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

Final edition, 1st version

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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 visited the pope in Rome, where the imperial ambassador, Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini of Siena, delivered an oration, the “Moyses 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, 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

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

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II (altogether 78 orations - including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses - are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives). Later the project has been expanded to include ambassadors’ orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

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

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

23 September 2018
MCS

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I. INTRODUCTION
1. **Context**

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”, 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.\(^2\)\(^3\)

By 1452, Turkish expansion into Europe had become an important political and military issue confronting the European powers, but 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 orations\(^4\) that:

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1. HA, I, pp. 133-186; II, pp. 515-675; CO, pp. 112-117; Voigt, II, III, 1, pp. 41-54; Pastor, I, III, ch. IV; Boulting, pp. 190-197; Ady, pp. 113-119; Mitchell, pp. 110-112; Paparelli, pp. 136-145; Koller, pp. 115-126; Reinhardt, pp. 155-161; Stolf, pp. 147-149; Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 89-91; Housley, pp. 221-224; Toews, pp. 226-230
2. Oration “Audivi”, sect. 21
3. The concept of war in Piccolomini’s Turkish orations had to some extent been developed in his *Pentalogus* of 1443, cf. Märtl, 2013, p. 14
4. Usually the “Moyses 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”, though known previously, cf. RTA, 19, 1, p. 104, n. 1, has not been known to be one of Piccolomini’s orations
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, 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.

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

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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, succurrentum 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 gave great thanks to 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 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 which 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 fuisset. Aeneae deinde commisit, in public consistorio ut statum Christianorum, qui per Syriam, Aegyptum, Asiam Graeciamque sub soldani magnique Turchi imperio opprimuntur, exponeret utque Hungari proximis annis horrendas clades perpessi essent, timendum esse Constantinopoli caeterisque civitatibus Graeciae Christianam fide 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 benemeri prestata, minora tamen fuisse quam merita dixit. Ecclesia nunquam imperio sacro tam gratum esse posse, quam debeat. Expeditionem, de qua locutus esset Aeneas, laudandum opus dignumque caesare, multum praes se ferre pietatem, eius rei apostolicae sedi maximam curam esse, se verbis Aeneae veluti quibusdam stimulis vehementer commotum in ea re minime torpere. Consulendas tamen esse coeteras 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 restituen te 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 more energetic, 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 “*Moyses 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 14 such orations on the Turkish matter which he would hold, as imperial official and later as pope, reaching from the “*Quamvis in hoc senatu*” in 1451, over the “*Moyses vir Dei*” in 1452, the “*Constantinopolitana Clades*” in 1454, the “*Cum bellum Hodie*” of 1459, to the “*Suscepturi*” which he gave in Rome right before leaving for Ancona and his deathbed, in 1464. These orations together with his concrete crusading initiatives

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¹ i.e. cardinals: classical term for senators in Rome
² Zimolo, p. 22: *Orationes duas in reeditu Caesaris duas habuit: altera gratias egit Nicolao et collegio patrum, altera hortatus ad bellum adversus Turchos susciendum*
³ Zimolo, p. 103: *Rediens deinde ad urbem, Aenea dicente, pontifici gratias egit, quod se corona imperii donasset, quodque item tam magnifice tamque splendidè ipse cum suis omnibus accepti fuissent, quem praeterea ad expeditionem in Turcos multis rationibus adhortatur*
⁴ Voigt, II, III, 1, pp. 53-55
⁵ There may have been good reasons for his apparent inaction, though, cf. 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
would earn him to be called “the greatest crusading pope of the Renaissance”\textsuperscript{1} and “the most militant crusader of the Renaissance”\textsuperscript{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 deals with 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 \textit{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:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Hankins, p. 113
  \item Hankins, p. 128
\end{itemize}
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;\(^1\) 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.*\(^2\)

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*.

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

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\(^1\) 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*”, sect. 4

\(^2\) Oration “*Et breviter me hodie*”, sect. 2: *In Europa quoque multa dissidia sunt: partem [habent] gentiles Teucri, partem Saracenì, partem schismatici diversis haeresibus infecti. Reducta autem et coartata in angulum quendam est nostra Christianitas*
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 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 arm.

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, one of the conditions was that the pope should summon a new ecumenical council. As imperial ambassador and envoy, Piccolomini had himself presented these demands to the pope on diplomatic missions to the Papal Court in 1445, 1446, and 1447.

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1. Cf. the oration “Si putarem”
2. Cf. orations “Prius sanctissime praesul”, “Et breviter me hodie”, and “Non habet me dubium”
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” 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.¹

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.²

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.³

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

¹ Cf. oration “Fateor”, Introduction, sect. 2.3
² Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset, sed quod majus haberi concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuique sancti senatus prae sentia. 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)
³ Alius fortasse aut concilium generale petivisset aut reformationis decreta, aut aliquid quidpiam (Final Version, sect. 24)
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, 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 compressive 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 Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, ch. 5
4.1.1. Manuscripts

The oration is extant both individually in humanist collective manuscripts and as part of Piccolomini’s *Historia Austrialis*.

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) 

- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
  - 3420, ff. 161r-165v (W) *

It is also extant in a number of manuscripts used by Wagendorfer for his edition of the *Historia Austrialis*.

The following manuscript containing the oration as part of the *Historia Austrialis* has been used in the present edition:

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

4.1.2. Editions

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


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1 Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / 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 Cf. HA, II, p. 637, 826

4 For what will probably be the ultimate edition of the text of the *Historia Austrialis*, see the above-mentioned edition by Wagendorfer
• Annales ecclesiastici (Raynaldus), ad annum 1452, nr. 4. 1659 [and later editions]

• Freher, M. & B.G. Struvis (eds.): Rerum germanicarum scriptores aliquot insignes. Tom. secundus. Strassbourgh, Dulssecker, 1717 / pp. 38-42 (FR2)\(^1\)


4.2. Intermediate Version

The Intermediate Version (IV) is extant in one manuscript and was included in a number of the early incunabula editions of Pius II's letters.\(^3\)

4.2.1. Manuscripts

• München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
  Clm 70, ff. 396v-399r (M) *

4.2.2. Editions

• Pius II: [Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Vienensis.] 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

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\(^1\) Remarkably, Struwe in his re-edition and revision of Freher’s work used another manuscript, containing the Early Version, than the text published by Freher himself in the first edition, representing the Intermediate Version

\(^2\) For other editions of the Historia Austrialis, see Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, ch. 11: General bibliography

\(^3\) For a full survey and analysis of the incunabula editions of the letters of Piccolomini/Pius, see Häbler
• 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)*

• 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.³ The seven manuscripts are the following:

• **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
  544, ff. 58v-62v *(G)* *

• **Mantova / Biblioteca Communale**
  100, ff. 81r-92v *(F)*

• **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
  I. 97 inf., ff. 53r-57v *(E)*

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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)
³ Cf. *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, ch. 5.2
⁴ Certain sections of this ms. are very difficult to read due to fading ink
• Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
  Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 54r-58v (D) *
  Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 36r-39v (A) *
  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:


A German translation was published in


4.4. Other manuscripts

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

• Freiburg i.B. / Universitätsbibliothek¹
  C10, ff. 115r-119v

• Fulda / Landesbibliothek²
  4o C10, ff. 115r-116r

• Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana³
  Palatinus latinus 598, ff. 159r-166r

¹ Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative
² Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative
³ Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative
• Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana\(^1\)
  Lat. XIV 246, ff. 238r-253r

4.5. Present edition

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

**Texts:**

Early Version (EV): The edition is based on the mss. in Vienna (W) and Trento (T) and Freher edition from 1717 (FR2), with the Vienna ms. as the lead text.\(^2\)

Intermediate Version (IV): The edition is based on the clm 70 and on the printed editions by Koberger, Freber and the Opera Omnia edition.

