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**Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome, 1455, by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 3rd preliminary version. (Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455, by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; 5)**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**(Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455, by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; 5)**

**Report of an Imperial Mission to Rome, 1455, by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**3rd version**

**2021**

## **Abstract**

In April 1455, Cardinal Alfons de Borja was elected pope. Soon afterwards the embassies from the the Christian princes and city states began to arrive in Rome to make the traditional declaration of obedience to the new pope. In August, the embassy of Emperor Friedrich III arrived, consisting of Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini of Trieste, imperial councilor and top diplomat, and Johann Hinderbach, another imperial official. Their mission was to declare the emperor's obedience and to negotiate a number of issues. One of these issues concerned the payment of a debt owed by the papacy to the emperor. Others were problems connected with appointments to ecclesiastical offices and payment of annates. The pope refused to negotiate these issues before the declaration of obedience had been made, and afterwards he mostly declined to grant the imperial petitions. In this area, the embassy was not very successful, as Piccolomini had to inform the emperor.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Pope Calixtus III; Pope Callixtus III; Papa Callisto III; Alfons de Borja; Alfonso Borgia; Diplomatic reports; Renaissance diplomacy; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Papal reservations; Annates; Ecclesiastical appointments; 15th century; 1459; Jacopo Piccinino; King Alfonso V (Aragon); France; The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; Duc Philippe III le Bon (Bourgogne); Duke Philip III the Good (Burgundy)

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**Table of volumes in *Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455*, by  
*Enea Silvio Piccolomini***

1. Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome, 1447
2. Report on an Imperial Mission to Milan, 1447
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# I. INTRODUCTION

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

On 8 April 1455, Cardinal Alfons de Borja<sup>2</sup> was elected pope and took the name of Calixtus III.

News of the death of his predecessor, Pope Nicolaus V,<sup>3</sup> reached the imperial court some weeks later, during a diet held in the presence of Emperor Friederich III<sup>4</sup> at the imperial residence in Wiener Neustadt<sup>5</sup>. One of the main objectives of the diet was to make concrete preparations for a crusade against the Turks, the pope being responsible for assembling a fleet to support a land army under German leadership. The news of the pope's death put an end to the diet and, indeed, to the German war effort.

Immediately, important parties at the imperial court, first among them the Archbishop of Trier,<sup>6</sup> began to argue that the Germans should take advantage of the occasion to obtain the same distance and ecclesiastical independence from the Papacy that the French had previously achieved by means of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438.<sup>7</sup>

The emperor, however, on the advice of Bishop Piccolomini of Siena, his senior diplomat and advisor on church affairs and Italian affairs, decided to continue his alliance with the papacy which he considered essential to support the waning authority of the imperial office, especially in relation to the German princes.

He, therefore, despatched an embassy consisting of Piccolomini and other courtiers to Rome to present the traditional declaration of obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the new pope. It was the second time that Piccolomini performed such a task, having also presented the imperial declaration of obedience to Pope Eugenius IV.<sup>8</sup> The declaration was made as part of an oration, the "*Solent plerique*" [27], delivered by Piccolomini during a public consistory in Rome on 13 August 1455.

Later, as pope, he wrote about these events in his *Commentarii*:

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 29; Piccolomini's orations "*Solent plerique*" [26] and "*Modestius*" [27]; Pastor I, pp. 675-676; Toews, pp. 265-267; Voigt, III, pp. 157-163

<sup>2</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia pope

<sup>3</sup> Nicolaus V (Tommaso Parentucelli) (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

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

<sup>5</sup> It was the third in a series of German diets dealing, among other things, with the military response to the Fall of Constantinople in May 1453. The first was the Diet of Regensburg, May 1454, and the second the Diet of Frankfurt, October 1454. The Diet of Wiener Neustadt began in February 1455 and ended in April

<sup>6</sup> Sierck, Jakob von (1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and Prince Elector from 1439 to his death and imperial chancellor of Friedrich III from 1441

<sup>7</sup> A church law in France, incorporating a number of decrees from the Council of Basel, tending generally to limit the pope's influence in national church affairs, and particularly with regard to the appointment of bishops

<sup>8</sup> See Piccolomini's oration "*Non habet me dubium*" [11]

*When the news of this was reported in Austria, there were many who tried to persuade the emperor that now was the time to exert pressure on the Apostolic See and thus reduce its power in Germany. The compacts settled with Eugenius IV had been violated, they argued; therefore they should make no submission to the new pope unless he granted the petitions of the German nation. Long regarded as a servant, Germany deserved at last to be free. This was the policy promoted tenaciously by Archbishop Jacob of Trier, who expected to profit from the dispute. Aeneas, however, argued that the emperor would gain nothing from an assault on the pope's authority, especially if it were done for the sake of popular opinion, which is inherently fickle. The reins of government must never be handed to the people for they, as he knew, hated the rule of princes. Between princes, friendship was sometimes possible, but between the people and a king the hatred was undying. The pope and the emperor needed each other's support, and it was folly to injure the man you hoped would help you. The start of a new pontificate was a time to win the favour of the pope by showing him kindness; if one started by lashing out, it would be difficult to then find a path to his good will. Frederick must make submission, as his ancestors had done, and negotiate an honourable treaty with the new pope; once that was agreed, the Germans would follow the emperor's lead. Aeneas' advice prevailed and he himself was despatched together with ... Johann Hinderbach, to see his plan through. ... At their arrival a public consistory was convened in which Aeneas, after making his submission in the time-honored way, delivered an oration which praised the emperor and the empire and at the same time called for a crusade against the Turks. Afterwards, copies of this speech circulated widely.<sup>1</sup>*

In Rome, the German ambassadors attempted in vain to negotiate a number of issues and problems in the relations between Germany and the papacy before making the declaration of obedience. But the pope refused to enter into such negotiations before obedience had been declared since he would not under any circumstances accept a conditional obedience. The ambassadors had to accept this: the negotiations were postponed, and when they were resumed, after the declaration of obedience, the German petitions were roundly refused by the pope!<sup>2</sup>

## **2. Themes**

### **2.1. Obedience to the pope**

Piccolomini came to Rome twice on imperial missions to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to the pope. The first time was in 1447, as mentioned, when the emperor was finally ready to recognize the pope in Rome, Eugenius IV, and to reject the antipope elected in 1439 by

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 29 (Meserve, I, pp. 143-147)

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, III, pp. 160-163; Pastor, I, p. 511-512

the rump council in Basel, Felix V.<sup>1</sup> On that occasion, the imperial recognition of the pope only happened after protracted preparations and even last-minute negotiations and important Roman concessions to the emperor, opening the way to the declaration of obedience to the dying pope.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, the papacy was still weakened by the 70-year long exile in Avignon, followed by the Great Western Schism, with two and even three reigning popes, and later followed by the antipapalist Council in Basel, which had opened in 1432 and was only ended, though as a rump council, in 1449. In this situation, it was quite natural for the secular powers to negotiate their obedience to the pope, making it conditional on concessions and favours.

