



Oration “Multa hic hodie” of Pope Pius II (21 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 49)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 49)

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7th version

2019

Abstract

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September 1459, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November it was received by the pope in a public consistory. It was generally expected that the French would cause a major crisis at the congress by publicly criticizing and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily: he had recognized Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright. To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, the Bishop of Paris gave an oration which was quite pleasant and almost without references to the Sicilian matter which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. The bishop ended his oration with a declaration of obedience on behalf of his king to which the pope replied with the oration "*Multa hic hodie*".

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; France; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua, 1459; Charles VII, King of France; Guillaume Chartier, Bishop of Paris

Editor and translator

Michael v. 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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French ambassadors definitely took their time to arrive and even went to Venice before Mantua to consult with the Venetians on a joint negative policy with regard to the crusade. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November it was received by the pope in a public consistory.

Apart from the matter of the crusade itself, relations between the French crown and the papacy were complicated by the determination of the French to generally influence matters in Italy, to regain the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) which had been lost to the Spanish House of Aragon, and to control the papacy, which had escaped the zone of direct French influence when the popes left Avignon and the Roman Papacy was restored (1417). At the conclave in 1458, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, related to the French royal family, had been a major contender for the papal crown, but instead the cardinals elected an Italian, Cardinal Piccolomini, in a setback for the French designs on Italy.^{2 3}

When the French ambassadors arrived in Mantua, it was generally expected that they would cause a major crisis by publicly criticizing and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily since he had recognized Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright.

To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, Guillaume Chartier,⁴ Bishop of Paris, gave an oration which was quite pleasant and only with a brief reference to the Sicilian matter which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. In the oration⁵, the bishop presented the declaration of obedience on behalf of his king, to which the pope replied with the oration "*Multa hic hodie*".

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

¹ CO, III, 37; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 56, 58, pp. 209-210; Ady, p. 177; Boulting, p. 275; Pastor, II, p. 63; Picotti, pp. 257-260; Reinhard, p. 266; Stolf, p. 354; Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

² Baldi, p. 96: *La storiografia ... ha insistito su questo aspetto, sulla precarità della situazione politica immediate, sulle mire e sulle ambizioni francesi al controllo dell'Italia e del papato. La nomina del Piccolomini aveva però scongiurato l'elezione di un papa francese, ponendo così un freno alle aspirazioni egemoniche della corona di Francia*

³ Another complication was the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges from 1438 by which the French Kingdom, following the antipapalist tendencies of the Council of Basel, had practically freed itself of the papal administration

⁴ Guillaume Chartier (-1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. On Chartier, see Müller, I, pp. 338-339

⁵ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, pp. 10-11

The French ambassadors debated for several days as to whether they should make their submission or raise the question of Sicily first. But when Pius refused to grant them an audience until they made their submission, they were forced to do this first. Their spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, "According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the Earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness."¹ He divided his speech into sections and spoke at length on each: in praise of the pope; the eminence of the Apostolic See; the glory of his own king and kingdom. At last he made what he called a "filial" submission in the name of the king, using this term to make it clear it was not "servile" in character. He said little about the Turks, and still less did he promise support against them. The bishop of Marseille made his submission for King René, and Broccardo,² the spokesman for Genoa, delivered an oration on behalf of his city. This was flowery enough, though it revealed how a once proud city had fallen into servitude and waited now on the puffed-up arrogance of the French.

When everyone had had his say, the pope replied that he was unworthy of such praise. He was a lowly worm, dust and ashes, who had been called to Peter's throne not on account of his own merits but for some mysterious and divine purpose. He prayed that he would be able to perform his appointed task to the glory of God. The praises that had been showered on the Apostolic See were justified but inadequate, for the See held the keys to the kingdom of Heaven and represented God on Earth. To reject His judgment was anathema. The kingdom of France was a pre-eminent military power; her kings had done illustrious deeds and boasted an ancient lineage. Charles, who now ruled, lived up to his predecessors in every way. His submission to the Church of Rome was praiseworthy, though the aid he promised against the Turks was slight. The pope hoped for great things from that house, whose duty it had always been to defend the Church of Rome and the Christian faith against foreign foes. He likewise commended King René for his obedience and the people of Genoa for their devotion.³

Everyone was amazed that the French envoys, who had been so aggressive earlier, now appeared submissive and docile. The Curia was expecting to hear a harsh and bitter speech – condemnation of the pope for giving the kingdom of Sicily to a Spaniard, refusals to submit, demands for a general council. But when these expectations proved false, the Curia was renewed in its admiration for the pope.⁴

Voigt had this comment:

¹ In the oration *Maximum et amplissimum onus*, see Appendix 2

² Gottardo Stella, cf. Picotti, p. 259. Gottardo's oration, the "Communem omnium", is published in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 12

³ The pope's oration was not mentioned by Pius' contemporary biographers, Campano and Platina, cf. Zimolo

⁴ CO, III, 37 (Meserve, II, pp. 162-165)

Man war nun gespannt auf die Antwort des Papstes, die er an den Bischof von Paris richten würde. Er nahm aus dessen Rede sechs Puncte heraus, behandelte sie indess meistens mit dem üblichen, nichtssagenden Formalismus. Doch bemerkten die Franzosen sehr wohl, dass er im feierlichen Tone von der Einheit der Kirche sprach, die auch durch die Autorität der Concilien nicht geschmälert werden könne; wer anders glaube oder Lehre, könne nicht in die Pforten des himmlischen Riches eingehen. Obwohl der Papst sich dabei ausdrücklich verwahrte, dass er den König von Frankreich nicht meinte, der ihm ja so eben den Gehorsam geleistet, so kam er doch zweimal auf den Satz heraus, dass alle katholischen Fürsten der römischen Kirche und dem apostolischen Stuhle unterworfen seien. Seine Absicht fühlte ein Jeder heraus, und doch hatte er nicht mehr gesagt, als unzählige seiner Vorgänger zu unzähligen Malen, nichts was ihn voreingenommen und feindlich erscheinen liess.¹

2. Themes

The themes of the oration “*Multa hic hodie*” were those spoken on by the Bishop of Paris in his oration and to which the pope replied:

- The pope's person
- The apostolic See
- The obedience of the French King
- Genoa
- Praise of the French king
- The crusade

The theme not spoken about was the Kingdom of Sicily which would be dealt with in a later separate meeting.

Concerning the pope's person, the ambassador's praise elicited the traditional, ritual declarations of personal unworthiness which would be expected of the pope – and which indeed he may have felt.²

¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

² In 1447 Pius had heard the new pope, Nicolaus V, speak on this very theme in his oration to the Aragonese ambassadors who had presented King Alfonso V's obedience to the pope (Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p.287). On the papal protestations of personal unworthiness, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 7.8.2.

As Pius had done in so many other responses to ambassadors offering the obedience of their lord, he used the occasion to declare the supremacy of the Apostolic See, i.e. the pope, in all matters, both secular and religious¹:

... the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches by conciliar decision. No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches scattered over the whole world should form one Church, one bridal chamber, and that Saint Peter should be its Head. His See is the perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See which God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See which he strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and the adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God. [Sect. 3]

On this occasion, he added a clear statement about the supremacy of the pope vis-a-vis ecumenical councils²:

Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.³ Anyone who separates himself from the union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom [Sect. 6].

Papal supremacy, not only in religious, but also in secular affairs, was a central tenet of the medieval and the Renaissance Papacy.

In this respect Pius was indeed not innovating at all, see Voigt quoted above. In 1447 he had heard Pope Nicolaus V, in the oration “*Nihil est*”, tell the Aragonese ambassadors about their king:

Non ... ignorat neminem, qui ab hac sede alienat et deviat, in statu salutis esse posse, ita ut quemadmodum qui in archa Noe fuerint salvati sint, qui vero extra illam omnes perierint, ita qui a Petri sede alieni interire necesse sit.⁴

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.2

³ The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – however shortlived - reunion between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and recognized the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

⁴ Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p.287

He had actually reached a clear conviction concerning this whole matter before he himself became pope, as witnessed both by his oration “*Sentio*”, of 1452,¹ and by a statement he put in the mouth of Bernardinus of Siena in his *Dialogus*, finished in 1457, the year before he became pope:

... on Earth the Vicar of Christ holds the first place, he who is the head of the Church Militant, the teacher and prince of the Christian people. Do you not know that Peter was told to Feed my sheep, and Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven. Peter was made shepherd of the sheep with full power to bind and to loose. Among the sheep are not only the common people, but also kings and emperors – if they want to be considered as Christians. ... The power of Peter is large and absolute, and it has been entrusted to him to bind and to loose not only this and that but everything.²

Pius had spoken on the same theme to most of the royal ambassadors coming to declare their master’s obedience to him as new pope, affirming the supremacy of the papacy in both the religious and the secular sphere.³

That the message was not lost on the French, is clear from the report of Nicolas Petit to the French Chancellor (see Appendix 1):

... le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la louange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer.

Petit also noted the pope’s eloquent and indeed fulsome praise of the French king and royal dynasty, and of France.

Concerning the crusade, the ambassador has said very little and made no magnificent promises, so the pope could do no more than express the conviction that participation in the crusade would be a natural, traditional and excellent task for the French king.

¹ Oration “*Sentio*”, sect. 26: *Non enim, ut adversarii delirant, de rebus dumtaxat spiritualibus Romanae sedis arbitrium est, cui dominus in evangelio de re quacumque tribuit potestatem, qui beato Petro aeternae vitae clavigero terreni simul et caelstis imperii jura commisit. Quod Petro, hoc et successoribus ejus Romanae urbis antistibus.* See also sect. 103-104

² Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, pp. 85-87: *Quia non vides in terris Christi vicarium primum tenere locum, caput ecclesie militantis esse, Christiani populi magistrum et principem. Nescis quia dictum est: Pasce oves meas, et quecumque ligaveris super terram erunt et in celis? Pastor ovium Petrus cum plena potestate ligandi atque solvendi creatus est; inter oves Christi non plebes dumtaxat, verum etiam reges atque imperatores habendi sunt, si modo Christiani videri volunt. ... Ampla et absoluta potestas Petri est, cui non hoc aut illud, sed omne ligandum solvendumque commissum est*

³ E.g. oration “*Fabricator mundi*” [40] to the imperial ambassadors

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration “*Multa hic hodie*” was delivered on 21 November 1459, in a public consistory held at with the Congress in Mantua. During the consistory four orations had been heard, by Gregor Heimburg, on behalf of Duke Sigismund of Austria, and by the ambassadors of France, of King René d’Anjou, and of Genoa.

The audience consisted of the cardinals and ambassadors with their retinues, present in Mantua, as well as other participants in the Congress, and members of the papal court.

The format was a papal oration from the throne to royal ambassadors.

4. Text¹

The oration is extant in two versions, the “*Multa hic hodie*”, and the “*Placuit audisse*”. The “*Placuit audisse*” is the one included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, produced under his own direct supervision in 1462.²

There seems to be no doubt that it is the “*Multa hic hodie*” version which was actually delivered at the Congress. The “*Placuit audisse*” version had been prepared in the expectation that the French ambassadors would make an acrimonious protest against the pope’s dispositions in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily, but since they did not do so, the pope had to discard the prepared oration and improvise another.³⁴ The content of the “*Multa hic hodie*” generally agrees with the description given by the secretary of the French embassy, Nicolas Petit, in his report on the events of the day, written immediately afterwards.⁵ The text of the “*Multa hic hodie*” was edited after the actual delivery of the oration. For example, it does not contain the direct and important statement made twice by the pope, which Petit quotes verbatim: *Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiae Romanae & sedi Apostolicae esse subjectos*.

The “*Placuit audisse*” appears to be unfinished since the last section (announced in the beginning of the oration) on the crusade is missing.

¹ On the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 5.1

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

³ Voigt, IV, p. 83, n. 2

⁴ A number of the arguments in the oration “*Placuit audisse*” on the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) Pius would re-use in his oration “*Responsuri*” [52], delivered some days afterwards in response to the French ambassadors complaints about his policies in this area

⁵ Cf. Appendix

The fact that the “*Placuit audisse*” misses a part and that the “*Multa hic hodie*” only survived in a manuscript to which d’Achery had access in France is interesting and may indicate that the history of the text cannot be adequately ascertained on the basis of the presently available evidence. Indeed, the text in the “quaternio Ms. D. d’Herouval” which d’Achery knew may have originated in the French embassy to Mantua and be based on notes taken by secretaries during delivery, which would explain the absence of the text from Italian manuscripts, but this is conjecture

4.1. **Multa hic hodie**

4.1.1. **Manuscripts**

The text as edited by d’Achery, see below, was taken “ex quaternione Ms. D. d’Herouval”.¹

4.1.2. **Editions**

- D’Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. 13 vols. Paris: 1655-1677. // Tom. IX, 1659, nr. 54, pp. 310-316 (**DA**)
- D’Achery, Luc: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis dilituerant*. Nova editio ... S. Baluze, E. Martene, L.-F.-J. de la Barre. 3 vols. Parisiis: Montalant, 1723 // Tom. III, 1723, pp. 807-809
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1671-1672 // Tom. XIII, 1672, coll. 1765-1772.
[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d’Achery]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quae olim quarta parte prodit auctior* // Tom. XIX, 1732. Coll. 230-251
[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d’Achery]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, in qua praeter ea quae P. Labbeus et G. Cossartius et novissime N. Coleti in lucem edidere, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quae J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab

¹ Mansi: *Sacrorum*, XXXII, p. 235, has this margin note to the “*Multa hic hodie*”: *Non extat haec oratio Parisiensis episcopi*

eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notae, et dissertationes quamplurimae, 31 vols.
Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798 // Tom. XXXII, 1798, pp. 225-229
[Mansi reproduces the version printed by d'Achery]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca:
Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 31-38
[After Labbé]

4.2. Placuit audisse

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460)¹, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least three manuscripts:

4.2.1. Manuscripts²

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 165v-168r (**G**) *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 35v-41v (**J**) *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 41r-46v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 58r-62v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 156v-159v (**H**) *

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

4.2.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 219-223
[After the manuscript in Lucca]

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The text of the “*Multa hic hodie*” is taken from the edition by d’Achery (**DA**).

The text of the “*Placuit audisse*” is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this short oration, 16 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 11 from the Bible and 5 from patristic and medieval sources, none from classical sources.

¹ On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.

Biblical: 11

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 5

Contemporary: 0

All: 16

Biblical sources: 11

Old Testament: 6

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Canticle: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 2. Machabees: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 3
- John: 2

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 5

- Augustinus: 1¹
- Cyprianus: 1²
- Decretum Gratiani: 3

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ De civitate Dei

² De unitate ecclesiae

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

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus I.VII.251

J = Roma / Archivio Segretario Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1

DA = D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677 (**DA**)

Abbreviations

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

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

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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

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Multa hic hodie

Pii Papae II oratio habita in conventu Mantuano

Respondet orationi Guillelmi Parisiensi episcopis, oratoris regis Franciae.

[1] {310} Multa hic hodie magna dicta fuerunt, auditu digna. Nam quattuor orationes audivimus, quarum tres tum pro carissimo filio, Carolo Christianissimo Francorum rege illustri, tum pro carissimo filio Renato, etiam rege illustri, tum pro praepotenti Januensium populo dictae sunt. Altera maximo eloquentiae splendore ostendit orator elegans et doctor Gregorius, quantum polleret religio, dignitas, et illustrissimus Austriae sanguis. Tua oratio, venerabilis frater, Parisiorum episcope, laudatione non eget: nam congesta corona hujus atque consessus totius attentio quanta fuerit, plene ostendit: elegans quidem verborum ornatu, plena et artis et venustatis, sententiarum varietate redundans, quodque his majus est, elocutione suavi, cui respondebimus non ordine illo, quo per te dicta est, sed quo multa praetereuntes majora collegimus. Sex partes inde complexi, quarum quidem prima laudibus personae {311} nostrae¹ niti² magnopere visa est; secunda beatissimi Petri, cuius nunc insidemus sedi, dignitatem aperuit; tertia praestitam³ per eumdem Christianissimum regem explicavit oboedientiam. In quarta commendavit nobis Christianissimus rex Renatum regem populumque Januae; quinta in ipsius regis atque regni Francorum laude versatur; sexta optimam voluntatem regis ejusdem expressit in eo, quod pertingit expeditionem in Turcos.

¹ em.; vestrae DA

² em.; nti DA

³ em.; praestita DA

Oration of Pope Pius II held at the Congress of Mantua

He replies to the oration of Guillaume, Bishop of Paris,¹ ambassador of the King of France

1.0 Introduction

[1] Today, many and great things, worthy of hearing, have been said. We have heard four orations: three on behalf of our beloved son Charles, the Most Christian and Illustrious King of France, and our beloved son René, also an Illustrious King, and the mighty people of Genoa. In the fourth, the accomplished orator and doctor, Gregor,² showed, with splendid eloquence the great religious devotion, dignity and nobility of the House of Austria.

The great attention of this packed crowd and assembly shows, venerable brother, Bishop of Paris, that your oration merits praise. Indeed it was both elegant, skillful and urbane, with a great variety of phrasing, and - what is even more important – a graceful delivery. We shall reply to the things you said, but not in the order followed by you, and We shall omit a number of issues and only focus on the major ones. Your oration had six parts. In the first, you praised Our person extravagantly. In the second, you showed the dignity of the Chair of Saint Peter, which We now occupy. In the third, you spoke on the obedience declared by the Most Christian King.³ In the fourth, the Most Christian King recommended King René⁴ and the People of Genoa.⁵ In the fifth, you extolled the said king and the Kingdom of the French. And in the sixth, you stated the excellent disposition of the king with regard to the expedition against the Turks.

¹ Guillaume Chartier (d. 1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. French ambassador at the Congress of Mantua

² Gregor Heimburg (b. beg. 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist and statesman. Ambassador of Archduke Sigismund of Austria at the Congress of Mantua. Bitter enemy of Pius II who eventually excommunicated him

³ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death. Disinherited in 1420 by his father, in the Peace of Troyes following the Battle of Azincourt, he settled in Bourges from where he gradually regained the French territories occupied by the English. In 1429, by the agency of Jeanne d'Arc, he was crowned King of France in Reims

⁴ René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence (1434–80), Count of Piedmont, Duke of Bar (1430-80), Duke of Lorraine (1431-53), King of Naples (1435-42)

⁵ At the time, Genoa was under the suzerainty of the French king

[2] Quod primum attinet, non inflatur, non extollitur laudibus infirmitatis suae conscientia pectus. Scimus quidem et agnoscimus nostras infirmitates, nec arbitramur aliud, cur divina bonitas nos ad sacri vicariatus Petri solium et fastigia sancta provexit, nisi ut ex nostra tenuitate luceret sua potestas, ex imperfecto nostro fulgeret virtus ipsius, qui piscatores, qui homines, et vulgo qui infirma mundi elegit, ut fortia quaeque confunderet, utque tot miraculorum fulgorem, tantam vim fidei, quae potestate mundum omnem complexa sit, que ubique radices egerit, non hominis cuiusque merito, sed ipsi soli Deo adscribemus.

