

'Without Councils we cannot be saved...'

Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council*

Universally acclaimed in its own day, Giles's *oratio* was later the subject of commentaries as numerous as they were contradictory. Traditionalists, reformists, counter-reformists, each in turn made use, or misuse, of phrases from the text to support their opposing theses. Thus writes Signorelli ¹⁾ of the discourse delivered by Giles of Viterbo ²⁾ at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council on 3 May 1512.

*) I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Ludwig Bieler for his critical reading of my transcription of the *oratio* and for his valuable advice. I should also like to express my gratitude to Reverend F. X. Martin, o.s.a., to whom I am especially indebted for advice and assistance in preparing this paper.

¹⁾ Giuseppe SIGNORELLI, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo: Agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929, p. 52, 'I commenti furono infiniti e contraddittori. Tradizionalisti, riformisti, controriformisti ne citarono qualche brano a sostegno delle loro tesi, alterando talora il senso di talune frasi, e perfino inventandone altre mai pronunciate dall'oratore'.

²⁾ 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For Giles, see Francis X. MARTIN, o.s.a., 'Egidio da Viterbo, 1469-1518: a study in Renaissance and Reform history', an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cambridge University 1958; John W. O'MALLEY, s.j., *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: a study in Renaissance thought*, Leiden 1968;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, op. cit.; 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 critical editions of discourses of Giles, see Francis X. MARTIN, o.s.a., 'Giles of Viterbo and the Monastery of Lecceto: the making of a reformer', in *Analecta Augustiniana* XXV (1962) 225-53 at 247-53; 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; Clare O'REILLY, '“Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus”: Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II', in *Augustiniana* XXII (1972) Fasc. 1-2, 80-117; John W. O'MALLEY, s.j., 'Man's Dignity, God's Love, and the Destiny of Rome: A Text of Giles of Viterbo', in *Viator* vol. 3 (1972) 389-416. 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) 357-79; X (1960) 43-60. For a selective

The discourse was committed to print in pamphlet form, probably in 1512, by Ioannis Beplin at Rome. This edition by Beplin was reprinted by him at least once, while a similar pamphlet edition was printed — again probably in 1512 — by Ioannis Stuchs at Nürenberg. In 1521 the discourse, with some variations and in expanded form, was included in the edition of the official acts of the Lateran Council compiled by Cardinal del Monte and printed at Rome by Mazochius.

It is the del Monte version or rather the del Monte version as republished, with very minor changes, in Mansi's *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, which is generally referred to by modern writers on the Fifth Lateran Council or by scholars dealing with the works of Giles of Viterbo. It is, too, the version which was used in 1969 by John C. Olin and Charles W. Lockyer for their translation of the discourse — the first ever published English translation ³). But while the del Monte edition is fuller than the original pamphlet form and while it is the version which has appeared as 'official', there are yet two further versions. One, published at Antwerp in 1636, is merely a synopsis of the discourse, although it is not specified as such by the editor, F. Cornelius Curtius ⁴). The other, however, is by no means either a paraphrase or a synopsis. It does omit some passages of the del Monte version but it includes phrases from the original pamphlet version which were omitted in del Monte, and it has several long passages which did not appear either in the pamphlet edition or in del Monte. This version is found in the work by Arnoul le Ferron ⁵),

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. 11-12, 192-206. In recent years several further studies on Giles have been published. Father Martin is now preparing another survey of all studies that have appeared since 1959.

³) John C. OLIN, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola: Reform in the Church 1495-1540*, New York, Evanston, and London 1969, pp. 40-53.

⁴) F. Cornelius CURTIUS, *Virorum Illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum D. Augustini Elogia*, Antwerp 1636, pp. 95-99. D. A. GANDOLFO, *Dissertatio Historica*, Rome 1704, p. 20, states that this version 'non est integra nec sincera oratio Aegidii'.

⁵) Arnoul le Ferron, 1515-1563, magistrate and historian. Born at Bordeaux he became, at 21 years of age, *conseiller* at the *parlement* there and had as colleague Estienne de la Boétie, who died in the same year as le Ferron. Le Ferron had a wide knowledge and deep understanding of jurisprudence and of history. His continuation of the history begun by Paul Emile was written with elegance and obtained such success that Scaliger was to entitle him *Atticus*. His published works include *In consuetudines Burdigalensium commentariorum libri duo*, Lyons 1540; *De rebus gestis Gallorum libri IX ad historiam Pauli Aemilii additi, perducta historia usque ad adventum Henrici II Francorum regis*, Paris 1550, revised Paris 1554. Both these works were reprinted several times. For le

De Rebus Gestis Gallorum, printed at Paris in 1550, and revised and enlarged in 1554.

Apart from its appearing, at length, among the official acts of the Council, the importance given to Giles's discourse can be deduced from its various printings at a time when printing was only in its infancy, a published work still an event rather than a commonplace. Perhaps even more striking is the fact that le Ferron should give over almost ten pages of his history of the French to the reproduction of a discourse delivered by an Italian prior general at Rome — albeit a discourse at the opening of a Council. Giles's contemporaries and near-contemporaries, were clearly sensible to the significance and consequence of his discourse.

The chroniclers, too, are in agreement, or at the very least take the trouble to record the report of Paris de Grassis ⁶⁾, that the discourse had a profound effect on all who heard it. And the Master of Ceremonies was not a man given to generosity in praise ⁷⁾. Further, on this occasion, which was for him an event of great concern and much importance, he was likely to have been even more demanding and critical than usual, more intolerant of any weakness or failure. He had spent long, painstaking, hours on the arrangements for the ceremony. Letters had been dispatched to friends at sites of earlier Councils commissioning them to collect, from writings, plans, even from wall-paintings, every scrap of evidence available on the structure and lay out of the places

Ferron see, de LURBE, *Chronique Bourdeloise*, Bordeaux 1594-5; De THOU, *Hist. Univ.*, London 1734, Tome IV, livre 35.

⁶⁾ 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). On the occasion of the opening of the Lateran Council he was promised a bishopric by Julius II for the admirable way in which he had organized and conducted the 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 account of the lives of Julius II and Leo X from 1506 to 1521. For copies of the diary see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codices Lat. 12269, 12273, 12274. For de Grassis see L. PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, ed. F. I. Antrobus and R. F. Kerr, vols VI-VIII, London 1950, passim.

⁷⁾ Of a sermon of Giles on Trinity Sunday 1509, de Grassis said, 'Et duravit illa praedicatio per horas tres integras cum omnium fastidio', Vat. Lat. 12273, fol. 225r. His comment on Giles's discourse at St Peter's in 1507 was that it was 'nimis longa' and he also criticized the giving of the sermon in the vernacular as well as in Latin, '... habuit sermonem, primo Latinum, deinde contra bonas caerimonias uulgarem'. Vat. Lat. 12268 fols 143v-144r.

of assembly ⁸). A list of procedural problems had been compiled and meticulously resolved ⁹). No detail, however mundane, was overlooked ¹⁰). At last, the great day arrived, de Grassis had no fault to find with the chosen orator; no complaint of an over-long discourse, no criticism of an inappropriate address. The audience, he declares, were moved to tears, or left in wonder, at such learning, eloquence, and piety ¹¹).

Nor was the effect confined to an immediate and emotional reaction, to a restricted gathering in the basilica of St John Lateran. As Signorelli points out, the discourse was to re-echo down the ages, but the message that was received depended on the ear and the inclination of the listener. By one a phrase regarding the supremacy of the pope was emphasized while others highlighted the insistence on a Council. For many the dominant note was the ringing call for reform in the Church; to the opponents of Julius reverberated the mention of Ravenna ¹². But without doubt the phrase most oft repeated was the famous 'Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men' ¹³.

This incisive dictum was indeed a summary of Giles's own ideal,

⁸) See de Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268 fol. 363v, 'Cum ego undequaque antiqua in similibus exemplaria, et vetustissimas formas explorauerim, siquidem ego prius hac re, quae euenire prefigurabatur intellecta ad Constantiam, et Basileam, Pisasque, et Florentiam, necnon Senas, et denique Ferrariam litteras ad amicos destinaueram cum commissionibus, ut loca ipsa ubi huiusmodi concilia habita fuerant, dimetirentur, et si quas locorum reliquias, mensurarumque figuras, aut in scriptis, aut in structuris, aut etiam in picturis, ut quandoque talia in parietibus pingi solent, intelligerent, et quicquid inuenirent, omni cum diligentia notarent, et referrent.'

⁹) *Ibid.* fols 366v-371r. Thirty one different problems are noted — from the date of the opening ceremony to the ritual for the processions, from the colour of the vestments to be worn to the nature and number of prayers to be said, from the seating arrangements to the security precautions.

¹⁰) *Ibid.* fol. 365r, '... inde erat parua janua, per quam Pontifex si opus habuerit naturae euacuandae posset ad latrinae cellulam, quam praedixi, accedere'.

¹¹) *Ibid.* fols 374r-v, '... habitus est sermo latinus per R.P.D. Egidium generalem ordinis Sancti Augustini faciens ad rem, ita eleganter et pientissime dicentem, ut partem audientium ad lachrimas, partem ad stuporem conuerterit prae doctrina et facundia ac pietate eorum, quae dixerit ...'

¹²) See SIGNORELLI, op. cit. pp. 52-3, 169.

¹³) '... homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines'. Almost without exception, when Giles's discourse is mentioned this phrase from it is quoted. Pastor, in his *History of the Popes*, cit., Vol. VII, p. xli uses it as a caption for one section of his introduction and says, too, that it 'simply and succinctly summed up the theory of true Catholic reformation', *ibid.* p. 10.

of his concept of reform. But it was so basic to his thinking, to his whole outlook that he does not make it — as many writers, concentrating on its pronouncement, would lead us to believe — the argument of his address. It is, in the *oratio*, more a remark *en passant*, a throw-away phrase in the introduction, rather than the central theme to be expanded, explained, and emphasized.

Giles commences his discourse with a reference to his years of active ministry in preaching ¹⁴), to his task of bringing the Gospel to the people, of interpreting the Scriptures which foreshadow the secrets of the future and through which God intimates to his people the advent of all important events ¹⁵). But, he assures his listeners, for the disturbance and destruction in the Church, of which he had warned them and of which they were the witnesses, a sure remedy will be found ¹⁶). Celestial and human things, unlike the divine, are subject to movement and to change; indeed in the human order, things either perish in a quick destruction or are restored in a continual renewal. So in the Church, without the attention of the Councils, evils accumulate — and their list is long. Christ withdraws from his people and sleeps while the ship is buffeted by storms. The light of the Holy Spirit is extinguished. But with the help of Councils order is restored, Christ is again seen by his people, the light of the Spirit is recovered and shines forth just as a new fire is struck from flint. 'Without Councils, faith cannot stand firm. Without Councils, therefore, we cannot be saved' ¹⁷).

To prove this point, Giles first of all shows how attacks on the

¹⁴) Giles's fame as a preacher dates from the late 1490s. In fact he was in such demand that Julius II appears to have 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. See also Tomas DE HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I (Madrid 1644) 42. For an assessment of Giles as a preacher and an account of his preaching career from 1502 to 1505, see MARTIN, 'Egidio da Viterbo', cit. pp. 99-150.

¹⁵) For the importance to Giles of Scripture, of elucidating Scripture through the office of preaching, and for his conception of the function of Scripture to foretell the future, see O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit. pp. 67-99, particularly at pp. 66-69, 96. A frequent charge of Giles against the Peripatetics was that they denied the oracles their proper place and that in doing so the Peripatetics rendered their own philosophy impious and arrogant in its implied self-sufficiency.

¹⁶) *Oratio*, p. 185.

¹⁷) *Oratio*, p. 186-8.

fundamental issues of faith were repelled by conciliar action ¹⁸). And it is not only, he claims, the tenets of faith which the Councils of the Church have defended. The whole fabric of life is affected by a Council — vice is uncovered, recognised and rejected; virtue is courageously and tenaciously pursued. And in this course the people must be led forward steadfastly by their shepherds, who themselves look to the example and teaching of the Prince of Shepherds ¹⁹).

It is, in the eyes of Giles, this role of the fathers that is of paramount importance. That it has been neglected, is in need of reform, he makes urgently clear. And it is on this very point that additional passages of the *oratio*, recorded only in le Ferron, are enlightening and significant.