The pontificate of Pope Nicolaus V<sup>3</sup>, uncontested from 1449 to his death in 1455, strengthened the papacy to the extent that his successor, Calixtus III, absolutely refused to accept conditional declarations of obedience from the secular powers,<sup>4</sup> implicitly daring the princely ambassadors to return to their masters without declaring obedience<sup>5</sup>:

*He let us know that he would gladly hear us, but that we should not want to make any agreements with him before the declaration of obedience because in no way would he accept a conditional obedience. We thought that this message was harsh. [Sect. 9]*

*We should know, however, that because of the declaration of obedience he was to receive, he could make no promises. For he knew that the obedience was owed to him, and he would rather die than receive it conditionally. He said that also the legates of the King of Aragon as well as ambassadors from other kings had been with him and wanted to negotiate their obedience, but they were rebuffed. [Sect. 10]*

Even the imperial ambassadors dared not risk the scandal arising from not declaring obedience, as Piccolomini wrote to the emperor:

*His words left us perplexed us, but when we realized that it could not be done otherwise and that it would cause a scandal if we left without making the declaration of obedience, we decided to make this declaration and afterwards pursue the matter of the petitions, since it could not be done otherwise. [Sect. 1]*

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<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Savoy, Amédée VIII (1383-1451)

<sup>2</sup> See Piccolomini's oration "*Non habet med dubium*" [11] from January 1447

<sup>3</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli]: Bishop of Bologna. Cardinal 1446. Elected pope in 1447

<sup>4</sup> Pastor, I, p. 673: *Eine besonders glänzende Abordnung sandte König Alfonso von Neapel; deren Versuch über die Gehorsamsleistung zuerst verhandeln zu wollen, war indes schlecht geeignet, das bisherige gute Verhältnis zwischen dem neapolitanischen König und Alonso de Borja zu erhalten. Der Papst wies die ungebührliche Forderung Alfonsos ebenso entschieden zurück wie später eine ähnliche Zumutung von seiten der Gesandten Kaiser Friedrichs III*

<sup>5</sup> Voigt, III, p. 159: *... der alte Papst ... sass ... fester auf dem apostolischen Stuhle, den kein Concil und kein Gegenpapst ihm mehr streitig machten*

Thus, Piccolomini's report to the emperor is a testimony of the Renaissance papacy's remarkable recovery after generations of abject weakness.

## 2.2. Papal control over ecclesiastical appointments

Another sign of growing papal confidence and strength vis-à-vis the secular powers is pope Calixtus' polite, but adamant resistance to imperial control over ecclesiastical appointments. In practice, accommodations might be found, but there was little flexibility on the principle of papal control over such appointments.

The papal stance was strengthened by the – exaggerated – news from France that the clergy there were positively inclined towards the pope and possibly willing to be accommodating in the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. This measure had greatly reduced papal influence in French ecclesiastical affairs and appointments and much diminished the flow of French money to the papal curia:

*In the meantime, news have arrived from France. The king of that people has appointed ambassadors to bring [his declaration of] obedience very soon. But the Cardinal of Rouen, returning from that kingdom to the curia, has sent a letter ahead stating that the prelates of the Kingdom of France are very sympathetic towards Our Lord<sup>1</sup> and desire to modify the Pragmatic Sanction, to which they adhere as a group, on the basis of the wishes of the Apostolic See. [Sect. 8]*

## 2.3. Papal finances

Control over ecclesiastic appointments had for centuries been a major issue in the Church's fight for ecclesiastical freedom from secular power, and as such, it was a matter of basic ideology.

It was also extremely important for the financing of the central government of the Church and the upkeep of pope and cardinals. Various methods and mechanisms were used, but basically, they all resulted in the transfer of money to Rome, to such an extent that they would later contribute greatly to the secular powers' support of the Reformation in Germany.

The system of annates<sup>2</sup> is a case in point. Annates were a form of taxation of the incomes of an ecclesiastical benefice, to be paid by any new incumbent (bishop, abbot etc.). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it regularly amounted to half of the annual revenue of the benefice.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., the pope

<sup>2</sup> See the article Annates in the Catholic Encyclopedia: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01537b.htm>

In 1455, the abbot of the Abbey of Saint Lambrecht in Austria, Henrich Moyker (abbot from 1419-1455) died. As his successor was elected Udalrich Ratmannsdorfer, but he resigned a short time later, after which the monks elected Johannes Schachner, who ruled as abbot until 1478.<sup>1</sup>

This is the case referred to by Piccolomini in his report to the emperor:

*Because of the opposition of the cardinals, we were completely unable to obtain the remission of annates for the Abbot of Saint Lambrecht. [Sect. 17]*

The reason why the emperor favoured Johannes Schachner's intrusion into the abbacy that Ratmannsdorfer had obtained very shortly before is unknown. It may have been related to the emperor's policy of influencing the appointments to important ecclesiastical offices and lucrative benefices.

The reason for the cardinals being generally opposed to the remission of annates was evidently that an important part of their own incomes came from the annates received by the Apostolic Chamber.

As for the pope's claim that his predecessor had left no money whatsoever, this is hard to believe. Pope Nicolaus had improved the papal finances, especially in connection with the Jubilee Year in 1450, but he had also spent much money on his building program in Rome. Still, it defies belief that there should not be even a single coin left, so either somebody had removed or stolen the cash left at his death, or Pope Calixtus grossly exaggerated the situation in order to avoid having to pay the emperor the money due to him, by virtue of an agreement with Pope Eugenius in 1447.

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication from Benedikt Plank O.S.B, Stiftsarchivar, Benediktinerstift St. Lambrecht of 1 January 2020: *Im Stiftsarchiv hat sich unter dem Datum von Rom 1455 Juli 18 eine Serie von Original-Bullen von Papst Kalixtus erhalten: Kalixtus bestätigt die Wahl von Johannes Schachner zum Abt von St. Lambrecht (Stiftsarchiv St. Lambrecht, Urkundenreihe II – 6); Derselbe befiehlt dem Konvent, Schachner als neuen Abt anzuerkennen und ihm zu gehorchen (II – 7); Befehl desselben an die Vasallen des Klosters, den Abt anzuerkennen und ihm getreu zu sein (II – 8); Kalixtus empfiehlt dem Kaiser Friedrich III. den neu ernannten Abt Johannes (II – 9); Kalixtus gestattet dem Abt Johannes von einem beliebigen Bischof die Benediktion zu empfangen, samt Auftrag die beigefügte Eidesformel nach Rom zu übersenden (II – 10). Weitere Urkunden hängen wohl mit dieser Causa zusammen: Der Kardinalpriester Anton tt. S. Chrysogoni, Kämmerer des Kardinalkollegium, quittiert über den Empfang von 500 Goldgulden, bezahlt vom Abt Johannes durch den Pfarrer Kaspar von Heiligenkreuz bei Landstraß (Original Pergament, Rom 1456 Jänner 14, Urkr. II – 14) In II – 15 unserer Urkundereihe ist unter Rom 1456 Jänner 22 als kopiale Überlieferung vermerkt, dass der Kardinalpriester Ludwig tt. S. Laurentii in Damaso als päpstlicher Kämmerer über den Empfang von 570 Goldgulden quittiert und anzeigt, dass der Papst den Abte noch andere schuldige Gebühren gnädigst schenke*

## 2.4. Crusade

The crusade against the Turks was a major theme in Piccolomini's oration of obedience to Pope Calixtus,<sup>1</sup> and indeed, it was a major concern both for Piccolomini and the pope. The emperor and the German princes, however, were not interested in a crusade, so this issue was not really part of the negotiations of the imperial diplomats with the pope.

The report does mention, however, a number of facts connected with the crusade worth mentioning.

Firstly, the pope was intensely occupied with the crusade and almost thought of nothing else. He even believed that he would not die before the Christians had retaken Constantinople, though that hope was evidently destined to fail.

