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Oration “Superioribus diebus” of Pope Pius II (31 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 66)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 66)

Oration “*Superioribus diebus*” of Pope Pius II (31 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th version

2019

Abstract

In March 1462, an embassy from King Georg Podiebrad of Bohemia came to Pope Pius II to present the king's declaration of obedience and to permanently settle the issue of communion under both species, granted to the Bohemians by the Council of Basel through the so-called Bohemian Compacts. Communion under both species was, in itself, a matter of Catholic ritual and not of Catholic dogma. But the Hussite claim that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord not only for priests but also for the laity and that it was necessary for salvation went straight against the practice and teachings of the Church, as confirmed by the Councils of Konstanz and Basel, and it meant that for centuries the Church, by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, had been sending countless souls to Hell. In his final oration to the Bohemian embassy, the "*Superioribus diebus*" of 31 March, the pope stated that the Hussite teachings concerning communion under both species as necessary for salvation were a heresy. He denied the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts made by the Council of Basel on the grounds that the Bohemians had not fulfilled the conditions stipulated by the Compacts. And he refused to grant the right to communicate under both species because of the risks of continued doctrinal error in Bohemia, irreverence for the sacrament (spilling of Christ's blood), civil unrest, and continued international isolation and wars with the neighbouring countries.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Bohemian Compacts; Compacts of Prague; Hussite Compacts; Hussitism; Communion under both species; Communion under both kinds; Communion of the chalice; King Georg Poediebrad of Bohemia; King George Podiebrad of Bohemia; The Council of Basel; The Council of Konstanz; Compacts of Basel; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1462

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 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 as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

1.1. Hussite schism

The main tenets of the Hussite schism² are contained in the Four Articles of Prague. They were:

- (1) Freedom of preaching;
- (2) Communion under both species³, also for the laity;
- (3) Poverty and no secular power for priests;
- (4) Punishment for mortal sins, especially public ones.⁴

Hussitism had been condemned by the Church in 1415, at the Council of Konstanz,⁵ but militarily and politically the movement was so strong that it became necessary for the Church to find a *modus vivendi*. At the Council in Basel a compromise formula was reached, viz. the Bohemian Compacts, which effectively granted the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

The Compacts were, according to Heymann, a weakened version of the Four Articles of Prague in which

the articles about freedom of preaching and the punishment of mortal sins were accepted in a general way but with more precise definitions of those who should have the right to preach, practically excluding all those not ordained, and of the authorities who should be entitled to proceed against the sinner. The third (now the fourth) article was eventually formulated in a way which would make it impossible to use it as a basis for the further confiscation of Church property. It was the former second article [viz. communion under both species] which did, in every respect, take first place in the new charter. No other issue could, in the minds of the Czech people, compare in importance with the question of the Eucharist.⁶

¹ CO, VII, 15; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 14-16; Boulting, pp. 312-316; Heymann: *George*, pp. 166-169, 177-186, 229-242, 248, 257-280, 317, 338-339; Kaminsky; Pastor, II, pp. 159-160; Voigt, IV, pp. 422-501 (building largely on earlier studies by Palacky); Oration "*Res Bohemicas*" [28]; Report of E.S. Piccolomini to Cardinal Juan Carvajal of 21 August 1451 on his visit to Hussite Bohemia, WO, III, ep. 12, pp. 22-56

² For a history of the Hussite schism, see – among others - the two books of George Heymann

³ Or "under both kinds"

⁴ Heyman: *Zizka*, p. 148

⁵ Council of Konstanz 1414-1418

⁶ Heymann: *George*, p. 7

The compromise between the Council of Basel and the Bohemians in the form of the Compacts did not solve the problems, however: the conflicts between the orthodox catholics and the Hussites in Bohemia continued, resulting both in wars and permanent political unrest and turmoil making the nation ungovernable for the catholic Habsburg monarchs, and in international isolation of the Bohemian nation.¹

Gradually it became quite clear to all parties that the Hussite issue had not been settled and that it would be necessary to achieve some permanent solution if Bohemia should become reunited with Rome and the nation come under effective royal and Habsburg rule.

1.2. Situation in 1455-1456 and the oration “*Res Bohemicas*”

In 1455/1456 Bishop Piccolomini - as an imperial diplomat acting on behalf of the Habsburg monarchs, Emperor Friedrich III and the very young King Ladislaus of Bohemia – in the oration/memorandum “*Res Bohemicas*” [28] presented his views on the solution of the Hussite schism to his own immediate predecessor as pope, Calixtus III, together with a recommendation of granting the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

When 6 years afterwards, in 1462, an embassy from the Bohemian King, now Georg Podiebrad, came to Rome to present the king’s declaration of obedience and to formally petition for papal confirmation or grant of this right, Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II, took the diametrically opposite view of the matter and denied a petition that he had himself recommended 6 years before.

In view of the importance of the matter, he must have had very good reasons for doing so. To understand his change of mind, it is necessary to look at how the situation relating to the Hussite schism had changed from 1456 and 1462.

1.3. Developments since 1455

1.3.1. Under Calixtus III (1455-1458)

Pope Calixtus III desired to end the Bohemian schism, and he believed that King Ladislaus and his governor, Georg Podiebrad, would be able to contribute effectively to an agreement on this issue.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 423

The conditions for finding some kind of solution to the Bohemian problem were indeed favourable, as George Heymann wrote:

At no time before or after was there so much optimism for a permanent settlement on both sides, in Rome and in Prague, than in the years following the meeting at Wiener-Neustadt¹ and Aeneas' great speech to Calixtus III², and especially in the years 1457-1458.³

However, in November 1457 King Ladislaus of Bohemia died at the age of eighteen, possibly poisoned⁴ at the instigation of Georg Podiebrad or Hussite church leaders like Rokycana.

This meant that the Kingdom of Bohemia was no longer ruled by a catholic monarch, whose example would conceivably strengthen the position of the catholics in the kingdom and who might be expected to actively support a process of ending the Hussite schism.

Ladislaus was succeeded as king by the governor of the realm, Georg Podiebrad, who though a Hussite by personal conviction was well thought of in Rome - partly because of the reports of Bishop Piccolomini - as a sensible man who would need the support of the papacy and with whom reasonable deals might be struck.

So, Pope Calixtus dealt with him agreeably and trustingly, and even allowed him to be crowned by two catholic bishops from Hungary, but only after he had made an oath, in secret,

- to obey the Roman and Catholic Church and the popes,
- to conform to the true Faith as professed by the Holy Roman Church,
- to defend the Faith,
- and to make his people abandon all errors, heresies, and teachings contrary to the Catholic Faith and bring it to obedience to and conformity and union with the Holy Roman Church and to restore its rites and forms of worship.⁵

Podiebrad himself may not have interpreted this oath as an abandonment of the practice of communion under both species, but he did promise to obey the popes and to restore catholic rites: there was, indeed, a good reason for him to insist that the oath should not be made public.

¹ The Imperial Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1455, February to April

² The "*Res Bohemicas*"

³ Heymann, p. 165; cf. Voigt, IV, p. 424

⁴ As many, including Piccolomini, thought

⁵ Voigt, IV, p. 425, 427 ff.; Heymann: *George*, p. 181

After the coronation, Georg would not or could not take effective measures in support of Catholic doctrine and ritual practice. He remained or had to remain a defender of Hussitism, and Pope Calixtus, before he died in 1458, had lost his illusions concerning the willingness or the ability of Podiebrad to contain, weaken, and end the Hussite schism.¹

1.3.2. Under Pius II (1458-1462)

In August 1458, Piccolomini became pope, under the name of Pius II.

As pope, Piccolomini was no longer a diplomat-fixer of thorny political problems like the Bohemian situation. He was the pope and primary guarantor of the purity of the Faith, a role which he took quite seriously. In the Bohemian matter, he might well accept the conditioned and limited continuance of the practice of communion under both species, which was not in itself a doctrinal matter. But in no way could he condone or appear to tolerate a heresy declaring, as Hussites did, that men could only be saved if they received communion under both species. Firstly, this went directly against established church doctrine. And secondly, it meant that the Church had for hundreds of years been sending the believers to Hell when it denied them the communion under both species, thus fundamentally failing in its primary task: to save the souls of men.

So, whereas a compromise on the ritual matter might be possible, a compromise on the doctrinal issue was absolutely impossible.

After the solution achieved by the Council of Basel, based on the Bohemian Compacts, experience had shown that the Hussites had continued with communion under both species without really accepting the conditions connected with the Compacts and without accepting the church's doctrine in the matter.

The pope's acceptance of a compromise on the ritual of communion would therefore be dependent on Rome's perception of a new Bohemian willingness to accept Church doctrine concerning communion and salvation. The position of the Bohemian ruler was rightly considered by Rome to be of paramount importance in this respect.

Though he had his doubts concerning the role of Podiebrad in the death of King Ladislaus, Pius, in the beginning of his pontificate, still believed – though possibly with some misgivings² - that Podiebrad would be an able ruler and a valuable ally for the papacy in handling the Hussite schism and in organizing a crusade against the Turks.³

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 431-432

² Voigt, IV, p. 432; Heymann: *George*, p. 230

³ Heymann: *George*, p. 180-181

So when he invited Podiebrad to come to the Congress of Mantua in 1459, it was as a Catholic king – a fact which Podiebrad naturally exploited to present himself to the Bohemian catholics as a king recognized by the papacy.

