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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 10)
Oration "Et breviter me hodie" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (6 July 1446, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Preliminary edition, 2nd version

September 2018
Copenhagen
Abstract

In summer 1446, two German missions were dispatched to Pope Eugenius IV in order to obtain the reinstatement of two prince electors, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, whom the pope had deposed, as well as other concessions. The mission was part of an ongoing diplomatic process aiming at ending German neutrality between the pope and the rump council in Basel with its antipope, Felix V. One mission was from the emperor, Friedrich III, who was represented by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the Imperial Chancery. The other embassy was from the German prince electors, whose spokesman was Gregor Heimburg, an influential German opponent of the Papacy. Heimburg’s mission was to present the princes’ demands of the pope, and his personality ensured that it would be conducted in an arrogant and haughty manner. Piccolomini’s mission was to facilitate negotiations between the Papal Curia and the princes’ embassy and soften the presumed ill effects of their demands – and of Heimburg’s insolence. The two embassies were received by the pope in a consistory on 6 July 1446. As the emperor’s representative Piccolomini spoke first, delivering the oration “Et breviter me hodie”, in which he, on the emperor’s behalf, recommended the petitions of the princes. Afterwards Heimburg presented these petitions.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Kaiser Friedrich III Habsburg; Emperor Frederick III Habsburg; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; German neutrality; Prince electors; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1446; 15th century

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NOTE TO THE READER

This preliminary edition of the oration “Et breviter hodie” is based on the only manuscript presently known to contain that oration. It is owned by the Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich in Wroclaw. The text in the manuscript is very difficult to read and rather corrupt. On the one hand it may seem premature to publish the oration at the present stage, but it belongs, of course, in an edition of Piccolomini’s collected orations, and, moreover, it documents a crucial event in the development leading from German neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the rump council in Basel with its antipope, Felix V. So I have chosen to publish it in a preliminary edition, hoping that other copies of the text will eventually surface and provide a better manuscript basis for a final edition. I do not doubt that if and when such copies become available, a number of the emendations and readings proposed by me will have to be corrected.

Even though the present textual basis is not quite adequate, it is sufficient as basis for a translation which gives, I trust, a reasonably faithful rendition of Piccolomini’s original text.

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg
18 July 2016
Foreword

This is the first version of the final edition of the present text. I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of this text, but I 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 or necessary 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 found previously via the Internet is available in HAL Archives.

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 77 orations - including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses - are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives). Later the project has been expanded to include ambassadors’ orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I have published the preliminary editions of both the individual orations and the collected orations in the French digital research archive, HAL Archives, and I shall gradually be replacing them with the final edition until the whole work – Deo volente - is completed in 2020.

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

10 September 2018
MCS

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I INTRODUCTION
1 Context

In 1445, Emperor Friedrich III² had sent Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the Imperial Chancery, on a mission to Pope Eugenius IV³ to pursue negotiations aimed at ending Germany’s neutrality⁴ between the pope and the rump Council of Basel⁵ with its antipope Felix IV.⁶ ⁷ The negotiations developed positively, but then the pope, rather inadvisedly, decided to remove two of the German prince electors, the archbishops of Trier and Cologne,⁸ from their offices. This naturally caused an uproar in Germany, and in March 1446 the German princes met in Frankfurt to formulate their demands of the pope.⁹ Among them were:

- Reinstatement of the two archbishops
- Acceptance of the supreme authority of ecumenical councils
- Promise to summon a new council in May 1447 in a German city
- Alleviation of the papal “taxation” of Germany in the form of annates etc.
- Confirmation of those decrees of the Council of Basel which the German princes had accepted on 26 March 1439

The princes sent their demands to the emperor – in secrecy - requesting his adhesion. The emperor temporized, and then two embassies were sent to the pope, one from the emperor, represented by Piccolomini, and the other from the princes, led by Gregor Heimburg.¹⁰