Secondly, the pope would soon be sending Cardinal Carvajal to Germany with the object of mobilizing and leading a land army against the Turks (to be complemented by a papally organized fleet). Knowing the failure of the imperial diets in 1454 and 1455 with regard to the crusade, the cardinal did not intend to hold more such meetings but would be urging the princes and cities individually to keep their promises of assistance to the crusade undertaking.

Thirdly, it was reported from Naples that King Alfonso V, when gravely ill, had promised to prepare a large fleet against the Turks and even to fight in person. Sceptics, however, doubted that much would come of this, wrote Piccolomini – and they would be proven right.

Fourthly, the Duke of Burgundy, the most and probably the only important European prince to genuinely support a crusade, had reported to the pope that on the appointed day he would arrive with an army of no less than 16,000 soldiers and even fight in person.

Fifthly, encouraged by these news the pope had held a splendid ceremony in Saint Peter's where he had given the cross, the sign of a crusader, to two cardinal legates.

Finally, Piccolomini reported to the emperor that the Archbishop of Trier had complained to the pope of not having information from neither pope nor emperor concerning the crusade. The archbishop's complaint would certainly not have been caused by his eagerness for a crusade, but rather by his worries that the pope with the emperor's support would somehow be able to get a crusade moving. Piccolomini advised the emperor to forestall further such – hypocritical – criticism by informing the German princes and cities of his diplomats' actions in this matter in Venice, Ferrara, Florence, Siena, and at the Papal Court, and also about the coming of a papal legate with the task of raising an army against the Turks. Moreover, the emperor should urge the princes to fulfil their promise of providing soldiers to the crusade. Such a letter would not be welcome to the

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<sup>1</sup> See Piccolomini's oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

princes, but at least the Holy Roman Emperor would have demonstrated to the world his impeccable Christian zeal for the crusade and the protection of the Faith.

### **3. Conduct of diplomacy**

#### **3.1. Appointment of ambassadors**

Two ambassadors were appointed to go on the mission to Rome to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to the new pope. One was Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, high-ranking member of the imperial court, prince of the Empire, and former papal envoy to Central Europe. The other was Johann Hinderbach, an imperial advisor, later Prince-Bishop of Trento.

#### **3.2. Ambassadorial mandate**

Piccolomini does not mention the mandate as such, but he repeatedly refers to the ambassadors' instructions concerning the affairs to be negotiated with the curia: Money owed to the emperor by the pope, reservations of ecclesiastical offices, tithes, and other affairs.

#### **3.3. Ceremonies at arrival**

At their arrival, the ambassadors were met, honourably, by the legates of all the princes present in Rome, all the bishops, and the households of the cardinals and the pope. Some days later, they were received by the pope in a public audience (consistory).

#### **3.4. Ambassadorial oration**

During the public audience, Piccolomini delivered the obligatory oration, the "*Solent plerique*".<sup>1</sup> This oration had special significance because it included the formal declaration of the emperor's obedience to the pope. The pope answered the oration in person.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini: *Oration "Solent plerique"*



### **3.5. Strategy of negotiation**

The ambassadors had planned to negotiate the various affairs entrusted to them in a private audience with the pope before presenting the declaration of the obedience, thus intending to put pressure on the pope to grant their petitions. The pope, however, himself a most accomplished and experienced negotiator, very well understood and adamantly rejected this strategy. In no way, would he negotiate the affairs before the declaration of obedience, and in no way would he accept a conditional obedience. So, this strategy failed miserably. Interestingly, the episode was a learning experience for Piccolomini who when he became pope himself three years later would take the same stance as Calixtus with ambassadors trying to use the declaration of obedience to bargain for advantages.

### **3.6. Technique of negotiation**

#### **3.6.1. Interlocutors**

The ambassadors presumably negotiated with cardinals and high curial officials concerning the affairs entrusted to them, some of them quite mundane. However, the pope chose to negotiate the important matters directly with the ambassadors, in private meetings. This was really not an advantage for the ambassadors since the normal frank exchange between lower-level negotiators would not be possible with such an august personage. Also, their task was made difficult by the pope's superior negotiating style, a mixture of uncontradictable authority (the pope imposed silence upon the ambassadors concerning two important matters, and bade them be content with his decisions), crass exaggeration (the pope claimed that his predecessor had left not even one coin in the treasury), and pious theatrics: *And raising his eyes to Heaven, as if speaking directly with God, he implored Divine Piety to remove him rather than to allow any scandal to arise through him.* What could the ambassadors possibly say to that?

#### **3.6.2. Written procedure**

The petitions from the imperial court were naturally handed over in writing to the pope who passed them on to the Bishop of Zamora for consideration. But concerning the important matters, there would be no meetings with minutes taken and sealed by all, as had happened during the imperial mission to Rome in 1447.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See 1<sup>st</sup> report in the present series

### **3.7. Diplomatic report**

As was the custom, Piccolomini wrote up a report to the emperor after the end of the mission. Two other diplomatic reports of his in the same format are extant as well as two reports on diplomatic missions that went beyond the normal format of the diplomatic report.

The present report comprises a description of the situation at the host court and in Italy, generally, an account of the ceremonies of arrival (a matter of the emperor's honour), a detailed account of the negotiations, a rather embarrassed conclusion on the meagre results of the embassy, and an account of the journey back.

At the end of the report, Piccolomini informs the emperor of a recent letter from the Archbishop of Trier to the pope concerning the crusade, and sent back his recommendation to the emperor on how to react to this letter.

## **4. Date, recipient and format**

In the manuscripts, the report is dated on the Feast of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, i.e., 7 September 1456.

The addressee is the emperor.

The format is a report from an ambassador to his prince concerning a diplomatic mission on the prince's behalf.

## **5. Text**

The report to the emperor is – mostly - contained as letter nr. 94 in an “official” collection of Piccolomini's letters from the period of his episcopate (*“in episcopatu”*), probably produced under his personal supervision as pope.

## 5.1. Manuscripts

The collection of letters “in episcopatu” are contained, among others, in the following manuscripts:

- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laureniana**  
Plut. 54.19, ff. 64v-67r (**U**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ott. lat. 347, ff. 95r-99v (**V**)  
Urb. lat. 401, ff. 120v-125r (**X**)  
Vat. lat. 1787, ff. 112r-116v (**Y**)

As an individual text, the report is included in the following manuscript:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Chis. J.V.175,<sup>1</sup> ff. 111v-120v (**Z**)

## 5.2. Editions

The collection of letters “in episcopatu” appears not to have been printed as such.

The report to the emperor was printed by Cugnoni, on the basis of the Chis. J.V.175 manuscript:

- Aenea Silvii Piccolomini Senensis: *Opera inedita*. Cur. Josephus Cugnoni. Roma, 1883, pp. 122-126

## 5.3. Present edition

The edition is based on all five manuscripts listed above.

Pagination is after the Plut. 54.19.

