



HAL
open science

Oration "Expectatis" of Pope Pius II (19 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 73)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

► **To cite this version:**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg. Oration "Expectatis" of Pope Pius II (19 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 73). 2019. hal-01238794

HAL Id: hal-01238794

<https://hal.science/hal-01238794>

Submitted on 3 Dec 2019

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 73)

Oration "*Expectatis*" of Pope Pius II (19 September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th version

2019

Abstract

In the summer of 1463, an embassy from the Duke Philippe III of Burgundy reached Pope Pius II to present the duke's contribution to a crusade against the Turks, including a promise to participate in person if the pope did so. The offer was formally made in an oration, the "*Si ut inquit Cicero*", by the Bishop of Tournai at a meeting in Rome on 19 September with the participation of embassies from the Italian states. The pope replied with the oration "*Expectatis*" in which he praised the duke, announced the formation of a crusading army, and reaffirmed his own determination in the matter of the crusade.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Duc Philippe III le Bon de Bourgogne; Duke Philip III the Good of Burgundy; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; 1463; 15th century Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Guillaume Fillastre Jr.

Editor and translator

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / The University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

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 as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

1. Introduction
2. 1436-1444 (Orations 1-5)
3. 1445-1449 (Orations 6-13)
4. 1450-1453 (Orations 14-20)
5. 1454-1455 (Orations 21-25)
6. 1455-1457 (Orations 26-28)
7. 1458-1459 (Orations 29-42)
8. 1459-1459 (Orations 43-51)
9. 1459-1461 (Orations 52-63)
10. 1462-1464 (Orations 64-77)
11. 1454, 1459 (Orations 78-80). Orthographical profiles. Indices
12. Appendix: Ambassadors' orations to Pope Pius II

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla and abbreviations

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Praise of Duke Philippe of Burgundy [1]
 - 1.1. Contribution to the crusade [2]
 - 1.2. Heroism [3]
 - 1.3. Steadfastness [4]
2. Formation of the crusade army [5]
3. Pope's determination in the crusade matter [6]

Appendix: Oration of Guillaume Fillastre Jr. (19 September 1463, Rome)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In the beginning of March 1462, Pope Pius II decided to reactivate his great crusade project and submitted his ideas to a small group of cardinals in the oration "*Existimatis fortasse*."² The main point in the pope's plan was to hold the Duke of Burgundy to his vow from 1454 to go on a crusade against the Turks and recover Constantinople - on the condition of the participation of at least one other great prince in the crusade. To do this it would be necessary for the pope to participate personally in the crusade, as no other great prince worthy to be followed by the duke was interested. Burgundy's participation, however, would not be enough: also Venetian participation was necessary. Hungary's participation would be necessary, too, but this was taken for given since – as the primary frontier state – the Hungarians would be the first to be attacked by the Turks.

With the assent of the group of cardinals, Pius very soon initiated a two-pronged diplomatic campaign: one to get a firm promise of joining the crusade from the Venetians, and another to get the Duke of Burgundy and the King of France to also join the crusade. If a crusade alliance between the Apostolic See, Burgundy, Venice and Hungary – and if possible France - could be established, Pius was sure that the other Italians and Europeans would join up.

The Venetians, typically, procrastinated, but after the death of Doge Malipiero in May 1462 and the succession of Doge Christoforo Moro Venice began to move towards war, even though the new doge Cristoforo Moro's *failure of courage when the crusade seemed almost to be in the offing soon won him the contempt and the reprobation of his contemporaries*.³ On 28 July 1463 the Venetian Senate decided to declare war against the Turks,⁴ and on 12 September 1463 Venice and Hungary signed a treaty of alliance directed against the Turks.⁵

In the meantime, a papal envoy, Bishop Roverella of Ferrara, was dispatched to France and Burgundy. King Louis XI of France summarily rejected the invitation to go on the crusade: it was all invented by the pope, he said scornfully, in order to make France forget about the War in the Kingdom of Naples where the papacy – together with Milan - supported the Spanish House of Aragon against the French House of Anjou.

¹ CO, XII, 21, 28 (Heck, pp. 751, 755-758); Fillastre, pp. 9-14, 22-27; Müller: *Kreuzzugspläne*, p. 117-119; Pastor, II, pp. 223-224; Paviot: *Ducs*, 162-176; Prietzel, pp. 285-306; Setton, II, pp. 235 ff.; Voigt, IV, 683-686; Oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64], Introduction

² Voigt, IV, p. 684; Pastor, II, p. 223

³ Setton, II, p. 236

⁴ Pastor, II, p. 222; Setton, II, p. 224

⁵ Setton, II, p. 249

Proceeding to Burgundy, the envoy met the duke and managed to get his assent to join the crusade if the pope also went, and a promise to send ambassadors to the pope to negotiate the whole matter.¹

The protracted negotiations for a truce between England and France and the key role of Burgundy in this context as well as other problems delayed the sending of the Burgundian embassy. But when the truce had been signed in the summer of 1463, the duke believed that he would finally be free to go on the crusade and dispatched the promised embassy to the pope.² Arriving in Tivoli, where the pope spent the summer, the ambassadors requested and received the pope's promise to participate in the crusade in person and thereafter formally announced their master's willingness to participate, too.³

Having succeeded in creating the basis for a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, and the Papacy,⁴ the pope now proceeded to the next stage in his strategy: getting the other Italian powers to join up.

The pope therefore summoned a conference of the Italian states, to be held in Rome in the presence of the Burgundian ambassadors in September.

The meeting was held on 19 September in the form of a public consistory. First, one of the Burgundian ambassadors, Bishop Guillaume Fillastre Jr.⁵ of Tournai, gave a formal oration to the pope, the "*Si ut inquit Cicero*". Fillastre – an old acquaintance and maybe even friend of Pius - was himself an ardent supporter of the crusade and served as one of his duke's propagandists in the crusade cause.⁶ In his speech, Fillastre presented the offers of the Duke of Burgundy, the same as those he had made at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1454 and at the Congress of Mantua in 1459: 10.000 horse and 30.000 foot and a promise to attend in person - in spring 1464 - to take part in the reconquest of Constantinople.⁷ The pope replied with an oration addressed to the whole assembly. In his *Commentarii* he wrote about the event:

After some days he summoned the Burgundian envoys to a public consistory and bade them state their wishes. Guillaume, Bishop of Tournai, a professed monk and head of the mission,

¹ Paviot, p.161

² Paviot, p. 164

³ CO, XII, 21; Pastor, II, p. 223

⁴ Another succes for the papal diplomacy had been the peace treaty between the emperor and Hungary of July 1463 which effectively removed a grave obstacle to war against the Turks, see Voigt, IV, p. 683. It was possibly not known in Rome on 19 September 1463 that the treaty between the emperor and Hungary had been followed up by a treaty between Hungary and Venice, signed on 12 September, see Voigt, IV, p. 684, and Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nr. 50-51

⁵ Guillaume Fillastre [Fillâtre]: (-1473). Burgundian courtier, Benedictine abbot and, in 1460, Bishop of Tournai

⁶ Fillastre, p. 9-12. Fillastre had actually – as Burgundian ambassador – heard Piccolomini give some of his crusade orations in Germany, and others he apparently knew from copies

⁷ Paviot, p. 164

delivered a long speech packed with learning in which he discoursed on the Turks, their insolence and foul practices. He described their deeds and told what great injuries they had inflicted on the Christian religion. He dwelt still more on the nobility, antiquity, and learning of the Greeks, lamented their ruin, pointed out the dangers threatening Christians if they did not speedily arm in their own defense. He urged the pope, the cardinals, and all the embassies present not to delay longer in such a crisis but to take thought for Christendom and go to meet the enemy. He said that Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who had sent him, had determined to lead a fleet against the Turks the next spring and prosecute the war with all his might in defense of holy religion. Though an old man he would not spare his own person; he would march with the army and perform the duties not only of a captain but of a soldier unless he was prevented by illness; in that event he would send a substitute. The pope on hearing this spoke as follows: [Here follows the text of the oration]. With these words he dismissed the audience while all praised to the skies Philip's name and spirit.¹

The meeting was followed by a month of negotiations between the parties, and on 19 October 1463, the pope, Venice and Burgundy entered a three year alliance against the Turks.²

2. Themes

The oration has three major themes:

- **Praise for the Duke of Burgundy in general and for his contribution to the crusade and steadfastness in this matter in particular:**

Who can praise this prince enough? No Christian needs to fear the Turks less than Philippe, and still he is the first to promise to march against them and wage war for the sake of the sacred Gospel. Oh, princely spirit! Oh, glorious soul! Oh, noble blood!³ [Sect. 2]

