



Oration "Moyses vir Dei" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (24 April 1452, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 8th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 19)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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HAL Id: halshs-01064759

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01064759>

Submitted on 25 Sep 2019

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 19)

Oration “*Moyse vir Dei*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (24 April 1452, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

8th version

2019

Abstract

After their coronation and wedding in Rome, in March 1452, Emperor Friederich III and Empress Leonora went to visit the empress' uncle, King Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily, in Naples. On their return trip to Austria, they again made a visit to the pope in Rome, where the imperial ambassador, Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini of Siena, delivered an oration, the "*Moses vir Dei*", on a crusade against the Turks. In the oration, he presented the emperor's request for a crusade, listing three motives: compassion, benefit and honour. Moreover, he argued for the feasibility of a crusade in terms of the ease of mobilizing the Europeans and the good chances of success. However, neither the papacy nor the empire nor indeed any of the European powers except Burgundy were truly interested in a crusade at this time, so the oration had no effect. A year later Constantinople was conquered by the Turks, and the Byzantine Empire fell.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Nicolaus V; Pope Nicholas V; Papa Niccolò V; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friederich III (Habsburg); Turkish crusades; Wars against the Turks; Ottomans; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1452

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

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

12 September 2019

MCS

¹ 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted is a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

By 1452, the relentless Turkish expansion in Europe had become a permanent scare. In spite of some setbacks, the Turks had gained the upper hand through a decisive victory in the battle of Varna in 1444 where the Polish/Hungarian King, Wladyslaw III, and the Cardinal Legate, Giuliano Cesarini, had fallen. Turkish military pressure against the remaining unconquered parts of Balkan and against Hungary, the “Bulwark of Christianity”, was intensifying. And the new, young and warlike Turkish sultan, Mehmed II, was making aggressive moves against Constantinople, the capital of the remnants of the Byzantine Empire.

The Turks were mentioned in a number of Piccolomini’s orations, even in the first one, the “*Audivi*” [1], of 1436. In that oration Piccolomini had said:

Great is the realm of the Turks, immense is the power of the Asians and enormous their riches. They have extended their empire from Asia to Europe, and they have occupied the whole of Greece as if they were the avengers of the destruction of Troy. To expel them from Greece would not be the task of a single city or state, but of the entire Christian world.^{2 3}

Though the Turkish expansion into Europe had become an important political and military issue confronting the European powers, these were embroiled in so many regional conflicts and wars and were so discouraged by their former defeats at the hands of Turks that it would be left to the frontier states, first among them Hungary, to deal with the threat.

Just to initiate the organization of a military response to the Turkish threat would take the energetic and concerted efforts of the two international leaders of Europe, Emperor Friedrich III and Pope Nicolaus V. In August 1451 the emperor had promised the ambassadors of Duke Philippe III of Burgundy to take up the matter with the pope during his projected visit to Rome (in connection with his imperial coronation). On behalf of the emperor, Bishop Piccolomini of Siena, in his capacity as imperial counsellor and diplomat had told the ambassadors, in the oration “*Quamvis in hoc senatu*” which may be considered the first of Piccolomini’s Turkish orations⁴ that:

¹ CO, pp. 112-117; HA, I, pp. 133-186; II, pp. 515-675; Ady, pp. 113-119; Boulting, pp. 190-197; Koller, pp. 115-126; Mitchell, pp. 110-112; Paparelli, pp. 136-145; Pastor, I, III, ch. IV; Reinhardt, pp. 155-161; Stolf, pp. 147-149; Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 89-91; Housley, pp. 221-224; Toews, pp. 226-230; Voigt, III, pp. 41-54

² Oration “*Audivi*” [1], sect. 21

³ The concept of war in Piccolomini’s Turkish orations had to some extent been developed in his *Pentalogus* of 1443, see Märkl, 2013, p. 14

⁴ Usually the “*Moses vir Dei*” has been considered to be Piccolomini’s first Turkish oration, cf. Helmrath: *Pius*, p.89, but this is probably because the “*Quamvis in hoc senatu*” [17], though known previously, cf. RTA, 19, 1, p. 104, n. 1, has not been identified as an oration by Piccolomini

Therefore, he [the emperor] is looking forward to the opportunity to speak with the Supreme Pontiff and to discuss this matter [the crusade]. Indeed, he intends to go to Rome and have consultations on this and on many other urgent affairs of the Christian Commonwealth, and to follow the advice and useful counsels of that See. And now that your prince has declared his vital interest in the matter, His Royal Highness will take it up so much more willingly and recommend it to the pope, and he will do all he can for the peace of the Christian people and the defense of the Faith. [Sect. 6]

It was not an easy venture. Both emperor and pope were by nature cautious men and certainly not tempted by military adventures. The emperor, moreover, was at the moment threatened by conflicts with the Austrians, the Hungarians and the Bohemians because of his continuing wardship over the boy-king Ladislaus, by then 12 years old. So, he would be perfectly happy to leave any responsibility and initiative in the Turkish matter to the pope.

After their coronation in Rome, the imperial couple visited the empress' uncle in Naples, King Alfonso V. Returning from Naples, they passed through Rome and paid a last visit to Pope Nicolaus. At this occasion, the emperor asked Bishop Piccolomini to speak to the pope on the situation of the Christians living under Turkish rule and to present a petition for a crusade. This Piccolomini did in his oration to the pope, the "*Moyses vir Dei*" of 24 April, in the presence and on behalf of the emperor.

In the first version of his *Historia Austrialis*, written in 1453-1454,¹ i.e. a couple of years after the oration was delivered, Piccolomini wrote about the event in these terms:

Afterwards the Emperor requested Bishop Aeneas of Siena to give an account of the situation of the people of Jerusalem and of the Greeks and the other Christians living miserably under the rule of Turks. Because of the serious defeats suffered by the Hungarians, he was to express fears concerning the future of Constantinople and the necessity of coming to the assistance of the oppressed, and finally to incite to a crusade. This Aeneas did in a public consistory, also presenting the emperor's offer to assist this enterprise with all his power and with the whole empire if the Supreme Pontiff would undertake this matter.²

In the second/third edition of the *Historia Austrialis*, composed three to four years afterwards, Piccolomini gave a more elaborate description of the event:

¹ HA, I, p. xvii

² HA, I, pp. 185-186: *Enee Senensi episcopo commisit, ut statum Hierosolimorum, Grecorum, et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub imperio Turchorum opprimuntur, exponeret, utque Hungari magnas clades tulissent, timendum esse Constantinopoli, succurrendum oppressis diceret passagiumque suaderet. Quod is in publico consistorio fecit offerens cesarem cum omni eius potentia totoque imperio ad id operam daturum, si summus pontifex ei rei intendere vellet*

After his return from Naples, the emperor stayed in Rome for three days. The day before his departure, he warmly thanked the Supreme Pontiff and the Sacred College of Cardinals for their kindness to him. Then he asked Enea to speak, in a public consistory, on the situation of the Christians in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece, who were being persecuted under the rule of the Sultan and the Great Turk, and on the terrible defeats suffered by the Hungarians in recent years, and [how there was every reason] to fear for Constantinople and the other Greek cities that kept their Christian faith. He was also to talk about helping those being persecuted, to argue for a holy crusade, and to offer the efforts and the resources of the empire in this matter. Enea spoke so convincingly that many in the audience were moved to tears. In his reply Nicolaus, first said that the emperor had richly merited what had been done in his honour – which was actually less than deserved. The Church could never show the Empire the gratitude which it merited. The crusade, which Enea had spoken about, was certainly meritorious, worthy of the emperor, and greatly pious. It was very important to the Apostolic See, and personally he was deeply moved by Enea's words and would not be remiss in this matter. However, it would be necessary to consult with the other Christian princes and request their contribution to this great a venture. If he found them willing, he would report so to emperor and then undertake this holy endeavour with all his might.¹

In his later *Commentarii*, of 1464, Piccolomini, then pope, wrote as follows:

When the emperor returned and appeared again before the pope and the college of cardinals, Aeneas delivered two speeches in his name before a public audience. In one he thanked the pope and cardinals for the considerable favors they had granted the emperor; in the other he implored the pope to proclaim and prepare a crusade against the enemies of Christendom of Greece and the East.²

¹ HA, II, pp. 636-637: *Triduo Caesar ex Neapoli reversus Romae mansit. Pridie autem, quam recederet, ingentes gratias pontifici maximo sacroque collegio cardinalium reddidit, quod sibi benigni fuissent. Aeneae deinde commisit, in publico consistorio ut statum Christianorum, qui per Syriam, Aegyptum, Asiam Graeciamque sub soldani magnique Turchi imperio opprimuntur, exponeret utque Hungari proximis annis horrendas clades perpassi essent, timendum esse Constantinopoli caeterisque civitatibus Graeciae Christianam fidem habentibus, succurrendum oppressis diceret, expeditionem sanctam suaderet, operas atque vires imperii in istum negotium offerret. Quibus de rebus adeo efficaciter Aeneas verba fecit, ut pluribus circumstantibus lacrimas dedit. Nicolaus ubi responsum dedit, primum, quae facta essent in honore Caesaris, et digno et benemerenti prestita, minora tamen fuisse quam merita dixit. Ecclesia nunquam imperio sacro tam gratam esse posse, quam debeat. Expeditionem, de qua locutus esset Aeneas, laudandum opus dignumque caesare, multam prae se ferre pietatem, eius rei apostolicae sedi maximam curam esse, se verbis Aeneae veluti quibusdam stimulis vehementer commotum in ea re minime torpere. Consulendos tamen esse coeteros Christianae religionis principes eorumque auxilia in tantum opus querenda. Quod si ad id voluntarios invenerit, relaturum se caesari atque tam sanctum negotium summo conatu aggressurum*

² CO, I, pp. 118-121: *Redeunte Caesare conspectuique maximi praesulis ac sacri senatus se restituente vice sua duas orationes in auditorio publico recitavit: in altera gratias egit summo sacerdoti atque cardinalibus pro maximis quae*

Of his two contemporary biographers, Campano wrote: *When the emperor returned, Enea delivered two orations: in the first, he thanked Nicolaus and the College of Fathers,¹ in the second he urged the pope to undertake a war against the Turks.²* Platina's comment is equally terse.³

Piccolomini's 19th century biographer Georg Voigt - predictably - considers the oration as the beginning of a papal/imperial campaign to extract money from the faithful under the pretext of a crusade.⁴ Many people at the time would have shared this opinion, disregarding the sound assessment of the Turkish expansion that would lead to the fall of Constantinople only a year afterwards.

At any rate, those times were clearly past when a pope could raise the whole of Europe to go to war against the infidels. Piccolomini might not himself see this at the time, but the oration shows that at least he was quite aware of the problems: *There are many, Holy Father, who when they hear talk about a crusade say: "Oh, that old dream, that old delusion, that silly nonsense!"* [Sect. 17]

Possibly, the pope quite agreed with these sentiments, but nonetheless, he answered benignly - as might be expected - to the oration of the emperor's spokesman. In reality he did very little.⁵

His successor, Calixtus III, was much more energetic in this area, but it fell to Piccolomini himself, as Pope Pius II, to mobilize the resources and energies of the papacy for a crusade – though in vain.

The "*Moses vir Dei*" may not have been Piccolomini's first Turkish oration, but it was certainly his first full-fledged Turkish oration in a series of altogether 15 such orations on the Turkish matter which he would hold, as an imperial official and later as pope, reaching from the "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17] in 1451, over the "*Moses vir Dei*" in 1452, the "*Constantinopolitana Clades*" [22] in 1454, the "*Cum bellum hodie*" [45] of 1459, to the "*Suscepturi*" [76] which he gave in Rome right before leaving for Ancona and his deathbed, in 1464. These orations together with his concrete

Caesari praestiterant beneficiis; in altera, ut generale passagium adversus Christiani nominis inimicos indiceretur atque instrueretur papam hortatus est, ne Christicolae per Graeciam et Orientem amplius vexarentur.

¹ I.e. cardinals: classical term for senators in Rome

² Zimolo, p. 22: *Orationes duas in reditu Caesaris duas habuit: altera gratias egit Nicolao et collegio patrum, altera hortatus ad bellum adversus Turchos suscipiendum*

³ Zimolo, p. 103: *Rediens deinde ad urbem, Aenea dicente, pontifici gratias egit, quod se corona imperii donasset, quodque item tam magnifice tamque splendide ipse cum suis omnibus accepti fuissent, quem praeterea ad expeditionem in Turcos multis rationibus adhortatur*

⁴ Voigt, III, pp. 53-55

⁵ There may have been good reasons for his apparent inaction, though (Setton, II, pp. 104 ff.), including the virulent opposition of the Greek Church against the Latins and the Roman Church, and the complete lack of crusading enthusiasm among the Western rulers, not counting the Duke of Burgundy

crusading initiatives would earn him to be called “the greatest crusading pope of the Renaissance”¹ and “the most militant crusader of the Renaissance”² and to have a decisive influence on the development of the humanist Turkish discourse and on European perceptions of the Turks for many years.

2. Themes

The oration has four main themes:

- Definition of a crusade (the What)
- Motives for a crusade (the Why)
- Feasibility of a crusade (the How)
- Ecumenical council

2.1. Definition of a crusade

Throughout the oration, Piccolomini does not use the term crusade (*crociata*), but the term *passagium*, which he defines thus - on the basis of an analogy with the migration of birds:

A crusade is a large military expedition proclaimed by the Christians against the infidels ... when, at the bidding of the Apostolic See, they take up arms and in great throngs move towards the enemies of the faith. And it is not a true crusade (passagium) unless many peoples participate. ... The crusaders who take part in it merit the plenary remission of all their sins. [Sect. 5]

2.2. Motives for a crusade

The emperor’s motive for a crusade was threefold, said Piccolomini:

¹ Hankins, p. 113

² Hankins, p. 128

- Compassion (commiseratio)
- Benefit (utilitas)
- Honour (honestas)¹

The emperor is moved by the **compassion** he feels for the Christians subjugated by the Turks; the abject condition of Jerusalem that he saw for himself when as a very young man he visited the Holy Land;² his nephew's realm of Hungary, bearing the brunt of Turkish aggression; and the Christian areas, e.g. the Mediterranean islands, being molested by continual Turkish attacks. In his description of this theme, Piccolomini introduces the concept of Greece as mother of letters, laws and morals (after Cicero) and of the humanities [sect. 10]. He also uses Europe in a geopolitical sense in his famous statement of Christianity having been reduced to the corner of Europe (*in angulum Europae redactus est*) after the loss of Africa and Asia. It is worth mentioning that Piccolomini had developed this theme already six years before, in 1446, in his oration to Pope Eugenius IV, the "*Et breviter me hodie*", where he said: *In Europe there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians, another by the Saracens, and yet another by schismatics infected with various heresies. Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner.*³

The **benefits** of the crusade would be to help the Hungarians resist Turkish expansion and to liberate the Greeks and the Holy Land from the Turks; to exterminate islam; to propagate Christian faith; and to merit the crown of eternal life.

Concerning **honour** there can be no greater such than fighting for God in a war that has been properly declared and proclaimed: *It is glorious to fight for the faith* [sect. 16].

2.3. Feasibility of a crusade

In this oration, Piccolomini uses the concept *possibilitas*, where later he will use the concept *facilitas*.

