



Oration “Cum bellum hodie” of Pope Pius II (26 September 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 6th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 45)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 45)

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September 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by
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Abstract

Soon after his election as pope, in August 1458, Pius II announced that one of his highest priorities, or indeed the highest, would be the war against the Turks for which he had been working tirelessly since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. His first initiative in this regard was to summon the Christian princes and peoples to a Congress in Mantua to discuss and organize a crusade against the Turks. Formally, the Congress opened on 1 June 1459, but at that time very few delegates had arrived in Mantua. Over the summer, however, more and more arrived, and on 26 September the first full meeting of the Congress was held. After a mass in the cathedral, the pope delivered the oration, "*Cum bellum hodie*", one of his most famous orations which later circulated widely in Europe. In the oration, the pope spoke on the justice, the feasibility, and the benefits of a war against the Turks. The audience was enthralled by his fervour and eloquence, but remained skeptical concerning the military capacity of the Europeans vis-a-vis the Turks. After the oration and a further oration by Cardinal Bessarion, the delegates formally agreed to the pope's proposal for a crusade against the Turks, but in reality very few believed in the venture and later developments showed that they would not actually support it.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1459; 15th century; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Islam vs. Christianity; Divinity of Christ; Miracles of Christ; Life of Christ

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Turkish threat against Europe had been a concern of Enea Silvio Piccolomini since his youth, and he had eagerly endeavoured to mobilize the Empire and the Papacy for a crusade against the Turks.²

When he was elected pope, he finally had the opportunity to implement his own proposals to his predecessors on the war against the Turks, and he soon summoned the Christian princes and peoples to a Congress in Mantua to discuss and set in motion a crusade.³

Arriving in Mantua at the end of May, he found that only few powers had sent their ambassadors in time. He put a brave face on it, however, and in the oration "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43] he expressed the conviction that many more ambassadors would be arriving during the coming months.

And they actually did – after the pope had issued a numbers of severe letters to the European rulers, including the emperor.

Towards the end of September, all the Italian powers were represented in Mantua, and most of the European powers, with France as a notable exception.

The Congress could begin.

At a solemn meeting of the delegates, in the Cathedral of Mantua on 26 September 1459, the pope gave his opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*",⁴ one of his most famous orations, and indeed writings.

Pius himself wrote about the oration in his *Commentarii*:

The congress was now in full session. Though the French had not yet arrived, the duke of Milan could not be kept waiting long, and so the pope decided that before the duke left he would address the general assembly and urge them to join a crusade. And so, after hearing

¹ CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, pp. 136-141); Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 60-64; Ady, pp. 172-173; Baldi, pp. 147 ff; Bisaha, pp. 42-44; Boulting, pp. 268-272; Housley: *Pope*, pp. 219-220, 228-229; Mitchell, pp. 158-159; Paparelli, pp. 217-220; Pastor, pp. 56-58; Reinhardt, pp. 260-262; Setton, II, pp. 212-213; Voigt, IV, pp. 71-73; White, pp. 144-157

² *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1

³ See introductions to orations "*Ut apertum vobis*" [29] and "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43]

⁴ Rainaldus, ad annum 1459, nr. 60

mass in the cathedral, the princes and the envoys were called to order ... Then he commanded silence and spoke for three hours amid such rapt attention that not a single word went unremarked. The pope had been suffering a severe cough for several days, but Divine Mercy came to his aid and he did not cough once during his speech nor betray the slightest sign of hesitation. He spoke at length about the crusade against the Turks, demonstrating not only the utility, but also the justness, ease, and necessity of the project. This oration later circulated with his collected speeches.¹

Pius' contemporary biographer, Campano, commented:

When Francesco Sforza arrived with 400 nobles, he [the pope] decided not to wait for more embassies from other peoples, but presented his proposal to go to war. His oration was the most important of all those which circulate under his name.²

In the oration, Pius – as his other contemporary biographer Platina wrote –

spoke about the reasons why [the war] was feasible and about the danger threatening the Christians. He moved all to tears when he described the miseries of those whom the barbarians carry off to slavery daily. All minds were on fire when he showed that the Turks, having occupied Greece and Illyria, would now continue into inner Europe. He left nothing unsaid which could move Christian souls. It seemed quite remarkable that though he spoke about the same matters on several occasions, he always seemed to say something different, so elegant and rich was his [eloquence].³

Voigt had this to say:

Der Papst gebot Schweigen und man hörte vom apostolischen Stuhle herab eine Rede voll Kunst und voll Feuer, voll kirchlicher und heidnischer Gelehrsamkeit, voll Türkenhass und

¹ CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, pp. 136-139)

² Zimolo, p. 39: *Francisco Sfortia cum quatringentis purpuratis veniente, tum demum non expectatis caeterarum gentium legationibus rogationem tulit de bello suscipiendo, habuitque orationem omnium quae circumferuntur ipsius nomine, longe gravissimam.* In a note, Zimolo calls the oration “*quel lungo, bene composto fervoroso discorso, che rimase il più famoso fra tutti quelli da lui tenuti, quantumque non riuscisse ad accendere gli animi degli uditori quanto l’oratore sperava*”

³ Zimolo, p. 107: *... dicte sententiae qua id ratione geri posset; propositum periculum quod cervicibus Christianorum immineret. Mote sunt omnibus lacrimae, cum eorum calamitates exponerentur, qui ab barbaris in gravissimam servitutem quotidie adducebantur. Incensi animi cum ostenderet Turcos, occupata Grecia et Illyrico, in interiorem Europam transituros. Nil ab eo pretermisum est quod ad movendos Christianorum animos pertineret. Mirabile quidem illud videbatur, quod cum sepius iisdem de rebus loqueretur, diversa semper visus est dicere, tanta erat in homine elegantia et copia.* In a note, Zimolo calls it “*il discorso più importante e che ebbe poi maggior diffusione, trovandosene copie in numerosi codici*”

*christlichem Glaubensmut, die bald in unzähligen Abschriften durch ganz Europa verbreitet wurde.*¹

And Paparelli:

*Fu uno dei più fioriti ed appassionati discorsi che siano usciti dalla bocca di quest'uomo che va senza dubbio annoverato tra i più persuasivi oratori del suo tempo. Il religioso fervore del pontifice, l'esperienza e l'abilità del politico, la facondia dell'umanista erano condensate nelle sue parole.*²

Picotti shared the appreciation of the pope's oratory, but neatly defined the fatal flaw of his oration: a far too optimistic assessment of the strength of the Christian powers vis-à-vis the Turkish military force:

*E parlò prima egli stesso per tre ore con quella sua arte così ricca di classici ornamenti, ma così calda di vita che agli ascoltatori sembrava più divina che umana e li teneva sospesi in ammirazione quasi estatica, quali il pennello del Pinturicchio li ritrasse nell'affresco stupendo di Siena. E Ludovico Foscari, amatissimo della cultura e studioso della buona eloquenza, ne rimase colpito e commosso e fu preso da un'ammirazione intensa, da un caldo entusiasmo per la persona di Pio, per la dottrina di lui, per quell'eroico sacrificio di tutto se stesso al dover suo di pontefice, sicchè non rifiniva poi de farne le lodi scrivendo agli amici. Ma il discorso del papa era opera di sacerdote, di umanista, di retore, non d'uomo di stato. ... quando il papa ... si studiava ... di attenuare la potenza dei Turchi ... temo forte che un ironico sorriso d'incredulità errasse sulle labbra di quelli che rammentavano Campomerlo e Nicopoli e Varna ... e sapevano che assalire i Turchi in campo aperto o sotto la formidabile Sтамbul era ben altra cosa dal tenerli lontani dalle gole boschive dell' Albania: il papa mostrava di non aver chiara coscienza di quello che potessero il selvaggio fanatismo de' credenti nell'Islam e l'organizzazione militare saldissima de' guerrieri di Mehmed II. Io non so se questi pensieri s'aggirassero nella mente di Lodovico Foscari: certo poco appresso egli scriveva che il papa si lasciava guidare più dallo zelo che dalla ragione.*³

In his *Reichstagsreden* from 1994, Helmrath wrote:

¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 71-73. See also Pastor, pp. 55-58; Boulting, pp. 268-271; Ady, pp. 172-173 ("This oration ranks among the best and most famous of Pius II's oratorical efforts")

² Paparelli, p. 218

³ Picotti, pp. 183-185

Der Hauptorator war Pius II. selbst; auf ihn, den wirkungsvollsten Redner seiner Zeit, erscheint der Kongress förmlich zugeschnitten. Die Rede 'Cum bellum hodie' bedeutete Krönung und Summe seiner vielen Türkenreden. Sie wird lediglich in der Stringenz des rhetorischen Aufbaus von der älteren Rede 'Clades' übertroffen. Leidenschaftlicher, existentieller hatte Pius nie gesprochen. Wie der Papst schmerzverkrümmt und bleich auf dem Sessel Platz nimmt, zunächst kaum sprechen kann, wie ihm langsam beim Reden die Lebensgeister zurückkehren und sich die Worte auch physisch zu einer dreistündigen fulminanten Rede steigern, gehört zu den eindrucksvollsten Beschreibungen einer Actio.¹

And later, in 2004, he wrote:

Thematically and structurally, the crusading oration that Pius II gave at Mantua in September 1459, Cum bellum hodie, was based upon the Clades oration and the orations that he had delivered at Wiener Neustadt. But in quality it surpassed them, establishing a new apogee, and constituting a summa of Piccolomini's orations against the Turks.²

One historian does not share the general admiration of Pius' rhetorics in the "Cum bellum hodie". Norman Housley wrote:

As we would expect, it constituted an impressive display of learning, but the Pope's phrasing often seems shop-worn and faltering; it is almost as if the long and dispiriting wait for the delegates to arrive at Mantua had drained Pius of both energy and conviction.³

Indeed, the descriptions in the "Cum bellum hodie" of the cruelty of the Turks – a favourite theme of humanist orators⁴ - are somewhat less passionate and dramatic than in previous orations.⁵ Maybe, as Housley thinks, Pius' oration was marked by growing disillusionment about the whole venture. On the other hand, the oration is somewhat different from his earlier orations, though it drew most of its material from those: for one thing, Pius was now speaking from the apostolic throne, in majesty, and the style of a very passionate orator, fulminating against the atrocities of the cruel, primitive, and illiterate Turks, may not have been what he wanted for this occasion. Secondly, the oration is much more religious than the other orations, reflecting the speaker's

¹ Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 86-87. See also Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 95-96, 119

² Helmrath: *German*, p. 63

³ Housley: *Crusading*, p. 161. In a note to this passage, Housley makes it quite clear that he disagrees with other researchers who consider Pius to have been very eloquent and the oration to have been a highpoint. See also Bisaha, p. 44

⁴ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 104 ff.

⁵ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 96

changed circumstances,¹ like in the opening prayers at the beginning of the oration and in the description of life in Heaven as a reward for dying while fighting in the crusade. So, though the “*Cum bellum hodie*” resembles Pius’ earlier crusade orations, it is also different from them and meant to be so.

At any rate, there was, at the time, as even Picotti said,² much admiration and praise for the Pope’s zeal in defending Christianity, but persisting skepticism concerning his sense of the military realities involved and of the possibilities for creating a united European military response to Turkish expansion into Europe.

After the pope, Bessarion spoke for the cardinals – at great length, too, and in the end the assembly expressed its acceptance of the pope’s proposal for a European war against the Turks.³ Later negotiations and events would show how little this acceptance meant in reality.⁴

The passivity of the European princes in the face of such a great danger is quite surprising and requires some explanation. The military historian Kelly De Vries has offered this explanation:

... why were western powers so reluctant for such a long time to engage Turkish armies? The answer to this question can be found in part in the sermons given by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, at the conference of Mantua, held in 1459. At that conference, Pius II, in again attempting to call a crusade against the Turks – he had initially tried to do so in 1456,⁵ with some success, as will be seen below – surmised that there were two reasons why there had not been a western response to Turkish incursions in southeastern Europe since the battle of Nicopolis: first the western European Christian powers had been too busy fighting other Christians, either in international or civil wars; and second the western European realms were too frightened by the Turks to go against them. To these, a third reason could be added for the lack of western military response against the Turkish invasion: the Hungarians were simply too successful in their wars against the Turks. To many in the west, there was no need for a crusade against the Ottomans, for the path to their further southeastern and central European conquests led through Hungary, and Hungary for a very long time after the battle of Nicopolis was able to defend itself.⁶

¹ Meserve: *Italian*, p. 30; Bisaha, pp. 42-43

² See above

³ And after Bessarion the Hungarian ambassadors spoke, like some other ambassadors, or at least Jean Jouffroy, representing the Duke of Burgundy

⁴ See Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 120, for a balanced assessment of the results obtained by Pius at the Congress of Mantua

⁵ Or rather 1454-1455, at three German imperial diets (Regensburg, Frankfurt, Wiener Neustadt)

⁶ De Vries, p. 544-545

2. Themes¹

The main theme of the oration is the threefold demonstration of the justice of the war, the feasibility of the war, and the rewards of the war.

2.1. Justice of the war

Concerning the justice of the war, Pius argues that it is legitimate to recover conquered lands and to defend oneself against military invasion and threats. European Christians might be quite unconcerned that the East had been lost to Islam, but they really ought not to neglect the clear and present danger from the Turks who were every year penetrating deeper into Europe through the Balkans.

... we must avoid both the imminent and the future dangers to ourselves. Maybe past [injuries] might somehow be tolerated if we had now reached the end of our misfortunes and were not threatened by even greater dangers. But how can we hope for peace from a people thirsting for our blood, which has now occupied Greece and is turning its sword towards Hungary, that is towards our own entrails? Our enemy is young, of flourishing age, with a strong body, and a mind that is great and swollen with the row of victories which our own negligence have given him. Only a foolish and deluded man can think that this fabulously wealthy young man, experienced in war, and driven by ambition for power, will stay tranquil. Abandon that hope! For he will not lay down his arms before he has won or lost all. Every victory of his will be a step towards the next one until he has defeated all the Western kings, destroyed the Christian gospel, and imposed the law of Muhammad on the whole world. And do not think it will take long before he comes against you. For the neighbouring peoples have been so worn down by war that they will not dare to take up arms unless you come to their assistance. Only the faithful Hungarians persevere, but they cannot hold out long unless they are given help. They have, indeed, been a bulwark for you towards the East, and if that bulwark is destroyed, neither the Germans, nor the Bohemians, nor the Poles will be safe. Neither craggy mountains nor deep rivers will be a barrier. If Hungary is defeated, nothing stands in the way of the Turks in their quest for world empire. Through Kärnten and Friuli they will have easy access to Italy. Moreover, in just one night their navy can sail from Vallana, in Turkish possession, to Brindisi, and from there the road is open for the Turks to both Upper and Lower Italy. If only We were a false and mendacious prophet in this matter ... but trust Us: here We are reading a page from the [books of the]

¹ See also Helmroth: *Pius*, pp. 96-97

Sibyl to you. Unless we go against them, they will come, the Turks, they will come, and take our country and people. [Sect. 17-18]

Later developments would prove that Pius' assessment of Turkish intentions was actually quite correct.

2.2. Feasibility of the war

Pius advanced three arguments to persuade his audience of the feasibility of the war and the likelihood of a Christian victory over the Turks:

- The Turks' military strength was not as great as generally believed in the West
- The military strength of Europe was greater than that of the Turks
- God – i.e. the true, Christian God – would not fail to give victory to the Christians

Concerning Turkish military strength, Piccolomini would have some difficulty in persuading European princes that the long series – with some exceptions – of Turkish victories did not point to a very strong Turkish war machine which was still quite fearsome.

Piccolomini's reference to wars in Asia Minor in Antiquity was an expression of a curiously synchronous concept of history: those wars were fought 1.500 years ago and so much had changed in the meantime that it could only be ignored at one's peril.

Concerning European military strength, it would probably have been quite overwhelming if it could have been organized as a single, cohesive and streamlined force, but in view of past experiences and the political realities of the day such a development was not very likely in the foreseeable future.

And concerning the omnipotent Christian God, the princes would ask where He had been at the battles of Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444), and they might be quite wary of trusting their fortunes to such an elusive divinity. The pope argued that their former defeats were due to their own sins and that God would help them if they just reformed themselves and became virtuous Christians. But this condition would undoubtedly be seen as even more difficult to meet than organizing a joint, well-functioning military command.

2.3. Rewards of the war

As for the rewards of the war, acquiring material wealth and territories through war might be quite appealing, but it was quite dangerous, too, and in that age men would no longer be as focused upon rewards in Heaven as people had been in former times and as the pope would want them to be.

The audience, therefore, may have loved the pope's eloquence, but they remained quite skeptical concerning the fundamental realities of the matter. Pius correctly sensed the mood of the assembly, when – towards the end – he exclaimed¹: *You are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations* [sect. 42], proving that if he may in some respects have been naïve, he was by no means stupid.

2.4. Other themes

Other, secondary, themes worth noting are the Western conception of Islam, miracles as proofs of divinity, and the conception of afterlife in Heaven.

2.4.1. Western conception of Islam

Pius' conception of Islam may have been both primitive and biased, but it is remarkable that he actually made an effort to understand it – even if it was in order to better fight it. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa had been studying Islam² and there is no doubt that he had shared his insights with Pius who had also commissioned a report on the Turks from the Venetian, Niccolò Sagundino.³ Also Juan de Segovia had sent his book *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Saracenorum* (1457) to Piccolomini in 1458,⁴ but the book does not appear to have been used as a direct source for the exposé of Islamic errors given in the "*Cum bellum hodie*." Segovia's main message, viz. to convert the Moslems not through war, but through dialogue, did not affect Pius'

¹ This remark was either written into the draft of the oration to be held, or improvised during it, or written into it afterwards. At any rate, it appears in the edited version

² Cusa was at the time preparing a treatise on the Koran, *Cribratio Alkorani* (1460-1461). He had been corresponding with another theologian who studied Islam, Juan of Segovia. Apart from Cusa, Pius also consulted Cardinal Torquemada who had written a *Tractatus contra errores perfidi Machometi et Turcorum sive Saracenorum* (1454) - as well as the historian Biondi who accompanied him to Mantua, and the works of a former teacher, Andrea Biglia, see Meserve: *Italian*, pp. 17-24; Pius II: *Epistola ad Mahumetem* (Duprat), p. 13; White, p. 147

³ See Sagundino. See also Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 102

⁴ Juan de Segovia: *De gladio* (Roth, I, pp. lxx-lxxi)

crusade plans, but may have been a source of inspiration of his *Epistula ad Mahumetem*, in which he endeavoured to persuade the Turkish sultan to convert to Christianity.

In his oration, Pius gives the following summary of Islamic teachings:

As we must fight an enemy who is completely against our God, we shall now speak, briefly, on the law of the Saracens, followed by the Turks, so that you may go to war the more confidently the better you know how retched and impious they are. The law of Muhammad is totally perverse: not only does it deny the divinity of Christ, but is filled with countless other errors. Let us pass over such delirious foolishness that angels have perishable bodies created by fire; that – as Origen too believes – even demons will someday be saved; that Heaven is made of fume; and that, in the beginning, the moon shone as brightly as the sun, but lost its splendour when it was touched by the wing of the angel Gabriel in flight. But who can countenance that the world, as also Democritus thought, obeys fortune and chance, and not divine providence? That Muhammad mocks the holy trinity and claims that God cannot possibly have a son? And even if he agrees that Christ was born of a virgin and was a just and holy man who healed all illnesses, he denies – together with Arius – that He was God, and he does not believe that He died for us, but madly claims that He was taken away by God and will die at the end of the world and then finally be ressurected, and that the Jews crucified and killed somebody else who looked like him. Neither does he accept the dignity and the glory of the Holy Spirit, whom he falsely – like Nestorius and Macedonius – claims to be a created being. He robs Faith of all worth saying that anyone is saved whatever sect he belongs to if only he leads a moral life and follows his own law. And since his lies are inconsistent with each other, in another place he claims that no one can be saved outside the law handed down by himself, in which – against Saint Paul - he bids [his followers] to observe circumcision. He forbids the use of wine only, all other pleasure he allows, and he permits debauchery and adultery with captive and bought women. He grants that men may have several wives and divorce them as they please, and he does not forbid intercourse against nature. Finally, carnal and animal man gains a future blessed life consisting purely in carnal pleasures. This is indeed a wise man who dares to call himself the prophet of God, but who dishonours the Old Law while corrupting the New, who prostitutes the souls, who is truly a procurator for Orcus and the first disciple of Satan, and whose followers are the slaves of Hell – such as we do not doubt the Turks to be. [Sect. 26-28]

It has been argued that to Pius Islam represented a heretical and schismatic sect or deviation from Christianity.¹ In his summary of Islamic teachings he refers to Islam as a sect,² and he refers to the heretics Nestorius and Macedonius in connection with Islam's denial of the Holy Spirit.

The major doctrinal errors of Islam are, according to Pius:

- Denial of the divinity of Christ
- Denial of the Trinity
- Denial of the Christ's Death on the Cross and the Resurrection

The last denial makes the Muslims the "enemies of the (lifegiving) cross", an expression used by Peter the Venerable³ and several times by Pius.

In this text, there is no reference to Nicholas of Cusa's ideas on finding a common ground between Christianity and Islam,⁴ but such ideas may have been behind the pope's later, quite remarkable *Epistola ad Mahumetem*, in which he made an extensive, reasoned comparison of Christianity and Islam, even offering Mehmed to become emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire if he would convert to Christianity. It might have been known in Europe that Mehmed's religious attitudes were actually rather broadminded, but sensibly the letter was never sent and indeed it may have been meant for Western consumption only, a piece of papal propaganda which actually circulated quite extensively.

2.4.2. Miracles as proofs of divinity

Earlier in his life, Piccolomini had personally been quite blasé and skeptical about miracles, but later he seemed to have considered weather phenomena (at least such as were favourable to papal ceremonies) and outcomes of war as expressions of divine intervention in the affairs of men.⁵

In the "*Cum bellum hodie*", however, there is no doubt in his mind that the fundamental proof of Christ's divinity was his miracles, demonstrating, as they did, his mastery over nature. Said Pius:

¹ Moudarres

² Moudarres, p. 42: Pius' use of the term "sect" (secta) may reflect Isidore of Sevilla's juxtaposition of the Latin verb "secare" with the Greek word "haerein" (with haeresis), both meaning to "cut off"

³ Moudarres, p. 42

⁴ Moudarres, p. 46

⁵ *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.7.4.

When He was asked by the disciples of John: Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?, did He not answer them by pointing to his miracles? The surest proof of divinity are miracles. If many philosophers think that God is nature itself, then why should we not rather believe that He is God whom miracles show to have mastery over nature? [Sect. 29]

It must be noted, however, that the argument of miracles is only one part of a comprehensive and cogent statement of the truth – and superiority – of Christian religion which would not have failed to impress Pius’ listener’s and his broader European audience, even if it did not persuade them to go to war against the Turks.

2.4.3. Life in Heaven

And if people wondered about what life they would have in Heaven – evidently they would not be allowed the sensual pleasures of the Mohammedan – Pius gave a description of it which would reflect what theologians thought of the matter:

Let us exchange the transitory with the eternal, and let us undertake this Turkish war by which we can become immortal and reach the heavenly City of Jerusalem, created by the supreme artisan with wondrous beauty and art beyond words. There we shall see God face to face and enjoy his goodness; there we shall look at the holy angels, and all the orders of the blessed spirits as fellow citizens and companions; there nothing happening anywhere shall be hidden to us. For when our soul is liberated from its mortal frame, it will acquire knowledge of all things, not as imagined by Plato, but as taught by Aristotle and our own doctors. There we shall be afraid of nothing, and we shall fear neither planets nor comets that so terrorize kings. As the prophet says, we shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence, and in wealthy rest. We shall find sabbath without evening, rest without end. Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle’s, and no old age nor length of time shall weaken it. We shall be filled with the glory of Our Saviour which we shall contemplate for ever, love eternally, and praise tirelessly. [Sect. 40]

In this conception of the blessed life in Heaven there is not much focus on the Beatific Vision and the mystical experience of God, but Pius was a not a man given to mysticism.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration “*Cum bellum hodie*” was given on 26 September 1459, in the Cathedral of Mantua, in the presence of the Duke of Milan, ambassadors from Italian and other European powers, cardinals, and the papal court.

The format was a solemn papal oration from the throne.

4. Text^{1 2}

There are two versions of the *Cum bellum hodie*, an Early Version and a Final Version.

4.1. Early Version

4.1.1. Manuscripts³

The Early Version of the “*Cum bellum hodie*” is one of the most widely copied texts of Piccolomini/Pius, being extant in more than 120 manuscript copies⁴, making it a “Europaweite Bestseller”.⁵ Below follows a list of those manuscripts identified by the present editor in catalogue and literature searches until now⁶. The manuscripts and editions used in the present edition are marked with the siglum.

