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**Oration “Sextus agitur annus” of Pope Pius II (23 September 1463, Rome). 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 75)**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 75)**

**Oration “*Sextus agitur annus*” of Pope Pius II (23  
September 1463, Rome). Edited and translated by  
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**5th version**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

By September 1463, it was clear that Pope Pius II had managed to create the basis for a crusade alliance between Hungary, Venice, Burgundy, and the papacy. Before proceeding to the final negotiations, it was necessary for him to obtain the consent to the crusade of the College of Cardinals: in his coronation oath he had promised to make the crusade against the Turks his highest priority, but to act in this matter only with the approval of the majority of the cardinals. On 23 September the pope summoned the cardinals to a secret consistory where he delivered the oration "*Sextus agitur annus*". In this oration the pope gave a well-reasoned account of his wars in Italy and their necessity, a lucid analysis of the ecclesiastical hierarchy's lack of credibility, and a passionate plea for a return to the ways of the Early Church and to the faith of its martyrs and confessors, detailed his strategy for mobilizing the crusade, and announced his provisions for the government of Rome in his absence.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Wars against the Turks; Crusades against the Turks; College of Cardinals; Wars in Italy; Neapolitan war of succession; Papal States; Kingdom of Sicily; Kingdom of Naples; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; Criticism of the clergy; Anticlericalism; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1463; Early Church; Martyrs; Confessors; Church reform; Papal bull Ezechielis prophetae

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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 80<sup>1</sup> 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

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

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

Since the end of the Congress of Mantua in January 1460, Pope Pius II's great crusade project had been more or less dormant while the pope was engaged in two different, but connected Italian wars: a war against rebellious noble lords in the Church State and a war of succession in the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>2</sup>

By March 1462, the military situation and the very strained relations with France over the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had eased up<sup>3</sup> so much that the pope was able to reactivate the crusade project and engage the papal diplomacy in a new strategy for the mobilization of the crusade:

Having learnt the lesson of Mantua, the papacy would no longer try to persuade all the European powers to enter, at the same time, a formal alliance of crusade against the Turks. Instead it would create an alliance between the papacy, Burgundy, and the two frontier states Venice and Hungary, and – if possible – France. If such an alliance could be established, other states would undoubtedly join up and send contingents of soldiers to the crusade.<sup>4</sup>

By September 1463 this strategy had largely succeeded:

- In July 1463, the emperor and King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had made peace concerning the Crown of Hungary, thus freeing Hungary for the war effort against the Turks. On 12 September 1463, Hungary and Venice entered an alliance against the Turks.
- On 28 July 1463, the Venetian senate decided to declare war on the Turk and join the pope's crusade.<sup>5</sup>
- In late summer 1463, an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy arrived at the papal court to announce the duke's willingness to take part in the crusade, on the condition of the pope, too, taking part in person. This promise was formally announced at a public consistory in Rome on 19 September 1463.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CO, XII, 31-32; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nos. 25-27; Ady, pp. 319-324; Boulting, pp. 343-348; Dall'Oco, pp. 507-515; Müller, 115-119; Housley, pp. 232-234; Paparelli, pp. 336-338; Pastor, II, pp. 226-233; Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 162-176; Prietzel, pp. 285-306; Reinhardt, pp. 353-356; Stolf, pp. 418-422; Voigt, IV, pp. 687-693;

<sup>2</sup> See oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61]

<sup>3</sup> See oration "*Per me reges regnant*" [65]

<sup>4</sup> See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64]

<sup>5</sup> See oration "*Ecce ecce*" [77]

<sup>6</sup> See oration "*Expectatis*" [73]

King Louis XI of France had summarily rejected the pope's invitation to join the crusade, and the very negative position of other Italian states with regard to an enterprise from which Venice stood to gain was clearly expressed by the Florentine ambassador in a private meeting with the pope on 22 September.<sup>1</sup>

In view of initial Venetian military successes against the Turks in the Peloponnese, the pope, however, was confident that the formal alliance between the parties already committed to the crusade was in itself sufficient for a successful war against the Turks and would eventually convince the other states to join up – if not enthusiastically, then at least to some acceptable degree.

So, the pope was now free to take the last step before formally launching the crusade which was to persuade the majority of the cardinals to support his crusade plans. Their consent was necessary by virtue of the pope's coronation oath in which he had bound himself, as his highest priority, to organize a crusade against the Turks, but with the the consent of the majority of the cardinals.<sup>2</sup>

On 23 September the pope summoned the College of Cardinals to a secret (closed) consistory in which he gave the important oration "*Sextus agitur annus*".

In his *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

*The next day the Pope called a secret consistory and addressed the cardinals as follows: [Here follows the text of the oration] The Pope had often shed tears as he spoke nor could the more rightminded of the cardinals keep from weeping.*

With the exception of Cardinal Eruli of Spoleto, all the cardinals expressed their approval of the pope's plan for the crusade, though the French cardinals were in reality opposed to the project, as was their king.<sup>3</sup>

*When he asked the others of their opinions he found no one who did not heartily approve and urge his going nor anyone who did not offer his property and his person. The Pope was happy at the approval of the Curia but imposed silence till the appointed day.<sup>4</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> See oration "*Si essemus*" [74]

<sup>2</sup> See oration "*Ut apertum vobis*" [29]

<sup>3</sup> Dall'Oco, p. 511

<sup>4</sup> CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, pp. 817, 827-828)

On 19 October 1463, the treaty between Rome, Venice, and Burgundy concerning a crusade against the Turks was signed.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was to last for three years, and it included the personal participation of the pope and of the Duke of Burgundy. Could the duke not come - he was, after all, old and ailing - he would send the troops promised, under competent leadership.<sup>2</sup>

Pius wrote in his *Commentari*:

*During the preceding days the envoys of Burgundy and the Venetian ambassador had met with the pope and had made a treaty to the following effect: They had promised to wage war with the Turks with all their resources for one, two, or three years, as circumstances should demand, on condition that no one might withdraw from the war without his allies. The Pope had added that when Duke Philip came to Italy and was ready to go to Greece he himself would accompany him. The ambassadors, who had full powers, bound their masters by these conditions. Matthias, King of Hungary, made a similar agreement with the Venetians.*<sup>3</sup>

On that same day, in Hesdin, King Louis of France told his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy: *Beaux oncle, ... je vous verrai encore, si Dieu plaist, avant que vous parties en votre voyage. Toutesvoies je ne veul point aller en Turquie, mais je vous conduirai sur le port de Marseille.*<sup>4</sup> The duke and the pope could justifiably believe that the French king would not prevent the duke from joining the crusade.

And three days later, on 22 October, Pope Pius II issued the great crusade bull *Ezechielis* to all Christendom.<sup>5</sup>

Pius wrote in his *Commentari*:

*Pius with unshaken confidence in the aid of the Most High on October 22 in the sixth year of his pontificate called a public consistory, which was largely attended, for the ostensible purpose of answering the Burgundian envoys. He directed Gregorio Lolli to read the decree which had been issued with the advice and consent of all the cardinals, in which he dwelt on the necessity of making war against the Turks and of his going himself, the grounds for hoping for victory, the prizes for those who fought, and the punishments of the obstructionists. The decree was listened to with profound attention though its reading could*

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<sup>1</sup> Rainaldus, ad ann. 1463, nr. 41

<sup>2</sup> Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 162-176; Müller, p. 117-118

<sup>3</sup> CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, p. 836)

<sup>4</sup> Paviot: *Ducs*, pp. 165-166

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix

*barely be finished in two hours. The charm of the style, the novelty of the project, the readiness of the Pope to offer his life for his sheep drew tears from many of those present. The Burgundians thanked the Pope warmly for enabling them to take back to their master so welcome and so splendid an answer.<sup>1</sup>*

It must have been one of the grandest moments in the life of Pope Pius II. It had seemed impossible,<sup>2</sup> but he had done it: the honour of God, of the papacy, and of Pius himself was saved.

It was, however, to be his last triumph.

## 2. Themes

The main themes of the oration are:

- **The two wars in Italy fought by the pope had been imposed upon him and they had to be ended successfully before he could resume the crusade cause.**

*Being involved in a war at home, We could not also fight abroad. We must either give up Rome or defeat the French who, ignoring Our commands, had invaded the Kingdom of Sicily against all law and right and armed Our vassals in the vicinity against Us. We simply had to take up arms not to attack, but to defend. First We must have peace at home, then We could go to war against the Turks. This was Our intention, this was all We were thinking about. Defending Ferrante, We fought for Christ. Attacking the lands of Sigismondo, We were fighting the Turks. [Sect. 5]<sup>3</sup>*

- **Now that the Italian wars are finished, the pope and the cardinals are free to go on a crusade against the Turks<sup>4</sup> even if means giving their lives for their sheep**

*Two serious wars have been fought, the War of Sicily and the War of Piceno, and though some regions remain in the Kingdom [that have not yet been defeated], We believe that they cannot be a problem: Ferrante must himself take care of the small obstacles still*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, XII, 32 (Gragg, p. 835)

<sup>2</sup> Pastor, p. 232

<sup>3</sup> On Pius' Italian wars, see also "*Ingentes vobis, quirites*" [61]

<sup>4</sup> On the crusade theme in Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.

*remaining. This means that We are now free to take up arms against the Turks. We cannot and will not delay any further. Now We may fulfil Our desire; now it is right to fight for the Faith, as We always wanted to. God knows Our plans and He has finally opened the way. Often you have asked Us to do this. Now it is Us who ask you. Take care that your rebuke against Us may not be turned against yourselves. Now your faith, your religious conviction, your devotion will be revealed. If your charity is unfeigned, you will follow Us. For We shall give you an example, that as We shall do, you shall do also. We shall imitate Our Lord and teacher, Jesus Christ, the pious and holy shepherd, who did not hesitate to give His life for is sheep. We, too, will give Our life for Our flock since this is the only way we can help the Christian religion not to succumb to Turkish violence. [Sect. 13]*

- **The general scepticism in Europe towards the crusade idea is largely due to moral corruption in the church and particularly in the ecclesiastical hierarchy<sup>1</sup>**

*We summoned a congress to Mantua: with what result? We sent legates to the provinces: they were mocked and derided. We imposed tithes on the clergy: they appealed to a future council, setting a harmful example. We ordered the preaching of indulgences: people claimed it was a trap to extort money, invented by a greedy curia. Whatever We do, people interpret it in the worst sense. We are in the same situation as bankers who have lost their credit: no one trusts us. The priesthood is despised, the name of the clergy is infamous. People say that we live a life of pleasure, that we amass money, that we serve ambition, that we ride on fat mules and noble horses, that we use cloaks with trailing fringes, that we go through the City with puffed out cheeks under our red hats, clothed in billowing cowls, that we raise dogs for hunting, that we spend much on performers and parasites, and nothing on the defense of the Faith. They are not entirely wrong: many cardinals and curials do just that, and, to be honest, the luxury and splendour of our Curia is excessive. Therefore people hate us and do not listen to us even when we speak the truth. [Sect. 16]*

The criticism of the high clergy is a theme which was used by Pius already when, as a young official at the Council in Basel, he gave a sermon on Saint Ambrose, the “*Si quis me roget*” [2], to the council fathers.

- **Trust in the Roman Church and the hierarchy may only be restored through a return to the ways of the Early Church, the time of martyrs and confessors**

*What do you think we should do faced with such stubborn opposition? Should we not seek a way to recover the credibility that we have lost? Of course you ask: “What way shall we take?” Certainly not a way that has been used in our times. We must tread a path that has not been used for a long time. We should seek and use those means by which our ancestors gained this great empire of the Church for us. ... Abstinence, chastity, innocence, zeal for*

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<sup>1</sup> On the theme of church reform, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.3.

*the Faith, religious fervour, contempt of death, and eager acceptance of martyrdom put the Roman Church over the whole world, a Church that was first consecrated with the glorious martyrdom of Peter and Paul. Then followed a long series of pontiffs who, one after the other, were dragged before the tribunals of the gentiles: accusing the [pagan] gods as false and loudly proclaiming Christ as the true and only God, they died after atrocious torture and thus they tended the new plant. The followers believed that their teachers told the truth since they confirmed their teachings with their death and could not be made to deny them by torture. As true and proven shepherds they gave their lives for their sheep, imitating Jesus, their teacher and lord, the eternal and good shepherd, who was killed for His sheep on the Cross and thereby reconciled the human race with the pious Father. When the Romans had converted to Christ, the churches had been opened, and the Gospel spread everywhere, there were no more martyrs. In their place came the holy confessors who benefited the Christian peoples no less than the martyrs, by the light of their teaching and the splendour of their holy life, putting a bridle on men's vices which usually grow in times of peace. It is the martyrs and the confessors who made our Church great. It can only be saved if we imitate our predecessors who founded the realm of Church. And it is not enough to be confessors, to preach to the peoples, to castigate vice, and to extol virtues to Heaven. We must go even further back, to the martyrs who gave their lives for the testament of the Lord. There is nothing which we should not be prepared to suffer for the salvation of the flock entrusted to us, even if it means sacrificing our own lives. [Sect. 17-18]*

At this stage the pope knew that he had not long to live. Even if he did not intend, of course, to fight personally, his death during a crusade would be some form of martyrdom, which he appeared to be seeking.<sup>1</sup>

- **The pope's participation in the crusade, which would consist in praying**

*We do not, of course, go to fight in person: We are weak of body and moreover a priest who should not wield the sword. Instead, We shall imitate holy father Moses who prayed on the mountain while the Israelis were fighting the Amalekites. We shall stand on the high stern of the ship or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, which is Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our fighting soldiers. A contrite and humbled heart the Lord wilt not despise. You [cardinals] will be with Us, except the old ones among you whom we grant to stay at home. You, too, will be praying, and by your good works make God have mercy on the Christian people. [Sect. 23]*

Pius' sense of drama and powerful symbolic actions would not be denied!

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<sup>1</sup> Bisaha, p. 51

- Arrangements for the government of Rome during the pope's absence, which would essentially be the same as during the Congress of Mantua, one cardinal being in charge of spiritual affairs and another in charge of secular affairs [Sect. 24]

### 3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" was given on 23 September 1463, at a secret consistory in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience was the College of Cardinals and probably some curial officials.

The format was a papal address to the cardinals.

In the *Commentarii* the text is referred to in this way: *Pontifex ... cardinales... hoc modo alloquitur* (*The Pontiff addresses the cardinals as follows*), and the word oratio is used in a margin note in both manuscripts.

In the collection of papal orations (Chisianus and Luccensis), the text has the title: *Pii II Oratio ad Sacrum Senatum ...*

### 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration was included first in book 12, chapter 31 of Pius' *Commentarii*,<sup>2</sup> completed at the end of 1463, and somewhat later in the second version of the Collected Orations of Pius II, prepared under the auspices of the Cardinal Nephew, Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> For the second version of Collected Orations of Pius II (1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.7.



## 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

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

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 567r-574v **(R)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**  
Corsinianus 147, ff. 411v-417v **(S)**

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

The manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pius II in the version prepared for the cardinal nephew are:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 154v-160v **(G) \***
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 198v-204v **(D) \***

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was published as an individual oration, by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 168-181  
*[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]*

Some important editions and translations of the *Commentarii* are<sup>2</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

<sup>2</sup> For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography

- *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, pp. 764-775
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 2422-2454  
[With an Italian translation]

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. 817-827

### 4.3. Present edition

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

#### *Text:*

The text is based on all four manuscripts listed above with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

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. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this oration, 20 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, seventeen from the Bible and three from classical sources.

Biblical: 17

Classical: 3

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

**All: 20**

### **Biblical sources: 17**

#### Old Testament: 6

- Exodus: 1
- Daniel: 1
- Psalms: 4

#### New Testament: 11

- Matthew: 1
- John: 6
- Acts: 1
- Apocalypse: 2
- 2. Corinthians: 1

### **Classical sources: 3**

- Sallustius: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Vergilius: 2<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> De bello Catlinae

<sup>3</sup> Aeneis

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are given in this form: **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to any specific edition)

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**D** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VI. 211

**G** = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544

**R** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 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 Australis*. 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 [2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Pii II oratio ad sacrum senatum de profecione contra Turcos<sup>1</sup>

[1] {198v} Sextus<sup>2</sup> agitur annus, viri fratres, postquam beati Petri cathedram ascendimus. Quis vestrum interea defensionem fidei non multis magnisque precibus nobis commendavit? Quis non dixit bellum contra Turcum gerendum esse et omnes ecclesiae thesauros effundendos? Vestro consilio suasuque Mantuam ivimus, Christianos ut ibi reges in belli societatem accersiremus. {199r} Non successit ex sententia, non audiverunt Christiani vocem pastoris. Reversi domum perturbata omnia reperimus.

