

first variant text that the register records (preserved below the copy addressed to Philip II) is that modified to appeal to the veteran of the Fifth Crusade, Andrew II of Hungary. The register records that Andrew's version of the letter was identical up to the end of the *narratio* clause. Honorius and his advisers made a number of revisions to the *dispositio*, swapping the reference to Gaul for one relevant to Hungary rushing to the aid of the Holy Land, and also adding a snippet of new text about the threat posed by the „terrible enemies of the cross“³⁹. The pope also removed a section of rhetoric that took aim at Philip and other kings for turning their backs to the Holy Land⁴⁰. Given his recent service on the Fifth Crusade, this did not apply to Andrew. The pope replaced this criticism with a simpler, more general construction that fitted better Andrew's status as a crusade veteran and simply warned against Christians descending into private warfare among themselves⁴¹. I have argued elsewhere that Andrew's crusade should be re-evaluated in a more favourable light, and this softening of the text in his copy of *Iustus Dominus* supports the interpretation that the papacy was not as disappointed with the king's expedition as later chroniclers and scholars were⁴². If Honorius had viewed Andrew's withdrawal from the Fifth Crusade in such a negative light, one would have expected personal and much fiercer criticism in his tailoring of these passages. Finally, Honorius also addressed Andrew differently, removing the flattering references to Philip as „the most serene of kings“ (*serenissime Regum*) and „the most Christian of princes“ (*Christianissime principum*), which perhaps reflects a difference in status between the two kings, although these diplomatic niceties also appear in the copy sent to the boy king, Erik XI of Sweden (which survives only in an edition made by Johannes Vastovius in 1623, before a fire in 1697 gutted the Swedish royal archive – see below), so it is possible that the omission was an oversight rather than a deliberate slight⁴³.

39) Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53v: *O quantum usque ad succursum Ungaria inimicis crucis terribilis se pararet, usque misso.*

40) Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53r: *Absit ut post terga remaneat que precedere consuevit. Absit ut tam salutari Christi servitio gens tam Christiana se subtrahat. Absit ut que pro Domino hactenus onera multa sustinuit, in peculiari bello Dei filii solvat.*

41) Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53v: *Absit ut in peculiari bello Dei filii gens tibi subiecta solvat.*

42) SMITH, *Curia and Crusade* (see n. 2) pp. 103–125.

43) Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53r. The copy sent to Erik IX is printed in Vitis Aquilonia, ed. Johannes VASTOVIUS (1623) pp. 173–174. For the flattering wording addressed to Erik XI, see p.173.