² Friederich III Habsburg (1415 – 1493): Duke of Austria (as Fr iedrichh V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452
³ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383 – 1447): Pope from 1431 to his death
⁴ At a meeting in Frankfurt in 1438 the German nation declared its neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel which would later depose the pope and elect an antipope, Felix V. In 1443-44 the Imperial Court began to move towards ending the state on neutrality, which was finally achieved with the Concordat of Vienna in 1447
⁵ The Council of Basel was opened in 1431 and finally dissolved by Pope Eugenius as of 1438. The remaining council fathers in Basel refused to accept the pope’s decision and continued, a rump council, until 1449 when it finally dissolved itself and recognized the Roman pope, now Nicholas V
⁶ Felix V = Amedée VIII (1383 – 1451) : Count, later Duke of Savoy. In 1439 elected antipope under the name of Felix V by the Council of Basel, after its dissolution by Pope Eugene IV
⁷ Cf. Oration “Prius sanctissime praesul” (February 1445, Rome)
⁸ Dietrich II von Moers (1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death. Jakob von Sierck (1398-1456) Archbishop of Trier from 1439 to his death
⁹ Stiebert, pp. 277-281
¹⁰ Heimburg, Gregor (beg. of 15th c. - 1472): German jurist, humanist and statesman. Bitter enemy of Pius II who eventually excommunicated him
Piccolomini joined up with the papal envoy to the emperor, Bishop Parentucelli of Bologna, returning to Rome, whom he let know the demands of the princes so that he could inform the pope about them.

The princes’ embassy reached Rome in the beginning of July, one day before the imperial embassy, but Bishop Parentucelli managed to get access to the pope before his audience with the embassy and explained to him the extreme importance of the princes’ demands, as recommended by the emperor. Since the pope was easily moved to anger when his dignity was slighted, it was in the present situation highly important that he did not let himself be provoked by the – calculated - arrogance and haughtiness of the spokesman of the princely embassy, Gregor Heimburg. The pope understood the message and agreed to receive the recommendation of the emperor benevolently.

In his De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius from 1450, Piccolomini wrote about the mission:¹

> Having heard these thing the king [Friedrich III] said he wished to send envoys to Rome with them [the ambassadors of the German princes] and exhort the pope that he grant their prayers. If he refused these requests, the king still did not intend to go over to the other party, for it would not be fitting to separate from the pope unless he denied those things which pertained to the faith. He ordered Aeneas to follow them to Rome and expound the matter to Eugenius and exhort that, if he acted as a storm requires, furling his sails a little, he would see in what danger affairs stood. The legates of the pope also decided to return to Rome by themselves. When Juan de Carvajal fell ill, Tommaso accepted his mission, and Aeneas was his companion on the whole journey. Gregor [Heimburg] and his companions [envoys of the princes], who had preceded them by four days, arrived only one day ahead, but they had not yet been heard. Tommaso was heard first. Taught by Aeneas, at Caesar’s command, what things they should ask, he informed the pope and persuaded him to hear the envoys benignly. But Eugenius doubted whether those who bore letters from the deposed electors should be heard. Above all, he wished to know what the electors had written and in what terms they had expressed themselves. The electors foresaw this, and, having addressed the pope by his title, they subscribed at the end of the letter the word for the dignity shared by all electors. Then Aeneas, heard first of that party, declared that Eugenius should grant what the electors asked because it would be most pleasing to Caesar and useful to the apostolic see in the future. ... Gregor had been commissioned to give the weighty oration. ... Eugenius replied little at the time. ... After this Aeneas approached Eugenius separately and in the presence of the bishop of Bologna. He opened the mind of the king and obtained a pleasing response. ... In the negotiations held with the other envoys, however, since they had no role except presenting

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¹ Quoted after the translation in Reject, p. 368-370
petitions, a reply was given that Eugenius would send envoys to the meeting at Frankfurt, and there he would answer the princes about their petitions.