Final Version (FV): The edition is based on all seven manuscripts containing the collected edition of Pius’orations, with the Chis. J.VIII 284 (A) 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 are given in black, and divergent passages in red.\(^3\)

**Pagination:**

Early Version: follows the Vienna manuscript (red) and Freher (blue).

Intermediate/Final Version: follows manuscript A (red).

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\(^1\) Listed in Kristeller, foliation approximative

\(^2\) For an exhaustive edition of the Early version as based on the manuscripts containing the second/third version of the *Historia Austrialis*, the reader is referred to Wagendorfer’s edition

\(^3\) Except differences in word order, grammatical form and of *et/ac/atque*
5. Sources

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 is only one patristic quotation and no quotations from contemporary authors.

Biblical sources: 18

Old Testament: 13  
- Deuteronomy: 1  
- Numbers: 1  
- Daniel: 1  
- Ecclesiasticus: 1  
- Isaiah: 2  
- Jeremiah: 1  
- Lamentations: 2  
- 2. Machabees: 1  
- 2. Paralipomenon: 1  
- Psalms: 2

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1 For an analysis of Piccolomini’s use of sources, see Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, ch. 8
New Testament: 5

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

Classical sources: 20

- Cicero: 8
- Ennodius: 1
- Herodotus: 1
- Juvenalis: 1
- Plato: 1
- Plutarch: 1
- Quintilianus: 1
- Suetonius: 1
- Terentius: 1
- Valerius Maximus: 1
- Vergilius: 3

Patristic and medieval sources: 2

- Jeronimus: 1
- Origenes: 1

Contemporary sources: 1

- Flavio Biondo: 1

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1 De officiis; 5 In Catilinam; Tusculanae disputationes
2 Republic
3 Parallel lives
4 Heautontimorumenos
5 Epistolae
6 Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades
6. Bibliography

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Biondo, Flavio: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades.* [1439-1453]

- Biondo, Flavio: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades.* Venezia: Octavianus Scotus, 1483. [Hain, 3248]. [Digitized version in Gallica, images 274-276]\(^2\)

Boulting, William: *Aeneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de’ Piccolomini – Pius II). Orator, man of letters, statesman, and pope.* London, 1908

Freher, Marquard (ed.): *Germanicarum rerum scriptores varii.* Tom. secundus. Frankfurt, Marnium et haeredes Johannis Aubrii, 1602,

Freher, Marquard & B.G. Struvis (eds.): *Rerum germanicarum scriptores aliquot insignes.* Tom. secundus. Strassbourg, Dulssecker, 1717


Helmrath, Johannes: *Die Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/55 – Studien zur Reichstag und Rhetorik.* Universität Köln, 1994


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\(^1\) Abbreviations used in the notes are given in bold types

\(^2\) http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Gallica&O=NUMM-60241
Koller, Heinrich: *Kaiser Friedrich III.* Darmstadt, 2005


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

Otto von Freising: *Gesta Friederici seu rectius Cronica.*


Paparelli, Gioacchino: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pio II).* Bari, 1950


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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Historia Austrialis* (1453-1458)


Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Pentalogus* (1443)

Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt* (1464)

• Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)


Pius II: *Epistolae*


• Pius II: *Epistolae et varii tractatus*. Lyon: Etienne Gueynard / Joannes de Vingle, 1505

• Pius II: *Epistolae et varii tractatus*. Lyon: Etienne Gueynard, 1518

Pius II: *Opera omnia*

• 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: 1551 / 1571 (OO)

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6. Sigla

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
F = Mantova / Biblioteca Communale / 100
G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544
M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70
T = Trento / Biblioteca Capitolare / 109 W
U = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI.80
V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV-228

FR2 = Ed. M. Freher & B.G. Struvius. *Rerum germanicarum scriptores varii* ... Strasbourg, Dulissecker, 1727


OO = Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui ... Pius Secundus appellatus est, *Opera quae 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**


II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
[EV] Aeneae Sylvii oratio suasoria ad Nicolaum V. PP. ut Caesarem Fridericum in Turcos passagium parantem, modis omnibus adjuvare velit

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

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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 inicium 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; Oracio que fecit dominus Senensis Eneas Silvius poeta laureatus coram domino nostro sanctissimo et senatu cardinalium pro domino imperatore ad passagium inducendum M; 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; Aeneae Sylvii oratio suasoria ad Nicolaum V. PP. ut Caesarem Fridericum in Turcos passagium parantem modis omnibus adjuvare velit FR2; Oratio Aeneae coram Sanctissimo Senatu Cardinalium imperatore coronato pontifice, et eius nomine ad passagium incedendum OO; Oratio Eneas coram sanctissimorum senatu cardinalium imperatore coronato presente et eius nomine ad passagium inducendum CCCCLIII KO
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
Moyses, vir dei, beatissime pater, 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 bellicos*, summi sacerdotis et consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.

Moyses, vir dei, beatissime pater, maxime pontifex, cum sibi ordinaret successorem Josue, filium Nun, divinam vocem ad se dicentem audivit: *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 monentur magnis in rebus summi sacerdotis consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.

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1 *omit. U, W, FR2*
2 *et add. V*
3 *Nun FR2*
4 *ordinaret successorem: succesorem ordinaret KO, OO*
5 *Num B, C, E, F, KO, OO*
6 *pro hoc add. FR1; per hoc add. KO, OO*
7 *egredietur KO, OO*
8 *ingredietur KO, OO*
9 *amontur M; admonentur FR1; moventur KO, OO*
0. Introduction

[1] [IV/FV] Holy Father, Supreme Pontiff, when Moses, the man of God, appointed Joshua, son of Nun, as his successor, he heard the voice of God speaking to him: *If anything 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.* These words admonish not only peoples, but also kings and princes to seek, in great matters, the advice of the High Priest and follow his commands.

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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 Eugenians against the Fathers at the Council of Basel, cf. *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rainaldus), ad ann. 1439, nr. 29
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] Quod\(^1\) postmodum et\(^2\) in novo testamento et in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatibus\(^3\) est firmatum, sicut et Constantini Magni et Theodosii et\(^4\) Justiniani et aliorum Christianorum Caesarum\(^5\) gesta\(^6\) testantur. Eam ob causam cupidus\(^7\) atque avidissimus\(^8\) divus Caesar\(^9\) 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\(^10\) consulendum, et audiendum, et sequendum existimavit, cujus providentia noscere, auctoritas monere\(^11\), potestas implore possit, quod\(^12\) sit agendum.

