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

Final edition, 1st version

November 2018
Copenhagen
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 “Moyse 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
Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.  
*[Available on the web in HAL Archives]*

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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:

\(^1\) 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 1453-1454,¹ i.e. a couple of years after the oration was delivered, Piccolomini wrote about the event in these terms:

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

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

¹ HA, I, p. xvii
² HA, I, pp. 185-186: Enee Senensi episcopo commisit, ut statum Hierosolimorum, Grecorum, et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub imperio Turchorum opprimuntur, exponeret, utque Hungari magnas clades tulissent, timendum esse Constantinopoli, succurrendum oppressi 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.

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.
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 reditu 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 splendide 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 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:

\textsuperscript{1} Hankins, p. 113
\textsuperscript{2} Hankins, p. 128
- Compassion (commiseratio)
- Benefit (utilitas)
- Honour (honestas)

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; 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.*

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 **honor** 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*.

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1. Cf. RTA, 19, 2, p. 505, n. 35
2. Piccolomini had already used the theme of the emperor’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land in an oration in 1451, the “*Quamvis in hoc senatu*”, sect. 4
3. Oration “*Et breviter me hodie*”, sect. 2: *In Europa quoque multa dissidia sunt: partem [habent] gentiles Teucri, partem Saracen, partem schismatici diversis haeresibus infecti. Reducta autem et coartata in angulum quendam est nostra Christianitas*
He considers the feasibility of the crusade under two aspects: ease of mobilization and chances of success.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4 Ecumenical council

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

¹ Cf. Schowebel, p. 19
² Cf. the oration “Si putarem”
ambassador and envoy, Piccolomini had himself presented these demands to the pope on diplomatic missions to the Papal Court in 1445, 1446, and 1447.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Cf. orations “Prius sanctissime praeusul”, “Et breviter me hodie”, and “Non habet me dubium”
² Cf. oration “Fateor”, Introduction, sect. 2.3
³ Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset, sed quod magus haberii concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuique sancti senatus praesentia. Frustra concilium petit, qui Romani pontificis mandata non recipit. Ubi tua sanctitas est, ibi concilium, ibi leges, ibi mores, ibi decreta salubrisque reformation. (Early Version, sect. 24)
⁴ Alius fortasse aut concilium generale petivisset aut reformationis decreta, aut aliud quidpiam (Final Version, sect. 24)
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.

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)²

- **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.³

The following manuscript containing the oration as part of the Historia Austrialis⁴ 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 episco 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 Vienennis.] 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

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)


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)4

• **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
  l. 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
4.3.2. Editions

The Final Version appears to have been published only once:

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

A German translation was published in


4.4. Other manuscripts and editions

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. / Universitätsbibliothek\(^1\)
  C10, ff. 115r-119v

- Fulda / Landesbibliothek\(^2\)
  4o C10, ff. 115r-116r

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana\(^3\)
  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
  Lat. XIV 246, ff. 238r-253r

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


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 red3.

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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
Pagination:

Early Version: follows the Vienna manuscript (red) and Freher (blue).
Intermediate/Final Version: follows manuscript A (red).

Textual apparatus:

Colour coding: Variants common to B and E are colour coded in blue, those common to D and G in red, those common to M, FR1, KO and OO in green, and those common to T, V, FR2 in blue.

5. Sources

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

**Biblical:** 18
*Old Testament:* 13
- Deuteronomy: 1
- Numbers: 1
- Daniel: 1
- Ecclesiasticus: 1

**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

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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
• Isaiah: 2
• Jeremiah: 1
• Lamentations: 2
• 2. Machabees: 1
• 2. Paralipomenon: 1
• Psalms: 2

New Testament: 5

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

Classical sources: 20

• Cicero: $8^1$
• Ennodius: 1
• Herodotus: 1
• Juvenalis: 1
• Plato: $1^2$
• Plutarch: $1^3$
• Quintilianus: 1
• Suetonius: 1
• Terentius: $1^4$
• Valerius Maximus: 1
• Vergilius: 3

Patristic and medieval sources: 2

• Jeronimus: $1^5$

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1 De officiis 5; In Catilinam 2; Tusculanae disputationes 1
2 Republic
3 Parellel lives
4 Heautontimorumenos
5 Epistolae
• Origenes: 1

Contemporary sources: 1
• Flavio Biondo: 1

6. Bibliography

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1 Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades
2 Abbreviations used in the notes are given in bold types


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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 and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.284
B = Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788
C = Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.286
D = Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211
E = Milano / Bibli. 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
W = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / 3420


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


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

Abbreviations


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 indiceendum M; Oracio ad Sanctissimum dominum Nicolaum papam quintum pro parte Invictissimi domini Friderici Romanorum Imperatoris super passagio contra Turchos imponendo facta per dominum Eneas 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 Enee 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\textsuperscript{1, 2}, maxime pontifex, cum sibi successorem ordinaret Josue, filium Num\textsuperscript{3}, divinam vocem ad se dicentem audivit: \textit{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 \textit{admonentur} magnis in rebus, \textit{etiam bellicos}, summi sacerdotis \textit{et} consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.

Moyses, vir dei, beatissime pater, maxime pontifex, cum sibi ordinaret successorem\textsuperscript{4} Josue, filium Nun\textsuperscript{5}, divinam vocem ad se dicentem audivit: \textit{Si quid agendum erit, Eleazar sacerdos consulet dominum; ad verbum ejus egredietur\textsuperscript{7} et ingredietur\textsuperscript{8} ipse et omnes filii Israel cum eo et cetera multitudo.} Quibus verbis non populi solum, sed reges et principes \textit{monentur}\textsuperscript{9} magnis in rebus summi sacerdotis consilium quaerere et imperium sequi.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} omit. U, W, FR2\textsuperscript{2} et \textit{add.} V \textsuperscript{3} Nun FR2\textsuperscript{4} ordinaret successorem : successorem ordinaret KO, OO \textsuperscript{5} Num B, C, E, F, KO, OO\textsuperscript{6} pro hoc \textit{add.} FR1; \textit{per hoc add.} KO, OO \textsuperscript{7} egredietur KO, OO \textsuperscript{8} ingredietur KO, OO \textsuperscript{9} amonentur 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 any thing needs to be done, Eleazar the priest shall consult the Lord for him. He and all the children of Israel with him, and the rest of the multitude shall go out and go in at his word. 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.