- **Fulfilment of the pope's strategy for the mobilization of a crusade, combining a Hungarian land army and an Italian fleet, with Burgundian support:**

¹ CO, XII, 28 (Gragg, p. 809)

² Setton, II, p. 249; Prietzel, p. 293

³ Pius had previously eulogized the duke in his orations "*Tua verba*" [77] (at the end of the Diet of Regensburg 1454) and "*Conversa in nos hodie*" [58] (at the presentation of the duke's obedience in March 1459), and had complimented him profusely in his crusade orations at the German diets in Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt 1454-1455

Maybe God will now have mercy upon us and finally grant that a powerful and successful army be gathered against the Turks. For the flourishing Republic of Venice has armed a strong fleet and sent it against the enemies. And now that King Matthias of Hungary has gained the crown and achieved peace in his kingdom and is able to gather the armies he may, this noble prince has promised to come to the war with an elite force of soldiers. The other powers of Italy will - We hope - join up and the Western kings will not refuse their help. [Sect. 5]

- **The pope's own crusading zeal and resolve:**

And now, finally, we address you, distinguished ambassadors. Today, you have comforted Us with your oration and the magnificent promise of Philippe which is indeed worthy of his line and his name. But when you urge Us to work zealously for the defense of holy religion, you spur a horse that is already running: nothing is closer to Our heart than the defense of holy religion. At the Congress of Mantua, the whole Church heard Our plans and desires, but We went unheeded. We laboured in vain, but still We are not discouraged. We firmly intend not to desist from Our purpose before We have roused the Christian princes and peoples to defend the sacred Gospel and the Law of God. Therefore We have summoned the Italian powers to Our presence now – you see their embassies here – so that We may consult with them and you on the protection of religion. If We get the aid of the faithful and especially the Italians, then Rome and all of Italy and indeed all Christendom will soon see that We have not been lacking in Our determination to work for the welfare of the Christian Republic. [Sect. 6]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was given on 19 September 1463,¹ in the Apostolic Palace – or possibly in Saint Peter's Church² - in Rome.

It was a response to the address of the Burgundian embassy, Bishop Guillaume de Fillastre (Jr.), the "*Si ut inquit Cicero*", given at a public consistory.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, the Burgundian embassy, embassies from the Italian powers, and members of the papal court.

¹ CO (Totaro), II, p. 2643, n. 132; Pastor, II, p. 223. Müller, p. 117, gives the date as 8 October

² See colophon of Phyllastre's oration, Appendix

The format was a papal oration from the throne to princely ambassadors.

4. Text¹

This oration was not included in the official Collected Orations of Pius II, of which the first version had been completed in 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*,² book 12, chapter 28.

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 406v-408r (**S**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, f. 561v-563r (**R**)

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first edition and the Corsinianus the final edition, probably with a now lost intermediate edition, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

4.2. Editions

Some important editions and translations of the *Commentarii* are³:

- *Pius II: Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / II, p. 755-758
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2394-2403
[With an Italian translation]

¹ For the textual transmission of Pius II's, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

³ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: Bibliography

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northhampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 809-812

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11.

Text:

Though the *Commentarii* have already been edited a number of times, the text of the oration has – as a matter of principle - been collated directly from the two principal manuscripts.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, four direct and indirect quotations have been identified, all from classical sources: Cicero (2), Horace, and Terence. Pius' choice of sources in this oration may be in response to the classical tenor of the Burgundian ambassador's oration – otherwise, as pope, he would predominantly, but not exclusively, use biblical sources.

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

6. Bibliography

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663¹

Fillastre, Guillaume (Jr.): *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. "Ezechielis prophete"*. Hrsg. von Malte Prietzel. Ostfeldern, 2003

Fillastre, Guillaume: *Oration Si ut inquit Cicero* (1463)

- Rede des burgundischen Gesandten und Bischofs von Tournay Wilhelm Filastre in Sachen eines Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken, gehalten zu Rom am 8. Oktober 1463 im öffentlichen Consistorium vor Papst Pius II, hrsg. von Heinrich Volbert Sauerland. In: *Römische Quartalszeitschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (1891) 352-363

Müller, Heribert: *Kreuzzugspläne und und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philip des Guten von Burgund*. Göttingen, 1993

Otto, A: *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Hildesheim, 1962

Pastor, Ludwig: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*. 16 vols. Freiburg i.B., 1886-1933

Paviot, Jacques: *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVe siècle-XVe siècle)*. Paris, 2003

Paviot, Jacques: Burgundy and the Crusade. In: *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by N. Housley. London, 2004, pp. 71-80

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A. van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. A cura di L. Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Transl. by Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43)

¹ References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition) b

Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. I-III. Lucca, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2019-2020

Prietzl, Malte: *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere (1400/07-1473). Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat*. Stuttgart, 2001. (Beihefte der Francia; 51)

Setton, Kenneth M.: *The Papacy and the Levant*. 4 vols. Philadelphia, 1976-1984

Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1856-63

7. Sigla and abbreviations

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

S = Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei / Corsinianus 147

Abbreviations

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

HA = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacis*. 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

OO = Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2nd ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967]

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

[1] {406v} Expectatis¹, venerabiles fratres filiique dilectissimi, Burgundis oratoribus auditis responsum nostrum non sine desiderio, ut arbitramur, in quo dignas pro meritis amantissimo filio nostro Philippo, Burgundiae duci, laudes attribuamus et quae sunt amplissima ejus praeconia in medium afferamus. Non tam possibilia quam justa desideratis: non est ea nobis dicendi vis, quae vestrae queat expectationi satisfacere. Multa et magna de Philippo dicenda essent, quae sine vena oratoris uberrima explicari non possent. Dicendum esset de nobilissimo familiae genere, cujus originem ab Illo repetunt, de corporis et animi dotibus, de justitia, de fortitudine, de moderatione, de humanitate, {407r} de ceteris virtutibus, quae in summo viro semper summae fuerunt. Dicendum esset de rebus ab eo clarissime gestis sive pacis fuerint tempora, sive belli, cujus tot fuere victoriae quot proelia, et tamen pluries cum hoste conflixit² quam alius nostri temporis quispiam cum inimico suo concertaverit. Plena est omnis terra Gallica trophaeis ab eo positis, qui etiam ultra Rhenum in Germanica gente victoriarum signa defixit. Non sunt haec, quae noster possit percurrere sermo, ne dicamus explicare: acre ingenium et *os magna sonaturum* cupiunt. Senilis et arida vena nostra tantae rei non sufficit nec Philippus ista desiderat. Vera *virtus* ejus *se ipsa contenta* verborum lenocinia non requirit. Magna et praeclara operatus est non cupiditate laudis, sed ut Deo placeret. Ab eo praemium expectat, non ab homine, qui nihil potest non mortale largiri.

¹ Ita pontificis responsum *in marg.* R

² confluit Totaro [erroneously]

1. Praise of Duke Philippe of Burgundy

[1] Reverend brethren and beloved sons, having heard the ambassadors of Burgundy, you are no doubt looking forward to Our response in which We would praise and extol our beloved son, Duke Philippe of Burgundy, according to his merits. What you expect is just, but not possible, for Our eloquence cannot live up to your expectations. Many and great things should be said about Philippe, but they require exquisite oratorical gifts. We should have to speak about his most noble family, which descends from Troy,¹ about his physical and mental endowments, his sense of justice, his fortitude, his moderation, his humanity, and his other virtues which were always the great virtues of a great man. We should have to speak about his famous deeds both in times of peace and war, and his victories which are as many as his battles, even though he fought an enemy more often than anyone else in our time. The whole country of Gaul is full of trophies placed by him, and he also put up victory monuments across the Rhine, among the Germans. Our speech cannot list them, much less tell about them. They require a bright intelligence and a *tongue of noble utterance*.² Our old and dry vein [of speaking] cannot match so noble a subject. Moreover Philippe himself does not want this. True *virtue is content with itself*³ and does not require flattering speech. Philippe has done his great and noble deeds not from desire for praise, but to please God. He looks to God for his reward, not to mortal man who can only give mortal things.

