
Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pius II; 19)

April 2016
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Abstract

After the Fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, three imperial diets were held to discuss a crusade against the Turks. At all three diets the main spokesman for the emperor, Friedrich III, was Enea Silvio Piccolomini, seasoned imperial diplomat and Bishop of Siena. The first of the diets was held in Regensburg in May 1454 where Piccolomini gave the oration *Quamvis omnibus*. The second was held in Frankfurt in October. Here Piccolomini gave the oration *Constantinopolitana clades*, one of the most important humanist Turkish orations, and indeed one of the most remarkable orations of that period. In the oration Piccolomini spoke of the legitimacy (justitia), the benefits (utilitas), and the feasibility (facilitas) of the war. Though he managed, for a time, to revive flagging German enthusiasm for the crusade, the only result of the diet in this respect was the decision to hold another in Wiener Neustadt, in the presence of the emperor, and a specific offer of military help to the Hungarians.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II Emperor Friedrich III; Emperor Frederick III; Crusades; Crusade against the Turks; Turks; Ottomans; Renaissance; Orations; Church history; Diet of Frankfurt, 1454; Origin of the Turks; Fall of Constantinople

Editor and translator

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)
Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director General / The Royal Library, Copenhagen
Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142
Foreword

The oration *Constantinopolitana clades* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini is one of the most important and one of the best-known examples of humanist oratory. It exist both in an Early Version, identical or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Piccolomini, and a Final Version that was part of the compilation of Piccolomini/Pius’ orations prepared during the last years of his pontificate, under his own direct supervision. There are probably Intermediate Versions, too, but further studies of the extant manuscript versions are needed to verify this.

The Early Version is the oration as a historical document whereas the Final Version is a literary product in the ultimate form given to it by the author himself. A comparative study of the two versions will reveal how the author’s thinking, personal situation, and literary style developed over the years. Some of Piccolomini’s orations, including the *Constantinopolitana clades*, underwent important revisions from the Early to the Final Version.

In 2013, an admirable edition of the Early Version of the *Constantinopolitana clades* appeared in the Reichstagsakten (RTA). It was prepared by professor Johannes Helmrath and will quite probably be the definitive edition of that version.¹

The present edition of the oration is a synoptic edition of the Early and the Final Version together with an English translation of the Final Version. In view of the RTA-edition, the present edition of the Early Version is based on just two mss. and the Koberger printed edition of 1486. All readers especially interested in the Early Version are referred to the RTA edition with its excellent introduction, its comprehensive list of manuscripts and editions, its careful critical apparatus, and its copious notes.

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg
20 April 2016

¹ On his HU/Berlin web-page, professor Helmrath has also announced a special monograph on the Constantinopolitana Clades: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Die Frankfurter Türkenrede 1454 (ConstantinopolitanaClades) (RUB) Stuttgart 2013 (in Vorbereitung)*. As professor Helmrath will presumably cover the relevant research literature in depth, I have chosen not to do so in the present text.
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I. INTRODUCTION
1. Context\textsuperscript{2}

At the Diet of Regensburg held in May 1454, the representatives of the German nation and of other princes had decided to go to war against the Turks and to hold another diet to plan for the crusade.

After the diet in Regensburg, Piccolomini returned to the emperor and asked to be released from his service to him in order to return to Italy and to his Sienese diocese. The emperor refused and instead required Piccolomini to represent him at the next diet, to be held in Frankfurt, in the emperor's absence. In his Commentaries Piccolomini wrote: \textit{Aeneas ... had made up his mind to return to Italy and live out his life in his native city, but when he asked the emperor's permission, Frederick refused. He kept Aeneas on to serve as his spokesman at the Diet of Frankfurt, for he seamed the only man at court who cared at all about the defense of the faith, and the only one whose rhetoric was at all effective.}\textsuperscript{3}

That Piccolomini himself entertained no illusions as to the possibility of mobilizing the German nation for a crusade, is manifest in his own letters from the period.\textsuperscript{4}

The enthusiasm for the crusade displayed in Regensburg had turned out to be shortlived. By this point, the Commentaries say, \textit{the Germans had changed their minds: none of them now favored the idea of a crusade. It was as if someone had dripped poison in their ears: the slightest mention of the emperor or the pope was insufferable. Both were greedy liars, they said, more interested in profit than holy war. It was a fine trick, to swindle the Germans of their treasure by proclaiming a crusade against the Turks – as though the Germans were mere barbarians! The lords of the world were greedily scheeming to divide the spoils between them. But things would turn out very differently at the Diet than they expected, for the people of Germany would contribute neither money nor men for military service. All were persuaded of this opinion; they cursed the emperor and the pope, abused the ambassadors, jeered at the Burgundians (who seemed inclined to favour the expedition) and harshly assailed the Hungarians for first failing to defend their kingdom and now trying to involve Germany in their misfortune. The resolutions passed at Regensburg were being rejected out of hand, and it seemed impossible to imagine that matters would turn out well.}\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{2} Voigt, III, 2, pp. 119-131
\textsuperscript{3} Pius II: \textit{Commentarii} (Meserve), 1, 27, p. 133
\textsuperscript{4} Voigt, III, p. 118-120
\textsuperscript{5} Pius II: \textit{Commentarii} (Meserve), 1, 27, p. 133
Matters were not improved by the absence of the emperor, and by the fact that the pope, in spite of Piccolomini’s proposal to send a cardinal legate, was only represented by a bishop. The crusade was not the only matter on the diet’s agenda, and behind the scene an intense power struggle took place, involving even the possibility of effectively replacing the emperor with his own brother, Archduke Albrecht.

But the Turkish threat was undeniable, and its seriousness was shown by the presence of envoys from Bohemia and Hungary and their urgent requests for help against the Turks.

According to the Commentarii, Piccolomini’s speech was well received by the audience: But when the Diet formally convened and Aeneas made his speech – wonderful to relate – the old enthusiasm for a crusade suddenly revived in every heart. His oration lasted nearly two hours; but the audience was so utterly absorbed that no one even cleared his throat or took his eyes off the speaker’s face. No one thought the speech too long, and all were sorry to hear it end. Aeneas’ speech was praised by all and written down by many, and because of it the declaration of war passed at Regensburg was reaffirmed; the Hungarians were promised aid (some 10,000 cavalry and 32,000 infantry) and it was agreed that the imperial electors and the other German princes should meet with the emperor at the approaching feast of Pentecost to make final arrangements for the expedition.

In view of the reluctance of the German princes to commit themselves genuinely to a crusade, the decision to send concrete military aid to Hungary was actually a victory for the imperial diplomats, first among them Piccolomini.

And as a piece of oratory in itself the Constantinopolitana clades is, in the words of Johannes Helmrath: ...eine der bedeutendsten und wirksamkeitigsten Akte, mit denen

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6 Cf. Voigt, III. 119. Voigt believed that Piccolomini only made this proposal to be appointed cardinal himself. This may be true, though it is difficult to see how such an appointment could be made and have effect within the given timeframe. At any rate Piccolomini’s proposal turned out to be quite sensible since, at the diet itself, the German princes were piqued at the lowly representation of the pope, cf. Voigt, III, p. 125
7 Voigt, III, pp. 120-122
8 Voigt, III, p. 122-123
9 That others, too, thought highly of the oration is known from the great number of copies extant in European libraries and by its many later editions (cf. RTA, pp. 469 ff.) as well as by remarks by the Franciscan preacher, Giovanni da Capistrano and the Bavarian envoy, Konrad Rottenauer, cf. Voigt, III, 124-125, and RTA, p. 467
10 Ibid. pp. 135-137
11 Of Pius’ contemporary biographers Campano wrote: Prefectus eodem studio Frankfordiam, quod in Ratisponensi conventu fecerat, ad suscipiendum in Turchas bellum excitavit, ita ut passim arma caperentur, constitutis ex ejus sententia ducibus, qui essent publico nomine rerum summas praefuturi (Zimolo, p. 24). And Platina: Missus itaque ob eam rem ad Franskfordiensem conventum, Germanos principes, qui ex tota provincia eo convenerant, gravissima et longa oratione ad bellum periculosum et necessarium multis rationibus adhortatur. Visus est omnes vehementer commovere. Verum hoc natura compertum est eorum animos cito residere, quorum affectus facillime moventur. (Zimolo, p. 103)
12 Voigt, III, p. 127
versucht wurde, im Westen den Fall Konstantinopels am 29. Mai 1453 intellektual und emotional zu bewältigen.  

2. Themes

The main topic of the oration is obviously the war against the Turks, as decided upon at the Diet in Regensburg. Says Piccolomini in the speech: The whole issue is whether or not to go to war [sect. 7], and: Your primary task is to consider and discuss the articles approved in Regensburg [sect. 5].

In Regensburg, six months earlier, Piccolomini had provided a double motivation for the crusade: firstly to avenge the injuries inflicted upon the Christians by the Turks, and secondly to protect Europe against future attacks.

In Frankfurt, the motive of revenge was barely mentioned and Piccolomini’s focus was now purely on the need for protection, e.g.:

- His Serene Highness has therefore found it worthwhile to summon an assembly of the princes and cities of the German nation in order to take counsel on how to protect Christianity [sect. 4].

- ... in this case where you come to the defense not only of the fatherland, the weak, and the allies, but also of Faith, the religion, and the honour of God. [sect. 16].

- Your fathers entered savage battles in order to protect their lands. Should you then refuse to take up arms in order to protect your religion and Faith? [sect. 47]

In his oration Piccolomini, following classical models, deals with three main issues of the war, i.e. the justice (justitia), the benefits (utilitas), and the feasibility (facilitas) of the war.

Concerning the justice of the war Piccolomini refers to the injuries and damages inflicted upon the Christian religion by the Turks, the need for the Christians to protect themselves against further attacks, and the fact that the war was requested by the two heads of Christianity, the emperor and the pope – and even by God himself! [cf. section 9]

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13 RTA, p. 463. On the oration as a rhetorical innovation at the German diets, see RTA, p. 464
14 Christianity in the broad sense of Christian Europe
Concerning the benefits (utilitas) of the war Piccolomini firstly points to the need for self-defense:

*If you take up arms in defense of the Hungarians, the Albanians, the Serbians, and the other peoples who are neighbours of the Turk and who share our faith,¹⁵ you will protect not only your allies, but also yourselves, your wives, and your children from this terrible danger. This is, Princes, the great benefit of the war as I see it [sect. 22]. Secondly, he points to the benefits of showing gratitude, in this case to God who has not only created the Germans as men, but also given the German Nation empire over the Latin Christian World [Sect. 24-26]. And finally, though advising against them as a motive for war, Piccolomini describes the spoils of war that will fall to the victors [sect. 29].*

Concerning the feasibility (facilitas) Piccolomini claims that the Germans are, in all matters, better suited for war than the Turks:

*You have an abundance of all that is considered necessary for war, you are strong soldiers, and you have experienced leaders who are lucky in war. Moreover it is reasonable to hope that God will favour his own cause. And finally, your enemies are greatly inferior to you. Thus, there is absolutely no reason for you to shy away from a war that is so just and so advantageous [sect. 36].*

A subtheme worth mentioning is the need for the study of letters and learning, a major theme in Piccolomini’s description of what was lost to the Christians together with Constantinople. This matter might not seem very important to princes, nobles and soldiers. But Piccolomini, developing a common and classically inspired theme of the humanists, points to nobles’ need of glory, fame and reputation, which can only be assured in literature. Therefore the nobility and the warrior class greatly needs literate people who alone can give them eternal fame:

*The stronger, the braver, and the more powerful you are, Noble Knights, the more you will benefit from intellect and letters. For it is those that can make your forefathers, famous men who died a long time ago, stay alive, so to say, and transmit your name to posterity [sect. 15].*

¹⁵ Galatians, 6, 10: *domesticos fidei*
3. Sources

The *Constantinopolitana clades* contains a number of direct quotations from and allusions to texts used by Piccolomini:

From the *Bible* there are 30, of which 16 are from the Old Testament and 14 from the New Testament.

From *classical authors* there are 29:

- Cicero: 12
- Virgil: 8 (7 from the Aeneid and 1 from Georgica)
- Suetonius: 3
- Sallust: 2
- Quintilian: 2
- Juvenal: 1
- Horace: 1

From *the Fathers* there are 4

- Augustine: 2
- Ambrose: 1
- Cyprian: 1

From *medieval authors* there are 10:

- Otto von Freising: 7
- Aethicus Ister: 3

From *contemporary authors* there is at least one, from Antonio Beccadelli (Il Panormitano).

4. Date, place and format

The RTA gives the date of the delivery of the oration as 15 October 1454. The location was the Townhall of Frankfurt (Römer).  

\[16\text{ RTA, p. 464}\]
The format is that of a proper oration, and in the text Piccolomini himself designates it as such: *oratio mea quibus in rebus radices agat* [Sect. 7].

5. Text

The text is extant in two versions: the original version, identical or very close to the oration as delivered in Frankfurt, and the Final version as prepared under the direct supervision of Piccolomini as pope. Further studies are required to determine if one or more intermediate versions are documented by the manuscripts.

For a comprehensive survey of the manuscript versions and the editions of the oration, see the RTA edition, pp. 477 ff. Below are only mentioned the two manuscripts and one edition used for the Early Version and the six manuscripts containing the Final Version.

5.1. Early version (EV)

5.1.1. Manuscripts

**Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
- Ms. lat. 5565A, ff. 41r–70v [P1] [Collated in RTA as P]
- Ms. lat. 4314, ff. 135r-158v [P2] [Collated in RTA as P1]

5.1.2. Editions

- [Pius II: Epistolae familiares]. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486 / nr. 131 [= Hain, nr. 154]
  
  [MDZ Digitale Bibliothek: http://daten-digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00043818/images/index.html?id=00043818&grosse=r=&fip=eayaqrsqrsSEQSEAYAXSQRXDSYDASYTSQRSEWQ&no=32&seite=180 (KO)]


The edition in the Opera Omnia has not been used as it appears to be a reproduction of the text in the early printed editions of Piccolomini’s letters, the *Epistolae familiares*. 
The edition of Mansi has not been used since it appears to be a reproduction of the text in the *Opera Omnia*.

5.2. Final version [FV]

5.2.1. Manucripts

The Final Version [FV] is part of a compilation of Piccolomini / Pius’ orations prepared under his own auspices in the last years of his pontificate (1462-1464). It is contained in six extant manuscripts.

**Mantova / Biblioteca Communale**
100 A-IV-26, ff. 138v-154v

**Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
97 inf., ff. 95r – 106v

**Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
Chis.I.VI.211, ff. 94v-105v (D)
Chis.I.VIII 284, ff. 98v-106v (A)
Chis.I. VIII 286, ff. 142v-158v (C)
Vat. Lat. 1788, ff. 140v-153r (B)

5.2.2. Editions

The Final Version as such has not been edited previously, though the mss. were selectively collated in an edition by Helmrath from 1994.\(^\text{17}\)

5.3. Present edition

In the present edition, the Early Version is based on the two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Ms. Lat. 5665A (P1) and the Ms. Lat. 4314 (P2). The Final Version is based on the four mss in the BAV.\(^\text{18}\)

The Early Version and the Final Version are presented synoptically, the Early Version above, and the Final Version below. Variant words and passages in the two versions are marked in

\(^{17}\text{Cf. Helmrath}\)

\(^{18}\text{The Milano ms. is derived from B, and the Mantova ms. is a late copy from 1472 without interest in terms of establishing the original text or the transmission of the text.}\)
red (excluding words only varying in grammatical form, and et/ac/atque-variations). Words placed in different order are underlined.

In the text of the Early Version the lead ms. is the Paris 5665A (P1) with variants from Paris 4314 (P2) and the Koberger edition (KO) given in the textual apparatus, except when the latter texts have better readings. Variants not indicated in RTA-edition (where they have the sigla P and P1 respectively) are marked with an asterisk.

Normalized orthography based on contemporary Latin lexicography is used throughout. 19

Pagination in the Early Version is from Paris 5665A (blue) and in the Final Version from Chisianus 284 (red).

In the Final Version, direct quotations are marked with cursive.

Translations of quotations from classical authors are from the Loeb Classical Library (Digital), unless otherwise stated. Translations of quotations from the Bible are from the Douay-Reims translation into English of the Vulgate.

7. Bibliography

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Hain, Ludwig: Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi, ordine alphabeticum vel simpliciter enumerantur vel acuratius recensentur. Stuttgart, 1831

19 For an orthographical analysis of mss. containing the Final Version, see the introductory volume to my edition of the Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II, to be published in 2016


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Otto von Freising: *Gesta Friederici seu rectius Cronica*.


Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Letters*.