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 bellica)
[2] [EV] Quod\(^1\) postmodum et\(^2\) in novo testamento et in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatis\(^3\) 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 suase vires omnes convertere, te prius, magni dei vicarium, Christianae plebis sacram caput, perfectum ducem, optimum rectorem, veracem magistrum et\(^10\) consulendum, et audiendum, et sequendum \textit{existimavit}, cujus providentia noscere, auctoritas monere\(^11\), potestas implere possit, quod\(^12\) sit agendum.

[2] [IV/FV] Quod postmodum et in novo testamento ac\(^13\) in tempore gratiae multis exemplis et auctoritatis 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 sacram caput\(^24\), perfectum\(^25\) ducem, optimum rectorem\(^26\), veracem magistrum consulendum\(^1\),

\(^{1}\) 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
\(^{7}\) cupidem V
\(^{8}\) avidissime V
\(^{9}\) dominus \textit{add.} FR2
\(^{10}\) omit. FR2
\(^{11}\) movere T, U, V, W
\(^{12}\) quid FR2
\(^{13}\) et G
\(^{14}\) Servatum M
\(^{15}\) sic F
\(^{16}\) \textit{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 \textit{add.} M; religionis magnus \textit{add.} FR1, KO, OO
\(^{25}\) profectum 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 tractatus. Coronatus enim jam triplex corona ejusque regni tua3 beneficientia rex4 confirmatus, cujus potestiam Daniel ferro comparavit, cujus limites solus claudit Oceanus, cujus fundator Octavianus, confirmator5 Jesus Christus6 fuit, quod Romana semper ecclesia magnificet, extulit, honoravit, cujus auctoritas in terris nisi tuae7 cedit nulli, cujus officium est patrocinari ecclesiae, tueri religionem, parere subjectis et debellare superbos. Hujus, inquam8, regni solium adeptus Caesar, quid aliud cogitet quam passagium, per quod et9 Christiani fortiores et hostes fidei redduntur imbecilliores? Princeps10, inquit sapiens, quae sunt digna principe cogitabil11. [cont.]

Venit igitur ad te hodie12 tuumque13 sacramissimum senatum Caesar super universali passagio cum tua beatitudine locuturus. Coronatus enim jam triplex corona ejusque regni tua beneficientia rex confirmatus, cujus potestiam Daniel ferro comparavit, cujus limites solus claudit oceanus, cujus fundator Romulus14, confirmator Julius, ampliator Augustus, approbator dominus Jesus fuit, cujus auctoritas in terris nisi tuae cedit nulli, cujus officium est parcere subjectis et debellare superbos. Hujus, inquam15 quid aliud cogitet quam passagium, per quod et16 Christiani fortiores et inimici Christi nominis19 redduntur20 imbecilliores? Princeps21, inquit22 sapiens23, quae sunt digna principe24 cogitabil. [cont.]

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1 sacramissimum add. FR2
2 omit. T
3 omit. FR2
4 omit. V
5 dominus add. V, T, FR2
6 omit. V, T, FR2
7 tua FR2
8 hujus inquam : huiusque U
9 omit. V
10 principes FR2
11 cogitabunt FR2
12 ad te hodie : hodie ad te KO, OO
13 tuum M
14 Romulus Julius Augustus Jesus in marg. D, G
15 amplificator M, KO, OO
16 partem M
17 cogit KO; cogitat OO
18 omit. B, D, E, G
19 Christi nominis : nominis Christi F1
20 creduntur M, KO, OO
21 ut add. F1
22 inquam M, KO, OO
23 Sapiens in marg. A, D, G
24 principis M; principi KO, OO
So, today the emperor comes to you and your Holy Senate to talk with Your Holiness about a crusade. He has now been crowned with the Triple Crown and, through your benevolence, he has been confirmed as king of his realm. The power of this realm Daniel likened to iron, and its only limit is the Ocean. It was founded by Romulus, confirmed by Julius, enlarged by Augustus, approved by Lord Jesus. On Earth his authority only defers to your own, and his duty it is to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud. 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.”

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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\(^1\) injuriarum propulsatores, qui si Platoni magno voluerint auscultare ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus oboedire, procurationem reipublicae non ad suam, sed ad eorum, qui sibi commissi sunt, utilitatem gerere\(^2\) conabuntur. Atque hoc est quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxium facit.

[3] [IV/FV cont.] Reges apud Medos, ut Herodotus\(^3\) inquit\(^4\), apud omnes, ut Curtius\(^5\) sensit, justitiae fruendae causa creati sunt, velut injuriarum propulsatores\(^6\), qui si Platoni\(^7\) \(^7\) auscultare volunt\(^8\) ceterisque philosophis recta monentibus oboedire, procurationem\(^11\) reipublicae non ad suam, sed ad eorum, qui\(^12\) sibi commissi sunt, utilitatem gerere debent\(^13\). Atque hoc est, quod de passagio Caesarem et sollicitum et anxium facit\(^14\).