¹ On the of the French monarchy's descent from Troy through the Franks, see *Oration "Per me reges regnant"* [65], Introduction

² Horatius: *Satirae*, 1.4.44

³ Cicero: *Philippicae*, 5, 35

[2] Sed esto, non possumus Philippo quantas meretur laudes impartiri nec ipse talia requirit. An propterea legationem hanc dignissimam praeteribimus et nullo prosequemur honore? *Minime gentium*. Dicendum est aliquid ad ea, quae modo proposita sunt, nec fraudanda est suo praeconio tam insignis legatio. Quid habet legatio Philippi? Quid mandat? Quid offert? Turcorum arma nostris imminere cervicibus dicit; clades quas passa est Christiana religio et quas passura videtur in medium affert; hortatur hostibus obviam eamus priusquam amplius invalescant. Philippum, si Turco bellum indicatur, si exercitus idoneus apparetur, in hanc expeditionem venturum nec corpori suo parsurum, ut incolumitati consulat sacrae religionis. Qualia vobis ista videntur, fratres? Quis non haec maxima et summa dixerit? Quis hunc principem satis collaudare potuerit? Nulli Christianorum minus timendi sunt Turci quam Philippo, et nihilominus primus est, qui se profecturum in eos gesturumque bellum pro sacro evangelio pollicetur. O mentem principe dignam! O excellentem animum! O sanguinem nobilissimum!

1.1. Contribution to the crusade

[2] But granted that We cannot praise Philippe as he deserves and that he does not require it, shall We therefore be silent about this splendid embassy and not honour it? *Not in the world!*¹ We must say something about the proposals made and not deprive this noble embassy of the praise due to it. What has Philippe's embassy for us? What does it require? And what does it offer? The ambassadors declare that the Turkish arms are threatening our necks. It mentions the defeats which Christendom has already suffered and which it will [seemingly] have to suffer in the future². It exhorts us to go against the enemies before they grow stronger. If war is declared on the Turks and if an adequate army is raised, then Philippe will join this expedition and not spare his own person in his efforts for the protection of holy religion. What do you think of all this, brethren? Who will not say that this is of the utmost importance? Who can praise this prince enough? No Christian needs to fear the Turks less than Philippe, and still he is the first to promise to march against them and wage war for the sake of the sacred Gospel. Oh, princely spirit! Oh, glorious soul! Oh, noble blood!

¹ Terentius: *Phormio*, 1034; *Adelphoe*, 335; *Eunuchus*, 625: *minime gentium*

² I.e. unless the Christian powers mount a crusade, as proposed by the pope

[3] Longissimum iter opponitur; rigidae superandae alpes, altissima transmittenda {407v} flumina, latissima trananda maria, vasta terrarum spatia ab occidente in orientem peragrandae: cuncta superare est animus. Nullum in causa Dei recusandum fore laborem, nullum vitandum periculum censet. *Amanti omnia sunt facilia*. Princeps Deo amicus nihil tam horribile putat, quin pro Dei honore sit subeundum. Ditissimus principum, maximis aequandus regibus, cui opes et deliciae omnes affluent, cui tot latissimae provinciae, tot clarissimae urbes, tot validae gentes, tot ditissimi populi serviunt, cui praesto assunt cuncta, quae mortales maxima ducunt, relinquere splendidam domum, amatam conjugem, carissimum filium, dilectam sororem, dulces nepotes, fideles amicos, ut Deo serviat, non veretur. Accedit aetas grandior, cui quiete opus esset; hanc quoque postponit, nihil sibi antiquius est quam Deo placere. Spernit omnia propter Deum. Nec vos hanc egregiam voluntatem aut levem aut novam putetis; solida est et jam pridem firmata.

1.2. Heroism

[3] There are indeed objections: ahead is a very long journey, steep Alps to pass, deep rivers to cross, great seas to sail over, and vast territories stretching from West to East to travel through. But Philippe is bent on surmounting all [difficulties]. He believes that in God's cause no labour must be refused and no danger avoided. *Nothing is hard for a lover.*¹ The prince loves God and he thinks that nothing is so terrible that it should not be endured in God's honour. He is the richest of princes, equal of the greatest kings. He abounds in riches and pleasures. Many vast provinces, many splendid cities, many strong and wealthy peoples serve him, and he has at his disposal all the things that men treasure most. Yet he does not fear to leave his splendid home, his beloved wife, his dear son, his cherished sister, his sweet nephews, and his faithful friends in order to serve God. His great age requires peace, but that, too, he puts behind him, for nothing is more important to him than to please God. He renounces everything for the sake of God. Do not think that his excellent intention is superficial or new: no, it is firm and has been formed long time ago.²

¹ Cicero: *Orator*, 10.33: *nihil difficile amanti puto*. Cf. Otto, 74

² The duke's crusade project had indeed been formed years before, see the works of Müller and Paviot

[4] Diu hoc propositum Philippo fuit: ab eo tempore, quo Turci Constantinopolim expugnare, hoc votum vovit, nec umquam ab eo recessit. Decimum fere annum in hac voluntate perseverat. Serenissimus imperator Fridericus complures in Germania conventus celebravit, in quis de suscipiendo contra Turcos bello consuluit: in omnibus aut praesens Philippus affuit aut legatos habuit. Nos eum Ratisponae in Norico supra Danubium vidimus eadem promittentem, quae nunc a suis oratoribus audivistis. In Mantuano conventu Johannem ducem Clivensem ab eo missum vidistis nec excidere memoria - ut arbitramur - egregia ejus promissa. Jamdudum obfirmatum hoc propositum magnanimo duci fuit, ut adversus Turcos proficisceretur. Non est profectus, quoniam non affuit consensus aliorum principum, qui ad tantam expeditionem obeundam sufficeret.

1.3. Steadfastness

[4] Long has Philippe had this purpose. At the time when the Turks conquered Constantinople he made an oath and never forgot it.¹ For ten years now he has persevered in this plan. The Most Serene Emperor Friedrich² has held several diets in Germany³ in which an expedition against the Turks was discussed. Philippe was either present or represented at all these meetings. We Ourselves saw him in Regensburg on the Danube, in Bavaria,⁴ promising to do what you have now heard from his ambassadors. At the Congress of Mantua,⁵ you saw Duke Johan of Cleves,⁶ sent by him, and We trust that you have not forgotten his splendid promises. The great-souled duke⁷ has remained true to the promise he made long ago to march against the Turks. That he has not done so yet, is because the other princes could not agree on undertaking so great an expedition.

¹ Constantinople fell to the Turks in May 1453, and Duke Philippe made his vow at the famous Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454

² Friedrich III of Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452. Piccolomini's one-time employer

³ The diets of Regensburg (Spring 1454), Frankfurt (Autumn 1454), and Wiener Neustadt (Spring 1455). The Duke of Burgundy participated personally in the Diet of Regensburg

⁴ "Noricum"

⁵ July 1459-January 1460

⁶ Johan I (1419-1481): Duke of Cleves and Count of Mark. Nephew of Duke Philippe of Burgundy

⁷ The Duke of Burgundy

[5] Nunc fortasse miserebitur nostri Deus exercitumque jam tandem in Turcos cogi validum ac felicem donabit, quando et Venetorum florentissima respublica classem armavit potentissimam et in hostem misit, et Matthias Hungariae rex coronam et pacem {408r} in regno consecutus, quas volet, armare copias poterit, et hic nobilissimus princeps cum lectissima militum manu ad hoc bellum venturum se pollicetur. Convenient, ut speramus, et reliqui potentatus Italiae nec reges Occidentis auxilia negabunt ostendetque pius Jesus Maumeteas spurcitas sibi odiosas esse, et pro nobis pugnans ante faciem nostram conteret hostes.

[6] Sed ut ad vos tandem, insignes oratores, verba nostra convertamus: consolati estis nos hodie oratione vestra et magnifica sponsione Philippi, digna profecto suo sanguine ac suo nomine. Quod autem nos hortamini, ut ad fidei sanctae defensionem navemus operas, currentem pungitis equum: nihil tam nobis cordi est quam sacrae religionis defensio. Audivit omnis ecclesia in conventu Mantuano consilia et desideria nostra. Non fuimus exauditi. Frustra laboravimus, nec tamen propterea defatigati sumus: stat animus ab inceptis non desistere, donec Christianos principes ac populos ad defensionem sacrosancti evangelii divinaeque legis excitemus. Ob hanc causam accersivimus per hos dies ad praesentiam nostram Italiae potentatus, quorum legationes astantes cernitis, ut cum his et vobiscum de tuenda religione consulamus. Quod si non defuerint nobis auxilia fidelium et praesertim Italorum, intelliget brevi non Roma solum, sed omnis Italia et ipsa tota Christianitas curam nobis et animum Christianae reipublicae consulendi non defuisse. Pietas tantum magni Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi nobis assit et suam potius misericordiam quam nostras metiatur iniquitates.

