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**Oration “Septimo jam exacto mense” of Pope Pius II
(14 January 1460, Mantova). Edited and translated
translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version.**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 54)

**Oration “*Septimo jam exacto mense*” of Pope Pius II (14
January 1460, Mantova). Edited and translated by
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5th version

2019

Abstract

Pope Pius II summoned the European powers to the Congress of Mantua in 1459 in order to mobilize a joint military reaction to the Turkish invasion of Europe, in the form of a crusade. The response of princes and cities was disinterested and sluggish, and only the pope's hard skills of negotiation and armtwisting made it possible to obtain concrete promises of contributions to the war from the Italians and the Germans. On 14 January 1460, the pope closed the congress with an oration, the "*Septimo jam exacto mense*", in which he gave a summary of the promised and expected contributions, admitting that the congress had achieved less than he had hoped, but claiming – with some justice – that it had actually achieved more than many skeptics had believed possible.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Popes and princes

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

I shall much appreciate to be notified by readers who discover errors and problems in the text and translation or unrecognized quotations.

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Septimo jam exacto mense
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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Congress of Mantua lasted from June 1459 to January 1460, though it only began its work towards the end of September. It had been summoned by Pope Pius II in fulfillment of an oath made immediately after his election and in accordance with an electoral capitulation signed by all cardinals at the conclave in August 1458, where he was elected pope. The purpose of the congress was to discuss a joint European military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe, in the form of a crusade. At the end of the Congress, on 14 January 1460, the pope gave an oration, the "*Septimo jam exacto mense*", in which he summed up the contributions to the war effort promised by the European nations. The results of the Congress were meager, but according to the pope they were acceptable, though they did not live up to his hopes and expectations.

The following months would show that the promises of the powers were not sincere and would not be kept. Already at the end of the congress this was probably clear to all – even to the pope himself, an experienced politician with an intimate understanding of the European power plays. But for honour's sake, he had to uphold some degree of official optimism, and on 15 January 1460 he issued the bull *Ecclesiam Christi* in which he declared war on the Turks.²

In his *Commentarii*, Pius included a brief description of the event and an abbreviated version of the oration, beginning with the words "*Octavum hic mensem.*"³

Pius' contemporary biographers do not describe the end of the Congress and its results⁴ - quite understandably so, since by the time of their writing it had become painfully obvious that the Congress of Mantua had been an embarrassing fiasco as had Pius' whole crusade adventure.

Still, the oath Pius had sworn to do everything in his power to organize a crusade against the Turks had been kept. The honour of the pope and of the Apostolic See had been upheld, and the Europeans could not have any doubts that after Calixtus III they had another pope who was fiercely engaged in the defense of Christianity.

And though Pius may have been disappointed at the results, his hopes for the conference may have been fulfilled, as Housley conjectures:

¹ CO, III, 47; Ady, pp. 179-180; Boulting, p. 278; Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 121; Paparelli, pp. 229-231; Pastor, II, p. 69-70; Picotti, pp. 317-321; Reinhardt, p. 268; Setton, II, p. 214; Stolf, pp. 354-355; Voigt, IV, pp. 108-109

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 1-6, pp. 299-301, see Appendix

³ CO, III, 47 (Meserve, II, pp. 194-199)

⁴ Zimolo

For all his own spin-doctoring, Pius did not really expect Cum bellum hodie, any more than he had Constantinopolitana Clades, to turn the situation around. He knew that the purpose of the Mantua Congress was to make possible a series of gruelling but indispensable bilateral negotiations. And it was these that enabled him, in his second major Mantua address, Septimo jam exacto mense given on 14 January 1460, to expound in detail the various promises that had been made as well as the hopes that he still entertained of the uncommitted. Much as the imperial diets of 1454-55, the function of deliberative oratory at the congress was to set out one's stall, providing information, arguments, and perspectives that furnished a backcloth to more detailed discussions.¹

2. Themes

The main theme of the oration was the list of contributions, confirmed and expected, from the European powers to the crusade.

With some justice, Pius could claim that

not all have been achieved as We intended to, but neither have all failed. What the Christians princes have promised is not much, but it is not little, either, and at any rate it is much more than many thought possible. [Sect. 4]

Reinhardt has this comment:

Mitte Januar 1460 zog der Papst die Schlussbilanz seines Kongresses. Er beurteilte die erzielten Ergebnisse als unbefriedigend, doch nicht als aussichtslos. Er hatte eine vollständige Kompromittierung des Heiligen Stuhls in letzter Minute und mit viel Glück verhindern können. Persönlich hatte er sein Gesicht gewahrt. An eine baldige Verwirklichung des Kreuzzugs konnten jedoch nur unverbesserliche Optimisten glauben.²

Quite remarkably, in the oration the pope endeavours to persuade the audience that, from the beginning, he had not pleaded for a war of aggression against Turks with the aim of regaining lost territories and particularly Constantinople and Jerusalem: from the outset, he had been quite aware that this would be impossible. He said:

We know that many men, hearing about the convocation of this council and learning about Our departure from the City, thought that Our plan was rash, reckless and too daring, as if

¹ Housley: *Crusading and the Ottoman*, pp. 161-162

² Reinhardt, p. 268

We had intended to call the kings to arms against the Turks and reclaim all of Greece and Asia from the enemies' hands ... Our idea was not to drag Muhammad away by his beard, nor to take the Turks and the Arabs away in chains, nor to reclaim Jerusalem and Constantinople – for We are not that headstrong and conceited - but to safeguard what was left of the Christian name. And We did not imagine that this could happen immediately, but considered that We should take counsel on this matter with the Christian princes. [Sect. 1-2]

Indeed, in the bull of summons to the congress, the *Vocavit nos pius* of 12 October 1458, the pope had only spoken of the defense of Christianity, and not of reclaiming lost lands.¹

And in his oration "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43], at the formal beginning of the congress on 1 June, the pope's focus had been on a defensive war against the Turkish invasion of Europe:

So, it is not without danger that We have left the patrimony of the Church in order to come to the aid of the Catholic Faith which the Turks are seeking to destroy. We saw that their strength grew daily and that their armies, which had already conquered Greece and Illyria, were laying waste to Pannonia² and wreaking many calamities on the loyal people of Hungary. We feared what will happen if We are unwise: the Hungarians and the Germans and the Italians or indeed all of Europe will be defeated, something which will inevitably lead to the ruin of our religion. [Sect. 1]

But in his great oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*" [45], delivered on 26 September 1459, he had also said:

There are two very important reasons [for going to war against the Turks]. The first one is to avenge the wrongs we have suffered and to regain what has been lost. The other is to escape the dangers that are threatening us. [Sect. 7]

Here, he clearly speaks not only of defending Europe against further losses, but also about regaining what had been lost, which actually included not only Asia Minor, but also Northern Africa, and the Levant with Jerusalem, as he said later in the oration:

... that Jerusalem, mother of the Old and New Testament, is now in the power of our enemies, we cannot lament and mourn enough: no effort must be spared to recover it and no war refused... Do come to your senses, wise men, regain your courage, strive to recover what has been lost and avenge the injuries suffered by you. [Sect. 13, 16].

¹ Crivelli, pp. 94-95

² Hungary

And lastly, speaking about the rewards of the war, he said:

Firstly, you will legitimately possess whatever weapons, horses, garments, silver, gold, gems, servants, slave girls, territories, cities, provinces, and kingdoms that you acquire in this war – to be distributed by Ourselves. [Section 37]

Territories, cities, provinces and kingdoms to be distributed by the pope to the victorious Christians were not the fruit of a war of defense against further losses, but of a war to reclaim what had been lost previously.