- **Berlin / Staatsbibliothek**
Lat. 402, ff. 50v-55r
Slg. Hamilton 642, ff. 12r-39v

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

² Helmrath: *German*, p. 203. For a comprehensive list of manuscripts containing the oration *Cum bellum hodie* and editions of it with bibliography, see Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 338-342

³ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

⁴ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 95

⁵ Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 133; see also Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 95

⁶ March 2019

- **Bern / Burgerbibliothek**
244, ff. 151v-156r
531, ff. 125r-144v
- **Bologna / Biblioteca Universitaria**
1525, ff. 189r-203v
- **Brescia / Biblioteca Civica Queriana**
C VII 1, no fol.
- **Brno / Moravská Zemská Knihovna**
Mk. 96, ff. 34r-46v
- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 1r-17v **(R)** *
- **Budapest / Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár**
Clmae 228, ff. 136v-140r
Clmae 372, ff. 2r-15v
Clmae 515, ff. 108r-131v
- **Cuijk en S. Agata / Kruisheerrenklooster**
C 19, ff. 109r-119v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana**
Plut. 89.16, ff. 141r-150v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale**
Magl. XXXII 39, ff. 19r-28v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana**
422, ff. 78v-100r
- **Genova / Biblioteca Civica Berio**
10.6.65, ff. 178r-186v

- **Genova / Biblioteca Durazzo**
299, ff. 246r-254v
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 58, ff. 24r-38r
- **Göttweig / Stiftsbibliothek**
360, ff. 134v-141v
- **Halle / Universitätsbibliothek**
Stolb-Wern. Za 74, ff. 1r-6v
Ye 2 18, 239v-344r
- **Holkham Hall / Library of the Earl of Leicester**
484, ff. 1r ff.
- **Leiden / Universiteitsbibliotheek**
BPL 211, ff. 90r-98v
- **London / British Library**
Add MS 15336, ff. 70v-78v **(M)** *
Phillipps mss., 276-8504, no fol.
4913, ff. 82r-91v
- **Lucca / Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana**
Ms. 541, ff. 158r – 167v **(N)** *
- **Madrid / Biblioteca Nacional**
4026, ff. 12r-18v
- **Mainz / Stadtbibliothek**
II 437 fasc. 5, ff. 1r-10v
- **Melk / Stiftsbibliothek**
780, ff. 132f-144v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
D 5 sup, ff. 56r-66v
L 69 sup, ff. 2r-16v
T 12 sup, ff. 2r-16v

Sussidio B 226, ff. 2r-16v

- **Milano / Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense**
AD IX 14, ff. 56r-75v
AE XII 10, ff. 88r-98v
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 519, ff. 101r-114r
- **München / Universitätsbibliothek**
667, ff. 112r-124v
- **Notre Dame / Notre Dame University Library**
30, ff. 185-193v
- **Novara / Biblioteca Capitolare**
124 mb 15, nr. 2, no fol.
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 253v-260r
Cent. V, App. 448, no fol.
- **Oxford / Bodleian Library**
Bibl. Canonice Cl. 51, no fol.
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms.lat. 4154, no fol.
Ms.lat. 4314, ff. 113f-134r **(P)** *
Ms.lat. 18130, ff. 102r-132v
- **Pavia / Biblioteca Universitaria**
164, ff. 150r-158r
- **Pommersfelden / Schönborn Schlossbibliothek**
102 VII, 38, ff. 105r-127v
- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
691 (35 B 20), ff. 815-823

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
 Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 146v ff.
 Borghese I, 121-122, ff. 4v-18r

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
 Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 171r-194v
 Barb. lat. 1808, ff. 1r ff.
 Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 85r-94v (H)
 Ott. lat. 905, ff. 20r-27r
 Ott. lat. 1170, ff. 291r-206r
 Ott. lat. 1705, ff. 134r-146r
 Reg. lat. 557, ff. 98r-112v
 Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 85r-91r
 Vat. lat. 4037, ff. 77r-85v
 Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 1r-19r **(L)** *
 Vat. lat. 7239, ff. 51r-67v
 Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 4v-20v
 Vat. lat. 12256, ff. 8r-26v
 Vat. lat. 13451, ff. 1r-16r

- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**
 1549, ff. 1r-16r
 4310, ff. 108v-124r

- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele**
 Vitt. Em. 492, ff. 153r-168r **(T)** *

- **Roma / Biblioteca Valicelliana**
 G 47, ff. 92r-99r

- **Salamanca / Biblioteca Universitaria**
 2619, ff. 105v-113v

- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
 B VIII 15, ff. 120r-132v

- **Siena / Biblioteca degli Intronati**
H IX 14, ff. 1r-27v
- **Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket**
Ms. 7, ff. 174r-179r **(S)** *
- **Torino / Biblioteca Reale**
Fondo Varia 134, ff. 183v-196r
Fondo Varia 163, ff. 71v-84v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**
II 05, ff. 25r-34v
II 10, ff. 21r-47v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XI, 80, ff. 251v-260v **(X)** *¹
Lat. XIV, 219, ff. 15r-26v **(U)** [*incomplete*] *
Lat. XIV, 246, ff. 238r-253r **(V)**
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
3449, ff. 78r-87r
Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364) /ff. 101r-106v **(W)** *
- **Wroclaw / Bibl. Uniw. (Rehdigeriana)**
376, ff. 100r-112v
I F 157 Cat (1982), ff. 43r-56v

4.1.2. Editions²

According to Helmrath,³ the *Cum bellum hodie* has appeared at least 16 times in print, see the editions listed below, *exempli gratia*:

¹ Regrettably, ff. 257v-258r turned out to be missing from a digital copy made available to me and have therefore not been collated / MCS

² For a more comprehensive list, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11

³ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 95

- [Pius II: *Epistulae familiares.*] Cur. Nikolaus Wyle. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486, nr. CCCCXI. [Web ed., pp. 414-422] **[KO]** [cf. also other early editions of Pius' letters]
- 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: 1551, pp. 905-914 = Epistola 397. **[OO]** [Web ed.] [Reproduces a version printed in one of the early collections of Pius letters, possibly the Wyle ed.]
- *Idem*, 1571
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta* : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctor. 16 vols. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicae Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1661-1672. / T. 13: 1672, Coll. 1751-1761 [after an early letter collection nr. 398, NB not the Wyle ed. where it has nr. 411]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quae olim quarta parte prodiit auctor.* T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732, coll. 207-221 [after an early letter collection nr. 398, NB not the Wyle ed. where it has nr. 411]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, in qua praeter ea quae P. Labbeus et G. Cossartius et novissime N. Coleti in lucem edidere, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quae J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notae, et dissertationes quamplurimae, T. 1-31. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798 / T. 32: 1798. Facs. Ed., Paris, 1902, Coll. 207-221
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae.* Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // I, pp. 9-30 [Mansi reproduces the version printed in Labbé]
- Supplementum Hungaria Diplomatica Temporibus Mathiae de Hunyad, Regis Hungariae, Partis II. Vindobonae: Trattern, 1771. Opera Stephani Kaprinai. Doc. 6, ann. 1459, pp. 540-559 [web ed.]
- Müller, Johann Joachim: *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation ReichsTags Theatrum wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. Allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno*

4.2. Final Version

The Final Version of the “*Cum bellum hodie*” is included the Collected Orations of Pius’ II, prepared under his own supervision in 1462.¹

is not contained in the latest of the seven manuscripts containing this collection, the Lucca/Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana/544, presumably because by the time this manuscript was made, i.e. in 1493, the oration had already appeared in print, as part of several early editions of Piccolomini’s letters.

Examination of the variants common to all or most manuscripts representing the Early Version shows that the changes from the Early Version to the Final Version were generally of style only, not of substance.

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Mantua / Biblioteca comunale**
100, 223r-238v **(F)** *
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 131v-142v **(E)** *
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 149-159r **(D)** *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 111r-119v **(A)** *
Chis. J. VIII.286, ff. 236v-251r **(C)** *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 158v-170v **(B)** *

¹ see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version has not been edited previously.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The text of the Early Version is based on the twelve manuscripts marked with a siglum above and on the Koberger edition. The Opera Omnia edition has also been collated but only with a view to ascertaining its dependence on the Koberger edition on which it is based. No manuscript has been chosen as the lead text.

The text of the Final Version is based on all 6 manuscripts containing that version, with Chis. J.VIII 284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Chis. J.VIII 284.

Textual apparatus:

Variants common to all or most manuscripts representing the Early Version are given in bold types.

4.4. Textual transmission

On the basis of the presently collated manuscripts the following tentative filiation of the textual transmission of the Early Version is proposed¹:

- A* = all 12 manuscripts: H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X
 - B* = L, R, T
 - G* = H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X
 - D* = H, V, X
 - E* = M, N, P, S, U, W

5. Sources²

In this oration, 75 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the large majority, 53, from the Bible.

Biblical: 53

Classical: 13

Patristic and medieval: 6

Contemporary: 3

All: 75

¹ A capital letter followed by an asterisk indicates the corresponding Greek letter as symbol of a hypothesized manuscript in chain of transmission, e.g. A* = the Greek letter Aleph

² On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

Biblical sources: 53

Old Testament: 33

- Daniel: 1
- Isaiah: 8
- Jeremiah: 1
- Joel: 1
- Joshua: 1
- Judges: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 4. Kings: 1
- Lamentations: 1
- Psalms: 17

New Testament: 20

- Matthew: 4
- Luke: 2
- John: 8
- Apocalypse: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 1. Peter: 1
- Philippians: 1
- Romans: 2

Classical sources: 13

- Cicero: 2¹
- Claudianus: 1²
- Juvenalis: 3
- Martialis: 1
- Suetonius: 1³

¹ De amicitia: 1; De re publica: 1

² De tertio consulatu Honorii

³ De vitis / Caesar

- Valerius Maximus: 2
- Vergilius: 3¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 6

- Augustinus: 1²
- Bede: 1³
- Otto von Freising: 4⁴

Contemporary sources: 3

- Flavio Biondo: 2⁵
- Leonardo of Chios: 1

6. Bibliography

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¹ Aeneis

² De civitate Dei

³ Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum

⁴ Chronica

⁵ Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades

⁶ References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

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

B = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788

C = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII 286

D = Rom, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

E = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana / 97 inf.

F = Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale / 100 (A-IV-6)

H = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

L = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 5667

M = London / British Library / Add MS 15336

N = Lucca / 541

P = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms.lat. 4314
R = Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale / Ms. 15564-67
S = Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket / Ms. 7
T = Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / Vitt. Em. 492
U = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV, 219
V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV, 246
W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364)
X = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI, 80

KO = Epistulae familiares. Cur. Nikolaus Wyle. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486, nr. CCCCXI
OO = Opera omnia, 1551

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

Decretum = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

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

Rainaldus = *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663

Reject = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki et al. Washington, D.C., 2006

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Pii Secundi, Pontificis Maximi, habita in Conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turcos^{1 2 3}

[1] {111r} Cum bellum hodie⁴ adversus impiam⁵ Turcorum gentem pro Dei honore ac⁶ salute reipublicae Christianae suasuri⁷ sumus⁸, bene⁹ est, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac filii dilectissimi, priusquam vos verbis aggrediamur¹⁰, divinitatem ipsam, cujus in primis auxilium expetendum est, paucis in hunc modum affari:

¹ Oratio ... Turcos : Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi oratio habita in conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turcos **D**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turchos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano habita VI. Kal. Octobris **H**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turcos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano VI. Kal. Octobris feliciter habita, felicissime perorata **L, T**; Oratio sanctissimi domini Pii Papae II Mantuae habita in publico universalique consistorio pro apparatu contra Turchos ordinando, Anno domini Christi Jesu MCCCCLVIX [*sic!*] V. Idus VNBR. Ponti. Vo. sui anno II et tota denique plaudent contione luculentissime acta **M**; Oratio Pii Papae II. habita in conventu Mantuano sexto Kalendas Octobris. Anno Domini MCCCCLIX **N, P, KO, OO**; Oratio Pii II Pontificis Maximi habita in conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turchos **R**; Oratio Pii Papae secundi habita in concilio Mantuano VI. kalendas Octobris anno MCCCCLIX **U**; Oratio sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae II. habita in conventu seu congregatione Mantuana VI kalendas Octobris anno domini MCCCCLo Nono pro exhortatione ad principes facienda contra Turcos **S**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turcos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano VI. Kal. Octobris feliciter habita **V**; Incipit oratio domini Pii pape habita secundi in consilio sive congregatione Mantuano sexto kalendas octobris anno domini MoCCCCoLIXo multum laudata et approbata in consistorio publico curie romane feliciter **W**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turchos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano feliciter inita felicissimeque perorata habita VI. Kal. Octobris Mantuae Mo CCCC Lo Nono incipit **X**

² feliciter incipit *add.* **E**

³ Of the mss. containing the Early Version, **R** has this title

⁴ contra Turchos vel *add.* **W**

⁵ *omit.* **N**

⁶ et **M**

⁷ sumpturi **H**

⁸ **simus** **C, D // H, M, N, P, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁹ dignum *add.* **W**

¹⁰ aggredimur **S**

Oration of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, held at the Congress of Mantua, arguing for a war against the Turks

0. Introduction

[1] Venerable brothers in Christ and beloved sons, today We shall propose a war against the impious people of the Turks, for the honour of God and the salvation of the Christian Commonwealth. And since We seek God's help above all, We should address him briefly before speaking to you.

[2] *Protector noster aspice¹, Deus, et respice² in faciem³ populi tui⁴. Respice⁵ super hanc familiam tuam, pro qua dominus noster Jesus Christus non dubitavit manibus tradi nocentum⁶ et crucis subire tormentum. Miserere plebis tuae, et ne des haereditatem tuam in perditionem, quam propemodum⁷ instare videmus⁸. Surrexerunt enim⁹ homines¹⁰ iniqui et impii^{11 12 13}, qui te non noverunt; venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum¹⁴ tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in¹⁵ pomorum custodiam. Vineam tuam exterminavit aper de silva, et singularis ferus depastus est eam. Nos quamvis in hoc loco¹⁶ tuo, ut arbitramur, consilio¹⁷ ad tuendam religionem tuam convenimus, nihil¹⁸ tamen possumus¹⁹, nisi ades²⁰ et praesidium affers²¹: nihil sine te valet²² humana fragilitas. Tua est potestas, tuum²³ imperium, tua²⁴ omnis virtus. Tu fundasti caelum et terram, mare, et omnia, quae in eis sunt. Idem est tibi velle, quod posse; nihil est {111v} quod tuae valeat²⁵ resistere voluntati. Adjuva nos in te uno sperantes, et te solum Deum pura mente colentes. Fac nobiscum signum in bonum²⁶, et mitte nobis auxilium de loco sancto²⁷ tuo. [cont.]*

¹ omit. P

² et respice : aspice P

³ familiam H, V

⁴ et add. M

⁵ respice in ... populi tui omit. F

⁶ nocentium W

⁷ propemodo KO, OO

⁸ etenim add. W

⁹ omit. U, W

¹⁰ omit. KO, OO

¹¹ instare ... et impii omit. F

¹² imperii OO

¹³ iniqui et impii : impii et iniqui W

¹⁴ templum sanctum : sanctum templum V

¹⁵ omit. M, S, KO, OO

¹⁶ in hoc loco : hoc in loco M, S, KO, OO

¹⁷ omit. KO, OO

¹⁸ nil L, T

¹⁹ possumus S

²⁰ assis W; addes L, T; ades corr. ex. addes R

²¹ nihil tamen ... affers omit. B, E

²² valeat H

²³ est add. E // W

²⁴ est add. W

²⁵ tuae valeat : valeat tuae W

²⁶ bono W

²⁷ loco sancto : sancto loco N

[2] *Behold, O God our protector: and look on the face of thy¹ people. Look down, we beseech thee, O Lord, on this thy family, for which our Lord Jesus Christ did not hesitate to be delivered up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer the torment of the Cross.² Have mercy on Your people, and give not thy inheritance to³ the ruin that we see is imminent. For evil and wicked men, who do not know You, have risen up [against us];⁴ the heathens are come into thy inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit.⁵ The boar out of the wood hath laid the vineyard waste: and a singular wild beast hath devoured it.⁶ We have come together here to take counsel, as best we can, on protecting Your religion, but we can do nothing unless You are present and give us Your protection. Human frailty can achieve nothing without You. For Yours is the power, the kingdom, and all strength. You created Heaven and Earth and the sea and all that are in them.⁷ What You will, You can, and nothing may resist Your will. Help us whose hope is in You alone and who, with a pure heart, worship You as the only God. Shew us as a token for good,⁸ send us help from Your sanctuary,⁹ [cont.]*

¹ From the Introit of 14th Sunday after Pentecost, cf. Psalms, 83, 10

² From the oration at the office of Laudes, Maundy Thursday

³ Joel 2, 17

⁴ Psalms, 85, 14

⁵ Psalms, 78, 1: *venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam polluerunt templum sanctum tuum posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam*

⁶ Psalms, 79, 9, 14

⁷ Psalms, 145, 6: *Qui fecit caelum et terram, mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt*

⁸ Psalms, 85, 17

⁹ Psalms, 19, 3

[2 cont.] Da nobis cor, ut faciamus voluntatem tuam, et in praeceptis tuis ambulemus. Scimus, quia non dees¹ tu², domine Deus³, opem tuam suppliciter⁴ implorantibus⁵: sed nos ipsi desumus⁶ nobis. Frigent pectora nostra⁷, ingere calorem⁸, ingere⁹ flammam, ure corda¹⁰ et renes nostros, ut tuo¹¹ tandem¹² igne succensi¹³, quae tibi sunt placita¹⁴ ¹⁵ meditemur et faciamus¹⁶, ac foedam et¹⁷ peccatricem¹⁸ Turcorum gentem, si tua voluntas est, de Christianorum finibus ejiciamus¹⁹.

¹ desis W

² non dees tu : tu non dees H, N

³ omit. W

⁴ simpliciter OO

⁵ implorantes H

⁶ deficiamus et diffidimus W

⁷ omit. N

⁸ colorem F

⁹ incende W

¹⁰ nostra add. N

¹¹ tua S; tu OO

¹² tantum S, W, KO, OO

¹³ ~~ut~~ add. A; ut add. C // L, R, T

¹⁴ placida L, T

¹⁵ sunt placita : nunc placita sunt P

¹⁶ et faciamus omit. KO, OO

¹⁷ omit. L, R, T

¹⁸ peccatricemque R

¹⁹ eiciam W

[2 cont.] and give us the spirit¹ to do Your will and to walk in your precepts. For we know, oh Lord and God, that you do not desert those who humbly beg your aid: it is us who desert ourselves. Our hearts grow cold: give them warmth and flames, burn our hearts and reins so that, finally enflamed with Your fire, we may consider and do what is pleasing to You and cast the terrible and sinful people of the Turks from the lands of the Christians – if it be Your will.

¹ "cor"

[3] Vos autem, magnanimi et¹ generosi proceres², qui adestis, ne claudatis³, aures precamur⁴, ne⁵ divertite mentem: aperite Deo interiora vestra, qui mox volentibus vobis⁶ in animas vestras⁷ illabetur, et vos⁸ sibi templum atque⁹ habitaculum faciet¹⁰. Audite nos sua vice¹¹ loquentes: verba nostra verba Dei¹² sunt, qui filii sui¹³ Jesu Christi¹⁴ quamvis indigni vices¹⁵ in terris gerimus.^{16 17} Ipse nos fari jubet. Ipse in ore nostro verba posuit¹⁸. Ipse nos bellum suadere in Turcos¹⁹ imperat.

[4] Non vos²⁰ hodie, cardinales, aut episcopos, aut minoris²¹ ordinis sacerdotes, sermone nostro compellabimus²², quos constat armis ineptos esse, et piaculum ac²³ sacrilegium²⁴ fuerit²⁵, nisi²⁶ per se ipsos in causa²⁷ fidei, quae sunt ab eis expetenda²⁸, hoc est²⁹ aurum et orationes, sua³⁰ sponte³¹ obtulerint.

¹ ac W

² principes X

³ **claudite** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO,

⁴ **aures precamur** : precamur aures H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁵ non X

⁶ nobis U

⁷ nostras U

⁸ nos U

⁹ et M

¹⁰ faciat H

¹¹ voce W

¹² mei T

¹³ domini nostri *add.* P

¹⁴ *omit.* W

¹⁵ vicem H, V

¹⁶ geramus X

¹⁷ Papa tenet Ipsum Dei in terris *in marg.* H

¹⁸ ponit H

¹⁹ nos *add.* T

²⁰ nos H, N, P, V, W

²¹ officii *add.* X

²² compellemus S, W

²³ et H, N, P

²⁴ sacrilegere F; sacrificium L, M, N, P, S, T, U, W, X, KO, OO

²⁵ faciunt W; fiunt X

²⁶ *omit.* W

²⁷ causas U

²⁸ expectanda P

²⁹ *omit.* N

³⁰ suas H; *omit.* W

³¹ *omit.* W

[3] And you, brave and wellborn nobles, who are present here [today], do not close your ears, We pray, and do not be distracted: open your hearts¹ to God and He will soon, if you wish it, penetrate your souls and make you into a temple and dwelling for Himself. Hear Us as we speak on His behalf: Our words are the words of God since We – however unworthy - are the Vicar on Earth of His son, Jesus Christ. It is He who bids us speak. It is He who puts the words into our mouth. It is He who commands us to urge you to go to war against the Turks.

[4] Today, We shall not be admonishing you, cardinals, bishops, and priests of the lower order, who must be useless with arms, for it will be a sin, indeed, and a sacrilege if you do not on your own initiative offer what is expected from you in the cause of the Faith: money and prayers.

¹ "interiora"

[5] Vos illustres duces, vos marchiones, vos comites, vos regum et¹ principum oratores², vos fortes³ et exercitatos in bellis viros⁴, verba nostra⁵ commonefacient⁶, vos tangent⁷, vos requirent⁸, quibus datum est arma tenere⁹, non ut¹⁰ inter vos dimicetis, sed ut ecclesiam, ut¹¹ religionem, ut¹² fidem¹³ Christianam a barbarorum et infidelium incursibus defendatis. *Potestas enim*, ut inquit¹⁴ Paulus, *gladium portat ad*¹⁵ *vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*. Videtis in quo statu, in quo discrimine¹⁶ sumus¹⁷, et quantum a Turcis urgemur, premimur, infestamur, non ignoratis. Nisi arma sumentes eorum impetum retunditis¹⁸, et forti animo bellum geritis¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹, haud dubium²², quin ²³lex²⁴ evangelica et omnis nostra religio pessumdetur. Audite igitur, viri fortes, atque attentas aures adhibete²⁵ ²⁶ bellum suasuro²⁷, quod nobis²⁸ hodie munus²⁹ incumbit.

¹ ac S, W, KO, OO

² Domini minores, regum legati, principum *in marg.* H

³ principum oratores ... fortes *omit.* X

⁴ in bellis viros : viros in bellis P

⁵ verba nostra : nostra verba H

⁶ commonifaciant M, S, W, KO; commonefaciant U

⁷ stringent P; tangant W, X

⁸ requirant W, X

⁹ sumere KO, OO

¹⁰ *omit.* OO

¹¹ et W

¹² ac W

¹³ catholicam et *add.* W

¹⁴ in quid U

¹⁵ et KO

¹⁶ scrimine U

¹⁷ scimus S

¹⁸ retundatis W

¹⁹ geratis P

²⁰ et forti ... geritis *omit.* KO, OO

²¹ bellum geritis : gladium feratis, bellum geratis W

²² dubito X

²³ an U

²⁴ haec D

²⁵ adhibite A, C, F // U

²⁶ aures adhibete : adhibete aures X

²⁷ suasuris P

²⁸ *omit.* X

²⁹ nobis ... munus : hodie nobis munus H V; hodie nobis nimis KO, OO

[5] But you, illustrious dukes, margraves, counts, orators of kings and princes, you strong men who are trained in wars, you We shall admonish, address and entreat, for you have been given the charge to wield weapons. not in order to fight each other, but to protect the Church, our religion, and the Christian Faith from the attacks of the barbarians and the infidels. *For, as Paul says, power beareth the sword to execute wrath upon him that doth evil and to reward him that doth good.*¹ You know our situation and our peril, and how much we are being harassed, molested and attacked by the Turks. Unless you take up arms, resist their power and fight valiantly, the Law of the Gospel and our whole religion will surely perish. So listen, brave men, and lend Us your attentive ears since it has fallen to Us, today, to urge you to go to war.

¹ Romans, 13, 4: *non enim sine causa gladium portat Dei enim minister est vindex in iram ei qui malum agit*

[6] Tria¹, ut nostra fert opinio, principaliter explicanda et suadenda sunt. Primum est, ut causas justas² atque³ urgentes⁴ ostendat, propter quas pugnare oportet⁵. Secundum, ut facultates⁶ adesse doceat⁷ belligerendi⁸ et certam⁹ quodammodo¹⁰ victoriae spem^{11 12} faciat. Tertium ac¹³ postremum, ut magna assecuturos¹⁵ {112r} praemia victores patefaciat. In his¹⁶ hodie nobis¹⁷ elaborandum est, atque in his¹⁸ tota¹⁹ nostra²⁰ consumetur²¹ oratio.

¹ Divisio *in marg.* H

² causas justas : justas causas W

³ et U

⁴ ingentes D

⁵ oporteat KO, OO

⁶ facultas W

⁷ *add.* alii F; doceatur W

⁸ belli gerendi : belligerandi OO

⁹ certe W

¹⁰ quomodo W

¹¹ victoriae spem : spem victoriae L, T

¹² quodammodo victoriae spem : spem quodammodo victorie S

¹³ atque U

¹⁴ tertium ac postremum : postremum ac tertium W

¹⁵ secuturos F // L, M, N, R, S, T, U, V, KO, OO; consecuturos P, W

¹⁶ autem *add.* X

¹⁷ hodie nobis : nobis hodie W

¹⁸ hodie nobis ... his *omit.* U

¹⁹ *omit.* M

²⁰ a nobis W

²¹ consummabitur W

[6] We consider that there are mainly three things to explain and argue. Firstly, [Our oration] should show that there are just and urgent causes for fighting. Secondly, that we have the means to make war and certain hope for victory. And thirdly and lastly, that the victors will gain great rewards. These are the matters that We shall be speaking about today, and this is the subject of Our whole oration.

[7] De causis belligerendi^{1 2} dicere oportet, quae duae sunt³ praecipuae et⁴ maximae. Prima est, ut susceptas injurias ulciscentes res amissas recuperemus. Altera⁵, ut futura⁶, quae prope imminet^{7 8 9}, pericula evitemus. Ostendamus¹⁰ quatenus sunt illa¹¹, quae amisimus, et¹² quas¹³ nobis ac¹⁴ Deo nostro injurias intulerint¹⁵ Turci. Inflicta Christianitati vulnera¹⁶, illatas¹⁷ contumelias, inustam¹⁸ notam facile cognoscetis¹⁹, si quae²⁰ fuit²¹ olim²² Christiana religio, et quae nunc sit animo²³ existimabitis²⁴. Cognoscite hoc, rogamus, et quantum gloriari possitis²⁵ animo advertite²⁶.