In his *Historia Austrialis* from 1453-1458, Piccolomini wrote about these events:

*Cesar vocato Enea Senensi secretario suo secreta principum ei aperuit iussitque papam accedere ac viam pacis eum suadere, pericula exponere et mentem principum, orare ut electores suos restitueret, Caesarem sibi in omni re auxilio futurum. Is itineri se commisit atque Bononiensi antistiti, qui et ipse Romam ibat, comitem se dedit. Legati principum aliquibus diebus precessere, sed Romam non ante se per diem ingressi sunt. Bononiensis, etsi non poterat omnia scire, que legati principum afferebant, tamen imaginabatur et opinabatur multa. Is Eugenium instruxit, ne legatos ante se audiret, quod factum est.¹*

In his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Pius wrote:

*At this time² the imperial electors met at Frankfurt. Roused by the news that Eugenius had dismissed³ the archbishop of Cologne and Jacob, archbishop of Trier, they made a secret compact: unless Eugenius annulled the dismissals, relieved the nation of its burdens, and recognized the authority granted to their councils at Constance, they would recognize the decrees deposing Eugenius which had been voted at Basel. They sent ambassadors to the emperor to explain these matters privately to him and to six of his sworn counselors, and to beg him to join their compact and send his representative with them to Rome. When the emperor heard of the elector’s plan, he said he would send an ambassador to Eugenius and would ask him to grant their petitions; but he would have nothing to do with the compact. It would be an impious outrage, he said, to desert the pope simply because he did not grant what they asked.

Therefore he sent Aeneas to Eugenius to persuade him not to defy the electors, and to beg him instead to restore the deposed archbishops to their former positions, as this would inspire the Germans to abandon their neutrality and return to his side. But if he persisted in his harsh attitude, he risked the scandal of a permanent schism. The emperor, who was not under oath, revealed all the electors’ secret decisions to Aeneas and ordered him to communicate them to the pope.....*

*Meanwhile the apostolic legates, who had been trying for some time, without success, to learn what the electors had decided at Frankfurt, what they wanted of the emperor and what message they were sending to Rome, decided that one of them should go to Rome as soon as*

¹ Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis* (Wagendorfer), I, 23-24
² March 1446
³ By a papal bull of 9 February 1446
possible. ... this duty fell to Bishop Tommaso of Bologna, who accompanied Aeneas on the journey. ... 

When they reached Rome, Eugenius, at Tommaso’s suggestion, heard Aeneas before he heard the delegates of the electors; he promised to do everything that the emperor urged.¹ ²

In that consistory, Piccolomini spoke first on behalf of the emperor, politely but firmly recommending benevolent acceptance of the princes’ demands. Afterwards Gregor Heimburg spoke, with his usual insolence and arrogance,³ but, forewarned, the pope kept his temper and answered graciously.⁴

When the ambassadors returned to Germany, Heimburg made a very negative report of the visit to Rome and the papal reception of the requirements of the princes.⁵ But the tide was turning, and the imperial and papal negotiators, not the least Piccolomini, managed to create a diplomatic compromise which would lead, in February 1447, to the ending of German Neutrality and the declaration of German obedience to Eugenius IV.⁶

2 Themes

2.1. Dangers threatening Christianity

The primary danger to Christianity was the prevailing division in the Latin Church, with the Roman pope, Eugenius IV, and his very large obedience on one side, and the rump Council of Basel with its antipope Felix V and his very limited obedience on the other. Indeed, so few princes and peoples now recognized the council and the antipope, that the return of the German nation to the Roman obedience would surely mean an end to the council and the restoration of church unity. The Papacy’s relations to Germany and the German embassies to the pope were therefore of critical importance.

¹ Pius II: Commentarii, I, 14-15 (Meserve, I, pp. 60-63)
² In his biography of Pius, Campano only wrote: Tertiam [sic!] inde obivit legationem ad eundem Eugenium de duobus electoribus Caesarum restituendis, quos ille Faelici assensos et gravia in ipsius dignitatem molitos exautoraverat (Zimolo, p. 15). In Platina’s biography, the description of the chain of events is somewhat confused (Zimolo, p. 101)
³ Pückert, p. 270
⁴ Piccolomini: Historia Austrialis (Wagendorfer), I, 23-24: Cum admissi ad conspectum essent, prior Eneas locitus est rogans papam, ut principum legatos et audiret benigne et his sese tractabilem preberet, que res cesari esset future gratissima et Romanae sedi utilis, ex qua pax ecclesie oriretur. Cf. also Voigt, I, II, 7, p. 365
⁵ Pius II: Commentarii, I, 15 (Meserve, I, p. 67)
⁶ Cf. Oration “Non habet me dubium” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 January 1447)
In the oration, Piccolomini said:

