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(Ofations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 55-57)

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Abstract

In March 1460, Pope Pius II made his first appointment of new cardinals: five were published immediately, and one was kept secret for the time being. The five publicly appointed were Angelo Capranica, Berardo Eroli, Niccolò Forteguerri, a relation of the pope, Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, and Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, the pope’s nephew and later pope himself under the name of Pius III. In this context the pope gave three addresses, two to the “old” cardinals, and one to the new, explaining the necessity for appointing new cardinals, motivating the individual appointments, criticizing cardinals for loose and luxurious living, and telling the new cardinals what virtues were required of them.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Renaissance orations; 1460; 15th century; Appointment of cardinals, 1460; Promotion of cardinals, 1460; Cardinals; Popes and cardinals; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

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NOTE TO THE READER

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

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 76 orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

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

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

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

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

MCS
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I. INTRODUCTION
1. Context

The relationship between pope and cardinals was crucial to the government of the Church. During the Middle Ages the College of Cardinals had grown into an almost distinct organ of government, and groups of disaffected cardinals had caused several schisms when they elected rival popes - even causing the Great Schism which ended with three popes at a time.

After the end of the Council of Basel, marked by Conciliarism and quite severe opposition against the pope, the time had come for the restoration of the Papacy and the redevelopment of monarchic Church government based on the papal office alone.

In this development, the nomination of new cardinals was quite important since it gave the pope the possibility to fill vacant positions in the College of Cardinals – or if possible to expand it – with his own candidates, including papal nephews, eventually obtaining a working majority of his own design.

The first nominations of cardinals made by the popes were therefore quite important for determining the power relations between the College of Cardinals and the pope, and the process of nomination and appointment was naturally tense and often conflictual.

In the electoral capitulation signed by all cardinals at the beginning of the conclave in August 1458 which elected Pius as pope, the second item – after the War on the Turks – concerned the appointment a cardinals, stipulating that the pope would only appoint new cardinals with the assent of the majority of the cardinals.2

The first appointment of cardinals of Pope Pius II, in Spring 1460, met with severe opposition of the cardinals, especially the senior ones. However, through his consummate skills of negotiation and armwrestling, Pius gained the upperhand and made the old cardinals approve the appointment of six new cardinals, of which one was his nephew and another a close relative. One of the six appointments, the emperor’s candidate3, had to be kept secret for reasons of international politics. Pius own description of the process is quite interesting and revealing – and entertaining as well.

In this connection Pius gave three addresses: the first one the opening speech to the old cardinals on the necessity of appointing new ones, the “Messis quidem”; the second one the address to

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1 Pius II: Commentaries (Meserve), II, pp. 224-241; Zimolo, p. 55; Raynaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 28-30, pp. 229-230; Voigt, IV, 8, pp. 528-534; Pastor, pp. 204-210; Boulting, pp. 288-289; Ady, pp. 242-243; Paparelli, pp. 236-237
2 Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 4, p. 159: Item quod non credet seu assumet aliquos cardinales etiam precibus quorumque imperatorum, regum, ducum aut principum nisi de consilio et consensu majoris partis dominorum cardinalium ...
3 The provost of Salzburg, Burchard von Weissbriach
the old cardinals listing the appointees and their merits, the “Quamvis non dubitamus”; and the third one to the new cardinals on the virtues required of them, the “Vocati estis” with the alternative version, the “Maxima”.

Concerning the first oration, the “Messis quidem”, Pius wrote in his Commentarii:

Once he was sure he would get much of what he wanted, he convened a sacred consistory on the Wednesday traditionally reserved for debating the creation of cardinals, and spoke as follows: “The Harvest truly is great...” [here follows the text of the oration].

Concerning the “Quamvis non dubitamus” and the “Vocati estis” of rather the “Maxima” he wrote:

Pius called a consistory in the cathedral that Saturday and gave orders that the three new cardinals who were present in Siena should be summoned to attend. Before they entered, he spoke at length about their election, and their individual merits, proving to everyone’s satisfaction that their appointment had been both necessary and well deserved. Then the new cardinals came in. Pius had them take their places at the chancel and addressed them with these words: “My sons...” [here follows the text of the “Maxima”].