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1. \textit{omit.}\ T
2. \textit{convertere}\ T
3. Herodotus \textit{in marg.}\ A
4. numquam M
5. Cicero M, FR1, KO, OO
6. propulsores M, KO, OO
7. praelatum M, KO, OO
8. Plato \textit{add. in marg.}\ D, G
9. voluerint FR1
10. manentibus M
11. procuratione M, KO
12. que M
13. dicuntur M, KO, OO
14. fecit M, KO, OO
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*
5 Cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 1, 25, 85; Plato: *Republic*, 420B
[4] [EV] Super qua re dicturus ego\(^1\), quae sua mihi\(^2\) majestas imperat, orationem meam tres in partes\(^3\) dividam. In prima dicam, quid sit passagium, quod petitur. In secunda, cur petitur. In tertia, facilene\(^4\) passagium fructuosumque\(^5\) sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero, cum rerum magnitudine verba comparantur\(^6\), sic fortasse brevior apparebo. Quid dixi apparebo? Immo ero re vera brevis, nam docti dicere multa possunt, indocti non possunt: sola brevitas, ut Ennodius\(^9\) ait, commendat indoctos.

[4 IV/FV] Super qua re dicturus ego\(^11\), quae mihi sua\(^12\) majestas imperat, orationem meam tres in partes dividam\(^13\). In prima dicam\(^14\), quid sit passagium, quod quaeritur\(^15\). In secunda, cur petitur\(^16\). In tertia, facilene passagium fructuosumque\(^17\) sit futurum. Quibus in rebus si longior fuero\(^18\), cum rerum magnitudine\(^19\) verba\(^20\) comparantur\(^21\), sic fortasse brevior apparebo\(^22\). Quid dixi apparebo? Immo\(^24\) ero\(^25\) re vera brevis, quoniam, Ovidio\(^27\) \&\(^28\) testante\(^29\), sola brevitas commendat indoctos.

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

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1 Not Ovid, but Magnus Felix Ennodius: *Epistolae, 7, 12*
Passagii vocabulo nihil aliud designamus quam militarem\(^1\) expeditionem numerosissimam adversus infideles per Romanum pontificem\(^1\) indictam. Quam qui sequuntur cruce signati plenariam peccatorum remissionem\(^1\) et merentur\(^1\) et assequuntur, appellaturque passagium sermone\(^{162v}\) Italico quasi transitus. Nam sicut aves quaedam certis anni temporibus gregatim\(^2\) de regione in regionem\(^3\) transeunt dicunturque passagium facere, sic et Christiani nonnumquam\(^4\), armis sumptis\(^4\) turmatim\(^5\) incendentes, atque in hostes fidei ex apostolicae sedis jussione prosilientes, et visi et dicti sunt passagium habuisse\(^6\). Numquam tamen verum passagium dicit, nisi multorum fuerit populum, qui migrare magis novas sedes quaesituri, quam bellaturi videantur, qualis Gallorum, Cimbrorum, Gothorum,\(^7\) Hunnorum in Italiam inundatio\(^8\) fuit. Intelligunt jam omnes, nisi fallor\(^8\), quid sit passagium, quod petitur.

Passagium quid in marg. D, G

1 militantem V
2 omit. T, FR2
3 regiones T, FR2
4 armis sumptis : sumptis armis U, V, W
5 trans mare T, FR2
6 facere U, V
7 omit. FR2
8 fallar T
9 numerosissimam M, KO, OO
10 Passagium quid in marg. D, G
11 qua A; quod D, G
12 si M, KO, OO
13 consequuntur M, KO, OO
14 omit. FR1
15 dicuntur quoque KO, OO
16 omit. M, KO, OO
17 omit. M
18 Dei add. KO, OO
19 docti M
20 fiunt KO, OO
21 Italia M, KO, OO
1. Concept of crusade

[5] [IV/FV] Now we shall deal with the first. By the word crusade *(passagium)* we simply mean a large military expedition proclaimed by the Christians against the infidels. The crusaders\(^3\) taking part in it merit the plenary remission of all their sins. The Italian word for *passagium* means something like migration: 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*).\(^9\)

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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 tris\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}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} tres FR2
\item \textsuperscript{2} Quur passagium petatur in marg. G
\item \textsuperscript{3} reddant M, KO, OO
\item \textsuperscript{4} Commiseratio, utilitas, honestas in marg. D
\end{itemize}
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.


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1 quis scandalisatur .. scandalisor omit. T, FR
2 omit. 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 videt 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 fluxerunt 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

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\(^1\), adolescentes 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 adolescentes trans mare navigavit, contempsitque\(^{12}\) pelagus, digitis a morte remotis\(^{13}\) quattuor aut septem.\(^{14}\) Inspexit\(^{15}\) locum, ubi natus salvator noster Christus, ubi positus\(^{15}\) in praesepio, ubi praesentatus in templo, ubi baptizatus, ubi temptatus, ubi praedicavit, ubi Lazarem suscitavit, ubi cenanit, ubi captus, ubi derisus, ubi judicatus, ubi crucifixus, ubi sepultus est, et unde\(^{16}\) ascendit in\(^{17}\) caelum. Quid multa dicam? Osculatus\(^{18}\) est Caesar terram, ubi fuerunt pedes ejus, qui nos\(^{19}\) redemit.

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\(^1\) exuit T, U; omit. V
\(^2\) adolescents adhuc: adolescents admodum T; admodum adolescents 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!]
\(^10\) ac FR2
\(^11\) secutus Fridericus: Fridericus secutus M, FR1, KO, OO
\(^12\) contraxitque M; contextitque KO, OO
\(^13\) a morte ... septem omit. KO, OO
\(^14\) auspexit M; aspexit KO, OO
\(^15\) est add. FR1
\(^16\) vbi M
\(^17\) ad G
\(^18\) obsculatus 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


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1 om. T, V, W; interlin. U
2 gemebat U, V
3 tractus V
4 Genesis, 6, 6
5 om. U, W
6 om. V
7 om. W
8 animo tunc : tunc animo M, FR1, KO, OO
9 spurius 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 om. M, FR1, KO, OO
18 vidua ... facta est om. 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.