2. Formation of the crusade army

[5] Maybe God will now have mercy upon us and finally grant that a powerful and successful army be gathered against the Turks, for the flourishing Republic of Venice has armed a strong fleet and sent it against the enemies. And now that King Matthias of Hungary¹ has gained the crown and achieved peace in his kingdom and is able to gather the armies he may, this noble prince has promised to come to the war with an elite force of soldiers. The other powers of Italy will - We hope - join up and the Western kings will not refuse their help. Now pious Jesus will show that the Muhammadan filth is hateful to him, and fighting for us he will destroy the enemies before our eyes.

3. Pope's determination in the crusade matter

[6] And now, finally, we address you, distinguished ambassadors. Today, you have comforted Us with your oration and the magnificent promise of Philippe which is indeed worthy of his line and his name. But when you urge Us to work zealously for the defense of holy religion, you spur a horse that is already running: nothing is closer to Our heart than the defense of holy religion. At the Congress of Mantua, the whole Church heard Our plans and desires, but We went unheeded. We laboured in vain, but still We are not discouraged. We firmly intend not to desist from Our purpose before We have roused the Christian princes and peoples to defend the sacred Gospel and the Law of God. Therefore, We have summoned the Italian powers to Our presence now – you see their embassies here – so that We may consult with them and you on the protection of religion. If We get the aid of the faithful and especially the Italians, then Rome and all of Italy and indeed all Christendom will soon see that We have not been lacking in determination to work for the welfare of the Christian Republic. May the grace of the Great God and Our Lord Jesus Christ be with Us and may he help Us according to his mercy and not according to our iniquities.

¹ Matthias I Corvinus (1443-1490): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to his death. After conducting several military campaigns, he was elected King of Bohemia in 1469 and adopted the title Duke of Austria in 1487

Appendix: Oration of Guillaume Fillastre (Jr.) (19 September 1463)

Pius II's oration Expectatis was given in reply to the oration "Si ut inquit Cicero" by Guillaume Fillastre (Jr.), Bishop of Tournai and ambassador of Duke Philippe III of Burgundy.

Manuscripts

For a list of manuscripts containing Fillastre's oration, see Prietzel's edition, pp. 26-27 and, concerning the five manuscripts used for that edition, p. 144.

Editions

- Rede des burgundischen Gesandten und Bischofs von Tournay Wilhelm Filastre in Sachen eines Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken, gehalten zu Rom am 8. Oktober 1463 im öffentlichen Consistorium vor Papst Pius II, hrsg. von Heinrich Volbert Sauerland. In: *Römische Quartalszeitschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (1891) 352-363 (SA)
- Fillastre, Guillaume (Jr.): *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. "Ezechielis prophete"*. Hrsg. von Malte Prietzel. Ostfeldern, 2003, pp. 144-157

For a full critical edition of the oration, with introduction and notes, readers are referred to Prietzel's edition.

Present edition

Since Prietzel's edition of Fillastre's oration may be considered as the definitive one, the present edition is a "light" edition only based on two of the manuscripts used by Prietzel¹ and on the Trier manuscript as edited by Sauerland, and it only aims at providing a decent text of the oration to which the pope replied.

¹ Collated by me from digital copies made available by the Bibliothèque Municipale in Saint-Omer / MCS

- Saint Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 374, ff. 156r-160v (pag. blue) **(S)**
- Saint Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 661, ff. 87r-91v (pag. red) **(T)**
- Trier / Trierer Seminarbibliothek / R. II, nr. 11, ff. 180r-185v¹ **(SA)**

Pagination is after T.

The notes comprise textual variants and references to sources.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see Collected orations of Pope Pius II, vol. I, ch. 9.

¹ Cf. Sauerland, p. 353

Domini Guilelmi episcopi Tornacensis, domini Philippi Burgundiae ducis oratoris, ad papam Pium et sacrum dominorum cardinalium collegium oratio feliciter incipit. 1463 ¹

[1] {87r} Si, ut inquit Cicero, *magnum est onus me unum in hoc dignissimo conventu hominum audientium omnibus silentibus verba proferre, cum a te² etiam fere nemo est, pater beatissime³, qui non acutius atque acrius vitia indicet⁴, quam recta⁵ videat*, non mirum, si varios eventus orationis⁶ expectans iudicium hominum pertimescam.^{7 8} Nam et secundum Aristotelem *concionari⁹ difficilius est quam iudicio contendere¹⁰*, cum in iudicio iudex sit unus. Hic autem¹¹, quot audientes video, tot expecto meae confusionis iudices. Auget et metum, quod scientia deest, eloquentiaeque non assit facultas, quibus sciam¹² et humilia¹³ subtiliter et alta graviter et mediocria temperate disserere. Scio enim juxta Cassiodorum, quod *naturale est invenire, sed facundia¹⁴ decenter asserere, estque cunctis desiderantibus loqui¹⁵, res omnes ita diserte loqui, quas et prudentes se admirantur audivisse¹⁶*. Sed esto, *linguis hominum loquar et angelorum¹⁷, si caritatem non habeam, factus sum – secundum apostolum – velut aes sonans aut¹⁸ cymbalum tinniens¹⁹*.

[2] Quia ergo, quae dicturi sumus, pater beatissime, in caritate consistunt et ex²⁰ sola caritate procedunt, meo scabioso et rudi stilo dicam cum humilitate et reverentia et²¹ in *caritate non ficta²²*²³, in caritate, inquam, quae *patiens est et benigna, quae non aemulatur nec agit perperam*, quae

¹ No title T; oratio (corr. ex propositio) episcopi Tornacensis SA

² a te omit. SA

³ nemo est pater beatissime : pater beatissime nemo sit SA

⁴ Indicit SA

⁵ omit. SA

⁶ orationum S

⁷ pertimesco S, SA

⁸ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1, 116

⁹ concionarii T

¹⁰ Aristoteles: *Rhetorica*

¹¹ hic autem omit. SA

¹² scirem SA

¹³ humilima S

¹⁴ est add. SA

¹⁵ omit. SA

¹⁶ Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 10, 6, 4

¹⁷ sed add. T

¹⁸ et T

¹⁹ 1. Corinthians, 13, 1

²⁰ omit. T

²¹ omit. S

²² in caritate non ficta omit. SA

²³ 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

non inflatur nec¹ est ambitiosa, quae non quaerit, quae sua sunt,² sed quae Jesu Christi, ut per eam operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei,³ pro quibus ut pro re publica juxta Senecam dicere non⁴ licet, sed⁵ certe facto opus est.

[3] Audivit bina⁶ legatione⁷ tuae sanctitatis⁸, pater beatissime⁹, illustrissimus princeps, tuae beatitudinis humillimus et devotissimus filius, dominus noster Burgundiae et Brabantiae dux, comes Flandriae etc. Audivit flebilem orientalis ecclesiae¹⁰ ruinam, cujus si quid residui erat, apud Graecos habebatur¹¹, quam nunc, proh dolor, cernimus inimicorum Christi nominis¹², spurcissimorum Turcorum, pedibus conculcari, ut iterum impleatur scriptura prophetici planctus Jeremiae dicentis: *Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium, princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.*¹³

[4] Sciunt cuncti Graecos inter primos fidem Christi suscepisse, ad quos ut ad catholicos varias suas Paulus direxit epistolas. Quis ignorat extunc plurimos fuisse pontifices sanctosque patres et doctores, qui sanctitate vitae, scientia atque¹⁴ doctrina fidei nostrae nascenti magnam firmitatem praestiterunt. Inter quos fuere et¹⁵ ille magnus pater Basilius, Johannes Chrysostomus, Athanasius¹⁶, Eusebius et alii plures satis¹⁷ noti, quos - ne taediosus sim - omitto. Nonne residui fuerunt Graeci orientalis ecclesiae? Nonne apud eos fides mansit, quando ille *magnus draco* Mahometus duas *partes stellarum cauda*¹⁸ sua de caelo traxit? Dum Asiam et Africam veneno suae legis infecit, ipsi nedum fidem servaverunt¹⁹, {87v} sed extunc²⁰ se *murum*²¹ posuerunt *pro domo Israel*²². Heu, heu, pater sanctissime²³, unde tam dignis tanta infelicitatis et miseriae jactura, ut, qui splendor et lux mundi quondam fuerunt, quasi opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis ab hostibus habeantur?