So, the war of defense against the Turkish invasion of Europe might have been the real and central focus of the pope's endeavours, but he had, as matter of fact, also been arguing for a war to reclaim what had been lost in former ages, e.g. the Holy Land.¹

The abbreviated and revised version of the oration, the "*Octavum hic agimus*", included in the the pope's *Commentarii* compiled in 1463 and 1464 only consists in a brief summary of the contributions promised by or expected from the European nations. The sections on the results of the congress in relation to the pope's expectations are not included. This might have been because the pope, in his *Commentarii*, did not wish to admit the failure of the congress, but as he does exactly that elsewhere in the *Commentarii*, the omission may not have any particular significance.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 14 January 1459, at the closing of the Congress of Mantova.²

The venue was the cathedral of Mantua.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors and members of the Papal Court present in Mantua and other participants in the congress.

The format was a papal oration from the throne.

¹ See Picotti, pp. 318-19; Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 121

² Picotti, p. 316. According to Voigt, IV, p. 108, the date was the 19th

4. Text¹

The oration is extant in two versions. The first version is the “*Septimo jam exacto mense*” which is identical with or close to the oration as actually delivered at the Congress of Mantua. The second version is the “*Octavum hic agimus*”, a greatly abbreviated version of the original oration.

4.1. Version One: *Septimo jam exacto mense*

4.1.1. Manuscripts

The first version is known to be extant in two manuscripts:

The earliest version is contained in a manuscript in Göttingen. It was later included - in a revised version with some additions - in one of the seven manuscripts (and a somewhat late one) containing the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*,² compiled in 1462. It is not known why the oration was not included in the earlier manuscripts containing that oration, but the reason may have been that the text was not available at the time, or that it had already been decided to include a thoroughly revised version in the *Commentarii*.³

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 122r-126v (H)
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 160r-163r (E)

4.1.2. Editions⁴

The text was published twice by Mansi, probably on the basis of a handwritten copy of the text in Milan (E), sent to him by one Cl. Saxius⁵:

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

² *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

³ *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

⁴ *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, sect. 5.2

⁵ Mansi’s edition in the *Orationes* has the margin note: Ex. M.S. Cod. Ambrosianae Bibliot. Mediolan. misit Cl. Saxius et vulgata est a me primum in to. IV. [*sic!*] Suppl. Conc.

- Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. 6 vols. Luca: ex typographia Josephi salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1748-1752 // V, coll. 305-309
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // II, pp. 78-86 (MA)

4.2. Version Two: Octavum hic agimus

The text of the “*Octavum hic agimus*” is known only from Pius’ *Commentarii*, bk. 3, ch. 46, where it forms part of his description of the end of the Congress of Mantua, in January 1460. It is a heavily abbreviated and revised version of the “*Septimo jam exacto mense*”.

In this context, it must be kept in mind that Pius’ *Commentarii* was not destined for publication in his own lifetime, but was to be a monument of his pontificate, aimed at future generations. The version “*Octavum hic agimus*” thus gave a picture of the Congress not for contemporary propaganda purposes, but as Pius wished it to be remembered in the future.

The main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 114r-114v (S)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 174r-175r (R)

Of these, the Reginensis contains the First version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the Final Version, both made under Pius’ personal supervision.

For the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General bibliography.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

Septimo jam mense

The edition is based on both manuscripts listed, with the Milan manuscript as the lead text. Variants from Mansi's edition (MA) are given either as emendations or simply as variants.

The additions to the (later) version in the Milan manuscript are given in bold types.

Octavum hic agimus

The Corsinianus has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Septimo jam mense

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

Octavum hic agimus

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 25 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the majority, 21, from the Bible, and 4 from classical sources (Horace, Vergil, Vegetius).

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

Biblical: 21
Classical: 4
Patristic and medieval: 0
Contemporary: 0
All: 25

Biblical sources: 21

Old Testament: 20

- Deuteronomy: 4
- Judges: 1
- Judith: 1
- Proverbs: 10
- Psalms: 4

New Testament: 1

- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 4

- Horatius: 1¹
- Vegetius: 2
- Vergilius: 1²

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ Carmina

² Aeneis

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)

¹ References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. and transl. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. (The I Tatti Renaissance Library)

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Rainaldus *SEE Annales Ecclesiastici*

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf

H = Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Philos 88

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

Abbreviations

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

HA = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

HB = Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Bohemica*. Herausg. J. Hejnic & H. Rothe. 2 vols. Köln, 2005. (Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte. Neue Folge. Reihe B; 20)

MA = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759

MPL = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918

Decretum = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

Epistolarium = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007

Rainaldus = *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663

Reject = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*.
Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki *et al.* Washington, D.C., 2006

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Septimo jam mense

Oratio Pii papae secundi in discessu vel in fine dietae¹ Mantuae²

[1] {160r} Septimo jam exacto³ mense, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac filii dilectissimi, **et octavo currente** finis⁴ adest Mantuani conventus, **quem non dissolvimus, sed nobiscum, quocumque duxerimus curiam nostram, transferendum duximus et auctoritate apostolica transferimus**⁵. Sed⁶ quoniam salvatore propitio finis bonus concessus est **earum rerum, quae hic tractandae fuerunt**⁷, gratias reddere divinitiae pietati convenit et cum propheta dicere: *date magnificentiam Deo nostro, Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia*. Sed ait fortasse quispiam: "Quid hic boni factum est? Quid sperare Christiani, quid timere Turci debent? Aut quae hic conclusa sunt, propter quae gratias Deo reddamus alacres?" Non latet vos, viri fratres, fuisse complures, qui audita convocazione hujus concilii et intellecta profectioe nostra ex urbe, consilium nostrum vel temerarium vel nimis audax judicarunt⁸, tamquam reges armare in Turcos et omnem Graeciam atque Asiam ex manibus hostium vindicare cogitaverimus.

[2] Nunc quoque non desunt malivoli et iniqui **homines**⁹, qui nihil hic actum esse laudabile dicunt et omnia depravant, contemnunt¹⁰, irrident, adversus quos recte inquit sapiens: *Ejice derisorem, et exhibit*¹¹ *cum eo jurgium*. Nos sane, cum animadverteremus¹² perdita Graecia Christianam plebem dietim acrius urgeri a Turcis, sacra nostra foedari et sanctum evangelium conculcari, non Mahumethem barba praehensum trahere, non Turcos aut Arabes in vincula {160v} rapere, non Jerusalem aut Constantinopolim recuperare, non ea vis animo, nec tanta superbia nostra, sed conservare, quod reliquum est Christiani nominis cogitavimus. Neque hoc nobis persuasimus statim fieri posse, sed consilium ejus rei cum principibus Christianis capiendum esse putavimus.

¹ *em.* MA; dietis E

² Oratio ... Mantuae: Oratio Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi pro conclusione conventus Mantuani habita **H**

³ peracto H

⁴ et octavo currente *omit.* H

⁵ quem non dissolvimus ... transferimus *omit.* H

⁶ et H

⁷ earum rerum ... fuerunt *omit.* H

⁸ judicarent MA

⁹ *omit.* H

¹⁰ contendunt H

¹¹ exhibit E

¹² animadverterimus H

Oration of Pius II at the departure from or at the end of the Congress of Mantua

[1] Venerable brethren in Christ and beloved sons, now that the seventh month has passed and we are in the middle of the eighth, it is time to close the Congress of Mantua. We do not dissolve the congress, but shall bring it with Us and by apostolic authority transfer it wherever We take our *curia*. Thanks to our merciful Saviour our business here has ended well: therefore We must thank the Divine Piety and say, with the prophet: *give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments.*¹ But maybe someone will say. “What good has been done here? What may Christians hope for and Turks fear? Or what has been achieved here for which we should eagerly thank God?” Men and brothers, We know that many men hearing about the convocation of this council and learning about Our departure from the City thought that Our plan was reckless and too daring, as if We had intended to call the kings to arms against the Turks in order to retake all of Greece and Asia from the enemies’ hands.