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<sup>1</sup> Title from D, G

<sup>2</sup> Pii pontificis ad cardinales ardentissima oratio multis argumentis bellum Turchos sumendum ostendens *in marg.* R, S

# Oration of Pius II to the Holy Senate concerning the expedition against the Turks

## 1. Introduction

[1] Brethren, it is now the sixth year since We ascended the Chair of Saint Peter.<sup>1</sup> Since then all of you have often and insistently commended the defense of the Faith to Us. All of you have said that it is necessary to wage war against the Turks and that all the funds<sup>2</sup> of the Church should be spent [in this cause]. On your advice and recommendation, We went to Mantua<sup>3</sup> in order to summon the Christian kings to an alliance of war. We had no success there, the Christians did not heed the voice of their shepherd.<sup>4</sup> And when We came home,<sup>5</sup> We found all in turmoil.

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<sup>1</sup> Pius II became pope in August 1458

<sup>2</sup> "thesauros"

<sup>3</sup> The Congress of Mantua, July 1459 to January 1460

<sup>4</sup> Cf. John, 10, 16

<sup>5</sup> To Rome, in October 1460

[2] Johannes Andegaviae, Renati filius, navigia quae cardinalis Avinionensis sacra pecunia contra Turcos in Rhodano comparaverat, sibi arripuerat, et instructa classe adversus Christianos in regnum Siciliae duxerat, atque Italiam, quae pace gaudebat, bello infestaverat. Misimus suppetias Ferdinando, qui rex erat a nobis constitutus, ne de regni possessione sine iudicio ejiceretur. Rem difficilem inchoavimus. Regni barones paucis demptis omnes adversus Ferdinandum rebellaverant. Magnum et<sup>1</sup> memorabile Franciae nomen haud parum in regno valebat. Accesserat Piccininus, Piccinini filius, qui a rege Ferdinando ad Francos defecerat, et tamquam *belli fulmen* terrorem provincialibus ingesserat.

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<sup>1</sup> ac D, G, R

## 2. Wars in Italy

[2] Jean d'Anjou,<sup>1</sup> the son of René,<sup>2</sup> had seized the ships built and equipped with holy funds [collected] against the Turks by the Cardinal of Avignon<sup>3</sup> in the region of the Rhone. He formed a fleet, and bringing it to the Kingdom of Sicily<sup>4</sup> he [used it] against [other] Christians, thus inflicting war upon an Italy that was at peace. We sent aid to Ferrante,<sup>5</sup> the king appointed by Us, so that he would not be deprived of the possession of the Kingdom without proper judgment. Our undertaking was difficult because almost all the barons of the Kingdom had rebelled against Ferrante and because the great and famous name of France still counted for much in the Kingdom. Piccinino,<sup>6</sup> the son of Piccinino,<sup>7</sup> deserted King Ferrante and joined the French, and arriving like *a lightning of war* he put fear into the hearts of the inhabitants of that province.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean II d'Anjou (1424-1470): Son of King René d'Anjou. As heir-apparent he was styled the Duke of Calabria

<sup>2</sup> René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence (1434-80), Count of Piedmont, Duke of Bar (1430-80), Duke of Lorraine (1431-53), King of Naples (1435-42)

<sup>3</sup> Alain (II) de Coëtivy (1407-1474): French prelate. Bishop of Avignon, Uzès, Nîmes and of Dol, titular cardinal of Santa Prassede, later cardinal-bishop of Palestrina and cardinal-bishop of Sabina. Called the Cardinal of Avignon

<sup>4</sup> At that time the former Kingdom of Sicily had been divided into a Southern Italian part, the Kingdom of Naples (usually but inappropriately called Kingdom of Sicily), ruled by King Ferrante of Aragon, and the Sicilian part, ruled by his uncle Juan II of Aragon

<sup>5</sup> Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Piccinino, Jacopo (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman. Son of Niccolò Piccinino. Captain of the troop of mercenaries called the Bracceschi, after Braccio da Montone

<sup>7</sup> Niccolò Piccinino (1386-1444): Italian condottiero and nobleman. Father of Jacopo Piccinino. Captain of the troop of mercenaries called the Bracceschi, after Braccio da Montone

[3] In agris ecclesiae familiae nobiles aut aperte cum hostibus sentiebant aut auxilia clam ministrabant, Ursinis exceptis atque Comitibus, quos aere conduximus. Sabellus intromissis Braccianis omnem Sabinam totumque Latium reddidit infestum. Columnenses in Campania saepe res novas moliti sunt. Eversus, Anguillariae comes, modo unum, modo alterum furari oppidum aggressus etiam vitae nostrae ferro ac veneno insidiatus est. Gentilis Salensis Urbem Veterem occupare temptavit, et Ficullam nobis eripuit. Rebellaverunt et nobiles in Arce Canali munitissima, quam putabant inexpugnabilem.

[4] Quid Sigismundus Malatesta? Quot nobis molestias intulit? Liberatus ab hoste, cui prorsus<sup>1</sup> erat impar, beneficio nostro pacemque consecutus Muldavium et alia oppida, quae jure pignoris tenebamus, per fraudem dolosque nobis eripuit, ad hostes defecit, Gallorum stipendia meruit, copias nostras in Piceno profligavit, omnemque late agrum populatus est. Perusini, novarum cupidi rerum, non tam nobis quam Piccinino favebant. Reatini vix in officio mansere. Romana juvenus crassari<sup>2</sup> per urbem, rapinas caedesque facere, hostemque accersire. Adversus tot tantasque difficultates nec Veneti nec Florentini, ut ex foedere tenebantur, auxilia praebuere. Dux Mutinae immemor juramenti Gallorum partes enixissime juvit. Solus {199v} Franciscus Mediolanensium princeps Ferdinando nobisque auxilio fuit.

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<sup>1</sup> penitus G

<sup>2</sup> grassari G

## 2.1. War in the Church State

[3] Except the Orsini<sup>1</sup> and the Conti whom We hired as captains, the noble families in the Church lands either supported Our enemies openly or aided them in secret. Savelli brought in the Bracceschi<sup>2</sup> and made all of Sabina and Lazio enemy territory. The Colonna in Campagna repeatedly stirred up rebellion. Count Everso of Anguillara<sup>3</sup> endeavoured to steal one city after the other, and he even plotted to kill Us with sword and poison. Gentile da Sala<sup>4</sup> tried to occupy Orvieto and robbed Us of Ficule. Also the nobles in the well fortified Rocca di Canale rebelled, believing it to be impregnable.

[4] And what about Sigismondo Malatesta?<sup>5</sup> How much did he not harm Us? Having been freed from a much stronger enemy<sup>6</sup> and obtained peace through Our own benevolent intervention,<sup>7</sup> he deceitfully and cunningly robbed us of Mondavio and other cities that We held in pledge. He defected to Our enemies, was hired by the French, overcame Our forces in Piceno, and laid waste to a large territory. The rebellious Perugians favoured Piccinino more than Us. The Reatines<sup>8</sup> hardly stayed loyal. The Roman youth rioted in the City, robbing and killing, and summoned the enemy. In so many and great difficulties, neither the Venetians nor the Florentines sent help, though they were obliged to do so by treaty.<sup>9</sup> The Duke of Modena<sup>10</sup> neglected his oath and greatly helped the French cause. Only Prince Francesco of Milan<sup>11</sup> sent help to Ferrante and Us.

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<sup>1</sup> The Orsini, the Conti, the Savelli, the Colonna, and the Anguillara were Roman baronial families, the first four with popes among their ancestors

<sup>2</sup> The Bracceschi: a troop of mercenaries founded by Braccio da Montone ca. 1406

<sup>3</sup> Everso II degli Anguillara (d. 4 September 1464) was an Italian condottiero, a member of the Anguillara family

<sup>4</sup> Gentile da Sala: Italian condottiero

<sup>5</sup> Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417-1468): Lord and Papal Vicar of Rimini and Fano (from 1432)

<sup>6</sup> King Ferrante I

<sup>7</sup> At the Congress of Mantua

<sup>8</sup> People of Rieti

<sup>9</sup> The Lega Italica of 1455

<sup>10</sup> Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

<sup>11</sup> Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, the founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

[5] Vidimus per id tempus vos ferme omnes trepidare metu, nec quisquam vestrum consilia nostra probabat. Ruituram ecclesiam arbitrabamini, nec poteratis de nobis non dura loqui, qui re Turcorum obmissa<sup>1</sup> bellum Gallicum suscepissemus Ferdinandique magis causam quam Christi defenderemus. Existimabatis ex animo nostro zelum fidei penitus decidisse, nec ullam nobis esse curam tuendae religionis. Falsa opinio fuit, male de nobis opinati estis. Non videbatis cor nostrum neque introspicere mentem poteratis. Nulli molestiores fuere quam nobis Turcorum victoriae, nullae ab illis subactae gentes, nullae urbes eversae, nullae Christianorum animae raptae sine singulari maerore nostro atque intensissimo<sup>2</sup> dolore. Ardebat animus subvenire miseris, pudebat crassari<sup>3</sup> hostes in agris fidelium neque invenire resistentes. Sed quid ageremus? Occupati bello domestico foris pugnare non poteramus. Aut Roma cedere oportebat aut Gallos vincere, qui spretis iussionibus nostris contra jus fasque Siciliae regnum invaserant vassallosque nostros in circuitu contra nos armaverant. Necessaria sumpsimus arma, quae defenderent, non quae offenderent. Pacare prius domum oportuit, deinde Turcos bello petere. Huc mens nostra, huc cogitationes omnes intentae fuerunt. Pro Christo pugnavimus, cum Ferdinandum defendimus. Turcis intulimus bellum, cum Sigismundi concussimus agros. Vidit ex alto pius atque optimus Deus animum nostrum nobisque affuit, et direxit consilia nostra. *Misit de caelo angelum suum* atque hostes conterruit et contrivit<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> omissa D; amissa G

<sup>2</sup> intentissimo D, G

<sup>3</sup> grassari G

<sup>4</sup> attrivit D, G, R [*Heck does not give the variant contrivit in S; Totaro has attrivit, not the contrivit*]



[5] During that time, We saw almost all of you trembling with fear, and none of you supported Our plans. You thought the Church would perish, and you could only speak harshly about Us for abandoning the matter of the Turks: We had undertaken a war against the French, and defended the cause of Ferrante rather than the cause of Christ. You believed Our soul had lost its zeal for the Faith and that We did not care about protecting religion. But you were wrong, and you misjudged Us. You could not look into Our heart and mind. Nothing was more hurtful to Us than the Turkish victories. Every people defeated by them, every city conquered, every Christian killed caused us great sorrow and intense pain. Our heart burnt with desire to help people in their misery. We were ashamed that the enemies could lay waste to the territories of the faithful without meeting any resistance.

But what could We do? Being involved in a war at home, We could not also fight abroad. We must either give up Rome or defeat the French who, ignoring Our commands, had invaded the Kingdom of Sicily against all law and right, and even armed Our vassals in the vicinity against Us. We simply had to take up arms not to attack, but to defend. First We must have peace at home, then We could go to war against the Turks. This was Our intention, this was all We were thinking about. Defending Ferrante,<sup>1</sup> We fought for Christ. Attacking the lands of Sigismondo,<sup>2</sup> We were fighting the Turks. From on high, the Pious and Best God saw Our heart, he helped Us and directed Our plans. *He hath sent an angel from Heaven;*<sup>3</sup> he has terrified Our enemies and destroyed them.

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<sup>1</sup> Ferrante I

<sup>2</sup> Sigismondo Malatesta

<sup>3</sup> Acts, 12, 11

[6] Sabellus omnibus exutus oppidis praeter duo prostratus ante pedes nostros veniam petiit. Tiburtini, qui et ipsi propemodum ad hostes defecere, arcis subire jugum coacti sunt. Columnenses humiliati summis precibus, ut eos ab inimicis protegeremus pro vetustate dignitateque domus obtinere. Eversus pavidus tremensque domi quiescit. Canalenses funditus deleti sunt. Gentilis quoque amisso patrimonio in exilium actus. Perusini {200r} dicto parentes effecti, Reatini nulla imperata recusant. Anconitani Martianum, quod malis artibus<sup>1</sup> a Sigismundo receperant, jubente legato ecclesiae tradiderunt. Julius Camertinus, qui unus fuerat ex conspiratoribus a Sigismundo citatis, domi contra naturam quiescens oppidum Scorticatae, quod non recto titulo invaserat, trepidus reddidit.

[7] Quid de Sigismundo sit actum, tenetis omnes. Cum Senegalliam nobis eripuisset, invasus ab exercitibus nostris fugatus profligatusque est, vixque cum paucis evasit. Muldaviium deinde vi captum, quamvis externo milite abunde munitum esset, et omnia vicariatus oppida in potestatem recepta. Transivere copiae in agrum Ariminensem, brevique Mundainum, Montemflorum, Verruchium, Sanctum Archangelum et circumjecta castella partim vi, partim deditione nostri duces obtinere. Miro fortunae afflatu, immo<sup>2</sup> vero mirabili providentia Dei atque misericordia inexpugnabilia, quae putabantur loca, et quae nec Piccininus nec Franciscus Sfortia, praeclari duces, quamvis temptassent, evincere nullo pacto valuerunt, brevi tempore capta sunt. Itum est ad Fani moenia, urbs magna et potens et in littore maris jacens, unde saepe auxilia suscepit<sup>3</sup>, obsessa tandem manus dedit. Recepta est<sup>4</sup> et Senegallia et Gradaria, quae Franciscum Sfortiam<sup>5</sup> in obsidione jacentem delusit.

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<sup>1</sup> Martianum quod malis artibus : qui malis artibus Martianum D, G, R [*Heck does not give the variant in S, and Totaro does not give the variant in R*]

<sup>2</sup> modo D, G

<sup>3</sup> cepit G

<sup>4</sup> omit. D, G

<sup>5</sup> omit. D, G

[6] When Savelli had been deprived of all his cities except two, he cast himself at Our feet and asked forgiveness. The people of Tivoli who had almost defected to the enemy were forced to accept the yoke of a fortress. When the Colonna had been brought low and begged for Our protection against their enemies, they obtained it out of consideration for the great age and dignity of their house. Everso stays peacefully at home, in fear and trembling. The da Canale were completely destroyed. Gentile lost his domains and was sent into exile. The Perugians do as they are told, and the people of Rieti obey all commands. The people of Ancona had received Martino from Sigismundo by some sordid transaction, but on the order of the [papal] legate<sup>1</sup> they gave it to the Church. Giulio da Camerino<sup>2</sup>, one of the men who had been accused of conspiring with Sigismondo, stays peacefully at home, quite unnaturally for him, and trembling with fear has given back the town of Scorticata which he had occupied illegally.

[7] As for Sigismondo<sup>3</sup> you all know what has happened. When he had taken Senigallia from Us, he was attacked by Our armies and thoroughly beaten. He was forced to flee and escaped with only a few men. Afterwards Mondavio was conquered though it was garrisoned by a large troop of hired soldiers, and all the towns of the Vicariate fell into Our power. Our troops entered the territory of Rimini, and in short order Our captains gained Mondaino, Montefiore, Verrucchio, Sant'Arcangelo and the fortified cities in the vicinity either by force or by surrender. The wondrous winds of fortune, or rather the wonderful providence and mercy of God made it possible for Us to conquer in a short time a number of places thought to be unconquerable - and which famous captains like Piccinino and Francesco Sforza had tried in vain to win. [Our army then] pushed forward to the walls of Fano, a great and strong city situated at the sea, from where Sigismondo had often received help and supplies.<sup>4</sup> It was besieged and eventually surrendered. Also Senigallia and Gradara were taken, [cities that] Francesco Sforza<sup>5</sup> had [formerly] been unable to take when he besieged them.

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<sup>1</sup> Pius' relative, Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Giulio Cesare di Varano (d. 1502)

<sup>3</sup> Sigismondo Malatesta

<sup>4</sup> Or: the sea from which Fano had often received help and supplies

<sup>5</sup> Francesco Sforza had been one of the most successful military leaders in Italy, before he became Duke of Milan. The remark serves to underscore the brilliance of the papal captains

[8] Nihil Sigismundo remansit praeter Ariminum et quaedam in Apennini montibus nivosa loca et in Etruria Cisterna. Magna Dei ultio: peste, fame, atque bello conteritur, qui paulo ante superbus per contemptum atque irrisionem interceptis episcopi Cornetani ornamentis equitem ex suis quemdam jusserat illa induere atque obequitantem per castra quasi legatum summi pontificis populo atque militiae benedicere. Sic sacrorum contemptoribus Deus retribuit. Dominicus Malatesta, cum Sigismundo fratri opem tulisset, nostrisque<sup>1</sup> conatibus adversaretur, magna parte agri mulctatus<sup>2</sup> est fuissetque Cesena rejectus, nisi resipiscens ad misericordiam nostram convolasset. Haec in agris ecclesiae gesta, extra regnum.

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<sup>1</sup> nostris D, G

<sup>2</sup> mult... *et passim* G

[8] Sigismondo has nothing left but Rimini and some snowy places in the Appennine Mountains and Cisterna in Toscana. Great was God's revenge: before, Sigismondo had been arrogant, contemptuous, and sarcastic. Once he even seized the vestments of the Bishop of Corneto and ordered one of his knights to put them on and ride through the camp blessing the people and the soldiers as if he was a papal legate. Now, he suffers plague, hunger, and war. Thus God punishes those who scorn the sacred.