>You see before your eyes, Holy Father, the many evils caused by the division prevailing in the Church. Your Holiness knows how charity grows cold, how faith disappears, how divine worship is destroyed, and that there is no obedience among subjects, no justice among leaders, no kindness among citizens, no peace between neighbours, no piety among Christians. Many souls have been lost after the catholic faith began to falter. [Sect. 2]

Interestingly, Piccolomini puts the blame for the division squarely on the churchmen:

>All this is caused by the divisions among churchmen, who seek what is their own and not what is Jesus Christ’s. Many would rather deny God than fail in their own endeavours. [Sect. 2]¹

The second danger mentioned is the Turkish expansion into Europe through Greece and the Balkans, following after centuries of Arabic Islamic (Saracen) conquests in the Middle East, Africa and Spain:

>But today, oh misery, the whole East is separated from us. Libya² has nothing in common with us. In Europe there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians³, another by the Saracens ... [Sect. 2]

In this context, Piccolomini for the first time, in an oration, uses the image of Christianity being pressed together in a corner of Europe:

>Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner of Europe. [Sect. 2]

### 2.2 Papal response to the dangers

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¹ Piccolomini had already touched upon the theme of churchmen causing divisions in the Church half a hear before, in his quodlibet disputation at the University of Vienna, the “Aderat nuper” of 25 November 1445
² I.e. Africa
³ Note that, here Piccolomini uses the term Teucri (Teucrians) for the Turks, whereas elsewhere in the oration he uses the term Turci. Teucri was used by Virgil to designate the Trojans, and a number of early Renaissance humanists used the term to designate the Turks, in the mistaken belief that the Turks were the descendants of the Trojans themselves or some neighbouring people. Piccolomini himself used the term Teucrians as late as 1447, cf. the Oration “Tritum est sermone” (January 1447, Rome), but by then he began to reject this usage, his historical studies – correctly - showing him that the Turks had migrated to Asia Minor from somewhere in Asia, though he mistakenly identified them as descendants of the Scythians
On behalf of his imperial master, Piccolomini praises the initiatives of the pope to counter the threats to Christian Europe.

Firstly, the pope had successfully held the aforementioned Reunion Council in Ferrara-Florence.

*For through your diligent endeavours the Greeks, who had been separated from the Latin Church for several centuries, as well as other Easteners have rejoined Church unity.* [Sect. 3]

Though the reunion with the Greeks met with serious opposition from the Greek clergy, the results of the council was a major triumph for the Papacy:

As a condition for the reunion with the Latin Church, the Greek emperor, Constantine VIII Palaeologus, and his government had posed the condition that the Papacy (and the West) would send military and financial aid to his regime in Constantinople, under ever greater political and military pressure from the Turks. After the reunion, Pope Eugenius actually did his best to organize a European military response to the Turkish war of aggression, but his means were rather limited.¹

Piccolomini tactfully omits to mention the disastrous military campaign against the Turks in 1444, led by King Wladyslaw III of Poland and Hungary and a papal legate, Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini,² which ended in a terrible defeat of the Christians at Varna and the death of both king and cardinal. But he does mention the pope’s military aid, including a fleet, as well as financial subsidies to the frontier state, Hungary, directed against the “Sultan”. The sultan was presumably the ruler of the Turks, though Piccolomini sometimes uses this term to designate the Mamluk ruler in Cairo³:

*Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums in order to protect the Hungarians, who are like a wall protecting the Christian faith, and to expel the Turks from Europe and free the miserable Greeks from their hands, those who were once the masters of the East but now appear to be slaves.* [Sect. 3]

It should be noted that Piccolomini only speaks about the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, not about reconquering Constantinople (nor the Holy Land, for that matter), since such endeavours were judged to completely exceed papal resources and would be a matter for the secular rulers of Europe, including the emperor.

