹⁶ clementia et humanitate utatur. Quod si feceris, ut speramus¹⁷, et nationem integram habebis oboedientem, et nulla¹⁸ umquam aetas de¹⁹ tuis laudibus conticescet.

¹ humanitatem L, M; *omit.* P, MA

² optimos L

³ extulisti solum : solum extulisti L, M

⁴ ampliasti L

⁵ pristinas dignitates : pristinam dignitatem L

⁶ re M

⁷ nulla res : te nulla te L

⁸ proxima est : proximas L, M

⁹ omnibus L

¹⁰ dando L, M

¹¹ soluimus L

¹² benignitas M

¹³ aliis L

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ innata L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ spe ducimur L

¹⁸ nullum M

¹⁹ a L

[24] We can support this claim with many arguments, but we know about your custom, your clemency, your piety and your generosity. We know that cardinals, bishops and other prelates who turned back to you were not only raised up again, but that you even increased their former state.¹ And we know that nothing is dearer to God than to give salvation to men. Therefore we shall be sparing with words and simply ask that Your Holiness, who has shown great kindness to many others, should now remember himself and show his innate mercy and humanity to the prelates and princes concerned and their churches. If you do as we hope, you shall have a whole nation obedient to you, and all future ages shall extol your praises.

¹ Generosity, especially of princes, is a theme dear to Piccolomini

[25] Haec sunt, sanctissime¹ pater, quae nostri principes ex te petunt, magna sane², sed rationi³ et honestate⁴ consona. In prima petitione communis versatur⁵ utilitas, in secunda⁶ humilitas, in tertia aequitas, in quarta benignitas et tua⁷ desideratur humanitas. Tuum est, quod juste petitur libenter annuere. In tua manu nunc est radicem omnem schismatis⁸ evellere, pacem orbi concedere, consolari⁹ nationem et ejus oboedientiam suscipere¹⁰. Cumque, ut vides, nostri principes in amicitia ad te miserint¹¹, ut auxilientur tibi, tempus est, ut cor tuum¹² jungatur eis, sintque illi tui, et maneant tecum in perpetuum¹³. Et tempestive et¹⁴ convenienter a nobis dictum repetatur¹⁵, quod ab initio ex sacris accepimus¹⁶ litteris: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat Deus tuus*, qui tuam beatitudinem prosperioribus¹⁷ dietim successibus augeat. Amen¹⁸

¹ beatissime L

² sana haec L

³ rationem L

⁴ *illeg.* M; honestati MA

⁵ versatitur L

⁶ tua *add.* L, M

⁷ tuae sanctitatis L

⁸ omnem schismatis : scismatis omnem L, M

⁹ consolare M

¹⁰ recipere L, M

¹¹ miserant L

¹² *omit.* M

¹³ *illeg.* eternum L

¹⁴ ac L, M

¹⁵ reperitur L; reperiatur M

¹⁶ recepimus L, M

¹⁷ prosperibus L; *omit.* M

¹⁸ Finis P

5. Conclusion

[25] These are, Holy Father, the requests of our princes to you. They are indeed great, but they are also reasonable and decent. In the first request the common good is concerned, in the second humility, in the third reason, and in the fourth your kindness and humanity are being called upon. Now it is up to you to willingly grant our just petitions. Now it is in your hand to uproot all schism, to grant peace to the world, to comfort the [German] nation and to receive its obedience. And as you see that our princes have sent messengers to you in friendship and in order to help you, it is time that your heart be joined with them, and that they be thine, and that they be with you in eternity. Thus we may, quite appropriately, repeat what we took in the beginning from Holy Scripture: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.* May He daily increase your happiness through prosperous success. Amen.