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Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447 by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 3rd preliminary version. (Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; 1)

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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(Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; 1)

Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447 by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

2nd version

2020

Abstract

In January 1447, Enea Silvio Piccolomini arrived in Rome on a mission from Emperor Friedrich III to the ailing Pope Eugenius IV. The mission was to declare the obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the pope, thus ending the state of German neutrality between the pope and the rump council of Basel. This council had been dissolved by the pope in 1438, but it continued to function as a schismatic council and even elected an antipope, Felix V. Piccolomini was accompanied by other ambassadors from German princes and prelates with the same purpose. The Germans posed certain conditions to be met by the Apostolic See before obedience could be declared: holding a new general council, recognizing the authority of the general councils, removing the financial and legal burdens on the German Nation, and lifting the excommunication of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. The mission was successful, but the pope did not himself enjoy the fruits of this victory for the Papacy since he died some weeks later. The German ambassadors remained in Rome to participate in the funeral of Pope Eugenius and the coronation of the new pope, Nicolaus V. After his return to Austria, Piccolomini wrote a report to the emperor on the mission to Rome.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Nicolaus V; Pope Nicholas V; Papa Niccolò V; Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); 1447; 15th century; King Alfonso V (Aragon); Obedience to the pope; History of diplomacy; Renaissance diplomacy; Diplomatic reports

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General foreword to *Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions by Enea Silvio Piccolomini*

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a prolific and versatile author who mastered all the genres of Renaissance humanist literature.[1] During the last generations, most of the works have been edited critically, but the collected letters of Piccolomini still await a critical edition, since Wolkan's edition from 1909-1918 only covers – and incompletely so – the period before 1456 and moreover is not a proper critical edition by modern standards. (This is not meant to criticize Wolkan's edition which observed the editorial norms of his age, and was of immense use to the following generations of scholars).

A group of important Piccolomini texts is formed by the reports of five of his diplomatic mission, which have not – to the mind of the present editor – been given sufficient attention in modern scholarship, partly due to the absence of translations.[2] Together they form a rich source on important events in the middle of the 15th century and the history of Renaissance diplomacy. I have therefore undertaken to publish a critical edition with a parallel translation into English of five such reports, using the model developed for my edition of Piccolomini's orations.[3] Some of these reports were included in the "official" collection of Piccolomini's letters written when he was a bishop *(in episcopatu),* others were transmitted as part of collective manuscripts as were most of his works.

They all deal with important diplomatic missions for the emperor, undertaken by Piccolomini. Three of them are proper diplomatic reports to the ambassador's master, whereas two of them, though probably based on some kind of diplomatic report, transcend the format of that genre, one of them being the report on the Diet of Regensburg 1454 ("epistola, ne dicam historiam"), and another the report on his mission to Bohemia in 1451, which came to include a political dialogue as well as a verbatim debate of a theological nature. My critical edition of the reports included in Piccolomini's letters *(in episcopatu)* may, in time, be overtaken by a critical edition of Piccolomini's collected letters, but until then it may usefully serve scholars of various disciplines, interested in the matters at issue.

A word of caution: my project does not comprise an in-depth study of Piccolomini's diplomatic activity, nor the individual diplomatic missions or reports edited here.

I shall be grateful to all readers for suggestions for improving the text.

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg, 8 May 2020

[1] For a brief introduction to Piccolomini's literary work, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020 / I, sect. 1.2

[2] Except his report to the emperor on a mission to Rome in 1447, published in *Reject*

[3] Pius II: *Collected*

Table of volumes in *Reports on Five Diplomatic Missions by Enea Silvio Piccolomini*

1. Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447
2. Report on an Imperial Mission to Milan 1447
3. Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia 1451
4. Report on an Imperial Mission to Regensburg 1454 (History of the Diet of Regensburg)
5. Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1455. With Indices

Foreword to the present volume

The present text is a diplomatic report from an ambassador, Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini, imperial counsellor and top diplomat, to his imperial master, Emperor Friedrich III.

It has been edited several times, but not in a proper critical form. The latest edition is that of Wolkan from 1916, but that edition is based on just one manuscript, which only represents one of the versions of the text from Piccolomini's hand, and which - as all manuscripts - contains a cumulated number of scribal errors that Wolkan was not able to amend. I have therefore found it worthwhile to make a proper critical edition of the text, based on six manuscripts and the earlier edition by Baluze.

The text has been published once in an English translation (2006) by Izbicki, Christianson and Krey, thus making it available to a broader audience for the first time. However, the translation was based only on the text as edited by Wolkan, with the problems mentioned above. I have therefore retranslated the text, taking the opportunity to correct some mistakes in the previous translation.

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg
8 May 2020

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Appendix: Principles of edition and translation

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context[1] [2]

The final break between Pope Eugenius IV and the council in Basel occurred in January 1438 when the pope translated the council to Ferrara, thereby effectively dissolving the one in Basel. In Ferrara, he opened his "own" council, which he later transferred to Florence.

In the latter council participated the pope himself, the Byzantine Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the cardinals, and many Greek and Latin prelates and theologians. It succeeded in effecting a reunion between the Latin and Greek Churches, and though that reunion turned out to be shortlived, it greatly improved the status of the Papacy and the pope himself.

The council in Basel went on to suspend and later to depose the pope, and in 1439 it elected an antipope, Felix V, thus creating a new schism in the Church only two decades after the previous council[3] had ended the Great Western Schism, with three popes.[4]

When Emperor Sigismund[5] died in December 1437, the German prince-electors assembled in Frankfurt to elect the new emperor.[6] In this context, they also dealt with the situation in the Church, and on 17 March 1438, they declared their official neutrality in the church conflict.[7] This state of neutrality received the adhesion of the other German princes, bishops, and the new emperor, Albrecht II.

In March 1439, a congress of representatives of the German princes and archbishops and of one foreign king gathered in Mainz. There the German princes and prelates issued a solemn Acceptation of 26 decrees of the Council of Basel, although with some modifications.[8] In doing so, they followed the example of France where King Charles VII had decreed the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.[9] Emperor Albrecht adhered to the Acceptation, but without confirming it explicitly. It therefore did not have the full power of law and *remained little more than a statement of expectations.*[10] Among the Basilean decrees not recognized by the Germans was the deposition of Pope Eugenius.

After 1439, the European powers and national churches gradually came to recognize Pope Eugenius as the legitimate pope and no longer recognized the council in Basel. In this context, German

[1] CO, I, 16-17 (Meserve, I, 70-77); HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80); Piccolomini: *De Europa*, bk. 49 (Brown, pp. 222-231); Rainaldus, ad ann. 1447; Ady, 95-97; Boulting, pp. 169-170; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, 255-261; Gill, pp. 162-164; Koller, pp. 106-110; Mitchell, pp. 101-102; O'Brien, pp. 63 ff; Paparelli, pp. 118-119; Pastor, I, pp. 260-262; Stolff, p. 204; Voigt, II, pp. 381-411

[2] This section is based on the introduction to my edition of Piccolomini's oration *"Non habet me dubium"* (1447)

[3] The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418

[4] Gregorius XII, Benedictus XIII, Johannes XXIII,

[5] Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Bohemia and Roman Emperor

[6] Albrecht V Habsburg (1397-1439): Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Roman Emperor as Albrecht II (uncrowned)

[7] Stieber, p. 137

[8] Stieber, p. 161

[9] 1438

[10] Stieber, p. 169

neutrality became less and less tenable. It did, however, entail considerable advantages for the German princes and prelates who did not strictly observe the neutrality but ably played the papal or the conciliar card to their own advantage.

After the death of Emperor Albrecht in 1439, Friederich III,[1] the new emperor, initially adhered to the German neutrality. However, from 1443 the imperial court gradually came to favour the papal cause, and through a rather convoluted course of negotiations and diets a basis was created for German recognition of the pope. The pope himself was not very helpful: at one point[2] he even excommunicated two imperial electors, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, causing absolute fury in Germany.

As a secretary in the imperial chancery and a protégé and friend of Kaspar Schlick, the powerful imperial chancellor, Piccolomini came to be used in the process of negotiations, at both the papal court in Rome[3] and various German diets, and eventually he became the principal imperial negotiator in this whole matter.

Thus he played a crucial role at the Diet of Frankfurt, which assembled on 14 September 1446. On behalf of the emperor, he managed to formulate a compromise formula that did not completely satisfy the conditions either of the electors or the pope. Nonetheless, it was accepted by the various parties at the diet, albeit not without some acerbity on the part of the two deposed electors and their supporters. Thus the road was opened to German recognition of the pope if he would agree to the conditions contained in the compromise formula.[4]

Afterwards, it was decided to send an embassy from the emperor and the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg as well as from other German princes and prelates to Rome to negotiate the matter and, in the case of success, to declare the obedience of the German Nation to Pope Eugenius.[5]

The German envoys arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447.[6] The imperial embassy was headed by Piccolomini.

Some years later, in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* of 1450, Piccolomini wrote about the events:

> *They* [the German ambassadors] *met in Siena to enter Rome together and were received with great honour. All the prelates turned out. They were ushered to the pope and received a hearing. Aeneas gave an oration on behalf of all. He exhorted that there should be peace. He told the pope the mind of the nation. He asked for restitution of the deposed prelates. He offered*

[1] Friederich III Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria, elected emperor in 1440. Officially King of the Romans until his imperial coronation in Rome in 1452

[2] 21 January 1446

[3] Where he became reconciled with Pope Eugenius on the first of his three imperial missions to that pope, in March 1445

[4] Stieber, pp. 292-293

[5] Stieber, p. 297

[6] Pastor, I, p. 261

obedience. The pope was benign. He offered thanks to the king of the Romans, who had handled ecclesiastical affairs faithfully, and commended the prelates and princes who had sent envoys. He said he wanted to deliberate with his brothers and respond later.[1]

And in 1453, he wrote, in his Historia Austrialis (1. Version):

Non tamen inter hec Federicus res ecclesie neglexit, sed Eneam atque Procopium equitem Bohemum ad Eugenium misit hisque facultatem dedit, si Eugenius notulas Francfordie conclusas acceptaret, ut nomine suo obedientiam ei restituerent. Qui cum Senas venissent in festo nativitatis, Maguntini et aliorum principum legatos ex condicto illic offenderunt atque cum his Romam profecti sunt, ubi maximo cum honore recepti fuerunt Eugenio obviam mittente omnes curiae prelatos preter cardinales. Iohannes de Lysura iam mutatus erat et in legationem Maguntini venit. Cum venissent in conspectum Eugenii, Eneas orationem habuit nomine omnium, que et pape et cardinalibus gratissima fuit.[2]

In his *De Europa* from 1458, he had this comment on the events:

Before he [Eugenius IV] *passed away, however, the Germans, who, after observing the rivalry of the two popes, had maintained a kind of neutrality and refused to obey either of them, dispatched envoys to Rome – including me, as an emissary of Emperor Frederick – and restored their allegiance to Eugenius when he was close to death.*[3]

Even later, in his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Pius wrote:

The emperor's envoys found him [Johann Lysura] *at Siena with the representatives of many other princes, and they all proceeded together to Rome. They were met at the first milestone by retainers of the pope and the cardinals and all the prelates of the Curia, who escorted them into the city like conquering heroes returning home. Two days later they were summoned to a secret consistory before Eugenius where Aeneas acted as the spokesman for the group; pope and cardinals alike greeted his speech with remarkable applause.*[4] [5]

The content of Piccolomini's oration were the firm conditions of the German princes for giving up their neutrality, but they were presented with all his consummate oratorical and diplomatic skills.[6]

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[1] Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarii.* Translation quoted from Reject, pp. 378-379

[2] Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis,* 1. Version (Knödler, pp. 34-35)

[3] Piccolomini: *De Europa,* 58, 231 (Brown, p. 261)

[4] CO, I, 16 (Meserve, I, pp. 70-71)

[5] Campano and Platina, Pius' contemporary biographers, barely mention the matter. Campano wrote: *Reliquiis contentionum Germanicarum tertia demum legatione sublatis, exceptus est Romae ob operam prospere navatam omnium ordinum supplicationibus* (Zimolo, p. 15). And Platina: *Quo facto ab imperatore ad Eugenium tertio missus, Germaniam Ecclesie Romane obtemperaturam sacramento ostendit* (Zimolo, p. 101)

[6] In a letter to Siena of 23 January 1947, the abbot of San Galgano wrote about the oration*: Li ambasciadori de Re de Romani e degli electori ed altri principi oltramontani sono qua come per altra rendi avisate le M.S.V. Espose la ambasciata in nome di tucti gli alteri in concistorio segreto lo eloquentissimo huomo poeta misser Enea Picogliuomini ciptadino vestro; espose in*

Reinhardt has this comment: *Nur zwei Jahre nach seiner Abschwörung hielt der Meisterrhetoriker Piccolomini am selben Ort und vor demselben Publikum erneut eine zutiefts doppeldeutige Rede. Im Namen der deutschen Gesandtschaft musste er Anliegen rechtfertigen, denen er bei seiner Versöhnung mit Eugen IV. eine Absage erteilt hatte.*[1] This criticism of duplicity appears to be misplaced: even if Piccolomini presented the German message most diplomatically, he kept strictly to the compromise which he had himself formulated at the preceeding Diet in Frankfurt,[2] and moreover his draft of the oration had been carefully reviewed beforehand with all the members of the embassy. Piccolomini's mission was evidently not to serve the particular interests of the German prince electors, but to further the ecclesiastical policies of the emperor. These included the alliance between empire and papacy, which was also the goal of his two masters, the emperor, whose secretary he was, and the pope, whose secretary he was, too, and quite officially so.[3]

The oration initiated a month of tough negotiating and bargaining while the pope took to his bed with an illness that turned out to be terminal. The Germans discussed whether they should suspend negotiations, awaiting the accession of the new pope. But Piccolomini persuaded them to proceed, supported by the representative of the Archbishop of Mainz, who said that the declaration of obedience should be made *even if Eugene could only move just one finger*.[4]

When an agreement with the cardinals had been reached, the German ambassadors were conducted to the sick-chamber of the pope, where they made the declaration of obedience directly to the pope, which was afterwards repeated in a public consistory. Piccolomini, as pope Pius, wrote about this event in his *Commentarii*:

> *Next, the legates were all admitted to his chamber, where they made their declaration of obedience to him as he lay in his bed. He immediately afterwards put the apostolic bulls into Aeneas' hands. Straight afterwards, the ceremony [of obedience] was repeated in a public consistory, with the cardinals presiding, and the mandates from the emperor and the other princes were read aloud.*[5]

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tal modo et con tanto ornate la ambasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingengno e la prudentia sua et non dubito che in breve saranno in qualche parte remunerate le virtu sue mediante le quali honore e gloria ne conseguita la cipta vestra. Etsi in somma adimando quarto cose ciascuna piu exorbitante e odiosa alla S.ta di N.S. e generalmente a tucto collegio de cardenali e per la mala conditione del tempo sara necessario che nella maggior parte sieno exalditi per schifare magiori pericoli e scandali che advenerebbono se cosi non si facesse. (Pastor, I, pp. 652-653). Translation in Ady, pp. 95-96. The abbot could not know that his predictions about the future career of Piccolomini were so true that three years later he would himself be passed over as new bishop of Siena in favour of … Piccolomini! See CO, I, 20 (Meserve, I, pp. 96-97); Paparelli, p. 132

[1] Reinhardt, p. 136

[2] See Voigt, II, p. 382

[3] Piccolomini's double function as imperial and papal official would be reinforced during the following years when he was at the same time official counsellor and diplomat of the emperor and papal nuncio to Central Europe. Such double functions were not unheard of at that time

[4] Reject, p. 253

[5] CO, I, 16

The pope died some weeks later, and it fell to the new pope, Nicolaus V, to bring the whole matter to a happy conclusion through the Concordat of Vienna of 1447, which settled German church affairs and relations between Rome and Germany. However, succeedings popes and the papal curia tended to undermine the terms of the concordat, and the whole issue of the "burdens on the German nation" would continue to poison relations between Germany and the Papacy until it found its final solution about 70 years later, at the Reformation. In a historical perspective, this issue was the most critical in 1447, and the failure of the Papacy (and Piccolomini) to understand its importance, then and later, and to initiate much-needed reforms would prove to be a fatal mistake.

2. Themes

2.1. Restoring German obedience to the Holy See

2.1.1. German conditions

The negotiations between the German ambassadors and the cardinals were aimed at an agreement that would serve as a basis for the German recognition of the Roman Papacy and the repudiation of the rump council in Basel and its antipope Felix V.

The four main conditions had been formulated by the German side at the diet in Frankfurt in September 1444. They were expressed formally by Piccolomini in his opening oration to the pope, the *"Non habet me dubium".* They were:

- *to hold a new general council to settle church affairs and carry out much-needed reforms,*
- *to recognize the authority of the general councils,*
- *to remove the financial and other burdens on the German nation, and*
- *to lift the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne.*

Concerning the convocation of a new council, Piccolomini said:

> *A council is requested because there are many things in urgent need of reform, both in the laity and in the clergy, and it is necessary to take action to remove any cause for conflict in the Church.* [Sect. 18]

Church reform had been somewhat neglected by the Council of Basel, too busy fighting the pope, and there was general agreement on the need for such reform. However, everybody knew that another council would certainly not be palatable to the Apostolic See. After all, the annoying habit of 15th century councils to depose the pope and deprive him of his incomes was not a greatly motivating factor for the popes. The imperial court might no longer be very interested, either, and it was probably felt that if this whole matter was dealt with tactfully, it was not a key issue. The pope would issue a general acceptance of the idea, hedging it, however, with conditions that could not be fulfilled, for example the unanimous acceptance of the date and location of the council by the European princes. As for the princes, they had seen how the Council of Basel slipped out of their control and even became the breeding place for certain democratic ideas and practices which they would not like much. So, though they maintained the idea of a council, as a permanent threat against the Papacy brandished by individual kings in their conflicts with a reigning pope, they indeed tolerated that it took two generations more before a pope summoned a new council[1] – in Rome, and firmly under papal control.[2]

Concerning papal recognition of the authority of the general councils, Piccolomini said:

> *… in Frankfurt, your orators hinted at an ominous concept of the authority of the councils that was very painful to the people. This should now be completely eradicated by a letter from you. Your predecessors, whom you not only follow but whom you equal and even surpass in good deeds, used to silence the audacity of evil people by making a public statement concerning their faith. It is not a new or unusual thing for the Roman popes to send a declaration of the purity of their faith to the Roman kings. Blessed Gregory, whose holy life matched his great authority, declares that like the four gospels he accepts and reveres four councils. We do not ask for such far-reaching and grand statements from you, but only what we mentioned before, and which we do not doubt that we shall receive from the Holy See.* [Sect. 19]

The Papacy would simply have to issue some satisfactory recognition of the authority of the general councils. How it would be expressed was left to skillful negotiators on both sides, but there would be no compromise on the basic principle. It must be kept in mind, however, that the popes were not against general councils, but against conciliarism, which would extend the powers of the council in Church government to a degree unacceptable to the popes, including appeals from a reigning pope to the next council. Even Piccolomini himself, as pope, would recognize that under certain conditions, e.g., a heretical pope, the general council was above the pope, and the line of popes to which Eugenius V and Pius II himself and all later popes belonged was established by the Council of Konstanz in 1417, deposing three concurrent popes and electing a new one in their place, Martinus V.

Concerning the burdens on the German nation, Piccolomini said:

[1] In clear defiance of the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Basel on the holding of general councils every ten years

[2] The Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512–1517) with Church reform as its main agenda

> *We now have to speak about the burdens. May Your Holiness listen benevolently and note the nation's moderation. The burdens in question are of two kinds: some have been removed by decrees of the Council of Basel, others need the assistance of Your Holiness. What has been abolished by the conciliar decrees are: the excessive [use of] reservations, the heavy annates, the frequent appeal of legal cases to the Roman Curia, and other procedures of this kind that had completely voided the ordinary jurisdiction. Though these matters had seemed very grave to the nation long before you were called to the height of the Supreme Apostolate, the nation did not on its own authority throw off the yoke - as the ten tribes did to Roboam, son of Solomon. Instead, it awaited the decisions of the Council of Basel, whose decrees it accepted, though with a number of modifications, and [only afterward] it used these decrees. So that the nation may be free of this burden hereafter, it asks for your permission to apply these decrees in the future. You will observe the moderation in this request.* [Sect. 20]

The issue of leaving the actual possessors of ecclesiastical offices and benefices in place would be dealt with smoothly.

Concerning the reinstatement of the two archbishops and imperial electors of Cologne and Trier, the German position was not negotiable, and Eugenius' pragmatic successor, Nicolaus V, had no difficulty in settling the matter gracefully.

2.1.2. Roman counterconditions

The Roman conditions for an agreement were succinctly formulated by Piccolomini in his report:

> *To achieve this, we had to promise four things, which were, however, compatible with our instructions. The first was that after being informed that the declaration [of obedience] had been made in Rome, His Serene Highness would as soon as convenient make a new, solemn declaration and command the princes and cities to act accordingly. The second was that he should order the legate to be received with the customary honours. The third was that the City of Basel should be ordered to revoke the safeconduct to those who were staying there under the name of a council. The fourth was that His Serene Highness would act not only as a mediator but also as an active helper with regard to the compensation to be made to the Apostolic See*. [20]

After much negotiation and exertion of diplomatic skill, the two parties eventually reached an agreement, respecting the four conditions posed by each party.