To the general list of evils besetting the Church are added, in the Ferron edition, that of a sacred calling prostituted on the one hand to the activity of war, on the other to the pleasures of the body, that of wasted intellects grown listless or, when busied, feverishly immersed in unworthy occupation ²⁰). In long passages, also in le Ferron, Giles elaborates the failings found among the shepherds of the people, the teachers who have turned their minds to other things. And he admonishes them to imitate the early fathers of the Church — their virtue, their frugality, their moderation. Particularly, they must ensure that wealth does not become a cause of corruption. Further, they must take care that, by their very actions, they do not drive away those whom they should wish to convert. Indeed their task is to show that they are waging war on vice and on evil, not struggling for possessions and their own advantage ²¹).

And so Giles comes to the representative of the Prince of Shepherds, to the supreme pontiff and the role which he must play. It is Julius who must defend the Church, the queen of heaven and

¹⁸) Giles specifies the three mysteries, each attacked by heretics, of the divine unity, the Trinity, and the Incarnation.

¹⁹) *Oratio*, pp. 188-92.

²⁰) See below, passage from LE FERRON, p. 187. On many occasions Giles, in his writings, makes strong charges against the fathers, particularly those of the city of Rome. In the *Scechina* we read '... ut intelligas [Charles V] quanto tua saecula in errore versentur, quibus cogitare non posses, quanto cum stomacho e caelo aspiciamus passim admitti ad excelsum sacerdotii munus vulgus, ignavos, imperitos, incompósitos, incontinentes, lusores, adolescentes, mercatores, trapezitas, plerumque milites et gladiatores, ne usurarios dixerim et lenones'. *Schecina*, ed. Secret, cit., vol. 1, p. 136.

²¹) See below, passages from LE FERRON, p. 196, also pp. 192, 194-5, 203.

earth, from the plundering attacks of princes. In no better way can he do just that than by the action which he has now taken, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in calling a Council. The decrees of a Council will not be disregarded; supported by the authority of the Council, the Pope, no longer alone and defenceless but respected and feared, will accomplish his task ²²).

Once again, Giles has recourse to examples — from the time of Melchiades to Eugenius IV. Whatever was worthy of glory in the Church found its origin in a Council. Justice returned from heaven to earth; God returned to his people. Then leaving historical records, Giles turns to biblical parallels. From the book of Genesis to the gospels of the evangelists, from the Apocalypse, the letters of Paul, Giles draws his allegories, highlights the reflections. Thus, the benefits of former Councils summarily enumerated and the pontifical protagonists acknowledged, the scene reverts to the Lateran and to Julius II ²³).

Reminding the pontiff of the gifts and blessings already bestowed on him by God and of the good which he has so far been enabled to accomplish, Giles calls on Julius to fulfil the two remaining tasks — of convening the Council, of initiating a Crusade. These two objectives, to which Julius has been pledged from the very beginning of his pontificate, should no longer be delayed. But the exhortation of Giles is no repetition of the accusation levelled by the enemies of Julius ²⁴). On the contrary, Giles holds that Julius's failure to call a Council or prosecute a Crusade was not due to culpable neglect, as the followers of the Council of Pisa would insist, but was made inevitable by the circumstances of the times, by the necessity for the pontiff to defend the Church and its territories against the greed and injustice of the usurper ²⁵). He does warn Julius, however, as recorded in le Ferron, that the pontiff should beware of appearing, in his use

²²) *Oratio*, pp. 192-3.

²³) *Oratio*, pp. 193-6.

²⁴) On his election in 1503 Julius had confirmed the Election-capitulation which, in its conditions, required the prosecution of the war against the Turks and the restoration of discipline in the Church, this to be effected by the summoning of a General Council within two years. When Louis XII of France decided to add, to his attack on the temporal supremacy of Julius, an attack also on the spiritual supremacy, he justified the calling of the schismatic Council of Pisa in 1511 on the grounds of Julius's neglect to fulfil his commitments. The ostensible objects of the Pisan council were the pacification of Christendom, a crusade against the Turk, and the reform of the Church.

²⁵) *Oratio*, pp. 196-8

of arms, to have dealt with a lesser evil — the aggressor at home — while overlooking a greater — the threat from the Turk. The defeat of Mohammed must be the goal ²⁶). Nor is Giles's justification a blind commendation or unqualified approval of the act of war in the life of the Church. Indeed, on this solemn occasion and in the presence of the *papa terribile*, the warrior pope so often found at the head of his men and whose determination and iron will had galvanised even the most demoralised of troops, Giles quite bluntly and unequivocally rejects the reliance of the Church on arms. The golden cloak of the burning spirit should not be exchanged for the iron weapons of a mad Ajax. And the acts of divine Providence have even very recently made this manifest.

The waging of war may on occasion be necessary but the true weapons of the Church are piety, devotion, honesty, prayers, offerings, the shield of faith and the arms of light. Julius should see that God, in twice miraculously restoring the pope to life, wishes him in turn, with these weapons, to restore life to the Church. Indeed, the loss of the army at Ravenna is a further reminder from divine Providence that, when she relies on alien arms, the Church may well suffer disastrous defeat. It must be an inspiration to the Church now to seek victory over her enemies with the appropriate arms. And that this would be no vain undertaking, no fanciful aspiration, is borne out by biblical and historical fact. Trusting in the sword, God's chosen people were driven back; when Moses raised his hands in prayer then Joshua triumphed over Amalec. The widespread conquests of the Church — in Europe, Asia, Africa — were made not under warlike banners but with the spirit of religion and of sanctity. When religion exchanged that piety for the sword, the possessions of the Church were lost to her one by one. Nor have the depths been plumbed, the possible dangers been exhausted, for as the Church is weakened and impoverished the power and dominion of Mohammed is increased, and unless the strength, the true values, of the Church are recovered the whole world will fall ²⁷).

With this grave warning Giles calls on the pontiff to face the disorders of the day, to appreciate the necessity for a Council, to initiate an assault upon the Turk. For never has the picture of cor-

²⁶) See below, passages from LE FERRON, pp. 197, 199.

²⁷) *Oratio*, pp. 198-201.

ruption been so grim — life has become effeminate, ambition and greed are unrestrained, piety is attacked with temerity, the sacraments are neglected, the commandments held in contempt. The Church is split by dissension ²⁸). Destruction and slaughter have become a commonplace; grief is without parallel ²⁹). Through the calamities of the day, divine Providence is manifesting the need for a Council, for a reform of the Church, a restoration of moral values, a return to peace between men. It is the Council that will prove the one sure remedy for evil, the safe harbour in distress ³⁰). And as conclusion to this long list of general disorders Giles again marks out — in a passage found in le Ferron — the faults specific to the fathers, their ineffectiveness as leaders of the flock. The bleary eyes that should be watchful, the elected ones who cannot comprehend the sacred writings, the vigilantes who are sunk in sleep, Giles dubs them as town criers without voice, as orators grown hoarse, as navigators unworthy even of a place on board, as runners without breath ³¹).

The *oratio* is brought to a close with a supplication to 'the heads, protectors and defenders of the city of Rome' — to Peter and to Paul — a prayer which Giles makes in company with the fathers of the Church, the senate of the state, the supreme pontiff, with the assembled congregation, and with the entire world. It is a plea that the Lateran Council may be made strong, may be indeed the remedy for evil, the safe port in a raging storm; that peace may reign between the Christian princes, action be taken against the Turk; and that the fire of charity in the Church may be restored and once more find its ancient purity and splendour ³²).

This restoration of an ancient purity, this return to basic principles — principles rid of the false or distorting accretions of time — is for Giles at once the kernel of the problem and the solution of the difficulty. Morals and discipline must be reformed. In this men must, indeed, be changed by religion not religion by men.

²⁸) In particular by the schismatic council of Pisa which had opened on 5 November 1511.

²⁹) A bloody battle at Ravenna, just four weeks earlier, on Easter Sunday 3 April, was the climax to months of warfare. There ten thousand had been killed and the papal army almost annihilated.

³⁰) *Oratio*, pp. 201-3.

³¹) See below, passage from LE FERRON, p. 203.

³²) *Oratio*, pp. 203-4.

It has been said that Giles was very weak in practical suggestions on the specific remedies to be taken and he has been accused of covering up with generalities his lack of a constructive, detailed program of renewal ³³). This judgement would appear to me to be, if not inaccurate or even unfair, at least subject to reasonable question.

Certainly, it must be agreed that Giles does not here elaborate specific procedures to be taken, does not unfold details of a plan of action. But would this have been appropriate to the occasion? Might not one expect that the working details be reserved for the actual sessions of the Council; that rather, at the opening ceremony, the stage be set, the tenor and the atmosphere established, the initial impetus given? And, in fact, Giles is at pains to do just that. Although convinced of the essential role of a Council in the Church, he was not blind to the possible defects. He knew very well that a Council could quickly become the instrument of the secular princes; he noted, correctly, that the very word 'Council' was feared and suspected by the popes of his day ³⁴). In his Lateran address Giles tries to make clear — as we see in le Ferron — what this Council must be, where its sights must be set. He warns that its model should be the assemblies held in earlier ages, those determined on authentic correction of error, not the false imitations where morals and doctrine were scarcely considered. He insists, on the one hand, on liberty in speaking, on the other, on avoidance of raucous or worthless dispute; the fathers must be led by sincerity of purpose not by desire for esteem ³⁵).

While the reason for Giles's lack of precise suggestions may be open to speculation, his ability to formulate constructive and detailed reform programs cannot be denied ³⁶). When Julius appointed him vicar general of the Augustinian order in 1506 it was because he believed that Giles would be effective in carrying out a reform program. Even before his election as prior general in 1507, Giles had laboured, successfully, for reforms within the order, for the spread of the ob-

³³) See Nelson H. Minnich, 'Concepts of reform proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council', in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969) 163-251 at 173.

³⁴) See Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 502, fol. 225v, '... unicam, ut diximus, principibus turbandarum rerum viam ...'; *ibid.* fols 222r, 240r, '... semper suspectum pontificibus fuerit et reformidatum concilii nomen'.

³⁵) See below, passage from LE FERRON, pp. 198-9, also p. 194.

³⁶) For a study of Giles's reform programs, see MARTIN, 'Egidio da Viterbo', *cit.*, pp. 174-388; O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, *cit.*, particularly pp. 139-78.

servance. From the moment that he assumed office he gave himself entirely to the task ³⁷). Apart from the evidence to be found in his registers, the copies of his letters in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena ³⁸) confirm his determination, his power of decision, and his attention not only to the outlines of reform but to the minutest details of that reform. And on the broader issue of reform in the Church as a whole, Giles's concept of the measures and norms to be taken may be seen in many ways as an extension of the examples and principles to be found in the more specific instance of the Augustinian order ³⁹).

Two further points may be noted in connection with the pattern of reform as envisaged by Giles. Although fully aware of the accumulating evils, he did not advocate, as did Savonarola, that reform be forced on what Savonarola called 'a prostitute Church'. Giles firmly believed that it was from within that a lasting reform would be effected. And his zeal for reform, while in no way lacking in drive or in urgency, did not degenerate into fanaticism and excess. Again, it had nothing of the uncompromising harshness of the preacher at San Marco.

Perhaps it was this very union of a sincere and deep concern for reform with a conviction that that reform should be accomplished in a spirit of charity and patience, in a manner which gave proof of the source of the reform ⁴⁰) — God and the Holy Spirit — that enabled Giles to win over a critical, even hostile, representative of the Observants in Saxony, Martin Luther. In the winter of 1510 Luther had come to Rome with another member of the community

³⁷) Almost every page of the surviving registers of Giles, as general of the order, contains the word 'reformatio'. In his letters to members of the order Giles speaks of his continuous work for reform. To the prior at Florence he writes 'Sumus die noctuque in labore reformandi', Biblioteca Comunale Siena, Cod. GX 26, p. 123. See also *ibid.* p. 79, a letter to the prior at Naples, '... et quamquam dies noctesque non aliud agendo conteramus, quam ut Augustinensem religionem moribus componendis emendemus ...'

³⁸) Cod. GX 26. This is the only surviving collection of Giles's correspondence as prior general. It has some 246 letters, and fragments of letters, from Giles during the years 1506-17.

³⁹) See O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit. pp. 160-78.

⁴⁰) In a letter to Antonio Pulcri, visitor of the Paris convent which was one of the most refractory of the houses, Giles says, 'Cupimus et uolumus ut primo ista reformatio fiat non cum impetu, non cum imperio uerborum, non cum clamore aut ullo tumultu, sed in charitate, in patientia, in spiritu humilitatis, ut omnes sentiant hanc rem esse a Deo et Spiritu Sancto', Siena GX 26 p. 260.

to discuss the position of the Observant Congregation of Saxony, which was then in sharp conflict with the conservative Augustinian Conventual friars ⁴¹). When he left the city, Luther did so as a converted supporter of the vicar general and of his policy of reform for the whole order, Conventuals and Observants alike ⁴²).