[2] [IV/FV] Quod postmodum et in novo testamento ac\(^13\) in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatibus est firmatum\(^14\), sicut\(^15\) et\(^16\) Constantini Maximi\(^17\) et Theodosii et Justiniani et aliorum Christianorum Caesarum gesta testantur. Eam ob causam cupidus atque avidissimus Caesar, divus\(^18\) Fridericus, Romanorum\(^19\) imperator Augustus, \(36v\) filius tuus obsequentissimus\(^20\), suis diebus\(^21\) adversus impios Mahumeti cultores generale passagium fieri\(^22\), atque in illud suum studium suasque vires\(^23\) omnes convertere, te prius, magni dei vicarium, Christianae plebis sacratum\(^24\) caput, perfectum\(^25\) ducem, optimum rectorem\(^26\), veracem magistrum consulendum\(^1\),

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1. admonentur magis ... quod omit. U, W
2. omit. T
3. auctoribus FR2
4. omit. T
5. et aliorum ... Caesarum omit. T
6. Caesarum gesta : gesta Caesarum U
7. cupide V
8. avidissime V
9. dominus add. FR2
10. omit. FR2
11. movere T, U, V, W
12. quid FR2
13. et G
14. servatum M
15. sic F
16. omit. D, G
17. magni M, KO, OO
18. dominus M, FR1; divinus KO
19. Romanus M, KO, OO
20. tuus obsequentissimus : obsequentissimus tuus F
21. suis diebus : suo tempore M, FR1, KO, OO
22. fieret KO, OO
23. curas M, FR1, KO, OO
24. secretum magne religionis magnum add. M; religionis magnum add. FR1, KO, OO
25. prefectum OO
26. optimum rectorem : rectorem optimum C
audiendum, et sequendum censuit, cujus providentia noscere, auctoritas monere, potestas implere possit, quod 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 Grace, is confirmed by many examples and authorities and witnessed by the acts of Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Justinianus, and other Christian emperors.

Friedrich, Holy Caesar and August Emperor of the Romans, your most obedient son, eagerly and earnestly desires that there should be in his days a crusade against the impious followers of Muhammad, 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, 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.

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1 et add. F1
2 omit. FR1
3 providentiam M, KO, OO
4 vestra OO
5 movere M, KO, OO
6 cogere FR1
7 potest F, G, M, FR1, KO, OO
8 quod corr. ex quid A; quid M, FR1, KO, OO
9 I.e. the Christian age
10 Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (c. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death
11 Theodosius I [Flavius Theodosius Augustus] (347-395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death
12 Justinian I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (c. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death
13 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
14 "generale passagium". Hereafter translated as “crusade”
15 Muhammad (c. 570 - c. 632): the founder of Islam
16 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
Venit igitur ad te hodie tuumque gravem et ornatissimum senatum Caesar super universali passagio cum tua beatitudine tractatur. Coronatus enim jam triplici corona ejusque regni tua beneficentia rex confirmatus, cujus potentiam Daniel ferro comparavit, cujus limites solus claudit Oceanus, cujus fundator Octavianus, confirmator Jesus Christus 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, regni solium adeptus Caesar, quid aliud cogitet quam passagium, per quod et Christiani foriores et hostes fidei reddantur imbecilliores? Princeps, inquit sapiens, quae sunt digna principe cogitabit.

[cont.]

3 [IV/FV] Venit igitur ad te hodie tuumque 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 Romulus, confirmator Julius, ampliator Augustus, approbator dominus Jesus fuit, cujus auctoritas in terris nisi tuae cedit nulli, cujus officium est parcere subjectis et debellare superbos. Quid aliud cogitet quam passagium, per quod et Christiani foriores et inimici Christi nominis redduntur imbecilliores? Princeps, inquit sapiens, quae sunt digna principe cogitabit. [cont.]
So, today the emperor comes to you and your Holy Senate\(^1\) to talk with Your Holiness about a crusade.\(^2\) He has now been crowned with the Triple Crown\(^3\) and, through your benevolence,\(^4\) he has been confirmed as king of his realm. The power of this realm Daniel\(^5\) 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.]

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\(^1\) 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, Gaius 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, velut injuriarum propulsatores, qui si Platonis magno voluerint auscultare ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus oboedire, procurationem reipublicae non ad suam, sed ad eorum, qui sibi commissi sunt, utilitatem gerere conabuntur. Atque hoc est quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxiu facit.

[3] [IV/FV cont.] Reges apud Medos, ut Herodotus inquit, apud omnes, ut Curtius inquit, justitiae fruendae causa creati sunt, velut injuriarum propulsatores, qui si Platonis praelatum auscultare volunt ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus oboedire, procurationem reipublicae non ad suam, sed ad eorum, qui sibi commissi sunt, utilitatem gerere debent. Atque hoc est, quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxiu facit.
And in Media as Herodotus\(^1\) says, and everywhere, as Curtius\(^2\) 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.

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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, 11, 41. Slightly adapted by Piccolomini
4. “recta monentibus”
[4] [EV] Super qua re dicturus ego	extsuperscript{1}, quae sua mihi	extsuperscript{2} majestas imperat, oratiunculam meam tres in partes	extsuperscript{3} dividam. In prima dicam, quid sit passagium, quod petitur. In secunda, cur petitur. In tertia, facilene	extsuperscript{4} passagium fructuosumque	extsuperscript{5} sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero, cum rerum magnitudine verba comparantur	extsuperscript{6}, sic fortasse brevior apparebo. Quid dixi apparebo	extsuperscript{7}? Immo ero re vera brevis, nam docti dicere multa possunt, indocti non possunt	extsuperscript{8}: sola brevitas, ut Ennodius	extsuperscript{9} ait	extsuperscript{10}, commendat indoctos.

[4 IV/FV] Super qua re dicturus ego	extsuperscript{11}, quae mihi sua	extsuperscript{12} majestas imperat, orationem meam in tres partes dividam	extsuperscript{13}. In prima dicam	extsuperscript{14}, quid sit passagium, quod quaeritur	extsuperscript{15}. In secunda, cur petitur	extsuperscript{16}. In tertia, facile passagium fructuosumque	extsuperscript{17} sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero	extsuperscript{18}, cum rerum magnitudine	extsuperscript{19} verba	extsuperscript{20} comparantur	extsuperscript{21}, sic fortasse brevior apparebo	extsuperscript{22}. Quid dixi apparebo	extsuperscript{23} Immo	extsuperscript{24} ero	extsuperscript{25} re vera brevis	extsuperscript{26}, quoniam, Ovidio	extsuperscript{27} testante	extsuperscript{28}, sola brevitas commendat indoctos.

\textsuperscript{1} omit. FR2
\textsuperscript{2} omit. V
\textsuperscript{3} ego add. T, FR2
\textsuperscript{4} facile ut U, W
\textsuperscript{5} fructuosum U, W
\textsuperscript{6} comparant U, W
\textsuperscript{7} quid dixi apparebo omit. T, FR2
\textsuperscript{8} indocti non possunt omit. T, FR2; et add. V
\textsuperscript{9} Heunodius T, U, W
\textsuperscript{10} Ennodius ait : ait Eunodius V
\textsuperscript{11} ea M; eo KO, OO
\textsuperscript{12} mihi sua : sua mihi FR1
\textsuperscript{13} Divisio in marg. D, G
\textsuperscript{14} dicens KO, OO
\textsuperscript{15} petitur F
\textsuperscript{16} petatur M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{17} fructuosum M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{18} oratio fuerit FR1; fuerim M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{19} magnitudini M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{20} omit. FR1
\textsuperscript{21} comparatur FR1; comparantur M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{22} videbitur M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{23} quid ... apparebo omit. B, E, M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{24} omit. M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{25} iamen add. M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{26} brevius E
\textsuperscript{27} e modio M; Ennodio FR1; Empedocle KO, OO
\textsuperscript{28} Ovidius in marg. D, G
\textsuperscript{29} teste M, 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

1. Concept of crusade

[5] [IV/FV] Now we shall deal with the first. By the word crusade (*passagium*)\(^2\) we simply mean a large military expedition proclaimed by the Christians against the infidels. The crusaders\(^3\) taking part in it merit the plenary remission of all their sins. The Italian word for *passagium* means something like migration\(^4\): 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,\(^5\) 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 Cimbrians\(^6\) inundated Italy and the Goths\(^7\) and the Huns\(^8\) made their invasion. So, this is what is meant by crusade (*passagium*).\(^9\)

\(^1\) ad 0O

\(^2\) On Piccolomini’s use of the term “passagium”, see Housley, p. 221

\(^3\) “cruce signati”

\(^4\) “transitus”

\(^5\) Note that it is the pope who has the initiative and authority to indict a crusade

\(^6\) 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)

\(^7\) 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

\(^8\) 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

\(^9\) 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 tres\textsuperscript{1} esse comperio: commiserationem, utilitatem, et honestatem.