2.2. Declaration of German obedience to the Roman pope

In his report, Piccolomini described the event in this way: the ambassadors

> *were taken to the pope, lying in an inner chamber. We looked upon him in awe as one of the holy Fathers, showed our respect, and kissed his hand. The man had great dignity and a majestic presence. His face was that of a pope. When he saw us, he addressed us benignly and bade us speak. Then, in few words, we declared obedience to His Holiness and having received the letter from his hand, we gave it to the [ambassadors] from Mainz, for we deferred often and much to them in order to bring the matter to a conclusion. The [ambassadors] from the Palatinate and Saxony made courteous excuses that they could not join the declaration of obedience: their princes had understood that the future declaration would be made not in Rome but in Nürnberg and therefore had not given them mandate to declare obedience. But they would approve of what was done in Rome, and the ambassadors did not doubt that they would make the declaration in Nürnberg and conform to His Royal Majesty and the others. (Afterward they repeated this statement in the public consistory.) The pope thanked God and dismissed us, crying, with a blessing. For who could keep back his tears seeing this venerable and majestic Father succumbing to illness.* [Sect. 24]

The text of the declaration itself is not extant, but it would probably be close in the substance to the formula used by Piccolomini himself eight years later when he, on behalf of the emperor, declared obedience to Pope Calixtus III[1]:

> *Nos igitur jussioni parentes ejus nomine, qui sacro Romano imperio praesidet, sanctitatem tuam tamquam domini nostri Jesu Christi locumtenentem in terris, ac magistram et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus; te certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te pastorem dominici gregis, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem salutaris vitae, te clavigerum regni caelestis profitemur, tibique omnem reverentiam et oboedientiam exhibemus, quam Romanorum imperatores praedecessoribus tuis canonice intrantibus praestare comperti sunt, sive jure, sive consuetudine suadente.* [Sect. 14.]
>
> *(Therefore, obeying the command given to us, we recognize, in the name of the ruler of the Roman Empire, Your Holiness as the vicar on earth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and as the teacher and leader of Universal Church. We acknowledge you to be the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, the pastor of the Lord's flock, the true interpreter of the holy gospels, the teacher of moral life, the bearer of the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, and we show you the reverence and obedience which the Roman emperors are known to have offered to your canonically elected predecessors, as bidden both by law and by custom.)*

[1] In the oration *"Solent plerique"* (1455)

2.3. Death of Eugenius IV

The death of Eugenius describes the good death of a humble and pious, but resilient pope. Piccolomini does not fail to mention that even on his deathbed the pope would not recall a banished cardinal, though he claimed it was better for the cardinals themselves if he stayed in exile. The pope's address to the cardinals is known only through the text written by Piccolomini (as a fictive oration), but in substance it was most likely based on information he had from friends in the college of cardinals:

> *Later, when Eugenius' health became desperate, the Archbishop of Florence, thought to be a good man by all, began to administer extreme unction to him, but then the pope said: "Why do you anoint me? Do you think that I do not know the time? I am still strong enough. When the time comes, I will let you know. But stop for now." The fearless Father fought against death, and for a long time the outcome of the battle was uncertain as was the opinion of the physicians. When he heard it, King Alfonso of Aragon said: "No wonder that Eugenius fought with Count Francesco, the Colonna, me, and the whole of Italy, since he dared to fight even with Death." He did not succumb easily, but when the sure signs of death appeared, and the cardinals had been summoned, he addressed them in this way: "My time and my day has now arrived, venerable and beloved Brethren. I must die, and I make no complaints about the laws of nature. I have lived long and been honoured. I wish I had fulfilled my office, but God looks at the will and not the actions. I did hope for the papacy to come to me, but I did not campaign for it. Many misfortunes occurred while We were in charge of the Apostolic See, but We believe that this did not make us less dear to God, for whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, he chastiseth. And he does not reject what is done badly by men struggling with a shifting fortune: his reasons are hidden and no human curiosity can penetrate them. Whatever happened before, it is a very great consolation to Us to see the Church reunited before We close Our eyes. This We attribute to Our son Friedrich, King of the Romans, to Our brother Archbishop Dietrich, and to Our beloved son the Margrave of Brandenburg. Since Our time is now running out, and I shall be with you only for a little while more, and since I am being summoned before the judge, the king and father, I want first to make my testament: I leave you the testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who when he was about to pass from this world to the Father said: My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you. I made all of you cardinals except one, and him I treated like a son. I have loved you all, and you are my brothers. I beg of you, sweet [brothers], to preserve the bond of peace. Love one another. Let there be no divisions among you. Fulfil the law of Christ and bear ye one another's burdens. The Apostolic See will soon be vacant. You know what kind of man this See requires. Choose a successor who surpasses me in learning and character. Let no affection lead you astray. Be concerned not about your private interests, but about the public. If you heed me, you will rather agree on choosing an average man, than disagree on choosing an outstanding. Where there is peace, there is the spirit of God. A short time ago We have effected [Church] union, but we have not yet torn up the roots of schism. Take care that it does not sprout forth and germinate and provide the tinder for a new schism. The Church is safe if you are united, and miserable if you are divided. But We say this to your*

prudent selves not out of necessity, but as a father, for in your wisdom you know what befits the Church and your dignity. But, so that you shall not get into a dispute about the funeral when I am dead, you must only do as much as is written in the books on papal ceremonies: nobody must do more nor embellish my funeral rites. Let there be no pomp nor vainglory in the burial. I should like to buried in a humble place near Eugenius III. If anybody hinders this, let him be anathema." He drew tears from all, but when several of them pressed for the recall of the Cardinal of Capua from exile, they did not obtain it, what many interpreted in the worst way, claiming it to be absurd that the Roman Pontiff nursed his hatred even in his last hours. But all more easily interpret something in the bad sense than in the good. There was no hatred in the pontiff, who had the power of killing this man but spared him. "But," he said, " you know not what you ask. It is better for you to be missing him and for him to be in exile." After that, the Archbishop of Florence anointed Eugenius. Having spent all his life forces on the See of Saint Peter, he gave up his unvanquished and noble spirit. His embalmed body was exhibited to the people for a whole day, and afterward it was buried in Saint Peter's in the Vatican next to Eugenius III, as he had requested. [Sect. 36-38]

2.4. Election of Pope Nicolaus V

As Piccolomini did not participate in the conclave, his remarkable account is not an eye-witness account, but is based on information he had from his cardinal friends:

When the cardinals entered the conclave, the common opinion was that Prospero Colonna would become Supreme Pontiff. However, a Roman proverb says that "The one who enters the conclave as a pope, leaves it as a cardinal." That is what happened to him. But this magnanimous man of noble soul was able to disregard the supreme pontificate: he was not elated by hope, nor dejected by lack of it. His nobility, character, and learning made him worthy of the papacy, and the very fact that he was able to disregard it, made him even more worthy of it. During the papal election, the Cardinal of Aquileia and the Cardinal of Thérouanne and several others were in his favour. The Vicechancellor and the Cardinal of Taranto wanted anyone but him. There had been quarrels and disputes in the City. Two ballots were reportedly held. On the first one, the Cardinal of Colonna received ten votes, the Cardinal of Fermo eight, he who is now pope five, and others received other numbers of votes. The Cardinal of Portugal and the Cardinal of San Paolo got more votes than the Cardinal of Bologna, but no one got enough votes. On the same day, which was Sunday, there were various discussions between the cardinals: some favoured the Cardinal of Colonna, some opposed him with all their might. He was prepared for both eventualities. On Monday, they proceeded to the second ballot. Many from outside the college were nominated, as the Archbishop of Benevento and the Archbishop of Florence, and many called for the corrector and Nikolaus von Kues. But Cardinal Colonna surpassed them all, who on that day obtained 10 votes. They say that the Cardinal of Bologna only got three. When the Cardinal of Thérouanne saw that Prospero was getting very close to the papacy, he said: "Most Reverend Fathers, why

are we wasting time? Nothing is more dangerous to the Church than our hesitation. The City is unstable, the King of Aragon is close to the walls, Amédée of Savoy is plotting against us, Count Francesco is our enemy, and here, in this place, we suffer many discomforts. So why don´t we elect the pope quickly? Here we have Cardinal Colonna, an angel of God, a gentle lamb. Why don´t we elect him pope? He already has 10 votes and only lacks two. Why don't you stand up and give him your vote, too? Then the thing is done. If one first accedes, the second one will not be lacking." But they stayed immobile. Then the Cardinal of Bologna, lest further delay should harm the Church, stood up and would accede to Cardinal Colonna. But the Cardinal of Taranto, fearing what would happen if Bologna acceded, said: "Wait a little, Bologna. Blind is the counsel of those who are in a hurry. We are dealing with a great matter. Nothing is done late that is done well. Let us consider the matter more deeply. We are not electing the head of a village, but the ruler of the whole Earth, who will close and open Heaven, who will bind and loosen, another God on Earth. Now there is need for deep inquiry and counsel. You see too little, if you look quickly." Then the Cardinal of Aquileia said: "All you say, Taranto, aims at keeping Colonna from becoming pope. If a pope is made according to your wish, you will not criticize the speed. A long discussion is preferred by those who are against, not those who are for. So, tell us – I beg – whom do you want as pope?" He replied: "I would like the Cardinal of Bologna and him I nominate. "I want him, too," Aquileia said. Then Thérouanne acceded, and so did others. Quickly they reached 11 votes. Then the Cardinal of San Sisto said: "And I, Thomas, make you pope, for today we celebrate the vigil of Saint Thomas. Rapidly all the others approved what was done. Bologna for a long time excused himself, but in vain, declaring that he was not perfect, but in the end he gave in to the prayers of the cardinals, donned the papal robes, and took the name of Nicolaus V out of reverence for his saintly master and teacher, Cardinal Niccolò of Santa Croce. [Sect. 48-50]

2.5. Coronation of Pope Nicolaus V

Piccolomini's report on the coronation of Nicolaus V comprised both the coronation in Saint Peter's Church and the ritual taking possession *(posseso)* of the Lateran Church:

When the day for the coronation came, all the barons of the City were present. The surrounding cities sent legates, and many came on their own. An immense multitude flowed in for the spectacle. The citizens adorned and covered the streets, where the pope would pass, with drapes. The ceremonies began in the early morning. The cross was carried before the pontiff by Enea Piccolomini, who had been received into the order of subdeacons. The epistle was sung by one of the officials in Latin and by another in Greek, whereas the gospel was sung in Latin by the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo and in Greek by an abbot.[1] *The mass was celebrated by the*

[1] Both the epistle and the gospel were sung in Greek by abbot Vitali from Grottaferrata (Pastor, I (2. Ed., 1955), p. 394

Supreme Pontiff himself. He was offered water three times, the first time by the ambassador of Cyprus, the second time by the ambassador of the King of Aragon, and the third time by the imperial ambassador, the Knight Prokop. There the cardinals and all the prelates made the oath of obedience to the pope. Immediately upon his arrival at the church, the canons did the same, before the gate. He received the acclamations by the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul: "[Long] life to Nicolaus V, made Supreme Pontiff and universal pope by God." The litanies were read by Cardinal Colonna and for each saint they replied in acclamation: Tu illum adjuva. Those who sang the acclamations were the advocates, the auditors, the secretaries, the acolytes, and the subdeacons. (Similar acclamations were made in the Lateran Church.) After the mass, they went to the platform raised above the first steps before the vestibule of the temple. The pope ascended the platform, only accompanied by the cardinals and Enea with the cross and two masters of ceremonies. There, once again, the cardinals made the oath of obedience, and then the first deacon, Cardinal Colonna, placed the crown on the holy head while the whole people cried Kyrie Eleison.

After that, the prelates and barons mounted their horses. The horses of abbots, bishops, and cardinals were caparisoned in white. Three banners and a parasol were carried before the pope. The body of Christ was carried before the procession, surrounded by many candles. The pontiff held a golden rose in his left hand, using his right to bless the people. His horse was led in turn by Prokop, the Aragonese, and the barons. At Monte Giordano, the Jews presented their Law to the pontiff who did not condemn it, but only its interpreters. Then they proceeded to San Giovanni where many ceremonies were performed. Since they were the last ones, the prelates and ambassadors were given money: the cardinals two silver pieces and one gold piece each, and the others one silver piece and one gold piece each. This money compensated for a long fast and a long strenuous day, and it was even more welcome because it meant the end of the labours. By the Lateran, there is a venerable palace and a splendid monastic cloister, built by Eugenius, who restored the buildings of the City and built monasteries. The pope dined in the palace and the cardinals in the cloister. We were the guests of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Night had already fallen when, after the meal, we returned to Saint Peter's by the same route. [Sect. 57-58]

2.6. Noble intentions of the new pope

After his election, the new pope summoned the imperial ambassadors and stated some basic policies for his pontificate: Firstly, he would pursue the cause of unifying the Church by confirming his predecessor's acts that had made possible the German return to the Roman obedience. Secondly, he would restore jurisdiction to the bishops which had been taken over by the Papacy, even stating some comprehension for the Council of Basel which, formerly, he had violently opposed; and thirdly, he would reduce the expenses of the Papacy in order to be able to reduce the flow of money from the local churches and European countries to the Roman See:

… He answered familiarly and kindly, as was his wont, and when we requested his confirmation of the acts of Eugenius, he said: "I will not only approve and confirm all that my predecessor did with regard to the German nation, but even execute and maintain it. To me it seems that the Roman pontiffs have extended their limits exceedingly by not leaving any jurisdiction to the other bishops. On the other hand, the Basileans have exceedingly limited the reach of the Apostolic See. But this is what happens: whoever does something intolerable must suffer intolerable actions in return. When people want to straighten a tree drooping to one side, they pull it in the opposite direction. It is Our intention to not deprive the bishops, who are called to take part in the [pastoral] care, of their rights. And when we do not usurp the rights of others, We may hope finally to preserve Our own." He also asked us to stay for his coronation, which would be held on Laetare Sunday. [Sect. 53]

Afterward, he ordered letters announcing his coronation to be written to kings and princes, and in them all it was said that he wanted to bring the Apostolic Chamber back to its former institute. And to us he said that he did not want to maintain the previous [level of] exactions, but instead limit their causes, that is wars and great expenses. "One who spends," he said, "when he should not, is also forced to collect when he should not." Indeed that is so: whoever gives superfluously, must plunder ruthlessly. The hands of both he who receives and he who gives must be restrained. [Sect. 60]

If the new pope had effectively pursued these policies of devolution of powers to the local bishops and reduction of papal incomes from the local churches and the European countries, he would have taken an important step towards the necessary reform of the Church. But he did not or could not, and (like his successors, including Piccolomini himself, as Pius II) he pursued a course that did not reduce the burdens on the local churches and countries and which, two generations later, would lead to the Reformation.

2.7. Personalities of the two popes

Piccolomini completely mastered the art of sketching a personality briefly and poignantly.[1]

2.7.1. Eugenius IV

His description of the personality of Eugenius IV stresses his complex character, and – not the least – his capacity for friendship.

[1] As he showed in his *De Viris Illustribus*

You will hardly find another pope who experienced more good as well as bad things. He gathered a council and dissolved it. He waged many wars, winning some and losing some. He suffered a sentence of deposition in the name of a council, and then he himself deposed those who deposed him. He had an adversary and rival in the Papacy. While he was pope, the new and unusual Neutrality began. He lost Germany and regained it. He brought the Greeks to union. He gave the law to the Jacobites who did not know the gospel. He sent a fleet against the Turks and gave his legate Giuliano power to deal with the Hussites. He first made war against Emperor Sigismund, and then crowned him. He deprived archbishops and bishops of their office, and even cardinals and electors of the empire he did not leave untouched. He canonized Saint Nicolaus of Tolentino. He was taken captive in Rome but fled and returned. He lost and regained the Marchia. When Braccio da Montone was lying dead and excommunicated in the field, he absolved him. He raised Giovanni Vitelleschi to high position and later had him arrested, to die in prison. He regained Bologna and afterwards lost it again. He fought the King of Aragon, and later confirmed him as ruler of the Kingdom [of Naples]. He was first a friend to Venice, but later came to be suspect to them. He had a noble soul and no great vice, except that he did not know measure and undertook not what he could, but what he wanted to. [Sect. 39]

2.7.2. Nicolaus V

Piccolomini´s description of the new pope, a long-time acquaintance and friend, is somewhat of a panegyric,[1] but it fairly stresses Parentucelli's extensive learning and experience:

But the all-knowing Paraclete accepted and put the man in charge whom it knew all would love. God, the searcher of men's hearts, saw matchless humility in this father, and that is what He raised up. He saw singular justice, and that is what He rewarded. He saw outstanding kindness, and that is what He loved. He saw great wisdom, and that is what He chose. He saw immense greatness, and that is what He approved of. He saw profound knowledge, and that is what He set to rule the Church, His bride. He saw vigorous eloquence, and that is what He found necessary in a supreme pontiff. The new pope is not a specialist in one branch of knowledge, like some of ours, who pride themselves in one lesser known discipline and despise all others. From childhood, he was imbued with the seven arts, the liberal arts, so that they are all present [to him]. He knows all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians, too, for he was also initiated into the sacred arts. He has knowledge both of civil and pontifical law, and he is not ignorant of medicine. Whatever is hidden to him is beyond the knowledge of men. He has travelled through many provinces and met the most important princes of the Christian commonwealth. He has handled great affairs, and has experience with governing both households and cities. If ever it was allowed to hope for the future happiness of the Church, such hope will now flourish under this pontiff, since its ruler is one who strives

[1] In other texts, Piccolomini gives a more nuanced picture of Pope Nicolaus' personality

for wisdom. It is now commonly said that vice will be banished, whereas virtues and learning will rule. The new pope comes from Sarzana, a Genoese town in Toscana, close to the Ligurian Sea, where Luni is situated. He was born in a respectable family. They say that some of his forefathers came to Sarzana from Lucca and some from Pisa. As pope he will only use the coat of arms used by the Church. [Sect. 55]

2.8. Conduct of diplomacy

2.8.1. Appointment of ambassadors

Remarkably, the imperial and German embassies to the pope in 1447 did not include high-ranking nobles or prelates, but mostly consisted of counsellors of the emperor and princes. Piccolomini himself was at the time not yet a bishop, but secretary and counsellor to the emperor. The reason may be that Germany had not yet returned to the Roman obedience, and it was not certain that the negotiations in Rome would lead to imperial recognition of the Roman Papacy. Therefore the need for high-ranking representation was not acute or may be appropriate. In Piccolomini's case, the choice was, in any case, obvious since he had already represented the emperor on two previous missions to Rome in the same cause and was well considered by the pope and the papal court.

2.8.2. Mandate of ambassadors

The ambassadors were all carrying a mandate, i.e., formal instructions, from their princes.

Within eight days, envoys from Mainz, the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bremen, and many other envoys with mandates from other princes and prelates arrived. [Sect. 5]

Such mandates circumscribed the freedom of action of the ambassador and were to be scrupulously observed:

The king´s secretary visited Aeneas in his lodgings and told him that the king would like us to come to Tivoli. But Aeneas feared making himself suspect to Eugenius, and he would not go to someone to whom he had not been sent. For the terms of a mandate must be observed scrupulously. [Sect. 15]

The ambassadors might have some freedom of negotiation, but their actions on behalf of their master must be compatible with their mandate:

To achieve this, we had to promise four things, which were, however, compatible with our instructions. [Sect. 20]

And to the German curials, fearful of the consequences of a general settlement between Rome and Germany, Piccolomini said:

> *… if we declare obedience, you may lose benefices obtained previously, but then you will be able to obtain others. It is stupid both to lose the thing itself and the hope for it. As for us, we cannot change the mandate we were given.* [Sect. 17]

The mandates could be quite specific, especially concerning the major issues in question, as for example the reinstatement of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier:

> *The reinstatement of the lord archbishops of Cologne and Trier, as stipulated in our mandate was promised.* [Sect. 19]

Actions not specifically sanctioned in the mandate were to be avoided:

> *The [ambassadors] from the Palatinate and Saxony made courteous excuses that they could not join the declaration of obedience: their princes had understood that the future declaration would be made not in Rome but in Nürnberg, and therefore had not given them mandate to declare obedience.* [Sect. 24]

The mandates were shown and even handed over to the host for examination, as happened in the public consistory where the German ambassadors declared their obedience to the Roman pope:

> *The declaration of obedience was made in the names of Friedrich, King of the Romans, the Kingdom of Bohemia, Dietrich, Archbishop of Mainz, … and many bishops of the German nation whose letters were read and mandates examined*. [Sect. 27]

The success of the diplomatic mission depended on the fulfilment of the mandate, as is clear from the conclusion in Piccolomini's report:

> *If we have executed your mandates properly, and things have been done well, then thank God, who directs your actions, and attribute the outcome as desired to the previous and the present pope, who out of love for you were unable to refuse you anything. If there has been error or things done against your wish, then please do not ascribe it to ill will or sloth, but ignorance and feebleness*. [Sect. 64]

The mandate of the ambassadors gave them full powers to act in the name of the emperor. Promises made by them were binding to the emperor:

> *All this we promised in the name of the king and issued letters under own seals, as our instructions required us to do. Now, it is incumbent on the king to fulfil the promises, for it is he, not we who made them.* [Sect. 20]

2.8.3. Facilitation of ambassadors' travels

Princes and cities would facilitate visiting ambassadors' travels in various ways, by issuing safe-conducts, making provisions and lodgings available, and by gifts of money to cover the ambassadors' expenses.