## 6. Bibliography

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscript written, not very accurately, by Jo. Gabinium Triviensem, 1465. Listed by Cugnoni, p. 13

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  - “*Non habet me dubium*” (9 January 1447, Rome) [11]
  - “*In hoc florentissimo*” (25 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt) [23]
  - “*Si mihi*” (25 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt) [24]
  - “*Optasset*” (23 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt) [25]
  - “*Solent plerique*” (13 August 1455, Rome) [26]
  - “*Modestius*” (6 June 1456, Naples) [27]

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**U** = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana / Plut. 54.19

**V** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ott. lat. 347

**X** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. Lat. 401

**Y** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1787

**Z** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.V.175

## Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacalis*. 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

## Epistola LXXXVIII de oboedientia Calisto praestita, de Jacobo Picinino, de rege Aragonum et de plerisque aliis privatis rebus

[1] {64v} Aeneas<sup>1</sup>, episcopus Senensis, et Johannes Inderbachius<sup>2</sup> serenissimo imperatori Friderico<sup>3</sup> salutem plurimam dicit. Ingressi Romam, serenissime atque<sup>4</sup> invictissime Caesar, nihil adhuc majestati tuae rescripsimus. Fuerunt enim res pendulae usque nunc et incertae penitus. Modo, quia responsum aliquod habemus, non tamen omnino resolutum, visum est et statum hujus curiae et quae per nos gesta sunt hactenus mansuetudini tuae<sup>5</sup> reserare, deinceps, quae sequentur, non negligemus. Res in hunc modum se habent:

[2] Pridie quam urbem ingrederemur, designavit Romanus pontifex legatos quattuor ex ordine, cardinalium<sup>6</sup>, Avinionensem in Galliam, sancti Petri in Angliam, Strigoniensem in Hungariam, sancti angeli per universam Germaniam<sup>7</sup>. Huic enim<sup>8</sup> cura commissa est terrestris exercitus contra Turcos educendi. Nos ex itinere de legatis scribentes, tibi nonnullos alios nominavimus ab aliis decepti, qui ex urbe veniebant, nec mirum si extra urbem<sup>9</sup> veri cognitionem habere nequivimus, quando et et intra moenia positi vix tandem veri periculum fecimus.

---

<sup>1</sup> Eneas U, Y

<sup>2</sup> Inderbach Z

<sup>3</sup> III. *add.* Z

<sup>4</sup> ac U

<sup>5</sup> mansuetudini tuae : tuae mansuetudini Z

<sup>6</sup> cardinalem U

<sup>7</sup> sancti angeli ... Germaniam *omit.* U

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* Y

<sup>9</sup> veniebant nec ... urbem *omit.* X



# Letter 94 on the declaration of obedience to Calixtus, on Jacopo Piccinino, on the King of Aragon, and and on several other, private, matters

## 1. Introduction

[1] Aeneas, Bishop of Siena, and Johann Hinderbach send many greetings to the Most Serene Emperor, Friedrich.

Since we arrived in Rome, Most Serene and Unvanquished Caesar, we have not written to Your Majesty since, until now, matters have been fluid and uncertain. But now that we have an answer, though not quite final, we have decided to report to Your Mansuetude on the situation at this court<sup>1</sup> and on what we have achieved until now - without neglecting what will happen later. This is how the matter stands:

## 2 Situation at the papal court

### 2.1. Appointment of papal legates

[2] The day before we entered Rome, the Roman Pontiff appointed four legates, the Cardinal of Avignon<sup>2</sup> to France, the Cardinal of San Pietro<sup>3</sup> to England, the Cardinal of Esztergom<sup>4</sup> to Hungary, Hungary, and the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo to the whole of Germany.<sup>5</sup> The last one was also given the task to lead a land army against the Turks. When travelling, we wrote to you about the legates, naming some about whom we had erroneous information from people coming from the City.<sup>6</sup> It is no wonder that we could not obtain correct information outside the City since we had such difficulty in getting it when we were inside the walls.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the papal curia

<sup>2</sup> Alain de Coëtivy (1407-1474): Bishop of Avignon. Cardinal in 1447

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaus of Kues (1401-1464): Appointed cardinal in 1448, and Prince Bishop of Brixen in 1450

<sup>4</sup> Dénes Szécsi (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom from 1440 to his death. Appointed cardinal 1439

<sup>5</sup> Cardinal Juan Carvajal (ca. 1400-1469): Appointed cardinal in 1446

<sup>6</sup> The two ambassadors had apparently written to the emperor on the way to Rome

[3] Cardinalis ergo sancti Angeli ad tuam mansuetudinem iter imprimis faciet ac de tutanda religione cum eadem consilium capiet. Ejus sententia est, quantum intelligimus, nullum conventum indicere aut prosequi - {65r} nihil enim ex his bene sperat - sed gerit in animo per litteras ac nuntios principes ac communitates singillatim<sup>1</sup> requirere, ut pro designato sibi militum numero ecclesiasticae necessitati subveniant. Quod si nequeant praescriptas copias mittere, quas possint<sup>2</sup> quasque volunt, saltem gentes mittant, catholicam fidem omnino non deserant.

[4] Res est sanctissimo domino nostro admodum cordi neque dies noctesque aliud meditatur, nisi quo pacto Turcos perdere possit, et ait secrete et palam certam se fidem tenere, quia non morietur ante recuperatam Constantinopolim. Mirantur omnes tantam hujus patris fiduciam, et quoniam res alias praedixit antequam<sup>3</sup> fierent, in hac quoque fidem ei non abnuunt prophético spiritu ea dici putantes.

---

<sup>1</sup> sigillatim X

<sup>2</sup> possunt Z

<sup>3</sup> quam U

[3] The Cardinal of Sant'Angelo will first travel to Your Mansuetude to consult with you about the protection of religion. As far as we can ascertain, his intention is not to summon or conduct a conference on the matter for he does not expect anything good to come from that.<sup>1</sup> Instead, he plans to address - by letter or by envoy - the princes and the cities<sup>2</sup> on an individual basis and to demand of them to aid the Church in the present crisis with the number of soldiers [previously] charged to them. If they cannot send these, then they should send as many men as they want to, as long as they do not completely fail the Catholic Faith.

## 2.2. Pope's crusading zeal

[4] This matter is close to Our Most Holy Lord's<sup>3</sup> heart, and day and night he only thinks about how to destroy the Turks. He even says in private and in public that he is convinced he will not die before Constantinople has been regained. All are awed by this Father's great faith, and since he has foreseen other things that actually happened,<sup>4</sup> they also trust him in this matter, believing him to talk in a prophetic spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind the failure of the diets of Regensburg, Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt in 1454 and 1455

<sup>2</sup> "communitates"

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the pope

<sup>4</sup> He had actually predicted that he would become pope, something everyone considered to be quite unlikely

[5] Praestat tamen non modicum impedimentum desiderio suo Jacobus Picininus, qui cum magna manu militum equestrum ac pedestrium agrum Senensem ingressus non parvam spem habuit urbem illam imperialem sibi subjicere jamque se ducem Senarum<sup>1</sup> constituerat appellare, cujus conatus cum papa refringere conaretur missis adversus eum non parvis copiis, indignatus est parumper rex Aragonum, qui Jacobum defendere nixus est et in hanc usque diem defendit non sine magno Senensium ac Romanae ecclesiae damno. Proximis tamen diebus cum febricitasset rex ac salus sua venisset in dubium, Deo vovit, si sanitatem recuperaret, omnino se contra Turchos arma sumpturum, nec multo post resumpta bona<sup>2</sup> valitudine principibus ac optimatibus suis in contionem vocatis, quae voverat palam fecit publiceque contestatus est<sup>3</sup>, quam possit magnam et potentem adversus Maumethum<sup>4</sup> classem se instituere<sup>5</sup> velle eamque per se ducere ac pro tuenda fide propria in persona militare et<sup>6</sup> - si necesse fuerit - mori, statuens in die nativitatis sacratissimae sacratissimae virginis Mariae crucem assumere, cum quo multi nobiles votum fecere, misitque<sup>7</sup> ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum<sup>8</sup> deliberationem suam, et deinde concordiam inter Senenses et Jacobum Piccininum tractaturum se promisit, ita ut reddat Jacobus Senensibus omnia, quae abstulit, et a papa veniam petat. Sunt tamen aliqui, qui non parum dubitant de<sup>9</sup> promissionibus hujus regis, et praesertim cum ejus valitudinem non omnino solidam dicant.