¹ On Eugenius’ mobilization against the Turks, see Setton, II, pp. 66-107
³ Cf. the Oration Quamvis in hoc senatu of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (21 August 1451, Wiener Neustadt), where Piccolomini speaks of the “Sultan and the Turk” just as he speaks of the “Saracens and the Turks”
2.3 Restoration of German obedience to the pope

Referring indirectly to the German state of neutrality between pope and council, Piccolomini pledges the emperor’s support to end this division:

*He [the emperor] now intends to work together with Your Holiness and others to end the schism and he will not cease before he sees that this has been achieved. For as a Christian, as duke, as king, as defender and champion of the Church he will as much as possible use his office to restore peace in the Church.* [Sect. 4]

As the emperor’s ambassador Piccolomini carefully refrains from speaking about the demands of the German princes which would be presented by their own ambassador, Gregor Heimburg. But he emphatically states that the emperor agrees with the proposals of the princes and highly recommends them to the pope:

*Since they are decent and appropriate and at this time necessary for the restoration of ecclesiastical peace, His Highness begs that you will receive them kindly and require their implementation, and that you will not show yourself to be severe and difficult who in other important matters have shown yourself to be flexible and lenient.* [Sect. 7]

Actually, there were important differences between the emperor and the prince electors concerning German policies towards the Papacy, but though the pope would have been informed about these in private by the Bishop of Bologna, they could and should not be stated in public. At any rate, the reinstatement of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier was non-negotiable, also for the emperor. If the emperor did not actively and publicly support these two prince electors, it would place him in an extremely difficult, not to say dangerous political position vis-a-vis the German princes.

3 Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered on 6 July 1446. The place was probably the apostolic palace in Rome, and the audience was the pope in a papal consistory and the members of the embassies. The format was a diplomatic address to the pope on behalf of the emperor.
4 Text

It has long been known that Piccolomini delivered an oration at the pope’s audience for the German embassies, but apparently the text of the oration was not known. It has recently been discovered as being extant in

Wroclaw / Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich
Cod. 601, ff. 24v-26r

It has not been edited or translated before.

Passages where the Latin text appears to be corrupt or very difficult to read are underlined.

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, vol. 1, ch. 11-12.

5 Sources

No quotations have been identified in the text of the oration, pointing to its being a businesslike diplomatic address, with no room for oratorical exertions. Indeed, Piccolomini was under strong pressure to keep it extremely simple and in way whatsoever to outshine or take the wind out of the address of Gregor Heimburg, the ambassador of the prince electors.

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1 Helmrath, p. 301, listed it – with a question mark- as: “Rede ’Non Habet me dubium’ (?) vor Eugen IV 1447 (f. 24v-26r)”


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  [*Available via the Internet in HAL Archives*]


II TEXT AND TRANSLATION
Oratio Aeneae facta coram Eugenio papa

[1] {24v} Et breviter me hodie, beatissime pater, et longius orare\textsuperscript{1} oportet. Breviter quia coram tua sanctitate verba sum facturus, qui me prius intelliget quam verba \textsuperscript{2} quamque os aperiam, et qui pro sua perlonga experientia, ingenti prudentia summaque sapientia nec persuasionibus rhetoricis\textsuperscript{3} nec syllogismis indiget dialecticis. Longius\textsuperscript{4} videlicet quia ex parte serenissimi domini Caesaris Friderici, Romanorum regis, filii tui devotissimi, verba facturus sum de re maxima et admodum necessaria: de sublatione videlicet divisionis, quae nunc est in clero atque propterea viget, et immo \textsuperscript{5} de unione ecclesiae, de pace fidelium, de augmento nominis Christiani, de quibus rebus nescio, quae oratio longa possit censeri. Nescio igitur, quid agam, ne vestrae beatitudini an rei me coaptem. Inter dubitandum autem potior sententia visa est tuis auribus morem gerere prolixitatisque\textsuperscript{5} fastidium evitare. Referam igitur, pater beatissime, regium desiderium. Postea\textsuperscript{6} hi clari viri et doctissimi seriosius rem aggredientur, et quod erit necessarium convenientibus rationibus explicabunt.