In the case of the imperial embassy to Rome in 1447, Piccolomini noted in his report, that on their way to Rome, the only city to materially assist the embassy (by provisions) was Siena, always loyal to the imperial cause:

> *Siena, whose devotion towards the Empire is well attested. They were actually the only ones of all the Italians to honour us on the road by sending abundant food and drink to our lodgings.* [Sect. 21]

In Rome, the cardinals sent provisions:

> *That evening the Cardinal of Bologna sent us a boar, partridges, pheasants, and excellent wine as a gift, and the procurator of the Prussians [sent us] sweet delicacies, candles, and wine.* [Sect. 8]

and they entertained the ambassadors so generously at dinner parties, that they became almost nauseated at the thought of another:

> *However, we got very fed up with all these dinners. The Vicechancellor excused himself because the illness of an uncle prevented him from feasting, but we really much preferred the excuses to the dinners! For pleasures are enhanced by rare indulgence, and rare dishes taste better. Hunger rather than abundance improves a dinner. The man who feasts often somehow lacks feasting.*

That this form of hospitality was quite important in terms of diplomacy is stated clearly by Piccolomini:

> *After the audience the gate was soon opened to dinner parties. We only mention them because it is fitting to remember those who showed us honour out of respect for Your Imperial Majesty.* [Sect. 13]

Lodgings were made available close to the Capitol, presumably at the cost of the pope.[1]

As for pecuniary travel support, Piccolomini mentions a gift of money by Pope Nicolaus at the ambassadors' departure:

[1] Voigt, II, p. 381

When we left, the generous pope gave us 100 gold ducats to make our travel back more comfortable. [Sect. 64]

2.8.4. Ceremonies at arrival and departure

The formal reception in Rome of the ambassadors of the emperor and the German princes and prelates consisted in ceremonies of greeting outside Rome and a formal welcome by a representative of the pope when the ambassadors had reached their lodgings:

When we came in view of Rome, we were met by a group of apostolic messengers who asked us to stop and would not let us enter [the city] without an honourable welcome. Legates are greatly revered by the Italians, who know what is said in the Bible: He that receiveth you, receiveth me. For them, it is a matter of the person who sends, not the person who is sent. We waited for an hour and more. All the curials were ordered to meet us. A great crowd of citizens and curials turned out to watch. All the orders of prelates below the cardinals received us at the first milestone and accompanied us to our lodgings not far from the Capitol, and they all introduced themselves to us. This was also done at our entry into Siena, whose devotion towards the Empire is well attested.

We had just dismounted from the horses when Bishop Francesco of Ferrara, apostolic treasurer, arrived, accompanied by several bishops. He welcomed us in the name of the Supreme Pontiff and offered us many things, although he actually brought nothing. He advised us to be amenable, all would be managed well. Aeneas - on whom the charge of speaking mostly fell - thanked him in the name of all and said that His Royal Majesty only desired what was honourable and useful, and that the intentions of the prince-electors were the same, and with the ambassadors there would be no difficulty. Inversely, he urged that the pope be well-disposed and kind towards everyone. [Sect. 7-8]

A couple of days after their arrival, the ambassadors were received in audience by the pope surrounded by the cardinals, and Piccolomini as ambassador of the emperor delivered the formal oration:

On the day appointed for the audience, we were required to meet at Saint Peter's and participate in a solemn mass. The Archbishop of Benevento, the Bishop of Ferrara, and several others were sent to us there and brought us to the secret consistory. Eugenius was sitting on his throne, a grave and most venerable father. Around him sat 15 cardinals. After we had been received for the kiss, and all the bystanders had left, Aeneas – as decided – held an oration … When he finished, Eugenius praised his speech … [Sect. 10]

Piccolomini does not mention any special ceremonies at departure, but, presumably, the ambassadors were received in a farewell audience, on which occasion the pope gave them a gift of 100 ducats for their expenses on the return travel.

2.8.5. Ambassadorial oration

The oration of the ambassador during the first formal audience with the host was an essential element in the ceremonial surrounding diplomatic missions. In the case of the imperial mission to Rome in 1447, the formal ambassadorial oration, the *"Non habet me dubium"*,[1] was delivered by Piccolomini. Piccolomini published it separately and did not even summarize it in his report.[2]

He began with the *captatio benevolentiae* and compliments to the audience, obligatory in Renaisance rhetorics.

As custom at the papal court favoured,[3] Piccolomini then took as his point of departure an appropriate biblical quote,[4] indeed a very apt one. He then outlined the advantages of the settlement for the Apostolic See, and afterward he announced the German conditions for the settlement.

2.8.6. Strategy of negotiation

The main objective of the negotiations was Roman acceptance of the four basic conditions for the German declaration of obedience to the pope. If the cardinals wanted the obedience of the whole of Germany- which they very much wanted - they would have to accept these conditions:

> *We met many times with the delegated cardinals and gave them our petitions in writing. But when we saw that all our requests met with deaf ears, we fell back on the separate agreement made in Frankfurt and told the cardinals that if the first requests were accepted, the whole of Germany would return to obedience to the Holy Apostolic See, but if only the second were accepted, it would just be the king, the Archbishop of Mainz, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, and their adherents. It would be better, however, to gain the whole nation rather than only a part!* [Sect. 16]

[1] Oration *"Non habet me dubium"* (1447) [11]
[2] Which he did with his oration to the Milanese later in the same year, the *"Est mihi non parum"* (1447) [13]
[3] Continuing a tradition deriving from the medieval *ars praedicandi*
[4] This is the only oration in which Piccolomini did so, probably as a rhetorical gesture aimed at Pope Eugenius

Apart from that, the ambassadors' strategy of negotiation was complicated by the fact that there was more than one agenda.

The imperial ambassadors and the ambassadors of the German primate, the Archbishop of Mainz, and the Brandenburgs very much wanted a successful conclusion of the negotiations and a public declaration of obedience to be made in Rome. Though they could not compromise on the basic principles, they were willing to compromise on formulations, like in the example of the papal profession of faith as based on the ecumenical councils. The Germans wanted the pope to confirm the decrees of the Council of Basel, but this council had rebelled against the authority of the pope who then in practice dissolved it, leading to his deposition and excommunication by the council which continued as a schismatic rump council. So that council was evidently anathema to the cardinals. The clever ambassador of Mainz, Johann Lysura, then proposed that the papal declaration should be based instead on the decrees of the Council of Konstanz, which in 1417 had deposed three rival popes and reestablished the Roman papacy:

> *Concerning the profession [of faith], the major problem was that they would in no way accept the authority of the councils as declared in Basel. But in this matter, we were helped by the [legates] from Mainz who said that it would be enough to refer to the decrees of the Council of Konstanz. They were seconded by the ambassador of Brandenburg, and we were only too happy to agree.* [Sect. 19]

Other ambassadors were more lukewarm and used the pope's illness to propose that the declaration of obedience be made at a later German diet. Again Johann Lysura intervened:

> *When all had been settled, a major problem arose: Eugenius' illness grew worse, and there was fear for his life, so – as usual – everything was blown out of proportion. Some of ours became uncertain whether the declaration should be made, and they thought that the declaration should not be made to a dying pope since that might divide the German princes. However, Johann Lysura, a man of sharp intellect and copious eloquence, stated that the obedience was declared not only to the pope, but also to the Apostolic See: the person might die, but not the See. If we left without finishing our business, it would lead to serious conflicts among the princes in the nation, some pulling in one direction, and others in another. It would take a long time before as many princes would come to an agreement as had happened recently. Great things had been achieved. It was essential to obtain the [papal] bulls now since it be would be difficult to get such bulls from a successor. The unity of the princes who were now in agreement should be preserved, and that would only be possible if the declaration [of obedience] was made: if it was not made, each prince would be free [to do as he pleased]; if it was made, they would be bound by the pacts. His advice and judgment were that they should not depart without having made the declaration, even if Eugenius could only move just one finger. Lysura did not want to be the laughing stock of many, and he did not wish to lose the opportunity to bring this matter to a happy conclusion.* [Sect. 21]

And Piccolomini, too - though being the architect of the German compromise reached in the previous Diet of Frankfurt and defended by him vigorously, also in Rome – had a personal agenda of pursuing his ecclesiastical career aiming at the red hat. Though he would not compromise on the basic conditions, he might be willing to accept formulations that were somewhat vague, having his future relations with the papal court firmly in mind.[1]

Given the emperor's status, his ambassadors were the highest-ranking of the ambassadors. Nevertheless, they wisely pushed the ambassadors of the Archbishop of Mainz, German primate and most eminent prince-elector, to the forefront and deferred to them as much as possible, thereby weakening the position of the ambassadors skeptical of the whole project and bolstering the imperial position:

> *Then, in few words, we declared obedience to His Holiness, and having received the letter from his hand, we gave it to the [ambassadors] from Mainz, for we deferred often and much to them in order to bring the matter to a conclusion.* [Sect. 24]

2.8.7. Technique of negotiation

2.8.7.1. *Interlocutors*

The interlocutors of the imperial and German ambassadors in the hard-fought negotiations were a committee consisting of eight cardinals: Giovanni Berardi de Tagliacozzo, Juan de Torquemada, Alfonso de Borgia, Jean le Jeune, Juan de Carvajal, Tommaso Parentucelli, and Domenico Capranica. Of these, the three first belonged to the faction of cardinals opposing the German cause, while the last four supported it.

2.8.7.2. *Meetings*

The negotiations were conducted in a series of meetings between the group of ambassadors and the group of cardinals.

2.8.7.3. *Oral vs. written procedure*

The petitions or conditions of the Germans were delivered to the cardinals in writing.

[1] See Voigt, II, pp. 390-392

Otherwise, Piccolomini does not mention any exchange of written statements between the two delegations, such as would be made at the negotiations between imperial ambassadors and Milanese representatives later the same year.

But the Germans ensured that the meetings were carefully minuted and the minutes confirmed by the seals of the two parties. This also applied to the final guarantee of the cardinals that the agreements would stand even if the pope died.

> *We obtained that minutes were made of all these [agreements] – and these minutes, too, were discussed at length. In the end, both the words and sentences we wished were accepted.* [Sect. 19]

Also, the promises of the ambassador were confirmed in sealed letters:

> *All this we promised in the name of the king and issued letters under own seals, as our instructions required us to do*. [Sect. 20]

When it was all finished, the dying pope – unknown to the ambassadors - made use of a legal device, which the popes had been using in cases when they were forced by military and political pressure to agree to something they did not want or were skeptical of: a written unconditional or conditional repudiation.[1] Thus, Eugenius made a written declaration that he had been forced to accept the compromise with the Germans with a view to obtaining the obedience of the Germans, and restoring Church unity, but that he had in no way wanted to make any concessions which were contrary to the teachings of the holy fathers and prejudicial to the Roman See.[2] The pope was obviously thinking of the profession of faith on the basis of the decrees of the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418) concerning the the superiority of the council over the pope in certain cases.[3]

2.8.8. Diplomatic report

Upon his return to his prince or government, an ambassador had to make a report on his mission. For a long time, this report was made orally, but in the 15th century the practice developed to deliver the report in writing.[4] The present text seems to be aimed both at a written report and an oral delivery (oration), see below.

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[1] There is an example from Pius' own pontificate. When, at the Congress of Mantua, he had for urgent reasons to grant an unjust concession to the Duke of Cleve, he did so with a reservation to undo it later. In his *Commentarii* he wrote the following comment: *Consueuerunt enim romani presules ubi iustitia sine publico scandalo ministrati non potest, tandiu dissimulare donec temporis oportunitatem capiant. Neque id legum conditores uetant; semper enim maiori malo est occurrendum.* (CO, III, 12 (Heck, I, p. 189))

[2] Voigt, II, p. 394

[3] I.e., the famous decree *Sacrosancta*

[4] Lazzarini

Piccolomini's report was chronologically structured, with the first and last part describing the travel to and from Rome, with some emphasis on the honour shown to the embassy, and through the embassy to the emperor himself.

The main text consists of a description of the negotiations, i.e., the meetings held and the propositions of the ambassadors and the counterpropositions of the cardinals. The written minutes of the meetings have probably not survived.

The formal oration held by Piccolomini at the opening of the negotiations was not summarized in the report, contrary to Piccolomini's report of the imperial to Milan later that year, and his report on the Diet in Regensburg 1454, where his two formal orations were given in full.

Apart from the negotiations on the principal issue, the report gave news of the political and military events in Italy as they occurred during the mission, e.g., concerning the dealings of the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, and the Venetians, and the movements of King Alfonso of Aragon.

A number of maxim-like general observations of a moral or psychological nature, typical of Piccolomini, are interspersed in the report, like:

> *One must show diligence in all matters. Dissimulation may be useful, provided there is no lie. Sometimes names and facts must be twisted. Often someone struck his head when he wanted to go through a door with his head held high.* [Sect. 9]
>
> *… rare dishes taste better. Hunger rather than abundance improves a dinner. The man who feasts often somehow lacks feasting.* [Sect. 13]
>
> *The mitre is conical, surrounded by a triple crown and inset with pearls and many brilliant jewels. But they are not like those we see today in your own crown or on the papal mitre, for the pomp of that age* [the age of Emperor Constantine I and Pope Sylvester] *did not equal the luxury of the present age. A simpler age has preceded us. Our forefathers did not indulge in ornaments and food the way we do. But an even more uninhibited age will come, and then our descendants' faults will commend our own lifestyle.* [Sect. 28]

Witticisms, indicative of Piccolomini´s humour, are not lacking, like the wordplay on mus/murus: *Locus sine muro est, nulli major murium copia est (The place has no walls (muro), but nowhere is there a greater abundance of mice (murium))* [Sect. 6]. There are also perspicacious and salient observations, like his comments on the cardinals' food hampers carried in procession to the conclave:

> *Two squires carry the hamper suspended from a pole, preceded by two other squires. They are followed in procession by the bishops and other clerics belonging to the household of the cardinal whose hamper is being carried along. You would think that there were as many*

funerals as there were hampers and cardinals. The custom of adulating cardinals has brought the miserable curials to the point where - since they cannot honour the cardinals[1] *- they revere their hampers and honour them no less than the cardinals themselves.* [Sect. 46]

Likewise, his comments on the pope's funeral:

… beneath the bier [of the defunct pope], which they call the castrum doloris, four men clothed in mourning used fans to keep the flies away though there were none, it being midwinter, and to create a small breeze for the pontiff who was really not there. Some say that the first ceremony is superstitious, and others that it is absurd. [Sect. 46]

A large part of the report is taken up with a description of two major events, fortuitous in terms of the embassy as such, but of the utmost importance in terms of its results: the death and funeral of Pope Eugenius IV, and the election and coronation of Pope Nicolaus V, as well as some important political statements by the new pope. Much of this description is an eyewitness account, and some parts of it are based on information received from friends among the cardinals like Juan de Carvajal, e.g., from Eugenius´deathbed and the proceedings in the conclave.

The report also contains examples of Piccolomini's precious descriptions of personalities, cf. above.

Apart from a few appropriate biblical quotations, there is some - but not much - ornamentation of the text in the form of rhetorical ploys, quotations, and exempla from classical authors.

As for rhetorical devices, there is no initial *captatio benevolentiae*, but the device of panegyrics is used together with the device of *accumulatio* in the description of the election of the new pope:

But the all-knowing Paraclete accepted and put the man in charge whom it knew all would love. God, the searcher of men's hearts, saw matchless humility in this father, and that is what He raised up. He saw singular justice, and that is what He rewarded. He saw outstanding kindness, and that is what He loved. He saw great wisdom, and that is what He chose. He saw immense magnanimity, and that is what He approved of. He saw profound knowledge, and that is what He set to rule the Church, His bride. He saw vigorous eloquence, and that is what He found necessary in a supreme pontiff. [Sect. 55]

There is only one quotation from classical authors, i.e., from Juvenal:

… pleasures are enhanced by rare indulgence,[2] [Sect. 13]

There are no *exempla* from Antiquity.

[1] Being locked away in conclave

[2] Juvenal: *Satirae,* 11, 205: *voluptates commendat rarior usus*

So, the literary genre of this report is definitely not that of an oration.[1] It is rather that of a *narratio.*

3. Date, recipient, and format

3.1. Date

The report, which also contains a description of the return journey, was written or finished after Piccolomini's return to the imperial court, probably on the basis of notes made during the mission. The time of writing would likely have been September and October, before Piccolomini was, towards the middle of October, sent on his next imperial mission, to Milan. He may have revised or finished the text at a later time, f.ex. during the period he spent in his new bishopric in Trieste in 1448-1449, in semi-retirement from the imperial court after the fall from grace of his patron, Chancellor Heinrich Schlick.

3.2. Recipient

The recipient of the report was Emperor Friedrich III, Piccolomini's master and employer, who had sent him on the mission to Rome.

3.3. Format

In the text itself, it is sometimes referred to as an *oratio* (oration, address), and in other places as a *relatio* (report). As seen above, however, it mostly lacks the rhetorical features of an oration, and it is therefore reasonable to consider it as a report, in the form of a *narratio.*[2] Possibly, this terminological fluidity reflects Piccolomini's uncertainty – at the time of writing or reworking – of whether the report was to be delivered verbally or in writing.

However, an analysis of the textual variants (see below) appear to support the notion that there are two versions of the text, an early report version and later oration version. The report version ends with the word "vale" as in a letter, whereas the oration version ends with the word "dixi". It, moreover, has a colophon stating that the text was intended as an oration, first to be sent to the pope and then in a similar, but obviously edited version, to emperor. It is likely that Piccolomini

[1] On Piccolomini's rhetorics, see Pius II: *Collected*, I, 7

[2] There are, however, examples of humanist orations that were not written as proper orations but rather as accounts of events, e.g., Giannozzo Manetti's oration *De saecularibus et pontificalibus pompis* describing the consecration of the cathedral of Florence by Pope Eugenius IV in 1436. In most of the manuscripts, it is termed an oration, though it was probably a text of a different kind, a narration (Wittschier, p. 52)

delivered a written report of the embassy to the emperor. It is less likely that he held it as an oration, since the imperial court would not have appreciated having to listen to such a long oration in Latin. There is no mention anywhere else of Piccolomini having sent the oration to the pope, though such was sometimes done by humanist orators, as a kind of cultural gift.[1]

It is noteworthy that the oration version of the text was not included in the official collection of Pope Pius' orations, produced towards the middle of 1462.[2]

It should be noted, too, that the text contains the address which Pope' Eugenius' made to his cardinals on his deathbed. Piccolomini was not present on that occasion but would have heard of it from a cardinal friend. So this address is a fictive speech, in the manner of classical historiographers, used by Piccolomini in a number of his writings, though it might very well have contained the substance of the pope's address and concrete individual items related by his informant.

4. Text

The text is mostly extant as part of humanist collective manuscripts.

An analysis of the textual variants shows that among the collated manuscripts

- two groups of texts may be distinguished, the first represented by the manuscripts from Munich and Kremsmünster (as edited by Wolkan)(S and WO), and the second by the other manuscripts (H, I, M, V, and BA), and

- it may tentatively be assumed that the first group represents an older version of the text and the second group a later version,[3] and

- the older version is formed as a written report to the emperor, while the later version represents, possibly as an unfinished draft – an oration to be delivered to the emperor (with no trace of an address to the pope).

[1] On Piccolomini's orations not delivered orally, see Pius II: *Collected,* I, pp. 46-47. An example is Manetti's oration *"Si optata fierent",* written for the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452. It was not actually held, but given in writing to the Emperor, possibly because the rather charged schedule of the coronation festivities did not allow for a ceremonious delivery. See Wittschier, p. 113: *Als Friedrich III, im März 1452 zum Kaiser gekrönt wurde, überreichte Manetti eine Rede, die er nach Vespasiano da Bisticcis Angabe nicht gehalten hat.* See also Baldassari & Maxson, p. 530: *After arriving in Rome, Manetti presented a copy of an undelivered coronation speech to the emperor, perhaps on March 20. Such speeches, ordered or not, were common diplomatic fare in the fifteenth century*

[2] See Pius II: *Collected,* I, sect. 5.1.3

[3] Though to the present editor it appears to be less likely, it cannot be excluded that the group H, I, M, V, BA represent the earlier version, and the K and the S the later/ MCS

The changes from the early report version (occuring in K, S together) to the later oration version (occurring in H, I, M, V, BA together) are due either to scribal errors in the transmission of the text or an editorial reworking of the text[1]:

Changes of vocabulary:

Examples: *cupiditas* to *cupido* [1], *initium* to *principium* [3], *serenitas/ti* to *majestas/ti* [10, 20], *splendide* to *strenue* [13], *intellectum* to *ingenium* [17], *valemus* to *possumus* [17], *incensi* to *accensi* [28], *lapilli* to *lapides* [28], *gygnasia* to *gymnasia* [31], *gubernationem* to *dominationem* [32], *dilectissimi* to *dulcissimi* [37], *ordine* to *genere* [42], *immutari* to *mutari* [43], *nisi* to *quam* [46], *assurgens* to *surgens* [53], *longam* to *multam* [58].

