



**Oration “Suscepturi” of Pope Pius II (18 June 1464,  
Rome). 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio  
Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 76)**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 76)**

**Oration “*Suscepturi*” of Pope Pius II (18 June 1464, Rome).  
Translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**5th version**

**2019**

## Abstract

In spite of the Duke of Burgundy's failure to appear in person to participate in the crusade against the Turks, Pope Pius II decided to go ahead as planned. On 18 June 1464, he left Rome, mortally ill, to go to Ancona from where a crusade fleet would sail against the Turks. But he died on 15 August, at the moment when the Venetian fleet finally came in sight. Afterwards the crusade collapsed. During the ceremony of departure from Rome, held at Saint Peter's Basilica, the pope gave the oration "*Suscepturi*", in which he motivated his personal participation in the crusade and asked for the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints.

## Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Saints; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1464; 15<sup>th</sup> century

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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>

The continued ill health of the Duke of Burgundy and his reconciliation with his son, Jean le Témeraire, Count of Charolais, opened the perspective of Jean becoming regent when the duke left for the crusade. This perspective was quite unacceptable to King Louis of France because of the deadly enmity between him and Jean, and because of the unfinished negotiations for peace with England and the spectre of another war between France and England.

On 23 February 1464, King Louis therefore informed the duke of his objections to his leaving for a crusade at the present time and reminded him of the necessity of his presence at the signature of a renewed truce or peace with England. And in case the negotiations with the English failed, the duke could not be absent on a crusade with his military forces, a crusade moreover in which the Venetians would only participate until they had gained the Peloponnese and could sign a separate peace treaty with the Turk. In conclusion the king commanded the duke to stay at home and not leave on a crusade.<sup>2</sup>

Duke Philippe had to comply with his sovereign's command. In late March 1464 a message from the duke arrived in Rome, announcing a delay of his departure until Spring 1465.

The pope decided, however, that the military situation, his own health, and his honour as pope, would allow no more procrastination, and he left Rome on 18 June, mortally ill. Before leaving the City, he visited Saint Peter where he gave the short address/prayer<sup>3</sup> "Suscepturi"

His protégé, Cardinal Jacopo Ammanati, wrote about the event:

*Cupiens igitur Pius sanctissimus profectionem suam in Turcos perficere, quae fidelibus repromissa iam erat ad XIII.m Kalendas Iulii in basilicam Sanctorum Apostolorum mane descendit, sicut suus erat mos semper, cum Urbem relinquebat, atque, ibi veneratis aris et successu rerum pie deprecato, Romam egressus est, patribus et praelatis lecticam eius ferentibus.*<sup>4</sup>

He arrived in Ancona, the port of departure, on 19 July, but he had to wait for the Venetian galleys. When the sails of the arriving ships were seen from Ancona, on 15 August 1464, the pope drew his last breath.

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<sup>1</sup> Pastor, II, pp. 232-261; Paviot, 162-176; Voigt, IV, pp. 697-724

<sup>2</sup> Paviot, p. 170

<sup>3</sup> Like the oration/prayers "Advenisti tandem" [67] and "Si loqui possent" [68] at the reception of Saint Andrew's Head in Rome two years before. Also the opening and closing orations at the Congress of Mantua had been combined with prayer texts

<sup>4</sup> Ammanati, vol. 2, ep. 74, p. 502

It was all over: everybody except the frontier states heaved a sigh of relief, and the crusade collapsed.

Duke Philippe of Burgundy would not get the crusade he had dreamt about for so long. When the Bishop of Tournai later reminded him of his vow, the old man began to cry.<sup>1</sup>

And neither had Pius II gotten his crusade, nor the martyr's death he seemed to be wishing for as his personal sacrifice to God.

Was it all the great folly of a great man, or was it a sound political/military initiative based on a realistic perception of the Turkish threat? Scholars have differed on this question.

To the present editor of Pius' orations there is no doubt, however:

The crusade project of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II was based on a quiet realistic assessment of the Turkish danger to Europe and Christianity.<sup>2</sup> It may have contained less admirable political, financial, cultural, and even self-serving elements, but with the progress of time and Pius' growing into his role and responsibilities as pope it became a sincere religious enterprise and an expression of his deepening faith.