¹ non SA

² 1. Corinthians, 13, 4-5. This passage is also quoted Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 16, 19

³ Galatians, 6, 10

⁴ omit. S

⁵ omit. SA

⁶ bona SA

⁷ legationis SA

⁸ tuae sanctitatis : o SA

⁹ sanctissime T

¹⁰ orientalis ecclesiae : ecclesie orientalis S

¹¹ habebitur T

¹² nomine T

¹³ *Lamentations*, 1, 1

¹⁴ ac SA

¹⁵ ut T

¹⁶ Anastasius SA

¹⁷ omit. S

¹⁸ Apocalypse, 12, 3-4

¹⁹ servarunt T, SA

²⁰ extima T

²¹ omit. T

²² Ezekiel, 13, 5

²³ beatissime SA

[5] Dignos quidem eos dico, quorum certe etiam post¹ fidem catholicam fama carminibus poetarum illustrissima celebratur, qui licet² secundum quosdam sub³ figmentis et fabulose⁴ plurima laude et admiratione digna de⁵ Graecia⁶ scripserint⁷, vetat tamen Lactantius illa falsa judicari⁸, nam – ut inquit libro Institutionum – si finxissent, vani fuissent: fatetur tamen, quod *rebus gestis bene quendam addiderunt colorem*⁹.

[6] Graecis est testis Valerius Maximus, quod ceteris olim gentibus praestiterunt tum peritia litterarum, quarum fuerunt inventores, tum scientia rei militaris terrestris maritimaeque¹⁰. Testatur et de eis^{11 12} Cicero dicens, quod ab ipsis humanitatem accepimus.¹³ Et idem in libro *De oratore* Athenas bonarum artium inventricem appellat.¹⁴ Priscianus quoque Grammaticus Graecos fontibus, Latinos vero rivulis comparat.¹⁵ Item¹⁶ et Justinianus imperator, qui fatetur jus Romanum a Graecis ortum habuisse.¹⁷ Similiter et Gratianus in principio decreti nomina translatorum¹⁸ librorum Solonis¹⁹ et expositorum legum XII tabularum commemorans.^{20 21} Quid plura dicam, nisi quod²² Horatius de eis²³ inquit: *Grais ingenuum, Grais dedit ore rotundo musa loqui*.²⁴

[7] Peribit gens ista, pater sanctissime²⁵? Peribit et urbs illa inclyta Bizantina²⁶, a Pausania rege Spartarum²⁷ condita, a Constantino, catholico Caesare, aucta et ab eo Constantinopolis dicta factaque Christiani imperii sedes et totius orientis caput. Erubescant Christiani, quod ipsa²⁸ fieri

¹ praeter T, SA

² celebratur qui licet : esse solebat quibus SA

³ omit. T

⁴ de add. T

⁵ omit. T

⁶ Graecis SA

⁷ em.; scripserit S; subscripsit T; scripserant SA

⁸ judicare T

⁹ Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 1, 2, 19

¹⁰ Marcus Cicero quoque SA

¹¹ his SA

¹² hiis T

¹³ Cicero: *Pro L. Valerio Flacco*, 62

¹⁴ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.4.13

¹⁵ Priscianus: *Institutiones grammaticae*, Introduction

¹⁶ idem T

¹⁷ Corpus juris civili, D. 1.2.4

¹⁸ nomina translatorum : de translationibus SA

¹⁹ Psalamonis SA

²⁰ mentionem facit SA

²¹ Decretum Gratiani, D. 7.1-2

²² forte S

²³ his SA

²⁴ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 323-324

²⁵ beatissime SA

²⁶ Bisancium SA

²⁷ Persarum S; Spartanorum SA

²⁸ ista SA

debeat clipeus Mahumetissae legis, que religionis Christianae murus esse solebat. Sed peribit fides catholica? Peribit lex evangelica¹? Peribit² et ecclesia, mater nostra, quam³ dominus et salvator noster Jesus Christus gloriosissima sua morte plantavit⁴, quam pretiosus apostolorum et martyrum sanguis rigavit, quam florere facit sacrarum virginum candida virginitas, quam fructu bonorum operum gloriosus confessorum chorus fecundat.⁵

[8] Hoc ne fiat et ne tolleretur et ne gaudeat *impius*⁶ hostis *in*⁷ *iniquitate* sua⁸ ⁹, quantas adhibuerit catholicus princeps noster¹⁰ diligentias, tua sanctitas novit, pater sanctissime¹¹. Taceo sollemnes ambasiatas suas ad catholicos reges et principes orbis.¹² Taceo, quid¹³ Ratisponae¹⁴ {88r} de finibus terrae veniens personaliter obtulerit. Taceo suas devotas et spirituales¹⁵ sollicitationes ad sanctae memoriae Nicolaum et¹⁶ Calixtum summos pontifices, praedecessores tuos, ad imperialem majestatem¹⁷, ad illustres principes electores imperii sacri, quas singulariter noscit tua beatitudo. Solum hic¹⁸ rememorandum¹⁹ decernimus²⁰, quid in Francfordia conclusum extiterit²¹.

[9] In illa nempe²² Francfordiensi dieta, in qua tu, beatissime pater, adhuc in minoribus²³ existens, ut legatus imperialis majestatis²⁴ praesidebas, tua tam devotissima et suavissima oratione illustrissimos Germaniae principes, quos juvenes et robustos cernebas, arguebas, si domi manerent, cum princeps noster jam senex in Asiam se iturum offerebat.²⁵ Nec vana fuit tua talis exhortatio.

¹ an *add.* S

² perit S

³ et *add.* S

⁴ quam ... plantavit *omit.* T

⁵ gaudeat ipsius hostis iniquitate sua *add.* S

⁶ ipsius SA

⁷ *omit.* SA

⁸ gaudeat ... sua : ne pereat S

⁹ Ezekiel, 33, 8

¹⁰ catholicus princeps noster : princeps noster catholicus S

¹¹ beatissime S, SA

¹² Among them to the emperor in 1451. On behalf of the emperor, Piccolomini responded to the Burgundian ambassadors' oration with the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17]

¹³ quod SA

¹⁴ Ratisponere T

¹⁵ speciales SA

¹⁶ ad *add.* S

¹⁷ ad imperialem majestatem *omit.* SA

¹⁸ -que SA

¹⁹ rememorandam SA

²⁰ decrevimus S

²¹ extiterat T, SA

²² namque T

²³ adhuc in minoribus : in minoribus adhuc S

²⁴ imperialis majestatis : maiestatis imperialis S

²⁵ Fillastre refers to Piccolomini's oration "*Constantinopolitana clades*" [22], delivered at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1454

Nam Hungaris auxilia petentibus 30.000 peditum et¹ equitum 10.000 illustris illa Germaniae² natio instaurare decrevit, 6.000 ex his³ in partem principis nostri distributis, quae portio licet quibusdam satis gravis videretur in respectu ad alios illius nationis principes et totius imperii⁴ subditos, attentae⁵ etiam distantia terrarum dominiorumque⁶ principis nostri usque ad hostem. Talis tamen fuit fervor suae mentis ad hujus sanctae rei complementum, quod *jugum* illud suave sibi et *onus leve*⁷ iudicavit annuitque liberalissime.

[10] Visa est demum et in Mantuano concilio⁸ istius catholici principis pura et sincera intentio, quam publice per illustrem nepotem et tunc oratorem suum, dominum ducem Clivensem, palam declarari fecit⁹, cuius¹⁰ rei et memores et testes esse possunt et¹¹ tua sanctitas et hoc sacrum reverendissimorum¹² dominorum cardinalium collegium.

[11] Quid post haec contigit, tua beatitudo videt, pater beatissime. Zizania ita crevit inter praefatos¹³ Germaniae principes, ut suffocaret triticum,¹⁴ ne sacrificium offerre¹⁵ possent Deo *in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis*,¹⁶ ut decreverant¹⁷. Nam tanto guerrarum furore¹⁸ se mutuo conquassarunt¹⁹, ut nec rem coeptam²⁰ complere potuerint nec sciamus, quid pro futuro sperandum.

