

« Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus »

**Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I
and Pope Julius II***

On the feast of St Catherine, 25 November 1512, an anxiously awaited and long negotiated treaty between the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Julius II received public proclamation in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome.

The importance to the papacy of the occasion, the personal satisfaction felt by Julius on achieving his objective, the determination on his part to lose no opportunity of forwarding his aims or consolidating his success, and the strategic use to which he put the diplomatic gesture were all reflected in the setting for the proclamation and the ceremony surrounding it.

Santa Maria del Popolo had become the jewel of the della Rovere family and their dearest loved church in Rome¹). It was originally erected on the site of a huge walnut tree popularly supposed to have been rooted in the tomb of Nero and to have sheltered the demons that haunted the place. Restored and enlarged in the thirteenth century by Gregory IX, who transferred to it from the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran the painting of the Virgin once attributed to St Luke²),

*) I should like to express my gratitude to Reverend E.F. Miller, s.j., for his critical reading of my transcription of the *oratio*. I should also like to express my gratitude to Reverend F.X. Martin, o.s.a., to whom I am indebted in a very special way for advice and assistance.

1) For Santa Maria del Popolo, see *Tesori d'Arte Cristiana*, IV n. 70, Bologna 1967; G. M. ROTONDI, *La chiesa di S. Maria del Popolo e suoi monumenti*, Rome 1930.

2) In 1970, on the night of 26 July, this painting was stolen from the church of Santa Maria del Popolo but was recovered three weeks later at Passo Oscuro outside Rome. After the theft it had been taken to Holland but when the thieves realized that the Italian police were on their track and it was not going to be an easy job to dispose of the painting they agreed, through an intermediary, to send it back to Italy. Its bearer abandoned it at Passo Oscuro where it was found in a boarding-house bedroom by the landlady who brought it to the local Carabinieri, see *Irish Times*, 19 August 1970, p. 13.

it was entirely rebuilt by Sixtus IV della Rovere, probably between 1472 and 1478. In the following years, and particularly during the pontificate of Sixtus's nephew Julius II, the church became a veritable treasure house of renaissance art.

The monastery attached to Santa Maria del Popolo belonged — as it still does — to the Augustinian Friars who were the custodians of the church ³.) It was the prior general of this order, an influential member of the church, a noted renaissance humanist, and an outstanding preacher — Giles of Viterbo — who was chosen to deliver the sermon at the solemn sung Mass that marked the proclamation of the treaty.

Giles was born at Viterbo in 1469 and had entered the Augustinian monastery there in 1488 ⁴). He was appointed vicar general and re-

³) The monastery had belonged to the Franciscans but was obtained for the Augustinians, probably in the year 1250, by Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, the first protector of the order. Cardinal Richard thus not only solved the problem of a *pied-à-terre* at Rome for the superiors of the congregation who had to come there frequently to confer with him, but also in this way established the new order at the centre of christianity. The first general chapter, referred to as the « Great Union » because of the unification at it of several groups of hermits into one Order of Hermits of St Augustine, was held at Santa Maria del Popolo in 1256. The Franciscans were given the monastery of Santa Maria in Capitolio, now Santa Maria in Ara Coeli — which they still retain — dispossessing, in their turn, the Benedictines who were unsuccessful in their protests at losing the monastery. See Saturnino LOPEZ, o.s.a., « De Origine Conventus Romani Stae. Mariae de Populo », in *Analecta Augustiniana*, IX (1921) 71-75.

⁴) Aegidius Viterbiensis, Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532). His family name, although sometimes given as Canisio, was Antonini. For Giles, see Francis X. MARTIN, o.s.a., « Egidio da Viterbo, 1469-1518 : a Study in Renaissance and Reform History », an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cambridge University 1958; John W. O'MALLEY, s.j., *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform : a Study in Renaissance Thought*, Leiden 1968; Giuseppe SIGNORELLI, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo : Agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929; Eugenio MASSA, « Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel Cinquecento », in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV et XVI siècles*, ed. H. Bédarida, Paris 1950. For a critical edition of one of Giles's major works, see EGIDIO DA VITERBO, *Scechina e Libellus de litteris Hebraicis*, ed. François Secret, 2 vols, Rome 1959. For a critical edition of a discourse of Giles at Rome 1507, see John W. O'MALLEY, s.j., « Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II; Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507 », in *Traditio* XXV (1969) 265-338. For an excellent survey of studies on Giles, see Francis X. MARTIN, o.s.a. « The Problem of Giles of Viterbo; a Historiographical Survey », in *Augustiniana* IX (1959) 357-379; X (1960) 43-60. For a selective bibliography and a listing of studies on Giles published since Father Martin's survey appeared, see O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, cit., pp. 192-206.

former of the Augustinians by Pope Julius II in 1506, and at the general chapter of 1507 was elected prior general. In 1512 he was in his second period of office as prior general, having been re-elected at the general chapter in 1511.

Giles's fame as a preacher dated from the late 1490s. More than once he had been called on to preach in Rome before Alexander VI, and the popularity of his sermons led King Federico of Naples to send him to preach in Puglia in the spring of 1501. Julius II had a particularly high regard for Giles as a preacher. Time and again he summoned the friar to deliver a sermon or series of sermons, and on the occasion of two events of his pontificate which he considered of vital importance — the opening of the Lateran Council and the concluding of a treaty with the emperor — it was Giles who was called on to give the formal discourse.

But it was not a mere facile oratorical flair that won Giles a name among the distinguished and sought-after preachers of his day, and worthy to be ranked by Paolo Cortese in 1510 with the illustrious names of Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, Roberto da Lecce, Mariano da Genazzano and Girolamo Savonarola ⁵). Giles's was an eloquence which indeed met the demands of the critical audiences of renaissance Italy. He presented doctrine in the cultured phrases of the humanists. In the circles of the litterati he was readily accepted, and he was a favoured member of the Pontanian academy at Naples. But it was his sense of spiritual values and his urgent awareness of the need for religious reform that provided the vital, kindling, spark to his discourses and sermons. Even in the notoriously anti-clerical Pontanian academy it was the combination of the spiritual and the academic, this happy fusion of theology and the new learning that was found attractive ⁶). Pontano himself acknowledged gratefully

⁵) Speaking of these preachers, Cortese says of Giles « Quid item modo de Egidio Viterbense dicam? qui unus inter multos videri potest ad Italarum ingenia flectenda et mitiganda natus, cuius sermo ita literatioris elegantiae sale condita ut in summa verborum concinnitate omnis adsit sententiarum succus, ac ita suaviter et numerose fluit ut in vocis varietate et flexu plectri similes exaudiantur soni », in *De Cardinalatu* p. ciii^b. For an assessment of Giles as a preacher and an account of his preaching career from 1502-1505, see MARTIN, « Egidio da Viterbo », cit., pp. 99-150.

⁶) A discussion on Giles's place and influence in the Pontanian Academy was first published by F. FIORENTINO, « Egidio da Viterbo e i Pontaniani di Napoli », in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, IX (1884) 430-452. For a more recent and critical study see MARTIN, « Egidio da Viterbo », cit., pp. 49-62. See also E. PÈRCOPO, « La vita

advice and admonitions from « *Aegidio meo* » and noted that it was his integrity as a person, his qualities as a priest which, with his learning, marked Giles off from the rest of men. What marked him off from those others of his time who were bent on religious reform was his particular understanding of this reform.

His studies at Padua (c. 1490-1493), apart from confirming a distaste for the Averroists, had brought Giles into contact for the first time with those interested in reform. He had lived at the Augustinian college of SS Philip and James among friars from many different countries in Europe and through them he became aware of the grave problems besetting the church in general and the Augustinian order in particular. This pre-occupation with reform, which embraced not only the concept of a religious renewal within his order but a whole outlook on what he considered was an age of renovation and restoration, was to colour all his life and work ⁷). It had nothing of the uncompromising harshness of a Savonarola and, unlike that reformer, who sought to impose change from without, Giles was convinced that reform should be effected from within. « Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men » — this incisive statement was an admirable summary of Giles's own ideal.

It was at the opening of the Council in the church of St John Lateran on 3 May 1512 that Giles had pronounced these memorable words ⁸). His audience that day was a distinguished one indeed, and the ceremony was colourful and impressive. Now, six months later, on 25 November 1512, the audience in Santa Maria del Popolo, while not so vast, was hardly less distinguished. The gathering was colour-

di Giovanni Pontano », in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, N.S. LXII (1936) 116-250; IDEM, « Gli scritti di Giovanni Pontano », *ibid.*, LXIII (1937) 57-228.

⁷ For an exhaustive study of Giles's concept and ideal of reform, see O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, *cit.*, pp. 139-178.

⁸) This discourse was printed both at Nuremberg and Rome (probably 1512) : *Oratio Prima Synodi Lateranensis habita per Aegidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem*. A copy is to be found in the Biblioteca Vaticana in a rare collection of printed *opuscula* of the Fifth Lateran, index no. R.I. IV 2107 (11), fols 30r-39v. Copies are also to be found in, among other libraries, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Museum. Also reprinted in P. LABBÉ and G. COSSART, *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. J. Hardouin, IX (Paris 1714), 1576-1581. An important appraisal of Giles's concept of reform, as proposed to the Lateran Council in this discourse, and of the position that councils held in Giles's reform thought, is to be found in a study by Nelson H. MINNICH, s.j., « Concepts of Reform Proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council », in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969) 163-251, at pp. 168-173.

ful and the ceremonial exact. Circumstances demanded the most painstaking care in the organization and execution of every aspect of the event. Julius had an eye to the diplomatic advantages to be gained, a determination that nothing be allowed to mar the occasion or threaten its successful outcome. A ticklish, political manoeuvre was on the verge of completion.

Paris de Grassis, in his diary, paints us a vivid picture of the scene and, at the same time, reveals the many trials and headaches that were the lot of that meticulous master of ceremonies ⁹⁾.

Preparations at Santa Maria del Popolo included the careful arrangement and placing of those attending the Mass. Not unexpectedly, special attention was to be given to the emperor's plenipotentiary at the negotiations, Matthäus Lang, bishop of Gurk ¹⁰⁾. Lang, from the time of his formal entrance into Rome on 4 November, had been treated like a king. Every effort was made to satisfy and win him. Every honour was done to this man on whom so much depended. And he, for his part, received all overtures with a characteristic lack of cooperation. He could assume on occasion — and frequently

⁹⁾ Paris de Grassis, 1470-1528. Master of ceremonies for Julius II and later for Leo X, prelate of the pontifical palace, bishop of Pesaro (1515). Outstanding in the performance of the duties of master of ceremonies, he was, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the Lateran Council, promised a bishopric by Julius II for the admirable way in which he had organized and conducted the whole function. He had, however, to wait until 1515 for the fulfilment of this promise by Julius's successor, Leo X. The diary of de Grassis provides an invaluable source for a day to day — and strikingly vivid — account of the lives of Julius II and Leo X from 1506 to 1521. There are two fine manuscript copies of this diary in the Biblioteca Vaticana — Vat. Lat. 12268 and Vat. Lat. 12269 — and the differences between these manuscripts are few and slight. A manuscript copy in the British Museum, B.M. Add. MSS 8440-4, is often defective. For de Grassis see L. PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, ed. F.I. Antrobus and R.F. Kerr, vols. VI-VIII, London 1950, *passim*.