[2] Even now malicious and wicked men claim that nothing praiseworthy has been achieved here. They distort, despise, and deride everything. It is against such that Wisdom rightly says: *Cast out the scoffer, and contention shall go out with him.*² In reality, when We heard that Greece was lost, that the Christian people was under daily and increasing pressure from the Turks, that our holy places were being profaned, and the sacred Gospel trod underfoot, Our idea was neither to drag Muhammad away by his beard, nor to take the Turks and the Arabs away in chains, nor to reclaim Jerusalem and Constantinople – for We are not that headstrong and conceited - but to safeguard what was left of the Christian name. And We did not imagine that this could happen immediately, but considered that We should take counsel on this matter with the Christian princes.

¹ Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

² Proverbs, 22, 10

[3] Non altus ille spiritus Eugenii datus est nobis a domino, neque sublimis concessa Nicolai mens, neque vastus Calixti permissus animus. *Frigidus haeret nobis circum praecordia sanguis*. Illi per sese Turcis indixere bellum, copias armavere, classes instruxere. Nos tantam belli molem per se solam sustinere posse Romanam ecclesiam nequaquam arbitrati sumus. Sed conventu Christianorum indicto, res communes communi consilio gerendas censuimus, memores ejus sententiae: *quoniam cogitationes consiliis roborantur, et gubernaculis tractanda sunt bella*. Reprehenduntur haec in nobis, et timor audacia, consilium temeritas¹ appellatur. Garruli vero, quorum non parva copia est, nos urbem frustra reliquisse dicunt et frustra huc profectos, frustra hic dies plurimos consumpsisse, quoniam nihil² actum sit, de quo bene sperare fideles populi queant. Stulta calumnia, injusta reprehensio. Arguimur, quia *futurum* nescimus³, quod *magna caligine Deus*⁴ *occulit*⁵. *A domino diriguntur gressus viri*: quis autem hominum potest intelligere viam suam?

¹ temeritatis E

² nil H

³ non videmus *add.* E

⁴ magna caligine Deus : Deus magna caligine H

⁵ occulit MA

[3] The Lord has not given Us Eugenius' elevated spirit nor Nicolaus' sublime mind, nor Calixtus' great soul - no: *Cold blood gathers around our heart.*¹ They declared war on the Turks by themselves, they mobilized armies, they prepared navies. We, however, have never believed that the Roman Church could sustain such a great burden of war on its own, but We did think that a congress of Christians had to be summoned for common discussion of common interests, remembering the saying that *designs are strengthened by counsels: and wars are to be managed by governments.*² This is what they criticize Us for, calling Our fear audacity and Our deliberation temerity. But the chatterboxes, and there are many of them, claim that it was in vain that We left the City, came here, and spent many days in vain, since nothing has been achieved which can give good hope to the Christian³ people. This is foolish slander and unjust criticism. Should we be rebuked for not knowing *the future which God has hidden in a great darkness?*⁴ *By the Lord shall the steps of a man be directed:*⁵ what man can understand his course?

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10.452: *frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis*

² Proverbs, 20, 18

³ "fideles"

⁴ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.29.30

⁵ Psalms, 36, 23

[4] *Quamvis caelum sursum¹, et terra deorsum, et cor regum inscrutabile*, nostrum tamen fuit de principibus Christianis bene ac² magnifice sperare, et hunc conventum magnos effectus pariturum credere. Verum *sicut aqua profunda, sic consilium in corde viri: multae cogitationes hominum, voluntas autem domini permanet*. Existimavimus Christianos reges multa facturos. Deus autem, qui solus bonus est et solus sapiens, solusque novit, quid nobis expediat, hoc tamen³ fieri voluit, quod factum est, ad cuius consilium nulla potest curiositas hominum pervenire. {161r} Fatemur: non sunt facta omnia, quae putavimus, sed neque omnia praetermissa. Neque maxima, neque minima sunt, quae Christiani principes promiserunt. Et longe plus factum est, quam multi judicaverint⁴.

[5] Alius haec magnificis ampliaret verbis, nostrum est solam et nudam veritatem ostendere et dicere cum propheta: *Date magnificentiam Deo nostro: Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia*. "Quae opera?" dicit fortasse aliquis. Opera certe, quae in hoc conventu operatus est dominus, cujus voluntate factum est, ut omnes, qui convenerunt, uno animo et uno ore bellum Turcis indicendum suaserint. Ad quod nutriendum, quae subsidia promissa sint, et quae sperentur, quam⁵ brevissime referendum est. In qua re non servabimus dignitatum ordinem, sed ut quisque memoriae se obtulerit, ita et recensebitur.

¹ rursum H

² et H

³ tantum E

⁴ judicaverint H

⁵ quae E

[4] Though *the heaven above, and the earth beneath, and the heart of kings is unsearchable*,¹ We could reasonably have great and magnificent hopes of the Christian princes and believe that great results would come from this congress. *Counsel in the heart of a man is like deep water*.² *There are many thoughts in the heart of a man: but the will of the Lord shall stand*.³ We did believe that the Christian kings would do much. But only God, who alone is good⁴ and wise, knows what is good for us. What we have achieved here is what He wanted. No human curiosity can penetrate his designs. We admit that We have not achieved all that We intended to, but neither have all failed. What the Christian princes have promised is not much, but it is not little either, and at any rate it is much more than many thought possible.

[5] Another might try to embellish the matter with highsounding words, but Our task is to show the simple truth and nothing else, and to say with the prophet: *Give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments*.⁵ "What works?," someone may say. Indeed those works which the Lord did in this congress, for it is by His will that all participants with one mind and one mouth have agreed to declare war on the Turks. To further the matter, We shall briefly resume what aids have already been promised and what we may reasonably hope for. In this, We shall not follow the order of rank, but mention them as they come to mind.

¹ Proverbs, 25, 3

² Proverbs, 20, 5

³ Proverbs, 19, 21: *Multae cogitationes in corde viri; voluntas autem Domini permanebit*

⁴ Judith, 11, 6

⁵ Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

[6] Nobilissima provinciarum Italia clericorum decimas, Judaeorum vigesimas, laicorum trigesimas pollicita est. Audistis oratores inclyti Johannis, Aragoniae regis, qui propter Trinacriam atque Sardiniam Italis¹ annumeratus est, quam multa pro tuenda fide promiserint. Audistis et oratores Ferdinandi, Siciliae regis, qui, quamvis domestico implicatus bello est, Christianae tamen religioni suae praesidia non denegat. Franciscum Sfortiam, Mediolanensium principem, ipsi praesentem vidistis: verba ejus memoriae tenetis, quae Christianum animum et religiosam mentem ostendere. Quam liberalis **et magnifica**² fuerit Borsii, Mutinae ducis, oblatio non ignoratis: ad trecenta usque millia auri nummum legati ejus obligare dominum potuere. Ludovicus, marchio Mantuanus, insignis et modestissimus³ princeps, plus cupit ecclesiae subvenire, quam possit. Florentini, potens et praedives populus, **per legatos suos sese obligarunt. Idem fecere**⁴ Senenses et Lucani **non contemnendae civitates**⁵. Marchionem Montis Ferrati, antiquae nobilitatis principem, {161v} progenitorum suorum vestigia secuturum frater⁶ Guilelmus obtulit.