Throughout 1459 and 1460, Podiebrad continued to “play” the pope and received his support as ruler of Bohemia.¹

But no embassy from Bohemia to the pope was forthcoming² and no offers from Podiebrad neither in terms of the Hussite schism, nor in terms of Bohemian participation in the projected crusade against the Turks. On the contrary, the pope received continuous complaints from catholics in Bohemia, and especially from the very important catholic city of Breslau, about the papal support of a proven heretic as King of Bohemia.³

During these years it was becoming clear that Podiebrad was not actively working for a solution of the Hussite schism. Moreover, in 1459-1460 he engaged in a plot with a number of German princes to take over the imperial power by becoming elected King of the Romans, the actual emperor, Friedrich III, continuing in a nominal function. In this context, also the threat of an ecumenical council, so perilous to the papacy, was ventilated. The plot failed, but Podiebrad had now revealed himself to be an adventurous and dangerous player on the European power scene and someone in whom the papacy should not naively place its trust. Voigt wrote:

Pius sah nun, dass der König ganz andere Entwürfe hegte als die Bekehrung der Hussiten, dass er sich verpflichtet, an die Spitze der antirömischen Partei des Reiches zu treten, dass er im Verträge mit dem Mainzer die Hebung dieses deutschen Primates, die Basler Decrete, ein gemeines Concil in Deutschland zugesagt. Mochte er da Utraquist und Ketzer bleiben oder nicht, solche Artikel machten ihn zum gefährlichsten Ketzer, zum Feinde des römischen Supremats.⁴

The gloves came off.⁵

In January 1462, a papal envoy came to King Podiebrad to let him know that his relations with Rome had now reached a critical and very serious state.⁶

Podiebrad understood that procrastination and subterfuge would no longer serve, and he soon dispatched a Bohemian embassy to the pope. One of the members of the embassy was

¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 451-452

² Voigt, IV, pp. 452-453

³ Heymann: *George*, ch. 10

⁴ Voigt, IV, p. 454; Heymann: *George*, ch. 10

⁵ Heymann, pp. 236 ff.

⁶ Voigt, IV, p. 458; Heymann: *George*, pp. 232-365 and ch. 12

the pope's old friend, Prokop von Rabstein, who had taken part in the earlier direct meetings between Podiebrad as governor of Bohemia and Piccolomini as imperial and papal diplomat.

The embassy reached Rome on 10 March 1462, some days before the arrival of a splendid embassy from the King of France coming to announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438.¹

In the ensuing weeks, the pope conducted two extremely important negotiations at the same time, one with the French and one with the Bohemians. The negotiation with the French took priority and was highlighted by the papal oration, "*Per me reges regnant*" [65], celebrating a great diplomatic victory for the papacy. Although that victory proved to be rather short-lived, it undoubtedly influenced the negotiations with the Bohemians, since for the time being it seemed to assure the pope of peaceful relations with the French and remove the threat of an ecumenical council.²

The Bohemian ambassadors were received in two consistories. In the first, Prokop von Rabstein presented the king's obedience to the pope. Afterwards another member of the embassy, a Hussite priest, ill-advisedly argued for benefits of the communion under both species as divinely revealed and – indirectly - as necessary for salvation, an argument which the Holy See must consider as completely heretical.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius himself gives the following description of the event:

About this time ambassadors from Georg, King of Bohemia, came to Rome headed by Procop von Rabstein and Zdenek Kostka, distinguished barons of that Kingdom. Procop had long ago been very well known to the Pope when he was in minor orders.³ He had been his close friend and his colleague in many embassies when both had been imperial counsellors. Therefore Pius eagerly embraced his old comrade and honored him with no mean gifts. Kostka was one of the King's few favorites and the companion of his perfidy. Procop had never swerved from the Catholic Faith. With them were two priests⁴ who were glib talkers and bold champions of the Hussite madness. They were received with the honor due to ambassadors of a Catholic king and given public audience. Procop proffered obedience in the King's name. One of the priests with a sonorous voice and headlong delivery asked that the agreements of the Bohemians with the Council of Basle (which they called compacts) be ratified by authority of the Apostolic See. He said that the King earnestly desired this and that the kingdom expected it. Unless it were granted

¹ See oration "*Per me reges regnant*"

² Voigt, III, IV, 7, p. 459; Heymann: *George*, p. 262

³ "cum in minoribus ageret": rather, when he had not yet attained his present high position, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 10

⁴ Wenzel Urbensky, dean of S. Apollinar in Prague, and Wenzel Koranda the Younger

there could be no peace among the Bohemians. He discoursed at length on Communion under both kinds, calling it holy and divine as if without it there were no salvation.

The pope replied that he freely accepted the King's obedience, confident that it was sincere and complete. He described the one-time condition of the kingdom of Bohemia,¹ how rich, how flourishing, how pious it had been; then how it had fallen away, how the lofty palaces, its noble churches, its splendid monasteries had fallen into ruins and the kingdom had been reduced to poverty and misery. This had been the result of heresies and its withdrawal from the Church of Rome. Certain Bohemians had set themselves up more than was fitting, they had introduced foreign doctrines and had wrested from the priests their temporal goods on the ground that those who were in the service of God might not possess anything. Then they had invented an article called "concerning civil lordship," which they say is forbidden to priests. They said also that the Word of God was not fettered but all might preach it everywhere; that verily no sins could be tolerated in public office and that no one could be allowed to hold a magistracy who was known to be in the toils of mortal sin. Then too there had come to light the article concerning Communion which they call "under both kinds" and think necessary for salvation, which was not the invention of John Huss or of Jerome, who were burned at Constance, or of some doctor or learned expounder of the law, but this heresy was originated by a school teacher named Jacobellus, when he had read in John, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood ye have no life in you." "What are we doing?" he said. "The priests mock us; they close the gates of paradise when they keep the blood from us. They wish to be the only ones to enter into life." He was listened to by the untaught; the ignorant believed that no one could be saved unless under the species of wine he drank of the cup; and under the teaching and sponsorship of Jacobellus there was composed an article which said, "Communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation," just the opposite of what was declared to be true in the Council of Basle.

The Pope told also how the compacts had been granted by that same Council, what conditions had been laid down, and how the Bohemians has disregarded the terms imposed on them. Communion under both kinds had been allowed only to those in the kingdom of Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia who had practiced it before and still desired it. But they of their own initiative had given the cup even to infants and compelled those who were unwilling to drink. The priests who had been ordered to pronounce certain words when they administered to the people the Communion under both kinds had disobeyed outright. The agreements had been violated in a thousand ways by the Bohemians. It was idle any longer to give the name of compacts to what

¹ Pius here reused materials from his oration/memorandum to Pope Calixtus III, the "Res Bohemicas" [28] of 1455/1456

*had ceased to be in force. Still the King's request must be discussed in consultation with the brethren. Then the meeting was adjourned.*¹

The following negotiations with the Bohemians did not, and probably could not establish the basis for a compromise in the matter of the Bohemian schism. The Hussite priests in the Bohemian embassy staunchly upheld Hussite teachings, and King Podiebrad could not afford, had he been willing, to alienate his Hussite subjects *en bloc*. On his part, the pope would not, and could not compromise on the doctrinal issue. In the *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

*After this the envoys were often summoned to the Pope and given audience in the presence of selected cardinals to see if any way could be found by which the kingdom of Bohemia might be brought into agreement with the Church and conform to the rest of Christendom. Procop, being a catholic, never swerved from the path of honor but nothing could persuade the others into it and they insisted that unless the compacts were confirmed it was impossible that the Bohemian people should remain quiet. It was therefore necessary to make a public reply to the demands made in public.*²

So, without some, even a minimal commitment from Podiebrad to uphold his coronation oath, as understood by Rome, to affirm catholic doctrine and thereby recognize that the Roman Church had not been sending generations of believers and countless souls to hell by denying them the communion under both species, Rome could not budge on the question of rite, though this was not in itself the stumbling block of the matter. There were also other considerations than the doctrinal one, especially political considerations. But the basic issue for the Catholic Church was and had to be doctrinal: it could only grant communion of the chalice to the Bohemians if the Bohemians acknowledged that this form of communion was not necessary for salvation. In the circumstances, confirming or granting the communion under both species to the Bohemians would be taken by the Hussites as an admission by the Church that the Hussite teachings on the Eucharist were right, and the Church's teachings wrong.

The pope's final decision was announced to the Bohemians in the very important oration, "*Superioribus diebus*" of 31 March.

Pius recounted the events of the day in his *Commentarii*:

Having called a consistory the Pope took his seat before the tribunal and delivered a speech about the compacts. He showed that in many ways they were obsolete; furthermore that the requests made could not be granted without grave danger. Finally

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 512-514). See also the report in Rainaldus, Ad ann. 1462, nr. 14 based on the following sources: *Jo. Papien. in comm. l. 6. Gob. l. 7, Coel. l. 12*. See also Heymann, p. 270-275

² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, p. 514)

he said that the King at his coronation had sworn to obey the pope of Rome; if he valued his soul he must accept the mandates of the Apostolic See, viz. that he should finally abandon the communion under both kinds and together with his household and all his subjects unite with the Roman and universal Church. If he did not, his kingdom could not stand.

*This speech of the Pope has been published with others. When it ended the consistory also ended.*¹

In his oration, the pope refused to recognize the grant of communion under both species made by the Council of Basel (on conditions which were not fulfilled by the Bohemians), and he also refused to make this grant by virtue of his own power as pope.

After the pope's oration,² an official of the papal court, Antonio Gubbio, publicly announced that the Compacts of the Council of Basel granting communion under both species to the

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 514-515)