¹⁰⁾ Matthäus Lang, 1468-1540. Provost of the Augsburg chapter (1500), bishop of Gurk (1501), cardinal (1512), archbishop of Salzburg (1519); it was only in 1519, however, that he was ordained and consecrated bishop. Having entered the imperial service as a secretary, he quickly rose to a position of power and influence. The emperor designated him as representative at the negotiations leading to the League of Cambrai (1508) and to the treaty with Julius II (1512). Although they received him with great deference and with almost excessive pomp and ceremony, the humanists of Italy considered him a « barbarian », de Grassis, quoted in PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, cit., VI, pp. 345-346. For Lang and the negotiations leading to the treaty with Julius, see PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 422-426. For Lang, see A. SCHOPF, *Ein Diplomat Kaiser Maximilians, Matthäus Lang*, Vienna, 1882; PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, *passim*.

did — the airs of an emperor and, although in this instance his haughtiness was less apparent, it is difficult not to see in his actions, however he might explain them, an arrogantly calculated disregard for papal honour and ecclesiastical practice. There was no mistaking to which ruler — papal or imperial — he gave his loyalties or to which court he gave precedence ¹¹).

On 19 November Julius had honoured Lang with nomination as a cardinal but Lang had requested that this be kept secret and had declined to wear the dress of a cardinal, giving as his reason that the object of his mission might otherwise be misunderstood ¹²). Now that the pact between the emperor and Julius was about to be publicly proclaimed, Julius, who had previously dispensed Lang from the obligation of wearing the cardinal's robes, hoped that the prelate would see fit to recognise the occasion, and the dignity of the office of cardinal, by attending in full cardinalate splendour. The pope even took the extra precaution of sending to Lang a mule, such as the cardinals were accustomed to have, with most ornate trappings, together with a present of robes including two *cappae magnae* — one red, one violet — two *mantellettae* and corresponding shoulder capes with hoods, cassocks and sashes, two *rochets*, several red *birettas*, and other insignia of a cardinal. The master of ceremonies was primed to usher Lang to a place of honour as a cardinal. But Lang arrived at Santa Maria del Popolo dressed in his ordinary robes as a bishop ¹³).

This was the first setback to Julius's arrangements. However, the warrior pontiff, the *papa terribile* better known for his impetuosity and temper than for his tactful diplomacy, was also well used to facing up to difficulties and to surmounting them with determination and a keen sense of the practical solution. To de Grassis, who urgently enquired if he should seat Lang as had been arranged, Julius replied, « Why not ! » and when de Grassis continued, insistently, that only bishops and cardinals wearing the correct robes for the occasion should take their places in the chapel where Mass was to be sung, the pope brushed aside the remonstrations. Lang, whatever he chose to wear, was to have his place. De Grassis complied, but unwillingly, and his

¹¹) See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 423-426.

¹²) *Ibid.*, p. 426; in fact Lang had originally been nominated cardinal in March 1511 but reserved *in petto*, see *ibid.*, p. 344.

¹³) See Paris de Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268, fol. 435r.

indignation was shared by the assembled cardinals ¹⁴). The troubles of the master of ceremonies had only just begun.

With the arrival of each group — the Swiss, the Florentines, the Luccans, those from Parma, Siena, Bologna, and many others including senators and officials of the city of Rome ¹⁵) and representatives from Spain and Portugal — the niceties of procedure became more complicated. Contending with demands of supposed rights of precedence, facing the necessity to keep apart the most intransigent of ancient rivals, manipulating troublesome protesters, de Grassis was in constant consultation with the pope. Again Julius showed that he could be diplomatic when he so wished and when he considered that the situation warranted tact. The problems were resolved by compromise and at length, with the large congregation assembled in the church, the ceremony could begin. It was now already late — as de Grassis records in his diary ¹⁶).

At the Mass were present fifteen cardinals, as were, too, all fifty-two envoys, or ambassadors, who were in Rome at that time. The cardinals sat on two long seats on the right and left of the pope and after them, between the last cardinal priest and the one deacon, was Lang. His place was so arranged that he might be in full view of the German representatives and might be seen too by all the people in the church. The ambassadors sat, some behind the cardinals, some on long seats that were positioned in front of the altar ¹⁷).

The Mass was celebrated by the English cardinal, Bainbridge ¹⁸),

¹⁴) *Ibid.*, fol. 435r-435v.

¹⁵) In order to secure the loyalty of the people of Rome during the time of the Lateran Council, officials of the city, such as senators and conservators, were, at functions, assigned special places by Julius, see N.H. MINNICH, s.j., and H.W. PFEIFFER, s.j., « Two woodcuts of Lateran V », in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 8 (1970), p. 198 n. 58.

¹⁶) For an account of this assembling of the congregation for the ceremony, see de Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268, fols 435v-436r.

¹⁷) *Ibid.*, fol. 437r, 437v.

¹⁸) Christopher Bainbridge 1462/3-1514. Archbishop of York (1508), cardinal (1511). Nephew of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester. Studied at Oxford, Ferrara, Bologna, and was incorporated at Cambridge as a LL.D in 1503-4. Doctor of civil law and doctor of canon law, he was provost of Queen's College, Oxford, 1496-1508. He was Master of the Rolls from 1504-1507. His ecclesiastical career, too, advanced rapidly until in 1508 he became archbishop of York. In 1509 Henry VIII sent him to Rome as his representative, and in 1511 he was created cardinal, the only Englishman to become a curia cardinal since the late fourteenth century. Julius also appointed him commander-in-

and not to the complete satisfaction of the master of ceremonies ¹⁹). De Grassis held that at this Mass of the Holy Spirit one prayer only should be said before the Epistle and after the Communion — that of the Holy Spirit. Certainly in the papal chapel there should be no commemoration of a living person other than the pope. However, as several of the cardinals asked that a prayer for the emperor be inserted, as in the liturgy of Good Friday, Julius once more compromised. He decided that three prayers should be said, the first that of the Holy Spirit, then one for the pontiff, and the third for the emperor, following thus, not the liturgy of Good Friday, but that allowed in the ordinary of the Mass when celebrated other than in the presence of the pontiff. Then Bainbridge, on his own initiative and quite unexpectedly, inserted a fourth prayer, for his own king, Henry VIII of England. As Henry was a party to the Holy League, Bainbridge, as his ambassador and the celebrant of the Mass, may have considered that this fourth prayer was more than justified ²⁰). To de Grassis, however, it was totally out of place and he affirms that it was even a cause of laughter to many of the congregation.

When Mass was ended Giles began his discourse. It was a long one. It must also, for all its length, have been of interest to his listeners for it brought no criticism from de Grassis who was quick to record the reactions of the assembly and to remark on any sermon he considered long-winded ²¹). After the discourse the ceremonies were concluded with the reading of the terms of the treaty. The pope intoned the *Te Deum* and after the usual prayers, gave his blessing.

chief of the troops in 1511 and entrusted him with the siege operations at Ferrara. Between Bainbridge, who was anti-French, and Silvestre Gigli, Bishop of Worcester and Bainbridge's fellow ambassador at Rome, who was pro-French, there was great rivalry and on the death of Bainbridge in 1514 it was rumoured that he had been poisoned and that the murder had been promoted by Gigli. For Bainbridge, see A.B. EMDEN, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Oxford 1957, I, pp. 91-93. For a detailed study of Bainbridge's career at Rome see D.S. CHAMBERS, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509 to 1514*, Oxford 1965.

¹⁹) See de Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268, fol. 436r-436v.

²⁰) De Grassis, recording in his diary the ceremony at Santa Maria del Popolo, heads the entry « De publicatione ligae sive foederis noviter inter Pontificem et Imperatorem ac Regem Catholicum et Anglicum initae ». There is, however, no mention made by Giles in his *oratio* of Henry VIII as a third member in the treaty agreement between Julius and Maximilian. See *infra* p. 97.

²¹) He described a sermon by Giles in St Peter's, 21 December 1507, as « nimis longa ». Vat. Lat. 12268, fols 143v-144r.

Then, following the ceremonies which had taken almost four hours, a dinner was held in the adjoining Augustinian monastery to bring the day's celebrations to a close. At this Lang was indeed treated like the emperor he represented. He alone of all the cardinals was invited to dine at the pontiff's table — he alone who was not arrayed in the appropriate ceremonial dress. Finally, with the festivities completed, Julius, preceded by all the envoys, returned in splendour to the Vatican palace through streets lighted by myriads of candles ²²). It had been a marathon day for the aging pontiff only partly recovered from a near fatal illness of the previous year. But clearly Julius judged the occasion of such importance that it was worth on his part a supreme, almost superhuman, effort.

The treaty with Maximilian meant much to Julius ²³). He had been elected to a pontificate without power or possessions but rich in debris and chaos bequeathed by the Borgia régime. By statesmanship and warfare he regained, and maintained, his sovereignty over the papal states. And this required continual adroit diplomatic manoeuvring. To control the foreign powers on Italian soil Julius had played off one against the other. The basis of his strategy was a frequent change of ally, sometimes made with almost indecent rapidity. He joined Louis XII in the League of Cambrai against Venice. He joined forces with Venice to reduce French power in Italy. But the threat from France was not focused only on the temporal power of the pope. The anti-papal, schismatic, Council of Pisa assembled by Louis XII in 1511, while ostensibly to bring about ecclesiastical reforms, was a bid to overthrow Julius in his spiritual supremacy also. Faced thus

²²) De Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268, fol. 437v.

²³) Giuliano della Rovere, 1443-1513, Pope Julius II (pontificate 1503-1513). Nephew of Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere) and, like his uncle, a Franciscan. As pontiff he was warrior, politician, administrator, and patron of the arts. He personally led his armies in military campaigns; administratively, he supervised magistrates, he defined legal and procedural distinctions between lay and ecclesiastical cases, effected a monetary reform; as patron of great artists — particularly Michelangelo, Raphael, Bramante — he beautified Rome, began building the new basilica of St Peter's, commissioned such works as the frescos on the Sistine Chapel vault and the paintings of the Stanza della Segnatura, and he enriched the Vatican library. Giles described him enthusiastically as « Pontifice massimo fra tutti e vero Imperatore dell'orbe terraqueo », see SIGNORELLI, *Egidio da Viterbo*, cit., p. 42. For Julius, see PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, cit., VI, passim; E. RODOCANACHI, *Histoire de Rome : le pontificat de Jules II*, Paris 1928; G. B. PICOTTI, *La politica italiana sotto il pontificato di Giulio II*, Pisa 1949.

with attack on two levels, Julius realised that any military gain against France had to be backed up by a parallel rout of the schismatics. In fact, to Julius the rout of the schismatics was of more importance than any political or military success. The revolt within the church was of greater concern to him than was any other reversal or disaster. And he was determined to pursue this combat — unlike some of his military campaigns — until the movement had been completely wiped out. He was prepared to go to any lengths to achieve this end.

Thus, while warfare raged across the battlefields of northern Italy and total defeat and annihilation was only averted by the timely assistance of the Swiss, Julius had at the same time to concentrate on winning over the emperor who had favoured the Council of Pisa. Only by detaching Maximilian from the French and gaining his support for the Lateran Council, convoked by the pope in answer to the schismatic assembly, could Julius hope for success ²⁴).

The treaty between Maximilian and Julius has received rather scant attention from historians. Its potential importance at the time of its conclusion has been overshadowed by the subsequent actual importance of the Lateran Council. But had the emperor succeeded in having the meetings of the schismatic council held, as he wished, at a town of the empire instead of at Pisa and had then thrown the whole weight of his influence and power behind that assembly, the Lateran Council could conceivably have been the one to have lost its impetus and to have ground to an ineffectual halt. In this matter Julius, without the historians' advantage of hindsight, was very alive to what was for him a serious problem and imminent danger. Hence the consequence he attached to the successful conclusion of a treaty.