¹ **primum** *add.* H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

² belli gerendi : gerendi belli C; belligerandi OO

³ quae duae sunt *omit.* H [NB: V not derived from H]

⁴ ac M, N, P, T, X

⁵ est *add.* X

⁶ res amissas ... futura *omit.* N

⁷ imminere S

⁸ imminere videmus KO, OO

⁹ prope imminent : probantur imminere W

¹⁰ ergo *add.* P

¹¹ *omit.* H, P

¹² *omit.* KO, OO

¹³ a *add.* F; que U

¹⁴ et P, KO, OO; a T

¹⁵ intulerunt H, P, W, KO, OO

¹⁶ vulnera W

¹⁷ domino nostro *add.* V

¹⁸ **injustam** H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, KO, OO

¹⁹ cognoscitis OO

²⁰ qua H

²¹ fuerit P

²² *omit.* H

²³ oracio S; omnino KO, OO

²⁴ estimabitis M, N, P, S, V, W, KO, OO; extimabitis U, X

²⁵ *omit.* F; poscitis H

²⁶ animo advertite : animadvertite H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO

1. Justice of the war

[7] So, now We shall speak about the reasons for the war.

There are two main reasons. The first one is to avenge the wrongs we have suffered and to regain what has been lost. The second one is to escape the dangers that are threatening us.

1.1. Recovery of losses inflicted by Islamic peoples

Let Us show what we have lost as well as the wrongs inflicted upon us and upon our God by the Turks. If you consider the state of Christian religion in former times and in our own days, you will easily comprehend the wounds to Christianity caused by them, the abuse we have suffered at their hands, and how we have been branded with a mark of shame. Know this, We ask, and consider how proud we may be.

[8] Sacrosanctum evangelium, quod ablatiis idolorum spurcitiis¹ salvator noster² mundo inseruit, non unum dumtaxat terrae³ angulum aut unam provinciam, sed universum ferme⁴ orbem implevit⁵, quemadmodum regius propheta multis ante saeculis de beatis apostolis {87r} futurum⁶ praeviderat⁷, dicens: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in⁸ fines orbis terrae⁹ verba eorum¹⁰*. Per hos¹¹ enim evangelium mundo intonuit¹², quos ex¹³ piscatoribus salvator ipse praedicatores effecerat¹⁴, dicens eis¹⁵: *Venite post me, et¹⁶ faciam vos¹⁷ piscatores hominum fieri¹⁸*. Nec¹⁹ vana promissio fuit; piscati sunt enim²⁰ apostoli non sibi ipsis, sed Christo domino universum²¹ orbem²². Omnes reges, omnes populi in eorum seu²³ retia seu sagenas²⁴ inciderunt. Impletum est²⁵ illud Danielis vaticinium²⁶ dicentis²⁷: *Omnes gentes²⁸, omnes tribus, omnes²⁹ linguae servient ei³⁰*. [cont.]

¹ spiritis U

² omit. S

³ omit. N

⁴ fere H, P

⁵ orbem implevit : implevit orbem X

⁶ futuris M, KO, OO

⁷ provideat S

⁸ omit. OO

⁹ omit. H

¹⁰ et in fines ... eorum : etc. W

¹¹ os E

¹² impregnabit W; innotuit KO, OO

¹³ e H

¹⁴ fecerat R

¹⁵ omit. KO, OO

¹⁶ omit. KO, OO

¹⁷ fieri add. B, C, E // H, M, N, P, L, R, T, U, V

¹⁸ omit. B, C, E // H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁹ hec M

²⁰ sunt enim : enim sunt H, V, X, KO, OO

²¹ ferme add. KO, OO

²² mundum S

²³ omit. P, X

²⁴ saginas N

²⁵ enim add. S, W, KO, OO

²⁶ consilium seu vaticinium S

²⁷ omit. N

²⁸ reges KO, OO

²⁹ omit. B, E

³⁰ et add. W

1.1.1. In former times

[8] When Our Saviour cleansed the world of filthy idols and brought the Sacred Gospel into it, He filled not just a corner of the earth, or a single region, but almost the whole world with it, just as the royal prophet had seen, many centuries before, what would happen with the apostles: *Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world.*¹ The Saviour announced the Gospel to the world through these men whom he had himself made preachers from fishermen, saying to them: *Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men.*² It was not an empty promise for the apostles fished the whole world, not for themselves, but for Christ the Lord. All kings and all peoples fell into their nets, and the prophecy of Daniel was fulfilled: *All peoples, and all tribes, and all tongues shall serve him.*³ [cont.]

¹ Psalms, 18, 5

² Matthew, 4, 19

³ Confusion between Jeremiah 27, 7 and Daniel 3, 7?

[8 cont.] Verius Christo quam¹ Augusto Virgilianum illud² attribui³ potest:

*... super et⁴ ⁵ Garamantas⁶ et Indos
proferet⁷ imperium: jacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem humero⁸ premit⁹ stellis ardentibus aptum.*

¹ quoniam M

² istud KO, OO

³ tribui H, V, X

⁴ omit. KO, OO

⁵ super et : superat L, R, T

⁶ Garamantes H, M; Saramantas P, S; Garamantos KO, OO; Geramantes U

⁷ et add. C; proferre F; profert H, L, R, T, OO

⁸ humeris KO, OO

⁹ torquet H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO [NB: as in Virgil]; portat L, R, T

[8 cont.] And this verse of Virgil may better be attributed to Christ than to Augustus:

*He will advance his empire beyond the Garamants and Indians
to a land which lies beyond our stars,
beyond the path of year and sun,
where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders
the blazing star-studded sphere.¹*

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.794-797

[9] Nam circa tempora Constantini magni natum ex Maria puerum Indi simul et Hispani colebant¹, nec Septentrio, nec Meridies Christum² ignorabant^{3 4}. Vox Romani⁵ praesulis tamquam Jesu Christi vicarii maria penetrabat et terras^{6 7}. Pax alta per omnes⁸ et tranquilla quies Christianos ibat⁹. Jacebat pardus cum agno, et leo cum vitulo cubabat¹⁰. Gens sancta, gens¹¹ electa^{12 13}, populus acquisitionis Christiani habebantur¹⁴, tributa ex¹⁵ gentibus accipientes¹⁶, et in capite populorum positi. Haec¹⁷ fuit olim, o¹⁸ Christiani¹⁹, majorum nostrorum²⁰ gloria, hoc imperium, haec²¹ auctoritas.

¹ celebrant R

² non *add.* X

³ **ignorabat** D, F // H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁴ Quando natus est Christus *in marg.* H

⁵ humani H

⁶ penetrabat et terras : et terras penetrabat KO, OO

⁷ et terras *omit.* H

⁸ Pax universalis *in marg.* H

⁹ *omit.* P

¹⁰ **accubabat** H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; accubebat P

¹¹ grex H

¹² electus H

¹³ Gens sancta, gens electa : gens electa, gens sancta S

¹⁴ habentur R

¹⁵ a W

¹⁶ accipiens KO, OO

¹⁷ nec H

¹⁸ *omit.* H

¹⁹ Christianis H

²⁰ vestrorum M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²¹ et H, V, X

[9] For at the time of Constantine the Great both the Indians and the Spaniards worshipped the boy born of Mary, and the North and the South knew Christ. The voice of the Roman Bishop as Vicar of Christ reached over the seas and across the countries. Profound peace and quiet prevailed everywhere among the Christians, the leopard laid with the lamb, and the lion with the calf.¹ The Christians were held to be a holy people, an elected people, a chosen people, they received tributes from the gentiles and were placed above all other peoples. Such, o Christians, was once the glory, the power, and the authority of our forefathers.

¹ Isaiah, 11, 6: *The wolf shall dwell with the lamb: and the leopard shall lie down with the kid: the calf and the lion, and the sheep shall abide together, and a little child shall lead them (habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hodo accubabit vitulus, et leo et ovis simul morabuntur)*

[10] Nunc, quo vos¹ Turci ac² Saraceni³ redegerint⁴ paucis, advertite⁵, docebimus. Indi, quamvis Christiani ferantur⁶, et Armeni⁷ per Asiam dispersi⁸, et pariter Aethiopes, in multis tamen versantur erroribus⁹, et ignorantes, quam nosse¹⁰ deberent¹¹, Christi legem, ignorantur a domino. Quod¹² {112v} reliquum est Asiae¹³ atque¹⁴ Africae¹⁵, Christi nomen ac¹⁶ legem in pacato¹⁷ persequitur¹⁸ odio.

¹ nos L, R, S, T, KO, OO

² et W, KO, OO

³ ac Saraceni *omit.* S

⁴ redegerunt W; redigerunt KO, OO

⁵ animadvertent W; animadvertite H, M, S, KO, OO

⁶ **feruntur H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁷ et Armeni *omit.* U

⁸ dispositi H, V, X

⁹ versantur erroribus : erroribus versantur N

¹⁰ nosce E // H, M, P, R

¹¹ debuerunt T, W; **debuerant H, M, N, P, S, V, X, KO, OO**

¹² quid S; quot U

¹³ Asia H

¹⁴ et N, W

¹⁵ Africa H

¹⁶ atque M, S, W, KO, OO

¹⁷ in peccato L, R, T

¹⁸ prosequitur M, S, W, X, KO, OO

[10] But hear Us now as We briefly explain to what state the Turks and the Saracens have brought you. Though the Indians and the Armenians, scattered throughout Asia, as well as the Ethiopians are called Christians, they are mired in error and do not follow the law of Christ as they should. Therefore the Lord does not know them. The rest of Asia and Africa persecutes the name and law of Christ with implacable hate.

[11] Coepit haec calamitas sub Heraclio¹ Caesare². Nam cum aperta esset omnibus via salutis per Christum³ Dei filium, qui annis antea⁴ circiter sexcentis⁵ *mortem nostram moriendo destruxerat*⁶, invidens⁷ humano generi⁸ diabolus ac⁹ nimium dolens¹⁰ Christum¹¹ ubique regnare, pseudopropheta¹² excitavit in Arabia Mahumetum nomine¹³, sceleratum hominem, qui se Dei nuntium¹⁴ ementitus¹⁵, contrariam¹⁶ evangelio¹⁷ legem condidit, de qua paulo post¹⁸ suo loco dicemus. Degeneraverat jam apud Graecos imperium, et Romana virtus¹⁹ sub aliud translata caelum²⁰ elanguerat²¹, quae res paulatim Christianas opes²² evertit. Manserunt tamen in Asia quamplures²³ Christiani usque ad tempora Pipini, Francorum regis²⁴, qui anno²⁵ ab hinc circiter sexcentesimo²⁶ magno nomine et²⁷ apud Germanos et apud²⁸ Gallos regnavit. [*cont.*]

¹ Erachio H; Heracleo KO, OO

² Tempore Erarchii Cesaris *in marg.* H

³ Christiani U

⁴ *omit.* W; ante L, R

⁵ elapsis W

⁶ destruxit L, T; dextruxit R

⁷ invidus W

⁸ humano generi : generi humano P

⁹ et KO, OO

¹⁰ *omit.* W

¹¹ Christiani U

¹² pseudoprophani U

¹³ nomen M

¹⁴ filium H, V, X

¹⁵ Mahumethus deus Turcorum *in marg.* H

¹⁶ contrarium OO

¹⁷ evangelii M, S, U, KO, OO

¹⁸ *omit.* S, KO

¹⁹ iam *add.* P

²⁰ CXLVIII H

²¹ elongaverat P

²² paulatim Christianas opes : Christianas opes paulatim M, P, S, W, KO, OO

²³ complures H, M, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; plures N; cum plures U

²⁴ Pipini Francorum regis *in marg.* H

²⁵ *omit.* W

²⁶ VI M, P, X; sexingentesimo S; annis *add.* W; de KO, OO

²⁷ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁸ *omit.* S, KO, OO

[11] This disaster began under Emperor Heraclius. About 600 years after the way to salvation had been opened to all through Christ, the Son of God, who *by dying had destroyed our death*,¹ the Devil became envious of the human race and very annoyed that Christ reigned everywhere. He therefore raised a pseudoprophet in Arabia by the name of Muhammad, a criminal who falsely claimed to be the messenger of God and who established a law contrary to the Gospel. We shall have more to say about him in a short while. At that time, the Empire had already become enfeebled in the hands of the Greeks, and Roman strength had grown weak under another sky. This gradually eroded the strong Christian position. Still, there remained many Christians in Asia until the time of King Pepin² of the Franks, who reigned famously over the Germans and the Gauls about 600³ years ago. *[cont.]*

¹ From the Easter liturgy, the preface

² Pepin the Short (ca. 714-768): King of the Franks from 751 until his death. Father of Charlemagne

³ Since Pius was speaking in 1459, it would actually be 700 hundred years ago

[11 cont.] Tunc vero¹ digressi a Scythia Turci Cappadociam, Pontum, Bithyniam², Troadem, Ciliciam, et omnem minorem Asiam occupaverunt³, et nostra negligentia potentes facti non solum veros⁴ Christianos ex Asia pepulerunt⁵, sed transmisso navibus⁶ Hellesponto Macedoniam, Thraciam⁷, Atticam⁸, Boetiam, Phocidem⁹, Achaiam¹⁰, Acharnaniam¹¹, Epirum, Peoniam¹², et utramque Mysiam¹³ armis invasere^{14 15}, et in Aegaeo¹⁶ ac¹⁷ Jonio¹⁸ mari Cyclades¹⁹ et alias²⁰ quamplures²¹ insulas sibi²² subjicientes²³, hos Christianis²⁴ ad Orientem²⁵ terminos²⁶ posuere²⁷.

¹ *omit.* S

² Vinthimiam P; *omit.* W

³ occuparunt KO, OO

⁴ viros W

⁵ Christianorum ruina *in marg.* H

⁶ manibus U

⁷ *omit.* W

⁸ Acticam P

⁹ Photicem E; Phocidiam P; Phicidem W; Phoadem S, KO, OO

¹⁰ Acharam W

¹¹ Acharmaniam P

¹² Phoemam M; Poeniam P, W; Pormam KO, OO

¹³ et utramque Mysiam *omit.* P

¹⁴ invaserunt H, M, V, X

¹⁵ et utramque ... invasere : armis invasere et utramque Mysiam P

¹⁶ Egro U

¹⁷ et S, X

¹⁸ Janio KO

¹⁹ Cicladem X

²⁰ utraque *add.* F

²¹ complures H, M, N, S, V, X

²² *omit.* C // KO, OO

²³ in *add.* H; subiacentes L, R, T

²⁴ primos Christianos P

²⁵ Orientis S, KO, OO

²⁶ tinimos U

²⁷ ad Orientem terminos : terminos ad Orientem X

²⁸ posuerunt H, M, V, X

[11 cont.] Then the Turks left Scythia¹ and occupied Cappadocia, Pontus, Bithynia, Troy, Cilicia and all of Asia Minor. Having grown strong due to our passivity, they not only drove the true Christians out of Asia [Minor], but crossed the Hellespont on ships and invaded Macedonia, Thracia, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Achaia, Archanania, Epirus Paeonia, and both Moesias.² In the Aegaeon and Jonian Sea they seized the Cyclades and many other islands and made them the Eastern frontier of the Christians.

¹ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 5, 25

² Flavio Biondo: *Scritti*, p. 33

[12] Ad meridiem Barbari ex Africa non solum inferi¹ maris² insulas, sed³ ipsa quoque⁴ Italiae littora classibus⁵ infestant. In occidente⁶ magnam Baeticae partem, quam vocant Granatam⁷, Mauri occupant et Hispanos agitant reges. Ad Septentrionem gelidamque⁸ Arcton Lituani, Polonis contermini, magna ex parte ritu gentilium⁹ vivunt. Veteres Hungari ad ortum Tanais¹⁰ jacentes¹¹ et Tartari, cum quibus¹² Livonii¹³ pugnant, Christum¹⁴ prorsus ignorant, et ultimi Norvegiae¹⁵ populi cum semiferis hominibus¹⁶ bellum gerunt.

¹ inferiori H

² mari H

³ et R

⁴ *omit.* P

⁵ *omit.* N

⁶ occidentem H; occidenti N, P; orientem W

⁷ vocant Granatam : Granatam vocant S, KO, OO

⁸ geledamque KO; gelidumque U

⁹ grantilium U

¹⁰ Tanavi H

¹¹ iacentis S

¹² quibusdam W

¹³ Livoni E

¹⁴ Christiani U

¹⁵ Norvegii M; Novergie P; Novergii S; Novergi X; Norwegii KO; Nortvegii OO

¹⁶ omnibus U

[12] In the South, Barbarians from Africa attack the islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea,¹ and even the coasts of Italy. In the West, the Moors occupy a large part of Southern Spain² called Granada, and trouble the Spanish kings. In the North and cold Arcton, the Lithuanians, who have borders in common with the Poles, mostly worship pagan gods. The old Hungarians, living in the region where the Danube has its source, and the Tartars, who fight with the Livonians, know nothing of Christ, and people in the farthest regions of Norway are at war with half wild men.³

¹ "mare inferum", in contrast to "mare superum", the Adriatic Sea

² "Baetica"

³ This quite exaggerated description of conditions in Northern Scandinavia, Pius actually had from King Christian I of Denmark, Norway and Sweden himself who, in a letter to Pope Calixtus of November 1457, explained why he could not participate in a crusade just then, claiming that his realms were under attacks from barbarian peoples from the North (Acta, Nr. 2101, t. III, p. 249)

[13] Hi sunt termini vestri¹, o Christiani², sic circumdati estis, sic in angulum coartati, potentissimi quondam domini et orbis possessores. En³ quantum imperium amisistis⁴, quot nobiles urbes, quot ditissimas provincias perdidistis, inter quas⁵ etiam⁶ Judaeam neglexistis, terram nobilem, terram sanctam⁷, terram lacte et melle fluentem, terram, in qua primi⁸ fidei nostrae^{9 10} flores apparuere¹¹. Heu pudor! Heu dolor! Fons et origo nostrae salutis Sion ad hostes defecit¹². Templum illud Salomonis fama clarum, in quo totiens dominus¹³ praedicavit; Bethlem, in qua¹⁴ natus¹⁵ est; Jordanem, in quo¹⁶ baptizatus¹⁷; Tabor, in quo¹⁸ transfiguratus^{19 20}; Calvariam, in qua^{21 22} crucifixus, ipsius crucis possident inimici. Sepulchrum domini gloriosum lectumque illum²³ purpureum, crocos²⁴ spirantem, et suavissimis {113r} fragrantem²⁵ odoribus, in quo²⁶ propter nos²⁷ vita nostra^{28 29} obdormivit³⁰ in domino³¹, nisi hostes velint, invisere non potestis.

[cont.]

¹ omit. X

² unde add. X

³ ne em H; hem V

⁴ admisistis U

⁵ omit. W

⁶ omit. N; et X

⁷ Nobilitas terre sancte *in marg.* H

⁸ prime T, W

⁹ omit. W

¹⁰ fidei nostrae : nostrae fidei X, KO, OO

¹¹ apparuerunt X

¹² deficit W

¹³ totiens dominus : dominus totiens P, S

¹⁴ fama clarum ... in qua omit. E

¹⁵ sanatus E

¹⁶ qua C

¹⁷ est add. G // M, P, S, T, W, KO, OO

¹⁸ qua OO

¹⁹ figuratus N; est add. P

²⁰ Ubi Christus fuit *in marg.* H

²¹ quo A, B, C, D, E // L, R, T

²² baptizatus ... qua omit. F

²³ Ihesu P

²⁴ croco H, X; crotos S

²⁵ fragrantem F // L, P, R, T, V

²⁶ quos M

²⁷ propter nos omit. H

²⁸ vestra H

²⁹ vita nostra : et vitam nostram OO

³⁰ obdormit F

³¹ In quo loco sacer corpus Maumeti et qualiter *in marg.* H

[13] These are your boundaries, oh Christians, this is how you are surrounded on all sides, this is how you are pressed into one corner,¹ you who were once the mighty lords and masters of the world. It is indeed a great empire that you have lost, with many noble cities, and many rich provinces. Among them you have even let go Judea, the noble land, the holy land, the land overflowing with milk and honey, the land where the first flowers of our Faith appeared. Oh, what shame! Oh, what grief! Sion, fountain and source of our salvation, has fallen to our enemies. The famous temple of Solomon where Our Lord preached so often, Bethlehem where he was born, Jordan where he was baptized, Tabor where he was transfigured, Calvary where he was nailed on the Cross, [all] are in the possession of the enemies of that very Cross. Only if our enemies allow it, may we visit the glorious tomb of Our Lord and the purple bed with its odour of crocus² and other sweet smells, where – for our sake - He who is our life slept in the Lord.
[cont.]

¹ Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*. The passage is a revised quote from Piccolomini: Letter to Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues of 21 July 1453 (WO, III, 1, p. 211)

² Juvenal, 7.210

[13 cont.] At Saraceni Meccham¹ in potestate² habent,³ in qua, si vera est fama⁴, falsi prophetae cadaver in arca ferrea conditum⁵, vi⁶ magnetis pendet in aere. Vos vero {72v} infelices ac⁷ miserrimi Christiani, sepulchro Dei vestri et urbe clarissima Jerosolymorum⁸ privati estis. Tacemus⁹ Alexandriam, Thebas, Memphim¹⁰, et¹¹ omnem Aegyptum. Tacemus¹² Antiochiam, in qua¹³ primum Christianorum¹⁴ nomen est auditum. Tacemus¹⁵ Ephesum¹⁶ et alias apostolicas sedes¹⁷ in Asia perditas^{18 19 20}, ad quas scripsit Johannes²¹ Apocalypsim²². Jerosolimam veteris ac²³ novi²⁴ testamenti matrem²⁵ in hostium esse²⁶ potestate satis flere ac²⁷ dolere²⁸ non possumus, pro qua recuperanda nullus labor evitari²⁹ deberet³⁰, nullum declinari bellum.

¹ Marcham P; Mahometem OO; Machometam KO

² potestatem A-F // L, T; ponentem R

³ in potestate habent : habent in potestate KO, OO

⁴ in qua ... fama *omit.* U

⁵ reconditum X

⁶ in S; virtute W

⁷ et T, W; a R

⁸ Hie/Hye/Hie/Ihe/Je/Ierosoli/yma H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁹ taceamus S

¹⁰ Mensim L, R, T

¹¹ ac KO, OO

¹² taceamus S

¹³ *omit.* F, T

¹⁴ Christianum P

¹⁵ taceamus S

¹⁶ Ephesim P, L, R, T; Emphesim S

¹⁷ apostolicas sedes : ecclesias W

¹⁸ in Asia perditas *omit.* W

¹⁹ **tacemus septem ecclesias add. H, L, R, M, N, P, S, T, U, V, X, KO, OO** [The passage was included in the Early Version, and first included in and then deleted from A. Subsequently, the passage was omitted in B, C, D, E, F]

²⁰ Ephesum et ... perditas : septem ecclesias U

²¹ scripsit Johannes : Johannes scripsit S, X, KO, OO

²² Johanne apocalipsis *in marg.* H

²³ et S

²⁴ veteris ac novi : novi ac veteris KO, OO

²⁵ veteris ... matrem : novi testamenti matrem et veteris W

²⁶ in *add.* M

²⁷ et M, S, KO, OO

²⁸ satis flere ac dolere : flemus et sine dolore esse W

²⁹ evitare H

³⁰ debet N, T, X

[13 cont.] But he Saracens have Mecca where, if rumour is true, the corpse of the false prophet lies in an iron coffin suspended in the air by magnetic force. But you, unhappy and miserable Christians, have been deprived of our God's tomb and the noble City of Jerusalem. Let us pass over Alexandria, Thebes, Memphis and all of Egypt. Let us be silent about Antioch, where the name "Christian" was heard for the first time. Let us not mention Ephesus and the other apostolic sees lost to us in Asia to which John addressed his Apocalypse. But that Jerusalem, mother of the Old and New Testament, is now in the power of our enemies, we cannot lament and mourn enough: no effort must be spared to recover it and no war refused.

[14] Nam si pro repetendis¹ rebus justam² belli causam veteres³ putavere, quis umquam justius⁴
⁵ induit arma quam vos Christiani, quibus tot urbes, tot provinciae sunt ereptae, tot⁶ adempta⁷
regna, tantum ablatum imperium? Judaei, cum foederis arcam⁸ amisissent, pro recuperatione⁹
nullum belli periculum vitavere¹⁰. Graeci ob raptam¹¹ Helenam decemnale¹² bellum gessere¹³.
Carthaginenses propter fines paulum¹⁴ ampliandos cruentissima¹⁵ proelia cum Cyrenensibus¹⁶
commisere¹⁷, pro quibus etiam¹⁸ Phileni fratres interierunt¹⁹. Romani saepe sociorum²⁰ causa
sumptis armis in pugnam exivere²¹. Revolvite historias: nullum umquam²² bellum²³ tot causas
habuit, quot²⁴ vobis²⁵ adversus Turcos occurrunt. Sed "Quid ad nos vetera," dicat aliquis²⁶?
"Toleraverunt haec damna²⁷ ²⁸, hanc infamiam proavi nostri, cur nos illis meliores simus²⁹? Cur
tantae³⁰ gloriae cupiditas, ut majorum injurias nostro sanguine vindicemus³¹?" [cont.]

¹ expetendis B, E; recuperandis W

² istam OO

³ posuere seu *add.* W

⁴ inscius KO

⁵ Justa belli causa Christianorum *in marg.* H

⁶ *omit.* S

⁷ adempta P

⁸ foederis arcam : arcam foederis L, T

⁹ recomperatione U

¹⁰ evitavere H, V, X

¹¹ ratam L

¹² decennale N, P, S, KO, OO

¹³ gesserunt M

¹⁴ paululum M, N, R, T, U, S, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁵ certissima H, V

¹⁶ Syrenensibus P; Tirhenensibus R; Cyronensibus W

¹⁷ commiserunt M

¹⁸ et L, R, T

¹⁹ interiere W, V

²⁰ furiorum U

²¹ exiere M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²² nullum umquam : et videte si umquam ullum W

²³ *omit.* F

²⁴ quod E

²⁵ nobis N, U

²⁶ quid ad ... aliquis : dicet aliquis quid ad nos. Veteres W

²⁷ haec damna *omit.* S, KO, OO

²⁸ occurrunt ... damna : in F

²⁹ sumus M, N, P, S, T, W, X, KO, OO

³⁰ **tanta H, M, N, P, S, V, W, X, KO, OO**; tanta *corr.* ex tante U

³¹ nostro sanguine vindicemus : vindicemus nostro sanguine X

[14] The ancients considered that reclaiming [lost] lands¹ was a just cause for war. In that case, who has ever gone to war more righteously than you, Christians, who have lost so many cities and provinces, so many kingdoms, and so great an empire? When the Jews had lost the Ark of the Covenant,² they did not shun any peril of war in order to recover it.³ For the sake of abducted Helen⁴ the Greeks made war for 10 years.⁵ In order to extend their frontiers just a little, the Carthaginians fought bloody wars with the Cyrenians,⁶ where also the Philaeni brothers perished.⁷ The Romans often took up arms and went to war for the sake of their allies. Leaf through the history books: no war has ever had so many [just] causes as you have against the Turks. "But why should we care about such old matters?", someone might say. "Our forefathers bore with these losses and this dishonour: why should we be better than them? Why should we entertain this vainglorious ambition to avenge the losses of our forefathers with our blood?"