¹ Cf. RTA, 19, 2, p. 505, n. 35

² Piccolomini had already used the theme of the emperor's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in an oration in 1451, the "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17], sect. 4

³ Oration "*Et breviter me hodie*", sect. 2: *In Europa quoque multa dissidia sunt: partem [habent] gentiles Teucri, partem Saraceni, partem schismatici diversis haeresibus infecti. Reducta autem et coartata in angulum quendam est nostra Christianitas*. Piccolomini hasd borrowed this expression from Fabio Biondi

He considers the feasibility of the crusade under two aspects: ease of mobilization and chances of success.

Concerning **mobilization**, Piccolomini believes – or pretends to believe – that the warlike Europeans would rather fight the Turks than each other, and that a joint expedition against the Turks will actually relieve the Europeans of their incessant, intestinal conflicts.

As for **financing**, the crusade will cost a lot of money, of course, but Piccolomini believes that communities plagued by war would willingly contribute to an international war against the Turks in order to be rid of their own local wars. And there are other means which Piccolomini would rather discuss with the pope privately. The sale of indulgences spring to mind ...

The chances of success of the crusade was an important issue, since the success of war is generally uncertain, and in particular because the Christians had been roundly defeated by the Turks in a number of previous battles, at Nicopolis in 1395 and at Varna in 1444, just to mention two battles that were great military disasters for the Europeans.

Piccolomini argues that European military skills and valour are much greater than those of the “effeminate” Turks whose former military victories were only due to their superior numbers. If the Europeans unite, they can easily match the size of the Turkish armies.¹

Also, the European enterprise would be favoured by the internal divisions of the Turks and by their conflicts with other peoples in the regions.

As a final argument, Piccolomini refers to an old Arab prophecy that Islam would begin to decrease after 800 years. It is uncertain to what extent such an argument would be taken seriously by his rather world-wise audience.

In conclusion: Victory is certain! There is no reason to hesitate.

2.4 Ecumenical council

When, in 1443-1444, the imperial government of Friedrich III began to move towards ending the German Neutrality between the schismatic council of Basel and the Roman pope, Eugenius IV,² one of the conditions was that the pope should summon a new ecumenical council. As imperial

¹ Schowebel, p. 19

² Oration “*Si putarem*” [5]

ambassador and envoy, Piccolomini had himself presented these demands to the pope on diplomatic missions to the Papal Court in 1445, 1446, and 1447.¹

After the reconciliation with the Papacy, the imperial government began to abandon the idea of another council.

This move was announced by Piccolomini in his oration "*Fateor*" [15] where – on behalf of the emperor – he demanded that the new council should take place in Germany and posed various other conditions which made it clear that a new council was no longer high on the imperial agenda. Whether Piccolomini had truly received instructions from the emperor to announce these conditions or whether he took it upon himself to make an announcement which he knew would express an imperial policy in development is uncertain.²

It is quite certain, however, that by 1452 the imperial government had definitively abandoned the plan for another council. It was triumphantly announced by Piccolomini, on behalf of and in the presence of emperor and the pope, when in the oration "*Moyses vir Dei*" he said:

*... the emperor wanted to use the opportunity of this visit to Your Holiness to bring forward a matter that has been close to his heart and mind since his early youth. Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees, but what council can be greater than the presence of Your Holiness and your Holy Senate. In vain does anyone request a council who does not obey the commands of the Roman Pontiff. Where Your Holiness is, there is the council, there the laws, there morals, decrees and salutary reform.*³

As Pope Pius II, he later revised the oration with a view to inclusion in his collected orations, and in this context he weakened the whole passage considerably:

*Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees or something else.*⁴

The reason for this revision is probably that as an imperial politician and diplomat he had, in 1452, really gone too far in downplaying the authority of the councils. As pope, he would have to uphold the authority of the ecumenical councils, and he probably also believed in it: his political

¹ Orations "*Prius sanctissime praesul*" [7], "*Et breviter me hodie*" [10], and "*Non habet me dubium*" [11]

² Oration "*Fateor*" [11], Introduction, sect. 2.3

³ *Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset, sed quod majus haberi concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuique sancti senatus praesentia. Frustra concilium petit, qui Romani pontificis mandata non recipit. Ubi tua sanctitas est, ibi concilium, ibi leges, ibi mores, ibi decreta salubrisque reformation.* (Early Version, sect. 24)

⁴ *Alius fortasse aut concilium generale petivisset aut reformationis decreta, aut aliud quidpiam* (Final Version, sect. 24)

statement on behalf of the emperor in 1452 simply could not be held as a doctrinal tenet by a reigning pope.

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Wagendorfer, the oration was held on 24 April 1452.¹

The place was – most probably – the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican.

The audience was the pope in a public consistory. The emperor and Ladislaus, Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, and probably a number of their courtiers as well as Roman curials were present.²

The format was an ambassadorial address to the pope on the part of the emperor and in his presence. It could not be more official.

4. Text³

The oration is one of those that Piccolomini revised over the years until it achieved its final form in connection with the compilation of the Collected Orations of Pius II in 1462.⁴ It is extant in an Early Version, an Intermediate Version and a Final version.

4.1. Early Version

The Early Version is identical with or close to the original version as delivered by Piccolomini.

¹ HA, II, 636. Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 89, gives the date as 25 April

² It was now known – even by the Milanese ambassadors who reported it to their duke - that, during his stay in Rome, Ladislaus had tried to escape and become free of the emperor's wardship. He had even privately addressed the pope in the matter. This gave special cogency to Piccolomini's dramatic and emotional appeal to the pope on behalf of Hungary and the orphaned boy-king, standing with the emperor

³ For a comprehensive survey of manuscripts and editions, see Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 336-7

⁴ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 5

4.1.1. Manuscripts¹

The Early Version is extant both individually in humanist collective manuscripts and as part of Piccolomini's *Historia Austriasis*.

Among the manuscripts containing the individually transmitted Early Version are:

- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XI.80, ff. 309v-312r **(U)** *
Lat. XIV.228, ff. 188v-201r **(V)**²
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
3420, ff. 161r-165v **(W)** *

Among the manuscripts containing the manuscripts used by Wagendorfer for his edition of the *Historia Austriasis*³ is⁴:

- **Trento / Biblioteca Comunale**
109 W, ff. 100r-104r **(T)**

4.1.2. Editions

The Early Version (EV) has been edited at least five times:

- Reusner, Nikolaus (ed.): *Selectissimarum orationum et consultationum de bello Turconico variorum et diversorum auctorum volumina quattuor*. Leipzig: Gros & Henning, 1596 / II, pp. 1-9
- *Annales ecclesiastici* (Raynaldus), ad annum 1452, nr. 4. 1659 [*and later editions*]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. I, pp. 163-173-181 [*Based on the Freher/Struwe ed.*]

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² V was apparently written or derives from a copy made while Pius was pope, cf. the title: *Ad beatissimum papam Nicolaum V. oratio nomine imperatoris Federici et Ladislai regis Ungarie a domino Enea episcopo Senensi pro passagio fiendo. Quis dominus Eneas ad presentem est dominus papa Pius II*

³ For what will presumably be the ultimate edition of the text of the *Historia Austriasis*

⁴ HA, II, p. 637, 826

- Piccolomini, Eneas Silvius: *Historia Austriasis*. Eds. M. Wagendorfer & J. Knödler. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series; 24) / II, pp. 826-843¹

4.2. Intermediate Version

The Intermediate Version (IV) is extant in at least two manuscripts and was included in a number of the early incunabula editions of Pius II's letters.²

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 70, ff. 396v-399r **(M)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Palat. lat. 598, ff. 159r-161v **(P)** *

4.2.2. Editions

- Pius II: [*Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis.*] Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1481, 1486, 1496 / Nr. CCCCXIII. [*In the present text the 1486 edition was used, in the digital edition in Early European Books*] **[KO]**
- Pius II: *Epistolae et varii tractatus*. [Cur.] Ambrosius Archintus & Joannes Vinzalius. Milano: Ulrich Scinzenzeler, 1496, nr. 413
- Pius II: *Epistolae et varii tractatus*. [Cur.] Ambrosius Archintus & Joannes Vinzalius. Lyon: Joannes de Vingle, 1497, 1505, nr. 413
- Pius II: *Epistolae et varii tractatus*. Lyon: Etienne Gueynard, 1518, nr. 413
- Freher, Marquard (ed.): *Germanicarum rerum scriptores aliquot insignes*. Tom. Secundus. Frankfurt, Marnium et haeredes Johannis Aubrii, 1602, pp. 25-28 **(FR1)**

¹ For other editions of the *Historia Austriasis*, see Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, ch. 11: General bibliography

² For a full survey and analysis of the incunabula editions of the letters of Piccolomini/Pius, see Häbler

- Freher, M. & B.G. Struvius (eds.): *Rerum germanicarum scriptores aliquot insignes*. Tom. secundus. Strassbourg, Dulssecker, 1717 / pp. 38-42
- Müller, Johann Joachim: *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation ReichsTags Theatrum wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. Allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno MCCCCXL bis MCCCCXCIII gestanden ...* Theil I. Jena, 1713, pp. 401-403 [Apparently on the basis of Freher 1602]

The oration was also published among Pius' letters in the *Opera Omnia* edition, which according to Häbler were copied from the Koberger edition¹:

- Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui Pius Secundus appellatus est, *Opera quæ extant omnia*, nunc demum castigata et in unum Corpus redacta His quoque, accessit Gnomologia ex omnibus Sylvii Operibus collecta. Basileae: Heinrich Petri, 1551 / 1571. / Pp. 928-932 (OO)²

4.3. Final version

4.3.1. Manuscripts

The Final Version is included in all seven manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pius II. The seven manuscripts are the following:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 58v-62v (G) *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 81r-92v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 53r-57v (E) *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 54r-58v (D) *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 36r-39v (A) *

¹ Cf. Häbler, p. 148

² The OO-edition has been collated with a view to verifying Häbler's assertion (which appears to be correct)

Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 78v-85r **(C)** *

Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 50r-54r **(B)** *

4.3.2. Editions

The Final Version appears to have been published only once:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. I, pp. 163-171 [*Based on the Lucca ms.*]

A German translation was published in

- Die Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs III von Aeneas Silvius. Übers. Th. Ilgen. Leipzig, 1890. (Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit in deutscher Bearbeitung; Lief. 85)[2. Unveränd. Aufl., Leipzig, 1940] / Zweite Hälfte, pp. 100-114

4.4. Other manuscripts and editions

Other manuscripts which have not been seen in connection with the present edition and whose status in terms of version (Early, Intermediate, Final) could therefore not been determined are:

- **Freiburg i.B. / Universitätsbibliothek**¹
C10, ff. 115r-119v
- **Fulda / Landesbibliothek**²
4o C10, ff. 115r-116r
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**³
Lat. XIV 246, ff. 238r-253r

In 1648, the Final Version was published in a commented edition (with collation of a manuscript containing the Early Version), as an academic thesis:

¹ Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative

² Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative

³ Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative

- Steger, Thomas: *Annotatio historica de Passagiis ad Orationem Aeneae Sylui, nomine Imperat. Friderici III. Romæ anno M.CCCC.LII super hoc argumento habitam*. Argentorati: Frid. Spoor, 1648

4.5. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9-10.

Texts:

Early Version (EV): The edition is based on all three manuscripts listed and on the Freher edition from 1717, with the Vienna manuscript as the lead text.¹

Intermediate Version (IV): The edition is based on both the manuscripts listed and on the printed editions by Koberger, Freher and the Opera Omnia edition.

Final Version (FV): The edition is based on six of the manuscripts containing the collected edition of Pius' orations, with the Chis. J.VIII 284 as the lead text.

Presentation:

The Early Version (EV) and the Intermediate/Final Version (IFV) are published synoptically, on the left pages, with the Early Version above and the Intermediate/Final Version below. Identical passages (with no regard for differences in word order, grammatical form and in the use of et/ac/atque) are given in bold types².

Pagination:

Early Version: follows the Vienna manuscript.

Intermediate/Final Version: follows the Chis. J.VIII 284.

¹ For an exhaustive edition of the Early version as based on the manuscripts containing the second/third version of the *Historia Austriacalis*, the reader is referred to Wagendorfer's edition

² Except differences in word order, grammatical form and of et/ac/atque

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 41 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical: 18

Classical: 20

Patristic and medieval: 2

Contemporary: 1

All: 41

The classical quotations dominate somewhat over the biblical. There are only two patristic quotation and no quotations from contemporary authors.

Biblical sources: 18

Old Testament: 13

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Numbers: 1
- Daniel: 1
- 2. Chronicles: 1
- Ecclesiasticus: 1
- Isaiah: 2
- Jeremiah: 1
- Lamentations: 2
- 2. Machabees: 1
- Psalms: 2

New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 1
- Acts: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1
- Philippians: 1

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see *Collected Orations Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 20

- Cicero: 9¹
- Ennodius: 1
- Juvenalis: 1
- Plato: 1²
- Plutarch: 1³
- Quintilianus: 1
- Suetonius: 1
- Terentius: 1⁴
- Valerius Maximus: 1
- Vergilius: 3

Patristic and medieval sources: 2

- Jeronimus: 1⁵
- Origenes: 1⁶

Contemporary sources: 1

- Flavio Biondo: 1⁷

¹ De officiis 6; In Catilinam 2; Tusculunae disputationes 1

² Republic

³ Parallel lives

⁴ *Heautontimorumenos*

⁵ Epistolae

⁶ In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos

⁷ Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades

6. Bibliography

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¹ <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Gallica&O=NUMM-60241>

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.284

B = Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788

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

D = Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

E = Milano / Bibl. Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

P = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Pal. Lat. 598

T = Trento / Biblioteca Capitolare / 109 W

U = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI.80

V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV-228

W = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / 3420

FR1 = Freher, Marquard (ed.): *Germanicarum rerum scriptores aliquot insignes*. Tom. Secundus. Frankfurt, Marnium et haeredes Johannis Aubrii, 1602, pp. 25-28

KO = Pius II: *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis*. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1486

OO = Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui ... Pius Secundus appellatus est, *Opera quæ extant omnia*, nunc demum castigata et in unum Corpus redacta His quoque, accessit Gnomologia ex omnibus Sylvii Operibus collecta. Baesileae: Heinrich Petri, 1551/ 1571

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[EV] Aeneae Sylvii oratio suasoria ad Nicolaum V. PP. ut Caesarem Fridericum in Turcos passagium parantem, modis omnibus adjuvare velit¹

[IV/FV] Oratio Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei Senensis episcopi² qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius II. appellatus est habita Romae coram Nicolao Pontifice astante imperatore Friderico et rege Hungariae Ladislao. In consistorio³