[6] [FV] Nunc, cur petatur, exponamus\textsuperscript{2}. Tria sunt, quae Caesarem passagii cupidum reddunt\textsuperscript{3}: commiseratio, utilitas, atque honestas rei\textsuperscript{4}.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{1} tres \textsuperscript{FR2}
\textsuperscript{2} Quur passagium petatur \textit{in marg. G}
\textsuperscript{3} reddant M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{4} Commiseratio, utilitas, honestas \textit{in marg. D}
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.
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 congedam*, *gementibus non congemat*, tristantibus fratribus\(^2\) non contristetur? Caesar quidem:\(^3\) postquam discretionis attigit annos coepitque noscere fidei nostrae sacramenta, mox religionis induit zelum, rebusque\(^4\) omnibus divini cultus praeposuit augmentum. *Sic enim* et suae naturae bonitas et sanguinis nobilitas *exposcebat*. Nam *sublimis et inclytae*\(^5\) domus Austriae principes, inter quos plures et\(^6\) reges et imperatores *claruerunt*, tunc sibi prospere succedere speraverunt, cum *divino numini bene et constanter famulati essent*\(^7\).

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\(^1\) *quis scandalizatur* .. *scandalis or* omit. T, FR
\(^2\) *omitt. T, FR2*
\(^3\) *quidam W*
\(^4\) *rebus FR2*
\(^5\) *et inclytae omit. T, FR*
\(^6\) *omit. FR2*
\(^7\) *fuissent T, FR2*
\(^8\) *procedat D, G*
\(^9\) *qui M, KO, OO*
\(^10\) *vidit M, KO, OO*
\(^11\) *tepidus et M*
\(^12\) *omit. FR1*
\(^13\) *fidei nostrae : nostrae fidei KO, OO*
\(^14\) *sacramentum OO*
\(^15\) *sua M*
\(^16\) *princeps M, KO, OO*
\(^17\) *et ... et : ac ... ac KO, OO*
\(^18\) *florerunt M*
\(^19\) *cultui M; numini FR1*
\(^20\) *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

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¹ Vergilius: Aeneis, 4, 116; 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\(^3\) remotis\(^4\) quattuor aut septem, cupidus osculari\(^5\) locum, ubi fuerunt pedes ejus, qui nos redemit in\(^6\) medio terrae salutem operatus, Jerusalem perrexit, sepulchrum domini visitavit, Calvariae locum inspexit, montem ascendit Oliveti, vidit cenaculum magnum\(^7\) stratum, et Pilati praetorium, intravit\(^8\) desertum, transivit Jordanem\(^9\), Bethlehem accessit, et vallem Josaphat penetravit. Mirabilem sibi atque\(^10\) incredibilem devotionem sanctorum locorum visio suggerebat.

[8] [IF/FV] Quorum vestigia secutus Fridericus\(^11\), defunctis parentibus, quamprimum tutelam exivit, ut locum videret, in quo nostra redemptio celebrata est, adhuc adolescens trans mare navigavit, contempsitque\(^12\) pelagus, digitis a morte remotus\(^4\) quattuor aut septem.\(^13\) Inspexit\(^14\) locum, ubi natus salvator noster Christus, ubi positus\(^15\) 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 unde\(^16\) ascendent in\(^17\) caelum. Quid multa dicam? Osclusatus\(^18\) est Caesar terram, ubi fuerunt pedes ejus, qui nos\(^19\) redemit.

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1 exuit T, U; omit. V
2 adolescens adhuc : adolescens admodum T; admodum adolescens FR
3 mente T
4 remotis T; omit. V
5 obsculari W
6 omit. FR2
7 grande T, FR, V
8 intravit add. V
9 vidit sepulcrum domini add. V [sic!]
10 est add. FR1
11 secutus Fridericus : Fridericus secutus M, FR1, KO, OO
12 contexitque M; contextique KO, OO
13 a morte ... septem omit. KO, OO
14 auspexit M; aspexit KO, OO
15 est add. FR1
16 ubi M
17 ad G
18 obsclusatus F
19 non M
Friedrich followed in their footsteps. When his parents died and he was no longer under guardianship, but still an adolescent, he very soon fearlessly, though sometimes only inches from death, 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 had 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. Why say more? The emperor kissed the earth trodden by the feet of the One who redeemed us.

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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

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, FR1, KO, OO
9 spurios FR1
10 horridosque M, KO, OO
11 damnari OO
12 potuit G
13 Profeta in marg. D
14 quo C
15 sedet sola: sola sedet M
16 sola civitas: civitas sola G
17 omit. M, FR1, KO, OO
18 vidua ... facta est omit. F
19 dolor add. FR1
20 angebatque add. M, KO, OO
21 huius M, KO, OO; illius FR1
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.” 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!” 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.

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1 Psalms, 78, 1
2 Lamentations, 1, 1
[10] [EV] Sed quid Graecia, litterarum mater, \textit{inventrix legum}, cultrix morum\textsuperscript{1}, atque omnium bonarum \textsuperscript{et}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{optimarum} artium \textit{magistra}? Quem non misereat illius gentis afflictae, \textit{conculcatae}, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non solum\textsuperscript{3} sub Alexandro Macedone\textsuperscript{4} suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis,\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Spartanis} olim \textit{et}\textsuperscript{6} \textit{florentissimum} \textit{et}\textsuperscript{16} \textit{potentissimum} fuit, nunc \textit{vilibus effeminatisque} Turcis cogit tur oboedire?

[10] [IV/FV] Sed quid Graecia\textsuperscript{7}, litterarum mater\textsuperscript{8}, \textit{inventrix legum}, cultrix morum, et omnium bonarum artium\textsuperscript{9} \textit{magistra}\textsuperscript{10}? \textit{Quem} non misereatur\textsuperscript{12} gentis illius afflictae, \textit{oppressae}, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non sub Alexandro Macedone solum suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis \textit{et}\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Lacedaemoniensibus} olim \textit{et}\textsuperscript{14} \textit{florentissimum} \textit{et}\textsuperscript{15} \textit{potentissimum} fuit, nunc \textit{ubilibet}\textsuperscript{16} effeminatis Turcis \textit{servire} coacta est?

\textsuperscript{1} omit. U, W
\textsuperscript{2} omit. V
\textsuperscript{3} omit. U, V, W
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{solum add. T [sic!], U, V, W}
\textsuperscript{5} omit. FR2
\textsuperscript{6} omit. T, FR2
\textsuperscript{7} Graecia \textit{in marg.} D, G
\textsuperscript{8} litterarum mater : mater litterarum M
\textsuperscript{9} bonarum artium : artium bonarum M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{10} magister OO
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{quem} M, FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{12} miserit M; misereat FR1; miseret KO, OO
\textsuperscript{13} ac M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{14} omit. M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{15} ac M
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{vilibus} FR1
[10] [IV/FV] What about Greece, mother of letters, who invented laws, who nursed culture, who is the teacher of all the good arts? Who does not pity this afflicted, oppressed, and ruined people? whose empire was once mighty and flourishing not only under Alexander the Macedonian and his successors, but also under the Athenians, the Thebans, and the Lacedaemonians, but is now forced to serve the effeminate Turks everywhere.