¹ Italicis H

² et magnifica *omit.* H

³ moderatissimus H

⁴ per legatos ... fecerunt *omit.* H

⁵ non contemnendae civitates : benigni homines per legatos suos sese obligarint H

⁶ ejus *add.* H

[6] Italy, the noblest of the provinces, promised a tenth from the clerics, a twentieth from the Jews, and a thirtieth from the laypeople. You have heard the great promises for the defense of the faith from the ambassadors of King Juan of Aragon,¹ who - because of Sicily and Sardinia - is counted among the Italians. You have also heard the ambassadors of King Ferrante of Sicily,² who, though involved in a civil war, will not refuse to come to the aid of his religion. Francesco Sforza,³ Duke of Milan, you saw yourselves when he was here and you remember his words, demonstrating a truly Christian soul and a pious mind. You know of the generous and magnificent offer of Borso,⁴ Duke of Modena: his envoys made offers binding their lord to the amount of 300.000 ducats. Marquess Ludovico⁵ of Mantua, an illustrious and modest prince, wants to help the Church more than he is really able to. The Florentines, that mighty and rich people, made binding offers through their envoys. The same did the important cities of Siena and Lucca. Gulielmo,⁶ brother of the Marquess of Monferrat,⁷ a prince of old nobility,⁸ promised that the marquess would follow in the footsteps of his ancestors.

¹ Juan II (1398-1479): King of Navarre from 1425 and of Aragon from 1458 to his death. King of Sicily and Sardinia. Brother of Alfonso V of Aragon

² Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

³ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁴ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 to his death

⁵ Ludovico Gonzaga III [Lodovico] (1412-1478): Marquess of Mantua from 1444 to his death

⁶ Guglielmo VIII Palaeologos (1420-1483): Marquess of Montferrat from 1464 to his death

⁷ Giovanni IV Palaeologos IV (1413-1464): Marquess of Montferrat from 1445 to his death

⁸ They descended from the Byzantine imperial Palaiologos dynasty

[7] Si vera locuti sunt¹ Genuenses, ex illa quoque nobili ac potenti civitate non parva expectanda sunt auxilia. Ludovici, Sabaudiae ducis, qui non parvum in Italia dominium possidet, nondum responsum habemus; confidimus tamen filium, quem Cypris regem dedit, non derelinquet. De maxima et potentissima Venetorum republica nihil dicimus; ipsum tamen silentium nonnihil spei praestare potest. Est praeterea in Italia Romana ecclesia, urbs Roma, caput orbis, opulenta Bononia, nobilis Perusia, vetus Ancona **et**² omnis ager Picenus, omnis Umbria, omne Patrimonium beati Petri, cuius nos potentes³ sumus, nec minora praestabimus, quam litterae nostrae promittunt, quae mox legentur. Sunt et fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, sunt officiales et ministri curiae: omnes suis opibus bellum juvabunt. Sic mater Italia sese exhibet. **Sic**⁴ *Dei perfecta sunt opera.*

[8] Sed neque armipotens Germania, neque gloriosissimus imperator Fridericus, neque nobilissimi Austriae, Bavariae, Saxoniae ceterique duces, marchiones, comites populique potentes nationis ejusce otiosi esse volunt. Duo et quadraginta pugnatorum millia in hostes educere promiserunt, magnam militum et praevalidam manum, quae fugere nesciat. Audistis⁵ Albertum marchionem, quem coram cernitis: non hic gregarius miles aut infimus princeps, sed dux⁶ peritissimus est, qui plures ex hoste victorias tulit, quam alius nostri temporis legerit: multum est, quod ipse promittit, in cuius persona instar est non parvi⁷ exercitus.

[9] **Transeamus in Galliam**⁸. Philippus, Burgundiae dux, et nobilitate et potentatu admodum excellens, cuius dominia per Germaniam ac Galliam latissime patent, sex millia bellatorum pollicitus est. Credimus generosum animum principis⁹, ut captivitatem patris magnifice ulciscatur, etiam majora facturum¹⁰. Hungari¹¹, quorum res agitur, duodecim millia equitum peditumque non {162r} parvum numerum sese armaturos affirmant. Et nos, si facultas aderit, quam speramus, parem equitum alam adhibebimus.

¹ oratores *add.* H

² *omit.* H

³ parentes MA

⁴ *omit.* H

⁵ et *add.* H

⁶ belli *add.* H

⁷ magni H

⁸ transeamus in Galliam *omit.* H

⁹ animum principis : principis animum H

¹⁰ factorum E

¹¹ quoque *add.* H

[7] If the Genovese spoke truly, great help can be expected from that noble and powerful city. Duke Louis of Savoy,¹ who possesses a large territory in Italy, has not yet given his answer. We are confident, though, that he will not fail the son whom he sent to Cyprus as king.² Concerning the great and mighty republic of Venice We say nothing, but their silence in itself may give hope. In Italy there are also the Roman Church and the City of Rome, capital of the world, opulent Bologna, noble Perugia, old Ancona, and the whole territory of Piceno, all of Umbria, and the whole Patrimony of Saint Peter³ whose lord We are: We shall not contribute less than We have promised in the letter that will be read out shortly. There are also Our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the officials of the curia: they will all contribute to the war as much as they can. This is what mother Italy will do. And thus *the works of God are perfect*.

[8] But neither will Germany, mighty in arms, nor glorious Emperor Friedrich⁴ be passive, nor the noble dukes, margraves, and counts of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and other lands, nor the powerful peoples of that nation. They have promised to bring 42.000 soldiers against the enemies, a great and strong force of soldiers who do not know how to flee. You have heard Margrave Albrecht⁵ whom you see before you: he is not a common soldier or a small princeling, but a highly experienced general who has gained more victories over his enemies than any other in our time. Great is his promise, and his person alone is like a large army.

[9] Let us now pass over to Gaul. Duke Philippe of Burgundy,⁶ of eminent nobility and great power, whose domains stretch far and wide across Germany and Gaul, has promised 6.000 soldiers. We believe that this noble-minded prince will do even more, intent as he is on a brilliant revenge for his father's capture. The Hungarians, whose business it really is, declare that they will mobilize a large force consisting of 12.000 horse and foot soldiers.

And if We have the means We expect to, shall personally provide a troop of horse soldiers of the same size.

¹ Louis I of Savoy (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death. Son of Duke Amédee VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, one-time employer of Enea Silvio Piccolomini

² Louis of Savoy (1436/1437-1482): King of Cyprus, reigning together with and in the right of his wife, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus until the couple was deposed in 1464. He was the second son and namesake of Louis I, Duke of Savoy

³ In a general sense: the Church States

⁴ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

⁵ Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Prince elector from 1470

⁶ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

[10] Hic est exercitus, qui promittitur: septuaginta millium bellatorum et ultra, quem qui¹ non sufficere arbitratur, is neque rei bellicae peritiam habet, neque spem in domino. Romani, **qui orbem armis subegerunt**², quattuor legiones cum auxiliis ad omnem vim³ belli sustinendum⁴ idoneas putaverunt, nec plures in auxiliis milites, quam in legionibus esse sinebant. Fatemur non satis fuisse⁵ hic exercitus Xersi, neque Dario, neque Tamerlano⁶, quem patrum⁷ nostrorum memoria denescentena⁸ millia hominum in armis habuisse proditum est. Sed Alexandro magno, sed Hannibali Poeno, sed Scipioni Africano, sed Gnaeo⁹ Pompejo, sed Julio Caesari minores quam hae copiae satis superque satis fuissent, qui parva saepe manu innumerabiles hostium turmas delevere. Considerandum et est illud¹⁰, quod ad Gedeonem in libris Judicum dixisse dominum legimus: *Multus, inquit, tecum est populus, neque tradetur Madian in manus ejus, ne gloriatur contra me Israel et dicat: "Meis viribus liberatus sum"*. Tribuendus est domino¹¹ suus honor, et aliquid sibi reservandum¹² est. *Nam turris fortissima nomen domini, ad ipsam currit justus et exaltabitur. Speremus in domino, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros. Qui timet hominem, cito corruet. Qui sperat in domino, sublevabitur*, quamvis et humana ratione sperare nobis victoriam¹³ licet, cum terra marique magnis viribus aggressuri hostem simus. Curavimus enim et validam classem armari, sicut postea suo tempore cognoscetis.