We may only guess what would have happened had the military and political circumstances allowed the French king to let the Duke of Burgundy leave for the crusade, but in the final judgment it would be churlish to doubt Pius II' sincerity and faith in the crusade matter.

A quite unscholarly quote from *Fear and trembling*<sup>3</sup> by the the Danish philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard, may be allowed:

*Not one shall be forgotten who was great in the world. But each was great in his own way, and each in proportion to the greatness of that which he loved. For he who loved himself became great by himself, and he who loved other men became great by his selfless devotion, but he who loved God became greater than all. Everyone shall be remembered, but each became great in proportion to his expectation. One became great by expecting the possible, another by expecting the eternal, but he who expected the impossible became greater than all. Everyone shall be remembered, but each was great in proportion to the greatness of that with which he strove. For he who strove with the world became great by overcoming the world, and he who strove*

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<sup>1</sup> Paviot, p. 175

<sup>2</sup> This view is shared by modern scholars like Babinger, see Babinger, p. 539: *Welche Absichten der Staatenlenker Mehmed II. mit dem Abendlande hatte, steht ausser Zweifel. Wie einst Alexander der Grosse gegen Osten zog ... so plante Mehmed II den Westen als Ziel seiner Angriffe und Eroberungspläne auszuersuchen.* See also Wheatcroft

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=2068&C=1870>

*with himself became great by overcoming himself, but he who strove with God became greater than all.*<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Themes

The oration *Suscepturi* has two main themes:

- **The reasons for the pope's personal participation in the crusade.** <sup>2</sup>

As the papal finances did not allow the pope to finance the crusade on his own, it would have to be organized and financed by the European states in common. But what the pope could do was to participate personally in the crusade which would put pressure on the secular princes and especially the very prestigious Duke of Burgundy to join it. In the oration the pope said:

*Someone will say: "It is indeed the custom to grant the sign of the cross to those who are going to fight the enemies of religion. But will old and sick Pius really take arms and go into battle? Such aid and defenders are not what is needed today. The Turkish wars require young warriors, experienced captains, and large armies. It would be more useful if Pius stayed at home and sent a legate with troops to fight in his place."*<sup>3</sup> *Those who reason thus know little about the resources of the Apostolic See and the ways of men. The treasury of the Roman Church can only contribute very little, and kings and peoples will rather follow the pope himself than a papal legate. Our strength consists in authority and reverence, not in wealth.* [Sect. 1]

- **Prayers to Jesus, the Holy Virgin and the saints to intercede for the crusaders with God**

*And all you holy apostles and all the saintly men and women of God whose relics are kept in this holy temple and all over the City: Our body shall leave, but Our soul is always with you. You reign in Heaven together with Jesus Christ: humbly We beg you to intercede for Our endeavours with Merciful God so that, in the voyage and war We are undertaking for the*

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<sup>1</sup> Søren Kierkegaard: *Fear and trembling*. Princeton, 1941 [Frygt og bæven. Copenhagen, 1843 ], Ch. 1: A panegyric of Abraham

<sup>2</sup> On the theme of a crusade in Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> These remarks show that the pope's personal participation in the crusade "remained highly contentious", cf. Housley, p. 216

*Christian religion, he shall make Us do his will and grant that our standard with the life-giving Cross shall win and triumph wherever it goes.* [Sect. 1]

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

The oration was delivered by Pope Pius II on 18 June 1501, in Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome.

The occasion was the pope's departure for the crusade against the Turks.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, Roman notables, and probably also common people from Rome come to say goodbye to the pope. Everybody would have known that it was probably the last time they saw him, so it must have been quite a dramatic and emotion-laden event.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century editor of the text, Cardinal Stefano Borgia, designated it as an oration.

### 4. Text

No extant manuscripts with the text of the oration appear to be known.