2. Themes

2.1. Need for a sufficient number of active cardinals

The Council of Constance had decided that the number of cardinals should not exceed 24. By March 1460, three of the places in the College of Cardinals were vacant which in was, in itself, sufficient reason to appoint new cardinals. Moreover, eight cardinals were more or less permanently absent from Rome so that Pius only had 15 cardinals available, and of those several were too old and sick to be useful.

Pius said:

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1 Pius II: Commentaries (Meserve), p. 226-228
2 Meserve’s translation of “pluraque”. It is not a long speech, though
3 Pius II: Commentaries (Meserve), p. 238-241
The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few. Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot the brambles and the weeds - heresies and bad morals that is - if we want to bring an abundant harvest to the Lord’s treshing floor and in the end store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the appointed workmen in this task. But you are few, and several of you cannot be used by Us because of old age and sickness. Therefore it is necessary to increase your number and to appoint some others to bolster your feeble strength [Quamvis non dubitamus, sect. 1].

2.2. Criticism of cardinals

The pope took the opportunity to criticize the cardinals as a body for its habits of high living and conspicuous consumption, a theme to which he would return later during the papacy:

... you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the Commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. [Quamvis non dubitamus, sect. 2]

2.3. Virtues required of cardinals

The virtues which Pius required of the new (and old) cardinal he described in the “Vocati estis” with these words:

We do not ask you to strip yourselves of the old man, but rather to still be him, unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this honourable office. Until now you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious, and pious: now these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than be such as you thought cardinals should be, before you yourselves attained this splendid state.

1 Matthew 9, 37
2 Cf. 1. Hebrews, 6, 8
3 Colossians, 3, 10
3. Date, place, audience, and format

The *Messis quidem* was given on Ember Wednesday in Lent, 5 March 1460, in Siena. The other orations were given on the following Saturday, 8 March, in the same city.

The audience of the *Messis quidem* were the cardinals assembled in a secret consistory\(^1\). The audience of the two other orations were the cardinals assembled in a public consistory in the Cathedral of Siena\(^2\) and the public attending the consistory.

The format was a papal address from the throne.

4. Text

4.1. Messis quidem

This text is only known from Pius’ *Commentarii*, Book 4, ch. 9, where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460.

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
  Corsinianus 147, ff. 120v – 121v

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 182v-183v

See the Bibliography for some of the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*.

4.2. Quamvis non dubitamus

The oration is included in a special collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in three manuscripts, cf. below:

\(^1\) Voigt, p. 528

\(^2\) Voigt, p. 533
4.2.1. Manuscripts

- Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana
  544, ff. 179r-180v (G)

- Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano
  Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 62r-64v (J)

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
  Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 176r-178r (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 has been published at least three times:

- Contelorio, Felice: Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549. Romae: Lazaris, 1659, pp.51-54 [based on an unknown manuscript] [FE]¹


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¹ Felorio, p. 50: De his cardinalibus loquutus est Pius ad sacrum collegium in publico consistorio antequam pileum rubrum traderet, ut scribitur lib. 4. Commentariorum, sed quia oratio Pii non refertur, ideo eam accipite ex altero ejusdem Pii manuscripto

² Rainaldus, p. 229: ... habitam de eorum virtutibus orationem quae his concepta verbis a Felice Contelorio repetita est
4.3.  Vocati estis

The oration is included in a special collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in three manuscripts, cf. below:

4.3.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
  544, ff. 180r (G)

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
  Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 64r-64v (J)

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 178r (H)

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

4.3.2. Editions

The oration seems not to have been published previously.

4.4. Maxima

This text is a heavily edited version of the *Vocati estis*. It is only known from Pius’ *Commentarii*, Book 4, ch. 11 where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460.

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
  Corsinianus 147, ff. 123r – 123v

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 186r-186v
See the Bibliography for some of the main editions and manuscripts of the Commentarii.

The text was published individually by Rainaldus – on the basis of “Gobellinus”:


4.3. Present edition

Text:

Messis quidem and Maxima: Based on the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, with the Reginensis as the lead manuscript.