Examples of mostly consistent changes: *hi* to *ii*, *ac* to *et*, and *nil* to *nihil.*

Changes of syntax:

Very many changes of word order occur. A few examples: *tuo morem* to *morem tuo* [1], *nostro filio Friderico* to *Friderico nostro filio* [37], *odium erat* to *erat odium* [38], *clementissime Caesar* to *Caesar clementissime* [48], *ad sanctum Petrum per eandem viam reditum est* to *per eandem viam reditum est ad sanctum Petrum* [58].

Omissions:

(by error or voluntary)

either of single/double words, e.g., *dividemus* [2], *Philippus*[4], *dicta* [10], *mox conviviis* [13], cardinalium [14], *gestorum* [53]

or of passages, e.g., *inque his tota nostra consumetur oratio studiebimusque, ne prolixitate taedium generemus* [3], *nec frigus illic neque calor evitari potest* [6], *non minores res pars secunda pollicetur neque indigniores cognitu* [7], *et ad exitum paene perduxerat* [30], *sepulturaeque restituit. Penestre solo aequavit* [38], *quartum est. Quintum ostium cives observavere nec minus mille armatis die noctuque in vigiliis fuerunt. Senator urbis excubia habuit* [44], , *ecclesiae* [58], *cum negavit* [59], *inclyte rex* [63].

[1] Numbers in square brackets refer to the relevant section of the text

Substitutions:

There are many cases of substitution of single words or of combinations of words: *pro* to *per* [5], *velle* to *vero* [15], *umquam non* to *numquam* [26]; *enim … autem* to *aut … aut* [31], *armatorum* to *armorum* [33], in *conventionibus pactisque* to *conventiones pactique* [33], *missam* to *missum* [34], *amaturos* to *amaturum* [55], *magnanimitatem* to *magnitudinem* [55].

Additions:

There are some significant additions in the later text, like *Piccolomineus* [58] and *miles* [58], but otherwise they are only few and insignificant.

4.1. Manuscripts

The text of is contained in a considerable number manuscripts of which the following have been used for the present edition:

- **Kremsmünster / Stiftsbibliothek**
  143, ff. 33r-51v **(K)**

- **London / British Library**
  Add. 8266, ff. 163r-210v **(H)**
  Add. 48073, ff. 67r-121v **(I)**

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
  Clm 70, ff. 292r-303r[1] **(S)**

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Barb. lat. 2638, ff. 1r-55v **(M)**
  Vat. lat. 12528, 112r-149v **(V)**

[1] https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00089871/images/index.html?id=00089871&groesser=150&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=588

4.2. Editions

- Stephanus Baluzius [Étienne Baluze]: *Miscellaneorum libri, hoc est collectio veterum monumentorum quae hactenus latuerunt in variis codicibus ac bibliothecis*. 7 vols. Paris, 1678-1715 / VII, 1715, pp. 525-562 **(BA)**
  [It is not known on which manuscript Baluze based his edition]

- Ernst Münch: *Vollständige Sammlung aller ältern und neuern Konkordate nebst einer Geschichte ihres Enstehens und ihrer Schicksale*. II. Theile. Leipzig, 1830-1831 / I, pp. 172-201
  [After Baluze]

- Koch, Christophe Gauillaume: *Sanctio Pragmatica Germanorum Illustrata.* Argentorati, 1789, pp. 314-346
  [After Baluze]

- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* … etc. Milano, 1734 / III, 2, col. 878-898
  [After Baluze]

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien. (Fontes rerum austriacarum; 61-62, 67-68) / II, pp. 237-262 **[WO]**
  [Based on the manuscript in Kremsmünster (*"Hier nach Kod. Kremsmünster 143, Bl. 33-51*"). *Actually, Wolkan, in many instances, followed the reading in Baluze]*

4.3. Present edition

This edition is based on the six manuscripts listed above. Also the editions by Wolkan and the edition by Baluze has been used. Variants in S not followed by Wolkan are marked with an asterisk.

Pagination is after the BL / Add. 8266 (H).

For principles of edition and translation, see Appendix.

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio – as pope SEE Pius II

[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)

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    - *Oration "Non habet me dubium"* (2 February 1447). Vol. 3, pp. 368-431
    - *Oration "Tritum est sermone"* (5 February 1447). Vol. 3, pp. 432-466
    - *Oration "Solent plerique" (13 August 1455, Rome).* Vol. 6, pp. 6-92

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6. Sigla and abbreviations

H = London / British Library / Add. 8266
I = London / British Library / Add. 48073
K = Kremsmünster / Stiftsbibliothek / 143
M = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Barb. lat. 2638
S = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Clm 70
V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 12528

BA = Stephanus Baluzius [Étienne Baluze]: *Miscellaneorum libri, hoc est collectio veterum monumentorum quae hactenus latuerunt in variis codicibus ac bibliothecis*. 7 vols. Paris, 1678-1715

WO = Kremsmünster / Stiftsbibliothek / 143 [in the edition of Wolkan]

Abbreviations

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

HA = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Historia Austrialis.* [1453-1458]

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien. (Fontes rerum austriacarum; 61-62, 67-68) / II, pp. 237-262

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {163r}[1] Cupere[2] te, princeps serenissime, quae nostra in legatione sunt gesta, referri[3] tibi vel cernimus vel opinamur. Magna namque, dum Romae fuimus, contigerunt[4], cum et summum pontificem sepeliri unum[5] viderimus et[6] alterum coronari. Innata est altis animis plurima[7] sciendi cupido[8]. Animum[9] nobilem nulla res magis quam notitia rerum pascit maximarum. Te ergo, qui generositate non solum mortales antecedis, sed vicinus es superis, quo pacto legatio nostra peracta sit, quaeque vidimus et audivimus[10], velle noscere non ambigimus.

[2] {163v} Gesturi[11] ergo tuo morem[12] desiderio[13] relationem nostram quadrifariam dividemus[14], et quid[15] in quavis parte acciderit[16], quam brevissime absolvemus. Prima pars exponet iter nostrum de Vienna usque[17] Romam. Secunda reserabit[18], quae acta sunt ab introitu nostro usque ad declarationem. Tertia dicet, quae post declarationem usque ad obitum Eugenii et successoris electionem contigerunt[19] [20]. Quarta et ultima pars electionem novi pontificis coronationemque[21] et expeditionem ac reditum nostrum ante oculos ponet, inque[22] his tota nostra consumetur[23] oratio studiebimusque, ne prolixitate taedium generemus.[24] Nec enim delicata ingenia multis verbis tenenda sunt. Sententias graves, non verba longa nobilis[25] animus[26] exposcit, cui – ut non simus molesti – narrationis jam facimus initium[27] [28].

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[1] Title: Aeneae Sylvii Senensis Frederici Romanorum Regis Secretarii et oratoris de morte Eugenii IV. creationeque et coronatione Nicolai V. summorum pontificum oratio coram ipso rege habita anno MCCCCXLVII **BA;** Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei Senensis Federici Romanorum Regis Secretarii et oratoris de morte Eugenii IV. et coronatione Nicolai V. summorum pontificum oratio coram ipso rege habita **H, I**; De obitu Eugenii IV., creatione et coronatione Nicolai V. summorum pontificum rebusque aliis in sua legatione gestis Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei Federici Romanorum regis secretarii ad ipsum regem relatio **M, V;** De sepultura summu pontificis et coronatio alterius Romae. Caspar Slick imperialis cancellarius Frederico regi Romanorum **S;** *no title* **K**

[2] cupientem K

[3] referre H, I, WO

[4] contingerunt M, V

[5] sepeliri unum : unum sepeliri S

[6] *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA

[7] *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA

[8] cupiditas M, V

[9] animam S

[10] quo pacto … audivimus *omit.* M

[11] gestum H, I; geram M, V; gerentes BA

[12] tuo morem : morem tuo H, I, M, V, BA

[13] et *add.* M, V

[14] *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA

[15] quicquid M, V

[16] accidit S

[17] ad S

[18] *omit.* M

[19] contingerunt H, M, V

[20] successoris electionem contigerunt : electionem contigerunt successoris S

[21] coronationem S

[22] *omit.* S

[23] consuetur WO

[24] inque his … generemus *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA

[25] *omit.* WO

[26] nobilis animus : animus nobilis I

[27] principium H, I, M, V, BA

[28] Narrationis pars prima *add. in marg.* H

0. Introduction

[1] Most Serene Prince,[1] we know and believe that you wish to learn what was achieved during our legation, for while we were in Rome, great events took place, as we saw one pontiff[2] buried and another[3] crowned. Great minds have an innate thirst for knowing many things, and nothing more nourishes a noble soul than the knowledge of great things. Therefore we do not doubt that you, who not only surpass all men in nobility but are close to the heavenly beings, want to know how our legation was conducted and what we saw and heard.

[2] Complying with your wish, we shall divide our report into four parts and succinctly relate what happened in each part. The first part reports on our travel from Vienna to Rome. The second tells about events from our arrival until the declaration [of obedience]. The third will set forth what happened from the declaration [of obedience] until the death of Eugenius. And the fourth and last will give an account of the election and coronation of the new pontiff, and our voyage back. This will form the whole of our oration, and we shall endeavour not to bore you with verbosity. Keen minds need not be served with many words. The noble soul needs meaningful sentences, not long words, and so - as to not trouble it – we now begin our account.

[1] Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola 1424. Duke of Austria 1439. King of Germany 1440. Crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome 1452

[2] Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Cardinal 1408, pope 1431 to his death

[3] Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Bishop of Bologna 1444, Cardinal 1446, Pope from 1447 to his death

[3] Cum abs te recessimus, invictissime princeps, {164r} sexta et decima Novembris dies[1] currebat[2] anni dominici MCCCCXLVI[3]. Aspera hiems fuit, nives omnia contexerant. Hungari per Austriam debacchabantur[4], nam[5] fide fracta contra jus fasque armati Austriam invaserant. Non licuit rectam nos viam facere. Montes imos[6] pertransivimus et[7] inhospitas gentes[8] pervenimus Pruchamque[9], communi[10] posthac[11] via Venetias[12] venimus. Illic fuerat Vincentius Hungarus, Johannis vaivodae nuntius, qui Venetos[13] adiverat, tuam majestatem[14] accusaverat, suum dominum commendaverat. Accessimus et nos senatum illum Venetum. Exposuimus statum causae, quae inter te Hungarosque[15] versabatur[16], nixique[17] sumus tuam innocentiam et Hungarorum injurias patefacere. Nihil tamen timere te[18] ostendimus, sed parvipendere illorum vim. Sic enim facto opus esse {164v} censuimus[19]. His[20] enim, quos scimus non esse amicos vel[21] quos suspectos habemus, non debemus miseros nos esse ostendere, ne nostro laetentur[22] infortunio ac nobis insultent, sed confidere nos et bonam habere mentem ostendendum est. Id fecimus abunde. Ob quam rem dux ille Venetorum, qui omnium vice loqui solet, damnare se dixit facta Hungarorum nec dubitare se[23], quin regia majestas res illas cum suo honore terminaret[24]. Retulit quoque Philippum Mariam multis insidiis contra se uti, ob quas[25] causas[26] coactum fuisset[27] dominium arma capere ac[28] suam tueri libertatem, retulitque victoriam in agro Cremonensi partam[29]. Cum de cancellario fecissemus verbum[30] suumque debitum peteremus, subrisit dixitque satis persolutum[31] esse pergamenum ceramque septem millibus florenorum, nec replicantes aliud obtinere potuimus[32]. Sic enim comparata est {165r} humana natura, ut apud omnes peraeque[33] gentes nihil difficilius impetrandum[34] sit[35] quam pecunia. Hinc vulgo dici solet secundum sanguinem esse pecuniam.

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[1] Novembris dies : dies Novembris H, I, M, V, BA
[2] Novembris currebat : currebat Novembris I
[3] 1456 M; millesimi quadringentesimi quadragesii sexti BA
[4] debacchabant H, I, M,
[5] *Here begins a lacuna which ends before the words* Philippus Maria *in sect. 4* M, V
[6] invios S, K
[7] per *add.* BA
[8] Tellas *add.* H, I, BA; Zellas *add.* S
[9] *omit.* H, I, BA
[10] communique K
[11] post haec BA; que *add.* S
[12] Venetiam H, I
[13] Venecias S
[14] vim H, I, BA
[15] Hungarosque H, I, M, V, BA
[16] vertebatur BA
[17] visique H, I, BA
[18] timere te : te timere S
[19] consulimus S
[20] iis H, I, M, V, BA
[21] sed I
[22] locentur S
[23] sic H, I, K, M, V, BA
[24] nec dubitare … terminaret *omit.* H, I, BA
[25] quam H, I, M, V, BA
[26] causam H, I, M, V, BA
[27] fuisse H, I, M, V, BA
[28] et H, I, M, V, BA
[29] peractam H, I
[30] mentionem I, BA
[31] solutum H, I, M, V, BA
[32] valuimus S
[33] plerasque I, BA
[34] impetratum WO
[35] impetrandum sit : sit impetratum S

1. Travel to Rome

[3] We left you, Unvanquished Prince, on 16 November in the year of the Lord 1446. The winter was harsh, and snow covered everything. The Hungarians were marauding in Austria, for - breaking their word - they had against justice and right invaded and attacked Austria. Therefore we could not take the direct route, but passing over tall mountains and through inhospitable peoples we arrived in Bruck and continued on the common road to Venice.

1.1. Audience with the Venetian senate

A certain Vincent from Hungary, an envoy of Voivode János,[1] had already been there. He had come to Venice, made accusations against Your Majesty,[2] and praised his own lord. We, too, had an audience with the Venetian senate. We explained the situation between you and the Hungarians, endeavouring to make evident your innocence and the abuses of the Hungarians. We showed that you do not fear the Hungarians, but on the contrary do not make much of their strength. This we thought to be necessary, for we should not show ourselves as being weak to those whom we know not to be friends or who are suspect to us, so that they may not rejoice in our misfortune and attack us, but believe that we are confident and assured. So, this we showed amply. Therefore the Venetian doge,[3] who speaks for all, said that he disapproved of the Hungarian actions and did not doubt that Your Royal Majesty will bring these affairs to an honourable conclusion.

He also spoke of Filippo Maria's[4] many plots against him, which had forced his realm to go to war to protect its liberty, and he informed us about the victory obtained [by the Venetians] in the territory of Cremona.

When we mentioned the chancellor[5] and asked for payment of the debt owed to him, he smiled and said that 7,000 florins was sufficient payment for parchment and wax,[6] and though we objected we could not achieve anything. Such is human nature that among all peoples nothing is more difficult than to obtain money. Thus the common saying that money is our second blood.[7]

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[1] János Hunyadi (1387 or 1407-1456): Fought valiantly and often successfully against the Turks. Governor of Hungary 1446

[2] See introduction to Piccolomini's oration *"Tritum est sermone"* (1447) [14]

[3] Francesco Foscari (1373-1457) Doge of Venice from 1423 to 1457

[4] Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death

[5] Chancellor Kaspar Schlick (1396-1449): imperial chancellor of emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II and Friedrich III

[6] Chancery documents were sometimes jokingly referred to as pieces of paper/parchment with wax (seals), cf. Piccoloimni's quodlibetal disputation at the University in Vienna 1445 *"Aderat nuper" [9],* sect. 25-27

[7] Piccolomini also mentioned this episode in his section on Francesco Foscari in his *De Viris Illustribus:* The pact did not make Sigismund a friend[7] of the Venetians, but they did receive the letters of investiture from Chancellor Kaspar Schlick,[7] for which they still owe him 4,000. When I was recently in the senate, I requested the payment of this sum, as charged by Kaspar, but I received only a smile, not the money (Sect. 63)

[4] Admonet hic locus – ni fallor – ut rem Cremonensem referamus.[1] Philippus Maria[2], dux Mediolani, unicam habuit filiam eamque minime legitimam. Hanc nubilem plenis annis Francisco Sfortiae[3] Vicecomiti nuptui[4] tradidit. Dotis nomine[5] millia promissa sunt. Hypothecata[6] ob eam causam Cremona est[7] et comiti tradita. Fiunt ibi nuptiae. Franciscus exinde in Marchiam proficiscitur uxoremque secum ducit. Bellum interea Eugenius illi[8] movet Marchiamque repetit. Juvat Eugenium rex Aragonum[9], duxque[10] Venetorum[11] et Florentini Francisco assistunt. Impar est bello Franciscus, utque peius[12] [13] illi[14] succedat, repetit[15] Philippus[16] {165v} Cremonam offertque dotem[17]. Sic enim conventum erat, ut pecunia tradita restitueretur civitas. Sed invalida sunt inter principes pacta: nihil servatur, nisi quod[18] necesse est vel[19] utile. Honestati locus raro[20] est. Non suadent Veneti Cremonam restitui, quae[21] frenum est duci Mediolani. Ipsi curam civitatis recipiunt, arx comiti[22] servatur. Philippus exercitum mittit, civitatem, quae jure[23] negatur, vi petit. Resistunt Veneti mandantque duci, ut desistat. Is jus suum se vendicare[24] dicit nec fas esse Venetis[25] obviare. Illi contra allegant. At cum fortius oppugnatur[26] Cremona, irruunt Veneti in exercitum Philippi atque ex improviso confligunt. Magnam cladem exercitus Philippi perpessus est. Inde progressi[27] Veneti Abduam {166r} usque grassati[28] sunt ibique arcem in altera ripa obtinuerunt potitique omnium molendinorum sunt usque[29] Mediolanum[30] ad tertium lapidem. Tanto afflictus malo Philippus ex[31] pontifice maximo et[32] rege Aragonum, qui regno Siciliae potitur, auxilia petit. Equitum illi quattuor millia[33], peditum tria millia[34] mittunt.

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[1] *Here ends the lacuna which started after the words* dabacchabantur. Nam *in sect. 3* M, V
[2] Vicecomes *add.* M, V
[3] Fortie K
[4] nuptum BA, WO *
[5] multa *add.* I; lx *add.* S; … *add.* WO
[6] hypotheca H, I, S; hipothecam M; hypothecam V
[7] fuit M
[8] Eugenius illi : illi Eugenius H, I, M, V, BA
[9] Alphonsus *add.* I, BA
[10] dux M, V
[11] Veneti H, K, S; Venetus M
[12] prius H, I, M, V, BA, WO
[13] Philippo *add.* M, V
[14] *omit.* M
[15] reperit V
[16] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[17] Philippus *add.* I, BA
[18] vel *add.* S
[19] et M, V
[20] locus raro : raro locus M, V
[21] qua I
[22] arx comiti : comiti arx K, S
[23] civitatem quae jure : civitatemque intrare M, V
[24] se vendicare : vendicare se H, I, M, V, BA
[25] illi *add.* M, V
[26] impugnatur S
[27] prouecti S; profecti K
[28] castrati S
[29] ad *add*. S
[30] usque Mediolanum : Mediolanum usque M
[31] a M, V, BA
[32] *omit.* H, I
[33] *omit.* K, S
[34] peditum tria millia *omit.* I

1.2. Affair of Cremona

[4] In this context, it is relevant – if I am not mistaken – to relate the affair of Cremona. Duke Filippo Maria of Milan had only one child, an illegitimate daughter.[1] When she reached marriageable age, he engaged her to Francesco Sforza Visconti.[2] A dowry of thousands was promised, and Cremona was pledged as collateral and given to the count. The wedding took place there.[3] Then Francesco marched into the Marche[4], bringing his wife with him. Meanwhile, Eugenius[5] sent an army against him to retake the Marche. Eugenius was supported by the King of Aragon[6], and Francesco by the Doge of Venice and the Florentines. In this war, Francesco turned out to be the weaker party, whereupon Filippo – to further weaken his position - demanded to get Cremona back and presented the dowry, for it had been agreed that the city should be given back to the duke when the money was paid. But agreements between princes have no validity: they are only kept if necessary or advantageous. There is seldom a place for honesty. The Venetians argued against returning Cremona, since it is a curb on the Duke of Milan. Thus, they themselves took charge of the city, letting Count Sforza have the fortress. Filippo sent an army and tried to take the city by arms since his rights were contested. He said that he was just claiming his rights, and that it was unlawful for the Venetians to oppose him. They said the opposite. As the duke intensified his assault on Cremona, the Venetians suddenly went on the offensive against Filippo's army, which suffered a great defeat. Then the Venetians pushed forward as far as [the river] Adda, laying waste to the country. They also took a fortress on the other side of the river and seized all the mills as far as the third milestone from Milan. In this great crisis, Filippo asked for help from the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Aragon, who rules the Kingdom of Sicily, and they sent him 4,000 mounted soldiers and 3,000 foot soldiers.

[1] Bianca Maria Visconti (1425-1468): Engaged at the age of five, in 1432, to Francesco Sforza. They married on 25 October 1441, and when he acceded to the dukedom of Milan in 1450, she became the duchess

[2] Francesco Sforza (1401-1466): Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

[3] Nine years afterwards: Piccolomini's account is greatly abbreviated!

