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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 46)

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Abstract

In summer 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers arrived in Mantua where Pope Pius II’s congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after the event. They were received by the pope with a correct, but rather brief and cool oration.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; Savoy; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars with the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Louis I, Duke of Savoy

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NOTE TO THE READER

New in this version: Collation of the text in Archivio Segreto Vaticano / XXXII, 1.

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

I am publishing the preliminary edition of both the individual orations and the collected orations in the French digital research archive, HAL Archives.

The reader is advised that I publish – on a yearly basis - new versions of my preliminary edition both of the individual orations and of the single volumes of the Collected Orations. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have found previously via the Internet is available in HAL Archives.

I aim at completing – Deo volente - a final edition of all the individual and collected orations in 2020 and will at that time decide upon the form of its ultimate publication.

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Quamvis non sine magna
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I. INTRODUCTION
1. Context

In the summer 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers assembled in Mantua where Pope Pius II’s congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after event, quite insultingly late. They were received by the pope on 19 October with a correct, but rather cool oration.

The oration exists in two versions, a rather severe one, the Quamvis non sine magna, and a shorter, formal one without any recriminations, Satisfacit abunde. Both versions have survived and document firstly that the pope’s orations, even the responses to ambassadors, were written beforehand, and secondly that in the present case circumstances had rapidly altered so as to make the pope change his discourse.

The question is, of course, which text was the one prepared before the reception of the ambassadors, and which was the one actually delivered.

According to Voigt, the version Satisfacit abunde was written in case the Duke would send his son, the Count of Geneve, to the congress, but the count did not appear, though he was quite near.

So, the pope had to abandon this text, and instead held the oration Quamvis non sine magna, giving free rein to his irritation at the princes’, in casu the Duke of Savoy’s, belated compliance with his summons to the Congress in Mantua.

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1 Voigt, IV, p. 67: Kränkend war in jenen Tagen die Nichtachtung, die Herzog Ludwig von Savoyen dem Papste erwies. Trotz seiner Nähe schickte er nur Gesandte, unbedeutende Männer und auch disse so spät
2 Voigt, IV, p. 67. Picotti, p. 190, confirms that towards the end of August the papal court still expected the count to come to Mantua. In his later oration to the Duke of Savoy’s daughter-in-law, Queen Carlotta of Cyprus, Pius had the opportunity to bitterly complain of the fact that the duke’s son did not bother to come to Mantua while he was in fact quite near, going to Cyprus to marry Carlotta, cf. Pius II: Oration “Pone lacrimas”
3 Pastor, p. 61: Als die Gesandten nun endlich am 19. Oktober in einem öffentlichem Consistorium erschienen, mussten sie von Pius II eine ernste, fast strafende Anrede vernehmen
2. Themes

The basic theme of the *Quamvis non sine magna* is the pope’s frustration at the princes’ reluctance to embrace his crusade against the Turks:

*We must say, however, that We have several times had to rebuke your prince\(^1\) and others for not yet dispatching their envoys, in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see, and feel the terrible threat to the Gospel of Christ, but still they give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. [Sect. 1]*

Moreover, he reiterates the wish that the princes fulfil the splendid promises of contributions to the crusade, which they made but probably had not the slightest intention to keep, as the pope might well fear:

*But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, Christian religion will not lack magnificent helpers. ... Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words come from a pure heart and that your prince’s intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed the nobility, piety, and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope of that. [Sect. 2]*

That the European princes were not keen to join a papal crusade against the Turks at the middle of the 15\(^{th}\) century was actually not surprising. The surprise is really that Pius, who better than any knew the political situation in Europe, could believe otherwise. But he was now looking at the world through the prism of his new, magnificent office, believing the princes to be subject to the Apostolic See, and assessing more clearly than many the very real danger to Europe which the Turks represented.