Domenico Malatesta<sup>1</sup> came to the assistance of his brother Sigismondo and opposed Our efforts: he was deprived of a large part of his territory and would also have been expelled from Cesena unless he had come to his senses and begged for mercy.

This is what happened in the lands of the Church, outside the Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Domenico Malatesta Malatesti (AKA Novello Malatesta (1418–1465): Italian condottiero, brother of Sigismondo Malatesta. Lord of Cesena

<sup>2</sup> The Kingdom: The Kingdom of Naples (Sicily) is often referred to as simply the Kingdom (Il Regno), being – at the time - the only such in Italy

[9] Referamus nunc breviter, quanto nos favore<sup>1</sup> misericors Deus in ipso regno prosecutus est. Transeamus Campaniae recuperationem, cuius magna pars ad hostes {200v} defecerat, concordiam Ursi Ursini, res Calabrum, expugnationem Cossentiae, reditum marchionis Crotoniatis et Sancti Severini familiae. Ad majora veniamus. Quid Trojana victoria gloriosius, in qua omnes hostium vires in unum conjunctae infelix proelium commisere? Johannes Andegavensis, cuius auspicio res gerebantur, et Piccininus, formidatus copiarum imperator atque invictus existimatus, primarii<sup>2</sup> duces turpem arripere fugam coacti sunt. Troja deinde in potestatem venit, et Johannes Cossa regia liberalitate dimissus. Contra principem Tarentinum ductae copiae Asculum illi eripuerunt. Dux Melfiae ad Ofantum regi se dedit, et paulo post princeps ipse relictis Francis {569r} atque abjurata Piccinini societate suo regi reconciliatus est, cum quo maxima procerum caterva in gratiam rediit. Neapoleo, nostri ductor exercitus, ad compescendam Sorani ducis temeritatem profectus, Insulam, et Soram, et Arpinum, et alia pleraque magni momenti castella illi eripuit ac frenum imposuit.

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<sup>1</sup> nos favore : favore nos G

<sup>2</sup> primorumque D, G

## 2.2. War in the Kingdom of Naples

[9] We shall now briefly relate how greatly merciful God has favoured Our cause in the Kingdom itself. Let Us pass over the recovery of Campagna, the greater part of which had defected to the enemies, as well as the agreements with Orso Orsini, the affairs in Calabria, the conquest of Cosenza, and the return of the Marquis of Crotona and the Sanseverino family.

Instead We turn to the greater events. What could be more glorious than the victory at Troia where all the enemy forces had gathered for a battle which turned into a disaster for them? Jean d'Anjou, having the over-all command,<sup>1</sup> and Piccinino, a much feared general reputed to be invincible, were forced to flee in shame with their captains. Afterwards Troia was taken,<sup>2</sup> and Giovanni Cossa<sup>3</sup> was given leave to depart by the generous king who then brought his forces against the Prince of Taranto and took Ascoli Satriano from him. At Ofanto, the Duke of Melfi yielded to the king, and shortly after the prince<sup>4</sup> deserted the French, abandoned his alliance with Piccinino, and was reconciled with his king. With him a great many nobles returned to the king's grace. Our captain Napoleone<sup>5</sup> set forth to tame the reckless Duke of Sora and took Isola, Sora, and Arpino as well as many other important fortified cities from him, and put the reins on him.

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<sup>1</sup> "cujus auspicio res gerebantur"

<sup>2</sup> August 1462

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Cossa: Italian condottiero

<sup>4</sup> The Prince of Taranto

<sup>5</sup> Napoleone Orsini (ca. 1420-1480): Italian condottiero

[10] Recuperavit et agrum abbatiae sancti Germani et Pontem Corvum olim Eugenio ab Alfonso ereptum. Antonio Spinello, praecipuo Gallici nominis assertori, tantum terroris incussit, ut subito morbo correptus obierit. Nepotes ejus<sup>1</sup> in arce Vilhelmi, quam putant inexpugnabilem, ecclesiae vexilla erexerint. Duxit et adversus Ruggerottum, Celani comitem, qui Piccinini armis adjutus privatam imperio matrem in carcerem conjecerat. Huic brevi tyrannidem ademit, atque, ut Ferdinandus decreverat, comitatum nepoti nostro Antonio tradidit. Ex altera parte Alexander Sfortia ab Apulis per asperos montes in Aprutios duxit conjunctusque Matthaeo Capuano et Roberto Ursino in Caudolas Piccininumque contendit, qui apud Archas castra tenebant. Non fuit animus hostibus cum Alexandro manus conserere: mutatis castris ad munitiora montis loca migraverunt, ac misso caduceatore pacem petentes post paucos dies compositis rebus suis Ferdinando se submittere.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit. G*



[10] He also recovered the lands of the Abbey of San Germano<sup>1</sup> as well as Pontecorvo, once taken from Eugenius<sup>2</sup> by Alfonso.<sup>3</sup> He scared Antonio Spinelli, a great supporter of the French cause, so much that he died of sudden illness. His nephews hoisted the standards of the Church over the Rocca Giulielma, believed to be impregnable. He also led the army against Count Ruggerotto of Celano, who with military assistance from Piccinino had deprived his own mother of the government and thrown her into prison. Napoleone soon put an end to his usurpation and on Ferrante's order transferred the countship to Our nephew, Antonio.<sup>4</sup>

In the other direction, Alessandro Sforza<sup>5</sup> led his troops from Puglia over rugged mountains to Abruzzo. There he joined forces with Matteo da Capua<sup>6</sup> and Roberto Orsini<sup>7</sup> and moved on against the Caldora and Piccinino whose camp was at Arce. The enemies had no desire to fight Alessandro and moved their camp to better fortified positions on the mountain. Then they sent a herald to sue for peace: after a few days the matter was settled, and they submitted to Ferrante.

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<sup>1</sup> The famous Abbey of Monte Cassino

<sup>2</sup> Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini: Nephew of Pope Pius II and brother of the later Pope Pius III

<sup>5</sup> Alessandro Sforza (1409-1473): Italian condottiero. Brother of Francesco Sforza. Lord of Pesaro

<sup>6</sup> Matteo da Capua: Italian condottiero

<sup>7</sup> Roberto Orsini: Italian condottiero

[11] Duxit et Alexander adversus Aquilanos, qui omni spe auxilii destituti mox deditionem fecere, quamvis liberos et uxores commesturos se olim dixerant, priusquam Francos relinquerent, ut saepe major oris quam animi ferocitas reperitur. Ferdinandus {201r} vastata Rossani principis agrorum magna parte in planitiem Sinuessanam ingredi conatus est, quae mari, flumine, ac montibus clausa difficillimos habet aditus. Vicit omnia constans animus divino favore adjutus: munimenta disjecta sunt, et omne praesidium ad Turrim, quam vocant Balnearum, locatum magna vi repulsum. Obtenta est planities, et ager omnium ditissimus direptioni datus, atque usque ad portas Sinuessae procursum<sup>1</sup>. Consternatus tandem animo Rossani princeps, quamvis Andegavensis cum duabus equitum turmis auxilio advenisset, pacem nihilominus petiit, mulctatusque nonnullis munitissimis locis in pristinam benivolentiam receptus est. Johanni libertas data intra quindecim dies quocumque vellet extra regnum abiret. Is apud Aenariam se recepit, ibique Cathelani fidem secutus, qui suum dominum prodidit, egens maerensque latitat. Haec illi praemia sunt violatae fidei et ecclesiasticae classis in Christianos armatae.

[12] Sic Deus in suos hostes ulciscitur. Quis non haec divina opera recognoscat? Non sunt haec nostra, viri fratres. Deus, Deus est, qui Italia orditur et texit. Maximum regnum quadringentis circiter millibus passuum protensum, nusquam minus quam centum millibus latum, tot urbibus, tot munitis arcibus referctum<sup>2</sup>, tot baronibus, tanta militia plenum, cum uno anno concordii rebellione ad Francos defecisset, paucissimis aut civitatibus aut baronibus cum Ferdinando remanentibus, donante altissimo, cujus est *regna de gente in gentem transferre*, huc denique redactum est, ut omnia Ferdinandi nomine teneantur, exceptis in Aprutiis Ortona, in Apulis Manfredonia, Bestia, Sancta Severa, et Arce Luceriae et Campi Bassi comitis parvula regione<sup>3</sup>. In Calabris Manthea et si qua sunt aliis sine nomine locis. In Tyrrheno mare e regione Neapolis Castrum Ovi semidirutum ab hostibus detinetur, et non procul a Bais arx Aenariae, in qua diximus Johannem latere. Reliqua nostris et sociorum armis evicta ad officium rediere.

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<sup>1</sup> percursum G

<sup>2</sup> refertum D, G

<sup>3</sup> religione D, G

[11] Then Alessandro<sup>1</sup> led his troops towards the Aquilans who, having no hope of help, soon surrendered. Previously they had said that they would eat their own children and wives before they abandoned the French, but as is often the case their language was stronger than their fierceness. Ferrante laid waste to a large part of the Prince of Rossano's lands and sought to enter the plain of Sessa which, being closed in by sea, river, and mountains, is rather difficult of access. But perseverance aided by God's favour overcame all difficulties: the enemy's fortifications were destroyed, and the whole garrison at the Torre de' Bagni was defeated in an intense battle: the plain was occupied, and that very rich territory given over to plunder. Eventually they reached the gates of Sessa. Then, finally, the Prince of Rossano lost courage, and though Anjou came to his assistance with two horse companies, the prince sued for peace. Having been fined to hand over several well-fortified places, he regained the king's grace. Jean was given the freedom to go, within 15 days, wherever he wanted to outside the Kingdom. He went to Ischia where he is staying now, sorrowful and destitute, trusting the loyalty of a Catalan who betrayed his own lord.<sup>2</sup> This was the result of breaking faith and arming the Church's fleet against other Christians.

[12] This is how God avenges himself on his enemies. Who does not see that all this is God's doing and not Ours, my brethren? God it is, God it is who directs and protects Italy. The great Kingdom<sup>3</sup> is about 400.000 passus long and nowhere less than 100.000 passus broad. It contains many cities, many fortresses, many baronies, and it is full of soldiers. In the course of one year it entered a state of general rebellion and defected to the French. Only few cities and barons remained loyal to Ferrante. But with the help of the Lord who *transfers kingdoms from people to people*,<sup>4</sup> the point has now been reached where all is held in Ferrante's name except Ortona in Abruzzo, in Puglia, Manfredonia, Vieste, San Severo, and the fortress in Lucera, and the small region of the Count of Campobasso, in Calabria, Mantea and possibly some other places without name. In the region of Naples on the Tyrrhenian Sea the enemy holds the half-destroyed Castel dell'Ovo, and not far from Baia the fortress of Ischia where - as We have said - Jean<sup>5</sup> is hiding. The other territories have been defeated by Our weapons and those of Our allies and have returned to their lawful allegiance.

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<sup>1</sup> Alessandro Sforza

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Ferrante, of the Catalan dynasty (of Aragon)

<sup>3</sup> Kingdom of Naples

<sup>4</sup> Daniel, 2, 21: *transfert regna, atque constituit*; Psalms, 104, 13

<sup>5</sup> Jean d'Anjou

[13] Quorsum haec, quaeritis, tam longa narratio? Nempe ut intelligatis beneficia magni dei, quibus et<sup>1</sup> Romanam Ecclesiam et vos nosque cumulavit, {201v} ut cogitetis una nobiscum vicem rependere atque habere gratias largitori. Peracta sunt duo gravissima bella, Siculum ac Picense, et quamvis reliquiae in Regno nonnullae remanserint, satis est quod nostris cogitationibus impedimento esse non possunt. Ipse per se Ferdinandus minuta haec, quae restant, evellere offendicula sufficit. Nobis iam liberum est adversus Turcos arma capessere. Non possumus amplius nec volumus differre. Nunc desiderium nostrum implere licet. Nunc pro fide pugnare fas est, quod semper optavimus. Novit deus cogitationes nostras hisque viam iam tandem expeditam reddidit. Rogastis nos saepius, ut hoc<sup>2</sup> ipsum ageremus. Nunc vos rogabimus. Cavete, ne quod in nobis reprehendistis, increpare possimus in vobis. Nunc vestra fides, vestra religio, vestra devotio in lucem veniet. Si vera erit, *non ficta caritas* vestra, nos sequemini. *Exemplum* dabimus vobis ut, *quemadmodum* nos ipsi facturi sumus, *ita et vos faciatis*. Nos autem magistrum et dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, pium et sanctum *pastorem*, imitabimur, qui *pro suis ovibus animam ponere* non dubitavit. Ponemus et nos vitam nostram pro grege nostro, quando aliter Christianae religioni, ne Turcorum viribus conculcetur, subvenire non possumus.

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<sup>1</sup> omit. G

<sup>2</sup> id D, G

## 3. Crusade

### 3.1. Pope's plan for the crusade

[13] What is the purpose of this long narration?, you ask. It is that you may understand the favours our great God has shown the Roman Church and you and Us, so that together we may consider what to do in return, and how we should thank the giver. Two very serious wars have been fought, the War of Sicily and the War of Piceno, and though some regions remain in the Kingdom [that have not yet been defeated], they cannot hinder Our plans: Ferrante must himself take care of the obstacles still remaining. This means that We are now free to take up arms against the Turks. We cannot and will not delay any further. Now We may fulfil Our desire. Now it is right to fight for the Faith, as We always wanted to. God knows Our plans, and He has finally opened the way. Often you have asked Us to do this. Now We will ask you! Take care that your rebuke against Us may not be turned against yourselves. Now your faith, your religious conviction, your devotion will be revealed. If your *charity is unfeigned*<sup>1</sup> and true, you will follow Us. *For We shall give you an example, that as We shall do, you shall do also.*<sup>2</sup> We shall imitate Our Lord and teacher, Jesus Christ, the pious and holy *shepherd*, who did not hesitate to *give his life for his sheep*.<sup>3</sup> Let us, too, give Our life for Our flock since this is the only way we can help the Christian religion not to succumb to Turkish violence.

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<sup>1</sup> 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

<sup>2</sup> John, 13, 15: *Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis*

<sup>3</sup> John, 10, 11; 1. John, 3, 16

[14] Armabimus classem quantam pro facultatibus<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae instruere poterimus. Ascendemus navem, quamvis senes<sup>2</sup> morbisque conquassati. Dabimus vela ventis atque in Graeciam et Asiam navigabimus. Et: "Quid ages," dicet quispiam "in bello, senex sacerdos? Mille morbis oppressus, et in proelium ibis? Quid togata valebit in pugna cohors? Quid sacer ordo cardinalium praestabit in castris? Vix tympana tubasque ferent, ne dicam bombardas hostium. In deliciis egere iuventam, et tu senium macerabis armis? Inconsulte agis. Melius domi cum cardinalibus atque omni curia remanebis. Classem vero argento paratam fortique et *assueto malis* milite instructam mittes in hostem aut Hungaris aurum suggeres, qui copias quam validissimas in Turcos agant."

[15] Pulchre dictum et utile, si adsit aurum. Sed unde id corrademus? Aerarium nostrum diutino bello exhaustum est, nec proventus Ecclesiae ii<sup>3</sup> sunt<sup>4</sup>, qui {202r} tantae rei sufficiant, quamvis divino munere aluminis vena reperta est, quae magis ac magis divinae pietati nos obligat et ad tuendam religionem invitat. Omnis pecuniarum summa, quae singulis annis ad cameram nostram pervenire potest, trecenta millia auri nummum haudquaquam ascendit. Mediam partem custodes arcium et praefecti provinciarum et belli duces et aulici nostri consumunt, neque his sumptibus carere apostolatus potest. Quis reliquum ad debellandos Turcos sufficere dixerit? Intelligitis pro vestra prudentia<sup>5</sup> longe majori pecunia opus esse. Vix decies centena millia in annum sufficiant Turconico bello, quod triennale aut certe longius futurum in Mantua viri docti iudicavere.

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<sup>1</sup> facultate G

<sup>2</sup> senes *corr.* ex senex D; senex G

<sup>3</sup> hi D, G

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>5</sup> providentia D, G

### 3.2. Pope's personal participation in the crusade

[14] We shall arm as large a fleet as the Church has the means to. And though We are old and burdened with illness, We shall take ship, raise the sails, and travel to Greece and Asia. Someone may say: "And what would you do in the war, old priest? You are suffering a thousand ills, and now you will go to war? What can the togate crowd<sup>1</sup> contribute to the war? What can the sacred order of cardinals do in the army? They can barely endure the trumpets and the horns, not to say the enemies' canons. They have spent their youth in pleasant occupations, and now you will burden their old age with arms? You are acting foolishly. You better stay at home with the cardinals and the whole Curia. Use instead the money to prepare a fleet with a troop of strong soldiers, *used to hardships*,<sup>2</sup> and send it against the enemy, or you could give the money to the Hungarians to send a strong force against the Turks."