¹ Title in Freher's edition

² Senensis episcopi : episcopi Senensis B, C, F

³ Oratio ... consistorio : Aeneae Silvii episcopi Senensis oratio ad Nicolaum pontificem nomine Caesaris de passagio contra infideles indicendo **D, G**; Oratio ... consistorio : Hoc fuit initium orationis [*sic!*] Enee Silvii Piccolo. episcopi Senensis quod postea Pius II. Pont. Maxi. appellatus est habita Romae coram Nicolao Pot. astante imperatore Frider. et rege Hung. Ladislao in cons. **E**; Oratio que fecit dominus Senensis Eneas Silvius poeta laureatus coram domino nostro sanctissimo et senatu cardinalium pro domino imperatore ad passagium indicendum **M**; [No title] **P**; Oratio ad Sanctissimum dominum Nicolaum papam quintum pro parte Invictissimi domini Friderici Romanorum Imperatoris super passagio contra Turchos imponendo facta per dominum Eneam Episcopum Senensem **U, W**; Ad beatissimum papam Nicolaum V. oratio nomine imperatoris Federici et Ladislai regis Ungarie a domino Enea episcopo Senensi pro passagio fiendo. Quis dominus Eneas ad presentem est dominus papa Pius II **V**; Oratio suasoria ad Nicolaum V. PP. ut Caesarem Fridericum in Turcos passagium parantem modis omnibus adjuvare velit **FR1**; Oratio Aeneae coram Sanctissimo Senatu Cardinalium imperatore coronato pontifice, et eius nomine ad passagium incedendum **OO**; Oratio Enee coram sanctissimorum senatu cardinalium imperatore coronato presente et eius nomine ad passagium inducendum CCCCLIII **KO**

[IV/FV] Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena and pope under the name of Pius II, delivered in Rome before Pope Nicolaus, in the presence of Emperor Friederich and King Ladislaus of Hungary. In the consistory

[1] [EV] {161v} **Moyses, vir dei, beatissime pater¹ ², maxime pontifex, cum sibi successorem ordinaret Josue, filium Num, divinam vocem ad se dicentem audivit: Pro hoc *si quid agendum erit, Eleazar sacerdos consulet dominum; ad verbum ejus egredietur et ingredietur ipse et omnes filii Israel cum eo et cetera multitudo*. Quibus verbis non populi solum, sed reges et principes admonentur magnis in rebus, etiam bellicis, summi sacerdotis et consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.**

[1] [IV/FV] {36r} **Moyses, vir dei, beatissime pater, maxime pontifex, cum sibi ordinaret successorem³ Josue, filium Nun⁴, divinam vocem ad se dicentem audivit:⁵ *Si quid agendum erit, Eleazar sacerdos consulet dominum; ad verbum ejus egredietur⁶ et ingredietur⁷ ipse et omnes filii Israel cum eo et cetera multitudo*. Quibus verbis non populi solum, sed reges et principes monentur⁸ magnis in rebus summi sacerdotis consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.**

¹ omit. U, W

² et add. V

³ ordinaret successorem : succesorem ordinaret KO, OO

⁴ Num B, C, E, KO, OO

⁵ pro hoc add. FR1; per hoc add. KO, OO

⁶ egreditur KO, OO

⁷ ingreditur KO, OO

⁸ amonentur M; admonentur FR1; moventur KO, OO

0. Introduction

[1] [IV/FV] Holy Father, Supreme Pontiff,¹ when Moses, the man of God,² appointed Joshua, son of Nun, as his successor, he heard the voice of God speaking to him: *If any thing needs to be done, Eleazar the priest shall consult the Lord for him. He and all the children of Israel with him, and the rest of the multitude shall go out and go in at his word.*³ These words admonish not only peoples, but also kings and princes to seek, in great matters, the advice of the High Priest⁴ and follow his commands.⁵

¹ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (15.11.1397-24.3.1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

² Moyses vir Dei: Piccolomini had borrowed these opening words from a bull of Pope Eugenius of 4 September 1439 in which he condemned the decree *Sacrosancta* of the Council of Konstanz and declared the clergy at Basel schismatics and heretics, see Rainaldus, ad ann. 1439, nr. 29. Choosing this incipit, he was thus making an implicit statement of imperial support for the papacy

³ Numbers, 27, 21

⁴ By analogy: the pope

⁵ Note that in the final version Piccolomini's reuses the notion of the imperium of the high priest in great matters, but not the notion that this imperium extends to military matters (*res bellicae*)

[2] [EV] Quod¹ postmodum et² in novo testamento et in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatibus est firmatum, sicut et Constantini Magni et Theodosii et³ Justiniani et aliorum Christianorum Caesarum⁴ gesta⁵ testantur. Eam ob causam cupidus⁶ atque avidissimus⁷ divus Caesar Fridericus, Romanorum imperator Augustus, filius tuus obsequentissimus, suis diebus adversus impios {162r} Mahumeti cultores generale passagium fieri, atque in illud suum studium, suas curas suasque vires omnes convertere, te prius, magni dei vicarium, Christianae plebis sacratum caput, perfectum ducem, optimum rectorem, veracem magistrum et consulendum, et audiendum, et sequendum existimavit, cujus providentia noscere, auctoritas monere⁸, potestas implere possit, quod sit agendum.

[2] [IV/FV] Quod postmodum et in novo testamento ac⁹ in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatibus est firmatum¹⁰, sicut et¹¹ Constantini Maximi¹² et Theodosii et Justiniani et aliorum Christianorum Caesarum gesta testantur¹³. Eam¹⁴ ob causam cupidus atque avidissimus Caesar, divus¹⁵ Fridericus, Romanorum¹⁶ imperator Augustus, {36v} filius tuus obsequentissimus¹⁷, suis diebus¹⁸ adversus impios Mahumeti cultores generale passagium fieri¹⁹, atque in illud suum studium suasque vires²⁰ omnes convertere, te prius, magni dei vicarium, Christianae plebis sacratum²¹ caput, perfectum²² ducem, optimum rectorem²³, veracem magistrum consulendum²⁴, audiendum,

¹ admonentur magis ... quod *omit.* U, W

² *omit.* T

³ *omit.* T

⁴ et aliorum ... Caesarum *omit.* T

⁵ Caesarum gesta : gesta Caesarum U

⁶ cupide V

⁷ avidissime V

⁸ movere T, U, V, W

⁹ et G

¹⁰ servatum M

¹¹ *omit.* D, G

¹² magni M, KO, OO

¹³ sicut et ... testantur *omit.* P

¹⁴ eamque P

¹⁵ dominus M, FR1; divinus KO

¹⁶ Romanus M, KO, OO

¹⁷ tuus obsequentissimus : obsequentissimus tuus F

¹⁸ suis diebus : suo tempore M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁹ fieret KO, OO

²⁰ curas M, FR1, KO, OO

²¹ plebis sacratum : religionis magnum P; plebis sacratum FR2; plebis sacratum religionis magnum M, FR1, KO, OO

²² profectum OO

²³ optimum rectorem : rectorem optimum C

²⁴ et *add.* FR1

et¹ sequendum censuit, cujus providentia² noscere³, auctoritas monere⁴, potestas implere⁵ possit⁶, quod⁷ sit agendum.

[2] [IV/FV] That this was also the practice in later times, both in the [time of the] New Testament and in the Time of Grace⁸, is confirmed by many examples and authorities and witnessed by the acts of Constantine the Great,⁹ Theodosius,¹⁰ Justinianus¹¹ and other Christian emperors.

Friedrich,¹² Holy Caesar and August Emperor of the Romans, your most obedient son, eagerly and earnestly desires that there should be in his days a crusade¹³ against the impious followers of Muhammad,¹⁴ and directs all his energy and resources towards this goal. He has therefore decided first to consult, hear, and follow you, Vicar of the Great God,¹⁵ Holy Head, Perfect Leader, Eminent Governor and True Teacher of the Christian people: your wisdom will know what should be done, your authority will impose it, and your power will execute it.

¹ *omit.* P, FR1

² *providentiam* M, KO, OO

³ *vestra* OO

⁴ *movere* M, KO, OO

⁵ *cogere* FR1

⁶ *potest* G, M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁷ *quod corr. ex quid* A; *quid* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁸ i.e. the Christian age

⁹ Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

¹⁰ Theodosius I [Flavius Theodosius Augustus] (347-395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death

¹¹ Justinian I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (ca. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

¹² Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

¹³ "generale passagium". Hereafter translated as "crusade"

¹⁴ Muhammad (ca. 570-ca. 632): the founder of Islam

¹⁵ The papal title of Vicar of God (or of Christ) was first used by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216). It signalled the supremacy of the papal office, also in temporal affairs, cf. Sayers, pp. 14-16

[3] [EV] Venit igitur ad te hodie tuumque gravem et ornatissimum senatum Caesar super universali passagio cum tua beatitudine tractaturus. Coronatus enim¹ jam triplici corona ejusque regni tua beneficentia rex² confirmatus, cujus potentiam Daniel ferro comparavit, cujus limites solus claudit Oceanus, cujus fundator Octavianus, confirmator³ Jesus Christus⁴ fuit, quod Romana semper ecclesia magnificet, extulit, honoravit, cujus auctoritas in terris nisi tuae cedit nulli, cujus officium est patrocinari ecclesiae, tueri religionem, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. Hujus, inquam⁵, regni solium adeptus Caesar, quid aliud cogitet quam passagium, per quod et⁶ Christiani fortiores et hostes fidei reddantur imbecilliores? *Princeps*, inquit sapiens, *quae sunt digna principe cogitabit. [cont.]*

[3] [IV/FV] Venit igitur ad te hodie⁷ tuumque⁸ sacratissimum senatum Caesar super universali passagio cum tua beatitudine locuturus. Coronatus enim jam triplici corona ejusque regni tua beneficentia rex confirmatus, cujus potentiam Daniel ferro comparavit, cujus limites solus claudit oceanus, cujus fundator Romulus⁹, confirmator Julius, ampliatus¹⁰ Augustus, approbator dominus Jesus fuit, cujus auctoritas in terris nisi tuae cedit nulli, cujus officium est *parcere*¹¹ *subjectis et debellare superbos*. Quid aliud cogitet¹² quam passagium, per quod et¹³ Christiani fortiores et inimici Christi nominis¹⁴ redduntur¹⁵ imbecilliores? *Princeps*¹⁶, inquit¹⁷ sapiens¹⁸, *quae sunt digna principe*¹⁹ *cogitabit. [cont.]*

¹ omit. T

² omit. V

³ dominus add. V, T

⁴ omit. V, T

⁵ hujus inquam : huiusque U

⁶ omit. V

⁷ ad te hodie : hodie ad te KO, OO

⁸ tuum M

⁹ Romulus Julius Augustus Jesus in marg. D, G

¹⁰ amplificator M, KO, OO

¹¹ partem M

¹² cogit KO; cogitat OO

¹³ omit. B, D, E, G

¹⁴ Christi nominis : nominis Christi FR1

¹⁵ creduntur M, KO, OO

¹⁶ ut add. FR1

¹⁷ inquam M, KO, OO

¹⁸ Sapiens in marg. A, D, G

¹⁹ principis M; principi KO, OO

[3] [IV/FV] So, today the emperor comes to you and your Holy Senate¹ to talk with Your Holiness about a crusade.² He has now been crowned with the Triple Crown,³ and through your benevolence⁴ he has been confirmed as king of his realm. The power of this realm Daniel⁵ likened to iron,⁶ and its only limit is the Ocean. It was founded by Romulus,⁷ confirmed by Julius,⁸ enlarged by Augustus,⁹ approved by Lord Jesus.¹⁰ On Earth his authority only defers to your own,¹¹ and his duty it is *to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud*.¹² What else should he be thinking of than a crusade which will both strengthen the Christians and weaken the enemies of the name of Christ? For *the prince, says the Wise One, will devise such things as are worthy of a prince*.¹³ [cont.]

¹ i.e. The College of Cardinals

² "universale passagium". Hereafter translated as "crusade"

³ 19 March 1452, i.e. about a month before

⁴ The papal claim of having the ultimate right to bestow empires and kingdoms was still maintained by the popes at this time, but it was blatantly out of touch with political reality

⁵ Daniel: (Bibl.) The protagonist of the Book of Daniel

⁶ Daniel, 2, 40: *And the fourth kingdom shall be as iron. As iron breaketh into pieces, and subdueth all things, so shall that break, and destroy all these*

⁷ Romulus: twin of Remus, legendary co-founder of Rome

⁸ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman

⁹ Augustus, Gajus Octavianus (63 BC-14 AD): Adoptive son of Julius Caesar. Founder of the Roman Empire and its first emperor, ruling from 27 BC to his death

¹⁰ The Early Version has: *It was founded by Octavian, and confirmed by the Lord Jesus*

¹¹ Here Piccolomini echoes the claim that papal authority is superior to that of the emperor

¹² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.853

¹³ Isaiah, 32, 8

[3] [EV cont.] Reges apud Medos, ut Herodotus, apud omnes, ut Cicero sensit, *justitiae fruendae causa* sunt creati, velut¹ injuriarum propulsatores, qui si Platoni magno voluerint auscultare ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus oboedire, *procuracionem reipublicae non ad suam*, sed ad eorum, qui sibi *commissi sunt, utilitatem* gerere² conabuntur. Atque hoc est quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxium facit.

[3] [IV/FV cont.] Reges apud Medos, ut Herodotus inquit³, apud omnes, ut Curtius⁴ sensit, *justitiae fruendae causa* creati sunt, velut injuriarum propulsatores⁵, qui si Platoni⁶ ⁷ auscultare volunt⁸ ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus⁹ oboedire, *procuracionem*¹⁰ *reipublicae non ad suam*, sed ad eorum, qui¹¹ sibi *commissi sunt, utilitatem* gerere debent¹². Atque hoc est, quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxium facit¹³.

¹ omit. T

² convertere T

³ numquam M; omit. P

⁴ Cicero M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁵ propulsores M, KO, OO

⁶ praelatum M, KO, OO

⁷ Plato *add. in marg.* D, G

⁸ voluerint FR1

⁹ manentibus M

¹⁰ procuracione M, KO

¹¹ que M

¹² dicuntur M, KO, OO

¹³ fecit M, KO, OO

[3] [IV/FV cont.] And in Media as Herodotus¹ says, and everywhere, as Curtius² believes, *kings were made in order that the people might enjoy justice.*³ Their task is to drive out all injustice, and if they will listen to Plato and obey other philosophers who teach morals,⁴ their administration will not be to their own benefit, but to the benefit of those entrusted to them.⁵ This is why the emperor is so concerned and preoccupied with the crusade.

¹ Herodotus (ca. 484-425 BC): Greek historian

² Curtius Rufus, Quintus: Roman historian, writing probably during the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) or Vespasian (69-79 AD). His only surviving work, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, is a biography of Alexander the Great in Latin in ten books

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 2.12.41.: *Mihi quidem non apud Medos solum, ut ait Herodotus, sed etiam apud maiores nostros iustitiae fruendae causa videntur olim bene morati reges constituti*

⁴ "recta monentibus"

⁵ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.25.85; Plato: *Republic*, 420B

[4] [EV] Super qua re dicturus ego, quae sua mihi¹ majestas imperat, oratiunculam meam tres in partes dividam. In prima dicam, quid sit passagium, quod petitur. In secunda, cur petatur. In tertia, facillene² passagium fructuosumque³ sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero, cum rerum magnitudine verba comparentur⁴, sic fortasse brevior apparebo. Quid dixi apparebo⁵? Immo ero re vera brevis, nam docti dicere multa possunt, indocti non possunt⁶: sola brevis, ut Ennodius⁷ ait⁸, *commendat indoctos*.