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\(^1\) Louis I (1413 – 1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death. Son of Duke Amédee VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, whose secretary Piccolomini had been from 1440-1442
3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Pastor, the Savoyard ambassadors arrived in Mantua after 9 October 1459, and they were received by the pope on 19 October, during a public consistory. The date of their audience with the pope is documented by a report from the Sienese ambassadors.\(^1\) There is, however, the problem that Pius, in the description of the first session of the Congress, on 29 September 1459, given in his own *Commentarii*, writes as follows:

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... after hearing mass in the cathedral, the princes and envoys were called to order. At this point a number of disputes broke out over the order of seating; worst of all was the quarrel between Venice and Savoy. ... Since there seemed to be no way to settle the question, the pope seated the Venetians behind the ambassadors from Burgundy, and told the Savoyards to sit on a stool by his throne.\(^2\)
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An explanation of the apparently contradictory informations might be that the ambassadors arrived before 26 September, but were only received officially by the pope on 19 October. Such a lengthy period between arrival and reception of princely ambassadors would appear to be rather unusual, especially as the pope had written several times to the Duke of Savoy requesting him to send his ambassadors speedily. So, on the basis of present evidence it is not clear how these informations can be reconciled, but for the purpose of the present edition the date given by Pastor has been retained.

The audience was composed of cardinals and ambassadors present in Mantua, other participants in the Congress and members of the Papal Court.

The format was a papal address from the throne.

4. Text

As mentioned above, the oration is extant in two versions, one with the incipit *Quamvis non sine magna* and another with the incipit *Satisfacit abunde*. Both versions are included in a special collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in three manuscripts, cf. below:

\(^1\) Pastor, p. 61, n. 4-5
\(^2\) Pius II: *Commentarii* (Meserve), p. 137
4.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
  544, ff. 169v, 178r (G)

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV)**  
  Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 42r-42v, 60r-60v (J)

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
  Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 161v-162r, 175-175v (H)

The Chisianus is the eldest of the three and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

4.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi:

- **Pius II**: *Orationes*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. T. II, pp. 204-205 [based on the manuscript in Lucca]

4.3. Present edition

*Text:*

The present edition is based on all three manuscripts, with the Chisianus as the lead text.
Presentation:

The Latin text and English translation are presented synoptically, with the Latin text on the left side and the English text on the right side.

Quotations (and semi-quotations) are given in italics.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Chisianus (blue) and from the Luccensis (red).

Textual apparatus:

In the main text, the readings from the lead version are preferred unless readings from the other manuscript are clearly better. Variants are placed in the textual apparatus, with the exception of standard orthographical variants, see below.

Orthography and punctuation:

Standard variations from contemporary lexical practice are not indicated in the textual apparatus. For such variants, the reader is referred to the orthographical profiles of the manuscripts given in the bibliography volume of the collected edition.¹

The punctuation is the editor’s own.

Translation:

The translation is intended to be a close rendition of the meaning of the Latin text, but not to directly transpose Latin grammatical forms which would result in a stilted and convoluted text.²

¹ To be published in 2017
² On the principles of translation used, see Introduction to the Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, to be published in 2017
Translations of quotations from classical authors are from the Loeb Classical Library (Digital), unless otherwise stated. Translations of quotations from the Bible are from the Douay-Reims translation of the Vulgate into English.

5. Bibliography


Picotti, Giovanni Battista: *La dieta di Mantova a la politica de’ Veneziani*. Venezia, 1912

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


Pius II: *Orationes*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759


6. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544
H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251
J = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1
II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
1. Quamvis non sine magna

Oratoribus ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {169v} {161v} Quamvis non sine magna causa, insignes\(^1\) oratores Sabaudienses, adventum vestrum\(^2\) in hanc usque diem fuisse dilatum\(^3\) arbitramur, fatemur tamen, incusavimus saepenumbero principem vestrum et alios, qui nondum misere legatos suos in tanta necessitate reipublicae Christianae. Audiunt omnes, vident, palpant evangelium Christi pessum ire, nec tamen de remedio cogitant. Omnes ignoscunt\(^4\), et nemo succurrit. Expectare periculum quam vitare, malunt. Pudet dicere, dicendum est tamen: longe major est Turcis Saracenisque\(^{170r}\) suae superstitionis propagandae quam nobis sacratissimae religionis nostra tuendae diligentia. Illi, si usquam vexantur socii, praesto adsunt et turmatim occurrentes hostes expellunt. Nos Graecos, Albanos, Rascianos,\(^{162r}\) Valachos, Hungaros in mediis discriminibus sineullo subsidio relinquimus.