1 Psalms, 78, 1
2 Lamentations, 1, 1
[10] [EV] Sed quid Graecia, litterarum mater, *inventrix legum, cultrix morum*\(^1\), atque omnium bonarum et\(^2\) optimarum artium *magistra*? Quem non misereat illius gentis afflictae, *concilcatae*, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non solum\(^3\) sub Alexandro Macedone\(^4\) suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis,\(^5\) Spartanis olim et\(^6\) *florentissimum et potentissimum* fuit, nunc *vilibus effeminatissique* Turcis cogitur oboedire?

[10] [IV/FV] Sed quid Graecia\(^7\), litterarum mater\(^8\), *inventrix legum, cultrix morum*, et omnium bonarum artium\(^9\) *magistra*\(^10\)? Quis\(^11\) non misereatur\(^12\) gentis illius afflictae, oppressae, pessumdatae, cujus imperium non sub Alexandro Macedone solum suisque successoribus, sed sub Atheniensibus, Thebanis et\(^13\) Lacedaemoniis olim et\(^14\) *florentissimum et potentissimum* fuit, nunc ubilibet\(^16\) effeminatis Turcis servire coacta est?

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\(^1\) *omit. U, W*

\(^2\) *omit. V*

\(^3\) *omit. U, V, W*

\(^4\) *solum add. T [sic!], U, V, W*

\(^5\) *omit. FR2*

\(^6\) *omit. T, FR2*

\(^7\) *Graecia in marg. D, G*

\(^8\) *litterarum mater : mater litterarum M*

\(^9\) *bonarum artium : artium bonarum M, KO, OO*

\(^10\) *magister* OO

\(^11\) *quem M, FR1, KO, OO*

\(^12\) *miserit M; misereat FR1; miseret KO, OO*

\(^13\) *ac M, KO, OO*

\(^14\) *omit. M, KO, OO*

\(^15\) *ac M*

\(^16\) *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


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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* *quantae 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* sui 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*?\(^1\) Alas, how the Hungarians have suffered in our time! They give their own blood to save ours. Their breasts are our walls. Certainly, all Christians are indebted to the Hungarians who *are put to death all day long and are accounted as sheep to the slaughter*.\(^2\) See here with us today their king, the boy, the ward, the orphan Ladislaus,\(^3\) noble offspring of kings and emperors, asking for help to his realm and to his subjects. May Your Holiness and Your Imperial Majesty be moved by his prayers and his tears, as he asks for help to the people who protects the entire Christian people with their own swords.

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\(^1\) Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1, 531; 3, 164.

\(^2\) Romans, 8, 36

\(^3\) Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440 – 1457): Duke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death
[12] [EV] Accedit\textsuperscript{1} et aliarum\textsuperscript{2} calamitas provinciarum: Massagetae et alii Scytharum quamplures\textsuperscript{3} populi nunc Livoniam, nunc Lituaniam vexant. Mauri non parvum Hispaniarum occupant regnum, Jonii, Carphatii\textsuperscript{4}, Egei\textsuperscript{5}, Tyrii\textsuperscript{6} nostri quae maris insulas Cyprum, Rhodum, Cretam, Siciliam, quin et\textsuperscript{7} ipsa Italiae littora barbarorum saepe classes invadunt asportantque Christianos. O nostram maximam negligentiam! O tempora! O mores! Proh pudor, major est Saracenorum in sua perfidia quam noster in fide zelus.

[12] [IV/FV] Accedit\textsuperscript{8} et\textsuperscript{9} aliarum calamitas provinciarum: Massagetae et alii\textsuperscript{10} Scytharum\textsuperscript{11} quamplures populi Livoniam vexant. Mauri non\textsuperscript{12} parvum\textsuperscript{13} Hispaniarum\textsuperscript{14} occupant regnum. Nostri\textsuperscript{15} maris, quod Mediterraneum vocant\textsuperscript{16}, insulas Cyprum, Rhodum, Cretam\textsuperscript{17}, Siciliamque\textsuperscript{18} et ipsa\textsuperscript{19} Italiae littora\textsuperscript{20} barbarorum saepe classes invadunt asportantque\textsuperscript{22} Christianos. O nostram maximam\textsuperscript{23} negligentiam! O tempora! O mores!
Another calamity has happened in the provinces: the Massagetes\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! Oh, what times! Oh, what customs!\textsuperscript{3}

\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.

\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.

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

When the pagan emperors worshipped idols, the number of believers increased 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. 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 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.

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1 Acts, 5, 14
2 Cf. Flavio Biondo: Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades, II, 3 [Im. 75]: per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regions nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus. Cf. Mertens, pp. 70-71
3 i.e. Cicero
4 Cicero: De officiis, 1, 23
[14] [EV] Quod ne sibi neve tibi quisquam$^1$ imputet, passagium petitur. Sed accipe nunc utilitatem quam parere$^2$ passagium poterit. Subveniemus laborantibus Hungaris; auferemus jugum servitutis ex collo Graecorum; recuperabimus sanctam terram$^3$; exterminabimus idolum monstrumque$^4$ illud pessimum, horrendum, ingens Mahumeti; et$^5$ Christianae religionis fines

super et Garamantas et Indos proferemus.