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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. II vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
Pius II: Orations


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


8. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI.211
B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788
C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I. VIII 286
D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI.211
P1 = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / ms. lat. 5565A
P2 = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / ms. lat. 4314

KO = Epistolae familiares. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486
II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
Oratio Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei episcopi Senensis, qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus\textsuperscript{20} Pius Secundus appellatus est, habita in conventu Frankfordiensi ad suadendum Germanos\textsuperscript{21} bellum\textsuperscript{22} contra Turcos\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20} pontificatum ... adpetus \textit{omit.} B

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{omit.} B

\textsuperscript{22} Germanos bellum : bellum Germanis C

\textsuperscript{23} Oratio ... Turcos : Enee Silvii, episcopi senensis, legati Caesaris, oratio habita Francfordiae ad suadendum Germanos bellum contra Turcos D; Oratio Enee episcopi Senensis legati Cesaris habita in conventu Frankfordiensi die Martis XVa Octobris anno MoCCCCoLIIo P1; Oratio admonitoria de bello gerendo pro Christi nomine contra Turchum et infideles habita ab Enea Silvio in consilio Francfordiens  omnium nobilium ... [illeg.] Alamaniae P2; Oratio Enee de Constantinopolitana clade et bello contra Thurcos congregando KO
Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, who was called Pius II after he became pope, delivered at the diet in Frankfurt to persuade the Germans to go to war against the Turks
Constantinopolitana clades, reverendissimi patres, illustrissimi principes, ceterique viri generosi ac praestabiles, quoniam Turcorum grandis victoria, Graecorum extrema ruina, Latinorum summa infamia fuit, unumquemque vestrum, ut arbitror, tanto magis angit magisque cruciat, quanto et nobiliores estis et meliores. Quid enim viro bono et nobili magis congruit, quam curam gerere fidei orthodoxae, favere religioni, Christi nomen salvatoris pro sua virili magnificare atque extollere? Sed amissa nunc Constantinopoli tanta urbe in potestatem hostium redacta, tanto Christianorum sanguine fuso, tot animabus in servitutem abductis, vulnerata est miserabiliter catholica fides, confusa turpiter nostra religio, Christi nomen damnificatum nimis atque oppressum.

Constantinopolitana clades, reverendissimi patres, illustrissimi principes, ceterique viri generosi ac praestabiles, quoniam Turcorum grandis victoria, Graecorum extrema ruina, Latinorum summa infamia fuit, unumquemque vestrum, ut arbitror, tanto magis angit magisque cruciat, quanto et nobiliores estis et meliores. Quid enim viro bono et nobili magis congruit, quam curam gerere fidei orthodoxae, favere religioni, Christi nomen salvatoris pro sua virili magnificare atque extollere? Sed amissa nunc Constantinopoli tanta urbe in potestatem hostium redacta, tanto Christianorum sanguine fuso, tot animabus in servitutem abductis, vulnerata est miserabiliter catholica fides, confusa turpiter nostra religio, Christi nomen damnificatum nimis atque oppressum.

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24 et KO
25 spectabiles P2
26 ingruit P2
27 potestate KO
28 sanguine fuso : fuso sanguine P2*
29 adductis P2*
30 mirabiliter P2*
31 oppressum omit. P2
1. Introduction

[1] [FV] Reverend fathers, illustrious princes, and you others, noble and respectable men,

the Fall of Constantinople was a great victory for the Turks, a total disaster for the Greeks, and a complete disgrace for the Latins. Therefore, I believe, it must pain and hurt each of you – and the more so the more noble and good you are. For what is more proper for a good and noble man than to care for the true Faith, to favour religion, and to extol and spread the name of Christ, Our Saviour, as much as possible? But now that Constantinople is lost, and this great city has fallen into the power of our enemies, now that so much Christian blood has been shed, and so many people\(^{32}\) have been carried off into slavery, the Catholic Faith has been grievously injured, our religion has suffered a shameful reverse, and the name of Christ has been grievously damned and abused.

\^{32} \text{animae}
Neque si verum fateri volumus, multis ante saeculis majorem ignominiam passa est, quammodo Christiana societas. Retroactis namque temporibus in Asia atque in Africa, hoc est in alienis terris, vulnerati fuimus: nunc vero in Europa, id est in patria, in domo propria, in sede nostra percussi caesique sumus. Et licet dicat aliquis ante plurimos annos ex Asia Turcos in Graeciam transivisse, Tartaros citra Tanaim in Europa consedisse, Saracenos Herculeo mari trajecto Hispaniae portionem occupasse; numquam tamen aut urbem aut locum amisimus in Europa, qui Constantinopoli possit aequari. Est enim civitas illa totius terrae, quae commodo colitur, paene centrum, portumque habet et amplissimum et tutissimum, in quo non dicam naves, sed numerosae classes armari sustentare possint, atque inde per Bosforum, hinc per Hellespontum ad omnia Mediterranei maris sive tuenda, sive vexanda littora transmitti. At hic locus tam commodus, tam utilis, tam necessarius, nobis tacentibus, ne dicam dormantibus, amissus Christo salvatori, lucrifactus Mahumeto seductori est.

[2] [EV] Neque si verum fateri volumus, multis ante saeculis majorem ignominiam passa est, quammodo Christiana societas. Retroactis namque temporibus in Asia atque in Africa, hoc est in alienis terris, vulnerati fuimus: nunc vero in Europa, id est in patria, in domo propria, in sede nostra percussi caesique sumus. Et licet dicat aliquis ante plurimos annos ex Asia Turcos in Graeciam transivisse, Tartaros citra Tanaim in Europa consedisse, Saracenos Herculeo mari trajecit Hispaniae portionem occupasse; numquam tamen aut urbem aut locum amisimus in Europa, qui Constantinopoli possit aequari. Est enim civitas illa totius terrae, quae commodo colitur, paene centrum, portumque habet et amplissimum et tutissimum, in quo non dicam naves, sed numerosae classes armari sustentare possint, atque inde per Bosforum, hinc per Hellespontum ad omnia Mediterranei maris sive tuenda, sive vexanda littora transmitti. At hic locus tam commodus, tam utilis, tam necessarius, nobis tacentibus, ne dicam dormantibus, amissus Christo salvatori, lucrifactus Mahumeto seductori est.

[2] [FV] Neque si verum fateri volumus, multis ante saeculis majorem ignominiam passa est, quammodo Christiana societas. Patres nostri in Asia et in Africa, id est in alienis terris, nonnumquam vulnerati fuerunt: nos in Europa, in patria, in domo propria, in sede nostra percussi caesique sumus. Quod si dicat aliquis ante plurimos annos ex Asia Turcos in Graeciam transivisse, Tartaros citra Tanaim in Europa consedisse, Saracenos Herculeo mari trajecto Hispaniae portionem occupasse stragesque multas Christianis intulisse, numquam tamen aut urbem amisimus aut locum, qui Constantinopoli possit aequari, numquam in Europa tantum Christiani et nobilissimi sanguinis quantum modo ab infidelibus fusum accepimus. Est enim Constantinopolis totius terrae, quae commodo colitur, paene centrum, portumque habet amplissimum et tutissimum, in quo, non dicam naves, sed ingentes ac numerosae classes armari sustentare possint. Inde per Bosforum in Euxinum mare, quod nostri majus appellant, ad omnes septentriones et orientes oras iter patet. Hinc per Hellespontum, quem nunc Brachium Sancti Georgii vocamus, sive occidentis cupias seu meridiana littora facile penetrabis. At hic locus tam commodus, tam utilis, tam necessarius, nobis tacentibus, ne dicam dormantibus, amissus Christo salvatori, Mahumeto seductori lucrifactus est.
[2] [FV] Truly, for many centuries the Christian commonwealth has suffered no greater disgrace than today. Our forefathers often experienced setbacks in Asia and Africa, that is in other regions, but we, today, have been smitten and struck in Europe itself, in our fatherland, in our own home and seat. If somebody says that it is many years since the Turks came from Asia to Greece, the Tartars settled in Europe on this side of Tanais, and the Saracens crossed the Herculean Sea, occupied a part of Spain, and inflicted many defeats on the Christians, [my answer is that] until now we have never lost a city or a place equal to Constantinople, and never have we, in Europe, lost so much Christian and noble blood to the infidels as now.

Constantinople is almost at the center of all the earth that may be easily cultivated, and it has a very large and safe harbor where ships, nay immense fleets can be armed and provisioned. In one direction, the way is open through the Bosphorus to the Euxine Sea, that we today call the Great Sea, and all its Northern and Eastern coasts. And in the other direction, you may easily go through the Hellespont, that we now call the Arm of Saint George, to the West and to the coasts of the Mediterranean. This place, so advantageous, so useful, and so essential, has now been lost to Christ, Our Saviour, and gained by Muhammad, the Seducer, while we were silent, not to say asleep.

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46 Note Piccolomini’s geopolitical use of the concept of Europe
47 i.e. Asia Minor. The Battle of Gallipoli 1354 (Turks)
48 i.e. the river Don. In antiquity considered to be the frontier river between Asia and Europe. The Battle of Liegnitz 1241 (Mongols)
49 i.e. the Strait of Gibraltar. Cf. the Pillars of Hercules
50 711 AD (Arabs)
51 i.e. the Black Sea
52 i.e. the Dardanelles
[3] [OV] Quid quod idem duobus imperatoribus Christianis alter occisus est? Nonne ex duobus Christianitatis oculis erutum esse alterum dicere possimus, ex duobus manibus alteram amputatam? Addite, quod ex quattuor sedibus illis patriarchalibus primis et principalibus, quibus veluti solidissimis basibus Christiana subnixa fides in omnem terram ramos suos extendit, maiores nostri duas simul cum Jerusolymitana per ignaviam atque secordiam perdiderunt; nos tertiam, et illam quidem, cui omnes Ruteni, multi ad Boream, multi ad orientem Tanaim jacentes populi serviebant, non minore desidia, majori tamen infamia prorsus amissum. Nimirum, principes, si doletis omnes ac de tanto Christianitatis vulnere, quo cecidisse Graecos, superasse Turcos, confusos esse Latinos animadverteritis, consternati atque attoniti estis.

Moreover, the Christians had two emperors, one Latin and one Greek. Now that the Greek emperor has been killed together with his nobles, can we not say that one of the two eyes of Christianity has been plucked out and one of its two hands cut off?

In the whole world, four empires have been considered great and outstanding: the empire of the Assyrians, the empire of the Greeks, the empire of the Carthaginians, and the empire of the Romans. The first one may be called the Eastern Empire, the second the Northern Empire, the third the Southern Empire, and the fourth the Western empire.

In the same way, our forefathers established four patriarchal sees: the Antiochene See they gave to the Eastern people, the Constantinopolitan See to the Northern people, the Alexandrinian See to the Southern people, and the Roman See to the Western people. The patriarchal sees of Jerusalem, Aquileja, and Grado that has now been translated to Venice, were founded long afterwards and are not considered as equal to the first four. Of the four principal patriarchates, our forefathers lost two, together with the See of Jerusalem, due to passivity and mutual conflicts. Because of the same passivity, but to our greater shame, we ourselves have now lost the third one, the one that is followed by all the Ruthenians and many peoples to the North and East of Tanais. No wonder, nobles, that you are all mourning, shocked and stupified by this great blow to Christianity, seeing that at one stroke the Greeks have fallen, the Turks are victorious, and the Latins have been been thrown into confusion and disorder.

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66 The image of Rome and Constantinople as the two “eyes” of the world was coined by Themistius (4th century)
67 Cf. Sallust: Bellum Catilinae, 58, 4: sociardia atque ignavia Lentuli quantum ... cladem attulerit
68 Alexandria 641; Jerusalem 1187 (final conquest); Antioch 1268

Ille quidem pro tanta Christianitatis necessitate in hoc conventu minime defuisset, si domum tutam relinquere potuisset.

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69 enim P2  
70 cubili P2  
71 annexum P2*  
72 requirent KO  
73 omit. KO  
74 tam P2  
75 quam P2  
76 accersiri P2  
77 cuperentur KO  
78 consulta KO  
79 consulere P2  
80 facto opus est : opus est facto P2  
81 consilium P2  
82 indita P2  
83 conventia KO  
84 accedere P2  
85 tantam P2  
86 Germanie corr. from Germanice A  
87 Christianitatis D  
88 omit. C  
89 fuerit C  
90 vos corr. from nos C
his diebus dictum est. Ille namque omnino in tanto negotio superiores imperii partes visitasset, si domum tutam relinquere potuisset.

[4] [FV] The grief of Holy Emperor Friederich was just as great as yours. You should have seen him when he was first informed about this catastrophe, crying in his chamber, sorrowful in court, worried in council, praying in church, and everywhere downcast and anxious. For a long time food gave him no pleasure and sleep no rest.⁹¹

But since the Turks are daily threatening Christendom with greater evils, it does not need moaning and tears as much as vigour and weapons. His Serenes Highness has therefore found it worthwhile to summon an assembly of princes and cities of the German nation in order to take counsel on how to protect Christianity. Indeed he remembered the saying: “For, before you begin, there is need for deliberation, and for prompt action after you have deliberated.”⁹² The convention was asked to assemble in Regensburg, and you all know what happened there. The present meeting is held at the decision of that assembly. During the last days, it has been amply explained why this meeting is not held in Nürnberg, and why the emperor is unable to be present. For he would most certainly have come to the upper parts of the Empire in such an important matter if he had been able to leave his homeland at peace.⁹³

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⁹¹ Piccolomini probably exaggerates the distress of the emperor who was not generally given to strong expressions of emotion, cf. the oration Quamvis omnibus  
⁹² Cf. Sallust: Bellum Catilinae, 1, 6  
⁹³ On Piccolomini’s embarrassment at the emperor’s absence, see the oration Quamvis omnibus
Sed cum ejus desiderium ab his impediretur, quibus non tam pax et otium quam contentiones et bella sunt usui, misit hosce praestantissimos et celeberrimos legatos, qui suum locum tenerent suasque vices implerent, cum plena et ampla potestate; sive res imperii, sive commune fidei negotium tractare libet, praesto erunt. Ceterum quia super articulis Ratisponae meditatis haec potissimum congregatio consultura est, vosque Caesaris animum circa illos cognoscere cupitis; quae sit ejus mens, quae sententia, quae voluntas, aperire me nunc collegarum meorum auctoritas jubet. Ego qui malo per oboedientiam parum prudens quam per contumaciam videri sapiens, onus meis humeris paene intolerandum subivi, confisus in ejus auxilio, qui victimis oboedientiam praetulit. Nec timeo sub tanto fasce deficere, quando praesto sunt, qui cadenti manum porrigant. Pareo quoque in hac re tanto libentius, quanto et conspectum vestrum frequentiorem intueor, et mihi benigniorem autumno.

At cum ejus desiderium ab his impediretur, quibus non tam pax et otium quam contentiones et bella sunt usui, noluit hunc conventum negligere: misit hos principes, qui suum locum teneant yicesque suas impleant, potestatem plenam atque amplissimam eis dedit. Sive res imperii, sive commune fidei negotium tractare placebit, praesto erunt. Verum quia super articulis Ratisponae meditatis haec potissimum congregatio consultura est, vosque Caesaris animum cognoscere cupitis. Quae sit circa illos mens ejus, quae sententia, quae voluntas, aperire me modo collegarum meorum auctoritas jubet. Ego qui malo per oboedientiam parum prudens quam per contumaciam videri sapiens, onus meis humeris paene intolerandum subivi, confisus in ejus auxilio, qui victimis oboedientiam praetulit. Nec timeo sub tanto fasce deficere, quando praesto sunt, qui cadenti manum porrigant. Pareo quoque in hac parte tanto libentius, quanto et conspectum vestrum frequentiorem intueor, et mihi benigniorem autumno.
Though his desire was frustrated by those who benefit more from strife and war than from peace and tranquility, he did not want to disregard this assembly. Therefore he sent these princes¹⁰⁷ to act in his place and to represent him, and he has given them full and ample powers. They are prepared to negotiate both on the affairs of the Empire and the common matter of the Faith. But since your primary task is to consider and discuss the articles discussed in Regensburg, you wish to know the emperor’s mind on the matter. Therefore, by the authority of my colleagues I am now requested to set forth his mind, his opinion, and his intentions on these issues. As I would rather seem stupid through obedience than clever through defiance, I have taken this almost unbearable burden upon my shoulders, trusting in help from Him who would rather have obedience than sacrificial victims.¹⁰⁸ And I do not fear to falter under this great burden since some here will lend me a hand if I stumble.¹⁰⁹ And I obey so much more gladly that I see your numerous and kindly disposed assembly.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Bishop Ulrich Sonnenberger of Gurk; Henrich von Pappenheim; Hartung von Cappel; Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg; Margrave Karl of Baden; and Piccolomini himself
¹⁰⁸ E.g. 1. Samuel, 15, 22: Domini melior est enim oboedientia quam victima
¹⁰⁹ Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 7, 36: et pauperi porrige manum tuam
¹¹⁰ Cf. Cicero: Pro lege Manilia, 1, 1 : mihi semper frequens conspectus vester ... jucundissimus
Nec ego de omnibus articulis verba faciam, sed illum, qui est principalissimus, aggredior, hoc est, an contra Turcos, qui Constantinopolim per injuriam invaserunt, nobilitatem cum principe Graecorum occiderunt, sacra nostra omnia polluerunt, et ultra vincula, verbera, caedes Christianis omnibus minitantur, sit bellum suscipiendum? Quo persuaso, quantas habere copias sit necesse, quomodo legendi milites, quae stipendia danda, quae privilegia concedenda, unde commeatus habendi, quae bellica instrumenta paranda, quo tempor, qua via sit eundum facile concordabimus. Capitaneum quoque seu belli ducem, quem prisci Romanorum imperatorem appellare consueverunt, non erit arduum nominare. Neque dubitabis illum eligere, in quo sit scientia rei militaris eximia, virtus excellens, auctoritas evidens, praesumpta felicitas, qui sit laboriosus in negotiis, fortis in periculis, industrius in agendo, celer in conficiendo, consultus in providendo, qualem reperiri apud vos minime dubitaverim. Nec de pace domi tenenda mutum laborabitis, si foris bellum gerere decreveritis, ut postea suo loco dicemus.