[3] Praeclare vero cui meritis impares insidemus beatissimi Petri sedem laudasti, quam nemo praestantissimo ingenio et flagranti studio satis digne umquam laudavit. Non enim principes, non reges, non imperatores, non potentes populi, non patrum et conciliorum decreta Romanam et apostolicam sedem fixerunt et erexerunt, *nec ullis synodicis constitutis* omnibus ecclesiis per orbem praelata est, sed omnes ecclesias per orbem sparsas universum unam ecclesiam esse, *unum sibi thalamum*, et ipsius praesidem fore beatum Petrum, voluit Christus verus homo, qui regnat in Trinitate verus Deus. Haec sedes est una perfecta matris suae, una electa genetricis suae. Haec est apostolica sedes, quam verbum illud, per quod caelum et terra creata sunt, non hominum mortalitas fluxa instruxit, haec quam prophetarum praesagio constituit Deus super gentes et regna, quam apostolorum testimonio, martyrum sanguine, imperialis sedis adeptione munivit: hujus {312} ordinationi quisquis resistit, utique potestati Dei resistit.

1.1. Pope's person

[2] Concerning the first part, a person¹ who is aware of his own weaknesses does not get proud or elated when being praised. We know and recognize Our own weaknesses. We believe that the Good God has elevated Us to the the throne and holy splendour of Saint Peter's vicariate only to let His own power shine forth through Our weaknesses and His virtue radiate through Our imperfections. For He chose fishers and common men, indeed the weak of this world, in order to confound the strong² so that we should ascribe the splendour of the many miracles and the great force of the Faith - embracing the whole world and growing roots everywhere – to God Himself alone and not to the merits of any man.

1.2. Apostolic See

[3] Though you nobly praised the See of Saint Peter, which We occupy, though We are not his equal in merit, nobody has ever praised it with enough spirit and zeal. For the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches *by conciliar decision*.³ No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches spread over the whole world should form one Church, *one bridal chamber*,⁴ and that Saint Peter should be its Head. This See is the one perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See which God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See which He strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God.

¹ "pectus": breast, heart

² Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*

³ Decretum, D.21.3

⁴ Decretum, D.21.3

[4] Nemo in pravum sensum sermonem nostrum detorqueat, nemo carissimum in Christo filium Carolum, Francorum regem illustrem, putet a nobis insimulari: nam Christianissimus ille rex, ut audivistis, oboedientiam apostolicae sedi omni ornatu impendit: sed illos loquimur, qui aliud aut docent aut sentiunt, quam ipse, qui est caput totius ecclesiae, cui ait dominus: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*. Nemo se fallat, nemo veritatem fidei perfida praevaricatione corrumpat. *Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudinem latius incremento foecunditatis extenditur, quomodo multi radii solis sunt, sed unum lumen et rami arboris multi sunt, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et quomodo de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, et numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundante copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fructus germinare non poterit; a fronte praecide rivum, praecisus decrescit.*

[5] Sic ecclesia Dei luce perfusa per totum orbem radios suos porrigit; unum tamen est, quod ubique diffunditur; unum tantum caput est, et una origo, et una mater ecclesia, quae incorrupta unam domum novit, unius cubiculi sanctitatem casto pudore custodit. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est, et habere non potest Deum patrem, qui Romanae sedis, quae universalem ecclesiam virtute complectitur, non tenuerit unitatem. Haec sedes demum est, quae *potestatem ligandi atque solvendi accepit*: quam si quis corripiantem, corrigentem, jubentem contempserit, censeri debet sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Positus in petra legitur Moyes, ut faciem Dei contemplaretur. *Super hanc petram aedificavit ecclesiam suam praepotens Deus, quam qui non agnoscit, divinam praesentiam intueri non poterit*. Sola quippe est, per quam dominus sacrificium accipiat libenter; sola, quae pro errantibus intercedat fiducialiter; sola est, quae intra se positos valida caritatis compage custodit. {313} Haec est arca et navis, quam ingressi non immerguntur diluvio, sed super aquas evecti in sublime feruntur: omnes autem extra istius sedis arcam praclusos diluvium extinguit et perimit.

[4] Let nobody distort the meaning of Our words, and let nobody believe that We censure Our dear son in Christ, Charles, Illustrious King of the French. For as you have heard, today the Most Christian King has with all ceremony declared his obedience to the Apostolic See. No, We are speaking of those who teach and believe differently from him who is the Head of the whole Church, and to whom the Lord says that *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church.*¹ Let no one deceive himself; let no one perfidiously corrupt the truth of Faith. *The Church is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength based in its tenacious root; and since from one spring flow many streams, although the multiplicity seems diffused in the liberality of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is still preserved in the source. Separate a ray of the sun from its body of light, its unity does not allow a division of light; break a branch from a tree—when broken, it will not be able to bud; cut off the stream from its fountain, and that which is cut off dries up.*²

[5] Thus the shining Church of God sends its rays of light through all the world. But the light which is spread everywhere is One. There is but One Head, and One source, and One Mother Church, which is without blemish, which knows the One home, and which chastely guards the holiness of the One chamber. Anyone who does not remain united with the Roman See, encompassing the Universal Church in virtue, is an impious stranger, an enemy who cannot have God as his father. Finally, this is the See which has received the *power to bind and to loose.*³ If anyone spurns its censures, corrections, and commands, he will be considered a pagan and a publican. We read that Moses stood on a rock in order to contemplate God's face. On this rock almighty God has built his Church.⁴ Those who do not recognize that Church cannot look at the presence of God. The Church is the only one through whom God welcomes a sacrifice. She is the only one who can intercede confidently for those who go astray. She is the only one who can guard those within her with the strong bond of love. This is the ark and the ship: those who enter it will not drown in the flood, but will sail over the waters to the high place. But those who are locked out from the ark of this see will go under and perish in the flood.

¹ Matthew, 16, 18

² Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 5. Translation quoted after the New Advent edition

³ Matthew, 16, 19

⁴ Matthew, 16, 18

[6] Nemo sibi blandiatur, conciliorum auctoritate istius apostolicae sedis potestatem restringi, quam incommutabilis Dei sententia firmavit, neque quorumlibet doctorum et magistrorum in adversum audiantur opiniones, quas concilium Florentinum destruxit. Quicumque enim ab unitate istius sedis, ab auctoritate beati Petri se jungitur, ingredi non poterit januam regni caelestis. Diximus pro angustia pro et hora jam altiore fortasse diffusius pro hoc domicilio imperii divini, religionis et gloriae, pro imagine caelestis solii et excellentia parum, pro qua nimium dici non potest: sed nos utcumque materia locuples, longius traxit.

[7] Nunc vero tertium, quod oboedientiam praestitam vice Christianissimi regis attinet, illam nos et venerabiles fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, ut est integre delata, complectimur. Habet hoc a natura rex et a majoribus in se transfusum, tuerique non immerito debet oboedientiae meritum, quod sacrificiis preferri divinitus promulgata lex sanxit, beneque prospicit suo decori, suae gloriae, suae saluti, cum secutis semper Romanae sedis oboedientiam suis majoribus videat evenisse prosperitatem, quodque quantum quilibet regum detraxit ex oboedientiae studio, tantum amisit ex gloria.

[8] Quod quarto loco efflagitasti, carissimum in Christo filium Renatum regem Siciliae illustrem, Januensemque populum commendatos habeamus: nos quoque velimus Christiano illos favore complecti; cum et responsuri simus suo loco legatis ipsius, hanc rem differemus, illam strictim tunc tractaturi: quia secretior locus ad ista petitur a te, et polliceris tunc nobis aperta iri plurima latius.

[6] Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.¹ Anyone who separates himself from union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Considering this packed place and the late hour, We may have already have spoken too long. But if we consider the house of divine power and of religion and glory, and the image and excellence of the Heavenly Throne, We have said too little, for one cannot say enough about them. Only the importance of the matter has made Us speak at such length.

1.3. Obedience of the King of France

[7] We now come to the third part, which concerns the obedience declared on behalf of the Most Christian King. We and Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, accept his obedience as it is presented in its entirety. The king knows from his own nature and from his ancestors that the merit of obedience must be guarded justly. Indeed, the law promulgated by God says that *obedience is better than sacrifice*.² And as the king considers the prosperity of those of his ancestors who remained steadfast in their obedience to the Holy See, he knows that in this way he is also guarding his own honour, glory and salvation: indeed, those kings who failed in their commitment to obedience lost much glory.

1.4. King René and Genoa

[8] In the fourth place you recommended Our beloved son in Christ, the Illustrious King René of Sicily³, and the people of Genoa to Us. Those too We will look at with Christian favour. But as We are going to reply to René's own legates on another occasion, We shall postpone this matter for now and deal specifically with it later, since you request a more private place where, as you promise, you shall explain your position fully to Us.

¹ The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – shortlived - reunion between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and recognized the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

² 1. Kings, 15, 22

³ René d'Anjou

[9] Quintum vero, cum tu, venerabilis frater, sis exorsus collaudare ipsum Christianissimum regem, nec sustinet angustia temporis, nec satis dicere possumus ad dignitatem, neque etiam opus est extollere universas prope {314} quas audivimus inesse ipsi virtutes: nec fas est *solem facibus adjuvare*, ut nunc dicebat regis Renati orator. Nec una Francorum regum progenies est, quae magnitudine dominii antistat aliis. Nam Gaius Caesar, quem cosmographi sequuntur, latissimam Galliam propterea ostendit, quod eam descripsit, complecti quidquid inter Oceanum, Rhenum, Alpes, montes Pyrenaeos continetur. Vetustas vero gentis Francorum jam satis constat pluribus annalibus, eaque ad orientalem primum plagam sedet, demum magna hominum vi Gallias immigravit. Qui resederunt, non Francorum, sed Franconum retinent nomen. Illud autem regum genus, quod ab Orientalibus tractum est, Francorum nomen adeptum, ut venit et migravit, Galliam suis virtutibus illustravit, adjunxit quoque non omnem - Helveticorum nempe populi, paucisque exceptis Belgae gens, secluduntur ab ipso regno.

1.5. Praise of the King of France

[9] As for the Most Christian King, whom you, venerable brother, praised, in the fifth part, there is not time – were it possible - to say enough about his dignity nor is it needful to extol all those virtues which we heard he possesses. Indeed, it is not sensible *to assist the sun with burning torches*,¹ as King René's ambassador just said. Nor is the family of the French kings the only one whose realm surpasses the others in size.² For Gajus Caesar,³ followed by the geographers, has shown that Gaul was indeed very large, describing it as comprising all the lands between the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenean Mountains. Many annals confirm the antiquity of the Frankish people: First it lived to the East⁴, but later a great multitude from that people migrated into Gaul. Those who remained, are not called "Franks", but "Franconians", whereas the royal line descended from the peoples in the East gained the name of "Franks". As they migrated and came into Gaul they made it shine with their virtues, but they did not get control of the whole territory for the Helvetian peoples and most of the Belgians are not part of their kingdom.

¹ Decretum, C.6.7

² The contextual meaning is unclear

³ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁴ i.e. Central and Eastern Europe

[10] Nihil vero videtur praestabilius regni ipsius religione, qua semper sic floruit, ut praecipui Romanae sedis defensores et fidei athletae omnibus regibus aliis Christianissimi nominis semper gloria praestiterunt Francorum reges. Quid enim tam admirabile quam cernere in ipso regno sparsos tamquam flores, ecclesiasticos coetus, et praeter infinitam in ipso regno collegiorum multitudinem, centum et unum episcopatus, et innumerabilium in illo monasteriorum ubique opus illustre, illustres opes, unumque regem Francorum (si bene Salomon, *in multitudine*, inquit, *populi gloria regis*), qui admirabili populorum multitudine virorumque viribus polleat, quibus natura sit datum, ut acres ingenio, pugnacissimi bello reperiantur. Sunt quidem in regno ipso ducatus et plures maximi comitatusque aequandi regnis: et mite caelum, aer suavis, fertilis ager. Sunt in ipso studia plurima scholasticorum, sed tuum illud Parisiorum, venerabilis frater, fertur illustrius, in quo theologiae maxime necessaria doctrina viget, ex quo etiam magisterium promeruisse, magni honoris, maximaque difficultatis existimatur. Ita omnibus et fortunae, et naturae, et {315} doctrinae, et religionis purae praesidiis collustratur Franciae florentissimum regnum.

[11] Quid reges veteres maioresque hujus Christianissimi regis, qui non solum regibus plurimis et maximis anteponerentur, sed veteribus illis Scipionibus Corneliiisque compararentur? Celebratur ab oratoribus pluribusque poetis virtus eminentissima Caroli magni, et Ludovici primi. Fuerunt et Dagoberti et Philippi reges, quorum virtutem Carolus ad praesens rex et reddit et imitatur. Nam et religionis et ceremoniarum fertur observantissimus, et praeclara regnum gubernatrice sapientia regnum, quod dissipatum accepit, florentissima pace tranquilitateque moderatur. Est autem ex sapientia regis, populorum pax, et tempestatum fluctuumque secura depulsio. Plura de aequitate, de justitia, de temperantia, pietate ipsius, dicenda forent, nisi defatigatis animis ex auditione quattuor orationum hora detraheret dicendi prolixitatem.

[10] But nothing is more remarkable than the religious piety of this people which made it flourish so greatly that, as champions of the Roman See and athletes of the Faith, the French kings, called Most Christian, always surpassed other kings in glory. Indeed, it is wonderful to see the parishes spreading like flowers in that kingdom, and the almost infinite number of religious houses¹, the 101 dioceses, and the wonderful work of countless monasteries everywhere, the marvelous wealth, and the one King of the French who is wondrously rich in people and in the strength of his men (if Solomon is right when he says: *In the multitude of people is the dignity of the king.*)² It is in their nature to be astute and very warlike. In that Kingdom there are also dukedoms and many counties as great as kingdoms. The climate is mild, the air is sweet, the land is fertile. There are also many universities, but your own university in Paris, venerable brother, is said to be the most illustrious: there, the very important study of theology flourishes - even the *magisterium* [of the Church] has benefited from it. Indeed, it is held in high regard and [studies there] are considered to be very advanced³. Thus, the flourishing realm of France is remarkable for all its advantages of fortune, nature, learning and purity of religion.

[11] What about the old kings and ancestors of the present Most Christian King: not only do they surpass many other, even great kings, but they can even bear comparison with the Cornelii and the Scipios of old. Orators and many poets celebrate the eminent virtue of Charlemagne⁴ and Louis I.⁵ There were also the kings named Dagobert and Philip whose virtue the present King Charles reflects and imitates, for he is said to be greatly observant in matters of religion and ceremony. With wisdom - that excellent governess of kingdoms - he now rules the chaotic kingdom he took over and which today enjoys peace and tranquility.⁶ For from the king's wisdom comes the peace of peoples and the banishment of storms and disorders. We would say more about the king's fairness, justice, moderation and piety if the audience was not already tired from hearing four orations and if the [advanced] hour did not curtail further speaking

¹ "collegiorum"

² Proverbs, 14, 28

³ "maximaeque difficultatis"

⁴ Charlemagne (742/747/748 -814): also known as Charles the Great. King of the Franks from 768, King of Italy from 774. In 800 crowned by the Pope as the first Emperor in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier

⁵ Louis the Pious (778-840): King of Aquitaine from 781. Also King of the Franks and co-Emperor (as Louis I) with his father, Charlemagne, from 813

⁶ Note that there is no mention of Jeanne d'Arc

[12] Quod igitur exordium sumpsisti, quasi jure nostro ad extremam orationis partem sumemus: *Secundum nomen tuum sit et laus tua in fines terrae*. Nam cum oppugnantibus Turcis Christianorum fines immineat extrema calamitas, in rege vero sit ea potentia, ut ipse vel solus, vel cum paucis aliis, mederi possit. Nos tui thematis, venerabilis frater, nolumus auctoritatem negligere: nos enim et regem, qui et Christianissimus sit et appelletur, et regem Franciae Carolum, dictis per te votis alloquimur: *Secundum nomen tuum, sit et laus tua, sit in fines terrae*. Calamitas Graecorum jamdiu defleta est, jam Latinorum quotidianae clades per omnes angulos orbis intelliguntur. Quid tam regium, tam liberale, tam dignum nomine regis quam open ferre potentibus, succurrere afflictis, dare salutem periclitantibus, liberare periculis fratres eodem secum baptismatis fonte renatos, retinere, quos Turcus lassedit, principes in dignitate? Quid tam decens Christianissimum regem quam Christianae religionis decus armis contra arma, vi contra vim protegere, nec sinere tot Christianas provincias in servitutem {316} Turcorum et foedam superstitionem perverti? Quid tam proprium Franciae quam semper ad omnes pia fide paratas expeditiones tenere arma, quibus protegi valeat Christianus populus vel impetere fidei hostes, vel se ulcisci lassitam? Nulla certe legitur expeditio adversus infideles acta insigniter, in qua Francorum non polleat nomen, eniteat virtus, fulgeat fortitudo, multaque pereximia gesta. Per Antiochiam, per Hierosolymas, per Damascum, Syriam, Phoenicem, et usque Mesopotamiam, pro populi religione arma circumtulerunt, victoresque regionibus illis sunt dominati, quamquam haec postea per inertiam nostram amisimus.

[13] Ac ne plura, quae sunt innumerabilia, consectemur, multis in historiis legimus illum prope divinum regem Carolum magnum cuius exemplis incumbere Carolus Christianissimus rex debet et studet. Et Ludovicum regem multosque Francorum reges legimus, quorum per Italiam, Africam, Syriam tum religionis, tum fortitudinis fuerunt impressa vestigia. His unum studium peculiare fuit tueri fidem, defendere sedis apostolicae auctoritatem. Id quidem agentes tamquam gratissimi, nam et illecti et provocati, et apostolicae sedis beneficiis amplissimis praeventi, tanto animo tanta gesserunt, tum praeter cetera ab ipso fonte et capite Christianae religionis, apostolica sede, ad eos fidei religio orta et per totum occidentem diffusa fluxit et emanavit. Nos ista tanta tamque multa longius produceremus, nisi alio tempore aperturum te in hanc rem plura pollicitus esses, et nisi defatigatio hujus coronae atque consensus horaque tardior amplioris sermonis eriperet aviditatem.

1.6. Crusade against the Turks

[12] The beginning you chose [for your oration] We shall now use as an appropriate conclusion of Our own: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.*¹ The attacks of the Turks are an immense threat against to the Christian lands, but your king is so powerful that he could either by himself or with a few others remedy this situation. Venerable brother, We consider the words you chose for your theme as so important that We shall, in Our turn, apply them to Charles, King of France, who both is and is called Most Christian: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.* The Greek catastrophe has been lamented enough: now we daily hear of Latin defeats in all corners of the world. What could be more royal, more grand, more worthy of the kingly name than to come to the assistance of those who require it, to succour the afflicted, to save people in peril, to free our brothers reborn from the same baptismal font from their danger, and to ensure the dignity of princes assailed by the Turk? What could more befit a Christian king than to protect the honour of Christian religion with arms against arms and with strength against strength, and not to allow so many Christian provinces to be forced into slavery to the Turks and horrible superstition? What could be more appropriate for the French than to always have their arms ready to join crusades prepared in pious faith with the aim of protecting the Christian people, attacking the enemies of our Faith, and avenging its injuries? In all the successful crusades against the infidels, we read about, the name of the French was powerful, their virtue shining, their strength radiant, and their many deeds extraordinary. In defense of the people's religion they brought their armies through Antioch, Jerusalem, Damascus, Syria, Phenicia, and as far as Mesopotamia, and as victors they became lords of those regions, though later we lost them again through our own apathy.

[13] But let Us not dwell on this inexhaustible subject. In many history books we read about the almost divine King Charlemagne whose example the Most Christian King Charles should follow. And we read about King Louis and many other French kings who marked Italy, Africa and Syria with their religious piety and with their strength. Their one concern was to protect the Faith and defend the authority of the Apostolic See. For when they were invited, and enticed, and granted extraordinary favours by the Apostolic See, they did great things with great courage: the Apostolic See, fountain and head of Christian religion, brought the Faith to that people, and from there it spread all through the West. We could speak much longer on this subject if you had not promised to say more on the matter at another time, and if the exhaustion of this assembly and the very late hour had not robbed the audience of any desire for further talk.