Jacet extra sidera tellus, extra anni solisque vias,

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

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$^1$ quisque T
$^2$ parare V
$^3$ recuperabimus sanctam terram : terram sanctam recuperabimus V
$^4$ monstrum T, FR2
$^5$ omit. U, V, W
$^6$ stelifer V
$^7$ M [sic!] U
$^8$ torquet V
$^9$ expedit KO, OO
$^{10}$ maximam F
$^{11}$ laboribus KO, OO
$^{12}$ Ungaros KO, OO
$^{13}$ omit. M
$^{14}$ omit. M, KO, OO
$^{15}$ adipiscantur M, FR1, KO, OO
2.2. Benefit

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

¹ Note that it is the emperor who requests a crusade from the pope, recognizing that it is the pope who has the initiative and authority to indict a crusade.
[15] [EV] Sed quid de honestate gloriaque dicemus, quam vel tuae beatitudinui vel Caesaris altitudini accumulaturum cernimus esse passagium? Bellorum aequitatem maiores nostri sanctissime fetiali jure praescipserant, denuntiata indiciique bella justa esse censebant. In quibus qui viriliter pugnavissent, non vincentes modo, sed occurrentes 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 quaeeritur; 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?

[15] [IV/FV] 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, denuntiataque bella et indiciique justa putabant. In quibus qui viriliter pugnavissent, non viventes solum, sed occurrentes honore dignos gloriososque judicabant. Qui nos de hoc bello dicemus, quod non terrenus homo, sed divinus imperator indicit, 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\textsuperscript{1} aequalem Deo, sed formam servi accipiens \textit{exinanivit se ipsum}\textsuperscript{2}, factus oboediens \textit{usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis}, ut nos ex\textsuperscript{3} diabolica servitute redimeret\textsuperscript{4} Tumet \textit{adversarius ejus}\textsuperscript{5} Mahumetus, inflatur, cornua erigit\textsuperscript{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 \textit{wars that had been properly declared and proclaimed were just}.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{10} for our sake!

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textsuperscript{1} se esse : esse se & M, KO, OO \\
\textsuperscript{2} exinanivit se ipsum : seipsum exinanivit & M, KO, OO \\
\textsuperscript{3} omit. & M; de KO, OO \\
\textsuperscript{4} et add. & M, FR1, KO, OO \\
\textsuperscript{5} adversarius ejus: adversus eos & M, KO, OO \\
\textsuperscript{6} erit & M \\
\textsuperscript{7} Cicero: \textit{De officiis}, 1, 36 \\
\textsuperscript{8} “divinus imperator”, i.e. God \\
\textsuperscript{9} Philippians, 2, 6-8 \\
\textsuperscript{10} “sumpsit humanitatem”
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
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 amittet, acquirit aeternam et famam clarumque nomen adipiscitur sempiternum. Ac tantum de secunda parte sit dictum, in qua cur passagium quae monstrandum fuit.

Maxima esset ingratitudo nostra, si non ad incertam mortem pro Christo iremus, qui certam pro nobis tulit; si non illi vitam offeremus, a quo suscepimus. En bellum honestissimum, in quo patris, in quo domini, in quo magni Dei nostri causam tuemur, aeternam et famam clari nominis adipiscitur sempiternam. Quid plura? Tantum abest, ut non sit gloriosum pugnare pro fide, ut infame foedumque sit non pugnare, quando necessitas urget; sicut jam crassantibus undique 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.
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
[17] [EV] Superat¹ nunc de possibilitate congregandi passagii deque spe fructus dicere. Plurimi sunt, beatissime pater, qui cum nominari passagium audiunt, “Ecce vetus somnium”, inquiunt, “vetus deliramentum, vteres² atque inanes fabulas³.” At Urbanus, antecessor tuus, cum vexaretur a paganis orientalis ecclesia, Saracenique terram sanctam invasissent, motus Alexii, qui Constantinopolim tenebat, precibus et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub tributo Turcorum vitam agebant, rogatibus excitatus⁴, gravi et laborioso itinere in Galliam profectus⁵, atque hominum tricenta millia sicut Otto Frisingensis affirmat non futilis auctor, in Graeciam, Asiam, Syriamque transmisit⁶ maximum exercitum comparavit⁷, quibus nullae Saracenorum copiae, nullae vires obsistere potuerunt, quin et Antiocchiam expugnarent et Jerusalem obtinerent. Unde adhuc et Urbani, qui convocavit passagium, et Gottredi, qui duxit, illustre nomen habetur, quamvis quinquaginta et trecenti ab illo tempore fluxerunt anni.

[17] [IV/FV] Superat⁹ nunc de possibilitate congregandi passagium¹⁰¹¹ deque spe fructus dicere. Plurimi sunt, beatissime pater, qui cum nominari passagium audiunt, “Ecce vetus somnium¹²,” inquiunt¹³, “vetus deliramentum, inanes fabulas.” Verum¹⁴ Urbanus¹⁵, antecessor¹⁶ tuus, cum vexaretur a paganis orientalis ecclesia, Saracenique Jerusaleµ¹⁷ conculcarent¹⁸, motus Alexii²⁰, qui Constantinopolim tenebat, et aliorum Christianorum, qui sub tributo Turcorum vitam²¹ agebant²², precibus, gravi²³ et laborioso itinere in Galliam profectus, maximum exercitum congregavit atque hominum trecenta²⁴ millia, ut¹ Otto Frisingensis² scribit, non futilis³ auctor, in

¹ supererat T, FR2; superest V
² vt teres V
³ fabellas U, W
⁴ exercitatus W
⁵ ac U, V, W
⁷ atque hominum ... transmisit omit. T, FR2
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 Saraceni 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 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 obtinerunt 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 trahī : 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 Caesariwm / Augustus*, 25
Difficile quippe primum videtur Christianos, qui sunt inter se discordes\(^1\) apertisque\(^2\) flagrant odiis, in unam passagii sententiam conductere\(^3\) \(^4\). 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 inveniremus, horrerent\(^5\) inerteres 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 portaverti jugum ab adolescentia sua. Quis Christianorum est, postquam pugnare oportet, qui non potius in hostes quam in domesticos fidei gladiam stringat?\(^7\) Placebit omnibus arma in Turcos vertere, patriam ut quietam relinquat. Et fortasse unica pacandi Christianos via est passagii convocatio.