[12] Temptavit nihilominus piissimus princeps noster per oratores suos sollemnes et gravissimis sumptibus suis omnia, quae excogitare potuit, media pacis, ut pacatis²¹ animis posset cum eis libere domino *Deo reddere vota sua*.²² Sed, heu²³, nec²⁴ profuit nec exauditus est. Hoc fecit inimicus homo,

¹ *omit.* SA

² Germanica S

³ ex his *omit.* SA

⁴ in *add.* SA

⁵ *omit.* SA

⁶ dominorumque SA

⁷ Matthew, 11, 30

⁸ consilio S, TA

⁹ declarari fecit : fecit declarari SA

¹⁰ cui SA

¹¹ *omit.* T

¹² reverendorum S; Romanorum SA

¹³ *omit.* S

¹⁴ Cf. Matthew, 13, 25-26

¹⁵ efferre SA

¹⁶ 1. Corinthians, 5, 8

¹⁷ decreverunt S

¹⁸ guerrarum furore : furore guerrarum S

¹⁹ concussarunt SA

²⁰ aptam SA

²¹ pietatis SA

²² Cf. Psalms, 115, 14, 18

²³ sed heu : nec heus S

²⁴ non SA

seminator zizaniae, *serpens ille antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus et sathanas, qui subvertit universum orbem*,¹ ut in apocalypsi scribitur. Sic anxius sedens tuae sanctitatis² devotissimus filius, dominus dux noster, cognoscens potentiam suam³ exiguum esse ad⁴ debellandum {88v} hostem piasque suas⁵ sollicitationes incassum iri, quasi desperatus de re ipsa, ut Deus dereliquisset eam aut forsitan offensa divina majestas vindictam quaerat⁶ de peccatis nostris, gemensque in corde suo cum propheta dicebat: “*Domine, etsi*⁷ *iratus fueris, etiam*⁸ *misericae recordaberis.*”¹⁰

[13] Et ecce velut angeli Dei duo successive apostolatus tui nuntii, qui sanctam mentem tuam et gloriosum propositum tuum sibi amplissime detexerunt. Asseruerunt enim tuam beatitudinem principum et potentatum¹¹ hujus inclytæ nationis Italicae fretam auxilio velle exercitum procurare potentem, quo possis¹² hostis rabidi compescere furorem suaeque ambitioni frena dare, possisque, pater sancte¹³, dispersos et vagos Christicolas aggregare et reunire tuo gregi, consolari desolatos, profugos quoque et exules ad proprias aedes¹⁴ reducere. O quae potest tanta existere¹⁵ ubertas ingenii, quae tanta dicendi copia, quod tam divinum ac¹⁶ incredibile genus orationis, quo quis possit, pater sanctissime, hanc tuam sanctam mentem dignis extollere laudibus? Magnificent cuncti, quod tua sanctitas, urbe relicta et quiete tua, corpori seni et jam variis aegritudinibus lasso non parcens, se pro hac re Mantuam transtulerit. Sed certe¹⁷ *glorificabunt nomen*¹⁸ tuum sanctum¹⁹, dum hanc perseverantiam intelligent et tuae sanctae mentis videbunt effectum.

[14] Dum autem haec audivit tuus²⁰ athleta et devotissimus filius, dominus²¹ dux noster, tunc tali morbo²² pressus, quod quasi usu membrorum careret, *revixit spiritus ejus* et velut senex *Jacob* tamquam *de gravi somno evigilans ait: “Sufficit mihi, vadam et videbo eum.”*²³ Vidisses, pater

¹ Apocalypse, 12, 9

² sanctitati T

³ potentiam suam : suam potentiam S

⁴ a S

⁵ omit. S, T

⁶ vindictam quaerat : quaerat vindictam S

⁷ si SA

⁸ domine etsi : etsi domine S

⁹ item nunc SA

¹⁰ Habakuk, 3, 2

¹¹ potestatum SA

¹² posses SA

¹³ dare add. T

¹⁴ ad proprias aedes omit. S

¹⁵ omit. S

¹⁶ omit. T, SA

¹⁷ omit. S

¹⁸ Psalms, 85, 9

¹⁹ nomen tuum sanctum : nomen sanctum nomen tuum S

²⁰ omit. T

²¹ omit. S

²² uno SA

²³ Genesis, 45, 26-28

sanctissime¹, pro maestitia laetitiam et pro tristia jucunditatem. Vidisses hominem semivivum subito resurgere. Audisses eum suis fidelibus et caris legationem sibi factam cum tanta hilaritate recensere², ut neque morbi neque tristitiae vestigium appareret. Et cum ob hoc spes redeat, nos, tuae beatitudinis humillimos et devotissimos servulos, hunc scilicet spectabilem et³ magnificentum strenuumque baronem ac⁴ hos duos generosos strenuosque milites et me, servum tuum⁵, ad pedes tuae sanctitatis venire jussit, scituos de hac re et ejus effectu⁶, quantum clementissima benignitas tua declarare dignabitur, dicturos etiam, quae sit in ea re ipsius catholici principis nostri mens et finalis intentio.

[15] Ut igitur nos paucis absolvamus, cognoscit iste⁷ catholicus princeps noster immensa divinae largitatis sibi collata beneficia non solum amplitudine {89r} principatum, pace et tranquillitate suorum dominorum⁸, amore sincerrimo et benevolentia suorum subditorum, sed et⁹ maxime de tam gravis tamquam desperati morbi sibi reddita sanitate, non quidem hominum {158v} ingenio, non¹⁰ arte medicinae, non beneficio naturae, sed sola divina benignitate, quae eum tamquam de morte reduxit¹¹ ad vitam. Et cum non habeat, *quid*¹² retribuatur¹³ *domino pro omnibus, quae retribuit* sibi¹⁴ ¹⁵, si tua sanctitas in suo sancto proposito perstiterit¹⁶ et haec inclyta Italica¹⁷ ¹⁸ natio, et instauretur¹⁹ exercitus²⁰, prout honor fidei et necessitas rei exposcunt, concurret iste catholicus princeps noster seque ad defensionem fidei nostrae et in servitio Christi²¹ dedicabit, et hoc verno proximo tempore se disponet et ordinabit juxta ea, quae per tuam sanctitatem cum principibus et potestatibus hujus nationis inclytiae²² aut eorum oratoribus²³ una nobiscum, qui mandato plenissimo fulti sumus, conclusum atque decretum fuerit. Et si – quod avertat Deus, cujus res agitur

¹ beatissime SA

² recenseri T, SA

³ *omit.* S

⁴ *omit.* S

⁵ servum tuum : facturam tuam S, T

⁶ affectu S

⁷ ipse SA

⁸ dominorum SA

⁹ *omit.* SA

¹⁰ nec SA

¹¹ reducit SA

¹² quod SA

¹³ tribuat SA

¹⁴ soli S

¹⁵ Psalms, 114, 12

¹⁶ persisterit T

¹⁷ *omit.* SA

¹⁸ inclyta Italica : Ytalia inclita S

¹⁹ instaurent SA

²⁰ exercitum SA

²¹ Dei S, SA

²² nationis inclytiae : inclite nationis SA

²³ oratores T; oracionibus SA

– contingeret ipsum dominum nostrum¹ infirmitate aut impotentia corporali esse taliter occupatum², quod nullo modo posset³ personaliter concurrere, quod sibi ad mortalem displicentiam esset, ipse eo casu mittet copias suas non minores illis sibi alias distributis, sed potius ampliores, si Deus facultates contulerit. Quas utinam secundum desiderium, quod huic sanctae rei gerit, augeat altissimus⁴.

[16] Restat ergo solum, ut armati clipeo fidei et spe salutis aggrediamur inimicum. Nos justam causam fovemus justumque bellum gerimus, ut si catholici auctori pacis pacifice famulentur⁵. Justum bellum est, quo pax quaeritur. Nam secundum Aristotelem in *Ethicis bellamus, ut pacem ducamus*.⁶ Quem sequitur Cicero dicens: “*Bellum ita suscipitur⁷, ut⁸ nihil⁹ aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.*”¹⁰ Nullaque justior causa belligerendi¹¹ est quam servitutis depulsio, pro qua certe vitae¹² periculo decertandum. Non eadem causa hostibus est, qui servitatem nostram quaerunt, qui injuste justos opprimunt, qui *loquuntur iniquitatem*,¹³ *mala autem in cordibus*¹⁴ eorum. Ideo juxta Cassiodorum *utile est ad arma concurrere, quia locum apud adversarium justitia non potest invenire*.¹⁵

[17] Sed aliae iterum sunt nobis¹⁶ causae belli gerendi, pater sanctissime¹⁷, ut opem scilicet et auxilium feramus oppressis fratribus nostris¹⁸, qui tam infelici miseria premuntur, si beneficiorum memores, si grati, si humani esse volumus. Hoc etiam congruit maxime¹⁹ ²⁰ dignitati tuae, qui Christianae monarchiae praesides *secundum ordinem Melchisedech*,²¹ ut rex scilicet et sacerdos. “*Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lapsis*,”²² inquit²³ Ovidius. *Decet* etiam, juxta Cassiodorum,

¹ contingeret ... nostrum : ipse dominus noster SA

² occupatus SA

³ possit T

⁴ amen *add.* S

⁵ famulantur T; famulemur SA

⁶ Aristoteles: *Ethica Nicomachea*, 10,8

⁷ suscipimus T

⁸ vel S

⁹ nil S, SA

¹⁰ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1-23.80

¹¹ causa belligerendi : belligerendi causa S

¹² certe vitae : vite certe S

¹³ Cf. Psalms, 30, 19

¹⁴ Psalms, 27, 3

¹⁵ Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 3.1.2

¹⁶ sunt nobis : nobis sunt S, SA

¹⁷ beatissime SA

¹⁸ oppressis ... nostris : fratrius nostris oppressis SA

¹⁹ *omit.* SA

²⁰ congruit maxime : maxime congruit S

²¹ Psalms, 109, 4

²² Ovidius: *Ex Ponto*, 2, 9, 11

²³ *omit.* SA

regalis apicis dignitatem curam generalitatis {89v} habere.¹ Hoc testatur² canon noster *regis officium esse liberareque*³ ab impiis *vi oppressos*.⁴ Censuit idem⁵ lex civilis dicens, quod “*congruit bono et potenti praesidi, ut pacata et quieta sit provincia, quam regit*”⁶. Et “*bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis*”⁷, ut ait evangelista.