Quamvis non dubitamus and Vocati estis: Based on the three listed manuscripts, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

Presentation:

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

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

Pagination:

Messis quidem and Maxima: Pagination is from Reginensis (red) and Corsinianus (blue).

Quamvis non dubitamus and Vocati estis: Pagination is from the Chisianus (blue) and the Mantuanus (red).
Textual apparatus:

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

Identified quotations are given in cursive.

Orthography and punctuation:

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

The punctuation is the editor’s own.

Translation:

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

Translations of quotations from classical authors are from the Loeb Classical Library (Digital), unless otherwise stated. Translations of quotations from the Bible are from the Douay-Reims translation of the Vulgate into English. In the case of quotations from the synoptic gospels, normally only the reference to Matthew is given.

5. Bibliography

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¹ To be published in 2017
² On the principles of translation used, see Introduction to the Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, to be published in 2017

Cardella, Lorenzo: Memorie storiche de' cardinali della santa Romana chiesa. T. III. Roma: Pagliarini, 1793


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

- Pii secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt. A Ioanne Gobellino compositi, et a Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo ex vetusto originali recogniti. Avbram, 1614¹

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¹ First edition appeared in 1584

Pius II: *Orations*

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

[Rainaldus] Cesare Baronio, Odorico Rinaldi, Giovanni Domenico Mansi, Francesco Zucchi, Carlo Antonio Pisarri, Domenico Maria Fratta: *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII.* T.X. Lucca: Leonardo Venturini, 1753


6. Sigla

C = Roma / Biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Lincei / Corсинianus 147  
G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544  
H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251  
J = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1  
R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

FE = Contelorio, Felice: Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549. Romae: Lazaris, 1659
II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
1. Messis quidem

[1] \{182v\} \{120v\} *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci.* Messis nostra, fratres, animarum salus est; ager, in quo\(^1\) metimus, ecclesia, quam vestro \{121r\} consilio \{183r\} regendam accepiimus. Hanc contra Turcos et infideles alios tueri debemus; ex hac tribulos et malas herbas, hoc est haereses et malos\(^2\) mores, extirpare cogimur, si volumus messem ad aream domini multam afferre et denique puri purgatique tritici in horreo multum recondere. Vos ad haec operarii nobiscum estis constituti; sed pauci estis, et nonnulli ex vobis aut senio aut aegritudine impediti sunt, ne ipsis uti possimus. Necesse igitur est, ut numerum vestrum augeamus et aliquos assumamus, qui debilium vires suppleant. Curare tamen oportet, quamvis est id difficile, ut dignos tanto munere eligamus, ne dicat quispiam: *Multiplicasti gentem et non magnificasti laetitiam.* Verum si dignitas haec merentibus danda est, in caelo quaeramus oportet, quos rubeo pileo donemus. Nos tamen ut homines eligemus homines, quando non caelum aut angelos, sed terram et homines recturi sumus.

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\(^1\) quo *corr. ex qua* C; qua R  
\(^2\) pravos C
1. To the cardinals on appointing new cardinals: Messis quidem

[1] The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few.¹ Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot the brambles and the weeds² - heresies and bad morals that is - if we want to bring an abundant harvest to the Lord’s treshing floor and in the end store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the appointed workmen in this task. But you are few, and several of you cannot be used by Us because of old age and sickness. Therefore it is necessary to increase your number and to appoint some others to bolster your feeble strength. Though it is difficult we must take care to select such men as are worthy of this high office, so that nobody may say: Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy.³ If We may [only] give the red hat to those who truly merit it, We would really have to search for them in Heaven. But we are men who have to chose other men since we are not governing Heaven and angels, but Earth and men.