² Cardinal Ammanati Piccolomini, who was present, gave the following summary of the popes oration (quoted after Rainaldus, *ibid.*): *Obedientiam recipere se quamquam commune nimis ac diminutam, credituram Apostolicam sedem tum demum illos veram absolutamque praestare, cum pulsus erroribus ad ovile Domini Rex regnum reduceret, quod ut mature faciat per professam ea hora obedientiam se arctius imperare: calicem vero, quem tantopere commendassent, illis nec necessarium esse, nec sane esse etiam utilem, definisse Synodum Constantiensem: non licere ab institutis Ecclesiae, quae spiritu Dei regetur, abire: instituisse autem, ut qui extra sacerdotium essent, calice abstinerent, quando de communicante turba effusionis, utrobique periculum est et ad viaticum agrorum sacerdote longius cum ferente servari difficile potest; tum autem ne indocta plebs, quae sensibus ducitur, nisi sub utraque specie non sumi a se totum Christum et integrum crederet: conventorum porro, quae memorarent, modo nullam vim esse, nec licere illis, quod crederent eorum omnem rationem bipartitam videri permitti, altera, ut qui unionem Romanae sedis servarent, ritumque in caeteris tenerent ecclesiae, sumendi quoque calicis usum haberent: altera vero permittit ut si se re inde ad concilium delata illi nihilominus desiderio calicis tenebantur, eumque missis legatis petierint indultum iri sacerdotibus suis facultatem illius iis tantum ministrandi, quibus et per aetatem liceret, et sponte sua pie deposcerent, lege perpetuo adjecta, ut praefari populis ante calicem debeant, non in pane carnem tantum, neque in vino sanguinem tantum, sed sub singulis totum Christum atque integrum contineri: illos non servasse conventa, synodum, quae obtulisset non indulsisse: cum ea non servarint, conventorum nullum beneficium esse, quod post ille non indulserit synodus: conventi nihil extare: non indulsisse autem, vel quod non petierint Bohemi, vel quod indigni ob neglectum habiti sunt: ita causam non superesse cur aut nos ex conventu appellant, aut Romanam sedem iis moveri oporteat: sed nec commodum pastori Ecclesiae, nec illis videri expediens nova nunc ratione id ipsum permitti: negasse hoc semper priores pontifices: ab iis in tanta re dissentire non sani esse consilii: laturas indigne caeteras gentes, his datam, prohibitam aliis participationem hanc calicis: nationes quietae operae pretium non esse nunc commovere: proclive quoque hos ad errorem videri, quod ad necessitatem salutis pertinere cum, si concedatur, rudis populus nimirum sit crediturus, quam rem potissimum damnet ecclesia: porro autem dividendorum animorum, et perpetuandi odii eam concessionem perpetuum causam afferre: esse in Bohemis parte adhuc sanam nobis conformem hanc dissimili ritu nunquam censuram, conflicturam armis et animis: timendum proinde Domini vocem, desolatum iri quodcumque in se divisum sit regnum: aequius esse veteri sententia novam concedere, quam veterem nova, illam totius Ecclesiae probatam consensus, hanc quorundam tantum Bohemorum susceptam iudicio, reliquorum fidelium repudiatam decreto: circumstare insuper regnum potentissimae plebes Theutones, Hungaros, Polonos, infestas itidem illas usque futuras, ac mille licet proferantur sedis decreta putaturas versari eas in errore, sicut et nunc quoque existimant: nimiae quoque arrogantiae Bohemicam gentem damnaturas, quae plus contenderet, plus sibi deposceret, quam Christianorum reliqua multitudo, jurgia, obtreactiones, et pugnas hinc proventuras: inconsultum videri intus atque extra perpetuos sibi hostes concire, nominisque haeretici subire infamiam: expendisse diligenter haec Romanum Pontificem, inutile quod ab illis*

Bohemians had been annulled and quashed; that communion under both species was not necessary for salvation; and that the obedience declared by the King of Bohemia would only be considered as genuine when the King together with his whole Kingdom conformed to the Catholic Church.¹

Afterwards, the Bohemian ambassadors promised to relate the pope's message to their king and quite circumspectly requested that a papal envoy be sent back with them to directly convey the papal decision – and conceivably to deflect the king's foreseeable anger and turn it towards the papal envoy which is what actually happened.²

The momentous papal decision concerning the communion under both species was the starting point for a process leading, shortly before Pius' death, to the summoning of King Podiebrad to Rome to defend himself against accusations of heresy, to the king's excommunication by Pius' successor, and to later wars so detrimental to all parties, and first of all to Bohemia itself. It may also be reasonably believed that it contributed to a weakening of Podiebrad's position to the extent that it would become impossible for him to establish his own family as a continuing royal dynasty.

2. Themes

2.1. Doctrinal issue

The doctrinal issue tended to get mixed up with issues of Church ritual and discipline and with other, political issues, but it was clearly the most important of the issues related to the Bohemian schism.

The Bohemian heresy did not consist in its desire to have communion under both species, since that was not against dogma and not against the practice of the Early Church as Pius had

poscitur credere, nescire quid petant: dispensatorem se ministeriorum Dei esse, ad pastores opus pertinere gregem dominicum pascere, illumque in viam rectam statuere; non intelligere homines aliquando, quae vera sint bona; paenituisse saepe mortales peracti voti atque impetrati; quod oratores nunc petant ad vitam aeternam non pertinere; fumum quendam atque inanis gloriae ventum quaeri; hortari proinde eos contenti sint sub specie tantum panis corpus Domini sanguinemque assumere; ad salutem id ipsum sufficere, admonente Domino: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi. Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in aeternum; discipuli Emaus euntes in fractione panis Dominum agnovere: nollent pluris his esse, aut patres eorum sapientia anteire, qui sub una tantum specie Sacramento accepto in Christo mortui sunt, ad notam illorum filiorum esse viam contrariam. Adjungant se igitur non erranti Ecclesiae, in unicaque religione uniant regnum potentissimum olim, post labefactatum, rediturum mox in antiquas opes et gloriam, si doctoribus errorum praeteritis in viam redierint primam, matremque audierint Romanam ecclesiam

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 466

² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 515)

himself demonstrated in his oration/memorandum “*Res Bohemicas*” [28] of 1456. And communion under both species had not been abolished by the church for reasons of dogma, but out of reverence for the sacrament:

Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later, usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only received entirely under both species jointly. [Sect. 5]

The crucial error of the Bohemians was to maintain that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord and that it applied to all the faithful, including the laypeople, and that it was therefore necessary for salvation:

To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. [Sect. 6]

Such a teaching went straight against the teaching of the Church, as affirmed by two recent ecumenical councils, the Council of Konstanz and the Council of Basel:

Concerning your petition for communion under both species (or of the compacts), We have pondered the words of the speaker. He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating clergy should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. [Sect. 4]

The Bohemian teaching implied that by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, the Church had for centuries been depriving the laypeople of salvation and sent them to Hell. As the primary goal of the Church was to save souls and send them to Heaven, the Hussite teachings were therefore, absolutely unacceptable to the Church. The pope, therefore, could only exhort the Hussites to

not wish to know more than you should know, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ, having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an

affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory and conform to the rest of Christianity. [Sect. 18]

2.2. Bohemian Compacts

The concession to Bohemia of the communion under both species contained in the Bohemian Compacts was granted by the Council of Basel under a number of conditions. One of the most important conditions was that this form of communion could only be given to those who already had that usage. This meant that it could not be given to the children born after the concession was granted, and therefore the usage would die out in a couple of generations. Another condition was that the Bohemians should accept Church union, obedience to Rome, and conformity in all other matters to the teachings and the practice of the Church.

These essential conditions as well as others had not been fulfilled by the Bohemians, and therefore the concession as such was void:

So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no [grounds for your petition]. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether you did not actually present a request, or whether the Council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice, who accept ecclesiastical union in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity with the Church. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession. [Sect. 9]

The pope concluded:

So, having examined all the compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust in them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment. This is what We have to say concerning the compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 11]

2.3. Papal grant of communion of the chalice

Even if the pope would not confirm the Compacts made by the Council of Basel, he could himself grant the right of communion of the chalice to the Bohemians.

He chose not do so for the following reasons:

- The risk of continued doctrinal error, viz. the belief that communion under both species was necessary to salvation. [Sect. 13]
- The risk of irreverence towards the sacrament, i.e. the very reason for which the Church had abolished the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 14]
- The risk of internal conflicts in Bohemia, between the Hussites having the communion of the chalice and the orthodox catholics (like the very insistent people of Breslau) who wanted to have the same form of communion as the rest of the Church. [Sect. 15]
- The risk of external wars, i.e. with the Germans, the Poles, and the Hungarians such as there had been in former years and which had brought poverty and misery to the once flourishing Bohemian nation. [Sect. 16]

The pope concluded:

So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, or the kingdom, or the people. ... What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory. [Sect. 17]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Superioribus diebus*" was delivered on 31 March 1462 in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience consisted of the participants in a full public consistory: the cardinals, the Bohemian ambassadors, important curials, and envoys from other powers.

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

4. Text¹

The text of the oration “*Superioribus diebus*” exists in two versions, an Early Version and a Final version. The Final Version is very close to the Early Version, few – and no significant - changes having been made to the original text.

4.1. Early version

The Early Version is extant in a number of manuscripts, typically humanist *Sanmmelhandschriften*.² The following list is not exhaustive.

4.1.1. Manuscripts³

- **Basel / Universitätsbibliothek**
O III 23, ff. 43r-46r
- **Görlitz / Milich’sche Bibliothek**
Ch 4, 78, ff. 381v sqq.⁴
- **Lepipzig / Universitätsbibliothek**
172⁵
183⁶
486, ff. 80v-82v⁷
1327, ff. 38r-41v
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
clm 215, ff. 237r-238v
clm 10454, ff.169r-171v

¹ For the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1.

³ Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with a single asterisk

⁴ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

⁵ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

⁶ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

⁷ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent V App 15, 278v-280v¹
- **Prag / Statni knihovna**
I G 34, ff. 106r-112v²
- **Regensburg / Bibliothek des Kollegiatsstiftes unserer Lieben Frau zur Alten Kapelle**
1884³
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 65v-67v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**
II 5 / ff. 132r-136r
- **Weimar / Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek**
Q45, ff. 249r-250v
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
4453
4704,
4764, ff. 181v-184v **(W2)** *
11843
13760
Ser. nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364), ff. 99v-101r **(W1)** *
- **Wolffenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek**
Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332), ff. 41r-42v **(X)** *
- **Wroclaw / Bibl. Uniwersytecka (Rehdigeriana)**
478, ff. 381v sqq.⁴

4.1.2. Editions

- Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici*. Hannover: Freytag, 1700 / Appendix, pp. 159-163 **(LE)**

¹ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

² Helmrath, p. 316

³ From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated

⁴ From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative

4.2. Final version

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 144v-147v (**G**) *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Communale**
100, ff. 282r-288r
- **Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana**
97 inf., ff. 186v-190r
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 188r-192r (**D**) *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 146v-149v (**A**) *
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 290r-295v (**C**) *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 205v-209r (**B**) *

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version was published by Mansi, based on the Lucca ms.:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 93-101

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 edition of the Early Version is based on the two manuscripts in Vienna (**W1** and **W2**), the one in Wolfenbüttel (**X**), and the one edited by Leibniz.

The Final Version is based on the five manuscripts listed above with the siglum.

The Chis. J.VIII. 284 (A) has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Chis. J.VIII. 284 (A).

Textual apparatus:

The variants common to the manuscripts W1, W2, X, and the LE, i.e. the Early Version, are given in bold types.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible (1 from the OT and 10 from the NT).