¹ "rebus"

² A chest described in the Book of Exodus as containing, among others, the Tablets of Stone on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed

³ 1. Kings, 4-6

⁴ Helen: (Greek myth.) Queen of King Menelaos of Sparta. Her abduction by Prince Paris of Troy caused the Trojan War

⁵ The Siege of Troy

⁶ Cyrene: chief town of ancient Libya

⁷ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 5.8., ext. 4

[14 cont.] Esto¹, patres vestri² negligentes fuerint³ honoremque suum parvifecerint: an propterea vestrum negligetis et⁴ duplici notari⁵ turpitudine, haereditaria scilicet⁶ et⁷ vestra, patiemini? An potius⁸ magnificis operibus⁹ deteresa progenitorum infamia gloriosum nomen¹⁰ acquirere conabimini?

¹ quod *add.* W

² *omit.* H; nostri U, V, X

³ fuerunt L, R, T

⁴ ut U

⁵ notarii U

⁶ *omit.* W; stilum U

⁷ ac H, U, V, W, X; *omit.* KO, OO

⁸ prorsus H

⁹ temporibus P

¹⁰ nomine F

[14 cont.] [To this We answer that] even if your fathers were negligent and unconcerned about their own honour, why should you neglect it and suffer a double disgrace, the one you inherited from them as well as your own? Should you not, instead, endeavour to blot out the shame of your forefathers by magnificent deeds and acquire a glorious name [for yourselves]?

[15] Sed negligamus, si¹ libet, antiquam² ignominiam, vetusta damna, nec vos³ urgeat, quod⁴ non⁵ pupugit avos⁶. Transeat omnis Asia, omnis Africa⁷. Europam saltem inspiciamus, et nostri temporis rationem reddamus. An parum nostra aetate nostra culpa⁸ perditum est? Constantinopolim, Orientalis imperii caput⁹, et totius Graeciae columnen¹⁰, non patres nostri, sed nos ipsi amisimus, qui dum torpentes¹¹ in otio¹² domi sedemus, usque¹³ Danubium et Savum¹⁴ Turcorum arma penetrare permisimus¹⁵. Capta est culpa¹⁶ nostra nobilissima urbs¹⁷ regia¹⁸, quam Pausanias¹⁹ primus condidit, Constantinus magnus instauravit^{20 21} et in²² aemulationem {113v} antiquae Romae ampliavit²³ et magnificavit. In ea gentis²⁴ imperator et ipse²⁵ Constantinus²⁶ nomine²⁷ interemptus est, turba ingens trucidata, templa magni²⁸ Dei²⁹ polluta sunt, inter quae³⁰ nobile opus Justiniani Sanctae Sophiae vocatum, taetro³¹ Mahumeti ritu³² foedatum est. [cont.]

¹ si corr. ex sic A; **sic add.** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; sic L, R, T

² omit. P

³ nos H, V, X, KO, OO

⁴ quot H; quos N

⁵ nostros W; nos S, KO, OO

⁶ ac vos P; anos KO, OO

⁷ et add. W

⁸ nostra negligentia add. W

⁹ Caput orientalis imperii Constantinopolis *in marg.* H

¹⁰ cacumen W; culmen H, N, P, L, T

¹¹ torpemus W

¹² et add. W

¹³ ad add. H, M, W; æd V

¹⁴ Sarium W; Sanum KO, OO; Sabum L, R, T

¹⁵ permittimus W, OO

¹⁶ capta est culpa : culpa capta est W

¹⁷ urbis F

¹⁸ culpa ... regia: nobilissima urbs regia culpa nostra KO, OO

¹⁹ Pausonias L, R, T

²⁰ magnus instauravit : restauravit magnus W

²¹ Quis Constantinopolim construxit et a quo dicitur *in marg.* H

²² et in: ad H

²³ amplificavit M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²⁴ Grecorum W

²⁵ omit. W

²⁶ Constantini M

²⁷ nomen M

²⁸ magna S

²⁹ magni Dei : Dei magni KO, OO

³⁰ inter quae : in quo W

³¹ retio N; omit. W

³² cultu W

1.1.2. In the present age

[15] But let us put aside, if you please, the ancient infamy and the losses of old, and let us not be concerned about things which did not bother your forefathers. Let all of Asia and Africa be lost, and let us look only to Europe and only deal with the present. Is it maybe a small loss that we have suffered in our own age and because of our own fault? [No]. It is Constantinople, the capital of the Oriental Empire and the pillar of all Greece, that has been lost, and not by our forefathers, but by ourselves. Staying at home in sleepy peace, we have let the Turkish armies advance as far as Danube and Sava. It is through our fault that the noble and royal city is lost, the city founded by Pausanias,¹ restored by Constantine the Great^{2 3} and enlarged and made great in imitation of old Rome. In that city, the emperor of the people, another Constantine, was killed, an immense number of people slaughtered, and the temples of the Great God profaned. Among these that noble and great building of Justinian⁴ called *Hagia Sophia* was polluted with barbarous Muhammadan rites. [cont.]

¹ Pausanias (d. 478 BC): Greek general

² Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

³ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 2, 24 (Schmidt, p. 146); 4, 5 (Schmidt, p. 310)

⁴ Justinianus I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (ca. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

[15 cont.] Beatae virginis, matris domini¹, et aliorum sanctorum imagines deletae sunt², altaria diruta³, reliquiae martyrum⁴ porcis⁵ objectae, sacerdotes occisi, matronae ac⁶ puellae ipsaeque sacrae virgines ad libidinem raptae. Nobiles urbis⁷ inter vina et epulas ipsius⁸ Turcorum ducis⁹ jugulati, salvatoris nostri simulachrum in cruce pendentis per¹⁰ derisionem atque contemptum praecedentibus qui dicerent¹¹: “Hic est Christianorum Deus” in castra delatum, sputo, luto, atque omni foeditate jactatum¹². Nova haec sunt^{13 14} sub oculis nostris¹⁵ gesta. Haec fiunt¹⁶, et¹⁷ tamen excitari¹⁸ non possumus. Cum vitulis marinis, cum Druso¹⁹ dormimus, lethargum²⁰ patimur, qui tot contumeliis agitati²¹ ex²² somno surgere²³ non valemus²⁴.

¹ nostri *add.* W

² Turcorum crudelitas *in marg.* H

³ dirupta M, P, S, KO, OO

⁴ sanctorum N

⁵ portis L, T

⁶ et M, X, KO, OO; atque N; pupillae seu *add.* W

⁷ vero W

⁸ ipsorum W; *omit.* X

⁹ dure W

¹⁰ ad S; in KO, OO

¹¹ praecedentibus qui dicerent : qui dicerent praecedentibus U

¹² foeditate jactatum : fedita deturpatum est W

¹³ **et add. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, W**

¹⁴ haec sunt : sunt hec et KO, OO

¹⁵ oculis nostris : nostris oculis W

¹⁶ fuerunt P

¹⁷ *omit.* X

¹⁸ suscitari W

¹⁹ *omit.* H

²⁰ litargum P; lethargiam W; letargium L, T

²¹ agitari OO

²² e M, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²³ exurgere X

²⁴ vellemus H, OO

[15 cont.] The icons of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, and of other saints were destroyed; the altars were thrown down, the relics of martyrs were thrown to the pigs, the priests were killed, matrons, girls and even holy virgins¹ were carried off to be raped. The nobles of the city were butchered at the banquets² of the Turkish ruler. The crucifix of Our Saviour was carried to the army camp, preceded by men shouting: "This is the God of the Christians."³ ⁴ There it was mocked, spurned, and covered in spit, dirt and filth. These are recent events, happening before our own eyes. Still we cannot be roused! We should be shocked by so great calamities, but instead we are sleeping drowsily with the seals and with Drusus,⁵ and cannot be aroused from our sleep.

¹ I.e. nuns

² "inter vina et epulas"

³ Allusion to Matthew, 27, 37: *And they put over his head his cause written: This is Jesus, the King of the Jews (et imposuerunt super caput ejus causam ipsius scriptam: Hic est Jesus rex Judaeorum)*

⁴ Passages in sect. 14-15 may have been inspired, directly or indirectly, by Leonardo of Chios' eyewitness account of the Fall of Constantinople to Pope Nicolaus V of 16 August 1453, cf. Pertusi, I, p. 164-166: *Cruces ex templorum apicibus parietibusque evulsae pedibus conculcantur; violantur mulieres, virgines deflorantur, mare juvenes in turpitudine maculantur, sanctimoniales reliquae et quae apparentes fuerant luxu foedantur. ... Sacras Dei et sanctorum effigies humo prosternunt, quibus super non modo crapulam, sed luxuriam complent. Crucifixum posthac per castra praevis tympanis deludendo deportant: sputis, blasphemiiis, obprobriis iterum processionaliter crucifigunt, pileum heucrale, quod zarchula vocant, capiti superponentes deridendo clamabant: "Hic est Deus Christianorum"*

⁵ Juvenal, 3.238: *eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis* (The continual traffic of carriages in the narrow twisting streets and the swearing of the drover when his herd has come to a halt would deprive a Drusus or the seals of sleep)

[16] Heu furias! Heu artes daemonum! Pugnare inter se potius¹ Christiani² volunt quam Turcos adoriri³. Civilia bella magis cupiunt quam externa⁴, et saepe de parvis⁵ causis cruentissima committunt proelia. Pulsatus⁶ modo villicus, modo servus, magnos⁷ traxit⁸ in arma reges. In Turcos, qui Deum nostrum blasphemant, ecclesias nostras diruunt, et omne⁹ Christianum¹⁰ nomen perdere satagunt, nemo audet arma sumere. Omnes¹¹ in *arcum pravum* dati sumus, *declinavimus omnes simul*¹², *inutiles*¹³ *facti sumus*¹⁴, *non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*. Sed cogitabitis melius¹⁵, viri prudentes, et fortem¹⁶ induentes¹⁷ animum recuperare, quae sunt amissa, et acceptas injurias ulcisci¹⁸ conabimimini. Ac¹⁹ tantum de priori²⁰ belli gerendi causa^{21 22} sit dictum²³.

¹ inter se potius : potius inter se N, P, S, KO, OO

² potius Christiani : Christiani potius X

³ oppugnare W

⁴ hesterna H

⁵ **de parvis : parvis de H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁶ pulsat W

⁷ magnus U

⁸ traxere N

⁹ omnem A, B, D, F

¹⁰ Christianorum R, W

¹¹ *omit.* P, W

¹² *omit.* H

¹³ simul inutiles : inutiles simul L, T

¹⁴ *declinavimus ... sumus omit.* N

¹⁵ *omit.* X

¹⁶ fortes H, U, X

¹⁷ induetis N; induentem L, R, T; intuentes U

¹⁸ vindicare P; vindicare M, N, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁹ hac H; hoc W

²⁰ priore H, V

²¹ de priori ... causa : prius de causa belli gerendi W

²² belli gerendi causa : causa belligerendi X

²³ sit dictum : dictum sit M

[16] Alas, the furies! Alas, the ruses of demons! The Christians would rather fight each other than attack the Turks. They prefer civil wars to foreign wars, and they often start bloody battles for insignificant causes. The trashing of a peasant or a servant draws great kings into wars, but nobody dares to take up arms against the Turks, who blaspheme our God, who tear down our churches, and who endeavour to destroy the Christian name. We have all become *a crooked bow*,¹ We have *all turned out of the way: we are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, there is not so much as one*.² Do come to your senses, wise men, regain your courage, strive to recover what has been lost and avenge your injuries. This is what We had to say, in the first place, concerning the cause of war.

¹ Psalms, 77, 57: *and they turned away, and kept not the covenant: even like their fathers they were turned aside as a crooked bow (et aversi sunt et praevaricati sunt ut patres eorum incurvati sunt quasi arcus inutilis)*

² Romans, 3, 12: *All have turned out of the way: they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, there is not so much as one (omnes declinaverunt simul inutiles facti sunt non est qui faciat bonum non est usque ad unum)*

[17] Nunc¹ alteram² attingamus, hoc est ut futura et prope imminetia³ cervicibus nostris⁴ mala⁵ vitemus⁶. Possent fortasse aliquo modo⁷ tolerari⁸ praeterita⁹, si finis malorum esset^{10 11}, et non majora impenderent¹² discrimina¹³. Sed quo pacto quietem sperare^{14 15} ab ea gente possumus, quae sanguinem nostrum sitit¹⁶, quae occupata Graecia in Hungariam, idest¹⁷ in viscera nostra, gladium adegit¹⁸. Juvenis est adversarius noster, aetate florida, robusto corpore, animo vasto et¹⁹ tumido cursu²⁰ victoriarum²¹, quas²² nostra sibi^{23 24} negligentia peperit²⁵. Vanus est, deceptus est²⁶, si quis arbitrat²⁷ adolescentem quieturum esse auro²⁸ abundantem, armis assuetum et dominandi²⁹ cupiditate³⁰ inflammatum. Ponite hanc spem! Numquam ille³¹ arma³² deponet, nisi aut victus, aut omnium victor³³. [cont.]

¹ ad *add.* N

² alterum P, W

³ eminentia X

⁴ cervicibus nostris: nostris cervicibus KO, OO

⁵ pericula P

⁶ evitemus KO, OO

⁷ *omit.* M

⁸ colorari W; tolerare KO, OO

⁹ futura H, V; aliter futura *in marg.* X

¹⁰ essent N, W

¹¹ malorum esset : esset malorum P

¹² impedirent KO, OO

¹³ pericula X

¹⁴ *omit.* X

¹⁵ quietem sperare : sperare quietem M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁶ et *add.* H, L, T, V, X

¹⁷ et M, P

¹⁸ quae occupata Graecia ... adegit *omit.* M, W

¹⁹ *omit.* S, KO, OO

²⁰ cupido W

²¹ victoriam P, L, T

²² suam P

²³ *omit.* P

²⁴ nostra sibi : sibi nostra S, KO, OO

²⁵ De partibus adversarii et ... [*illeg.*] cupiditate eius *in marg.* H

²⁶ *omit.* N

²⁷ arbitretur M

²⁸ auro R

²⁹ damnandi KO, OO

³⁰ cupiditati H; facultate X

³¹ illa W

³² *omit.* H

³³ exititerit *add.* KO, OO

1.2. Defense against the Turkish threat

[17] We now come to the second point: we must avoid both the imminent and the future dangers to ourselves.¹ Maybe past [injuries] might somehow be tolerated if we had now reached the end of our misfortunes and were not threatened by even greater dangers. But how can we hope for peace from a people thirsting for our blood, which has now occupied Greece and is turning its sword towards Hungary, our own entrails?² Our enemy is young, of flourishing age, with a strong body, and a mind that is great and swollen with the row of victories which our own negligence have given him. Only a foolish and deluded man can think that this extremely wealthy young man, experienced in war, and driven by ambition for power, will stay tranquil. Abandon that hope! For he will not lay down his arms before he has won or lost all. *[cont.]*

¹ "cervicibus nostris"

² "viscera": entrails

[17 cont.] Proxima illi quaeque¹ victoria gradus² erit alterius, donec³ subactis occidentalibus regibus⁴, delecto⁵ Christi evangelio Maumetheam legem ubique gentium inserat⁶.

¹ quoque P; que U

² gladius N; grandis W

³ deinde V [NB: H not derived from V]

⁴ regionibus W

⁵ delato M; delecto U

⁶ miserit H; inferat OO

[17 cont.] Every victory of his will be a stepping stone towards the next one until he has defeated all the Western kings, destroyed the Christian gospel, and imposed the law of Muhammad on the whole world.¹

¹ Pius' views on this matter largely depend on reports by men like the Venetian Niccolò Sagundino who had visited the sultan's court in the early years of the reign, see Babinger, p. 450. That they actually represented a realistic assessment of Mehmed's intentions and not just a ploy to mobilize the West under papal leadership is confirmed by modern historians, see Babinger, p. 539: *Welche Absichten der Staatenlenker Mehmed II. mit dem Abendlande hatte, steht ausser Zweifel. Wie einst Alexander der Grosse gegen Osten zog ... so plante Mehmed II den Westen als Ziel seiner Angriffe und Eroberungspläne auszuersuchen*

[18] Neque arbitremini¹ longam moram, priusquam vos² adeat³. Nam vicinae⁴ illae⁵ gentes tot bellis attritae, nisi opem fertis⁶, amplius⁷ arma⁸ capere⁹ non audeant¹⁰. Soli fideles Hungari perseverant¹¹, non tamen diu stabunt, nisi adjuti. Et hi quidem muri¹² loco vobis¹³ ad orientem¹⁴ remanserunt, quo diruto¹⁵ neque Theutones, neque Bohemi¹⁶, neque¹⁷ Poloni¹⁸ satis tuti erunt. Non asperi montes, non alta flumina iter impediunt. Nihil erit victa¹⁹ Hungaria Turcis invium²⁰, nihil insuperabile orbis imperium quaerentibus. Per Carnos et Forum²¹ Iulii terrestribus copiis facilis²² in Italiam patebit transitus²³. Navalis²⁴ exercitus²⁵ ex Valona²⁶, quam Turci possident, unius noctis²⁷ navigatione Brundisium petet²⁸, et²⁹ in superiori et inferiori³⁰ parte³¹ aperta est Turcis Italia. Utinam³² mendaces et falsi prophetae simus in hac parte, sed *credite nos*³³ *folium recitare Sybillae*. Venient, venient³⁴ Turci, nisi obviam imus, et auferent nobis locum³⁵ et gentem.

[cont.]

¹ arbitramini W

² nos R

³ ederit W

⁴ vicini H

⁵ illi H, V, X

⁶ feratis W; affertis X

⁷ omit. D

⁸ omit. S, KO, OO

⁹ sumere H, V, X; carpere KO, OO

¹⁰ audent C // H, L, N, T, U, V, X; audebunt W, OO; audebant KO

¹¹ De fidelitate Hungarorum *in marg.* H

¹² mari N

¹³ nobis U

¹⁴ vobis ad orientem : vobis ad orientem X

¹⁵ dirupto E, F // P

¹⁶ Boltemi M; Exemii N

¹⁷ atque W

¹⁸ Bohemi neque Poloni : neque Poloni neque Bohemi U

¹⁹ devicta H, V, X

²⁰ invictum; aut invium *in marg.* W

²¹ eorum OO

²² facile H, V, W, X

²³ De eaque facilitate Italiam ingrediendi *in marg.* H

²⁴ navali OO

²⁵ exercitui OO;

²⁶ Vallana H, N, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; Vallona M; Valana P

²⁷ ex Valona ... noctis omit. U

²⁸ petent N; patet KO, OO

²⁹ omit. H

³⁰ superiori et inferiori : inferiori et in superiori N

³¹ et inferiori parte : parte et inferiori KO, OO

³² et add. H

³³ vobis add. H, V, X

³⁴ omit. U, W

³⁵ regnum D; bovem P

[18] And do not think it will take long before he comes against you, for the neighbouring peoples have been so worn down by war that they will not dare to take up arms unless you come to their assistance. Only the faithful Hungarians persevere, but they cannot hold out long unless they are given help. They have, indeed, been a bulwark for you towards the East, and if that bulwark is destroyed, neither the Germans, nor the Bohemians, nor the Poles will be safe. Neither craggy mountains nor deep rivers will be a barrier. If Hungary is defeated, nothing stands in the way of the Turks in their quest for world empire. Through Carinthia and Friuli their troops will have easy access to Italy. Moreover, in just one night their navy can sail from Vallana, in Turkish possession, to Brindisi, and from there the road is open for the Turks to both Upper and Lower Italy. If only We were a false and mendacious prophet in this matter¹ ... but trust Us: here *We are reading a page out to you one of the from the Sibyl's leaves.*² Unless we go against them, they will come, the Turks, they will come, and take our country and people. [cont.]

¹ This is actually what happened 21 years afterwards, in 1480, when the Turks crossed the Adriatic and held the Italian city of Otranto for a year

² Juvenalis, 8.126: *credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae*

[18 cont.] Non timent haec fortasse¹ Hispani ac² Galli, nec³ Theutones⁴, qui Rhenum accolunt, nec⁵ Anglici oceano circumfusi⁶. At⁷ prudentes reipublicae gubernatores bellum foris⁸ quam domi malunt et⁹ remotissimam militiam laudant¹⁰. Perniciosa¹¹ et funesta sunt, quae gerimus in nostris laribus¹² ¹³ bella. Nulla¹⁴ Romanis orbis¹⁵ domitoribus¹⁶ suscepta calamitas durior quam in¹⁷ Italia fuit¹⁸, nec illi Hannibalem felicius quam in Africa vicerunt¹⁹.

¹ haec fortasse : fortasse haec H, W

² et H, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; atque N

³ non L, R, T

⁴ nec *add.* L, T

⁵ **nec ... nec : neque ... neque** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁶ circumfulsi S; circumfulti W

⁷ ac S, KO

⁸ potius *add.* X

⁹ et U

¹⁰ militiam laudant : laudant militiam S, KO, OO

¹¹ perniciosissima V

¹² laboribus N

¹³ nostris laribus : laribus nostris P

¹⁴ *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁵ urbis KO, OO

¹⁶ nulla *add.* KO, OO

¹⁷ *omit.* H

¹⁸ fuerit E

¹⁹ vicerint L, T

[18 cont.] Maybe the Spaniards, and the French, and the Germans living beyond the Rhine, and the English, surrounded by the ocean, will not fear this. But prudent rulers will rather go to war abroad than at home, and they much prefer to fight far way. Wars in our own lands are disastrous and ruinous. The most calamitous defeats of the Romans, conquerors of the Earth, happened in Italy itself, and their greatest successes against Hannibal¹ happened in Africa.

¹ Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Punic Carthaginian military commander

[19] Credite nobis, procures, credite nobis. Non est cur amplius dissimuletis^{1 2}, non³ est⁴ cur⁵ amplius differatis⁶ arma sumere⁷: si agros vestros⁸, si focos, si uxores, si liberos⁹, si libertatem, si fidem ipsam¹⁰, in qua baptizati¹¹ et renati sumus¹², retinere cupitis, bellum¹³, nobis credite, bellum geratis¹⁴ oportet. Neque nos¹⁵ bellum injustum^{16 17}suademus, qui ejus locum tenemus, de quo scriptum est: *justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae*. Nec plura de primo ac¹⁸ principali membro.

¹ differatis L, T

² arma sumere *add.* V

³ nec M, S

⁴ *omit.* U

⁵ quid M

⁶ dissimuletis L, T

⁷ arma sumere *omit.* V

⁸ nostros X

⁹ uxores si liberos : liberos si uxores M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁰ De belli necessitate *in marg.* H

¹¹ estis *add.* N, X

¹² **estis H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

¹³ *omit.* H, V

¹⁴ gratis S; gerere W

¹⁵ nobis OO

¹⁶ injuste H

¹⁷ bellum injustum : injustum bellum V, X

¹⁸ et H, S, U, V, KO, OO

[19] So, do believe Us, oh nobles, do believe Us! You have no reason to feign ignorance any more, or to put off going to war. If you want to keep your lands, your homes, your wives, your children, your freedom, your Faith, in which you were baptized and reborn, then trust Us: you must go to war. It is not an unjust war We urge upon you, for We are acting on behalf of Him about whom it is written: *Justice and judgment are the preparation of thy see.*¹

Let this suffice as the first and principal part [of our oration].

¹ Psalms, 88, 15

[20] Audistis, viri praestantissimi ac¹ nobilissimi², quas ob causas in Turcos³ pugnare oporteat⁴, nam et⁵ susceptae injuriae id⁶ exposcunt, et in futurum⁷ Christianorum indemnitati⁸ consulendum est. Nunc quod erat secundum orationis nostrae⁹ membrum, id est¹⁰ an possitis hoc¹¹ bellum gerere et¹² an victoria speranda¹³ sit, animadvertite. Cum Christianis nobis sermo¹⁴ est, qui ditem¹⁵ Italiam, nobilem Galliam, fortem Hispaniam¹⁶, bellicosam et¹⁷ populosam Germaniam¹⁸ incolunt: his arma¹⁹, his equi, his homines²⁰, his pecuniae abunde suppetunt²¹, his²² vires longe majores quam Turcis adsunt²³. Audivimus²⁴ tamen nonnullos esse, qui {114v} Turcos supra²⁵ modum extollunt²⁶, nec superabiles putant²⁷ tot proeliorum victores. Nos magnas esse Turcorum opes²⁸ fatemur, sed multo minores quam fama ferantur²⁹, neque nostris quovis modo comparandas³⁰. [cont.]

¹ et M, U, W

² praestantissimi H [sic!]

³ in Turcos : inter quos U

⁴ oportet E // H, V

⁵ etsi X

⁶ hoc W

⁷ futuris M

⁸ indemnitate OO; idem tutati L, T; intempnitati U

⁹ nostrae orationis X; orationis nostrae : nostri ordinis KO, OO

¹⁰ id est *omit.* S

¹¹ *omit.* W

¹² *omit.* L, T

¹³ superanda N

¹⁴ nobis sermo : sermo nobis P

¹⁵ divitem *corr.* ex ditem E // divitem M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁶ et *add.* S

¹⁷ ac P, S, U, KO, OO

¹⁸ fortem Hispaniam ... Germaniam *omit.* W

¹⁹ his arma *omit.* U

²⁰ his homines *omit.* S

²¹ et *add.* P

²² De Christianorum abundantia *in marg.* H

²³ assint N

²⁴ audimus B, D, E // H, M, S, U, V, KO, OO; audiamus X

²⁵ ultra M

²⁶ excollunt L; excolunt T; extollant V

²⁷ putent X

²⁸ vires P; aut copias *in marg.* W

²⁹ feruntur H, M, V, X; ferat W

³⁰ comperandas N; comparandae OO; comparando KO; comparandis L, T

2. Feasibility of the war¹

[20] Excellent and noble men, you have now heard the reasons why we must go to war against the Turks: the injuries inflicted upon us cry for revenge, and the future safety of the Christians must be ensured. Now We come to the second part of Our oration: hear whether you are able to wage this war and whether you may hope for victory.