[4 IV/FV] Super qua re dicturus ego⁹, quae mihi sua¹⁰ majestas imperat, orationem meam in tres partes dividam¹¹. In prima dicam¹², quid sit passagium, quod quaeritur¹³. In secunda, cur petitur¹⁴. In tertia, facillene passagium fructuosumque¹⁵ sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero¹⁶, cum rerum magnitudine¹⁷ verba¹⁸ comparentur¹⁹, sic fortasse brevior apparebo²⁰. Quid dixi apparebo?²¹ Immo²² ero²³ re vera brevis²⁴, quoniam, Ovidio²⁵ 26 testante²⁷, *sola brevis commendat indoctos*.

¹ omit. V

² facile ut U, W

³ fructuosum U, W

⁴ comparent U, W

⁵ quid dixi apparebo omit. T

⁶ indocti non possunt omit. T; et add. V

⁷ Heunodius T, U, W

⁸ Ennodius ait : ait Eunodius V

⁹ ea M; eo KO, OO

¹⁰ mihi sua : sua mihi P, FR1

¹¹ Divisio in marg. D, G

¹² dicens KO, OO

¹³ petitur F

¹⁴ petatur M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁵ fructuosum M, KO, OO

¹⁶ fuerit P; oratio fuerit FR1; fuerim M, KO, OO

¹⁷ magnitudini M, P, KO, OO

¹⁸ omit. P, FR1

¹⁹ comparetur FR1; comparantur M, KO, OO

²⁰ videbitur M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²¹ quid ... apparebo omit. B, E, M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²² omit. M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²³ tamen add. M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²⁴ brevius E

²⁵ e modio M; Ennodio P, FR1; Empedocle KO, OO

²⁶ Ovidius in marg. D, G

²⁷ teste M, P, FR1, KO, OO

[4] [IV/FV] On this matter I shall now say what His Majesty commands. I will divide my oration into three parts: in the first one, I shall explain what is the crusade (passagium) that is being demanded. In the second, why it is being demanded. And in the third, if the crusade will be feasible and successful. My presentation may appear to be somewhat lengthy, but considering the importance of the matter, it may seem to be brief. Did I say “seem to be brief”? Actually, I am always brief, for, as Ovid says, *brevity alone commends the unlearned*.¹

¹ Not Ovid, but Magnus Felix Ennodius: *Epistolae*, 7.12. MPL, LXIII, col. 119

[5] [EV] Sed jam primum absolvamus. Passagii vocabulo nihil aliud designamus quam militarem¹ expeditionem numerosissimam adversus infideles per Romanum pontificem indictam. Quam qui sequuntur cruce signati plenariam peccatorum remissionem et merentur et assequuntur, appellaturque passagium sermone {162v} Italico quasi transitus. Nam sicut aves quaedam certis anni temporibus gregatim² de regione in regionem³ transeunt dicunturque passagium facere, sic et Christiani nonnumquam, armis sumptis⁴ turmatim⁵ incedentes, atque in hostes fidei ex apostolicae sedis jussione prosilientes, et visi et dicti sunt passagium habuisse⁶. Numquam tamen verum passagium dici potest, nisi multorum fuerit populorum, qui migrare magis novas sedes quaesituri, quam bellaturi videantur, qualis Gallorum, Cimbrorum, Gothorum, Hunnorum in Italiam inundatio fuit. Intelligunt jam omnes, nisi fallor⁷, quid sit passagium, quod petitur.

[5] [IV/FV] Sed jam primum absolvamus. Passagii vocabulo nihil aliud designamus quam expeditionem militarem numerosam⁸ adversus infideles per Christianos indictam. Quam⁹ qui¹⁰ sequuntur¹¹ cruce signati plenariam peccatorum omnium¹² remissionem merentur, appellaturque passagium sermone Italico quasi transitus. Nam sicut aves quaedam gregatim certis anni temporibus de regione in regionem transeunt dicunturque¹³ passagium facere, sic¹⁴ et¹⁵ Christiani nonnumquam, sumptis armis turmatim incedentes, atque in hostes fidei ex apostolicae sedis jussu prosilientes, et visi et¹⁶ dicti¹⁷ sunt passagium habuisse. Neque verum passagium videri potest, nisi multorum fuerit¹⁸ populorum qui migrare {37r} magis novas sedes quaesituri, quam bellaturi videantur, sicut Cimbrorum in Italiam¹⁹ inundatio²⁰ ac²¹ Gothorum et Hunnorum excursio. Habemus quid sit passagium.

¹ militanter V

² omit. T

³ regiones T

⁴ armis sumptis : sumptis armis U, V, W

⁵ trans mare T

⁶ facere U, V

⁷ fallar T

⁸ numerosissimam M, KO, OO

⁹ qua A; quod D, G

¹⁰ si M, KO, OO

¹¹ consequuntur M, KO, OO

¹² omit. FR1

¹³ dicuntur quoque KO, OO

¹⁴ omit. M, KO, OO

¹⁵ omit. M

¹⁶ Dei add. KO, OO

¹⁷ docti M

¹⁸ fiunt KO, OO

¹⁹ Italia M, KO, OO

²⁰ mendacio P

²¹ ad OO

1. Concept of crusade

[5] [IV/FV] Now we shall deal with the first. By the word crusade (*passagium*) we simply mean a large military expedition proclaimed by the Christians against the infidels. The crusaders¹ taking part in it merit the plenary remission of all their sins. The Italian word for *passagium* means something like migration²: as some birds are said to make a passage when at certain times during the year they migrate from region to region, thus from time to time the Christians are seen and said to make a passage when, at the bidding of the Apostolic See,³ they take up arms and in great throngs move towards the enemies of the faith. It is not a true crusade (*passagium*) unless many peoples participate, seeming to migrate in search of new homes more than going to war - just like the Cimbrians⁴ inundated Italy and the Goths⁵ and the Huns⁶ made their invasion. So, this is what is meant by crusade (*passagium*).⁷

¹ "cruce signati"

² "transitus"

³ Note that it is the pope who has the initiative and authority to indict a crusade

⁴ The Cimbrians: Germanic tribes which migrated from the Danish peninsula of Jutland into Roman controlled territory, where they were defeated in The Cimbrian War (113-101 BC)

⁵ The Goths: East Germanic people, two of whose branches, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths, played an important role in the fall of the Roman Empire

⁶ The Huns: a nomadic people or peoples, who are known to have lived in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia between the 1st century AD and the 7th century. By 370 AD, the Huns had established a vast, if short-lived, Hunnic Empire in Europe

⁷ Housley, p. 221: *The reason he used the phrase [passagium/migratio] at Rome in 1452 was to make the point that the Turks owed their conquests only to their numbers*

[6] [EV] **Nunc**, petitionis causas **exponamus**, quas **tris** esse comperio: **commiserationem**, **utilitatem**, et **honestatem**.

[6] [FV] **Nunc**, cur petatur, **exponamus**. **Tria sunt**, quae Caesarem passagii cupidum reddunt¹: **commiseratio**, **utilitas**, atque **honestas** rei.

¹ reddant M, KO, OO

2. Motives for the petition

[6] [IV/FV] Now we shall explain why it is being requested. Three things make the emperor desire a crusade: compassion, benefit and honour.

[7] [EV] Unde vero commiseratio prodeat, *paucis, adverte, docebo. Quis infirmatur*, inquit apostolus, *et ego non infirmor?* Quis scandalizatur, et ego non scandalizor?¹ Pulchre, recte, religiose, sancte dictum. Nam *cujus pectus adeo durum est, ut dolentibus non condoleat, gementibus non congemat, tristantibus fratribus² non contristetur?* Caesar quidem³ postquam discretionis attigit annos coepitque noscere fidei nostrae sacramenta, mox religionis induit zelum, rebusque omnibus divini cultus praeposuit augmentum. Sic enim et suae naturae bonitas et sanguinis nobilitas exposcebat. Nam sublimis et inclytae⁴ domus Austriae principes, inter quos plures et reges et imperatores claruerunt, tunc sibi prospere succedere speraverunt, cum *divino* numini *bene et constanter famulati essent⁵*.

[7] [IV/FV] Unde vero commiseratio prodeat⁶, *paucis, adverte, docebo. Quis infirmatur*, inquit apostolus, *et ego non infirmor?* Quis⁷ videt⁸ afflictos et non affligitur? Cujus pectus adeo durum est, ut *dolentibus non condoleat, gementibus non congemat, tristantibus non contristetur?* Caesar quidem postquam discretionis attigit annos coepitque⁹ noscere fidei nostrae¹⁰ ¹¹ sacramenta¹², mox religionis induit zelum, coepitque rebus omnibus divini cultus augmentum praeponere, quod sibi et suae¹³ naturae bonitas et nobilitas sanguinis suadebat. Nam domus Austriae principes¹⁴, inter quos plures et¹⁵ reges et¹⁶ imperatores floruerunt¹⁷, tunc sibi prospere succedere speraverunt, cum *divino* nomini¹⁸ *bene atque¹⁹ constanter famulati fuissent*.

¹ quis scandalisatur .. scandalisor *omit.* T

² *omit.* T

³ quidam W

⁴ et inclytae *omit.* T

⁵ fuissent T

⁶ procedat D, G

⁷ qui M, KO, OO

⁸ vidit M, KO, OO

⁹ tepidus et M

¹⁰ *omit.* FR1

¹¹ fidei nostrae : nostrae fidei KO, OO

¹² sacramentum OO

¹³ sua M

¹⁴ princeps M, KO, OO

¹⁵ *omit.* P

¹⁶ et ... et : ac ... ac KO, OO

¹⁷ fluxerunt M

¹⁸ cultui M; numini P, FR1

¹⁹ ac G; et M, KO, OO

2.1. Compassion

[7] [IV/FV] Why compassion? *Pay heed, and I will explain in brief.*¹ *Who is weak*, says the apostle, *and I am not weak.*² Who sees afflicted people, and does not become afflicted himself? Whose heart is so hard that he does not *suffer together with those who are suffering, lament together with those who are lamenting,*³ and is not sad together with those who are sad. When the emperor reached the age of reason and came to know the sacraments of our Faith, he soon became devoted to religion and began to set growth of the worship of God above all else, as his natural goodness and noble blood urged him to do. For the princes of the House of Austria, among whom have been many kings and emperors, ever hoped to be successful *when they had served the divine name well and unshakeably.*⁴

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8.50

² 2. Corinthians, 11, 29

³ Origenes: *In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos explanationes*, 7, 2 (transl. of Rufinus)

⁴ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 1.1.9

[8] [EV] **Quorum vestigia** sectatus **Fridericus defunctis parentibus**, ut primum **tutelam exivit**¹, **adolescens adhuc**² **trans mare navigavit**, **contemnensque pelagus** et tempestatum minas, **digitis a morte**³ **remotus**⁴ **quattuor aut septem**, cupidus **osculari**⁵ locum, **ubi fuerunt pedes ejus, qui nos redemit in medio terrae salutem operatus**, Jerusalem perrexit, sepulchrum domini visitavit, Calvariae locum inspexit, montem ascendit Oliveti, vidit cenaculum magnum⁶ stratum, et Pilati praetorium, intravit⁷ desertum, transivit Jordanem⁸, Bethlehem accessit, et vallem Josaphat penetravit. Mirabilem sibi atque incredibilem devotionem sanctorum locorum visio suggerebat.

[8] [IF/FV] **Quorum vestigia** secutus⁹ **Fridericus**¹⁰, **defunctis parentibus**, quamprimum **tutelam exivit**, ut locum videret, in quo nostra redemptio celebrata est, **adhuc adolescens trans mare navigavit**, **contempsitque**¹¹ **pelagus**, **digitis a morte remotus quattuor aut septem**.¹² Inspexit¹³ locum, ubi natus salvator noster Christus, ubi positus¹⁴ in praesepio, ubi praesentatus in templo, ubi baptizatus, ubi temptatus, ubi praedicavit, ubi Lazarum suscitavit, ubi cenavit, ubi captus, ubi derisus, ubi judicatus, ubi crucifixus, ubi sepultus est, et unde¹⁵ ascendit in¹⁶ caelum. Quid multa dicam? Osculatus est Caesar terram, **ubi fuerunt pedes ejus, qui nos**¹⁷ **redemit**.

¹ exuit T, U; *omit.* V

² adolescens adhuc : adolescens admodum T

³ mente T

⁴ remotis T; *omit.* V

⁵ obsculari W

⁶ grande T, V

⁷ intravit *add.* V

⁸ vidit sepulchrum domini *add.* V [*sic!*]

⁹ *omit.* P

¹⁰ secutus Fridericus : Fridericus secutus M, FR1, KO, OO

¹¹ contraxitque M; contexitque KO, OO

¹² a morte ... septem *omit.* KO, OO

¹³ auspexit M; aspexit KO, OO

¹⁴ est *add.* FR1

¹⁵ vbi M

¹⁶ ad G

¹⁷ non M

[8] [IV/FV] Friedrich followed in their footsteps. When his parents died and he was no longer under guardianship,¹ but still an adolescent, he very soon fearlessly, though sometimes *only inches from death*,² sailed across the sea to visit the place where our redemption took place. There he saw the place where Christ, Our Saviour, was born, where he was laid in the crib, where he was presented in the temple, where he was baptized, where he was tempted, where he preached, where he raised Lazarus, where he held the last supper, where he was arrested, where he was mocked, where he was judged, where he was crucified, where he was buried, and where he ascended to Heaven.³ Why say more? The emperor kissed the earth trodden by the feet of the One who redeemed us.

¹ In 1435

² Juvenalis: *Saturae*, 12.58 ff.

³ The Early Version gives a list of the holy places, the Final version a pious summary of the Passion of Christ

[9] [EV] At **cum spurcidos illic Saracenos, immundos, horridos, sceleratos dominari videret¹**, veniebat² in mentem: *tactus³ dolore cordis intrinsecus.*⁴ Nil **aliud dicere {163r} potuit** quam **propheticum illud⁵**: *O⁶ Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum⁷ sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam.* Et iterum, sicut alius propheta clamat: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo, facta est vidua domina gentium, princeps provinciarum est sub tributo.* Proh quantum urgebat angebatque Fridericum illius sanctae civitatis indigna servitus, et illorum, qui trans mare sunt, Christianorum oppressio.

[9] [IV/FV] Sed quo animo tunc⁸ fuisse arbitraris, **cum spurcidos⁹ illic Saracenos, immundos, horridos¹⁰ dominari¹¹ videret**, sanctissima loca possidentes? Quid **aliud dicere poterat¹²** nisi **propheticum illud**: *Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam.* Et iterum: *Quomodo¹³ sedet sola¹⁴ civitas¹⁵ plena populo, facta est vidua domina gentium, princeps provinciarum facta¹⁶ est sub tributo.* Proh¹⁷ quantum urgebat¹⁸ Caesarem haec¹⁹ civitatis oppressio, et illorum, qui sunt trans mare, Christianorum conculcatio.

¹ omit. T, V, W; interlin. U

² gemebat U, V

³ tractus V

⁴ Genesis, 6, 6

⁵ omit. U, W

⁶ omit. V

⁷ omit. W

⁸ animo tunc : tunc animo M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁹ spurios FR1

¹⁰ horridosque M, KO, OO

¹¹ damnari OO

¹² potuit G

¹³ quo C

¹⁴ sedet sola : sola sedet M

¹⁵ sola civitas : civitas sola G

¹⁶ omit. M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁷ dolor add. FR1

¹⁸ angebatque add. M, P, KO, OO

¹⁹ huius M, KO, OO; illius P, FR1

[9] [IV/FV] You may imagine how he felt when he saw those revolting, filthy, and horrible Saracens lording it over the holy places in their possession. What could he say other than the words of the prophet: *O God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit.*¹ And again: *How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!*² Oh, how deeply moved was the emperor by the oppression of that city and by the abject state of the Christians living across the sea.