[6] Dux autem Burgundiae<sup>10</sup> suis litteris dietim<sup>11</sup> affirmat in tempore debito absque ulla exceptione, si modo sanus fuerit, cum suis gentibus paratum se fore et affirmatur, quia infra XVI milia hominum armatorum secum {65v} nequaquam adducet.

[7] His rebus confortatus summus pontifex hoc mane rem divinam in sancto Petro fecit. Deinde cum maxima devotione multisque lacrimis duos cardinales, Avinionensem scilicet et<sup>12</sup> sancti angeli, aliquos episcopos et<sup>13</sup> plures nobiles cruce signavit statuens, ut quam primum cardinales ipsi in suas provincias iter arripiant<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> senatum Y

<sup>2</sup> omit. Z

<sup>3</sup> omit. Z

<sup>4</sup> Maumetem X; Maumethem Z

<sup>5</sup> instruere Z

<sup>6</sup> ac Y

<sup>7</sup> misit U

<sup>8</sup> omit. V

<sup>9</sup> omit. Z

<sup>10</sup> Borgundiae V, X

<sup>11</sup> in dies Y

<sup>12</sup> omit. X

<sup>13</sup> omit. X

<sup>14</sup> arriperent U; arripiant X, Z

### 2.3. Jacopo Piccinino and King Alfonso V

[5] A major impediment to his plans, however, is Jacopo Piccinino, who has invaded the Sienese territory with a large force of cavalry and infantry. He greatly hopes to conquer this imperial city and has already decided to call himself Duke of Siena.<sup>1</sup> When the pope tried to block his endeavours and sent large troops against him, the King of Aragon became much upset. He came to Jacopo's assistance and is still helping him, to the great harm of Siena and the Roman Church. But a short while ago, the king caught a fever, and his survival was in doubt. Then he vowed to God that if he regained his health, he would go to war against the Turks. When, soon afterwards, he regained his health, he summoned his princes and nobles to a meeting, where he made a public announcement of his vow. He also told them that he intended to prepare the largest and strongest possible fleet against Mehmed, to personally lead it, and to fight for the protection of the Faith and – if necessary – to die.<sup>2</sup> He also decided to take the cross on the [Feast of the] Nativity of the Holy Virgin Mary,<sup>3</sup> and many nobles made the same vow. He then informed Our Most Holy Lord about his decision and promised to negotiate a settlement between the Sienese and Jacopo Piccinino<sup>4</sup> so that Jacopo would restore everything to the Sienese that he had taken and ask the pope for forgiveness. Some, however, greatly doubt the promises of this king, especially since they say that he is not yet fully recovered.

### 2.4. Duke of Burgundy

[6] In his letters, the Duke of Burgundy,<sup>5</sup> however, daily confirms that if only he is in good health, he will under all circumstances be ready with his people on the appointed day, and he declares that he will certainly not bring less than 16,000 armed men with him.

[7] Thus reassured, the Supreme Pontiff this morning celebrated mass in Saint Peter's. Then with great devotion and many tears he gave the cross to two cardinals, viz. the Cardinal of Avignon<sup>6</sup> and the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,<sup>7</sup> and decided that these cardinals should depart for their provinces<sup>8</sup> as soon as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> In imitation of the condottiero Francesco Sforza's success in becoming Duke of Milan

<sup>2</sup> In reality, the king's crusading zeal was minimal, like the other Christian kings'

<sup>3</sup> 8 September 1455

<sup>4</sup> This settlement was actually reached later, in 1456, see Piccolomini's oration "*Modestius*" [27]

<sup>5</sup> Duke Philippe III (Valois)(1376-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Alain de Coëtivy

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Carvajal

<sup>8</sup> I.e. their legatine provinces, see above

[8] Interea de Francia felicia<sup>1</sup> nova allata<sup>2</sup> sunt. Nam rex gentis illius oratores constituit, qui oboedientiam intra dies paucos allaturi sunt. Cardinalis autem Rothomagensis ex eo regno curiam repetens litteras praemisit, quibus significat praelatos regni<sup>3</sup> Franciae inclinatissimos esse domino nostro pragmaticamque illam sanctionem, quam inter se tenebant, ex apostolicae sedis arbitrio moderari velle. Atque hic est modo curiae status.

[9] Veniendum nunc est ad res nobis commissas, quas etiam breviter referemus. Intransibus nobis urbem obviam venere legati omnium principum, qui hic erant, omnes episcopi et omnium cardinalium comites<sup>4</sup> et denique familia papae. De sero autem misimus ad sanctissimum dominum dominum nostrum dicentes, quod ante publicam audientiam vellemus secreta<sup>5</sup> alloqui suam<sup>6</sup> sanctitatem. Ipse vero nobis significavit, quia<sup>7</sup> libenti animo nos audiret<sup>8</sup>, sed caveremus, ne pacta pacta cum eo propter oboedientiam facere vellemus, quia nullo pacto conditionalem oboedientiam susciperet. Dura nobis significatio visa est. Accessimus tamen sanctitatem suam die sequenti, et quae videbantur de sinceritate tuae majestatis erga suam beatitudinem exposuimus. Deinde cum omni modestia, qua potuimus, petitiones tuas annectere<sup>9</sup> curavimus: de pecunia debita, de reservationibus ecclesiarum, de decima, de nominationibus<sup>10</sup>, de collationibus beneficiorum, de primariis precibus, et de aliis pluribus causis, quibus ad longum enarratis sua sanctitas multa in laudem tuam retulit asserens eidem<sup>11</sup> sese magnopere affectum.

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<sup>1</sup> foelia X

<sup>2</sup> alta Z

<sup>3</sup> regi Z

<sup>4</sup> familiae Z

<sup>5</sup> secreta U

<sup>6</sup> alloqui suam : suam alloqui Y

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

<sup>8</sup> auditurum Y

<sup>9</sup> ammittere X

<sup>10</sup> ecclesiarum de ... nominationibus *omit.* X

<sup>11</sup> ita X

## 2.5. France

[8] In the meantime, good news arrived from France. The king of that people<sup>1</sup> has appointed ambassadors to bring [his declaration of] obedience very soon. But the Cardinal of Rouen,<sup>2</sup> returning from the kingdom to the curia, has sent a letter ahead stating that the prelates of the Kingdom of France are very sympathetic towards Our Lord<sup>3</sup> and desire to modify the Pragmatic Sanction, to which they adhere as a group, on the basis of the wishes of the Apostolic See.

This is the situation at the curia.

## 3. Affairs of the Empire

[9] We must now come to the affairs entrusted to us, which we shall report on, though briefly.