And now when at last the tedious and difficult negotiations had borne fruit — though at the price of Julius having to side with the emperor against the recent papal allies, the Venetians — and the vital treaty was concluded, its public proclamation was made in Santa Maria del Popolo ²⁵). It was natural that both the pope and the emperor should figure largely in the formal discourse delivered on this occasion and Giles's *oratio* can be seen, as Signorelli points out, as a hymn

²⁴) See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 422-423, 427.

²⁵) For full details of military campaigns, diplomatic manoeuvring, and political negotiations during the pontificate of Julius, from the time of his election as pope up to the announcement in 1512 of the treaty with Maximilian, see PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 232-427.

of praise to Maximilian and to Julius, concluding with a plea to the pontiff to end discord at home and unite all christian forces against the Turk ²⁶). But while these form, roughly, the main lines of the discourse, the dominant theme is the providential care of God for His church, a care most strikingly manifest in the darkest hour of need.

With his opening words Giles summarises his thesis. This very ceremony in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo celebrates a particular instance of the ever-present and all-powerful assistance of God. In a year in which she was so beset by calamity that it seemed vain to even hope for survival, the church now finds herself freed from the onslaught of the enemy and proffered the friendship of the emperor ²⁷).

The darkness of calamity which had enveloped Italy and the church had not been, Giles reminds his audience, the darkness of final eclipse but rather a darkness from which a new life and a new light has emerged. And to parallel this phenomenon, he has recourse not only to the Old Testament and the creation of light at the beginning of the world when « darkness hung over the deep » (Gen. 1 : 2) but to St John and Plato. He couples the Platonic light of the sun — the higher level of understanding as opposed to the world of sense, the darkness of the cave — with St John's « Light ... who enlightens every man who comes into the world » (John 1 : 9) ²⁸).

Giles elaborates on the dangers that had threatened, the disasters that had occurred. Schism had broken out and threatened the spiritual supremacy of the pope. Massed armies had attacked the papal forces and, on Easter Sunday 11 April 1512 at Ravenna, had inflicted a crushing defeat, despite the assistance given to the pope by the army of Ferdinand of Spain. At the news of the collapse, Rome was reduced to a state of panic-stricken paralysis ²⁹). Yet at this moment, from

²⁶) « <Egidio> v'inneggiava, oltre che a Giulio II, che innalzava « usque ad astra », a Massimiliano che chiamava difensore della Chiesa ... Chiudeva con una calda perorazione al Pontefice ... di togliere le intestine discordie, di emendare i costumi, e ... di riunire tutte le forze cristiane per dirigerle contro i maomettani, pestilenza dell'umanità », SIGNORELLI, *Egidio da Viterbo*, cit., p. 54.

²⁷) *Oratio* fol. 1r.

²⁸) *Ibid.* fol. 1v. For Giles's correlation of the theory of knowledge as insinuated in St John's Gospel and that developed by Plato, see O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., p. 51.

²⁹) As Ravenna had contained the magazines for supplying the papal army, the consequences of the disaster promised to be catastrophic. Furthermore, it was feared

the darkness of despair, Julius, like the Almighty at the dawn of creation, called forth light and light was made. The Lateran Council was inaugurated and — so Giles interprets events — as miraculously as the first light broke upon the darkness, the military expeditions, the invading armies, melted away; the schismatic council at Pisa wavered and fled ³⁰).

Giles sets this supernatural intervention of God's power in the context of the creation of the world and relates to the biblical scene the current events of his day. On the first day light was made — hope dawned again in the hearts of men with the inauguration of the Lateran Council; on the second day was created the vault of the sky to separate the waters — the Lateran Council emerged as a visible sign of condemnation to the schismatic council at Pisa; on the third day, the day on which the earth in the beginning brought forth fruit, the Council too brought forth its fruit. With the first stirrings of religious renewal the church found that God's providential care was with her to avert disaster and save her from apparent imminent defeat. The triumphs of the Old Testament, of Abraham, of Joshua, of Saul, of David ... Giles's list is long ... were won by the sword. Not so the victory of the present year. This time the enemy was dispersed without military force, without recourse to arms. *Fugit impius nemine persequente*. The army of Louis of France had faded away. And now the fourth day, the day on which the sun was made, the treaty between the emperor and the pope is proclaimed in the church dedicated to her from whom came forth the very greatest Sun ³¹).

Departing from the close framework of the biblical setting, yet retaining a link with the fourth day of the creation, Giles likens the emperor to the eagle whose ability it is to look unflinchingly at the sun. Then, after a short digression in which the eagle symbol serves to illustrate a progression in the unfolding of God's law to man, Giles launches into a long anthem of praise to Maximilian ³²). He concludes this laudatory passage with a return to the Genesis scene, paralleling with the creation of the greatest luminary, the

that Rome would now be sacked, the prelates murdered, and a new pope elected. See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 399-402.

³⁰) *Oratio*, fols 1r-2r.

³¹) *Ibid.*, fol. 2r-2v. For an account of the collapse and withdrawal of the French forces, see PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 413-417.

³²) *Oratio*, fols 2v-3v.

sun, the wonder of this day on which the treaty is proclaimed and the magnificent promise for the future which shines forth from it.

And what could not now be achieved when the two great lights of the world have been joined together? The two great Romans — *Maximus Caesar* and *Pontifex Maximus* — together encompass all temporal and spiritual power and authority. Their functions, distinct, individual, each supreme in its own sphere, yet balancing and complementary when joined one to another, are brought out by Giles in a striking series of contrasts in image and idea ³³). Then, while emphasising the propitiousness of the occasion, Giles seizes the opportunity to urge the christian leaders to confront the two great enemies that threaten christendom, the internal schism and overall urgent need for religious reform; the external continual menace from the Turk. Both stem from the same source of evil and either would be sufficient in itself to tear apart the christian world ³⁴).

Since long before 1453 and the fall of Constantinople, western rulers had lived with the constant threat and danger of a challenge from the East. A campaign against the Turk had become the inevitable and most urgent theme of preachers ever sensible to the threat to christendom and preoccupied with the recovery of the holy places. By 1512, however, the genuine urgency of the topic had given way to a repetition that had become for many a mere oratorical device. But not so with Giles. For him this was still a matter of real concern ³⁵). Discarding all literary symbolism, he comes down to earth to pound home his argument. With a realistic picture of the Turkish leader and a review of historical facts, he warns christian rulers against allowing internal dissensions to weaken their defences. All christian leaders must unite in opposition to the Turk ³⁶).

And finally Giles turns directly to Julius. Up to this point the pontiff and the emperor had shared equal prominence, had been equally exhorted, equally petitioned, had received equal accolade. But for Giles, in the last analysis, the highest authority lies firmly and undoubtedly in the hands of the pope. Reverting to his opening,

³³) *Ibid.*, fol. 4r-4v.

³⁴) *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

³⁵) See O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., particularly pp. 116, 117, 129-130, 177. For a general study of the renaissance view of the Turk, see Robert SCHWOEBEL, *The shadow of the crescent : the renaissance image of the Turk (1453-1517)*, New York 1968.

³⁶) *Oratio*, fols 4v-5v.

and dominant, theme he reminds Julius of God's providence as manifested so strikingly this year. More important, he points out that this miraculous intervention of God's assistance was made in a special, unparalleled, way to Julius himself. And so to the pontiff who was divinely given to tread upon the asp of schism, the basilisk of war, to deliver the church from internal revolt and Italy from foreign domination, Giles makes his final impassioned appeal ³⁷).

Two deadly plagues remain to be stamped out, the one attacking from within, the other from without; the one a breakdown of morals, of discipline, of religious beliefs, the other a menace of imminent, barbaric destruction; the one a serpent — insidious, internal, collapse; the other a lion — ravening, external, attack. If Julius is to ensure the victories already given to him by divine intervention, if he is to confirm the alliance now being celebrated, if he is to preserve the monuments and memorials of the past greatness of Rome, the temple now being raised to the prince of the apostles ³⁸), he must bring about reform and, ending discord at home, unite all christian forces against the Turk. He has trodden with safety upon the asp and basilisk and now triumphantly he will crush the lion and the serpent. For on this auspicious day a treaty is proclaimed — a treaty which unites, by joining in alliance the emperor and the pope, a power and an authority which can sweep away all opposition and with God's assistance will suffer no defeat ³⁹).

Giles has on several occasions described his own writings as «tumultuous» ⁴⁰) and this is only too evident to those who have

³⁷) *Ibid.*, fols 5v-6r.

³⁸) Time and again in his writings, Giles mentions the new basilica of St Peter's. In his opinion it was the most artistic project of the time, but it was not only the sheer magnificence of the plan which won his enthusiasm. The project had a special symbolism in his concept of the repetitive pattern in sacred history — Saul, David, and Solomon building the old Temple at Jerusalem, the popes of the Renaissance building the new basilica on the hill of the Vatican. See O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., particularly pp. 113, 122, 125, 136.

³⁹) *Oratio*, fol. 6r-6v.

⁴⁰) See E. MARTÈNE and U. DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, Paris 1724, III, col. 1236, «scripta tumultuaria mea»; «Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II; Text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507», ed. J. W. O'MALLEY, s.j., in *Traditio* XXV (1969) 337, «sed haec haecenus inculito tumultuarioque stilo scripsisse satis fuerit». See also Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, Cod. Lat. 1001, fol. 205v; Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, Cod. G.X. 26, p. 129,

grappled with works like the *Scechina* ⁴¹⁾ or the *Historia* ⁴²⁾. Even the formal discourse prepared for Pope Julius and King Manuel of Portugal, which was delivered in St Peter's in Rome on 21 December 1507 and then carefully edited for presentation in manuscript form to Manuel, does not belie the epithet «tumultuous» ⁴³⁾. Giles's imagery, his symbolism, his literary style are often both cumbersome and involved, and, furthermore, as his understanding of biblical and classical writings is unfamiliar to us, they can at times be tortuously obscure.

While this judgement on Giles's writings is not entirely inappropriate in the case of the discourse in Santa Maria del Popolo, the *oratio* does appear to have been particularly carefully formulated. Here there is a clear progression in form and in idea, and cohesion is given to the whole by the dominant theme of God's providential care for His church. Giles indicates the events leading up to this day, with their attendant manifestation of divine intervention; the celebration of the alliance brings an acknowledgement of the protagonists, leading to an appeal for the fulfilment of the promises of this propitious event brought about by God; and finally a reminder to the pontiff of his special place as the object of God's providential care, climaxed by the plea for a campaign against both the internal and the external enemy whose rout is assured by the alliance of the two greatest powers in christendom.

The style too is admirably adjusted to the theme and to the occasion. The contrast between the darkness and the light, the long passages of balancing and counterbalancing descriptions, the sharp apposition of nouns and adjectives, all set off and reflect the tenor of the discourse, the significance of the event.

⁴¹⁾ *Scechina e Libellus de litteris hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret, 2 vols, Rome 1959. The only major work of Giles which has been published, it is a christian interpretation and adaptation of the cabala, as well as an exposition of the cabalist method and doctrine as introduced into the sphere of Catholic thought. It was written in 1530 at the request of Pope Clement VII.

⁴²⁾ *Aegidii Viterbiensis Cardinalis historia XX saeculorum per totidem psalmos digesta*. This work was written by Giles early in the pontificate of Leo X, probably between 1513 and 1518, and is dedicated to Leo. It is for the most part a history of the papacy but was designed to indicate to the pope his duties and responsibilities at that present crucial moment in time. There are two manuscript copies of the work in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome: Ang. Lat. 351 and Ang. Lat. 502. The autograph is at Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. IX. B. 14.

⁴³⁾ See O'MALLEY, cit., *Traditio*, XXV (1969) 277.