¹ si quis H

² qui orbem ... subegerunt *omit.* H

³ *omit.* H

⁴ molem *add.* H

⁵ fuisset H

⁶ Tamerlani H

⁷ patrum E

⁸ decies centena H

⁹ Greco H

¹⁰ est illud : illud est H

¹¹ Deo H

¹² servandum MA

¹³ victoria H

[10] This is the promised army: 70.000 soldiers or more. Anyone who does not believe that this is enough does not know about military matters nor does he have faith in the Lord. The Romans who conquered the whole world considered four legions with their auxiliary troops enough for countering all military opposition,¹ and they did not allow the auxiliary troops to be larger than the [regular] legions.² We admit that such an army was not sufficient for Xerxes³ or Darius⁴ or Tamerlane⁵ who, in the memory of our fathers, is said to have had 900.000 men under arms. But for Alexander the Great,⁶ Hannibal the Carthaginian,⁷ Scipio Africanus,⁸ Gnaeus Pompejus,⁹ and Julius Caesar¹⁰ smaller forces than those were enough and more than enough: often they destroyed innumerable enemy troops with a small force. Just think of what we read the Lord said to Gideon¹¹ in the books of the Judges: *The people that are with thee are many, and Madian shall not be delivered into their hands: lest Israel should glory against me, and say: I was delivered by my own strength.*¹² The Lord must be given his honour, and something must be reserved for him. *For the name of the Lord is a strong tower: the just runneth to it, and shall be exalted.*¹³ Let us put our hope in the Lord, *and he will bring our enemies to nothing.*¹⁴ *He that feareth man, shall quickly fall: he that trusteth in the Lord, shall be set on high.*¹⁵ However, we may also hope for victory by virtue of human effort, by attacking the enemy with large forces both on land and at sea, for We have also undertaken to prepare a strong fleet as you will hear about later.

¹ Pius' source, Vegetius, says two legions with their auxiliaries, see Vegetius, 2.4 (p. 38): *In omnibus auctoribus invenitur singulos consules adversum hostes copiosissimos non amplius quam binas duxisse legiones additis auxiliis sociorum. Tanta in illis erat exercitatio, tanta fiducia, ut cuivis bello duae legions crederentur posse sufficere*

² Vegetius, 2.1 (p. 35): *In auxiliis minor, in legionibus longe amplior consuevit militum numerus adscribi*

³ Xerxes I the Great (519-465 BCE): fourth of the kings of the Achaemenid Empire. Ruled from 486 BC until his murder in 465 BC. Notable for his invasion of Greece in 480 BCE and his subsequent defeat

⁴ Darius III (ca. 380-330 BCE): originally named Artashata and called Codomannus by the Greeks: the last king of the Achaemenid Empire of Persia from 336 BC to 330 BCE. Defeated by Alexander in 334

⁵ Timur [Tamerlane] (d. 1405): Turco-Mongol conqueror and founder of the Timurid Empire in Persia and Central Asia. First ruler in the Timurid dynasty

⁶ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): 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

⁷ Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Punic Carthaginian military commander

⁸ Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder (236-183 BCE): one of the greatest generals of ancient Rome. His main achievements were during the Second Punic War where he defeated Hannibal at the final battle at Zama

⁹ Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106 -48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

¹⁰ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

¹¹ Gideon [Gedeon]: (Bible) Judge of the Israelites

¹² Judges, 7, 2

¹³ Proverbs, 18, 10

¹⁴ Psalms, 107, 14

¹⁵ Proverbs, 29, 25

[11] Neque Christiani milites effeminati instar Turcorum sunt. Virilis exercitus noster, ille muliebris¹ erit. Neque multitudo timenda hostium est, nam et Christianorum - ut diximus - ingentes erunt turmae, quibus et cruce signatorum accedent cunei, quorum virtus tertio ab hinc anno probata **magnam et praeclaram**² victoriam peperit. Haec sunt auxilia, quae dominus parare voluit, cujus {162v} *perfecta sunt opera*, **et**³ cui tam facile est cum paucis quam cum multis vincere. Numeravimus ea, quae tamquam certa promissa sunt auxilia: nunc sperata referamus.

[12] Quis Carolum Franciae regem tum religiosissimum tum potentissimum et nobilissimum orthodoxae fidei defuturum putet⁴, cujus majores idcirco Christianissimi dicti sunt, quia legem Christi adversus barbaros magnifice defenderunt? Oratores ejus, viri praestantes, optimam spem nobis fecerunt, regem hunc digna suo genere praestaturum⁵ auxilia. Nec Hispania, terra nobilis et praepotens, Christianae necessitati⁶ defutura est. Henrici, Castellae regis maximi et clarissimi, quamvis Granatensi bello detinetur, pecuniaria tamen subventio non denegabitur. Johannes Aragonensis, qui pluribus regnibus⁷ praeest, et in Italia et in Hispania late imperat, magno animo fidem **non solum ut Italus, sicut praedictum est, sed etiam sicut Hispanus**⁸ se tutaturum⁹ asserit. Alphonsus Portugalliae rex et ipse magnanimus, quamquam¹⁰ Ceptensem¹¹ Mauritanumque hostem premit, voti tamen memor adversus Turcos aliquid molietur.

¹ mulieribus E

² magnam et praeclaram *omit.* H

³ *omit.* H

⁴ putetur E

⁵ prestatur E

⁶ Christiani necessitati : Christiana necessitate H

⁷ regibus H

⁸ non solum ... Hispanus *omit.* H

⁹ staturum MA

¹⁰ quamvis H

¹¹ Certensi H

[11] And Christian soldiers are not effeminate like the Turks. Our army is an army of men, theirs is an army of women. And we do not need to fear their numbers, for – as We have said - also the Christian troops will be enormous, to which will be added the bands¹ of those who have taken the cross, whose courage and strength was proven three years ago when they won a great and noble victory.² These are the forces which the Lord wished to prepare. His *works are perfect*³ and He can win just as easily with few as with many.

We have now enumerated those forces which have been promised as certain. We shall now speak of the forces we may hope for.

[12] Who can believe that Charles,⁴ the most religious, the most powerful, and the most noble King of France, will fail the orthodox Faith. His ancestors were called Most Christian because they splendidly defended the Law of Christ against the barbarians. His distinguished ambassadors gave us great hope that this king will make a contribution worthy of his line.

Nor will Spain, that noble and mighty country, fail Christianity in its need. Though Enrique,⁵ the great and famous King of Castile, is occupied with war in Granada,⁶ he will not refuse to make a pecuniary contribution. Juan of Aragon, king of several realms and ruler of large territories in Italy and Spain, declares that he will boldly come to the defense of Faith not only as an Italian, as explained before, but also as a Spaniard. And though King Afonso⁷ of Portugal – he, too, magnanimous⁸ – is busy attacking the enemy in Ceuta and Mauretania, he will remember his vow and prepare something against the Turks.