[18] Praeter haec sunt et aliae causae belli, quae non solum tuam sanctitatem⁸ et hunc dignissimum coetum, sed⁹ et hanc inclytam nationem, immo et universum Christianum orbem movere debent, pietas scilicet et¹⁰ religio. Ut beati Jeronimi verbis utar, pater piissime¹¹: “*Horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas prosequi.*” Decem anni et eo amplius sunt, quod¹² inter Constantinopolim et Hungariam Slavoniam *quotidie* Christianus¹³ *sanguis effunditur*, ibique immanissimi hostes, Christiani nominis inimici, *vastant, trahunt, rapiunt. Quot matronae, quot viduae, quot virgines Christi et ingenua nobiliaque corpora his beluis fuere ludibrio, capti episcopi*¹⁴, *tracti*¹⁵ aliorum *captivorum greges, interfecti presbyteri et diversorum officia clericorum, subversae ecclesiae et ad altaria Dei stabulati equi*¹⁶, *martyrum aliorumque sanctorum suffossae*¹⁷ *reliquiae*^{18 19}!

[19] Sed et, proh dolor, novissime et hoc anno menseque²⁰ Majo regnum Bosniae, quod²¹ nobis residui²² erat, surripuerunt hostes, rege proceribusque regni crudeliter et proditorie jugulatis ac inclyta regina cum familia tota²³, heu²⁴ tradita praedae, ita ut cum Jeronimo dicere cogor: “*Ubique luctus, ubique gemitus et plurima mortis imago.*”²⁵

¹ Cf. Cassiodorus: *Variarum libri*, 1.23.1

² et *add.* S, SA

³ liberare quoque SA

⁴ Decretum Gratiani, C.23.5.23 (809)

⁵ enim SA

⁶ Corpus juris civilis, D.1.18.13

⁷ John, 10, 11

⁸ *omit.* SA

⁹ *omit.* S

¹⁰ atque S, SA

¹¹ beatissime SA

¹² *omit.* S

¹³ Christianis S

¹⁴ *omit.* SA

¹⁵ capti S

¹⁶ stabulati equi : equi stabulati SA

¹⁷ suffocate T

¹⁸ requie S

¹⁹ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 16. Here, Fillastre applies Jerome’s description of Barbarian (not Turkish, evidently) incursions into the Roman Empire in the 4th century to the Turkish attacks on Constantinople and Europe in the 15th

²⁰ mense S; mense quasi SA

²¹ quidem S

²² residuum S, SA

²³ sua SA

²⁴ heus S

²⁵ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 16

[20] Christianus orbis ruit¹, et tamen cervix nostra² erecta ad pietatem non flectitur! Quid putas, pater beatissime, nunc³ animi⁴ habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios⁵, Archades⁶ cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant⁷ barbari?⁸ Haec nempe regna magna fuere, ubi Christus colebatur, quae dietim expectant damnatae legi Mahumeticae supponi. Felix, qui haec⁹ non videt! Felix, qui non¹⁰ audit! Nos miseri, qui hoc toleramus et patientes fratres nostros¹¹ tanta¹² percipimus¹³ et tamen vivere volumus,¹⁴ cum dixerint¹⁵ patres nostri, zelatores Dei et legis: "Melius est nobis mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis nostrae et sanctorum." ¹⁶

[21] Si secundum Ciceronem pietas est, per quam propinquis patriae benevolum officium et diligens tribuatur cultus,¹⁷ si secundum apostolum pietas ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vitae, quae nunc et futurae,¹⁸ quare non miserebimur fratribus nostris afflictis, et ut mereamur, et¹⁹ maneat incolumis res publica Christiana? Nam - ut²⁰ inquit Cassiodorus in epistolis: "Pietas siquidem totum custodit imperium, et dum singulis vicissitudo digna redditur, incolumia rei publicae membra servantur."²¹ Ut ergo misericordiam consequamur, simus misericordes²² et pii fratribus nostris afflictis²³, sicut²⁴ et pater noster caelestis misericors est.

¹ pavit SA

² omit. SA

³ curam SA

⁴ anime SA

⁵ omit. SA

⁶ Archados SA

⁷ imperitant SA

⁸ Jeronimus: Epistolae, 60, 16

⁹ omit. T

¹⁰ omit. SA

¹¹ patientes fratres nostros : fratres nostros patientes S; et fratribus nostris afflictis pii misericordes SA

¹² omit. S; pati SA

¹³ percipimus SA

¹⁴ Jeronimus: Epistolae, 60, 17

¹⁵ dixerunt SA

¹⁶ 1. Machabees, 3, 59

¹⁷ Cicero: De inventione, 2.53.161

¹⁸ 1. Timothy, 4, 8

¹⁹ omit. SA

²⁰ omit. S; A

²¹ Cassiodorus: Variarum libri, 12.13.1

²² Cf. Matthew, 5, 7

²³ simus misericordes ... afflictis : fratribus nostris afflicti pii simus et misericordes S

²⁴ ut SA

[22] Post haec movere debet nos¹ Christiana religio seu² amor Deo debitus. Ait enim sapiens: {90r} *“Dilige eum³, qui te fecit.”*⁴ Non solum⁵ nos fecit, sed refecit, dum nos redemit, et nos perficiet in gloria. Unde beatus Bernardus ait: *“De omnibus, quae sub caelo sunt, dixit⁶, et facta sunt. Sed numquid⁷ solo verbo factum est, cum te, quem⁸ fecerat, refecit⁹? Triginta tribus anni super terram visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est. In factis habuit calumniatores,”*¹⁰ in verbis¹¹ contradictores. Pro te reficiendo egit mira, sustinuit dura, nec¹² solum dura, sed etiam indigna, ludibria, opprobria, flagella, sputa et hujusmodi¹³ et, quod plus est omnibus, mortem crucis. Quid pro Dei amore et cultu religionis fecerint¹⁴ patres nostri¹⁵, sacra testatur pagina: David, qui cultum Dei ordinavit ampliavitque¹⁶; Salomon, qui templum mirae pulchritudinis aedificavit; Joas, qui ejusdem¹⁷ templi ruinas restauravit; Ezechias, Josias, Mathathias¹⁸, qui vitae suae non parcentes templum Dei a gentibus profanatum mundaverunt. Et si aliorum regum et regnorum inspiciantur¹⁹ historiae²⁰ et gentilium revolvantur annales, inveniemus²¹ subritos esse principatus regnaque translata, quia, cum essent regnorum ministri²², non est ab eis Deo et religioni exhibita debita²³ reverentia. Nos ergo Dei amor indicat²⁴ et exempla patrum, ne sanguis fratrum nostrorum requiratur²⁵ a nobis.^{26 27}

¹ movere debet nos : movere nos debet S; nos debet movere SA

² et S

³ diligere eum : dilige S

⁴ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 32

⁵ autem *add.* S

⁶ dicit S

⁷ nunquam SA

⁸ *omit.* SA

⁹ te *add.* SA

¹⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux: *Sermones per annum*, 2: Feria IV hebdomadae sanctae

¹¹ dictis S

¹² et non SA

¹³ hujus S

¹⁴ fecerunt S, SA

¹⁵ sicut *add.* S

¹⁶ atque ampliavit S

¹⁷ rei *add.* S

¹⁸ Malachias S

¹⁹ aspiciantur S, SA

²⁰ annales S

²¹ revolvantur ... inveniemus *omit.* S

²² regnorum ministri : ministri regnorum S

²³ exhibita debita : debita exhibita SA

²⁴ inducat SA

²⁵ exigatur SA

²⁶ Ezechiel, 33, 6. This verse is also used as the starting point of Pius II's famous bull *Ezechielis prophetae*, which was written in the weeks following the meeting where Fillastre gave his oration. On this point Pius may have been inspired by Fillastre