### 3.1. Pope's refusal to negotiate before the declaration of obedience

When we entered the city, we were met by the legates of all the princes present in Rome, all the bishops, and the households of the cardinals and the pope.<sup>4</sup> In the evening, we sent a message to Our Most Holy Lord saying that we desired to meet His Holiness before the public audience and speak with him on certain confidential matters. He let us know that he would gladly hear us, but that we should not want to make any agreements with him before the declaration of obedience because in no way would he accept a conditional obedience. We thought that this message was harsh. Still, we met with His Holiness on the following day and assured him of Your Majesty's sincere [devotion] towards His Beatitude. Then, as respectfully as we could, we, at length, presented your petitions concerning the money owed [to you], the reservations of churches, the tithes, the appointments, the granting of benefices, the first requests and several other matters.<sup>5</sup> Afterwards, the pope said much in your praise, declaring that he had great affection for you.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles VII (Valois) (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death. Crowned king in Reims in 1429

<sup>2</sup> Guillaume d'Estouteville (ca. 1412-1483): Appointed cardinal in 1439, and Archbishop of Rouen in 1453

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the pope

<sup>4</sup> The ambassadors of the Holy Roman Emperor, highest-ranking Western prince, were naturally given an honourable reception in Rome

<sup>5</sup> "primariis precibus"

[10] Ad petitiones autem dixit, quia<sup>1</sup> post praestitam oboedientiam responderet<sup>2</sup>, nec dubitare deberemus<sup>3</sup>, quin omnia factura esset sua sanctitas<sup>4</sup>, possibile saltem et honesta. Sed certi esse deberemus, quod ipse propter oboedientiam suscipiendam nullo modo quidquam<sup>5</sup> promitteret. Sciret enim illam sibi debitam<sup>6</sup> esse et mori mallet quam sub conditione recipere. Fuisse quoque apud se regis Aragonum legatos ait et aliorum principum oratores, qui cum pacisci super oboedientia<sup>7</sup> vellent, repulsam habuere. Itaque nollet sua sanctitas {66r} ante praestitam oboedientiam quidquam promittere, sed certa esse deberet imperialis mansuetudo, quia si umquam sedit aliquis in sede Petri imperatoriae majestati favens, ipse<sup>8</sup> ille esset, qui omni studio conari vellet tuae sublimitati complacere.

[11] His ita dictis fuimus admodum anxii, sed cum videremus aliter fieri non posse et, quod scandalum esset, hinc recedere oboedientia non praestita, deliberavimus oboedientiam ipsam praestare ac deinde petitiones prosequi, cum secus fieri non posset.

[12] Tenuit papa post biduum consistorium publicum<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>, in quo sicut de more est, sermonem habuimus et oboedientiam praestitimus. Ibi de laudibus tuis papa multa<sup>11</sup> disseruit, et quoniam de rebus Turcorum mentionem fecimus, juxta<sup>12</sup> conclusionem habitam<sup>13</sup> in dieta<sup>14</sup> coram serenitate tua habita<sup>15</sup>, multum<sup>16</sup> commendavit propositum<sup>17</sup> tuum et nationis<sup>18</sup>, et confirmavit sese omnia facturum, quae ad exterminium Turcorum tendunt.

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

<sup>2</sup> responsurum Y

<sup>3</sup> debemus X

<sup>4</sup> dubitare deberemus ... sanctitas : dubitandum facturam suam sanctitatem Y

<sup>5</sup> quidcumque U

<sup>6</sup> sibi debitam : debitam sibi Z

<sup>7</sup> obedientiam X

<sup>8</sup> que *add.* U

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

<sup>10</sup> consistorium publicum : publicum consistorium V

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

<sup>12</sup> iusta X

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

<sup>14</sup> in dieta *omit.* X

<sup>15</sup> habitam X, Y

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

<sup>17</sup> prepositum Z

<sup>18</sup> et nationis *omit.* X



[10] Concerning the petitions, he said that he would respond after the declaration of obedience and that we should not doubt that His Holiness would do everything [for you], as far as possible and honourable. We should know, however, that he could make no promises before the declaration of obedience he was to receive. For he knew that the obedience was owed to him, and he would rather die than receive it conditionally. He said that also the legates of the King of Aragon<sup>1</sup> as well as ambassadors from other princes had met with him and wanted to negotiate their obedience but were rebuffed. Thus, His Holiness did not want to promise anything before the declaration of obedience, but Your Imperial Mansuetude could be sure that if ever somebody occupied Saint Peter's See who favoured the Imperial Majesty, it was him, and that he would endeavour with all his might to accommodate Your Highness.

[11] His words left us perplexed, but when we realized that it could not be done otherwise and that it would cause a scandal if we left without making the declaration of obedience, we decided to make this declaration and afterwards pursue the matter of the petitions since it could not be done otherwise.

### **3.2. Declaration of obedience**

[12] Two days afterwards, the pope held a public consistory in which we gave the traditional oration and made the declaration of obedience.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, the pope said much in your praise, and since we had spoken on the Turkish matters, on the basis of the decisions made in the diet<sup>3</sup> held in the presence of Your Serenity, he greatly commended yours and the nation's intentions and assured that he would do all he could to bring about the destruction of the Turks.

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<sup>1</sup> Alfonso V

<sup>2</sup> See Piccolomini's oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

<sup>3</sup> The Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1454, see Piccolomini's orations "*In hoc florentissimo*" [23], "*Si mihi*" [24], "*Optasset*" [25], all from 1454

[13] Sequentibus diebus dedimus in scriptis omnes petitiones tuas et iteratis vicibus cum sanctissimo domino nostro fuimus, qui post deliberationem habitam super<sup>1</sup> facto pecuniarum respondit, quod libenter vellet desiderio tuo satisfacere, sed impossibile esset ei<sup>2</sup> nunc quovis modo vel minimam pecuniam mittere, quia veritas esset, quod de suo praedecessore neque unum<sup>3</sup> nummum invenisset, quamvis argentum celatum et pannos et libros et ornamenta domus quamplurima reperisset. Ipse autem ad comprimendum Jacobum Picinum supra centum milia aureorum exposuisset, quae mutuo ex mercatoribus recepisset, et nunc legatis<sup>4</sup> pro sumptibus faciendis<sup>5</sup> non parum argenti traditurus esset, quod adhuc nesciret, unde recipere. Rogabat igitur majestatem tuam, ne sibi imputaret, si modo huic debito pecuniario satisfacere non posset.

[14] De reservationibus ecclesiarum respondit, quod vacantibus ecclesiis et monasteriis tuorum dominiorum indubitanter tibi complaceret. Videret tamen<sup>6</sup> tua serenitas, ne personam indignam nominaret, quia peccatum tuum esset.<sup>7</sup> Ipse autem, etiam si certe sciret se peccare, tibi semper morem gereret. Litteras autem super his dare negabat, apostolicae sedi indecorum esse dicens. Placet sibi tamen ecclesias et monasteria ac praeposituras, pro quibus supplicavimus, apostolicae sedis dispositioni reservare, ut cum vacaverint, ad tuam requisitionem de illis disponere possit.

---

<sup>1</sup> de U

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

<sup>3</sup> minimum X

<sup>4</sup> legatus X

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

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* Y

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

### 3.3. Emperor's petitions

#### 3.3.1. Money owed to the emperor

[13] The following days, we handed over your petitions in writing and met with Our Most Holy Lord several times. After deliberating on the matter of the money [owed to you],<sup>1</sup> he answered that he would gladly satisfy your wish, but that it was absolutely impossible for him to do so now, or even to send just a small amount, for the truth was that he had found not one single coin left by his predecessor, though he had found some worked silver, cloth, books, and furnishings.<sup>2</sup> But he himself had had to spend more than 100,000 golden ducats on subduing Jacopo Piccinino, that he had borrowed from merchants. Moreover, he now had to spend much money for the expenses of the legates, money which he did not yet know from where to get. He, therefore, asked Your Majesty not to blame him if he was unable to honour the debt, now.