The oration was published twice by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, once as part of his *Anecdota litteraria*, and once as an individual publication:

- Stefano Borgia: *Anecdota litteraria ex mss. codicibus eruta*. 1773 / III, p. 287.
- Pius II: *Oratio de bello Turcis inferendo ...* [Cur.] Stephanus Borgia. Roma: Francesius, 1774

Cardinal Stefano Borgia<sup>1</sup> had acquired the manuscript on which his edition is based from his friend, Archbishop Francesco Maria Piccolomini.<sup>2</sup> The archbishop also gave the cardinal a golden coin, minted at the occasion of Pius' departure, showing the pope standing in a boat before the Holy

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<sup>1</sup> Stefano Borgia (1731-1804): Italian Cardinal, theologian, antiquarian, and historian

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Maria Piccolomini (1695-1784): Bishop of Pienza from 1741 to 1772 when he resigned and was appointed titular Archbishop of Perge

Eucharist and praying with lifted arms. Pius had referred to this very theme in his oration "*Sextus agitur annus*."<sup>1</sup>

*Text:*

The text is reproduced from Cardinal Borgia's edition.

*Pagination:*

The pagination is from the Borgia edition.

## 5. Sources<sup>2</sup>

In this oration, 13 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible.

Biblical: 13

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

**All: 13**

**Biblical sources: 13**

Old Testament: 10

- Genesis: 1
- Ezekiel: 1
- Psalms: 6
- Tobit: 2

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<sup>1</sup> Pius II: *Oration "Sextus agitur annus"*, sect. 23

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

New Testament: 3

- Luke: 1
- John: 1
- Romans: 1

**Classical sources: 0**

**Patristic and medieval sources: 0**

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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# II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratio Pii Papae II

[1] {287} Suscepturi hodie dominicae crucis passionisque signum non dubitamus, venerabiles fratres ac filii, quin plerosque vestrum admiratio teneat. Quis enim res novas atque insolitas intuetur et non miratur? {288} “Pugnatueros,” dicit aliquis, “adversus religionis hostes crucis munire signo mos fuit. Piusne senex, aegro corpore, arma induet et manum conserturus proelio intererit? Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget. Juvenes bellatores, expertos duces, numerosos exercitus Turconica bella requirunt. Utilius domi manebit Pius, emissio legato cum copiis, qui pro se pugnet.” Qui hoc pacto ratiocinantur, nec vires apostolicae sedis nec mores hominum satis metiti sunt. Perparum est, quod aerarium ecclesiae Romanae conferre potest, nec principes aut populi sunt, qui tam legatum pontificis quam ipsum pontificem sequi velint. In auctoritate et reverentia vires nostrae, non in opibus consistent.

# Oration of Pope Pius II

## 1. Reasons for the pope's personal participation in the crusade

[1] Venerable brethren and sons, today We are going to take the Lord's cross, the sign of his passion. Undoubtedly many of you are wondering, for all who see new and unusual things wonder. Someone will say: "It is indeed the custom to grant the sign of the cross to those who are going to fight the enemies of religion. But will old and sick Pius really take arms and go into battle? Such aid and defenders are not what is needed today. The Turkish wars require young warriors, experienced captains, and large armies. It would be more useful if Pius stayed at home and sent a legate with troops to fight for him." Those who reason in this way know little about the resources of the Apostolic See and the ways of men. The treasury of the Roman Church can only contribute very little,<sup>1</sup> and kings and peoples will rather follow the pope himself than a papal legate. Our strength consists in authority and reverence, not in wealth.

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<sup>1</sup> In an earlier oration, the pope had estimated that the yearly incomes of the Apostolic See amounted to 300.000 ducats a year, whereas the crusade would cost more than 1.000.000 ducats a year for three years, see oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75], sect. 15

[2] Matthias, rex Ungariae, magnanimus et clarae memoriae genitori suo persimilis, dubius erat, an hoc anno in Turcos arma proferret. At audita profectione nostra “En,” inquit, “summus sacerdos cano capite debilibusque membris in castris erit, {289} et ego juvenis robusto corpore domi manebo? Non faciam!” jussitque mox cuncta parari ad bellum necessaria. Aderit et Cristophorus Maurus, dux Venetiarum, aetate et sapientia plenus, gravi senatorum comitatu circumdatus, quem nullus legatorum nostrorum ex urbe sua eduxisset. Quid de Ludovico, Francisci excellentis Mediolanensium principis filio, dicemus ejusque fratre Tristano, qui splendidum equitatum peditatumque validum ad nos deducturi sunt? Putatisne legato etiam cardinali haec subsidia fuisse mittenda? Fallitur, si quis ea opinione tenetur. Dignitati nostrae ob locum, quem tenemus, et Franciscus ipse, et Florentini, et Senenses, et Borsius, Mutinae dux, et marchio Mantuanus, et Bononienses, et Lucenses, et Ragusei, et Rhodiensis militia ea nobis auxilia promittunt, quae nullus potuisset extorquere legatus.