### 3.3. Problems of financing the crusade

[15] That is well and reasonably said, if only there was any money. But where shall We get the money? Our treasury has been exhausted by the long war, and the incomes of the Church are not sufficient for so great a venture, even if the alun vein has been found – by God's grace - which puts us in great debt towards merciful God and urges Us to protect religion. The total sum of money that can reach Our chamber barely amounts to 300.000 ducats per year. Half of it is spent on the commanders of fortresses, the governors of provinces, the captains of war, and our courtiers, and these expenses are necessary to maintain the papal administration.<sup>3</sup> Who will claim that the rest<sup>4</sup> would suffice for making war on the Turks? You are wise enough to know that much more money is needed. At least a million per year will be needed for a Turkish war which according to the specialists in Mantua<sup>5</sup> might well last three years or more.

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<sup>1</sup> Classical expression designating people in togas as opposed to people in military uniforms, i.e. civilians

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.630

<sup>3</sup> "apostolatus"

<sup>4</sup> I.e. about 150.000 ducats a year

<sup>5</sup> At the Congress of Mantua. Among the specialists were Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan

[16] Audimus insusurrations vestras: “Si adeo difficile bellum censes, qua spe pergis non apparatis viribus quae sufficiant?” Istuc venimus. Bellum necessarium cum Turcis imminet. Nisi sumimus arma atque occurrimus hosti, actum de religione censemus. Tales inter Turcos erimus, qualem<sup>1</sup> inter Christianos Judaeorum despectam cernimus gentem. Nisi bellum sumimus, infames sumus. At bellum sine pecunia geri non potest. Quaerere occurrit hoc loco: ubi pecuniam perquiremus? “A fidelibus Christianis,” respondebitis. Urgemus amplius: Quo pacto? Quonam modo? Omnes temptatae viae sunt, nulla voto respondit. Indiximus Mantuae conventum: quis inde fructus emerit? Misimus in provincias legatos: sprete atque irrisi fuere. Imposuimus clero decimas: appellatum est pernicioso exemplo ad futurum concilium. Jussimus indulgentias praedicari<sup>2</sup>: aucupium id esse ad extorquendas pecunias dixere et inventum curialis avaritiae. Omnia quaecunque agimus in partem deteriore populus accipit. Ea conditio nostra est quae mensariorum perdita<sup>3</sup> fide: nihil creditur nobis. Despectui sacerdotum est, et infame nomen cleri. Aiunt nos in deliciis agere, cumulare pecunias, ambitioni servire, mulabus insedere pinguioribus ac nobilioribus equis, extendere fimbrias paludamentorum, et inflatis buccis sub rubenti pilleo et ampliori cucullo per urbem vadere, canes ad venandum {202v} alere, histrionibus et parasitis multa largiri, in defensionem fidei nihil. Nec omnino mentiuntur: sunt plerique inter cardinales et reliquos curiales, qui haec agunt et, si verum fateri volumus, nimius est curiae nostrae vel luxus vel fastus. Hinc odiosi populo sumus adeo, ut nec vera dicentes audiamur.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.* Heck; quales D, G, R, S

<sup>2</sup> praedicare G

<sup>3</sup> prodita D, G



### 3.4. General scepticism concerning the crusade

[16] We hear you whispering: “If you believe that the war is so difficult, what can you hope for if you press on out without sufficient troops?” We are coming to that now. An unavoidable war with the Turks is threatening. Unless We take arms and go to meet the enemy, We believe that our religion is finished. We [Christians] shall be living among the Turks like we see Jews living among the Christians [today], as a despised people. Unless we go to war, we shall become despised too. But one cannot make war without money, so now the question must be asked: from where do we get the money? “From the faithful Christians,” you answer. We insist: “How? in what way?” All methods have been tried, but none of them work. We summoned a congress to Mantua: With what result? We sent legates to the provinces: they were mocked and derided. We imposed tithes on the clergy: they appealed to a future council, setting a harmful example. We ordered the preaching of indulgences: people claimed it was a trap to extort money, invented by a greedy curia. Whatever We do, people interpret it in the worst sense. We are in the same situation as bankers who have lost their credit: no one trusts us. The priesthood is despised, the name of the clergy is infamous. People say that we live a life of pleasure, that we amass money, that we serve ambition, that we ride on fat mules and noble horses, that we use cloaks with trailing fringes, that we go through the City with puffed out cheeks under our red hats, clothed in billowing cowls, that we raise dogs for hunting, that we spend much on performers and parasites, and nothing on the defense of the Faith. They are not entirely wrong: many cardinals and curials do just that,<sup>1</sup> and, to be honest, the luxury and splendour of our Curia is excessive. Therefore people hate us and do not listen to us even when we speak the truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Pastor, II, pp. 226, saw in these remarks a barely veiled criticism of the young cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, whom Pius had previously criticized for his living, but Dall’Oco, pp. 508-509, considers that the pope is here stigmatizing the moral corruption of the clergy in general

[17] Quid agendum in tanta contumacia censetis? An non quaerenda via est, qua perditam fidem recuperemus? Utique dicitis: “Et quae via huc nos ducet?” Nulla certe nostris temporibus usitata: ad insueta jam pridem itinera transeundum. Quaerendum est, quibus artibus maiores nostri hoc nobis imperium ecclesiae latissimum pepererunt atque illis utendum. Principatus enim *facile* his modis *retinetur, quibus ab initio<sup>1</sup> partus est*. Abstinencia, castitas, innocentia, zelus fidei, religionis fervor, contemptus mortis martyriique<sup>2</sup> cupido Romanam ecclesiam toti orbi praefecerunt. Primi Petrus et Paulus inclyto martyrio dicaverunt. Secuti deinde pontifices alter post alterum longa serie ad gentilium tribunalia rapti, dum falsos deos accusant Christumque verum et singularem deum manifesta voce fatentur, exquisitis suppliciis mortem obiere eoque pacto *novellae plantationi* consuluerunt. Credidere discipuli magistros vera locutos, qui suam doctrinam morte<sup>3</sup> firmassent nec ullis potuerint<sup>4</sup> ab ea tormentis avelli, veri et probati pastores, *qui pro gregibus suis animam posuerunt*, magistrum et dominum imitati Jesum, aeternum et optimum *pastorem, qui pro suis ovibus* in ara crucis occisus humanum genus pio patri *reconciliavit*.

[18] Conversis deinde ad Christum Romanis, apertis ecclesiis, et evangelio passim disseminato cessavere martyria, et sancti confessores introiere, qui doctrinae lumine sanctiorisque vitae fulgore non minus Christianis plebibus profuerunt<sup>5</sup> quam martyres, vitiis hominum frena ponentes, quae solent in pace latius evagari. Ab his et ab illis<sup>6</sup> ecclesia nostra magna effecta est. Servari non potest, nisi praedecessores nostros imitemur, qui regnum ecclesiae condidere. Nec satis est confessores esse<sup>7</sup>, praedicare populis, fulminare vitia, virtutes in caelum tollere: ad priores {203r} illos accedendum est, qui pro testamento domini sua corpora tradiderunt. Nihil est, quod pro salute gregis nobis commissi perpeti non debeamus, etiam si *anima ponenda* sit.

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<sup>1</sup> ab initio : a principio G

<sup>2</sup> martyrii G

<sup>3</sup> suam doctrinam morte : sua doctrina mortem S [*Totaro has suam doctrinam morte!*]

<sup>4</sup> potuerunt D, G

<sup>5</sup> profuerunt D, G

<sup>6</sup> ab illis : aliis D, G

<sup>7</sup> omit. D, G

### 3.5. Return to the ways of the Early Church

[17] What do you think we should do faced with such stubborn opposition? Should we not seek a way to recover the credibility that we have lost? Of course you ask: "What way shall we take?" Certainly not a way that has been used in our times. We must tread a path that has not been used for a long time. We should seek and use those means by which our ancestors gained this great empire of the Church for us. For *sovereignty is easily preserved by those practices which brought it into being in the first place.*<sup>1</sup> Abstinence, chastity, innocence, zeal for the Faith, religious fervour, contempt of death, and eager acceptance of martyrdom set the Roman Church above the whole world, a Church that was first consecrated with the glorious martyrdom of Peter and Paul. Then followed a long series of pontiffs who, one after the other, were dragged before the tribunals of the gentiles: accusing the [pagan] gods as false and loudly proclaiming Christ as the true and only God, they died after atrocious torture and thus they tended *the new plant.*<sup>2</sup> The followers believed that their teachers told the truth since they confirmed their teachings with their death and could not be made to deny them by torture. As true and proven *shepherds they gave their lives for their sheep,*<sup>3</sup> imitating Jesus, their teacher and lord, the eternal and good *shepherd, who was killed for His sheep*<sup>4</sup> on the altar of the Cross and thereby reconciled the human race with the pious Father.

[18] When the Romans had converted to Christ, the churches had been opened, and the Gospel spread everywhere, there were no more martyrs. In their place came the holy confessors who benefited the Christian peoples no less than the martyrs, by the light of their teaching and the splendour of their holy life, putting a bridle on men's vices which usually grow in times of peace. It is the martyrs and the confessors who made our Church great. It can only be saved if we imitate our predecessors who founded the realm of Church.<sup>5</sup> And it is not enough to be confessors, to preach to the peoples, to castigate vice, and to extol virtues to Heaven. We must go even further back, to the martyrs who gave their lives for the testament of the Lord. There is nothing which we should not be prepared to suffer for the salvation of the flock entrusted to us, even if it means *sacrificing our own lives.*<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 2.4-5: *imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est*

<sup>2</sup> Psalms, 143, 12

<sup>3</sup> John, 10, 11

<sup>4</sup> John, 3, 16

<sup>5</sup> Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 136, has this comment: *Immer öfter stilisierte der leidende Papst im im letzten Pontifikatsjahr die Selbstentäußerung, seine Hinfälligkeit ... Martyrium und Triumph; zugleich beschwor er die Schlichtheit, Askese und die religiöse Glut des Urchristentums, die Kirche und die Papsttum einst gross gemacht hätten; ein Gedanke der auch als Reflex auf die aktuelle Kurienkritik und als Reformimpuls zu verstehen ist*

<sup>6</sup> John, 10, 11

[19] Turci modo istam, modo illam Christianorum provinciam vastant. Bosnia hoc anno capta est, et rex gentis obruncatus. Trepidant Hungari, trepidant vicini omnes. Quid agemus?<sup>1</sup> Armatas illi copias mittemus obviam? Non est aurum, unde parentur. Quid ergo? Reges hortabimur, illi occurrant atque hostes e nostris finibus propulsent? At hoc frustra temptatum est. Non belle dicitur: "Ite!" Fortasse melius audient: "Venite!" Hoc temptare libet. Stat sententia in bellum contra Turcos pergere Christianosque principes, ut nos sequantur, facto simul et verbis invitare. Fortasse cum<sup>2</sup> viderint magistrum et patrem suum, Romanum pontificem, Jesu Christi vicarium, senem et aegrotum in bella vadentem, pudebit eos manere domi: arma capient defensionemque sacrae religionis fortibus animis amplectentur. Haec nisi via Christianos in bellum excitat, nescimus aliam. Hanc ingredi placet. Scimus rem senio nostro pergravem esse nosque ad certam quodammodo mortem profecturos. Neque hanc recusamus. Cuncta deo committimus. *Fiat voluntas eius*. Moriendum nobis aliquando est, neque interest quo in loco, dum bene moriamur. *Beati, qui moriuntur in obsequio domini*. Mors bona malam vitam redimit. Nobiscum bene actum putabimus, si Deo placuerit in ejus servitio nostros finire dies. Vos, qui tantopere nos adhortati estis in Turcos movere bellum, domi in otio remanere non decet: oportet membra suo coaptari capiti et illud *sequi, quocumque ierit*.

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<sup>1</sup> faciemus G

<sup>2</sup> cum *corr.* ex non S

### 3.6. Drawing the princes to the crusade by papal example

[19] The Turks are laying waste to one Christian province after another. This year they have conquered Bosnia and killed the king of that people. The Hungarians are trembling, indeed all the neighbouring peoples are trembling. What shall we do? Shall we send armed troops? We do not have the money to hire them. What then? Shall we exhort the kings to meet the enemies and drive them from our lands? That has already be tried, but in vain. So, it is not enough to say: Go! But maybe they will heed us if we say: Come! This we may try. We have therefore decided to go to war against the Turks and to urge the Christian princes, in words and deeds, to follow Us. When they see their teacher and father, the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, going to war, old and sick as he is, then maybe they will be ashamed to stay at home, then maybe they will, with brave hearts, take arms to defend holy religion. If We cannot rouse the Christians to war in this way, We do not know of any other. So this is the way We have decided on. We know that Our old age makes it perilous and that We shall be going to certain death. We do not refuse it; We entrust everything to God. May his *will be done*.<sup>1</sup> We must die sometime, but the important thing is not where We die, but only that We die well. *Blessed are those who die in service to the Lord*.<sup>2</sup> A good death redeems a bad life. We shall consider it a good end if it pleases God to let Us end Our days in his service. And you who have urged Us to make war on the Turks should not stay at home in peace, but like members [of a body] do as the head and *follow whithersoever he goeth*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 6, 10 and elsewhere

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Apoc, 14, 13

<sup>3</sup> Apocalypse, 14, 4: *These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*

[20] Quod agimus necessitatis est: promissa est profectio nostra Philippo Burgundie duci. Votum is voverat profecturum se contra Turcos in bellum, si aut imperator aut rex Franciae aut alius princeps, quem se sequi non dedeceret, idem agere proponeret. Intelligebamus quanti momenti esset profectio Philippi, quem magna pars Occidentis sequitur. Cupiebamus hunc<sup>1</sup> iter incipere atque, ut aiunt, glaciem perfringere primum haud dubitantes, quin eum maxima nobilium ac procerum {203v} multitudo sectaretur. Verum neque imperator, neque rex Franciae, neque princeps alius eo superior in Turcos proferre arma apposuit animum<sup>2</sup>. Solutum se voto Philippus existimabat, cujus non esset impleta conditio. Venit in mentem excusationem hanc ei surripere vocatisque sex cardinalibus, quorum fides ac taciturnitas spectata nobis erat, anno ab hinc fere secundo propositum nostrum aperuimus. Obstupuere ad primum sermonem cardinales, rem maximam et superioribus inauditam temporibus probare non poterant. At postquam saepe consultatum<sup>3</sup> est, et hinc pericula fidei, inde Romanae ecclesiae<sup>4</sup> detrimenta aequis lancibus ponderata sunt, in sententiam nostram omnes concessere.

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<sup>1</sup> hoc D, G

<sup>2</sup> apposuit animum : animum apposuit G

<sup>3</sup> consultum *corr. ex* consulatum D; consultum G

<sup>4</sup> Romanae ecclesiae : ecclesiae Romanae G

### 3.7. Promises of Venice and the Duke of Burgundy

[20] We are only doing what is necessary: Our departure has been promised to Duke Philippe of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> He had vowed to set out against the Turks if either the emperor or the King of France or another prince whom it would not be shameful for him to follow decided to do the same. We understood how important was the departure of Philippe whom a great part of the West follows. We desired him to start and to break the ice, so to say, convinced that a great host of nobles and magnates would follow him. But neither the emperor nor the King of France nor any other prince superior to the duke has decided to go to war against the Turks. Since his condition was not fulfilled, Philippe was considering himself freed from his vow. But then it occurred to Us how to deprive him of this excuse. Almost two years ago,<sup>2</sup> We summoned six cardinals whose loyalty and discretion We could count on and told them of Our intentions.<sup>3</sup> First, the cardinals were stupefied at Our words and could not support a venture of such magnitude, unheard of in former times. But after frequent consultations in which the dangers threatening the Faith versus the possible harm to the Roman Church were fairly considered all finally agreed to Our plan.

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<sup>1</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of March 1462, i.e. a year and a half before

<sup>3</sup> See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64]

[21] Scripsimus itaque senatui Veneto propositum nostrum indicto silentio, ejusque principis consilium et auxilium postulavimus<sup>1</sup>. Placere Venetis meditata nostra atque auxilium promiserunt, summaque fide silentium servavere<sup>2</sup>. Episcopum deinde Ferrariensem ad Ludovicum regem Franciae misimus, qui veluti somnia dicta nostra contempsit, ratus idcirco talia nos effinxisse, ut ejus animum a rebus Italicis averteremus, quamvis majora ejus fuere somnia, qui se uno anno victurum Angliam atque Hispanicas contentiones pacaturum jactitavit, deinde per Italiam domitis Genuensibus subactoque Siciliae regno facile in Graeciam trajecturum, omnes barbaras nationes edomiturum. Sprevit Ferrariensis gloriabundum regem et ad Philippum, ut erat jussus, recta se contulit, ad quem cum venisset lectulo cubantem atque inter cetera dixisset necessarium ei esse<sup>3</sup> contra Turcos arma sumere votoque satisfacere, nam et nos ipsi in eam expeditionem profecturi essemus, qui regis et sacerdotis locum teneremus, "Probe ades," inquit, "episcope, nam hoc mihi nuntio sanitatem affers. Faciam, quae jubet pontifex, euntem sequar, brevi ad eum legatos de tota re transigenda missurus." Ecce adsunt legati, audivistis eorum postulata, defensionem fidei nobis suadent atque in Turcos bellum. Promissa Ferrariensis exigunt, venturum principem dicunt, {204r} si nos pergimus, si minus, domi mansurum. Quid aimus? Promissa duci et Venetis profectio sine dedecore summaque turpitudine negari non potest; non est integra res, ire oportet.