#### 3.3.2. Reservations of ecclesiastical offices

[14] Concerning the reservations of episcopal appointments, he would certainly accommodate you when churches and monasteries in your dominions fell vacant.<sup>3</sup> But Your Serenity would have to take care not to nominate unworthy persons since that would be a sin on your part. He himself would always accommodate you even if he knew that he would be sinning.<sup>4</sup> He declined, however, to issue a letter on this matter, saying that it would be unbecoming for the Apostolic See to do so. But he will reserve the churches, monasteries and deaneries, we have petitioned for, to the disposition of the Apostolic See, so that it can dispose of them as you require when they become vacant.

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<sup>1</sup> 25.000 or 18.000 ducats (Voigt, III, p. 162), out of the total sum promised by Pope Eugenius III to the emperor in 1447 in connection with his recognition of the Roman pope and the rejection of the antipope, Felix V (Toews, p. 266)

<sup>2</sup> Pope Nicolaus V had indeed left a very difficult financial situation to his successor, but it defies belief that there would not have been a single coin left. So either Calixtus exaggerated his financial distress, or there might have been some dubious manipulations with the money left by Nicolaus after his death and before the accession of Calixtus

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *Ferner war in jenen Privataudienzen von den hundert Benefizien die Rede, deren Vergabung dem Kaiser in seinen Erblanden reserviert bleiben sollte*

<sup>4</sup> A quite remarkable statement for a pope to an emperor

[15] Super decima nullo pacto visum ei est novas litteras dare, interim quod exactio durat decimarum, quae pro ecclesia defendenda contra Turcos impositae sunt. Promittit tamen<sup>1</sup> illo negotio {66v} expedito omnes litteras opportunas et omnes favores impartiri, quibus tua majestas promissam sibi decimam colligere possit.

[16] De collatione beneficiorum nihil omnino promittere voluit. De nominationibus dixit, quod adhuc non deliberasset gratias expectativas dare, sed cum portam illam aperiret, erga majestatem tuam supra omnes principes liberalis esse vellet. Deliberavit tamen post<sup>2</sup> manus aperire ad gratias. Itaque putamus adhuc aliquid de nominationibus obtinere.

[17] Remissionem annatae propter abbatem sancti Lamberti renitentibus<sup>3</sup> cardinalibus nulla ratione potuimus obtinere, sed domino Ulrico Riedrer<sup>4</sup> concessa est plena remissio.

[18] Supplicatio pro domino Tiberiadensi de confirmatione commendae per me, episcopum Senensem, factae de monasterio Oxiacense<sup>5</sup> signata est, sed expediri litterae nequeunt, quia multis pecuniis opus est propter annatam<sup>6</sup> et minuta servitia.

[19] Super facto praepositi in Berteschaden<sup>7</sup> nihil adhuc potuimus obtinere, quia<sup>8</sup> dominus Saltzburgensis<sup>9</sup> suos hic habet enixissime resistentes, et cardinalis sancti Marci eis assistit. Laboramus tamen<sup>10</sup> adhuc, si possumus<sup>11</sup> aliquid obtinere.

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

<sup>2</sup> postea Z

<sup>3</sup> remitentibus X

<sup>4</sup> Ridrer U

<sup>5</sup> Oxiacensi Z

<sup>6</sup> annata Z

<sup>7</sup> Berthescaden X; Bersteschaden Y

<sup>8</sup> qui X

<sup>9</sup> Salteburgensis X; Salczburgensis Y

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

<sup>11</sup> possumus Z

### 3.3.3. Tithes

[15] Concerning the tithes<sup>1</sup> he considered that there was absolutely no reason to issue new letters letters as long as the present collection of tithes last, levied for the purpose of protecting the Church against the Turks. But when that business is finished, he promises to issue new letters and to grant all the favours making it possible for Your Majesty to collect the tithes you have been promised.

### 3.3.4. Other affairs

[16] Concerning the granting of benefices,<sup>2</sup> he would promise nothing. Concerning the appointments, he said that he not yet decided to grant expectative favours, but when he opened that gate, he would be more generous to Your Majesty than to any other prince. And he did intend to later open up for such favours. So we think that we might still obtain something concerning the appointments.

[17] Because of the opposition of the cardinals, we were completely unable the obtain the remission of annates<sup>3</sup> for the Abbot of Saint Lambrecht,<sup>4</sup> but Lord Ulrich Riederer<sup>5</sup> was given a full full remission.

[18] The petition for his Lordship of Tiberias<sup>6</sup> for confirmation of the grant of the abbey of Ossiach *in commendam*, made by me, Bishop of Siena, has been approved, but the letter cannot be expedited because a great sum of money is needed for the annates and the *minuta servitia*.<sup>7</sup>

[19] Concerning the matter of the Dean of Berchtesgaden,<sup>8</sup> we have been unable to achieve anything as yet because His Lordship of Salzburg<sup>9</sup> has his people here at the curia who oppose the

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *Ebenso wollte er über den Zehnten, der dem Kaiser bei seiner Krönung von dem gesammten Klerus und allen geistlichen Stiftungen des Reiches zu fordern gestattet werden, durchaus keine neuen Bullen geben, so lange die Eintreibung der Türken-Zehnten dauere*

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *In Betreff der Nominationen zu Bisthümern, die Eugen IV dem Kaiser bewilligt, erklärte Calixtus, er habe sich noch nicht entschlossen, Expectanzen zu ertheilen*

<sup>3</sup> Payment for an ecclesiastical benefice, The cardinals' incomes came partly from the annates, and as a group they were therefore not much in favour of remitting the annates to anybody, even if they made exceptions for some influential person like Ulrich Riederer

<sup>4</sup> Benediktinerstift Sankt Lambrecht: Benedictine abbey in Austria

<sup>5</sup> Ulrich Riederer (1406-1460): chancellor and close counsellor of the emperor

<sup>6</sup> Benedikt Siebenhirter (ca. 1415-1458): in 1452 appointed court chaplain (court bishop) of Emperor Friedrich III and made titular archbishop of Tiberias by the pope. In 1454 he received the Abbey of Ossiach *in commendam*

<sup>7</sup> A fee for administrative service at the curia

<sup>8</sup> Not identified

<sup>9</sup> Sigismund I von Volkersdorf: Archbishop of Salzburg 1451-1461

matter strongly and have the support of the Cardinal of San Marco.<sup>1</sup> But we are stilling working on on the matter and may achieve something.

[20] Super primariis precibus pollicitus est papa opportune providere, quemadmodum supplicavimus.

[21] Multa super his rebus et diximus papae et audivimus ab eo, et maxime super re pecuniaria ac decimarum necnon super confirmatione, quam petebamus ecclesiarum ad tuam nominationem conferendarum. Denique super re pecuniaria respondit papa, ne ultra instaremus, quia impossibilem rem peteremus<sup>2</sup> et frustra conaremur de saxo durissimo, ubi non est, oleum extrahere. Sed quia venturus esset cardinalis sancti angeli ad majestatem tuam cum plena potestate super facto decimarum et indulgentiarum, ei committere vellet, ut<sup>3</sup> de pecuniis, quae inde provenient, tuae serenitati aliquam partem tribuat, et - quanta<sup>4</sup> fieri posset – majorem, ita tamen ne scandalum oriatur, atque in hoc voluit nos esse contentos. Et ita **quietantias** sine fructu et cum modico honore reportabimus.