In his outline of disaster and subsequent success, his concept of the differing yet complementary roles of Julius and Maximilian, his warning against internal insidious attack and external overwhelming assault, and particularly in his eloquent appeals, Giles has made full use of his cultured mastery of language, his innate sense of occasion, and his consummate understanding of diplomacy. Nor has he allowed his genuine desire for religious reform or his concern at the threat from the East to be sacrificed to oratorical or political expediency. In his nomination of Giles as preacher on this all-important occasion, Julius indeed chose well.

Although Giles in his time enjoyed great fame and was constantly in demand as a preacher ⁴⁴), copies of the texts of his sermons are extraordinarily few. Indeed, the survival rate of his sermons has been in inverse ratio to the rate of their success.

Giles, harassed by insatiable demands on his time, evidently did not prepare copies of his ordinary discourses but delivered these extempore or, at best, from outline notes such as we find in his « *Thematata sermonum de tempore* » ⁴⁵). The chronic insufficiency of the time available to meet his many commitments affected all his literary work. He even remarked on one occasion that the wonder was not that he was writing so little but that he was alive ⁴⁶). And so he did not ordinarily commit his sermons to paper, nor were they copied down by his listeners for, with the advent of printing, this custom of copying by hand disappeared. Thus the invention of printing, the one revolutionary innovation of the age that could have been expected

⁴⁴) The rivalry between the various cities to secure the services of Giles as a preacher was so intense that Julius reserved to himself the right to decide where the friar might preach. See F.X. MARTIN, « The Problem of Giles of Viterbo », in *Augustiniana*, IX (1959) 363. Tomás DE HERRERA, in his *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I (Madrid 1644) 42 speaks of Giles as the most famous preacher of his day and Signorelli points out « deve ... tenersi conto del'entusiasmo schietto e genuino con cui il bravo oratore era accolto dalle popolazioni, che accorrevano a frotte per udirlo, riempiendo i più vasti templi i quali, a volte, non erano capaci a contenere l'enorme massa di uditori », *Egidio da Viterbo*, cit., p. 109.

⁴⁵) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latin 3461, fols 20r-57v. These are sermon notes, based on the Old and New Testament, arranged for Advent, Lent, and Pascaltide.

⁴⁶) « Vide quam sero amoenissimum nemus Deo plenum repetere fas fuit, quantum temporis, quot studia periire; et queruntur homines quod nihil omnino scribam, at mirum est quod vivam », Giles to Serafino, 2 July 1505, in MARTÈNE and DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum ... collectio*, cit., III, col. 1233.

to save his work from oblivion, can in one way be blamed, paradoxically, for the disappearance of the texts of his sermons.

To date, only four of Giles's sermons have appeared in print. Two — the *oratio* at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council on 3 May 1512 and the *oratio* in Santa Maria del Popolo at the proclamation of the treaty between Julius and Maximilian on 25 November 1512 — were published during his lifetime. The other two which survived in manuscript form were edited and published in recent years. The first of these, «De Illicetana Familia», is a little sermon in the form of a letter addressed, probably before 1506, to the Augustinian friars of the Observant Congregation of Lecceto. It was edited by F. X. Martin, o.s.a., and published in *Analecta Augustiniana*, XXV (1962) 225-253. The second, a discourse on the fulfilment of the christian Golden Age under Julius II, delivered by Giles in St Peter's on 21 December 1507, was edited by John W. O'Malley, s.j., and was published in *Traditio*, XXV (1969) 265-338.

Of the two sermons published during Giles's lifetime, the one delivered at the opening of the Fifth Lateran was published at Rome and at Nuremberg. Several copies of the pamphlet have survived and are to be found in, among other libraries, the Biblioteca Vaticana, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Museum. The other sermon, on the proclamation of the treaty between Maximilian and Julius, was also probably printed in Rome in 1512. It is similar in format and in printing to the copies of the discourses delivered at sessions of the Lateran Council and published during 1512-1513. Copies of this pamphlet are extremely rare and, in fact, until recently it was generally thought that the one located by Father F. X. Martin in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Réserve B 1930 (37) 517-530) was the only surviving text ⁴⁷). Father Martin subsequently located two other copies of the pamphlet in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome and, this year, I found two further copies, one in the Biblioteca Vaticana and the other in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna ⁴⁸).

⁴⁷) See O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., p. 14. The only copy of which Pastor was aware was one which he found in the Manzoni library in 1893 but which, he adds «has since been scattered to the winds», *History of the Popes*, cit., VI, p. 426. Signorelli was unable to trace any copy, see *Egidio da Viterbo*, cit., p. 170.

⁴⁸) The two copies in the Biblioteca Nazionale are each bound separately. Index nos. are 69 4B 96 and 69 9C 20/8. The copy in the Biblioteca Vaticana is bound in a rare collection of printed *opuscula* of the Fifth Lateran, index no. R.I. IV 2107 (11). On the cover verso of the collection is written «Raccolta rarissima». The collection is folioed 1-

The printed text of the sermon is not paginated. Where, as in the Bibliothèque Nationale, it has been bound with other pamphlets it has been paginated with the collection as a whole. The cover of the pamphlet has the title above a woodcut of the papal crest — the keys, the tiara, and, symbol of the della Rovere family, the oak tree. The prefatory letter from Jacopo Sadoletto to Actius Sincerus Sannazaro is on the verso of the cover and faces the first page of the text. For the purposes of this present edition I have indicated the pages of the original pamphlet, following the prefatory letter (cover verso), by folio number commencing with the first page of the text (fol. 1r).

The title page of the pamphlet as printed reads ORATIO HABITA POST TERTIAM SACRI LATERANENSIS CONCILII SESSIONEM IN ECCLESIA DIVAE MARIAE VIRGINIS DE POPULO PER FRATREM AEGIDIUM VITERBIENSIS ORDINIS SANCTI AUGUSTINI EREMITARUM GENERALEM DE FOEDERE INITO INTER IULIUM SECUNDUM PONTIFICEM MAXIMUM ET ILLUSTREM MAXIMILIANUM IMPERATOREM. On this two points must be mentioned.

Firstly, de Grassis in recording the event in his diary heads the entry « De publicatione ligae siue foederis nouiter inter Pontificem et Imperatorem ac Regem Catholicum et Anglicum initae »⁴⁹), thus including Henry VIII of England as a third member in the treaty agreement. Not only is this omitted from the title of Giles's *oratio* as printed but no specific mention is made by Giles, in the discourse, of the English king or of his having any part in the treaty, although it is true that Cardinal Bainbridge, Henry's envoy, did have the honour of celebrating the Mass. Perhaps the fact that Henry had already joined the Holy League in 1511 and that the emperor, by his treaty with the pope, was now becoming a party to this League may account for de Grassis's entry⁵⁰).

338 and the first pamphlet is the « Bulla intimationis generalis Concilii apud Lateranum per S.D.N. Julium Papam II edita ». The copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek is bound separately and the index no. is +35E 288.

⁴⁹) De Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268, fol. 435r.

⁵⁰) It is a treaty between the emperor and the pope that Marino Sanuto records in his diaries, « ... pubblicò li capitoli di la liga tra il Papa e Imperador ... »; « Come eri fo publicà la liga tra lo Papa et Imperator ... » See *I Diarii di M. Sanuto*, ed. F. Stefani, Venice 1879-1902, XV cols 380, 383-384. PASTOR in his *History of the Popes*, cit., VI, pp. 424-426, does not mention the English king in connection with the treaty. However, D.S. CHAMBERS, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome 1509 to 1514*, Oxford 1965,

The second point to be mentioned raises a problem, the solution to which is not readily apparent.

According to the title, the *oratio* was delivered, in relation to the sittings of the Lateran Council, « post tertiam sessionem ». However, the third session was not held until 3 December 1512 and the ceremony in Santa Maria del Popolo at which Giles preached took place on 25 November 1512. How to explain this irreconcilable dating?

If the opening of the Council on 3 May 1512 were considered as the first session and the following sittings on 10 May (officially the first session) and 17 May (officially the second session) were then counted as the second and third sessions, as Sanuto does in his diary ⁵¹), the *oratio* would in fact have been delivered after the third session — indeed a full six months after the third session. It seems strange, however, that a discourse should be entitled as being « post ... sessionem » if the session referred to has taken place half a year beforehand.

The possibility that some later historian in adjusting the dating of one of the events according to the Gregorian calendar had, by the suppression of ten days, transposed the succession of events can, I think, be ruled out. The entry in de Grassis's diary states that the ceremony in Santa Maria del Popolo took place on 25 November and then, some pages later, the account of the third session of the Council on 3 December is recorded ⁵²). There is no question here of two systems of dating.

The third session of the Council was to have taken place on 3 November but had been postponed until 3 December ⁵³). If this were a definite postponement, as it appears to have been, and not merely an adjournment of a session that had begun, it could hardly explain the title of the *oratio*.

There is a further complication in that Giles appears, in the actual text of his discourse, to refer to three previous days or sessions

p. 41, in speaking of the new alliance between Maximilian and Julius states, « ... as Henry VIII was party to the <Holy> League, Bainbridge performed the inaugural Mass <of the new alliance> on 25 November, at the church of S. Maria del Popolo ».

⁵¹) « A dì 17 <maggio> si fara la 3^a sessione », *I Diarii di M. Sanuto*, cit., XIV, cols 224-225.

⁵²) Vat. Lat. 12268, fol. 435r, publication of treaty « die sanctae Catherinae ... xxv Novembris »; fol. 440v, « Sessio 3^a ... Die Veneris iiii Decembris ... ».

⁵³) See de Grassis quoted in *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte*, ed. Döllinger, Vienna 1862-1882, III, p. 423.

of the Council ⁵⁴). Once again, he may be including the opening of the Council and the first and second sittings, or he may be using the term to refer to the first and second sessions and then, more vaguely, to the long period following the second session on 17 May and extending up to 25 November and the ceremony in Santa Maria del Popolo ⁵⁵).

Perhaps the discrepancy may be simply an error on the part of the printer.

Unfortunately I have been unable to find, so far, any conclusive evidence that would point to any one of these suggestions as being the correct one. Nor have I found evidence that would give a lead to any other satisfactory, or even plausible, explanation of the problem.

In transcribing Giles's *oratio* an effort has been made to reproduce the printed edition as closely as possible. However, contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded and simple vowels replaced by their appropriate diphthongs. Further, in the printed edition, the letter *c* appears on several occasions erroneously in place of the letter *e* as, for example, in fol. 1r : *dolco* instead of *doleo*, *tēpore* instead of *tēpore*. This I have silently corrected. For punctuation, paragraphing, and the use of capital letters, normal modern usage has been followed.

Similarly, in the appendix, my transcription of the diary entry of Paris de Grassis follows as closely as possible the spelling of the MS. Even within this one manuscript there are occasional variations, and I have therefore, for the sake of consistency adopted one form throughout in the following cases : *catholicum* not *catolicum*, *cappa* not *capa*, *cappella* not *cappela*, *Suitenses* not *Suitentes*. Contractions, abbreviations, simple vowels, punctuation, and paragraphing have been dealt with as in the *oratio*. As I give the text from the *Diarium* merely as a reference I have not attempted to note variants in the other manuscript copies of the text.

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⁵⁴) *Oratio*, fol. 2v.

⁵⁵) Giles compounds an already confusing problem by referring, at the conclusion of his *oratio*, to four days of the council, but in this instance the reference appears to be a literary device.