Looking back on the years of Giles's generalate, Jedin, the German historian, discusses the meeting of Luther with Giles ⁴³), and deduces that it took place at Sant'Agostino, the central house near the Campo Marzio, and not at Santa Maria del Popolo as is popularly supposed. And he notes that at Sant'Agostino at that time was, also, the young Neapolitan Augustinian friar, Girolamo Seripando. What a fateful moment in religious history is conjured up by the picture of these exponents of reform together in the same Augustinian house — Giles of Viterbo a prominent leader of the late medieval reform movement, Martin Luther the German friar who was to unloose a revolution within the Church, Girolamo Seripando the subtle theologian who was to figure as perhaps the greatest of the cardinal legates at the Council of Trent. How much agreement could be found in their convictions! How differently were they to be led in the pursuit of their beliefs!

The *oratio* of Giles, delivered at the opening of the Lateran Council, just over one year after Luther's visit to Rome, expressed much that would have found support with that future rebel in Germany. And, at the height of his public career as a Protestant reformer, Luther did recall with approbation the words of Giles in the Lateran basilica ⁴⁴). In fact, in 1512 Giles's address to the conciliar fathers could speak for many in that impatient group of reformers to be found within the Church — men such as Erasmus in the Low Countries, Colet in England, Ximenes in Spain, Staupitz in Germany, men who warned that this might well be the eleventh hour before disaster struck, were urging that now might be the last opportunity to put the house of God in order before it was assailed by the storm.

⁴¹) See R. WEIJENBORG, 'Neuentdeckte Dokumente im Zusammenhang mit Luthers Romreise', in *Antonianum*, XXXII (1957) 147-202.

⁴²) Ibid. pp. 185-97.

⁴³) H. JEDIN, 'Die römischen Augustiner-Quellen zu Luthers Frühzeit', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 25 (1928) 256-69, at pp. 265-9.

⁴⁴) See D. Martini *Luthers Werke: Tischreden*, II, Weimar 1913, p. 348; *ibid.* III, Weimar 1914, p. 345.

This vivid expression of reform thought on the eve of the Reformation, this reflection of reform movement within the Church, is of considerable importance to the modern historian. That the value of the address was appreciated also at the time of its delivery is revealed by the reception it was given by the audience, by the acclaim it was accorded by the contemporaries of Giles. And the reaction of the pontiff confirms the effect, underlines the appreciation. Julius can scarcely have been overjoyed at some of Giles's statements. Few concessions were made by the preacher to the warrior pope. Yet Julius, who had chosen the prior general to speak on this the most important occasion of the pontificate, barely six months later again chose the Augustinian to deliver an address. This time the occasion, another of crucial importance to the papacy, was the proclamation of an alliance between the emperor and the pope ⁴⁵).

These two discourses of Giles — the one in the Lateran basilica, the other in Santa Maria del Popolo — have much in common, one with the other. Two of only five sermons of Giles's to appear in print ⁴⁶), these were published during the lifetime of the friar ⁴⁷). While much of his writing has been described — and by Giles himself — as 'tumultuous', both these discourses are carefully formulated. There is a definite progression in form and in idea — more distinct, perhaps, in the *oratio* at Santa Maria del Popolo — and in each case cohesion is given to the whole by a dominant theme. In both, the biblical references abound and, although in these two discourses of his Giles makes less use than he normally does of authors from pagan antiquity, the classical allusions are there. The style is ciceronian; the cultured mastery of language undeniable. In the Lateran *oratio* — particularly

⁴⁵) 25 November 1512 in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. See O'REILLY, cit., *Augustiniana* XXII, 80-117.

⁴⁶) For the other three sermons see O'MALLEY, cit. *Traditio* XXV, 265-338, a sermon on the christian Golden Age delivered in St Peter's at Rome, 21 December 1507; O'MALLEY, cit. *Viator* vol. 3 (1972) 389-416, a discourse on man's dignity presented in the form of a letter addressed to 'Antonio Zoccoli and the Romans' and probably written between 1503 and 1508; MARTIN, cit. *Analecta Augustiniana* XXV, 225-53 at 247-53, another sermon in the form of a letter, addressed to the Observant Congregation of the friars of Lecceto and, although undated, probably written before 1506.

⁴⁷) Both, for the first time, probably in 1512 or 1513. Neither of the discourses, in the pamphlet printings, were dated. However, both the pamphlets were similar in format and printing to the copies of discourses, delivered at sessions of the Lateran Council, which were published during 1512-13.

when read with the passages recorded in le Ferron — are seen the same effective literary devices, the same oratorical patterns, to be found again in the *oratio* at Santa Maria. The long passages building up in a richness of images; the terse juxtaposition of opposites; the measured balance in idea, in picture, in phrase. But the discourses are not merely polished oratorical exercises. On these two important occasions Julius required more than a facile display of learning, a scintillating eloquence, and in choosing Giles as preacher he indeed chose well. The *oratio* at the opening of the Lateran Council is a clear indication of the understanding Giles had of the need for reform, of his genuine desire that this reform be effected, and of his realisation of the urgency of the problem. It is an appeal for the effective use of the potential of the Council, a statement of the basis for reform.

It is because of its importance as an indication of the reform movement within the Church in the period leading up to the Reformation that it seemed of value to make available, in a modern edition, the text of Giles's *oratio*. Of scarcely less importance, from the point of view of the historian, is the fact that — as became apparent in the preparation of this edition — the normally accepted 'official' text is not in fact complete. The version of the discourse, as recorded in le Ferron, has hitherto been neglected by historians, but the additional substantial passages it contains are not only a development, an expansion, of the 'official' version but have their own peculiar emphases, reveal further facets of Giles's thought. And while it is undoubtedly essential, for any balanced study, to see the work in its entirety, the 'uncovering' of the le Ferron text is of some further import. In his article on concepts of reform at the Lateran Council an American scholar, Nelson Minnich, pointed out that, as recorded in the official documents compiled by Cardinal del Monte and later reproduced by Mansi and by Hardouin, the text of the important *oratio* of Cajetan at the Council's second session was incomplete⁴⁸). Taken in conjunction with this evidence the lacunae in the official text of Giles's discourse give us pause for thought. For whatever may have been the cause of these omissions — those in the Giles address or those in Cajetan's⁴⁹) — the fact remains and forces us to

⁴⁸) See MINNICH, cit. *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969) 177 n. 52, 239.

⁴⁹) Minnich suggests that the omission of the passage of Cajetan's speech from the official acts may be explained by a mistake in the printed binder's signature for this section and he assumes that del Monte, when editing the official acts of the Council,

query to just what extent the official and normally accepted acts and documents of the Council may be regarded as completely reliable. And this consideration must weigh heavily with those writing on the Council.

Texts of the discourse

For this edition of Giles's *oratio* I have used as the principal text that found in the official volume of acts and documents of the Council, commissioned by Pope Leo X, compiled and edited by Cardinal Antonio del Monte, and published at Rome in 1521 by Iacobus Mazochius with the title, *Sa. Lateranen. Concilium nouissimum, sub Iulio II et Leone X celebratum*. In transcribing the *oratio* an effort has been made to reproduce the del Monte text as closely as possible. However, contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded, and for punctuation, paragraphing, and the use of capital letters, normal modern usage has been followed. As in del Monte the *oratio* is not paginated I have, for the purposes of this present edition, numbered the pages of del Monte commencing with the first page of the prefatory letter as page 1.

Four other editions of the text have been compared with del Monte.

The first is in *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, cuius Joannes Dominicus Mansi et, post ipsius mortem, florentinus et venetianus editores, ab anno 1758 ad annum 1798, priores triginta unum tomos ediderunt, nunc autem continuata...* [curantibus D. D. Ludovico Petit et Joanne Baptista Martin], 1759-1798, reprinted Paris 1901-1927, Tom. 32, cols. 667-676. Here in Mansi the text would appear to be a reproduction of del Monte though in fact there are some variations.

The second is a pamphlet edition, *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem, Romae — Impressa apud sanctum Eustachium per Ioannem Beplii*

must have had an uncorrected and perhaps defective edition of the speech, see *ibid.* 239-40. Giles's address could, conceivably, have been expanded later as was, apparently, his sermon on the Golden Age, see O'MALLEY, cit. *Traditio* XXV, 267, 269. However in that case Giles was complying, after the event, with the pope's request that the sermon be put into writing and he was also planning to send a copy of the sermon to Manuel of Portugal. We have no knowledge of any such 'presentation' copies of the Lateran *oratio*.

Alemanum. This pamphlet is not dated but was probably published in 1512 or 1513. It resembles in format and printing other pamphlet editions of the Lateran discourses published in these years. And it is clear that it was reprinted by Beplin at least twice. A copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, (45 J 78), while superficially identical with a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Réserve B 1930 (12) 267-86), shows itself, on examination, to vary from the Paris copy in some small ways. Letters misprinted are not the same in the two copies; the first few lines of the prefatory letter are differently spaced and divided; the date of the *oratio* on the final page of the Paris copy is given as 'Quinto Nonas Maias MDXIII' instead of, as correctly in the Vienna copy, 'MDXII'. Further, one of the Beplin copies in a collection in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (R.I. IV 1734 fols 191r-200v), while differing from the Vienna copy and while having in general the same peculiarities of the Paris copy, does however have the correct date on the final page. Thus we have three Beplin printings.

The third edition of the text compared with the del Monte is another pamphlet, *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem*, printed at Nürenberg by Ioannis Stuchs. Although undated it is generally believed, like the Beplin pamphlet, to have been published in 1512 or 1513. And the differences between the two pamphlet editions — the Beplin and the Stuchs — are very slight indeed.

The last version of the text to be considered, and the one which brings to light several interesting variations, is that which appeared in Arnoul le Ferron's *De rebus gestis Gallorum libri IX ad historiam P. Aemilii additi*, Paris 1550, fols 92r-98r; revised and enlarged, Paris 1554, fols 55v-60r. This work by le Ferron was again reprinted in 1569 and 1601 at Basle. I have used the 1550 edition but have shown within angular brackets < > any additional phrases or passages which appear in the revised edition of 1554. Other slight variations between the 1550 edition and the 1554 edition — the spelling of some words and the substitution in some places in the 1554 edition of *conuentum* or *coetus* for *synodus* — have not been noted.

Apparatus

In showing the differences which exist between the del Monte edition and the four other editions of the text, I have not indicated

orthographical variations such as *j* replacing *i*; *i* replacing *y*; *ct* in place of *th* as in *auctoritas*; *caritas* and *litera* instead of *charitas* and *littera*; *d* instead of *c* as in *quidquam*; *m* instead of *n* as in *quanquam*. I have not noted where simple vowels occur in the other texts in place of the diphthongs of the del Monte nor have I shown varying spellings of proper names such as *Moses* and *Moyses*, *Maumethe* and *Mahumete*, *Brisiana* and *Brixiana*.

A printing error which occurs several times in the different editions, particularly in the pamphlets, is the inversion of the letter *u*: *nirtutem* for *uirtutem*. I have made the necessary correction in transcribing the del Monte text and noted the change in the *apparatus*. I have not shown the occurrence of this printing error in the other editions.