\textsuperscript{1} em.; illeg. Cod
\textsuperscript{2} em.
\textsuperscript{3} rhetoricos Cod.
\textsuperscript{4} em.; longum Cod.
\textsuperscript{5} em.; Simonis matrem add. Cod.
\textsuperscript{6} em.; post Cod.
1. Introduction

[1] Holy Father, I must speak both briefly and at length. Briefly, because I am speaking before Your Holiness who understands my words before I speak them and open my mouth, and who – because of your very long experience, immense prudence, and great wisdom - needs neither rhetorical persuasions nor dialectical syllogisms. At length, because I shall be speaking on behalf of His Most Serene Lord and Emperor, Friedrich, King of the Romans, your most devoted son, about a matter which is very great and very urgent: the ending of the prevailing division in the clergy, the unity of Church, the peace of the faithful, the propagation of the Christian cause, matters about which I do not think that any oration could be [too] long. I really do not know whether to adapt [my oration] to Your Holiness or to the matter at hand. But having been in doubt, I have now decided [to shape my oration] to suit your ears and to avoid tedious prolixity. So now, Holy Father, I shall put forward the king’s wishes, and afterwards these excellent and learned men will go deeper into the matter and with suitable reasons explain what is necessary.

[3] Quod malum et olim in sacerdotibus viguit et hodie quoque late patet, ex quo maxime verendum est, ne fides nostra, quae angusta est et admodum parva, et angustissima fiat et minima. Ad quod impediendum non dubitat Caesarea majestas tuam beatitudinem summas operas, summa studia impartiri. Namque enim per tuam diligentiam Graeci, qui jam pluribus saeculis a Latina ecclesia dissidebant, ac nonnulli alii Orientalis uniti sunt. Cum saepe auxilia contra Soldanum missa fuerunt, cum adversus Turcos praeparis classem magnosque sumptus feceris, ut et Hungaros, qui murum tenent catholicae fidei, tueris, et Turcos ipsos ab Europa expelleris, et de ungibus eorum infelices Grecos, qui quondam Orientis domini, nunc verum servientes, quis non videt te multo et ardentius ac efficacius laborare, ut non sit schisma in corpore [Christi10]. Etenim frustra his, quae foris sunt, resistimus frustraque alienigenas ejiciamus, cum ab his, qui intus sunt, resistimur. Omnem equidem civitatem, quae hostes vel vincere vult vel evadere, eam prius inter se consonantem esse oportet. Sed scit serenitas regia tuae beatitudinis curam tuumque studium ad unionem ecclesiae. Scit quot expensas habueris, quot labores, quot legatos miseris. In qua re magnas tuae sanctitati gratias agit noster Caesar, quia gregem tuum non deseris neque omittis, quae ad salutem sunt populo procurare.

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1 em.; in add. Cod.
2 em.; ecclesia Cod.
3 em.; comminitur Cod.
4 em.
5 et add. Cod.
6 em.
7 est add. Cod.
8 cleri Cod.
9 parte add. Cod.
10 em.
11 aut evacuamus Cod.
12 Sed Cod.
13 em.; illeg. Cod.
2. Nefarious consequences of division in the Church

[2] You see before your eyes, Holy Father, the many evils caused by the division which is now threatening the Church. Your Holiness knows how charity grows cold, how faith disappears, how divine worship is destroyed, and how there is no obedience among subjects, no justice among leaders, no kindness among citizens, no peace between neighbours, no piety among Christians. Many souls have been lost after the Catholic Faith began to weaken. Formerly, Asia believed in the crucified Christ and stayed, together with the western peoples, in the Ark of Faith. And so did Africa. But today, oh misery, the whole East is separated from us. Libya \(^1\) has nothing in common with us. In Europe, too, there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians, another by the Saracens, and yet another by schismatics infected with various heresies. Our Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner. All this is caused by the divisions among churchmen, who seek what is their own and not what is Jesus Christ’s. Many would rather deny God than fail in their own endeavours.