\(^{1}\) discordantes T, FR2
\(^{2}\) aptisque T
\(^{3}\) ducere V
\(^{4}\) sentimentam conducere : ducere sententiam T, FR2
\(^{5}\) horrent U; horrent 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
\(^{23}\) torpensis F; populos add. M, FR1, KO, OO
\(^{24}\) mortem FR1
\(^{25}\) excitati corr. ex excitatis D; excitatis F; et citati G; excitata M, KO; excitato OO
\(^{26}\) populo M, FR1, KO, OO
miles. “Bonum est viro,” sicut propheta testatur, “cum portavertit jugum ab adolescentia sua.”
Quis Christianorum est, postquam pugnare oportet, qui non potius in Turcos quam in Christianos stringere gladium velit? Placebit omnibus arma in Saracenos vertere, patriam ut quietam relinquant. Et fortasse unica pacandi Christianos via est convocatio passagii.

3.1. It will be easy to gather an expedition

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.

\[\text{Note the idea that the way to have peace amongst the Europeans would be to unite them against the common enemy, the Turks.}\]
Martiales enim et feroces Europae populi nescientes quiescere. Nisi adversus exertos proelientur, in sese\(^1\) manus vertunt. Qua ratione ductus olim \textit{vir senatorius quidam}\(^2\) excidi\(^5\) Carthaginiem prohibebat, ne pacem habentes in circuitu Romani \textit{manus in se verterent}, sicut \textit{reges Israel fecisse constat}, qui \textit{victis hostibus \textit{mutuis} cecidere vulneribus}. Pacem ergo ut habeant Christiani, bellum est in exertos transferendum. Ad quam rem neque Germanorum illustri animus, neque cor nobile Gallicorum\(^3\), neque sublimis mens Hispanorum, neque gloriae cupidus Italorum spiritus deerit. Omnes, quod tua jubebit\(^4\) sanctitas, \textit{corde\(^5\) magno et animo volenti\(^6\) suscipient}. Quis dubitet cogi posse\(^7\) passagium, quod Romani pontificis auctoritate decretum et\(^8\) imperatoris \textit{voluntate} fuerit ordinatum.

Martiales enim et feroces Europae populi, nescientes quiescere. Nisi adversus exertos proelientur, in se\(^9\) manus vertunt. Qua ratione ductus olim \textit{Scipio Nasica}\(^10\) excidi\(^12\) Carthaginiem dissuadebat\(^13\), ne pacem habentes in circuitu Romani in se\(^14\) ruerent, sicut \textit{et reges Israel victis hostibus \textit{mutuis} cecidere\(^15\) vulneribus}. Jam pacem ergo ut habeant Christiani, bellum in exertos\(^17\) est transferendum. Ad quam rem neque Germanorum illustri animus, neque\(^18\) cor nobile \textit{Gallicae gentis}, neque mens sublimis Hispanorum, neque \textit{honesti} cupidus Italorum deerit spiritus. Omnes, quod\(^19\) tua jubet sanctitas\(^20\), \textit{constanti animo exequentur}. Quis dubitet\(^21\) posse\(^22\) fieri\(^23\) passagium, quod Romani pontificis auctoritate decretum et imperatoris \textit{mandato} fuerit \textit{convocatum}\(^24\)? Videor

\(^{1}\) se U
\(^{2}\) excindi V
\(^{3}\) Gallorum FR2
\(^{4}\) videbit V, FR2
\(^{5}\) omit. U, W
\(^{6}\) \textit{2. Macchabees 1, 3}
\(^{7}\) omit. U, V, W
\(^{8}\) quod V
\(^{9}\) in se : nisi M
\(^{10}\) Scipio Nasica \textit{corr. ex Cato} C; Scipio Nasica : Cato M, KO, OO
\(^{11}\) Scipio Nasica \textit{in marg.} D, G
\(^{12}\) excipient FR1
\(^{13}\) omit. M
\(^{14}\) in se : sepe M
\(^{15}\) recidere M, KO, OO
\(^{16}\) \textit{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
videre rem perfectam, nec me dubium habet ullum, si tu verbum apponis, Caesar adjicit manum. Nam si quis oboedire neglexerit, vel tuis jussibus vel Caesaris imperio compelletur.

[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 \textit{olim}, quamvis hostis ecclesiae, tamen alioquin \textit{homo sensatus}, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: \textit{Qui bellum gerat}\(^2\), \textit{tribus potissime rebus indigere, et has tres unam}\(^3\) esse: \textit{pecuniam}. Unde igitur aurum corrademus\(^4\) ad tantum et tam remotum bellum necessarium? Sunt in promptu\(^5\) modi, \textit{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 \textit{propter pacem}\(^11\) perpetuo bello fatigantur\(^12\), libenter passagio contribuent, ut pacis tandem compotes fiat.