¹ "cunei"

² At the Battle of Belgrade 1456

³ Deuteronomy, 32, 3

⁴ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death

⁵ Enrique IV (1425-1474): King of Castile from 1454 to his death

⁶ The muslim kingdom of Granada which finally fell to Castile in 1492

⁷ Afonso V the African (1432-1481): King of Portugal and the Algarves. His sobriquet refers to his conquests in Northern Africa

⁸ Allusion to Alfonso V the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Naples

[13] Henricus, Angliae rex, haud contemnendam legationem missurus erat. Impedivit civile bellum, quo composito non est credibile pium principem Christianam religionem deserturum. Nec Scotorum rex Jacobus, etsi extra orbem positus esse videtur, auxilia sua Catholicae negabit ecclesiae. Neque Casimirus¹, Poloniae rex **Litvaniaeque magnus dux**², inultam esse animam patietur Vladislai fratris, quem Turci crudeliter obtruncarunt. Nec Georgius, qui regno Bohemiae praesidet, fortes suorum turmas religioni negaturus est, cujus non minor est animus, quam potentia. Christiernus quoque Dacorum³ Svetiorumque rex⁴, Gothicae gentis rector, nequaquam ultimus esse volet eorum regum, qui fidei curam gerunt. Verum haec sperata sunt auxilia. Illa, quae supra diximus magna ex parte promissa et affirmata, propter quae libet iterum atque iterum cum propheta dicere: *Date magnificentiam Deo nostro, Dei perfecta {163r} sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia.*

¹ Calimirus E

² Litvaniaeque ... dux *omit.* H

³ Danorum H

⁴ et *add.* H

[13] King Henry of England¹ would have sent an important embassy, but was prevented by civil war. When that war is over, this pious prince will surely not desert the Christian religion. And though Scotland seems to be outside our world, James,² its king, will not refuse to aid the Catholic Church. Nor will Kazimir,³ King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, fail to avenge the soul of his brother, Wladislaw,⁴ savagely killed by the Turks. Nor will George,⁵ who governs the Kingdom of Bohemia, deny religion his strong troops whose bravery equals their strength. And Christian,⁶ King of the Danes and the Swedes, and ruler of people of the Goths, will not want to be last among the kings who care about the Faith. These are the contributions We may reasonably hope for, whereas those We mentioned before, have to a large extent already been promised and confirmed. Therefore, with the prophet we may say again and again: *Give ye magnificence to our God. The works of God are perfect, and all his ways are judgments.*⁷

¹ Henry VI (1421-1471): King of England from 1422 to 1461 and again from 1470 to 1471

² James II (1430-1460) was King of Scots from 1437 to his death

³ Casimi IV (Jagiellon) (1427 – 1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440, and King of Poland from 1447 until his death

⁴ Vladislav III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434, and King of Hungary from 1440, until his death at the Battle of Varna between the Hungarians and the Turks

⁵ Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Regent of Bohemia during the minority of Kings Ladislaus the Posthumous. King of Bohemia from 1458 to his death

⁶ Kristian I (1426-1481): Scandinavian monarch under the Kalmar Union. He was King of Denmark (1448–1481), Norway (1450-1481) and Sweden (1457-1464)

⁷ Deuteronomy, 32, 3-4

[14] Sed quaeritis fortasse, fratres, quo pacto fiet hic exercitus, cum novae inter Germanos exortae lites ferantur, et Caesar de regno contendat Hungariae. Respondemus, quamvis *investigabiles viae domini, et judicia ejus abyssus multa*¹. *Qui tamen*² *ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter*. Nos legatum in Germaniam mitemus venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bessarionem, cardinalem Nicenum, virum doctum et rerum experientia praeditum, qui vel pacem componat, vel indutias belli statuatur. Qualis exitus rerum erit, nescimus. *Expectatio justorum laetitia, spes autem impiorum peribit*. Si bona erunt opera nostra, si Deo fideliter serviemus, *nihil proficiet inimicus in nobis, et filius iniquitatis non apponet*³ *nocere nobis. Quod timet impius, veniet*⁴ *super eum; desiderium suum justis dabitur*. Sufficit nobis praestare quae possumus. Reliqua Deo dimittenda sunt, cujus omnes viae salus ac salvatio. Ipse noster protector, si merebimur, et propugnator erit. Ipse hactenus ita res in hoc conventu direxit, ut agenda sint ei ingentes gratiae, qui misericordibus et pientibus oculis nos respicere dignatus est. De reliquo supplicandum est, ut vias suas erga nos in iudicio⁵ per misericordiam dirigat. Quare hortamur, ut omnes nobiscum divinam pietatem implorantes versiculis, quos pronuntiabimus in modum, qui subscriptus est, devote respondeatis⁶.

[Here follows a long prayer composed specifically for the occasion]

¹ et *add.* H

² tantum E

³ apponat E

⁴ venit H

⁵ *em.* MA; *judicia* E, H

⁶ implorantes versiculis ... respondeatis : in hunc modum imploretis H

[14] But, brethren, maybe you ask how this army may be formed since new conflicts have arisen in Germany, and the emperor is engaged in a struggle for the kingship of Hungary. We shall answer that *the ways of the Lord are unsearchable,*¹ and his *judgments are a great deep.*² But *he that walketh sincerely, walketh confidently.*³ We shall send Our venerable brother, Bessarion, Cardinal of Nicaea,⁴ a learned and experienced man, to Germany to make peace or arrange a truce. What will be the result, We cannot know. *The expectation of the just is joy; but the hope of the wicked shall perish.*⁵ If we do good works, if we serve God faithfully, *the enemy shall have no advantage over him: nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him.*⁶ *That which the wicked feareth, shall come upon him: to the just their desire shall be given.*⁷ It is enough for us to do what we can. All else must be left to God, all his ways are salvation. If we deserve it, He will be our protector and champion. Until now He has directed matters at this congress in such a way that we owe him immense thanks, for he has looked to us with merciful and pious eyes. Concerning the rest, we must beg that He will show us mercy when judging us. Therefore We invite you all to send up prayers, together with Us, to pious God and to respond with devotion to the verses that We shall recite in the manner noted below:

[Here follows a long prayer composed specifically for the occasion]

¹ Romans, 11, 33

² Psalms, 35, 7

³ Proverbs, 10, 9: *Qui ambulat simpliciter ambulat confidenter*

⁴ Bessarion, Basilios (1403-1472): Cardinal and titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople

⁵ Proverbs, 10, 28

⁶ Psalms, 88, 23: *Nihil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere ei*

⁷ Proverbs, 10, 24: *Quod timet impius veniet super eum; desiderium suum justus dabitur*

2. Octavum hic agimus

[1] {174r} Octavum hic agimus mensem¹, fratres ac filii, eos expectantes, qui ad conventum vocati fuerunt. Nostis, qui venere. Deinceps sperare alicujus adventum, qui conferre aliquid ad rem nostram possit, vanum est. Licet jam hinc abire. Peregimus, quae hoc in loco facienda fuerunt. Utinam dei bene acta sit causa. Quamvis meliora concepimus quam invenimus, non tamen nihil omnino peractum est, neque spes omnis cecidit. Dicendum est, quo res deductae sint, ut sciant omnes, quid adsit spei, et qui reges quique populi ad tuendam fidem vel prompti fuerint vel negligentes.

[2] Hungari, si adjuventur, summo conatu et universis viribus suis Turcos invadent. Germani exercitum pollicentur duorum et quadraginta milium bellatorum, Burgundus sex milium², Itali exceptis Venetis ac Genuensibus cleri decimas, populi trigesimas annuorum reddituum ac vigesimas Judaicae substantiae, ex quibus navales copiae sustentari queant. Idem facit Johannes, rex Aragonum. Ragusaei duas triremes offerunt, Rhodienses³ quattuor. Haec tamquam certa sollemni stipulatione per principes ac legatos promissa sunt. {174v} Veneti quamvis publice nihil promiserint, cum tamen expeditionem paratam viderint, haudquaquam deerunt neque patientur, ut suis majoribus deteriores videri possint. Idem de Francis, de Castellanis, de Portugallensibus dicimus. Anglia civilibus agitata motibus spem nullam pollicetur neque Scotia in intimo abscondita Oceano. Dania⁴ quoque, Suecia⁵, ac Norvegia remotiores provinciae sunt, quam milites possint mittere, nec solis contentae piscibus pecuniam ministrare possunt. Poloni Turcis per Muldaviam contermini suam causam deserere non audebunt. Bohemos mercede licebit conducere: suo aere extra regnum non militabunt. Sic res Christianae se habent.