[cover verso]

Jacobus Sadoletus ¹⁾ Actio Sincero Sannazaro ²⁾

Quanti sis apud Aegidium meum Viterbiensem Rectorem Ordinis Augustiniani facile cognoui ex eis rebus quas ille uir solitus est de te praedicare. Fuisti enim in sermonibus utrique nostrum sane frequens. Ille certe cum ingenium eruditionemque tuam, cuius et nos testes esse possumus, tum uero humanitatem atque elegantiam uitae ita celebrare non desinit, ut facile appareat cum summo illius uiri iudicio summum erga te amorem esse coniunctum. Quapropter cum oratio, quae in publicatione foederis, quod cum Maximiliano Caesare Iulius II Pontifex Maximus iniit, habita ab eo est, digna mihi uideretur quae in manus perueniret hominum, statui eam tibi potissimum esse dicendam, ut hominis amicissimi egregiam actionem ab homine etiam amico missam ad te perlegeres. Tu id quod facis, ita bonis incumbendo litteris excelles, ut utrunque nostrum amare non desistas. Vale ³⁾.

[fol. 1r]

ORATIO HABITA POST TERTIAM CONCILII LATERANENSIS
SESSIONEM PER FRATREM AEGIDIUM VITERBIENSEM
ORDINIS EREMITARUM SANCTI AUGUSTINI GENERALEM
DE IULII PONTIFICIS ET MAXIMILIANI IMPERATORIS
FOEDERE IN TEMPLO DIVAE MARIAE DE POPULO

Si quando suscepta sunt diuina beneficia, quibus homines praesentiam numinis sensisse uisi sunt, eius generis praeclara atque illustria esse existimo quae mihi hodie sacro hoc consessu commemoranda sunt. Nam cum hoc anno afflictis rebus eo calamitatum deuenissemus, ut salutem non modo sperare sed ne optare quidem auderemus, ita aperte tamen, ita manifeste Deus affuit ad rempublicam uestram inde potentissimi

¹⁾ Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-1547. Classical scholar, accomplished latinist, poet, prominent member of the Roman Academy. Bishop of Carpentras (1517), cardinal (1536). *Omnia opera*, 4 vols, Verona 1737-38. For Sadoletto, see S. RITTER, *Un umanista teologo : Jacopo Sadoletto*, Rome 1912; R.M. DOUGLAS, *Jacopo Sadoletto 1477-1547 : humanist and reformer*, Cambridge Mass., 1959.

²⁾ Jacopo Sannazaro (Actius Sincerus), 1455-1530. Italian humanist poet and central figure in the Pontanian Academy. Like many members of these renaissance academies, he took a latin name, Actius Sincerus. *Opera latine scripta*, Amsterdam 1728. For Sannazaro, see E. PÈRCOPO, « Vita di Jacopo Sannazaro », ed. G. Brognoligo in *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, LVI, 1931; V. BORGHINI, *Il più nobile umanista del Rinascimento*, Turin 1943.

³⁾ This prefatory letter from Sadoletto to Sannazaro was reprinted in SADOLETO, *Epistolae Familiares*, I, Rome 1760, 16-17.

hostis fuga liberandam, hinc sacratissimi Imperatoris amicitia confirmandam, ut non modo opem numinis, sed ipsum quoque numen tanquam oculis spectasse videamur.

De admirabili itaque erga uestram rempublicam, Patres amplissimi, et Dei beniuolentia et Caesaris pietate dicendum est, ubi copiae ingenium ac tempus quantum par erat negatum esse doleo. Rem uberrimam ieiune, ut dati temporis angustia cogit, attingere erubesco.

Scisma horrendum exortum ⁴⁾, quod scitis, hoc tempore rem armis agere aggressum est, quod auctoritate non poterat. Conuenere media Italia exercitus, qui, si iuncti pro pietate fuissent, rem christianam utique felicem et orbis terrarum possessione auctam reddere potuissent. Cum enim arma inuadentium Ecclesia reformidaret, ad catholicum regem Aragonum confugit. Is, ut est ad sacra omnia amplianda ac tuenda incitatissimus, etsi classem maximam ad sanctissimam Africae expeditionem instituerat atque armauerat, et sententiam mutare et Ecclesiae opem ferre coactus est ⁵⁾. Quamobrem in agrum Bononiensem ad res Ecclesiae tuendas recuperandasque exercitum Hispanum transmiserat ⁶⁾. Manu deinde in agro Rauennate conserta, etsi grauis utrinque plaga suscepta est, superior tamen hostis fuit ⁷⁾. Urbem Romam tanta consternatio incessit, quanta expugnatis moenibus uix esse potuisset. Quibusdam quoque iniecta suspitio est curae Deo mortalia non esse, quod boni parentis esse [fol. 1v] dictitarent sua seruare, non perdere.

Perstringendum itaque mihi est prius quam bene ante hunc diem, deinceps quam feliciter Deus hodie rationibus uestris consuluerit, ut palam sit praesentis anni rebus intelligi non modo res humanas

⁴⁾ The anti-papal, schismatic, Council of Pisa assembled by Louis XII in 1511.

⁵⁾ In June 1511, after the loss of Bologna to the French and when the papal and Venetian troops had been completely dispersed leaving the papal states and Rome open to the enemy, Julius turned to Ferdinand for help. The Spanish king decided to suspend military operations in Africa and send the army to Italy to assist in the reconquest of Bologna. See PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, ed. F.I. Antrobus, London 1950, VI, pp. 362-363, 367.

⁶⁾ On 26 January 1512 the combined Spanish and papal army invested Bologna. However, on hearing that Gaston de Foix had managed to slip past with his troops on the night of 4-5 February and was actually within the walls of the city, the besiegers broke camp. See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 397.

⁷⁾ Ravenna was taken by the French, in an exceedingly bloody battle, on Easter Sunday, 11 April 1512. See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 399-401.

procurare Deum, sed incredibili familiaritate adesse suis, nec in aduersis rebus illos posse relinquere ⁸⁾. Non repetam hoc loco Stoicorum fatum, non casum Democriti aut Epicuri, non altam diuina de prouidentia quaestionem adducam. Quanquam, si tempus ferret, id causa fortasse postularet. Ea mihi nunc attigisse satis fuerit quibus significem anni huius incommoda, quae grauissima fuere, atque alia omnia non euertendi generis humani sed instaurandi gratia diuinitus immitti.

Verum enimvero instaurari omnia oportet eisdem ex quibus constant initiis. Initia uero condendi orbis diebus quibusdam complexus est Moses. Quamobrem et in rebus humanis instaurandis quibusdam uelut diebus mundi natali similibus uti consentaneum est. At uero quemadmodum et Achademia ⁹⁾ omnis et tam vetus quam noua lex consentit, omnis animorum instauratio, cuius gratia uiuendum est homini, in eo uel praecipue sita est ut sese a tenebris uindiceret et ad suum totis (ut aiunt) neruis assurgant et obseruandum et conuendum solem.

Tenebras Platonici uocant inscitiam animae corporis contagione natam atque affectum inclinationemque animi uergentis in corpora. Quod si fines humanarum rerum procul ab his tenebris atque in augustissima luce ac uero sole collocati sunt, ueluti et in Republica Plato et in Euangelio Ioannes testatur ¹⁰⁾, ad quartum usque diem eundum est nobis, in quo solem mundo primum apparuisse legimus ¹¹⁾. Nam primo constat lucem progenitam esse, die altero aquas ab aquis seiunctas fuisse, tertio e terra subpullulasse omnia, quarto e caelo solem emicuisse ¹²⁾.

Eosdem hos dies post noctem acceptae hoc anno cladis enarrabimus. Vtque tunc natura rerum post aeternam noctem hos accepit dies, ita Ecclesia hoc anno post Rauennatis calamitatis tenebras totidem sibi illuxisse dies uidit. Etenim accepto acerbissimo nuntio nox omnium occupauit mentes, ac plus quam credi posset, animi omnium prope concidere. Vnus tamen Iulius Pontifex Maximus firmissime suae arboris ¹³⁾ [fol. 2r] memor nunquam cessit oneri, nunquam concidit. Is Dei Optimi Maximi, cuius locum obtinet, exempla

⁸⁾ Cf. Joan. 14 : 8.

⁹⁾ The Platonic Academy.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. Plato, VII, 514-520; Joan. 1:9.

¹¹⁾ Cf. Gen. 1 : 16-19.

¹²⁾ Cf. Gen. 1 : 3-19.

¹³⁾ The oak tree, symbol of the della Rovere family.

sectatus, Fiat, inquit, lux ¹⁴⁾; ac statim sacerdotes acciti, supplicationes indictae, Apostolorum uertices salutati, preces per me effusae.

Primo itaque illo die, qui et Concilii primus fuit, ita nostris animis facta affulsit lux, ita sperare coepimus, ut hostes profligasse uerius quam aras adiasse uideremur. Die altero sederi de more coeptum est, recitatae pontificiae litterae, positum inter utrasque aquas firmentum, quo Lateranense Concilium caelo innixum staret, Pisanus Conuentus parentem agnosceret, atque uti subesset et tandem manus daret admoneretur ¹⁵⁾. Successit hiis dies tertius ¹⁶⁾, omnium qui retro illuxerant laetissimus, iucundissimus, beatissimus; qui uobis e tam exiguo pietatis officio inchoati Concilii uberrimos peperit fructus; qui docuit illos in portu nauigare atque in tuto habere omnia, quibus cordi diuina fuerint, atque iis humana formidanda non esse, qui ad diuina excolenda confugerint, sanctaeque Ecclesiae robur non armis, non opum ui sed sola sanctitate constare.

Cum enim nemo ferme superesset qui uel ad portarum occludendos aditus capere arma posset, ecce nuntiatur Romae (libet exclamare hoc loco, sancte atque optime rerum Pater Deus, quam sapientes sunt qui te colunt, quam insipientes qui non colunt, quam felices quos amas, quam miseri qui procurant ut non ames; ut enim es actione potentissimus, gubernatione sapientissimus, ita es amando ac indulgendo mitissimus, iuuando, benemerendo liberalissimus) nuntiatur, inquam, Romae abire per se hostes, Flaminia excedere, uestros fines deserere, illudque oraculum passim iactari ut nulli unquam diei, nulli actioni accommodatius : fugit impius nemine persequente ¹⁷⁾, acto in fugam exercitu non ab armatis, quos uicerant, sed ab inuicto numine, quod contempserant.

Bone Deus! Quid laetitiae, quid uoluptatis, quid risus tertius hic attulit dies, quo uestra respublica, facultates, dignitates, fortunae, salus ab interitu restituta est, quo non armis, non legionibus, non bellicis machinis, non ullo humano praesidio sed una Dei optimi ope seruati sumus!

Vicit olim Abraham hostes, armatus cum suis ¹⁸⁾. Vicit Moses,

¹⁴⁾ Gen. 1 : 3.

¹⁵⁾ At the second session of the Lateran Council, 17 May 1517, the Council of Pisa was pronounced null and void. See PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 410-421.

¹⁶⁾ The long period following the second session (?). See supra pp. 98-99.

¹⁷⁾ Cf. Levit. 26 : 17.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. Gen. 14 : 15.

sed Iosue ductabat exercitus¹⁹⁾. [fol. 2v] Vicit Saul mille, uicit et gener Dauid decem milia²⁰⁾, uterque tamen munitus, uterque armis instructus. Vicit mira uictoria pius populus hostes, et prius Aegyptio Pharaone obruto²¹⁾ et obtruncato postea Assyrio Oloferne²²⁾, sed et in Rubri Maris littore magna Hebraeorum iuuenum manus erat, quae capere arma posset, et Olofernus neci tam Hebraea manus quam et ferri mucro et acies pugionis interfuit. In hac uero Ecclesiae^a et Iulii Pontificis uictoria nulla uestra in Flaminia acies, nulla arma, nulla praesidia, non uir denique, non femina fuit, quae insultanti Victori opponere sese posset, ut sola haec uictoria longe omnium maxima pietati non armis, religioni non uiribus, numini non homini debeatur; qua nimirum nulla dignior uisa unquam est quae memoria perpetua et aeternis monumentis celebraretur; ubi nemo tam impius fuit quin clara uoce sola numina pugnasse confiteretur; ubi denique factum est ut constet simul et nihil esse impietate peius, detestabilius, calamitosius et nihil pietate melius, tutius, firmitus, atque ita uim diuinam mortalibus innotuisse, ut, nisi et pertinaciter agere et manifesta negare uoluerimus, fateri nos oporteat nullum imposterum de diuina prouidentia relictum esse quaestioni locum.