Tum res ipsa me hortatur, de qua sermo futurus est, et magna et necessaria, hoc est, an contra Turcos, qui Constantinopolim per injuriam expugnaverunt, nobilitatem cum principe Graecorum occiderunt, sacra omnia polluerunt, et ultra vincula, verbera, caedes, dura supplicia Christianis omnibus minitantur, sit bellum suscipiendum? Quo persuaso, quantas habere copias sit necesse, quomodo legendi milites, quae stipendia danda, quae privilegia concedenda, unde commeatus habendi, quae bellica instrumenta paranda, quo tempor, qua via sit eundum facile reperiemus. Capitaneum quoque seu belli ducem, quem prisci Romanorum imperatorem vocabant, non erit arduum nominare. Neque illum eligere dubitabis, in quo sit scientia rei militaris eximia, virtus excellens, auctoritas evidens, praesumpta felicitas, qui sit laboriosus in negotiis, fortis in periculis, industrius in agendo, celer in conficiendo, consultus in providendo, qualem apud vos esse minime dubitaverim. Neque de pace domi tuenda laborabitis, ut suo loco dicam, si foris bellare decreveritis.
[6] I am also moved by the fact that the matter on which I am to speak is important and urgent: should we go to war against the Turks who have unjustly conquered Constantinople; who have killed the Greek nobles and their emperor; who have polluted all the holy places; and who are threatening all Christians with chains, whips, murder and atrocious punishments? If I convince you to do this, we shall easily settle the issues of how large a force is necessary, how the soldiers should be found, what wages to pay, which privileges to issue, how to provision the army, what war machines to prepare, as well as the time of departure, and the route to follow. It will also be easy to appoint a captain or leader of the war whom the ancient Romans called imperator. You will not hesitate to choose someone who has expert knowledge of military affairs, great bravery, evident authority, and luck, and who shows application to duty, courage in danger, thoroughness in operation, rapidity in execution, wisdom in strategy. I do not doubt that there is such a man among you. And as I shall explain later, you will not have to worry about keeping peace at home if you decide to go to war abroad.

122 Cf. Cicero: Pro lege Manilia, 2, 6
123 Cicero: Pro lege Manilia, 11, 29: in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo
Intelligitis jam, principes, oratio mea quibus in rebus radices agat, et, quae sit causa, in manibus videtis: de bello gerendo tota consultatio est. Ego, qui nomine Caesaris bellum venio suasurus, nequaquam hoc oneris accepissem, nisi rem dignam vestra virtute, vestra nobilitate, vestraque natione manifestissime prius intellelxissem. Agite igitur, audite, ac cognoscite, an bellum hoc pro fide vestra Christiana suscipere debeatis. Omnis senatus omnisque populus, cui de bello gerendo consultatio est, clarissimi principes, tria diligenter ac rigide presse discutere debet, ne quid agat, cujus denique poenitudo sequatur. Turpe est enim, ut Scipionis proverbium fuit, postquam erratum est dicere: non putaram. Bellum ergo gesturus primo quaerat, an sit justum; secundo, an utile; tertio, an facile. Nisi enim haec tria concurrant, non est cur bonis atque prudentibus viris belligerendum sit. Discutiamus et nos haec ex ordine, principes, ac primum de belli justitia cognoscamus.

Intelligitis jam, principes, oratio mea quibus in rebus radices agat, et, quae sit causa, in manibus videtis: de suscipiendo bello tota est controversia. Ego, qui nomine Caesaris bellum venio suasurus, minime hoc oneris accepissem, nisi rem dignam vestra virtute, vestra nobilitate, vestraque natione manifestissime prius intellelxissem. Agite igitur, audite, ac cognoscite, an bellum hoc pro fide catholica suscipere debeatis. Omnis senatus omnisque populus, cui de bello gerendo consultatio est, clarissimi principes, tria diligenter, rigide, ac presse discutere debet, ne quid agat, cujus denique poenitudo sequatur. Turpe est enim, ut Scipionis proverbium fuit, postquam erraveris, dicere: non putaram. Bellum ergo gesturus primo quaerat, an sit justum; secundo, an utile; tertio, an facile. Nisi enim haec concurrant, non est cur bonis viris belligerandum sit. Discutiamus et nos haec, principes, ac primum de belli justitia cognoscamus.
[7] Now you understand, Princes, the substance of my oration and what the matter is all about: the whole issue is whether or not to go to war. I have come to persuade you, in the name of the emperor, to go to war, and I have only accepted this burden because I see that the matter is clearly worthy of your courage, your nobility, and your nation. So, do now consider, hear, and examine the issue of undertaking this war for the sake of the Catholic Faith. Noble princes, every senate and every people that has to deliberate on going to war should discuss, carefully and stringently, three things so that it will not do something that it will later regret. For, as the saying of Scipio goes, it is shameful to err and then afterwards to say: “I had not thought of that!”141 So, anyone who is going to war should first ask: is the war just? Secondly, is it useful? And thirdly: is it feasible?142 If these conditions are not met, there is no reason for good men to go to war.

Let us now discuss this matter, Princes, and first let us examine the justice of the war.

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140 Cicero: De officiis, 2, 12
141 Widely used saying, cf. Cicero: De officiis, 1, 23, 71
142 Cf. Quintilian: Institutio oratoria, 3, 8, 22: honestum, utile, necessarium/facile. Commonly used division of classical orations of the deliberative kind

Sic Moysi, sic Josuae, sic Saulis, sic David, sic Maccabaeorum proelia commendamus. Hinc illius Demosthenis clamores, quibus plenum exultabat theatrum in Marathone, in Arthemisio, in Salamina pro patria defunctos commendantur. Hinc ex Romanis Horatii, Decii, Fabii, alii paene inmemorabiles memorantur, qui pro salute suorum civium se devoverunt. Hinc ex vestris Caroli, Rolandi, Rainaldi, Conradi, Ottones, Henrici, Friderici, Rudolfi aeternis praecogniti extolluntur, qui nunc Tartaros, nunc Saracenos non solum ex suis domibus, verum etiam ex sociorum et amicorum finibus pepulerunt. “At illos,” dicat aliquis, “injuriarum provocavit acerbitas.” Quid hic, principes, an levis injuria est, quam perpessa est


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143 si add. P2*
144 servanda P2
145 geretur P1; geretur P2
146 omit. P2
147 reputabit P2*
148 David P2*
149 commendantur P1, P2
150 illius P2
151 Greci in marg. D
152 exaltabit P1
153 Romani in marg. D
154 omit. P2
155 a P2*
156 fidelibus Christianis P2*
157 receperunt P2
158 omit. P2; hec KO
159 si P2*
160 est P2
161 [possibly a scribal error for innumerabiles in A, repeated in the other mss.]
162 se add. C
163 omit. C
164 Germani in marg. D
2. Justice of the war

[8] [FV] None of the ancients ever doubted the justice of a war conducted on the authority of superiors with the purpose of protecting religion, saving the fatherland, or helping allies.\(^{166}\) Thus we remember the battles of Moses, Joshua, Saul, David, and the Maccabees. And the harangues of Demosthenes\(^{167}\) when he filled the whole theatre with enthusiasm, praising those who had died at Marathon\(^{168}\), at Artemisium\(^{169}\), and at Salamis\(^{170}\)\(^{171}\). Of the Romans, we remember the Horatii, the Decii, the Fabii, and almost countless\(^{172}\) others who gave their lives for the salvation of their countrymen. And of your own, we shall always praise [those named] Charles, Roland\(^{173}\), Rainald\(^{174}\), Konrad, Ottos, Heinrich, Friederich, and Rudolf who drove now the Tartars, now the Saracens not just from their own homes, but also from the lands of their allies and friends. Here someone may say: “But these men were provoked by savage injuries.” But, Princes, is it a slight injury that the Christian Commonwealth has suffered today? Or have you forgotten the reports from Constantinople? I must tell you again about the catastrophe in Constantinople\(^{175}\) for thus the magnitude of the disaster will be better known and the justice of the war made more evident.

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\(^{165}\) Calamitas Constantinopolitana in marg. B; Constantinopolitana calamitas in marg. D

\(^{166}\) Cf. Ambrosius: De officiis ministrorum, 1, 27, 129 (MPL 16)

\(^{167}\) Probably Demonsthenes’ Epitaphion oration on those who had fallen at Charoneia in 338 BC

\(^{168}\) 490 BC

\(^{169}\) 480 BC

\(^{170}\) 480 BC

\(^{171}\) Piccolomini may have known Leonardo Bruni’s translation of Demosthenes

\(^{172}\) “Immemorabiles”

\(^{173}\) The legendary hero Roland

\(^{174}\) Uncertain whom Piccolomini refers to

\(^{175}\) Cf. his oration Quamvis omnibus, given some months before at the earlier diet in Regensburg
[9] [EV] Nulla pulsatus injuria Mahumetus, sic enim vocatur, qui Turcis imperat, bellum Graecis indixit\textsuperscript{176}, Constantinopolim obsedit ac male defensam expugnavit. Ibi\textsuperscript{177} Constantinus, Graecorum imperator, intrantibus urbem Turcis in extremo patriae\textsuperscript{178} suae periculo\textsuperscript{179} fortissime pugnans obruncanctur. Caput ejus lancea infuxum spectaculo fertur. Fit miseranda Graecorum caedes; occiduntur non solum, qui se tueri conantur, verum etiam qui projectis armis sese dedunt\textsuperscript{180}. Nec ego hoc\textsuperscript{181} magni duco in ipso furore primi introitus trucidatos\textsuperscript{182} esse quamplurimos; illud horreo, illud abhominor, illud omnino detester, capta civitate\textsuperscript{183}, depositis armis, conjectis in vincula civibus, tum maxime saevitum\textsuperscript{184} {47r} est, tum filii ante ora parentum occisi, tum viri nobiles velut bestiae\textsuperscript{185} mactati, tum sacerdotes laniati, tum monachi excarnifiati, tum sacrae virgines incestatae, tum matres ac\textsuperscript{186} nurus ludibrio habitae. O miseram urbis faciem! O infelicem populum! O sceleratum Mahumetum! Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis? Omnia luctu plena, caede, cruore, cadaveribus erat cernere.

[9] [FV] Nulla pulsatus injuria Mahumetus (sic enim vocatur, qui Turcis imperat) bellum Graecis induxit\textsuperscript{187}, Constantinopolim obsedit ac male defensam expugnavit. Ibi Constantinus imperator intrantibus urbem Turcis in extremo patriae periculo fortissime pugnans obruncanctur. Caput ejus lancea infuxum spectaculo fertur. Fit\textsuperscript{188} miseranda Graecorum caedes; occiduntur non solum, qui se tueri conantur, verum etiam qui projectis armis sese dedunt. Nec ego magni hoc\textsuperscript{189} duco in ipso furore primi introitus trucidatos esse quamplurimos\textsuperscript{190}, illud horreo, illud abhominor capta civitate, positis armis, conjectis in vincula civibus, tum maxime saevitum est, tum filii ante ora parentum occisi, tum viri nobiles instar hostiarum mactati, tum sacerdotes laniati, tum monachi excarnifiati, tum sacrae virgines incestatae, tum matres atque nurus ludibrio habitae. O miseram urbis faciem! O infelicem populum! O sceleratum Mahumetum! Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis? Omnia luctu plena, caede, cruore, cadaveribus erat\textsuperscript{191} cernere\textsuperscript{192}.

\textsuperscript{176} induxit P2*  
\textsuperscript{177} ubi KO  
\textsuperscript{178} et vite add. P2  
\textsuperscript{179} omit. P2  
\textsuperscript{180} dederunt P2  
\textsuperscript{181} hec P2*  
\textsuperscript{182} trocidatos KO  
\textsuperscript{183} capta civitate : captivitate P2  
\textsuperscript{184} insanitum P2  
\textsuperscript{185} hostie P2  
\textsuperscript{186} et P2*  
\textsuperscript{187} indixit corr. ex induxit C  
\textsuperscript{188} sit B  
\textsuperscript{189} magni hoc : hoc magni D  
\textsuperscript{190} qui plurimos B, E  
\textsuperscript{191} erant C [corr. from erat]  
\textsuperscript{192} erat cernere : cernere erat B, D
Without any provocation whatsoever, Mehmed\textsuperscript{193} (as the ruler of the Turks is called) went to war against the Greeks, and besieged and conquered the poorly defended Constantinople. There, in the final peril of his fatherland, Emperor Constantine\textsuperscript{194} was killed, fighting desperately against the Turks as they entered the city. His head was set on a spear and carried around for all to see. The Greeks were slaughtered atrociously. Not only those who tried to defend themselves, but also those who had thrown down their weapons and surrendered were killed. I accept that many were killed in the first furious assault. But I find it horrible and revolting that when the city had been conquered,\textsuperscript{195} the arms laid down, and the citizens enchained, then the worst atrocities took place, then sons were killed before the eyes of their parents, then noblemen were butchered like cattle, then priests were tormented and monks tortured, then holy virgins were ravished, then matrons and daughters-in-law were abused. O miserable city! O unhappy people! O accursed Mehmed! \textit{Who can tell this without shedding tears?}\textsuperscript{196} Everywhere you would see mourning, murder, blood, and corpses.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{193} Mehmed II (1432 – 1481): Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446, and later from February 1451 to his death
\textsuperscript{194} Constantine XI Dragas Palaiologos (1405 – 1453): Emperor from 1449 to his death. The last reigning Byzantine emperor
\textsuperscript{195} Concerning the description of the \textit{urbs capta}, Piccolomini may have been inspired by Quintilian: \textit{Institutio oratoria}, 8, 3, 67-70
\textsuperscript{196} Virgil: \textit{Aeneid}, 2, 362-363: \textit{quis funera fando explicit aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?}
\end{flushright}
Mahu metus ipse, terribili facie, taetris oculis, horribili voce, crudelibus verbis, nefandis nutibus, homicidia mandat, nunc istum, nunc illum ad caedem poscit, manus in sanguine Christianorum lavat; omnia foedat, omnia polluit. Templa Dei nostri pseudoprophetae traduntur, divina altaria proteruntur, ossa martyrum et aliorum sanctorum jam cum Christo regnantium aut porcis aut canibus objiciuntur, franguntur statuae, picturae delentur. Nec matris domini, reginae caelorum, gloriosae Mariae virginis imaginis parcitur; quin et ipsum salvatoris Christi crucifixi simulacrum cum magno clamore, majori irissione, praecedentibus tympanis ac tubis in castra defertur, huc atque illuc ludibrio rapitur, conspuitur, luto provolvitur. O nefas inexpiandum! O ignominiam Christianae gentis! O dedecus nostri nominis sempiternum! Huic signo, in quo redempti et salvati sumus, Turcorum foetidum genus illudit, et quasi nos signum non signatum colamus: "Hic est," inquit, "Christianorum deus."

197 terribilis P1
198 terribili KO
199 militibus P2
200 istum nunc illum : illum nunc istum P2
201 omit. P1 [with blank space]
202 omnia foedat omit. P1*
203 proteruntur P2
204 matri P2
205 Mariae virginis imaginis : virgini Marie P2
206 omit. P2*
207 omitt. P1, KO
208 ignominia P2*
209 foetidum genus : genus fetidum P1
210 ignominiam D
211 non corr. ex nos A, C
212 Signum signatum in marg. C; Quasi nos signatum non signatum in marg. D
[10] Mehmed himself - with fearsome face, wild eyes, terrible voice, cruel words, and horrible gestures - demands murder, and now he orders this one, now that one to be killed. He washes his hands in the blood of Christians. He defiles everything. He pollutes all. The temples of our God are given over to the Pseudoprophet; the divine altars are torn down; the bones of martyrs and other saints now reigning with Christ are thrown to pigs and dogs; the statues are smashed, the paintings destroyed. Not even the icon of the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven, the glorious Virgin Mary, is spared. A crucifix of Christ, Our Lord, is brought to the camp with much shouting and scornful laughter and to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets. There it is mocked, spat upon, and soiled. O, unatonable crime! O, dishonour to the Christian people! O, eternal shame to our name: the sign under which we have been redeemed and saved was mocked by the rotten people of the Turks, [putting up a sign saying]: “This is the God of the Christians!" in order to show that what we are venerating is an empty symbol.

213 Cf. Apocalypse, 19, 20. “Pseudo-prophet” was often used about Muhammad in Christian polemics against Islam.


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216 nunc sepulta jaces omit. P1, KO
217 in Graecia omit. KO
218 Nicenae P2, KO
219 murum P2
220 ruinas KO
221 superabat P2
222 quem KO
223 omitt. KO
224 editi P2*
225 imperatorem ejus nominis : eius nominis imperatorem P2*
226 emulationem P2
227 Romanae urbis : urbis Romanae P2
228 tantum operum mirabilium : tantum mirabilium operum P2*, KO
229 Græiae urbes in marg. D
230 Nicenae B
[11] I feel how moved you are, Princes, as I tell you about the insult to Our Savior, and as I relate the damage done to this great city. Who could unfold in speech the fall of that city, and the carnage? Who could match the toils with tears? My mind shudders to remember these things and recoils in pain. Alas, how many Greek cities, once rich and famous, have now disappeared? Where now is Thebes, where is Athens, where is Mycene, where is the city of the Corinthians, Sparta and all those other once famous cities? Nobody can point to the place where once they were. Often our people are searching for Greece in Greece itself. Out of so many corpses of cities only Constantinople has survived. In the olden days, it was a settlement founded by Pausanias. Then Constantine, the first emperor of that name, raised it in imitation of the city of Rome. This city had so many wonderful works, so many armaments, and so much learning and literature, that it could, on its own, compensate and mend the loss of all the other cities.