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1 Cf. 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
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
Quid regnum illud Hungariae nobilissimum, *terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae*? Heu *quantat* passi sunt Hungarì 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 occasiônis*. Ecce tibi praesentem illorum regem *puerum*, pupillum, orphanum Ladislaum, clarissimam et regum et imperatorum sobolem, qui dum suo regno suisque subditis opem orat afferri, toti Christianismo consulit. Utinam tam sanctitatem quam Caesaris majestatem suae preces, suae lacrimae moveant. Nam illi genti postulat auxilium, quae suis armis nobis omnibus 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 *omit. FR2*
6 Christianitati U; Christianissimo V
7 suae preces *omit. FR2*
8 regnum illud : illud regnum M
9 Hungaria in marg. D, G
10 ubera M, KO, OO
11 plebe M, KO, OO
12 quanta M, FR1, KO, OO
13 servare M
14 nostra E
15 recte M, KO, OO
16 ovis M, KO, OO
17 et cum M, KO, OO
18 tibi FR1
19 nobilissimum M, KO, OO; *omit. FR1*
20 *omit. M, KO, OO*
21 nunc KO, OO
22 *em.; omit. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, M, FR1, KO, OO [emendation on the basis of EV]*
23 moneant M
24 quo M
25 suis armis *omit. M, KO, OO*
26 toto M, KO, OO
And what about that noble realm of Hungary, an ancient land, mighty in arms and wealth of soil?\footnote{Vergilius: Aeneis, 1, 531; 3, 164.} 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 \textit{are put to death all day long and are accounted as sheep to the slaughter.}\footnote{Romans, 8, 36} See here with us today their king, the boy, the ward, the orphan Ladislaus,\footnote{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} 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.

Another calamity has happened in the provinces: the Massagetae\textsuperscript{1} and many other Scythian\textsuperscript{2} 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! \textit{Oh, what times! Oh, what customs!}\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Cicero: \textit{In Catilinam}, 1, 2; Quintilian: \textit{Institutio oratoria}, 9, 2, 26 and elsewhere
\end{itemize}

When the pagan emperors worshipped idols, the number of believers increased\textsuperscript{2} 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 Europe\textsuperscript{2}. 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 Philosopher\textsuperscript{3} 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.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Acts, 5, 14
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Cf. Flavio Biondo: \textit{Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades}, II, 3 [Im. 75]: \textit{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
  \item \textsuperscript{3} i.e. Cicero
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Cicero: \textit{De officiis}, 1, 23
\end{itemize}
[14] [EV] Quod ne sibi neve tibi quisquam\textsuperscript{1} imputet, passagium petitur. Sed accipe nunc utilitatem quam parere\textsuperscript{2} passagium poterit. Subveniemus laborantibus Hungaribus; aufferemus jugum servitutis ex collo Graecorum; recuperabimus sanctam terram\textsuperscript{3}; exterminabimus idolum monstrumque\textsuperscript{4} illud pessimum, horrendum, ingens Mahumeti; et\textsuperscript{5} Christianae religionis fines

super et Garamantas et Indos proferemus.

Jacet extra sidera tellus, extra anni solisque vias,
ubi caelifer\textsuperscript{6} Atlas axem\textsuperscript{7} humero premit\textsuperscript{8} 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 quispiam imputet, passagium expetit\textsuperscript{9}, in quo magnam\textsuperscript{10} utilitatem esse intelligit: subvenire laborantibus\textsuperscript{11} Hungaris\textsuperscript{12}; liberare Graecos a servitute; propagare divinum cultum; sanctam terram ex manibus impurorum vendicare; monstrumque illud\textsuperscript{13} et abhominabile idolum Mahumeti exterminare, unde placentes Deo\textsuperscript{14} immarcescibilem caelestis regni coronam adipiscamur\textsuperscript{15}. En magnam utilitatem!

\textsuperscript{1} quisque T
\textsuperscript{2} parare V
\textsuperscript{3} recuperabimus sanctam terram : terram sanctam recuperabimus V
\textsuperscript{4} monstrum T, FR2
\textsuperscript{5} omit. U, V, W
\textsuperscript{6} stelifer V
\textsuperscript{7} M [sic!] U
\textsuperscript{8} torquet V
\textsuperscript{9} expedit KO, OO
\textsuperscript{10} maximam F
\textsuperscript{11} laboribus KO, OO
\textsuperscript{12} Ungaros KO, OO
\textsuperscript{13} omit. M
\textsuperscript{14} omit. M, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{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.
Sed quid de honestate gloriaque dicemus, quam vel tuae beatitudini vel Caesaris altitudini accumulatum cernimus esse passagium? Bellorum aequitatem majores nostri sanctissime fetiali jure praecepserant, denuntiata indentaque bella justa esse censebant. In quibus qui viriliter pugnavissent, non vincentes modo, sed occumbentes quoque dignos honore gloriososque judicabant, atque his statuas dicabant et triumphales arcus. Quid nos de hoc bello dicemus, quod non terrenus 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 seipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, ut nos ex diabolica servitute redimeret?

Sed non est vera utilitas honestatis expers. Majores nostri justum bellum gerere honestam rem censebant. Erat autem belli aequitas sanctissima senatus populi Romani jure praescripta, denuntiata bella et indenta justa putabant. In quibus qui viriliter pugnavissent, non viventes solum, sed occumbentes honore dignos gloriososque judicabant. Quid nos de hoc bello dicemus, quod non terrenus homo, sed divinus imperator indicat, in quo non imperii, sed divini cultus propagatio quaeritur; in quo fides catholica defenditur et honor salvatoris nostri, qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se.
esse\(^1\) aequalem Deo, sed formam servi accipiens exinanivit se ipsum\(^2\), factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, ut nos ex\(^3\) diabolica servitute redimeret?\(^4\) Tumet adversarius ejus\(^5\)

Mahumetus, inflatur, cornua erigit\(^6\), 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.\(^7\) 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,\(^8\) 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,\(^9\) 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 man\(^10\) for our sake!

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\(^{1}\) se esse : esse se M, KO, OO
\(^{2}\) exinanivit se ipsum : seipsum exinanivit M, KO, OO
\(^{3}\) omit. M; de KO, OO
\(^{4}\) et add. M, FR1, KO, OO
\(^{5}\) adversarius ejus: adversus eos M, KO, OO
\(^{6}\) erit M
\(^{7}\) Cicero: De officiis, 1, 36
\(^{8}\) “divinus imperator”, i.e. God
\(^{9}\) Philippians, 2, 6-8
\(^{10}\) “sumpsit humanitatem”
En gloriosum atque honestissimum bellum, quod tanti beneficii memores susceperimus, in quo patris, in quo domini, in quo redemptoris nostri, in quo magni Dei causam tuemur, in quo, qui vitam temporalem amittit, acquirit aeternam et famam clarumque nomen adipiscitur sempiternum. Ac tantum de secunda parte sit dictum, in qua cur passagium quaeretur monstrandum fuit.