3. Papal initiatives to counter threats to Christianity

[3] The evil [of disunity] reigned formerly among priests, and it also prevails today and has spread far and wide. Therefore, it is greatly to be feared that our Faith, already confined and reduced, will become even more so. His Imperial Majesty does not doubt that Your Holiness is doing all in your power to prevent this from happening. For through your diligent endeavours the Greeks, who had been separated from the Latin Church for several centuries, as well as many other Easteners, have rejoined Church unity. Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums in order to support the Hungarians, a wall protecting the Christian faith, to expel the Turks from Europe, and to free the miserable Greeks from their claws, those who were once the masters of the East, but now appear to be slaves. Therefore, who does not see that you are working intensely and efficaciously to end the schism in the body [of Christ]. However, in vain do we fight external [enemies] and repel foreigners if we are opposed by those who are inside. Any city wanting to conquer or escape enemies must first have internal concord. But His Serene Highness knows your Holiness’ care and labours for church union. He knows the great sums you have spent, the intensive efforts you have made, and the many legates you have sent. In this whole matter, our Emperor profusely thanks Your Holiness for not deserting your flock and for not failing to do what you can for the salvation of the people.

\(^1\) I.e. Africa
[4] Verum cum hactenus pax optata reperiri non potuerit, cum adhuc remaneat schisma, cum laborandum est usque ad finem (nullius rei principium tam repperitur quam exitus), nunc Caesarea majestas, quae ab initio sui imperii cum reverendissimis ac illustrissimis principibus suis electoribus de hac re sollicita fuit, propterque quam pax optata reperiri possit, cogitavit, et nunc cum tua sanctitate, communiter cum aliis scilicet ad sublationem schismatis modo intendit, etiam ad id operam dat nec cessare vult, nisi perfectum intueatur. Nam cum sit Christianus, cum sit dux, cum sit rex, cum sit protector et advocatus ecclesiae, ad hoc maxime suum officium interponere vult, ut pacem in ecclesia resarciat.

[5] Idcirco cum principes sui praefati, reverendissimi et illustrissimi electores, ad pacem et unionem habendam certa et capitula et media [repperunt¹] eaque suae serenitati communicarunt, visum [est²] ipsi Caesari super illis ad tuam sanctitatem me destinare et supplicare, ut ea recipias et amplectaris. Nam quae principibus illis placent et sibi etiam placent illa, quae digna censet, plurimumque suos principes commendavit, qui ad pacem et unionem ecclesiae tam solertes essent tamque affecti: cunctorum studium in primis universalis ecclesiae statui respicit.

[6] Secundario inclytae nationis Germanicae provisiones, ad quas saepe Caesarea majestas affecta fuerat multumque pro illis intercesserat, ut tuae beatitudini constat.³ Nam de universalis ecclesiae pace cogitare cogitur ipse Christianissimus rex et unione religionis, quoniam in principe esse oportet cura⁴ vestri officii, quod cum imperio suscepit, advocationis. De natione vero agit afficiens consequentia quomodolibet vero ad patriam, pro qua et optimus quisque vitam ponere non dubitat⁵. Agit et regalis dignitas, quam super Germanicos cum imperio suscepit. Agit etiam et justitia, quia dignum aestimat super pluribus suae nationi subvenires. Itemque gratias agit principibus electoriibus rex ipse, qui suae sententiae se coaptaverunt et media ad eam reperierunt convenientia.
4. Imperial initiative to restore Church unity

[4] But it has not yet been possible to restore peace as desired, the schism still prevails, and the labour must be pursued until the end which must be pursued by all means. Therefore, his Imperial Majesty - who, together with his most reverend and illustrious princes, has been occupied with this whole matter from the very beginning of his rule – has been considering how the desired peace may be gained. He now intends to work together with Your Holiness and others to end the schism, and he will not cease before he sees that this has been achieved. For as a Christian, as duke, as king, as defender and champion of the Church, he will - as much as possible - use his office to restore peace in the Church.