231 In his Turkish orations and other orations like the Advenisti tandem, delivered at the reception of Saint’ Andrew’s Head in Rome, in April 1462, Piccolomini played heavily on the emotions of the listeners, following classical rhetorical models, cf. Hack, p. 359
232 Virgil: Aeneid, 2, 361-362. On the fall of Troy
233 Virgil: Aeneid, 2, 12: ... animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit
234 Cf. Cicero: Ad familiares, 4, 5, 4: tot oppidum cadavera projecta jacent
235 478 BC
236 330 AD
237 The conjunction of arma and litterae was dear to the humanists
[12] [EV] Hinc post pacem cum Gratiano factam et a Theodosio confirmatam, veniens Constantinopolim rex Gothorum Athanaricus, cum regiae urbis amplitudinem splendoremque contemplatus esset, veluti stupens dixisse furtur: Vere Deus terrenus est imperator hic habitans; et quisquis adversus eum manus moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit. Et quamvis post imperium ad vos, o Germani, translatam, saepe Constantinopolis capta direpta fuerit, numquam tamen in potestatem Christi hostium, nisi modo, [49r] devenit; numquam basilicae sanctorum diruptae, numquam bibliothecae combustae, numquam monasteria desolata, numquam sacra nostra ex toto, nisi nunc, deleta fuere. Itaque mansit apud Constantinopolim usque ad nostrum tempus vetustae sapientiae monumentum ac velut ibi domicilium esset litterarum et arx philosophiae, nemo Latinorum satis doctus videri poterat, nisi Constantinopoli aliquamdiu studuisset, quodque florente Roma doctrinarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, hac tempestate nostra Constantinopolis obtinebat; unde et multa veterum sapientium volumina susceperamus et in futurum suscipere sperabamus. At nunc vincentibus Turcis et omnia possidentibus, quae Graeca potentia tenuit, vereor, ne de litteris Graecis omnino sit actum.

[12] [FV] Hinc post pacem cum Gratiano factam et a Theodosio Caesare confirmatam, veniens Constantinopolim rex Gothorum, Athanaricus, cum regiae urbis amplitudinem splendoremque contemplatus esset, veluti stupens dixisse furtur: Vere Deus terrenus est imperator, cui tanta civitas paret; et quisquis in eum manus moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit. Et quamvis post imperium ad vos, o Germani, translatam, saepe Constantinopolis capta direpta fuerit, numquam tamen in potestatem Christi hostium devenit, numquam basilicae sanctorum diruptae, numquam bibliothecae combustae, numquam sacra nostra violata nisi nunc fuere. Itaque mansit apud Constantinopolim usque in hanc diem vetustae sapientiae monumentum ac velut ibi domicilium esset litterarum et arx summa philosophiae, nemo Latinorum satis videri doctus poterat, nisi per tempus Constantinopoli.
studuiisset, quodque florente Roma litterarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, hoc tempestate nostra Constantinopolis obtinebat. Unde et multa veterum sapientum volumina sanctitatis et doctrinae plena susceperat et in futurum suscipere spes erat. At nunc victoribus Turcis et omnia possidentibus, quae Graeca potentia tenuit, vereor ne de Graecis litteris omnino sit actum.

[12] [FV] After peace had been concluded with Gratian and confirmed by Emperor Theodosius, Athanaricus, King of the Goths, [came to visit Constantinople]. When he had seen the size and splendor of the royal city, he was deeply impressed and reportedly said: “Truly, the emperor is God on earth since he is obeyed by so a great city. And whoever raises his hand against him, is guilty of his own blood.” And though Constantinople was conquered and pillaged several times after the Empire had been transferred to you, o Germans, it never before fell into the power of the enemies of Christ, never were the basilicas destroyed, never were the libraries burnt, and never were our holy things profaned. Thus, to this day Constantinople has remained a monument to the old wisdom, and since it was like a home to letters and a high citadel of philosophy, none of the Latins appeared to be truly learned if he had not studied for some time in Constantinople. For the reputation of learning that Athens had when Rome flourished was in our age taken over by Constantinople. From there we received many volumes written by the wise men of old, full of holiness and learning, and we hoped to receive more in the future. But now, that the Turks are victorious and possess everything that mighty Greece possessessed I fear that the days of Greek letters are over.

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253 Athene in marg. D
254 Constantinopolis in marg. D
255 778 AD
256 Jordanes: De origine actibusque Getarum, 28: Deus, inquit, sine dubio terrenus est imperator et quisquis adversus eum manu moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit
257 During the infamous 4th crusade, in 1203 and 1204
258 In Piccolomini’s political thinking Piccolomini, the Roman Empire had been translated from the Greeks to the Germans, cf. his De oratu et auctoritate imperii
259 Cf. Aethicus Ister: Cosmographia, 72a, 2
260 The threat to the transmission Greek literature had actually been felt so keenly by Pope Nicholas V that, during his last years, he accelerated his collecting of Greek manuscripts, cf. Manetti, p. LIX
Neque enim, ut plerique arbitrantur, Asiani sunt ab origine Turci, quos vocant Teucros, ex quibus est Romanorum origo, quibus litterae non essent odio. Scytharum genus est ex media barbaria profectum, quod ultra Euxinum Pirrichiosque montes, ut Aethico philosopho placet, ad oceanum septentrionale sedes habuit: gens immunda et ignominiosa, fornicaria in cunctis stuprorum generibus, quae, ut tradit vester Otto, Frisingensis episcopus, non futilis auctor, regnante apud Francos Pipino, montes Caspios exivit ac longo itinere in Asiam se recepit, ibique posthac morata est. Et quamvis sub caelo et mundiori terra per tot saecula parumper excultam se praebuerit, sapit tamen adhuc multum pristinae deformitatis, neque omne barbariem. Carnes adhuc equorum, vesontium, vulturumque comedit, libidini servit, crudelitati succumbit, litteras odit, humanitatis studia persequitur. In cujus manus venisse nunc doctam eloquentemque Graeciam, nescio quis satis deflere queat.

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261 *omit.* P1
262 *omit.* KO
263 *ex add.* KO
264 *septentrionale* P2
265 *sub miti : submitti* KO
266 *prebuit* P2
267 *barbariem* P1
268 *detorsit* P2
269 *vesontium vulturumque : recentium multumque* P2
270 *inservit* P2
271 *Turci non Theurci in marg. D*
272 *Ethicus philosophus in marg. D*
273 *ignominiosa* A, B, D
Many think that the Turks come from Asia Minor and call them Teucrians (though the Teucrians certainly did not hate the letters). But this is not so: the Turks are a Scythian people that have come from the middle of Barbary. According to the philosopher Aethicus, they dwelled beyond Euxinum and the Pirrichian Mountains by the Northern Sea. It was an unclean, inglorious people, debauched and practicing all kinds of sexual excesses. According to your Otto, Bishop of Freising, the Turkish people came out from the Caspian Mountains at the time when Pippin ruled the Franks, set off on the long road to Asia Minor, and stayed there ever since. Having lived for many centuries under a pleasant sky and in a gentler country, they have acquired some culture, but still they reek of their former uncouthness, and they have not completely put off their barbarous manners. They still eat the flesh of horses, bisons, and vultures; they are slaves of lust, they indulge in cruelty, they hate letters, and they persecute the studies of humanity. Now, learned and eloquent Greece has fallen into their hands: how anybody can deplore this enough, I do not know.

274 Piccolomini himself was one of the, e.g. his oration Audivi of 1436 and later orations, as late as 1447, where he directly used the term Teucri for the Turks
276 The Black Sea
277 It is uncertain which mountains are meant, but possibly the Caucasus. In a note Mansi refers to Piccolomini’s work De Asia, c. 100, where he uses the terme Bircichian Mountains located, together with the isle of Taraconta, close to the Black Sea
278 Otto von Freising: Chronica 5, 25
279 On the notion of the Caspian Gates, see Meserve: Empires, pp. 249-256
280 Aethicus Ister: Cosmographia 32
Sed dicitis, milites: Quid tu nobis litterarum detrimenta\textsuperscript{281} commemoras? Quid nobis et\textsuperscript{282} litteris? Nos hastas gladiosque versamus. Vos, genus ignavum, tecto gaudetis et umbra. Immo vero, fortissimi equites, nullius quam vestri magis\textsuperscript{283} interest studia litterarum esse quam florentissima. Quid enim vos, viri excellentes, alius quaeritis, cum praestantis animo et alto corde proelium committitis, ac nunc viribus hostem, nunc ingenio superatis, quid, inquam, alius quaeritis\textsuperscript{284} quam famae dulcedinem? Laudari\textsuperscript{285} vultis, scio, et gaudetis, cum de vobis bonos esse rumores\textsuperscript{286} auditis. Trahimus omnes studio laudis, et optimus quique gloria ducitur, inquit Cicero. Sed quae laus vestra diuturna esse potest, nisi litteris consecretur? Brevissera est fama\textsuperscript{287}, quae humanae vitae\textsuperscript{288} spatio terminatur. Vivunt nomine perenni, quos litterae insertos habent:

Fortunati ambo, si quid\textsuperscript{289} mea carmina possunt. Nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevi,

in Euryalum\textsuperscript{290} et Nisum inquit Maro.


O fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt. Nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevi,

in Euryalum et Nisum inquit Maro.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[281]{281} omit. P2\textsuperscript{*}
\footnotetext[282]{282} ex P2; de KO
\footnotetext[283]{283}quam vestri magis : magis quam vestri P2
\footnotetext[284]{284}ac nunc... quaeritis omit. KO
\footnotetext[285]{285}laudare KO
\footnotetext[286]{286}rumores esse bonos : esse rumores bonos P2
\footnotetext[287]{287}nisi litteris ... fama omit. P2
\footnotetext[288]{288}humanae vitae : vite humane P2
\footnotetext[289]{289}que P2
\footnotetext[290]{290}Curialum KO
\footnotetext[291]{291}consecretur A, B; consecretur corr. ex consacretur C; consacretur corr. ex. consacretur D
\end{footnotes}
But, soldiers, here you say: “Why do you talk so much about the losses to letters? We fight with spears and swords. We have no interest in letters.” Not so, Mighty Knights, for you are actually those who have the greatest need for flourishing studies of letters. When you rush into battle, courageously and daringly, and overcome the enemy with your physical and mental strength, what are you seeking, Brave Men, other than sweet fame? I know that you want to be praised, and you are happy when you hear that people speak well of you. *Ambition is a universal factor in life, and the nobler a man is, the more susceptible is he to the sweets of fame.* But your glory will not last long if it is not consecrated by letters. *The muses can free anybody from the tooth of death.* Mens’ fame is eternal if it is written in letters:

_Happy! If my poetry has any power,_
_no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time,_

said Maro²⁹⁴ to Euryalus and Nisus.²⁹⁵

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²⁹² Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9, 26: _trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur_
²⁹³ Possibly a loan from a poem by Antonio Beccadelli (Il Panormita)
²⁹⁴ i.e. Virgil = Vergilius Maro, Publius (70 – 19 BC): Roman poet
²⁹⁵ Virgil: _Aeneid_, 9, 446-447

The stronger, the braver, and the more active you are, Noble Knights, the more each of you will benefit from intellect and letters. For it is those that can make your forefathers, famous men who died a long time ago, stay alive, so to speak, and transmit your name to posterity. Alexander of Macedonia\(^{314}\) knew the power of letters to ensure fame. When he saw the tomb of Achilles\(^{315}\) in Sigeum,\(^{316}\) he said: “Fortunate youth, to have found in Homer a herald of thy valour!” Cicero\(^{318}\) adds that “Well might he so exclaim, for if that art had never existed, the same mound which covered Achilles’ bones would also have overwhelmed his memory.” And Themistocles,\(^{320}\) when asked what voice he loved best to hear, replied, “That which bears most eloquent testimony to my prowess.”\(^{321}\) In these words, he highly recommended the studies of humanity and eloquence.

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\(^{314}\) Alexander III the Great (356 – 323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

\(^{315}\) Achilles: (Greek myth.) Hero of the Trojan War and the central character and greatest warrior of Homer’s *Iliad*

\(^{316}\) Sigeum: ancient Greek city in the north-west of the Troad region of Anatolia located at the mouth of the Scamander (the modern Karamenderes River)

\(^{317}\) Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 24

\(^{318}\) Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC): Roman statesman and author

\(^{319}\) Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 24: Et vere. Nam nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset

\(^{320}\) Themistocles (c. 524–459 BC): Athenian politician and general

\(^{321}\) Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 20. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aijunt, cum ex eo quaeeretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret, eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur
At contrita nunc deletaque Graecia, quanta sit facta litterarum {51v} jactura cuncti cognoscitis, qui Latinorum omnem doctrinam ex Graecorum fontibus derivatam non ignoratis. Quid ergo in tanto damno, in tanta injuria dicemus, principes? An de justitia belli adversus haec monstra hominum dubitabimus, qui nulla humanitatis studia colunt, qui foedera nulla custodiunt, qui sanguinem nostrum sitiunt, qui caedibus saturari non possunt, qui sacra Dei nostri omnia polluunt et exterminant? Fortitudo. inquit Ambrosius in Officiis, quae bello tuetur a barbaris patriam, vel domi defendit infirmos, vel a latronibus socios, plena justitia est.

At contrita Graecia aut mortua sunt aut certe plurimum diminuta eloquentiae bonarumque omnium artium studia. Fateor multis in locis apud Latinos vigere studia litterarum, sed rivuli sunt ex Graecorum fontibus derivati, quos fonte siccato necessarium est non parum arescere. Quid ergo in tanto damno, in tanta injuria dicemus, principes? Bellum justum esse dubitabimus adversus haec monstra hominum, qui litteras odiunt, qui foedera nulla custodiunt, qui tantam civitatem abstulerunt, qui sanguinem vestrum sitiunt, qui caedibus saturari non possunt, qui sacra vestra polluunt et exterminant, qui omnibus Christianis ultima supplicia minantur? Fortitudo, inquit Ambrosius, quae bello tuetur a barbaris patriam, vel domi defendit infirmos, vel a latronibus socios, plena justitia est. Quid hic putandum est, ubi non solum patria, socii, vel infirmi, sed fides, sed religio, sed honor Dei nostri in defensionem veniunt?
But now that Greece has been overrun, the studies of eloquence and all the good arts are either dead or have been greatly reduced. I admit that such studies exist in many places in the Latin world, but they are rivulets flowing from Greek springs. Now that the spring has dried out, these studies will to some extent dry up, too. What, Princes, shall we say about so great a loss, such great damage? Will we doubt that it is just to wage war against these human monsters who hate letters, who do not respect treaties, who have taken that great city from us, who are thirsting for your blood, who cannot get enough of slaughter, who profane and destroy our holy things, and who threaten all Christians with the direst punishments. Ambrose says that “the use of force in a war to protect one’s country from the barbarians, or the weak at home, or allies from robbers, is absolutely legitimate.” So what shall we think in this case where you come to the defense not only of the fatherland, the weak, and the allies, but also of Faith, religion, and the honour of our God?

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333 Cf. Cicero: Tusculanae disputationes, 1, 1-4
335 Ambrose: De officiis ministrorum, 1, 27, 129 (MPL 16, 66b)
Quod si ordo ille naturalis paci accomodatus, Augustino teste, id poscit, ut suscipienti belli auctoritas atque consilium penes principes sit, neque bellum aliasquin justum existimetur, videte (52r) quanta est hujus belli justitia, cujus non solum papa et imperator, duo maxima luminaria, duo primi in terra principes, sed ipse rector orbis, mundique fabricator deus est auctor, qui sponsam suam ecclesiam, matrem nostram, ut pupillam oculi nobis tuendam commendat. Monstravimus belli justitiam fortasse pluribus verbis, quam necesse fuit, sed traxit me injuriarum acerbitas. Parcite subirato, date veniam laeso.

Quod si ordo ille naturalis paci accomodatus, test Augustino, id poscit, ut suscipienti belli auctoritas atque consilium penes principes sit, neque bellum aliasquin justum existimetur, videte quanta est hujus belli justitia, cujus non solum Romanus pontifex et imperator, sed ipse rector orbis mundique fabricator Deus est auctor, qui sponsam suam ecclesiam ut pupillam oculi tuendam commendat. Monstravimus belli justitiam fortasse pluribus verbis, quam necesse fuit.

\[\footnotesize{336} \text{id poscit : deposcit P2}\]
\[\footnotesize{337} \text{sit P2}\]
\[\footnotesize{338} \text{omit. P2}\]
\[\footnotesize{339} \text{sub KO}\]
\[\footnotesize{340} \text{forte sed P2}\]
\[\footnotesize{341} \text{omit. P2}\]
\[\footnotesize{342} \text{Augustinus in marg. D}\]
According to Augustine, \footnote{Augustinus, Aurelius (Augustine) (354 – 430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint} “the natural order which seeks the peace of mankind, ordains that the monarch should have the power of undertaking war”, \footnote{Augustine: Contra Faustum, 22, 75. Translation quoted after the New Advent ed.} and a war can only be considered just when this is the case. You see, then, how great is the justice of this war whose author is not just the Roman Pontiff and the Emperor, but God himself, the ruler and creator of this world. To you He entrusts his spouse, the Church, to be cared for as the \textit{apple of the eye} \footnote{Deuteronomy, 32, 10; Psalms, 16, 8}.

We have now demonstrated the justice of the war – though maybe with more words than necessary.

3. Usefulness of the war

[18] [FV] Now, I shall make clear the usefulness of the war. Who wants to go to war if it there is no benefit in it? Princes, if you want to know the profit of a war against the Turks, then consider carefully the losses that threaten all of Christianity if the assault of the Turks is not broken. You have heard what the Constantinopolitans have suffered. The same [destiny] now awaits many other cities if you do not bring them help in time. This virus is spreading from day to day: one region after another is lost to us. There are reports that Serbia has recently been occupied and that the ruler has left his country and gone to Hungary.  