Maxima esset ingratitudo nostra, si non ad incertam mortem pro Christo iremus, qui certam pro nobis tuli; si non illi vitam offeramus, a quo suscepimus. En bellum honestissimum, in quo patris, in quo domini, in quo magni Dei nostri causam tuemur, in quo, qui vitam temporalem amittit, aeternam et famam clari nominis adipiscitur sempiternam. Quid plura? Tantum abest, ut non sit gloriosum pugnare pro fide, ut informe foedumque sit non pugnare, quando necessitas urget; sicut jam crassantibus undique in infinitis modis Saracenis, et nomen Christi magna vi, crudelitate, atque immanitate persequentibus. Hoc tantum de secunda parte sit dictum, in qua cur passagium peteretur, monstrandum fuit.
[16] [IV/FV] Indeed, our ingratitude will be immense if we do not go to uncertain death\(^1\) 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*
Superat\(^1\) nunc de possibilitate congregandi passagii deque spe fructus dicere. Plurimi sunt, beatissime pater, qui cum nominari passagium audient, “Ecce vetus somnium”, inquiunt, “vetus deliramentum, veteres\(^2\) atque inanes fabulas\(^3\).” At Urbanus, antecessor tuus, cum vexaretur a paganis orientalis ecclesia, Saracenique terram sanctam invasisse\(^4\), motus Alexii, qui Constantinopolim tenebat, precibus et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub tributo Turcorum vitam agebant, rogatibus excitatus\(^5\), gravi et laborioso itinere in Galliam profectus\(^6\), atque hominum tricenta millia sicut Otto Frisingensis\(^7\) affirmat non futilis auctor, in Graeciam, Asiam, Syriamque transmisit\(^8\) maximum exercitum comparavit\(^9\), quibus nullae Saracenorum copiae, nullae vires obsistere potuerunt, quin et Antiochianum expugnarent et Jerusalem obtinerent. Unde adhuc et Urbani, qui convocavit passagium, et Gottfredi, qui duxit, illustre nomen habetur, quamvis quinquaginta et trecenti ab illo tempore fluxerunt anni.

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\(^1\) supererat T, FR2; 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, FR2
\(^8\) maximum exercitum comparavit del. U, V, W [here U, V, W follow IV/FV]
\(^9\) supererat A, B, C, D, E, F, 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
\(^16\) predecessor F
\(^17\) Saracenè qui M
\(^18\) taliter M; tum illam OO; Thilum KO
\(^19\) conculcarunt M
\(^20\) Alexius imperator in marg. D, G; Allei M
\(^21\) omit. F
\(^22\) egebant M, KO; degebant OO
\(^23\) igni KO, OO
\(^24\) tricenta M, KO
Graeciam, Asiam, Syriamque transmisit, quibus nullae Saracenorum vires obsistere, quin et Antiochiam expugnarent et Jerusalem obtinerent. Unde adhuc Urbani, qui convocavit passagium et, Gotfridi, qui conduxit, 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 Urban was moved by the entreaties of Alexius, who held Constantinople, and of other Christians, living under the Turks. Going on a difficult and burdensome journey to France, he gathered a great army, and according to that serious author Otto of Freising - sent 300,000 men to Greece, Asia, and Syria. 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 Godefroi, who led it, are still held in high regard.1

1 et M
2 Otto Frisingensis in marg. D, G
3 subtilis M
4 mille B, C, E, F, M, KO, OO; nullae corr. ex mille D
5 absistere M
6 valuerunt M, FR1, KO, OO
7 quando KO, OO
8 expugnaverunt M, KO, OO
9 obtinuerunt M, KO, OO
10 Urbanus M, KO
11 commovit M; eo vocavit OO
12 omit. G
13 Bullionensis add. FR1
14 Urbanus et Gottifridus in marg. A; Urbani et Gottifridi in marg. D
15 indixit M, KO, OO; duxit FR1
16 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
17 Alexios I Komnenos [Alexius I Comnenus] (1056-1118): Byzantine emperor from 1081 to his death
18 Piccolomini confuses the 1st and the 4th crusade
19 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
20 Otto von Freising (c. 1114-1158): German churchman and chronicler. Bishop of Freising from 1138
21 i.e. Asia Minor
22 Otto von Freising, p. 202 ff
23 Note the change from “duxit” in the Early/Intermediate Versions to “conduxit” in the Final Version


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1 The Early Version added: “... though 350 years have passed since that time.”
2 quo FR2
3 totaque Christianitas omit. V
4 quisque T
5 consequi V
6 sanctissime pater omit. V
7 possint in passagium trahi : in passagium trahi possint T, FR
8 dubius est : est dubius V
9 omit. FR2
10 omit. T, FR2
11 omit. KO, OO
12 an add. OO
13 sit D, G
14 quando M, KO, OO
15 egreditur M; aggredit OO
16 quam M
17 omit. C
18 in cohata E; inchoata OO
19 prelium M, FR1
20 habuit M, KO, OO
21 Hamo aureo in marg. D, G
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, 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.

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1 Dubius belli exitus: common Latin dictum
2 Suetonius: De vita Caesarum / Augustus, 25
Difficile quippe primum videtur Christianos, qui sunt inter se discordes\(^1\) apertisque\(^2\) flagrant odiis, in unam passagii sententiam conducere\(^3\)\(^4\). 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 inveniremur, horrerent\(^5\) inertes ferrum, neque signum, neque tubam ferre valerent. (164v) At nunc exercitati bellis populi ultro sese offerent: facilius ex bello vocatur\(^6\) 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?\(^7\) Placebit omnibus arma in Turcos vertere, patriam ut quietam relinquat. Et fortasse unica pacandi Christianos via est passagii convocatio.

Difficile ergo primum videtur\(^8\) Christianos, qui sunt inter se\(^9\) discordes apertisque fragrantes\(^10\) odiis, in unam passagii sententiam\(^11\) ducere. Sed quod multi obstare judicant\(^12\) passagio\(^13\)\(^14\)\(^15\), sapientia Caesaris conducere\(^16\) judicat. Namque\(^17\) si pax Christianos\(^18\) haberet, incassum quietos principes\(^19\) atque otio\(^20\) torpentes\(^21\) excitaremus, neque utiles bello manus inveniremur, timent mortes\(^22\), ferrum, neque signum, neque tubam ferre possent. Nunc vero excitati\(^23\) bellis populi\(^24\) ultro sese offerent: facilius ex bello vocatur\(^25\) in bellum miles quam ex otio.

\(^{1}\) discordantes T, FR2
\(^{2}\) aptisque T
\(^{3}\) ducere V
\(^{4}\) sententiam conducere : ducere sententiam T, FR2
\(^{5}\) horrent U; horrerent corr. ex horrent W
\(^{6}\) ex bello vocatur : vocatur ex bello V
\(^{7}\) striget FR2
\(^{8}\) habetur M
\(^{9}\) sunt inter se : inter se sunt M, KO, OO
\(^{10}\) fragrantes A, B, C, D; flagrantes G; flagrant F; frangunt M; flagrant FR1; fragrant KO, OO
\(^{11}\) summam M, KO, OO
\(^{12}\) putant M, KO, OO
\(^{13}\) obstare judicant : putant obstare FR1
\(^{14}\) omit. G
\(^{15}\) unam passagii ... judicant passagio omit. B
\(^{16}\) omit. M
\(^{17}\) indicat KO, OO
\(^{18}\) nam FR1
\(^{19}\) omninoque M, KO, OO
\(^{20}\) qui sunt inter se ... pax Christianos omit. E
\(^{21}\) princeps M
\(^{22}\) omit. M, KO, OO
\(^{23}\) torpentes F; populos add. M, FR1, KO, OO
\(^{24}\) mortem FR1
\(^{25}\) excitati corr. ex excitatis D; excitatis F; et citati G; excitata M, KO; excitatoo OO
\(^{26}\) populo M, FR1, KO, OO
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 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 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.” 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.\[^7\]

\[^1\] omit. M, KO, OO
\[^2\] omit. M
\[^3\] omit. M
\[^4\] omit. OO
\[^5\] relinquuant M, KO, OO
\[^6\] Lamentations, 3, 27
\[^7\] Note the idea that the way to have peace amongst the Europeans would be to unite them against the common enemy, the Turks