[2] King Matthias of Hungary,<sup>1</sup> magnanimous and like to his famous father,<sup>2</sup> was uncertain whether he should go to war against the Turks this year. But when he heard about Our departure, he said: "Now the Supreme Pontiff goes to war, whitehaired and frail as he is. Should I then stay at home who am young and strong? No way!" And then he ordered all that is necessary for war to be prepared.

Cristoforo Moro,<sup>3</sup> Doge of Venice, will come too, an old and wise man, with a following of worthy senators. No legate of Ours could have made him leave his city.

And what shall We say about Ludovico Sforza,<sup>4</sup> the excellent son of the Prince of Milan,<sup>5</sup> and his brother Tristano<sup>6</sup> who will bring Us a splendid cavalry and a strong infantry? If anybody believe that such aid would have been sent to a legate, even if he is a cardinal, he is mistaken. It is because of Our exalted position that Francesco,<sup>7</sup> the Florentines, the Sienese, Duke Borso of Modena,<sup>8</sup> the Marquis of Mantua,<sup>9</sup> the Bolognese, the Lucchese, the Ragusans, and the Military Order of Rhodes send Us auxiliary troops which no papal legate could have wrested from them.

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

<sup>2</sup> Janos Hunyadi (1406-1456): leading Hungarian military and political figure. Regent of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>3</sup> Cristoforo Moro (1390-1471): Doge of Venice from 1462 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Ludovico Maria Sforza [Ludovico il Moro] (1452-1508): Second son of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan. Duke of Milan from 1494 until 1499. He was twelve years old when Pius gave the oration

<sup>5</sup> Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Tristano Sforza (1424-1474): Son of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Giovanna Columbina d'Acquapendente

<sup>7</sup> Francesco I Sforza

<sup>8</sup> Borso d'Este (141-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

<sup>9</sup> Ludovico III Gonzaga [Lodovico] (1412-1478): ruler of the Italian city of Mantua from 1444 to his death

[3] Quid de regulis Dalmatarum atque Illyrici referemus? De Albanis, de Graecis, de tyrannis Asiae Turco infestis? Quis putet tantam {290} in eis commotionem legatum apostolicum facere posse, quantam Jesu Christi vicarium? Addite fidelis populi per Italiam, Germaniam, et alias transalpinas provincias excitationem, quam nostra profectio factura est? Nisi fallimur, ingens populorum concursus aderit. Utinam et Philippi clarissimi ducis Burgundiae adventum prava consilia non impedissent. Totus profecto Occidens cum tanto principe, qui se comitem nobis promiserat, sumpsisset arma. Non tamen diffidimus, quin adhuc aut ejus personam ad nos venientem intueamur, aut ejus auxiliaries copias. Haec sunt, quae nos crucem sumere atque in hostem proficisci et suadent et urgent.

[4] Dicitis forsitan, "Non omnia fient, ut existimas. Adversus hostem potentissimum bellum instruis." At potentior illo Deus est, cujus evangelium defensuri pergimus, nec nos ii sumus, qui omnes cogitationes nostras futuras ratas arbitremur. Illud scimus quoniam nemo in Deo sperans {291} confunditur. *In domino faciemus virtutem, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros.* Quamquam hujusmodi naturae bellum est, ad quod pergimus, ut vincere gloriosum, vinci salutiferum est. Ad obsequium Dei vadimus, ejus erit cuicumque voluerit victoriam dare. Nobis ferendum erit aequo animo, quidquid suae pietati placebit, cujus judicia occulta esse possunt, injusta esse non possunt.

[5] Non tamen tentaturi Deum his periculis caput nostrum objectabimus, ex quibus humano judicio salvi emergere non possumus. Si sequentur Christiani signa nostra, ut par est, confidimus magnum aliquid pro gloria divini nominis efficere posse. Si minus, consulemus ecclesiae Romanae et nobis ipsis, quo melius licebit. Pius et optimus *Deus, qui corda et renes hominum scrutatur, et cui nihil potest esse secretum*, veniam nobis dabit, si relictis a Christifidelibus desperata proelia non aggrediemur.