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354 Spring 1454

After the death of King Albrecht, the Hungarians have been defeated twice in war, twice they have been overcome by the Turks, and they lost more 100,000 men just in these two battles. When the Hungarians were at full strength, they could not stand against the forces of Turks. How can they resist them now that they are beaten? When the Hungarians had the help of the Poles, they were broken. How can they now win on their own? Great is the power of the Turks both in Asia and in Greece, and they now have an alliance with the savage Tartar people. They can mobilize an army of 200,000 to 300,000 soldiers. Though the Hungarians are vigourous and strong, they cannot equal forces of that size. And if Hungary is defeated or joins up with the Turks, neither Germany nor Italy will be safe, and the Rhine will not be sufficient protection for the French.

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360 Albrecht II, King of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, 1438-1439. Piccolomini himself had attended the event of Albrecht’s election to the Roman Empire, cf. the oration Quid est, written by him for the bishop of Novara, representing the Duke of Milan

361 Varna 1444 and Amselfeld 1448

362 At the battle of Varna, 1444, where a Polish/Hungarian army was commanded by King Wladislaw III, King of Poland and Hungary

363 Cf. Piccolomini’s oration Audivi (1436), sect. 21: Magnum est imperium Turcorum
[20] [EV] At nonnulli, quia suis diebus non vide<sup>364</sup> similia, nec<sup>365</sup> fieri posse confidunt. Nos autem saepe Tartaros<sup>366</sup> protrita Hungaria Germaniae fines ingressos ad Rhenum usque<sup>367</sup> debacchatos novimus. Hungari, priusquam Christum colerent, saepe Austriam, Bavariam, Sueviam<sup>368</sup>, Franconiam, Saxoniam percurrerunt<sup>369</sup>. Attila, rex Hunnorum, ab Hungaria, quae tunc Pannonia dicebatur, digressus, quantas Italiae, quantas Germaniae, quantas remotiori Galliae atque Hispaniae turbas intulerit, non ignoramus. Quid<sup>53v</sup> Gothos, quid Vandalos, quid Gepidas, quid Herulos, quid Longobardos, quid Burgundiones referam<sup>370</sup>? Omnes hi populi per Hungariam ab ulteriori Scythia venientes, hanc nostram Christianitatem miris afflexerunt modis.


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<sup>364</sup> viderunt P2  
<sup>365</sup> neque P2*  
<sup>366</sup> Barbarorum incursiones in marg. D  
<sup>367</sup> usque ad P2  
<sup>368</sup> Sue ti am P2  
<sup>369</sup> preterierunt P2  
<sup>370</sup> referatur KO  
<sup>371</sup> Vandales C, D, F  
<sup>372</sup> Longobarbos C
But many do not think that this is possible, since they have not seen anything like it in our own time. We do know, however, that often the Tartars overran Hungary, entered Germany, and pushed forward as far as to the Rhine. And often the Hungarians themselves raided Austria, Bavaria, Swabia, and Saxony. We know how large forces King Attila\textsuperscript{373} of the Huns brought to Italy, Germany, and the farther regions of France and Spain when he came out of Hungary. And what about the Goths, the Vandals, the Gepids, and the Longobards? All these peoples, passing through Hungary, inflicted terrible sufferings upon Germany, Italy, and the other nations.

\textsuperscript{373} Attila (– 453): ruler of the Huns from 434 until his death 453. Leader of the Hunnic Empire, which stretched from the Ural River to the Rhine River and from the Danube River to the Baltic Sea.
Expectabimus igitur et nunc venire Turcos atque accersitis Tartaris nobilem atque potentem Hungariam sui juris efficere, ac deinde reliquam Christianitatem locustarum more corrodere? Pugnandum est omnino, principes, si liberi, si Christiani vitam ducere cupitis. Existimatote nunc, an salvis et integris sociis, an fractis atque amissis id agere magis expediat. Romani, quos fama sapientissimos fuississe praedicat, sociorum tutelam semper suam salutem esse ducebant, atque foris quam domi pugnare malebant. Nam foris, si qua fuerit accepta calamitas, emendari potest; quae domi excipiuntur clades, exitiales habentur. Hinc Hannibal, maximus ille Poenorum imperator, cum regi Syriae Antiocho adversus Romanos bellum suaderet, non in Asia sive in Graecia, sed in Italia pugnandum esse dicebat.
[21] [FV] So, shall we now [sit here and] wait for the Turks to come and to summon the Tartars, and then as a swarm of locusts\textsuperscript{382} overwhelm Hungary and afterwards subdue the rest of Christendom? [No!] It is absolutely necessary to fight, Princes, if you want to live as Christians and as free men. Consider now if it will be more useful to your cause that your allies be safe and unbroken rather than destroyed and lost. The Romans, who are reputed to have been rather clever, regarded the protection of their allies as vital to their own security,\textsuperscript{383} and they preferred to fight abroad rather than at home. For if something goes wrong abroad, it can be set right. But defeats suffered at home are disastrous. This is why the great Carthaginian general, Hannibal,\textsuperscript{384} persuaded King Antiochus\textsuperscript{385} of Syria to fight the Romans not in Asia nor in Greece, but in Italy.\textsuperscript{386}

\textsuperscript{382} Cf. Judges, 6, 6
\textsuperscript{383} Cf. Cicero: Pro lege Manilia, 2, 6
\textsuperscript{384} Hannibal Barca (247 – c. 183 BC): Punic Carthaginian military commander
\textsuperscript{385} Antiochus III the Great (c. 241 – 187 BC): from 222 BC to his death. 6th ruler of the Seleucid Empire (the region of Syria and large parts of the rest of western Asia)
\textsuperscript{386} Cf. Livius, 34, 60
Et vos\textsuperscript{387} ergo, Theutones, si – quemadmodum spero – sapientes eritis, majores vestros imitiabimini, qui remota semper a domo bella gerere ac \textit{vicinorum fines} non minus quam suoi tueri \textit{consueverunt}. Quod si vos, Germani, hoc tempore Hungaros neglexeritis, non erit denique, cur vos ex Gallis auxilia praestolemini\textsuperscript{388}, nec rursus illi apud Hispanos opem invenient. Atque ita fiet, ut \textit{cum singulis} semper gentibus pugnaturi\textsuperscript{389} hostes facile, quod \textit{cupiunt}, orbis imperium assequantur\textsuperscript{390}. \textit{Quod si acceptis} armis et Hungaris, et Rascianis, (54v) et \textit{aliis Christianis}, qui vicini sunt \textit{Turcorum potentiae}\textsuperscript{391}, \textit{opem} tuleritis, non solum \textit{vicinos vestros} tuebimini, sed vos ipsos, uxorres ac liberos vestros ex maximis periculo liberabitis. Atque \textit{haec}\textsuperscript{392} est – ut mihi videtur – \textit{maxima} utilitas belli gerendi. \textit{Cum exploratum sit ad vos}\textsuperscript{393} dietim Turcos properare, prius occurrere\textsuperscript{394} quam \textit{vestros} fines\textsuperscript{395} ingrediuntur\textsuperscript{396}, et \textit{auxilia} \textit{vicinis} affer\textsuperscript{397}. \textit{Nam tunc tua res agitur, ut ille ait}\textsuperscript{398}, paries cum\textsuperscript{399} proximus ardet.

Vos quoque, Theutones, majores vestros imitiabimini, qui remota semper a domo bella gerere \textit{nec} minus \textit{sociorum} quam suoi \textit{agros} tueri \textit{studuerunt}. Quod si vos Hungaros neglexeritis, non erit denique, cur vos Gallorum auxilia praestolemini, nec rursus illi apud Hispanos opem invenient. Atque ita fiet, ut semper \textit{cum singulis} gentibus pugnaturi hostes facile, quod \textit{quaerunt}, orbis imperium assequantur. \textit{At si receptis} armis et Hungaris et Albanis et Rascianis et \textit{ceteris}, qui vicini sunt potentiae \textit{Turcorum}, nostrae fidei participes, \textit{auxilia} tuleritis, non solum \textit{socios} tuebimini, sed vos ipsos, uxorres ac liberos vestros ex maximis periculo liberabitis. Haec est, \textit{principes}, ut mihi videtur, \textit{non parva} utilitas belli gerendi. Cum Turcos \textit{in dies magis ad vos} properare \textit{sit exploratum}, prius occurrere quam \textit{vestros} ingrediuntur, et \textit{opem} \textit{ferre vicinis}. \textit{Certum est ille Horatii: tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{387} nos WY  
\textsuperscript{388} praestolamini KO  
\textsuperscript{389} cum singulis semper pugnaturi : pugnaturi semper cum singulis P2  
\textsuperscript{390} assequentur P2, KO  
\textsuperscript{391} Turcorum potentiae : potentie Turchorum P2  
\textsuperscript{392} hoc P1  
\textsuperscript{393} nos P2, KO  
\textsuperscript{394} occurrere P2  
\textsuperscript{395} fratres P2*  
\textsuperscript{396} ingrediuntur KO  
\textsuperscript{397} afferre P2  
\textsuperscript{398} Ut KO  
\textsuperscript{399} dum P2
\end{flushleft}
You, Germans, should imitate your forefathers who always endeavoured to fight their wars far from home and to protect the territories of their allies as much as their own. For if you do not help the Hungarians, there is no reason why you should, in your turn, expect help from the French, or why the French, in their turn, should get help from the Spaniards. Thus it will happen that our enemies will always fight each people separately and thus easily obtain lordship over the whole world which is what they desire. But if you take up arms in defense of the Hungarians, the Albanians, the Serbians, and the other peoples who are neighbours of the Turk and who share our faith, then you will protect not only your allies, but also yourselves, your wives, and your children from this terrible danger.

This, Princes, is the great benefit of the war as I see it. When we hear that the Turks are marching towards you with all speed, you should go to meet them before they enter your region, and help your neighbours. The words of Horace certainly apply here: “Tis your own safety that is at stake, when your neighbour’s wall is in flames.”

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400 Galatians, 6, 10: *domesticos fidei*

401 Horatius Flaccus, Quintus (65 - 8 BC): Roman poet

402 Horace: *Epistles*, 1, 18, 84. Horace has “nam” instead of “tunc”
[EV] Quod si certissimi essetis, numquam illos ad vos esse venturos, pro debito tamen baptismi vestri, quo estis initiati, pro maximis beneficiis, quibus vos divina pietas cumulavit, adversus hos evangeli corruptores et Christi perfidos inimicos, ejusque crucis osores, bellum gerere deberetis. Equidem, prastantissimi principes, cum omnibus virtutibus affecti sitis, nihil tamen arbitror vos magis velle quam gratos esse atque videri. Haec est enim una virtus, non solum maxima, sed mater omnium reliquarum virtutum. Quid est enim pietas, nisi voluntas gratia erga parentes? Qui sunt, qui libenti animo pro patria pugnant, nisi qui patriae beneficia meminerunt? Qui sunt, qui fidem erga principes inviolatam custodiunt, nisi qui eos in se beneficos recordantur? Qui sunt, qui praeceptores honorant, nisi qui se doctrinam ab his acceperis non sunt obliviscuntur? Qui sunt, qui amicos omnino studio prosequeantur, nisi qui fructum amicitiae tenaci memoria tenent?

[FV] Quod si certi essetis, numquam illos ad vos esse venturos, tamen pro debito baptismi vestri, quo estis initiati, pro maximis beneficiis, quibus divina pietas vos cumulavit, ad vindicandas injurias Dei vestri bellum gerere deberetis. Equidem, praestantissimi proceres, cum omnibus virtutibus sitis affecti, nihil tamen arbitror vos magis velle quam gratos esse atque videri. Haec est enim una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium reliquarum. Quid est enim pietas, nisi voluntas gratia in parentes? Qui sunt, qui pro patria libenti animo pugnanti, nisi qui patriae beneficia meminerunt? Qui sunt, qui fidem erga principes inviolatam custodiunt, nisi qui eos in se fuisse beneficos non obliviscuntur? Qui sunt, qui praeceptores honorant, amicos inserviunt, nisi qui fructum praecceptorum memoriam indelibilem gerunt?

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403 nostri P1
404 vos divina pietas : pietas divina vos P2
405 omit. P2
406 derisores KO
407 gratos esse atque : esse gratos et P2
408 reliquarum virtutum : virtutum reliquarum P2, KO
409 meruerunt P1, KO
410 omnium P1
411 persequentur P1*
412 memoriae P1*
413 Pietas quid in marg. D
Even if you could be certain that Turks would never come to you, you still ought to fight for the sake of the baptism through which you were initiated, for the great gifts that the divine piety has granted you in abundance, and to avenge the insults against your God. Indeed, Eminent Nobles, though you are endowed with all virtues, I believe that the thing you want most is to be and to be seen as grateful. For the virtue of gratefulness is not only the greatest of virtues, it is also the mother of all the others. What is piety other than a grateful disposition towards parents? Who fight willingly for their country other than those who remember the benefits received from it? Who keep their oaths to their princes unfailingly other than those who remember the favours received? Who honour their teachers and help their friends other than those who have a lasting memory of the benefits received from them?
[24] [EV] Quod si erga patriam, erga parentes\textsuperscript{414}, principes, praeeptores, amicos grati esse debemus, quanto magis erga Deum nostrum? Et cujus, obsebro, pinguiora\textsuperscript{415}, quam Dei nostri beneficia sumus experti? Ille, cum nihil essemus, nos in esse produxit; neque lapides, aut arbores, aut equos, {55v} sed homines rationis participes nos creavit. Nobis ingenium, sermonem, virtutem, vires corporis atque animi dedit. Et cum primi parentis culpa inferni mancipia\textsuperscript{416} facti essemus, ut nos redimeret, descendit de caelo, exinanivit semetipsum\textsuperscript{418}, formam servi accepit, hominem induit\textsuperscript{419}, factus\textsuperscript{420} oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, inquit Apostolus.

[24] [FV] Quod si erga patriam, erga parentes, erga principes, praeeptores, amicos grati esse debemus, quanto magis erga Deum nostrum? Et cujus, obsebro, pinguiora in nos quam Dei nostri beneficia sumus experti? Ipse\textsuperscript{421}, cum nihil essemus, neque lapidem, neque plantam, neque brutum animal, sed homines rationis participes nos\textsuperscript{422} creavit. Nobis ingenium, sermonem, virtutem, vires praebuit. Et cum primi parentis culpa inferni mancipia\textsuperscript{102v} facti essemus, ut nos redimeret, de caelo descendit, exinanivit semetipsum, formam servi accepit, hominem induit, factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, inquit Apostolus.

\textsuperscript{414} parentes omit. P1
\textsuperscript{415} majora pignora P2\textsuperscript{*}; pignora KO
\textsuperscript{416} mancipium P1, KO
\textsuperscript{417} inferni mancipia : mancipia inferni P2\textsuperscript{*}
\textsuperscript{418} seipsum P1, KO
\textsuperscript{419} et add. P2\textsuperscript{*}
\textsuperscript{420} est add. P2
\textsuperscript{421} Quales nos Deus creavit in marg. D
\textsuperscript{422} nos corr. ex non A, C; non B
[24] [FV] If we should be grateful towards our country, parents, princes, teachers, and friends, then how much more should we be grateful towards our God? For who has bestow greater benefits on us than our God? When we were still nothing, He created us not as a stone, or a plant, or a dumb animal, but as men partaking in reason. He gave us intelligence, speech, virtue, and strength. And when we had become the servants of hell through the fault of our first parent, he came down from Heaven that he might redeem us. But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross, the Apostle says.

423 Genesis, 3
424 Nicene Creed: descendit de caelo
425 Cf. Galatians 4, 5
426 Philippians, 2, 7-8
Sub ipsa autem passione et cruce, priusquam ad crudelitatem necis et effusionem sanguinis perveniretur, quae convitiorum probra, quae contumeliarum ludibria tuit? Sputamina insultantium except, qui sputo suo caeci oculos aperuerat. Flagellatus est, qui potestatem flagellantii daemones habet. Spinis coronatus est, qui sanctos suos floribus coronat aeternis. Palmis in faciem caesus est, qui veras palmas mundum (56r) vincentibus tribuit. Spoliatus est terrena et caduca veste, qui pios omnes caelesti et immarcescibili candidas animas vestit. Cibatus est, qui se cibum homini praebuit. Agnus ille innocens, immo ipsa innocentia, ipsa justitia inter facinorosos computata est. Viderunt faciem ejus, et non erat species, neque decor: a vertice usque ad plantam pedis non erat in eo sanitas. Sed passus est, ut nos redderet impassibiles. Mortuus est, ut nos redderet immortales. Passus est, quia ipse voluit. Iniquitates nostras ipse portavit. O bonitatem! O clementiam magni Dei! O miserationes divinae pietatis incredibiles! Quam maxima et inextimabilia sunt Christiano populo praestita beneficia!