[4] Part of the Papal States

[5] The pope

[6] Alfonso V (Trastámara) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416 and of Naples from 1442 to his death

[5] Nosque[1] jam ex Venetiis Ferrariam veneramus, cumque Bononiam proficisci vellemus, transire[2] illos per agrum[3] Bononiensem[4] accepimus[5] insecurumque omne iter reddere. Qui militiae operam dant, neque ignotis neque notis[6] ignoscunt. Praeda est, quidquid obviat[7]. Nil[8] verentur[9] nisi fortiorem gladium. Obvertimus igitur viam[10] Faventiamque petimus. Nec sic tuti fuissemus, nisi petiturus Romam Estensis marchionis cancellarius se[11] nobis adjunxisset. {166v} Obvii enim[12] in silvis Lucae[13] quamplures[14] fuere, qui exercitum sequebantur impeditamentaque per viam securiorem ducebant. Sed venimus Florentiam, posthabita Faventia[15], Senasque[16] profecti[17] sumus, ibique – sicut decretum Francfordiae fuit[18] – principum electorum et aliorum nuntios expectavimus. Infra octendium affuerunt Maguntini, Palatini, Saxones[19], Brandeburgenses[20] Bremensesque[21] et[22] quamplurimi[23] aliorum tum principum tum praelatorum mandatum habentes[24]. Ibi[25] conventum est, qua die Romam intrare deceret et[26] orationem fieri per Aeneam nomine omnium, quae[27] post[28] Romae fieri[29] deberet. Nemo enim facile[30] alium[31] pro[32] se loqui sinit, nisi, quae dicenda sunt, sciat[33].

---

[1] nos S
[2] transisse K *
[3] agros S
[4] Bononienses S
[5] accipimus K
[6] ignotis neque notis : notis neque ignotis H, M, V, BA
[7] objicitur M, V
[8] nihil H, I, M, V, BA
[9] feritur S; morantur BA
[10] igitur viam : iter I
[11] sese S; sic *add.* K
[12] *omit.* M, V
[13] Luci I, K, S
[14] complur… *et passim* K, S
[15] *omit.* I
[16] Senas I
[17] prouecti S
[18] Francfordiae fuit : fuit Francfordie H, I, M, V, BA
[19] Saxoni H, I, M, V, BA; Saxonie WO
[20] Brandeburgensis H, I, M, V, BA
[21] Bremensisque H, I, M, V, BA
[22] *omit.* K, S
[23] plurium K; qui plurimi S
[24] habebant H, I, K, S
[25] ibique M, V
[26] *omit.* H, I, BA
[27] qua I; qui WO
[28] prius K, S
[29] videri K, S
[30] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[31] aliamque M
[32] per H, I, M, V, BA
[33] sciverit H, I, M, BA; scivit K

1.3. Travel to Rome with German ambassadors

[5] We had had just come from Venice to Ferrara, intending to continue to Bologna, when we learnt that the troops [of the pope and the king] were passing through Bolognese territory, making all travel there unsafe, for soldiers spare neither friend nor foe. Everything they meet on their way is booty. They fear nothing but the stronger sword. So, we changed our route and travelled via Faenza. Even then, we would not have been safe if we had not been joined by the chancellor of the Marquess of Este[1] who was going to Rome. In the forest regions of Lucca, we met many who followed the army, transporting the heavy luggage by a safer road. After Faenza, we came to Florence, and from there we went to Siena where, as decided in Frankfurt, we awaited the envoys of the prince-electors and others. Within eight days, envoys from Mainz, the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg,[2] Bremen, and many others with mandates from other princes and prelates arrived. There we agreed on the date to enter Rome, and that later, in Rome, Aeneas would make the expected oration on behalf of all. It is not easy for anybody to allow another to speak for him unless that one knows what to say.

[1] Leonello d'Este (1407-1450): Marquess of Ferrrara from 1441 to his death

[2] Friedrich Sesselmann (ca. 1410-1483): Chancellor in Brandenburg 1445, later (in 1455) Bishop of Lebus (cf. Voigt, II, p. 381)

[6] Convenimus omnes apud Baccanum turrim[1]. Locus sine muro est, {167r} nullibi[2] major murium[3] [4] copia[5] est, nec frigus illic neque calor evitari potest [6]. Pauca sunt mappalia eaque hospitia[7] faciunt Teutonici. Hoc hominum genus[8] totam fere Italiam hospitalem facit. Ubi non repereris[9] hosce homines[10], neque diversorium quaeras. Ex hoc loco simul[11] accepimus iter[12]. Sexaginta equites numero fuimus. Intellexeramus jam antea Thomam, episcopum Bononiensem, et Johannem[13] de Carvajal[14], electum Placentinum, in Sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales assumptos, erectiorisque mentis eramus, nec enim male sperare fas erat de re illa, cujus tractatores sublimati fuerant.

[7] Cum Romam jam in conspectu haberemus, occurrunt apostolici frequentes[15] nuntii, qui sistere nos gradum jubent, nec[16] inhonoratos intrare nos[17] sinunt. Magna est apud Italos legatorum[18] reverentia. Sciunt evangelicum {167v} dictum: *Qui vos recipit, me recipit*. Non missus, sed mittens penditur[19]. Ad horam et amplius expectavimus. Jussi[20] sunt omnes curiales obviam proficisci. Effusa[21] est ad spectaculum[22] maxima[23] civium et[24] curialium multitudo. A cardinalibus[25] infra omnes praelatorum ordines ad primum lapidem nos receperunt secutique sunt ad domum usque nostram, quae non longe a capitolio fuit, omnesque seorsum se obtulerunt. Haec acta sunt usque ad introitum[26] Senensium, quorum devotio erga imperium testimonio non indiget[27]: soli[28] ex omnibus Italis per viam[29] nos[30] honorarunt esculentis et poculentis ad hospitium ubertim[31] missis. Ac[32] sic primae[33] parti modum[34] imponimus. Non minores res pars secunda pollicetur neque indigniores cognitu[35] [36].

---

[1] *omit.* K, S
[2] nulli H, I, M, V, BA
[3] murum K *, S
[4] *omit.* BA
[5] murium copia : inopia WO
[6] nec frigus … potest *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[7] hospitia K; hospita S; hospitiis WO
[8] hominum genus : genus hominum S
[9] reperis K
[10] hosce homines : hos H, I, M, V, BA
[11] *em.;* similiter codd.
[12] accepimus iter : iter accepimus K
[13] *omit.* M
[14] Carvagial H, I, V, BA; Caravagial M
[15] *omit.* S
[16] neque H, I, M, V, BA
[17] intrare nos : nos intrare S
[18] *omit*. M
[19] pendere H, I; attenditur M, V; pandere BA
[20] visi I
[21] offerta M, V
[22] spectandum H, I, M, V, BA
[23] cum *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[24] tum H, I, M, V, BA
[25] missa *add.* I
[26] Senenses K
[27] testimonio non indiget : non indiget testimonio H, I, M, V, BA
[28] enim *add.* I, BA
[29] per viam *omit*. M, V
[30] per viam nos : nos per viam S
[31] nostrum I
[32] et H, I, M, V, BA
[33] orationis nostrae *add*. I
[34] finem I
[35] non minores … *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[36] secunda pars *add.* I

[6] We all met [again] at Torre Baccano.[1] The place has no walls (muro), but nowhere you can find more mice (murium), and you can avoid neither cold nor heat![2] The Germans took their lodgings in the few huts there, but these people make all Italy their guesthouse, and where you do not find them, you do not find an inn either. From there, we travelled together. We were 60 people on horse. We had already heard that Thomas, Bishop of Bologna,[3] and Juan de Carvajal, Bishop-elect of Piacenza,[4] had been appointed cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, which was rather encouraging, for there would be no reason to expect failure in a cause whose negotiators had been elevated [in such a manner].

1.4. Reception in Rome

[7] When we came in view of Rome, we were met by a group of apostolic messengers who asked us to stop and would not let us enter [the City] without an honourable welcome. Legates are greatly revered by the Italians, who know what is said in the Bible: *He that receiveth you, receiveth me.* For them, it is a matter of the person who sends, not the person who is sent. We waited for an hour and more. All the curials were ordered to meet us. A great crowd of citizens and curials turned out to watch. All the orders of prelates below cardinals received us at the first milestone and accompanied us to our lodgings not far from the Capitol, and they all introduced themselves to us. This was also done at our entry into Siena, whose devotion towards the Empire is well attested.[5] They were actually the only ones of all the Italians to honour us on the road by sending abundant food and drink to our lodgings.

And thus, we end the first part. The second part promises even greater things, well worth hearing.

[1] A locality about one day´s travel from Rome, on the then road from Siena/Viterbo to Rome

[2] NB: Witticism, a wordplay on murus (wall) and mus (mouse)

[3] Tommaso Parentucellih

[4] Juan de Carvajal (ca. 1400-1469): Cardinal 1446

[5] Says the Bishop of Siena, loyal son of the city, to the emperor!

[8] {168r} Vix equis[1] descenderamus, cum[2] affuit et[3] Franciscus, episcopus Ferrariensis, thesaurarius apostolicus, pluribus episcopis comitatus, qui nomine summi pontificis nos recepit[4] [5] obtulitque multa[6], quamvis nihil attulit[7]. Hortatus est, tractabiles ut[8] essemus, nam bene dirigi omnia possent. Huic gratias egit Aeneas nomine omnium[9], nam ei plerumque dicendi onus[10] incumbebat, dixitque regiam majestatem nihil petere nisi honesta atque utilia, nec diversam esse principum electorum sententiam, in oratoribus quoque non fore difficultatem. Contra etiam hortatus est, benignum ut se papa praeberet, unicuique[11] facilem. Nec multa fuerunt verba. Jejuni enim[12] adhuc eramus, et dies in noctem iverat. Famelicum, non[13] plenum oratorem audire {168v} velim[14], sententiosus enim, non verbosus est, qui cibi[15] cupidus esurire se post orationem novit. Ea nocte cardinalis Bononiensis aprum nobis, perdices, fasianos vinumque optimum dono misit[16] [17], procurator Prutenorum[18] confectiones[19], ceram[20] et vinum.

[1] equos K, S; equo WO
[2] tum K
[3] *omit*. I, S
[4] suscepit S
[5] nos recepit : recepit nos M, V
[6] *omit.* S
[7] attulerit BA
[8] tractabiles ut : ut tractabiles M
[9] Aeneas nomine omnium : nomine omnium Aenas H, I, M, V, BA
[10] dicendi onus : onus dicendi M
[11] et *add.* BA
[12] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[13] quin S; quoque WO
[14] vellem BA
[15] tibi S
[16] mittit I
[17] dono misit : misit dono H, I, M, V, BA
[18] Pincernarum H, BA; Picenorum M, V
[19] *omit.* M
[20] etiam S

2. Negotiations with the papal court

2.1. Welcome by the pope's representative

[8] We had just dismounted from the horses when Bishop Francesco of Ferrara,[1] apostolic treasurer, arrived, accompanied by several bishops. He welcomed us in the name of the Supreme Pontiff and offered us many things, although he actually brought nothing. He advised us to be amenable, for everything would be managed well. Aeneas, on whom mostly the charge of speaking fell, thanked him in the name of all and said that His Royal Majesty only desired what was honourable and useful, that the intentions of the prince-electors were the same, and that there would be no difficulty with the ambassadors. Inversely, he urged that the pope be well-disposed and kind towards everyone. They did not speak at length, since we had not yet eaten, and the night was approaching. I would rather hear a hungry than a stuffed speaker, for the man who knows that he will be famished and hungry when the oration is over speaks gravely but not verbosely. That evening the Cardinal of Bologna[2] sent us a boar, partridges, pheasants and excellent wine as a gift, and the procurator of the Prussians [sent us] sweet delicacies, candles and wine.

[1] Francesco Legnamine [da Padova] (1400-1462): Bishop of Ferrara 1446-1460

[2] Tommaso Parentucelli

[9] Post haec convenimus altera die apud sanctum Laurentium in Damaso. Tria ibi discussa sunt. Visa est oratio, quam Aeneas conceperat. Ea omnibus[1] placuit, neque quidquam ex ea mutatum est, ni[2] quod ubi neutralitatis mentio fiebat, animorum dici suspensionem magis placuit. Deliberatum est audientiam summi pontificis per operam thesaurarii petere, qui ad nos missus fuerat, ne cardinalis unius studium {169r} implorantes alterius indignationem incurreremus, ut sunt curiae invidiarum[3] plenae, atque ubi majora sunt ingenia, ibi plus invenias simultatis[4]. Conclusum est etiam[5] [6], cum adeundus esset pontifex maximus, metropolitanorum oratores accersiri. In ea re dubium erat: nec enim auditurus Eugenius oratores Magdeburgensis[7] et Bremensis archiepiscoporum credebatur, qui Basileae fuerant confirmati. Sed accepto consilio ex[8] cardinali[9] sancti angeli non archiepiscoporum, sed ecclesiarum nuntios vocare illos decrevimus. In omni re adhibenda est industria. Utilis est simulatio, quae non habet mendacium. Contorquenda sunt aliquando nomina resque[10]. Saepe[11] impegit caput, qui erecta cervice quodcumque[12] {169v} ostium ingredi voluit.

[1] ea omnibus : omnibus ea V
[2] nisi H, I, M, V, BA
[3] insidiarum H, I, M, V, BA
[4] simulationis M
[5] est etiam : etiam est K, S
[6] conclusum est etiam : etiam est conclusum WO
[7] Brandenburgensis H, I, V, MA; Brandemburgenses M
[8] *omit.* M; a BA
[9] cardinale BA
[10] et res M, V
[11] ille *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[12] quocumque M, V

2.2. Preparations for the papal audience

[9] The next day, we met at San Lorenzo in Damaso.[1] There, we discussed three things: [Firstly,] the oration which Aeneas had drafted was reviewed. It pleased everybody, and no changes were made, with the following exception: they decided that wherever the term "neutrality" was used, the term "suspension of minds"[2] should be used instead. [Secondly,] we resolved to seek an audience with the Supreme Pontiff through the Treasurer, who had been sent to us, so that by requesting the good offices of one cardinal we would not incur the anger of another, for courts are full of envy, and the greater the spirits, the more the rivalry. [Thirdly,] we also decided that when we were going to the Supreme Pontiff, the orators of the metropolitans should be summoned, too. There was some doubt on this issue, for it was thought that Eugenius would not hear the orators of the archbishops of Magdeburg[3] and Bremen[4], who had been confirmed in Basel. Therefore, on the advice of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,[5] we decided not to call them envoys of the archbishops but of their churches. One must show diligence in all matters. Dissimulation may be useful, provided there is no lie. Sometimes names and facts must be twisted. Often someone struck his head when he wanted to go through a door with his head held high[6].

[1] San Lorenzo in Damaso: Parish and titular (cardinal's) church in central Rome

[2] "animorum suspensionem": the concept of German neutrality between the pope and the schismatic rump council in Rome, declared by the Germans in 1438, was of course offensive to the pope, and therefore the expression "suspension of minds" was preferred as less offensive

[3] Friedrich III von Beichlingen (1427-1463), Archbishop of Magdeburg from 1445 to his death

[4] Gerhard von Hoya (-1463): Archbishop of Bremen from 1442 to his death

[5] Juan de Carvajal

[6] "erecta cervice": with raised/stiff neck

[10] Ubi dicta est audientiae dies, jussi sumus[1] apud sanctum Petrum convenire[2] missarumque interesse solemnibus. Illuc missi sunt ad nos[3] Beneventanus archiepiscopus[4], Ferrariensis antistes pluresque alii, qui nos ad secretum consistorium eduxerunt[5]. Eugenius in solio sedebat, gravis atque[6] omni veneratione dignissimus pater. Circa eum[7] XV cardinales consedebant, ibi[8] postquam recepti ad osculum sumus, et arbitri omnes abierunt, orationem, sicut decretum erat, Aeneas habuit, quae prae manibus est. In ea sic locutus est, ut Treverensis[9] Coloniensisque[10] archiepiscoporum desideria complecteretur, et tamen neque papam neque cardinales offenderet, sed volupe[11] ab omnibus audiretur. {170r} Ejus orationis quamplurimi postea copiam petivere[12], non tam[13] propter ornatum quam propter materiam, quam omnes nosse[14] ajebant. Ubi Aeneas dicendi finem fecit, laudavit Eugenius dicta[15], damnavit neutralitatem, commendavit regem electoresque[16]. De Treverensi Coloniensique admodum quaestus est suumque factum defendit conclusitque in re principali cum fratribus deliberandum.

[11] Post haec, cum[17] peteret Aeneas in factis Hungarorum aliam audientiam, libenti animo annuit litterasque Johannis vaivodae, quae prae manibus erant imperatoriamque majestatem[18] criminabantur, ut melius responderi posset, Aeneae tradi jussit. Erat ille pontifex mirum in modum[19] {170v} regiae serenitati[20] affectus nec timuit quemquam, dum amicum juvare voluit. Alti cordis fuit et amicitiae[21] tenacissimae[22]. Felix, quem semel dilexit, malum, nisi vidit, numquam illi[23] [24] imputavit[25]. Nulla res illum magis[26] elusit[27] [28], nisi quia nimis[29] se credidit. Diligere amicos non ut deos, sed ut homines decet.

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[1] jussi sumus : jussimus S
[2] conuencio V
[3] sunt ad nos : ad nos sunt K
[4] episcopus M
[5] adduxerunt M, BA
[6] ac H, I, M, V, BA
[7] *omit.* K
[8] ibique H, I, BA
[9] Treverensium M
[10] Coloniensis H, V; Coloniensium M; et Coloniensis I, BA
[11] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[12] petierunt H, I, M, V, BA
[13] tamen M
[14] omnes nosse : nosse omnes K
[15] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[16] quatuor *add.* H, K *; quorum scilicet *add.* M, V
[17] dum M
[18] potestatem S
[19] in modum *omit.* M
[20] majestati H, I, M, V, BA
[21] amicorum S
[22] tenacissimi K, S
[23] ille BA
[24] numquam illi : illi numquam S
[25] putavit H, BA
[26] illum magis : magis illum BA
[27] illexit H, BA
[28] malum nisi … elusit *omit.* I, M, V
[29] minus H, M, V, BA

2.3. First papal audience

[10] On the day appointed for the audience, we were required to meet at Saint Peter's and attend a solemn mass. The Archbishop of Benevento,[1] the Bishop of Ferrara, and several others were sent to us there and brought us to the secret consistory. Eugenius was sitting on his throne, a grave and most venerable father. Around him sat 15 cardinals. After we had been received for the kiss, and all the bystanders had left, Aeneas – as decided – held an oration, which is available. In it, he included the requirements of the archbishops of Trier[2] and Cologne[3], but in such fashion that he provoked neither pope nor cardinals, but was heard benignly by all. Afterwards, many asked for copies of his oration, not because of its elegance, but because of its subject which all claimed to know. When he finished, Eugenius praised his speech, condemned neutrality, and commended the king and the electors. He also complained bitterly of [the archbishops] of Trier and Cologne and defended his own actions [in their regard], but concluded that he would discuss the principal matter with his brethren.

2.4. Second papal audience

[11] Afterwards, Aeneas requested another audience concerning the actions of the Hungarians. [The pope] gracefully acceded and ordered that a letter from Voivode János, which was at hand and brought accusations against Your Imperial Majesty, be given to Aeneas so that it could be answered better. This pontiff was amazingly well disposed towards to Your Royal Highness, and he was completely fearless when he wanted to help a friend. He had a lofty mind and was most tenacious in friendship. Lucky the man whom once Eugenius grew to love. Never would he suspect him of evil unless he saw it personally. His greatest disappointments were caused by his inordinate trust in others. One should love one's friends not as gods, but as men.

[1] Astorgio Agnesi (-1451): Archbishop of Benevento from 1436 to his death. Cardinal in 1448

[2] Jakob von Sierck (1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-elector from 1439 to his death

[3] Dietrich II von Mörs (ca. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death. Deposed by Pope Eugenius IV in 1446, but reinstated by Pope Nicolaus V in 1447

[12] His[1] actis, dira febris adorsa[2] est papam diuque hominem torsit. De sanitate[3] nunc desperatio, nunc spes fuit. Accessimus tamen[4] eum jacentem, et[5] excusavimus majestatem regiam[6], quia non antea se declarasset. Retulimus difficultates, quae Francfordiae fuerunt. Supplicavimus admitti petitiones, quae in communi fiebant. Recommendavimus Coloniensis[7] germanique sui causam. Questi sumus super[8] his, quae {171r} Jauriensis faciebat[9]. Pecunias, quae dicebantur[10] esse apud Prutenos[11] [12], uti commissum erat[13], petivimus, in scriptisque[14] petitiones porreximus. Humaniter, ut solebat, papa respondit, accepisse se ex Bononiensi ac sancti angeli cardinalibus sinceram regiae majestatis intentionem. Dixit[15] super re principali sex cardinales deputatos esse, in aliisque[16] deliberaturum se ait, atque ut respondit[17], tuae serenitati rescripsimus. Et quamvis febribus urgebatur, vultum tamen laetum quamvis gravem nobis ostendit.