[3] And what shall We say about the princes of Dalmatia and Illyria? About the Albanians, the Greeks, and the rulers of Asia Minor who are enemies of the Turk?<sup>1</sup> Who believes that an apostolic legate could stir them up more than the Vicar of Jesus Christ? Add to that the excitement Our departure will cause among the faithful people throughout Italy as well as Germany and the other transalpine lands. Unless We are mistaken, there will be a large rallying of people. If only bad advice had not prevented the noble Duke Philippe of Burgundy<sup>2</sup> from coming! Indeed the whole West would have gone to war with this great prince who had promised to accompany Us. We still hope to see either he himself or his auxiliary troops. This is what persuades and urges Us to take the cross and go to meet the enemies.

[4] Maybe you say: “Not all will happen as you think. You are waging war against a very powerful enemy.” But more powerful than he is God whose Gospel we are setting out to defend. And We do not believe that all Our plans will succeed. But this We know, that no one who puts his hope in God will be disappointed. *Through God we shall do mightily: and he shall bring to nothing them that afflict us.*<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the war We are going to is one in which victory brings glory and defeat brings salvation. We are departing to serve God, and He will give the victory to whom he wills. We must bear with serenity whatever he decides in His mercy, for his judgments are inscrutable,<sup>4</sup> but they cannot be unjust.<sup>5</sup>

[5] When We are walking into dangers from which We cannot escape safely – at least as humans must judge - We are not trying to tempt God. If the Christians follow Our banners, as they should, We believe that We may achieve great things for the glory of the divine name. If they do not, We on Our part shall do Our best for the Roman Church and Ourselves. The merciful and good<sup>6</sup> God *searcheth reins and hearts,*<sup>7</sup> and *no secret is hid* from Him.<sup>8</sup> If We are deserted by the Christians, He will give forgive Us that We do not enter into hopeless battles.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the enemies being other Turkish tribes who were rivals of the Ottomans

<sup>2</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Psalms, 59, 14: *In Deo faciemus virtutem; et ipse ad nihilum deducet tribulantes nos*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Psalms, 50, 8

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tobit, 3, 2; Apocalypse, 16, 7; 19, 2

<sup>6</sup> “optimus”

<sup>7</sup> Apocalypse, 2, 23

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

[6] At tu, pissime ac maxime Jesu, fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate patris, cooperante spiritu [292] sancto, damnatum aeterna morte primi parentis culpa genus humanum tuo pretioso sanguine redemisti et legem evangelicam, quae iter pararet in coelum, tradidisti, minime patieris, ut arbitramur, nos pro tua religione frustra conari. Pro gloria tua sancti nominis, pro sacramentorum tuorum observantia, pro caeremoniis tuis, pro divinissimo evangelio tuo quantum dederis conservando, adversus blasphemam gentem Turcorum expeditionem paramus. Non est, cur illos nobis praeferendos existimemus. Quamquam peccatores sumus, et tuis mandatis non semper oboedimus, te tamen colimus, te veneramur, te cum patre et spiritu sancto unum Deum in trinitate personarum adoramus. Tibi templa erigimus, tibi thura incendimus, tibi dies ac noctes canimus laudes, et *in omni tribulatione nostra* ad te confugimus. Turci contra te Deum esse negant, et sceleratum Mahumetem pseudoprophetae sequentes tuum nomen conantur delere de {293} terra, ecclesias tuas destruunt, altaria proterunt, imagines foedant, et universae tuae legis sacra contemnunt.



## 2. Prayers for the crusade

### 2.1 To Jesus

[6] But you, pious and great Jesus, Son of the Living God, obeying Your Father's will and aided by the Holy Spirit, You have, with Your *own precious blood*,<sup>1</sup> *redeemed* the human race, condemned to eternal death though the fault of the first parent,<sup>2</sup> and You have given us the Law of the Gospel which prepares the way to Heaven. We believe that You will not permit Our undertaking for your religion to fail. In so far as You grant it, We are preparing this expedition against the blasphemous people of the Turks for the glory of Your holy name, for the distribution of your sacraments, for your rites, and for the protection of the divine Gospel. There is no reason for You to prefer them to us. Though we are sinners and do not always obey your commandments, it is us who worship and venerate you, it is us who adore you together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One God in the Trinity of persons. It is us who build temples to You, who burn incense to You, who sing praises to you day and night, and *in all our troubles* we flee to you.<sup>3</sup>

The Turks, on the other hand, deny your divinity and following Muhammad, the criminal pseudo-prophet, they are endeavouring to efface Your name from Earth, they destroy Your churches, they tear down Your altars, they desecrate Your pictures, and they scorn all the holy [commandments] of Your Law.