Sub ipsa autem passione et cruce, priusquam ad crudelitatem necis et effusionem sanguinis veniretur, quae convitiorum probra, quae contumeliarum ludibria tuit? Sputamina insultantium except, qui sputo suo caeci oculos aperuerat. Flagellatus est, qui potestatem flagellantii daemones habet. Spinis coronatus est, qui sanctos suos floribus coronat aeternis. Palmis in faciem caesus est, qui veras palmas mundum vincentibus tribuit. Spoliatus est terrena et caduca veste, qui pios omnes caelesti et immarcescibili vestit. Cibatus est, qui se cibum homini dedit. Potatus est aceto, qui populo suo nectaria pocula repromittit. Agnus ille innocens, immo ipsa innocentia, ipsa justitia inter facinorosos deputata est. Viderunt faciem ejus, et non erat species, neque decor: a vertice usque ad plantam pedis non erat in eo sanitas. Sed passus est, ut redderet nos impassibiles. Passus est, quia ipse voluit. Iniquitates nostras ipse portavit. O bonitatem! O clementiam magni Dei! O miserationes divinae pietatis incredibiles! Quam maxima sunt haec et inextimabilia populo Christiano concessa beneficia!
[25] [FV] During his passion and crucifixion, before the cruel killing and shedding of blood, what abuse and mockery did he not suffer from the attendants? He was spat upon who had opened the eyes of the blind man with his own spit.\textsuperscript{438} He was scourged who has the power of scourging demons. He was crowned with thorns who crowns his saints with eternal flowers. He was beaten with palms of hand who gives true palms to those who conquer the world. He was robbed of his earthly and frail clothing who dresses all the pious with heavenly and imperishable clothings. He ate gall who gave himself as food to man. He drank vinegar who promises cups of nectar to his people.\textsuperscript{439} He who is the innocent lamb, who is innocence and justice itself, was placed among thieves.\textsuperscript{440} They saw his face, and there was no beauty in him, nor comeliness.\textsuperscript{441} From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there was no soundness therein.\textsuperscript{442} But he suffered in order to free us from suffering. He suffered because he himself chose to. He bore our iniquities.\textsuperscript{443} O the goodness of our Great God! O the clemency! O the incredible mercy of merciful God! How great and immeasurable are his favours towards the Christian people.

\textsuperscript{438} Cf. Matthew, 26, 67 \textit{et al.}
\textsuperscript{439} Cf. Matthew, 27, 34
\textsuperscript{440} Cf. Luke 23, 33
\textsuperscript{441} Isaiah, 53, 2
\textsuperscript{442} Isaiah, 1, 6
\textsuperscript{443} Isaiah, 53, 11

These gifts of God are shared by all the faithful. But you Germans have a greater obligation towards God because He has shown you a special honour. For by giving you the Empire, He has raised you above all the other peoples and nations. This dignity is the first in the world, and all princes and kings bow to it. Even Our Saviour, when he was born, traveled around, and died according to the flesh, considered it worthy of every honour. It was promised by the prophets, approved in the Gospel, and magnificently recommended in the writings of the apostles. This is the supreme dignity, and so long as it stands firm, we have no reason to fear the coming of Antichrist, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and many of the ancients seem to gather from the words of Paul, Doctor of the Gentiles. Therefore our forefathers, filled with the Holy Spirit, wished a long life, a secure empire, a safe home, a strong army, a loyal senate, an honest people, and a quiet world to the emperors even when these still worshipped pagan idols.

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457 E.g. Matthew, 22, 21
458 Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens (c. 160 – c. 225 AD): early Christian author from Carthage
459 Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius (c. 200 - 258): Bishop of Carthage and an important Early Christian writer
460 Tertullian: Liber apologeticus, 30. Denique, inquit ille, sine monitore pro omnibus semper imperatoribus Deum precantes sumus. Vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum orbem quietum optamus


\[461\] tradita P2
\[462\] qui P1
\[463\] duo P2
\[464\] respondetis P2
\[465\] ut P1
\[466\] donorum P2
\[467\] omit. P1, KO; nostra P2
\[468\] omit. KO
\[469\] sanctissimam P1
\[470\] sanctissimum P2
\[471\] calcant P2
Thus you, Great and Exalted Germans, to whom so grand a dignity has been entrusted, should above all take care that the majesty of Christian religion does not perish while you have charge of the Empire. What should you and all we Christians do in return for such great favours? Where is our memory of these great gifts, Princes? Where is our gratitude, Mighty Men? The Holy Land, where our God appeared and lived as a man among men for more than 30 years, is occupied by the Saracens. The workshop of our salvation is held by Muhammad. The Holy Sepulchre, that glorious bed where He who is our life slept in the Lord, the holy and blessed places, made purple by the blood of the immaculate lamb, are held by the filthy hands of the Agarenes and trodden underfoot by villains.

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Baruch, 3, 38
473 Ibidem. Cf. 1. Peter, 1, 19

What do you say to this, Princes? Why do you think it happened? Do you believe that the arm of the almighty Lord has been shortened or lost its power. Can he not send more than 12 legions of angels to destroy the Saracens and the Turks blaspheming against him? Or just say a word and his will shall be done? He closed the sea to the Egyptians. He rained sulphur and fire on the Sodomites, He crushed savage Sennacherib through a fighting angel, He gave ferocious Holofernes into the hand of a widow, He smote great kings and slew mighty kings. He commands the winds and the sea, He made the heavens in understanding: should He not be able to curb the arrogance of Mehmed, He who is able to do anything he wants to. So what shall we think? What shall we believe? The Lord your God trieth you. He wants to see whether you love him, excel in virtue, revere religion, and are grateful. He is looking to see if there is anyone among us who is wise and understanding and seeks to do this, and who is sorrowful on his behalf.

495 Ibid. Cf. Matthew, 26, 53
496 Exodus, 14, 22-31
497 2. Kings, 19, 35 ff
498 Judith, 10-13; 16, 7
499 Psalms, 135, 17
500 Psalms, 134, 10
501 Matthew, 8, 26
502 Psalms, 135, 5: qui fecit caelos in sapientia (Vulgate)
503 Wisdom, 12, 18. Otto von Freising: Gesta Friderici, I, 44 (Schmidt, 214). From letter of Bernard of Clairvaux, cf. above
504 Ibid. Cf. Matthew, 8, 8
505 Deuteronomy, 13, 3 - also in Bernhard

So why do you hesitate, Princes? Will it not be greatly worthwhile to go to war against those who blaspheme against Christ? Thus you will show that you remember the favour done to you, you will please God, your souls will benefit, and you will gain Heaven where you will triumph together with the saints, live together with the angels, and reign together Christ.

I pass over, Princes, the gains that most soldiers today are seeking in war: gold, silver, tapestries, paintings, clothes, horses, slaves and slave girls. For though this expedition promises much of that, I do not want you, as soldiers of Christ, to desire such things, I do not want you to wish for plunder, I do not want you to rejoice in spoils of war. It is the small mind that covets earthly gains. The great and noble mind aims at treasures in Heaven.

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521 Cf. Moudarres, pp. 42-53
[30] [FV] Short is the life of man on earth.\textsuperscript{544} Our years are fleeing away. Quickly, the fabric of our life will be torn apart, as a web of spiders.\textsuperscript{545} Swiftly the flower passes away. Short is the allotted period of a lowly and miserable life. While we call for wine, food, and sleep, old age is creeping on us unperceived.\textsuperscript{546} Nobody knows what evening will bring. Uncertain is the course of our life. We are strangers on earth,\textsuperscript{547} and our hopes should be turned towards Heaven, where thieves do not break through and moth do not consume.\textsuperscript{548} Many are the ways leading to Heaven, but today, Princes, the most certain, the most safe, the most easy, the most glorious way to go to Heaven is to take up arms and shield against the Turks, the infidel enemies of our celestial fatherland, the eternal city, Jerusalem on high, and to make war with pure and constant hearts.

I believe that now you understand, Princes, that the war I am advocating is not only just, but also useful.

\textsuperscript{544} General maxim
\textsuperscript{545} Cf. Job, 8, 14
\textsuperscript{546} Juvenal, 9, 126-129
\textsuperscript{547} Cf. Hebrews, 11, 13
\textsuperscript{548} Matthew, 6, 20
[31] [EV] Nunc de facultate gerendi belli paucā subnectam. Hoc est enim, de quo tertio loco dicturum me promisi. Frustra enim justum bellum, frustra commodosum probaverimus, nisi etiam factu facile, ne dicam possible, demonstrēmus. In hac parte illud meo judicio animadvertendum est, optimi prōceres, ne major hostibus quam vobis sit scientia rei militaris, ne frequentior usus, ne pecunia copiosior, ne potentia superior, ne Deus ipse faventior; quinīmmo neque, si pares utrimque vires fuerint, bellum suaserim. Nam, teste Octaviano Caesare, qui proelium sine certa praerogativa committit, similis ei est, qui hamo piscatur aureo; facile namque plus amittere quam lucrari potest.

[31] [FV] Nunc de faculāte gerendi belli paucā subnectam. Hoc est enim, de quo loco ultimo dicturum me promisi. Frustra enim justum bellum, frustra commodosum probaverimus, nisi et factu facile, ne dicam possible, demonstrēmus. In hac parte illud meo judicio animadvertendum est, optimi prōceres, ne major hostibus quam vobis sit scientia rei militaris, ne frequentior usus, ne pecunia copiosior, ne potentia major, ne Deus ipse propitior; neque, si pares utrimque vires fuerint, bellum suaserim. Nam teste Octaviano Caesare, qui proelium sine certa praerogativa committit, similis ei est, qui hamo piscatur aureo; facile namque plus amittere quam lucrari potest.
4. Feasibility of the war

[31] [FV] Now I shall say something about the feasibility of the war, for that is what I promised to speak of last. In vain would I have shown you that the war is just and useful if I cannot also show that it is feasible, not to say possible. Excellent Nobles, I belive that here we must consider whether the military skills, experience in war, funds, and strength of our enemies are greater than yours, and whether God favours them more than you. If the two sides had equal resources, I would not counsel war. For according to Octavian Caesar, anyone one who goes to battle without a sure advantage is like a man who *fishes with a golden hook*: it is easy to lose more than you can gain.

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566 Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum / Augustus*, 25


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567 indicat P1
568 audentior KO
569 omit. P2
570 omit. P2
571 equites fortissimi : fortissimi equites P2, KO
572 mine P2
573 tanti P2*
[32] [FV] But whether I consider the new state of things or ponder the old, it seems to me that among all the nations considered to be warlike, none is more ready, none is more powerful, none is more skilled, none is more daring than yours. You have men, horses, weapons, and money. There is no grander nation under the sky that hath gods so nigh them, as your Lord God is with you.\footnote{Deuteronomy, 4, 7} Where, do I ask, are there so many famous princes? Where so many eminent noblemen? Where so many strong knights? Where so many powerful cities? Where so much wealth? Where so much gold, silver, copper, and iron? Where so large a population? Where so many youths? Where so much courage? Where so great strength?

\footnote{Deuteronomy, 4, 7}


\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnotesize orienti P2
  \item \footnotesize in stella P2
  \item \footnotesize flumen P2
  \item \footnotesize occidenti P2*
  \item \footnotesize Oceanum P2*
  \item \footnotesize occupastis P1, KO
  \item \footnotesize \textit{omit.} P2
  \item \footnotesize ad P1
  \item \footnotesize pedes P1*
  \item \footnotesize solis P2
  \item \footnotesize in P2
  \item \footnotesize \textit{omit.} P2
  \item \footnotesize pares P2
  \item \footnotesize \textit{omit.} P1
  \item \footnotesize nobilissimum Ladislaum \textit{omit.} P2
  \item \footnotesize Germanie termini in marg. A; Germaniae fines D
  \item \footnotesize septentrione D
  \item \footnotesize et C
\end{itemize}
The old ones tell us that these were the borders of Germany: to the East the river Veisel and the land of Hungary, to the west the Rhine, to the South the Danube, and to the North the Ocean and the Baltic Sea. You can see for yourselves how much territory outside these limits you possess now. You have expelled the Britons and occupied England. You have expelled the Gauls and gained the lands of the Belgae and the Helvetii. You have invaded Rhetia and Noricum and reached out to Italy. You have wrested the Ulmerigi, now called the Prussians, from the hands of the infidels. Of foreign peoples only the Bohemians are now living in your country, but according to their own history books they took over lands that had not been settled yet, they did not expel any Germans.
[33] [EV] Vos igitur magni, vos bellicosi, vos potentissimi, vos fortunatissimi\textsuperscript{593} ac\textsuperscript{594} Deo accepti Germani estis, quibus adeo fines extendisse licuit, et super\textsuperscript{595} omnes mortales Romanae\textsuperscript{596} potentiae \textit{datum fuit} obsistere. Nam terrarum ille calcator omnium et orbis domitor\textsuperscript{597}, Julius Caesar, quamvis subactis Gallis saepe\textsuperscript{598} Rhenum transiverit \textit{resque maximas in Germania gesset}, bellicosam tamen et asperam Suevorum [61r] gentem dimisit indomitam. Augustus Octavianus, cui et Parthorum et Indorum \textit{reges} munera miserunt, qui unus omnium Romanorum fortunatissimus creditus est, de quo illa sunt metra:

\begin{quote}
Augustus Caesar, divum genus, aurea condet\textsuperscript{599}
Saecula, qui rursus\textsuperscript{600} Latio regnata\textsuperscript{601} per arva
Saturno quondam, superat\textsuperscript{602} Garamantas et Indos.
Proferet imperium, jacet extra sidera tellus
Extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
Axem humero premit\textsuperscript{603} stellis ardentibus aptum,
\end{quote}

Ille, inquam\textsuperscript{604}, felicissimus imperator\textsuperscript{605}, nullibi umquam nisi apud Germanos succubuit; nam Lolliam et Varianam cladem in Germania perpessus est, Lolliam majoris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paene exitialem, tribus legionibus cum duce, legatis et auxiliis omnibus caesis.

[33] [FV] \textit{Magna est vestra potentia, vestra virtus, vestra experientia, vestra gloria}, Germani, quibus adeo fines extendisse licuit, \textit{ut supr\ae} omnes mortales Romanae potentiae obsistere \textit{datum fuerit}. Nam terrarum ille calcator omnium et orbis domitor, Julius Caesar, quamvis subactis Gallis saepe Rhenum transiverit, bellicosam tamen et asperam Suevorum gentem dimisit indomitam. Augustus Octavianus, cui et Parthi et Indi munera miserunt, qui unus omnium Romanorum fortunatissimus\textsuperscript{606} creditus est, de quo illa sunt metra:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Augustus Caesar, divum genus, aurea condet}
\textit{Saecula, qui rursus Latio regnata per arva}
\textit{Saturno quondam, superet Garamantas et Indos.}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[593] fortunati P2
\item[594] vos P1
\item[595] supra P2\
\item[596] ratione P2
\item[597] dominator P2
\item[598] se P2
\item[599] condit P2\
\item[600] reversus KO
\item[601] renata P2
\item[602] super et P2
\item[603] torquet P1
\item[604] quisquam P2
\item[605] felicissimus imperator : imperator felicissimus P2\
\item[606] fortissimus C
\end{footnotes}
illeg inquam, felicissimus imperator, nullibi umquam nisi apud Germanos succubuit; nam Lollianam et Varianam cladem in Germania\textsuperscript{609} perpessus est, Lollianam majoris infamiae \textit{quam detrimenti}, Varianam \textit{paene exitiabilem}\textsuperscript{610}, tribus legionibus cum duce, legatis, et auxiliis omnibus caesis.

[33] Great is your power, Germans, great is your courage, your experience, and your glory. Because of them you were able to extend your frontiers so much that you could resist Roman power better than any other people. Even Julius Caesar,\textsuperscript{611} who defeated all other countries and conquered the whole world, subdued the Gauls, and often crossed the Rhine, had to leave the warlike and fierce tribe of the Swabians undefeated.\textsuperscript{612}

Augustus Octavian, who received gifts from the Parthians and the Indians, was considered to be the most fortunate of all Romans, as said in these verses:

\textit{Augustus Caesar, son of a god}\textsuperscript{613}, who will again establish a
Golden age in Latium amid fields once ruled by
Saturn; he will advance his empire beyond the
Garamants and Indians to a land which lies beyond our
Stars, beyond the path of year and sun, where sky-bearing
Atlas wheels on his shoulders the blazing star-studded sphere.\textsuperscript{614}

This the most fortunate of emperors was defeated nowhere but in Germany. For he suffered the defeats of Lollius\textsuperscript{615} and Varus\textsuperscript{616} in Germany. Of these that of Lollius was more humiliating than serious, but that of Varus was almost fatal, since three legions were cut to pieces with their general, his lieutenants, and all the auxiliaries.\textsuperscript{617}
[34] [EV] Longum esset referre, (61v) quas intulerunt Romanae reipublicae molestias Germani, qui etsi Romanorum fortunae aliquando cesserunt, postea tamen et ipsi de Romanis, de Gallis, de Hispanis, de Hungaris, deque aliis diversis gentibus saepenumber triumfarunt⁶¹⁹. Nec Romani, cum rerum potirentur, res magnas sine Germanis auxiliantibus peregerunt⁶²⁰, quorum tanta in bello virtus, tanta in domo fides fuit, ut Caesarei⁶²¹ corporis custos cohors ex Germanis potissime legeretur.

[34] [FV] Longum esset referre, quas intulerint⁶²² Romanae reipublicae molestias Germani, qui etsi Romanorum fortunae aliquando cesserunt, postea tamen sub Carolo, sub Ludovico, sub Ottonibus, sub Henricis, sub Fridericis de Romanis ipsi, de Gallis, de Hispanis, de Hungaris saepenumber triumpharunt. Nec Romani, cum rerum potirentur, res magnas sine Germanis auxilaribus egerunt, quorum tanta in bello virtus, tanta in domo fides fuit, ut Caesarei corporis custos legio ex Germanis potissime legeretur.