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1. se U
2. excindi V
3. Gallorum FR2
4. videbit V, FR2
5. omit. U, W
6. 2. Maccabees 1, 3
7. omit. U, V, W
8. quod V
9. in se : nisi M
10. Scipio Nasica corr. ex Cato C; Scipio Nasica : Cato M, KO, OO
11. Scipio Nasica in marg. D, G
12. excindi FR1
13. omit. M
14. in sese : sepe M
15. recidere M, KO, OO
16. inde add. OO
17. dextros M; dexterum KO
18. nec M, KO, OO
19. quos D, G
20. tua jubet sanctitas : jubet sanctitas tua F
21. dubitat M, KO, OO
22. omit. KO, OO
23. posse fieri : fieri posse M, FR1
24. revocatum F
[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 other\(^1\), 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?\(^3\)

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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. Paral. 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, cf. oration “Sentio”
[21] [EV] Sed dicit\(^1\) fortasse quispiam, quod Braccius oligm, quamvis hostis ecclesiae, tamen alioquin homo sensatus, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: *Qui bellum gerat\(^2\), tribus potissime rebus indigere, et has tres unam\(^3\) esse: pecuniam. Unde igitur aurum corrademus\(^4\) ad tantum et tam remotum bellum necessarium? Sunt in promptu\(^5\) modi, praesul maxime, quibus\(^6\) inveniri pecunia poterit sumptusque necessarios\(^7\) ministrari. Sed hos\(^8\) vulgari\(^9\) modo non est ex\(^10\) usu. Illud tamen dicere possum: civitates, quae propter pacem\(^11\) perpetuo bello fatigantur\(^12\), libenter passagio contribuunt, ut pacis tandem compotes fiant.

[21] [IV/FV] Sed dicit\(^13\) fortasse quispiam, quod Braccius\(^14\), quamvis ecclesiae hostis\(^15\), alioquin\(^16\) tamen\(^17\) vir sensatus, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: "Tribus potissime\(^18\) rebus indigere bellum\(^19\), et haec tria\(^20\) unum esse: pecuniam." Ubi ergo corrademus\(^21\) aurum ad tantum et tam longum\(^22\) bellum necessarium? Sunt et modi\(^23\) in promptu\(^24\), quibus inveniems\(^25\) argentum\(^26\), quos\(^27\) vulgare non expedit. Illud dicere possum: civitates, quae ob eam causam bella\(^28\) suscipliant,
ut sine minis\(^1\) in pace vivant\(^2\), libenter passagii expensas\(^3\) contribuunt\(^4\), ut pacem nihil insidiarum habentem consequi possint\(^5\).

[21] [IV/FV] But maybe someone will quote Braccio,\(^6\) an enemy of the Church but otherwise a man of understanding,\(^7\) who he used to say: “The three things most necessary for war are: money, money, and money.”\(^8\) 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.\(^9\) 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.

\(^1\) inuiroia \(\) FR1; inuiriis \(\) D, G
\(^2\) nunc M; vivunt M, KO
\(^3\) nunc add. M
\(^4\) expesas contribuunt : contribuant curas M, FR1, KO, OO
\(^5\) possunt M, KO, OO
\(^6\) Andrea Fortebraccio [Braccio da Montone] (1368 –1424): Italian nobleman and condottiero
\(^7\) Ecclesiasticus, 33, 3
\(^8\) Cf. Piccolomini: De viris, p.13: Is tria necessaria dicebat Florentinis bellum gerentibus: aurum, aurum atque aurum. Quod postea in proverbium venit
\(^9\) 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, II, III, 1, p. 54
[22] [EV] Non est igitur desperata res passagii convocatio, nec rursus spes magna victoriae deerit. Novit imperatoria sublimitas: Assyriorum, Turcorum, Aegyptiorumque gentes imbelles, inermes, viles effeminataeque sunt, neque animo, neque consilio martiali. Quis aut tunicatos mitratosque Turcos aut braccatos Aegyptios timeat, quos Arsaces ad Ezechiam regem loquens baculo arundineo contracto comparavit?

Sarmacida erunt spolia sine sudore et sanguine.

Multa notavit Caesarea majestas, cum transmarinas partes lustraret, quae spem certissimam victoriae praebeat, suoque tempore patiend. Nec moveri debemus, quia nostri nonnumquam exercitus ab illis victi deletique sunt, nam neque viribus eorum, neque rei militaris peritiae, sed nostris peccatis ascribendum est. Quod si emendati fuerimus rectaque mente Christi causam defensuri bellum susceperimus, nihil de victoria fuerit haesitandum, quia non relinquat Dominus virgam peccatorum super sortem justorum.

[22] [IV/FV] Non erit ergo difficile convocare passagium, nec rursus spes magna victoriae deerit. Novit majestas imperatoria: Assyriorum, Aegyptiorumque gentem imbecilles, inermes, effeminatique sunt, neque animo, neque consilio martialis.

Sarmacida erunt spolia sine sudore et sanguine.
Quis tunicatos\(^1\) mitratosque\(^2\) Turcos aut brachatos timeat Aegyptios\(^3\) \(^4\), quosArsaces\(^5\), ad Ezechiam regem\(^6\) loquens, baculo arundineo confractoque\(^7\) comparavit. Quod si aliquando nostri exercitus ab eis victi\(^8\) sunt, neque viribus, neque rei\(^9\) militaris peritiae, sed numerositati\(^10\) hostium ascribendum est. Quod\(^11\) si Christianorum copiae tot fuerint\(^12\), ut opprimi\(^13\) Saracenorum multitudine nequeant\(^14\), quod passagii nomen exposcit, certa\(^15\) 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,\(^17\) Arsaces\(^18\) 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.; mitratosque A, B, C, D, E, F, G \([\text{emendation on the basis of EV and IV}]\)  
\(^3\) Aegyptiacos M, 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, FR1, KO, OO  
\(^9\) re M, KO  
\(^10\) innumerositati M, KO, OO  
\(^11\) quoniam M, 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: \emph{De officiis}, 1, 61. 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 cum
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 astruunt prophetasse. Is autem sub
Heraclio Caesare malignari occœpit, post quem supputantur anni quadraginta et octingenti, quae res terrem 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 Caesaris majestatem adversus Mahumetum suscipere bellum hortatur: Nolite tacere, inquit, super iniquitates ejus, quoniam tempus ultionis est domino, vicissitudinem ipse retribuet ei. Possumus ad rem hanc plura deducere, sed neque doctissimis tuis auribus neque praeclaris 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 cum Tartaris habent assidua certamina. Juvabit et gentis illius desperatio. Nam Mahumetum, cui maxime credunt, sectam suam in octingentos usque annos augendam, exinde diminuendam assurrunt prophetasse, qui sub Heraclio Caesare malignari coepit, post quem supputantur anni XL et octingenti, et hoc Turcos admodum territat, Christianos elevat. Nam etsi falsus propheta Mahumetus est, non est tamen falsum vaticinium extimandum, quod Jeremiae sacris sermonibus consonum esse videmus, dum primo et quinquagesimo capitulo inquit, quasi tuam sanctitatem et Caesarem adhortatus:

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1 omit. U, W; tum FR2
2 assurrunt V
3 accepit T, U, W
4 supputantur U
5 Caesareae U [here U follows IV/FV]
6 hortetur T, U, V, W
7 iniquitatem T, FR2
8 tribuit T, FR2
9 rem hanc : hanc rem V, FR2
10 reverendissimus U, V; Romanis W
11 in M, KO, OO
12 gentes M
13 et add. M, KO, OO
14 Mahumeti secta in marg. D, G
15 astruunt FR1; afferunt OO
16 prophetissae OO
17 accepit M, KO; occipit FR1
18 post quem : postquam M, FR1, KO, OO
19 si et F; et M
20 salsus M
21 Jeremiae vaticinium in marg. D, G
22 ex M
Nolite tacere super iniquitates ejus, quoniam tempus ultionis est domino, vicissitudinem ipse retribuet ei. Possem ad hanc rem plura deducere, sed neque doctissimis tuis auribus neque reverendissimis sapientissimisque patribus, qui assident, danda sunt verba. Satis est nobis absolvisse, quae promisimus, quae Caesarea sublimitas dicturum me 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, 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. 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.
[24] [EV] Intellexisti desiderium suum\textsuperscript{1}, sanctum propositum, integram mentem. Verum quamvis\textsuperscript{2} imperatorium examen\textsuperscript{3,4} sic de passagio sentiat, totum tamen et consilio et arbitrio et judicio\textsuperscript{5} tuo relinquitur, qui ligandi solvendique claves accepi, 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 constituvi\textsuperscript{6} atque\textsuperscript{7} ab ineunte adolescentia semper cordi curaeque\textsuperscript{8} fuit. Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset, sed quod majus haberi\textsuperscript{9} concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuque sacri\textsuperscript{10} \{165v\} senatus praesentia. Frustra concilium petit, qui Romani pontificis mandata non recipit. Ubi tua sanctitas est, ibi concilium, ibi leges\textsuperscript{11}, ibi mores, ibi decreta\textsuperscript{12} salubrisque\textsuperscript{13} reformatio.

[24] [IV/FV] Intellexisti\textsuperscript{14} desiderium suum, sanctum\textsuperscript{15} propositum, integram\textsuperscript{16} Caesaris mentem intueris, totum tamen et consilio et judico tuo relinquitur. Caesar, cum esset hac vice apud tuam beatitudinem, noluit\textsuperscript{17} hanc rem intactam relinquere, quae sibi ab\textsuperscript{18} ineunte adolescentia semper cordi fuit. Alius fortasse aut\textsuperscript{19} concilium generale\textsuperscript{20} petivisset aut reformationis\textsuperscript{21} decreta, aut aliud quipiam\textsuperscript{22}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} tuum V
  \item \textsuperscript{2} omit. U, W
  \item \textsuperscript{3} imperatorium examen : imperatorum examen T; examen imperatorium V, FR2
  \item \textsuperscript{4} quid add. U, W
  \item \textsuperscript{5} arbitrio et judicio : judicio et arbitrio T; judicio FR2
  \item \textsuperscript{6} omit. U, W
  \item \textsuperscript{7} neque W
  \item \textsuperscript{8} curae T
  \item \textsuperscript{9} omit. FR2
  \item \textsuperscript{10} sancti FR2
  \item \textsuperscript{11} reges FR2
  \item \textsuperscript{12} omit. U, V, W
  \item \textsuperscript{13} salubris U, V, W
  \item \textsuperscript{14} intelligis Christi KO, OO
  \item \textsuperscript{15} integrum M, KO, OO
  \item \textsuperscript{16} omit. M, KO, OO
  \item \textsuperscript{17} voluit M
  \item \textsuperscript{18} ad E
  \item \textsuperscript{19} fortasse aut : autem M, KO, OO
  \item \textsuperscript{20} concilium generale : generale concilium FR1
  \item \textsuperscript{21} reformationem M; informationem KO, OO
  \item \textsuperscript{22} quipiam C, FR1, OO; quipiam A, D; quicpiam G; quispiam M, KO
\end{itemize}

80
4. Conclusion

[24][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, who holds the place of Peter and Paul, now reigning with Christ, and whose responsibility it is to judge between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy. 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 in lesser circumstances. Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees, but what greater council can there be than an assembly of 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.

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1 This section from the Early Version is translated here because of its great political and ecclesiastical importance
2 Matthew, 16, 18
4 Deuteronomy, 17, 18: Si difficile et ambiguum apud te judicium esse perspexeris inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram
5 “praesentia”
Caesari susceptis imperialibus infilis tuaque sacra\textsuperscript{1} manu coronato nihil hoc tempore visum est antiquius quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte videtur arduum, \textit{nihil} est tamen\textsuperscript{2} \textit{tam}\textsuperscript{3} \textit{difficile} quod \textit{quaerendo} non fiat facile. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et gloria quaeritur. \textit{Quae magno animo fortiter excellenterque} geruntur, \textit{nescio}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{quomodo}\textsuperscript{5} \textit{pleniori} bucca \textit{laudare} solemus? \textit{Difficiles aditus virtus aperit}\textsuperscript{6}. Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, glorioissimae praesul, qui\textsuperscript{7} unionem feceris, jubilaeum indulseris, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et\textsuperscript{8} dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successori relinquas, et Caesarea \textit{pietas} suadet, et omnis Christianitas orat. \textit{Nam tibi jam} coronato Caesare, quamvis multa incumbant magna et alta negotia, nihil tamen est, de quo vel utilius agere vel glariosius quam de passagio valeas. Amen\textsuperscript{9}.

Caesari, suscepta \textit{ex tua}\textsuperscript{10} manu\textsuperscript{11} imperiali \textit{corona}, nihil antiquius visum est, quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte videatur arduum, \textit{nihil} tamen\textsuperscript{12} \textit{tam} \textit{difficile} quod \textit{quaerendo} non fiat facile. \textit{Virtus circa difficile operatur}. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et\textsuperscript{13} gloria quaeritur. \textit{Quae magno animo, et fortiter, et excellenter}\textsuperscript{14} geruntur, \textit{nescio \textit{quomodo} \textit{pleniori} bucca}\textsuperscript{15} \textit{laudare} \textit{solemus}. Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, beatissimae praesul, qui unionem feceris, jubilaeum \textit{indulseris}, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successori relinquas, et Caesarea \textit{sublimitas} suadet\textsuperscript{16}, et omnis Christianitas orat, \textit{et tibi}\textsuperscript{17} coronato Caesare quamvis multa incumbant, nihil tamen\textsuperscript{18} est, de quo vel utilius agere vel glariosius quam de passagio valeas\textsuperscript{19}.

\textsuperscript{1} omit. V
\textsuperscript{2} omit. FR2
\textsuperscript{3} omit. U
\textsuperscript{4} nisi T, FR2
\textsuperscript{5} quoddammodo FR2
\textsuperscript{6} appetit T, FR2
\textsuperscript{7} cum U
\textsuperscript{8} est V
\textsuperscript{9} Finis add. U
\textsuperscript{10} sacra add. M, FR1
\textsuperscript{11} sacra add. KO, OO
\textsuperscript{12} tamen est : est tamen FR1
\textsuperscript{13} in M
\textsuperscript{14} et excellenter : et excellenterque M; excellenterque FR1, KO, OO
\textsuperscript{15} bucha A, B, C, E, F
\textsuperscript{16} omit. F1
\textsuperscript{17} iam add. FR1
\textsuperscript{18} tam D
\textsuperscript{19} omit. KO; possis OO
[25] [IV/FV] Having received the imperial crown from your hands, the emperor considered that nothing was more important than to raise 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.

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\(^1\) Cf. Terence: *Heautontimorumenos*, 675

\(^2\) Classical sentence going back to Aristotle

\(^3\) Cicero: *De officiis*, 1, 18, 61

\(^4\) The Jubilee Year of 1450