¹ Matthew 9, 37
² Cf. 1. Hebrews, 6, 8
³ Isaiah, 9, 3
Miramur autem tantam esse petentium turbam, nam quis est clericali caractere insignitus, qui non se dignum cardinalatus honore dijudicet, qui non petat, qui non instet et inter candidatos, ut ita dicamus, videri et esse velit? Nimium viluit haec dignitas quando vel pueri eam sibi deberi existimant. Fecerunt hoc nostri praedecessores, qui nonnullos prorsus indignos assumpsere. Licet de mortuis loqui: cardinalem Sancti Marci novistis, quem scurram vestri ordinis quidam appellavere. Vos quoque in causa estis, qui non eam gravitatem ac sanctimoniam servatis, quae hoc sit culmine digna. Ita enim vivitis, ut non ad republicam gubernandam electi, sed ad voluptates perfruendas vocati videamini. Non venationes, non ludos neque feminarum consuetudinem evitatis, convivia opulentiora, quam debeat, instruistis, vestimentis utimini nimium pretiosis, auro et argento abundatis, equos et famulos plures quam satis est alitis. Has delicias cupiunt omnes, nec quisquam est, qui sectari voluptates non sit idoneus. Quod si severitas, gravitas, abstinentia, doctrina, sanctitas, hanc tantummodo dignitatem elargiretur, pauciores eam peterent. Sed incidimus mores istos: non possimus prohibere petentes, non admittere facile possimus. Cogitate, qui sint idonei; de numero ipsi judicabimus, curaturi ne vel nimietate vilescat dignitas vel paucitate reipublicae non satisfaciat.

\footnote{digne C}
[2] We do wonder about the great crowd of candidates for apparently all men of ecclesiastical rank believe themselves to be worthy of the office of cardinal. Who does not seek it, who does not pursue it, and – to put it that way – who does not want to be and to be seen as a candidate? This dignity has really been devalued if even boys may believe that they deserve it. This is a result of the actions of our predecessors promoting several who were completely unworthy. Here it is allowed to speak of the dead: you knew the Cardinal of San Marco whom some called the clown of your order.¹ And to some extent this also applies to you, for you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the Commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. All men seek such delights, and everybody is apt to pursue such pleasures. But if only strictness, seriousness, abstinence, learning, and holiness could qualify people for this high office, much fewer would seek it. But this is how it is: We cannot prevent people from seeking [the office of cardinal] - but We can easily prevent them from obtaining it. Consider who are suitable. We Ourselves will determine their number, taking care neither to debase that honourable office by having too many [cardinals] or to fail the needs of the Commonwealth by having too few.

¹ Angelotto de Fuschis [Fosco, Foschi, Fusco] (c. 1378-1444): appointed cardinal in 1431. May have had a reputation for avarice. When he died, killed in his sleep by a member of his household, a fortune was found in his coffers, cf. Cardella, pp. 61-65
2. Quamvis non dubitamus

Ad cardinales de noviter promotis cardinalibus

[3] \{179r\} \{176r\} Quamvis non dubitamus, venerabiles in Christo fraters ac dilecti \{176v\} filii, notissimas vobis esse\textsuperscript{1} personas\textsuperscript{2} eorum\textsuperscript{3}, quos feria quarta proxime decursa in sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales assumpsimus, pro veteri tamen consuetudine de meritis ipsorum pausa dicemus. Quinque viri sunt, quos et nos et sacrum collegium fratrum nostrorum ad cardinalatus honorem hoc tempore duximus assumendos.


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\textsuperscript{1} etiam FE
\textsuperscript{2} esse personas : personas esse J
\textsuperscript{3} et J
\textsuperscript{4} frater fuit : fuit frater G
\textsuperscript{5} cum laude \textit{omit}. FE
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{omit}. J
2 To the cardinals on the new cardinals: Quamvis non dubitamus

To the cardinals on the newly promoted cardinals

[3] Venerable brethren in Christ and beloved sons, though We do not doubt that you well know those persons whom We, last Thursday, appointed cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall follow ancient custom and say a few words about their merits. At this time We and the Sacred College of our brethren found that five men should be appointed cardinals.

[4] The first one is Angelo, Bishop of Rieti, a truly an angel and remarkable for his integrity and character. His brother was Domenico, once a highly reputed Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Angelo equals his brother. His many outstanding qualities are worthy of praise. All his life has been pure. He has governed the church entrusted to him to the great benefit of his subjects. For many years he has preached the gospel to his people, corrected their manners, and reformed whatever he found in need of improvement. In the missions entrusted to him by the Apostolic See, he has proven himself to be most diligent and faithful. And now he performs the office of legate in Bologna with great favour from the citizens.