⁶¹⁸ omit. P2
⁶¹⁹ triumpharunt P2⁺
⁶²⁰ omit. P1; egerunt P2⁺
⁶²¹ Cesari P1
⁶²² intulerunt D
It would, indeed, take too long to relate the troubles inflicted on the Roman state by the Germans. For a period they had to give way to Roman fortune, but later, under emperors named Charles, Ludwig, Otto, Heinrich, and Friedrich, they often triumphed over the Romans, the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Hungarians. And even when the Romans were the lords, they performed their great feats with the help of German auxiliary troops. So great was the Germans’ courage in war and their loyalty at home that the legion guarding the emperor’s body was selected from the Germans.  

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623 Cf. Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum / Augustus*, c. 79


624 illo P1
625 calcitra KO
626 omit. P2
627 aquis P2
628 et P2
629 erunt KO
630 ludos KO
631 tendere spicula : spicula tendere P2
632 ferore KU
633 omit. KU
634 tormentis P1
635 nec mutat P2
636 juvat P2
637 et vivere in armis omit. P2
638 pictis KO
639 miricae KO
640 voluntas KO
Let us now compare you with the Turks to see what we may hope for in a battle between you. You are born to weapons, they are forced to them. You are armed, they are unarmed. You use swords, they use knives. You draw crossbows, they use simple bows. You are protected by coats of mail and cuirasses, they are covered by padded doublets. You master your horses, they are mastered by theirs. You are led to war by generals, they force servants and artisans to go to war. Your soldiers are born and raised in arms, they draw their troops from the fields and the workshops – except for a standing army of 15,000 soldiers whom they always have at the ready. Your sport is to rein the steed and shoot arrows from the bow. Your young men wish for tournaments or shake cities in battle. All your life is worn down with iron’s use, and sluggish age does not weaken your hearts’ strength or change your vigour. On to white hair you press the helmet, and you are content when you have fresh causes for war and live under arms. But they wear embroidered saffron and gleaming purple; sloth is their joy, and their greatest pleasure is the dance.
[36] [EV] Solus Mahumetus et quos dixi quindecim milia expediti sunt\textsuperscript{643}, quos sonus delectat armorum\textsuperscript{644}, et animus in bella paratus exhibet audaces. Ceteros inexpertos, timidos, \textit{effeminatos}\textsuperscript{645} nullius pretii judicetis. Quod si manus cum illis conferatis, nihil est, quod de victoria dubitetis, si modo, quam gesturi estis pro Deo pugnam, adversus Deum non convertatis\textsuperscript{646}, \textit{mala mente procedentes}. Cum ergo maiores vestri\textsuperscript{647}, principes, omnes vicinos ac longe positos populos armorum gloria superaverint, cum timentes ipsi nullos omnibus terrori fuerint, cum vos ipsi nihil mores vestris progenitoribus sitis, cum omnibus his rebus abundetis, quas bello necessarias putant, cum vobis fortissimi milites, \textit{peritissimi} duces ac satis fortunati sint, cum Deum in sua causa\textsuperscript{648} propitium sperare par sit, cum vestri hostes longe inferiores vobis existant, non est, cur tam honestum tamque utile bellum \textit{pro Deo vestro gerendum} detractare\textsuperscript{649} quoquo modo debeatis.

[36] [FV] Solus Mahumetus et quos dixi XV milia expediti sunt, quos sonus delectat armorum, et animus in bella paratus exhibet audaces. Ceteros inexpertos, timidos, effeminatos nullius pretii judicetis. Quod si manus cum illis conferatis, nihil est, quod de victoria dubitetis, si modo quam gesturi estis pro Deo pugnam, adversus Deum non convertatis. Cum ergo maiores vestri, principes, omnes vicinos ac longe positos populos armorum gloria superaverint, cum timentes ipsi nullos omnibus terrori fuerint, cum vos ipsi nihil mores vestris progenitoribus sitis, cum omnibus his rebus abundetis, quas bello necessarias putant, cum vobis fortissimi milites, duces \textit{peritissimi} ac satis fortunati sint, cum Deum in sua causa propitium sperare par sit, cum vestri hostes longe inferiores vobis existant, non est, cur tam honestum \{104v\} tamque utile bellum detractare quoquo modo debeatis.

\textsuperscript{643} \textit{omit. P1}
\textsuperscript{644} \textit{omit. P2}
\textsuperscript{645} \textit{effrenatos KO}
\textsuperscript{646} \textit{committatis P1}
\textsuperscript{647} \textit{nostri P1}
\textsuperscript{648} \textit{causa sua KO}
\textsuperscript{649} \textit{detractare P1}
Only Mehmed and those fifteen thousand I mentioned before delight in the din of weapons and their warlike spirit makes them fearless in battle. The others, as you will see, are inexperienced, timid, effeminate, and worthless. If you fight with these people, you will undoubtedly win, if only you do not turn your fight for God into a fight against God. Your forefathers, Princes, conquered all peoples, both those living close by and those living far away, in glorious war, and fearing nobody they were feared by everybody. You yourselves are in no way inferior to your forefathers, you have an abundance of all things considered necessary for war, you have strong soldiers and experienced leaders, lucky in war. Moreover it is reasonable to hope that God will favour his own cause. And finally, your enemies are greatly inferior to you. Thus, there is absolutely no reason for you to shy away from a war that is so just and so advantageous.

Cf. Virgil: Georgica, 3, 83
Here somebody may object that, “we shall not only have to do with the Turks, but also with the Tartars, the Saracens, and all the peoples they have subjugated.” My reply is that neither will you Germans be fighting alone. Many men from Italy, France, and Spain will join you, and the Hungarians and the Bohemians will not be missing. The Serbians, the Bulgarians, all the Illyrians\textsuperscript{666}, and all the Greeks will seize the moment and rise against the Turks. And finally the neighbours [of the Turks\textsuperscript{667}] in Asia will come to our help. Do not think, Princes, that the whole of Asia Minor obeys Mehmed: many people there serve Christ, and in Cilicia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Syria there are many Christians, though they live under the yoke of slavery. The Georgians, the Trapezuntians, and the Armenians worship Christ, and they will not hesitate to take up arms if they see your daring courage.

\textsuperscript{666} i.e. the other peoples in the Balkans
\textsuperscript{667} i.e. the Turkish principedom of Caraman, potential allies of the West against the dominant Osman Turks

The Venetians and the Genovese, those mighty peoples, will help you with fleets though they are presently at peace with the Turks. But they were forced to make peace so as not lose their Eastern cities, and what people do unwillingly and out of necessity, they cannot do long and diligently. The Venetians have made a sure promise to the emperor that they will act as Christians if the faithful decide on a common war against the Turks. I am quite certain, Nobles, that if you take up arms then all Christianity will support you. But should they stay at home, I do not doubt that Germany is strong enough to undertake this war on its own. For I know that Duke Godefroy of Lorraine together with a force consisting only of the Germans from across the Rhine and some French and a few Italians passed through Hungary, entered Greece, crossed the Hellespont, went through Asia Minor, and reached Jerusalem. On the way, they defeated and crushed all the peoples who came against them, though many Turks and Saracens tried to oppose them. His army is reported to have had 200,000 soldiers – and Germany can muster much greater forces than that.

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684 The two great seapowers of the Mediterraneans, having extensive possessions in that area, and therefore being highly dependent on Turkish goodwill
685 Peace treaty of 21. April 1454
686 Godefroy de Bouillon (c. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the first crusade and first Latin king of Jerusalem
[39] [EV] Here you will say, I presume: “How can we make war abroad, when we are fighting at home, and no part of Germany is quiet. Let there be peace at home, then we can fight abroad.” Princes, the Turks will reach the Rhine before all your conflicts have been solved. Therefore, the wise men who were gathered in Regensburg considered it necessary to declare a five-year armistice in all of Germany; this should now be put into effect. All those who are warring are either princes, or vassals, or subjects of the Empire. If they do not obey the commands of the emperor, they break faith, blemish their honour, damage the state, and harm themselves. That I will absolutely not believe of such great nobles. Who will be so hard, so obstinate, so averse to proper conduct that he will presume to break a truce instituted for the common salvation of the Christians. The apostolic legate\textsuperscript{701} is present: he will intervene with ecclesiastical censures. And the imperial legates will add the ban of the Empire and other punishments.

\textsuperscript{701} Giovanni Castiglione (1420-1460): Bishop of Pavia, later a cardinal
[40] [EV] Proh\textsuperscript{702}, Germani nobiles, gens bellicosa, gens alti cordis! An modo in tanta et vestra\textsuperscript{703} et omnium Christianorum necessitate deficietis? Eritisne adeo incauti, adeo caeci, ut ranae murisque fabulam in vobis\textsuperscript{704} impleri sinatis, qui dum \textit{invicem} se\textsuperscript{705} morderent\textsuperscript{706}, praeda milvi fuere? Nonne cernitis, dum simul contenditis, venientem Turcum et omnia rapientem, quae vos litigare compellunt? Expellite\textsuperscript{707} prius [65r] communem\textsuperscript{708} hostem; tum, si pacem tenere nequitis, de terra, de dominio, de ceteris bonis pugnate, quae non Turcis, sed vestris filiis relinquere valeatis.

[40] [FV] Proh, Germani nobiles, gens bellicosa, gens alti cordis, an modo in tanta et\textsuperscript{709} vestra et omnium Christianorum necessitate deficietis? Eritisne adeo incauti, adeo caeci, ut ranae murisque fabulam in vobis impleri sinatis, qui dum se \textit{invicem} morderent, praeda milvi fuere? Nonne cernitis, dum simul contenditis, venientem Turcum et omnia rapientem, quae vos litigare compellunt? Expellite prius communem hostem; tum, si pacem tenere nequitis, de terra, de dominio, de ceteris bonis pugnate, quae non Turcis, sed vestris filiis relinquere valeatis.

\textsuperscript{702} propterea P2
\textsuperscript{703} nostra P1
\textsuperscript{704} nobis P1
\textsuperscript{705} invicem se : se invicem P2
\textsuperscript{706} mordent P2
\textsuperscript{707} compellite P2
\textsuperscript{708} domesticum P2
\textsuperscript{709} omit. D
[FV] Will you, Nobles of Germany, a warlike people, a courageous people, fail in this great need which is not only your own, but also that of all Christians? Will you be so incautious and so blind that you will do as the frog and the mouse in the fable who, while fighting each other, became the prey of the kite? Don’t you see that while you are fighting each other, the Turk is coming to rob you of all that you are fighting about? Do first expel the common enemy; then, if you cannot keep peace, fight about land, lordship, and what other property you may leave not to the Turks, but to your sons.

710 This fable was well-known in Antiquity, but it did not belong to the Aesop collection. Piccolomini used it in a letter to Pietro da Noce on September 18, 1453 (Wolkan III, 1, p. 546) and in the oration Quamvis omnibus.
Equidem, si has indutias amplectimini, principes, non est mihi dubium, quin validissimum et copiosum exercitum comparare possitis, quo educto pacem in Alamania necessario reliquitis: latrones enim et raptores omnes exibunt, agricolaet artifices domi manebunt, pacatum genus hominum, quemadmodum tempore Conradi Caesaris evenisse constat, cum ille copias adversus Saracenos et Turcos eduxit. Et fortasse haec una est pacandae Germaniae via; nescio, an vos alias habeatis.
Indeed, Princes, if you accept this truce, I do not doubt that you can muster a very strong and numerous army, and that when you bring it out of Germany you will leave the country at peace: for all thieves and robbers will leave while the peasants and artisans, a peaceful kind of people, will stay at home. This is what happened at the time of Emperor Konrad when he led his troops against the Saracens and the Turks. And maybe this is the only way to bring peace to Germany. I do not know if you can think of any other.

“But what shall we do with the Prussians who have rebelled against their lords and defected from the German Order to the King of Poland?” There are three remedies to this: two I shall speak about now, the third one I shall keep for later. Either our truce will be kept there, too, as in the other German conflicts, or – if this is unacceptable to the order – then allow the brethren to fight for their province together with Saxons, Bohemians, and whoever else they may be able to attract to their cause. This will not be a great problem with regard for your army for when Konrad, whom I spoke of a moment ago, was emperor, and the Roman Pontiff, Eugenius, urged the Christians to protect the Holy Land that the Saracens were striving to conquer, the Prussians, like other peoples living beyond them, were worshipping idols. Frequently, they attacked now Saxony, now their other neighbours, who worshipped Christ. Therefore Konrad let the Saxons and other neighbours stay at home so that they could fight the Prussians and other barbarians while he himself went to Jerusalem together with the Rhinish, the Swabians, the Franconians, and the Barbarians. The same you can do now.

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736 Piccolomini here refers to the standing conflict between the Prussian population and the German order which had possession of their territory
737 Pope Eugenius III (–d. 1153): Pope from 1153 to his death
738 Cf. Otto von Freising: *Gesta Friderici*, I, 47 ff
Ceterum, quia nonnullos esse audio, qui Mahumetum deinceps \(^{739}\) quieturum existimant, neque, ut ego dico, tantopere festinandum censent\(^{740}\), reserabo vobis aliqua de consuetudine et natura\(^{741}\) hujus hominis, quae mihi per eos nota sunt, qui secum aliquando\(^{742}\) conversati fuere, ut quid sperandum, quidve\(^{743}\) timendum sit\(^{744}\) eo certius habeatis. Est autem Mahumetus adolescens annos natus\(^{745}\) XXIV\(^{746}\), animo truci et gloriae cupidō, robusto corpore ac laboris\(^{747}\) patiente, neque vino neque cenis\(^{748}\) indulget, et\(^{749}\) quamvis more gentis libidinosus, non tamen inter uxorēs ritu paterno\(^{750}\) languescit, choreas fugit, unguenta devitat, raro induitur mollibus: \({66v}\) non cantu, non sono delinitur, non canes alit, non aves nutrit. Una ei voluptas est arma tractare. [cont.]

\(^{739}\) Mahumetum deinceps : deinceps Maumethum  P1*
\(^{740}\) cessent KO
\(^{741}\) consuetudine et natura : natura et consuetudine  P2
\(^{742}\) aliquandiu KO
\(^{743}\) vel P2
\(^{744}\) de add. P2
\(^{745}\) nactus P2*
\(^{746}\) et add. P2
\(^{747}\) laborem P2
\(^{748}\) indiget KO
\(^{749}\) omit. P1*
\(^{750}\) omit. KO
\(^{751}\) resarabo A, D
\(^{752}\) Maumeti mores in marg. D
\(^{753}\) omit. B

[cont.]
Moreover, I hear many people express the belief that Mehmed will now take a period of rest, and that he will not move forward as quickly as I have said. I shall therefore tell you something about the habits and character of this man, as people who have spent some time with him have made them known to me. Then you will better know what to hope for and what to fear.

Mehmed is a young man of 24 years. He is fierce and desires glory, robust of body and enduring of labour, and he does not indulge in wine and banquets. Though he is given to sexual pleasure, like all his people, he does not as his forefathers spend his time among his wives. He avoids dancing and balms, and he does not wear soft clothes. He is not fond of singing or music, he does not raise dogs or birds. He has only one pleasure: all things military.

\[754\] E.g. Niccolò Sagundino
\[755\] Cf. Horace: *Carmina*, 1, 9
\[756\] Cf. Virgil: *Aeneid*, 9, 606-614
[43] [EV] [cont.] Honorat milites, equos amat; naves, currus, machinas bellicas formosis mulieribus praefert. Et quamvis est natura barbarus abhorretque litteras, gesta tamen majorum cupide audit ac Julium Caesarem et Alexandrum magnum omnibus anteponit, quorum illustria facta superare posse confidit atque contendit; nec se minus aptum ad subjugandum orbem dicit, quam illi fuerunt, cum sua sint longe majora principia, quam illorum referantur. Et quoniam falso prophetae suo Mahumeto, ex quo nomen habet, Constantinopolim subjecit, non dubitat quin et Romam submittere possit, barbara temeritate et Asiana superbia plenus. Hic est vester hostis, proceres. Existimatote, an talem naturam quiescere sit verisimile.

[43] [FV] [cont.] Honorat milites, equos amat; naves, currus, machinas bellicas formosis mulieribus praefert. Et quamvis est natura barbarus abhorretque litteras, gesta tamen majorum cupide audit, ac Julium Caesarem et Alexandrum magnum omnibus anteponit, quorum illustria facta superare posse confidit atque contendit; nec se minus aptum ad subigendum orbem dicit, quam illi fuerunt, cum sua sint longe majora principia, quam illorum referuntur. Et quoniam falso prophetae Mahumeto, ex quo nomen habet, Constantinopolim subjecit, non dubitat quin et Romam submittere possit, barbara temeritate et Asiana superbia plenus. Hic est vester hostis, proceres. Existimate nunc, an talem naturam quiescere sit verisimile.
He honours soldiers, he loves horses, and he prefers ships, wagons, and war machines to beautiful women. Though he is a barbarian by nature and abhors letters, he avidly hears about the deeds of great men, and he puts Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great above all. He is confident that he shall be able to surpass their illustrious deeds and is striving to do so. And he claims that he is no less capable of conquering the world than they since he starts from a much more advantageous position than they reportedly did. And since he has won Constantinople for the false prophet, Muhammad, after whom he was named, he does not doubt that he shall be able to do the same with Rome, full, as he is, of barbarian audacity and Asian arrogance. Such is your enemy, noble men! Consider now if such a character is likely to rest.

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769 Mehmed's supposed fascination with Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great was frequently commented upon in contemporary Western writings.