2.1. Weakness of the Turks

We are talking about the Christians who live in rich Italy, noble France, strong Spain, warlike and populous Germany. These peoples have weapons, horses, men and money in abundance. Their resources are far greater than the Turks'. Still We have heard some people praise the Turks to the skies, believing that as victors in so many battles they must be invincible. We do admit that the Turks have great resources, but they are much smaller than rumoured, and they can in no way be compared to ours. *[cont.]*

¹ Flavio Biondo had touched upon this theme in crusade memorandum of 1 August 1453 to King Alfonso V, quoting Scipio and Themistocles (Flavio Biondo: *Scritti*, p. 43)

[20 cont.] Illi enim, etsi omnes conatus adhibeant^{1 2}, supra³ tamen ducenta hominum milia^{4 5} non educent. Sed quos⁶ homines? Imbelles⁷ sane⁸ atque⁹ inermes, ex Asianis atque¹⁰ Graecis¹¹ mixtos. Nostis¹² quanti¹³ faciat Asianos¹⁴ Remus¹⁵ ille Virgilianus¹⁶, cujus illa¹⁷ sunt¹⁸ verba¹⁹:

*O verae²⁰ Phrygiae²¹, nec²² enim²³ Phryges²⁴, ite²⁵ per alta
Dindyma²⁶, ubi assuetis²⁷ biformem²⁸ dat tibia cantum²⁹.
Tympana³⁰ vos³¹ buxusque³² vocat³³ Berecynthia³⁴ matris
Idaeae³⁵: sinite arma viris et cedite³⁶ ferro.*

¹ adhibent H, V, X

² illi enim ... adhibeant *omit.* N

³ Quomodo Turcis poterint bellum ingredi *in marg.* H

⁴ ~~milia~~ hominum milia M; hominum milia : milia hominum H, S, U, V, X, KO, OO

⁵ illi enim ... adhibeant *omit.* N

⁶ quod U

⁷ imbecilles W

⁸ tamen X; *omit.* KO, OO

⁹ ac W

¹⁰ et V, X, KO, OO

¹¹ atque Graecis : agrestis H

¹² nosci S; noscit W

¹³ valeat aut quantum *add.* W

¹⁴ *omit.* N; Asianus W

¹⁵ aut Riginus *interlin.* W

¹⁶ De utilitate Asianorum *in marg.* H

¹⁷ *omit.* OO

¹⁸ illa sunt : sunt illa S, V

¹⁹ cujus illa sunt verba *omit.* H

²⁰ o vere : onere M

²¹ Phryge S; Phrige W; Phride KO; Phryde OO

²² **neque** B, C, E, // **H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, KO, OO**

²³ *omit.* H; et enim P, U

²⁴ Phryges S

²⁵ ire M

²⁶ Didama N

²⁷ assuetus S

²⁸ bisformem P, U

²⁹ tantum B, F // U; cantum *corr.* ex tantum C, E

³⁰ nec enim Phryges ... tympana *omit.* W

³¹ nos H, KO, OO; vox L, R, T

³² buxaisque M; unxasque W; buxasque S, KO, OO; ususque U

³³ **iuuant** A, B, C, D, E, F // **H, N, L, R, T, U, V, P, S, X, KO, OO**; vocant M; invocent W

³⁴ Berithintia M; Vere Thincia P; Berecinthea KO, OO

³⁵ dee S, W, KO, OO

³⁶ credite P

[20 cont.] Even if they stretch themselves to the limit, they cannot mobilize more than 200,000 men. And what kind of men? Unwarlike, unarmed, and mixed with Asians and Greeks! You know what Virgil's Remus thinks of the Asians. He says:

*Phrygian women, indeed!—for Phrygian men you are not—
go over the heights of Dindymus,
where to accustomed ears the pipe utters music from double mouths!
The timbrels call you, and the Berecynthian boxwood of the mother of Ida:
leave arms to men, and quit the sword.*¹

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 9.618-620. Note how Pius considers conditions in Antiquity to be applicable to his own time

[21] Graeci quoque, illustres quondam animae¹, haudquaquam vigorem antiquum retinent². Degeneraverunt ferme omnes³, qui Turcis parent, neque in armis neque in litteris pristinum referunt⁴ spiritum. Ceciderunt omnia cum imperio. Non stant⁵ simul fortia pectora et servitus. Qui fortes⁶ viri⁷ in castris Turcorum⁸ militant ex Christianis sunt, ad summum⁹ quadraginta milia¹⁰, nigrae¹¹ atque¹² infelices¹³ animae¹⁴, {89v} quae¹⁵ ubi vos¹⁶ armatos viderint¹⁷, furiis agitatae¹⁸ suorum scelerum, et ultorem Deum ante ora¹⁹ cernentes, ferrum stringere²⁰ non audebunt. Reliqua turba in proelio nulli²¹ est usui, nisi ut²² caede sua²³ fatiget²⁴ hostes. Percurrite gesta majorum: Asiana²⁵ bella muliebria putaverunt. Alexander²⁶, magni Alexandri²⁷ propinquus, cum bellum gereret in Italia²⁸: “Frater meus in Asia²⁹,” inquit,³⁰ “cum feminis pugnat³¹; mihi³² cum viris certamen est.” [cont.]

¹ animi H, P, W; animo U

² Grecorum dispositio *in marg.* H

³ ferme omnes : omnes ferme P

⁴ retinent H, L, T, V, X

⁵ omit. W

⁶ milites *add.* P

⁷ fortes viri : fortis viris U

⁸ omit. N

⁹ summum *corr.* ex summam A; summam B, E, M, // P, S, L, R, T, U, X, KO, O

¹⁰ milium W

¹¹ omit. U

¹² ac N, W

¹³ felices H; infideles W

¹⁴ amiciciae W

¹⁵ qui W

¹⁶ nos M

¹⁷ viderunt M, S

¹⁸ agitare U; agitati W

¹⁹ oculos W

²⁰ astringere H

²¹ nullo W

²² omit. KO, OO

²³ caede sua : sua caede P

²⁴ dis *add.* S

²⁵ Assiria X

²⁶ omit. W

²⁷ magni Alexandri : Alexandri magni W

²⁸ Asiani feminis comparantur, Itali vero viris *in marg.* H

²⁹ in Asia *omit.* U

³⁰ in Asia inquit : inquit in Asia M, N, P, S, V, W, KO, OO

³¹ in Asia *add.* U

³² autem *add.* KO, OO

[21] Also the Greeks, though once courageous and brave,¹ have not kept their former strength. Almost all who are subject to the Turks have become weak and lost their former spirit in military matters and in letters². All went into decline when they lost power. Courage and servitude do not mix. All the strong men in the Turkish army come from the Christians. They amount to 40.000 men, dark and unhappy souls.³ When they see you in arms, they will be attacked by the furies of their own crimes, and seeing God the Avenger before them they will not dare to use their weapons. The rest of the troops will only be useful in battle when they exhaust their enemies just by getting slaughtered. Look to the deeds of your forefathers: they thought that wars in Asia were for women. When Alexander, a relative of Alexander the Great,⁴ was campaigning in Italy, he said: "My brother fights with women in Asia, while I fight with men." *[cont.]*

¹ "animae illustres"

² Note the conjunction of arms and letters (arma et litterae), dear to humanists, and here applied to the Greeks

³ The Janitshars

⁴ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): 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

[21 cont.] Julius Caesar cum de Ponticis¹ gentibus² triumpharet³, quae⁴ Asiam incolunt, in curru suo⁵ haec verba⁶ jussit scribi⁷ ⁸: “Veni, vidi, vici,”⁹ ac si¹⁰ solo aspectu superandos diceret Asianos¹¹. Gotfridus et alii, qui secum in Asia¹² militaverunt¹³, parva saepe manu innumerabiles hostium¹⁴ copias deleverunt, atque¹⁵ ipsos¹⁶ Turcos tamquam pecudes mactaverunt¹⁷.

¹ poticibus M, W, KO, OO; pontibus S

² omit. N

³ triumphavit N

⁴ qui P

⁵ curru suo : suo curru W

⁶ omit. H

⁷ inscribi M, N, P, L, R, W, X

⁸ jussit scribi : inscribi jussit T; iussit inscribi U, V

⁹ Que Julius Cesar scripsit *in marg.* H

¹⁰ omit. X

¹¹ diceret Asianos : Asianos dixerat H, V; Asianos diceret X

¹² Asiam A-F // T, W

¹³ militaverunt H, U, V, X

¹⁴ omit. U

¹⁵ ac KO, OO

¹⁶ ipsosmet P

¹⁷ mactabant R

[21 cont.] And when Julius Caesar¹ held his triumph over the peoples in Pontus in Asia² he had this inscription made on his chariot: “I came, I saw, I conquered,”³ as if saying that he could defeat the Asians just by showing himself. Godefroy⁴ and the others who fought with him in Asia often destroyed enormous hostile forces with few troops and slaughtered the Turks like cattle.

¹ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman

² Pontus: A region in modern-day Northeaster Anatolia

³ Plutarch: *Lives / Caesar*, 50; Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum / Divus Julius*, 37

⁴ Godefroy de Bouillon (ca. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the First Crusade from 1096 until his death. Lord of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine from 1087. After the successful siege of Jerusalem in 1099, Godefroi became the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

[22] Sed arbitramini fortasse meliores hodie Turcos esse victa¹ Graecia quam² olim fuerunt³? At⁴ quales sint⁵, pugna Taurinensis⁶ ostendit anno ab hinc⁷ tertio gesta. Taurinum vocaverunt⁸ prisci oppidum ad confluentes⁹ Savum¹⁰ et¹¹ Danubium situm. Hoc aevo nostro alii Albam¹², alii Belgradum vocant,¹³ praeter¹⁴ situm¹⁵ non magni momenti¹⁶ castellum. Id cunctis viribus suis¹⁷ expugnare Turci¹⁸ adnixi¹⁹ sunt²⁰. Pugnatum est interdiu²¹ noctuque summa contentione. Erant Christiani milites, qui oppidum tuebantur²², pauci²³ cruce signati, non nobiles aut divites, non bellis assueti²⁴ aut²⁵ armis tecti, sed rudes et²⁶ incompositi agrestes. Et hi tamen Turcos vicere, non tam²⁷ ferrum quam²⁸ fidem hostibus opposcentes²⁹. Ab his tumidus³⁰ ille Turcorum imperator, insuperabilis antea³¹ creditus et terror gentium appellatus, in acie victus, {115r} ab obsidione dejectus, castris³² exutus³³, turpem arripere fugam compulsus est. [cont.]

¹ devicta X

² quia T

³ fuerant S; fuerint X, KO, OO

⁴ atqui P; ac S; ad KO

⁵ sunt L, T, W

⁶ Thaurmensis M

⁷ ab hinc : ad huc U

⁸ vocavere N, P, S, U, KO, OO

⁹ confluentem H

¹⁰ Sanum KO, OO; Sarium W

¹¹ de M; ad S

¹² Albani U

¹³ omit. V; appellant W

¹⁴ propter S, KO, OO

¹⁵ Hoc aevo ... situm omit. X

¹⁶ munimenti W

¹⁷ omit. W

¹⁸ expugnare Turci : Turci expugnare KO, OO

¹⁹ adnisi S

²⁰ De obsidione Taurinensis et Belgradi *in marg.* H

²¹ inter eos die W; die X

²² tenebantur S

²³ sed add. P

²⁴ assueti *corr. from* assuetis A, C; assuetis D // L, R, T

²⁵ vel P; non S, W, KO, OO

²⁶ omit. W, KO, OO

²⁷ tantum W

²⁸ quantum W

²⁹ apponentes U

³⁰ tumidis M; timidus N, W

³¹ omnino S

³² castra W

³³ exuitus U

[22] Maybe you think that the Turks, having conquered Greece, are stronger today than they were formerly. But the Battle of Taurinum, fought only three years ago,¹ shows how they really are. In olden days, the city lying at the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube was called Taurinum. In our times, some call it Alba and others Belgrade. Except for its location, it is not an important castle. The Turks tried to conquer it with all their might, and a ferocious battle went on day and night. The Christian soldiers defending the city were a small band of crusaders, neither noble, rich, experienced in war, nor well armed, but primitive and disorganized farmers. Still, they managed to defeat the Turks, opposing their enemies not with swords, but with faith. They defeated the arrogant Turkish ruler who had until then been considered invincible and called the terror of peoples. They forced him to lift the siege, to abandon camp, and to flee in shame.²
[cont.]

¹ The Battle of Belgrade, 1456

² Pius does not mention the brave exertions of Giovanni da Capistrano

[22 *cont.*] Quid¹ Johannis Huniatis^{2 3} victorias⁴ referamus⁵? Quid Georgii Albani^{6 7} triumphos commemoremus⁸, cujus conspectum numquam⁹ ferre Turcorum acies¹⁰ potuere¹¹. Unus¹² nobis exemplo sat est Johannes Vintimilius¹³, qui cum quadringentis¹⁴ militibus¹⁵ in Epirum¹⁶ profectus suppetias¹⁷ nepoti¹⁸ ferens supra decem¹⁹ milia hostium²⁰ fudit, stravit^{21 22}, delevit. Hi²³ sunt hostes vestri²⁴, o²⁵ Christiani; cum his vobis²⁶ hominibus pugnandum²⁷ est, qui nec²⁸ ferire neque feriri nisi²⁹ in terga³⁰ noverunt.

¹ quod E

² Huniatis M; Nymiatas S; Hungari W; de Himiad KO, OO

³ Johannes Uniat *in marg.* H

⁴ victoriam N

⁵ referemus H, P

⁶ victorias *add.* L, R, T

⁷ Gregorius Albanus *in marg.* H

⁸ Quid Georgii ... commemoremus *omit.* X

⁹ unquam L, T

¹⁰ acie KO

¹¹ potuerunt H, M, P, V, X

¹² uno W

¹³ Vincilmus W

¹⁴ trecentis KO, OO; quatricentis X

¹⁵ *omit.* C

¹⁶ Eupyrum W

¹⁷ subsidium P; auxilium *add.* M

¹⁸ suppetias nepoti : ne suppetias poti U

¹⁹ ducenta U

²⁰ hominum H

²¹ et *add.* N, W

²² fudit stravit : stravit fudit X

²³ *omit.* U

²⁴ nostri M, N, P, S

²⁵ *omit.* U

²⁶ nobis M

²⁷ pugnandi KO

²⁸ neque H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²⁹ *omit.* S

³⁰ in terga : integra A, B, C, F; in terga *corr. ex integra* E

[22 cont.] What shall we say about the victories of Janos Huniad?¹ And what of the triumphs of George of Albania,² the sight of whom always struck the Turkish ranks with terror. One example suffices: With 400 soldiers Giovanni Ventimiglia went to Epirus to bring aid to his nephew. There he slew and destroyed more than 10.000 enemies. So, these are your enemies, oh Christians. These are the people you must fight. They cannot strike at you, and they themselves can only be struck at from behind.³

¹ Janos Hunyadi (1406-1456): leading Hungarian military and political figure. Regent of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

² George Skanderbeg [Kastrioti] (1405-1468): 15th-century Albanian nobleman

³ Because they flee immediately

[23] Quamquam¹ etsi fortissimi essent et bellacissimi² hostes³, in Deo tamen sperandum erat⁴, qui causae suae nequaquam deesset. An⁵ non⁶ ⁷ scriptum est: *In Deo faciemus virtutem, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros?* Orabat Moyses in monte⁸, et populus⁹ vincebat in acie. Sol retinuit cursum suum¹⁰, ne victoris¹¹ Josuae retineret cursum¹² ¹³. Madianitarum {90r} plenissima et¹⁴ munitissima castra cum trecentis¹⁵ viris dissipavit Gedeon. Ammonitarum¹⁶ numerosum¹⁷ exercitum cum paucis militibus superavit Jepte¹⁸. Superbissimos¹⁹ Philistaeos solus humiliavit Sanson. Nec in manu feminae, cum Deus²⁰ voluit²¹, victoria defuit: potentes in armis Cananaeos exterminavit Debora²² Sisaram²³ interfecit Jael²⁴, et Holofernem obtruncavit Judith. Multa sunt hujusmodi²⁵ in veteri lege, nec²⁶ nova magnificis carent²⁷ exemplis. [cont.]

¹ te *add.* N

² bellicosissimi P, W

³ *omit.* S, KO, OO

⁴ esset H, W

⁵ at M

⁶ modo S, KO

⁷ an non : de ipso W

⁸ De Moysis oratione *in marg.* H

⁹ populos KO, OO

¹⁰ cursum suum : suum cursum M, N, P, S, U, W

¹¹ victorie M; victores N

¹² victoris Josuae ... cursum : Josue victoris retineret cursum suum L, T

¹³ Et Josue bello *in marg.* H

¹⁴ ac P

¹⁵ ecclesiasticis B, E // R, T; ecclesiis F; tricentis S

¹⁶ Hamnonitarum A // L, P, R, T; Namnonitarum C

¹⁷ innumerosum P; numero suum L, T

¹⁸ *omit.* X

¹⁹ superbos X

²⁰ cum Deus : Deus cum P

²¹ de *add.* H

²² Delbora B, D, E // P, S, T, W, KO, OO

²³ Si Sarram H; sic Saram N; Syrasam S

²⁴ Jachiel H; Johel X; Ihael KO, OO

²⁵ hujusmodi E // M, P, S, W, OO

²⁶ et S

²⁷ caret H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

2.2. Strength of God

[23] But even if our enemies were strong and warlike, we may put our hope in God who would never fail his own cause. For is it not written: *Through God we shall do mightily: and he shall bring to our enemies to nothing?*¹ Moses prayed on the mountain, and the people prevailed in the battle. The sun stayed its own course^{2 3} in order not to stay the course of Joshua's victory. With 300 men, Gideon scattered the large and well-fortified camp of the Madianites.⁴ With a few soldiers, Jephtah defeated the numerous army of the Ammonites. Alone, Samson brought low the arrogant Philistines. And when God willed it, even women were victorious: Deborah destroyed the mighty Canaanite armies, Jael killed Sisara, and Judith decapitated Holofernes. In the Old Law there are many examples of this kind, and the New Law⁵ does not lack its own magnificent ones. [cont.]

¹ Psalms, 59, 14: *in Deo faciemus virtutem et ipse conculcabit tribulantes nos*. Pius' uses a partly different different version

² By setting and thus finishing the day

³ Josua, 10, 13

⁴ Judges, 6-7

⁵ I.e. the Christian age

[23 cont.] Constantino magnam¹ pugnam² timenti signum crucis in caelo³ monstratum⁴ est, et vox divinitus audita, quae diceret⁵: "In hoc, Constantine, vince⁶." De Theodosio piissimo imperatore illi sunt versus:

O nimium⁷ dilecte Deo, cui⁸ militat aether, Et conjurati⁹ veniunt¹⁰ ad classica venti.

¹ magno E // H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

² pugnare H

³ in caelo omit. B, E

⁴ ostensum P

⁵ quae diceret omit. B, E

⁶ vina M; vinces W

⁷ o nimium : omnium C // S, W, KO, OO

⁸ qui OO

⁹ conructanti H

¹⁰ venient U

[23 cont.] When Constantine¹ feared a great battle, the sign of the cross was shown to him in the sky, and a heavenly voice was heard saying: *In this sign you shall conquer, Constantine.*² And we have these verses about about pious Emperor Theodosius:

*Verily God is with thee, when the very elements fight for thee and the allied winds come at the call of thy trumpets.*³

¹ Constantine the Great

² Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 6, 1

³ Claudianus: *De tertio consulatu Honorii*, 96-98: *o nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aetheret coniurati veniunt ad classica venti*

[24] In Britannia¹, quae nunc Anglia² nuncupatur³, ut auctor⁴ est Beda⁵, barbarorum ingentes copias pauci admodum Christiani et inermes alta voce cantantes⁶ "Alleluja" deleverunt⁷. Non est abbreviata manus Domini, quamvis elongata⁸ est a⁹ nobis misericordia sua¹⁰ propter peccata nostra¹¹. Sed *propitiabilis est nobis*¹² *dominus* et¹³ Deus noster¹⁴, *et multus ad ignoscendum*¹⁵. Si redierimus ad eum¹⁶, et ipse ad nos redibit. Facile per oboedientiam placabimus¹⁷, quem per contumaciam¹⁸ irritavimus¹⁹, qui ut primum nos viderit humiliato corde²⁰ pro sua gloria pugnatuos^{21 22}, mox²³ odium in nos conceptum vertet in hostes, et²⁴ victoriam nobis²⁵ mittet²⁶.

¹ Bithania N

² Anglica S

³ nominatur S; appellatur U

⁴ actum W

⁵ *omit.* W

⁶ **canentes** H, L, M, N, R, S, T, U, V, X, KO, OO; clamantes P, W; tacentes U

⁷ vicerunt V

⁸ longata H; allongata V

⁹ *omit.* F

¹⁰ eius V

¹¹ propter peccata nostra : nostra propter peccata S

¹² **omit.** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹³ **omit.** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁴ misericordia ... est nobis *omit.* F

¹⁵ innoscendum P; ignoscendus U

¹⁶ dominum U

¹⁷ pacabimus F

¹⁸ incontinentiam W

¹⁹ irritamus X

²⁰ humiliato corde : corde humiliato H, V

²¹ pugnatore W

²² pro ... pugnatuos *omit.* KO, OO

²³ ad *add.* S

²⁴ in *add.* U

²⁵ victoriam nobis : nobis victoriam KO, OO

²⁶ et victoriam ... mittet *omit.* X

[24] In Brittanny, now called England, a very small group of unarmed Christians, according to the author Beda, destroyed a great force of barbarians by loudly singing "Alleluja".¹ *The arm of the almighty Lord has not been shortened,*² though he has stopped showing us mercy because of our sins. But the *Lord is mild: and plenteous in mercy* to all.³ If we return to him, He will return to us. Through obedience we may easily please Him whom we have displeased through disobedience. As soon as He sees that we will fight for His glory with humble hearts, He will turn His anger at us against our enemies and send us victory.

¹ Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 1, 24

² Isaiah, 50, 2

³ Psalms, 85, 5: *tu enim es Domine bonus et propitiabilis et multus misericordia omnibus qui invocant te*

[25] Hanc deam veteres esse¹ putaverunt², quam Jupiter mitteret. Illam³ vero⁴ tamquam regi deorum obtemperantem ad eos ire, quos jusserit, et in eorum parte considerare⁵. At hoc verum est⁶, sicut Augustinus ait⁷, non de illo⁸ Jove, quem deorum regem pro sua opinione⁹ finxerunt, sed de¹⁰ illo vero rege saeculorum¹¹, {115v} qui¹² mittat¹³ non victoriam, quae nulla est substantia¹⁴, sed angelum suum, et¹⁵ faciat¹⁶ vincere, quem¹⁷ voluerit¹⁸, sicut in castris Assyriorum accidit Ezechiam regem¹⁹ obsidentibus^{20 21}, in quibus²² angelus domini centum et²³ octuaginta²⁴ quinque milia²⁵ hominum²⁶ una nocte interfecit. Haec victoria, idest hic angelus, omnibus proculdubio²⁷ de caelo mittitur, qui pro causa Dei²⁸ recto et magno animo^{29 30} pugnant.

¹ **veteres esse : esse veteres** H, L, M, P, R, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

² putavere D, F // W, KO, OO

³ illamque M

⁴ illam vero : namque ferunt W

⁵ consideret C // H, S, V, KO, OO; considerunt M; consedere W; consedere X

⁶ et in eorum ... est *omit.* N

⁷ Augustinus ait : ait Augustinus KO, OO

⁸ *omit.* M, W

⁹ ordinatione W

¹⁰ *omit.* F

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² quod N, S, KO, OO

¹³ mutat R; mittet W

¹⁴ est substantia : substantia est W

¹⁵ ut U, W

¹⁶ eum *add.* W

¹⁷ que M

¹⁸ noluerit M

¹⁹ *omit.* W

²⁰ occidentibus P

²¹ Ezechiam ... obsidentibus *omit.* H, V, X

²² inquit N

²³ *omit.* N

²⁴ octoginta V, W

²⁵ miliaria U

²⁶ hostium U

²⁷ omnibus proculdubio : proculdubio omnibus N

²⁸ causa Dei : Dei causa P

²⁹ magno animo : animo magno F // magnanimo L, R, T, KO

³⁰ recto et magno : magno et recto W

[25] In old days, people thought that victory was a goddess sent by Jupiter: obeying the king of gods, she would go to those he bade and help them. But, as Augustine says, this applies not to that Jupiter whom they imagined to be the king of gods, but to the true God of ages, who sends not victory, which has no substance as such, but his angel, to give victory to those he wants to.¹ Thus, in the camp of the Assyrians besieging King Ezechias, the angel of the Lord killed 185.000 men in one night.² This victory, that is this angel, is undoubtedly sent from Heaven to all who fight for the cause of God with virtuous and brave hearts.

¹ Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 4, 17. In: MPL, XLI, col. 125. Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im.76]: *Aderit vobis omnipotens Deus angelos suos ante faciem vestram, qui gressus dirigant vestros, qui omni casu locoque vobis assistant, opitulentur, caelo demittet* (from the oration “*Existimatis forte*”, put into the mouth of Pope Urban II by Biondo)

² 4. Kings, 19, 35

[26] Verum quia¹ cum² eo nobis³ ⁴ hoste⁵ pugnandum est, qui Deo nostro prorsus adversatur, libet hoc loco pauca de Saracenorum lege referre⁶, quam Turci sequuntur, ut eo⁷ confidentius pugnam⁸ ineatis, quo foediores hostes⁹ ac¹⁰ magis impios cognoveritis. Sceleratissima est Maumethea lex, quae non solum Christi divinitatem¹¹ respuit¹², sed aliis innumerabilibus¹³ {90v} scatet¹⁴ erroribus¹⁵. Namque, ut praetereamus¹⁶ deliramenta et ineptias illas, quibus angelos corporeos de flamma¹⁷ ignis creatos¹⁸, interituros¹⁹ affirmat, et Origeni consentiens²⁰ daemones aliquando salvandos scribit²¹, et coelum de fumo²² factum, et lunam ab initio²³ aequae²⁴ splendidisse²⁵ cum sole, sed²⁶ volitantis²⁷ angeli Gabrielis ala tactam²⁸ fulgorem²⁹ amisisse. [cont.]