[21] [IV/FV] Sed dicit\(^13\) fortasse quispiam, quod Braccius\(^14\), quamvis ecclesiae hostis\(^15\), alioquin\(^16\) tamen\(^17\) \textit{vir sensatus}, frequenti sermone usurpare solebat: \textit{“Tribus potissime}\(^18\) \textit{rebus indigere bellum}\(^19\), et \textit{haec tria}\(^20\) \textit{unum esse: pecuniam.”} Ubi ergo corrademus\(^21\) aurum ad tantum et tam longum\(^22\) bellum necessarium? Sunt et modi\(^23\) in promptu\(^24\), quibus inveniemus\(^25\) \textit{argentum}\(^26\), quos\(^27\) vulgare non expedit. Illud dicere possum: civitates, quae \textit{ob eam causam bella}\(^28\) suscipiunt,

\(^{1}\) dicet V  
\(^{2}\) gerit U  
\(^{3}\) has tres unam : harum trium unum [illeg.] V  
\(^{4}\) corrodemus T  
\(^{5}\) promto T  
\(^{6}\) omit. T  
\(^{7}\) necessarius T; necessarii V, FR  
\(^{8}\) hoc V  
\(^{9}\) vulgare T, FR2  
\(^{10}\) omit. U  
\(^{11}\) omit. FR2  
\(^{12}\) fatigabantur V  
\(^{13}\) dicit KO, OO  
\(^{14}\) Braccius tria ad bellum necessaria \textit{in marg.} D, G  
\(^{15}\) ecclesiae hostis : hostis ecclesiae M, FR1, KO, OO  
\(^{16}\) aliquando M, FR1, KO, OO  
\(^{17}\) cum M; tantum OO  
\(^{18}\) potentiissime M, KO  
\(^{19}\) indigere bellum : bellum indigere KO, OO  
\(^{20}\) haec tria : horum trium M, KO, OO  
\(^{21}\) corrodemus M, KO, OO  
\(^{22}\) longinquum M, KO, OO  
\(^{23}\) modo M  
\(^{24}\) prompto M, KO  
\(^{25}\) inveniemus M  
\(^{26}\) quibus ... argentum : hujus inveniendi argenti OO  
\(^{27}\) quod C, F  
\(^{28}\) bellum M, KO, OO
ut sine minis\(^1\) in pace vivant\(^2\), libenter passagii expensas\(^3\) contribuent\(^4\), 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.

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\(^1\) inuria FR1; injuriis D, G
\(^2\) nunc M; vivunt M, KO
\(^3\) nunc add. M
\(^4\) expensas contribuent : 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
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 contractoque comparavit?

Sarmacida erunt spolia sine sudore et sanguine.

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

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 martiales.

Sarmacida erunt spolia sine sudore et sanguine.
Quis tunicatos\textsuperscript{1} mitratosque\textsuperscript{2} Turcos aut brachatos timeat Aegyptios\textsuperscript{3} 4, quos Arsaces\textsuperscript{5}, ad Ezechiam regem\textsuperscript{6} Ioquens, \textit{baculo arundineo contractoque}\textsuperscript{7} comparavit. \textit{Quod si aliquando nostri exercitus ab eis victi\textsuperscript{8} sunt, neque viribus, neque rei\textsuperscript{9} militaris peritiae, sed numerositati\textsuperscript{10} hostium ascribendum est. Quod\textsuperscript{11} si Christianorum copiae tot fuerint\textsuperscript{12}, ut opprimi\textsuperscript{13} Saracenorum multitudine nequeant\textsuperscript{14}, quod passagii nomen exposcit, certa\textsuperscript{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.

\textit{The Sarmatian spoils will be without without sweat nor blood.}\textsuperscript{16}

Who will fear the Turks in their robes and turbans or the Egyptians in their flowing garments? Speaking to King Ezechias,\textsuperscript{17} Arsaces\textsuperscript{18} likened them to a \textit{broken staff of reeds}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{passagium} - then victory will be certainly be in our hands, just like former examples show us.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} \textit{truncatos M, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{em.; mitratosque A, B, C, D, E, F, G \[emendation on the basis of EV and IV\]}
  \item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Aegyptiacos M, FR1, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{Aegyptii in marg. D, G}
  \item \textsuperscript{5} \textit{Rabsaces KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{6} \textit{omit. C; legem OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{7} \textit{contracto M, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{8} \textit{ab ... victi : victi ab eis M, FR1, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{9} \textit{re M, KO}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} \textit{nunumerositati M, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} \textit{quoniam M, FR1, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{fuerunt M, KO}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{tot add. M, KO; a add. FR1, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{et add. M, KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{nihilominus add. KO, OO}
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Cicero: \textit{De officiis}, 1, 61. Adapted by Piccolomini
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Hezekiah: 13th king of Judah. The commonly received computation reckons his reign from 726 to 697 B.C.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Rabsaces
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Isaiah, 36, 6
\end{itemize}

[23] [IV/FV] Juvabunt et divisiones eorum et odia, quae cum Tartaris habent assidua certamina. Juvabit et gentis\footnote{gentes M} illius desperatio. Nam Mahumetum\footnote{Mahumeti secta in marg. D, G}, cui maxime credunt, sectam suam in octingentos usque annos augendam, exinde\footnote{diminuendum FR1; afferunt OO} prophetasse, qui sub Heraclio Caesare malignari\footnote{accepit T, U, W} coepit, post quem\footnote{supputentur U} supputantur anni XL et octingenti, \textit{et hoc Turcos admodum territat,\footnote{Caesaream U [here U follows IV/FV]} Christianos elevat.}\footnote{accepit M, KO; accepit FR1} Nam etsi\footnote{si et F; et M} falsus propheta Mahumetus est, non est tamen falsum vaticinium\footnote{falsus 20 propheta Mahumetus est, non est tamen falsum vaticinium extimandum, quod Jeremiae\footnote{Jeremia vaticinium in marg. D, G} sacris sermonibus consonum esse videmus, dum primo et quinquagesimo capitulo\footnote{ex M} inquit\footnote{inquit 3}, quasi tuam sanctitatem et Caesarem adhortatus\footnote{Caesarem adhortatus\footnote{Caesarem adhortatus}}:}
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.