In the *apparatus* the editions are indicated as follows — del Monte : *Mon*; Mansi : *M*; Beplin : *B*; Stuchs : *S*; le Ferron : *F*

CLARE O'REILLY.

p. 1

IACOBUS SADOLETUS ¹⁾ PETRO BEMBO ²⁾

S. P. D.

Habes, Bembe, Orationem Egidii Viterbiensis, quam tanta ope expetiisti, dignam illam quidem propter elegantiam, quae ab iis
5 potissimum legatur, qui iudicare aliquid de praestantibus ingeniis possunt; sed et aliis quoque commendationibus praeuocentem, tum

1 IACOBUS — 51 VALE om. F

6 et om. M

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⁾ Pietro Bembo, 1470-1547. Philologist, poet, master of Italian letters. He was an illustrious member of a brilliant circle of humanists at Urbino. Cardinal (1538), Bishop of Gubbio (1541) and of Bergamo (1544). *Opere*, 12 vols, Venice 1729, reprinted Milan 1808-10. For Bembo, see V. CIAN, *Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo, 1521-1531*, Turin 1885; M. SANTORO, *Pietro Bembo*, Naples 1937; G. MENEGHETTI, *La vita avventurosa di Pietro Bembo, umanista, poeta e cortigiano*, Venice 1961.

quod magna autoritate Lateranensis principia Concilii auspicata est, quod a Iulio Secundo Pontifice Maximo paulo ante institutum sanctae Christianae reipublicae optamus fore salutare : tum quod ab
 10 eo uiro est, quem ego et tu saepe soliti sumus in sermonibus nostris clarissimum huius saeculi, tanquam obscurascentis, lumen appellare Et quidem quae in communibus hominum sensibus posita sunt, ea nemo est qui in Egidio summa esse non agnoscat. Sumus enim experti
 15 pluries illam huius uiri mulcentem omnium auris atque animos eximiam eloquentiam, uernacula quidem lingua Hetruscorum, quae illi patria est, abundantem, sed ex uberrimis et Graecae et Latinae eruditionis fontibus deductam. Magno enim hic studio theologiae ac philosophiae altissimis artibus comites litteras politiores adiunxit ³⁾. Ergo illa in sacris concionibus diuina semper, at admiranda, flectere
 20 arbitrio suo hominum mentes, refrenare incitatas, languentis accendere, uel inflammare potius ad uirtutis, iustitiae, temperantiae studium, summi Dei uenerationem, sanctae religionis obseruantiam. Nec uero quicquam interfuit illo dicente, inter doctos homines et idiotas, non senex ab adolescente, uir a muliere, princeps ab infimo homine potuit
 25 dignosci, sed omnes pariter uidimus praecipites ferri impetu animos audientium, quocunque eos oratori impellere libuisset; tanta uis orationis, tantum flumen lectissimorum uerborum, pondus optimarum sententiarum ex eo ferebatur. Ex quo, quod semper euenire cernimus, iam plane <i>ntelligimus necessitate euenire, non casu, ut quoties-
 30 cunque dicturus est, concursus maximi omnibus ex locis audiendi causa fiant. Sed nos haec popularia cum multis, illa secretiora cum paucis cognoscimus. Soleo * enim mirari te Bembi, uehementerque probare iudicium tuum, cum ita dicas. Humanitatem ipsam, et eas

14 ominum *Mon* omnium *scripsi*; auris] aures *M*

20 languentis] languentes *M*

22 *post* obseruantiam *add.* nouit *M*

24 *ante* princeps *add.* non *M*

29 aut *Mon* ut *scripsi*

³⁾ This respect for Giles, and high opinion of him as a man of letters, is expressed in several of the letters of Bembo and of Sadoletto. See Sadoletto to Giles, Carpentras, in SADOLETO, *Epistolarum libri sexdecim*, Lyons 1554, pp. 115-17. See letters from Bembo to Giles during years 1523-31, in BEMBO, *Lettere*, I, Rome 1548, pp. 115-24. On the death of Giles Bembo wrote to Della Volta at Padua, '... nostro Signor Cardinal Egidio, il quale era e dotto e amico dei dotti e letterati, e grato e gentile, e sopra tutto pieno di soauissima facundia che addolciva gli animi di chiunque usava con lui', *ibid.* pp. 382-3.

artes quae humanitatis propriae et affines sint, si malo hominum
 35 fato amissae intereant, ab hoc uno homine exprimi et representari
 posse, nec adumbrata in eo simulacra, sed totam effigiem uirtutis
 agnosci. Quod uero addis grandiore tibi etiam in cubiculo uideri
 Egidium quam in pulpito, ubi certe est maximus, facile tibi assentior.
 Sed haec alias. Nunc, orationem leges, de qua testatum esse apud
 40 omnes uolo, quicumque eam in manus sument, redempturos eos
 non Hectorem, sed Hectoris corpus : quod ipsum tamen tanti praecii
 est, ut iure optimo rependi auro queat. Certe non aderit calor ille
 et uis in dicendo oratoria, spiritusque ζώσας ut aiunt φωνάς, quo
 tantum potuit Egidius, ut omnium adstantium animos primum
 45 suauissime demulserit, deinde ad extremum uehementissime commo-
 uerit. Verum quid opus haec ad te scribere, qui amore quidem et
 beneuolentia erga Egidium mihi par, iudicio omnibus antecellis. Ego
 quod egi, ut elucubratio optimi et religiosissimi uiri non lateret in
 tenebris suppressa, sed in populum exiret, spero me bonis omnibus
 50 gratum fecisse : tibi quidem certe scio.

VALE ⁴⁾ *

p. 3

ORATIO PRIMA SYNODI LATERANENSIS
 HABITA PER EGIDIVM VITERBIENSEM
 AVGVSTINIANI ORDINIS
 GENERALEM

5 Neminem hoc loco non mirari existimo, cum tot in urbe uiri sint

34 sint] sunt *M*

43 ξώσκα *Mon ζώσας scripsi; om. S*

43 φωνκα *Mon φωνάς scripsi; om S*

48 lateret] latere *S*

49 post me *add. in S*

1 ORATIO — 4 GENERALEM *om. F*

5 Neminem — 9 facere] Si quis est qui admiretur, quod cum tot magni Pontifices
 eruditissimi sanctissimique uiri sedeant, ego potissimum coetui huic hortando
 praepositus sim, qui neque prudentia, neque eruditione, neque dignitate sim cum
 aliis conferendus : is si prudentissimi Pontificis meique consilii rationem cognouerit,
 una et illud quod imperauit probabit, et in his profecto laboribus uoluntatem nostram
 minime reprehendendam putabit. *F*

5 hoc loco] hic *B S*

⁴⁾ This prefatory letter from Sadoletto to Bembo was reprinted in SADOLETO,
Epistolae Familiares, I, Rome 1760, pp. 18-20.

- grauiter copioseque dicendi facultate clarissimi, cur ipse unus, qui cum luminibus his nulla sim ratione comparandus, et pro rostris appaream, et in tanta praesertim re, tantoque consessu, quo spectatius sacratiusque nihil habet terrarum orbis, audeam uerba facere. Dicam sane
- 10 aliquid intercessisse, quamobrem ego non uirtute ulla aliis praepositus, sed quadam superiorum tum temporum tum actionum ratione; et tanquam a causa ipsa inuitatus uidear, qui primus hoc conflictu telum iaciam, et sacrosancti Lateranensis Concilii auspicia capiam.
- 15 Nam cum annis ab hinc circiter uiginti, quantum in me fuit, et perexiguae uires tulere, euangelia populis interpretaetus sim, prophetarum uaticinia aperuerim, Ioannis Apocalypsim de successu Ecclesiae uniuersae ferme Italiae enarrauerim, ac saepenumero affirmauerim, eos qui tunc audiebant, ingentes Ecclesiae et agitationes
- 20 et clades uisuros, illiusque emendationem aliquando conspecturos. Nunc par esse uisum est, ut qui haec dixerat uentura, idem uenisse testetur, et qui toties exclamauerat, Videbunt oculi mei salutaria tempora, iam tandem exclamet, Viderunt oculi mei salutare sanctumque principium expectatae instaurationis ⁵⁾. Modo adsis orbis
- 25 instaurator, diuini parentis proles, seruator sospitatorque mortalium, desque uim mihi dicendi, orationi commouendi, patribus non uerbis, sed ipsa re, ueri, sancti, exacti Concilii celebrandi, extirpandi uitia, uirtutes excitandi, uulpes quae ad sanctam demoliendam uineam ⁶⁾ hac tempestate scatent capiendi; ac denique collapsam religionem,
- 30 in ueterem puritatem, in antiquam lucem, in natium splendorem, atque in suos fontes reuocari. Dicam itaque de Synodo, et quam

7 rostris] nostris *M*

9 Dicam — 10 intercessisse] Multum sane interfuit *F*

13 sacrosancti — Concilii] sacrosanctae Lateranensis synodi *B S*; sacrosancti Lateranensis coetus *F*

16 post uires add fultae diuina ope *F*

17 Apocalypsim] uisionem *F*

20 post emendationem add. forte tandem *F*

23 salutare sanctumque] salutem, aut certe sanctum piumque *F*

24 Modo — 31 reuocari om. *B S F*

28 uulpes — sanctam] ad uulpes quae sanctam *M*

31 reuocari] reuocandi *M*; post de add. coetu ac *F*

⁵⁾ Cf. Luc. 2:30

⁶⁾ Cf. Cant. 2:15

*p. 4

Ecclesiae commoda semper * sit et quam nostris temporibus necessaria, praefatus oraculorum stilum me inuere non ausurum esse, sed integra (ut legi solent) uerba atque orationes usurpaturum, tum
 35 quod homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines, tum quod ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν⁷⁾ Simplex sermo ueritatis est.

Atque a principio partitio illa in mentem uenit, rerum alias diuinas esse, caelestes alias, alias humanas. Diuinae quippe, quod sunt
 40 motus ac mutationis expertes, emendatione non egent; caelestes uero, atque humanae, agitationi obnoxiae instaurationem desiderant. Nam luna cum ad solis commertia uenerit, sol cum a cancro in brumam descenderit, quasi magno mortalium dispendio, damna ab integro reponunt, cogunturque praescribente natura, lucis iacturam rependere,
 45 et quicquid cadendo abstulerint ascendendo mortalibus restituere. Quod si caelestia siderum itinera quanquam perpetua, immortalia, sempiterna, redeunt tamen restituunturque, quidnam tertium hoc faciet rerum genus, utpote fluxum, caducum, mortale? Profecto aut interitu cito pereat necesse est, aut continua innouatione reficiatur.
 50 Quod enim est cibus corporibus ut uiuant, quod genitura generibus ut perpetua sint, id praestat humanis animis sua pro tempore emendatio, cultura, disciplina. Quanque absque ciborum alimentis animantia diu uiuere, tam humanae animae, tam Ecclesia, absque cura Synodorum probe agere non potest.

55 Ac quemadmodum si pratis hymbres, si hortulis riuos, si agris cultum, si uineis putationem, si denique uiuentibus alimenta subdlexeris, illa arescent breui, siluescentque, haec uiuere desinent, atque emorientur. Ita ferme post Constantini tempora, quae ut sacris

33 praefatus — 37 est *om. F*

36 αὐλὸς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀλκθίας ἔφν *Mon ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν scripsi; om. S*

38 Atque — uenit] Principio quis non uidet *F*

39 Diuinae quippe] Ac diuinae quidem *F*

44 reponunt] reponit *F*

47 post sempiterna, *add.* quandiu architecto Deo huius fabricae terrenae placuerit *F*

48 rerum *om. F*

50 genitura] semen *F*

52 Quanque — 54 potest *om. F*

55 si hortulis riuos] si hortis aquam aut puteos *F*

58 post Constantini *add.* magni *F*

7) EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae*, 469

rebus multum adiecere splendoris et ornamenti, ita morum et uitae
 60 seueritatem non parum eneruarunt. Quoties a Synodis habendis
 cessatum est, toties uidimus diuinam sponsam a sponso derelictam,
 illudque euangelii factum, quod heri recitabatur, Iam modicum
 et non uidebitis me ⁸⁾. Vidimus Christum in nauicula obdormientem,
 uidimus uentorum rabiem ⁹⁾, hereticorum furorem in candida ueritatis
 65 uela irruentem. Vidimus malas cupiditates, diram auri atque habendi
 sitim. Vidimus perditam malorum audaciam aduersus iura, authori-
 tatem, maiestatem Ecclesiae saeuientem. Vidimus, inquam, uim,
 rapinas, adulteria, incestus, omnem denique scelerum pestem ita
 sacra profanaque miscere omnia, ita in sanctam nauiculam impetum
 70 facere, ut pene scelerum fluctibus illa latus dederit, ac prope mersa,
 et pessundata sit.