¹ Psalms, 47, 11: *secundum nomen tuum Deus sic laus tua usque ad extremum terrae*

2. PLACUIT AUDISSE

Oratoribus Francorum regis

[14] {156v} Placuit audisse¹ orationem vestram, regii oratores. Idem et² venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus et universae contioni accidisse non dubitamus, sicut ex attentione omnium animadvertisimus³. Neque ab re. Fuit enim ornatissima, et singularem eruditionem⁴ p[ro]se t[ra]tulit, et, quod est in primis expetibile, suavissime pronuntiata est. Responsu[er]i⁵ non attingemus omnes partes, sed eas tantum, quae potiores visae sunt, neque servabimus ordinem vestrum, sed pro nostro arbitrio procedemus. Quinque sunt, quae responso egere⁶ videntur. Primum respicit personam nostram⁷, alterum {157r} sedem, in qua sedemus, tertium regni Siciliae dispositionem, quartum regis vestri merita, quintum ac postremum expeditionem contra Turcos. Erimus in respondendo breves, ne plenas aures dulcissimis et ornatissimis verbis inepta oratione nostra fastidio afficiamus.

[15] Laudastis personam nostram pluribus⁸ modis, et quae tenuissima sunt in nobis, ut maxima viderentur effecisti. Non extollitur, cum laudatur, conscientia sua parvitatis⁹ pectus. Augustinus in praecaelo volumine *De Civitate Dei* salvatorem dominum idcirco rudes et infimi generis sibi discipulos¹⁰ accivisse testatur, ut in eis ipse esset, qui mirabilia operaretur¹¹. Fortasse et¹² propterea nos¹³ humiles et indigni ad hoc fastigium divinitus erecti sumus¹⁴, quod aliquid per nos publice utile¹⁵ divina pietas operari vult, et id vult suum videri, ut erit, quantum in ministerio nostro dignum laude¹⁶ fiat. Nos enim nihil sumus, et nihil est, quod a nobis sperandum sit, nisi prius¹⁷ Deus¹⁸ bonum semen in nobis¹⁹ seminaverit, irrigaverit et incrementum dederit.

¹ audivisse G, J

² omit. G

³ advertimus G

⁴ orationem G

⁵ responso J

⁶ indigere G

⁷ omit. J

⁸ plurimis J

⁹ sua parvitatis : parvitatis sua G

¹⁰ sibi discipulos : discipulis sibi J

¹¹ et add. G

¹² interlin. G

¹³ propterea nos : nos propterea G [propterea in marg. G]

¹⁴ erecti sumus : sumus erecti G

¹⁵ publice utile : utile publice G

¹⁶ laudabile G

¹⁷ prius G, J

¹⁸ dominus G

¹⁹ bonum semen in nobis : in nobis bonum semen G

To the ambassadors of the King of the French

2.0 Introduction

[14] Royal ambassadors, We were pleased to hear your oration, and so, undoubtedly, were Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the whole assembly, as We could see from the attentiveness of all. And with good reason since it was a most ornate and singularly learned oration, which was – as is very important - delivered most gracefully. In Our reply, We shall not answer to all parts of the oration, but only to the most important. And We shall not deal with them in the order of delivery, but as We find it appropriate.

There are five points needing an answer here. The first concerns Our person, the second the See that We occupy, the third Our dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily, the fourth your king's merits, the fifth and last the crusade against the Turks.¹

Our reply will be brief so that We shall not tire ears, now full of delightful and elegant words, with Our inept speaking.

2.1. Pope's person

[15] You praised Our person in many ways, and you made even our smallest accomplishments appear to be great. But a person² who is aware of his own weaknesses does not become proud or elated when being praised. In his famous book, *On the City of God*, Augustine³ declares that the Lord took disciples of simple and humble condition so that it would be Himself who performed miracles through them. In the same way, God may have elevated Us, though insignificant and unworthy, to this high state so that Divine Piety may operate through Us, and so that whatever praiseworthy We accomplish in this ministry will be seen as being done by Him. For We are nothing and nothing may be hoped from Us unless Pious God sows the good seed in Us, and waters it and makes it grow.

¹ This, the fifth part of the speech, is actually missing. In this version, the pope does not list the French kings's recommendation of King René and Genoa, nor his declaration of obedience. These two issues are treated as specific themes in the version "Multa hic hodie", where on the other hand the theme of the crusade is missing

² "pectus": breast, heart

³ Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

[16] Romanam autem ecclesiam, apostolicam sedem, beati Petri cathedram primum in terris thronum a vobis laudari aequo animo ferimus. Multa et¹ prudenter, et ornate, et erudite de Jesu Christi vicariatu locuti estis, quae delectabile fuit ab ore diserto² audivisse. Verum tanta est hujus apostolicae dignitatis³ excellentia, tanta gloria, tanta majestas, ut celebrari pro meritis ore humano minime⁴ possit. Neque enim mortali voce satis extolli⁵ potest, quod ab immortali Deo institutum laudatumque est. Romanam sedem, {157v} hoc est solium, in quo sedemus indigni, non reges aut imperatores, non populi aut civitates, non particulares synodi aut concilia generalia, non pontificum constitutiones aut patrum decreta, sed ipsa salvatoris Christi vox, ipsum Dei nostri oraculum erexit et primum omnium esse constituit dicens beato Petro, aeternae vitae clavigero: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo,* et reliqua, per quae summa potestas apostolorum principi⁶ data colligitur a Christo domino. A Christo igitur, Deo et homine, fundata est et in sublime divinitus erecta⁷ est Romani praesulis auctoritas.

¹ omit. G

² deserto J

³ sedis G

⁴ non G

⁵ satis extolli : extolli satis G

⁶ summa potestas apostolorum principi : apostolorum principi potestas summa G

⁷ divinitus erecta : posita divinitus G

2.2. Apostolic See

[16] But We accept your praise of the Roman Church, the Apostolic See, the Chair of Saint Peter, the First Throne on Earth. You said much both wisely, ornately and eruditely about the Vicariate of Jesus Christ, and it was a pleasure to hear such a skillfully crafted oration. However, the excellence, the glory and the majesty of the Apostolic See are so great they can never be adequately praised by a human tongue. And no human voice can sufficiently extol what God Himself has instituted and praised. For the Roman See, the throne We are occupying though unworthy was not established by king, or emperors, or peoples, or cities, or by decrees of local synods or general councils, or by constitutions of the popes, or decrees of the Fathers, but by the words of Christ Himself, Our Saviour, the oracle of our God. And it was Him who made it the first among all when he said to Peter, the Keybearer of eternal life: *And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven,*¹ and other words which make it clear that it was Christ, Our Lord, who granted supreme power to the Prince of the Apostles. Thus the authority of the Roman Bishop was indeed established and given its preeminence by Christ, God and man.

¹ Matthew, 16, 18-19

[17] At quem Christum nominamus, quem Deum fundatorem nostrae potestatis adducimus? Christum equidem, quem sancti prophetae annuntiaverunt¹ redemptorem orbis esse venturum, quem Johannes Baptista digito demonstravit dicens: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, quem sancti apostoli, sancti evangelistae, sancti martyres filium Dei unigenitum, verum Deo patri consubstantialem praedicaverunt, natum ex Maria virgine, pro nostra redemptione passum, mortuum ac sepultum, et tertia die victorem mortis dispoliato inferno resurrexisse, et denique triumphantem in caelum² ascensisse, ubi ad dexteram patris sedet, cuius divinitatem et alia quaque³ miracula ostenderunt. Nam caecis visum, surdis auditum, mutis eloquium, claudis ambulationem, et, quod maximum extitit, mortuis etiam⁴ {158r} vitam restituit. Ventis imperavit et mari, ac se naturae dominum non in vita solum, verum etiam in ipsa morte ostendit, elementorum et siderum et lapidum naturam quatiens⁵, cuius salutarem legem totus orbis complexus⁶ est. Vix enim gleba ulla sub caelo est, in qua non aliquando Christus verus Deus et verus homo praedicatus acceptus fuerit.

¹ annuntiavere J

² caelo G

³ quoque corr. ex queque H; quoque J

⁴ omit. J

⁵ quotiens J

⁶ implexus J

[17] But who is this Christ We are talking about, who is the God that we declare established our power? He is indeed the Christ whom the holy Prophets foretold would come to save the world and whom John the Baptist pointed to, saying: *Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.*¹ It is Him whom the holy apostles, the holy evangelists and the holy martyrs proclaimed as the only-begotten son of God, but consubstantial with the Father. He was born from the Virgin Mary, suffered for our redemption, died and was buried, and on the third day He resurrected as victor over death. He despoiled Hell, and in final triumph He ascended into Heaven where He sits at the right hand of the Father. Other miracles, too, prove his divinity. For He gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, movement to the lame, and – greatest of all – he even restored life to dead people. He commanded the winds and the sea and proved himself to be Lord over nature not only in his life, but also in his very death,² upsetting the natural order of elements, stars and stones. [Afterwards,] the whole world accepted his salutary law, and there is hardly any place on Earth where at some time Christ was not proclaimed and believed to be true God and true man.

¹ John, 1, 29

² This whole section is taken, in abridged form, from the oration “*Cum bellum hodie*”

[18] Ab hoc igitur Christo, ab hoc principe, ab hoc Deo vero et singulari¹, sancta sedes apostolica instituta et erecta est, et primatum super omnes gentes et super universa regna suscepit. Haec fons est² et origo³ dignitatum omnium, haec mater studiorum, haec bonarum artium altrix, haec magistra vitae, haec norma disciplinae, haec mortalium regula: haec fidem docet, mores instruit, errores corrigit, vitia punit, virtutes praemiat, extollit bonos, deprimit malos, viam vitae aperit, mortis aditum⁴ claudit. Haec est arca Noae, extra quam salvari nemo potest regnante diluvio. Hic est *hortus conclusus et fons signatus*, de quo scaturiunt aquae vivae, quae saliunt in vitam aeternam: hic est *locus quem dominus elegit*; hic summus sacerdos est, cui qui non paruerit, morte multatur⁵: huic sedi et⁶ prima et summa potestas credita est, nam pascendi oves officium ejus est et judicandi auctoritas, quam si quis docentem corripiantemve quoquo modo contempserit, habendus est ut ethnicus et publicanus: alienus est, profanus est, anathema est, qui Romani {158v} praesulis auctoritati detrahere praesumit. Non habet deum patrem, qui Romanam ecclesiam renuit cognoscere matrem.

¹ et singulari : singularis J

² omit. G

³ est add. G

⁴ adiutum J

⁵ multatur G

⁶ omit. G

[18] This is the Christ, this is the prince, this is the true and one God who founded and established the Holy Apostolic See and gave it primacy over all peoples and all realms. This is the fountain and origin of all offices, this is the mother of studies, this is the nurse of the good arts, this is the teacher of life, this is the norm and rule of men. She it is who teaches the Faith, who instructs us how to live morally, who corrects errors, punishes vice, rewards virtue, lifts up the good, and throws down the wicked, opens the path of life, and closes the gate of death. Here is Noah's Ark outside which no one can be saved while the flood is reigning. *Here is the garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up,*¹ from which spring the life-giving waters leading to eternal life. This is *the place which the Lord chose.*² Here is the High Priest who must be obeyed, on pain of death.³ To this See has been entrusted the first and supreme power, for it has the charge of feeding the sheep⁴ as well as the authority to judge. Anyone who rejects its teachings and corrections must be considered a pagan and a publican. Anyone who dares to put restrictions on the authority of the Roman Pontiff is impious and damned. Anyone who refuses to recognize the Roman Church as his mother does not have God as his father.

¹ Canticle of canticles, 4, 12

² 2. Macchabees, 5, 19

³ Deuteronomy, 17, 12

⁴ John, 21, 17

[19] Qualis proculdubio est quicumque lege sua statuit, ne hoc vel illud Romano pontifici liceat in suo regno mandare et praecepta ejus cassa esse vult¹. Et quis tu homo es, qui haec agis? Unde tibi haec auctoritas? Profer testimonium, si potes, ex sacro codice. An hoc secundum evangelium est vivere? Minime quidem. Christus in evangelio Petro dicit: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo.* Et tu ais papae, qui successor Petri est: cave ne hoc liges, ne hoc solvas. Nescis, miser, quia Romanum praesulem divina tantum auctoritas ligat? Sacrae tantum scripturae subjectus est papa, quae Dei digito revelata est, decretis mortalium non tenetur. "At rationi subjectus est et potestas ecclesiae in aedificationem non in destructionem data fatemur²." At non propterea tu judex Romani praesulis es, qui errare eum arbitraries. Judicium de ipso soli Deo servatum est: culpas suas mortalium arguere nemo³ potest. En quam erronea nonnullorum sententia est! In regem nihil subdito licere volunt: in papam volunt, cuius potestas a Deo est super omnes mortales⁴ collata. Neque advertunt parum pensi habentes, quoniam sancta sedes apostolica a beato Petro in hanc usque diem numquam audita est dogmatizare quidquam, quod ab orthodoxa fide sit alienum. Habet enim hoc privilegium a domino, ut pravis dogmatibus numquam succumbat; quia *portae inferi non praevalent {159r} adversus eam.* Haec ad eam partem dixisse satis sit, in qua sedem apostolicam laudastis.

¹ velit G

² fatetur G [fatemur corr. from fatetur H]

³ arguere nemo : nemo arguere G

⁴ potestates G

[19] Such is undoubtedly the case of anyone who issues a law denying the Roman Pontiff the right to make commands concerning anything in his kingdom or who has ordered that the pope's commands should have no validity there. And who would you be, man, who did this? Where is your authority to do it? Offer testimony from the Holy Book, if you can. Is that a way to live according to the Gospel? Absolutely not. For in the Gospel Christ says to Peter: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven.*¹ And you would say to the pope, the successor of Peter: "Do not bind this, do not loose that!"! Do you not know, you miserable man, that only divine authority binds the Roman Bishop? The pope is only subject to Holy Scripture, revealed by the hand of God, and he is not bound by decrees of men. " But we declare that the pope is subject to reason, and the power of the Church is given for edification and not for destruction." But even if you believe the Bishop of Rome to be in error, that does not give you the right to judge him, for only God can judge the pope. No mortal man may accuse him of faults. Oh, how wrong is the opinion of many men: though they do not allow a subject to have any say against their king, they would allow it in the case of the pope even if God has given him power over all mortal men. Those stupid men are unconcerned that - from Saint Peter to this day - the Holy Apostolic See has never been heard to teach anything that is contrary to orthodox faith. This privilege it has received from the Lord that it shall never succumb to wrong teachings for *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*² Let this suffice concerning your praise of the Apostolic See.

¹ Matthew, 16, 19

² Matthew, 16, 18

[20] Nunc ad eum locum transeundum est, in quo de regno Siciliae mentionem fecistis. Sivimus¹ in hac parte pro nostra mansuetudine vos loqui, quaecumque voluistis, et quamvis nos carpere videremini, ignoscendum tamen et² vobis et regi vestro putavimus tamquam de rebus gestis parum instructis. Nos nihil credimus factum esse a nobis reprehensione dignum. Quod³ si erravimus, cum consilio fratrum erravimus: cuncti enim cardinales, nullo dempto, ut faceremus, quae fecimus, consuluerunt suaseruntque. Insuper secuti sumus iter, quod Eugenius, quod Nicolaus, quod Calixtus antecessores nostri tenuerunt. Annuimus precibus totius Italiae nobis pro Ferdinando supplicantis. Nam dux Mediolani, Veneti, Florentini, dux Mutinæ id ex nobis petiere, quod fecimus. Stabat Italiae foedus in id ipsum urgens. Regnum ei contulimus, qui possidebat, et quem⁴ regnicolae omnes acceperant regem, et fidem ei jurejurando promiserant, eum in regno confirmavimus, quem pater possessor et⁵ a praedecessoribus nostris habens⁶ titulum, instituerat succesorem, quamvis non legitimum, auctoritate tamen apostolica legitimatum. Erat praeterea nobis pax necessaria: ita status ecclesiae requirebat, ita conditiones temporum⁷ exposcebant. Nam quo modo intendere ad res {159v} fidei contra Turcos poteramus domestico impliciti bello?

[21] Urgebat Jacobus Piccininus Assisium, Nuceriam⁸, Gualdumque occupans, ingensque bellum ecclesiae minitans, nisi Ferdinandum regem declararemus. Quo insuper modo decebat nos arma capere pro regno alieno, cum ille, qui suum esse dicit, domi quiesceret? At misit, dicitis. Misit quidem episcopum Massiliensem cum verbis. Nos⁹ factis egebamus, quibus magna pars patrimonii beati Petri adempta erat. Cumque tot tantaeque rationes urgerent Ferdinando regnum concedere, nihil tamen egimus in praejudicium cujuspam: jura unicuique sua servata sunt. Agant juris via¹⁰ si qui sunt, qui se indigna pati arbitrantur. Nos recti judicis partes tenebimus. Nec plura de tertia parte orationis vestrae.

¹ sinimus corr. ex sivimus G; scivimus J

² omit. G

³ qui J

⁴ et quem : quemque J

⁵ ut qui add. J

⁶ habuisset J

⁷ conditiones temporum : temporum conditiones J

⁸ Luceriam J

⁹ non G

¹⁰ viam J

2.3. Kingdom of Sicily

[20] We must now pass on to the part where you mentioned the Kingdom of Sicily. In Our clemency, We allowed you to say whatever you wanted. And though it seemed as if We were being critizised, We forgave you and your king as men who were not adequately informed. We believe that We have done nothing to merit your reproof. But if indeed We have erred, We have erred on the advice of our brethren, for all the cardinals, without exception,¹ have advised and counseled Us to do as We did. Moreover, We have followed the course of our predecessors, Eugenius,² Nicolaus,³ and Calixtus.⁴ We have granted the requests of all of Italy on behalf of Ferrante,⁵ for both the Duke of Milan,⁶ the Venetians, and the Duke of Modena⁷ asked Us to do what We did. The Italian treaty was in force, requiring the same. The kingdom was granted to the man who was in actual possession of it, and We confirmed as king the one whom all the inhabitants of the realm had acceped as king and sworn to. That man was also the one whom his father, also in actual possession of the kingdom, and having received proper title to it from our predecessors, had appointed as his successor. Though he was not of legitimate birth, he had been legitimated by apostolic authority. Moreover, it was necessary for Us to have peace: the state of the Church required it, and the prevailing conditions demanded it, for how could We plan [on going to war] for the Faith against the Turks if we were involved in a domestic war?

[21] At the time We were also under pressure from Jacopo Piccinino⁸, who had occupied Assisi, Nuceria, and Gualdo and threatened the Church with total war if We did not declare Ferrante king. And, finally, why should We go to war for another kingdom when the one who claimed it⁹ remained peacefully at home? But he did send someone, you say. Yes, he sent the Bishop of Marseilles,¹⁰ who came with words only. But We [did not need words], We needed action since We had lost control of the major part of the Lands of Saint Peter¹¹. But even though so many and so great reasons pressed Us to give the kingdom to Ferrante, We did not do anything to the prejudice of anybody: the rights of all were maintained, and anyone who believes that he has suffered an injustice is free to pursue the matter in court. We Ourselves shall be a fair judge.

So much concerning the third part of your oration.