Biblical: 11

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 9

Biblical sources: 11

Old Testament: 1

- Isaiah: 1

New Testament: 10

- Matthew: 2

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

- John: 5
- Acts: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663¹

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Pastor, Ludwig: *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Vols 1. ff. Freiburg I.B., 1886 ff.

Piccolimini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae.*

¹ References to the *Annales* are given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition)

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.
- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43)

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020

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

7. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII 284,

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII 286

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI.211

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

W1 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364)

W2 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Cod. 4764

X = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek / Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332)

LE = Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici*. Hannover: Freytag, 1700

Abbreviations

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

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

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

MA = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759

MPL = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865

OO = Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2nd ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967]

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918

Decretum = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

Epistolarium = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007

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

Reject = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki *et al.* Washington, D.C., 2006

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II Pontificis Maximi data oratoribus regis Bohemiae, Romae, in consistorio publico¹

[1] {146v} Superioribus diebus, cum audivissemus² vos, oratores carissimi filii nostri³, regis Bohemiae illustris⁴, quamvis aliqua ex tempore⁵ diximus, responsionem tamen solidam^{6 7} et efficacem cum fratrum⁸ consilio faciendam in aliud tempus⁹ reservavimus¹⁰, quam {147r} in¹¹ praesentiarum a nobis intelligetis¹². Hortamur, ut¹³ omnia cum caritate accipiatis¹⁴, quia¹⁵ tamquam pater¹⁶ in *caritate non ficta* loquemur¹⁷. Duo exposuistis in hoc ipso¹⁸ auditorio. Nam et¹⁹ oboedientiam nomine regio²⁰ praestitistis nobis et apostolicae sedi²¹, et usum communionis eucharistiae sub utraque specie regno Bohemiae et²² marchionatui²³ Moraviae concedi petivistis.

¹ Responsio domini Pii papae facta oratoribus regis Bohemiae super petitionem communionis eucharistiae sub utraque specie **W1**; Pii II Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus regis Bohemiae de compactatis et illorum heresi **D, G**; Responsio domini nostri sanctissimi domini Pii ad oratores Bohemos **W2**; Responsio Sanctissimi domini papae Pii II ad Bohemos anno etc. 1462 **X**; Responsum papae Pii II. datum oratoribus Regis Georgii declarans Bohemos abuti Compactatis **LE**

² audivissem **W1**

³ *omit.* **LE**

⁴ illustrissimi **LE**

⁵ parte **LE**

⁶ solitam **W2**

⁷ tamen solidam : solidam tamen **LE**

⁸ nostrorum **W1**; *omit.* **W2**

⁹ faciendam in aliud tempus : in aliud tempus faciendam **LE**

¹⁰ servavimus **D, G**; reservamus **W2**

¹¹ igitur **X**

¹² **accipientes W1; accipietis W2, LE; accepistis X**

¹³ *omit.* **C**

¹⁴ recipiatis **W2, X, LE**

¹⁵ duo *add.* **W1**; quum **LE**

¹⁶ *omit.* **W1**

¹⁷ *omit.* **W1**; loquimur **W2**; loquamur **LE**

¹⁸ *omit.* **W1**

¹⁹ *omit.* **X, LE**

²⁰ regis **X**

²¹ apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae **W2**

²² a **W1**

²³ marchionatu **W1**

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of the King of Bohemia, in Rome, during a public consistory

1. Introduction

[1] Ambassadors of Our dear son, the Illustrious King of Bohemia,

when We had heard you, some days ago, We said something directly,¹ [adding that] We would defer Our proper and considered response until We had discussed it with Our brethren.² This you will hear now. We exhort you to accept it all in love since We shall be speaking, as a father, *in unfeigned charity*.³

Two things you set forth in this assembly: in the name of your king you declared obedience to Us and the Apostolic See, and you petitioned that the use of the eucharistic communion under both species be granted to Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia.

¹ “ex tempore”. Cf. the report in Rainaldus mentioned above, Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.

² The College of Cardinals

³ 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

[2] Circa primum dicimus¹ multa² nobis exposita esse³ in laudem regis et per imperatoris oratorem⁴, et per dilectum filium Procopium⁵ equitem⁶, qui⁷ unus⁸ est⁹ ex vobis. Nam is multis¹⁰ verbis seorsum¹¹ nobis sincerum regis animum et optimum ejus propositum ad benemerendum de¹² sancta¹³ sede apostolica¹⁴ commendavit¹⁵. Laudamus regem¹⁶, qui¹⁷ portam domini videtur inquirere, per quam justii intrant, et sine qua non patet iter in¹⁸ caelum. *Qui non intrat per ostium, fur est et latro*. Ostium autem in¹⁹ ovile domini²⁰ est ipsa sedes²¹ apostolica, cui sunt traditae claves regni caelorum. Sapit igitur regia²² sublimitas, quae²³ verum²⁴ ostium quaerit, et vera pascua, et verum pastorem, et²⁵ nos, licet immeritos, tamquam Jesu²⁶ Christi vicarium sua honorat²⁷ oboedientia, et primae sedi²⁸ caput submittit²⁹.

¹ didicimus LE

² *omit.* W1

³ exposita esse : esse exposita LE

⁴ **imperatoris oratorem : oratorem imperatoris W1, W2, X, LE**

⁵ N W1

⁶ de Rabstein *add.* LE

⁷ *omit.* W1

⁸ unum W1

⁹ *omit.* W1

¹⁰ multum W2

¹¹ seorsim LE

¹² die W2

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ sede apostolica : sedi apostolicae W2

¹⁵ commendat X

¹⁶ laudamus regem : laudandus W1

¹⁷ quia X

¹⁸ patet inter in : non itur ad LE

¹⁹ *omit.* W2

²⁰ *omit.* W2, LE

²¹ fides W1

²² regis W2

²³ qui LE

²⁴ veram W1; rerum LE

²⁵ ut W1

²⁶ *omit.* LE

²⁷ honoret W1; honoravit W2

²⁸ suum *add.* W1

²⁹ caput submittit : submittit caput LE

2. Declaration of obedience

[2] Concerning the first point, much was said in praise of the king both by the emperor's ambassador¹ and by Our beloved son, the knight Prokop,² who is one of your number. Separately, he has said much to commend the king's³ sincere disposition towards Us and his good intentions to be of service⁴ to the Apostolic See. We praise the king who seeks the gate of the Lord,⁵ which the just pass through, and without which there is no way to Heaven. *He that entereth not by the door, the same is a thief and a robber.*⁶ The entrance to the Lord's flock is the Apostolic See which has been given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. His Royal Highness is wise, indeed, since he seeks the true gate, the true pasture, and the true shepherd, and since, with his [declaration of] obedience, he honours Us - though unworthy - as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and bows to the First See.

¹ The emperor's ambassador is not mentioned elsewhere

² Prokop von Rabstein [Rabenstein] (ca. 1420-1472): Bohemian noble. From 1453 to 1468 Chancellor of Bohemia. In their younger years, Piccolomini and Prokop were colleagues in the Imperial Chancery and became close friends

³ Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Regent of Bohemia during the minority of Kings Ladislaus the Posthumous. King of Bohemia from 1458 to his death

⁴ "ad benemerendum"

⁵ Cf. Matthew, 7, 13

⁶ John, 10, 1

[3] Verum quia regnum Bohemiae olim sub Romanae ecclesiae et antecessorum nostrorum oboedientia integra fuit¹, et ritum eumdem tenuit circa divina sacramenta, et postea pars magna² regni³ et⁴ marchionatus ab oboedientia⁵ recessit et ritum novum⁶ invenit⁷, quem ignoraverunt patres eorum, et multi excessus intercesserunt⁸, qui adhuc non parva in parte⁹ durant, non potest dici sufficiens regis oboedientia, nisi novitates¹⁰ tollantur¹¹, et omnia reducuntur¹² ad¹³ pristinam vivendi normam. Quod¹⁴ si vult rex suae oboedientiae et suo debito satisfacere¹⁵, omnia tollat¹⁶ de regno suo necesse est¹⁷, quae sunt innovata contra mandata nostrorum¹⁸ praedecessorum et contra ritum universalis ecclesiae¹⁹ 20; et ita nos²¹ 22 sibi praecipimus²³ in virtute oboedientiae nobis praestitae. Quod si fecerit, dicemus regem ipsum²⁴ veram et sufficientem oboedientiam praestitisse²⁵ eumque condignis²⁶ et²⁷ honoribus²⁸ et favoribus prosequemur²⁹. Alioquin cum regum³⁰ proprium sit ecclesiam tueri, et Romanis pontificibus reverenter assistere, et eorum parere mandatis, non satis esset³¹ verbo ac³² scriptis oboedientiam praestitisse non sequentibus operibus. Haec ad oboedientiam regis.

¹ integra fuit : fuit integrum LE

² pars magna : magna pars W1, W2, X, LE

³ Bohemiae *add.* W1

⁴ ac W1

⁵ ecclesia W1

⁶ ritum novum : novum ritum LE

⁷ in *add.* X

⁸ intervenerunt W2; *omit.* LE

⁹ parva in parte : in parte parva LE

¹⁰ novitatem LE

¹¹ tollant LE

¹² reducunt LE

¹³ in W1, LE

¹⁴ igitur W1

¹⁵ ut *del.* A; ut *add.* W1, X, LE; tunc *add.* W2

¹⁶ tollant W1

¹⁷ necesse est *omit.* W2, X, LE

¹⁸ meorum W2

¹⁹ necesse est *add.* W2, X, LE

²⁰ quae sunt ... ecclesiae *omit.* A, B, C, D, G, W1

²¹ *omit.* LE

²² ita nos : nos ita W1

²³ *omit.* C; praecipite LE

²⁴ ipsam W2

²⁵ oboedientiam praestitisse : exhibuisse reverentiam W1

²⁶ dignis W1

²⁷ *omit.* W1, W2

²⁸ honoribus : laudibus W1

²⁹ prosequimur W2, X

³⁰ regi W1; regem W2

³¹ est LE

³² et W1; et in W2; aut LE

[3] Formerly, the Kingdom of Bohemia was in complete obedience to the Roman Church and to Our predecessors and kept the common rituals concerning the divine sacraments. Later, a large part of the kingdom and of the margravate left the obedience and invented a new rite, unknown to their fathers. Many other transgressions occurred that are, to a great extent, still lasting. Therefore, the obedience of the king cannot be said to be complete unless these novelties are abolished and all is brought back to the former norm of life. So, if the king desires to fulfil his obedience and his obligations, he must remove all those innovations from his kingdom that are contrary to the instructions of our predecessors and the rite of the Universal Church. This is what We command by virtue of the obedience to Us declared [by the king]. If he does that, We shall acknowledge the king's declaration of obedience as true and satisfactory, and We shall grant him honours and favours worthy of him. As it is the particular charge of kings to protect the Church, to reverently assist the Roman pontiffs, and to obey their commands, it is not enough to declare obedience in words and writings that are not followed up by actions. [We shall say] no more concerning the king's declaration of obedience.