Rursus cum eo monente Spiritu, cui hodie supplicationes decretae
 sunt, patres * ad Synodum confugerunt, quamprimum emendauere
 composuereque omnia, uentis turbinibusque imperauere, et quasi
 75 in tutissimum portum delati, impetum rationi, iniuriam iustitiae,
 uitia uirtuti, tempestates ac fluctus serenitati tranquillitatisque cedere
 compulerunt. Hymnumque cecinerunt Sancto Spiritui, piscatorum,
 maris, atque aquarum Deo, Aquae multae non potuerunt extinguere
 charitatem ¹⁰⁾, et illud, Iam hyems transiit, humber abiit, et recessit,
 80 surge amica mea ¹¹⁾. Iacet enim sponsa, ut hyeme frondes arborum,

60 seueritatem] sanctitatem *F*

61 *post* sponso *add.* ad tempus *F*; derelictam] relictam *F*

62 illudque — 63 me *om F*

63 *post* Christum *add.* paululum *F*; — 64 hereticorum] factiosorum *F*

66 *post* sitim *add.* Vidimus multos adeo ad functiones sacras uocatos partim bella et
 serentes et alentes, partim deditos corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignauiam
 aetatem agere. Vidimus summa homines solertia, ingenium, quo neque aliud in
 natura mortalium melius ampliusque, aut incultu atque socordia torpescere
 sinere (cf SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, 2.4 *ed.*), aut prophanis curis, quum dominico gregi
 essent praepositi, intentos occupari. *F*

65-67 Vidimus perditam — saeuientem *ante* Vidimus malas — sitim *M*

69 sanctam nauiculam] sanctum nauigiolum *F*

76 fluctus] fluxus *F*

78 non] haud *F*

79 illud] illum *F*; et recessit *om. F*; — 80 amica mea *om. F*

⁸⁾ Joan. 16:16

⁹⁾ Cf. Luc. 8:23

¹⁰⁾ Cant. 8:7

¹¹⁾ Cant. 2:11, 2:13

surgit reuirescitque Synodorum studio, ut syluae ueris tempore reuocato sole frondescunt. Ad solis redeuntis radios, et foecundi spirant zephyri et laeta plantaria germinant; ad Synodorum lumen et diuini Spiritus flant aerae, et emortui Ecclesiae oculi reuiuiscunt
 85 ac recipiunt lucem, ubi pars altera impletur oraculi, Iterum modicum et uidebitis me ¹²). Quod quidem nihil aliud sibi uult, nisi quod Sancti Spiritus lux, quae Synodis omissis extinguitur, tanquam excussus e
 90 haec Paulus, apostolorum decus, cum salutis caput ostenderet, Absque fide, inquit, Deo placere nullo modo possumus ¹³). Atqui sine Synodis stare non potest fides, absque Synodis igitur salui esse non possumus.

Verum quod ratione dicimus, ut etiam experimento probemus, cogitandum nobis est tres esse credendarum rerum radices, e quibus uniuerſa Ecclesiae fides manat. Prima diuinae naturae unitas est;
 95 altera eadem in natura parentis, sobolis, amoris felicissima Trinitas; tertia in Virginis utero prolis diuinae conceptio. In quibus, ueluti in altissimis apicibus ac sanctissimis montibus, et reliquae fidei partes nouem et pietas uniuerſa fundata est. Fundamenta enim eius in montibus sanctis ¹⁴). Vnitas nempe mons Dei nuncupatur, quod in
 00 una dumtaxat Dei essentia sit atque natura, et ut unitatem illam non solitariam, non sterilem, sed uberrima foecunditate praeditam cogitemus, ideo mons pinguis ¹⁵) adiicitur. Corpus uero in Virgine Verbo iunctum montem coagulatum ¹⁶) uocat uates.

82 foecundi] secundi *M*

85 modicum] pusillum *F*

86 et *om.* *M*; quod *om.* ante Sancti *F*

87 lux] lucem *F*

87 excussus — recuperatur] excusso e silice nouo igne iterum accendi et recuperari *F*

88 Ad — 3 uates] Fide plane <perfecta> Deo placemus; haec labans fulcitur synodis, haec uerum cultum diuini numinis proponit, sacrosanctaeque fidei fundamenta tuetur. <Hac incensi, qui recte expectant certa illa diuinaeque praemia in eius anchoris decet, atque interdum in salo expectare fati uadimonium. Eo fit ut deterius de se mereantur, qui abiectis illis anchoris cupiditatibus uela pandunt, rursus altum rursus pelagi naufragia spectantes.> *F*

98 enim *om.* *M*

¹²) Joan. 16:16

¹³) Cf. Hebr. 11:6

¹⁴) Psal. 86:1

¹⁵) Cf. Psal. 67:16

¹⁶) idem

Haec itaque tripartita illa uinea est, super uertices montium
 5 sita, quam et futuram cecinere oracula, et praesentem euangelia
 indicauere ¹⁷). Sed iam perierat uinea, nam (ut testis est Daudid) illam
 aper e silua depopulatus erat ¹⁸), illam tumor philosophiae uastauerat¹⁹)
 Arrius ²⁰) primum montem auellere conatus est, qui unitatem dis-
 cerpsit. Sabellius ²¹) secundum, qui personas confudit. Photinus ²²)
 10 tertium, qui partum uirgineum impura temeritate labefactauit.
 Tres ueluti impiissimi gigantes qui gloriae cupiditate de rerum nouarum
 studio illecti montes * loco mouere ausi sunt, ut uiam sibi facerent
 ad coelum oppugnandum rescindendumque, et erant iam uoti com-
 potes, nam quae ipsi philosophia persuadebant, armis ea recipi
 15 principes imperabant. Philosophia nos argumentis urgebat, arma
 collatis signis oppugnabant; illa praestigiis, haec ui fidem euertere
 conabantur; illa inuertere quae credebantur, haec eos qui credebant
 perdere contendebant, illa in pietatem et animas, haec in corpora
 uitamque saeuiebant. Quid faceret diuina sponsa iamiam peritura?
 20 Quo se uerteret? Quo confugeret? Cuius fidem, cuius opem, cuius
 auxilium imploraret? Exhorrescebat tempestas, nauicula mergebatur.
 Denique (ne multis morer) nulla effugiendi, nulla euadendi inuenta

*p. 6

4 Haec — 5 sita] Ex ea fide et unitate trinitatis misteriisque diuini sermonis
 mortale hoc corpus induente sata est illa uinea *F*

6 testis est] testatur *F*

7 e silua depopulatus] de silua depastus *F*

8 post montem *add.* super cuius uertices consita erat uinea *F*; discerpit] dispersit *M*

11 impiissimi] impii *F*; de] et *B S F*

12 illecti] caelestes *F*

¹⁷) Cf. Psal. 79:9-13; cf. Matth. 21:33-41

¹⁸) Cf. Psal. 79:14

¹⁹) Giles, in his writings, frequently emphasizes the corrupting influence of false philosophy. And he continuously opposed teachings of his own day which were contrary to the *pia philosophia*. He attacked in particular the Averroist school of Aristotelianism. See O'MALLEY, Giles of Viterbo, cit. pp. 40-49, 188-9.

²⁰) Arius, b. Libya c. 250, d. 336. Alexandrian priest and heresiarch. The teaching of Arius reduced the Trinity to a descending triad of whom the Father alone was God.

²¹) Sabellius, fl. c. 220. Possibly of Cyrenaica. Proponent of a trinitarian heresy which so emphasized the unity of the Divine Being as to deny that the Son has a subsistence distinct from that of the Father.

²²) Photinus of Sirmium, 4th century heretic. Knowledge of the heretical teachings of Photinus comes indirectly either from conciliar condemnations or from later resumé. It was held — but possibly incorrectly — that, for Photinus, Jesus was born of the natural union of Joseph and Mary.

uia est, nisi Nicena Synodus ²³), ubi Siluestro ²⁴) ad clauum sedenti, et iamiam naufragium facienti, e coelo sese ostendens Deus, Modicae,
 25 inquit, fidei quare dubitasti ²⁵)? Ac statim diuinis fulminibus, et fidei montes restituit et gigantum temeritatem disiecit. Ubi erepta puella experimento didicit, cum quicquam sibi aduersi imminere uideat, nullum omnino praesidium ad se uel tuendam firmitus, uel liberandam accommodatius, uel uindicandam efficacius habere, quam
 30 Synodum, qua sola fit ut nullae aquae Ecclesiae charitatem extinguant ²⁶) utque Diuinus Spiritus in nostris animis mansionem efficiat ²⁷) qui unicus uelut aquarum uictor tempestatumque potens, teste Mose, fertur super aquas ²⁸).

Iam uero quod de fide dixi, quae utique nulla esset si Synodi institutio non fuisset, idem ferme de temperantia, iustitia, sapientia, caeterisque uirtutibus existimari uelim. Omnes enim desidiam pro labore, ocium pro negotio, uoluptatem pro sollicitudine expetimus; uerum cum animaduertimus quandoque fore, quod in Synodis fit, ut census habeatur, ut morum et uitae exploretur ratio, ut improbi deprehendantur, iudicentur, plectantur, contra probi alliciantur, foueantur, attollantur, incredibiles stimuli appetendae uirtutis iniiciuntur, ut homines colligant sese, ut meliora deliberent, ut ad uitia relinquenda

23 ubi *om. F*; Siluestrum *Mon Siluestro scripsi*

24 *post facienti add. adstitisset F*

24 e coelo — 25 dubitasti *om. F*

26 restituit] restituisset *F*; disiecit] disiecisset *F*

26 Ubi — 28 uideat] Ubi Deus erepta puella ignotos atque impudentes procos repudiauit, septamque liberali custodia adultam iam uirginem caste, et ab armatorum impetu defendit, edoctaque est sponsa aduersis rebus *F*

28 uel tuendam — 29 accommodatius *om. M*

30 sola] una *F*; aquae *Mon aquae scripsi*

32 qui *om. M*

32 potens — 33 aquas] domitor fertur, teste Mose, atque excubat super aquas *F*

34 nulla — 35 fuisset] parua esset sine synodis *F*

35 iustitia *ante temperantia F*

40 plectantur] plectentur *B S*

²³) In 325, at which the heresy of Arius was condemned.

²⁴) Pope Silvester I, pontificate 314-335

²⁵) Matth. 14:31

²⁶) Cf. Cant. 8:7

²⁷) Cf. Joan. 14:23

²⁸) Cf. Gen. 1:2

et ad uirtutem capessendam accendantur, nihilque non honestum
 nihil non magnificum moliantur. Illud illud Synodi discerniculum
 45 fuit, unde ueluti ex equo Troiano, tot clarissima ingeniorum lumina
 emicuerunt. Illa uirtutum approbatio, illa detestatio uitiorum Basilios,
 Chrysostomos, Damascenos Graeciae, Hieronymos, Ambrosios, Augus-
 50 tinos, Graegorios Italiae peperit, qui cum magna similium turba,
 bone Deus, quos libros, quae scripta, quae monumenta, quod doctri-
 narum, quod disciplinarum, quod diuini uel auri uel argenti genus
 in Christianum aerarium non conghesserunt.

Rem praetereo (nisi tempus obsisteret) minime praetereundam
 de Ecclesiarum rectoribus, de pastoribus populorum, in quibus quidem
 uniuersa rei Christianae sita est et summa et salus. Vt enim inferior
 *p. 7 55 hic mundus coeli tum motu tum lumine regitur, ita Christianae *
 gentes a rectoribus suis, uelut a coelestibus pastoribus, gubernantur,
 qui si boni futuri sint necesse est ut et lumine disciplinarum fulgentes
 alios doceant et, motum sanctarum actionum exercentes quae docue-
 rint, ipsi in primis et maxime agendo praeceant. Haec duo illa sunt
 60 quae et docuit pastorum princeps Christus, cum et lucernas ardentes
 gestare ad clare instituendum et ad sancte agendum praecinctos
 esse iussit ²⁹⁾. Simul ipse mirifice exercuit, cum et lux mundi ³⁰⁾ et
 diuini patris sapientia ³¹⁾ fuerit, et sanctus sanctorum ³²⁾ appellatus
 sit, quod probos omnes uitae sanctimonia antecesserit, atque eas ob
 65 res, Ego, inquit, sum Pastor bonus ³³⁾. Quod uero ob utrunque bonum

43 ad om. ante uirtutem *F*; nirtutem *Mon* uirtutem scripsi

44 nihil non magnificum] nihil liberali homine indignum *F*

44 post Synodi add. <uerriculum fuit maliciarum,> *F*

46 post uitiorum add. <Dionysios, Eusebios, Origenes,> *F*

47 post Damascenos add. Cyrillos, Athanasios *F*

47 post Graeciae add. <Hilarios, Arnobios, Cyprianos, Lactantios, Ireneos, Iustinos,
 Clementes, Africanos, Victorinos, Prudentios, Cassianos,> *F*

49 bone Deus om. *F*

50 quod disciplinarum ante quod doctrinarum *F*

60 cum et] et cum *M*

62 ante simul add. Et *B S*

64-65 atque — bonus] atque ob eas res pastorem se bonum dixerit *F*

²⁹⁾ Cf. Luc. 12:35

³⁰⁾ Joan. 8:12

³¹⁾ Cf. Matth. 13:54; cf. Marc. 6:2

³²⁾ Cf. 2. Mac. 14:36

³³⁾ Joan. 10:11,14

se dixerit testatur euangelista, qui caepisse eum scribit tum facere, tum docere ³⁴). Quin et duodecim illi duces, qui super omnem terram constituti sunt principes, spiritus afflati numine completique, ita utranque caeli uim sunt assecuti, ut etiam caeli appellationem promeruerint ³⁵), ut uulgatissimum iactatur oraculum, Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei ³⁶). Quo monemur eorum rectorum celebrandam esse gloriam qui coeli tum lucem sapientia tum conuersiones sanctimonia imitati consecutique sint. Huius itaque rei, quae omnium longe maxima est, quanta cura Synodis fuerit historia memorat. Nam qui ⁷⁵ praestanti doctrinae sanctum uitae institutum adiunxerint a Synodorum patribus ex uniuerso terrarum orbe conquisiti, euecti, exornatique sunt, summa cum eligentium laude, ecclesiarum fructu, commodo, laetitia, plausu populorum.