[1] ipsis K *
[2] adita M, V
[3] de sanitate *omit.* M, V
[4] ad *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[5] *omit*. K *, S
[6] majestatem regiam : regiam majestatem S
[7] Coloniensem H, I, M, S, V
[8] de H, I, M, V, BA
[9] Jauriensis faciebat : Januenses faciebant H, I, M, V; Jaurinenses faciebant S; per Januenses fiebant BA
[10] dicebant I
[11] Picenos H, I, M, V, BA
[12] quae dicebantur … Prutenos *omit.* V
[13] est I
[14] scriptis atque S
[15] dixitque M, V
[16] aliis K *, S
[17] respondet I; respondi S

[12] After these events, the pope was attacked by a terrible fever that continued to plague him. Now they despaired of his health, now they hoped. We visited him lying in his bed and made excuses on behalf of Your Royal Majesty for not having declared [your obedience] before. We told him about the problems that had arisen in Frankfurt. We begged him to grant the petitions made in common. We recommended the cause of the Archbishop of Cologne[1] and his brother.[2] We complained about the doings of the Bishop of Raab.[3] As instructed to, we requested the money said to be with the Prussians and presented a number of petitions in writing. As was his way, the pope responded kindly, saying that the cardinals of Bologna and Sant'Angelo had informed him of the sincere disposition of Your Royal Majesty. As for the principal matter, he said that he had delegated it to six cardinals and that he would himself consider the other matters. What he said, we have written to Your Serene Highness. Though the pope was plagued by fever, he showed us a pleasant but grave mien.

[1] Dietrich von Mörs

[2] Walram von Mörs (ca. 1393-1456): 1434 was elected bishop of Utrecht but could not get possession of the diocese. 1450 elected Bishop of Münster

[3] Ágoston Salánki (d. 1466): Bishop of Raab (Györ) in Hungary from 1445 to his death

[13] Post audientiam mox conviviis[1] apertum est ostium, quae subticeremus, nisi quia meminisse illorum[2] oportet, qui nos ob reverentiam majestatis imperatoriae[3] honorarunt. Primus omnium invitavit nos[4] magister palatii Johannes Kalteisen[5], {171v} vir bonus doctusque. Tum patriarcha Aquilegiensis, atque is ter[6] nos honorificentissime pavit, seseque[7] ultra omnes[8] regiae majestati[9] obtulit. Huic[10] fecimus de patriarchatu mentionem: excusavimus praeterita, futura limitavimus. Placuerunt omnia viro magnanimo. At[11] cum accepissemus[12] Petinensem[13] episcopum administratorem patriarchatus per Basilienses[14] deputatum ac per regiam majestatem admissum, ulterius loqui veriti sumus, ne mendaces inveniremur. Mentiri namque vel in maximis creduntur, quorum non est rata[15] fides in parvis. Morinensis quoque nobis saepissime[16] convivia[17] [18] exhibuit. Bononiensis[19] quasi commensales nos habuit. Cardinalis sancti angeli numquam nos[20] esse[21] domi permisit. Mediolanensis {172r} non contentus muneribus missis etiam cenam apparare voluit. Andegavensis splendide[22] nos excepit nec minus cardinalis sanctae Mariae novae, Firmanus ac[23] Columnensis[24]. Sancti Sixti solos regios invitavit, Tarentinus omnes, sed Brandeburgensem oratorem obtinere nequivit[25] [26]. Procurator quoque Teutonicorum nobis convivium struxit, saepius vero Ravennatensis antistes. Portugallensis cardinalis[27] invitavit nos. Sed jam fastidia[28] tanta[29] conviviorum frequentia[30] respuimus[31]. Vicecancellarius excusavit se, quia propter infirmitatem patrui minime convivari[32] decebat. Nobis vero multo gratiores erant excusationes quam convivia. *Voluptates* enim *rarior usus commendat*. Tunc sapiunt fercula, cum rara sunt. {172v} Convivium magis fames[33] quam copia laudat. Caret usu[34] convivii, qui saepius convivatur.

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[1] mox conviviis *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA [*NB: clearly omitted by error – see following* quae]
[2] *omit.* I
[3] majestatis imperatoriae : imperatoriae majestatis H, I, M, V, BA
[4] *omit.* H, M, V
[5] magister palatii Johannes Kalteisen : Johannes Calterensis magister palatii H, I, M, V, BA
[6] is ter : inter H, M, V; iste BA
[7] seque WO
[8] suas vires *add.* M, V
[9] regiae majestati : majestati regie S
[10] hinc BA
[11] ac M, V
[12] cepissemus S
[13] Portuensem K; Vetinensem S; Portunanensem WO
[14] Basiliensem H, I; Basileam M, V
[15] non est rara H, I; est rara M, V
[16] nobis saepissime : sepissime nos S; saepissime nobis WO
[17] convivas S
[18] nobis saepissime convivia : saepissime convivia nobis K *
[19] quoque *add.* M
[20] numquam nos : nos numquam S
[21] nos esse : esse nos K
[22] strenue H, I, M, V, BA
[23] *omit.* I, V; ac S
[24] et *add.* I
[25] *omit*. H; non potuit M, V
[26] sed Brandeburgensem … nequivit : Brandeburgensi oratore excepto I, BA
[27] *omit*. M
[28] fastidio H, I; fastidire M, V; fastidititi S; fastidios BA
[29] tantam M, V
[30] frequentiam M, V
[31] respicimus M, V
[32] *omit*. M; convivare V
[33] famesque V
[34] usus S

2.5. Dinner parties

[13] After the audience, the gate was soon opened to dinner parties. We only mention them because it is fitting to remember those who showed us honour out of respect for Your Imperial Majesty. First of all, we were invited by the Master of the Palace, Johann[1] Kalteisen[2], a good and learned man. The Patriarch of Aquileia[3] entertained us most honourably three times, and more than any other offered [his services] to Your Royal Highness. We did mention the matter of the patriarchate to him, making excuses for the past but saying little about the future. All was satisfactory to this generous man. But when we heard that the Bishop of Pedena[4] had been made administrator of the patriarchate by the Basileans and accepted by Your Royal Majesty, we feared saying more to him so as not to appear to have lied. For those who are not considered reliable in small things are thought to be liars in great. Also the Cardinal of Thérouanne[5] invited us to dinner very often. The Cardinal of Bologna had us practically as his table-fellows. The Cardinal of Sant'Angelo[6] never let us remain at home. The Cardinal of Milan[7] was not content with sending gifts but also invited us to supper. The Cardinal of Angers[8] received us splendidly, and no less did the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova[9], as well as the Cardinal of Fermo[10], and Cardinal Colonna[11]. The Cardinal of San Sisto[12] only invited the royal [ambassadors], whereas the Cardinal of Taranto[13] invited all but could not get the ambassador of Brandenburg. The Procurator of the Teutonic Knights also arranged a dinner party for us, as did the Bishop of Ravenna[14] often. Also the Cardinal of Portugal[15] invited us. However, we got really fed up with all these dinners. The Vicechancellor[16] excused himself because the illness of an uncle prevented him from feasting, but we really much preferred the excuses to the the dinners! For *pleasures are enhanced by rare indulgence,*[17] and dishes that are rare taste better. Hunger rather than abundance improves a dinner. The man who feasts often somehow lacks feasting.

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[1] Error for Heinrich
[2] Heinrich Kalteisen (ca. 1390-1464): at the time an official at the court of Pope Eugenius, later appointed Archbishop of Bergen (Norway)
[3] Ludovico Scarampo [Trevisan] (1401-1465): Patriarch of Aquileia 1439, cardinal 1440
[4] Probably Pietro Giustiniani: Bishop of Pedena from 1434 to 1457
[5] Cardinal Jean Le Jeune (1411-1451): Bishop of Thérouanne 1436, cardinal 1439
[6] Juan de Carvajal
[7] Enrico Rampini (ca. 1390-1450): Archbishop of Milan 1443, cardinal 1446
[8] Guillaume d'Estouteville (d. 1483): Abbot of Mont Saint-Michel 1444, elected Bishop of Angers 1439, cardinal 1439
[9] Pietro Barbo (1417-1471): Nephew of Pope Eugenius IV, cardinal 1440, elected pope 1464
[10] Domenico Capranica (1400-1458): appointed cardinal *in petto* 1426, recognized as cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1434. First employer of Piccolomini
[11] Prospero Colonna (ca. 1410-1463): appointed cardinal *in petto* by Pope Martin IV, formally announced in 1430
[12] Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468): Cardinal 1439
[13] Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto 1421-1439, cardinal 1439
[14] Bartolomeo Rovarella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna 1445
[15] Antonio Martins de Chaves: Bishop of Oporto 1423-1447. Cardinal 1439
[16] Francesco Condulmer (1390-1453): Nephew of Eugenius IV. Cardinal 1439. Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church 1437-1453
[17] Juvenal: *Satirae,* 11, 205: *voluptates commendat rarior usus*

[14] In adventu nostro duae cardinalium factiones erant. Rem nostram juvabant[1] cardinalis Aquilegiensis, Morinensis, Andegavensis, sanctae Mariae novae[2], Firmanus, Mediolanensis, sancti Pauli, Bononiensis[3], sancti Angeli. Ceteri fere impugnabant omnes[4] dicebantque venditam[5] esse Teutonicis[6] apostolicam sedem seque quasi bubalos[7] duci[8] naribus. Ea res promotionem Bononiensis et[9] sancti angeli cardinalium[10] acceleravit, ut litterati litteratos contunderent[11]. Hinc[12] cum res coram Eugenio tractaretur[13] factumque nostrum impugnaretur[14], "Quis vestrum," inquit Morinensis, "est Bononiensi theologior? Quis cardinali sancti angeli {173r} in jure peritior? Quod si aequari istis non valetis, cur eorum facta reprehenditis?" Venatusque[15] est eo modo favorem[16] Eugenii. Ad tractandum tamen nobiscum utriusque factionis cardinales deputati sunt. Acuit saepe intellectum[17] contentio perspicacioremque[18] reddit. Sex lecti sunt cardinales, qui facta nostra discuterent: Tarentinus, Morinensis, sancti Sixti, Valentinus, Bononiensis, sancti angeli. Septimus vero[19] concordiae causa additus[20] est[21] Firmanus.

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[1] iuvabat H, M, V
[2] *omit*. M
[3] et *add*. I, M, V, BA
[4] impugnabant omnes : omnes impugnabant I, M, BA
[5] vendicatem S
[6] venditam esse Teutonicis : Theutonicos venditam esse M, V
[7] bubales K
[8] ducere M, V
[9] ac S
[10] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[11] contenderent S
[12] hi M, V
[13] tractarent M, V
[14] impugnarentur M, V
[15] venatus K *, S; renatusque BA
[16] favor BA
[17] ingenium H, I, M, V, BA
[18] perspicaciusque BA
[19] autem H, I, M, V, BA
[20] abditus S
[21] *omit.* S

2.6. Two factions of cardinals

[14] When we arrived, the cardinals were divided into two factions: our cause was supported by the cardinals of Aquileia, Thérouanne, Angers, Santa Maria Nuova,[1] Fermo, Milan, San Paolo,[2] Bologna and Sant'Angelo, while it was opposed by almost all the others, claiming that the Apostolic See had been sold to the Germans, and that they were being led around by the nose like oxen. The matter hastened the appointment of the cardinals of Bologna and Sant'Angelo, so that the learned might overcome the learned. Thus, when the matter was debated before Eugenius, and our actions were criticized [by those cardinals], Thérouanne said: "Who among you knows theology better than the Cardinal of Bologna? And who knows law better than the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo? If you cannot match them, why do you criticize their actions?" In this way, they sought to obtain Eugenius' favour. But cardinals from both factions were deputed to negotiate with us since disagreement often sharpens the intellect and makes it keener. Six cardinals were chosen to discuss our requests[3]: Taranto,[4] Thérouanne, San Sisto,[5] Valencia,[6] Bologna, and Sant'Angelo. Fermo was added as the seventh for the sake of concord.

[1] Pietro Barbo
[2] Johannes de Primis (-1449): Cardinal 1446. Abbot of San Paolo fuori le Mura
[3] "facta"
[4] Giovanni Berardi de Tagliacozzo
[5] Juan de Torquemada
[6] Alfonso Borja: Bishop of Valencia (1429). Cardinal 1444. Elected pope 1455

[15] Alphonsus eo tempore, rex Aragonum[1], Tiburim[2] venerat Romaeque[3] ad quintum et decimum lapidem proximus erat. De suo adventu varii rumores erant. Quidam vocatum eum per patriarcham asserebant[4], qui moriturum[5] sciens papam sub ejus {173v} alis salutem quaerebat. Alii velle[6] regem Aragonum ex suo arbitrio[7] novum creari[8] papam autumabant[9]. Plures eum[10] venisse[11] ajebant Florentinos invasurum ac[12] sic[13] Philippo Mediolanensi opem laturum[14]. Senenses certe in societatem[15] belli ciebat[16] transitumque petebat. Circa hunc occupatus erat cardinalis Valentinus nec nostris potuit interesse[17] tractatibus. Hujus regis secretarius Aeneam domi convenit ostenditque carum esse regi suo[18], si ambo Tibur peteremus. Sed timuit Aeneas, ne[19] suspectum Eugenio[20] se[21] redderet, nec ire voluit ad quem missus non erat. Diligenter namque mandati fines asservandi sunt, nec secretarius ille aperte fari voluit, ut regem suum id commisisse diceret. Ipsius adventus regis {174r} omnia, quae victui necessaria[22] sunt hominibus ac[23] jumentis[24] praeter aquam[25] cariora reddidit, quinnimo[26] etiam domorum[27] auxit pensiones, quamvis urbem non intravit[28]. Sic avaritiam quaevis occasio manifestat. Parva pruina[29] Wiennensium[30] cellaria claudit.

[16] Accessimus deputatos quampluribus[31] vicibus dedimusque petitiones nostras in scriptis. Sed cum videremus ad ea, quae simul omnes petebamus, aures surdas esse, ad ea descendimus, quae seorsum conclusa Francfordiae[32] fuerant[33], diximusque cardinalibus, si priora concederentur, Alemaniam totam in oboedientia[34] sedis apostolicae futuram, sin secunda[35], solum regem, Maguntinensem[36] et Brandeburgensem cum adhaerentibus. Utilius autem esse totam habere nationem quam partem.

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[1] rex Aragonum : Aragonum rex M
[2] Tybur I; Tiburtum S; Tiburtim K
[3] Romaque H, I
[4] ayebant S
[5] moriturus M
[6] vero H, I, M, V, BA
[7] arbitratu M, V
[8] creare H, I, M, V, BA
[9] putabant M
[10] *omit*. M
[11] enim *add.* M
[12] et H, I, M, V, BA
[13] si S
[14] latiturum S
[15] societate H
[16] ducebat H, I, M, V, BA; licebat WO
[17] potuit interesse : interesse potuit S
[18] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[19] ut H, M, V
[20] Eugenium WO
[21] Eugenio se : se Eugenio S
[22] *omit.* H, K, S
[23] et H, I, M, V, BA
[24] necessaria sunt … jumentis : sunt hominibus et jumentis necessaria M, V
[25] *omit.* S
[26] qui in modo K
[27] etiam domorum : domorum etiam S
[28] intraret I; intraverit BA
[29] penuria I
[30] *omit*. H, I, M, V
[31] quamplurimis M, V
[32] conclusa Francfordiae : Francfordiae conclusa M
[33] fuerunt K *
[34] sanctae *add.* K
[35] secundum K; secundam V
[36] Maguntinum M, V

2.7. King Alfonso at Tivoli

[15] At that time, King Alfonso of Aragon came to Tivoli and stayed as close to Rome as the 15th milestone. There were various rumours about his coming. Some thought that he had been invited by the patriarch [of Aquileia],[1] knowing that the pope was dying and seeking safety under his wings. Others said that the King of Aragon wanted to influence the election of the new pope. And many claimed that he had come to attack Florence and thus help Filippo of Milan. At any rate, he sought a military alliance with Siena and requested passage through their territory. As the Cardinal of Valencia was occupied with this affair, he could not take part in our negotiations. The king´s secretary visited Aeneas in his lodgings and told him that the king would like us to come to Tivoli. But Aeneas feared making himself suspect to Eugenius, and he would not go to someone to whom he had not been sent. For the terms of a mandate must be observed scrupulously. And the secretary would not say directly that his king had given him this task. The coming of the king increased the prices of all provisions for men and beasts, except water! And though the king did not enter into the City, his arrival led to an increase in the price of renting houses. Thus greed manifests itself on any occasion. Just a small frost closes the storerooms in Vienna.[2]

2.8. Meetings with the cardinals

[16] We met many times with the delegated cardinals and gave them our petitions in writing. But when we saw that all our requests fell on deaf ears, we fell back on the separate agreement made in Frankfurt and told the cardinals that if the first requests were accepted, the whole of Germany would return to obedience to the Holy Apostolic See, but if only the second were accepted, it would just be the king, the Archbishop of Mainz,[3] and the Margrave of Brandenburg,[4] and their adherents. It would be better, however, to gain the whole nation rather than only a part!

[1] Ludovico Scarampo

[2] The meaning may be that frost prevents provisions from reaching the city, and immediately people began to guard and ration their own stored provisions

[3] Dietrich Schenck von Erbach (d. 1459): Archbishop of Mainz, prince-elector and primate of Germany from 1434 to his death

[4] Friedrich II (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471): Margrave of Brandenburg and prince-elector from 1440 to his abdication in 1470

[17] {174v} Inter nos quoque variae erant sententiae[1]. Dicebant enim aliqui declarationem tutius[2] ad Norenbergensem[3] differri[4] dietam[5], ibi ut tota natio se declararet. Alii dicebant, nisi tunc declaratio fieret, desperatam[6] rem esse. Inter haec curiales Alemani[7], qui beneficia impetrarant[8], intelligentes se nostris eludi[9] tractatibus, ambire cardinales, dicere se[10] diutius servivisse, nulla esse emolumenta laborum, ingratum papam, ingratos cardinales fore. Illi[11] omne malum ex[12] Alemanis suisque conterraneis prodire dicebant eosque ad nos remittebant. His Aeneas "Insulse agitis," inquit, "qui declarationem impedire conamini. Si extra oboedientiam sumus, nec quae impetrastis beneficia potestis adipisci {175r} nec alia impetrare. Sin[13] vero praestamus oboedientiam, quamvis caretis[14] impetratis, impetrare tamen alia beneficia potestis. Stultum est rem simul spemque perdere. Nos, quae in mandatis suscepimus[15], mutare nequaquam valemus[16]. Omnis concordia possessoribus favet."

[1] scientiae M
[2] *omit.* I; totius M
[3] Norimbergensem H, I, M, V, BA
[4] deferri V
[5] dietum M, V
[6] disperatam M, V
[7] Alemann… *et passim* M, V; Alamann… *et passim* WO
[8] impetrarunt I; impetrarent V
[9] illudi H, I, M, V, BA
[10] dicere se : se dicere H, I, M, V, BA
[11] illis H, I; ab illis M, W; illinc BA
[12] in H, I, M, V, BA
[13] si H, I, M, V, BA,
[14] careatis BA
[15] recepimus H, I, BA; recipimus M, V
[16] possumus H, I, M, V, BA

2.9. Concerns of the German curials

[17] Also among ourselves there were various opinions. Some said that it would be more prudent to postpone the declaration until the Diet of Nürnberg so that the whole nation could make the declaration there. Others said that unless the declaration was made now, the whole situation would become desperate.

In the meantime, the German curials who had obtained benefices[1] previously realized that they might lose them as a result of our negotiations.[2] They, therefore, canvassed the cardinals saying that they had served a long time, that their labours brought them no rewards, that the pope was ungrateful, and that the cardinals were ungrateful, too. The cardinals replied that all the evils came from their own compatriots, the Germans, and referred them to us. Aeneas said to them: "You act stupidly when you try to prevent the declaration for if we remain outside [the papal] obedience, you can neither secure[3] the benefices you have obtained nor can you obtain others. But if we declare obedience, you may lose benefices obtained previously, but then you will be able to obtain others. It is stupid both to lose the thing itself and the hope for it. As for us, we cannot change the mandate we were given. Any settlement will benefit the actual possessors."

[1] Ecclesiastical benefices, e.g., parishes, canonries, deaneries, abbeys, and sometimes even bishoprics

[2] As absentee holders of ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, many of which would be the subject of dispute between two or more claimants, they German curials were understandably nervous about the results of a new general settlement

[3] I.e., get actual possession of, as distinct from receiving the formal grant

[18] In tractatu cardinalium maximae difficultates contentionesque[1] fuerunt. Grave videbatur cardinalibus annatas remittere, collationes[2] beneficiorum amittere[3], concilium[4] convocare, decreta recipere, privatos restituere, ajebantque non solum in natione Germanica[5] id esse[6] nocivum, sed alias quoque nationes exinde occasionem recepturas[7] et[8] apostolicam sedem perditum iri, nec bene consultum esse ceteris ecclesiis, quando Romana, {175v} quae est caput omnium, langueret. Conducere[9] Christianae religioni Romanum pontificem fore potentem, ut tueri alios praelatos queat[10], inter principes pacem constituere, infidelibus resistere, haereses exstirpare. Numquam tot haereses in Christiana religione fuisse, quot fuerunt ante Sylvestrum, quia paupertas Romani[11] pontificis neglectui[12] fuit. Nos contra pauperem minime papam velle dicebamus, annatarum loco provisionem fieri debere, quae tolerabilior nationi foret. Nationes non posse exemplo uti nostro, qui temporalia, non perpetua petebamus[13], ad futurum usque concilium mansura. Ex cardinalibus {176r} quidam auctoritatem Romani[14] pontificis minui timebant, quidam emolumenta, quidam utrumque.