¹ Psalms, 78, 1

² Lamentations, 1, 1

[10] [EV] **Sed quid Graecia, litterarum mater, *inventrix legum*, cultrix *morum*¹, atque omnium bonarum et² optimarum artium *magistra*? Quem non misereat illius gentis afflictæ, conculcæ, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non solum³ sub Alexandro Macedone⁴ suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis, Spartanis olim et *florentissimum* et *potentissimum* fuit, nunc *vilibus effeminatisque* Turcis cogitur oboedire?**

[10] [IV/FV] **Sed quid Graecia⁵, litterarum mater⁶, *inventrix legum*, cultrix *morum*, et omnium bonarum artium⁷ *magistra*⁸? Quis⁹ non misereatur¹⁰ gentis illius afflictæ, oppressæ, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non sub Alexandro Macedone solum suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis et¹¹ ¹² Lacedaemoniensibus¹³ olim et¹⁴ *florentissimum* et¹⁵ *potentissimum* fuit, nunc ubilibet¹⁶ effeminatis¹⁷ Turcis servire coacta est?**

¹ *omit.* U, W

² *omit.* V

³ *omit.* U, V, W

⁴ solum *add.* T [*sic!*], U, V, W

⁵ Graecia *in marg.* D, G

⁶ litterarum mater : mater litterarum M

⁷ bonarum artium : artium bonarum M, KO, OO

⁸ magister OO

⁹ quem M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁰ miserit M; misereat P, FR1; miseret KO, OO

¹¹ ac M, KO, OO

¹² Thebanis et *omit.* P, FR1

¹³ Spartanis FR1

¹⁴ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹⁵ ac M

¹⁶ vilibus P, FR1

¹⁷ effeminatisque FR1

[10] [IV/FV] What about Greece, mother of letters, *who invented laws*, who nursed *culture*, who is the *teacher*¹ of all the good arts?² Who does not pity this afflicted, oppressed and ruined people? whose empire was once *mighty and flourishing*³ not only under Alexander the Macedonian⁴ and his successors, but also under the Athenians, the Thebans and the Lacedamonians, but is now everywhere forced to serve the effeminate Turks.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.2.5. Piccolomini applies Cicero's praise of philosophy to Greece

² i.e. the liberal arts

³ Cicero: *In Catilinam*, 2.29: *implorare debetis ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimam potentissimamque esse voluerunt*

⁴ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

[11 EV] Quid regnum illud Hungariae nobilissimum, *terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae*¹? Heu quanta passi sunt Hungari diebus nostris, qui dum nostrum servant sanguinem, fundunt suum, quorum pectora nostri sunt muri! Obligamur certe omnes Christiani magnatibus et populis Hungariae, qui pro nobis *mortificantur tota die* et facti sunt *sicut oves occisionis*. Ecce² tibi praesentem illorum regem puellum³, pupillum, orphanum Ladislaum, clarissimam et regum et imperatorum sobolem, qui dum suo regno⁴ suisque subditis opem orat afferri, toti Christianismo⁵ consulit. Utinam tam tuam sanctitatem quam Caesaris majestatem suae preces, suae lachrimae moveant. Nam illi genti postulat auxilium, quae suis armis nobis omnibus affert praesidium.

[11 IV/FV] Quid regnum {37v} illud⁶ Hungariae nobilissimum, *terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere*⁷ *glebae*⁸? Heu qualiter⁹ passi sunt Hungari diebus nostris, qui dum nostrum servant¹⁰ sanguinem, fundunt suum, quorum pectora nostri¹¹ sunt muri! Obligamur certe¹² omnes Christiani Hungaricae genti, qui pro nobis *mortificantur tota die* et facti sunt *sicut oves*¹³ *occisionis*. Eccum¹⁴ praesentem illorum regem puerum, pupillum, orphanum Ladislaum, nobilissimam¹⁵ et regum et imperatorum prolem, qui suo regno suisque subditis postulat¹⁶ auxilium. Utinam¹⁷ tam sanctitatem tuam quam Caesaream¹⁸ majestatem¹⁹ suae preces, suae lacrimae moveant²⁰. Nam illi genti postulat auxilium, quae²¹ suis armis²² toti²³ Christiano populo²⁴ affert praesidium.

¹ gleba T, U, W

² eccum U; et quoniam V; et cum W

³ puerulum V

⁴ suo regno : regno suo V

⁵ Christianitati U; Christianissimo V

⁶ regnum illud : illud regnum M

⁷ ubera M, KO, OO

⁸ plebe M, KO, OO

⁹ quanta M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁰ servare M

¹¹ nostra E

¹² recte M, KO, OO

¹³ ovis M, KO, OO

¹⁴ et cum tibi P; ecce tibi FR1

¹⁵ nobilissimum M, KO, OO; omit. FR1

¹⁶ omit. M, KO, OO

¹⁷ nunc KO, OO

¹⁸ Caesarem P

¹⁹ em.; omit. A, B, C, D, E, G, M, P, FR1, KO, OO [emendation on the basis of EV]

²⁰ moneant M

²¹ quo M

²² suis armis omit. M, KO, OO

²³ toto M, KO, OO

²⁴ Christiano populo : populo Christiano P, FR1

[11] [IV/FV] And what about that noble realm of Hungary, *an ancient land, mighty in arms and wealth of soil?*¹ Alas, how the Hungarians have suffered in our time! They give their own blood to save ours. Their breasts are our walls. Certainly, all Christians are indebted to the Hungarians who *are put to death all day long and are accounted as sheep to the slaughter.*² See here with us today their king, the boy, the ward, the orphan Ladislaus,³ noble offspring of kings and emperors, asking for help to his realm and to his subjects. May Your Holiness and Your Imperial Majesty be moved by his prayers and his tears, as he asks for help to the people who protects the entire Christian people with their own swords.

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.531

² Romans, 8, 36

³ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440 -1457): Duke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death

[12] [EV] **Accedit¹ et aliarum calamitas provinciarum: Massagetae et alii Scytharum quamplures² populi nunc Livoniam, nunc Lituaniam vexant. Mauri non parvum Hispaniarum occupant regnum, Jonii, Carphatii³, Egei⁴, Tyrii⁵ nostrique maris insulas Cyprum, Rhodum, Cretam, Siciliam, quin et⁶ ipsa Italiae littora barbarorum saepe classes invadunt asportantque Christianos. O nostram maximam negligentiam! O tempora! O mores!** Proh pudor, major est Saracenorum in sua perfidia quam noster in fide zelus.

[12] [IV/FV] **Accedit⁷ et⁸ aliarum calamitas provinciarum: Massagetae et alii⁹ Scytharum¹⁰ quamplures populi Livoniam vexant. Mauri non¹¹ parvum¹² Hispaniarum¹³ occupant regnum. Nostri¹⁴ maris, quod Mediterraneum vocant¹⁵, insulas Cyprum, Rhodum, Cretam¹⁶, Siciliamque¹⁷¹⁸, et ipsa¹⁹ Italiae littora²⁰ barbarorum saepe classes invadunt asportantque²¹ Christianos. O nostram maximam²² negligentiam! O tempora! O mores!**

¹ accidit T

² complures U, V, W

³ Carpacii T, U, V, W

⁴ Aegyptii T

⁵ omit. T

⁶ eciam V

⁷ accidit M, KO, OO

⁸ ad E; ut M, KO, OO

⁹ omit. M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁰ et alii Scytharum *em.*; Schytiam A, B, C, E, D, G [*emendation after EV; erroneous text in final version, presumably due to a scribal error in the master copy*]

¹¹ vero KO, OO

¹² non parvum : imperium P, FR1

¹³ Hispanorum M, KO, OO

¹⁴ Yonii P; Ciliciam FR1

¹⁵ quod ... vocant *omit.* P, FR1

¹⁶ Cretem A, B, C, D, E, G; Crethem F

¹⁷ Siciliam quin P, FR1

¹⁸ nostri ... Siciliamque : Siliciam Januniarum in silvas Ciprum Rethum Crethum Siciliam quia M; Siliciam iammarius in silvas Cyprum Rethnum Crethum Siciliamque KO; Ciliciam Cammiarius in sylvas Rethum, Cretum, Siciliam quare OO

¹⁹ ipsi M, KO

²⁰ littera M

²¹ aspernantque KO, OO

²² nostram maximam : maximam nostram C

[12] [IV/FV] Another calamity has happened in the provinces: the Massagetes¹ and many other Scythian² tribes are devastating Livonia. The moors occupy a large part the Spanish realm. In Our Sea, called the Mediterranean, barbarian fleets often attack the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Sicily, and even the shores of Italy, and carry off Christians. Oh, how great is our neglectfulness! *Oh, what times! Oh, what customs!*³

¹ The Massagetae: ancient Eastern Iranian nomadic tribe inhabiting the steppes of Central Asia east of the Caspian Sea. They are known primarily from the writings of Herodotus

² The Scythians: equestrian tribes who were thought to inhabit large areas in the central Eurasian steppes starting with the 7th century BC up until the 4th century AD. Piccolomini used Scythians as a designation of barbarian tribes in general. In his later works he made them the forebears of the Turks, which they were not

³ Cicero: *In Catilinam*, 1.2; Quintilian: *Institutio oratoria*, 9.2.26 and elsewhere

[13] [EV] **Dum gentiles fuerunt Caesares idolorum cultores, augebatur in dies credentium numerus. Nunc dum Christiani sunt imperatores, reges, duces, Christi cultus, qui totum fere¹ orbem oppleverat, in angulum Europae {163v} redactus est. Africam et Asiam amisimus². Europae vix partem tenemus. Movetur super his Caesar, compatitur afflictis fratribus, commiseretur injuriam patientium, cupit laborantibus subvenire. Nam qui non defendit indigna ferentes neque obsistit, si potest, injuriae, tam est in vitio, sicut philosophis placet, quam si parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam deserat.**

[13 IV/FV] **Dum gentiles³ fuerunt⁴ Caesares⁵ idolorum⁶ cultores, augebatur in dies credentium numerus. Nunc cum⁷ Christiani sunt imperatores, reges⁸, duces, Christianitas⁹ minuitur. Cultus Christi, qui totum fere orbem oppleverat¹⁰, in angulum Europae redactus¹¹ est. Africam et Asiam amisimus. In¹² Europa quoque conculcamur¹³. Cur hoc? Refriguit¹⁴ ardor, tepuit caritas. Proh¹⁵ dolor¹⁶: major est Saracenorum in sua perfidia ardor¹⁷, quam noster in fide zelus. Cernimus Christianorum injurias¹⁸ et tacemus. Opprimitur, jugulatur nostra religio, et avertimus oculos. Sed alius est Caesaris animus, aliamque tuam mentem esse¹⁹ arbitratur²⁰. Nam qui non defendit oppressos neque obsistit, si potest, injuriae, tam in vitio est, sicut philosopho placet²¹, quam si parentes²², aut amicos, aut patriam deserat²³.**

¹ ferme V

² redactus est ... amisimus *omit.* V

³ dum gentiles : maiores M

⁴ et *add.* OO

⁵ et *add.* FR1

⁶ illorum M

⁷ dum P, FR1

⁸ imperatores reges : reges imperatores M, KO, OO

⁹ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹⁰ compleverat M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹¹ deductus M, KO, OO

¹² *omit.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹³ conculcatur OO; conculcavit M, KO

¹⁴ refrixit FR1

¹⁵ pro C

¹⁶ pudor P, FR1

¹⁷ in ... ardor : ardor in sua perfidia M, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁸ In sua perfidia ... injurias *omit.* P

¹⁹ mentem esse : esse mentem M

²⁰ tuam ... arbitratur : arbitratur tuam esse mentem KO, OO

²¹ tam ... placet : sicut philosopho placet, tam in vitio est D, G

²² neque obsistit ... parentes *omit.* M, KO, OO

²³ deseret M, KO, OO

[13] [IV/FV] When the pagan emperors worshipped idols, the number of *believers increased*¹ daily. Now that the emperors, kings and dukes are Christian, Christianity decreases. The worship of Christ, once filling the whole world, has been reduced to the corner of Europe². We have lost Africa and Asia. Even in Europe we are being oppressed. Why is that? Ardour has cooled, love has grown tepid. Oh, what sorrow! The Saracen unbelievers show greater zeal than we believers. We see how Christians are being abused, and we remain silent. Our religion is being persecuted and destroyed, and we look away. But the emperor wants to pursue a different course, as he thinks you do, too. For, as the Philosopher³ believes, *anyone who does not defend the oppressed and resists abuse is as much at fault as if he deserts his own parents, friends, or fatherland*.⁴

¹ Acts, 5, 14

² Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*. Cf. Mertens, pp. 70-71

³ i.e. Cicero

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.7.24

[14] [EV] **Quod ne sibi neve tibi** quisquam¹ **imputet, passagium** petitur. Sed accipe nunc **utilitatem** quam parere² passagium poterit. **Subveniemus laborantibus Hungaris**; auferemus jugum **servitutis** ex collo **Graecorum**; recuperabimus **sanctam terram**³; **exterminabimus idolum monstrumque**⁴ **illud** pessimum, horrendum, ingens **Mahumeti**; et⁵ Christianae religionis fines

super et Garamantas et Indos proferemus.

Jacet extra sidera tellus, extra anni solisque vias,

ubi caelifer⁶ Atlas axem⁷ humero premit⁸ stellis ardentibus aptum.

En magnam utilitatem! Nam sic agentes aut agere temptantes incorruptibilem **caelestis regni coronam adipiscemur**, quam reddet nobis *in illam diem justus judex*.

[14] [IV/FV] **Quod ne tibi neve sibi** quisquam⁹ **imputet, passagium** expetit¹⁰, in quo magnam **utilitatem** esse intelligit: **subvenire laborantibus**¹¹ **Hungaris**¹²; liberare **Graecos a servitute**; propagare divinum cultum; **sanctam terram** ex manibus impurorum vindicare; **monstrumque illud**¹³ et abhominabile **idolum Mahumeti exterminare**, unde placentes Deo¹⁴ immarcescibilem **caelestis regni coronam adipiscamur**¹⁵. **En magnam utilitatem!**

¹ quisque T

² parare V

³ recuperabimus sanctam terram : terram sanctam recuperabimus V

⁴ monstrum T

⁵ omit. U, V, W

⁶ stelifer V

⁷ M [sic!] U

⁸ torquet V

⁹ quisquam P, FR1

¹⁰ expedit KO, OO

¹¹ laboribus KO, OO

¹² Ungaros KO, OO

¹³ omit. M

¹⁴ omit. M, KO, OO

¹⁵ adipiscantur M, FR1, KO, OO

2.2. Benefit

[14] [IV/FV] So that nobody shall charge you or him with this fault, the emperor requests a crusade,¹ which he believes will bring great benefit: to help the troubled Hungarians; to free the Greeks from servitude; to propagate the worship of God; to reclaim the Holy Land from the hands of the impure; to exterminate that monstrous and abominable idol of Muhammad; and thus to please God and gain the unfading crown of the Heavenly Kingdom. This is indeed a great benefit!