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1 Capranica, Angelo (1415 - 1478): Appointed Cardinal in 1460
2 Capranica, Domenico (1400 – 1458): Bishop of Fermo. Cardinal. He died just before the conclave where Pius II was elected pope, and many believed that he would have been elected had he lived. Piccolomini’s first employer
Secundus est Berardus, episcopus Spoletanus, apud Narniam non ignobili loco natus, qui cum per scholas Italiae cathedras magna cum auditorum dilectione atque utilitate rexisset, tandemque Romanam curiam accessisset, ab Nicolao, praedecessore nostro, qui ejus doctrinae culmen admirabatur, in palatium receptus referendarius officium accepit, in quo ita se gessit, ut omnia sibi crederet. Nam verbum ejus verbum veritatis fuit, et jam tum dignus cardinalatu judicatus est. Apud Calixtum quoque carissimus fuit, nec ad promotionem ejus alius obstitit quam invidia paucorum. In nostra vero familia receptus ob famae singularis odorem et nostram gratiam et aulicorum omnium benivolentiam meruit, primusque semper apud nos habitus est, cum et prudentiam ejus, et fidem, et doctrinam et admiraremur et diligeremus.

Tertius est Nicolaus, electus Theanensis, utroque jure consultus, qui sub Eugenio pontifice Viterbium ac provinciam patrimonii pro gubernatore aliquandiu summa cum laude administravit. Fuit hic, cum ageremus in cardinalatu curiae nostrae magister, domumque nostram et provide et pacifice rexit. In apostolatu vero nostro thesauriatus exercuit officium, quod fidem et dexteritatem ingenii maximam requirit, neque audivimus aliquando alium fuisse thesaurarium, qui ejus vel bonitatem vel circumspectionem superaverit. Misimus eum ad reges et principes. Nihil ei commissimus, quod non prudenter absolverit.

Quartus est Alexander, ordinis Augustinensium magister generalis, summus theologicae sapientiae doctor atque interpres, qui annos duos et XLta in religione versatus, eximius cultor et paupertatis et humiliatis extitit. Huic patria est Saxumferratum. Parentes ejus quinquennem aut paulo primo receptus est, cum in fontem cadens mortuo similis extraheretur. Locus, in quo primo receptus est, beatae Mariae sacer habetur. In die beatae Mariae professionem emisit, et revolutis annis eadem festivitate et missam primam celebravit, et magisterium theologiae adeptus est, et in civitate beatae Mariae ad cardinalatum per nos assumptus est. Vir omni ex parte perfectus, vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron. Nescius, nihil petens et dignitates prorsus effugiens receptus est in consilium nostrum. Traxit nos odor boni nominis et vitae exemplaris verissima fama. Nam etsi animus ejus honorem quemvis horreret, virtutes tamen ejus petebant, ne inhonoratus relinqueretur.

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1 secundus est omit. FE
2 Bernardus J
3 et jam : etiam J
4 et G
5 gubernatione FE
6 theologiae FE
7 deum add. FE
8 beatae Mariae sacer habetur in die omit. FE
9 nil FE
10 vitae ... fama : vita exemplarissima FE
[5] The second is Berardo,¹ Bishop of Spoleto, who comes from a noble family in Narni. He has held many chairs at Italian universities and has lectured there to the delight and benefit of his audiences. In the end, he joined the Roman Curia. Nicolaus, Our predecessor, who admired his eminent learning, brought him into the palace and gave him the office of referendary. In this office he did so well that Nicolaus gave him all kinds of tasks, for his words were words of truth. Already then he was judged worthy to be promoted cardinal. Also Calixtus held him in great esteem, and the only barrier to his promotion was the jealousy of a few people. We took him into Our own household because of his exceptional reputation, and he has richly deserved Our favour and the goodwill of all the courtiers. He always had Our high regard since We admired and loved his prudence, loyalty, and learning.