²⁷ quod verendum est *add.* S

[23] Moveat nos denique religiosa caritas, qua¹ nostrum proximum² diligere debemus. Scriptum est enim: “*Diliges dominum deum tuum*” etc., et sequitur: “*Et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.*”³ Et in Exodo scribitur: “*Pauperis misereberis.*”⁴ Et Salomon in *Proverbiis* dicit: “*Universa delicta operit caritas.*”⁵ Et si qua reverentia verbis Ciceronis est, audiamus, quid quondam lumine fidei accensus dicat: “*Homines,*” inquit, “*ad deos nulla re⁶ propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.*”⁷ Praecipit hoc et lex evangelica. “*Omnia,*” inquit Lucas, “*quaecumque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, et vos illis facite similiter.*”⁸ Et Johannes evangelista⁹: “*Qui habuerit substantiam¹⁰ hujus mundi et viderit¹¹ fratrem suum necessitatem habere¹² et clauserit viscera sua ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in eo?*” Et sequitur: “*Filioli, non diligamus verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate.*”¹³ Non dicamus – ut ait Salomon in *Paraboliis amico* nostro: “*Vade et revertere, et cras dabo tibi,’ cum statim dare*”¹⁴ possumus¹⁵. Item¹⁶ – ut ait Paulus ad Timotheum: “*Si quis suorum et maxime domesticorum, ut nobis sunt Christiani, curam non habet, fidem negaverit et est infideli deterior.*”¹⁷

[24] Sed esto, refrigescat, immo sit extincta caritas multorum, non sit fides, non sit religio: alia causa certe adhuc est, quae nos urgebit, videlicet recuperare Constantinopolim et eam eripere de manu infidelium, si nostris rebus, si huic Italicae provinciae, cujus jam *paries ardet*,¹⁸ si etiam totius¹⁹ Europae saluti consulere volumus. Nonne urbs illa in faucibus Hellesponti sita inter Asiam et {90v} Europam²⁰ media aptissimaque maritimae²¹ et terrestri expeditioni clavis quaedam est²² Europae? Ejus certe commoditatem prospiciens, prudentissimus ille Constantinus sedem imperii ibidem non in vanum constituit. Nam cum antiquum odium inter Asianos et Europae populos semper fuerit, ut ex Graecis et Latinis historiis videtur²³, necessaria fuit Europae clavis illa, quod nobis nunc

¹ quia S

² nostrum proximum : proximum nostrum S

³ Luke, 10, 27

⁴ Exodus, 23, 3 (NB: with the opposite meaning)

⁵ Proverbs, 10, 12

⁶ *omit.* SA

⁷ Cicero: *Pro Q. Ligario*, 38

⁸ Luke, 6, 31

⁹ omnia inquit ... evangelista *omit.* S

¹⁰ superbiam SA

¹¹ videret S

¹² habentem S

¹³ 1. John, 3, 17-18

¹⁴ Proverbs, 3, 28

¹⁵ possumus S

¹⁶ nam S

¹⁷ 1. Timothy, 5, 8

¹⁸ Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1.18.84

¹⁹ Azie et *add.* S

²⁰ Europem T

²¹ maritimeque T

²² quaedam est : est quedam S

²³ videre licet S

experientia manifeste demonstrat. Nam quamvis plerique ex Europa in Asiam triumphaverunt¹, ut Graeci in Troja, Alexander in oriente, Romani similiter et post haec Gallici sub duce Godefrido et post eum plures² alii, nusquam tamen visi sunt usque modo Asiani in Europa triumphare³. Quod⁴ si quaeratur: “Unde hoc?”, ridiculosa est⁵ quaestio! Quis facile non ingreditur cameram vel arcam, qui claves habet? Ita jam⁶ postquam clavem habent Asiani, hostes in nos ingressi sunt, pater sanctissime⁷, ut in confusionem et opprobrium Christiani nominis decem regna - ut ajunt – ubi Christus colebatur, a decennio citra suae ditioni subegerunt, quae dicuntur ultra mille millia⁸ terrae in longitudine continere.⁹

[25] *Accingere ergo gladio tuo super femur tuum,¹⁰ potentissime¹¹!* Ad te enim spectat hoc negotium, et nos tecum sumus, nec est¹² formidanda hostis nostri potentia. Si gentem innumerabilem ducat¹³, inermes sunt; tu armatos habes. Vecordes sunt et timidi, tui vero audaces, animosi et strenui milites. Nec arguit, quod hos vicit¹⁴, quos hucusque aggressus est. Facile vincere potest, cum sibi non resistitur. “*Non nos frangat ista res,*” dicit Joab¹⁵, “*varius enim¹⁶ est eventus belli, et nunc huc, nunc illuc gladius consumit.*”¹⁷ *Ne paveas repentino terrore et irruentes tibi potentias impiorum, dominus enim erit in latere tuo et custodiet pedem tuum, ne capiaris^{18,19}* ut in *Parabolis* scribitur.

[26] “*Infelices nimis sumus, si tantum Deo displicemus, ut per rabiem barbarorum illius in nos ira desaeviat,*”²⁰ inquit Jeronimus in epistolis. Si sic est, quod absit, sacerdotis utere officio, cum arma clericorum lachrimae sint et orationes²¹. Poententiam indice²², orationes²³ funde: Deus offensus

¹ triumphaverint SA

² quamplures S

³ triumphasse SA

⁴ de quo SA

⁵ haec SA

⁶ *omit.* SA

⁷ beatissime SA

⁸ millia S

⁹ *omit.* SA

¹⁰ Psalms, 44, 4

¹¹ *omit.* T

¹² *omit.* T

¹³ inducit SA

¹⁴ vicerit SA

¹⁵ Joel quia S

¹⁶ *omit.* S

¹⁷ 2. Samuel, 11, 25

¹⁸ capiat SA

¹⁹ Proverbs, 3, 25-26

²⁰ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 17

²¹ et orationes *omit.* SA

²² indicas SA

²³ orationem SA

placabitur! *Ezechias egit poenitentiam, et centum octoginta¹ quinque millia Assyriorum uno angelo, una nocte deleta sunt. Josaphat laudes domino² concinnabat, et dominus pro laudante superabat. Moyses contra Amalech non gladio, sed oratione pugnavit.*³ Pugnabit certe et dominus pro nobis, qui contra Sennacherib misit angelum suum. Favebit nobis, qui favit Mathathiae⁴, zelatori Dei et legis. Assistet, qui astitit Josue, qui Machabaeis⁵, qui Gedeoni⁶, qui David contra Goliath, exaudietque preces nostras, qui Moysi oranti dedit victoriam, ponetque dominus hostem sicut *rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti*, quia dicit⁷: *“Haereditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei.”*⁸ Et juxta Ovidium patietur⁹ *telis vulnera facta*¹⁰ suis. *Delebit* quoque eum dominus *sicut deletae sunt tabulae, vertet et ducet crebrius stilum super faciem ejus*¹¹ – ut libro regum scribitur - *illutoresque ipse deludet*¹² *et mansuetis {91r} dabit gratiam.*^{13 14}

[27] Fortiter ergo agamus nec timeamus! In hoc quippe bello periculum nobis esse non potest. Si vincamus, cuncta cum gloria, cum triumpho nobis patebunt. Si succumbamus, quod existimare nefas est, procul dubio juxta apostolum aureola martyrii coronabimur, cum in hoc agone legitime certaverimus,¹⁵ quam nobis concedat Christus, filius virginis¹⁶. Amen¹⁷.

¹ octuaginta S

² laudes domino : domino laudes S

³ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 60, 17

⁴ Malathie S; monarchiae SA

⁵ qui Machabeis *omit.* SA

⁶ Gedeon S

⁷ dixit T

⁸ Psalms, 82, 13-14

⁹ patuere SA

¹⁰ Ovidius: *Heroides*, 2.48

¹¹ 2. Kings, 21, 13

¹² illudet SA

¹³ gloriam T

¹⁴ Proverbs, 3, 34

¹⁵ Cf. 2. Timothy, 2, 5

¹⁶ quam nobis ... virginis *omit.* T, SA

¹⁷ Ad sanctissimum et divinitatis instinctu omnium patrem Pium papam II. Guillelmi episcopi Tornacensis pro Christianorum expeditione in Thurcas elegans oratio explicit. Dicta Rome apud sanctum Petrum in consistorio publico a prefato Guillelmo nobilissimi ducis Burgondie ambasciatore. Anno domini 1463 8a die Octobris SA