[44] [FV] Yet why should we rely on conjecture or arguments in matters that are evident? When this man had conquered Constantinople, did he not immediately destroy Pera,\textsuperscript{777} fall upon the cities in the area, lay waste to the Cycladean Isles in the Aegaean Sea, and expel the ruler from Serbia? And though the Turks had a truce with the Hungarians, they entered their lands and wasted their fields.\textsuperscript{778} This is the peace of the Turks, Noble Men, this is the quiet that you can hope for! Do not be confident! Do not procrastinate! Consider your own affairs, your advantage, and your liberty while you still have time.

As you see, the cause of the war is just, and necessary, and great, and you are in all ways better prepared for war than the Turks.

\textsuperscript{777} The Genovese colony of Pera surrendered to Mehmed shortly after the Fall of Constantinople. It was not destroyed

\textsuperscript{778} Actually, at the instigation of a papal legate Hungary itself had broken a truce with the Turks
Orat vos Caesar, ne Christianae reipublicae, ne vobis ipsis hoc tempore desitis, sed, quemadmodum Ratisponae condictum est, quos potestis milites, equos, arma, currus, instrumenta bellica, commeatus praeparetis, nam et ipse, quae sunt in sua potestate, ad hoc opus omnia promittit. Quaecumque sibi ut imperatori Romanorum, ut Austriae duci, ut religioso principi, ut homini Christiano incumbunt, exequi praesto est et volens. Tantum vos, principes, in hoc loco de bello gerendo concordes sitis. Nam si umquam pugnandi tempus fuit, profecto nunc est, quando non solum honor et status vester, sed ipsa libertas vestra, ipsa fides, ipsa vita in dubio ponitur. Neque enim, si Turcos progrede ad vos sinitis, quaerendum erit, in quo statu, in qua fide vivere, sed utrum vivere debeatis.
5. Conclusion

[45] The emperor asks you not to fail the Christian commonwealth and yourselves. Instead you should, as much as you are able to and as decided in Regensburg, mobilize soldiers, horses, weapons, wagons, war machines, and provisions. On his part, the emperor promises all the resources at his disposal for this purpose. Whatever is incumbent upon him as emperor, as Duke of Austria, as a God-fearing prince, and as a Christian, he will do promptly and gladly, provided that you, Princes, now come to an agreement on waging the war. For if ever there was a time for fighting, it is indeed now when not only your honour and state, but even your very liberty, faith, and life are at stake. And if you let the Turks come to you, then we will not have to ask in what state or faith you shall live, but whether you shall be allowed to live at all.


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793 principes P2
794 Romanam ecclesiam defensuri add. P2*
795 Alfonsum KO
796 Longobardorum regem : regem Longobardorum P2
797 eiusdem P2
798 Arnoldus P2
799 longum ... referre : referre gravis fueri P1*; referre quidem gravis fuerit KO
800 tuentur P1
801 Germanorum in Italiam expeditiones in marg. D
[46] [FV] Remember your forefathers, Nobles, and consider their glorious achievements! Think of how often they crossed the Italian Alps with great armies in order to defend the Roman Church. Pepin\textsuperscript{802} restrained Aistulf, King of the Longobards,\textsuperscript{804} when he was causing trouble for Pope Stephen.\textsuperscript{805} Charlemagne\textsuperscript{806} checked Desiderius\textsuperscript{807} when he abused Adrian.\textsuperscript{808} Arnulf\textsuperscript{810} subdued the Romans\textsuperscript{811} who rebelled against Pope Formosus.\textsuperscript{812} At the call of John,\textsuperscript{813} Otto I,\textsuperscript{814} defeated Berengarius\textsuperscript{815} who bragged of being King of Italy. It would take too long to relate how often your predecessors fought for the Roman Church, for the Catholic Faith, and for the salvation of all.\textsuperscript{816}

\textsuperscript{802} Pepin the Short (c. 714 - 768): King of the Franks from 751 until his death. Father of Charlemagne
\textsuperscript{803} 754 and 756
\textsuperscript{804} Aistulf (- 756): Duke of Friuli from 744, King of the Lombards from 749, and Duke of Spoleto from 751
\textsuperscript{805} 756 and 756 AD
\textsuperscript{806} Pope Stephen II [Stephanus] (715 – 757): Pope from 752 to his death
\textsuperscript{807} Desiderius (- c. 786): last king of the Lombard Kingdom of northern Italy, ruling from 756 to 774
\textsuperscript{808} Hadrian I (c. 700 – 795): Pope from 772 to his death
\textsuperscript{809} Charlemagne fought the Lombards in a series of campaigns stretching from 757-773, in 773 in aid of Pope Hadrian
\textsuperscript{810} Arnulf of Carinthia (850 – 899): Carolingian King of East Francia from 887, disputed King of Italy from 894 and disputed Holy Roman Emperor from 896 until his death
\textsuperscript{811} 894 and 896
\textsuperscript{812} Formosus (c. 816 – 896): Pope from 891 to his death
\textsuperscript{813} John X [Johannes] (c. 930/937 – 964): Pope from 955 until his death
\textsuperscript{814} Otto I the Great (912 – 973): German king from 936 and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 962 until his death
\textsuperscript{815} Berengar II (c. 900 – 966): King of Italy from 950 until his deposition in 961
\textsuperscript{816} The events related in this section would be known to Piccolomini from his study of Otto von Freising: \textit{Chronica}, 5-6, also used by him in his \textit{Pentalogus} from 1444
Videte nunc, quem vobis animum suscipientium esse putetis. Patres vestri pro suis non dicam civibus, sed agricolis paulo contumeliosius tractatis saepe bella gesserunt. Vos uno imperatore cum tota Graeciae nobilitate crudelissime necato non putabis esse pugnandum? Illi frequenter suis ministris parum reverenter compellatis non dubitarunt arma recipere. Vos Deo vestro pro amore contempto non armabimini? Illi pro ampliandis Christianorum finibus durissimis se proeliis commiserunt; vos pro tuenda religione fideque vestra recusabitis arma capescere? Non est de rebus levioribus hoc bellum: pro patria, pro liberiis, pro uxoribus, pro focis, pro libertate, pro vita, pro fide, pro religione, pro sanctis martyribus, pro magnis apostolis, pro gloriosa matre Dei, advocata nostra, regina caeli, Maria, pro filio Dei, pro redemptore, pro salvatore, pro maximo et certissimo Deo vestro, pro spiritu sancto directore, pro patre aeterno, pro divinissima trinitate, quam spurious ille Mahumetus persequitur, committendum est proelium. Cogitate, principes, quo redacta est Christiana religio, quantum in oriente, quantum in meridi minutum est nostra fides. Sumite alta corda, induite fortes animos! Defendite matrem vestram ecclesiam, quae vos Christo regeneravit! Accingimini gladio super femora vestra, potentissimi, occurrite inimicis Christi!
See now in what spirit you should act. Your fathers went to war not just for their citizens, but even for their peasants if they had been treated rudely. Should you not consider it worth fighting when an emperor has been killed together with all the nobility of Greece? Your fathers did not hesitate to take up weapons if their officials had been treated insultingly. Should you not arm yourselves when your God has been shamefully scorned? Your fathers entered savage battles in order to protect their lands. Should you then refuse to take up arms in order to protect your religion and Faith? This war is not about trifles. You must go to war for your country, for your children, for your wives, for your homes, for your liberty, for your life, for your faith, for your religion, for the holy martyrs, for the great apostles, for Mary, glorious Mother of God, our patron, Queen of Heaven, for the Son of God, for the Saviour, for your great and undoubted God, for the Holy Spirit who leads us, and for the divine Trinity, persecuted by that filthy Muhammad. Consider, Princes, to what state the Christian religion has been brought, and how greatly our faith has been reduced in the East and the South. Take courage! Be brave! Defend your mother the Church through whom you were reborn in Christ. Gird your swords upon your thighs, o Mighty Men, go to meet the enemies of Christ!

835 Cf. Moudarres, p. 43: ... in book 2 of his Commentaries, Pius II underscores Muhammad’s tendencies towards Nestorianism and Arianism, heresies that called into question the divine nature of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity: “The Turkish nation despises the Trinity...”
836 Cf. Psalms, 44, 4
Nolite ulteriores esse, quos imperii dignitas jubet exire priores! Carolus, rex Francorum nobilissimus et potentissimus, pugnaturum se dicit, si vos armamini. Quae sit mens inclyti Ladislai, regis Hungariae et Bohemiae, ex suis oratoribus audietis. Regis Dacie, Sueciae, ac Norvegiae litteras habemus, quae mentem illius optimam exponunt. Alfonsus, rex Aragonum et Siciliae, nostri saeculi clarissimum sidus, etiam silentibus ceteris, hoc magnificum bellum, hanc gloriosam expeditionem pro Christi nomine ultro susceputur se pollicetur. Philippus, Burgundiae dux, non minus animo quam sanguine clarus, potentatu ac dominatu par magnis regibus, non modo se iturum ad hoc bellum promittit, sed alios quoque, ut se accingant, magnopere adhortatur.

Nolite ultimi esse, quos imperii dignitas jubet exire priores! Carolus, rex Francorum et nobilissimus ac potentissimus, pugnaturum se dicit, si vos armamini. Alfonsus, rex Aragonum et Siciliae, nostri saeculi clarissimum sidus, etiam silentibus ceteris, hoc magnificum bellum, hanc gloriosam expeditionem pro Christi nomine ultro susceputur se pollicetur. Philippus, Burgundiae dux, non minus animo quam sanguine clarus, potentatu ac dominatu par magnis regibus, non modo se iturum ad hoc bellum promittit, sed alios quoque, ut se accingant, magnopere adhortatur.
[48] [FV] Do not be the last whom imperial dignity requires to leave as the first. The noble and puissant King Charles of France says that he will fight if you go to war. King Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily, brilliant star of our time, promises to take up this magnificent war and this glorious crusade for the name of Christ even if others remain passive. Duke Philippe of Burgundy, renowned both for his courage and for his line, and equal to great kings in might and power, not only promises to go to war himself, but he also urges others to prepare themselves for war.

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851 Charles VII (1403 – 1461): King of France from 1422 to his death
852 King Charles’ attitude to the war against the Turks was actually quite ambiguous, if not directly negative
853 In the original version of the oration held in 1454 Piccolomini also mentions the positive attitude of King Ladislas of Hungary and of King Christian of Denmark/Norway/Sweden, but when the final version was prepared under his own supervision, as pope, King Ladislas had died and the promises of the Danish King had turned out to be quite empty. King Christian was represented at the diet by Archbishop Heinrich Kalteisen
854 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 until his death
855 Philippe III le Bon (1396 – 1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 until his death

Look to those two princes, Alfonso and Philippe, great lords, powerful on land and at sea. Both are aging and more than sixty years old, but nonetheless they offer to go to war, and they do not refuse to fight in person for their God. So what should you do, Excellent Princes? Your age is perfect, your blood is young, and martial labours seem a joyful sport to you. Behold, Soldiers! Behold, Leaders! Behold, Strong Youths! Will you allow old men to show greater courage than you? Will you sleep at home when they fight abroad? Will you be feeble and inert while they are strong and active? No, I certainly do not believe this about you: *It is fear that proves souls base-born.* On the contrary, I see that you are attentive and eager. I begin to hope for the best. I already feel your hearts quicken and burn with the love of battle. And I do not wonder that at your youthful age you delight in military matters and are enthused by this war.

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869 Virgil: *Aeneid*, 4, 13
[50] [EV] Nam et ego ipse, quamvis senio gravis, quamvis ecclesiae deditus, incendor et aequo nimio fervore talis visendae pugnae. Veteribus illis, ex quibus vobis origo est, principes, cum essent adhuc gentiles, nullum fuit grave bellum, quod pro patria suscepissent, nullam illi mortem miseram putavere, quae pro republica subiretur. Sed quae respublica major aut melior quam nostra Christiana? Quae patria dulcior aut nobilior quam nostra illa caelestis, ad quam cuncti aspiramus, formosa Jerusalem? Illi, cum pro patria morerentur, maxime exulabant; nos, cum morimur, tum finimus exilium, tum patriam ingredimus. O felix mors, quae vitam finit temporalem, concedit aeternam! O faustum ac desiderabile bellum, in quo, si vincis, in terra, si vinceris, in caelo triumphas! Quidni ergo ardenti pugnemus animo, quibus tanta promittuntur emolumenta?

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\[870\] morirentur P2*
\[871\] tum P2
\[872\] exultabat P2*
\[873\] cum P2
\[874\] premittit KO
\[875\] tot P2
For I myself, though burdened with age and dedicated to the Church, am burning and enflamed with enthusiasm for this war. Those peoples of old from whom you descend, Princes, when they were still pagan considered no war as a burden if they fought for their country, and no death as misery if they died for their state. And what state is greater or better than our Christian Commonwealth? What country is more sweet or noble than our fatherland in Heaven, the beautiful Jerusalem, where we all want to go? When your forefathers died for their country, they really went into exile. But when we die, our exile ends and we enter our own country. O happy death that ends earthly life and gives eternal life instead. O happy and desirable war in which you triumph on earth if you win and in Heaven if you lose. Should we not fight with burning courage when we are promised such rewards?
Ecce dominus noster sanctissimus, Christianorum summus pater, Nicolaus papa V., ovium Christi pastor, Romanorum pontifex, successor beati Petri, Christi Dei nostri vicarius, omnibus, qui hanc expeditionem sequuntur, delicta remittit, culpas abluit, veniam praebet, caelum promittit. Nec de promisso est dubium, quando hic est, qui potestatem habet ligandi ac solvendi, qui locum illius tenet, cui datae sunt claves regni caelorum. Ecce nunc caeli aperti sunt. Ecce nunc iter in patriam! Ecce scalam, qua super omnes planetarum orbis transire atque ad ipsam galaxiam pervenire, quae nos ad regiam magni Dei recto tramite ducat. Quod si omnibus, ut inquit orator, qui patriam auxerint, juverint, defenderint, certum est in caelo esse diffinitum locum, in quo beati aevo aeterno fruantur, quid de vobis putandum est, principes, qui non pro terrena, sed pro caelesti patria pugnaturi estis?

Ecce dominus noster sanctissimus, Christianorum summus pater, Nicolaus papa V., ovium Christi pastor, Romanorum pontifex, successor beati Petri, Christi Dei nostri vicarius, omnibus, qui hanc expeditionem sequuntur, delicta remittit, culpas abluit, veniam praebet, caelum promittit. Nec de promisso est dubium, quando hic est, qui potestatem habet ligandi ac solvendi, qui locum illius tenet, cui datae sunt claves regni caelorum. Ecce, nunc iter in patriam! Ecce scalam, qua cunctas planetarum orbis transire atque ad ipsam galaxiam, quae vos in ultimum caelum ducat, pervenire possitis. Etsi enim omnibus, ut inquit orator, qui rempublicam auxerint, juverint, defenderint, certum est esse in caelo diffinitum locum, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruantur, quid de vobis putandum est, principes, qui religionem Christianam matremque omnium fidelium ecclesiam tueri et augere conabimini?
To all who go on this crusade, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Nicholas V, supreme father of the Christians, pastor of the sheep of Christ, Roman Pontiff, successor of Peter, vicar of Christ our God, forgives their sins, cleanses their guilt, offers forgiveness, and promises Heaven. There can be no doubt concerning this promise for he it is who has power to bind and to loose, and who holds the place of him to whom were given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. See, the Heavens are opened! Here is the way to your fatherland! Here is the ladder by which you can cross the planets and reach the galaxy that takes you to Heaven. The orator says that all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in the heavens, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness. So what should we think about you, Princes, striving to protect and extend the Christian religion and the mother church of all the faithful?

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888 Cf. Pope Nicholas’ crusade bull of 30. September 1453
889 Matthew, 18, 18
890 Cf. Matthew, 16, 19
891 Ezekiel, 1, 1
892 Cicero: De re publica, 6, 9, 13 (Somnium Scipionis): omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur
Quid dicam? Multa dicere possum, sed hoc tempore apostoli Pauli, doctoris gentium, verba commemorasse sat erit: Quia neque oculus vidit neque auris audivit, neque in cor hominis ascendit, quae promisit dominus diligentibus se. Quales vos futuros esse, Germani nobles, nemo dubitaverit, si hoc bellum, ut imperator admonet, papa petit, Christus jubet, pro divino honore atque amore suscipietis. Amen.

[52] [EV] Quid dicam? Multa dicere possum, sed hoc tempore apostoli Pauli, doctoris gentium, verba commemorasse sat erit: Quia neque oculus vidit neque auris audivit, neque in cor hominis ascendit, quae promisit dominus diligentibus se. Quales vos futuros esse, Germani nobles, nemo dubitaverit, si hoc bellum, ut imperator admonet, papa petit, Christus jubet, pro divino honore atque amore suscipietis. Amen.

[52] [FV] Quid dicam? Apostoli verba commemorasse sat erit. Quia neque oculus vidit neque auris audivit, neque in cor hominis ascendit, quae promisit dominus diligentibus se. Quales vos esse, Germani nobles, nemo dubitaverit, si hoc bellum, ut imperator admonet, papa petit, Christus jubet, pro divino honore atque amore suscipietis.

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893 omit. P2*
894 quae P2
e95 nec P2*
e96 nec P2*
e97 nec P2*
e98 descendit P2
899 omit. P2
900 Amen omit. P1, P2, KO
901 Finis. Explicit add. P1; Finis add. P2*
What shall I say? It is enough to remember the words of the Apostle: “That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.”

Germans nobles, no one will doubt your worth if you take on this war that the emperor requests, the pope desires, and Christ commands - for the sake of God’s honour and out of love for him.

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902 1. Corinthians, 2, 9