[19] At postquam[15] diebus plurimis[16] disceptatum est et usque ad desperationem litigatum, inventa demum concordia est. Concilium, uti petivimus, promissum est. Decreta Basiliensis concilii usquequo in futuro concilio aliter ordinetur[17], recepta sunt, vel usquequo cum legato aliter fuerit concordatum.[18] Circa possessores amplius provisum est quam nostrae instructiones exposcerent. Restitutio[19] dominorum Coloniensis[20] et Treverensis[21] [22] archiepiscoporum, ut in articulis habuimus, repromissa est. Circa professionem[23] major difficultas fuit, auctoritatem namque conciliorum, uti[24] Basilieae[25] declarata fuerat, nullo pacto admitti volebant. Sed opitulati[26] sunt {176v} in ea re nobis Maguntini, qui ad concilii Constantiensis decreta referri illam[27] sufficere dixerunt, quos secutus est Brandeburgensis orator, et nos volupe accessimus, superque[28] his omnibus fieri minutas obtentum est, sed in illis etiam diutius disputatum est. Ad extremum et clausulae et verba ex[29] nostro arbitrio recepta sunt.

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[1] intentionesque M
[2] collationem WO
[3] collationes beneficiorum amittere *omit.* M, V
[4] conciliumque WO
[5] non solum … Germanica : in natione Germanica non solum M, V
[6] id esse : esse id M
[7] quoque nationes exinde occasionem recepturas : exinde nationes recessuras quoque nationes exinde occasionem H, I, M, V, BA
[8] ac M, V
[9] decere M, V
[10] et *add*. M, V
[11] *omit.* M
[12] neglecta M, V
[13] quaerebamus I, BA
[14] summi BA, WO
[15] At postquam *omit.* M, V
[16] pluribus K [plurimis WO]
[17] ordinentur I
[18] aliter ordinetur … concordatum : fuerit concordatum manere M, V
[19] reverendissimorum *add.* I
[20] Treverensium V
[21] Coloniensium V
[22] Coloniensis et Treverensis : Treverensis et Coloniensis Treverensium H, I, M, V
[23] profectionem H, I, M, V
[24] ut M, V
[25] basilica H; in Basilea M, V, BA
[26] capitulati M
[27] illa M, V
[28] super BA
[29] clausulae et verba ex : verba et clausaulae H, I, M, V, BA

2.10. Objections of the cardinals

[18] In the negotiations with the cardinals, there were some very important problems and disagreements. The cardinals thought it would be a serious thing to give up the annates, to lose the granting of benefices, to convene a council, to accept the decrees [of Basel], to reinstate men deprived [of their office][1]. They also said that this would not only be harmful in Germany: afterwards other nations, too, would seize upon the opportunity, and then the Apostolic See would be lost. However, it would not be in the interest of the other churches if the Roman Church, the head of all churches, became weakened. Indeed, it benefited the whole Christian religion that the Roman Pontiff was strong so that he could protect other prelates, make peace between princes, resist the infidels, and root out heresy. Never had there been so many heresies in the Christian religion as in the time before Sylvester,[2] [3] since the Roman Pontiff was ignored because of his poverty. To this we answered that we did not want the pope to be poor and that the annates would have to be replaced by some other arrangement that would be more tolerable to the [German] nation. [Other] nations could not make use of our example, for we were not requesting a permanent [arrangement], but only a temporary one which would last until the future council. Some cardinals feared a decline in the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, others a reduction of the incomes [of the curia], and others both.

2.11. Compromises

[19] The discussions lasted for many days, [both parties] fighting desperately, but we finally reached an agreement. The council we requested was promised us. The decrees of the Council of Basel were accepted until a future council would decide differently or until other dispositions would be agreed with the legate. Concerning the possessors [of ecclesiastical benefices], we got a broader arrangement than our instructions required. The reinstatement of the lord archbishops of Cologne and Trier as stipulated in our mandate was promised. Concerning the profession [of faith], the major problem was that they would absolutely not accept the authority of the councils as declared in Basel. But in this matter we were helped by the [legates] from Mainz[4] who said that it would be enough to refer to the decrees of the Council of Konstanz. They were seconded by the ambassador of Brandenburg, and we[5] were happy to agree. We obtained that minutes were made of all these [agreements] – and these minutes, too, were discussed at length. In the end, both the words and sentences we wished were accepted.

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[1] By Pope Eugenius, especially the archbishops of Cologne and Trier

[2] Sylvester I (d. 335): Pope from 314 to his death

[3] In traditional church thinking, Emperor Constantine I had by imperial decree (Donatio Constantini) granted Pope Sylvester full rights and possession of Rome and the lands of the Church, thus creating the basis for a church state independent of the secular powers. Renaissance scholars like Lorenzo Valla had already proven, ca 1440, that the Donation was a late forgery

[4] Including the clever Johann Lysura

[5] I.e., the imperial envoys

[20] Ad haec autem obtinenda nomine regiae majestatis quattuor promittere nos[1] oportuit, quae a[2] nostris instructionibus non erant aliena. Primum, quod[3] regia serenitas[4] [5], quamprimum[6] commode posset, intellecta declaratione Romae facta, iterum se solemniter declararet mandaretque principibus et civitatibus, ut suae decarationi se conformarent[7]. {177r} Secundum, quod recipi legatum honorifice, ut moris est, praeciperet. Tertium, quod ex[8] Basiliensi civitate[9] mandaretur[10], ut salvum conductum revocarent[11] his[12], qui sub nomine concilii illic degerent. Quartum, quod ad recompensam apostolicae sedi[13] faciendam regia serenitas non solum mediatricem, sed etiam adjutricem[14] se exhiberet. Haec omnia nomine regio[15] promisimus,[16] quia sic instructiones nostrae nos admonebant[17]. Nunc regi incumbit, quod promissum est facere. Ipse[18] enim, non nos promisimus. Quicumque pacta sibi[19] servari vult, ne violator pactorum inveniatur[20] [21], caveat. Reciproca sunt ultro citroque[22] beneficia: qui facit, recipit. Otioso nemo beneficus {177v} est.

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[1] promittere nos : nos promittere WO
[2] ab K
[3] eius K *
[4] majestas H, I, M, V, BA
[5] quattuor promittere … majestas *omit.* M, V
[6] primumque S
[7] confirmarent M, V
[8] *omit.* S
[9] civitati S
[10] mandaret M
[11] reuocaret M, V
[12] iis H, I, M, V; illis BA; hiis S, W
[13] sedis M
[14] sed etiam adjutricem *omit.* M
[15] regis M
[16] et litteras sub nostris sigillis dedimus *add.* K
[17] admouebant K *
[18] ipsi K *
[19] *omit.* M, V
[20] *omit.* S
[21] violator pactorum inveniatur : inveniatur violator pactorum M
[22] citraque K

2.12. Conditions to be fulfilled by the Germans

[20] To achieve this, we had to promise four things, which were, however, compatible with our instructions. The first was that after being informed that the declaration [of obedience] had been made in Rome, His Serene Highness would, as soon as convenient, make a new, solemn declaration and command the princes and cities to act accordingly. The second was that he should order the legate[1] to be received with the customary honours. The third was that the City of Basel should be ordered to revoke the safe-conduct to those who were staying there under the name of a council. The fourth was that His Serene Highness would act not only as a mediator but also as an active helper concerning the compensation to be made to the Apostolic See. All this we promised in the name of the king, as our instructions required us to do. Now, it is incumbent on the king to fulfil the promises, for it is he, not we who made them. Anybody who wants agreements to be observed should not be found to break them. Benefits must be mutual: who gives, receives. No one will assist somebody who is passive.

[1] The papal legate to be sent to Germany

[21] Ceterum, cum omnia composita forent[1], subortum est majus dubium: invalescebat Eugenii morbus, timorque mortis erat, et[2] [3] – ut fieri solet – omnia in majus extollebantur. Coeperunt ex nostris aliqui[4] haesitare, an facienda declaratio esset, nec morituro pontifici praestandam censebant[5] oboedientiam, quae Germaniae principes divideret. At Johannes[6] Lysura, acri[7] vir ingenio et facundia copiosa, non pontifici tantum, sed apostolicae quoque sedi praestari oboedientiam affirmabat[8], personam mori, sedem non mori. Si re infecta decederemus[9], magnas in natione futuras[10] discordias principum, huc alium, illuc alium tendere. Longum praeteriturum[11] {178r} tempus, antequam tot[12] principes convenirent in unam sententiam, quot[13] nuper convenerant[14]. Magna esse, quae obtenta forent[15]. Habendas esse omnino bullas, difficile namque obtineri a successore[16] [17] talia possent. Servandam esse unionem[18] principum, qui jam concordes essent, neque id fieri posse nisi per declarationem: qua neglecta singulos esse liberos, facta vero[19] foederibus obnoxios. Suum esse consilium suamque sententiam absque declaratione minime abeundum[20], etiam si unum tantum digitum Eugenius moveat: nolle se multis irrisum iri,[21] nolle[22] occasionem bene gerendae rei[23] amittere.

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[1] fuerant S
[2] *omit.* H
[3] majus dubium … et *omit.* M
[4] ex nostris aliqui : aliqui ex nostris M, S, V
[5] confidebant K
[6] de *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[7] *omit.* I
[8] affirmat M
[9] recederemus K *, S
[10] *omit.* H; esse *add.* M, V
[11] *omit*. M, V
[12] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[13] prout M, V
[14] interponi M, V
[15] fuerant I, BA
[16] a successore *omit.*
[17] obtineri a successore : a successore obtineri V
[18] principum huc alium … unionem *omit*. I
[19] pro H, I, M, V, BA
[20] obeundum BA
[21] nolle se iri *omit.* I
[22] se *add.* I
[23] occasionem bene … rei : bene gerendae rei occasionem H, I, M, V, BA

2.13. What to do if the pope died

[21] When all had been settled, a major problem arose: Eugenius' illness grew worse, and there was fear for his life, so – as usual – people became greatly agitated. Some of ours became uncertain whether the declaration should be made, and they thought that the declaration should not be made to a dying pope since that might divide the German princes. However, Johann Lysura[1], a man of sharp intellect and copious eloquence, stated that the obedience was declared not only to the pope but also to the Apostolic See: the person might die, but not the See. If we left without finishing our business, it would lead to great conflicts among the princes in the nation, some pulling in one direction, and others in another. It would take a long time before as many princes would come to an agreement as had happened recently. Great things had been achieved. It was essential to obtain the [papal] bulls now since it be would be difficult to get such bulls from a successor. The unity of the princes who were now in agreement should be preserved, and that would only be possible if the declaration [of obedience] were made: if it were not made, each prince would be free [to do as he pleased], but if it were made they would be bound by the pacts. His advice and judgment were that they should not depart without having made the declaration even if Eugenius could only move just one finger. Lysura did not want to be the laughing stock of many, and he did not wish to lose the opportunity to bring this matter to a happy conclusion.

[1] Vicar General of the Archbishop of Mainz

[22] Eadem sui collegae sententia fuit. His[1] postquam accessimus et reliqui omnes subsecuti[2] {178v} sunt, quoniam, si mori contingeret[3] Eugenium[4] [5] et canonicam fieri successoris electionem, nulli dubium erat, quin[6] rata[7] manerent omnia, sin autem discordes fuissent cardinales electionemque minus rite fecissent, nationem sui juris fore[8] ac[9] ex integro posse deliberare[10]. Nec certa res erat de morte papae, qui[11] si nobis infecta re abeuntibus[12] convaluisset[13], cum per eum concordiae satisfactum esset, reprehensione non parva[14] digni fuissemus.

[23] Cum ergo conclusum esset fieri declarationem, mandavit Eugenius VI. februarii[15] die publicum celebrari consistorium[16] [17], adesse praelatos[18] [19], convenire curiales. Sed cum oratores principum nondum particularia expedivissent negotia neque sine illis publicum[20] vellent consumere[21], non sine {179r} scandalo in alteram[22] diem dilatum[23] est consistorium. Accessimus omnes palatium apostolicum. Nondum bullae[24] omnes erant confectae, quae dari omnibus possent, sed de quavis materia una confecta erat. Vocarunt cardinales Aeneam et[25] Johannem de Lysura[26] eosque interrogaverunt[27], an fieri declaratio posset. Responsum est posse, si coram omnibus promitteretur etiam moriente papa reliquas bullas, quae non essent scriptae, datum[28] iri[29]. Legatum apostolicum[30] cum litteris restitutionis Coloniensis[31] et Treverensis[32] archiepiscoporum et cum litteris simillibus iis, quae Maguntino[33] dabantur pro illis duobus ac Palatino et duce Saxoniae venturum[34]. Promiserunt haec omnia cardinales etiam coram aliis[35] verbumque pro cardinalibus summa prudentia pater[36] cardinalis {179v} Morinensis fecit.

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[1] nos H, I, M, V, BA
[2] secuti S
[3] contigerit H, V; contigeret I; cederet M
[4] Eugenius M
[5] contingeret Eugenium : Eugenium contingeret S
[6] quoniam H, I
[7] data M
[8] fere BA
[9] et M, V
[10] posse deliberare : liberari posse M, V
[11] que S
[12] absentibus H, I, M, V
[13] invaluisset H, I; revaluisset M
[14] pauca M, V
[15] februaris S
[16] et *add*. M, V
[17] celebrari consistorium : consistorium celebrari M
[18] et *add*. M, V
[19] nec S
[20] publico BA
[21] consulere H, I, M, BA; concludere V
[22] alium H, M, BA; alteram K, S
[23] delatum I, M, S, V
[24] nondum bullae : bullae nondum I
[25] Aa K
[26] jura H, V
[27] interrogarunt K
[28] dari M, V
[29] in H, M, V; ad *add.* I
[30] legatum apostolicum : legato apostolico BA
[31] Coloniensium M
[32] Treverensium V
[33] Maguntiae BA, WO
[34] Ve/inetorum *add* H, M, V; omit. I, BA
[35] aliisque M
[36] presbiter M, V

[22] His colleagues[1] agreed. We[2] assented, and then all the others agreed, too, for if Eugenius happened to die, and his successor was elected canonically,[3] then all [the agreements] would undoubtedly be upheld, but if the cardinals disagreed and did not make a proper election, then the [German] nation had the right to do as it wished and could negotiate afresh.[4] Moreover, it was not certain that the pope would die: if we left with the matter unfinished, and he then recovered, having done what he should to make concord, then we would merit to be severely reprimanded.

2.14. German accept of conditions

[23] So, when we had resolved to make the declaration [of obedience], Eugenius decided to hold a public consistory on 6 February with prelates and curials being present.[5] But since the princes' ambassadors had not yet finished their individual affairs [with the curia] and therefore did not want to conclude the common one,[6] the consistory was – not without some embarrassment – postponed to another day, on which we all went to the Apostolic Palace. Not all the bulls were ready for everyone, but one bull on some or other matter was ready. The cardinals summoned Aeneas and Johann Lysura and asked them whether the declaration could be made. They said yes, but only if the cardinals made a promise before all that even if the pope died, the as yet unwritten bulls would be issued. A papal legate would come, bringing the letters reinstating the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, identical to those to be given to the Archbishop of Mainz concerning these two and to the Count Palatine[7] and the Duke of Saxony.[8] Before others, too, the cardinals then promised all these things, and the Cardinal of Thérouanne, a Father of great wisdom, spoke on behalf of the cardinals.

[1] I.e., the legates of the Archbishop of Mainz
[2] I.e., the legates of the emperor
[3] I.e., legitimately
[4] I.e., with all the disagreements and conflicts which that would entail
[5] I.e., a public consistory this time
[6] I.e., the declaration of obedience
[7] Ludwig IV (Wittelsbach)
[8] Friedrich II

[24] Post haec introducti sumus ad pontificem in penitiori[1] cubiculo jacentem, quem velut unum ex sanctis patribus mirati sumus ac venerati osculatique manus ejus. Magna[2] inerat homini gravitas plenusque[3] majestate vultus[4] erat. Ipsa facies pontificem[5] indicabat[6]. Ubi nos vidit, benigne allocutus est ac dicere jussit. Paucis verbis oboedientiam suae sanctitati[7] [8] praestitimus receptisque de sua manu litteris eas Maguntinis assignavimus. Multum enim eis saepe[9] detulimus, ut rem conduceremus in[10] finem. Ibi Palatini ac[11] Saxones suos principes honestis verbis excusarunt, quod in exhibitione oboedientiae non concurrerent. Ajebant enim illos non Romae, {180r} sed Norimbergae futuram declarationem intellexisse atque idcirco non dedisse[12] declarandi[13] mandatum, placiturum[14] tamen illis, quae Romae fierent, nec se dubium habere, quin[15] principes ipsi in Norimberga se declararent ac regiae majestati et ceteris se conformarent. Eadem verba et[16] in publico postea consistorio[17] [18] repetiverunt. Papa gratias Deo retulit nosque cum benedictione a se[19] lacrimantes dimisit. Nec enim tenere lacrimas quisquam potuit, qui tam venerandum[20] majestuosumque patrem succumbentem morbo videbat.

[25] Jam sol in occasum ibat, cum publicum consistorium adivimus. Multa illic hominum millia expectabant. Insignis contio erat mirificumque auditorium. {180v} Consedebant cardinales praesulesque[21], advocati et ingens turba doctorum stabant[22]. Nos etiam e[23] regione pontificalis[24] cathedrae[25] [26] stabamus. Tum Aeneas brevem ex tempore oratiunculam habuit, nec tempus longiorem[27] ferebat, et legendae plurimae fuerunt[28] litterae[29]. Nominavit etiam Aeneas omnes, qui sese[30] tunc declarabant, reddiditque in medium litteras imperatoriae majestatis atque inclyti Bohemiae regni, quae omnes lectae fuerunt.

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[1] *omit.* M
[2] *omit.* BA
[3] plenaque M, V
[4] *omit.* M, V
[5] pontificis H, M, V, BA
[6] *omit.* M, V
[7] suae sanctitati : sanctitati sue I
[8] oboedientiam suae sanctitati : sue sanctitati obedientiam M
[9] eis saepe : saepe eis H, I, BA
[10] ad H, I, M, V, BA
[11] et H, I, M, V, BA
[12] de *add.* BA
[13] declaranda I, BA
[14] placitum H, I, M, V
[15] quia H, I; quin K
[16] *omit.* I, BA; postea M, V
[17] *omit.* M
[18] postea consistorio : consistorio postea H, I, M, V, BA
[19] a se *omit.* BA
[20] venerabilem M, V
[21] praesules H, I, M, V, BA
[22] stabat H, I, M, V, BA
[23] a M, V
[24] *omit.* I
[25] *omit.* M
[26] pontificalis cathedrae : cathedre pontificalis K *, S
[27] longiora V
[28] fuerant K *, S
[29] fuerunt litterae : litterae fuerunt BA
[30] se S

2.15. Declaration of obedience

[24] Afterwards, we were taken to the pope, lying in an inner chamber. We looked upon him in awe as one of the holy Fathers, showed our respect, and kissed his hand. The man had great dignity and a majestic mien[1], truly that of a pope. When he saw us, he addressed us benignly and bade us speak. Then, in few words, we declared obedience to His Holiness, and having received the letter from his hand, we gave it to the [ambassadors] from Mainz, for we deferred often and much to them in order to facilitate matters and bring them to a conclusion. The [ambassadors] from the Palatinate and Saxony made courteous excuses that they could not join the declaration of obedience: their princes had understood that the future declaration would be made not in Rome but in Nürnberg and therefore had not given them mandate to declare obedience. However, they would approve of what was done in Rome, and the ambassadors did not doubt that they would make the declaration in Nürnberg and conform to His Royal Majesty and the others. (Afterwards, they repeated this statement in the public consistory.) The pope thanked God and dismissed us crying, with a blessing. For who could keep back his tears seeing this venerable and majestic Father succumbing to illness.

2.16. Public consistory

[25] The sun was already setting when we went to the public consistory. Several thousand people were waiting there. It was a distinguished assembly and an amazing audience. The cardinals and bishops were seated, while the advocates and a great crowd of doctors were standing. We stood near the papal chair.[2] Then Aeneas improvised[3] a short oration,[4] since time did not allow for a longer one, and since many letters had to be read aloud. Aeneas also named all those who made the declaration of obedience on that occasion and produced the letters of His Imperial Majesty and the Illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia, which were all read aloud.

[1] ”vultus”
[2] “cathedra”
[3] Piccolomini had undoubtedly given some thought in advance to what he would say
[4] This oration is not extant, probably because it was not written down

[26] Cumque inter alios nominaretur magnus ordinis Prutenorum[1] magister, Andreas, theologus notae[2] facundiae ac probatae conversationis pater, qui procurator ordinis erat[3] - tamquam suus dominus suusque ordo declaratus diutius ante[4] [5] fuisset – ejus[6] dictis sese opposuit, {181r} quamvis antea taciturum se[7] promisisset[8]. Tum Aeneas "nil[9] opus est verbis", inquit, "reverendissimi patres. Ipsius magistri[10] extant sigilla, quae meis dictis fidem astipulantur. Ipse magni magistri orator apud Francfordiam unioni conventionique nostrae se miscuit[11]. Quae ibi conclusa sunt, hic exequuntur[12]." Erubuit homo nec libertatem replicandi[13] habuit. Cognovit tamen postea[14] [15] suum erratum et, ut virum decet bonum[16], veniam petivit[17]. Nemo umquam non[18] errat, sed animo pertinaci errorem tueri nefarium est. Vix errasse videtur[19], qui correxit errorem.