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<sup>1</sup> From the hymn *Te Deum*

<sup>2</sup> The original sin by Adam – and Eve, cf. Genesis 3

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psalms, 31, 7

[7] Nihil habent in se Turci, propter quod eis opituleris, qui nec te dominum, nec patrem recognoscunt, et te velut hostem persequuntur. Nos servi tui sumus, quamvis aliquando rebelles. Et filii tui sumus per creationem et adoptionem, quamvis saepe inoboedientes. Parce nobis, domine, parce peccatis nostris et miserere nobis, nec velis *propter iniquitates nostras* Turcorum nos impietati subicere. Noli eorum arma nostris praeferre. Mitte nobis *auxilium de loco sancto tuo*, et da nobis vincere hostes tuos, quia tua est victoria et tuum regnum, *tui sunt caeli, et tua est terra*, et nihil est, quod tuae possit resistere voluntati. Precamur, clementissime Jesu, ne nos tuae majestati militaturos ope tua destituas. Adesto nobis et exercitui tuo, nec tuae passionis trophaeum, quod nobis pro vexillo erit, sine angelorum tuorum praesidio deseras. *Illumina vultum tuum super nos*, et salvi erimus.

[7] The Turks have nothing which may give You reason to help them: they recognize neither You nor Your Father as Lord; no, they persecute You as an enemy. It is us who are Your servants, though we sometimes rebel, and it is us who are Your sons by creation and adoption,<sup>1</sup> though often disobedient. Forgive us, Lord, forgive our sins, have mercy upon us, and do not subject us to the impious Turks *for our iniquities*.<sup>2</sup> Do not prefer their arms to ours. *Send us help from Your sanctuary*,<sup>3</sup> and grant us to defeat Your enemies, for Yours is the victory and yours is the power, Yours *are the heavens, and Yours is the earth*,<sup>4</sup> and nothing can resist Your will. We ask You, merciful Jesus, not to deprive us of your help, now that we are going to war for Your majesty. Accompany us and your army, do not fail the trophy of your passion,<sup>5</sup> which is our standard, and do not leave us without the protection of the angels. *Cause the light of Your countenance to shine upon us*,<sup>6</sup> and we shall be saved.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Romans, 8, 15

<sup>2</sup> Tobit, 13, 5: *He hath chastised us for our iniquities: and he will save us for his own mercy (Ipse castigavit nos propter iniquitates nostras, et ipse salvabit nos propter misericordiam suam)*

<sup>3</sup> Psalms, 19, 3

<sup>4</sup> Psalms, 88, 12

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the Cross

<sup>6</sup> Psalms, 66, 2

[8] Tu quoque mitissima virgo, regina coeli, mater Dei Maria, advocata nostra, fons pietatis, faveto coeptis nostris, adesto nobis in bello et propitium reddito filium tuum, ne magis peccata nostra quam hostium perfidiam animadvertat. In te confidimus, in te speramus. Nihil tibi negaturus est filius, quod pro nobis rogaveris.

[9] Et tu *puer propheta* et plusquam propheta Johannes Baptista, qui Jesum digito monstrans, *ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, palam dixisti, exsurge adversus impiam gentem, quae tuam prophetiam deridet, placatum nobis Jesum, Turcis infensum reddito, et vos pariter, divinissimi apostoli Petre ac Paule, quorum corpora sub hoc altari jacent, capita in basilica Lateranensi servantur, adeste precibus nostris, et auxilium nobis a domino implorate, cujus evangelium praedicastis. En vides, Petre, pastor ovium, aeterni regni claviger, quam diminitus est grex dominicus, cujus tibi {295} et succesoribus tuis cura commissa fuit, porrige manum, ne amplius pereat, et juva, ut quod perditum est recuperetur. Et tu, Paule, cujus per totam Graeciam insonuit tuba, nonne vides exitiabile dogma Mahumetis illic praedicari, ubi tuae solebant epistolae et tua mandata servari? Acceptius es proculdubio Deo, pro cujus nomine martyrium pertulisti. Audiet pro nobis te rogantem Dominus. Porrige pro nobis preces.