¹ Even the French cardinals

² Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer) (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

³ Nicolaus V (Tommaso Parentucelli) (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 until his death

⁴ Callixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

⁵ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁶ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁷ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 until his death

⁸ Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

⁹ I.e. René d'Anjou

¹⁰ Nicolas de Brancas: Bishop of Marseille from 1445-1466

¹¹ The Church states

[22] Nunc quartam¹ aggrediamur, in qua regem vestrum et inclytam Francorum domum ingentibus praeconiis extulistis². Fatemur veras esse laudes; regem ipsum pium, benignum, religionis amantem, justitiae cultorem, pacis cupidum, sobrietati modestiaeque³ parentem, et divina quadam virtute praeditum, cuius prudentiam regni tranquillitas ostendit, et amissorum recuperatio dominiorum. Progenitores ejus ornare laudibus in praesentiarum frustra fuerit, quorum praeconia veteres historiae celebrant. Vulgata est orbe toto Francorum fama, quorum inclyta gesta etiam pueri cantant. Orientales populi omnes ferme, qui se adeunt ex occidenti, Francos vocitant. Fecerunt hoc Francorum regum expeditiones, qui pro Jerusalem recuperanda ingentes saepe copias eo ductarunt, et omnem Bithyniam, Troadem, Pisidiam, Ciliciam, Armeniam, Cappadociam, Syriam, atque Aegyptum conculcarunt. Gloriosa est Francorum domus et digna, quam sancta sedes apostolica magnificat, siquidem ejus auxilio freta magnas saepe calamitates evasit. Sed neque sancta⁴ sedes ingrata illi⁵ fuit, quae ipsos ornavit imperio, et beneficia⁶ beneficiis, magna maximis repensavit⁷. Quod⁸ nunc, more vestusto ac⁹ praesenti, nos honorat rex ipse, et vicarium Jesu Christi¹⁰ in persona nostra recognoscit, et suam apostolicae sedi oboedientiam exhibet, implet quod sui erat officii et suo debito facit satis. Nam pontifici Romano tamquam Christi vices gerenti omnes reges, omnes populi sua debent colla submittere. Laudamus et devotionem et religionem tanti principis, quam¹¹ dignis prosequi favoribus haec sancta sedes non neglignet.

¹ quarto J

² extollistis J

³ sobrietati modestiaeque : sobrietatisque et modestiae G

⁴ haec add. J

⁵ ingrata illi : ei ingrata G

⁶ etiam add. G

⁷ recompensavit G

⁸ qui J

⁹ et G

¹⁰ omit. G

¹¹ quem J

2.4. King's merits

[22] Now we come to the fourth part where you extravagantly praised your king and the glorious House of France. We declare that this praise is true and that the king is indeed pious and benevolent. He loves religion, cultivates justice, desires peace, keeps sobriety and modesty, and is blessed with divine virtue. The tranquility of the realm and the recovery of the lost domains prove his wisdom. In vain We should now praise his ancestors since the old history books celebrate their achievements. The fame of the French has spread to the whole world, and even boys are singing about their glorious deeds. Almost all the Easteners use the name of Franks for those who come there from the West. This is due to the crusades of the French kings who often brought immense armies there to recover Jerusalem, and subdued Bithynia, Troy, Pisidia, Cilicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Glorious is the House of the Franks and worthy of being held in high regard by the Holy See. Indeed this See has often avoided catastrophes because it could depend on help from them. But the Holy See has not been ungrateful to the Franks: it has bestowed the empire on them, and it has rewarded their great services with even greater ones. When their king now honours Us, in time-hallowed manner, recognizes the Vicar of Christ in Our person, and declares his obedience to the Apostolic See, he fulfills his obligation and does as he should. For all kings and all peoples must bow to the Roman Pontiff as the Vicar of Christ. We praise the devotion and religious piety of this great prince whom the Holy See will certainly favour as merited.

[Unfinished: the 5th part concerning the crusade, cf. the introduction to the oration, is missing]

Appendix 1: Extract from the report of Nicolas Petit to the Chancellor of France¹

Nicolai Petit: Narratio eorum quæ in Conventu Manuano acta sunt coram Summo Pontifice Pio II. Ad Guillelmum Juvenalem de Ursinis Franciæ Cancellarium [21 November 1459]

{308} ... Apres laquelle proposition finie², notre saint Pere cognoissant la vertus du proposant, à commencé l'exordium de sa response, adressant sa parole envers mondit Seigneur de Paris, disant: Orationem tuam, venerabilis frater noster Pariseorum Episcop, laude dignam audivimus; dictis tuis, non quantum tua elegans postulat oratio, sed pro viribus respondendum. Et en cette maniere nostredit saint Pere poursuivit sa response, la divisant en six poins, le premier touchant sa personne ainsi que mondit Seigneur de Paris l'avoit prins, & peu si arresta, le second touchant le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la loüange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer. Le tiers point, touchant le bon vouloir & affection que le roi à envers l'Eglise Romaine, & mesmement au bien des matieres presentes, et sur ce commenca à louer & nombrer les grans fais des Roys de France, & du temps de Charles le Grant, Loys premier, & autres, disant comment l'Eglise Romaine à esté honnoree & preseree par les tres Chrestiens Roys, descendant au Roy, le louant & magnifiant bien grandement, & que sans lui ne peut estre rebouté le Thurcq, pareillement en louant le Royaume, {309} faisant diverses descriptions Franciæ & Galliarum, dont vient l'imposition de ce nom Francois, louant l'Université de Paris sur toutes autres; faisant mention des belles Eglises & Monasteres du Royaume. Le quatrieme touchant le fait du Roy de Sicile, en la faveur du Roy, & quant à ce les Catelans furent tres esbays quant nostredit saint Pere commenca à ces mots: Pro parte carissimi in Christo filii Regis Renati Siciliæ ac Ierusalem regis illustris. Ceux qui estoient pour la part de Domp Ferrando vouloient romper l'audience, mais notre saint Pere leur imposa silence, & ne les voulut point oyr. Le cinquieme touchant le fait de Gennes, en quoy se declaira l'avoir en singuliere recommendation, & telle que le demaine & patrimoine de l'Eglise. Le sixieme & dernier feut l'obeissance & reverence filiale dont lui et ses Freres Messeigneurs les Cardinaulx rendoient graces, &c.

¹ From d'Achery, pp. 308-309

² The oration of the Bishop of Paris

Appendix 2: Oration “Maximum et amplissimum onus” of Guillaume Chartier (21 November 1459, Mantua)

In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote on Chartier’s oration:

“Their [the French ambassadors] spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, “According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness.” He divided the speech into sections and spoke at length on each:

- *in praise of the pope;*
- *the eminence of the Apostolic See;*
- *the glory of his own king and kingdom*

At last he made what he called

- *a “filial” submission in the name of the king, using this term to make clear it was not “servile” in character.*

He said little about

- *the Turks,*

and still less did he promise support against them.”¹

Manuscripts

This oration is presently known to be extant in seven manuscripts:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliotek**
535, ff. 113r-127v (**M**)
- **Brno / Moravska Zemska Knihovna**
Mk 96, ff. 51v-64v (**N**)
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen**
8 Philos. 88, ff. 54v-70v (**T**)

¹ CO. III, 37 (Meserve, II, pp. 163)

- **Paris / Bibliotheque Nationale de France**
Lat. 8576, ff. 178-187v¹
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ott. lat. 905, ff. 43v-50v (**V**)
Ott. lat. 2080, ff. 303r-309v (**O**)
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Petri**
b VIII 15, ff. 213r-225v (**S**)

The text in the manuscripts is corrupt in several places and contains many errors of transcription.

The text has not been published previously.

Present edition

The text has been edited on the basis of all the manuscripts listed above, except the Paris manuscript, with the Admont manuscript as the lead text, in accordance with the general principles used in the edition of Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9.

Pagination after the lead manuscript.

In the present version, only some of the quotations have been identified.

The notes comprise both textual variants and references etc.

Structure

1. Introduction [1-7]
2. Obedience [8-28]
3. Crusade [29-39]
4. Conclusion [40-42]

¹ See Du Fresne de Beaucourt, p. 11. Ff. 178r-178v (sections 1-4) partly illegible due to damage to manuscript

Oratio ambasiatoris regis Francorum¹

1. Introduction

[1] {113r} Maximum et² amplissimum onus³ longe grandius viribus injunctum mihi Hodie, pater beatissime, conspicio, qui de rebus maximis apud te⁴ maximum pro maximo dicere instituo. Multa ergo saepius menti occurrentia⁵ in ipso actus limine⁶, in ipso sermonis revolvens exordio, vix certe concipio⁷, ubi umquam altius, ubi sublimius versari potuit⁸ intentio, quam cum⁹ vice regia, cum¹⁰ nomine regio excellentissimi et Christianissimi regis¹¹ nostri¹², sanctae¹³ ecclesiae et sanctitatis tuae¹⁴ devotissimi filii, apud sanctitatem¹⁵ et beatitudinem tuam filialis oboedientiae, reverentiae¹⁶, honoris et dilectionis, pietatis, fidei, pacisque populi Christiani¹⁷ prosequendus est sermo, cui rite¹⁸ ad plenum explicando¹⁹ etiam²⁰ reminiscentis²¹ Tullii quantumcumque redundans²², quantumcumque exuberans non sufficeret oratio. Imparem ejus suscepto oneri²³ me²⁴ sentiens satisque persuasum habens huic loco, huic operi, huic praeclaro coetui non posse stilum parem orationis afferre, jam totus in me tabescens deficio.

¹ Oratio ... Francorum : *omit.* **M**; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantue 1459 de mense novembris 1459 **O**; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantuae 1459 de mense decembris **S**; Oratio pro christianissimo Francorum rege habita Mantuae coram Pio papae II. in universali conventu **T**; Oratio habita per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Gulielmum de Normandia, episcopum Parisensem, sanctissimi regis Francie oratoris in ecclesia cathedrali in cocistorio publico die 21. Novembris 1959 **V**

² *vt M*

³ This initium may be partly borrowed from the imperial ambassador's oration of obedience to Pius II, the "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*", published in appendix to Pius' oration "*Fabricator mundi*"

⁴ *per add.* N, O, S, T

⁵ *occurrenti S*

⁶ *lumine N; limite O, S, T*

⁷ *conspicio N*

⁸ *versari potuit : potuerit versari M*

⁹ *cum M*

¹⁰ *cum M*

¹¹ *omit. N*

¹² *sed ~~M~~; sed add. N; sed et add. O, S, T*

¹³ *sacrosanctae V*

¹⁴ *sanctitatis tuae : sanctitati tui N; sanctitati tue O, S, T*

¹⁵ *sedem M*

¹⁶ *et add. O*

¹⁷ *omit. O, S, T*

¹⁸ *ritum N*

¹⁹ *explicandi V*

²⁰ *et N, O, S, T*

²¹ *reuiuiscentis V*

²² *quantumcumque redundans omit. N*

²³ *meo add. O, S, T*

²⁴ *mei N; omit. V*

[2] Attenuati quippe oculi mei aspicientes¹ in excuso, in excuso quidem sanctitatis² tuae, in excuso hujus³ conventionis⁴ dignissimae, qua me ipsum video velut in alta quaedam fastigia descendisse, ubi decus, ubi splendor⁵ orbis, tutamentum⁶ fidei, fundamentum justitiae, ubi te quasi solem et velut⁷ numen quoddam⁸ divinum et caeleste, ubi sacra tecum luminaria ecclesiae reluentia circumquaque, ubi virtutum omnium adunatum undique speculum⁹ singulare piae fulgore igitur et splendore jam concussis, {113v} jam reverberatis humilibus oculis ac piae mole operis¹⁰ depresso¹¹ humeris a¹² suscepto opere animus resiliret, lingua¹³ obmutesceret¹⁴, nisi me legatio regia patrumque et¹⁵ dominorum¹⁶ simili¹⁷ legatione fungentium specialis ordinatio et zelus domus¹⁸ domini impellerent et a temeritate et praesumptione redderent excusatum.

[3] *Ubi enim onus - teste¹⁹ Gregorio - ex humilitate²⁰, oboedientia suscipitur, vincit²¹: ascribitur victoriae et succubuisse ad gloriam reputatur. Zelo ergo successus²², oboedientia constrictus²³, sed²⁴ tua benignitate allicitus, illud²⁵ non inelegans²⁶ jamdudum apud Caesarem dictum commemorans²⁷: Caesar, qui apud te et de te dicere non verentur et timent²⁸, tuam magnitudinem non agnoscent; qui²⁹ nimis verecundantur et formidant, tuam benignitatem non attendunt,*

¹ suscipientes T

² virtutis N, O, S, T

³ omit. T

⁴ Conventio in marg. M [NB: The margin notes in M are written in a much later hand]

⁵ et add. S

⁶ tutamentumque T

⁷ nubem add. V

⁸ quasi P

⁹ spectaculum O, S, T

¹⁰ piae mole operis : perinde O, S, T

¹¹ represso T

¹² omit. O

¹³ ligua N, T

¹⁴ obmutesceret corr. ex obmutesceretur M; obmutesceretur N

¹⁵ ac T

¹⁶ disorum dub. N

¹⁷ similique O, S, T

¹⁸ omit. S

¹⁹ onus teste : teste onus N

²⁰ humilitatis O, S, T

²¹ em.; vinci codd.

²² et add. O

²³ astrictus T

²⁴ et V

²⁵ id V

²⁶ elegans M; delegans corr. ex. delegatus S; delegans O, T

²⁷ commemoramus O, S, T

²⁸ timeat O, S; timeant T

²⁹ quam N, O, S, T

quantum magnitudine deterreor¹, tantum pietate consolor et confortor. Ad² te igitur, patrem³ et re et⁴ nomine⁵ piissimum⁶, pro rege piissimo pietatis fidei verba piissima deducturus⁷, etsi magnitudinem⁸ expavescam, de ipsa tui nominis⁹ pietate confisus vires audaciamque resumam, et¹⁰ sub pii simplicitate sermonis ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem juxta nomen tuum stilum totum orationis constringam¹¹, modum mihi¹² praestituendo, quo et sanctitatis¹³ tuae¹⁴ et hujus¹⁵ praeclarissimi¹⁶ coetus expectatio diuturna et¹⁷ pia et devota regis sub nomine piissimi nostra¹⁸ oratio¹⁹ non caret.

[4] Et ego benigna facilitate²⁰ audiendi²¹ sermonis²² prolixitate longius non²³ abutar. Quod²⁴ si sermo incultus, vocis exilitas²⁵, personae exiguitas, audience patientiam et inepti²⁶ sermonis veniam non merentur, mittentis {114r} dignitas et rei ipsius²⁷, de qua²⁸ agendum²⁹, honestas benevolentiam - ni fallor - conciliabunt³⁰ apud ipsam pietatem tuam, quae non ex verborum inopia animi³¹, sed ex ipsa animi copia orationem nostram suscipiet, ex multis brevia recolentem. Potuissent³² autem huic nostrae orationi adesse ornatus, gravitas³³, si³⁴ ex ore patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistentium verba manassent. Sed placuit eis et praesertim reverendissimo in Christo patri

¹ deterior N, O, S, T

² de V

³ pater O, S, T, V

⁴ omit. N

⁵ nomineque N

⁶ piissime V

⁷ deducturum N, O, S, T

⁸ magnitudine M

⁹ tui nominis omit. N, O, S, T, V

¹⁰ omit. N

¹¹ astringam T; perstringam V

¹² omit. M

¹³ beatitudinis T

¹⁴ sanctitatis tuae : sanctitas tua M; tua sanctitas V

¹⁵ huiusmodi S

¹⁶ celeberrimi M

¹⁷ omit. M

¹⁸ omit. N, O, S, T, V

¹⁹ oratione corr. ex orationis N; oratione O, S, T, V

²⁰ felicitate N

²¹ audiendum N

²² sermones S; sermonis corr. ex. sermones T

²³ longius non : non longius V

²⁴ omit. T

²⁵ omit. N

²⁶ incepti T

²⁷ omit. N, O, S, T, V

²⁸ omit. N; est add. V

²⁹ agendis N

³⁰ consiliabunt M, N, O, S; conciliabunt corr. ex consiliabunt T

³¹ Animi M

³² potuisset V

³³ et add. O, S, T

³⁴ etsi add. O

et colendissimo praceptor domino¹ archipraesuli Turonensi, longo nunc itinere fatigato², hac die continere vocem et mihi haec exordialia³ committere, neque enim hodie ex toto menti regis⁴ satisfacere cupio, nec ego cuncta meis amplecti sermonibus opto. Sed assistentes patres et domini multa elegantius, multa specialius explicabunt, quibus hac⁵ nostra praelocatione⁶ brevissima, potius praeparatio⁷, ministranda, quam materiarum ipsarum latitudo penitus prosequenda⁸. Erit ergo mihi his exordialibus⁹ primordiis cura praecipua sermone brevissimo¹⁰ utique procedere et pietati¹¹ fidei ac mentis sinceritati plus¹² quam verborum exquisitionibus¹³ intendere.

[5] Cogitanti igitur mihi¹⁴, quid¹⁵ primum quidve potissimum habeam dicere, ne tempus inane fluat, et sanctitatis¹⁶ tuae cunctorumque astantium¹⁷ obtundantur¹⁸ aures dignissimae, a verbis scripturae sacrae (quae¹⁹ – ut Augustinus habet et narrat²⁰, veteres de Varrone - studiosos pietatis et veritatis²¹ tantum²² oblectare queunt, quantum Cicero ipse curiosos²³ verborum) dignissimum²⁴ mihi visum est exordium sumere et huic sanctae²⁵ sedi et sanctitati tuae juxta nomen tuae pietatis immensae cum propheta, {114v} cum psalmista²⁶, immo cum sancto²⁷ spiritu²⁸ et sancta ecclesia praesentare

¹ omit. O, S, T

² longo nunc itinere fatigato omit. N, O, S, T, V

³ exordia S ; extraordalia T; exordienda V

⁴ menti regis : mentis regie N, S; menti regiae O, T, V

⁵ ac N

⁶ prolocutione O

⁷ operacio O, S, T

⁸ prosequendo S, T

⁹ his exordialibus : exordialibus his O, S, T

¹⁰ atque clarissimo add. N, O, S, T, V

¹¹ pietate N

¹² omit. M

¹³ acquisitionibus N; expositionibus T

¹⁴ omit. M, V

¹⁵ quod N

¹⁶ sanctitati O

¹⁷ cunctorumque astantium omit. M, V

¹⁸ attendantur N, S; ortundantur O; contundantur T

¹⁹ qui N

²⁰ habet et narrat : narrat et habet M

²¹ veritatis corr. ex. rerum M; rerum N, O, S, T, V

²² omit. T

²³ curiosus O, S, T

²⁴ dignum M, V

²⁵ omit. N

²⁶ poeta O, S, T

²⁷ omit. N, O,S, T

²⁸ sancto spiritu : spiritu sancto V

pariter¹ et dicere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic² et³ laus tua in fines terrae** (psalmo XLVIo exarantur et⁴ in ecclesiasticis officiis saepius⁵ reserantur⁶).