Quid illud omnium grauissimum ac periculosissimum loquar, ⁸⁰ quod nemo tempestate nostra non deplorat? Iniurias principum dico, legionum insolentiam, armatorum minas; quid enim miserius uel audiri uel cogitari potest, quam ut coeli terrarumque regina Ecclesia, aut ui seruire, aut manus dare, aut crassantium tela perti-

66 euangelista] praeco diuinus *F*

67 Quin — 74 memorat] Idem nobis enitendum, nisi tantam dignitatem tabescere uetustate, et per socordiam dilabi uolumus: <non eos imitari qui cum uni et alteri praefecturae sacerdotioque desponsi sint, in alia mox animum adiiciunt, ac ueluti priores sponsas funere extulerint, rursus proci, rursus candidati uisuntur: quasi professi sint eam religionem quae aere demum numerato, professores auctorare didicerit, non etiam annonis mentis sibi optime consciae, quae stipendia sunt et emerita mentium ingenuarum: ac primus quidem prudentiae gradus fuerit ab iis abstinere: quod si more humani ingenii impegerimus, redeundum in uiam, neque uero rationis freni excutiendi, et peccata peccatis cumulanda; id uero indignissimum est, diserteque sacro retinendae interdicto maiestatis, metusque diuini aduersatur. Haec si semel impegerimus, in gradum nos restituunt. Interdicto eiusdem recuperandae, unde scilicet pertubatio nos animi deiecit. Itaque> ea in re debemus animum maxime exercere, ut exemplo prius a nobis praeposito colantur boni mores, concordia Christiana in unum omnes coalescamus. Huius rei, quae omnium longe maxima est, multa praecipuaque semper fuit cura synodis. *F*

73 imitati] imitanti *S*

76 euecti] euocati *F*

81 dico-insolentiam] dicam, an militum, legionum inconstantiam *F*

83 crassantium] grassantium *M F*

³⁴) Cf. Act. 1:1

³⁵) Cf. Psal. 44:17; cf. Matth. 19:28; cf. Luc. 22:29-30

³⁶) Psal. 18:2

mescere cogatur! Quae quidem pestis adeo serpit ³⁷⁾ hoc tempore,
 85 adeo insurgit, adeo inualescit, ut omnis illa Ecclesiae autoritas,
 atque a Deo tradita libertas euersa, profligata, et plane extincta esse
 uideatur. Quamobrem caue, Iuli Secunde Pontifex Maxime ³⁸⁾, caue
 credas ullum mortalium quicquam melius salubriusue cogitasse
 unquam, quam ipse Spiritu Sancto monente cogitaueris in Synodo
 90 instituenda, cuius quidem nulli reges, nulli principes possunt uel
 decreta contemnere, uel iussa negligere, uel auctoritatem detrectare.
 Si qui enim forte Pontificem ipsum per se inermem parui pendere
 ausi sunt, Synodi auctoritate, principumque et nationum consensu
 ac studiis instructum, metuere ac uereri consueuerunt.

95 Nam si Synodorum res gestas repetamus, nihil illis potentius,
 nihil maius, nihil munitius esse * intelligemus. Synodo namque in
 Ioannem Hispanum et Alphonsum Lusitanum, Rodolphum impera-
 torem designat Graegorius X ³⁹⁾. Synodo Martinus IIII in Petrum
 Aragonensem animaduertit ⁴⁰⁾. Synodo VIII Bonifacius in Philippum
 00 regem decernit ⁴¹⁾. Synodo et olim Graegorius alter, et patrum memoria

84 Quae — pestis *om.* *F*

86 a Deo] adeo *F*

88 salubriusue] salubriusque *F*

89 monente] mouente *B S*

90 *post reges add.* nulli Caesares *F*

96 munitius] muntius *B* mundius *S*

97 Hispanum] Hispaniae *F*; Lusitanum] Lutanum *B S*

98 designat] designatum *F*; Synodo *om.* *F*

99 Aragonensem] Aragonium *F*

99-00 Synodo — decernit] Synodo Alexander V Ladislaum exauctoratum fecit *F*; *post*
 decernit *add.* Synodo Alexander V Ladislaum exauctoratum facit *B S*

00 alter *om.* *F*

³⁷⁾ Cf. 2 Tim. 2:17

³⁸⁾ Giuliano della Rovere 1443-1513, Pope Julius II (pontificate 1507-13).

³⁹⁾ The election of Rudolph I was confirmed at the Second Council of Lyons, 1274.

⁴⁰⁾ After the "Sicilian Vespers", Martin IV took legal proceedings against Peter of Aragon and in a papal bull issued at Montefiascone, 18 November 1282, proclaimed Peter's deposition and excommunication. Peter had already incurred excommunication, *ipso facto*, by his transgression of the veto against aiding Sicily, decreed by Martin IV on Ascension Thursday, 7 May 1282.

⁴¹⁾ At a council in the Lateran, 1302. The famous bull *Unam Sanctam* — a document of world theocracy, asserting the supremacy of spiritual power over temporal power — was promulgated on 18 November 1302.

Eugenius, Graecam Ecclesiam Latinae coniungit ⁴²). Synodo in Federicum imperatorem agit et IIII Innocentius et Graegorius VIII(I) ⁴³). Quin in hac eadem aede omnium principe, et quae uincere semper hostes solita est uinci nunquam, non nisi Synodo et secundus Innocentius aduersarios deiecit, et tertius Alexander Victorem sociosque superauit, et tertius Innocentius Othonem imperio submouit, et Martinus V hostilia tyrannorum arma dissipauit ⁴⁴). Et (ne omnia persequar), quicquid laude, quicquid gloria dignum a Melchiadis ⁴⁵) aetate in Ecclesia gestum est, aut ad hostem arcendum, aut ad rem publicam componendam id omne de Synodis originem sumpsit, et proinde Synodis referendum acceptum est.

Quid enim aliud sancta Synodus est, nisi malorum metus, proborum

1 coniungit] coniunxit *F*

1 Synodo — 2 VIII *om. F*

6 tertius *om. F*

10 de] ad *M e F*

11 referendum — est] acceptum ferendum *F*

12 *ante* Quid *add.* Vnde ueterum decretis constitutum uidemus, ut quotannis bis habeantur conuentus docentium in Ecclesiis; credo haud aliam ob causam nisi ut et sordes abluantur, et ne si qua dissensio orta est, latius uagetur. Et simulachrum huius moris retinent passim Ecclesiae dum conueniunt quotannis singularum dioecesium sacerdotes, ubi de moribus et doctrina pauca, multa passim alia inculcantur, nullo ueterum exemplo, qui hunc conuentum ueluti morum aliam censuram instituere. <At nos nunquam ne tandem post undique qua sacra, qua prophana, interuersas opes, haustas uoluptates, ullum tempus, in accerrima et attentissima cogitatione ponemus: qua perspiciamus quo pacto

⁴²) Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyons, 1274 (Giles says *Gregorius alter* but it is in fact the same Gregory mentioned above); Eugenius IV at the Council of Florence, 1439.

⁴³) Innocent IV excommunicated and solemnly deposed Frederick II at the First Council of Lyons, 1245; at a council in Rome, Gregory IX, on Holy Thursday 23 March 1228, renewed the sentence of excommunication on Frederick pronounced on 29 September 1227.

⁴⁴) Innocent II at the Second Lateran Council, 1139, when the last traces of the schism of Anacletus II were wiped out; Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council, 1179, at which the peace between the pope and the emperor Frederick I — who had set up first the anti-pope Victor IV and, subsequently, the anti-popes Pascal III, Callistus III, Innocent III — was ratified; Innocent III, during the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, had Otto IV deposed and Frederick II elected emperor in his stead. With regard to Martin V, Giles would appear to refer to the return of the pope to Rome on 28 September 1420, which marked the end of the anarchy of the great schism.

⁴⁵) Pontificate 311-14

spes, errorum eiectio, seges et restitutio uirtutum? Qua demonum fallacia uincitur, sensus illecebrae auferuntur, ratio amissam arcem
 15 recipit, terris e coelo iustitia restituitur, redit siquidem ad mortales Deus, nam si dixerat, Vbi duo uel tres meo nomine conuenerint, ad eos uenio interque eos sum ⁴⁶⁾, quanto huc libentius se conferet, quo non duo tantum uel tres sed tot Ecclesiae capita proficiscuntur.
 Nam si angelos Ioannes appellat Ecclesiarum pastores ⁴⁷⁾, quid est
 20 quod uel uotis petere uel precibus a Deo consequi non possit tanta simul frequentia angelorum? Hic Eua ab exilio reuocatur, hic serpentis caput talo praemitur puellae sanctioris ⁴⁸⁾; Abraham educitur e Caldeorum terris ⁴⁹⁾, Agar ancilla obtemperat dominae ⁵⁰⁾; foedus cum Deo rursus feritur ⁵¹⁾, animorum circumcisio introducitur ⁵²⁾.

rationes huiusce sacerdotii ad aerarium illud diuinum referamus, ubi sestertia innumera expensa cum acceptis conferenda sunt? Quousque tandem pergemus fastigium ita nostrum tollere, ut luminibus regum et principum obstruere conemur? Quotus quisque nostrum fidei initia et ipsa primordia religionis, quae a cruce, et morte, non fastu et magnificentia profecta sunt, intuetur? Quotus quisque diuini praeconis uoce edoctus, in simplicitate animi magnitudinem, in procuranda aliorum utilitate, post habita sua ultimum finem assequendae felicitatis constituit; non sunt sacra, non, inquam, augusti isti ritus nostri ad caeterarum disciplinarum uiam et rationem dirigendi. Quippe illae uario multiplicique ingenio hominem exigunt: ii nisi simplicibus et credulis se non credunt. Nouo genere et instituendi et docendi, prius persuasos esse uolunt sectatores suos, quam aliquid illis persua-deant: elatos, laudis cupidos a limine arcent, calliditatem, confidentiam, magnificasque istas ostentationes ne admittunt quidem. Nunquamne imitabimur tot culmina fidei; tantas copias testium lectissimorum, qui pomoeria prorogauerunt sacri dogmatis usque quaque gentium? Aut hoc restituet piorum coetus, aut iam deplorata omnia. > Iam uero *F*

12 enim *om. F*; est *om. B S F*

13 eiectio] correctio *F*

14 sensus *om. F*; amissam] amissa *F*

15 restituitur] redditur *F*

18 tantum *om. F*

18 Ecclesiae] ecclesiarum *B S*

19 Ioannes appellat] uocat Ioannes *F*

23 dominae] herae *F*

⁴⁶⁾ Cf. Matth. 18:20

⁴⁷⁾ Cf. Apoc. 1:3

⁴⁸⁾ Cf. Gen. 3:15

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. Gen. 11:31, 15:7

⁵⁰⁾ Cf. Gen. 16:1-16

⁵¹⁾ Cf. Deut. 29:1

⁵²⁾ Cf. Deut. 30:6

- 25 Hic scalam figens patriarcharum pater in coelum aditum pandit ⁵³),
Deo iungitur in palestrae ludo et aud(i)endo Deo accipit nomen ⁵⁴).
Hic populi uelut in solitudine fame oppressi diuinitus suppetias
impetrant, coeli angelorumque panem recipiunt ⁵⁵), et suauitate uesti-
cuntur coelestium epularum. Hic cum hominum pectora tanquam
30 saxea euaserint, Mosis uirga percussa aquarum fontes effundunt ⁵⁶).
Hic thesaurus in agro abditus effoditur ⁵⁷), margarita emitur ⁵⁸),
lampades accenduntur ⁵⁹), semen in bonam seritur terram ⁶⁰), sinapis
granum surgit in arborem ⁶¹), et feraci olea oleaster inseritur ⁶²).
O beata itaque illa tempora, quae Synodos susceperunt, haec stulta
35 si non agnouerint, misera si [non] omiserint.