[4] Ad petitionem vero communionis ¹ utriusque speciei sive compactatorum ² consideravimus³ verba proponentis, qui communionem ipsam etiam⁴ quoad laicos veritatem divinitus quodammodo revelatam⁵ visus est appellare⁶, approbando eam per praxim⁷ ecclesiae primitivae⁸, per auctoritatem sacrae scripturae⁹, per testimonia {147v} sanctorum doctorum, et¹⁰ per concessionem¹¹ sive¹² compactata concilii¹³ Basiliensis. Circa hoc¹⁴ non¹⁵ est necesse¹⁶ multum immorari¹⁷, nam satis hic¹⁸ articulus in Basiliensi concilio¹⁹ discussus est²⁰, et tandem fuit definitum²¹ non esse communionem²² sub utraque specie quoad laicos et²³ non conficientes de praecepto. Denique²⁴ magna²⁵ synodus Constantiensis prius diffinierat²⁶ ²⁷, quia²⁸ non licet²⁹ a consuetudine ecclesiae, quae regitur a spiritu sancto³⁰, recedere; et in illis conciliis³¹ abunde³² considerata fuit praxis ecclesiae primitivae³³ et³⁴

¹ communicationis A, B, C, D, G, W1

² compactatoris W1; **concessionem add. W2, LE; concessionis add. W2, X**

³ **consideramus W1, W2, X, LE**

⁴ ipsam etiam : etiam ipsam W2, LE

⁵ veritatem ... revelatam *omit.* W1

⁶ aperire W1

⁷ eam per praxim : per praxin eam LE

⁸ praxim ecclesiae primitivae : primitive ecclesie praxim W1

⁹ sacrae scripturae : scripturae sacrae W1

¹⁰ sive W1; ac X

¹¹ confessionem W1

¹² per *add.* LE

¹³ consilii *et passim* W1, X

¹⁴ hec W1

¹⁵ *omit.* X

¹⁶ *omit.* X

¹⁷ etiam non X; morari LE

¹⁸ is W1

¹⁹ **Basiliensi concilio : consilio Basiliensi W1, X; concilio Basiliensi W2, LE**

²⁰ discussus est : est discussus LE

²¹ definitum LE

²² communicandum W1

²³ *omit.* X

²⁴ deinde LE

²⁵ magnus W2

²⁶ definierat LE

²⁷ prius diffinierat : diffinierat prius W1

²⁸ quod W2

²⁹ oportet W1

³⁰ regitur a spiritu sancto : a spiritu sancto regitur LE

³¹ con W1

³² aliunde W2

³³ ecclesiae primitivae : primatum ecclesiae W1; primitivae ecclesiae LE

³⁴ ac W1

sacrarum auctoritas^{1 2} litterarum³, et quid⁴ doctores, vel⁵ sancti vel⁶ scholastici assererent⁷ opportune animadversum.

3. Bohemian petition for either a papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts or a papal grant of communion under both species

3.1. Teaching of the Church

[4] Concerning your petition for communion under both species or for [confirmation of] the compacts), We have pondered the words of the speaker.⁸ He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating [clergy] should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz⁹ had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. Both these councils amply considered the practice of the primitive church and the authority of Holy Scripture, and they took due note of the statements of doctors, saints, and scholars.

¹ *omit.* B, C; auctoritates W1

² sacrarum auctoritas : auctoritas sacrarum W2

³ auctoritas litterarum : litterarum auctoritas LE

⁴ quod W2, LE

⁵ et W1, W2

⁶ et W1; *omit.* X

⁷ asseverunt W2

⁸ One of the Hussite priests being part of the embassy

⁹ Council of Konstanz (1414-1418): ended the Great Western Schism and elected a new Roman pope, Martin V

[5] Nam omnes fere¹ uno ore loquuntur, quod² non est³ populus sub utraque specie communicandus, quamvis aliquando id⁴ ⁵ factum fuerit⁶. Nam postea utiliter et salubriter sublata est⁷ laicis communio⁸ calicis⁹ ob¹⁰ reverentiam sacramenti, propter periculum effusionis in multitudine communicantium, et propter difficultatem conservationis, si pro viatico infirmorum reservaretur, nec non etiam¹¹ effusionis¹², si ut saepius oportet, ad non¹³ parum etiam¹⁴ distantes¹⁵ deferretur¹⁶. Tum vero ne rudis populus existimaret¹⁷ Christi corpus¹⁸ non integre recipi, nisi sub utraque specie¹⁹. Quod vero de compactatis adducitur paulo post absolvemus. Manifestum autem²⁰ est²¹, quia²² post generalem ecclesiae consuetudinem subtrahentem²³ laicis communionem²⁴ calicis, nulli fas est populum²⁵ sub utraque specie communicare, nisi vel generale concilium vel Romanus pontifex indulerit. Ac²⁶ propterea²⁷ nec²⁸ veritas appellanda est²⁹ ³⁰ talis³¹ consuetudo neque³² utilis³³ neque³⁴ salubris³⁵ iudicanda, quae absque sufficienti³⁶ auctoritate introducta est.

¹ vero W2

² et W2

³ *omit.* LE

⁴ *omit.* W2

⁵ aliquando id : id aliquando LE

⁶ fuit LE

⁷ *omit.* LE

⁸ communere X

⁹ communio calicis : communicatio predicta W1

¹⁰ ad W1

¹¹ *omit.* LE

¹² effusionem W1, LE

¹³ ***omit.* W1, W2, X, LE**

¹⁴ *omit.* C

¹⁵ distans LE

¹⁶ **referretur W1; differetur W2, X**

¹⁷ estimaret W1

¹⁸ Christi corpus : corpus Christi W1

¹⁹ nisi sub ... specie *omit.* W1

²⁰ enim W2

²¹ autem est : est autem W1

²² quod W1, W2

²³ subtrahendam LE

²⁴ communicationem W1

²⁵ *omit.* LE

²⁶ at B

²⁷ praeterea LE

²⁸ ne X

²⁹ *omit.* W1

³⁰ appellanda est : est appellanda W2

³¹ communionis *add.* W1

³² nec W2

³³ est *add.* LE

³⁴ **aut W1, W2, X, LE**

³⁵ salubriter X

³⁶ sufficiente LE

[5] Almost all of them declare, as with one voice, that the people should not have communion under both species. Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only fully received under both species jointly. As for the claims concerning the compacts, We shall be dealing with them shortly. But it is clear that since it became the general custom of the Church to omit the communion of the chalice for laymen, it is unlawful for the people to receive communion under both species unless a General Council or a Roman Pontiff grants it. Therefore, the custom [of communication under both species] must not be considered [a matter of revealed] truth, nor useful, nor beneficial, since it has been introduced without sufficient authority.

[6] Illud autem damnabile est¹ et² prorsus³ haereticum appellandum⁴, si quis asserat⁵ talem⁶ communionem⁷ ad salutem esse necessariam, sicut Jacobellus putavit, et qui eum secuti sunt. Magna hominis illius praesumptio vel potius temeritas⁸, qui solis⁹ imbutus¹⁰ grammaticae¹¹ disciplinis¹², quibus¹³ pueros instituebat¹⁴, ausus est sacros et¹⁵ abstrusos¹⁶ evangelii sensus attingere et¹⁷ ad suum ingenium arcana filii Dei verba interpretari. Non est grammaticorum aut dialecticorum secreta divini codicis reserare, theologorum est¹⁸ et sacrae paginae professorum ista cognitio, et¹⁹ eorum quibus²⁰ data est scientiae²¹ clavis²², quae *aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit*. Eunuchus ille in Actibus Apostolorum, qui ex Aethiopia venerat in Jerusalem, cum legeret Isaiam, interrogatus ab apostolo Philippo {148r} an intelligeret, quae legeret: *et quomodo, inquit²³, possum intelligere, nisi exponatur²⁴? [cont.]*

¹ damnabile est : est dampnabile W1

² ac W1

³ *omit.* W1

⁴ **judicandum et appellandum W1; judicandum W2, X, LE**

⁵ asserit G, W1, LE

⁶ talium LE

⁷ communicationem W1

⁸ magna hominis ... vel potius temeritas *omit.* LE

⁹ solum LE

¹⁰ est *add.* LE

¹¹ grammaticis W1; grammatica LE

¹² disciplina LE

¹³ qui LE

¹⁴ instruebat W2, LE

¹⁵ *omit.* W1, W2

¹⁶ *add. in marg. A; omit. W1, W2, X, LE*

¹⁷ *omit.* LE

¹⁸ *omit.* B, W1

¹⁹ cuilibet *add.* W1

²⁰ *omit.* W1

²¹ scientia LE

²² scientiae clavis : clavis scientiae W1

²³ *omit.* X

²⁴ a te *add.* LE

[6] To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus¹ and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. Great is the presumption or rather the audacity of this man. Though he had only studied the disciplines of grammar, which he taught to boys, he dared to dabble in the holy and difficult senses of the Gospel, and to interpret the arcane words of the Son of God according to his own mind. But it is not the task of grammarians or dialecticians to expound the divine secrets of Scripture. That knowledge is reserved for theologians, biblical scholars, and those who have been given the key to the knowledge *that opens, and none shall shut: and shuts, and none shall open.*² When, in the Acts of the Apostles, the eunuch who had come from Ethiopia to Jerusalem was reading Isaiah, he was asked by the Apostle Philip if he understood what he was reading. He answered: *And how can I, unless some man shew me?*³ [cont.]