Hactenus tres dies, qui antecesserunt, attigimus; nunc quartum cuius gratia sermo est institutus, accipite. Principio solaribus natalibus dicatum esse quartum diem uolunt, ut non iniuria, cum tres Concilii dies in custodientis discipuli templo²³⁾ exegeritis, nunc ad templum custoditae Virginis²⁴⁾ uentum sit, ut quartus hic dies, in quo ortus est sol, in illius aede transigatur, de qua Sol longe melior ortus est, uel (ut illud testatur oraculum) in sole aut, ut Hebraeus rectius, soli posuit tabernaculum in ea²⁵⁾.

Proditum praeterea a nonnullis est, generi animantium omni esse negatum solis iubar recto obtutu sustinere posse, aquilam (quae illi est firmitas oculorum) illud unam posse. Quarto itaque hoc die

^a *Ecclesia correctum in Ecclesiae.*

¹⁹⁾ Cf. Exod. 17 : 9-13.

²⁰⁾ 1 Reg. 18 : 7.

²¹⁾ Cf. Exod. 14 : 1-29.

²²⁾ Cf. Judith, 13 : 8-11.

²³⁾ St John Lateran

²⁴⁾ Santa Maria del Popolo.

²⁵⁾ Psal. 18 : 6. The Latin Vulgate, differing from the Hebrew text, has « In sole posuit tabernaculum suum ».

sublimis atque alta suspicienda est nobis aquila ²⁶⁾, quae solis radiorum gnara ac lucis potens uult hodie apud omnes testatum esse mortales discordiarum se tenebras refugere, Ecclesiae disidia abhorrere, quicquid Pisanae rei dederit reuocare, solemque suum in Lateranensi Concilio inueffol. 3r]nre, agnoscere, adorare.

Legimus etiam de aquilae fetu antiqui poetae uersum Philosopho usurpatum : treis parit, inde duos explodit et educat unum ²⁷⁾. Quidnam est aliud hoc auis in fetu ingenium, nisi quaedam (ut ita fari liceat) diuinitatis imago? Siquidem tres Deus edidit leges, insitam in Adam, tabellarum in Mose, diuinitatis in Christo. Quod uero duas abiecerit unamque asseruauerit ipse idem est testis, qui repudii libello probato, Vnica, inquit, est amica mea. Vnum itaque amat aquila pientissima unius Dei emula, odit eadem atque abiicit et binarium et numerorum partitionem, quippe quae, sicut eruditioribus placet, imperfecto non perfecto, malo non bono, infinitati non termino ascitae atque addictae sunt.

Rogatus igitur Caesar ²⁸⁾ ut Concilio faueret, audito sacri Concilii nomine, quo Ecclesiae unitas, si qua oblaesa sit, restitui imprimis ac reponi solet, in sententiam non ire non potuit, duxitque nihil esse christiano principe dignius quam christianae reipublicae emendationem procurare, nihil indignius quam negligere, emendandi uero rationem omnem in sola Concilii opera collocatam esse — ubi discordiae sedantur, odia, bella, arma reipublicae uisceribus arcentur, principes regesque pacantur, publici christianorum hostes debellantur; ubi falsa, si qua sunt, dogmata examinantur, qui male de fide sentiunt, grauiter, qui quae male sentiunt etiam docent, grauius, qui quae docent scribere audent, grauissime puniuntur ²⁹⁾; ubi iniustitia opprimitur ac tyrannis aequitas ac iustitia restituitur, coercetur luxus et ambitio, honestum

²⁶⁾ Emperor Maximilian.

²⁷⁾ Cf. ARISTOTLE, *Historia Animalium*, VI, 6 : 563a. Museum, the ancient Greek poet whom Aristotle quotes, lived c. 1400 B.C. He was said to have been the son or pupil of Linus or Orpheus. None of his compositions are extant, but Virgil has paid honour to his memory, placing him in the Elysian fields and attended by a great multitude.

²⁸⁾ Emperor Maximilian.

²⁹⁾ With this graduated scale of culpability Giles has, perhaps, in mind in a special way the Paduan Peripatetics whom he accused not only of believing and teaching false doctrine but even of committing it to paper, thus ensuring survival of the errors and their transmission to vast numbers of people. See J.W. O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform : a Study in Renaissance Thought*, Leiden 1968, pp. 33, 46.

et modestia reuocatur, impudentia cadit et insolentia, pudor et uitae moderatio excitatur; ubi auaris liberales, ignauis solertes, petulantibus prudentes, noxiis innocentes, improbis denique probi anteponuntur; ubi Regi Dauid senio confecto adolescentula quaeritur ³⁰⁾, et Ecclesia inueteratae consuetudinis squalore posito more serpentis deponentis exuias tanquam laeta adolescentia renouatur.

O fortunatam hanc aetatem, si pie recteque Concilium peragat, caecam si hoc non sentiat, aerumnosam si contemnat! Quae omnia uoluit magnus Caesar uti Concilium indiceretur non modo annuere se uerum etiam optare significauit. Vbi uero renuntiaturum est Pisanos motus [fol. 3v] ab Ecclesiae capite desciscere ac suum illud unum, quod indiuiduum integrumque esse oporteret, non solum saluum non esse sed etiam discerpi ac lacerari, Mirabar, inquit, civitatem Pisanam non turbas excitare, quae per tot annos extrema pati maluit quam parere, retraxitque statim pedem, aequè pium ratus et Concilio assentiri prius, et a factione postea desciscere, Deum cuius est propugnator unius imitatus, qui synagogam Hebraeam prius diuina suscipientem complexus est, eandem postea aspernantem deseruit ³¹⁾. Neque tamen iccirco mutatum esse cogitamus Deum, qui abscedere a recto nunquam potuit, sed illos male defecisse potius, qui semper recte ingredi noluerunt.

Dixi consilium tuum, magne Caesar, res gestas tacui; attigi quid cogitaueris, omisi quid egeris. Quis enim dicendo consequi possit qua constantia, qua firmitate animi, qua uirtute, quam tecum meditata statueras, sententiam undique oppugnatus tenueris ac defenderis? Quandoquidem res grandes ut cogitare facillimum est, ita absoluere difficillimum semper fuit.

Testis est mihi amplissimus Pater Gurgensis Episcopus Illustris Imperii Princeps ³²⁾ in quid difficultatum, in quid laborum inciderit, dum nititur peruincere malas artes hominum sanctam istam mentem corrumpere cupientium. Cuius praesulis uirtuti quantum et tuarum rerum splendor et Ecclesiae unitas debeat aeterna praedicatio testabitur. Quid uero illi intentatum seliguerunt ut te auerterent, Caesar? Quid munerum, quid donorum, quam uim auri, quas dignitates, quid aliarum longe maiorum rerum non polliciti sunt? Tu uero te praestas suasionibus surdum, precibus innotum, pollicitationibus integrum, praemiis

³⁰⁾ Cf. III Reg. 1 : 1-4.

³¹⁾ Psal. 105 : 40-41.

³²⁾ Matthäus Lang. See supra p. 84 n. 10.

incorruptum, fundisque oracula, et Imperatore et Maximiliano quam dignissima, decere Caesarem nihil aestimare magni nisi Deum, te facile ista aetate Deo non anteferre aurum et res humanas, quas ab incunabulis aspernari didiceris.

O diem hunc felicem, si sancte casteque uti uouerimus, si Deum numine haec foedera firmare tolerauerimus, si factum hodiernum ratum, firmum, sanctum esse permiserimus, si denique hanc Caesaris amicitiam perseuerare et ad hanc aliorum principum societatem adiungi precibus uotisque exorauerimus !

Natalem solis diem quartum dicebam, natalis uestrae reipublicae, [fol. 4r] Patres, imposterum dici poterit. Vestrum enim Concilium, uestra decreta, sanctiones, leges hodie robur capiunt, hodie firmanthur ac perpetua fiunt. Hodie metus excidit, fiducia redit. Suspitio, formido, trepidatio euertitur; firmitas, constantia, securitas comparatur. Hic dies amicis spem, terrorem hostibus, laetitiam piis, maerorem impiis, timorem malis, fortitudinem bonis affert. Hic dies socios erigit, firmat, animat; contra eneruat, quatit, exanimat aduersarios. Hic dies diuinam uobis uirgulam (sicut est in prouerbio) peperit. Vtinam tam in illa seruanda felices simus, quam fuimus et in optanda studiosi et in suscipienda fortunati ! Det Deus tantorum munerum auctor ut liberalitatem donantis mens populi suscipientis intelligat, utque ipse effusas preces non difficiliter audiit, ita nos immortalis beneficii suscepti non ingrati simus.

Scribunt astrorum obseruatores, cum superiora lumina iunguntur, res expectari solere et magnas et nouas. Quid itaque, quod ad Ecclesiae unitatem pertinet, expectandum est nobis nisi quod magnum bonum felixque sit, cum non luminaria tantum sed, quod est quarti diei proprium ³³⁾, etiam maxima et non in signi parte ad mensem uel breue aliquod spacium sed perpetua amicitia coiere ? Quid, quod ea summo naturae consensu sociantur, quae speciem similitudinis obtinent ? Quamobrem aqua telluri, aer aquae, ignis aeri constanti atque aeterna societate iunguntur. At regum et principum aliorum singuli unius alicuius regni et partis cuiusdam administratores sunt, atque iccirco et reges multi et principes item multi. Maximus uero Caesar unus et Pontifex quoque Maximus uno in orbe terrarum unus est, non unius ut alii plane omnes, prouinciae, non regni unius, sed uterque omnium, uterque humani generis, uterque uniuersi orbis

³³⁾ Cf. Gen. 1 : 16.

— ille Imperator, hic Pontifex, ille armis hic auctoritate, ille humano, hic diuino robore instructus, ille ut impios contundat, hic ut faciat pios, ille ut a religione desciscentes redire compellat, hic tandem ut redeuntes excipiat. Quid itaque sacris his syderibus firmitus, constantius diuturnius, quid item melius, commodius, sanctius esse debet, quibus non pars parti, non regnum regno, sed unum uni, totum toti, maximum maximo co[fol. 4v]pulum est? Diuersa etenim regna ut locis ac spatiis, ita animis ac uoluntatibus plerumque seiungi necesse est, atque omnia obtinent atque ubique sunt, ut locum non habent in quo iuncta non sint non aduentitio, non precario nexu, sed natura ipsa conciliante consentiunt.

Quapropter agite, clarissima Mundi Lumina ³⁴⁾, labentem nutu quae ducitis orbem, orbem uobis ereptum uindicate! Arma uestro nutu capi iubete! Reipublicae labenti succurrite! Videtis amicitiam hanc, si causa inspiciatur, piissimam, si conciliatorum conditio, opportunissimam, si rerum motus maxime necessariam. Duo nanque nos oppugnant hostium genera, quorum alterutrum per se satis est ut rem christianam non modo afflicteret ac laceret, uerum etiam euertat et deleat.