\(^1\) omit. G  
\(^2\) nostrum G  
\(^3\) dilatatum G  
\(^4\) agnoscent J
To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Distinguished ambassadors of Savoy,

We believe that your arrival here has been delayed until now for urgent reasons. We must say, however, that we have several times had to rebuke your prince\(^1\) and others for not yet dispatching their envoys, in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see, and feel the terrible threat to the Gospel of Christ, but still they give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. Whenever their allies are in trouble, they come quickly and in great swarms to expel the enemy. We, [on our side,] have left the Greeks, the Albanians, the Serbians, the Walachians, and the Hungarians in the midst of their perils without any help.

\(^1\) Louis I (1413 – 1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death. Son of Duke Amédee VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, whose secretary Piccolomini had been from 1440-1442

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1 se G  
2 ego *add.* G  
3 longe ab eo : ab eo longe G  
4 diutinum G  
5 sunt enim : enim sunt G  
6 super G  
7 auditores G  
8 et *add.* G
[2] But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, Christian religion will not lack magnificent helpers. This is our task, this is our labour. God stands forth and says to all: “If I am the Father, where is love? If I am the Lord, where is fear?” Many honour God with their lips, but in their heart they have gone far away from him. But no pretense and no charade can last long. What is true and comes from a pure heart needs not fear fortune for it is founded on the firm rock, the truth which is Christ. And the rock was Christ,¹ says the apostle. Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words come from a pure heart and that your prince’s intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed the nobility, piety, and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope of that. Concerning the other things said by you, We shall reply at another time and in another place.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 10, 4
2. Satisfacit abunde

Ad oratores ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {178r} {175r} Satisfacit abunde nobis hodie\(^1\) dilectus filius nobilis vir Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, qui cum per valitudinem huc accedere non posset, carissimum filium suum, nobile pignus, egregium adolescentem\(^2\), et vos praestantes oratores ad consulendum reipublicae Christianae transmisit. Videmus vos\(^3\) laeto vultu et alacri animo. Idem faciunt venerabiles etc. Idem tota contio\(^4\). Verba vestra doctrinae et sapientiae plena fuerunt: videhini a sapiente princepe missi. Magna ex dictis vestris documenta recepimus\(^5\), que vobiscum et cum ceteris, qui ad rem hanc\(^6\) vocati sunt, conabimur prosequi. Magnicas oblationes vestras laudamus et amplectemur: dignae sunt, quas Sabaudiensis domus efficiat, quae regium et imperatorium sanguinem praee se ferens, non potest non\(^7\) magna et regia polliceri. Dignus est princeps \{175v\} Sabaudiensis, quem cuncti ament, maxime vero apostolica sedes, quod quidem, vita comite, a nobis non negligetur.

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\(^1\) omit. G  
\(^2\) adulescentem G  
\(^3\) omit. G  
\(^4\) contione J  
\(^5\) recipimus J  
\(^6\) rem hanc : hanc rem G  
\(^7\) nisi G, J
To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Since the health of Our beloved son, Louis, the noble Duke of Savoy, does not allow him to come here in person, it is completely satisfactory that he has sent his dear son, an excellent youth and a noble pledge, and you, distinguished ambassadors, to consult with us on the Christian Commonwealth: gladly and eagerly We see you before Us. The same do the venerable etc.\(^1\) and indeed the whole assembly. Your speech was full of learning and wisdom. You have been sent by a wise prince, and you have given Us important advice that We shall endeavour to follow up on together with you and the others who have been summoned here. We praise and accept your magnificent offers. They are indeed worthy of being implemented by the House of Savoy which carries the blood of emperors and kings and can only make great and regal promises. And the Prince of Savoy merits to be loved by all, and especially by the Apostolic See, which We shall not fail to do as long as We live.

\(^1\) I.e. the venerable brothers, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church