[22] Super decima vero et ecclesiarum promissione obtestatus est nos per viscera domini nostri Jesu Christi, ne ultra instaremus<sup>5</sup>, quia non<sup>6</sup> posset salva conscientia sua, quod peteremus efficere, efficere, asserens se papatum *non in destructionem, sed in aedificationem* recepisse<sup>7</sup>, et quod intentionis suae nihil aliud esse<sup>8</sup> quam universalem ecclesiam reformare, et respiciens caelum quasi cum Deo loquens divinam pietatem deprecatus est, ut se potius de medio auferat<sup>9</sup> quam scandalum aliquod per eum {67r} fieri permittat. Itaque super his duabus rebus nobis omnino silentium imposuit. Speramus tamen<sup>10</sup> aliquas litteras ex sua beatitudine obtinere per quas, si non ut volumus, saltem ut possumus, decimae consulatur, ne penitus ruat.

[23] Alias diversas supplicationes per tuam serenitatem nobis commissas in rotulo quodam praesentavimus suae beatitudini, quae eas episcopo Zamorensi cancellariam regenti examinandas dedit, nec dum facta relatio est, expectamus<sup>11</sup> super illis responsionem.

[24] Haec egimus in hanc usque diem, nec plura obtinere potuimus. Adhibuimus<sup>12</sup> exactam diligentiam, sed nihil profuit. Interea ego, episcopus Senensis, aegrotare coepi propter febres,

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<sup>1</sup> Pietro Barbò (1417-1441): Appointed cardinal by his uncle, Pope Eugenius IV, and elected pope in September 1464, at the death of Pius II

<sup>2</sup> petentes Y

<sup>3</sup> ne X

<sup>4</sup> quantam Y

<sup>5</sup> molesti essemus Y

<sup>6</sup> quia non : non enim Y

<sup>7</sup> accepisse V, X

<sup>8</sup> esset V, X

<sup>9</sup> auferret Z

<sup>10</sup> omit. Y

<sup>11</sup> et add. Z

<sup>12</sup> exhibuimus Y

quas mihi lutea Roma reservavit, et timeo, ne nimis hic detinear. Ego Johannes interim, quae restant agenda, promoveo, nec aliud desiderium nostrum est, quam ut<sup>1</sup> hinc celeriter absolvamur, absolvamur, quo facto alter majestatem tuam, alter ad ecclesiam suam redibit.

[20] Concerning the first petitions<sup>2</sup>, the pope promised to make appropriate provisions, as we requested.

[21] Concerning these matters, we said much to the pope and heard much from him, especially about the pecuniary matter and the tithes as well as about the confirmation of your right of nomination to a number of churches, which we requested. Concerning the pecuniary matter, the pope finally said that we should not insist further since we were requesting something impossible and trying in vain to press oil from a hard rock where there was none. But since the Cardinal of Saint'Angelo<sup>3</sup> was going to Your Majesty with plenary powers in the matter of tithes and indulgences, he would charge him with allocating to Your Serene Majesty a part – and if possible a major part – of the money coming from them, but only in such a way that no scandal might arise. He bade us be content with this. Thus, we must report back to you a discharge of our tasks<sup>4</sup> without results and with little honour.

[22] Concerning the tithes and the promises of churches, the pope implored us – by the heart<sup>5</sup> of Our Lord Jesus Christ – not to insist further since he could not in conscience do what we requested. He declared that he had received the papacy *not for destruction, but for edification*,<sup>6</sup> and that his whole intention was only to reform the Universal Church. And raising his eyes to Heaven, as if speaking directly with God, he implored Divine Piety to remove him rather than to allow any scandal to arise through him. Then he imposed complete silence upon us on these two matters. But we are hoping to obtain some letters from His Beatitude providing for the tithes, maybe not such as we wish, but then at least such as we can obtain, so that this matter will not be a complete failure.

[23] The various other petitions entrusted to us by Your Serenity we wrote down in a document which we presented to His Beatitude, who gave it for examination to the Bishop of Zamora,<sup>7</sup> head of the chancellery. We are not expecting any answer on these matters while his report on them is pending.

[24] This is what we have achieved until now. We have been unable to obtain more. We have shown diligent care but to no avail. In the meantime, I, Bishop of Siena, have fallen sick with a fever caused by the filth of Rome, and I fear that I shall be detained here for some time. In the

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

<sup>2</sup> *Primarii preces. Voigt, III, p. 163: Die "ersten Bitten" des Kaisers schien er indess nicht für ärgerlich zu halten*

<sup>3</sup> Juan Carvajal

<sup>4</sup> "quitantias"

<sup>5</sup> "per viscera"

<sup>6</sup> 2. Corinthians, 10, 8; 13, 10

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Mella (1397-1467): Curial. Bishop of Zamora 1440-1465. Appointed cardinal in 1458

meantime, I, Johann, pursue the remaining matters. Our only wish is to finish here quickly, and then one of us will return to Your Majesty, and the other to his Church.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini had been released from his service to the emperor, likely so that he could pursue his ecclesiastical career in Rome, including his obtaining the cardinalate, which would also be in the emperor's interest



[25] Verum quia per hos dies dominus Treverensis aliqua scripta misit papae super facto Turchorum et inter alia conqueritur, quod ad principes electores circa Rhenum nihil significatum sit aut a majestate tua aut a sanctissimo domino nostro post dietam novae civitatis, utile nobis videtur tuam serenitatem non solum illis, sed etiam aliis<sup>1</sup> Germaniae principibus scribere de missione nostra<sup>2</sup> ad summum pontificem et exhortatione facta super negotio Turcorum in Venetiis, in Ferraria, in Florentia, in Senis et hic in<sup>3</sup> Roma<sup>4</sup> et de responsonibus ubique receptis, et quomodo sanctissimus dominus noster classem indubitatam promittit et legatos designavit, qui mox venturi sunt adhortando eosdem principes, ut se disponant, ne veniente tempore promisso cum damno Christianitatis et totius Germanicae nationis dedecore deficiant. Quod si nequeant praescriptum sibi gentium numerum conducere, saltem quem<sup>5</sup> possunt praeparent<sup>6</sup> et consulant suo et nationis honori.

[26] Haec nobis impraesentiarum consulta esse videntur. Alia non occurrunt scriptura digna. Recommendamus<sup>7</sup> nos pietati tuae<sup>8</sup>, cui felicitatem et gloriam exoptamus.

Datum Romae ipsa die nativitatis beatissimae<sup>9</sup> virginis Mariae MCCCCLV<sup>10</sup>.

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Romae Z

<sup>5</sup> que Z

<sup>6</sup> prepararent Z

<sup>7</sup> commendamus X, Y

<sup>8</sup> pietati tuae : tuae pietati U

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

<sup>10</sup> *omit. X*; Finis. Laus Deo Z

#### **4. Letter of the Archbishop of Trier to the pope**

[25] Some days ago, His Lordship of Trier sent a message to the pope concerning the Turkish matter. Among other things, he complained that after the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, the prince-electors of the Rhine region have had no information either from Your Majesty or from Our Most Holy Lord. We recommend that Your Serene Majesty write not only to them but to all the princes of Germany concerning our mission to the Supreme Pontiff and the exhortations on the Turkish matter made in Venice, Ferrara, Florence, Siena, and here in Rome and the responses received everywhere. Moreover, you should inform them how Our Most Holy Lord has made a sure promise of a fleet and appointed legates who will soon come and exhort the same princes to make arrangements so that at the appointed time they do not fail their promises – to the detriment of Christianity and the shame of the whole German nation. If they cannot provide the assigned number of men, then they should at least marshal as many as possible and thus defend their own and the nation's honour.

#### **5. Conclusion**

[26] This is what we can inform you about at present. There are no other matters worth writing. We recommend ourselves to Your Piety, wishing you happiness and glory.

Given in Rome on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary 1455.