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<sup>1</sup> postulantes D, G

<sup>2</sup> servare D, G

<sup>3</sup> ei esse : est ei G



[21] We therefore wrote<sup>1</sup> to the Venetian Senate of Our intentions, asking for the doge's advice and support – and demanding complete silence on the matter. The Venetians approved of Our plans and promised to help, and they loyally kept strict silence. Then We sent the Bishop of Ferrara<sup>2</sup> to King Louis of France,<sup>3</sup> but he rejected Our words as pretenses and claimed that it was all a scheme devised by Us to turn his attention away from the affairs of Italy.<sup>4</sup> Actually, his own phantasms were greater for he boasted that in one year he would defeat England and settle the conflicts with Spain, then he would pass through Italy, subdue the Genoese, subjugate the Kingdom of Sicily, and then easily cross over to Greece, and tame all the barbarous nations. Ferrara turned from the braggart king in contempt and went directly to Philippe, as he had been instructed to. When he arrived, he told the bedridden Philippe, among other things, that he had to go to war against the Turks and fulfil his vow since We Ourselves, who hold the place of both king and priest, would set out on this crusade. Philippe replied: "Its is good that you have come, bishop, for with this message you make me well again. I shall do as the pontiff commands and follow him when he sets out. Very shortly, I shall send my legates to deal with this whole matter." Now, the legates have arrived. You have heard their requests. They urge Us to undertake the defense of the Faith and the war against the Turks. They require the fulfilment of the promises made by Ferrara.<sup>5</sup> They declare that their prince will come if We set out, but if not, he will stay at home. What do We say to this? We cannot without shame and great indecency go back on Our promises to the Duke and the Venetians. The matter is unfinished. We simply must go.

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<sup>1</sup> On 8 March 1462

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Roverella (d. 1474): Bishop of Ferrara from 1460

<sup>3</sup> Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Louis XI wanted the pope to give up his support of King Ferrante of Aragon as King of Naples and instead support the Angevins who had formerly ruled that Kingdom

<sup>5</sup> The Bishop of Ferrara

[22] Periculosum iter ingredimur, non negamus, nobis scilicet, qui senes et valetudinarii sumus; ceteris non item, quando spes magna victoriae consequendae oblata est. Neque enim soli in hostem pergimus. Venetorum valida classis et maris domina nos comitabitur. Aderunt et alii potentatus Italiae. Dux Burgundiae occidentem attrahet secum. A septentrione urgebit Hungarus et Sarmata. Rebellabunt per Graeciam Christiani atque in castra nostra procurrent. Albani, Servi, Epirotae libertatis tempus advenisse gaudebunt, et partes nostras adjuvabunt. Nec deerunt in Asia motus Caramanni, et Jansae, et aliorum, qui Ottomannos oderunt. Adsit tantum divinus favor ad victoriam; cetera succurrunt.

[23] Nec nos pugnaturi pergimus corpore debiles et sacerdotio fungentes, cujus non est proprium versare ferrum. Moysen illum sanctum patrem imitabimur, qui pugnante adversus Amalechitas Israele orabat in monte. *Stabimus in alta puppe* aut in aliquo montis supercilio habentesque ante oculos divinam eucharistiam, id est dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Ab eo salutem et victoriam pugnantibus nostris militibus implorabimus. *Cor contritum et humiliatum non despiciet dominus*<sup>1</sup>. Eritis et vos nobiscum exceptis senibus, quibus, ut remaneant, ignoscimus; orabitisque pariter et operibus bonis Christiano populo divinitatem reddetis propitiam.

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<sup>1</sup> Deus noster G

### 3.8. Participation of other powers

[22] We do not deny that personally We are setting out on a perilous journey since We are old and sick, but it will not be perilous to others since there is great hope of victory. And We do not go against the enemy alone, for a strong Venetian fleet, master of the sea, will join Us. So will other Italian powers. The Duke of Burgundy will draw the West with him. From the North the Hungarians and the Sarmatians will press forward. The Christians will rebel throughout Greece and flock to our camps. The Albanians, the Serbians, and the Epirotes will rejoice that the day of liberty has arrived and support our cause. And in Asia the Caramanni, the Jansae, and the others who hate the Ottomans will rise. If only God favours our victory, all the rest will follow.

### 3.9. Pope's role

[23] We do not, of course, go to fight in person: We are weak of body and moreover a priest who should not wield the sword. Instead, We shall imitate holy father Moses who prayed on the mountain while the Israelis were fighting the Amalekites.<sup>1</sup> We shall *stand on the high stern* of the ship<sup>2</sup> or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our fighting soldiers.<sup>3</sup> *A contrite and humbled heart the Lord wilt not despise.*<sup>4</sup> You will be with Us, except the old ones among you whom we grant to stay at home: you,<sup>5</sup> too, will be praying, and by your good works make God have mercy on the Christian people.

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<sup>1</sup> Exodus, 17, 8-13

<sup>2</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10.261 etc.: *stans celsa in puppi*

<sup>3</sup> Pius' sense of drama does not deny itself! Chambers, p. 56-57, has the following, flippant, comment: *Fortunately Pius did not have to put this to the test (what if there had been no convenient mountain near the scene of battle to which he could retire, or what if his physical weakness prevented him from keeping his arms up, the detail about Moses' participation which he does not mention?)*. In fairness to Pius, Moses actually sat on a stone and had support from Aaron and Hur (*And Moses' hands were heavy: so they took a stone, and put under him, and he sat on it: and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands on both sides*, see Exodus, 17, 12). A couple of young cardinals supporting the frail pope's arms would indeed perfect the dramatic image of the praying pope. Moreover, what Pius actually says is that: *We shall stand on the high stern of the ship* [not quoted by Chambers] *or in some elevated position on a mountain, having before Our eyes the Holy Eucharist, which is Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Him We shall beseech to grant succes and victory to our soldiers*. So, primarily, he would be standing on the high stern of the ship. That scene is actually depicted on a golden coin minted in connection with the pope's departure for Ancona the next year, cf. the Introduction to the oration "*Suscepturi*" [75]

<sup>4</sup> Psalms, 50, 19

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the old cardinals remaining in Rome

[24] Cogitatis dum ista dicimus: "Quod erit interea Romanae regimen ecclesiae? Recusabunt ultramontani ultra mare te sequi, nec in absentia tua satis tutum erit ecclesiae patrimonium." Istuc pergimus. Omnia provisum sunt. Audite: Romanam curiam et omnia eius officia et duos pariter legatos ex ordine vestro apud urbem relinuemus: alter spiritualibus negotiis praeerit, temporalibus alter. Invenient omnes, quod quaerent, non iniqua petentes. Majores tantum causae et perdifficiles et rariae ad nos deferentur. Vicarius noster justitiam temperabit, beneficia conferet, viduatis providebit ecclesiis, {204v} succurret egentibus, dispensabit, gratias elargietur pro dignitate et meritis personarum. Alter subditis ecclesiae jus dicet et propulsabit hostem, praesidio militum fultus<sup>1</sup>, quorum ductor erit Antonius, nepos noster; huic equitum tria millia, peditum duo millia relinuemus, quorum pars apud Picenses manebit. Hoc pacto, quantum humana possumus ratione prospicere, in tuto dimittemus omnia. Sed nihil est, in quo magis speremus quam *in adiutorio altissimi; nisi enim dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat, qui custodit eam*. Pro deo nostro propriam sedem et Romanam ecclesiam relinquimus, et hanc canitiem atque hoc debile corpus suae pietati devovemus. Non erit immemor nostri. Si non dabit redditum, dabit in coelum aditum, et primam sedem sponsamque suam conservabit<sup>2</sup> indemnem. Audistis propositi nostri seriem. Vos nunc vicissim animi vestri sententias promite.

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<sup>1</sup> fulctus S

<sup>2</sup> servabit G

### 3.10. Arrangements for the government of the Church

[24] As We speak, you are thinking: “How will the Roman Church be governed in the meantime? Those from beyond the mountains<sup>1</sup> will refuse to follow you across the sea<sup>2</sup>, and in your absence the Patrimony of the Church<sup>3</sup> will not be safe.” We are coming to that. All has been taken care of: hear how. We shall leave the Roman Curia and all its offices together with two legates from your order in the City. One legate will be in charge of the spiritual matters and the other of the temporal. All whose requests are just will get what they seek. Only the very important, difficult, and rare cases will be forwarded to Us. Our vicar will administer justice, confer benefices, provide for the vacant sees, assist the needy, issue dispensations, and bestow graces according to the rank and merits of the persons concerned. The other one will administer justice to the subjects of the Church and repel enemies. He will dispose of a company of soldiers commanded by Antonio, Our nephew,<sup>4</sup> whom We shall leave 3.000 horse and 2.000 infantry. A part of that company will be placed in the Piceno. In this way We shall leave everything safe – at least as far as human reason can foresee. But most of all We trust *in the protection of God on high*;<sup>5</sup> *Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it.*<sup>6</sup> It is in our God’s cause that We leave Our own see and the Roman Church, and We dedicate Our white hair and weak body to merciful God. He will not forget Us. If he does not grant Us to return, he will grant Us entrance to Heaven and preserve the First See and His bride unharmed. You have heard Our plan. Now its is your turn to give your opinions.

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<sup>1</sup> The nations north of the Alps

<sup>2</sup> The European land army was supposed to march through Hungary and the Balkans, not to go by sea

<sup>3</sup> The Church States

<sup>4</sup> Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini

<sup>5</sup> Psalms, 90, 1

<sup>6</sup> Psalms, 126, 1

## Appendix: Papal bull *Ezechielis prophetae*

The papal bull “*Ezechielis prophetae*” was issued on 22 October, right after the conclusion of a crusade alliance between the Apostolic See, Burgundy and Venice. It formally launched a papal crusade against the Turks, to begin in the course of the next year 1464.

### Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

The bull is extant in a considerable number of manuscripts, among them:

- Brno / Moravska Zemska Knihovna / Dietrichstein cod. II, 123, ff. 75r-93v
- München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 15183, ff. 135v-139r
- Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Latin 4314, ff. 74r-95r
- Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Latin 5565A, ff. 101r-129v \*\*
- Roma / Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / 491, ff. 207r-222v
- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 5667, ff. 62r-77r
- Saint-Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 374, ff. 67r-74v \*\*
- Saint-Omer / Bibliothèque Municipale / 746/1, ff. 42v-53v \*\*
- Utrecht / Universiteitsbibliotheek / 386, ff. 259r-269r
- Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI 080 (3057), ff. 262v-270r
- Würzburg / Staatsarchiv / Mainzer Urkunden, Weltlicher Schrank, Lade 1, Nr. 98 \*\*

### Editions

The bull has appeared in print several times, and firstly in Mainz, already the year after it was issued,<sup>2</sup> and soon afterwards in the early printed letter collections of Pius II, which appeared some years after his death, e.g.

- Pius II: [Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis]. [Cur.] Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481, nr. 412 [With later editions of 1486 and 1496] [ISTC ip00717000; ISTC ip00719000; ISTC ip00720000]

From the early letter collections, it entered into the Opera Omnia editions 1551 and 1571:

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts collated by Prietzel are marked with a double asterisk, \*\*

<sup>2</sup> cf. Voigt, IV, p. 692

- *Pius II: Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967], pp. 914-923

and later also, in an abridged version, the *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rainaldus), ad ann. 1463, nos 29-40.

To the knowledge of the present writer – the first and only critical edition is Prietzel’s:

- *Die Kreuzzugsbulle Pius’ II. “Ezechielis prophete”, 22. Okt. 1463*. In: Fillastre, Guillaume (Jr.): *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius’ II. “Ezechielis prophete”*. Hrsg. von Malte Prietzel. Ostfeldern, 2003, pp. 158-204

### Present edition

Since Prietzel’s edition of *Ezechielis* may be considered as the definitive one, the present edition is a “light” edition only based on a manuscript not used by Prietzel, the

- *Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Lat 4314, ff. 74r-95r (P)*

and the early letter edition by Koberger (1486) **(KO)**.

NB: For a full critical edition with introduction and notes, readers are referred to Prietzel’s edition.

Pagination is after P.

The notes comprise textual variants (black) and references to sources (green).

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. I, ch. 9-10.

**Pius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis et singulis Christ fidelibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem**

[1] {74r} Ezechielis prophetae magni sententia est, *venientem gladium* nisi annuntiaverit *speculator*, animarum, que perierint, *sanguinem de manu ejus* {74v} *requirendum fore*.<sup>1</sup> Quod veriti sanctae memoriae<sup>2</sup> praedecessores nostri, Nicolaus V. et Calixtus III. ab eo tempore, quo Turcorum efferata<sup>3</sup> rabies Constantinopolim expugnavit, venturum ad interiora Christianitatis hostile gladium clamare non cessarunt. Comminuere<sup>4</sup> Christianos principes ac populos, quanto in periculo esset nostra religio, nisi occureretur hostibus, priusquam amplius invalescerent. Suasere, ut arma sumerent, defensionem catholicae fidei subirent, furentibus bestiis obviam irent, nec sinerent immanem draconem, Maumethem<sup>5</sup>, fideles devorare animas. Videbant ferocem illius animum occupata Constantinopoli minime quieturum, cujus inexplebilis esset dominandi cupiditas. Nec dubium, quin orientali subacto imperio ad occidentale aspiraret.

[2] Annuntiata est in tempore futura<sup>6</sup> calamitas, sed non est credita. Non fuerunt auditae sanctae pastorum voces. Utiles admonitiones surda pertransivit aure {75r} Christianus populus. Hungari tantum sub Calixto vigilantes arma sumpserunt, qui de tuendo regno solliciti, dum suos fines observant, custodiunt nostros. Ex ipsis Hungaris ac Theutonibus et aliis vicinis non pauci, quamvis magna ex parte pauperes et secundum saeculum ignobiles, incltyti vero in conspectu domini<sup>7</sup>, crucem<sup>8</sup> assumpserunt et magno in hostes spiritu perrexerunt, quorum potissime ausibus apud Albam Graecam – quam nostri Belgradum vocant – Turcorum ingentes copiae profligatae sunt<sup>9</sup> et Maumethes ille, terribilis ac ferox, turpem arripuit fugam. Nationes aliae, tamquam nihil ad eas Turcorum facta pertinerent, in suis sedibus quiete manserunt.

[3] Nos deinde, sicut domino placuit, quamvis indigni tanto munere, Calixto successimus, qui mox in apostolatus initio Mantuanum conventum indiximus, in quo de communi utilitate Christianorum consiliis ageremus. Venit in mentem, quod per Esaiam scribitur: “*Super montem excelsam ascende* {75v} *tu, qui evangelizas Sion; exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Jerusalem; exalta, noli timere.*”<sup>10</sup> Dictum id<sup>11</sup> nobis putavimus. Satisfecimus – ut arbitramur –

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<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel, 33, 6

<sup>2</sup> Romanae P

<sup>3</sup> effrenata KO

<sup>4</sup> commonere KO

<sup>5</sup> Machomete... *et passim* KO

<sup>6</sup> futuro KO

<sup>7</sup> Dei KO

<sup>8</sup> domini KO

<sup>9</sup> fuerunt KO

<sup>10</sup> Isaiah, 40, 9

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* P



praecepto. Affuimus in tempore praefinito, non sine sumptu et labore gravi. Ostendimus fidelibus Christianis vulnera sua, et quae passi fuerant, et quae passuri videbantur, nisi seipsos adversus Turcos defenderent. Clamavimus quasi tuba. Exaltavimus vocem nostram.<sup>1</sup> Audivit omnis ecclesia, sed non exaudivit verba nostra. Non fuit plus ponderis nostris quam praedecessorum<sup>2</sup> nostrorum<sup>3</sup> vocibus. Frustra conati sumus. Incassum abiire<sup>4</sup> labores.