Intestinum, inquam, uobis atque externum imminet bellum, utriusque fons unus, immanis hostis publicae salutis, malus daemon. Illic Maumetis gentem crudelissimam excitat, hic vitiorum et scelerum armat manum. Illic peditatu et equitatu terras, nauibus et incredibili classe implet maria; hic alios ad libidinem et cupiditatem, alios ad seditionem et durum scisma sollicitat. Vni aduersus nos armis, uno ac simplici bello hactenus contenta Tartara certare uisa sunt; nunc omnia colligunt, omnia intentant, omnia simul tela coniciunt. Poeni in Africa facto agmina insurgunt, Turcae in Thracia terra marique ardent, cis Alpes plerique a uobis dissentiunt, trans Alpes integra uobiscum regna contendunt^b, passim belli rabies, passim arma circumsonant; et, ut de utriusque hominis capite agatur, passim pro iustitia uis, pro pudicitia turpitudine, pro modestia ambitio, pro sanctitate et religione improbitas atque impietas debacchatur.

Agite, igitur, utrique hosti resistite! Placate domestica, ciuilia arma tollite! Reges principesque christianos omnes uobis ascissite! Odia, simultates, discordias submouete! Si quis errarit, ueniam, si quis ceciderit, dexteram porrigite! Mementote Romanos uos esse, alterum Pontificem, Caesarem alterum! Pontificis est religione interna

^b *contēnūt correctum in contendunt.*

³⁴⁾ Pope Julius.

pacare, Caesaris externa subiicere; utrunque certe Romanum, et subiectis Christianisque omnibus parcere, et superbum insurgentemque Maumetem debellare ³⁵⁾).

Videtis tyrannum Bizantium ³⁶⁾, non senem illum imbellem, qui mul[fol. 5r]tos iam per annos in praesens usque tempus ita ocio contabuit ut errare nobis impure licuerit ³⁷⁾, sed fero acrique animo iuuenem, aetate ardentem, armis strenuum, cupiditate flagrantem, crudelitate insignem, uiribus praepotentem, exercitu terra marique instructum, et iam iam uestrum imperium intollerabili impetu inuadentem. Nam si parua olim manu atque ea ne magni quidem principis auspiciis aduecta ita Hydruntum ³⁸⁾ cepit, ut non nisi principis morte recuperari potuerit; si senex ille effeminatus et mollis ³⁹⁾ (praesentis tyranni parentem dico), quanquam libidinis et ocii quam armorum et gloriae appetentior semper fuit, Methonem ⁴⁰⁾ tamen, Coronam ⁴¹⁾, Naupactum^c ⁴²⁾, et omnem ferme Peloponessum uestro imperio eripuit; si postea potentissimas classes Mithilenem ⁴³⁾ adorientes paucorum mortalium fortitudine perfregit, quid hic facturus est id aetatis, eo robore, eo animi ardore, ea rabie, tanta armatorum terra marique comparata manu, quanta non modo christianam rem se perditurum

^c *Haupactum* correctum in *Naupactum*.

³⁵⁾ Cf. VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, 6 : 853, « parcere subiectis et debellare superbos ».

³⁶⁾ Selim I (the Grim), son of Bajazet II. Born 1467, he dethroned his father, 25 April 1512, and, it was said, caused him to be put to death. As a ruler he was warlike, energetic, ruthless and fanatical. He died in 1520. For Selim, see E.S. CREASY, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, London 1854, I, pp. 204-249; J.E. BURY, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Cambridge 1902, I, chapter III.

³⁷⁾ Bajazet II, son of Mohammed II. Born 1447; reigned 1481-1512. When dethroned by his son, Selim, he died before he could reach the place of his voluntary exile and the rumour was spread that he had been poisoned by an emissary of his son. Bajazet was more fond of pomp and splendour than of fighting battles and he made no great conquests except for the acquisition of the cities of Lepanto, Methoni, and Koroni. His reign was clouded at its beginning and at its end by insurrection and military mutiny. For Bajazet, see CREASY, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-203; BURY, *cit.* in *Cambridge Modern History*, I, chapter III.

³⁸⁾ Modern Otranto. It had been taken by the Turks in 1480 but was retaken from them during the reign of Bajazet II.

³⁹⁾ Bajazet II.

⁴⁰⁾ Modern Methoni in Messenia. It fell to Bajazet in 1500.

⁴¹⁾ Modern Koroni in Messenia. In 1500 the inhabitants, demoralised by the news from Methoni, mutinied and gave in to the Turks.

⁴²⁾ Modern Lepanto. It was taken by the Turks in 1499 after a siege of four months.

⁴³⁾ Modern Mytilene.

sperat, uerum etiam palam iactitat Europam atque Africam et ipsum denique orbis terrarum imperium adepturum? Accedit ad hoc gloriae studium et religio et metus et ingens illata iniuria dirae sectae in erepta Africae maritima ora Ferdinandi Aragonum Regis opera, cuius et animum pietate fidelem et uires successu rerum auctas aut statim opprimendas aut ad ipsa Bizantii moenia expectandas uidet. Quid itaque acturus is non sit, quem hinc accendit spes alieni imperii occupandi, hinc metus urget proprii amittendi?

Mirum est quantum omnium barbarorum animos ad bellum inflammauerit, quod docuerit eo usque unius christiani regis res creuisse, ut, nisi totis uiribus occurrant, et reliquum imperium et domus, familiae, uxores, liberi, ipsae denique uita amittenda iam sit. Illi furore correpti ultro linquunt omnia, ultro arma frementes capiunt tygridum more, et sanguinem nostrum sitiunt et in nostrum caput ruunt. Ecce, dum nostrae nos nugae tenent, dum intestinis uel odiis uel dissensionibus occupamur, illi tanta cogunt agmina, ut, nisi summa celeritate opem feratis, actum de christiano nomine sit.

Quamobrem iungite uestrorum principum animos, simultates componite, populos ad pacem ac [fol. 5v] concordiam reuocate. Iam furor consilio, rationi impetus, affectus necessitati concedat. Nulla irarum, nulla iniuriarum memoria supersit, neque (quod rebus publicis exitio semper esse solet) uel communibus commodis quorundam contentio uel publicae saluti priuatae inimicitiae praeferantur. Sed pacatis rebus, sublatis sceleribus, castigatis moribus, uotis nuncupatis, uiris iungite, pia arma parate, furenti hosti resistite. Tecta, templa, sacra, fortunas, salutem defendite, impiam tandem belluam domate, erepta recuperate imperia, atque oppressis populis libertatem ac uestrae reipublicae aeternam gloriam et securitatem comparete.

Sentisne, Iuli Secunde, sentis quid hic dies, quid magni Caesaris foedera, quid rerum motus, quid sanctissima et maxime necessaria hodierna coniunctio postulet? Equidem libens recenseo res tuas, ut commemoratione earum rerum quas gesseris delectatus aggrediaris etiam quas non gesseris. Viderunt te omnes nihil nisi magna molientem, iniustos, latrones, tyrannos exagitantem, aeterna extruentem aedificia, admirabilem erigentem templi molem, tantum agri, tot populos, tot claras ciuitates sacrae ditioni adiicientem. Et quanquam haec maxima atque amplissima per se uideri possint, multo tamen maiora illa sunt, quae tibi Deus Optimus Maximus hoc anno beneficia contulit, in duobus illis domitandis monstris, quae passim populata Italiam fere Ecclesiamque perdiderant — scisma dico ac bellum.

Scisma surdam aspidem, bellum armatum basiliscum vocat David ⁴⁴). Haec in nauiculam tuam tot uentos, tot fluctus, tot hyemes, tot tempestates exciuerant, ut illam prope absorberent salo ac nemo mortalium esset qui illam, non modo iactatam sed prope obrutam, tantum periculi euadere unquam posse arbitraretur. Haec ita cum essent, quod eloquium, quae facundia, quae dicendi felicitas explicare possit quam subito uocatus te Deus audierit, quam propicius affuerit, quanto miraculo iuuerit, quanta omnium admiratione eripuerit ! Quis recensere queat illa tu monstra diuina fretus ope quo consilio uiceris, qua prudentia attriueris, qua denique felicitate sustuleris, et — quod nemo sperauit, nemo credidit, nemo unquam fieri posse cogitauit — non modo te ac nauiculam tuam eripueris atque in portum adduxeris, [fol. 6r] sed mira celeritate simul et Italiam iugo et Ecclesiam scismate uindicaueris !

O rem nouam ! O rem expectatam et, ut nostris maioribus nunquam uisam, ita posteris et nepotibus non credendam ! Quis, quaeso, non uidet tot tantasque res gerere nulli unquam Pontificum dedisse Deum nisi uni tibi ? Dicam tamen in hac rerum felicitate quod sentio, bona tua uenia. Vera enim decet et uerum Pontificem audire et sacris initiatum hominem loqui. Nemo est qui non uideat et maxima et clarissima esse haec quae gessisti ; sed nescio quo pacto audiusculum est humanum genus ut alia quaedam adhuc desiderentur. Duae nanque tibi supersunt debellandae pestes, altera domi, foris altera ; domi nostra contemnendae religionis licentia, foris inuadendae atque opprimendae fidei audacia.

Haec intra uiscera reipublicae scelera et flagitia audet omnia et falsa serit dogmata ; illa apud Bosphorum Thracium et arma in nos colligit et insuperabilem classem parat. Haec animos nostrorum et cupiditate incendit et mendacibus disciplinis a ueritate seducit ; illa urbem Romam, uestrum aurum, uestras opes animo concipiens, saeuas^d acies ducit. Haec fidei insidiatur et moribus ; illa caedes minatur et sanguinem. Draco hic, ut magnus huius templi custos Augustinus ⁴⁵) ait, clam nectit fraudes ⁴⁶) ; leo illic immane furens oculis naribusque

^d *sceuas* correctum in *saeuas*.

⁴⁴) Cf. Psal. 90 : 13.

⁴⁵) The Augustinian friars, whose monastery was attached to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, were the custodians of the church.

⁴⁶) This appears to be an echo of the *Confessions*, Book VII : xxi.

flammam spirans apertum bellum ciet. Vterque eripere nobis aggreditur, leo ille terras, hic draco caelum; ille moribundam hanc uitam, hic aeternam. Ille saeuit^e in corpora, hic in animas. Ille e mundo parat tollere Dei uicarium, hic etiam ipsum Deum, utrunque malum in exitium, in interitum, in perniciem sacratissimae Sponsae tuae. Horum hostium res eo usque creuere, eo usque magnitudinis processere (quemadmodum et tu ipse in recitandis, Rhodiensium puto, litteris significare uisus es) ut hoc tempore sit aut felicissime uincendum, si uelimus, aut, si negligamus, miserrime pereundum. Quid enim nostris aut flagitiorum moribus aut uirium hostibus addi potest, tanto hinc agmine nostra nos uitia opprimunt, tanto illinc robore Maumethes inuadit ut, nisi summo praesidio occurras, nulla euadendi spes supersit sed quam primum cadendum sit nobis?

Quamobrem si partam diuino munere [fol. 6v] uictoriam, si hunc diem, si magni Caesaris foedera, si supplicem hanc rempublicam tuam, si te, si res gestas, si illud quod caelo aequas templum, si posteros, si monumenta, si trophaea, si tua denique omnia stabilia, aeterna, felicissima esse cupis, compone nostra omnia, tolle intestina mala, emenda mores, luxum, licentiam, flagitia, odia praeterea, discordias, arma e republica prorsus aufer, et, compositis rebus pacatisque uera sanctaque pace principibus, quicquid christianarum est uirium collige, et ad imminens Maumethis periculum diramque pestem opprimendam accede. Quod si et res diuina et uera tibi gloria cordi sit, alia omittes omnia, geminas has pestes aggredieris, has domabis, has tolles, quemadmodum geminas alias magno animo pari fortuna superasti ut quattuor iam celebrati Concilii diebus quattuor deuictarum spolia respondeant belluarum, ac ueluti super aspidem et basiliscum ambulasti, ita leonem calces et draconem ⁴⁷⁾. Quod quidem futurum esse hic dies, haec amicitia, haec foedera magni Caesaris pollicentur, ubi animi, uires, robur duorum toto orbe terrarum maximorum principum iuncta sunt, quorum alter domestica mala auctoritate tollere, alter armis hostilem impietatem debellare, uterque simul duce Deo christianam rempublicam omni incommodo liberatam perpetua poterunt felicitate condonare.