1 em.; et quinquagesimo capitulo omit. A, B, C, D, E, F, G [emendation on the basis of EV and FV]
2 omit. M
3 primo et ... inquit : primo ex L. c. libri sui M; L. ca. libri sui KO, OO; L. capite libri sui FR1
4 ac M, FR1, KO, OO
5 hortatus M, KO; hortatur M
6 dummodo M, KO, OO; dominus FR1
7 tamen KO, OO
8 ea add. M, KO, OO
9 ea add. KO, OO
10 sublimatio FR1; dignitas KO, OO
11 Heraclius (Flavius Heraclius Augustus) (c. 575 – 641): Byzantine Emperor from 610 to his death
12 Jeremiah, 51, 6
[24] [EV] Intellexisti desiderium suum\(^1\), sanctum propositum, integram mentem. Verum quamvis\(^2\) imperatorium examen\(^3\) sic de passagio sentiat, totum tamen et consilio et arbitrio et judicio\(^5\) 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 relinquare, quae sibi adhuc in minoribus constituto\(^6\) atque\(^7\) ab ineunte adolescentia semper cordi curaeque\(^8\) fuit. Alius fortasse vel generale concilium vel reformationis decreta petivisset, sed quod majus haberii\(^9\) concilium potest quam tuae sanctitatis tuae sanctitatis tuique sacri\(^10\) \(\{165v\}\) senatus praesentia. Frustra concilium petit, qui Romani pontificis mandata non recipit. Ubi tua sanctitas est, ibi concilium, ibi leges\(^11\), ibi mores, ibi decreta\(^12\) salubrisque\(^13\) reformatio.

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

\(^1\) tuum V
\(^2\) omit. U, W
\(^3\) imperatorium examen : imperatorum examen T; examen imperatorium V, FR2
\(^4\) quid add. U, W
\(^5\) arbitrio et judicio : judicio et arbitrio T; judicio FR2
\(^6\) omit. U, W
\(^7\) neque W
\(^8\) curae T
\(^9\) omit. FR2
\(^10\) sancti FR2
\(^11\) reges FR2
\(^12\) omit. U, V, W
\(^13\) salubris U, V, W
\(^14\) intelligis Christi KO, OO
\(^15\) integrum M, KO, OO
\(^16\) omit. M, KO, OO
\(^17\) voluit M
\(^18\) ad E
\(^19\) fortasse aut : autem M, KO, OO
\(^20\) concilium generale : generale concilium FR1
\(^21\) reformationem M; informationem KO, OO
\(^22\) quippiam C, FR1, OO; quipiam A, D; quicpiam G; quispiam M, KO
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,\(^2\) who holds the place of Peter and Paul, now reigning with Christ,\(^3\) and whose responsibility it is to judge between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy.\(^4\) But the emperor wanted to use this visit to Your Holiness to bring forward a matter that has been close to his heart and mind since his early youth in lesser circumstances. Another would perhaps have requested a general council or reform decrees, but what greater council can there be than an assembly\(^5\) 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

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

\(^4\) Deuteronomy, 17, 18: Si difficile et ambiguous apud te judicium esse perspexeris inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, leпром и leпром

\(^5\) “praesentia”
[25] [EV] Caesari susceptis imperialibus infulis tuaque sacra\(^1\) manu coronato nihil hoc tempore visum est antiquius quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte videtur arduum, nil\(\)hil est tamen\(^2\) tam\(^3\) difficile quod quaerendo non fiat facile. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et gloria quaeritur. Quae magno animo fortiter excellenterque geruntur, nescio\(^4\) quomodo\(^5\) pleniori bucca laudare solemus? Difficiles aditus virtus aperit\(^6\). Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, gloriosissime præsul, qui\(^7\) unionem feceris, jubilaeum indulseris, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et\(^8\) dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successori relinquas, et Caesarea pietas suadet, et omnis Christianitas orat. Nam tibi jam coronato Caesare, quamvis multa incumbant magna et alta negotia, nihil tamen est, de quo vel utilius agere vel gloriosius quam de passagio valeas. Amen\(^9\).

[25] [IV/FV] Caesari, suscepta ex tua\(^10\) manu\(^11\) imperiali corona, nihil antiquius visum est, quam de passagio tecum agere. Quod si fortasse prima fronte videatur arduum, nil\(\)hil tamen est\(^12\) tam difficile quod quaerendo non fiat facile. Virtus circa difficile operatur. Asperis in rebus et vir noscitur, et\(^13\) gloria quaeritur. Quae magno animo, et fortiter, et excellenter\(^14\) geruntur, nescio quomodo pleniori bucca\(^15\) laudare solemnus. Clari et illustres sunt tituli tui, beatissime præsul, qui unionem feceris, jubilaeum \{39v\} indulseris, Caesarem coronaveris. Passagii tamen titulus et dignior et diuturnior omnibus erit, quem ne successori relinquas, et Caesarea sublimitas suadet\(^16\), et omnis Christianitas orat, et tibi\(^17\) coronato Caesare quamvis multa incumbant, nihil tamen\(^18\) est, de quo vel utilius agere vel gloriosius quam de passagio valeas\(^19\).

\(^1\) omit. V
\(^2\) omit. FR2
\(^3\) omit. U
\(^4\) nisi T, FR2
\(^5\) quoddammodo FR2
\(^6\) appetit T, FR2
\(^7\) cum U
\(^8\) est V
\(^9\) Finis add. U
\(^10\) sacra add. M, FR1
\(^11\) sacra add. KO, OO
\(^12\) tamen est : est tamen FR1
\(^13\) in M
\(^14\) et excellenter : et excellenterque M; excellenterque FR1, KO, OO
\(^15\) bucha A, B, C, E, F
\(^16\) omit. F1
\(^17\) iam add. FR1
\(^18\) tam D
\(^19\) omit. KO; possis OO
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