*p. 9

Et quam uetera Synodo- * rum commoda strictim attigimus nunc
quam breuissime nostra delibemus. Appello ergo te Iuli Secunde
Pontifex Maxime, summus ille te appellat Deus, qui suam te gerere

26 aud(i)endo Deo] a uidendo Deo *M* audendo a Deo *F* audendo Deo *B S*

27 oppressi *ante* fame *F*

27 suppetias] auxilium *F*

31 in *om.* *F*

32 in bonam seritur terram] in agrum fertilem seritur *F*

33 olea] oleae *M F*

34 tempora *ante* illa *F*

35 si [non] omiserint] si non admiserint *M* si omiserint *B S F*

36 quam] quoniam *M* quando *F*

37 *ante* Appello *add.* <Tantas ne uirtutes, Dii boni, tantam frugalitatem, modestiam, maiorum nostrorum non imitabimur, qui cum omnia sibi subesse uiderent nihil sibi arrogarunt; et tamen ita cupio ueteres imitemur, aspera ut omnia et inculta, ambitionem potius quam pietatem redolentia uitemus, ne plebem dum emendare uolumus, a nobis auertamus. Frugalitatem exigit pietas, non poenam; utamur argento, non capiamur; ita quidem ut non auro a nobis et munditiae, sed uitiiis et illecebris indictum bellum uideatur.> *F*

⁵³) Cf. Gen. 28:12-13

⁵⁴) Cf. Gen. 32:24-30

⁵⁵) Cf. Deut. 8:16; Psal. 77:24-25

⁵⁶) Cf. Exod. 17:6; cf. Num. 20:7-11; cf. Psal. 77:16

⁵⁷) Cf. Matth. 13:44

⁵⁸) Cf. Matth. 13:45-6

⁵⁹) Cf. Matth. 25:1-13

⁶⁰) Cf. Matth. 13:3-9; Cf. Marc. 4:3-9; cf. Luc. 8:5-8

⁶¹) Cf. Matth. 13:31-2; cf. Marc. 4:31-2; cf. Luc. 13:19

⁶²) Cf. Rom. 11:17

in terris uicem uoluit, qui e tanto iampridem senatu te unum delegit,
 40 qui nonum usque in annum Ecclesiae suae te sponsum defendit,
 qui et bonam cogitando mentem et magnam agendo facultatem dedit,
 quantam nulli maiorum unquam praestitit, ut scilicet praedones
 abigeres, uias purgares, seditiones tolleres, domi templum omnium
 quae usquam uisa sunt magnificentissimum excitares ⁶³), militiae
 45 (quod nemo antehac potuit) Ecclesiae arma magnis regibus metuenda
 faceres, ut denique imperium propagares, ut Ariminum, Fauentiam,
 Rauennam ⁶⁴), et alia permulta recuperares. Quae etsi eripere tibi
 hostis potest, quin tamen primus Pontificum haec omnia gesseris
 efficere non potest. Magnorum enim principum uirtus non ex casu,
 50 aut ex euentu, sed ex consiliis, actionibusque censenda est. Nunc
 rebus gestis, haec duo deerant, ut Synodum uocares et communi
 Christianorum hosti bellum indiceres. Et quae ab initio semper
 cogitasti, spopondisti, decreuisti, iam Deo, iam Christiano gregi,
 iam tuae praestes, tum pietati, tum fidei. Ac scias te bonos omnes
 55 in magnam spem erexisse, quippe qui bellorum et malorum temporum

39 uicem ante in terris *F*

42 quantam] quantum *F*; scilicet *om.* *F*

43 domi] domini *M* Dei *F*

44-45 militiae — arma] militiae arma Ecclesiae (quod nemo antea aut potuit aut curauit) *F*

47 permulta *Mon* permulta *scripsi*

46-47 Rauennam ante Fauentiam *F*

47 tibi ante eripere *F*

48 omnia *om.* *F*

49 non ex casu — 50 actionibusque] non casu aut euentu, sed ex consiliis atque actionibus *F*

50 *post est add.* (Tibi uero etiam atque etiam uidendum, ne dum capiti mederi pares, reduuiam curasse uideare. (cf. Cicero, *Oratio pro Roscio Amerino*, 44.128 *ed.*) Caput uero illud fuerit tuarum actionum, si Christi hostem Maumetem fregeris: reliqua tibi adempta, alio tempore reddentur.) *F*

⁶³) Time and again, in his writings, Giles mentions the new basilica of St Peter's. To him it was not only the most artistic project of the time but it had a special symbolism in 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., pp. 113, 122, 125, 136.

⁶⁴) After an exceedingly bloody battle Ravenna had fallen, on Easter Sunday 11 April 1512, to the French, who were aided by German and Italian soldiers and were led by Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII. Within days the whole of the papal state of the Romagna was in the hands of the French.

iniuria ad haec differenda coactus quidem fueris, ad negligenda uero et deserenda non minis, non telis, non cladibus adduci potueris. Quin animum ea constantia firmaueris ut hii fluctus, hae aquae, quamquam multae, firmam tamen charitatem tuam extinguere non potuerint ⁶⁵). Ille itaque idem Deus, qui praeter haec omnia quae ad animum excitandum enumeraui immortalia beneficia, bis superioribus annis tum Bononiae, tum Romae, cum etiam intra aedes tuas extinctus habereris, in uitam reuocauit ⁶⁶), et ad haec maxima opera gerenda reseruauit, ut et ipse Deus extincto Pontifici manifestissimo miraculo ⁶⁵ et Pontifex extinctae Ecclesiae sanctissima Synodo uitam restitueret, atque una cum reuiuiscente Pontifice, etiam Ecclesia moribus reuiuisceret. Ille, inquam, Deus petit mandatque, ut duo illa animo uolutes, cures, peragas, et (quemadmodum propheta iubet) destruas, euellas, eruas, errores, luxum, uitia, instituas, aedifices, plantes, ⁷⁰ moderationem, uirtutem, sanctimoniam ⁶⁷).

56 quidem *ante* coactus *F*

58 animam *Mon* animum *scripsi*

58 *post* aquae *add.* hi turbines, hae procellae, *F*

61 excitandum] exercendum *F*; bis] his *M*

62 tum Romae *ante* tum Bononiae *F*

63 *ante* in *add.* te *F*

64 miraculo] mirabilique exemplo *F*; — 65 extinctae *Mon* extinctae *scripsi*

68 (quemadmodum — destruas *om.* *F*

70 uirtutem] temperantiam *F*; *post* sanctimoniam *add.* <In te uno id situm quod ueterum decretis sancitum est, iubeas exerceri hoc loco. Primum, si quis nouum quid proponit, si quid quod pertinet ad quantumuis magnae potentiae emenda-

⁶⁵) Cf. Cant. 8:7

⁶⁶) During the siege of Bologna by the French in 1510, Julius fell seriously ill of a fever and it was thought that his death was imminent. He himself, on 19 October, was on the point of coming to terms with the French. However, on the morning of 20 October the fever had subsided. The Pope had himself carried to a balcony of the palace where he gave his blessing to the armed citizens who promised to stand against the foe. 'Now', declared Julius, 'we have conquered the French'. See PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, cit. VI, pp. 336-8. In August 1512, his health neglected during months of ceaseless work and complicated negotiations, Julius was again struck down by a violent attack of fever. On 23 August the Venetian Ambassador reported that 'the Pope is passing away' and Paris de Grassis wrote 'the Pope's life is coming to an end'. Arrangements were being made for the funeral obsequies and the Conclave. However, Julius was persuaded to take some food, and the fruit and liquids which he chose were to prove his salvation. By 28 August the fever had completely cleared. See idem pp. 368-72.

⁶⁷) Cf. Jer. 1:10

Ad haec uero agenda cum alia permulta, tum praecipue amissus exercitus excitare nos debet, quod quidem putem diuina prouidentia factum, quo armis Ecclesiae alienis freti cederemus, ut ad nostra redeuntes uictores euaderemus ⁶⁸). Nostra autem arma sunt pietas, religio, probitas, supplicationes, uota, lorica * fidei, atque arma lucis, ut apostoli uerbis utar ⁶⁹). Ad quae si Synodi opera redibimus, ut armis non nostris inferiores aliquo hoste fuimus, ita nostris erimus omni hoste superiores. Veniat queso in mentem Mosis bellum, quod aduersus Amalech regem gessit, uidebis populum Deo charum gladiis fidentem uinci semper, contra semper uincere precibus supplicantem. Iosue exercitum in praelium ducebat. Aaron sacerdos cum Hur ac Mose montem ascendebant. Illi armato corpore ferebantur in hostem, hii Deum purgato animo praecabantur. Illi ensibus, hii uotis agebant; illi ferro hii pietate pugnabant. Vidimus utraque arma, militiae

tionem instaurationemue, huic ne id fraudi sit: Deinde, ne qui praecidamus ueterem licentiam libertatemque dicendi: Tum ne immodestis uocibus perstreparamus, aut uanis tumultibus coetum perturbemus: Vt denique ii deligantur, qui grauissimis de rebus disputent, non qui diuitiis solum et gratia apud magnos polleant: at singulis maximisque ex urbibus qui iudicio proborum, et in studiis liberalissimis grauissimisque uersati sunt, et opinione probitatis passim commenduntur. > F

71-72 exercitus ante amissus M

72 excitare] exercitare B S

72 quod — 73 cederemus] quod equidem diuina prouidentia factum putem, quo armis demum Ecclesiae freti, alienis cederemus F

76 ut — utar] ut ait Paulus F

78 ante Veniat add. <Nos quidem paulo antea occupata a Francis Italiae parte nobilissima, sic orbem reipublicae conuersum uidebamus, ut uix audire sonitum, uix impressam orbitam intueri possemus, minore omnino sonitu quam putaramus lapsa erant omnia: spes iniecta nulli uenturum ea potestate hominem, qui labefactatas has partes aut suscipere posset, aut tueri. Ecce autem extitisti tu Iuli, uindex libertatis nostrae, conuertisti arma in florentissimum regem: qua in re in summam gloriam uenisti: quae tamen si in ueros fidei hostes conuertisses, hominum credo admiratione in caelo esses.> F

80 semper ante uinci F

80 precibus supplicantem ante semper uincere F

81 Aur Mon Hur scripsi; ac] ad S

83 Deum] demum F

⁶⁸) The crushing defeat suffered by the Spanish and papal forces at Ravenna had taken place only three weeks earlier, on 11 April.

⁶⁹) Cf. Eph. 6:13-17; cf. Rom. 13:12

85 scilicet ac religionis, sed iam quae nostra sint Deo rem ostendente cognoscamus. Dum Moses, inquit, manus attollebat noster uincebat exercitus, dum manus remittebat exercitus inclinabat ⁷⁰). Ac (ne casu id factum suspicemur) in calce sermonis illius scribitur aduersus Amalech, hoc est, in Ecclesiae hostem, Dei manum ac bellum esse in
90 generatione et generationem ⁷¹). Quibus quidem uerbis monet Deus utranque generationem, atque utranque Ecclesiam, et Mosis et Christi, militiae armis uinci; pietatis studio uincere; superati telis decertando, sacra faciendo superare.