DIXI

^e *sceuit* correctum in *saeuit*.

⁴⁷⁾ Psal. 90 : 13.

APPENDIX

Vat. Lat. 12268, fols 435r-438r. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*.

[fol. 435r]

De publicatione ligae siue foederis nouiter inter Pontificem et Imperatorem ac Regem Catholicum et Anglicum initae.

Die sanctae Caterinae uidelicet xxv Nouembris Pontifex accessit ad ecclesiam Beatae Mariae de Populo pro missa de Spiritu Sancto habenda in publicatione nouae ligae inter ipsum Pontificem et Imperatorem et Regem^a Catholicum et Anglicum initae. Et hic actus fuit cum omni solennitate habitus.

Et primo ut Pontifex haberet ibi secum Curcensem in habitu Cardinalatus praesentem, misit ad eius domum unam mulam phaleratam et ornatam sicut Cardinales solent habere, et cappas duas, unam rubeam alteram uiolaceam, et totidem mantella cum suis capucinis, et uestes cingendas, ac bireta nonnulla rubea, et rocheta duo, et alia insignia Cardinalatus, ut ipse Curcensis in habitu Cardinalatus compareret et praesens esset; mihiq[ue] imposuit ut ipsum in loco et ordine Cardinalatus ponerem, uidelicet post ultimum Diaconum, sed ipse Curcensis non uenit nisi ut Episcopus indutus, ut supra dixi proximo capitulo. Et cum Pontifici dicerem an sic etiam ponendus esset cum Cardinalibus et post ultimum Diaconum in cappella qua missa esset cantanda, et Pontifex ad me conuersus dixit, Quare non ! si Cardinalis est, non debeat ibi esse ? Respondi nec Episcopos nec Cardinales cum mantello in cappella esse debere sed cum cappa conuenienti, et Pontifex rursus dixit mihi ut sinerem eum esse in quo habitu uellet tam in cappella quam extra eam. Et sic fuit. Licet super hoc [fol. 435v] ego alta uoce excusaueram me cum omnibus tunc praesentibus collegialiter Cardinalibus qui me bene dixisse ac fecisse commendarunt.

Insuper Suitenses, siue Aluetij, de quibus heri dixi, cum processuri essent non uoluerunt esse sub Florentinis et, per consequens, nec sub Lucensibus, nec sub Senensibus, nec minus sub Bononiensibus ac Parmensibus, Regiensibusque et Placentinis, et cum Pontifex de hoc admiratus esset postea a me petijt quid censerem. Respondi Aluetios iniustam causam fouere, nec licita uelle cum ipsi ut Imperio subditi et ne utique liberi non solum non debent Florentinis praeesse, qui liberi

^a Reges correctum in *Regem*.

sunt, sed ne quidem Bononiensibus ac aliis praedictis Ecclesiae subditis oratoribus, quia quanto maior est Ecclesia Romana Imperio, tanto ipsi Suitenses minores^b sunt oratoribus ciuitatum Romanae Ecclesiae subditarum. Quae mea responsio uisa est Pontifici placere, tamen commisit Capitano Palatij sui, qui erat Aluetius, ut concordaretur res ista, uidelicet quod omnino subditi Ecclesiae Romanae pro ista uice cederent Suitensibus, attento quod ipsi Suitenses fuerunt causa libertatis et salutis eorum, sed Florentini et Senenses, ac Lucenses irent cum eis concorditer, et mixtim, ita ut non discernentur qui maiorem ac qui minorem locum haberent, quod facilius factum est.

Fuit etiam orator [fol. 436r] Ducis Sabaudiae laicus qui cum Venetis^c de superioritate certabat ex antiqua discordia, et similiter quaesitus a Pontifice dixi hos consueuisse alternatim uenire, ne inter eos scandalum oriretur, prout saepe antea factum est. Sed Pontifex dixit ut hunc oratorem Sabaudum excluderemus, tanquam missum a Duce scismatico et heretico qui faueret Conciliabulo Pisano et Cardinalibus priuatis ac Regi Franciae; sed quia Veneti non superuenerunt nec causa fuit disceptandi ideo iste Sabaudus stetit in loco suo.

Postremo etiam fuit discordia uel potius ambitio petulans noui oratoris Hispani qui non uoluit cedere senatori urbis aliquo modo, et cum ego instarem ut seruaret legem caerimonialem, Pontifice praesente et uidente nec aliquid dicente nisi quodammodo submurmurante, dixi senatori ut aliquo modo suo honori prouideret, qui re cum conseruatoribus consulta abiit et cum ex eo orator ille, quasi uictor subriderat, fuit ab oratoribus Caesareis reprehensus quia non bene fecisset, nam supra senatorem urbis soli oratores Imperiales manent.

Igitur itum est ad ecclesiam frequentissimo comitatu et, hora iam tarda quasi xvii, caerimoniae in ingressu ecclesiae factae sunt solitae. Pontifex ibi postquam orauit, accepit pluuiale^d et stolam et fecit confessionem. Missam cantauit Cardinalis Anglicus, [fol. 436v] cum quatuor orationibus, quod fuit male, praesertim de quarta suffecisset una de Spiritu Sancto, nam de Spiritu Sancto missa est habita. Sed nonnulli Cardinales petierunt a Papa ut contentaretur quod etiam alia oratio diceretur pro Imperatore quae est in die Veneris sancti, ibi oremus et pro christianissimo Imperatore nostro et cetera. Sed ego

^b *mineres* correctum in *minores*.

^c *Venentis* correctum in *Venetis*.

^d *plubiale* correctum in *pluuiiale*.

dixi non esse solitum in cappella papali fieri commemorationem pro aliquo uiuente nisi pro solo Pontifice, praeterquam in Parasceue ubi pro Imperatore fit commemoratio tanquam pro aduocato Ecclesiae cum etiam fiat idem pro omnibus Ecclesiae ordinibus. Licet in Concilio Constantiensi fuerit facta oratio pro Sigismundo, tunc electo Imperatore, quia ipse erat deditus scismati tollendo. Et hoc audito Papa uoluit ut tres orationes dicerentur, uidelicet prima de Spiritu Sancto, secunda pro Pontifice, tertia pro Imperatore, non prout in Parasceue sed prout in missali ordinario, uidelicet Deus regnorum omnium et Romani maxime protector Imperij et cetera. Et sic fuit. Cardinalis Anglicus a seipso motus absque consultatione Pontificis aut nostra uel alterius dixit etiam quartam orationem pro rege suo, in qua nonnullas leuitates immiscuit cum risu plurimorum tam in oratione ante epistolam quam post comunione.

Intra missam Papa debilis nunquam se de solis mouit sed inde uidit et adorauit [fol. 437r] sacramentum. Cardinales uenerunt ad circulos, sic suadente Cardinali sancti Georgij attento quod Cardinales erant pauci et propter praesentiam Curcensis et comitum eius. Curcensis nunquam se movit^e.

In duobus sedilibus fuerunt omnes Cardinales numero quindecim, uidelicet novem a dextris Papae, et duo assistentes, ac quatuor praesbiteri in latere sinistro, et post eos fuit Curcensis medius inter ultimum praesbiterum et unicum Diaconum, uidelicet Cornelium. Et licet ordo legitimus fuisset quod Diaconus sedisset iunctus cum ultimo praesbitero, tamen sic studio fecimus ut Curcensis sic uideretur ab Alamanis et a toto populo forsitan nostrarum caeremoniarum ignaro, quod ipse esset in capite sedilis, id est proximiori Pontifici. Tamen ipse Cornelius sic distans fuit a praesbiteris, ut Curcensis, nunquam potuit loqui cum ultimo praesbitero sed omnino disiunctus ab illo. Ipse Curcensis incensum ultimo loco et pacem habuit non a Cardinali Diacono sed ab assistente cappellano.

Finita missa absque eo quod Pontifex dederit benedictionem, Frater Aegidius Generalis Heremitarum, petita indulgentia, habuit sermonem et in fine publicauit plenarias indulgentias. Tum ego portauimus capitula publicanda ad Pontificem et uocaui illuc Dominum Phedram Acolitum qui osculato pede accepit de manu Papae folium cum capitulis legendis, et Papa dixit ut ascenderet pulpitem et publicaret prout

^e *nunquam deletum.*

fecit. Quo facto Papa cantauit *Te Deum* [fol. 437v] laudamus et deinde uersiculos et orationes duas solitas et in fine dedit benedictionem.

Haec solennitas finita est quasi circa horam xxi et Pontifex apud eandem ecclesiam in conuentu fratrum, id est in ipso claustro inferiori, pransus est, in cuius mensa comedit Curcensis solus; alij uero Cardinales quasi decem in alia mensa, et ipsi Cardinales omnes hac tota die fuerunt in cappis et mantellis festiuis et rubeis. Et circa primam horam noctis Pontifex reversus ad Palatium Vaticanum, sub lucem infinitorum cereorum, praecedentibus omnibus oratoribus qui sunt in urbe, ut moris est, quos uolui omnes praecedere tam in eundo quam in redeundo, quia numerus eorum fuit, et est admodum notabilis, nam in totum sunt oratores nunc in urbe numero quinquaginta et duo, uidelicet Caesarei duo, Hyspani duo, Anglus unus, Portugalensis unus, Burgunensis unus, Veneti duo, Sabaudi duo, Mediolanensis unus, Florentini tres, Senensis[†] unus, Lucenses, Bononienses quatuor, Parmenses decem, Placentini duo, Regienses unus, et denique Suitenses decem et octo. Qui omnes quinquaginta duo oratores praesentes missae fuerunt, partim post sedilia Cardinalium hinc inde sedentes, et partim ante altare super sedilibus adhaerentibus repagulo posito tanquam cancellos faciente ante altare.

Et denique ut omnia ponam quae pro hac publicatione facta [fol. 438r] fuerunt: etiam processiones tridicanae habitae sunt, uidelicet prima die a Sancto Laurentio in Damaso ad Sanctum Petrum, secunda die a Sancta Maria Noua ad Sanctum Johannem Lateranensem, tertia a Sancto Agustino ad sanctam Mariam de Populo. Et quia omnes de clero urbis ire coacti sunt praesertim Canonici Sancti Petri et Sancti Johannis Lateranensis, qui simul semper de praecedentia ac superioritate certare consueuerunt, et nunc maxime certarunt etiam usque ad uerba, pro qua re sedanda Cardinales nobis caerimoniarum magistris iniunxerunt de consensu Pontificis, ut eo accederemus et componeremus aliquo bono modo; sed ire recusauimus nollentes uices cum Romanis miscere ne qua pars contra nos qui Curiales sumus iram suam dirigeret, et res fuit indiscussa. Sed haec differentia postea hoc modo concordata ut Canonici Lateranensis semper essent super Canonicos Sancti Petri in ea parte urbis quae est ultra parionem usque ad Sanctum Johannem et similiter Canonici Sancti Petri semper essent super Canonicos Sancti Johannis in ea

[†] *Senenensis* correctum in *Senensis*

parte urbis quae est citra parionem, usque ad Sanctum Petrum. Quae compositio utrique parti visa est placere, et utique placuit ut infra dicetur.