[6] The third is Niccolò,² Bishop Elect of Teano, specialist in both laws. Under Pope Eugenius, he, for a period, administered Viterbo, and the province of the Patrimony,³ with great distinction. While We were a cardinal, he was the master of our household and governed Our house providently and peacefully. During Our pontificate, he has performed the office of treasurer which requires the greatest loyalty and flexibility. We have never heard of another treasurer who showed as much goodness and caution. We have also sent him on missions to kings and princes, and all the tasks We have given him he has performed with sagacity.

[7] The fourth is Alessandro,⁴ General of the Augustinian Order and an eminent doctor and interpreter of theological wisdom. He has been a monk for 42 years and has always greatly cultivated poverty and humility. His home town is Saxoferrato. When he was five years old or a little older, he fell into a spring, but was pulled out, more dead than alive. Afterwards his parents gave him to God. The monastery⁵ where he was first received is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. He made his profession of vows on the day of the Holy Virgin, and years later he celebrated his first mass and also became a master of theology on that same feastday. He was also promoted cardinal by Us in the City of the Blessed Virgin.⁶ He is perfect in all ways, and has been called by God like Aaron. He did not know that he would be received into Our council, he did not seek it, and indeed he has been fleeing all honourable offices⁷. It was Us who took notice of his good name and his true reputation for an exemplary life. He himself shied away from the honour, but his virtues required that he should have it.

¹ Berardo Eroli (1409 – 1479): Italian jurist. Appointed cardinal in 1460
² Niccolò Forteguerri (1419 – 1473): Elected Bishop of Teano in November 1458. Appointed cardinal in 1460. Related to Pius II whose mother was a Forteguerri
³ In this context, the papal lands in Toscana
⁴ Alessandro Oliva [di Saxoferrato] (1407 – 1463): General of the Augustinian Order. Appointed cardinal in 1460
⁵ “locus”
⁶ Siena
⁷ “dignitates”
[8] Postremus est Franciscus, administrator ecclesiae Senensis, noster secundum carnem nepos, pontificii juris interpres, de quo non est cur verba faciamus, tum quia suspecta esset commendatio nostra, tum quod non modo nostro, sed cardinalium judicio dignus hoc munere putatus est. Rogati ab eis promotionem ejus fecimus; ipsi, an bene consuluerint, videbunt.

[9] Hic in diaconum, ceteri in presbyteros cardinales vocati sunt. Spes nobis est utilem hanc promotionem futuram. Nam, excepto nepote nostro, reliqui omnes matura aetate sunt. Nemo infra quadragesimum annum agit. Doctrina singulari excellunt; prudentia et rerum experientia ingenii in omnibus, nullae in his sordes, non ambitio, non arrogantia, non avaritia, quae hominem excaecat et idolatram facit, non libido, quae hominum vires effeminate, non crapula, non ebrietas dominatur. Vicerunt hi viri quaevis vitae, et mundae omnibus manus, sincerae mentes, videntes et solertes animi: aptissimi profecto, qui vicario Jesu Christi et assistant et consulant. Audivistis, qui sunt, quos promovimus, nunc ut eorum tres, qui adsunt, videatis oportet. Ita vos, diaconi cardinales, atque eos adducite, ut in collegio vestro consedeant.
[8] Last comes Francesco,\textsuperscript{1} administrator of the Church of Siena, our nephew after the flesh, specialist in pontifical law. There is no reason to speek about him both because Our praise would be suspect, and because he was considered worthy of this office not only by Us but also by the cardinals. Since they requested his promotion, We granted it. We shall see if their advice was good.

[9] Francesco has assigned to the order of cardinal deacons, the others to the order of cardinal priests. It is Our hope that this promotion will prove beneficial, for except Our nephew all are of mature age, none being less than forty years old. They have remarkable learning, wisdom, and great experience in all areas. There is no meanness in them, no ambition, no arrogance, and no greed which blinds man and makes him an idolater. Also there is no licentiousness which makes man weak as a woman. They are not given to drunkenness. They have defeated vice, and they all have clean hands, sincere souls, and clear-seeing, astute minds. Indeed, they are perfectly capable of assisting and advising the Vicar of Jesus Christ. You have now heard whom We have promoted. You should now see the three who are present. Go, cardinal deacons, and bring them here to take their seat with you as members of your college.