¹ omit. KO, OO

² in add. KO, OO

³ quidem W

⁴ hoc add. U

⁵ nobis hoste : hoste nobis H, V, KO, OO; eo nobis hoste : nobiscum hoste X

⁶ De Turcorum lege in marg. H

⁷ omit. KO, OO

⁸ bellum M, W

⁹ omit. H, KO, OO

¹⁰ et X

¹¹ legem H, V

¹² respicit R

¹³ aliis innumerabilibus : innumerabilibus aliis H, M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ suadet P

¹⁵ sceleratissima est ... erroribus omit. X

¹⁶ praeteream KO, OO

¹⁷ de flamma : ad flammam P

¹⁸ procreatos U

¹⁹ interitinos KO, OO

²⁰ consentientes H, X

²¹ credat W; tradit M, N, P, S, U, X, KO, OO

²² fummo A, B, D, E, F // R; summo L, T

²³ ab initio omit. KO, OO

²⁴ omit. H; aquae T

²⁵ splenduisse M, N, P, S, W, X, KO, OO; splenduisse U

²⁶ et add. W

²⁷ voluntatis M, N; volantis W

²⁸ tactum W

²⁹ splendorem U

2.3. Inferiority of Islam

[26] Since we must fight an enemy who is completely against our God, we may now speak, briefly, on the law of the Saracens, followed by the Turks, so that you may go to war the more confidently the better you know how retched and impious they are. The law of Muhammad is totally perverse: not only does it deny the divinity of Christ, but is filled with countless other errors. Let us pass over such delirious foolishness that angels have perishable bodies created by fire; that – as Origen¹, too, believes – even demons will someday be saved; that Heaven is made of fume; and that in the beginning the moon shone as brightly as the sun, but lost its splendour when it was touched by the wing of the angel Gabriel in flight. *[cont.]*

¹ Origen [Origenes] (ca. 184-253): early Christian scholar and theologian. One of his reputed teachings concerns the apokatastasis, i.e. the final reconciliation of all creatures, including perhaps even the devil. It later became controversial among Christian theologians

[26 cont.] Quis illud tolerare queat, quod¹ mundum² cum Democrito³ sentiens⁴ fortunae casuique⁵ submittit et divinam⁶ providentiam⁷ aufert? Quid⁸ quod⁹ sacrosanctam respuit¹⁰ trinitatem¹¹ et impossibile ait deum habere filium? Et quamvis Christum ex virgine natum consentit, justum et sanctum hominem, qui cunctas curaverit¹² aegritudines, verum tamen Deum¹³ esse cum Ario negat, nec pro nobis obiisse censet, sed sublatum a Deo in fine saeculi moriturum¹⁴ et tum¹⁵ ¹⁶ denique¹⁷ surrecturum,¹⁸ Judaeos autem alium sibi similem¹⁹ suspendisse atque²⁰ interfecisse²¹ ²² delirat²³.

¹ qui U

² mundo N

³ mathematicis W

⁴ senties M

⁵ casui M; casibus V

⁶ ei *add.* B, E; diutinam X

⁷ prudentiam L, R, T, X

⁸ id H; quis W

⁹ quid quod : quidque L, R, T, X

¹⁰ respui H

¹¹ respuit trinitatem : trinitatem respuit KO, OO

¹² sanavit M; curavit L, T, W

¹³ verum tamen Deum : Deum tamen verum M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ estimat *add.* W; moritur OO

¹⁵ tunc N; tamen S

¹⁶ et tum : estimat W

¹⁷ tum denique : deinde W

¹⁸ et omne fidei meritum auferens *add.* W

¹⁹ *omit.* X

²⁰ et H, V, X

²¹ interfecisset L

²² suspendisse et interfecisse : crucifixisse KO, OO

²³ delirant KO, OO

[26 cont.] But who can countenance that the world obeys fortune and chance, and not divine providence, as also Democritus¹ thought? That Muhammad mocks the Holy Trinity and claims that God cannot possibly have a son? And even if he agrees that Christ was born of a virgin and was a just and holy man who healed all illnesses, he denies – together with Arius² – that He was God, and he does not believe that He died for us, but madly claims that He was taken away by God and will die at the end of the world and then finally be resurrected, and that the Jews crucified and killed somebody else who looked like him.

¹ Democritus (ca. 460-ca. 370 BCE): Greek philosopher. Formulated an atomic theory of the universe

² Arius (250 or 256-336): Christian priest in Alexandria. His teachings about the nature of the Godhead emphasized the Father's divinity over the Son. They were condemned by the Council of Nicea in 325

[27] Nec¹ sancti spiritus dignitati² gloriaeque consentit, quem creaturam³ esse⁴ cum Nestorio Macedonioque⁵ mentitur^{6 7}, et omne⁸ fidei meritum⁹ auferens¹⁰ in sua quemque secta salvari hominem¹¹ prohibet¹², alioquin recte viventem¹³, nisi a¹⁴ sua lege abierit¹⁵. Et quia non constant inter se mendacia, alio loco neminem salvari asserit extra legem a se traditam, in qua beato Paulo¹⁶ contradicens circumcisionem servari¹⁷ praecipit¹⁸. Et vini tantum¹⁹ consuetudinem prohibens²⁰, ceteras voluptates indulget, stupra et adulteria cum captivis et emptis mulieribus admittit, uxores plurimas et cum his divortia passim concedit, nec concubitus naturae adversos inhibet^{21 22}. Postremo carnalis²³ homo et²⁴ bestialis^{25 26} futurae vitae beatitudinem sola²⁷ carnis voluptate metitur²⁸. [*cont.*]

¹ filii *add.* P

² *omit.* P

³ tractaturam U

⁴ *omit.* KO, OO

⁵ Macedoneoque H; Machedonio W

⁶ consentit H, V, X

⁷ quem creaturam ... mentitur *omit.* V

⁸ omnem N

⁹ veritatem W

¹⁰ negat W

¹¹ *omit.* H

¹² prohibet L, T

¹³ in sua ... viventem *omit.* W

¹⁴ in C; ad L, T

¹⁵ prodierit W; abierint L, R, T

¹⁶ beato Paulo : beatus Paulus U

¹⁷ salvari C

¹⁸ praecepit E // H, S, U, W

¹⁹ tantam S; tandem U

²⁰ si *add.* H

²¹ prohibet W, X

²² Que continentur in lege Maumetti *in marg.* H

²³ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁴ *omit.* OO

²⁵ bestiale S

²⁶ homo et bestialis : et bestialis homo W

²⁷ soli M

²⁸ mentitur P

[27] Neither does he accept the dignity and the glory of the Holy Spirit, whom he falsely – like Nestorius¹ and Macedonius² – claims to be a created being. He robs Faith of all worth saying that anyone is saved whatever sect he belongs to if only he leads a moral life and follows his own law. And since his lies are inconsistent with each other, in another place he claims that no one can be saved outside the law handed down by himself, in which – against Saint Paul - he bids [his followers] to practice circumcision. He forbids the use of wine only, all other pleasure he allows, and he permits debauchery and adultery with captive and bought women. He grants that men may have several wives and divorce them as they please, and he does not forbid intercourse against nature.³ Finally, carnal and animal man gains a future blessed life consisting purely in carnal pleasures. *[cont.]*

¹ Nestorius (ca. 386-450): Archbishop of Constantinople from 428 until August 431, when he was condemned by the Council of Ephesus

² Macedonius I (d. after 360) : Bishop of Constantinople from 342 to 346, and from 351 to 360. He inspired the establishment of the Macedonians, a sect later declared heretical

³ I.e. homosexuality

[27 cont.] En¹ sapientem hominem, qui se Dei prophetam² audet nominare, temerator {116r} antiquae legis, corruptor novae, prostitutor animarum, verus procurator Orci, et primus Sathanae satelles, cujus auditores inferni³ mancipia sunt, quales Turcos esse non dubitamus⁴, adversus quos armis contendere sacrificium⁵ fuerit⁶ et⁷ acceptissimum Deo⁸ spectaculum.

¹ heni V; o W

² Dei prophetam : prophetam Dei W

³ inferna S

⁴ quales ... dubitamus *omit.* H, V, X

⁵ Deo *add.* S, KO, OO

⁶ foret W

⁷ *omit.* N

⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

[27 cont.] This is indeed a wise man who dares to call himself the prophet of God, but who dishonours the Old Law while corrupting the New, who prostitutes souls, who is truly a procurator for Orcus¹ and the first disciple of Satan, and whose followers are the slaves of Hell – such as we do not doubt the Turks to be. Therefore, battling against them would be a worthy and pleasing sacrifice and a sight highly pleasing to God.

¹ Note the pope's insertion of a pagan deity, no less than the God of the Underworld in Roman and Italic mythology

[28] Ceterum, quia divinitatem Christi, ut diximus, impia¹ Saracenorum ac² Turcorum³ secta prorsus excludit⁴, non ab re fuerit hoc⁵ loco⁶ majestatem ejus et⁷ gloriam in medium afferre cunctisque palam facere Christum, quem colimus, et cujus causa bellum suademus, verum Deum esse sibi⁸ thura deberi⁹ et divinos honores¹⁰. Aggrediamur igitur¹¹ hunc¹² ¹³ articulum; semper enim conandum est, ut veritas magis atque¹⁴ magis elucescat¹⁵. Agemus autem¹⁶ pingui Minerva¹⁷, non more philosophorum, quos vix illuminatissimae¹⁸ possunt intelligere mentes.¹⁹ Ut quisque²⁰ cum proximo suo²¹, cum vicino suo²² loquitur²³, ita et nos hodie vobiscum²⁴ loquemur²⁵. Cupimus enim²⁶ etiam²⁷ ²⁸ a piscatoribus intelligi, qui fidem a piscatoribus accepimus²⁹. [cont.]

¹ imperia OO

² et R, S, W, KO, OO

³ ac Turcorum *omit.* H, V, X

⁴ excluditur OO

⁵ ob M; in *add.* KO, OO

⁶ hoc loco : hic W

⁷ ac E // U

⁸ sibi quae E

⁹ debere R; *omit.* U

¹⁰ homines S

¹¹ *omit.* W

¹² *omit.* N

¹³ igitur hunc ; hunc igitur M

¹⁴ ac N, U, W

¹⁵ eluceat B, E; illucescat M

¹⁶ igitur M

¹⁷ pingui Minerva : pugne itinera W

¹⁸ vix illuminatissimae : illuminatissime vix W

¹⁹ sed *add.* W

²⁰ quisquis KO, OO

²¹ et W

²² cum vicino suo *omit.* P, KO, OO

²³ loquetur M

²⁴ hodie vobiscum : vobiscum hodie H, V, X

²⁵ loquimur P, U, V, W, KO

²⁶ *omit.* D

²⁷ et X

²⁸ enim etiam : autem W

²⁹ Primo ex piscatoribus fidem habuimus *in marg.* H

2.4. Superiority of Christianity

[28] Moreover, since the impious sect of the Saracens and the Turks totally denies the divinity of Christ, as we have already said, it is proper that we should proclaim, here, His majesty and glory and make it clear to all that Christ, whom We worship and on whose behalf We exhort you to go to war, is true God, to whom we owe incense and divine honours. So, let Us take up this charge since We should always strive to make truth shine forth. But We shall do this as a fat¹ Minerva, that is not in the way of philosophers whom even the brightest intellects barely understand. For today We shall be talking [plainly] to you as someone speaking with his friends and neighbours. Indeed we, who received the Faith from fishermen, wish also to be understood by fishermen.
[cont.]

¹ i.e. lazy. The expression “pingui Minerva” is from Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 19: *Let us then proceed “with our own dull wits,” as the saying is (Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva)*

[28 cont.] In primis autem illud¹ assumimus, quod omnes ferme concedunt Deum scilicet unum² esse, a quo³ condita sunt⁴ et gubernantur universa. Docent enim⁵ viri sapientes mundi machinam⁶ et tantum rerum ordinem, quantum in mundo cernimus⁷, stare non posse, nisi et⁸ unus⁹ esset rector omnibus imperans. Recipimus¹⁰ igitur¹¹ confessa majorum, qui¹² mundialis machinae¹³ rectorem¹⁴ et quidem¹⁵ ¹⁶ unum esse fatentur eumque Deum vocant, quo nihil majus, nihil melius aut inveniri¹⁷ aut¹⁸ excogitari queat. Hunc nos Christum esse¹⁹ luce clarius²⁰ ostendimus, ad quod efficiendum²¹ tutissima et apertissima via ex²² miraculosis²³ ejus operibus²⁴ patet. Nam et ipse interrogatus a Judaeis²⁵, an Christus esset: *Loquor vobis*²⁶, inquit, *et non*²⁷ *credit*²⁸; *opera, quae ego facio in nomine patris mei, ipsa testimonium perhibent de me*. Facessant igitur dialecticorum syllogismi et²⁹ oratorum inductiones³⁰: ipsa nobis Christi opera Christi³¹ divinitatem ostendant³², religionisque nostrae³³ fidem confirmant³⁴ facta, non verba³⁵.

¹ unum *add.* H, V, X

² verum M, W

³ omnia *add.* KO, OO

⁴ omnia W

⁵ tantum S, KO; tantam KO

⁶ machinas KO

⁷ terminus U

⁸ ut M; *omit.* H, N

⁹ et unus : deus W

¹⁰ recepimus M, S

¹¹ ipsa B, E

¹² que H

¹³ conditorem et *add.* W

¹⁴ pectorem M

¹⁵ et quidem *omit.* W

¹⁶ quod M

¹⁷ invenire M

¹⁸ *omit.* H

¹⁹ quo nihil ... Christum esse *omit.* W

²⁰ esse *add.* W

²¹ faciendum W; perficiendum X

²² et L, M, R, T

²³ miraculis *corr.* ex miraculosis E

²⁴ operibus *omit.* B, E

²⁵ interrogatus *add.* B, E [*sic!*]

²⁶ Loquitur Christus Judeis *in marg.* H

²⁷ *omit.* S

²⁸ mihi *add.* KO, OO

²⁹ ac W

³⁰ inductiones L, T

³¹ *omit.* W

³² ostentant H; ostendunt W

³³ *omit.* W

³⁴ confirmant W

³⁵ facta non verba : non verba sed facta W

[28 cont.] Firstly we take as given what almost all people agree on, that God is One and that He created all and rules all. For wise men teach that the world machine and the grand order of things we see in the world cannot stand unless there is but one ruler who governs all. Thus we accept the beliefs of our forefathers who claim that there is one – and only one - governor of the world machine, and who call God that which is and which is thought to be the greatest and best. We shall show clearly that Christ is this God. There is no safer and easier way to do this than by referring to His miraculous works. For when the Jews asked him if He was Christ, he answered: *I speak to you, and you believe not: the works that I do in the name of my Father, they give testimony of me.*¹ So, away with the syllogisms of logicians and the subtleties of orators: let the very acts of Christ show His divinity, and let the Faith of our religion be proven not by words, but by deeds.

¹ John, 10, 25

[29] Ponatur¹ igitur² ante oculos nostrae mentis homo, qui vocatus ad nuptias aquam in vinum convertat; quacumque³ iter faciat⁴ ⁵ aegrotos solo verbo sanitati⁶ restituat⁷; mutorum linguas⁸ in eloquium solvat; claudis⁹ gradiendi facultatem¹⁰ concedat¹¹; caecis lumen, surdis auditum praebeat; paralyticorum membra consolidet¹²; respersos¹³ elephantiae¹⁴ maculis repurget; ac non solum vires imbecillis¹⁵ adjiciat, sed ipsos quoque mortuos et¹⁶ in sepulchro quatruiduanos¹⁷ tamquam somno solutos ad vitam revocet¹⁸; secreta et cogitationes {116v} hominum intelligat; futura praenuntiet¹⁹; daemonia ejiciat; super aquas²⁰ siccis pedibus ambulet; ventis imperet²¹ atque²² mari²³; postremo volens juxta sermonem suum prius habitum²⁴ captus a Judaeis crucifigatur, interficiatur, sepeliatur, et²⁵ tertia die resurgens tractandum palpandumque corpus suum²⁶ discipulis suis²⁷ offerat, edat, et bibat cum eis²⁸, et tandem post quadraginta dies videntibus illis ascendat²⁹ in caelum³⁰. [*cont.*]

¹ ponantur OO

² ergo W

³ quocumque M, P, S, W, X, KO, OO

⁴ faciet U

⁵ iter facit : interficiat L, T; iter faciat R

⁶ sanati C; solo verbo sanitati : sanitati solo verbo H

⁷ Christi miracula *in marg.* H

⁸ labia W

⁹ claudicis H

¹⁰ claudis gradiendi facultatem : gradiendi facultatem claudis P

¹¹ tribuit KO; tribuat OO

¹² resolidet C

¹³ refusus M; resperso N

¹⁴ elephantis S; elephantinis W

¹⁵ imbecillibus W

¹⁶ *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁷ quatruiduanos U, V

¹⁸ revocat KO

¹⁹ pronuntiet C; praevideat W; et *add.* X

²⁰ aquis KO, OO

²¹ imperetur OO

²² et M

²³ imperet atque mari : et mari imperet W

²⁴ habiturum N

²⁵ *omit.* N

²⁶ suis H, V, W, X

²⁷ *omit.* B // H, M, V, X, KO, OO

²⁸ illis W

²⁹ ascendit W

³⁰ ascendat in caelum : in caelum ascendat KO, OO

[29] So let us place before the eyes of our mind this man who, when invited to a wedding, changes water into wine. Wherever He travels, He heals the sick - just by a word. He makes the mute speak and the lame walk. He gives sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf. He strengthens the members of the palsied. He cleanses the lepers. And not only does He restore the strength of those who have weakened, but He even calls the dead who have lain in their tomb for four days back to life as if they are waking up from sleep. He knows the secrets and the inner thoughts of men. He foretells the future. He drives out demons. He walks on water with dry feet. He commands the winds and the sea. And, in the end, He is - willingly and as He Himself had foretold - arrested by the Jews, crucified, killed, buried, and on the third He resurrects and shows Himself to his disciples so they can feel and touch His body. He eats and drinks with them, and after 40 days He ascends into Heaven as they are looking on. *[cont.]*

[29 cont.] Quid hic post tot signa dicemus¹? An² non³ interrogatus ille⁴ a discipulis Johannis⁵: “*Tu es, qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?*”, interrogatores ipsos ad miracula⁶ remisit? Certissima quippe⁷ divinitatis⁸ argumentatio est miraculorum ostensio. Quod si nonnulli philosophorum naturam ipsam deam⁹ esse putaverunt, cur non magis Deus ille¹⁰ credendus est, qui naturae se¹¹ dominium^{12 13} habuisse¹⁴ miraculis patefecit?

¹ *omit.* H; videmus W

² at ipse X

³ nonne X

⁴ ipse H, M, N, P, S, V, W; *omit.* U, X, KO, OO

⁵ si *add.* W

⁶ ad miracula : admiraculo S

⁷ *omit.* P

⁸ *omit.* W

⁹ deum P

¹⁰ Deus ille : ille Deus X

¹¹ naturae se : se naturae P

¹² dominum M, N, S, T, X; dominium *corr.* ex dominum U

¹³ se dominium : dominium se KO; dominum se OO

¹⁴ fuisse X

[29 cont.] What shall we say after so many signs? When He was asked by the disciples of John: *Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?*,¹ did He not answer them by pointing to his miracles? The surest proof of divinity are miracles. If many philosophers think that God is nature itself, then why should we not rather believe that He is God whom miracles show to have mastery over nature?

¹ Matthew, 11, 3

[30] Dicat¹ fortasse aliquis Moysen², Eliam³, Eliseum, ceterosque prophetas, et ipsius Christi discipulos signa et portenta⁴ fecisse ac naturae cursum retinuisse⁵, non tamen fuisse deos. Verum est id quidem, sed neque illi⁶ deos {91v} sese⁷ dixerunt⁸. Mentiri⁹ enim¹⁰ et¹¹ miracula facere supra¹² naturam¹³, quae Christus fecit, nulli est datum¹⁴, sicut apud Johannem testatur caecus a domino liberatus¹⁵ ¹⁶, *Scimus*, inquit, *quia peccatores*, hoc est mendaces, *Deus non audit*¹⁷. Et Nicodemus *Rabbi*, *scimus*, inquit¹⁸, *quia a Deo venisti*¹⁹; *nemo enim potest haec signa*²⁰ *facere, quae tu facis, nisi fuerit*²¹ *cum eo Deus*²². At haec, quae²³ retulimus, et alia quamplurima²⁴ de Christo miracula sacrosancta quattuor²⁵ evangelia tradunt, quattuor uberrimi testes affirmant. Accedunt²⁶ epistolae doctoris gentium Pauli et Actus Apostolorum²⁷, ex quibus palam fit ea signa Christum fecisse, per quae naturae dominus ostenderetur. Fuit igitur cum eo²⁸ Deus et ipse verax²⁹, neque enim mendacibus Deus conjungitur³⁰. [cont.]

¹ dicet W

² Moysem E // M, P, V; et *add.* H

³ Heliaro L, T

⁴ prodigia W

⁵ immutasse W

⁶ se *add.* H, X

⁷ esse H, X; se esse V

⁸ duxerunt L, T

⁹ multa W

¹⁰ verum N

¹¹ *omit.* W

¹² super M

¹³ facere supra naturam : supra naturam facere X

¹⁴ est datum : datum est W

¹⁵ illuminatus W

¹⁶ Johannes de ceco liberato *in marg.* H

¹⁷ Qui de miraculis Christi locuntur *in marg.* H

¹⁸ scimus inquit : inquit scimus W

¹⁹ magister *add.* W

²⁰ haec signa : hoc S

²¹ esset KO, OO

²² cum eo deus : deus cum eo W

²³ *omit.* U

²⁴ quamplura E; complurima V; plurima W

²⁵ Christi U

²⁶ accedant U

²⁷ *omit.* P

²⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁹ cum eo ... verax : verax et cum eo deus W

³⁰ *si add.* H, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; sed *add.* P, L, R, T

[30] Maybe someone will say that Moses, Eliah, Elisha and other prophets, and Christ's own disciples also made miracles and portents and stayed the course of nature, but that they were not gods. This is true indeed, but also they did not claim to be gods. Nobody can both lie and make the supernatural miracles that Christ made. For as the blind man said, in the gospel of John, when he was freed from his blindness by the Lord: *We know that God doth not hear sinners*, that is liars.¹ And Nicodemus said: *Rabbi, we know that thou art come a teacher from God; for no man can do these signs which thou dost, unless God be with him.*² The miracles We have mentioned here and many others are related in the four gospels, they are confirmed by four trustworthy witnesses. To these should be added the letters of Paul, Teacher of Peoples, and the Acts of the Apostles which make it clear that the miracles of Christ prove His mastery over nature. Thus, God was with him, and God is truthful and cannot consort with liars. *[cont.]*

¹ John, 9, 31

² John, 3, 2

[30 cont.] Verax igitur Christus^{1 2} et Deus, qui³ de seipso⁴ dicit in evangelio: *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*. Et: *Qui videt me, videt et patrem*. Et rursus: *Ego et pater unum sumus*. Et⁵ alio loco: *Pater, clarifica me⁶ ea claritate, quam habui apud te priusquam mundus fieret*, quibus verbis se Deum⁷ manifestissime⁸ testatus est^{9 10}.

¹ igitur Christus : deus ergo W; Christus igitur N, P, S, KO, OO

² et ipse verax ... igitur Christus : igitur M

³ quia W

⁴ se U

⁵ omit. H, L, N, P, R, S, T, V, W, X

⁶ mea P

⁷ esse add. H, M, N, U, W, X, KO, OO; meum T

⁸ se Deum manifestissime : manifestissime se Deum P

⁹ se Deum ... testatus est : testatus est se Deum esse V

¹⁰ testatus est : testatur X

[30 cont.] So, Christ is truthful and God, as he himself says in the gospel: *I am the way, and the truth, and the life.*¹ And: *He that seeth me seeth the Father also.*² And again: *I and the Father are one.*³ And in another place: *And now glorify thou me, O Father, with the glory which I had, before the world was, with thee.*⁴ In these words he clearly stated that he is God.

¹ John, 14, 6

² John, 14, 9

³ John, 10, 30

⁴ John, 17, 5: *et nunc clarifica me tu Pater apud te ipsum claritatem quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te*

[31] Quod¹ si quis evangelio non² credat³, non videmus, cur Moysi credat et aliis antiquae⁴ legis scriptoribus. Credunt⁵ Graeci Herodoto⁶, Thucydidi⁷, Polybio⁸, Xenophonti, Diodoro⁹. Credunt Romani Livio, Sallustio, Trogo¹⁰, Cornelio, Suetonio. Credunt et alii suis historicis. Cur nos¹¹ non credamus¹² nostris, quamquam minime illi¹³ cum nostris comparandi sunt¹⁴. Illi enim nullius auctoritate recepti sunt¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷, sanctum evangelium multa patrum concilia¹⁸ prius approbaverunt, quam¹⁹ legendum ecclesiis²⁰ traderetur.

¹ quid U

² minime W

³ credit KO, OO

⁴ antiquis W

⁵ Quibus alii credunt *in marg.* H

⁶ Herodoti N; Herodoto S

⁷ Thucydidi L, T; Thucydidi M; Tucillidi N; Tutilidi U; Teodoro X

⁸ Polibeo KO, OO

⁹ Diodoro KO

¹⁰ Trocho U; Trago KO

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² credimus M, KO, OO

¹³ minime illi : illi minime KO, OO

¹⁴ sint KO, OO

¹⁵ *omit.* H

¹⁶ illi enim ... sunt *omit.* F

¹⁷ credunt enim ... sunt *omit.* W

¹⁸ consilia H, S, U, W, KO, OO; concilia *corr. ex* consilia V

¹⁹ antequam W

²⁰ legendum ecclesiis : ecclesiis legendum W

[31] But if there is someone who does not believe in the Gospel, we do not see why he should believe Moses or the other writers of the Old Law. The Greeks believe Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Xenophon and Diodorus. The Romans believe Livy, Sallust, Trogus, Cornelius and Suetonius. And other [peoples] believe their own historians. Then why should we not believe ours? Indeed, the other historians¹ can certainly not be compared with ours, for they were accepted on nobody's authority, whereas the Holy Gospel was approved by many councils of Fathers before it was given to the churches to be read.