¹ Note that it is the emperor who requests a crusade from the pope, recognizing that it is the pope who has the initiative and authority to indict a crusade

[15] [EV] **Sed** quid de honestate gloriaque dicemus, quam vel tuae beatitudini vel Caesaris altitudini accumulaturum cernimus esse passagium? **Bellorum** aequitatem **maiores nostri sanctissime fetiali jure praescripserant, denuntiata indictaque bella justa**¹ esse censebant. **In quibus qui viriliter pugnassent, non** vincentes modo, **sed occumbentes** quoque² **dignos honore gloriososque judicabant,** atque his statuas dicabant et triumphales arcus. **Quid nos de hoc bello dicemus, quod non terrenus, sed caelestis imperator indicit, in quo non pomerii, sed fidei** propagatio quaeritur; in quo non paterna domus, sed **fides catholica defenditur et honor salvatoris nostri, qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo humiliavit se ipsum factus**³ **oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, ut nos ex diabolica servitute redimeret?**

[15] [IV/FV] **Sed** non est vera utilitas honestatis⁴ experts⁵. **Majores nostri** justum **bellum** gerere honestam rem censebant⁶. Erat autem belli aequitas⁷ sanctissima⁸ senatus populi Romani⁹ **jure praescripta**¹⁰, **denuntiataque**¹¹ **bella** et¹² **indicta justa** putabant **in quibus qui viriliter pugnassent,**¹³ **non** viventes¹⁴ solum¹⁵, **sed occumbentes**¹⁶ **honore dignos gloriososque judicabant.** **Quid nos**¹⁷ **de hoc bello dicemus, quod non terrenus** {38r} **homo, sed divinus**¹⁸ **imperator indicit**¹⁹, **in quo non imperii**²⁰, sed divini cultus propagatio quaeritur; in quo **fides catholica defenditur et honor salvatoris nostri, qui cum in forma Dei esset**²¹, **non rapinam arbitratus est se esse**²² **aequalem Deo, sed formam servi accipiens exinanivit se ipsum**¹, **factus**

¹ justaque V

² -que V

³ et habitu ... factus *omit.* T

⁴ honestas M

⁵ *omit.* KO, OO

⁶ De honestate rei *in marg.* D; censebatur M

⁷ equites E

⁸ sanctissimi M, FR1, KO, OO

⁹ populi Romani : pro M, KO, OO

¹⁰ perscripta FR1; descripta KO, OO

¹¹ denunciata quae KO, OO

¹² *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹³ pugnassent C, M, KO, OO

¹⁴ vincentes FR1

¹⁵ *omit.* M

¹⁶ que *add.* M, KO; quoque *add.* OO

¹⁷ *omit.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁸ divus P, FR1

¹⁹ indicat P, KO, OO

²⁰ impii A, B, C, E, G, M, KO, OO [NB: emendation of A by D]

²¹ *omit.* OO

²² se esse : esse se M, KO, OO

*oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, ut nos ex² diabolica servitute redimeret?*³
Tumet adversarius ejus⁴ Mahumetus, inflatur, cornua erigit⁵, et nos quiescimus? An non arma pro Christo sumemus, qui pro nobis sumpsit humanitatem?

2.3. Honour

[15] [IV/FV] But true benefit is not without honour. Our forefathers considered a just war to be honourable. For *the justice of war was set down* in a holy law of the senate of the Roman people, and they thought that *wars that had been properly declared and proclaimed were just*.⁶ Those who fought bravely they considered honourable and glorious, and not only the survivors, but also those who had fallen. So, what shall we say about this war that is declared not by a man on Earth, but by the Emperor in Heaven,⁷ and which aims at the propagation not of empire, but of the worship of God? In such a war, the Catholic Faith is being defended as well as the honour of Our Saviour, *who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death on the cross*,⁸ in order to save us from slavery to the Devil. His adversary, Muhammad, is swollen with conceit, he is puffed up, he raises his horns, and we should remain quiet? No, we should go to war for Christ who became a man⁹ for our sake!

¹ exinanivit se ipsum : seipsum exinanivit M, KO, OO

² *omit.* M; de KO, OO

³ et *add.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁴ adversarius ejus: adversus eos M, KO, OO

⁵ erit M

⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.36

⁷ "divinus imperator", i.e. God

⁸ Philippians, 2, 6-8

⁹ "sumpsit humanitatem"

[16] [EV] En gloriosum atque **honestissimum bellum**, quod tanti beneficii memores susceperimus, **in quo patris, in quo domini¹**, in quo redemptoris nostri, **in quo magni Dei causam tuemur²**, in quo, qui³ vitam temporalem amittet⁴, acquirit⁵ aeternam et⁶ famam clarumque nomen adipiscitur⁷ sempiternum. Ac tantum de secunda parte sit dictum, in qua cur passagium quaeretur⁸ **monstrandum fuit**.

[16] [IV/FV] Maxima esset ingratitudo nostra, si non ad incertam mortem pro Christo iremus, qui certam pro nobis tulit; si non illi vitam offeremus⁹, a quo suscepimus. **En bellum honestissimum, in quo patris, in quo domini, in quo magni Dei nostri¹⁰ causam tuemur¹¹**, in quo, qui vitam temporalem amittit¹², aeternam et famam clari nominis adipiscitur sempiternam. Quid plura? Tantum abest¹³, ut non sit gloriosum pugnare pro fide, ut¹⁴ informe¹⁵ foedumque sit non pugnare, quando necessitas urget; sicut jam crassantibus¹⁶ undique infinitis modis¹⁷ ¹⁸ Saracenis¹⁹, et nomen Christi magna vi²⁰, crudelitate atque immanitate persequentibus²¹. Hoc²² **tantum de secunda parte sit²³ dictum, in qua cur passagium peteretur, monstrandum fuit**.

¹ in quo patris, in quo domini *omit.* FR2

² tuebimur T

³ *omit.* T

⁴ amittit T

⁵ acquiret T

⁶ acquirit aeternam *omit.* V

⁷ adipiscetur T

⁸ queretur T

⁹ offeramus *corr.* ex offeremus C

¹⁰ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹¹ tenemur M

¹² acquirit *add.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹³ obest M; obestis KO, OO

¹⁴ *omit.* F

¹⁵ infame M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁶ grassantibus G, FR1, OO

¹⁷ mors F

¹⁸ in infinitis modis : in fratres nostros M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁹ Saracenos M, KO

²⁰ *omit.* KO, OO

²¹ prosequentibus P, FR1

²² et M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²³ *omit.* M, KO, OO

[16] [IV/FV] Indeed, our ingratitude will be immense if we do not go to uncertain death¹ for Christ, who went to certain death for us, and if we do not offer our life to him who gave it to us.² Truly, this is a most honourable war in which we fight for the cause of Our Father, Our Lord, Our Great God, and in which those who lose their earthly life gain eternal life and the perpetual fame of a glorious name. What more can I say? It is glorious to fight for the Faith, and it is shameful and despicable not to fight when necessity demands it, as now when the Saracens are on the rampage everywhere and in every way, persecuting the name of Christ with great violence, cruelty, and brutality.

This will suffice concerning the second part in which we had to explain the request for a crusade.

¹ i.e. risk death

² An example of the classical rhetorical device of *antithesis*

[17] [EV] Superat¹ nunc de possibilitate congregandi passagii deque spe fructus dicere. Plurimi sunt, beatissime pater, qui cum nominari passagium audiunt, "Ecce vetus somnium", inquit, "vetus deliramentum, veteres² atque inanes fabulas³." At Urbanus, antecessor tuus, cum vexaretur a paganis orientalis ecclesia, Saracenique terram sanctam invasissent, motus Alexii, qui Constantinopolim tenebat, precibus et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub tributo Turcorum vitam agebant, rogatibus excitatus⁴, gravi et⁵ laborioso itinere in Galliam profectus⁶, atque hominum tricenta millia sicut Otto Frisingensis affirmat non futilis auctor, in Graeciam, Asiam Syriamque transmisit⁷ maximum exercitum comparavit⁸, quibus nullae Saracenorum copiae, nullae vires obsistere potuerunt, quin et Antiochiam expugnarent et Jerusalem obtinerent. Unde adhuc et Urbani, qui convocavit passagium, et Gotfredi, qui duxit, illustre nomen habetur, quamvis quinquaginta et trecenti ab illo tempore fluxerunt anni.

[17] [IV/FV] Superat⁹ nunc de possibilitate congregandi passagium^{10 11} deque spe fructus dicere. Plurimi sunt, beatissime pater, qui cum nominari passagium audiunt, "Ecce vetus somnium¹²", inquit¹³, "vetus deliramentum, inanes fabulas." Verum¹⁴ Urbanus¹⁵, antecessor tuus, cum vexaretur a paganis orientalis ecclesia, Saracenique¹⁶ Jerusalem¹⁷ concularent¹⁸, motus Alexii¹⁹, qui Constantinopolim tenebat, et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub tributo Turcorum vitam agebant²⁰, precibus, gravi²¹ et laborioso itinere in Galliam profectus, maximum exercitum congregavit atque hominum trecenta²² millia, ut²³ Otto Frisingensis²⁴ scribit, non futilis¹ auctor,

¹ supererat T; superest V

² vt teres V

³ fabellas U, W

⁴ exercitatus W

⁵ ac U, V, W

⁶ maximum exercitum comparavit *add.* U, V, W [*here U, V, W follow IV/FV*]

⁷ atque hominum ... transmisit *omit.* T

⁸ maximum exercitum comparavit *del.* U, V, W [*here U, V, W follow IV/FV*]

⁹ supererat A, B, C, D, E, G; supererit M, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁰ passagii FR1

¹¹ De possibilitate passagii *in marg.* D

¹² somnum KO, OO

¹³ iniquum M, KO

¹⁴ unde M

¹⁵ Urbanus papa *in marg.* D, G

¹⁶ Sarraceni qui M

¹⁷ taliter M; tum illam OO; Thilum KO

¹⁸ conculcarunt M

¹⁹ Alexius imperator *in marg.* D, G; Allexii M

²⁰ egebant M, KO; degebant OO

²¹ igni KO, OO

²² tricenta M, KO

²³ et M

²⁴ Otto Frisingensis *in marg.* D, G

in Graeciam, Asiam, Syriamque transmisit, quibus nullae² Saracenorum vires obsistere³ potuerunt⁴, quin⁵ et Antiochiam expugnarent⁶ et Jerusalem obtinerent⁷. Unde adhuc Urbani⁸, qui convocavit⁹ passagium et¹⁰, Gotfridi^{11 12}, qui conduxit¹³, illustre nomen habetur.

3. Feasibility of the expedition

[17] [IV/FV] It remains to speak about the feasibility of gathering a crusade and about the hope for success. There are many, Holy Father, who when hearing talk about a crusade say: “Oh, that old dream, that old delusion, that silly nonsense!” Nevertheless, when the Oriental Church was persecuted by the pagans and the Saracens crushed Jerusalem, your predecessor Urban¹⁴ was moved by the entreaties of Alexius,¹⁵ who held Constantinople, and of other Christians, living under the Turks.¹⁶ Going on a difficult and burdensome journey to France,¹⁷ he gathered a great army, and – according to that serious author Otto of Freising¹⁸ - sent 300.000 men to Greece, Asia,¹⁹ and Syria.²⁰ The Saracene forces were unable to resist them and to prevent them from conquering Antioch and seizing Jerusalem. Therefore, the names of Urban, who mustered the crusade, and of Godefroy,²¹ who led it, are still held in high regard.²²

¹ subtilis M

² mille B, C, E, M, KO, OO; nullae corr. ex mille D

³ absistere M

⁴ valuerunt M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁵ quando KO, OO

⁶ expugnauerunt M, KO, OO

⁷ obtinuerunt M, KO, OO

⁸ Urbanus M, KO

⁹ commovit M; eo vocavit OO

¹⁰ omit. G

¹¹ Bullionensis add. FR1

¹² Urbanus et Gottifridus in marg. A; Urbani et Gottifridi in marg. D

¹³ indixit M, KO, OO; duxit P, FR1

¹⁴ Urbanus II (Otho de Lagery) (ca. 1042-1099): Pope from 1088 to his death. He is best known for initiating the First Crusade (1096–1099). In his *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 74-76], which Piccolomini knew, Flavio Biondo had put into the mouth of Urban II an oration from which Piccolomini quoted freely in his crusade orations

¹⁵ Alexios I Komnenos [Alexius I Comnenus] (1056-1118): Byzantine emperor from 1081 to his death

¹⁶ Piccolomini confuses the 1st and the 4th crusade

¹⁷ Clermont, 1095. As pope, Piccolomini would reuse this image when describing his own travel to Mantua (in Cisalpine Gaul = Northern Italy) for his great conference there

¹⁸ Otto von Freising (ca. 1114-1158): German churchman and chronicler. Bishop of Freising from 1138

¹⁹ i.e. Asia Minor

²⁰ Otto von Freising, p. 202 ff

²¹ Godefroy de Bouillon (c. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the First Crusade

²² The Early Version added: "... though 350 years have passed since that time."

[18] [EV] Quid tua sanctitas faciat, quam pro similibus ac maioribus causis verus imperator totaque Christianitas¹ orat passagium convocare? “**Pensandum** est,” inquires, “an **hodie spes bona sit habendi passagii**, quia **nemo sciens impossibilia temptat**, neque **aggreditur quisquam**², quod **assequi**³ **desperat**. **Magnum facinus spes** enutrit.” Sunt ergo **duo consideranda**, sanctissime pater⁴: **unum an Christiani facile possint in passagium trahi**⁵, alterum an coacto **passagio spes sit magna vincendi**. Nam quamvis **dubius est**⁶ **omnium bellorum eventus**, numquam tamen **committendum est proelium sine spe quadam et argumento victoriae**, ne, sicut Augusti **proverbium fuit**⁷, **aureo piscantes hamo videamur**, quorum **damni major quam lucri ratio possit haberi**.

[18] [IV/FV] Sed **pensemus**, si⁸ **hodie**⁹ **spes bona possit**¹⁰ **haberi passagii**, quoniam¹¹ **nemo sciens impossibilia temptat**, neque **aggreditur**¹² **quisquam**, quod **assequi desperat**. **Magnum facinus spes** nutrit. Quid¹³ hic respondemus? **Duo consideranda sunt**: **unum an Christiani facile possint in passagium trahi**, alterum **an**¹⁴ **inchoato**¹⁵ **passagio spes sit magna vincendi**. Nam quamvis **omnium bellorum dubius sit exitus**, numquam tamen {38v} **committendum est bellum**¹⁶ **sine spe quadam et argumento victoriae**, ne, sicut Octavianus Caesar **proverbium habebat**¹⁷, **aureo piscari hamo videamur**, in quo **major damni quam lucri ratio possit haberi**.