[4] Interea quantum creverint Turcorum vires, difficile dictu est, auditu miserum. A Mare<sup>5</sup> Pontico usque ad amnem Savum<sup>6</sup> et ab Aegaeo Pelago usque ad Danubium nobilissimas interjacentes provincias suae possessionis fecere. Transiverunt et ipsum Danubium Vallachiaeque magnam partem occupaverunt. Penetraverunt et Savum atque agros Hungariae longe lateque vastaverunt. Hoc anno Bosnam {76r} invaserunt universumque regnum sibi subjecerunt et insulam Lesbon. Quanta vero crudelitate in subactis urbibus ac provinciis usi sunt, *horret animus* dicere. In Constantinopoli Graecorum imperator obtruncatus est<sup>7</sup>, et caput ejus hasta suffixum per castra delatum. Rascianis<sup>8</sup> principibus eruti sunt oculi. In Lesbo<sup>9</sup> multitudo puerum palo transfixa. In Bosna regem, qui salutem pactus sese dederat, cum patruo suo Maumethes, ipse humano sanguine insatiabilis, sua manu – ut fertur – jugulavit. Quis nobiles viros, quis sacerdotes commemoraverit ad caedem raptos, senes ac *juvenes in plateis immanissime trucidatos*.<sup>10</sup> Ubique cruor caesorum visus, *ubique* morientium *gemitus*<sup>11</sup> auditus. Nulla reverentia matronarum, nulla virginum. Foedum relatu est, quantum hoc genus hominum in libidinem sit immersum, cui omnes abominationes gentium pseudopropheta, quem venerantur, indulsit. Quid de sacrosanctis ecclesiis dixerimus<sup>12</sup>? Templum illud {76v} sanctae Sophiae, Justiniani opus, toto orbe memorabile, Maumethis spurcitiis reservatum est. Reliqua sacraria aut diruta sunt aut polluta, altaria disjecta atque protrita, imagines sanctorum deletae aut luto foedatae, nulla salvatoris Christi aut gloriosissimae matris ejus statua sine singulari probro dimissa, simulachrum crucifixi per derisionem in castra delatum, saxis et luto petium et<sup>13</sup> tandem in caeno<sup>14</sup> relictum.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isaiah, 58, 1

<sup>2</sup> praedecessoris KO

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>4</sup> abire KO

<sup>5</sup> a mare : amari KO

<sup>6</sup> Sanum *et passim* KO

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>8</sup> Fastianis KO

<sup>9</sup> Lesbon KO

<sup>10</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 9

<sup>11</sup> Jeronimus: Epistolae, 60

<sup>12</sup> *dicemus* KO

<sup>13</sup> ac P

<sup>14</sup> sceno KO

[5] O domine Deus! *Venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus caeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae. Effuderunt sanguinem eorum, et non erat, qui sepeliret.*<sup>1</sup> Quamvis non potest laedi tua majestas nec tua gloria minui<sup>2</sup>, decet tamen servos tuos, decet<sup>3</sup> miseros Christianos, quae tuam velut in contumeliam fiunt, totis conatibus avertere et<sup>4</sup> ulcisci. Non tulit Phinees<sup>5</sup> adulterantem Zambri<sup>6</sup>, sed zelo {77r} incensus domini Madianitae<sup>7</sup> scortum et illum interfecit.<sup>8</sup> *Vidit Matatthias sacrificantem idolis Hebraeum, et<sup>9</sup> doluit, et contremuerunt renes ejus, et accensus est furor ejus secundum iudicium legis, et insiliens trucidavit eum super aram.*<sup>10</sup> Sed quid est zelus noster, quae cura religionis? Blasphematur sancta trinitas, conculcatur evangelium, sacra nostra prorsus abjiciuntur, Christianum nomen funditus eradicatur, et subticemus. Nemo est, qui pro communi salute assurgat. Stat mater ecclesia dolens et gemens<sup>11</sup>, et non est, qui consolatur<sup>12</sup> eam. Et quid dici de nobis potest infelicibus Christianis, nisi propheticum illud: *“Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris, subsannatio et illusio his, qui in circuitu nostro sunt.”*<sup>13</sup>

[6] Majores nostri Jerosolimam perdidere et omnem Asiam et<sup>14</sup> Libyam. Nostro tempore Graecia est amissa et Europae maxima pars. In orbis angulum<sup>15</sup> redacta Christianitas est. Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi sepulchrum, nisi Saraceni {77v} velint, videre non possumus. Quaestus causa nobis illud ostendunt. Patriarchales sedes veneratu dignissimae, Constantinopolitana, Antiochena, Alexandrina et Jerosolimitana, *jugo servitutis oppressae*<sup>16</sup> aut<sup>17</sup> a Saracenis occupantur aut a Turcis, non sine dedecore atque<sup>18</sup> ignominia Christiani nominis.

[7] Romanam ecclesiam, matrem omnium fidelium ac magistram, quam beati apostoli Petrus et Paulus suo martyrio dedicarunt, nunc nobis eripere Maumethes interminatur. Et faciet, nisi tandem excitemur a somno et conatus ejus studemus elidere. *Vae vobis Christianis principibus,*

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 78, 1-2

<sup>2</sup> nec tua gloria minui *omit.* P

<sup>3</sup> nos *add.* KO

<sup>4</sup> atque KO

<sup>5</sup> Phinehas, son of Eleazar

<sup>6</sup> Zimri

<sup>7</sup> Madiate P

<sup>8</sup> Numbers, 25, 6-15

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>10</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 24

<sup>11</sup> dolens et gemens : gemens et dolens P

<sup>12</sup> consoletur KO

<sup>13</sup> Psalms, 78, 4

<sup>14</sup> ac P

<sup>15</sup> orbis angulum : angulum orbis KO

<sup>16</sup> Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 1, 1, 30

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>18</sup> et KO

vae nobis, ut quid nati sumus videre contritionem populi nostri et<sup>1</sup> contritionem sacrae religionis!<sup>2</sup> Videmus fratres nostros in manus inimicorum rapi et diversis excarnificari suppliciis et non movemur. Videmus in dies Christianorum provincias ab infidelibus invadi et non angimur, sed in domo quiescimus. Quot jam regna a evangelio sunt<sup>3</sup> aliena? {78r} Quae gens<sup>4</sup> non haereditavit terram domini et non obtinuit spolia ejus?<sup>5</sup> Sive orientem respicimus sive meridiem, sive in arcton vertimus oculos, omnis ecclesiae compositio<sup>6</sup> ablata<sup>7</sup> est. Ancillam videmus, quae fuit libera<sup>8</sup> et domina gentium.<sup>9</sup> Ecce substantia<sup>10</sup> nostra et pulchritudo nostra et claritas nostra magna ex parte dissoluta<sup>11</sup>. Coninquinaverunt eam Turci et Saraceni et aliae foedissimae gentes.<sup>12</sup> Quid nobis adhuc vivere,<sup>13</sup> nisi cogitamus de tanta infamia resurgere<sup>14</sup> ac pristinum recuperare decorem? Commovemur vehementer, dum talia mente volvimus, angimur, cruciamur, nec animo possumus esse quieto, nisi principes Christianos pro tutela sacrae religionis adversus impios Turcos arma sumere videamus.

[8] Pastoralis officii nostri est – quis nescit – domini gregis curam gerere, qui ejus loco successimus, cui dictum est a domino: “Pasce oves meas.”<sup>15</sup> Oves Christifideles populi sunt. His consulere nos oportet, has protegere {78v} et totis conservare conatibus, ne luporum aut aliarum bestiarum morsibus pateant. Sed quid agat infelix pastor, ubi luporum innumerabiles turmae gregem invadunt<sup>16</sup> jussique canes insurgere, latrare ac defendere caulas obaudiunt ac diffugiunt? Haec impraesentiarum conditio nostra est. Turci tamquam lupi et immanes bestiae ovile dominicum, id est Christianam plebem, lacerare conantur et lacerant. Vocavimus in auxilium principes Christianos tamquam custodes Christianae plebis. Aures claudunt. Nolunt audire vocem pastoris. Post sua quisque desideria pergit.

[9] Quid agemus? Soline lupos, hos est Turcos, aggrediemur? Non sunt vires nostrae, quae tantam vim inferre<sup>17</sup> queant. Nimium crevit Turcorum potentia. Non potest eorum imperium deleri nisi

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<sup>1</sup> ac P

<sup>2</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 7

<sup>3</sup> a evangelio sunt : sunt a evangelio P

<sup>4</sup> jam add. KO

<sup>5</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 10

<sup>6</sup> ecclesiae compositio : compositio ecclesia P

<sup>7</sup> oblata KO

<sup>8</sup> cf. 1. Machabees, 2, 11

<sup>9</sup> Lamentations, 1, 1

<sup>10</sup> sancta KO

<sup>11</sup> desolata KO

<sup>12</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 12

<sup>13</sup> 1. Machabees, 2, 13

<sup>14</sup> surgere KO

<sup>15</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>16</sup> mandunt P

<sup>17</sup> ferre KO

Christianorum magno conatu magnisque classibus et exercitibus. Non habet apostolica sedes, unde ista conquirit, nisi Christiani reges Christianique populi opem afferent<sup>1</sup>. At hoc eis hactenus {79r} suadere non potuimus. Conventum fecimus, legatos misimus. Omnia tentavimus, quae visa sunt ad excitandos animos pro tempore necessaria. Non profecimus. Quomodo nunc proficiemus? Quid ergo? Negligemusne fidei defensionem? Minime quidem! *“Pastor bonus”,* inquit in evangelio veritas, *“animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. Mercenarius autem et qui non est pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriae, videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.”*<sup>2</sup> Admonemur his verbis, quidnam agere debeamus. Extrema omnia tentanda sunt pro salute dominici gregis. In gravioribus morbis graviora adhibent remedia medici. Idem et nos facere convenit. Non decet pastorem suas oves relinquere. Occurrere lupis oportet, etiam si sit anima pro grege ponenda. Pastor bonus imitandus est, dominus noster Jesus Christus, et optimi praeceptoris vestigiis inhaerendum, qui, verbo quod docuit, opere {79v} adimplevit.

[10] Alios hactenus exhortati sumus defensionem fidei suscipere atque in bellum ire, missuri legatos et alia facturi, quae nostrae facultates sufferre possent, mansuri pro necessitatibus ecclesiae apud septa ovium, quae restant nondum<sup>3</sup> expugnatae. Nunc majora promitemus, et quando aliter excitare Christianorum torpentia corda non valemus, nosipsos periculis objectabimus nostrumque caput offeremus adversus Turcos<sup>4</sup> in bellum, et quantum nobis ecclesia Romana et patrimonium beati Petri ministrare poterit, tantum pro fide catholica protegenda exponemus et profundemus in hoc itinere.

[11] Nec soli proficiscemur in hostes. Clarissimo genere natus et amabilis Deo princeps Philippus, Burgundiae dux, in hanc expeditionem venturum se offert, non sine delecta militum manu et exercitu valido. Potentis et clari Venetorum ducis Christofori Mauro ingens et formidanda classis superioribus mensibus in Graeciam navigavit totamque fere {80r} Peloponnesum vi atque armis hosti eripuit<sup>5</sup> Isthmumque peninsulae, qui<sup>6</sup> sex millibus passuum inter duo maria patet, paucis<sup>7</sup> – ut ajunt – diebus excitatis muris ac turribus clausit. Memorabile factum et inter preclara veterum opera numerandum! Haec eadem classis, ut promissum est, nobis non deerit. Spondent quoque ceteri Italiae potentatus pro sua religione<sup>8</sup> et in commune bonum affectione praecipua et<sup>9</sup> tam sancto digna opere auxilia. Favente nobis altissimo maritimum bellum feliciter absolvemus, quoniam non sunt Turci pares in pelago Venetis. Ex altera parte in terra pugnabunt Hungari,

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<sup>1</sup> offerant KO

<sup>2</sup> John, 10, 11-12

<sup>3</sup> mundum P

<sup>4</sup> offeremus adversus Turcos : adversus Turcos offeremus KO

<sup>5</sup> hosti eripuit : eripuit hosti KO

<sup>6</sup> que P

<sup>7</sup> undecim KO

<sup>8</sup> regione P

<sup>9</sup> omit. KO

genus hominum ferox in bello<sup>1</sup>, et qui<sup>2</sup> jam Turcos vincere didicerunt. Inclytus rex gentis Matthias jam coronam et pacem in regno consecutus ingentes poterit armare<sup>3</sup> atque in proelium ducere copias. Haec nobis certissima sunt belli praesidia. Cum his ibimus, cum his Dei proelium decertabimus. Erunt et Albani nobiscum, et multi per Graeciam – ut speramus – {80v} et alias hosti subjectas provincias a Turcis deficientes castra nostra sequentur. Christiani enim sunt oderuntque Maumethem. Hosti parent coacti *metu*, qui *non est diuturnus magister officii*.<sup>4</sup> Ut primum spes libertatis affuerit, adversus insolentes dominos cornua erigent. Nec deerunt in Asia motus<sup>5</sup>, ut sunt in omni gente atque in omni provincia male pacati homines et novitatum cupidi, qui tempus expectant.

[12] Non erit facile Turcis tot locis occurrere. Difficile defenditur, quod<sup>6</sup> a multis oppugnatur. Quod si aliquis<sup>7</sup> innumerabiles hostium copias esse dixerit nec putaverit in castris fidelium<sup>8</sup> parem numerum cogi posse, respondemus multum inter sese distare homines et alios natura imbelles esse, alios feroces. Virtus spectanda est magis quam numerus. *Non est in multitudine exercitus victoria belli. De caelo fortitudo*<sup>9</sup> conceditur. Tam facile Deo nostro est in paucis vincere quam in multis. Nostra causa Dei est. Pro lege Dei pugnabimus. *Ipse dominus*<sup>10</sup> *conteret {81r} hostes ante faciem nostram*.<sup>11</sup>

[13] Audimus susurrare aliquos. Non desunt, qui murmurantes ajunt: “Quid ages in bello, senex, aegrotus sacerdos? Non est bellare tuum. Nec potes nec debes ferire gladio, qui loco ejus suffectus es, cui praecepit dominus, ut *gladium in vaginam mitteret*.”<sup>12</sup> Reges tuo jussu tenentur ensem exercere. Tuum est justa bella gerentibus benedicere.” Fatemur, non convenit nobis effundere sanguinem, quando per alios possumus justitiae fideique necessitate subvenire. Quod si religio in periculo est et absque nostro non potest ferro defendi, non est nobis vetitum, quod Samueli et Eliae legitur fuisse permissum. Sed non est hoc propositum nostrum, ut gladio pugnemus in bello. Nam quo pacto strinxerimus ensem, qui vix manum ad benedicendum populum<sup>13</sup> possumus elevare? Oratione pugnabimus, non ferro; precibus adjuvabimus proeliantes, non brachiis. Erimus in alta puppi aut in {81v} aliquo monte propinquo, dum

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<sup>1</sup> ferox in bello : in bello ferox KO

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>3</sup> derivare KO

<sup>4</sup> Cicero: *Philippicae*, 2, 36, 90

<sup>5</sup> metus KO

<sup>6</sup> undique *add.* KO

<sup>7</sup> quis KO

<sup>8</sup> fidelibus KO

<sup>9</sup> 1. Machabees, 3, 19

<sup>10</sup> Deus KO

<sup>11</sup> 1. Machabees, 3, 22

<sup>12</sup> John, 18, 11

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* P

proeliabitur, et nostris benedicemus, hostibus vero maledicemus, quemadmodum de Moyse legitur in bello Amalechitarum, quo orante vincebat Israel, cessante orare succumbebat. Orabimus et nos sine intermissione pro bellatoribus<sup>1</sup> nostris. Hoc praestare poterimus. Hoc sedulo faciemus. *Cor contritum et humiliatum*<sup>2</sup> non despiciet dominus.

[14] Possemus et hoc ipsum domi manentes facere, nec minus valeret preces. Sed non est sola orationis causa, quae propriam sedem relinquere cogit et in bellum trahit. Ut alios excitemus, pergimus. Exemplo nostro invitare quamplurimos<sup>3</sup> studemus. Sequentur et nos venerabiles fratres nostri, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, quemadmodum ad hoc ipsum, qui validi sunt, sponte se obtulerunt. Sequentur et episcopi complures et alii minoris ordinis sacerdotes ac<sup>4</sup> clerici, non oraturi tantum, verum etiam pugnaturi, cum res<sup>5</sup> postulaverit. Expertas quoque {82r} bellorum et robustissimas militum cohortes et fortia pectora juvenum ex agris ecclesiae ducemus ad proelium, qui nobis oratione pugnantibus ferro pugnent.