5. Petition of German prince electors

[5] Therefore, as his aforesaid princes, the most reverend and illustrious electors, have formulated certain articles and means to [restore] peace and union and have communicated them to His Serene Highness, the emperor has decided to send me to Your Holiness in the matter of these articles and to beg you to receive and accept them. For what pleases these princes also pleases him. He considers their articles to have great merit, and he highly commends his princes for being so solicitous for peace and union in the Church: they are all primarily concerned about the state of Universal Church.

[6] Secondly, there are the provisions for the German nation. As Your Holiness knows, His Imperial Majesty has often shown concern and made requests about such.

As a Most Christian King he must consider the peace of the Universal Church and religious unity, for this prince must have care of your office whose protection he undertook together with imperial rule.

Concerning his nation he is moved by affection for the fatherland, for which the best men do not hesitate to give [even] their life. He is also moved by the kingship over the Germans which he took over together with imperial rule. And finally he is moved by justice for he considers that you should assist his nation most of all.

Again the king thanks his prince electors who adopted his views and found means to further them.

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1 Piccolomini would reuse this formula in his crusade orations to the German diets following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453
[7] Illa audiat tua beatitudo per organum ipsorum auditorum hic praesentium, et seriosius, quae sunt, intelliget. Quae cum sint honesta, et servabilia, et hoc tempore ad integrandam pacem ecclesiasticam necessaria, supplicat regia celsitudo, ut ea tua clementia benigne suscipiat et executionem demandet, nec se gravem difficiliumque in his praebat, qui aliquando in majoribus faciele et exorabilem [se\(^{1}\)] praebuit. Sed sicut ab initio tui pontificatus usque in haec tempora de unione cogitasti, pacem promovisti, nomen Christianum providus juvasti, commune bonum amasti, nationi Germanicae complacuisti, sic et modo facias, petitionem principum et electorum, quae (26r) et petitio regis est, exaudias, et hos oratores votive expeditos remittas, per quem enim potissimum modum nationem illam Germanam, quae tibi devota est, devotissimam reddas, schisma, quod nunc viget, extirpabis, pacem in Christiano populo informabis, sedis apostolicae splendorem augebis, et principes ac populum tuum ...\(^{2}\) tuamque bonitatem immensam venerabuntur. Propter hoc claritatem haurebis, ...\(^{3}\) honorem apud primores, in conspectu potentium admirabilis eris, et facies principum admirabuntur te et tuae sanctitati oboedient faciliter, quam Deus feliciter et longaeve tueatur ad salutem\(^{4}\) ecclesiae sanctae. Amen

\(^{1}\) em.
\(^{2}\) illeg. Cod.
\(^{3}\) illeg. Cod.
\(^{4}\) em.; statum Cod.
6 Emperor’s recommendation

[7] What they are, Your Holiness will hear (and thoroughly understand) through the voice of those present here. Their petitions are honourable, suitable, and at this time necessary for the restoration of ecclesiastical peace. Therefore His Royal Highness begs that Your Clemency will receive them kindly and require their implementation, and that you will not show yourself to be severe and difficult when in other important matters you have shown yourself to be mild and lenient. From the beginning of your pontificate and until now you have been concerned about [ecclesiastical] unity, you have worked for peace, you have diligently promoted the Christian cause, you have loved the common good, and you have been kindly disposed towards the German nation. Act likewise now, and heed the petition of the princes and electors, which is also the petition of the king, and send these ambassadors back with their requirements satisfied. That way is the best one to make the German nation, which is already devoted to you, even more devoted, to uproot the present schism, to restore peace to the Christian people, and to increase the splendor of the Apostolic See. Then the princes and the people will honour your [fairness] and your goodness. You will gain a great reputation among the nobles, you will be admired by those in power, and the princes will honour you and easily obey Your Holiness. May God let you live happily and long, for the salvation of Holy Church. Amen.