[3] Classem pecunia italica parabit si non Venetiis at saltem Genuae aut in Aragonia, nec minor erit, quam res ipsa deponat. Hungari viginti milia equitum armabunt, peditum haud minorem numerum, qui Germanis juncti ac Burgundis duodenonaginta milia militum in castris habebunt. Et quis non his copiis superatum iri Turcos arbitretur? His accedet Georgius Scanderbechius et Albanorum fortissima manus, et multi per Graeciam ab hoste deficient. Et in Asia Caramannus et Armenorum populi Turcos a tergo ferient.

¹ inquit *add.* R, S

² milia R; milium *corr. ex* milia S

³ Rhodii S

⁴ Dania S

⁵ Suetia S

[1] Brothers and sons, we have now been waiting eight months¹ for those who were summoned to this congress. You know who have come. It is foolish to wait longer for the arrival of others who might contribute to our cause. So, we are free to leave now. We have done what we came here to do. May God's cause have been served well though We had planned for more than We got. But all is not over, nor has all hope vanished. We must now declare the results so that all may know what to hope for and which kings and peoples are ready or negligent with regard to defending the Faith.

[2] If we help the Hungarians, they will attack the Turks with all their might and all their forces. The Germans promise an army of 42.000 soldiers, and Burgundy 6.000. With the exception of the Venetians and the Genoese, the Italians promise a tenth of the yearly revenues of the clergy, a thirtieth of the yearly incomes of the people, and a twentieth of the fortunes of the Jews, for the maintenance of a naval force. The same does Juan, King of Aragon. The Ragusans offer two galleys, the Rhodians four. These promises have been formally confirmed by those princes and their envoys. Though the Venetians have promised nothing in public, they will not - when they see that the expedition is ready – fail us nor suffer to be seen as inferior to their ancestors. The same applies to the French, the Castilians, and the Portuguese.

England is torn by civil war and gives no hopes, and neither does Scotland, hidden away in the inmost Ocean. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway too, are provinces so far away that they cannot possibly send soldiers, and content with fish alone they cannot contribute money. The Poles are neighbours of the Turks in Moldavia so they will not dare to fail their own cause. The Bohemians may be hired as soldiers since they will not fight for free outside their own country. This is the situation in the Christian lands.

[3] A fleet will be prepared at the expense of the Italiens, if not in Venice, then in Genua or in Aragon, and it will be as big as necessary. The Hungarians will come with 20.000 armed horse soldiers and at least as many foot soldiers. Joined to the Germans and Burgundians they will form an army of 88.000 soldiers.² Who does not think that such a force may defeat the Turks? To this should be added George Skanderbeg³ and a strong troop of Albanians. Moreover, many in Greece will fall from the enemy. And in Asia, Karaman⁴ and the Armenian peoples will attack the Turks from the back.

¹ Since the formal opening of the congress, on 1 June 1459

² In this figure must be included the 12.000 soldiers promised by the Hungarians, cf. "*Septimo iam exacto mense*", sect. 9

³ Georg Skanderbeg [Kastrioti] (1405-1468) 15th-century Albanian nobleman

⁴ Region in southern central Turkey, conquered by a Turkish people in 1256. Karaman was often in opposition to the Ottoman Turks who conquered the region in 1458

[4] Non est, {175r} cur desperemus, tantum Deus ipse coepta secundet. Ite et narrate domi, quae hic gesta sunt, et ut promissa in tempore faciant dominos vestros admonitos reddite, utque propitia nobis sit divina pietas orationibus et operibus piis operam date.

[4] Thus, there is no reason for despair if only God will assist our undertaking. Go and tell them at home what has been done here, urge your masters to fulfil their promises in time, and endeavour by prayer and pious works to make the Divine Piety well-disposed towards us.

Appendix: Papal bull *Ecclesiam Christi* of 15 January 1459

From Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nos. 1-6.

[1] Ecclesiam Christi variis mundi turbinibus ac persecutionibus agitatam ex divinis scripturis et veterum annalibus semper agnovimus, quae cum a capite ac sponso suo Christo scilicet auctore regatur: cui, sicut ipse testatur, omnis potestas in caelo et in terra divinitus est attributa, numquam sine nutu divinae dispensationis talia sustineret, nisi ipse ad correctionem exercitationemque fidelium hoc inferri permetteret; interdum etiam impios et injustos occulto alio instinctu ad punienda populi sui peccata excitat : sic namque per ignaros et nescios errata populi sui corrigit et punit divina justitia, sicut quondam per Sennacherib, per Nabuchodonosor, per Antiochum aliosque quamplures populum Israeliticum delinquentem afflixit, sicut ipse per prophetam eloquitur: *Virga furoris mei Assur*; ipse autem non cognovit. Verum etsi prophanis et impiis tamquam instrumentis atque flagellis ad coercenda peccata utatur Altissimus, illos tamen impia vanitate superbientes, et quasi secures et serras contra eum, qui caedit vel secatur in eis gloriantes, etiam per illos ipsos, quos prius flagellari permisit, emendatos atque correctos deprimit et conterit divina potentia: quae cum in divinis scripturis facta legantur et ad nostram instructionem scripta probentur, cunctos fideles oportet praesentem persecutionis angustiam et pari paenitentiae fructu divertere, et animos spe divina fundare, scientes se divina praedictione, et Prophetica in Psalmis contestatione commonitos, dicente Domino: *Si autem dereliquerint filii ejus legem meam, et in judiciis meis non ambulaverint, visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in verberibus peccata eorum : misericordiam autem meam non disperdam ab eis neque nocebo in veritate mea neque prophanabo testamentum meum.*

Quamquam autem Turchorum pressuram, et persecutionis instantis rabiem merito nostrae univocitatis incidisse profiteri humiliter debeamus, speramus tamen atque confidimus illis diutius saevire permissum, ut superbia eorum altius ascendente, et divinam ultionem provocante, jam quasi eorum malitia consummata, acriori vindicta plectantur, Ammoræorum et Amalechitarum exemplo, quod licet Deus propter peccatum in filios Israel saevire permisisset, illos tamen in manu eorum cum omni terra tradidit, praecipiens ut nemini parcerent, sed illos ultima internecione delerent. Quod si pridem multifariis gentilium atque haereticorum persecutionibus fideles suos voluit comprobare, istis tamen temporibus, vergente jam saeculi occasu, omnium abundavit iniquitas, et refriguit charitas multorum, gravior procella, et terribilior pressura, qualis ante non fuit, cervicibus nostris incumbit, cum radix illa peccati, minister diaboli, antichristi praecursor, perdidissimus Mahumet, spiritu superbiae elatus, in Christi cultores rabiem sui furoris exercet, qui illa miseranda et numquam satis deflenda Constantinopolitana caede ac

strage grassatus, nec tamen satiat, tamquam sanguinaria bestia hausto Christiano sanguine pollutas fauces explere non potest, sed novas in Dei cultores paenas excogitet, cujus insatiabilis carnificis tanta rabies est, tam inexplicabilis libido dominandi, ut totum Occidentem sibi subijcere, et totius Christiani nominis paret ac moliatur exitium, cujus cum execranda rabies intolerabilisque superbia semper excrescat, adesse jam diem ultionis ipsius, et vindictae tempora festinare creduntur.