[6] Scribit in *Moralibus beatissimus*⁷ ille⁸ sessor⁹ apostolicae cathedrae, Gregorius, quod¹⁰, *qui in re domini in ipsa fidei*¹¹ *pietate se*¹² *ad loquendum praeparat, operaे pretium est, ut*¹³ *a sacris litteris*¹⁴ *exordia dicendi suscipiat, ut*¹⁶ *omne, quod loquitur, ad divinae auctoritatis fundamentum firmiter reducatur*¹⁷. *Scriptura namque sacra - ut ait*¹⁸ *ille idem*¹⁹ ²⁰ *- veluti speculum menti apponitur, ut ibi tota vitae*²¹ *ratio ordinetur. Ibi quantum proferimus*²², *quantum a profectu distamus, narrant gesta patrum et ad imitationem*²³ *corda provocat filiorum, ut in eorum imitationem*²⁴ *cum Dei adjutorio facere confidamus, quod nostra imbecillitate non possumus. More ergo Gallico, immo ecclesiastico, a verbis scripturae sacrae, quae non meo studio, sed sua propria grata sunt suavitate, indignum, quod meum os poterunt significare, suscepto sermonis exordio, ut juxta eloquium, juxta verbum domini sermones dirigantur et actus, placet hodierna die, si quid in sacrario²⁵ scripturarum sanctorum latet reconditum, quod a nostra exiguitate ad tuam et sanctae sedis venerationem devotam ad ipsam fidei pietatem exquiri valeat, illud compendiosissime producere et huic nostro operi contexere, quo ex hujus junctura fiant, quaecumque dixerim, gratiora et in re ipsa domini non tam gentilium quam Christi et sanctorum testimonia²⁶ querantur et exempla²⁷.*

¹ parum M

² sit O, S, T

³ omit. M, V

⁴ omit. V

⁵ omit. M [blank space]; saepe O, S, T

⁶ referantur O, S, T

⁷ in Moralibus beatissimus : beatissimus in moralibus S

⁸ beatissimus ille : ille beatissimus V

⁹ assessor S

¹⁰ quidem S

¹¹ sed Dei N

¹² sed S

¹³ omit. T

¹⁴ omit. O

¹⁵ a sacris litteris : ad litteras sacris N

¹⁶ omit. N

¹⁷ Letter 1.24, cchl, p. 27.176

¹⁸ omit. O, S, T

¹⁹ quidem O, S, T

²⁰ ille idem : idem ille V

²¹ dicendi V

²² profectus N; profecimus O, S, T, V

²³ limitacionem M

²⁴ limitacionem M

²⁵ sacra N, V

²⁶ quaecumque add. O

²⁷ et exempla omit. T

[7] Credo equidem - ut in Corinthiis¹ loquitur apostolus - quod², qui³ hic pietatis⁴, {115r} fidei⁵ causa venimus, quasi Dei legatione fungimur⁶ Deo quasi per nos loquente et per nos operante. Quod⁷ si personas exuentes privatas, publicas induentes, quae⁸ Christi [sunt⁹], loquamur¹⁰ et agamus, dabit enim¹¹ dominus¹² verbum evangelizantibus¹³ virtute multa, dabit¹⁴ dominus¹⁵ fortitudinem et virtutem plebi suae, et benedicet per te et in te populo suo Christiano in pace, urgente igitur ipsa Christi domini caritate et zelo domus domini, qui regi nostro Christianissimo ad nos mittendum, nobis¹⁶ autem ad¹⁷ loquendum dux, monitor impulsorque¹⁸ est penitus impellendus¹⁹. Scribit²⁰ enim hodierna die, pater beatissime, juxta verba thematis et nomen tuae dignitatis excelsae, quod os domini nominavit nomen tuae pietatis immensae, quod non sine nutu superno tibi ecclesia sancta imposuit, breviter utcumque²¹ recolere, et quae infinita, quae²² dispersa videntur et tuae pietatis immensae magnalia²³ sub uno aspectu subque proportione brevissima²⁴ recensere. Quapropter nomina²⁵ rebus et res ipsas loco, personis et temporibus contemporans vice et nomine patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistantium, immo regio nomine censui a principio praemittere²⁶: **Secundum nomen tuum sic²⁷ et²⁸ laus tua in fines terrae.**

¹ em.; consimili codd.

² ergo M; quo N, S; quot O, T, V

³ em.; quot codd.

⁴ pietas O

⁵ fideique T

⁶ 2. Corinthians, 5, 20: *Pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur, tamquam Deo exhortante per nos*

⁷ omit. M

⁸ qui N

⁹ em.; omit. codd

¹⁰ loquimur N

¹¹ vnum M

¹² Deus N

¹³ evangelium M

¹⁴ omit. O, S, T

¹⁵ omit. M; enim V

¹⁶ vobis P

¹⁷ omit. N

¹⁸ et impulsorque M; et impulsor qui O, S, T, V

¹⁹ impellente V

²⁰ subiit M, V

²¹ utrumque O, V

²² queque V

²³ non alia N, O, S, T

²⁴ brevis O, S, T

²⁵ omit. N

²⁶ premittitur O, S, T

²⁷ omit. S; sit T

²⁸ omit. V

²⁹ sic et : sit et passim M

2. Obedience

[8] Jam tempus, jam ratio postulant ad rem ipsam, ad materiam susceptam descendere et¹ nostri adventus² causas particularibus notulis annotare. Cum igitur, pater beatissime³, cupitavi⁴ diutius sanctitatis tuae praesentiam huncque fulgentissimum coetum⁵ humilibus oculis intueri⁶, congaudentes alacriter pietati, benevolentiae, obedientiae, sinceritati fidei, qua et curiosius et numerosius quam nobis suggestum foret, multos hic convenisse et convenire prospeximus, cum jam omnium⁷ oculos in nos conjectos attente⁸ cernimus prospicere, et verbum {115v} regium⁹ nostrae vocis organo avide¹⁰ praestolari, opportunum credimus seclusis exordialibus¹¹ praeludiis, quibus absurdum¹² ante materiam effluere¹³ et in materia principali succingi¹⁴ nostrae legationis causas in medium ducere¹⁵, huncnobis ex regia ordinatione praecipua morem et ordinem more praedecessorum¹⁶ laudabili¹⁷ oboedientiae¹⁸, reverentiae¹⁹, filialis devotionis et laudis honorem debitum impendamus.

[9] Hinc ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, quaeque gerenda erunt in hac sancta conventione, et benevolos auditores et in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptatae conclusionis effectum devotos²⁰ cooperatores praebeamus. Venient et alia, sed diebus aliis explicanda ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri in causa communi et conjunctissima²¹, quae summe²² regis inest cordi, dilectissimi fratris sui²³, serenissimi et illustrissimi regis Siciliae²⁴ Renati, necnon facta²⁵ sui

¹ inde add. O, S, T

² nostri adventus : adventus nostri O, S, T

³ pater beatissime : beatissime pater N

⁴ omit. M, T; cupitam S

⁵ Conuentum V

⁶ intuemur N, O, S, T, V

⁷ multorum N, O, S, T

⁸ attento S

⁹ regum N

¹⁰ qui de M

¹¹ primordialibus N, O, S, T

¹² em.; ad surdum M, T; assurdum N, O, S

¹³ affuere N; sternere V

¹⁴ subiungi O, S

¹⁵ et add. O, S, T

¹⁶ predecessorum T

¹⁷ laudabiliter N, O, S, T

¹⁸ Oboedientia *in marg.* M; obedientia V

¹⁹ reverentia V

²⁰ quo add. N

²¹ convenientissima O, S, T

²² summum N; summi O, S, T

²³ omit. O, S, T

²⁴ Cicilie M; Cecilie N

²⁵ em; facto M; factorum N, O, T; factori S

antiqui¹, illustris² Januensis³ dominii⁴ sub ejus dictione⁵ reducti, quae propter ipsam temporis brevitatem, et ut⁶ prima atque⁷ praecipua decurrat fidei materia, hodie relinquuntur⁸ intacta. In utroque autem hodierno⁹ considerationis articulo et nomen tuae dignitatis praecelsum¹⁰ et nomen tuae pietatis immensae saepius¹¹ commemoraturi gratissimum censuimus a principio praemittere:
Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae.

[10] Pro primi expeditione, pater beatissime, jam in verbis thematis praeassumpti in tua veneratione et laude¹², latissimus undique atque gratissimus¹³, adest¹⁴ tanta¹⁵, ampla, et quae¹⁶ ubertate sui cursum excedit materia¹⁷, sed non quantum ipsa exuberat, {116r} sed quantum huic nostro operi¹⁸ satis erit brevem et compendiosum in ipsa fidei pietate secundum nomen tuum habitura decursum. *Vas electionis* et¹⁹ scripturarum sanctorum²⁰ armarium, beatissimus Paulus apostolus, caelestis homo, terrestris angelus²¹, qui²² de tanti hospitis conscientia loquebatur, illos²³ duplice honore et laude dignos²⁴ insinuat, quos et pietatis adeptae culmina magnificant et²⁵ virtutum opera condecorant, ut et dignitatibus ex²⁶ virtute, virtutibus ex dignitate honores²⁷ duplicati concrescant. Ait enim beatissimus ille²⁸, quod *qui bene praesunt, duplice honore digni sunt*,²⁹ et quia scilicet

¹ *omit.* N, O, S, T, V

² illustrissimi N; *omit.* O, S, T

³ Januensium N, S

⁴ domini N, O, S, T

⁵ ditione N, O, S, T

⁶ *omit.* O, S, T

⁷ Et M

⁸ relinquuntur V

⁹ hodiernae T

¹⁰ et nomen ... praecelsum *omit.* N

¹¹ *omit.* V

¹² *omit.* M

¹³ *textus corruptus?*

¹⁴ *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁵ cautus N, O, S, T; campus V

¹⁶ *omit.* N

¹⁷ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁸ opere S

¹⁹ *omit.* V

²⁰ sacrarum M

²¹ terrestris angelus *omit.* V

²² que N

²³ *omit.* N

²⁴ dignus S; *omit.* T

²⁵ ut M

²⁶ *omit.* S

²⁷ honore N

²⁸ *omit.* M

²⁹ 1. Timothy, 5, 17

praesunt¹ propter gradus sublimitatem, et quia bene praesunt propter ipsam² operis³ strenuitatem⁴ et virtutem. *Tunc enim*, inquit Gregorius, *vera et perfecta laus pietatis⁵ et culminis cum cumulata⁶ fuerit⁷ cum laude boni operis pietatis⁸ pariter et virtutis⁹.* Quod si dignitatibus quibusque singulis¹⁰ laus et veneratio tribuenda, si pro donis variis concessis a domino virtutibus pariter et doctrinis laudis paeconia referenda, si colendi, amandi¹¹, etiam¹² honore praeveniendi, quos virtus vel unica specialius extulerit, et - ut verbis utar poeticis - *quos aequus amat¹³ Jupiter*, hoc est Deus¹⁴, *et ardens erexit¹⁵ ad sidera¹⁶ virtus.¹⁷*

[11] Quanta tu nobis, pater beatissime, veneratione colendus, quem apex tantae dignitatis extollit, quem Christus dominus non uni ecclesiae, sed toti, non urbi¹⁸, sed orbi¹⁹, non in parte²⁰, sed²¹ plenitudine praeesse voluit {116v} et prodesse²², in quo non virtus una, sed virtutes variae²³, charismata²⁴, dona et gratiae summum locum videntur obtinere. Ait venerabilis Beda²⁵, idem sub aliis verbis Bernardus²⁶ ²⁷ in Canticis, quod profitente²⁸ Petro miram in Christo domino cum carne divinitatem, Christum dominum,²⁹ filium Dei vivi, respexit dominus Petrum non tantum oculo carnis, sed potius divinitatis, vidit Petri benignitatem, fidei firmitatem³⁰, animi³¹ sublimitatem³², barionae

¹ duplici honore ... praesunt *omit.* M

² *omit.* O

³ operum P

⁴ serenitatem S

⁵ potentatis M, V

⁶ concumulata N, O, S, T

⁷ sunt T

⁸ *omit.* N, O, S, T

⁹ virtutibus O

¹⁰ singularis V

¹¹ armandi O

¹² et V

¹³ amabilis N, O, S, T

¹⁴ hoc est Deus *omit.* M, V

¹⁵ evexit S, V; vexit T

¹⁶ aethera T

¹⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.130: *pauci, quos aequus amavit Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus*

¹⁸ urbis N

¹⁹ orbis N

²⁰ in parte *omit.* V

²¹ in add. S, V

²² et prodesse *omit.* T

²³ non virtus ... variae *omit.* M, N, O, S, T

²⁴ carissima N

²⁵ Bede the Venerable: (ca. 672-735) English monk and author

²⁶ *omit.* O

²⁷ Bernhard of Clairvaux

²⁸ proficiente S

²⁹ Christum dominum : et ipsum N; et Christum O, S, T, V

³⁰ fraternitatem N

³¹ vidit Petri ... animi *omit.* O, S, T

³² sublimitate O, S, T

benignitatem Petri soliditate firmavit, Petri¹ soliditatem² Cephae, hoc³ est capitis, nomine imposito⁴ potestatis culmine⁵ decoravit, ut⁶ quisquis Christum veneratur et colit, illum venerari⁷ debeat et colere, qui in Christi cathedra praesidet Deo auctore.

[12] Scimus, pater beatissime⁸, nec ignotum nobis jam tuae sublimitatis⁹ praecelsae quod culmen, quae perfectio, quae plenitudo omnium dignitatum¹⁰ et tuae pietatis¹¹ immensae amplitudini ex¹² cumulo doctrinarum pariter et virtutum viros elegantissimos atque doctissimos, immo eorum ore dulcissimo¹³ imperium, regna, principatus, et urbes plerosque etiam singulares tibi magnalia, tibi praeconia concessisse¹⁴ et tuae assumptioni tuisque salutaribus¹⁵ initiis alacriter congratulando exorasse, implorasse tibi a domino salutares eventus tuorum, salutarium etiam¹⁶ sanctissimorum optatorum¹⁷. Erit ergo nostrum post tantas¹⁸ tamque¹⁹ eximias congratulationes, acclamations²⁰, et laudes, ne jam dicta repetere, ne notissima²¹ refrecare²², ne solem certemus *facibus*²³ {117r} *adjuvare*, breviori stilo, sed non minoris devotionis studio, non impari caritatis ardore procedere, et²⁴ pauca, sed brevius illorum more, qui²⁵ magna terrarum spatia brevi tabula pingunt, de ipsa pietate tua paulisper allicere²⁶, non quod²⁷ plenitudini tuae, quae nullius potest laudatione²⁸ crescere²⁹, nullius vituperatione decrescere³⁰, exilis et tarda nostra oratio quidquid adjiciat, sed

¹ Petre S

² Petri soliditatem *omit.* V

³ id O, S, T

⁴ impositio O, S, T

⁵ culmen O, S, T

⁶ et M

⁷ venerae M

⁸ pater beatissime : beatissime pater O, S, T, V

⁹ sublimitati N, O, S, T, V

¹⁰ dignificatum O, S

¹¹ pietati N, O, S, T, V

¹² etiam M, N, V

¹³ dulcissono M; dulci sono N, O, V; dulce sono S

¹⁴ contexisse N; congesisse O, S, T

¹⁵ salutacionibus M

¹⁶ atque V

¹⁷ operatorum S

¹⁸ *omit.* V

¹⁹ tantamque S

²⁰ *omit.* S

²¹ votissima S

²² refrenare S; refricare T; referre V

²³ facibus *corr. ex fascibus* M; fascibus N, O, S

²⁴ sed M

²⁵ in S

²⁶ adiicere V

²⁷ quidem O, S, T

²⁸ potest laudatione : laudatione potest N, O, S, T

²⁹ *omit.* O, S, T

³⁰ discrescere M

quod¹ fervor, devotio, caritas et mentis sinceritas Christianissimi regis nostri ad ipsam tecum² fidei pietatem luceat et clarescat et fervorem fervori ceteris adjiciat ipsaque laus³ tua jam juxta verba⁴ thematis **Secundum nomen tuum in fines terrae** diffusa, quo recensita amplius eo⁵ more aromatum⁶ magis ac magis redolens animos penetrans et demulcens.

[13] Tanto nos omnes et devotiores et ferventiores ad ipsam fidei pietatem currere efficiat, quanto nos pater melior, sanctior et doctior in suorum odorem meritorum attrahit⁷, dirigit et conductus. Ut enim in auri puritate⁸ pretiosa gemma et in gemmae ipsius pretiositate aurum rutilantius⁹ enitescit¹⁰, sic virtus, sic probitas et sapientia tua gradu excellentissimo decorata et quasi *lucerna supra¹¹ candelabrum in domo¹² domini reposita¹³* oculis omnium claritatem, jucunditatem, amoenitatem¹⁴ inducit et cunctis, qui Christiana professione¹⁵ censemur, spem magnam futurae¹⁶ prosperitatis¹⁷ ostendit, ut¹⁸ glorientur in te, qui diligunt nomen pietatis tuae, confiteantur¹⁹ {117v} nomini tuo, et gaudeant in tua veneratione, et laude exultantes uberior te²⁰ virum doctissimum et inter doctissimos eloquentissimum, te unum nostri aevi²¹ lumen²², nostri saeculi decus, ecclesiae sanctae datum divinitus, ut²³ sub te, uno pastore piissimo, et cui nil in ipsa fidei pietate deesse videtur²⁴, ad integratatem optimi pontificis atque²⁵ summi, benedictus Deus et²⁶ pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, cuius vicem²⁷ geris in terris, qui *consolatur nos in omnibus tribulationibus nostris*, nos²⁸

¹ quo N, O, S, T

² cetum S

³ lex O

⁴ verba thematis : sermonis thematis verba S

⁵ eorum M

⁶ eo add. V

⁷ attrahat T

⁸ pietate O, S; omit. T

⁹ rutilans S

¹⁰ enitexit N; contexit O, S, T

¹¹ super N, O, S, T, V

¹² populo M

¹³ e.g. Mathew, 5, 15

¹⁴ claritatem ... amoenitatem : amoenitatem et jocunditatem N, O, S, T, V

¹⁵ profectione N

¹⁶ omit. V

¹⁷ magnam futurae prosperitatis : magne consolationis N, O, S, T , V

¹⁸ et M

¹⁹ confiantur N

²⁰ omit. O, S, T

²¹ cui O, S, T

²² lumine N, S

²³ et M

²⁴ Videretur V

²⁵ et N; ac O, S , T

²⁶ atque M

²⁷ vitam O, T

²⁸ omit. M

visitare dignetur ex alto ad illuminandos¹ sedentes in tenebris, ad dirigendos² pedes nostros³ in viam pacis et veritatis⁴ his certe diebus malis, quibus fides catholica, proh dolor, concutitur, et refrigerescit caritas, tepescit devotio, spes, et expectatio multorum ad vana⁵, ad transitoria convertitur, et quasi mundus totus positus⁶ in maligno.

[14] Tradunt historiae id (noster Vincentius⁷, sed et ante eum in suis epistolis beatissimus Ambrosius⁸), quod sub Antonino⁹ Pio, cui¹⁰ propter merita nomen pietatis¹¹ adjectum¹², nihil acerbum, nihil immoderatum, sed pia omnia, moderata et sancta res publica expectavit, et sicut expectaverit¹³, nihil nisi pium, sanctum et¹⁴ moderatum¹⁵ recepit¹⁶, suscepit, unde et¹⁷ patrem patriae¹⁸ eundem nuncupavit et pii nomine decoravit. Sic sperant¹⁹ in te et de te, pater beatissime, qui neverunt nomen pietatis tuae²⁰ et jam experiuntur affectum et praestolantur effectum, quod sub te, patre pio, subque tua pietate {118r} paterna et fides catholica et sancta ecclesia virtutum omnium percipiet incrementa, quibus ornamenta²¹ decerent²², et hostes fidei superare et in perennae²³ felicitatis tempora valeat respirare.