## 2.2 To the Virgin Mary and the saints

[8] And you too, Most Gentle Virgin Mary, *Queen of Heaven*,<sup>1</sup> Mother of God, *our advocate*,<sup>2</sup> *fountain of piety*,<sup>3</sup> favour our endeavours, be with us in the war, and make your Son show us his mercy and not take greater notice of our sins than of the faithlessness of our enemies. We trust in you. We hope in you. Your son will deny you nothing you ask for.

[9] And *thou child, prophet*,<sup>4</sup> nay, more than a prophet, John the Baptist, who pointed to Jesus and publicly declared: *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world*,<sup>5</sup> rise against the impious people that scorns your prophecy, and cause Jesus to be pleased with us and hostile to the Turks.

And you too, holy apostles Peter and Paul, whose bodies lie under this altar<sup>6</sup> while your heads are kept in the Lateran Basilica, hear our prayers and beg help for us from Our Lord whose Gospel you preached.

Peter, Guardian of the Sheep, Keybearer of the Heavenly Kingdom, you see how the Lord's flock has shrunk, the flock which was entrusted to you and your successors: stretch out your hand so that it will not be further destroyed and help us to regain what was lost.

And you Paul whose trumpet sounded in all of Greece: don't you see how the deadly teachings of Muhammad are being preached there where your own epistles and commandments were once held in honour? Undoubtedly you are more pleasing to God for whose name you suffered martyrdom. May the Lord hear you when you intercede for us. Pray for us.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the hymn *Regina coeli*

<sup>2</sup> From the hymn *Salve regina*

<sup>3</sup> From the hymn *Dies irae*

<sup>4</sup> Luke 1, 76

<sup>5</sup> John, 1, 29

<sup>6</sup> The main altar of Saint Peter's Basilica where the ceremony of the pope's departure was held

[10] Nec tu, apostole dive Andrea, beati Petri germane, cujus honoratum caput coram aspicimus, ne, quaesumus, auxilium subtrahe tuum: adesto, ut recuperemus tuam sedem, ex qua te Turci depulerunt. Acceptae sunt tuae preces domino. Adjuva nos, et si qua est indignatio Dei super nos, averte illam. Ecce divini apostoli et omnes sancti et sanctae Dei, quorum reliquiae in hoc sancto templo et ubique per urbem conservantur, corpore a vobis recedimus, animo semper vobiscum manemus. Vos in coelo regnatis {295} cum Christo Jesu: supplices oramus, ut divinae pietati coepta nostra commendetis, ut in hoc itinere atque in hoc bello, quod pro religione Christiana suscipimus, suam nos facere voluntatem elargiatur vexillumque suae vivificae crucis, quocumque pervenerit, vincere ac triumphare concedat. Amen.

[10] And you, Holy Apostle Andrew, brother of Saint Peter, whose revered head we see before us,<sup>1</sup> do not, we pray, deprive us of your help. Be with us so that we may reclaim your See from which the Turks expelled you. Your prayers please the Lord: help us, and if God is still angry with us, avert his anger.

And all you holy apostles and all the saintly men and women of God whose relics are kept in this holy temple and all over the City: Our body shall leave, but in spirit We are always with you. You are reigning in Heaven together with Jesus Christ: humbly We beg you to intercede for Our endeavours with Merciful God so that in the voyage and war We are undertaking for the Christian religion he shall make Us do his will and grant that our standard with the life-giving Cross shall win and triumph wherever it goes. Amen.

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<sup>1</sup> The relic of the Head of Saint Andrew was received in Rome on 12 April 1462 and placed in Saint Peter's Basilica, see oration "*Advenisti tandem*" [67]. It was taken from its place in the Cathedral of Patras and brought to Italy by a Palaeologus prince fleeing from the Turks. When it was received in Rome, Pius promised it that he would try to restore it to its see in Patras during a future crusade