[2] Sane licet felicitatis recordationis Nicolaus papa V praedecessor noster post ipsius Constantinopolitanae urbis calamitosum exitium ad vindicandas Christi injurias, et illius furorem reprimendum, generalem expeditionem indixerit, regesque et principes, atque saeculi potentes, et cunctos Christifideles ad defensionem fidei excitavit, et ipsum pio studio felicitatis recordationis Callistus papa III fuerit imitatus, nullus tamen hactenus optatus fructus peccatis exigentibus secutus esse dignoscitur, nec interea destitit divina censura acrioribus nos verberibus excitare, Christianis finitimis caede, rapina, tormentis et miserabili servitute affectis, donec jam incendium sensim excrescens omnia per circuitum erumpente flamma conflagrare coepit. Nos vero, qui ipsis praedecessoribus, sicut Domino placuit, re infecta sublatis, divina favente clementia ad apicem summi apostolatus fuimus assumpti, divinae vocis cohortamur imperio, ut in tanto fidei Christianae discrimine periculum desidiae, quatenus possumus, declinemus. Itaque fidei urgente nos zelo in ipsis nostri apostolatus initiis ad excitandum Christianorum soporem Mantuam nos advehi fecimus, ubi in praesentiarum constituti generalem conventum pro fidei causa tenemus, multa cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S.R.E. cardinalibus ac principibus, tam ecclesiasticis quam saecularibus, sive eorumdem principum legatis conferentes atque tractantes, post maturam et diutinam deliberationem, de eorumdem fratrum consilio et assensu, necnon oratorum et praelatorum in conventu Mantuano praesentium unanimi voto, modo quo sequitur duximus providendum.

[3] In primis generale bellum atque expeditionem contra perfidissimos Turchos, Dei nostri accerrimos hostes, more praedecessorum nostrorum, qui generales expeditiones, vel ad liberandum Terram Sanctam, vel contra alios infideles indixerunt, ab omnibus Christifidelibus triennio duraturum, gerendum ac suscipiendum esse, decernimus, omnes et singulos Christianos ad praesidium ejus belli pariter pro viribus invitantes, decernentes pariter in tantae necessitatis articulo unumquemque pro viribus et secundum quod infra dicendum ex suis facultatibus debere conferre. Et quoniam Moyses, qui summi sacerdotis et Christi vicarii typum gessit, ad superandum Amalech figuram Christi portabat, in signo et sacramento crucis allevabat supinas manus, nec vincere adversarium potuit, nisi postquam stabilis in signo allevatis jugiter manibus orando perseveravit, utrumque intelligimus faciendum. Itaque scientes fidelibus de instantia orationis esse fidendum, mandamus, ut in omnibus civitatibus ac locis insignibus diebus Dominicis preces in sacrificiis ac missarum solemnibus, nominatim ad Dominum effundantur, ut

ipse, qui est propugnator invictus, propugnatores suos adjuvet, et pro sui nominis gloria decertantibus in proelio tamquam dominus fortis ac praepotens praeliator assistat : milites vero et bellatores ipso vivifico signo, quod Moyses in figura contra serpentem erexit, contra alterum vero serpentem diabolique ministrum Mahumetem volumus insignire, illius signi memoriam praeferentes, quod super domos, cum terram Aegypti Deus percuteret, jussit affigi : quandoquidem in imagine praecedens veritate complebitur, ut in agni sanguine et in signo Christi victoriae trophaeum sint relaturi.

[4] Insuper universos Christianorum principes, quacumque etiam imperatoria, regali aut reginali, ducali vel quacumque dignitate praefulgeant, voce Domini commonemus, ut cognoscant se reddituros esse rationem propter Ecclesiam sanguine redemptam, quam ab illo tuendam acceperunt, quorum Deus virtutem excitare nos jussit, ac ore prophetico commonere dicens: *Nunc reges intelligite : erudimini qui judicatis terram. Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascitur Dominus :* terribilis est enim qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis apud reges terrae. Meminerint Saulis exempli, qui pro eo quod non obedisset voci Domini, ut Amalechitas ejus hostes extrema interemptione non delevisset, a Domino reprobatus fuit ac regno mulctatus. Proinde illos per viscera misericordiae Domini nostri Jesu Christi obsecramus, et per tremendum ejus iudicium obtestamur, ut ad defensionem Christianae fidei, sicut proprio et necessario incumbit officio, fortiter exurgant et potenter, scituri quia major est Dominus ad protegendum, quam diabolus ad impugnandum, Joanne in Epistola contestante atque dicente: *Major est qui in vobis est, quam qui in hoc mundo est :* habituri in medio sui Regem regum, principem pacis, electum prae consortibus suis, qui illis pugnantibus propugnator assistet, immarcescibiles coronas ab eo gloriae suscepturi.

[5] Omnibus autem, qui in hoc sancto opere Christo militare voluerint, et personaliter in hanc expeditionem accesserint, et in eadem per octo menses cujuslibet anni, quatenus tanto opere opus fuerit, in kal. Mensis Aprilis proxime futuri inchoandos, sive clerici sive laici, vel quacumque Ecclesiastica vel mundana praefulgeant dignitate, perseveraverint : necnon illis, qui etiam post mensem praedictum Aprilis ad hujusmodi expeditionem se conferrent, et vel per octo menses, ut praefertur, sive usque ad reditum exercitus ibidem permanserint, nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, et ex illa quam nobis licet indignis contulit Deus, ligandi atque solvendi potestate, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem, qualis per praedecessores nostros proficiscentibus in subsidium Terrae Sanctae, et in anno jubilaei urbis Basilicas visitantibus dari consuevit, concedimus et auctoritate Apostolica impartimur, confidentes in verbo illius, qui falli non potest, quique Patrem precatus eloquitur: *Pater, quos dedisti mihi volo, ut ubi ego fuero, et ipsi sint mecum, ut videant claritatem, quam mihi dedisti, priusquam mundus fieret.* Ominum, qui in hac sancta expeditione pro veritate fidei, et defensione Christianae religionis obierint, animas ad gloriam immortalitatis evectas cum

Christo, quem pia morte fuerint imitati, cuique fideles animas devoverunt, in aeternis sedibus regnisque caelestibus perenniter gavisuras : eos autem, qui propriis personis non accesserint, si pro se unum pugnatum emiserint, et per dictum tempus propriis facultatibus sustentaverint, tam mittentes quam bellatores et missos, alienis etiam expensis militantes, huiusmodi plenariae remissionis volumus atque decernimus esse participes.

[6] Ut autem omnis sexus, aetas atque conditio huiusmodi indulgentiae particeps esse possit, volumus, ut quaecumque caenobia, seu loca religiosorum marium vel mulierum, cujuscumque Ordinis seu professionis existant, qui pro singulis decem suppositis claustris sui unum bellatorem suis sumptibus per octo menses duraturum destinaverint, huiusmodi indulgentias plenariae consequantur. Quod si forte praefixo tempore non exacto ipsorum aliquos post iter arreptum in prosecutione pii et sancti operis ex hac luce migrare contigerit, volumus atque concedimus, ut praefatam indulgentiam integraliter consequantur etc.

Abrogat caeteras indulgentias, exceptis iis, quae urbis Basilicas lustraturis concessae sunt : cruce signatos in clientelam Apostolicam accipit omnibusque oneribus exsolvit : piratas et cum iis sentientes, qui bello sacro obstiterint, anathemate percellit aliisque paenis legibus constitutis mulctat.

Dat. Mantuae anno MCDLIX,¹ XVIII kal. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri annus II.

¹ Roman style = 1460