[15] Tuque, pius nomine²⁴, te totum ad pietatem dedicans et²⁵ exercens, divina gratia ministrante, coetu fidelium assistente²⁶, unus²⁷ eris²⁸ reparator et auctor conculkatae fidei et jam labentis²⁹ et in plerisque collapsae totius reipublicae Christianae. Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, nomen pietatis tuae

¹ illuminandum O, S, T

² dirigendum O, S, T

³ omit. M, O, S, T, V

⁴ pacis et veritatis : veritatis et pacis N, O, S, T, V

⁵ verabilia N; narrabilia S; variabilia O, T

⁶ omit. S

⁷ Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1184/1194-ca. 1264)

⁸ Ambrose (ca. 340-397): Bishop of Milan

⁹ em.; Antonio codd.

¹⁰ tui M

¹¹ nomen pietatis : pietatis nomen T

¹² ad rectum M

¹³ expectaverat M

¹⁴ omit. M

¹⁵ sed pia omnia ... moderatum omit. O, S, T

¹⁶ omit. T

¹⁷ omit. V

¹⁸ pium M

¹⁹ speravit M

²⁰ pietatis tuae : tuae pietatis S

²¹ ordinata O, S, T

²² decenter M, O, S, T

²³ punire M

²⁴ nomen T

²⁵ omit. N

²⁶ assistencium P

²⁷ unius M

²⁸ unus eris : eris unus O, S, T

²⁹ omit. M

cum ipso¹ nomine summae dignitatis conjunctum, et in ipso culmine dignitatum² evectum³, ac in Petri soliditate firmatum et connexum, ad consolidanda et confirmanda in ipsa fidei pietate corda filiorum⁴ et fratrum fulget et fulgebit in saeculo⁵. Et - ut⁶ cum sapiente ecclesiastico loquar - *quasi stella in medio⁷ nebulae⁸ matutina et quasi sol⁹ refulgens in Dei templo¹⁰*, tanto sole ipso atque¹¹ sideribus lucidius quanto majus¹² - teste Hilario - ipsas animae tenebras pellere¹³ quam corporis et¹⁴ fidei luce¹⁵ rutilare quam solis. Sicut ergo sol ipse naturalis - ut philosophiae¹⁶ utamur disciplinis¹⁷ - situ¹⁸ quidem sublimis¹⁹, motu sub continuo regularis²⁰, purus in substantia, luminosus in²¹ forma, ipso calore suo, ipso suae illuminationis splendore tenebras dissipat, ventos temperat, arboribus flores, aviculis cantus, omnibus animantibus vires et spiritus hilaritatem inducit, sic in te et de te spes et expectatio fidelium resultat et consurgit²².

[16] Quod tu nunc prae ceteris potestate sublimis, sed nunc et pridem virtutibus {118v} coruscans innumeris, ipsa tuae²³ sapientiae luce²⁴, ipso tuae pietatis ardore tenebras vitiaque comprimes²⁵, bella filiorum odioaque²⁶ extingues²⁷, virtutes inseres²⁸, bona nutries²⁹ et jam nutrita³⁰ pietatis tuae

¹ omit. M

² dignificatum O, S, T

³ erectum N

⁴ fidelium O, S, T

⁵ fulgebit in saeculo : in seculo fulgebit O, S, T

⁶ omit. O, S, T

⁷ fulget add. O

⁸ nebule add. O, S

⁹ lucidus et add. V

¹⁰ Ecclesiasticus, 50, 6: *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena, in diebus suis lucet : et quasi sol refulgens, sic ille effusit in templo Dei*

¹¹ ac O

¹² magis N, O, S, T; est add. V

¹³ compellere O, S, T

¹⁴ omit. O

¹⁵ lucem S, T

¹⁶ philosophis M, N, O, V; philosophicis T

¹⁷ utamur disciplinis : discipline utamur O, S, T

¹⁸ sic tu S

¹⁹ sublimius N, O, T; sublimi et S

²⁰ regularum N; regulare S

²¹ omit. N

²² resurgit S

²³ tua N

²⁴ in teipso S

²⁵ propulses N, O, S, T; comprimas V

²⁶ et odia T

²⁷ extinguis N, O, S, T

²⁸ inseras N, O, S, T

²⁹ incita N; nutrias O, S, T

³⁰ merita O, S, T

studio custodies¹, tepentes² aridosque animos tecum ad ipsam fidei pietatem succendens³ et illustrans, ac⁴ jam ferventes ferventiores efficies⁵, sic reges, sic principes, immo christicolae omnes in te et per⁶ te⁷ quasi in solis lumine fecundabuntur, operibus bonis excitabuntur⁸, a negligentiis compescentur, a contentionibus et odiis animabuntur⁹, ad¹⁰ contemplationem caelestium inducentur¹¹, allicantur¹² ad ipsam fidei pietatem defensionem, protectionem¹³, augmentum.

[17] Haec sunt, pater beatissime, tuae sanctae ac summae vocationis officia et tuae assumptionis salutaria initia¹⁴. Haec cum sic docueris pariter et feceris¹⁵, prout salutaribus¹⁶ initiis susceptisti, magnus nomine, maximus¹⁷ dignitate, magnus merito, maximus tandem praemio vocaberis in regno caelorum¹⁸. Surget et illuminabit in te Jerusalem, hoc est sancta fidelium ecclesia¹⁹, et velut aurora progredietur²⁰ rutilanset quasi *castrorum acies ordinata* ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo²¹ et reges et principes in splendore ortus tui, hoc est in splendore²² assumptionis tuae, ad ipsam fidei defensionem salubriter²³ undique dedicatae. Leva igitur oculos tuos et²⁴ vide: jam multi filii venerunt et venient tibi, parati²⁵ in te et sub te et illa repellere²⁶, quae Christiano inimica sunt²⁷ nomini²⁸, {119r} et, quae sunt apta, sectari. Magnae molisfuit²⁹ linguis, locis moribusque distantes in unum congregari.

¹ custodias N, O, S, T; custodiens V

² repentes S

³ succedens V

⁴ et O; omit. V

⁵ efficias N, O, S, T

⁶ pro O

⁷ et add. M

⁸ et add. M

⁹ amabuntur O, S, T

¹⁰ et M

¹¹ atque add. V

¹² allicantur O, S, T, V

¹³ et omit. V

¹⁴ in ipsa N

¹⁵ pariter et feceris : superans *dub.* S

¹⁶ salutacionibus M

¹⁷ magnus S

¹⁸ in regno caelorum omit. O

¹⁹ congregacio S, V

²⁰ progreditur O, S, T

²¹ omit. N

²² in splendore omit. M

²³ salubrum M

²⁴ omit. M

²⁵ parari N

²⁶ refellere M, V

²⁷ inimica sunt : sunt inimica V

²⁸ nomina S

²⁹ fiunt M

[18] Sed ipsa tua pietas laude prosequenda multiplici, caritas inextinguibilis, constantia laudabilis, patientia invincibilis, qua nullis parcens laboribus pariter et expensis,¹ et sedem propriam tibi dedicatam² a domino dimisisti, celer et libens³ pro ipsa fidei pietate hunc locum et coetum adeundum⁴ duxisti⁵, omnes in benedictionibus praevenisti. Miro suavitatis odore perfudit⁶ universos ipsa melle dulcior ex ore sacratissimo profluens oratio⁷, animos relevat⁸ consternatos⁹, et - ut ita dixerim - ipsa tua pietas hos facit esse pios, se invicem mutuo provocantes, tibique illud¹⁰ Petri¹¹ ad Christum grataanter referentes: *Domine, ad quem ibimus? Verba vitae^{12 13} in te^{14 15} habes.* *Ambulabunt* - inquit psalmista - *in lumine tuo et in nomine tuo¹⁶ exultabunt*, quoniam gloria virtutis eorum¹⁷ tu es.

[19] Venimus autem et nos, etsi post¹⁸ multos, cum multis et ante multos, ipsa tua pietate perfusi, ipsa sanctae sedis veneratione permoti, quod si¹⁹ morosiores in aliquo causis necessariis et²⁰ urgentibus²¹ ad partem plenius edicendis aliquatenus retardati²², non minus ceteris²³ ferventes pariter et devoti. Ab ipso siquidem tuae²⁴ assumptionis exordio, ex quo vox gratissima tuae electionis²⁵ dignissimae Christianissimi regis nostri auribus insonuit, ex quo tua merita undique refulgentia, sed ipsam praecipue pietatem fidei, qua²⁶ totus ipse²⁷ refulget²⁸, et²⁹ in qua summe

¹ *textus corruptus?*

² *dedicacio* N

³ *liber* O, S, T

⁴ *ad eundem* O, T

⁵ *deduxisti* V

⁶ *perfundit* O, S, T

⁷ Probably a reference to Pius' grand opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*"?

⁸ *revelet* N

⁹ *conservatos* M

¹⁰ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹¹ *petitur* N, O, S, T

¹² *omit.* N

¹³ *tue add.* O

¹⁴ *vitae in te : vice* M

¹⁵ *in te omit.* V

¹⁶ *et in nomine tuo omit.* N

¹⁷ *tue* O

¹⁸ *postquam* N

¹⁹ *omit.* T

²⁰ *atque* V

²¹ *vigentibus* M

²² *retarditati* M

²³ *venimus add.* V

²⁴ *omit.* T

²⁵ *electioni* O, S, T

²⁶ *quasi* N

²⁷ *totus ipse : ipse totus* T

²⁸ *refulges* V

²⁹ *omit.* N

oblectare¹, gaudet, agnoscit² et percipit³. Audivit quidem et laetus⁴ est, gratias devotissimas et cumulatissimas⁵ supplex⁶, devotus *cum hymnis et canticis* in Dei ecclesia egit et agi fecit, et agendas in regno undique⁷ constituit, et ad tui venerationem⁸ et obedientiam filialem legationem⁹ instituit solemnem, quam postea, suscepta¹⁰ hujus conventionis materia¹¹, ut contextu unico¹² omnia tractarentur, censuit personis¹³, instructionibus et facultatibus ampliandam. Cum vero de instructionibus atque materiis ageretur, multa a principio super hac conventione relata¹⁴, multa de novitatibus in regno Hungariae et aliis¹⁵ suggesta tarditatis¹⁶ et morae causam et materiam praebuere, nonnullis¹⁷ etiam principibus maximis hac in¹⁸ nostra legatione praefectis quasi in ipso itineris limine ex causis diversis et¹⁹ variis, privatis et publicis, impeditis²⁰, sicut²¹ ad partem plenius edicemus, et pro qua tarditate et mora benignam²² supportationis gratiam²³ imploramus.

[20] Ut autem²⁴ unde venimus et ad quid, breviter edicamus et cursum orationis, quantum fieri poterit²⁵, restringamus²⁶. Venimus, pater beatissime, ab illa Christianissima Francorum domo regia, cuius per orbis climata²⁷, cuius per saecula multa²⁸ praeclera merita²⁹ claruere³⁰ et nomen

¹ oblectatur M; delectare V

² agnovit N, O, S, T

³ precepit M; percepit N, O

⁴ legatus O

⁵ rutilantissimas O, S, T

⁶ et add. M, V

⁷ in regno undique : undique in regno M

⁸ tui venerationem : reverentiam N, O, S, T

⁹ legationi S

¹⁰ susceptam N

¹¹ materiam N

¹² textu unico P; unico contextu N, O, S, T

¹³ personuit instituit O, S, T

¹⁴ zelata M

¹⁵ alia O, S, T

¹⁶ tarditis T

¹⁷ et morae ... nonnullis O, S, T

¹⁸ hac in : in hac O, S, T

¹⁹ diversis et omit. N, O, S, T

²⁰ nonnullis etiam ... impeditis omit. M, V

²¹ sicuti N

²² benigne O, S, T

²³ supportationis gratiam : supportationem M, V

²⁴ ut autem omit. N

²⁵ potest O

²⁶ Cur venerint *in marg.* M

²⁷ cuius per ... climata omit. N, O, S, T

²⁸ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁹ praeclera merita : merita preclara N, O, S, T

³⁰ Laus Galliarum regum *in marg.* M

celeberrimum atque¹ praeclarissimum² praebuere, quae - et antiquae³ generis claritate, nobili⁴ venustate morum gestorumque⁵ magnificentia⁶ attestantibus undique patrum historiis exteris⁷ atque nostris - excellens et praecipua⁸ noscitur efusisse⁹, cuius devotione, magnanimitate¹⁰, solertia jamdudum perfidorum acies superatae, ad ecclesiam regiones variae reparatae pariter et reductae, {120r} sedata schismata, haereses extirpatae, restituti sedibus Romani pontifices, adacta eorum patrimonia¹¹ et defensa, dotatae dotibusque¹² adactae variis in regionibus Christi ecclesiae et¹³ privilegiis ac¹⁴ juribus insignitae pariter et firmatae.

[21] Haec domus, haec¹⁵ stirps¹⁶ regia, sub unico rege et capite principatus continens plurimos¹⁷, magnis certe¹⁸ regibus¹⁹ comparandos²⁰ et nexus sanguinis clarissimo exteros principes perlustrans quamplurimos²¹ - attestante²² Bernardo - Deo²³ hominibusque²⁴ accepta, amicis non ingrata, vicinis non infesta, nemini²⁵ nocens nisi iniuria²⁶ lacessita²⁷, omnibus officiosa, sed huic praecipue sedi apostolicae summa semper²⁸ devotione conjuncta et²⁹ Christi glutino tenacissimo³⁰ complicata. Venimus a³¹ Christianissimo Francorum rege³² Carolo pree suis participibus, regibus et principibus,

¹ et M, V

² Christianissimum M, V

³ antiqua V

⁴ et antiquae ... nobili : teste Gregorio in registro et oratione vacatione claritate sanguinis N; Gregorio in registro et oratore vacatio claritate sanguis O; teste Gregorio in registro et oratore vacaria claritate sanguis S; teste Gregorio in registro claritate sanguinis T

⁵ gestorum N, O, S, T

⁶ gestorum magnificentia : magnificentiaque gestorum M, V

⁷ rectis M

⁸ attestantibus undique ... praecipua : inter principatus et regna velut sol inter sidera N, O, S, T

⁹ effichasse M; efusasse N; efluxisse V

¹⁰ magnalitate O,

¹¹ matrimonia T

¹² magnis add. T

¹³ ac O, S, T

¹⁴ et O, S, T

¹⁵ et P

¹⁶ haec stirps omit. N, O, S, T

¹⁷ varios M, V

¹⁸ magnis certe : certe magnis N

¹⁹ regis N, O, S; regnis T

²⁰ coaequandos M, V

²¹ et nexus ... quamplurimos omit. N, O, S, T

²² teste N, O, S, T

²³ de M

²⁴ hominibus M

²⁵ omit. P

²⁶ iniuriis P

²⁷ nemini nocens nisi iniurii lacessita omit. M, V

²⁸ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁹ ut O, S, T

³⁰ omit. O

³¹ ab illo M, V

³² Francorum rege : rege Francorum M, O, S, T

caelica divinitus unctione peruncto¹, donis² et virtutibus, victoriis atque triumphis multifarie insignito, qui gloriosissimorum suorum progenitorum non solum sequens vestigia, sed eorum merita cumulans³ et adaugens sanctam ecclesiam, fidem catholicam, hanc sanctam sedem et sedentes in ea gessit et habuit in summae et plenae visceribus caritatis, gerit et geret in aevum⁴, se praebens in omnibus catholicum principem pariter et devotum. Ab illo Christianissimo regno profecti sumus⁵, quod caput ejus⁶ Galliae, quae - teste Jeronimo - ab ipso susceptae fidei exordio⁷ et monstris⁸ caruit et viris semper fortibus⁹ et devotissimis abundavit, quod - teste Floriacensi Hugone¹⁰ - a Christo dilectum et protectum, quo majori quandoque necessitate depresso eo¹¹ mirabilius extitit elevatum¹².

[22] {120v} Hujus enim Christianissimi regni, pater beatissime, retroactis nuper¹³ temporibus status et negotia magna tempestate disjecta et saevis¹⁴ turbinibus¹⁵ agitata. Sed laus, sed¹⁶ benedictio, sed gratiarum actio altissimo, cui regni peculiaris est cura¹⁷: non fuit haec¹⁸ tribulatio nostra judicis¹⁹ malleus²⁰ exterminans, sed virga patris filios erudiens²¹, qui non est oblitus misereri,²² sed²³ in persona a Deo dignificata Christianissimi regis nostri dona et²⁴ gratias, triumphos²⁵ et victorias tribuens speciales²⁶, dedit cum vexatione intellectum et²⁷ cum temptatione²⁸ proventum²⁹. Invenit³⁰ enim dominus Christianissimum regem nostrum quasi David servum suum, et memor³¹

¹ promitto S

² doctrinis S

³ merita cumulans : cumulans merita T

⁴ unum M

⁵ profecti sumus : profectissimus N

⁶ omit. N

⁷ ab ipso ... exordio omit. N, O, S, T

⁸ monasteriis S

⁹ fortissimis N, O, S, T

¹⁰ Hugues de Fleury: French monk and historian who flourished in the beginning of the 12th century

¹¹ et S

¹² revelatum N, O, S, T

¹³ imperio M

¹⁴ servis T

¹⁵ tribulationibus M

¹⁶ et M

¹⁷ altissimo ... cura omit. N, O, S, T

¹⁸ omit. N, O, S, T

¹⁹ judices S

²⁰ malignos O, S, T

²¹ filios erudiens : erudiens filios S, T

²² non est ... misereri : nos percutiendo sanavit et sanando percussit N, O, S, T

²³ et N, O, S, T

²⁴ dona et omit. N, O, S, T

²⁵ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁶ singulares N, O, S, T

²⁷ dedit M, V

²⁸ temperatione T

²⁹ temptatione proventum : proventum temporacionum S

³⁰ invenerit N, O, S, T

³¹ dub. N; in rore T

mansuetudinis ejus¹ et ceterarum² virtutum ejus³, oleo sancto suo unxit eum⁴, etiam⁵ cum⁶ signo⁷ quotidiano et perceptibili gratia curationum certarum aegritudinum⁸. Manus enim domini auxiliata est ei⁹, et brachium domini¹⁰ confortavit eum.

[23] Ex parte igitur¹¹ ipsius Christianissimi regis¹², quinimmo regni totius, ambasatores humiles destinati honoris, oboedientiae et¹³ reverentiae filialis, dilectionis, amoris, pietatis, fidei¹⁴ pacisque populi Christiani verba, quinimmo rem potius deferimus¹⁵. Haec sunt nostrae legationis insignia, occasiones¹⁶, et causae sanctae¹⁷, justae pariter et honestae, pro quibus ad pedes sanctitatis tuae¹⁸ cum omni humilitate et²⁰ devotione procumbimus²¹. Cum igitur sanctitatem tuam et celsitudinem humilibus oculis intuemur, majus²² in te²³ considerantes quam verbis exprimere valeamus²⁴, etsi te sermonibus congruis alloqui²⁵, etsi te²⁶ digna mente complecti non possimus, non habentes in te pontificem, qui non possit compati imperfectionibus nostris nostrosque supportare²⁷ defectus, jussionibus regiis²⁸ obsequentes, ad pedes sanctitatis tuae²⁹ devote et {121r} humiliter procumbentes, **ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri more praedecessorum³⁰ laudabili huic sanctae sedi apostolicae [et³¹] tibi sedenti in ea, vero et indubitato Christi vicario, sacrosanctae Romanae et totius universalis ecclesiae pontifici maximo³² atque summo, tibi patri omnium**

¹ omit. N, O, S, T

² omit. N, O, S, T

³ omit. M, V

⁴ cum M

⁵ et P

⁶ omit. N

⁷ cum signo : consigno N, O, S, T

⁸ etiam cum signo ... aegritudinum omit. M, V

⁹ omit. M

¹⁰ omit. M

¹¹ enim M

¹² nostri add. O, S, T, V

¹³ et omit. M

¹⁴ pietatis fidei : fidei pietatis O

¹⁵ differimus M, N, O

¹⁶ omit. V

¹⁷ omit. O

¹⁸ tum add. O

¹⁹ sanctitatis tuae : tue sanctitatis V

²⁰ ac N

²¹ pro quibus ... procumbimus omit. M

²² magis N, O, S, T

²³ omit. S

²⁴ exprimere valeamus : valeamus exprimere N

²⁵ aliqui O

²⁶ tu N; omit. O

²⁷ superare V

²⁸ regis M

²⁹ cum omni humilitate et devotione add. [sic!] O

³⁰ praecessorum T

³¹ em.; omit. codd.