¹ totaque Christianitas *omit.* V

² quisque T

³ consequi V

⁴ sanctissime pater *omit.* V

⁵ possint in passagium trahi : in passagium trahi possint T

⁶ dubius est : est dubius V

⁷ *omit.* T

⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

⁹ an *add.* OO

¹⁰ sit D, G

¹¹ quando M, KO, OO

¹² egreditur M; aggredit OO

¹³ quam M

¹⁴ *omit.* C

¹⁵ in cohata E; coacto P; inchoata OO

¹⁶ prelium M, P, FR1

¹⁷ habuit M, KO, OO

[18] [IV/FV] But let us consider whether today there may be good hopes for a crusade. “Nobody knowingly attempts the impossible, and nobody undertakes something which he thinks he cannot achieve. A great deed must be nourished by hope.” What do we answer to that? Two things should be considered, firstly whether the Christians may easily be persuaded to join a crusade, and secondly whether there is great hope for victory when a crusade has been undertaken. For since all wars have a dubious outcome,¹ a *war* should never be undertaken unless there is sufficient *hope* and reasons for victory. Otherwise we shall seem, as in the proverb of Caesar Octavian, *to fish with a golden hook*. And in that there is more to lose than to gain.²

¹ *Dubius belli exitus*: common Latin dictum

² Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum / Augustus*, 25.4

[19] [EV] **Difficile** quippe **primum videtur Christianos, qui sunt inter se discordes¹ apertisque² flagrant odiis, in unam passagii sententiam** conducere³ ⁴. Verum **quod multi putant obstare passagio, sapientia Caesaris** conducere **judicat**. Namque si **pax Christianos haberet, incassum quietos principes atque otio torpentes populos excitaremus, neque utiles bello manus invenirentur, horrent⁵ inertes ferrum, neque signum, neque tubam ferre valerent.** {164v} At nunc exercitati **bellis populi ultro sese offerent: facilius ex bello vocatur⁶ in bellum miles quam ex otio. Bonum est viro,** sicut propheta testatur, qui *portavertit jugum ab adolescentia sua*. Quis Christianorum est, postquam pugnare oportet, qui non potius in hostes quam in domesticos fidei gladium stringat? Placebit omnibus arma in Turcos vertere, patriam ut quietam relinquant. Et fortasse unica pacandi Christianos via est passagii convocatio.

[19] [IV/FV] **Difficile** ergo **primum videtur⁷ Christianos, qui sunt inter se⁸ discordes apertisque** **flagrantes⁹ odiis, in unam passagii sententiam¹⁰ ducere.** Sed **quod multi obstare** judicant¹¹ ¹² **passagio¹³ ¹⁴, sapientia Caesaris** conducere¹⁵ **judicat¹⁶.** Namque¹⁷ ¹⁸ si **pax Christianos¹⁹ haberet, incassum quietos principes²⁰ atque otio²¹ torpentes²² excitaremus, neque utiles bello manus invenirentur, timerent mortes²³, ferrum, neque signum, neque tubam ferre possent. Nunc vero excitati²⁴ bellis populi²⁵ ultro sese offerent: facilius ex bello vocatur in²⁶ bellum quam ex otio**

¹ discordantes T

² aptisque T

³ ducere V

⁴ sententiam conducere : ducere sententiam T

⁵ horrent U; horrent *corr.* ex horrent W

⁶ ex bello vocatur : vocatur ex bello V

⁷ habetur M

⁸ sunt inter se : inter se sunt M, KO, OO

⁹ fragrantes A, B, C, D; flagrantes G; frangunt M; flagrant P, FR1; fragrant KO, OO

¹⁰ summam M, KO, OO

¹¹ putant M, KO, OO

¹² obstare judicant : putant obstare P, FR1

¹³ *omit.* G

¹⁴ unam passagii ... judicant passagio *omit.* B

¹⁵ *omit.* M

¹⁶ indicat KO, OO

¹⁷ nam P, FR1

¹⁸ omninoque M, KO, OO

¹⁹ qui sunt inter se ... pax Christianos *omit.* E

²⁰ princeps M

²¹ *omit.* M, KO, OO

²² populos *add.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²³ mortem FR1

²⁴ excitati *corr.* ex excitatis D; et citati G; excitata M, KO; excitato OO; exercitato P, FR1

²⁵ populo M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²⁶ *omit.* M, KO, OO

miles. *Bonum est viro, sicut propheta testatur, cum portavertit jugum ab¹ adolescentia sua. Quis Christianorum est², postquam pugnare oportet, qui non potius in Turcos quam in³ Christianos stringere gladium velit? Placebit omnibus arma in Saracenos vertere, patriam ut quietam relinquunt⁴. Et fortasse unica pacandi Christianos via est convocatio passagii.*

3.1. It will be easy to gather an expedition

[19] [IV/FV] Firstly, as the Christians are in a state of violent disagreement and open enmity, it seems difficult to unite them in a crusade. But in his wisdom, the emperor believes that what many think stands in the way of a crusade actually favours it. For if the Christians had peace, in vain would we try to stir up the princes, placid and sluggish from peace. We would not find troops that could be used in war: they would fear death, and they would be able to carry neither sword nor standard nor trumpet. Now that peoples are already stirred up by one war, they will gladly join up for another, for it is easier to call a soldier from one war to another than from peace to war. As the prophet says: *It is good for a man, when he hath borne the yoke from his youth.*⁵ Who among the Christians would not, when having to fight, rather draw his sword against the Turks than against other Christians? All will be pleased to turn their weapons against the Saracens and leave the fatherland in peace. Indeed, the only way to pacify the Christians may be the summons for a crusade.⁶

¹ *omit.* M

² *omit.* M

³ *omit.* OO

⁴ *relinquunt* M, KO, OO

⁵ Lamentations, 3, 27

⁶ Note the idea that the way to have peace amongs the Europeans would be to unite them against the common enemy, the Turks

[20] [EV] **Martiales enim et feroces Europae populi nescientes quiescere. Nisi adversus externos proelientur, in sese¹ ruunt. Qua ratione ductus olim vir senatorius quidam excidi² Carthaginem prohibebat, ne pacem habentes in circuitu Romani manus in se verterent, sicut reges Israel fecisse constat, qui victis hostibus *mutuis* cecidere *vulneribus*. Pacem ergo ut habeant Christiani, bellum est in externos transferendum. Ad quam rem neque Germanorum illustris animus, neque cor nobile Gallicorum, neque sublimis mens Hispanorum, neque gloriae cupidus Italarum spiritus deerit. Omnes, quod tua jubebit³ sanctitas, *corde*⁴ magno et *animo* volenti⁵ suscipient. Quis dubitet cogi posse⁶ passagium, quod Romani pontificis auctoritate decretum et⁷ imperatoris voluntate fuerit ordinatum.**

[20] [IV/FV] **Martiales enim et feroces Europae populi, nescientes quiescere. Nisi adversus externos proelientur, in se⁸ manus vertunt. Qua ratione ductus olim Scipio Nasica⁹ excidi¹⁰ Carthaginem dissuadebat¹¹, ne pacem habentes in circuitu Romani in sese¹² ruerent, sicut et reges Israel victis hostibus *mutuis* cecidere¹³ *vulneribus*. Jam pacem ergo ut habeant Christiani, bellum¹⁴ in externos¹⁵ est transferendum. Ad quam rem neque Germanorum illustris animus, neque¹⁶ cor nobile Gallicae gentis, neque mens sublimis Hispanorum, neque honesti cupidus Italarum deerit spiritus. Omnes, quod¹⁷ tua jubet¹⁸ sanctitas, constanti animo exequentur. Quis dubitet¹⁹ posse²⁰ fieri²¹ passagium, quod Romani pontificis auctoritate decretum et imperatoris mandato fuerit convocatum? Videor videre rem perfectam, nec me dubium habet ullum, si tu verbum apponis, Caesar adjicit manum. Nam si quis oboedire neglexerit, vel tuis jussibus vel Caesaris imperio compelletur.**

¹ se U

² excindi V

³ videbit V

⁴ omit. U, W

⁵ 2. *Macchabees* 1, 3

⁶ omit. U, V, W

⁷ quod V

⁸ in se : nisi M

⁹ Scipio Nasica corr. ex Cato C; Scipio Nasica : Cato M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁰ excindi FR1

¹¹ omit. M

¹² in sese : sepe M

¹³ recidere M, KO, OO

¹⁴ inde add. OO

¹⁵ dextros M; dexterum KO

¹⁶ nec M, KO, OO

¹⁷ quos D, G

¹⁸ jubebit P, FR1

¹⁹ dubitat M, KO, OO

²⁰ omit. KO, OO

²¹ posse fieri : fieri posse M, P, FR1

[20 IV/FV] For the peoples of Europe are warlike and ferocious, and they do not know how to be at peace. Unless they fight against others, they turn against each other. For this reason, Scipio Nasica once counselled against the destruction of Carthage so that the Romans, having peace all around them, would not fall on each other¹ like the kings of Israel who, when they had conquered their enemies, began to kill each other in stead.² If the Christians are to have peace between them, war should be turned against foreigners. In this matter, neither the shining spirit of the Germans, nor the noble heart of the French, nor the lofty mind of the Spaniards, nor the honour-loving spirit of the Italians will fail. All will singlemindedly obey Your Holiness' commands. Who may doubt the feasibility of a crusade decreed by the authority of the Roman Pontiff and summoned by the order of the emperor? To me it seems that the thing is as much as done, and I have no doubts at all, if you say the word and the emperor lends his hand. For who will fail to obey when he is summoned by your decrees and the command of the emperor?³

¹ Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (died 141 BC): Roman statesman. A political opponent of Marcus Porcius Cato, he pleaded that Rome not destroy Carthage. According to Plutarch's conjecture and Appian's later definite assertion, that was because he feared that the destruction of Rome's main rival would lead to the decline of Roman morals and discipline. Cf. Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Cato*, 27

² 2. Chronicles, 20, 23

³ Piccolomini greatly overestimates the authority of pope and emperor, as would be shown some months later during the Austrian rebellion against the emperor's tutelary government, see oration "*Sentio*" [20]

[21] [EV] Sed dicit¹ fortasse quispiam, quod Braccius olim, quamvis hostis ecclesiae, tamen alioquin *homo sensatus*, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: *Qui bellum gerat², tribus potissime rebus indigere, et has tres unam³ esse: pecuniam*. Unde igitur aurum corrademus⁴ ad tantum et tam remotum bellum necessarium? Sunt in promptu⁵ modi, praesul maxime, quibus⁶ inveniri pecunia poterit sumptusque necessarios⁷ ministrari. Sed hos⁸ vulgari⁹ modo non est ex¹⁰ usu. Illud tamen dicere possum: civitates, quae propter pacem perpetuo bello fatigantur¹¹, libenter passagio contribuent, ut pacis tandem compotes fiant.

[21] [IV/FV] Sed dicit¹² fortasse quispiam, quod Braccius, quamvis ecclesiae hostis¹³, alioquin¹⁴ tamen¹⁵ *vir sensatus*, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: *“Tribus potissime¹⁶ rebus indigere bellum¹⁷, et haec tria¹⁸ unum esse: pecuniam.”* Ubi ergo corrademus¹⁹ aurum ad tantum et tam longum²⁰ bellum necessarium? Sunt et modi²¹ in promptu²², quibus inveniemus²³ argentum²⁴, quos²⁵ vulgare non expedit. Illud dicere possum: civitates, quae ob eam causam bella²⁶ suscipiunt, ut sine minis²⁷ in pace vivant²⁸, libenter passagii expensas¹ contribuent², ut pacem nihil insidiarum habentem consequi possint³.

¹ dicit V

² gerit U

³ has tres unam : harum trium unum [illeg.] V

⁴ corrodemus T

⁵ prompto T

⁶ omit. T

⁷ necessarius T; necessarii V

⁸ hoc V

⁹ vulgare T

¹⁰ omit. U

¹¹ fatigabantur V

¹² dicit KO, OO

¹³ ecclesiae hostis : hostis ecclesiae M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁴ aliquando M, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁵ cum M; tantum OO

¹⁶ potentissime M, KO

¹⁷ indigere bellum : bellum indigere KO, OO

¹⁸ haec tria : horum trium M, KO, OO

¹⁹ corrodemus M, KO, OO

²⁰ longinquum M, P, FR1, KO, OO

²¹ modo M

²² prompto M, P, KO

²³ invenimus M

²⁴ quibus ... argentum : hujus inveniendi argenti OO

²⁵ quod C

²⁶ bellum M, KO, OO

²⁷ iniuria P, FR1; injuriis D, G

²⁸ nunc M; vivunt M, KO

[21] [IV/FV] But maybe someone will quote Braccio,⁴ an enemy of the Church, but otherwise a *man of understanding*,⁵ who he used to say: “*The three things most necessary for war are: money, money, and money.*”⁶ So, where shall we gather the money necessary for so great and so long a war? There are methods at hand for finding the money, but it is not appropriate to speak publicly about them now.⁷ This, though, we can say: the cities which join the war so that they may live in peace without threats will freely give money to the crusade in order to gain true peace.

¹ nunc *add.* M

² expensas contribuent : contribuant curas M, P, FR1, KO, OO

³ possunt M, KO, OO

⁴ Andrea Fortebraccio [Braccio da Montone] (1368-1424): Italian nobleman and condottiero

⁵ Ecclesiasticus, 33, 3

⁶ Piccolomini: *De viris (Heck)*, p. 13: *Is tria necessaria dicebat Florentinis bellum gerentibus: aurum, aurum atque aurum. Quod postea in proverbium venit*

⁷ Piccolomini is probably referring to a sale of indulgences – the profits to be divided between the emperor and the pope, as Voigt caustically remarks, cf. Voigt, III, p. 54

[22] [EV] **Non est** igitur desperata res **passagii** convocatio, **nec rursus spes magna victoriae deerit**¹. **Novit imperatoria** sublimitas: **Assyriorum**, Turcorum **Aegyptiorumque** gentes imbelles, inermes, viles **effeminataeque sunt**², **neque animo, neque consilio martiali**. Quis aut **tunicatos**³ **mitratosque** Turcos aut **braccatos Aegyptios** timeat, quos **Arsaces**⁴ ad Ezechiam regem loquens {165r} **baculo arundineo confracto**que comparavit?

Sarmacida⁵ erunt **spolia sine sudore et sanguine**.

Multa notavit Caesarea majestas, cum⁶ transmarinas partes lustraret, quae spem certissimam⁷ victoriae praebent suoque tempore patefient. Nec moveri debemus, **quia nostri** nonnumquam **exercitus ab** illis⁸ **victi** deletique **sunt**, nam **neque viribus** eorum, **neque rei militaris peritiae**, sed nostris peccatis ascribendum est. **Quod si** emendati fuerimus rectaque⁹ mente¹⁰ Christi causam defensuri bellum susceperimus, nihil de victoria fuerit haesitandum, *quia non relinquet Dominus virgam peccatorum super sortem justorum*.¹¹

[22] [IV/FV] **Non erit** ergo¹² difficile convocare {39r} **passagium**, **nec rursus spes magna victoriae deerit**. **Novit** majestas **imperatoria**¹³ ¹⁴: **Assyriorum**¹⁵ **Aegyptiorumque**¹⁶ **gentem** imbecilles¹⁷, inermes, **effeminatique**¹⁸ **sunt**, **neque animo**¹⁹, **neque consilio martiales**.

Sarmacida²⁰ erunt²¹ **spolia sine sudore et sanguine**.