¹ Jacob of Mies

² Isaiah, 22, 22: *And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut, and none shall open (Et dabo clavem domus David super humerum ejus; et aperiet, et non erit qui claudat; et claudet, et non erit qui aperiat)*

³ Acts, 8, 31: *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?*

[6 cont.] At Jacobellus absque expositore¹, absque doctore² ausus est docere, quae non³ didicit, et absque calicis bibitione⁴ salvari neminem⁵ asseverare⁶ propter verba salvatoris⁷ apud Johannem dicentis⁸: *Nisi manducaveritis⁹ carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis¹⁰ vitam in vobis¹¹*, verborum¹² tantum et litterarum adnotans sonum, mentem¹³ praeteriens haud¹⁴ gnarus^{15 16}, quod spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam, neque advertens¹⁷ quod in eodem¹⁸ loco paulo post, cum scandalizati essent de tali¹⁹ sermone aliqui: *Verba mea²⁰*, inquit dominus²¹, *spiritus et vita sunt*: propter quod manifeste declarat, quia de spirituali manducatione ac²² bibitione locutus fuerat²³, potius²⁴ quam de sacramentali, cum²⁵ et²⁶ nondum²⁷ esset²⁸ institutum eucharistiae sacramentum.

¹ expositione X

² absque doctore *omit.* X

³ numquam W1

⁴ calicis bibitione : bibitione calicis LE

⁵ salvari neminem : neminem salvari W1, W2

⁶ debere asserebat W1; asserere LE

⁷ Christi seu salvatoris W2

⁸ asserentis W1

⁹ manducatis W2

¹⁰ habetis LE

¹¹ carnem ... in vobis : etc. W2

¹² verbum LE

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ aut W1

¹⁵ ignarus W1

¹⁶ haud gnarus : nesciens LE

¹⁷ advertens B; advertendum est X

¹⁸ in eodem : eodem in W2

¹⁹ domini *add.* LE

²⁰ *omit.* LE

²¹ *omit.* W2

²² et W2, X, LE

²³ fuerit X

²⁴ prius C

²⁵ tantum W1

²⁶ *omit.* W2

²⁷ nondum : dum W1

²⁸ esse W2

[6 cont.] But without any instructor and teacher, Jacobellus dared to teach what he had not learnt, and to claim that nobody may be saved without drinking from the chalice, because of the Saviour's words to John: *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.*¹ But Jacobellus only took note of the sound of the words and letters,² but not of their meaning. He did not know that it is the spirit which gives life, whereas the flesh as such benefits nobody. And he failed to note what follows shortly afterwards³, when some were scandalized at such talk: *my words are spirit and life,*⁴ says the Lord. Thus the Lord clearly states that he had been talking about eating and drinking in the spiritual sense rather than the sacramental, since the sacrament of the Eucharist had not yet been instituted.

¹ John, 6, 54

² I.e. the literal sense

³ I.e. in the biblical text

⁴ John, 6, 64: *verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt*

[7] Et ita beatus Augustinus et alii quamplures¹ sancti doctores ejus² evangelii lectionem exponunt, qui revelatis oculis mirabilia consideraverunt³ de lege domini et sua doctrina sanctam ecclesiam illuminarunt⁴. Et licet dominus in ultima cena sub specie panis et vini communicaverit, quando id⁵ sacramentum instituit, et⁶ similiter apostolos in⁷ suam commemorationem facere jusserit, non tamen idcirco populis communio⁸ calicis mandata est. Apostolis tantum⁹ id¹⁰ dictum¹¹ fuit, qui tum¹² sacerdotes constituti¹³ fuerunt¹⁴ ¹⁵, et ad conficientes pertinet sub utraque specie Christum¹⁶ assumere¹⁷, et ejus mortem repraesentare, non ad laicos. Et¹⁸ haec¹⁹ veritas est²⁰ jam²¹ in duobus conciliis generalibus²² ²³ declarata.

¹ complures X

² ejusdem W1, W2

³ considerarent X; considerarunt LE

⁴ illuminaverunt W1, W2; illuminarent X

⁵ illud W2

⁶ omit. X

⁷ omit. W1

⁸ communicatio W1

⁹ tamen W1, X

¹⁰ omit. LE

¹¹ id dictum : indicta W1

¹² tunc W1, LE; cum W2, X

¹³ instituti W1

¹⁴ fuerant W2

¹⁵ constituti fuerunt : fuerunt instituti LE

¹⁶ sub utraque specie Christum : Christum sub utraque specie W1

¹⁷ sumere W1

¹⁸ est W1

¹⁹ omit. LE

²⁰ veritas est : est veritas W2

²¹ illa LE

²² omit. W2, LE

²³ conciliis generalibus : generalibus conciliis A, D

[7] This is how that Gospel text was interpreted by Saint Augustine and many other holy doctors who pondered the wonders of divine law in the light of revelation¹ and illumined the Holy Church with their teaching. It is true that when, during the Last Supper, the Lord instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, He gave communion under the species of bread and wine and told his apostles to do likewise, in commemoration of Him: still He did not command that the [common] people [should receive] the communion of the chalice. This He said only to the apostles, whom He had then made priests, and His words only concern those priests who perform [the transubstantiation²]³ and re-enact His death, not laypeople. This truth has now been declared by two general councils.

¹ "revelatis oculis"

² I.e. the transformation of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood

³ "conficientes"

[8] Restat nunc ut petitioni vestrae respondeamus de communione¹, quam cupitis. Nos² sane regem vestrum, barones vestros, et³ populares omnes⁴ regni Bohemiae⁵ in domino diligimus et⁶ pro filiis habemus, dum Romanam ecclesiam loco matris habuerint et ei tamquam magistrae⁷ obtemperaverint. Magnus et misericors deus, cuius vices indigni gerimus in terra, homines pro liberis habet, eisque non omnia, quae petunt, sed utilia pro jucundis concedit. Ita et nos facere oportet erga⁸ vos Bohemos, qui pro⁹ laicis communionem¹⁰ calicis¹¹ desideratis et compactata concilii Basiliensis adducitis, quibus¹² id¹³ vobis concessum existimatis. Satisfaciendum est¹⁴ huic parti ne decipiamini et falsa pro veris capiatis¹⁵. Vidimus transumpta compactatorum, quae nobis obtulistis, quibus diligenter inspectis non invenimus, quod illorum vigore communicare possitis¹⁶ laicos¹⁷ sub utraque specie.

¹ communicatione W1, LE

² nunc W1

³ *omit.* X

⁴ *omit.* W1

⁵ regni Bohemiae *omit.* W2

⁶ *omit.* LE

⁷ integrae LE

⁸ ergo W2

⁹ *omit.* X

¹⁰ communicationem W1

¹¹ *omit.* LE

¹² quod W1

¹³ est LE

¹⁴ esse LE

¹⁵ **accipiatis W1, W2, X; recipiatis LE**

¹⁶ possit LE

¹⁷ laicus LE

3.2. Pope's denial of the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian compacts

[8] It now remains to answer your petition concerning the communion you desire. We do love your king, your barons, and all the people of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the Lord, and We do consider them as Our sons as long as they consider the Roman Church as their mother and obey her as their teacher. The great and merciful God, whose Vicar on Earth We are, though unworthy, treats men as his children, and he does not give them all they wish, but only what benefits them, not that what pleases them. We must do the same towards you Bohemians when you request the communion of the chalice for laymen and appeal to the Compacts of the Council of Basel which you believe has given you this right. We must now address this issue so that you may not deceive yourselves and hold false things as true.

We have seen the transcripts of the Compacts which you have brought to Us, and having studied them carefully We do not find that they authorize you to give communion under both species to laymen.

[9] Compactatorum enim {148v} bipartita ratio est¹. Altera permittit et indulget, ut qui unionem recipiunt² ecclesiasticam³ et pacem⁴ realiter et cum effectu, et⁵ in omnibus aliis quam⁶ in usu communionis⁷ utriusque speciei fidei et ritui universalis ecclesiae conformes essent, et usum talis⁸ haberent, possint⁹ communicare sub utraque specie in regno Bohemiae et marchionatu Moraviae¹⁰. Altera promissionis¹¹ est, dicens quod facta in¹² concilio discussione super articulo communionis¹³, nihilominus si perseveraverint in desiderio habendi talem communionem¹⁴ et id¹⁵ per legatos indicaverint^{16 17}, concilium facultatem¹⁸ largietur sacerdotibus communicandi eas personas, quae in annis¹⁹ discretionis constitutae reverenter et devote postulaverint²⁰, cum adjectione²¹, quod sacerdotes sic communicantes semper dicerent²², quod ipsi debent²³ firmiter²⁴ credere, quod non sub²⁵ specie panis caro tantum²⁶, nec sub specie vini sanguis tantum²⁷, sed sub qualibet specie est integer totus Christus. Neque tamen²⁸ reperitur, quod concilium postea²⁹ hujusmodi facultatem³⁰ dederit³¹. [cont.]

¹ ratio est : est ratio W1, W2, X, LE

² recipere LE

³ ecclesiae LE

⁴ patere W1

⁵ ut G

⁶ preterquam W1; omit. X

⁷ communicationis W1

⁸ tales W1; hujusmodi W2; talem LE

⁹ posse W1

¹⁰ et add. W1

¹¹ permissionis W1

¹² ex W1

¹³ discussionis W1

¹⁴ communicationem W1

¹⁵ non X

¹⁶ indicaverint LE

¹⁷ in desiderio ... indicaverint omit. W1

¹⁸ facultatis W2

¹⁹ in annis : inaniis A; inanis B, C

²⁰ postulaverunt X

²¹ additione LE

²² semper dicerent : dicerent semper LE

²³ deberent LE

²⁴ similiter LE

²⁵ solum W2

²⁶ caro tantum : tantum caro W1

²⁷ sanguis tantum : tantum sanguis W1

²⁸ enim W1

²⁹ omit. W1

³⁰ facultati W1

³¹ dederit W1

3.2.1. Sense of the Compacts

[9] The text of the compacts has two parts.

In the first, it allows and grants that all those [persons] in the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia who sincerely and effectively embrace ecclesiastical union and peace and who already follow this practice may receive communion under both species. The condition is that in all other matters than the communion under both species they conform to the Faith and rites of the Church.