³² magno N

fidelium et totius gregis dominici¹ pastori² dignissimo atque sanctissimo, filialem oboedientiam, reverentiam, devotionem³, honorem exhibemus⁴, immo per nos reexhibet⁵ suo et regni nomine Christianissimus rex noster⁶ sincere, humiliter, fideliter pariter et devote.

[24] Mens ipsa Christianissimi regis nostri ad hanc sanctam sedem devotionem plenior [est⁷], quam possint verba nostra quaecumque exprimere. Missorum verba mittentis comitatur affectio. Devotissimus regis supplebit animus, quod nostra non potest⁸ oratio. Ipse enim, etsi corpore absens, nobiscum semper spiritu adest et loquitur gaudens⁹. Haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque. Absentes absens auditque¹⁰ videtque. Jam nostri corporales, sed regis et regnolarum mentales oculi in te respiciunt, ut te patrem filii, te Christi vicarium Christi servi, te pastorem pariter et ductorem¹¹ oves gregis dominici sequantur¹², venerantur¹³ et¹⁴ colant, gratias agentes Deo cum beato Paulo apostolo, quod fides, quod pietas tua, qua nihil splendidius in pastore, principe¹⁵ vel rectore, jam annuntiatur in universo mundo. Nulla¹⁶ dies umquam¹⁷ hanc¹⁸ memoriam¹⁹ exuet²⁰ aevo²¹. Semper honor²² nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt perpetuis²³ temporibus locisque in omnibus memorandae, inter quas praecipuum culmen {121v} assequitur, quae de ipsa fidei pietate undique praedicatur, propter quam merito censuimus a principio praemittere **Secundum nomen tuum sic et²⁴ laus tua in fines terrae.**

[25] Scio, pater beatissime, moris usitati, approbatae consuetudinis existere in prima legatione tum²⁵ pro celsitudine dignitatis, tum pro personae meritis laudes et magnalia congerere²⁶. Optarem

¹ dominice T; et add. N, S, T

² pastore M

³ et add. O

⁴ exhibeamus N, O, S, T

⁵ exhibet N, O, S, T, V

⁶ ipse N, O, S, T, V

⁷ em.; omit. codd.

⁸ esse add. N

⁹ omit. M

¹⁰ audit T

¹¹ doctorem V

¹² omit. S

¹³ venerantur O

¹⁴ ac S

¹⁵ precipue O; precipuo S

¹⁶ ullam S

¹⁷ omit. N, P

¹⁸ umquam hanc : hanc unquam O, S, T

¹⁹ em.; memorari M; nemorum N; memori O, S, T, V

²⁰ exiret M

²¹ uno M

²² honos N, O, S, T

²³ perpetuo N

²⁴ omit. V

²⁵ tam O, S, T

²⁶ comterere M

ego infimus, cui verbi¹ sors prima² hodie noscitur contigisse, si linguam, si³ mentem haberem, ut rei congrueret, si vires, si ingenium et tempus suppeterent, si par esset voluntatis facultas⁴, in ipsis totis⁵ hodie laudibus effluere⁶, sed quoniam non potest nostra oratio cum ipsis tuis meritis ipsoque⁷ affectu⁸ in re⁹ ¹⁰ pari passu incedere, agnoscens modestiam tuam¹¹ sicut nec ambitu quae sisse principatum, ita nec¹² fastu quaerere laudis praeconium ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem tuam cursum orationis censui restringendum¹³, pietatem dico¹⁴ ¹⁵ non quantum¹⁶ miseracionis¹⁷ affectum, sed quae in se pariter¹⁸ complectitur pias necessitates fidei et omnium pariter¹⁹ fidelium. Si enim inter pietatem et pietatem²⁰ aliquid noscitur esse distantiae, illa sine dubio major, quae pro Deo²¹ exercetur et fide, quae quanto communior, tanto - teste Ariopagita Dionysio – modo²² dignior atque perfectior. O pietatem mirabilem,²³ dictis et scriptis memorandam! O²⁴ te ineffabilem virum, velut Martinum alterum, quem nunc²⁵ sacra recolit ecclesia²⁶, nec labore victum, nec morte vincendum, qui nullum laborem pro grege²⁷ domini censuit recusandum. Tuum ergo, pater beatissime, etsi virtutibus omnibus plenissimum et²⁸ instructissimum geras animum²⁹, {122r} nihil in te Deo et hominibus acceptius, nihil majus ipsa sacra ad fidem pietate, quae tecum³⁰ innata coaluit³¹, et quae tibi hunc³² honorem peperit maximum³³ atque summum.

¹ verba O, S, T

² premia O, S, T

³ et N

⁴ facultatis O, S, T

⁵ totus M, O, S, T; totus corr. ex totis P

⁶ affluere O

⁷ ipsoque meo N; non que P; ipsam in eo S; ipsam meo O, T

⁸ affectum S

⁹ affectu in re : in re affectu N

¹⁰ in re omit. N, O, S, T; meo V

¹¹ viam P

¹² me M

¹³ constringendum S

¹⁴ omit. M

¹⁵ cursum orationis ... pietatem : dico N

¹⁶ quantumque N; quantumcumque O, S, T; que tam V

¹⁷ miserimus O, S; miserrimus T

¹⁸ parum M

¹⁹ omnium pariter : pariter omnium O, S, T

²⁰ et pietatem omit. O

²¹ omit. O

²² nostro N, O, S, T, V

²³ amirabilem O

²⁴ omit. V

²⁵ mater V

²⁶ Allusion to the Feast of Saint Martin of Tours, whose feastday had just been celebrated

²⁷ rege O, S, T

²⁸ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁹ omit. M

³⁰ ad fidem ... tecum : que tecum ad fidem plenitudine S; que tecum ad fidem pietate N, O, T

³¹ convaluit V

³² huic O; habent S; omit. T

³³ maximum omit. N

[26] Quis enim te uno¹ etiam in minoribus² constituto belli justissimi pro fide suscipiendo³ justitiam, honestatem, facilitatem⁴, possibilitatem immo et⁵ necessitatem, et quid in eo liceret secundum aequitatem, deceret secundum honestatem, expediret secundum utilitatem, attentius et curiosius exquisivit?⁶ Quis doctius invenit?⁷ Quis elegantius explanavit? Quis antecedentia ad rem ipsam concomitantia⁸ et consequentia intimius censuit perscrutanda? Testis est pietatis tuae ante⁹ assumptionem tuam illa ad Germanicos populos et in¹⁰ Germanicis instruens universos¹¹ *Cladis* {59v} *Constantinopolitanae* expressiva¹² epistola, ex cuius serie luculenta evidenter apparet, ex qua fecunda pariter et facunda totius sapientiae et eloquentiae et quod¹³ pluris caritatis¹⁴ immensae processerit¹⁵ apotheca, testimonium perhibent hac¹⁶ in sancta conventione Mantuana labores, vigiliae¹⁷, expensae, opera magnifica¹⁸, *dulciora super mel et favum* sanctissima¹⁹ monita²⁰, divina potius quam humana, ad pias lachrimas, ad devotos²¹ gemitus, ad salutares affectus²² pariter et effectus²³ cunctos provocantia et pro quibus omnibus **secundum nomen tuum**²⁴ – juxta verba thematis ipsa²⁵ - jam²⁶ **laus tua in fines terrae** diffusa.

¹ viro V

² moribus M

³ sustinendi M

⁴ felicitaem O

⁵ omit. N, O, S, T

⁶ In this passage, Chartier is referring to Pius' crusade orations, including those held at the German diets in 1454 and 1455, and in particular the "Cum bellum hodie" and the "Constantinopolitana clades"

⁷ invenerit N, S

⁸ comitantia O, S, T

⁹ an M

¹⁰ omit. M

¹¹ universis N

¹² expressura O, S; expressione T; expresissima V

¹³ quot N, S

¹⁴ claritatis O

¹⁵ processit O, S, T

¹⁶ ac O, S, T

¹⁷ labores vigiliae : vigiliae labores M

¹⁸ opera magnifica : magnifica opera N

¹⁹ sacratissima V

²⁰ merita O, S, T

²¹ pios N, O, S, T

²² effectus V

²³ affectus V

²⁴ omit. O, S, T

²⁵ juxta ...ipsa omit. M

²⁶ sit M; idem V

[27] *Exulta - inquit psalmista - et lauda¹, habitatio Sion, quia magnus in medio tui² sanctus Israel.*
Exulta, inquam³, sancta nostra ecclesia, exulta, conventio Mantuana, quia magnus in medio tui⁴
sanctus Israel.⁵ Magnus quidem per sapientiam, per eloquentiam, per vitae sanctimoniam exterius
relucentem, major per caritatem interius exardescensem, maximus per dignitatem superius
eminenterem⁶, {122v} qua nihil majus, nihil altius, cuius honor conduplicatur cum eo, quo⁷ decet⁸
modo⁹ in ea militatur, cum¹⁰ ad aedificationem, ad ipsam fidei pietatem omnia ordinantur.
Describens¹¹ vir ille heroicus¹² Mantuanus vates, Virgilius, ipsum Aeneam suum, quem usque ad
sidera censuit extollendum, conclusit tandem *insignem pietatis* virum, quinimmo est¹³ dicere
visus¹⁴:

Sum pius aeneas, fama per¹⁵ aethera notus.^{16 17}

[28] In¹⁸ tantis et ad¹⁹ tanta legislator Moyses²⁰, a domino praefectus et vocatus, fide grandis ab
apostolo dictus est, et in scriptura sacra²¹ pro singularis²² laudis praeconio²³ dictus piissimus atque
mitissimus. Inveniens²⁴ dominus David²⁵ secundum²⁶ cor suum²⁷, memor fuisse dicitur pietatis et
mansuetudinis ejus. *In tantum - inquit Chrysostomus - piissimus dominus noster Jesus Christus
benevolentiae et pietatis nostrae delectatur affectu, ut²⁸ suam misericordiam sit²⁹ ipsis³⁰ praecipue*

¹ et lauda *omit.* S

² cui M; *omit.* S; tuo T

³ inquit S, T

⁴ tuo O, S

⁵ exulta inquam ... Israel *omit.* M, V

⁶ imminentem O; emanentem T

⁷ quod O

⁸ docet O, S, T

⁹ *omit.* T

¹⁰ tum M

¹¹ distribuens M

¹² heuricus O

¹³ et V

¹⁴ est dicere visus : loquens ab eo est inductus M

¹⁵ pro M; super T, V

¹⁶ motus S

¹⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.372

¹⁸ ita O, S, T

¹⁹ a O

²⁰ Moses T

²¹ *omit.* M

²² singulari S

²³ proronio M

²⁴ inveniret S, T

²⁵ servum *add.* O, S, T

²⁶ *omit.* S

²⁷ cor suum : suum cor N

²⁸ in N

²⁹ sic O, S, T

³⁰ ipsius N; ipsos S

piis et misericordibus impensurus. Noli igitur, pater beatissime, negligere gratiam, quae data est tibi in ipsa fidei pietate et major tibi a domino repromissa, sed ut probe geras, quod¹ probissime meruisti, ut talis² semper accrescas, quales ante³ te summos pontifices fieri exorasti⁴, monuisti et⁵ docuisti. Abundet magis ac⁶ magis ipsa caritas⁷. Crescent cum dignitate merita. *Operare bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*⁸, quinimmo ad fidem ipsam, proh dolor, conculcatam. Exerce⁹ te ipsum¹⁰ ad ipsam tui nominis pietatem. Exultare¹¹ in ipsa pietate tua, in qua laetatur et laetabitur¹² pariter¹³ Christianissimus rex noster et super salutare tuum {123r} exultabit¹⁴ vehementer.

[29] Nos autem¹⁵ humiles ipsius oratores, legati et ambasiatores, tibi ex parte ipsius oboedientiam, reverentiam¹⁶ et honorem devote et humiliiter impendentes, exultabimus et laetabimur in te. Reserabimus et psallemus ipsas virtutes tuas, non hic tantum, ubi locus et tempus non patiuntur ad plenum, sed ubicumque locorum benedicet in te et per te anima nostra domino, et omnia, quae intra¹⁷ et quae¹⁸ extra nos sunt, nomini sancto tuo¹⁹, nomini - inquam²⁰ - et tuae dignitatis praecelsae et tuae²¹ pietatis immensae, propter quae a principio censuimus merito praemittere²² **Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae.** Quod in primo nostrae²³ legationis expediendum²⁴ fuerat²⁵ articulo, etsi²⁶ non, ut²⁷ decuit²⁸, facultas tempusque tulit, devote et humiliiter complevimus.

¹ quid N

² tales N, O

³ apud N

⁴ semper ... exorasti *omit.* M

⁵ *omit.* N

⁶ et O, S, T

⁷ tua *add.* O, S, T, V

⁸ Galatians, 6, 10: *operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*

⁹ ecce O, S, T

¹⁰ te ipse ipsum M

¹¹ exaltare M, V

¹² laetatur et laetabitur : laetabitur et laetatur O, S, T

¹³ parum M; *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁴ *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁵ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁶ *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁷ quae intra *omit.* T

¹⁸ *omit.* S, T

¹⁹ sancto tuo : tuo sancto S, T

²⁰ inquit S

²¹ *omit.* M

²² amittere O

²³ primo nostrae : nostre primo S

²⁴ expetendum O, S, T

²⁵ fuerit N; *omit.* O, S, T

²⁶ et se O, S, T

²⁷ *omit.* O, S, T

²⁸ detur N

3. Crusade

[30] Superest pro totius hujus nostrae orationis conclusione brevissima, ut de sacratissima hujus¹ conventionis materia aliquid² sed brevius, sed compendiosius subjungamus, nosque³ vice regia praesentantes in ea⁴ et benevolos auditores - juxta⁵ polliciti⁶ seriem ordinis - et devotissimos⁷ cooperatores⁸, quoad⁹ fieri poterit¹⁰, paebeamus.

[31] Non opus est¹¹, pater beatissime, jam tuis sacratissimis¹² litteris et monitis¹³ a majestate regia cum omni devotione susceptis elegantissimo et luculentissimo, sed devotissimo atque piissimo¹⁴ exaratas stilo, clades, miserias, egestates atque inopias populi Christiani, conculationem fidei catholicae amplius recensere et tuum et¹⁵ nostrum exagitare dolorem. Jam lacrimas excutit {123v} dolor, verbisque viam¹⁶ spiralia stringunt totumque hominem ad lamenta convertunt. Flevit propheta sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae¹⁷ ¹⁸ excidium, crebras cum lacrimis lamentationes ingeminans. Quanto magis, si locus pateretur et tempus, deflenda¹⁹ nobis non urbis, non populi, non gentis unius tantum, sed multarum, sed amplissimarum, famosissimarum ac²⁰ opulentissimarum acerbissima discrimina, ubi non rerum, non locorum tantum amissio, sed pessima, sed miserabilis servitus, et captivitas personarum et damnatio timenda animarum, Christiani²¹ nominis²² interitus pariter et occasus, quod²³ historiarum labor, tragoediarum gemitus ad nostram pertulit²⁴ notitiam, quasi minus²⁵ est, quam²⁶ videmus. Sed tempus, pater beatissime²⁷,

¹ cuius N sacre add. O

² omit. M

³ nos V

⁴ eo N, O, S, T

⁵ omit. T

⁶ politici M, N

⁷ devotionis N, O, S, T

⁸ cooperatoris N

⁹ quod id O, S; quo id T

¹⁰ fieri poterit : poterit fieri S

¹¹ Materia conventionis aggrediatur *in marg.* M

¹² sanctissimis N, O, S, T

¹³ meritis N

¹⁴ atque piissimo omit. O, S, T

¹⁵ tuum et omit. N, O, S, T

¹⁶ nostra N

¹⁷ Iherosolimitane O, S, T

¹⁸ Sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae : Ierosolimitane sancte civitatis V

¹⁹ defluenda O

²⁰ et T

²¹ Christianae N; Christianorum O, S, T

²² nos M; omit. O, S, T

²³ quid N

²⁴ protulit O, S, T

²⁵ omit. S

²⁶ quod T

²⁷ pater beatissime : beatissime pater O

nunc potius medelae quam querelae, auxilii¹ quam lamenti tempus. Inquit psalmista, *tempus faciendi*² potius quam³ loquendi, quoniam *dissipaverunt*⁴ legem domini.⁵

[32] Ipsa pietas fidei non tam sublimitate⁶ verborum⁷ quam strenuitate actuum operumque bonorum, non tam⁸ ⁹ elegantia¹⁰ sermonis¹¹ quam amplitudine tractanda caritatis et {61r} ostensione spiritus et virtutis robur, fidei caritas¹², fides caritatis robur. Tunc verus fructus, verum nomen ambarum cum indissolubilis nexus earum et summa¹³ igitur caritate et pia miseratione condolendum praeteritis, sed pro caritatis opere, zelo et diligentia occurrentum futuris¹⁴, nec tantum vastitatis praeteritiae deflenda incommoda, quinimmo et¹⁵ ¹⁶ calamitatis futurae exhorrescenda et providendapericula. *Tunc enim*¹⁷ - inquit¹⁸ Cassiodorus - *futuris*¹⁹ *calamitatibus tollimus locum, cum bonam providentiam gerimus futurorum.* Expetivit Sathanas, ut {124r} crebraret²⁰ sicut triticum, sed tuum est, pater beatissime, consolidare²¹ corda filiorum et fratrum²² et²³, cum *liquefacta est terra, confirmare columnas ejus.*²⁴ ²⁵ Inanes²⁶ paleae vento jactantur²⁷, triticum non capit²⁸ ventus²⁹. Invalidae³⁰ ³¹ arbores³² impulsu turbinis evelluntur. Arborem

¹ quam querele auxilii omit. N

² domine add. S

³ potius quam : quam pocius S

⁴ disparuerunt T

⁵ Psalms, 118, 126

⁶ subtilitate M

⁷ quam eloquencia sermonis add. O, S, T

⁸ talis N

⁹ non tam : quam O, S, T

¹⁰ eloquentia N, O, S, T

¹¹ sed modis N

¹² caritatis N, O, S, T

¹³ omit. N

¹⁴ futurum N, O, S, T

¹⁵ omit. N, V

¹⁶ de add. M

¹⁷ igitur V

¹⁸ incipit S; omit. V

¹⁹ futurum N

²⁰ omit. M; crebaret O; cribraret T, V

²¹ considerare O

²² et fratrum omit. O

²³ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁴ cum V

²⁵ Psalms, 74, 4: *Liquefacta est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea, ego confirmavi columnas ejus*

²⁶ in aves M

²⁷ iacentur M, V

²⁸ rapit M

²⁹ in ventus O; juventus S

³⁰ in valido M

³¹ ventus invalidae : invalidae ventus T

³² arboris O, S, T

fundatam¹, firmatam² radice, domum supra petram fundatam, hanc sanctam sedem Petri soliditate firmatam procella nulla subvertit.