\footnote{Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini (1439 – 1503): Appointed cardinal in 1460. Nephew of Pius II through the pope’s sister, Laudomia. Elected pope, under the name of Pius III, in 1503, but died within a month}
3. To the new cardinals

a. Vocati estis

Ad novos cardinales, qui aderant


¹ traditi J
3 To the new cardinals

a Vocati estis

To the new cardinals who were present

[10] [EV] Sons and brothers, you have been called to the honourable office of cardinal. Great is the honour given you: the college of our venerable brethren, into which you will now be received, is nothing but the Senate of the Christian world and the supreme tribunal of the Church militant. It is the task of your order to judge in matters of religion and faith, and in all major causes. Show yourselves to be worthy of this honour. We do not ask you to strip yourselves of the old man,¹ but rather to still be him, unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this honourable office. Until now you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious, and pious: now these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than to be such as you thought cardinals should be, before you yourselves attained this splendid state. Amen.

¹ Colossians, 3, 10
b Maxima

[11] [FV] [186r] (123r) Maxima, (186v) filii, et excellentissima dignitate donati estis: ad collegium apostolicum vocati consiliarii nostri et conjudices orbis terrarium eritis, \textit{inter causam et causam}, \textit{inter sanguinem et sanguinem}, \textit{inter lepram et lepram} discernere vos oportebit. Successores apostolorum circa thronum nostrum sedebitis. Vos senatores urbis et regum similes eritis, veri mundi cardines, super quibus militantis ostium\textsuperscript{1} ecclesiae volvendum ac regendum est. Cogitate animo, quos viros, quae ingenia, quam integritatem haec dignitas requirit: humilitatem, non superbiam; liberalitatem, non avaritiam; abstinentiam, non ebrietatem; continentiam, non libidinem; scientiam, non ignorantiam; virtutes omnes,ullum vitium hic homos exposit. Si fuistis hactenus\textsuperscript{2} vigilantes, nunc vigiletis oportet adversus malignum hostem, qui numquam dormit cogitans \textit{quam devoret}. Si liberales fuistis, nunc opes in rebus honestis profundite et maxime in alendos pauperes! Si cibi potusque abstinentes fuistis\textsuperscript{3}, nunc praecipe luxuriem fugite! Absit avaritia, facessat crudelitas, exulet arrogantia! Sint \textit{libri sacri semper in manibus vestris}, dies noctesque aut discite aliquid aut alios docete! Opera efficite per quae \textit{lux vestra coram hominibus luceat!} Et denique tales estote quales esse debere cardinales dijudicastis, antequam ipsi hoc culmen ascenderetis\textsuperscript{3}!

\textsuperscript{1} ostium C
\textsuperscript{2} omit. C
\textsuperscript{3} Ascenderitis C
b Maxima

[11] [FV] My sons, the office\(^1\) bestowed upon You is a great and excellent one. You have been called to the Apostolic College to be Our advisors and co-judges of the world. You shall have to judge *between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy*.\(^2\) As successors to the apostles you will be seated around Our throne. You will be senators of the City and like to kings. You will be the world’s true hinges around which the gate of the Church Militant turns and by which it is governed. Consider what souls, what men, what minds, and what integrity this office requires: humility, not pride; generosity, not greed; abstinence, not drunkenness; continence, not lust; knowledge, not ignorance. This honourable office requires all the virtues, and no vice. If you were vigilant before, now you must be especially vigilant against the evil enemy who never sleeps, but is always seeking *whom to devour*.\(^3\) If you were generous, now spend you wealth on honourable things and especially on nourishing the poor. If you were abstemious in eating and drinking, now you must flee all luxury. Banish greed, cruelty, and pride. Always have the *holy books in your hands*,\(^4\) and spend day and night in learning or teaching. Endeavour to *let your light shine before men!*\(^5\) And, finally, be such as you thought cardinals ought to be before you yourselves were raised to this exalted state.

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1 “dignitas”
2 Deuteronomy, 17, 8
3 1. Peter, 5, 8
4 1 Maccabees, 12, 9
5 Matthew, 5, 16