[15] Ibimus extenso dominicae crucis vexillo. Sanctissimum<sup>6</sup> Christi corpus praecedet et sanctarum reliquiarum arcula. Salvatorem in bella vadentem sequemur. Ipsi cohaerebimus, ipsi preces assiduas porrigemus, ab ipso salutem implorabimus. Miserebitur nostri – ut arbitramur – piissimus Jesus, nec populum suum in hostium manus venire permittet, cujus pretiosissimus sanguis in ara crucis effusus a maligno nos hoste liberavit. Et quis erit Christianorum tam feri, tam lapidei, tam ferrei pectoris, qui audiens Romanum pontificem, beati Petri successorem, domini nostri Jesu Christi vicarium, aeternae vitae clavigerum, patrem ac magistrum universorum fidelium cum sacro senatu cardinalium clerique multitudine in bellum pro tuenda {82v} religione proficiscentem, libens domi remaneat? Et quae poterit excusatio quemquam juvare? Senex, debilis, aegrotus in expeditionem pergit, et tu juvenis, sano ac robusto corpore, domi delitescas? Summus sacerdos, cardinales, episcopi proelium petunt, et tu miles, tu baro, tu marchio, tu dux, tu rex, tu imperator in aedibus popriis otiaberis? Siccine perverti hominum officia patieris, ut quae sunt regum, sacerdotes agant, et quae nobilitati conveniunt, subire clerum oporteat.

[16] Necessitas ire nos urget, quia non possumus alio pacto pro divinae legis defensione Christianorum animos commovere<sup>7</sup>. Utinam et hoc modo commoveamus<sup>8</sup>! Non pergimus in

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<sup>1</sup> proelioribus KO

<sup>2</sup> Psalms, 50, 19

<sup>3</sup> invitare quamplurimos : quamplurimos invitare KO

<sup>4</sup> et KO

<sup>5</sup> ipsa *add.* KO

<sup>6</sup> sacratissimum KO

<sup>7</sup> commonere KO

<sup>8</sup> commoneamus KO

bellum<sup>1</sup> tamquam nostri sit officii, sed quoniam consulere aliter<sup>2</sup> fidei non valemus. Nescimus an hoc sufficiens erit remedium. Mandavit dominus beato Petro, ut titubantes fratres sua conversione firmaret<sup>3</sup>, dicens: “*Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat {83r} fides tua. Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.*”<sup>4</sup> Quod Petro dictum est, et nobis dictum intelligimus. Confirmare fratres, qui titubant, debemus. Conformabimus vos, fratres et filios – ut speramus – hac protectione nostra. Et ita *non praevalerunt portae inferi adversus*<sup>5</sup> ecclesiam Dei<sup>6</sup> nobis commissam.

[17] An denegabitis nobis<sup>7</sup> auxilia vestra, et caput vestrum, patrem ac magistrum in hostes proficiscentem fideles Christiani relinquitis? En quanta gloria vobis erit crucem domini cum sacratissimo corpore Jesu Christi ipsumque Romanum praesulem sine vestris praesidiis in hostes<sup>8</sup> pergere? Noscite, reges ac principes, officium vestrum. Idcirco geritis gladium<sup>9</sup>, ut ecclesiam fidemque tueamini atque ut malos et iniquos homines debita poena coerceatis. Et quinam homines peiores quam Turci reperiuntur, qui fidem sanctae trinitatis abicientes et salvatorem Christum verum<sup>10</sup> Deum esse negantes abominabilem complexi legem Mahumetis<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>in omnia scelera prolabantur {83v} et jam maximam orbis partem suis nefandissimis abusibus foedaverunt et legem conantur evangelicam dissipare? Adversus hos gladium dedit vobis divina majestas, in hos illum exercere debetis ac divinam ulcisci contumeliam. An non pudet tam diu tam foedam gentem tam turpiter in Christianos esse crassatam? An bellum non satis justum, non satis necessarium esse putatis *adversus nationes, quae convenerunt disperdere nos*<sup>13</sup> *et sancta nostra*<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>

[18] Accingimini<sup>16</sup> jam tandem, et quoniam sine nobis ire non voluistis, ite nobiscum! Sumite arma et scutum, et venite in auxilium nostrum, immo vero in auxilium<sup>17</sup> vestrum et universae rei publicae Christianae. Exemplum de Philippo recipite, quem nec domesticae deliciae, quibus

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<sup>1</sup> bello KO

<sup>2</sup> consulere aliter : aliter consulere KO

<sup>3</sup> confirmaret KO

<sup>4</sup> Luke, 22, 32

<sup>5</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

<sup>6</sup> omit. P

<sup>7</sup> omit. P

<sup>8</sup> hostem KO

<sup>9</sup> geritis gladium : gladium geritis KO

<sup>10</sup> omit. P

<sup>11</sup> omit. P

<sup>12</sup> complexi legem Mahumetis : Machometis complexi legem KO

<sup>13</sup> vos KO

<sup>14</sup> vestra KO

<sup>15</sup> 1. Macchabees, 3, 58

<sup>16</sup> accingimini KO

<sup>17</sup> in auxilium omit. KO

provinciae suae multum<sup>1</sup> abundant, nec suorum preces nec itineris longitudo aut difficultas nec senectus ipsa ex proposito suscipiendi contra Turcos belli usque in hanc diem dejicere potuerunt {84r} neque favente domino in futurum dejicient! Imitamini hunc nobilissimum principem! Mementote professionis vestrae, quam in baptismo<sup>2</sup> subiistis! Cogitate, quantum Deo tenemini et quantum proximo! Reddite vicem ecclesiae pro susceptis beneficiis! Estote grati altissimo, qui vos creavit ex nihilo nec animalia bruta aut lapides, sed homines rationales esse voluit.

[19] Et cum *primi parentis culpa*<sup>3</sup> damnati essetis ac mancipia facti daemonum, *misit filium suum in similitudinem carnis peccati*,<sup>4</sup> qui *morte sua mortem nostram*<sup>5 6</sup> deleret. Stupenda et inaestimabilis caritas! Ut servum redimeret, *filius non pepercit*.<sup>8</sup> Dominus Jesus in cruce pro nobis inter latrones pependit. Innocens agnus *cum sceleratis deputatus est*.<sup>9</sup> *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*<sup>10</sup> everberatus, laceratus ab impiis, difformis<sup>11</sup> apparuit. *A planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis*<sup>12</sup> *non erat in eo sanitas*<sup>13</sup> neque *species neque decor*.<sup>14</sup> Sic placitum patri, qui propter peccata nostra *tradidit illum; propitiatorem enim* {84v} *proposuit illum*<sup>15</sup> *per fidem in sanguine suo*.<sup>16</sup> *Iniquitates nostras ipse portavit*<sup>17</sup> *et livore ejus sanati sumus*,<sup>18</sup> qui, *cum inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem filii ejus*.<sup>19</sup> O crudelis Christiane! O ingrata! O mentis inops! Potesne ista audire et non animo<sup>20</sup> commoveri et non cupere pro illo mori, qui pro te mortuus est? De honore illius agitur, qui te de diabolica servitute pretiosissimo suo sanguine<sup>21</sup> redemit. De Christi nomine disceptatur, de fide catholica, de baptismo, de ceteris ecclesiae sacramentis, de sacrosancto evangelio. Adversus haec omnia Turci militant. Haec evertere et prorsus delere conantur. Et tu nihil contra moliris!

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<sup>1</sup> plurimum KO

<sup>2</sup> baptisate KO

<sup>3</sup> Gregorius I.: *Moralia in Job*, 4, intro.

<sup>4</sup> Romans, 8, 3

<sup>5</sup> vestram KO

<sup>6</sup> Gregorius I.: *Moralia in Job*, 18, 34. Cf. also the preface of the Easter mass: *qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit*

<sup>7</sup> suo *add.* KO

<sup>8</sup> Romans, 8, 32

<sup>9</sup> Luke, 22, 37: *cum iniquis deputatus est*; Isaiah, 53, 23: *cum sceleratis reputatus est*

<sup>10</sup> Psalms, 44, 3

<sup>11</sup> deformis KO

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>13</sup> Isaiah, 1, 6

<sup>14</sup> Isaiah, 53, 2

<sup>15</sup> eum KO

<sup>16</sup> Romans, 3, 25

<sup>17</sup> Isaiah, 53, 11

<sup>18</sup> Isaiah, 53, 5

<sup>19</sup> Romans, 5, 10

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>21</sup> suo sanguine : sanguine suo KO



[20] Quid agis, iners? Redde te gratum Deo et cogita, quonam pacto creatori redemptorique tuo aliqua ex parte satisfacias. Et quoniam peccator es, redime tuas iniquitates hac tam sancta et salutifera profectione. *An divitias bonitatis domini et patientiae ac<sup>1</sup> longanimitatis ejus {85r} contemnis? An ignoras, quoniam bonitas Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit<sup>2</sup>? Cave, ne secundum duritiam<sup>3</sup> tuam et impenitentem cor iram tibi thesaurizes in die irae et revelationis justi iudicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus.<sup>4</sup> Convertere et agito poenitentiam ab omnibus iniquitatibus tuis, et non erit tibi ruina.<sup>5</sup> Propterea expectat dominus, ut misereatur<sup>6</sup> tui. Projice praevaricationes antiquas et fac tibi cor novum et spiritum novum<sup>7</sup> et veni, milita pro domino, ne morte moriaris aeterna. Cogita de proximis tuis et fratribus Christianis, qui vel sunt in captivitate Turcorum dura servitute oppressi<sup>8</sup> vel captivari in dies atque in servitutum rapi verentur. Si homo es, humanitas te trahere debet, ut opem feras homini indigna ferenti; si Christianus, pietas evangelica, qua jubemur proximos tamquam nosipsos<sup>9</sup> diligere. Considera proximorum tuorum Christifidelium aerumnas, in quos Turci {85v} desaeviunt: filii a<sup>10</sup> complexu parentum et infantes ab uberibus matrum eripiuntur. Violantur uxores in conspectu virorum. Senes tamquam inutiles occiduntur<sup>11</sup>. Juvenes tamquam boves aratro junguntur et terram vomere vertunt. Miserere fratrum tuorum! Affer opem tam<sup>12</sup> dura<sup>13</sup> ferentibus!*

[21] Quod si nihil horum te trahit, at saltem de tua salute cogita. Nec te tutum idcirco existimes, quia mansionem fortasse procul a Turcis sortitus es. Nemo tam remotus est, quin reperiri queat. Si vicinum dimiseris in periculo, qui ante te proximus est igni, dimitteris tu ipse similiter a vicino, qui retro te habitat. Tales oportet nos esse in alios, quales erga nos illos cupimus invenire. Nolite auxilia Gallorum sperare, Theutones, nisi et vos Hungaris, nec vos Galli Hispanorum, nisi Theutonibus opem fertis. *Qua mensura metieritis, eadem remetietur et vobis.<sup>14</sup>* Nec propterea sibi quispiam blandiatur, quoniam principatu polleat<sup>15</sup> aut regno. Constantinopolitanus imperator et Trapezuntius et rex Bosnae et Rasciae etiam<sup>16</sup> domini et alii quamplures principes

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<sup>1</sup> et KO

<sup>2</sup> adduxit KO

<sup>3</sup> duritiam KO

<sup>4</sup> Romans, 2, 4-6

<sup>5</sup> Ezekiel, 18, 30

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah, 30, 18

<sup>7</sup> Ezekiel, 18, 31

<sup>8</sup> pressi KO

<sup>9</sup> nosmetipsos KO

<sup>10</sup> e KO

<sup>11</sup> violantur uxores ... occiduntur *omit.* P

<sup>12</sup> iam KO

<sup>13</sup> dira P

<sup>14</sup> Matthew, 7, 2

<sup>15</sup> pallear KO

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* KO

capti {86r} et crudeliter occisi, quid sit expectandum, edocent. Nihil tam contrarium Mahumethi quam nomen regium. Orientis adeptus imperium, ad occidentale festinat. Novam erigere monarchiam conatur. Uni Turcorum imperio et uni Mahumetheae legi cuncta submittere studet.

[22] Si potestis talia ferre, principes ac populi Christiani, manete domi, nec jam de subvertenda Turcorum formidabili potentia cogitate. At si servile jugum horretis, si contumelian Dei et proximi tolerare nequitis, si pudet semiviros Asiaticos Graecorum gentem, quod numquam antea fecerunt, subegisse eoque superbiae prorupisse, ut Europam sibi totam brevi tempore perituram sperent, si cor virile vobis est, cor nobile, cor altum, cor Christianum, sequimini vestigia patris vestri, sequimini castra nostra, venite in auxilium fidei, venite in auxilium fratrum, *opponite vos murum pro domo*<sup>1</sup> Dei. Cogitate de vestra salute, de vestra gloria. Nolite permittere, {86v} ut sine vestris auxiliis proficiscamur in Turcos. Mittite subsidiarias acies! Juvate Christianum exercitum! Quanto fortiores ibimus, tanto citius auxiliante domino cum victoria revertemur. Nec putetis insuperabiles Turcos esse: vinci<sup>2</sup> possunt, et saepe victi fuerunt.

[23] Quantum valerent Turcorum arma<sup>3</sup>, Belgradus ostendit. Minor est Turcorum potentia quam fama feratur. Imbellem atque inermem multitudinem ad proelium ducunt, quam tamquam pecudum gregem dissipare licebit. Nec ipsa Turcorum agmina gravioris armaturae usum didicere. Raras loricas, rariores toraces induunt, nec galeas more nostro lucentes ostendunt. Raro teguntur corpora ferro. Accinate utuntur et arcu. Parma se protegunt et galeris<sup>4</sup> pillosa quadam materia duraque contextis. Quod si Latinas inciderint acies rigentes<sup>5</sup> calibe ferratasque hastas et cataphractos equos et manubalistarum sagittas, intelligent cum mulieribus se hactenus {87r} pugnavisse<sup>6</sup>, nunc cum viris esse certandum.

[24] Diximus, quae nobis hactenus promissa sunt auxilia et quanta spe victoriae procedamus. Quod si vos quoque conjunxeritis arma et auxiliares addideritis turmas, multo alacriores ibimus. Nec dubium, quin orientales ingressi provincias, tanto majorem ad nos concursum inveniemus dedentium se populorum, quanto validior fuerit noster exercitus. Si movebimini vos, Christiani occidentales, et animarum vestrarum pastorem secuti fueritis, movebuntur et multi ex Graecia atque Asia Christiani, qui verum esse Christi vicarium Romanum pontificem non dubitant. Jamdudum non fuit in oriente Romanus praesul. Ut primum innotuerit adventasse latinam classem Romanum vehentem praesulem, innumerabiles turmae – non dubitamus – ad visendum

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<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel, 13, 5

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* KO

<sup>3</sup> Turcorum arma : arma Turcorum KO

<sup>4</sup> galeis KO; caleris P

<sup>5</sup> tegentes P

<sup>6</sup> pugnasse KO

beati Petri successorem cum fletu et lacrimis sacros osculaturi pedes accurrent<sup>1</sup> seseque et sua promittent ei<sup>2</sup>. Hac spe freti, venerabiles fratres ac filii {87v} dilectissimi, his rationibus persuasi, his consiliis moti, venerabilibus fratribus nostris cardinalibus hoc ipsum suadentibus, corpus nostrum canitiemque nostram et seniles ac debiles artus huic sanctae expeditioni consecramus dominoque commendamus, statuentes circa nonas Junias, quae proxime instant<sup>3</sup>, Anconam petere atque in ejus portu navem conscendere et cum ea classe, quam interim nostro et aliorum sumptu poterimus instruere, Adriaticum ingredi pelagus et ulterius recto itinere adversus hostes fidei proficisci, non dubitantes, quin Philippus, Burgundiae dux, maritimis armatis copiis ad idem tempus praesto assit Venetique validam classem - de qua dictum est - expeditam in mari habeant, et tam ille quam isti sese nobis jungant sub vexillis ecclesiae ac vivificae crucis signo adversus impios Turcos auctore domino feliciter pugnaturi. Cruce signati autem, qui suis aut mittentium sumptibus in hac pia expeditione {88r} militaturi sunt, ut navigia aequo pretio ad trajiciendum Venetiis habeant, curabimus.

[25] Eapropter vos omnes et singulos cardinales, patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates et cujuscumque conditionis viros ecclesiasticos, religiosos et saeculares, qui de sorte domini effecti estis, vos quoque imperatorem, reges, duces, marchiones, comites, communitates, barones, nobiles, milites, cives et alios quoscumque fideles sive in urbibus commemoremini sive in agris per viscera misericordiae<sup>4</sup> domini nostri Jesu Christi, per passionem ejus, qua nos redemit, per judicium extremum, in quo stabitis ante tribunal ejus accepturi *unusquisque secundum opera sua*,<sup>5</sup> per spem vitae aeternae, quam *repromisit dominus diligentibus se*,<sup>6</sup> obnixè monemus, requirimus et obsecramus, ut, quae commode potestis, in hanc sanctam expeditionem<sup>7</sup> auxilia conferre<sup>8</sup> non differatis, sed in tempore praedicto ad nos mittatis. Veniat per seipsum, qui validus est et commode potest. Qui vero non venerit<sup>9</sup>, mittat alium seu<sup>10</sup> alios {88v} juxta vires suarum facultatum. Si neque alium mittere potest, de bonis suis a Deo collatis, quantum secundum conscientiam suam potest, per fideles manus in hanc expeditionem contribuat aut in cistis reponat, quae ad hoc opus in singulis diocesibus constituentur.