[33] *Oportuit* - inquit Bernhardus loquens ad Eugenium - *ad tuum apostolatum damna referri³fidei et scandala quaeque emergentia⁴ in regno Dei⁵, hoc est in ecclesia militanti, ibique primum fidei perquiri remedia, et⁶ resarciri detimenta, ubi fides⁷ stabilimentum accipit, ubi fides detrimentum nescit, in qua et sub qua fidei probatissima luminaria claruere. Sed cum pro fide ipsa certamen⁸ nunc cum eo habeatur, qui toto malignitatis spiritu in Christum debacchatur, quem nec pudor a turpitudine, nec timor a periculo, nec ratio cohibet⁹ a furore, cum quo non verbo, sed facto, non doctrina, sed ferro, non sermone, sed armis et vigore veniet dimicandum, sanctum fuit atque laudabile, nec a patrum moribus insolitum, etiam principum hunc accersiri coetum, ut bellis, odiis¹⁰ et contentionibus depositis et contractis in unum viribus tecum unanimiter¹¹ causam ipsam fidei suscipiant, protegant et defendant. Regum enim¹² et principum dilectione mutua fortificantur imperia, augetur¹³ et protegitur ecclesia. Geminata potestas resistentiam conduplicat, et duplicitae vires se ipsis¹⁴ redduntur fortiores. {124v} Principes enim saeculi intra¹⁵ ecclesiam potestatis culmina tenere dignoscuntur, ut fidem¹⁶ et¹⁷ ecclesiam tueantur¹⁸, qui quanto maiores ex Dei munere, tanto obligatores in reddenda domino¹⁹ ratione.*

[34] Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, in hoc coetu celebri²⁰, in hac sancta conventione coram te, patre patrum pastoreque pastorum²¹, velut cum Deo Abraham per²² se²³ vel per²⁴ suos populorum

¹ omit. V

² fundatam firmatam : firmam N, O, S, T

³ referre et O; referre S

⁴ hoc add. O, S, T

⁵ omit. S

⁶ omit. M

⁷ spes S

⁸ certamine M

⁹ cohibetur O

¹⁰ omit. N, O, S, T

¹¹ unanimum M

¹² etenim O, S, T

¹³ augentur N

¹⁴ ipsis M

¹⁵ inter T

¹⁶ idem V

¹⁷ omit. V

¹⁸ teneantur M, N

¹⁹ omit. N, O, S, T

²⁰ celebrari S

²¹ pastoreque pastorum omit. O, S, T

²² pro M

²³ omit. O

²⁴ pro M

principes congregati, et - quod summe oblectat¹ - audire et² videre exultationes Dei³, exultationes sedis apostolicae⁴ in gutture eorum et quasi jam gladii ancipites ad defensionem fidei in manibus eorum. Jam fervet in multis tuis salutaribus⁵ monitis et exemplis gloriosus ardor tantae materiae, jam plurimum animata corda. Et ubi rebus ordo datus extiterit⁶ et sub unanimitate negotia complanata⁷, non verebuntur plurimi gentis incredibilem⁸ expetere⁹ feritatem¹⁰. Sed quo amplius gentilitatis fervore cognoverunt errorem, illic intrepidi et calore fidei armati ferventius accendent¹¹¹², parati ad omnia pro Christi nomine sustinenda.

[35] Non enim desunt christianis vires, non opes¹³, non ingenia, non¹⁴ arma bellica, non viri corpore fortes, sed animo validiores. Tantum unanimitate, concordia, sinceritate, magnanimitate opus est, quae¹⁵, si¹⁶ affuerint¹⁷, hostium sacrae fidei ejectionem¹⁸ et nobis¹⁹ consolationem futuram²⁰ minime dubitandam²¹. Exercerunt diutius²² tyranni ecclesiam, exercerunt²³ haeretici et pseudochristiani, sed Christi gratia ministrante a sanctis²⁴ patribus, ab ortodoxis principibus, postquam²⁵ in eorum mentibus²⁶ fides coaluit²⁷ protecta et defensa, potuit semper dicere: *Saepe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, etenim non potuerunt mihi.*²⁸ {125r} Habet justitia sacrosanctae fidei quandam lucem suam, quae illuminat, refici et allicit mentem inhaerentem sibi, quam piis mentibus - ut sacri doctores insinuant - solidant et confirmant praenuntiatio prophetica, scripturarum concordantia, rationabilitas contentorum, irrationabilitas singulorum errorum,

¹ oblectatur O, S, T

² est O, S, T

³ exultationes Dei omit. O, S, T

⁴ omit. O

⁵ salutacionibus M

⁶ extitit N

⁷ complacita M

⁸ em.; incredibile M; incredule N, O, S, T

⁹ competere O

¹⁰ veritatem corr. ex feritatem T

¹¹ ferventius accendent : accendent ferventius O, S, T; si eventus accident V

¹² attendent N

¹³ opus M

¹⁴ omit. N

¹⁵ qui O, S, T

¹⁶ sibi N, O, S, T

¹⁷ affuerit N; affuerunt T

¹⁸ erectionem T

¹⁹ vobis O

²⁰ futurum N, O, S, T

²¹ dubitandum N, O, S, T, V

²² divinis M

²³ omit. O, S, T

²⁴ hominibus add. M

²⁵ quam M

²⁶ virtutibus M

²⁷ conualuit V

²⁸ Psalms, 128, 2

legislatorum¹ ideoneitas, diligentia recipientium, miraculorum claritas, ecclesiae permanens stabilitas, quae - ut dicit Hilarius - *habere dignoscitur proprium, ut² tunc vincat ecclesia³, cum laeditur, intelligat, cum arguitur, tunc exurgat, cum superata videtur, dum persequitur⁴, floret, dum opprimitur, crescit, dum patitur, vincit⁵.* Vix enim - Jeronimo teste⁶ - *nisi tempore belli generantur⁷ strenui.* Tempore haeresium viri clarissimi⁸ atque probatissimi claruere. Grandis dolor grande ingenium facit. Necessitas ipsa jam dudum artes reperit⁹, ac duris in rebus major industria. Tunc enim - ait¹⁰ in epistolis¹¹ Ambrosius juxta commonitionem apostoli - *cum tempora mala sunt¹², bonis operibus redimenda.*

[36]¹³ Tunc virili, constanti et¹⁴ inconcuسو opus est animo, qualem te habuisse et habere in hac¹⁵ sacra fidei pietate jam sacra¹⁶ opera tua, orationes piissimae, labores, vigiliae et expensae undique insinuant, ut illius dudum ferventissimi¹⁷ Eliae velut in altero Eliseo spiritus conduplicatus¹⁸ cognoscatur¹⁹ adesse. Et jam nil in te pastoris vigilantissimi, tutoris zelantissimi ac patris piissimi videatur deesse. Votum igitur et desiderium tuum sanctum et laudabile - quod rex noster Christianissimus, sacrosanctae²⁰ fidei cultor praecipuus,²¹ probat, laudat, reveretur²² et ex totis animi praecordiis complectitur - non opus laudibus extollere, sed caritate, pietate pariter {126v} et opere una tecum pariter concurrere ac²³ divinam clementiam exorare, ut²⁴ sanctitatem tuam in hoc ardore fidei, in hac mentis sinceritate, in hoc²⁵ integerrimo religionis studio per tempora longiora

¹ legislatoris M, V

² et O

³ omit. O, S, T

⁴ prosequitur M

⁵ vicit M

⁶ Jeronimo teste : teste Jeronimo S, T

⁷ gignuntur M, N, V

⁸ preclarissimi O, S, T

⁹ artes reperit : reperit artes N, O, S, T

¹⁰ ut O, S, T

¹¹ apostolis N, O, S, T

¹² sint T

¹³ In place of sections 36-38, S – erroneously – inserts a long passage, filling ff. 224r-224v completely, from Jean Jouffroy's oration "Frequentiam principum", held at the beginning of the Congress of Mantua. The passage in S begins with the words *opprobrio et lacesiti* and ends with the words *quales existimas virorum*

¹⁴ omit. T

¹⁵ omit. O

¹⁶ fidei pietate ... sacra omit. M

¹⁷ ferventissimum N, T

¹⁸ duplicatur N; duplicatus O, T

¹⁹ cognoscitur N, O, T

²⁰ laudabile quod ... sacrosanctae omit. M

²¹ omit. O

²² omit. N

²³ ad M

²⁴ omit. O

²⁵ ardore fidei ... hoc omit. O, T

conservet et omnium in Christo credentium corda in ipsa fidei pietate tecum consolidet et confirmet.

[37] Optasset et optaret Christianissimus rex noster tuis ¹sacratissimis litteris exoratus² in hac conventione sanctissima et tuam vidisse praesentiam et sacratissima eusdem sanctitatis tuae audire et audisse verba³ quidem⁴ melliflua, et alternos etiam immiscendo sermones vivae vocis mutuo⁵ re faciliari alloquio, quod magnificum, laudabile pariter et jucundum. Sed quantum magnae molis fuit⁶ tantum regem tanti regni sub ejus moderamine respirantis⁷ cum tanta multitudine sollicitudinem dimittere⁸, ut, quos loca, tempora negotiaque disjungunt, pietatis⁹ desideria operaque¹⁰ conjungant, nos humiles servitores suos immo et maiores nostros¹¹, ex causis plurimis retardatos, censuit ad sanctitatem¹² tuam¹³, ad hanc sanctam conventionem transmittendos, praecipiens et injungens, ut ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, ad communicanda et contractanda¹⁴, quaeque gerenda erunt¹⁵, et benevolos¹⁶ auditores et devotos cooperatores praebeamus, ipsum fideliter atque veraciter¹⁷ perhibentes et tecum magna fidei pietate perfusum¹⁸ et a¹⁹ gloriosissimorum progenitorum suorum²⁰ moribus minime degenerantem²¹ et²² in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptare²³ conclusionis effectum²⁴ propitium pariter et benignum, sicut communicatis et persensis²⁵ hujus sanctissimae²⁶ materiae et gestorum in ea debitum et²⁷ circumstantiis veniet convenientius explicandum.

¹ sanctissimis T

² exoratis M

³ verba add. O, T

⁴ omit. M, V

⁵ omit. O

⁶ sicut M

⁷ conspirantis T

⁸ immittere M

⁹ pietatisque O, T

¹⁰ opera O, T

¹¹ meos V

¹² sanctitatis O, T

¹³ tue O; tue et T

¹⁴ tractanda V

¹⁵ omit. M

¹⁶ benignos N, O, T

¹⁷ verarum M

¹⁸ perfusius N

¹⁹ omit. N, O, T

²⁰ omit. N, O, T

²¹ degenerent N, O, T

²² omit. N

²³ adoptate N, O, T

²⁴ profectum add. N

²⁵ propensis M

²⁶ sancte O

²⁷ omit. M, O, V

[38] Astamus igitur¹, pater beatissime, sanctitatis {126r} tuae pedibus devote procumbentes, non minus avidi tuam sapientiam in hac sancta materia audire, et in omnibus mediis convenientibus venerari, et sequi quondam² reginam³ Saba dudum Salomonis regis sapientiam experiri. Tu igitur, pater beatissime et pastor vigilantissime, qui totus aestuas sacro fervore fidei atque ardes, qui nostris persuasionibus non eges, sed nobis omnibus stimulus es: emitte sapientiam tuam, lucem⁴ et veritatem⁵ de sede magnitudinis tuae. *Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina*⁷ tua justa.⁸ Opportune et importune labora ut bonus miles Christi. Opus fac evangelistae pacem, evangelizans in filiis, exorans et annuntians, quae ad pacem sunt Jerusalem, et *abundantiam in turribus*⁹ domini¹⁰, hoc est ad ipsam fidei¹¹ defensionem et augmentum, quo nihil creatori¹² summo acceptius, nihil ipsis supernis¹³ civibus jucundius, nihil hominibus in terris habitantibus¹⁴ utilius. Quod si fortitudo, quae patriam tuetur a barbaris¹⁵, plena est justitia, quae non solum tuetur patriam, loca et corpora, sed fidem, sed¹⁶ animas, justitia erit et honestate plenissima.

[39] Tuum est igitur, pater beatissime, ad tantae pietatis opus, ad tantae justitiae causam, ad Christi injuriam propulsandam¹⁷ media salutaria tibi a domino specialius¹⁸ revelata, a¹⁹ te curiosus exquisita in medium ducere et nos *in via domini dirigere*.²⁰²¹²² Hoc enim tui nominis et tui mysterii exercitium proprium. In hoc tuae gloriae et tuae famae decus. In hoc tui pontificatus fructus saluberrimus, quo tibi a fidelibus cunctis fidelis praestanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulatus. Jam vereor prolixiori sermone in his generalibus saepius²³ agitatis fieri onerosus. Patres

¹ ergo M

² quam M; quemadmodum O, T

³ em.; regina codd.

⁴ tuam add. N

⁵ tuam add. N

⁶ lucem et veritatem omit. O, T

⁷ Deuteronomy, 32, 2

⁸ juxta N, O, T

⁹ Psalms, 121, 7

¹⁰ tuis O

¹¹ omit. N, O, T

¹² oratori T

¹³ superius N, O

¹⁴ omit. M, N, V

¹⁵ que add. O

¹⁶ et O, T

¹⁷ expulsandam N

¹⁸ a domino specialius : specialius a domino O, T

¹⁹ ad N, O, T

²⁰ erigere V

²¹ Ecclesiasticus 36, 19

²² Here ends the lacuna in S which began in sect. 36

²³ sepe O, S, T

colendissimi, {126v} viri magnifici, hic vice regia pariter assistentes, plura specialius et elegantius explicabunt, quaeque¹ specialiora ea² et graviora³ et⁴ rei accomodiora⁵ provenient.

4. Conclusion

[40] Ut finem igitur nostrae orationi imponamus, libet pro conclusione finali ut⁶ in ipsa pietate tua, in tua consolatione et nostra, sermones penitus concludamus. Suscepisti igitur, pater beatissime, culmen pastoralis fastigii⁷, locum sacerdotii summum⁸, vicariatum Christi. Tibi navis ecclesiae commissa est. Tibi soli dictum est: *Duc in altum.*⁹ Materiam, locum, tempus¹⁰, virtutem¹¹ habes: rem profer in actum. Quod si procellosum mare, periculosum et¹² infestum et nunc¹³ fera¹⁴ tempestate disiectum, noli turbari. Qui fundavit ecclesiam, super mare et super flumina praeparavit¹⁵ eam. Mirabiles elationes maris, sed mirabilior in altis dominus, qui dominatur potestati maris et mitigat motum fluctuum ejus, qui imperat ventis et mari¹⁶, qui beatissimum Petrum apostolum ambulantem in fluctibus maris, ne mergeretur, erexit, et coapostolum¹⁷ ejus Paulum tertio naufragantem de profundo pelagi liberavit. Ipse te et nos de tribulationibus eripet, dans¹⁸ cum tentatione proventum. Ait enim sessor primus¹⁹ cathedralae tuae²⁰ secundo capitulo sueae Canonicae: *Novit dominus pios de temptationibus eripere, impios vero aeternis cruciatibus tradere concrēmandos.*²¹

¹ quae quo M; in quo O, S, T

² eo O

³ graviora V

⁴ ut O, S, T

⁵ accommodiora T, V

⁶ omit. M; et S

⁷ vestigii N

⁸ sanctum N; secundum O, S, T

⁹ Luke, 5, 4

¹⁰ temporis V

¹¹ virtutis M, N, S, V

¹² omit. V

¹³ et nunc : nunc et O, S, T

¹⁴ vera S

¹⁵ preparant S; praeparat V

¹⁶ ventis et mari : mari et ventis V

¹⁷ cum eo apostolum O, S, T

¹⁸ deus P

¹⁹ sessor primus : primus sessor N, O, S, T

²⁰ omit. N, O, S, T

²¹ 2. Peter, 2, 9: *Novit dominus pios de temptatione eripere: iniquos vero in diem judicii reservare cruciāndos*

[41] Potens est enim dominus, si nos praecepta, si legem suam et fidem¹ viderit adamare, augere, et defendere², ab omni hoste et miseria³ liberare. Quisquis sanctorum patrum recolit sententias et sacras perscrutatur scripturas, ex omni parte {127r} reperit de spiritus sancti consolatione repletas. Una⁴ Matthatiae⁵ domus, parva⁶ Machabaeorum familia virique⁷ pauci populum⁸ domini, civitatem sanctam Jerusalem ab omni miseria liberarunt⁹ et reges potentissimos compresserunt. Quinque panes erant in deserto, cum erogari esuerientibus incooperunt; quod ubi fieri coepit, sportas et cumulos repleverunt. Sic sperandum in domino, quod ubi coeperimus tantae rei operam impendere, non desinet dominus concedere, ut non tantum ad necessitatem habeamus, sed de ipsa abundantia in benedictione domini exultemus. Confidimus igitur, pater beatissime, in domino, quod qui coeperit¹⁰ in te¹¹ et per te opus bonum, perficiet solidabitque adaugens in te et per te¹² incrementa frugum fidei et justitiae nostrae et cum laude, et numquam moritura memoria¹³ beatitudinis tuae.

[42] Magnificabit dominus nomen tuum, ut¹⁴ non recedat laus tua de ore hominum, sed sicut censuimus a principio praemittere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic et¹⁵ laus tua in fines terrae.** *Magnum* - inquit apostolus - *pietatis sacramentum*^{17 18}, magnus quaestus pietatis¹⁹ cum sufficientia. Exerce igitur te ipsum ad ipsam²⁰ tui nominis pietatem, quae valet ad omnia et promissionem habere dignoscitur vitae, quae nunc est, et futurae. Qui²¹ hujus vitae repromissor est²² Deus. Non deerit remunerator, sed pro laboribus mercedem, pro vigiliis quietem, pro tribulationibus gaudium, pro parvis magna, pro temporalibus restituet sempiterna in illa felicitate et gloria, ubi superato²³ quocumque hostium certamine²⁴ et cara securitas²⁵, secura²⁶ tranquilitas, tranquilla jucunditas,

¹ et fidem omit. V

² et add. O, S, T

³ vult nos add. O, S, T

⁴ omit. O, S, T

⁵ Macharie O, S; Machatiae T

⁶ una ... parva omit. M

⁷ omit. T

⁸ populi O, S, T

⁹ liberavit O, S

¹⁰ cepit M; texerit S

¹¹ omit. O, S, T

¹² opus bonum ... per te omit. N, O, S, T

¹³ memorie M

¹⁴ et O, S, T

¹⁵ omit. V

¹⁶ laus tua ... sic et omit. O

¹⁷ pietatis sacramentum : sacramentum pietatis O

¹⁸ 1. Timothy, 3, 16

¹⁹ pietas N, O, S, T, V

²⁰ omit. O; optimam T

²¹ quoniam V

²² omit. V

²³ separato S

²⁴ certamen T

²⁵ et add. N, O, S, T

²⁶ fecunda N

jucunda felicitas, felix aeternitas, aeterna beatitudo, beata sine fine Dei {127v} visio, quam tibi et nobis concedat, qui in saeculorum saecula¹ vivit et regnat². Amen.³

Explicit oratio reverendissimi patris Guillelmi, episcopi Parisiensis, oratoris illustrissimi regis Francorum proposita Mantue in ecclesia majorum coram serenissimo domino nostro, domino Pio papa II. ac conventione Mantuana, die 21 Novembris anno domini 1459.⁴

¹ saeculorum saecula : secula seculorum V

² dominus add. M, V

³ dixi add. T

⁴ Explicit ... 1459 : finis Deo gratias N; Deo gratias S; Duxi T; omit. V