In the second, it says that if, after a discussion in the council¹ concerning the issue of communion, the Bohemians still want to have such communion and formally state this through their legates, then the council will grant their priests the right to give [this form of] communion to those persons who have reached the age of reason and who ask for it with reverence and devotion. It adds the following: the priests who give communion must always firmly believe and tell [the communicants] that it is not just the flesh which is present in the species of bread, and the blood which is present in the species of the blood, but that the whole Christ is present in each species. However, it is not documented that the council afterwards actually granted this right. *[cont.]*

¹ The Council of Basel

[9 cont.] Sive igitur primam compactatorum partem sive¹ secundam adducitis, nihil habetis. Nam secunda pollicitationis est numquam impleta², sive³ quia non petivistis⁴, sive quia concilium ex rationabili causa⁵ recusavit⁶ concedere quod noxium videbat⁷ futurum, cum vestri sacerdotes non servarent conventa. Nec prima pars vobis subvenit, quia concessa⁸ est communicatio⁹ sanguinis¹⁰ usum habentibus et unionem recipientibus ecclesiasticam et conformitatem¹¹ in omnibus aliis praeterquam in articulo communionis¹². Sed unionem ecclesiasticam¹³ et conformitatem numquam recepistis¹⁴. Non igitur indulti fuistis capaces.

¹ sine A

² implete A, B, C, D, G, W1, X

³ *omit.* W1, W2

⁴ potuistis W1, W2; postulatis LE

⁵ rationabili causa : rationabilibus causis W2

⁶ recusabat W1

⁷ videbatur LE

⁸ concessio G

⁹ communicatio W1

¹⁰ calicis W2, X, LE

¹¹ et conformitatem *em.*

¹² communicationis W1

¹³ *omit.* W1

¹⁴ recipitis LE

[9 cont.] So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no [grounds for your petition]. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether you did not actually present a request, or whether the council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice and who accept ecclesiastical union and conformity in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity [with the Church]. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession.

[10] Quod autem¹ unionem et conformitatem non fueritis amplexi² liquet ex³ moribus vestris⁴. Nam sacerdotes vestri non instituuntur ad⁵ titulum beneficii, ut moris est in aliis regnis, per episcopos⁶ et habentes⁷ potestatem, nec⁸ servaverunt umquam mandata concilii, quibus praeceptum⁹ erat, ut *tantum habentes*¹⁰ *usum*^{11 12} *communicarent*, sed pueros et dementes communicaverunt¹³, et nolentes¹⁴ communicare sub utraque specie, noluerunt¹⁵ sepelire, et aliis modis coegerunt, et multis¹⁶ in rebus¹⁷ ritum universalis ecclesiae abjecerunt, et major pars vestrum usum communionis^{18 19} calicis accepit post compactata, quod minime licuit. Non est igitur, quod²⁰ de²¹ compactatis²² gloriemini. Nec illud vos²³ juvat, quod oratores concilii mandaverunt archiepiscopo Pragensi, Olumicensi, et Latolimisbensi²⁴ pro tempore existentibus, ac presbyteris, ad quos pertineret²⁵, {149r} ut populum sub utraque specie requisiti communicarent juxta²⁶ conventa. Nam id²⁷ factum est vigore concessionis, cujus fecistis vos indignos, ut ante diximus.

¹ quod autem : cum W2

² complexi W1; complexi sive complexati LE

³ in W1

⁴ moribus vestris : vestris moribus W1

⁵ in LE

⁶ per episcopos : et episcopatibus LE

⁷ habentibus X

⁸ non LE

⁹ praecautum LE

¹⁰ rationis *add.* LE

¹¹ *add.* discretionis W1

¹² habentes usum : usum habentibus rationis W2

¹³ communicarent X

¹⁴ volentes X

¹⁵ nolulistis X

¹⁶ multum X

¹⁷ modis W1

¹⁸ *omit.* W1

¹⁹ et major ... communionis : majorem usum vestra communio LE

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ *omit.* C

²² quod *add.* W2

²³ illud vos : vos id X

²⁴ Lutholivibensi W1; Leitomisbensi X; Lytomericensi episcopis LE

²⁵ pertinet C, W1, LE

²⁶ capta W1

²⁷ illud W1, W2, X

3.2.2. Bohemian non-compliance with the Compacts

[10] That you have not accepted union and conformity is evident from your actual practice. Your priests are not appointed to the title of the benefice¹ by bishops or others who have that power, as is the custom in other kingdoms. And you have never kept the commands of the council which ordered you to give the communion [of the chalice] only to those who already followed that practice. Instead you have given this communion both to children and to the insane. And those who did not want communion under both species were refused burial and coerced in other ways, and in many areas you have rejected the rite of the Universal Church. And after the Compacts [were issued], the majority of you[r people] received the communion of the chalice which was certainly not allowed. [In conclusion,] you have no reason to pride yourselves in the Compacts. It does not help you[r cause] that the orators of the council mandated the bishops of Prague, Olmütz, and Leitomischl at the time as well as the priests concerned to give people communion under both species, when required to, according to the agreement. For this was done by virtue of the concession which, because of your own actions, you could not legitimately receive, as already explained.

¹ E.g. parish churches

[11] Inspectis¹ igitur compactatis omnibus² et bullis concessis, iudicamus de consilio³ fratrum nostrorum cardinalium sacerdotes vestros absque ulla potestate⁴ laicalem populum ad communionem calicis admittere⁵, decipere plebes⁶, et graviter peccare, dignosque gravi animadversione, et nisi resipuerint, se ac⁷ populum sibi credentem⁸ perditum ire⁹; quos admonemus, ut se corrigant, et nostra potius¹⁰ clementia quam ultione uti velint. Haec ad compactata, quae calicis communionem¹¹ minime vobis permittunt¹².

[12] Sed cupitis, ut apostolica sedes¹³ eam¹⁴ vobis¹⁵ indulgeat. Faceremus¹⁶ id libenti¹⁷ animo, si et vobis utile et nobis decorum¹⁸ esset, at¹⁹ neutrum hic est. Nam quomodo id nos^{20 21} concedamus, quod nostri praedecessores semper²² concedendum esse²³ negaverunt²⁴? Indigne id²⁵ ferrent aliae nationes et adversus nos murmurarent²⁶, quas²⁷ non expedit scandalizare. Vobis autem concessio²⁸ ipsa²⁹ et regno vestro multis de causis damnosa³⁰ esset³¹, sicut noxius est ipse usus³², quem servatis.

¹ perfectis W1

² *omit.* W1, LE

³ concilio X

⁴ ulla potestate : potestate ulla W1

⁵ admittentes W1

⁶ plebem LE

⁷ et W1

⁸ concreditum LE

⁹ iri X

¹⁰ *omit.* LE

¹¹ calicis communionem : communicationem calicis W1

¹² permittit X

¹³ apostolica sedes : sedes apostolica W2, X, LE

¹⁴ id W1

¹⁵ eam vobis : vobis eam X

¹⁶ facerem W2

¹⁷ lubenti LE

¹⁸ decor W2

¹⁹ ut W2

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ id nos : hic W1; nos id LE

²² *omit.* W1

²³ *omit.* W1

²⁴ negarunt LE

²⁵ *omit.* LE

²⁶ reservarent X

²⁷ quos W1, LE

²⁸ concessa LE

²⁹ illa W2

³⁰ damnosum LE

³¹ multis de .. esset : damnosa esset multis de causis W1

³² ipse usus : usus ipse LE

3.2.3. Pope's judgment

[11] So, having examined all the Compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give the communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment.

This is [what We have to say] concerning the Compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice.

3.3. Pope's denial of the petition for papal grant of communion under both species

[12] But now you desire that the Apostolic See should grant you this communion. We should do so willingly if it would be to your benefit and Our honour, but it is neither. How can We grant what Our predecessors always refused? The other nations, which ought not be given cause for scandal, would not accept it and they would blame Us. For many reasons such a grant would be harmful to you and to your kingdom, just like the practice you follow is damaging.

[13] Nam cum fuerit¹ olim communis² opinio vestra, quod assumptio calicis esset³ de necessitate salutis, facile in eundem errorem populus⁴ prolaberetur, si ei permetteretur ex apostolico indulto; et⁵ maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt⁶ in communicando ea⁷ ⁸ facere⁹, quae¹⁰ iussi¹¹ fuerunt¹². Et vos etiam¹³ nunc dicitis communionem¹⁴ sub utraque specie populo¹⁵ utilem et¹⁶ salubrem¹⁷ esse¹⁸, et divinitus¹⁹ revelatam²⁰. Cui assertioni facile accederet credulitas necessitatis²¹. Ad quem vitandum errorem²² necesse est²³ a bibitione calicis²⁴ arcere populum²⁵.

¹ fuit LE

² fuerit olim communis : olim communis fuerit W1

³ fuerit W1

⁴ in eundem errorem populus : populus in eundem errorem W1

⁵ omit. W1

⁶ noluerint D, G, W1

⁷ omit. LE

⁸ in communicando ea : ea in communicando G

⁹ ea facere : facere ea W1

¹⁰ quod LE

¹¹ iussa W1

¹² fuere X, LE

¹³ vos etiam : etiam vos W2

¹⁴ communicationem W1

¹⁵ esse add. LE

¹⁶ omit. X

¹⁷ saluberrimam LE

¹⁸ omit. LE

¹⁹ esse add. W2

²⁰ revelatum W1

²¹ necessariorum W1

²² vitandam errorem : errorem vitandum W1

²³ ut add. W1; necesse est omit. W2

²⁴ omit. LE

²⁵ arcere populum : populus arceatur W1

3.3.1. Risk of doctrinal error

[13] For just as you once commonly believed that the communion of the chalice was necessary for salvation, the people would easily fall into the same error if it was now allowed by apostolic concession, and especially so if your priests did not act as bidden when they gave communion. Even now you claim that communion under both species is useful and beneficial and that it has been revealed by God.¹ This claim would easily lead to belief in its necessity, so to avoid that error it is necessary to forbid the people to drink from the chalice.

¹ Pius here refers to the assertions made by a Hussite delegate during the first reception of the ambassadors, see Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.

[14] Ad id urget¹ debita sacramento² reverentia, ne in populi frequentia calix domini³ male tractetur⁴, et pretiosissimus Christi sanguis⁵ (quod saepe factum est⁶) effundatur⁷ in terram⁸.