Freta initio suis armis Ecclesia Africam coepit, Europam obtinuit,
95 Asiam occupauit; non ui, non bello, non ferro, sed religionis actionibus, et sanctitatis opinione per uniuersum orbem Christiana signa circumtulit. At ubi sponsa quae tunc undique uocabatur, accersebatur, expetebatur in uestitu deaurato ⁷²), aureum paludamentum ardentis spiritum, ferreis Aiace insania armis commutauit, imperium duodecim
00 ducum ⁷³) partum sanguine amisit; Asiam et Hierusalem perdidit; Africam Aegyptumque relinquere coacta est; Europae cum Bizantino imperio et Graecia bonam eripi sibi partem uidit. Vox Dei est dicentis, lassus Mosis manibus, uotis praecibusque cessantibus, Iosue uinci,

85 scilicet *om.* *F*

85 sint] sunt *F*

85 ostendentem *Mon* ostendente *scripsi*; Deo rem ostendente *om.* *F*

88 in — illius] extremo sermone illo *F*

89 in *om.* ante Ecclesiae *F*

89-90 in — generationem] a generatione in generationem *F*; quidem *om.* *F*

91 atque utranque Ecclesiam *om.* *F*

92 superati] superari *M B S F*; telis] manu *F*

94 Freta — 19 inueniatur *om.* *B S F*; in loco Freta — inueniatur *add.* <At quo nos tandem perduxit praeceps ambitio; ut cum Christi mandato pacem cum hominibus sancte colere, cum uitiiis demum bellum gerere debeamus, Italiam tamen ipsi totam armis nostris concutiamus? An uero finem nunquam inueniet dominandi illa apud nos ambitio, ut non contenti potestate illa eximia, ad raptos dominatus animum adiiciamus?> *F*

95 non ui *om.* *M*

99 spiritum] spiritus *M*

99 insania] insani *M*

⁷⁰) Cf. Exod. 17:8-13

⁷¹) Cf. Exod. 17:16

⁷²) Psal. 44:10

⁷³) The apostles

uincere Amalech ⁷⁴). Ita et nos uidimus, cum religio uota ferro commu-
 5 taut, toto fere orbe pulsam, eiectam, explosam Ecclesiam, aucto in
 immensum Maumethe qui, nisi ferro relicto rursus in pietatis sinum ad
 aras et Dei puluina redeamus, crescet in dies magis, subiget imperio
 omnia, orbem uniuersum nostrae impietatis ultor impiissimus occu-
 pabit.

10 Video uideo, nisi uel hoc concilio, uel alia ratione nostris
 moribus modum imponamus, nisi nostram humanarum rerum cupidi-
 tatem, malorum fontem, cedere diuinarum amoris compellamus,
 actum de republica esse Christiana, actum de religione, actum de
 pietate, actum etiam de iis ipsis opibus, quas patres diuino cultu
 *p. 11 15 aucto peperere, nos * contra neglecto amisuri sumus. Haeae enim
 ita ex extrema pauperie peruenere ad summum, ut non ita multo
 post interiturae esse uideantur, ac nisi receptui canamus, nisi rationibus
 nostris consulamus, infula illa ditissima ⁷⁵), cuius ad ornanda sacer-
 dotis tempora usus fuit, uix ad operienda inueniatur.

20 Audite diuinas uoces undique sonantes, undique Synodum, pacem,
 sanctam illam expeditionem ⁷⁶) efflagitantes. Quando enim uita nostra
 mollior? Quando ambitio petulantior? Quando cupiditas inflam-
 mator? Quando peccandi licentia impudentior? Quando audacia
 aduersus pietatem loquendi, disputandi, scribendi, aut frequentior
 25 aut securior fuit? Quando in populis rerum sacrarum, quando sacra-
 mentorum, quando et clauium et sanctorum praeceptorum non modo
 negligentia sed et contemptus maior? Quando apertius religio et fides
 nostra ludibrio (uel tenui plebeculae) fuit? Quando (proh dolor) scisma
 in Ecclesia perniciosius? Quando bellum periculosius? Quando hostis

13-14 actum de pietate *om.* *M*

20 Audite] Audi *B S*

20 Audite — sonantes] Audire operae pretium fuerit diuinas uoces undique perso-
 nantes *F*

25-26 quando sacramentorum *om.* *F*

28 nostra *om.* *F*

28-29 scisma — perniciosius] sectiones in Ecclesia perniciosiores *F*

29 Quando bellum periculosius *om.* *F*

⁷⁴) Cf. Exod. 17:11

⁷⁵) Olin points out that this term is used by extension and in a classical sense to
 signify the wealth and possessions of the Church, see *The Catholic Reformation*, cit.
 p. 52 n. 23

⁷⁶) Crusade against the Turks

30 potentior? Quando exercitus truculentior? Quando obiter monstra,
portenta, prodigia, tum caeli minitantis, tum terrae expauescentis,
aut crebriora aut horribiliora apparuere? Quando (heu fletus me
impedit) caedes, quando clades, uel prius Brisciana ⁷⁷), uel postea
Rauennate ⁷⁸), cruentior? Quando, inquam, ullus inter infaustos
35 dies, quam sanctissima illa resurgentis Christi lux aut luctuosior aut
calamitosior illuxit?

Quae quidem omnia (nisi ferrei simus) quidnam aliud quam
caelitus missae uoces sunt? Voces namque Dei (ut Proclus ⁷⁹) ait)
facta sunt, de quo uno aiunt oraculo, quod dixit et facta sunt ⁸⁰).
40 Et in arcanis Hebreorum legimus, decem dictis quae in Genesi legun-
tur ⁸¹), orbem uniuersum esse conditum. Voces igitur sunt quae fieri
cernimus, uoces monentis Dei ac praecipientis ut Synodum habeas,
ut Ecclesiam emendes ut utriusque hominis bellum tollas, ut sponsae
tuae undique lacessitae ⁸²) pacem utranque restituas, ut gladios
45 auertas, urbis et Italiae iugulis imminentes ⁸³), ut nostram frenes
uiuendi licentiam, Ecclesiae uiscera maioribus uulneribus ferientem.

Non enim multi refert, quantum agri possideamus, sed quam
iusti, quam pii, quam diuinarum rerum studiosi simus, ut denique
post tot mala, tot incommoda, tot calamitates, principem Christum

33 aut post Brisciana *Mon* uel prius Brisciana *scripsi* B S F

36 *post* illuxit? *add.* <scilicet, ut expleant illi uindicta feroces animos nos uiles animae
mactamur; inutilis turba, nos cui nullae eiulationes flebiles debentur, uexamur?> F

37 *simus*] *sumus* F

38 *missae* — 42 *cernimus, uoces*] *missae uoces sunt* B S *missae sunt uoces* F

39 *oraculo*] *oracula* M

43 *ut utriusque* — *tollas om.* F

47 *multi*] *multum* F

⁷⁷) Brescia was taken by Gaston de Foix, after a fierce battle in the streets, on
18 February 1512.

⁷⁸) Battle of Ravenna, 11 April 1512.

⁷⁹) Proclus, 410-485, neoplatonist.

⁸⁰) Psal. 148:5

⁸¹) Cf. Gen. 1, ten parts commencing *Dixit ... Deus* or *ait*.

⁸²) The Church assailed internally by the schismatic council at Pisa and by a
deterioration in morals, externally by war with the French and by the threat from the
Turk.

⁸³) When Ravenna — which had contained the magazines for supplying the papal
army — had fallen, the consequences promised to be disastrous. It had been feared
that Rome would be sacked, the prelates murdered, and a new pope elected. See Pastor,
op. cit., VI, pp. 399-402

- 50 audias Petro posterisque Synodum ostendentem ut unicam omnium
malorum medicinam, singularem periclitantis nauiculæ portum, solam
reipublicae confirmandae rationem. Tu, inquit, Petre, aliquando
conuersus confirma fratres tuos ⁸⁴). Audis Petre? audis Paule? Auditis
augustissima semper capita, tutela ac praesidium urbis Romae?
- *p. 12 55 Auditis in quem malorum cumulum Ecclesia uestro * fundata sanguine
deducta sit? Videtis acies utrinque profligatas, uidetis cedes, uidetis
clades, uidetis campos occisorum acerbis opertos, uidetis terram hoc
anno plus cruoris hausisse quam pluuiæ, minus hymbrium bibisse
quam sanguinis? Videtis tantum occubuisse Christiani roboris, quan-
tum fuerat ad fidei hostem debellandum satis? Nihil nobis nisi exitium,
nihil nisi interitum superesse? Ferte opem, iuuate, succurrite, et
quam de Iudeorum et tyrannorum faucibus eruistis Ecclesiam, nunc
domesticis cladibus occumbentem eripite.

51 singularem] tutum *F*

52-53 Tu — tuos] Iubet enim Petro, conuersus aliquando confirmet fratres suos *F*

53 ante Audis *add.* <Imperat aliis ab ingrata Deo uita, ad gratam piamque lapsos
deducant: uult is ea pares, mediteris, cogites, (cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Fami-
liares*, 1,7,9 *ed.*) quæ esse in eo Pontifice ac uiro debeant, qui sit piorum coetum
afflictum et oppressum miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus, in ueterem
pietatem ac religionem uindicaturus. Ille abs te etiam atque etiam petit, ut ea
quæ initio ostendisti, in sanandis hisce tumultibus, deinceps fecisti, etiam ad
exitum augeri et cumulari per te uelis. Quando enim unquam magis uidimus
lippitudine praepeditos, praeponi diuinæ sponsæ arcibus pro speculatoribus;
pro antistitibus eos qui oracula intelligere nequeant; pro uigilibus, uiros somno
languidos: pro praeconibus, qui exiguae sint uocis: pro concionatoribus (ut de
me aliquid dicam) qui raucedinem contraxerunt: pro nauarchis quique clauum
teneant, quibus in sentina locus esse uix debeat (cf. Cicero, *Fam. cit.* 9, 15,3 *ed.*)
in iactatione et aestu maris; pro praeursoribus, quibus anhelitus sit impeditus.> *F*

55 uestro] Christi *F*

59 Videtis — roboris] Videtis tantum Christiani nominis *F*

60 nobis *om.* *F*

61 Ferte opem] Ferte sacris uestris ad Deum precibus opem *F*

63 eripite] erigite *M*; post eripite *add.* <Videtis eo rem peruenisse, nemo ut iam
inueniatur qui sacram nauem, quæ fertur in scopulos retro, inhibeat, cum remiges
obsurderint; ac nec uectores quidem iactura facta reliquias colligant. Videtis
flare atque reflare hinc atque illinc uentos contrarios, scindi uela, frangi prope
sacrae nauis malum, carinam dehiscere. Videtis ui uentorum nauim ita impulsam
in funes anchorarum, aliarum nauium uix ut praecisis funibus nautæ se explicare
possint. Videtis nihil aliud superesse, quam ut leuandæ nauis gratia, iactus
mercium fiat diuinarum, qui necquiquam postea omnium contributione sarciri

⁸⁴) Luc. 22:32

Orat populus, uiri, foeminaeque, omnis aetas, omnis sexus, omnis
 65 orbis. Rogant patres, obsecrat senatus, obtestatur ipse denique supplex
 Pontifex, ut se, ut Ecclesiam, ut urbem Romam, haec templa, has
 aras, haec sacra, haec uestra ipsorum capita seruetis, ac Synodum
 Lateranensem, hodie ante ora uestra a Iulio Secundo Pontifice Maximo
 indictam, quod faustum, felix, fortunatumque si(e)t, nobis, Ecclesiae
 70 uestrae, totique reipublicae Christianae, in orbis terrae certissimam
 salutem, Sancti Spiritus numine firmetis. Curetisque et pacari Chris-
 tianos principes, et in publicum Christi hostem Maumethem nostrorum
 regum arma conuerti, atque his fluctibus, his tempestatibus, his
 aquis, non modo non extinguere Ecclesiae charitatem ⁸⁵), sed almae
 75 crucis meritis et diuini Spiritus ductu, quibus iunctim hodie sacra
 fiunt ⁸⁶), ablui potius ab omnibus conceptis maculis, et in antiquum
 splendorem munditiamque restitui.

Dixi

Habita fuit oratio in aede Lateranensi quinto nonas Maias
 80 M.D.XII.

possit. Videtis ab ipsismet Italis accersi ferocissimos hostes in Italiam : qui
 cum cogantur exire de naui abiectis gubernaculis, cupiunt reliquorum naufragia
 ex terra intueri. (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2,7,4 ed.) Malunt uehi male et
 superbe Turcis gubernantibus, quam iuncti nostris uectoribus obtemperare.
 Tales obsecro pestes auertite.) *F*

- 64 *post* Orat *add.* id a Deo *F*
 64-65 omnis orbis *om.* *F*
 65 orbis] ordo *B S*
 66 ut se *om.* *F*; Romam *om.* *F*
 67 seruetis] seruet *F*
 68 hodie — 69 indictam] a Iulio indictum hodie *F*
 69 si(e)t] sit *M F* siet *B S*
 69 nobis — 70 Christianae] et nobis, et Ecclesiae, et toti reipublicae Christianae *F*
 71 Sancti — Curetisque] diuini spiritus numine firmet, curetque : iubeat imperet, *F*
 73 tempestatibus] procellis *F*
 75 iunctim] coniunctim *F*
 78 Dixi — 80 M.D.XII *om.* *F*

⁸⁵) Cf. Cant. 8:7

⁸⁶) 3 May 1512, the date of the opening ceremony of the Lateran Council, was the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross; the Mass at the opening ceremony was that of the Holy Spirit under whose guidance the Council would be held.