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<sup>1</sup> occurrent P

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>3</sup> quae proxime instant *omit.* P

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>5</sup> Apocalypse, 22, 12

<sup>6</sup> James, 2, 5

<sup>7</sup> nobis *add.* KO

<sup>8</sup> praebere KO

<sup>9</sup> venit KO

<sup>10</sup> aut KO

[26] Nec dubitet quispiam magna praemia consecuturos eos a domino<sup>1</sup>, qui tam<sup>2</sup> sanctum opus ac<sup>3</sup> tam necessarium pro suis viribus adjuverint. Manifestum enim exploratumque est *omnibus qui sacrosanctam religionem fidemque orthodoxam adjuverint, auxerint, defenderint, certum esse in caelo diffinitum locum, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur.*<sup>4</sup> Credendum est semper sacris veteribusque sermonibus post hanc vitam migrandum esse in alteram asserentibus, et qui pie in hoc saeculo vixerint<sup>5</sup> legemque domini servaverint<sup>6</sup>, in altero vitam beatam sine fine consecuturos, alios vero miseram. Infallibile propheticum illud est, *quod nec<sup>7</sup> oculus vidit nec auris audivit {89r} nec in cor hominis ascendit,*<sup>8</sup> *quae promisit dominus diligentibus se,*<sup>9</sup> et quod Paulo teste *non sunt condignae passiones hujus saeculi ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in vobis.*<sup>10</sup> Justissimus est retributor dominus, qui nec bona sine praemio nec mala sine poena praeterit. Confidite in Deo et non confundemini.<sup>11</sup> Date de bonis vestris ei, qui dedit vobis, et *centum accipietis pro uno et vitam aeternam possidebitis.*<sup>12</sup>

[27] Quam ut certius consequi valeant, qui nostris exhortationibus oboedientes hoc sanctum opus et necessarium juxta possibilitatem suam adjuverint, nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, auctoritate confisi, de plenitudine potestatis caelitus nobis concessae, omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui in hanc expeditionem nobiscum venerint aut per Hungariam aut aliam viam contra Turcos arma protulerint et per annum aut ad minus per sex menses, si amplius non poterint<sup>13</sup>, in bello perseveraverint, {89v} plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et veniam elargimur, ita ut pro satisfactione delictorum et poenarum, quae fuerunt imponendae, succedat labor itineris atque militiae, nec sacerdos aliam poenam confitentibus injungant, qui venturi sunt, volentes eos, qui – ut praemisum est – ad hoc sanctum opus proficiscuntur, omnem gratiam et indulgentiam consequi, quam nostri praedecessores proficiscentibus<sup>14</sup> in subsidium terrae sanctae et in anno jubilaeo Romam petentibus dare consueverunt, non dubitantes, quin animae illorum, quos ad hoc bellum proficisci bona mente contigerit, cum beatissimis sanctorum patrum et angelorum

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<sup>1</sup> eos a domino : a domino eos KO

<sup>2</sup> hoc KO

<sup>3</sup> et KO

<sup>4</sup> Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.13.13. Here the pope adapts a Cicero-quotation to the Church

<sup>5</sup> vixerunt KO

<sup>6</sup> servaverunt KO

<sup>7</sup> neque KO

<sup>8</sup> 1. Corinthians, 2, 9

<sup>9</sup> James, 2, 5

<sup>10</sup> Romans, 8, 18

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Romans, 9, 33

<sup>12</sup> Matthew, 19, 29

<sup>13</sup> potuerint KO

<sup>14</sup> omit. P

Dei spiritibus post hanc vitam in caelestibus sedibus collocentur et consortes in perpetuum Christi factae aeterna felicitate fruantur.

[28] Quod si forsitan anno non exacto ipsorum aliquos post iter arreptum in prosecutione tam pii et tam sancti operis ex hac luce migrare contigerit, volumus et concedimus, ut tales nihilominus {90r} praefatam indulgentiam consequantur integraliter<sup>1</sup>. Similiter et eos, qui non venientes alium vel alios suis expensis secundum suarum virium facultatem transmiserint vice sua ad annum vel<sup>2</sup> ad minus ad sex menses in hoc bello militaturos, ita ut non solum mittentes indulgentiam et gratiam hujusmodi consequantur, sed etiam missi. Et ut omnis aetas et sexus et cujuscumque professionis<sup>3</sup> homines hujus sanctae indulgentiae participes esse possint, volumus, ut personae quorumcumque monasteriorum seu locorum religiosorum, marium seu mulierum, cujuscumque ordinis seu professionis existant, que pro singulis decem suppositis claustris sui unum bellatorem destinaverint, hac eadem indulgentia et gratia plenaria<sup>4</sup> gaudeant et missus ipse gaudeat.

[29] Idem concedimus et indulgemus universis fidelibus, qui non valentes per se singuli alium mittere duo simul tresve aut quattuor aut plures usque ad decem unum miserint, qui vice eorum in bello pugnaturus {90v} aut aliud opus utile factururus interfuerit, volentes ut et ipse pariter<sup>5</sup> gratiae particeps fiat, si per annum aut ad minus per sex menses continuaverit aut post iter arreptum in via decesserit. Insuper, qui commode venire aut alium per se vel cum alio aut aliis mittere non valens, quantum per hebdomadam cum familia sua exponere consueverit, in arca in sua civitate vel diocesi ob hanc causam instituenda<sup>6</sup> imposuerit, indulgentiam hujusmodi pariter assequatur. Volumus autem et apostolica auctoritate mandamus, ut quicumque huic operi tam sancto se obligaverint, salutare signum vivificae crucis vestibis imprimant et in humeris suis illius memoriam portent, cujus passione ab aeterna damnatione redempti sunt, ipsum imitantes, cui ad nostram redemptionem eunti<sup>7</sup> *factus est principatus super humerum ejus*<sup>8</sup> et qui nos admonens ad sectanda vestigia sua, qui *vult, inquit, venire post me, abneget {91r} semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.*<sup>9</sup>

[30] Ne vero haec nostra profectio et ipsum profectionis tempus fideles populos lateat, mandamus omnibus et singulis per totum orbem metropolitanis in vim ejus, quam nobis debent,

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<sup>1</sup> consequantur integraliter : integraliter consequantur KO

<sup>2</sup> aut KO

<sup>3</sup> profectionis P

<sup>4</sup> plenarie KO

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>6</sup> constituenda P

<sup>7</sup> crux imposita fuit cum KO

<sup>8</sup> *Isaiah, 9, 6: factus est principatus super humerum ejus*

<sup>9</sup> *Matthew, 16, 24*

oboedientiae, ut ipsi primum in ecclesiis eorum cantata missa sollemni spiritus sancti et convocato populo has nostras litteras publicent et in circuitu ecclesiarum processiones faciant, deinde copias earum authenticas suffraganeis suis quantocius mittant illos monentes, ut<sup>1</sup> hoc ipsum in suis ecclesiis cum devotione et diligentia faciant.

[31] Ceterum in tanto religionis Christianae<sup>2</sup> discrimine, quantum a Turcis impraesentiarum cernitur imminere, nulli dubium esse debet, quin Christiani omnes, tam reges et principes quam alii potentatus et privati homines, ad defensionem catholicae fidei et sanctae legis evangelicae juxta possibilitatem suam cum bonis et corporibus {91v} suis de necessitate salutis viriliter assurgere et indesinenter assistere teneantur. Eapropter fideles ipsos, Jesu Christi cultores, universos et singulos, cujuscumque status et conditionis fuerint, sive pontificali sive imperatoria aut regali praefulgeant dignitate, harum serie monemus et<sup>3</sup> requirimus et in vim promissionis factae in sacri susceptione baptismi et in vim juramenti praestiti, cum dignitatum suarum infulas susceperunt, et per oboedientiam nobis debitam eis et eorum singulis mandamus, ut hanc sanctam expeditionem, ad quam profecturi sumus non sine maximo corporis nostri dispendio, modis, quibus possint, quam celerrime adjuvare et promovere festinent, ab illo, cujus causa agitur, exuberantia suscepturi praemia et in praesenti vita et in futura.

[32] Negligentes autem negligentur, et in extremo judicii die minime inter illos invenientur, quibus dicturus est dominus: *Venite, benedicti patris {92r} mei, percipite regnum.*<sup>4</sup> Nam quo pacto cum Christo regnaturus est, qui temporale regnum aut delicias aut voluptates pro Christo non vult relinquere, cum dicat ipse Christus in evangelio: *“Qui diligit patrem suum aut<sup>5</sup> matrem suam aut uxorem aut filios plus quam me, non est me dignus.”*<sup>6</sup> Considerate ista, fideles Christiani, et mente revolvite diligenter, ne ignorantes ignoremini, et tandem poeniteat non adjuvisse in periculo constitutam Jesu Christi religionem et fidem. Caveant sibi, qui tales extiterint.

[33] Tu vero, quicumque fueris, Christiane fidelis, qui pro tuis facultatibus expeditionem contra Turcos subeundam adjuveris, *benedictus esto in civitate et benedictus in agro, benedictus fructus ventris tui et fructus terrae tuae fructusque jumentorum tuorum et armentorum et gregum tuorum<sup>7</sup>, benedicta horrea tua et benedictae reliquiae tuae.*<sup>8</sup> *Benedictus esto ingrediens et egrediens. Det dominus inimicos tuos, qui consurgunt {92v} adversum te, corruentes in conspectu*

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<sup>1</sup> et *add.* KO

<sup>2</sup> religionis Christianae : Christianae religionis KO

<sup>3</sup> ac KO

<sup>4</sup> Matthew, 25, 34

<sup>5</sup> et KO

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matthew, 10, 37

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>8</sup> Deuteronomy, 28, 3-5

*tuo,*<sup>1</sup> et mittat dominus benedictionem super cellaria tua et super<sup>2</sup> opera manuum tuarum<sup>3</sup> et abundare te faciat omnibus bonis<sup>4</sup> et constituat te in caput et non in caudam.<sup>5</sup> Tibi autem, qui nolens audire verba nostra non modo juvare opus sanctissimum, ad quod anhelamus, negligis, verum etiam volentes<sup>6</sup> juvare<sup>7</sup> impedis aut deterres,<sup>8</sup> non solum novissima illa tremendi examinis dies coram redemptore tuo, cui omnia dedit pater in manus, ad sempiternum supplicium est expectanda, sed misera interim per omnem vitam timenda calamitas. Justum est enim veri Dei iudicium, justae ultiones suae. *Considerat semitas*<sup>9</sup> pedum tuorum nec falli in faciem potest, paratam vero bonorum operum et malorum gerens mercedem.

[34] Nec irremuneratum, quod bene, nec impunitum, quod male gesseris, esse permittet. Fidelis autem populi sui et sanctae ecclesiae suae et legis suae catholicam {93r} causam perturbans, ubicumque eris, invenieris ab eo et, quae divinae voces iniquis denuntiant, erunt tuo capiti omnibus horis<sup>10</sup> trepidandis, ne videlicet *maledictus sis in civitate, maledictus in agro, ne mittat dominus super te esuriem et sitim et increpationem in omnia opera tua, ne egestate, febre et frigore te percutiat, ne sis semper calumniam sustinens et oppressus cunctis diebus et stupens ad terrorem eorum, quae videbant oculi tui, ne det tibi dominus cor pavidum et deficientes oculos et animam errore consumptam et ne sit*<sup>11</sup> *vita tua quasi pendens ante te et ne timeas die ac nocte*<sup>12</sup> *et non credas vitae tuae.*<sup>13</sup> Adversus vero hanc iram domini Dei tui potestas nulla tua, nomen nullum tuum nec terrenum privilegium poterit praevalere. *Sagittae ejus acutae* penetrant ad intima cordis et *carbones desolatorii*<sup>14</sup> animam nocentem exurunt.

[35] Vos vero, infelices piratae et infelices latrones, qui vel terra vel mari diabolo militantes in Christianos latrocinia exercetis, si euntes ad hanc {93v} sanctam expeditionem, si redeuntes ab ea impedire, capere<sup>15</sup> vel spoliare quocumque praetextu eritis ausi, vos, inquam, cum adiutoribus vestris, cum fautoribus ac receptoribus anathema estote et ab ecclesia prorsus<sup>16</sup> alieni. Vos

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<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy, 28, 6-7

<sup>2</sup> omnia *add.* KO

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy, 28, 8

<sup>4</sup> Deuteronomy, 28, 11

<sup>5</sup> Deuteronomy, 28, 13

<sup>6</sup> valentes P

<sup>7</sup> adjuvare KO

<sup>8</sup> One of those would be King Louis of France who was blocking the Duke of Burgundy's participation in the crusade and in the end would directly forbid it

<sup>9</sup> Proverbs, 31, 27

<sup>10</sup> omnibus horis : horis omnibus KO

<sup>11</sup> tibi *add.* KO

<sup>12</sup> die ac nocte : nocte ac die KO

<sup>13</sup> Passages from Deuteronomy 28

<sup>14</sup> Psalms, 119, 4

<sup>15</sup> capere KO

<sup>16</sup> penitus KO

quoque, qui scienter his venditis aliquid, emitis ab his<sup>1</sup> aliquid, portum aut loca ejus conceditis, cum eis publice vel occulte communicatis, pariter anathema estote. In vos autem, universitates locorum et civitatum, mandamus per ecclesiarum praelatos interdicti sententiam ferri, nolentes ullum privilegium sedis conciliorumve<sup>2</sup> quamcumque<sup>3</sup> verborum vim habeat, vos ab hac poena defendat, etiam si de verbo ad verbum inseri vel particulatim illud exprimi vel recenseri oporteret.

[36] At tu, domine Deus, qui nosti corda hominum et renes eorum scrutaris et nihil ignoras eorum, quae fiunt, si bene agunt Christiani principes privatique homines, si de tuo honore solliciti sunt, si expeditioni, quam pro tuendo evangelio praeparamus, quae praestare possunt, {94r} auxilia non denegant, adjuva eos, *dirigeque*<sup>4</sup> *gressus*<sup>5</sup> eorum *diesque multiplica*,<sup>6</sup> retribue mercedem pro beneficiis<sup>7</sup>, conserva eis regna et principatus, patrimonia et possessiones auge et tandem ad *pinguia pascua*<sup>8</sup> tua et divites mensas accersito. Quod si corde indurato sua potius quam tua quaerentes, privatas causas magis quam publicas curant, avaritiae student, voluptatibus ac deliciis indulgent et nos ad tua bella vadentes nolunt associare aut auxilio juvare, cum possint, quin potius opem ferre volentes impediunt, aut converte illos, domine, et sana, quod infirmum est, aut quod noxium est, ne noceat, cohibeto.

[37] Angustias nostras aspicias, pie Deus, de excelso sancto tuo et nosti, quia praeter gloriam nominis tui et praeter salutem gregis dominici nil aliud quaerit vox nostra. Memento, domine Jesu Christe, quoniam beato Petro et successoribus ejus *claves regni caelorum*<sup>9</sup> tradidisti, volens quaecumque ligarentur ab eis in terra, ligata esse in caelis, et<sup>10</sup> quae {94v} solverentur, soluta.<sup>11</sup> Ecce adsum beati Petri successor, impar meritis, auctoritate non minor, indignus vicarius tuus. Respice ad preces nostras et exaudi nos de alto solio tuo. Benedicito, quibus ipsi benedicimus, et quibus maledixerimus, maledicito. *Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordiae tuae. Adjuva nos, Deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, domine, libera nos et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.*<sup>12</sup> Da felicem cursum coeptis nostris. *Ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum, qui effusus est a Turcis, introeat in conspectu*

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<sup>1</sup> ab his *omit.* P

<sup>2</sup> collegiorumve P

<sup>3</sup> quantamcumque P

<sup>4</sup> dirige KO

<sup>5</sup> Proverbs, 3, 6 *etc.*

<sup>6</sup> Deuteronomy, 11, 21

<sup>7</sup> benefactis KO

<sup>8</sup> Ezekiel, 34, 14

<sup>9</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>11</sup> Matthew, 18, 18

<sup>12</sup> Psalms, 78, 8-9



*tuo. Audi<sup>1</sup> gemitus compeditorum, et redde vicinis<sup>2</sup> nostris septuplum in sinu eorum, improprium eorum<sup>3</sup>, quod exprobraverunt tibi<sup>4</sup>. Respice super populum tuum benignis oculis. Fac nos ire cum prosperitate ad bellum tuum et<sup>5</sup> reverti felices. Da nobis victoriam de tuis hostibus, ut tandem recuperata Graecia, per totam Europam dignas {95r} tibi cantemus laudes tibi que perpetuo serviamus et omnis terra te adoret et nomini tuo psallat in saecula saeculorum.*

[38] Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominicae, millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo tertio, undecimo kalendas Novembris,<sup>6</sup> pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

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<sup>1</sup> aut KO

<sup>2</sup> inimicis KO

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* KO

<sup>4</sup> Psalms, 78, 10-12

<sup>5</sup> ac KO

<sup>6</sup> 22 October 1463