[15] Huc⁹ accedit quod maxima¹⁰ pars Bohemorum et Moravorum¹¹ ritum vestrum abhorret, et numquam ad illum posset¹² ¹³ inclinari. Quod¹⁴ si vobis indulgeretur¹⁵, quod petitis, numquam¹⁶ inter vos esset¹⁷ unio¹⁸. Semper durarent inter vos¹⁹ schismata essetque vobis omni tempore timendum domini verbum quia *omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur*. Aequius²⁰ igitur est et facilius, ut vos novum ritum et²¹ minime approbatum relinquatis, et illis conformemini²², quam illi vobis cedentes²³ ²⁴ antiquum et laudabilem usum rejiciant²⁵, ut sit pax inter vos, et id²⁶ ipsum sapiatis²⁷ omnes, et²⁸ vivatis tamquam fratres.

¹ ad id urget : additurque W1

² sacramenti W1, W2, X

³ alioquin LE

⁴ tractatur X; tractaretur LE

⁵ Christi sanguis : sanguis Christi LE

⁶ quod saepe factum est *omit.* B

⁷ effunderetur LE

⁸ terra W1

⁹ hinc W1

¹⁰ magna W1

¹¹ Moravianorum LE

¹² possit W2, X; poscit LE

¹³ ad illum posset : posset ad illum C, W1

¹⁴ *omit.* W2

¹⁵ indulgetur W1

¹⁶ minime W1

¹⁷ erit W1; *omit.* LE

¹⁸ sed *add.* W1

¹⁹ durarent inter vos : inter vos durarent W1, LE

²⁰ conveniens W1

²¹ etiam W1

²² conformamini W1

²³ quam ... cedentes : qui vobis accedentes LE

²⁴ credentes W2, X

²⁵ *omit.* W2; recitant LE

²⁶ *omit.* G

²⁷ sapietis X; sapiant LE

²⁸ sic *add.* LE

3.3.2. Risk of irreverence towards the sacrament

[14] Also the reverence due to the sacrament must be considered: the chalice of the Lord must not be handled irreverently in the thronging of people, and the precious Blood of Christ must not be spilt on the ground, has happened so often.

3.3.3. Risk of civil war

[15] To this should be added that a very large part of the Bohemians and the Moravians abhors your rite and can never be moved to [adopt] it. If We granted your petition, there would never be unity among you: the divisions among you would continue, and you would always have to fear the word of the Lord saying: *Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate.*¹ Therefore it is both more just and more easy that you abandon the new rite that has in no way been approved, and conform to the other [Christians] rather than that they should yield to you and abandon their old and praiseworthy practice: thus, there may be peace among you, you will share the common beliefs, and you will live like brothers.

¹ Matthew, 12, 25

[16] Postremo, si hoc¹ indulgeremus², quod quaeritis, offenderemus³ omnes vicinos {149v} vestros⁴, Theutones, Hungaros, Polonos⁵, eosque perpetuo vobis⁶ infensos⁷ redderemus⁸ ⁹. Nam videntes vos¹⁰ alium ritum habere, sicut hodie faciunt¹¹, semper reputarent vos errare. Et quamvis mille extarent indulta nostra, tamen appellarent vos¹² parum fideles et¹³ nimis arrogantes, qui¹⁴ plus velletis sapere quam ceteri Christiani. Nec possent vobiscum¹⁵ pacifice loqui, et nunc ab istis¹⁶, nunc ab illis molestaremini¹⁷, habentes et¹⁸ in regno infensos et extra regnum¹⁹.

¹ si hoc : quod si LE

² indulgemus W1, LE

³ offendemus LE

⁴ nostros LE

⁵ Bohemos C

⁶ omit. W2

⁷ offensos W1, X

⁸ omit. W2

⁹ perpetuo ... redderemus : infensos perpetuo redderemus nobis LE

¹⁰ omit. LE

¹¹ omit. LE

¹² omit. LE

¹³ vos add. LE

¹⁴ quia W1

¹⁵ vobis X

¹⁶ et add. X

¹⁷ vilescerent nostri LE

¹⁸ omit. C; eos LE

¹⁹ infensos et extra regnum : et extra regnum infensos W1

3.3.4. Risk of external wars

[16] Finally, if We granted your request, We would offend all your neighbours, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles and make them your permanent enemies. For, seeing you having another rite, as they do today, they would always believe you to be in error. And even if there were a thousand letters of permission from Us, they would still say that you have too little faith and too much arrogance, and that you believe to know better than the other Christians. They would not be able to speak peacefully with you, and you would be molested sometimes by one party and sometimes by another, having enemies both inside and outside the kingdom.

[17] Diligenter igitur¹ pensatis omnibus, quae pensanda in his rebus² fuerunt³, non videtur nobis⁴ quod⁵ vel⁶ regi vestro vel regno et⁷ populo conducatur⁸ id⁹, quod petitis, et quod illud vobis¹⁰ competit, quod ait dominus¹¹ filiis Zebedaei: *Nescitis¹² enim, quid¹³ petitis¹⁴*. Nos¹⁵ dispensatores sumus ministeriorum Dei. Ad nos pertinet pascere oves et gregem dominicum¹⁶ in viam¹⁷ salutis dirigere. Imitari nos convenit summum patremfamilias, qui noxia petentes nequaquam exaudit, et omnia dirigit in melius. Non¹⁸ intelligunt omnes, quae sunt vera bona, atque idcirco saepe homines poenituit¹⁹ voti sui fuisse compotes. Hoc, quod²⁰ petitis²¹, non est ad vitam aeternam, fumum quemdam et inanis gloriae ventum²² quaeritis²³.

¹ *omit.* LE

² in his rebus *omit.* X, LE

³ in his rebus fuerunt : fuerunt in his rebus W1

⁴ vobis X

⁵ ve W1; quid W2

⁶ *omit.* W1

⁷ vel W1

⁸ condecet W1

⁹ *omit.* W1

¹⁰ illud vobis : vobis illud W1

¹¹ ait dominus : dominus ait W1

¹² *omit.* W1, LE

¹³ quod W2, LE

¹⁴ petitis LE

¹⁵ vos LE

¹⁶ domini tum LE

¹⁷ via W1

¹⁸ nos W1

¹⁹ homines poenituit : paenituit homines LE

²⁰ vos *add.* X, LE

²¹ petiistis LE

²² inanis gloriae ventum : ventum inanis gloriae W2

²³ quaerentes LE

3.3.5. Pope's judgment

[17] So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, the kingdom, or the people. The words of the Lord to the sons of Zebedaeus apply to you, too: *You know not what you ask.*¹ It is Us who are *the dispensers of the ministries of God.*² Ours is the charge to guard the sheep and to lead the flock of the Lord to the road of salvation. We must imitate the supreme family father who never heeds those who ask for harmful things, but directs everything for the best. Not all understand what is truly good, and therefore many people have regretted it when their wishes were fulfilled. What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory.

¹ Matthew, 20, 22

² 1. Corinthians, 4, 1: *Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei.* NB: the NT has "mysteriorum", but the text used by Pius has "ministeriorum" (or there has been an error in the transmission of the text of the oration)

[18] Nos¹ vestrarum animarum² salutem optamus, atque³ idcirco negamus ea, quae sunt illi contraria, hortamurque⁴ sub specie panis corpus et sanguinem domini accipere⁵ contenti sitis, quod satis est ad salutem,⁶ dicente domino in eodem qui supra allegatus est loco: *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum. Nec velitis pluris⁷ esse quam illi discipuli, qui euntes in Emmaus cognoverunt dominum in fractione panis. Nolite⁸ plus sapere quam oporteat⁹ ¹⁰ sapere¹¹ et pluris¹² esse, quam fuerunt patres vestri, qui communicantes sub una specie in Christo¹³ mortui sunt. Et non bene congruit¹⁴ eorum nomini et famae hic¹⁵ novus ritus. Consolemini eorum memoriam et¹⁶ conformemini¹⁷ reliquae Christianitati, quia¹⁸ turpis est pars, quae suo non convenit universo. Quippe si relicto ritu novo ad pristinam consuetudinem redieritis, unietur¹⁹, et²⁰ in seipso et cum vicinis regnum vestrum et pristinae opes cum pristina pace gloriaque redibunt, eritisque in hoc saeculo felices, et²¹ in alio beati praestante domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est honor et imperium²² per infinita saeculorum saecula.²³ ²⁴*

¹ non LE

² vestrarum animarum : animarum vestrarum W2, X, LE

³ idcirco saepe homines ... optamus atque *omit.* W1

⁴ ut *add.* W1

⁵ suscipere W1

⁶ optamus atque ... ad salutem *omit.* LE

⁷ plures W2

⁸ pluris esse ... panis nolite *omit.* LE

⁹ oportet W2, X

¹⁰ quam oporteat sapere *omit.* LE

¹¹ oporteat sapere : oportet W1

¹² plures W2

¹³ domino LE

¹⁴ convenit W1

¹⁵ huiusmodi W1

¹⁶ consolemini ... memoriam et *omit.* W1; consolamini eorum memoria LE

¹⁷ conformamini LE

¹⁸ *omit.* W1

¹⁹ vivetur C; vivetis [conveniet] LE

²⁰ *omit.* W2

²¹ *omit.* X

²² honor et imperium : gloria et honor imperiumque LE

²³ **saeculorum saecula : secula saeculorum W1, W2, X, LE**

²⁴ Amen *add.* D, G, W1, W2, X

[18] We desire the salvation of your souls, and therefore We refuse to grant that which prevents it. We exhort you to be satisfied with receiving the Lord's body and blood under the species of bread [alone]. It is sufficient for salvation, as says the Lord in the same text quoted above: *I am the living bread which came down from heaven.*¹ *He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever.*² Do not wish to be greater than those disciples who, going to Emmaus, recognized the Lord in the breaking of the bread. Do not wish to know more than you should, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory, and conform to the rest of Christianity: it is shameful for a part to be in disharmony with the whole. If you abandon your new rite and return to the old custom, your kingdom will be united both internally and with its neighbours, and your former wealth will return together with your former peace and glory. You will be happy in this world, and you will be blessed in the next, as granted by Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is the honour and the power through the infinite ages of ages.

¹ John, 6, 41 and 6, 51

² John, 6, 59: *This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever. (Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit. Non sicut manducaverunt patres vestri manna, et mortui sunt. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum)*