¹ victoriae deerit : deerit victorie V

² gentes imbelles ... sunt : gentem imbellem inermem vilem effeminatamque esse V

³ aut *add.* V

⁴ Rapsaces T

⁵ Sarmatica T

⁶ quoque V

⁷ certissime U, W

⁸ aliis V

⁹ rectamque U

¹⁰ *omit.* U, W

¹¹ *Psalms, 124, 3*

¹² *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹³ majestas imperatoria : imperatoria majestas G

¹⁴ Turcorum *add.* M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁵ Assyriorumque A, F; Assyriorum *corr. ex* Assyriorumque D [*other mss. emendate A*]

¹⁶ Egretiarumque M; Egyptiorum P, FR1

¹⁷ imbelles P, FR1, OO

¹⁸ effeminati M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁹ nomine M

²⁰ Salmacida G; Salmacidae FR1; Saumacida KO; sumenda OO

²¹ deerunt M

Quis tunicatos¹ mitratosque² Turcos aut brachatos timeat Aegyptios³ ⁴, quos Arsaces⁵, ad Ezechiam regem⁶ loquens, *baculo arundineo confracto*⁷ comparavit. Quod si aliquando nostri exercitus ab eis victi⁸ sunt, neque viribus, neque rei⁹ militaris peritiae, sed numerositati¹⁰ hostium ascribendum est. Quod¹¹ si Christianorum copiae tot fuerint¹², ut opprimi¹³ Saracenorum multitudine nequeant¹⁴, quod passagii nomen exposcit, certa¹⁵ in manibus erit victoria, sicut prisca exempla nos instruunt.

3.2. Chances of success are high

[22] [IV/FV] So, it will not be difficult to summon a crusade, and there will be great hope of victory. His Imperial Majesty knows the Assyrian and Egyptian people to be weak, impotent, effeminate and warlike neither in temperament nor in planning.

*The Sarmatian spoils will be without without sweat nor blood.*¹⁶

Who will fear the Turks in their robes and turbans or the Egyptians in their flowing garments? Speaking to King Ezechias,¹⁷ Arsaces¹⁸ likened them to a *broken staff of reeds*.¹⁹ If our armies were defeated by them in former times, it was not because of their strength or their military skills, but because of their numbers. If the forces of the Christians are so numerous that they cannot be physically overwhelmed by the mass of Saracens – which is the very meaning of the word *passagium* - then victory will be certainly be in our hands, just like former examples show us.

¹ truncatos M, KO, OO

² *em.*; mitriatosque A, B, C, D, E, F, G [*emendation on the basis of EV and IV*]

³ Aegyptiacos M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁴ Aegyptii *in marg.* D, G

⁵ Rabsaces KO, OO

⁶ *omit.* C; legem OO

⁷ confracto M, KO, OO

⁸ ab ... victi : victi ab eis M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁹ re M, KO

¹⁰ innumerositati M, KO, OO

¹¹ quoniam M, P, FR1, KO, OO

¹² fuerunt M, KO

¹³ tot *add.* M, KO; a *add.* FR1, OO

¹⁴ et *add.* M, KO, OO

¹⁵ nihilominus *add.* KO, OO

¹⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.61.: *Salmacida, spolia sine sudore et sanguine*. Adapted by Piccolomini

¹⁷ Hezekiah: 13th king of Judah. The commonly received computation reckons his reign from 726 to 697 B.C.

¹⁸ Rabsaces

¹⁹ Isaiah, 36, 6

[23] [EV] **Juvabunt et nos cum¹ divisiones illorum tum odia, quae cum Tartaris habent assiduaque certamina. Juvabit et gentis illius desperatio. Nam Mahumetum, cui maxime credunt, sectam suam in octingentos usque annos augendam, exinde minuendam astruunt² prophetasse. Is autem sub Heraclio Caesare malignari occoeperit³, post quem supputantur⁴ anni quadraginta et octingenti, quae res terrorem non parvum Turcis, spem Christianis adjicit. Nam etsi pseudopropheta Mahumetus est, non tamen falsum vaticinium dici potest, quod sacris Jeremiae sermonibus quadrare videmus. Jeremias enim primo et quinquagesimo capitulo quasi tuam sanctitatem et Caesaris⁵ majestatem adversus Mahumetum suscipere bellum hortatur⁶: *Nolite tacere, inquit, super iniquitates⁷ ejus, quoniam tempus ultionis est domino, vicissitudinem ipse retribuet⁸ ei.* Possemus ad rem hanc⁹ plura deducere, sed neque doctissimis tuis auribus neque praeclaris¹⁰ sapientissimisque patribus, qui assident quique astant, donanda sunt verba. Satis est nobis absolvisse, quae promisimus, et, quae Caesarea sublimitas mandaverat, exposuisse.**

[23] [IV/FV] **Juvabunt et divisiones eorum et odia, quae cum¹¹ Tartaris habent assidua certamina. Juvabit et gentis¹² illius desperatio. Nam¹³ Mahumetum, cui maxime credunt, sectam suam in octingentos usque annos augendam, exinde diminuendam asserunt¹⁴ prophetasse¹⁵, qui sub Heraclio Caesare malignari coepit¹⁶, post quem¹⁷ supputantur anni XL et octingenti, et hoc Turcos admodum territat, Christianos elevat. Nam etsi¹⁸ falsus¹⁹ propheta Mahumetus est, non est tamen falsum vaticinium extimandum, quod Jeremiae²⁰ sacris sermonibus consonum esse videmus, dum primo et²¹ quinquagesimo capitulo²² inquit^{1 2}, quasi tuam sanctitatem et³**

¹ omit. U, W

² asserunt V

³ accepit T, U, W

⁴ supputentur U

⁵ Caesaream U [here U follows IV/FV]

⁶ hortetur T, U, V, W

⁷ iniquitatem T

⁸ tribuit T

⁹ rem hanc : hanc rem V

¹⁰ reverendissimis U, V; Romanis W

¹¹ in M, KO, OO

¹² gentes M

¹³ et add. M, KO, OO

¹⁴ astruunt P, FR1; afferunt OO

¹⁵ prophetissae OO

¹⁶ accepit M, P, KO; occepit FR1

¹⁷ post quem : postquam M, FR1, KO, OO

¹⁸ si et F; et M

¹⁹ falsus M

²⁰ Jeremiae vaticinium *in marg.* D, G

²¹ ex M

²² em.; et quinquagesimo capitulo omit. A, B, C, D, E, F, G [emendation on the basis of EV and IV]

Caesarem adhortatus⁴: *Nolite tacere super iniquitates ejus, quoniam tempus ultionis est domino⁵, vicissitudinem ipse retribuet ei.* Possem ad hanc rem⁶ plura deducere, sed neque doctissimis tuis auribus neque reverendissimis sapientissimisque patribus, qui assident, danda sunt verba. Satis est nobis absolvisse⁷, quae promisimus⁸, quae Caesarea sublimitas⁹ dicturum me¹⁰ voluit.

[23 IV/FV] [Our enterprise] will be favoured by their internal conflicts and enmities, and by their constant fights with the Tartars. It will also be helped by the desperation of this people, for they claim that Muhammad – in whom they have great faith – has prophesied that his sect would increase for 800 years and then decrease. It began on its wicked course under Emperor Heraclius,¹¹ after whom 840 years have now passed. This fact terrifies the Turks and encourages the Christians. For though Muhammad is a false prophet, his prophecy should not be considered false since we see that it agrees with the holy words of Jeremiah in the 51st chapter, seemingly exhorting Your Holiness and the Emperor: *Be not silent upon her iniquity: for it is the time of revenge from the Lord, he will render unto her what she hath deserved.*¹² I could say more about this matter, but my task is not to fill your learned ears with words nor those of the reverend and wise fathers who are present. It is enough that we have fulfilled our promise in the beginning and said what His Imperial Highness desired.

¹ omit. M

² primo et ... inquit : primo ex L. c. libri sui M; L. ca. libri sui KO, OO; L. capite libri sui FR1

³ ac M, P, FR1, KO, OO

⁴ hortatus M, KO; hortatur M

⁵ dummodo M, KO, OO; dominus P, FR1

⁶ tamen KO, OO

⁷ ea add. M, KO, OO

⁸ ea add. KO, OO

⁹ sublimatio FR1; dignitas KO, OO

¹⁰ dicturum me : me dicturum P, FR1

¹¹ Heraclius (Flavius Heraclius Augustus) (ca. 575-641): Byzantine emperor from 610 to his death

¹² Jeremiah, 51, 6

[24] [EV] **Intellexisti desiderium suum¹, sanctum propositum, integram mentem.** Verum quamvis² imperatorium examen³ ⁴ sic de passagio sentiat, **totum tamen et consilio et arbitrio et iudicio⁵ tuo relinquitur**, qui ligandi solvendique claves accepisti, qui *Petri et Pauli locum tenes jam cum Christo regnantium*, cujus est *inter sanguinem et sanguinem*, inter *causam et causam*, inter *lepram et lepram* judicare. **Caesar, cum esset hac vice apud tuam beatitudinem, noluit hanc rem intactam relinquere, quae sibi** adhuc in minoribus constituto⁶ atque⁷ **ab ineunte adolescentia semper cordi curaeque⁸ fuit. Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset**, sed quod majus haberi concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuique sacri {165v} senatus praesentia. Frustra concilium petit, qui Romani pontificis mandata non recipit. Ubi tua sanctitas est, ibi concilium, ibi leges, ibi mores, ibi decreta⁹ salubrisque¹⁰ reformatio.

[24] [IV/FV] **Intellexisti¹¹ desiderium suum, sanctum¹² propositum, integram¹³ Caesaris mentem** intueris, **totum tamen et consilio et iudicio tuo relinquitur. Caesar, cum esset hac vice apud tuam beatitudinem, noluit¹⁴ hanc rem intactam relinquere, quae sibi ab¹⁵ ineunte adolescentia semper cordi fuit. Alius fortasse aut¹⁶ concilium generale¹⁷ petivisset aut reformationis¹⁸ decreta**, aut aliud quidpiam¹⁹.

¹ tuum V

² *omit.* U, W

³ imperatorium examen : imperatorum examen T; examen imperatorium V

⁴ quid *add.* U, W

⁵ arbitrio et iudicio : iudicio et arbitrio T

⁶ *omit.* U, W

⁷ neque W

⁸ curae T

⁹ *omit.* U, V, W

¹⁰ salubris U, V, W

¹¹ intelligis Christi KO, OO

¹² integrum M, KO, OO

¹³ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹⁴ voluit M

¹⁵ ad E

¹⁶ fortasse aut : autem M, KO, OO

¹⁷ concilium generale : generale concilium P, FR1

¹⁸ reformationem M; informationem KO, OO

¹⁹ quippiam C, FR1, OO; quipiam A, D; quicquid G; quispiam M, KO

4. Conclusion

[24]¹ [EV] You now understand the emperor's wish, his holy resolve, and his whole purpose. But though this is how the emperor feels about the crusade, he leaves it all to your counsel, decision, and judgment, since you are the one who has received the keys for closing and opening,² who *holds the place of Peter and Paul, now reigning with Christ*,³ and whose responsibility it is to judge *between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy*.⁴ But the emperor wanted to use this visit to Your Holiness to bring forward a matter that has been close to his heart and mind since his early youth, before he was elected emperor.⁵ Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees, but what greater council can there be than an assembly⁶ comprising you yourself and your holy senate? In vain do people demand a council if they do not accept the decisions of the Roman Pontiff. Where Your Holiness is, there is the council, there are the laws, there the morals, there the [legitimate] decrees and salubrious reform.

[24] [IV/FV] You now understand the emperor's wish, his holy resolve, and his whole purpose: all, however, is left to your own counsel and judgment. But the emperor wanted to use the opportunity of this visit to Your Holiness to bring forward a matter that has been close to his heart since early youth. Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees or something else.

¹ This section from the Early Version is translated here because of its great political and ecclesiastical importance

² Matthew, 16, 18

³ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Heliodorum*, (14), 9. MPL, XXII, col. 353: *Non est facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, jam cum Christo regnantium*

⁴ Deuteronomy, 17, 8: *Si difficile et ambiguum apud te iudicium esse perspexeris inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram*

⁵ "in minoribus constituto"

⁶ "praesentia"

[25] [EV] **Caesari susceptis imperialibus infulis tuaque sacra¹ manu coronato nihil hoc tempore visum est antiquius quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte videtur arduum, nihil est tamen tam² difficile, quod quaerendo non fiat facile. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et gloria quaeritur. Quae magno animo fortiter excellenterque geruntur, nescio³ quomodo pleniori bucca laudare solemus?** Difficiles aditus virtus aperit⁴. Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, gloriosissime praesul, qui⁵ unionem feceris, jubilaum indulseris, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et⁶ dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successor relinquo, et Caesarea pietas suadet, et omnis Christianitas orat. Nam tibi jam coronato Caesare, quamvis multa incumbant magna et alta negotia, nihil tamen est, de quo vel utilius agere vel gloriosius quam de passagio valeas. Amen.⁷

[25] [IV/FV] **Caesari, suscepta ex tua⁸ manu⁹ imperiali corona, nihil antiquius visum est, quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte arduum videatur, nihil tamen est¹⁰ tam difficile, quod quaerendo non fiat facile. Virtus circa difficile operatur. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et¹¹ gloria quaeritur. Quae magno animo, et fortiter, et excellenter¹² geruntur, nescio quomodo pleniori bucca¹³ laudare solemus.** Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, beatissime praesul, qui unionem feceris, jubilaum {39v} indulseris, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successor relinquo, et Caesarea sublimitas suadet¹⁴, et omnis Christianitas orat, et tibi¹⁵ coronato Caesare quamvis multa incumbant, nihil tamen¹⁶ est, de quo vel utilius agere vel gloriosius quam de passagio valeas¹⁷. ¹⁸ ¹⁹

¹ omit. V

² omit. U

³ nisi T

⁴ appetit T

⁵ cum U

⁶ est V

⁷ Finis add. U

⁸ sacra add. M, P, FR1

⁹ sacra add. KO, OO

¹⁰ tamen est : est tamen P, FR1

¹¹ in M

¹² et excellenter : et excellenterque M; excellenterque P, FR1, KO, OO

¹³ bucha A, B, C, E, F

¹⁴ omit. P, FR1

¹⁵ iam add. P, FR1

¹⁶ tam D

¹⁷ omit. KO; possis OO

¹⁸ Finis add. P

¹⁹ Here follow the verses in praise of King Alfonso V which ought to have been directly appended to the oration "Quamvis grandes materias" [14], ending on f. 158v

[25] [IV/FV] Having received the imperial crown from your hands, the emperor considered that nothing was more important than raising the issue of a crusade with you. At first glance, it may seem an arduous endeavour, but *nothing is so difficult* that it may not be made easy *through earnest application*.¹ *Courage is about that which is difficult*,² and it is in the arduous matters that a man is made known and glory is sought. *When we wish to pay a compliment, we somehow or other praise in more eloquent strain the brave and noble work of some great soul*.³ Holy Father, your own titles [of honour] are acclaimed and splendid: you have achieved the union of the Church, you have granted a Jubilee,⁴ you have crowned an emperor. But the title of a crusade is even more worthy and lasting than all others: His Imperial Highness urges you and all of Christendom begs you not to leave it to a successor. Having crowned the emperor you have many other tasks awaiting you, but the crusade is the most beneficial and honourable that you may undertake.

¹ Terentius: *Heautontimorumenos*, 675: *nil tam difficilest quin quaerendo investigari possiet*

² Classical sentence going back to Aristotle

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.61

⁴ The Jubilee Year of 1450