¹ i.e. the pagan and Jewish writers

[32] Ad cuius robur etiam martyres {117r} accedunt¹, qui pro testamento domini sua corpora tradiderunt et *laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni*²; inter quos etiam³ virgunculae magno miraculo non expavere⁴ supplicia⁵. Accedunt⁶ et⁷ sanctissimi doctores, qui cum essent perspicacissimi⁸, nequaquam evangelio credidissent⁹, nisi veram ejus historiam cognovissent, sicut apud Graecos¹⁰ Dionysius Ariopagita¹¹, Johannes Chrysostomus¹², Gregorius Nazanzenus¹³, Cyrillus¹⁴, Athanasius, Magnus Basilius¹⁵, et alii quamplures¹⁶; apud Latinos quattuor doctores¹⁷ fama illustres: Gregorius, Ambrosius, Jeronimus, et¹⁸ Augustinus¹⁹, et ultra illos Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Isidorus Hispalensis²⁰, Hilarius Pictaviensis^{21 22}, Eusebius²³ Vercellensis²⁴, et²⁵ proximi²⁶ aevo nostro Thomas Aquinas²⁷ et Albertus Magnus, natione Suevus, et alii paene innumerabiles, qui de²⁸ Christi²⁹ divinitate non more philosophorum, qui sibi ipsis adversantur, sed omnes uno ore³⁰ loquuntur, ut sine Deo³¹ putanda non sit tanta unitas {92r} atque³² concordia. [cont.]

¹ accedant U

² Testimonia Latinorum *in marg.* H

³ *omit.* U

⁴ expaverunt P; expavescentes W

⁵ subierunt *add.* W

⁶ accedant U

⁷ etiam N

⁸ prudentes W

⁹ nequaquam ... credidissent *omit.* W

¹⁰ Testimonia Grecorum *in marg.* H

¹¹ Arropagita P

¹² Grisostomus L, T; Grisostimus R

¹³ Nazazenus P; Nalanzenus S

¹⁴ *omit.* X

¹⁵ Blasius H

¹⁶ complures H, V, X

¹⁷ *omit.* W

¹⁸ *omit.* H, U, V, KO, OO

¹⁹ Ambrosius Jeronimus et Augustinus : Iheronimus, Augustinus, Ambrosius W

²⁰ Hispanensis H; Hispolensis M

²¹ Pictavensis A, B, C, D, E, F // L, R, T, P, W; Pithanensis H; Pitanensis M; Pictanensis S

²² Isidorus ... Pictaviensis *omit.* N

²³ Euse W

²⁴ Versalensis KO, OO

²⁵ *omit.* OO

²⁶ proximo X

²⁷ de Aquinis P; de Aquino W

²⁸ fidem M; fide KO, OO

²⁹ de Christi : fidem Christi de W

³⁰ more F

³¹ qui sibi ipsis ... sine Deo *omit.* M

³² et W, X

[32] The solidity of the Gospel is confirmed by the martyrs who gave their lives for the Testament of the Lord and *washed their garments in the blood of the lamb*.¹ Among them were even very young women who, by some great miracle, did not fear torture. They are joined by the holy doctors who since they were extremely perspicacious only believed in the Gospel because they acknowledged it as true history. Among the Greeks they were Dionysius Areopagita, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianz, Cyrillus, Athanasius, Basil the Great, and many others. Among the Latins they were the four illustrious doctors, Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and besides them Cyprian of Carthage, Isidore of Spain, Hilaire of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercelli, and close to our own times Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great from Swabia and almost countless others. Concerning the divinity of Christ they all unanimously declare - unlike the philosophers who disagree between themselves – that so great unity and harmony is unimaginable without God. *[cont.]*

¹ From a liturgical chant at the Feast of the Holy Innocents. From Apocalypse, 22, 14

[32 cont.] Confert et multum Romanorum auctoritas, qui, cum essent sapientissimi ac ¹ potentissimi et ² orbis domini ³ collum evangelio minime ⁴ submisissent, nisi aut rationibus victi aut miraculis tracti ⁵. Quis praeterea ⁶ viros fortes ⁷ eosdemque prudentes, Hispanos, Gallos, ac ⁸ Germanos evangelium suscepisse crediderit, nisi magnis rationibus ⁹ persuasos? Sane, cum lex gentium mollis esset, Christianorum ¹⁰ durior, nemo hanc subire voluisset, nisi auctorem ejus Deum esse didicisset.

¹ et M, W, X; atque KO, OO

² omit. S; ac U; atque W

³ ac potentissimi ... domini : quondam domini et orbis possessores KO, OO

⁴ omit. M; nomine E; numquam KO, OO

⁵ Quibus miraculis tracti ad fidem Christianam *in marg.* H

⁶ propterea KO

⁷ quis ... fortes *add.* in marg. A

⁸ atque H, U; et M, W

⁹ orationibus E

¹⁰ vero *add.* U

[32 cont.] Also the authority of the Romans is quite important: being the wise and powerful lords of the world, they would never have submitted to the Gospel unless they had been convinced by reasons or miracles. And who can believe that those strong and wise men, the Spaniards, the Gauls, and the Germans would have accepted the Gospel unless they had been persuaded by very strong arguments. Indeed, since the law of the pagans is lax while the law of the Christians is strict, no one would have accepted the harder law unless he had learnt that its author was God himself.

[33] Sed illud omnem ambiguitatem excludit, omnem titubationem avertit¹, omnem credendi moram² expellit³, quod multis saeculis priusquam Christus carnem⁴ indueret⁵, nativitas ejus ex virgine, sanctimonia⁶ vitae, miraculorum patratio⁷, praedicatio⁸, legis edictio⁹, captivitas¹⁰, tormentorum¹¹ perpressio¹², crucifixio¹³, mors, resurrectio, in caelum ascensio, et reliqua, quae¹⁴ de ipso¹⁵ legimus, ita in prophetis¹⁶ scripta¹⁷ reperiuntur, sicut postea gesta sunt. Legite¹⁸ Isaiam¹⁹, Jeremiam, Danielelem, Ezechielem²⁰, David, Salomonem, et alios²¹ prophetas, quaecumque de Christo jam²² facta commemorant²³ evangelistae eadem prophetae divino afflati²⁴ spiritu²⁵ futura²⁶ praedixerunt, Deum et hominem in Christo recognoscentes. Nec Sibyllarum contemnenda est auctoritas²⁷, quae longo tempore ante nativitatem dominicam²⁸ vaticinatae^{29 30 31}, ut Firmianus³² et Augustinus affirmant, praeclara³³ de Christi deitate cecinerunt³⁴.

¹ avertat M; avertet S

² morem H

³ quo *add.* U

⁴ Christus carnem : carnem Christus H, V

⁵ induret S

⁶ ejus *add.* X

⁷ patrati L, T

⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

⁹ editio N, P, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁰ captivitatis W

¹¹ tormentum KO, OO

¹² *omit.* C

¹³ triduana W

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ quae de ipso : de Christo quae W

¹⁶ **prophetis H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

¹⁷ supra scripta P

¹⁸ Qui de adventu Christi dixerunt *in marg.* H

¹⁹ Esaiam OO

²⁰ *omit.* B, E // W; Ezechiam U

²¹ alio U

²² *omit.* U, W

²³ facta commemorant : commemorant facta U

²⁴ affati N

²⁵ prophetae ... spiritu : divino affati spiritu prophetae KO, OO

²⁶ *omit.* H, V

²⁷ Et Sibille de Christo dixerunt *in marg.* H

²⁸ Christi W; *omit.* U

²⁹ *omit.* V; vaticinantes X

³⁰ commatice W; *omit.* U

³¹ dominicam vaticinate : *omit.* H, V; vaticinate dominicam P

³² Firmanus P, T

³³ praeclare N, U; plura KO, OO

³⁴ cecinerint L, M, R, T

[33] But all doubt and dithering and hesitancy to believe is removed by the fact that many centuries before the incarnation of Christ, His birth from a virgin, His holiness of life, His performance of miracles, His preaching, His issuing a law, His arrest, His torments, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension into Heaven and all else that we read about Him were foretold by the prophets. Read Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, David, Solomon and the other prophets: all the events in the life of Christ related by the evangelists were foretold by the prophets under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, recognizing Christ as both God and man. Nor should we belittle the authority of the Sibyls¹ who, according to Firmianus² and Augustine,³ foretold the birth of the Lord long before it happened and gloriously proclaimed the divinity of Christ.

¹ Sibyls: The word sibyl comes (via Latin) from the ancient Greek word sibylla, meaning prophetess. There were many sibyls in different locations throughout the ancient world. The Cumaean Sibyl was the priestess presiding over the Apollonian oracle at Cumae, a Greek colony located near Naples, Italy. Because of the importance of the Cumaean Sibyl in the legends of early Rome, and because of her proximity to Rome, the Cumaean Sibyl became the most famous among the Romans

² Lactantius Firmianus (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

³ Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

[34] His conjungitur honestissima lex ejus¹ omni² ex parte venerabilis³ ac⁴ modesta⁵. Nam quid aliud⁶ Christus⁷ docet⁸ quam caelestem agere mortales⁹ in terris¹⁰ vitam¹¹? Jubet¹² enim nos¹³ Deum colere, festos dies¹⁴ sanctificare, proximos quasi nos¹⁵ ipsos^{16 17} diligere, {117v} pauperum misereri¹⁸, viduas¹⁹, pupillos atque omnes²⁰ imbecilles²¹ protegere, infirmos et in carcere clausos²² visitare, mortuos sepelire, castis²³ nedum manibus, sed²⁴ etiam²⁵ oculis esse; adulteria, stupra, fornicationes, jurgia, lites, ebrietates fugere; primos in cenis^{26 27} accubitus et omnes mundi pompas, omnes²⁸ blanditias²⁹ devitare³⁰, reges ac³¹ parentes honorare, magistratibus et³² sacerdotibus oboedire, postremo³³ thesauros veros³⁴ ipsamque felicitatem non in terra, sed in caelo quaerere. Haec lex Christi est³⁵, hoc praeceptum, hoc testamentum ejus³⁶.

¹ Christi KO, OO

² omnium M

³ honorabilis W

⁴ et W

⁵ honesta X

⁶ alius L, T

⁷ Christum M; episcopus KO, OO

⁸ Christus docet : iubet Christus P

⁹ agere mortales : mortales agere P

¹⁰ terra S

¹¹ in terris vitam : vitam in terris P

¹² Hec est lex Christi *in marg.* H

¹³ unum *add.* H, V, X

¹⁴ festos dies : dies festos W

¹⁵ non L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ quasi nos ipsos : nostros quasi nosmetipsos W

¹⁸ miseras T

¹⁹ et *add.* KO, OO

²⁰ *omit.* P

²¹ imbecillos H, N, U, V, KO, OO

²² positos V

²³ captos P; castos S, W, X

²⁴ verum P

²⁵ *omit.* H

²⁶ celis L, M, R, T; cena X

²⁷ in cenis : moeni F

²⁸ omnesque W

²⁹ delicias H, V, X

³⁰ evitare W

³¹ et W

³² ac P, S, KO, OO

³³ *omit.* P

³⁴ nostros W

³⁵ lex Christi est : est lex Christi P

³⁶ Hoc testamentum Christi *in marg.* H

[34] To this should be added His excellent law, completely venerable and modest. For what else does Christ teach than that men should live a Heavenly life on Earth?¹ He bids us worship God, keep the feast days as holy days, love ones neighbour as one self, take pity on the poor, protect the widows, the orphans, and all those who are weak, visit the sick and the prisoners, bury the dead, have chaste hands and eyes, abstain from adultery, debauchery, fornication, swearing, brawls and drunkenness, avoid the first places at banquets and all worldly pomp and flattery, honour kings and parents, obey magistrates and priests, and finally to seek true treasures and happiness not on Earth, but in Heaven. This is the Law of Christ, this is his command, this is his testament.

¹ This theme had been developed by Piccolomini in his oration/sermon to the parishioners of Aspach in 1446, the *"Non est apud me"* [6], a text which is really a treaty on Christian life and morals. In sect. 15, Piccolomini said: *If you look about you properly, it is not difficult to see that good, upright, and holy people live their lives in joyfulness and happiness, which is the same as having Paradise on Earth (Si ergo rite consideratis, non est arduum intueri bonos viros, rectos, sanctos in jucunditate ac laetitia suam aetatem agere: quod est in in terris paradisum habere)*

[35] Conjungite nunc¹ omnia simul: Christus ex virgine natus castissimam vitam ducit, signa et mirabilia² facit, naturae imperat³, legem perfectissimam edit, quae⁴ orbis consensu recipitur⁵, Deum se dicit et hominem, prophetae⁶, martyres, ac⁷ doctores sibi astipulantur⁸. Quid haec⁹ inferunt¹⁰ simul juncta, nisi¹¹ verum esse testimonium¹² Christi de seipso, et ipsum verum atque¹³ indubitatum¹⁴ esse Deum, Mahumetum vero¹⁵ Arabicum¹⁶ falsum, mendacem, perditum, et¹⁷ omnino respuendum, qui haec¹⁸ negavit¹⁹. Verus igitur²⁰ Christus²¹ Deus, verus dominus²² ²³ ²⁴ et homo Christus²⁵ Jesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto²⁶ in personarum trinitate²⁷ colendus²⁸. [*cont.*]

¹ *omit.* H

² miracula H, N, P, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

³ impetrat U

⁴ qui U

⁵ recipere M, W

⁶ quoque *add.* W

⁷ *omit.* H; et M, S, W, KO, OO

⁸ astipulant H

⁹ *omit.* B, E; hoc F

¹⁰ ingerunt W; referunt X

¹¹ *omit.* S

¹² esse testimonium : testimonium esse X

¹³ et P

¹⁴ immortalem N; dubitatum U

¹⁵ *omit.* S, KO, OO

¹⁶ Arabarcem A, C, D, F // L, N, R, S, T, U, V; Arabaozem B, E; Arabarchiam H; Arabacten M; Arabem P, W; Arabarchem X

¹⁷ ac KO, OO

¹⁸ hoc U

¹⁹ negat W

²⁰ verus igitur *omit.* P

²¹ verus igitur Christus : igitur Christus verus W

²² *omit.* P

²³ verus igitur ... dominus : verus igitur Christus, Deus verus, verus Deus H, M, N, S, U, V, X, KO, OO [Christi N]

²⁴ verus dominus *omit.* W

²⁵ est *add.* W

²⁶ spiritu sancto : sancto spiritu M, W

²⁷ personarum trinitate : trinitate personarum W

²⁸ est *add.* V, X; misertus [*sic!*] W

[35] To sum up: Christ is born of a virgin, He leads a supremely chaste life, He performs signs and miracles, He commands nature, He issues a most perfect law which is accepted by the whole world, He declares that he is both God and man, and martyrs and doctors acknowledge Him. What all this together means is that Christ's testimony concerning Himself is true and that He Himself is true and undoubted God. But the Arab Muhammad is false, mendacious, completely wrong and despicable because he denied these things. So, Christ is true God. Jesus Christ is true Lord and man who must be worshipped together with the Father and the Holy Spirit in a trinity of persons. [*cont.*]

[35 cont.] Misertus¹ humani generis², primi parentis culpa³ jam pridem⁴ damnati, ut nos redimeret, ex arce caelesti et⁵ altissimo Dei⁶ throno, splendor paternae⁷ gloriae⁸, figura substantiae Dei, moderator orbis, iudex futuri saeculi, ad nos descendit, *neque rapinam⁹ arbitratus est¹⁰ se esse¹¹ aequalem Deo, sed formam servi¹² accipiens¹³, exinanivit semetipsum¹⁴, factus¹⁵ oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*. Neque ista sine suppliciis atque tormentis, sed dorsum suum, ut inquit Isaias¹⁶ ¹⁷, posuit ad flagella¹⁸, maxillas¹⁹ suas ad palmas. Genas suas non avertit a foeditate²⁰ ²¹ sputorum²². *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum speciem atque decorem amisit*. Ductus est²³ *tamquam ovis ad victimam*, et inter latrones deputatus est. *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta sua²⁴, et super vestem suam miserunt sortem*. In siti sua potatus est aceto²⁵, et *spineam coronam posuerunt super caput ejus*. *Non fuit dolor sicut dolor suus²⁶; a planta pedis²⁷ usque ad verticem²⁸ non erat²⁹ in eo sanitas, nec tamen ejulatus³⁰ emisit³¹*. *Sicut agnus coram tondente siluit³²*.

¹ est add. H, W

² humani generis : generis humani H

³ ut add. KO, OO

⁴ primi KO, OO

⁵ ex P

⁶ omit. W

⁷ aeternae KO, OO

⁸ sub add. P

⁹ se add. S

¹⁰ esse U

¹¹ se esse : esse se V

¹² omit. H

¹³ sed add. U

¹⁴ omit. H; seipsum KO, OO

¹⁵ est add. H, M

¹⁶ ut inquit Isaias omit. B, E

¹⁷ Ysaïas de Christo in marg. H

¹⁸ posuit ad flagella : ad flagella posuit V

¹⁹ maxillas L, R

²⁰ felicitate U

²¹ non avertit ... foeditate : foeditate sputorum non avertit KO, OO

²² neque ista ... sputorum omit. W

²³ omit. H

²⁴ ejus S, W, KO, OO

²⁵ acete U

²⁶ ejus W

²⁷ omit. P

²⁸ ejus add. X

²⁹ fuit W; erit L, R, T

³⁰ eiugulatus H

³¹ sed add. W

³² soluit T

[35 cont.] Taking pity on the human race, condemned by the fault of the first parent, He - the splendour of the Father's glory, the image of the substance of God, the ruler of the world, the judge of the future age - came down to us from the heavenly citadel and the high throne of God in order to save us. *And he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.*¹ Doing so, He suffered pain and torture, and – as Isaiah says² - offered his back to be scourged and his jaws to be hit. He did not turn his cheek away from foul spit. The one who was beautiful before all men,³ lost both *beauty and comeliness*.⁴ He was *led as a sheep to the slaughter*,⁵ and was placed among thieves.⁶ *They parted His garments amongst them; and upon his vesture they cast lots.*⁷ When He thirsted, He had vinegar to drink,⁸ and *they put a crown of thorns on his head.*⁹ There has been *no sorrow like to his sorrow*.¹⁰ *From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there was no soundness therein.*¹¹ *But he did not utter a groan; he was dumb as a lamb before his shearer.*¹²

¹ Philippians, 2, 6-8: *qui cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo, humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis*

² Isaiah, 53

³ Psalms, 43,3 (with a different Latin wording)

⁴ Isaiah, 53, 2

⁵ Isaiah, 53, 7

⁶ Luke, 23, 29

⁷ Psalms, 21, 19

⁸ Luke, 23, 36

⁹ Matthew, 27, 29

¹⁰ Lamentations, 1, 12

¹¹ Isaiah, 1, 6

¹² Isaiah, 53, 7

[36] O¹ homo, o Christiane, o qui fidelis videri vis², et cur³ ista⁴ tulisse Christum⁵ existimas? Justus erat, et *dolus non est inventus*^{6 7} *in ore ejus*. Cur tot suppliciis subicitur innocens? Pro te *doluit*, homo; *peccata* tua ipse *portavit*, homo⁸; et tu *suo livore sanatus es*⁹, homo^{10 11}. *Bonus pastor animam suam posuit*¹² *pro suis ovibus*^{13 14}, et *mortem tuam morte sua*¹⁵ *redemit*¹⁶. Et¹⁷ quas tu illi {118r} gratias pro tot beneficiis¹⁸ reddis¹⁹? Quid facis²⁰? Quid cogitas, ut²¹ gratus inveniaris? Turci nomen suum²² blasphemant, altaria sua²³ diruunt, legem suam²⁴, haereditatem suam²⁵ perdere conantur²⁶, et tu domi jaces²⁷ in otio? [cont.]

¹ *omit.* H

² fidelis videri vis : videri vis fidelis P

³ *omit.* P

⁴ ipsa H

⁵ tulisse Christum : Christum pertulisse W; Christum tulisse N, P, KO, OO

⁶ non est inventus : inventus non est M, KO, OO

⁷ dolus non est inventus : non est inventus dolus P

⁸ peccata tua ... homo *omit.* W

⁹ Pro quo passus est Christus *in marg.* H

¹⁰ *omit.* W

¹¹ et tu ... homo *omit.* B, E

¹² livore sanatus ... posuit *omit.* U

¹³ *omit.* OO

¹⁴ suis ovibus : ovibus suis H, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO; viribus suis T

¹⁵ **morte sua : sua morte H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, X, W**

¹⁶ redimit U

¹⁷ *omit.* U

¹⁸ pro ... beneficiis *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁹ rependis W

²⁰ quid facis *omit.* S

²¹ *omit.* F

²² ejus W

²³ ejus W

²⁴ ipsius et W

²⁵ ejus W

²⁶ conatur S

²⁷ iacens S

[36] Oh man, oh Christian, oh you who want to be a believer, why do you think that Christ bore all this? He was just, and *no guile was found in his mouth*.¹ Why was this innocent subjected to such tortures? It is for you, oh man, that He *suffered*; it is your sins, oh man, that He bore; and it is by the wounds He received that *you were healed*, oh man.² *The good shepherd gave his life for his sheep*³ and *bought your death with his own*.⁴ How do you thank Him for all the good things He has done for you? What do you do? How do you intend to please Him? The Turks blaspheme His name, tear down His altars, and endeavour to destroy His law and His inheritance, and you stay peacefully at home? *[cont.]*

¹ 1. Peter, 2, 22

² 1. Peter, 2, 22-24

³ John, 10, 11

⁴ From the Easter liturgy

[36 cont.] O reges, o duces, o viri potentes¹, surgite jam tandem, et Christi Dei vestri² religionem atque³ honorem⁴ defendite, quando⁵ nec opes nec vires vobis⁶ quam⁷ Turcis minores sunt⁸, et certissimi estis pugnaturis⁹ ¹⁰ vobis¹¹ pro testamento¹² domini divinum auxilium¹³ minime¹⁴ ¹⁵ defuturum¹⁶. Nec plura de secundo¹⁷ et¹⁸ principali membro¹⁹ ²⁰.

¹ prudentes W

² nostri U

³ et X; ac KO, OO

⁴ atque honorem *omit.* W

⁵ quoniam W, T

⁶ nobis U

⁷ quid N

⁸ sint X

⁹ pugnaturi P

¹⁰ vobis quam Turcis ... pugnaturis : nec auxilium divinum erunt W

¹¹ *omit.* N; nobis U

¹² te sancto U; verbo V; lege KO, OO

¹³ implorantes *add.* KO, OO

¹⁴ *omit.* P

¹⁵ divinum auxilium minime : certantibus W

¹⁶ affuturum P

¹⁷ de secundo : descendo N

¹⁸ ac X

¹⁹ articulo KO, OO

²⁰ nec plura ... membro *omit.* P

[36 cont.] Oh kings, oh dukes, oh mighty men, rise up now and defend the religion and honour of Christ, your God, since neither your resources nor your strength are smaller than the Turks', and you may be quite sure that God's help will certainly not be denied you when you fight for the testament of the Lord.

I shall say no more on this, the second and principal issue.

[37] Tertium et ultimum modo¹, si placet, quam brevissime² absolvamus, hoc est, quae praemia consecuturi³ sint⁴ adversus hostes fidei pugnaturi. Audite⁵, adhibite⁶ aures, fortissimi milites. Magna sunt et inextimabilia⁷ bona, quae hujus honestissimi⁸ belli victores adipiscimini^{9 10}. In primis enim¹¹ quaecumque¹² in hoc bello¹³ acquiretis, arma, equos, vestes, argentum, aurum, gemmas¹⁴, servos, ancillas¹⁵, agros¹⁶, urbes, provincias, regna juste et licite¹⁷ pro nostra¹⁸ distributione¹⁹ possidebitis. Et ultra hoc²⁰ clarissimum nomen et famam aeternam²¹ cum viris²² illustribus consequemini²³. Sunt haec^{24 25} quidem²⁶ more gentium appetenda²⁷, nec majora quaesivere²⁸ Romani²⁹, Graeci, barbari³⁰ belligerantes³¹.

¹ nunc U; *omit.* W

² quam brevissime *omit.* P

³ assecuturi X

⁴ sunt P, W, T

⁵ attendite V; accedite W

⁶ adhibete B, E // M, N, P, OO, X; adhibete *corr. ex* adhibite V; adhibe W

⁷ inexistimabilia H; inaestimabilia M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁸ honestissimum KO, OO

⁹ adipiscimini M

¹⁰ Que possunt acquiri bello *in marg.* H

¹¹ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹² quae W

¹³ in hoc bello *omit.* W

¹⁴ *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁵ et *add.* L, T

¹⁶ et *add.* L, T

¹⁷ et licite : liciteque V

¹⁸ vestra S, U, W, X

¹⁹ pro ... distributione : pro distributione nostra F

²⁰ hec W

²¹ extremam P

²² veris OO

²³ consequimini M, S, KO, OO; consequimur U

²⁴ *omit.* H

²⁵ sunt haec : hec sunt W

²⁶ *omit.* N, W

²⁷ expetenda KO, OO

²⁸ quesiverunt M; quesivere R

²⁹ Romam KO

³⁰ arbani U

³¹ bella gerentes W; belligerantes N, P, U, KO

3. Rewards of the war

3.1. Rewards on Earth

[37] The third and last issue We shall deal with briefly now, if you please: what will be your reward when you fight the enemies of the Faith. Listen and hear, oh mighty soldiers. Great and inestimable are the benefits that you shall obtain as victors in this very just war. Firstly, you will legitimately possess whatever weapons, horses, garments, silver, gold, gems, servants, slave girls, territories, cities, provinces and kingdoms that you acquire in this war – to be distributed by Ourselves. Moreover, you will acquire a most noble name and eternal fame together with illustrious men. These are what also pagan peoples¹ desire, and neither the Romans, nor the Greek, nor the Barbarians sought for more than that when they went to war.

¹ "gentes"

[38] At¹ vobis, o proceres², praemia longe³ maiora⁴ promittuntur. Nam⁵ regni caelestis possessio et Christi⁶ cohaereditas⁷ vobis⁸ offertur⁹, et haec quidem¹⁰ non solum vincentibus, verum¹¹ etiam¹² fortiter¹³ occumbentibus. Nam quod¹⁴ praedecessores nostros Urbanos, Eugenios, Innocentios, Alexandros atque alios fecisse constat, Christianos omnes cruce signabimus in hac¹⁵ expeditione¹⁶ ituros, et pugnaturis¹⁷ pro lege domini plenissimam¹⁸ omnium peccatorum suorum¹⁹ veniam²⁰ largiemur et apostolicis clavibus paradisi portas aperiemus²¹. *Omnibus*, inquit orator, *qui patriam juverint, auxerint²², defenderint, certum est esse in caelo diffinitum locum*, in quo²³ beati aevo sempiterno²⁴ fruuntur²⁵. Verius et certius hoc illis promittitur²⁶, qui religionem Christianam et orthodoxam²⁷ fidem tuebuntur et adversus impios Turcos invictis²⁸ animis²⁹ bellum gerent³⁰.

¹ ac S

² patres S

³ omit. X

⁴ meliora P

⁵ et add. N

⁶ ipsi M

⁷ haereditas P, KO, OO

⁸ omit. P; nobis S

⁹ Promittitur vita eterna *in marg.* H

¹⁰ et haec quidem : equidem W

¹¹ sed H, V, X

¹² et R; et add. W

¹³ omit. P

¹⁴ quid L, R, T, KO

¹⁵ hanc H, M, N, P, R, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO L, T

¹⁶ expeditionem H, M, L, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁷ pugnatos M, S, W

¹⁸ omit. P; plenariam W

¹⁹ omit. N, W

²⁰ eis add. W

²¹ aperimus U

²² et add. W

²³ omit. U

²⁴ aevo sempiterno : sempiterno evo U

²⁵ fruuntur B, E // fruuntur P

²⁶ omit. X

²⁷ harthodosam U

²⁸ iniunctis D

²⁹ annis M

³⁰ gerentur U

3.2. Rewards in Heaven

[38] But far greater rewards are promised to you, oh, nobles. For the possession of the Heavenly Kingdom and the coinheritance of Christ is offered to you, and this not just if you are victorious, but even if you should fall, fighting vigorously. For as Our predecessors, Urban, Eugenius, Innocent and Alexander are known to have done, We too shall designate as crusaders all those who go on this expedition. We shall give plenary remission of all sins to those who fight for the law of the Lord, and with the apostolic keys We shall throw open the gates to Paradise. As the orator says, *all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in the heavens*, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness.¹ This is promised even more truly and surely to those who protect the Christian and orthodox Faith and make war against the Turks with indomitable courage.

¹ Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.9.13 (Somnium Scipionis): *omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur*

[39] Festinemus igitur ad hoc¹ bellum, in quo morientes veram inveniēmus² vitam³. Nam⁴ haec, quam⁵ modo⁶ vivimus⁷ vitam⁸, nequaquam re⁹ ipsa^{10 11} vita est¹², sed potius mors¹³, quae fugit velut umbra et numquam in eodem statu permanet. Sicut lilia et flores¹⁴ cito¹⁵ defecimus¹⁶. Levissima¹⁷ res est, quae hominem extinguit: bestiolae minimae nobis insidiantur¹⁸, et parvulae¹⁹ serpentis²⁰ morsu et²¹ araneae²² nonnumquam ictu^{23 24} perimus. Anacreon²⁵ poeta acino²⁶ uvae²⁷ passae, et²⁸ Fabius senator in haustu lactis uno²⁹ pilo strangulatus est. Nihil fragilius humana³⁰ vita, quae cum³¹ incerta est³², tum³³ brevissima³⁴. [cont.]

¹ omit. C

² inveniamus H

³ omit. H; viam T

⁴ non KO, OO

⁵ qua H, P

⁶ omit. S, KO, OO

⁷ modo vivimus : vivimus modo W

⁸ vita H, M, N, P, U, V, W, X

⁹ omit. W

¹⁰ vitam ... ipsa omit. KO, OO

¹¹ re ipsa : ipsa re P

¹² re ipsa vita est : vita est re ipsa V

¹³ Vita mors dicitur *in marg.* H

¹⁴ flos U

¹⁵ omit. KO, OO

¹⁶ defecimus L, T

¹⁷ tenuissima N

¹⁸ insidiant L, T

¹⁹ parvuli U, W, OO

²⁰ serpentes M, W

²¹ omit. OO

²² aranei OO

²³ ritu P

²⁴ nonnumquam ictu : ictu nonnumquam S

²⁵ Anacreus H; Anacres KO, OO; Anacrom U

²⁶ racemo P; acine S

²⁷ rue S

²⁸ Anacreon ... et omit. W

²⁹ omit. P

³⁰ incerta R

³¹ tam P, X; tamen W; tum KO, OO

³² omit. H, P, S, W, KO, OO

³³ tam P, X; tamen F, S, W

³⁴ est add. P

[39] So, let us hasten to this war in which we shall find the true life if we die. For the life that we are living now, is not real life, but rather death, fleeting as the shadow and never stable. Like lilies and flowers we wither soon. Insignificant things destroy a man. Little insects plague us, and sometime we die of the bite of a small snake or scorpion. The poet Anacreon was choked by a single seed of grape,¹ as was Fabius the Senator by a hair in his milk. Nothing is more fragile than human life, both uncertain and short. *[cont.]*

¹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilium*, 9.8. ext. 8: *So too with Anacreon, who was carried off after he had passed the usual measure of human life by the moisture of a single seed sticking in his dry throat, as he pampered the thin and scanty remnants of his strength with the juice of dried grapes*

[39 cont.] Aevum nostrum {118v} ut¹ quam longissimum² sit, teste³ David, in ipsis⁴ septuaginta aut⁵ octuaginta⁶ finitur annis. Quod⁷ amplius est⁸ ⁹, labor¹⁰ et dolor. At¹¹ *Nestoreos* vivas¹² *annos*, et Methusalem impleas aetatem: quid tibi postquam cursus peractus¹³ est? Breve est quidquid finitur, et stultitia est in his¹⁴ spem ponere¹⁵, quae praetereunt¹⁶. O homo, moriendum¹⁷ est, quisquis es, et haec¹⁸ relinquenda, quae sunt in terris carissima. Nemo natus¹⁹ non moritur; a morte mortales appellantur²⁰ ²¹. Nemo nostrum novit, an horam victurus sit²², et tamen haec terrena diligimus²³, quae mox relicturi sumus.

¹ *omit.* W

² longum W

³ testante W

⁴ teste David in ipsis *omit.* S

⁵ vel U

⁶ octoginta L, R, T, W

⁷ quid KO, OO

⁸ *omit.* KO; nisi OO

⁹ amplius est : est amplius X

¹⁰ est *add.* W

¹¹ **esto add.** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, W, KO, OO

¹² binos S; impleas W

¹³ perfectus W

¹⁴ in his *omit.* W

¹⁵ in his W

¹⁶ pereunt W

¹⁷ mirandum U

¹⁸ *omit.* H

¹⁹ *omit.* M

²⁰ **appellamur** H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²¹ A morte mortales appellamur *in marg.* H

²² horam victurus sit : victurus sit horam P

²³ diligemus F

[39 cont.] According to David, even a very long lifespan is not more than 70 or 80 years.¹ And beyond that it is drudgery and pain. And even should you *live as long as Nestor*² and reach the age of Methusalem, what is left for you afterwards? All that ends is short, and it is foolish to put your hope in things that will pass away. Oh man, whoever you are, you will die and leave what you hold most dear on Earth. All who are born will die. The mortals are named after death (a morte). None of us knows if he will survive another hour, but nonetheless we love those earthly things that we shall soon leave behind us.

¹ Psalms, 89, 10

² Nestoris or Nestoreos annos: expression of Martial, e.g. *Epigrams*, 5.58

[40] Quin potius transitoria¹ pro² perpetuis {98v} commutamus, et³ hoc Turcense bellum aggredimur, per quod⁴ possimus⁵ immortales fieri, et ad illam caelestem⁶ civitatem⁷ Jerusalem pervenire⁸, quam⁹ summus rerum opifex mira pulchritudine¹⁰ et artificio inenarrabili^{11 12} molitus est¹³, in qua¹⁴ Deum ipsum¹⁵ facie ad faciem videbimus, et ipsius bonitate¹⁶ fruemur, in qua¹⁷ sanctos intuebimur angelos, et omnium beatorum spirituum¹⁸ ordines quasi concives, quasi¹⁹ contubernales habebimus²⁰, in qua nihil nos latebit eorum, quae ubique²¹ fiunt. Liberatus²² enim²³ hac terrena²⁴ compage²⁵ animus²⁶ omnium rerum²⁷ scientiam²⁸, non ut sentit²⁹ Plato, recuperabit³⁰, sed ut³¹ Aristoteli et nostris placet doctoribus³², consequetur³³. [cont.]

¹ terrena W

² cum H, V, X

³ si P; ad *add.* S

⁴ quos A, B, C, E, F

⁵ possumus E, F // P, S, T, U, W, KO, OO

⁶ *omit.* KO, OO

⁷ *omit.* W

⁸ *omit.* S

⁹ ille *add.* W

¹⁰ plenitudine P

¹¹ mirabili N

¹² artificio inenarrabili : immirabili artificio U

¹³ molitus est : decoravit W

¹⁴ dominum *add.* B, E

¹⁵ de *add.* X

¹⁶ est in qua Deo S

¹⁷ Deum ipsum ... in qua *omit.* P

¹⁸ beatorum spirituum : spirituum beatorum KO, OO

¹⁹ et KO, OO

²⁰ habuimus U

²¹ ibique C

²² libertas C

²³ ab *add.* P

²⁴ eterna M, X

²⁵ terrena compage : compage terrena W

²⁶ animis L, T

²⁷ *omit.* V

²⁸ omnium rerum scientiam *omit.* W

²⁹ sensit M, N, P, S, V, X, KO, OO

³⁰ omnium rerum scientiam W

³¹ *omit.* S

³² placet doctoribus : doctoribus placet X

³³ consequitur W

[40] Let us exchange the transitory with the eternal, and let us undertake this Turkish war which can make us immortal and reach the heavenly City of Jerusalem, created by the supreme artisan with wondrous beauty and art beyond words. There we shall see God face to face and enjoy his goodness. There we shall look at the holy angels and all the orders of the blessed spirits as fellow citizens and companions. There nothing happening anywhere shall be hidden to us. For when our soul is liberated from its mortal frame, it will acquire knowledge of all things, not as imagined by Plato, but as taught by Aristotle and our own doctors. [*cont.*]

[40 cont.] Illic nihil timebimus¹, nec planetae, nec^{2 3} cometae⁴ nobis formidabiles⁵ erunt, quos perhorrescunt⁶ reges. *Sedebimus*, ut propheta testatur⁷, *in pulchritudine pacis*⁸, *in tabernaculis fiduciae*, *in requie opulenta*. Inveniemus sabbatum sine vespero⁹, id est requiem sine fine. *Renovabitur ut aquilae*¹⁰ *juventus nostra*, quae nullo senio, nulla temporis¹¹ longitudine corrumpetur. Satiabimur¹² apparente gloria salvatoris nostri¹³, quam¹⁴ sine fine videbimus¹⁵, sine¹⁶ fine¹⁷ amabimus^{18 19}, sine²⁰ fatigatione laudabimus. O igitur²¹ nobile bellum! O²² felix praemium! O expetibilem²³ pugnam, ex²⁴ qua²⁵ sive vincimus, sive vincimur²⁶ reges evadimus, et cum Deo²⁷ nostro triumphantes lucidas paradisi sedes quaerimus, pro quibus consequendis Stephanus protomartyr lapidibus caesus²⁸ est²⁹, Petrus et Andreas in cruce³⁰ suspensus³¹, Paulus³² securi percussus, Bartholomaeus vivens cute nudatus, Sebastianus sagittis³³ confossus³⁴, Laurentius flammis exustus.

¹ tenebimus C

² neque M, KO, OO

³ neque ... neque U

⁴ camete KO

⁵ foruti clabiles U

⁶ perhorrent W; perhorrescant KO

⁷ propheta testatur : testatur propheta X

⁸ et *add.* M

⁹ vespere H, W

¹⁰ aquila X, U, KO, OO

¹¹ *omit.* S

¹² satiabitur F // L, R, T

¹³ *omit.* W

¹⁴ **quem** C // H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁵ sine fine videbimus *omit.* B, E

¹⁶ *omit.* S

¹⁷ meta W

¹⁸ ornabimus U

¹⁹ sine fine amabimus *omit.* X

²⁰ amabimus sine *omit.* S

²¹ quam W

²² *omit.* M; quam W

²³ expectabilem M, W, KO, OO; expetibile L, T

²⁴ in W

²⁵ ex qua : et que H

²⁶ semper *add.* KO, OO

²⁷ rege H

²⁸ cessus M

²⁹ caesus est : est caesus W

³⁰ in cruce : cruci X

³¹ suspensi H, M, U

³² et Matheus gladius Mathias *add.* W

³³ *omit.* U

³⁴ Bartholomaeus ... confossus : et W

[40 cont.] There we shall be afraid of nothing, and we shall fear neither planets nor the comets that so terrorize kings. As the prophet says, *we shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence, and in wealthy rest.*¹ We shall find sabbath without evening, rest without end. *Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's,*² and no old age nor any length of time shall weaken it. We shall be filled with the glory of Our Saviour which we shall contemplate for ever, love eternally and praise tirelessly. Oh, noble war indeed! Oh, happy reward! Oh, desirable battle, where we shall become kings both if we are victorious and if we are defeated, and from where we shall reach the splendid seats in Paradise and triumph with our God. For this Stephen the Protomartyr was stoned to death, Peter and Andrew were hanged on the cross, Paul was executed, Bartholomew skinned alive, Sebastian pierced by arrows, and Laurentius consumed by flames.

¹ Isaiah 32, 18: *et sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis et in tabernaculis fiducia et in requie opulenta*

² Psalms, 102, 5

[41] Sed non haec ex¹ nobis², viri fortes, supplicia requiruntur. Minori pretio caelum³ promittitur. Pugnat⁴ tantum fortibus animis⁵ pro lege⁶ domini, et omnino⁷ ea⁸ consequimini⁹, de quibus scribit¹⁰ Paulus¹¹, *quia¹² nec¹³ oculus vidit, nec auris audivit¹⁴, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae¹⁵ promisit Deus¹⁶ diligentibus se¹⁷*. O stulti et¹⁸ tardi¹⁹ ad credendum in his, quae sacrae promittunt litterae, digito Dei revelatae²⁰ atque conscriptae²¹! O si adessent²² nunc²³ ²⁴ Gotfridus, Balduinus, [119r] Eustachius²⁵, Hugo magnus²⁶, Bohemundus²⁷ ²⁸, Tancredus, et alii viri fortes, qui quondam Jerosolymam per²⁹ medias Turcorum acies penetrantes, armis recuperarunt³⁰! Non sinerent tot nos verba profecto³¹ facere, sed assurgentes, ut olim coram Urbano secundo, praedecessore nostro, "Deus vult, Deus vult" alacri et³² alta³³ voce clamarent.

¹ a W

² **vobis** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; o *add.* W

³ caelo L, T

⁴ pugnare T

⁵ fortibus animis *omit.* H

⁶ legibus C

⁷ **omnia** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁸ **omit.** H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁹ consequimini N, T, X; consequentium U

¹⁰ scripsit X

¹¹ id est *add.* W

¹² *omit.* N

¹³ non L, T

¹⁴ nec auris audivit *omit.* S

¹⁵ preparavit et *add.* W

¹⁶ **dominus** H, L, M, N, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁷ eum T

¹⁸ o M, N

¹⁹ cordi *add.* U

²⁰ exaratae W

²¹ sunt *add.* X

²² adesset X

²³ adessent nunc : nunc adessent S, U

²⁴ noster *add.* H

²⁵ *omit.* U

²⁶ Eustachius *add.* U

²⁷ Bemundus S

²⁸ Balduinus ... Bohemundus *omit.* W

²⁹ per U

³⁰ recuperaverunt X, KO, OO

³¹ **tot ... profecto : profecto tot nos verba** H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, KO, OO; profecto nos tot verba X

³² alacri et *omit.* B, E

³³ et alta *omit.* KO, OO

4. Conclusion

[41] But such sufferings are not demanded of us, mighty men. Heaven is promised to us at a smaller price. If you just fight courageously for the law of the Lord, you shall receive all those things *that* – according to Paul - *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.*¹ Only foolish men will hesitate to believe what has been promised by Holy Scripture, revealed and written by the hand of God. Oh, if only Godefroy was here now, and Baudouin,² and Eustace,³ and Hugues the Great,⁴ Bohemund,⁵ Tancred,⁶ and the other mighty men who in former times passed through the armies of the Turks and regained Jerusalem with arms. They would not let Us speak so many words, but rising up they would shout, loudly and enthusiastically: "God wills it! God wills it," as they did once, before our predecessor, Urban II.⁷

¹ 1. Corinthians, 2, 9

² Baudouin I [Baudouin de Boulogne] (1058?-1118): one of the leaders of the First Crusade, who became the first Count of Edessa and then the second ruler and first titled King of Jerusalem. Brother of Godefroy de Bouillon

³ Eustace III (-1125): Count of Boulogne. Brother of Godefroy de Bouillon and Baudouin de Boulogne. Went on the First Crusade

⁴ Hugues VI de Lusignan (ca. 1039-1102). Lord of Lusignan. Took part in the First Crusade

⁵ Bohemond I of Antioch [de Hauteville] (ca. 1058-1111): Prince of Taranto and Prince of Antioch. One of the leaders of the First Crusade

⁶ Tancred de Hauteville (1075-1112): one of the leaders of the First Crusade who later became Prince of Galilee and regent of the Principality of Antioch

⁷ 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)

[42] Vos taciti finem orationis expectatis, {94r} nec hortamentis nostris moveri videmini. Et fortasse sunt inter vos, qui ajunt: "Multa hic pontifex loquitur, ut nos mittat in aciem et corpora nostra¹ hostilibus² objiciat gladiis. Sacerdotum hic mos est³: alligant⁴ aliis onera gravissima, quae ipsi digito nolunt attingere." Nolite ita putare, filii! Nemo patrum vestrorum⁵ memoria in⁶ hac sede⁷ sedit⁸, qui pro fide Christi⁹ majora fecerit quam nos juvantibus vobis¹⁰ et favente domino¹¹ facturi sumus. Venimus huc, ut¹² videtis, non parum debiles, nec¹³ sine periculo nostri corporis, neque sine damno terrarum ecclesiae. Pluris¹⁴ defensionem fidei quam patrimonium beati Petri fecimus¹⁵ quam valitudinem aut¹⁶ quietem nostram. Accreverunt expensae mirum in modum¹⁷ ¹⁸, redditus autem¹⁹ apprime²⁰ imminuti²¹. Neque ista gloriabundi²² referimus²³: taedet pudetque nos plura facere non potuisse. O si quae fuerant²⁴ juvenili in corpore vires, hae²⁵ nunc adessent, non iretis sine nobis ad bellum, neque periculum sine nobis subiretis. Ipsi ante signa procederemus²⁶, ipsi crucem domini portaremus. ipsi vexillum Christi²⁷ perfidis hostibus²⁸ objiceremus, beatosque nos ipsos²⁹ arbitraremur, quibus datum esset³⁰ pro Jesu mori.

¹ corpora nostra : nostra corpora P

² hostilibus *corr. ex* hostibus A // L; hostibus B, C, E, F // N, R, KO; hostium OO

³ esse U

⁴ alligare W

⁵ nostrorum U

⁶ *Here ends the text in ms.* U

⁷ *omit.* C

⁸ resedit W

⁹ fide Christi : Christi fide H, V, W

¹⁰ nobis M

¹¹ favente domino *omit.* W; domino favente KO, OO

¹² et M; *omit.* P

¹³ neque M, N, P, U, V, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ plus KO, OO

¹⁵ et *add.* KO, OO

¹⁶ et KO, OO

¹⁷ mirum in modum : nimirum immodici W

¹⁸ expensae mirum in modum : mirum in modum expensae V

¹⁹ aut S; haut W

²⁰ ad prime M

²¹ imminuti sunt P; diminuti sunt M, S, W, X, KO, OO

²² impatienter W

²³ ferimus W

²⁴ fuerunt P

²⁵ hec L, R, T

²⁶ praecederemus V, W

²⁷ crucis W

²⁸ *omit.* S

²⁹ nos ipsos : nosmetipsos W

³⁰ est N

[42] [But] you are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations.¹ And maybe someone among you says: "This pope speaks much to send us into battle and expose our bodies to hostile swords. This is the way of priests: they put heavy burdens on others that they would not themselves touch with a finger." Do not think thus, my sons! No one in the memory of your fathers occupied this See who would do more for the Faith of Christ than We shall be doing, with your help and the assistance of God. You see how We have come here, feeble as We are, with physical danger to Ourselves as well as risk to the lands of the Church. But We put the defense of the Faith above the patrimony of Saint Peter and Our own health and peace. Expenses have increased exorbitantly, while incomes have diminished greatly. We do not say this in order to boast - on the contrary, We are distressed and ashamed that We could not do more. Oh, if We now had the strength of a younger man,² then you would not go war and meet this danger without Us, We would personally walk before your standards, We would carry the cross of Our Lord Ourselves, We would bring the banner of Christ forward against the infidel enemies, and We would consider Ourselves blessed if it was given Us to die for Jesus.

¹ Probably, this whole passage was not in Pius' original draft of the text, written before delivery. He possibly improvised it during the delivery, but at any rate it was inserted into the final version of the text

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 5.475

[43] Et nunc, si¹ censetis², non³ recusabimus aegrotum corpus fessamque animam in hanc felicem expeditionem Christo devovere. Per castra, per acies, per medios hostes, si suadetis, lectica⁴ vehi gloriosum⁵ putabimus⁶, nec magnifica verba ignavo prosequemur⁷ animo⁸. Consulite quid magis Christianae rei⁹ conducat¹⁰. Nihil adversabimur de corpore nostro, de persona¹¹, de pecunia nostra¹²: vestrum iudicium amplectemur¹³. Metimini¹⁴ vires apostolicas; aestimate¹⁵ quid temporalia¹⁶, quid spiritualia simul conferant¹⁷, et quod¹⁸ vobis videtur¹⁹ nostris humeris²⁰ onus imponite²¹, nihil recusabimus. Duos habet²² ecclesia²³ thesauros, spiritualementer alterum, materiale alterum²⁴: utrumque libenter²⁵ erogabimus²⁶, et illum, qui numquam exauriri, et hunc, qui numquam²⁷ impleri potest.

¹ *omit.* S

² censebitis H; recensetis M

³ cessabimus nec *add.* W

⁴ utile W

⁵ generosum KO, OO

⁶ putavimus M

⁷ prosequimur V, W

⁸ ignavo prosequemur animo : prosequimur ignavo animo S

⁹ publicae *add.* N, W

¹⁰ condeceat W

¹¹ de persona *omit.* N

¹² persona de pecunia : pecunia de persona V

¹³ amplectimur S, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ metiamini W

¹⁵ extimate H

¹⁶ et *add.* S

¹⁷ aestimate qui .. conferant *omit.* V

¹⁸ quid P; quidquid W; quid L, R, T

¹⁹ videbitur H

²⁰ nostris humeris : humeris nostris KO, OO

²¹ onus imponite : imponite oneris W

²² autem W

²³ ecclesie W

²⁴ spiritualementer alterum materiale alterum : unum spiritualementer alterum materiale W

²⁵ liberaliter H, M, N, S, W, X, KO, OO

²⁶ irrogabimus H

²⁷ exauriri et ... numquam *omit.* M

[43] Even now we shall not refuse to dedicate this ailing body and tired spirit to the blessed crusade for Christ, if you should decide it. If you ask Us, We shall consider it an honour to be carried through the camps, right through the ranks of the enemies - and We shall not be matching magnificent words with cowardness. So, consider what is best for the Christian cause. We shall make no objections because of Our health, Our person or Our funds, but accept your judgment. Assess the means of the Apostolic See. Estimate what the temporal and the spiritual [domains] bring in, and charge Us with the burden that seems reasonable to you: We shall refuse nothing. The Church has two treasures, one is the spiritual and the other the material. We shall be spending them freely, both the one that can never be exhausted, and the one that can never be filled.

[44] In praesentiarum tamen nihil aliud¹ ex² vobis petimus, nisi ut bellum contra Turcos gerendum decernatis. De pecuniis conquirendis³, de ducibus eligendis, de classibus instruendis⁴, de sede belli, de tempore expeditionis postea disseremus, neque difficilis consultatio erit, quando nec arma, nec equi, nec naves, nec pecuniae⁵, nec fortissimi milites, nec peritissimi⁶ duces Christianis desunt⁷. Adsit tantum⁸ ⁹ voluntas {94v} hujus honestissimi {119v} belli gerendi, quam ut¹⁰ mentibus vestris¹¹ inserat ille, rogamus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto¹² sine fine regnat Christus¹³ Jesus¹⁴ ¹⁵.

¹ *omit.* H, R, V

² a S

³ conquerendis M; requirendis W

⁴ construendis R

⁵ nec pecuniae *omit.* R

⁶ fortissimi H, V, X; potentissimi T

⁷ absunt V

⁸ tamen N, X

⁹ **communis** *add.* H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁰ in W

¹¹ *omit.* H; nostris P, X

¹² spiritu sancto : sancto spiritu M

¹³ Christe L, T

¹⁴ Christus Jesus : Jesus Christus W, KO, OO

¹⁵ Amen finis *add.* H, N; telos *add.* R; Amen *add.* M, N, S, V, W, X, KO, OO

[44] For now, We only ask you to decide to go to war against the Turks. Later we shall speak about the collection of funds, the election of leaders, the preparation of fleets, the theatre of war and the timing of the expedition. It will not be a difficult discussion since the Christians lack neither weapons, horses, ships, funds, strong soldiers, nor experienced generals. May you only have the will to wage this just war which We pray will be granted to you by Jesus Christ who reigns together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, without end.