[1] procerum M
[2] mirae BA
[3] fuerat S
[4] antea I
[5] declaratus diutius ante : diutius ante declaratus K, S
[6] Enee S
[7] taciturum se : se taciturum H, I, M, V, BA
[8] ejus dictis … promisisset *omit.* M, V
[9] nihil H, I, M, V, BA
[10] Andree *add.* K *, S
[11] se miscuit : inmiscuit K
[12] exequantur BA; exequimur K
[13] libertatem replicandi : replicandi potestatem M; replicandi libertatem V
[14] *omit.* I
[15] tamen postea : postea tamen M
[16] virum decet bonum : bonum virum decet K
[17] petiiit H, I, M, V, BA
[18] umquam non : numquam H, I, M, V, BA
[19] *omit.* M

[26] The Prussian Order[1] and its Grand Master[2] had declared for obedience previously, but when Aeneas named the Grand Master of the Prussian Order among the others, the order's procurator[3], a theologian noted for his eloquence and a Father of estimable conduct, protested, although he had previously promised to remain silent. Then Aeneas said: "Reverend Fathers, there is no need for words since we have the seals of the Master attesting my claims. In Frankfurt, the ambassador of the Grand Master joined our agreement and compact. Here we just carry out what was decided there." The man blushed and was not given leave to reply. Afterwards, however, he recognized his error and asked for pardon, as befits a good man. All people make errors, but to stubbornly persist in an error is wicked. If you correct an error, it is almost as if you had not made it.

[1] Teutonic order [O*rdo domus Sanctæ Mariæ Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanorum*]: a catholic religious military order founded ca. 1192. During the later Middle Ages it served in the Baltic area, and came to possess a large part of present-day Prussia

[2] Ludwig von Erlichshausen: Grand Master ca. 1450-1467

[3] I.e., it's representative at the Roman curia

[27] Declaratio nomine istorum[1] facta est Friderici, Romanorum regis, regni Bohemiae, Theodorici, Maguntini archiepiscopi, {181v} Friderici atque[2] Johannis atque Alberti, marchionum Brandeburgensium, Friderici Magdeburgensis, Friderici Salzburgensis[3] Bremensis[4] etiam archiepiscoporum[5], Wilhelmi[6], ducis Saxoniae, Jacobi, marchionis Badensis, Ludovici, lantgravii[7] Hassiae, plurium[8] quoque praesulum nationis Germaniae[9], quorum epistolae[10] lectae sunt[11] mandataque[12] inspecta. Johannes[13] Lysura pauca verba, ornata tamen[14], pro Maguntino effatus est, nec aliis oratio defuit, sed unusquisque[15] suo loco[16] verbum fecit. Postquam omnes locuti sunt[17], vicecancellarius cardinalis Venetiarum primus omnium commendatis[18] cum rege[19] omnibus divinae pietati gratias egit, quae deposita tandem neutralitate {182r} inclytam[20] Germaniae[21] nationem apostolicae sedi[22] [23] reintegravit[24]. Orator Salzburgensis archiepiscopi, etsi novissimus omnium Romam petiit, in tempore tamen venit[25] interfuitque tractatibus et omnium gratior apostolicam sedem quibusdam pecuniis[26] honoravit, cujus gravis tarditas acceptior fuit quam nostra levis celeritas.

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[1] ipsorum H, MA
[2] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[3] Salczeburgensis K; Saltzburgensium M; Salczeburgensis W
[4] Bremensium M
[5] *omit.* M; et *add.* M, V
[6] Wilermi H; Willelmi I; Vilermi M, V; Willermi BA; Wilelmi WO
[7] langravii V; lantgravii S; lancravii K
[8] plurimum M
[9] nationis Germaniae : Germanice nationis M; nationis Germanicae V
[10] epistolas M
[11] lectae sunt : legerunt M
[12] mandata quoque K *, S
[13] de *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[14] et gravia *add.* K *
[15] quisque WO
[16] unusquisque suo loco : suo quisque loco K, S
[17] sumus H, I, M, V, BA
[18] commendatus H, I, M, V
[19] cum rege : est regem et de M, V
[20] inclyta H; inclytae M, V
[21] Germanicae M
[22] *omit.* H, I, M, V
[23] apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae H, I, M, V, BA
[24] redintegraverit K
[25] fuit S
[26] quibusdam pecuniis : pecuniis quibusdam S

[27] The declaration of obedience was made in the names of Friedrich, King of the Romans,[1] the Kingdom of Bohemia, Dietrich, Archbishop of Mainz,[2] Friedrich,[3] Johann[4] and Albrecht,[5] Margraves of Brandenburg, Friedrich of Magdeburg,[6] and Friedrich, Archbishop of Salzburg,[7] the Archbishop of Bremen,[8] Wilhelm, Duke of Saxony,[9] Jakob, Margrave of Baden,[10] Ludwig, Landgrave of Hesse,[11] and many bishops of the German nation whose letters were read and mandates examined. Johann Lysura spoke briefly, but ornately, for the Archbishop of Mainz, and the others spoke too, each in his turn. When all had spoken, the Cardinal of Venice,[12] Vicechancellor, spoke first of all. He commended the king and all the others and gave thanks to Divine Piety that the illustrious German nation had given up neutrality and rejoined the Apostolic See. The ambassador of the Archbishop of Salzburg had arrived in Rome last of all, but he did arrive in time to participate in the negotiations, and he was the most welcome of all since he honoured the Apostolic See with a gift of money so that his grave lateness was more welcome than our light swiftness!

[1] Friedrich III (Habsburg)
[2] Dietrich von Erbach
[3] Friedrich III von Brandenburg (Hohenzollern)
[4] Johann von Brandenburg-Kulmbach (Hohenzollern) (1406-1464): Margrave of Brandenburg 1426-1457
[5] Albrecht III Achilles von Brandenburg (1414-1486): Margrave, from 1471 Prince elector
[6] Friedrich III von Beichlingen
[7] Friedrich von Emmersberg (-1452): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1441 to his death
[8] Gerhard von Hoya
[9] Wilhelm III (1425-1482): Duke and Prince Elector of Saxony from to his death
[10] Jakob von Baden (1407-1453): Margrave of Baden from 1431 to his death
[11] Ludwig II (1402-1458): Landgrave of Hesse fom 1413 to his death
[12] Ludovico Scarampo

[28] Ut primum verba finita sunt consistoriumque dimissum, ingens ac festivus campanarum sonus est auditus. Et quia jam nox advenerat, ignes tota urbe incensi[1] sunt praeceptumque est in crastinum[2] omnis interdicta[3] venditio ac[4] mercatura[5] diesque festus clausis tabernis et stationibus actus est. Sequenti vero dominica processionem fieri solemnem[6] placuit[7] {182v} de sancto Marco, cujus fanum[8] parum[9] a Capitolio distat, usque in Lateranum[10], portarique tiaram, quam[11] Sylvestro papae dono dederat[12] Constantinus. Hic[13] diutius apud Constantinopolim delituerat, postea per Romanos pontifices redemptus[14] Avionioni degebat. Noviter autem[15] illum[16] sub pignore stantem luerat[17] Eugenius afferrique Romam jusserat et inter reliquias apud sanctum Johannem condi. Mitra est oblonga, triplici corona circumdata[18]. Margaritae[19] illic nonnullique[20] alii[21] lapilli[22] splendent. Minime tamen hujusmodi[23] sunt, quales vel in tuo[24] diademate vel[25] in apostolica mitra hodie cernimus, nec[26] enim adhuc[27] pompa[28] hujus aevi[29] luxuriam[30] adaequabat[31]. Castior aetas praecessit. Majores {183r} nostri neque ornatui neque cibo ut nos indulserunt. Veniet adhuc lascivius saeculum vitamque nostram minorum[32] vitia commendabunt. Portata est igitur[33] in processione[34] corona Sylvestri et apud Lateranum recondita. Ibi Morinensis[35] celebravit factusque[36] est sermo[37], ac mirifice commendati rex Romanorum suique principes cum omni natione, finemque illic solemnitas declarationis accepit. Et nos etiam hic[38] secundae parti nostrae relationis[39] modum imponimus[40] atque ad tertiam festinamus.[41]

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[1] accensi H, I, M, V, BA
[2] ut *add.* M, V; iusticium *add*. K *, S
[3] esset *add.* M, V
[4] et H, I, M, V, BA
[5] mercatum BA
[6] processionem fieri solemnem *omit.* M, V
[7] *omit.* M
[8] planum H, I, BA; palatium M, V
[9] parumper K
[10] processionem fieri solemnem *add*. M, V
[11] quem K
[12] dedit H, I, M, V, BA
[13] hec H, I, M, V, BA
[14] redempta S, WO
[15] enim H, I, M, V, BA
[16] illam H, I, M, V, BA
[17] lucratur H; lucratus I, BA; lucratus est M, V
[18] circulata BA
[19] margarita H; margaritis I
[20] et nonnulli M;
[21] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[22] lapides H, I, M, V, BA; pretiosi *add.* M
[23] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[24] in tuo : tuo in K
[25] veluti M, V
[26] neque BA
[27] *omit.* M, V
[28] pompam H, I, V, BA
[29] hujus aevi : evi hujus S
[30] luxuria M, V
[31] adaequarat BA
[32] maiorum M, V
[33] *omit.* M
[34] processionem H, M, V
[35] cardinalis *add*. I
[36] ac factus M
[37] est sermo : sermo est S
[38] sic H, I, M, V, BA
[39] *omit.* I; orationis M, V
[40] imponamus I
[41] Pars narrationis tertia *in marg.* H; Tertia pars *add*. I

2.22. Public rejoicing in Rome

[28] As soon as the speeches were finished and the consistory dismissed, a great and joyful ringing of bells was heard. Since night had now fallen, bonfires were lit throughout the city. The next day, all sale and trade were forbidden, and a feast day was declared, with taverns and inns closed. It was also decided to hold, the following Sunday, a solemn procession from San Marco's Church, not far from the Capitol, to the Lateran, in which was carried the tiara that Constantine[1] gave to Pope Sylvester.[2] It had lain hidden in Constantinople for a long time, but afterwards it was bought by the Roman Pontiffs and kept in Avignon. More recently, it had been pawned, and finally, Eugenius redeemed it and ordered it brought to Rome and placed among the relics in San Giovanni[3]. The mitre is conical, surrounded by a triple crown and inset with pearls and many brilliant jewels. But they are not like those we see today in your own crown or on the papal mitre for the pomp of that age did not equal the luxury of the present age. A simpler age has preceded us. Our forefathers did not indulge in ornaments and food the way we do. However, an even more uninhibited age will come, and then our descendants'[4] faults will commend our own lifestyle. At any rate, the crown of Sylvester[5] was carried in procession and afterwards returned to the Lateran. There, the Cardinal of Thérouanne[6] celebrated mass, a sermon was preached, and the King of the Romans and his princes together with the whole [German] nation were praised wondrously. This brought the celebration of the declaration [of obedience] to an end.

And we, too, bring to an end the second part of our report[7] and hasten on to the third.

[1] Constantinus Augustus, Flavius Valerius Aurelius I (ca. 272-373): Roman emperor 336 to his death. Converted to Christianity and issued the edict of toleration of the Christians (313), laying the grounds for Christianity as the Roman state religion

[2] Pope Sylvester I

[3] San Giovanni in Laterano, the pope's episcopal church as Bishop of Rome

[4] "minorum"

[5] Pope Sylvester I

[6] Jean Le Jeune

[7] Note that Piccolomini here uses the term relatio, not oratio

[29] Ex magnis scopulis, dive Caesar, incolumis nostra navigavit oratio. Superest tamen[1] adhuc undosum[2] pelagus, flant[3] adhuc venti[4], insultantque procellae. Sed superabit omnia firma navis ac [5] salva[6] perducetur {183v} in portum. Declaratione - ut dictum est - facta plusculos dies Romae remansimus expeditionique litterarum intendebamus. Interea magis ac magis aegritudo pontificis augebatur. Frigidus erat annus[7] [8] et ultra consuetudinem gravis. Hic[9] seni pestifer[10] fuit. Duplex illum febris urebat vexabatque catharrus. Interdum et[11] ventris fluxus[12] impetuosior erat. Istis[13] ille malis attritus saepe[14] nuntiabatur mortuus. Timor omnes curiales incesserat[15] metumque propinquitas[16] regis Aragonum augebat. Mercatores pretiosa quaeque asportaverant. Tota in ancipiti civitas erat, viae circumquaque praedonibus infestabantur. Apud Viterbium[17] ex seditione civium nonnulli caesi[18] sunt. Vulsinii[19] dominus, {184r} cum audisset hostem suum ex primoribus Urbis Veteris[20] Roma[21] reverti, insidias locavit aggressusque hominem ex improviso ex comitatu ejus plerosque truncavit. Illum pernix equus et admotum[22] ilibus[23] calcar salvavit[24]. In eo congressu etiam sacerdoti amota est vita. Frequentes[25] in terris ecclesiae novitates fuere. Nec enim boni sunt, qui metu[26] suas comprimunt manus, sed ut primum sunt liberi, ad ingenium revertuntur. Recta ratio bonum virum, non timor facit. Voluntatem, non opus inspicit Deus. Sed nunc spem[27] salutis[28], nunc[29] mortis metum[30] [31] Eugenius[32] offerebat.

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[1] *omit.* M
[2] undarum H, I, M, V, BA
[3] stant BA
[4] *omit.* K
[5] superabit omnia firma navis ac : superabuntur omnia et navis nostra H, I, M, V, BA
[6] *omit.* I
[7] animus BA
[8] erat annus : animus erat K
[9] is M, V
[10] seni pestifer : pesti senifer H, I, M, V, BA
[11] *omit.* M
[12] *omit.* M
[13] hisce K
[14] sepius K *
[15] invaserat S
[16] propinqui H, I, M, V, BA
[17] Viterbum M
[18] usi V
[19] Vulsini K, M, V
[20] Venetis S; Venetorum H, I, M, V, BA, WO
[21] Romam M, V
[22] amotum H; armorum M, V
[23] illius H, I, M, V; illi BA
[24] saluabit S
[25] frequentesque M, V
[26] *omit.* M, V
[27] spes H, I, M, V, BA, WO
[28] offerebat *add.* M
[29] non H, M, V
[30] metus H
[31] mortis metum : metum mortis I, M
[32] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

3. Death and burial of Eugenius IV

3.1. Pope's last illness

[29] Holy Emperor, our oration has steered unharmed away from tall cliffs, but a stormy sea is waiting, the winds are still blowing, and a gale is threatening. However, our solid ship will survive all and be brought safely into harbour. When the declaration [of obedience] had been made - as said - we remained in Rome for several days, attending to the expedition of the letters. In the meantime, the pope's illness grew worse. This year, [winter] was cold and unusually harsh, which was dangerous to the old man. He was hit by fever twice and was plagued by catarrh. Sometimes he suffered from violent diarrhoea. Worn down by these sufferings, he was several times reported to be dead. Fear seized all the curials, and the proximity of the King of Aragon increased their anxiety. The merchants removed their valuables. The whole city was in suspense, and the roads around it were plagued by robbers. In Viterbo, several men were killed in an uprising of the citizens. And when the lord of Bolsena heard that an enemy belonging to the nobility of Orvieto was returning from Rome, he set an ambush and unexpectedly attacked and killed several of his companions. The nobleman himself was only saved because he had a swift horse and put the spurs to its flanks. Even a priest was killed in the confrontation. Many rebellions occurred in the lands of the Church. (They are not good men who only stay their hands out of fear, and as soon as they are free to revert to type. It is the right motive, not fear that makes a good man. God looks at [man's] will, not his works.) But Eugenius' [condition] now gave hope of recovery, now fear of death.

[30] Interea praesul Aquensis, qui ad regem Franciae missus fuerat Amadeique ducis Sabaudiae, qui se Felicem appellat, concordiam {184v} pertractaverat et ad exitum paene perduxerat[1], scripsit[2] Eugenio venturum se Romam resque optimas afferre, intellexisse tamen se[3] Januenses novitatem fecisse novumque ducem elegisse[4], quod minime regi Franciae placeret, civitatem illam ad regnum pertinere, nec jus suum regem neglecturum. Rogare[5] igitur Eugenium, ne quid auxilii Januensibus daret, regem autem in recuperatione suae civitatis adjuvaret. Sic illum animosius unioni daturum operam[6]. Beneficium enim[7] praecedat, retributio autem[8] sequatur, oportet. Nemo cuiquam sine spe reve[9] servire[10] potest[11] [12].

[31] Significavit etiam universitatem Parisiensem injussu regis alia regni gignasia[13] litteris commovisse[14] ad[15] pacem[16] ecclesiasticam[17], concilii congregationem expetere[18], indignatum {185r} eo facto regem universitatis oratoribus diu audientiam denegasse, tandem per consiliarios absque praesentia sua[19] illos auditos[20], petivere[21] plura in cassum[22], reprehensos[23] fore, quod inscio rege concilium peterent[24] nec aptum[25] illud[26] unioni medium esse. Regi[27] meliores[28] vias patere[29], jamque paene in manibus[30] [31] unionem videri. Post[32] vero unio haberetur, pro ceteris ecclesiae necessitatibus a Romano pontifice concilium exposcendum[33].

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[1] et ad exitum … perduxerat *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[2] etiam *add.* I, BA
[3] *omit*. H, I, M, V, BA
[4] *omit.* K, S
[5] rogate WO
[6] daturum operam : operam daturum M, V
[7] aut H, I, K, S, BA
[8] aut H, I, K, S, BA
[9] recte M, V; *omit.* BA, WO
[10] *omit.* K *, S
[11] prodest K *, S
[12] nemo cuiquam … potest *omit*. I
[13] gymnasia H, I, M, V, BA
[14] commonuisse M, V
[15] prout M; ut pio V
[16] pace M, V
[17] et *add.* I; ecclesiae H, I, M, V
[18] expeterent M, V
[19] praesentia sua : sua presencia S
[20] illos auditos : illis auditis M, V
[21] petiuisse S
[22] in casum M
[23] reprehensosque K *, S
[24] petierint BA
[25] captum I
[26] illum H, I; ad *add.* K
[27] regem M, V
[28] melioris BA
[29] petere M, V
[30] posse M
[31] paene in manibus : in manibus pene H, I, V, BA; in manibus posse M
[32] postquam I, M, V, BA
[33] expetendum H, I, M, V, BA

3.2. Good news from France

[30] In the meantime, the Bishop of Aix[1] had been sent to the King of France[2] to negotiate a settlement concerning Amédée, Duke of Savoy,[3] who called himself Felix.[4] Having almost brought the negotiations to a successful end, he wrote to Eugenius that he was coming to Rome with very good news. He had heard, however, that the Genoese had rebelled and elected a new doge.[5] This would not please the King of France, to whom that city belonged, and who would not neglect his own rights. The bishop, therefore, asked Eugenius not to give any aid to the Genoese but help the king to recover his city. Thus he would make the king more inclined towards unity. A good deed must come first, and its reward must come after. Nobody can serve rightly without hope or the thing itself.

[31] He also informed the pope that the University of Paris had – without the king's command – sent letters to the other universities in the kingdom, urging them to work for peace in the Church and request the convening of a council. Annoyed at this initiative, the king had long denied the envoys of the university an audience but in the end, they were heard by his counsellors in his absence. They made several requests in vain and were rebuked for seeking, without the king's knowledge, a council that was not a suitable means to [restore] unity. Better ways were open to the king, and unity already seemed to be at hand. After unity had been obtained, a council would be requested of the Roman pontiff to deal with the other urgent church affairs.

[1] Robert Roger (ca.1400-1447): Archbishop of Aix from 1443 to his death. Papal envoy. On his mission to the pope, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, pp. 259-261

[2] Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 and King of France from 1429 to his death

[3] Amédée VIII (1383-1451): Duke of Savoy from 1391-1439. Elected anti-pope under the name of Felix V by the rump Council of Basel in 1439

[4] The King of France would be instrumental in ending the schism, with a pope in Rome and an anti-pope in Basel/Geneva. The schism ended with a settlement – brokered partly by the king - whereby Felix retired and recognized the pope in Rome, and the rump council in Basel ended

[5] Giano I di Campofregoso (1405-1448): Doge of Genoa from January 1447 to his death

[32] Ceterum, quia Januensium incidit mentio, dicendum est[1], quo res illa modo peracta[2] sit. Januae Adorni praesidebant, Fregosii[3] ejecti erant. Eorum princeps[4] Thomas, qui dux secundus[5] fuerat, in carcere tabescebat. Quaerebant Fregosii in patriam {185v} reditum concitataque multitudine regem Franciae in urbem recipiendum suadebant[6], ejus etiam[7] oratores adesse curaverant[8]. Multum enim illa civitas[9] Franciae[10] afficitur, quamvis est[11] imperii et faveret imperio, si curam ejus haberet imperium. Fit igitur in civitate tumultus, dux deponitur, qui ex domo Adorno[12] fuerat, fit novus consulatus, introducuntur Fregosii, mittitur e[13] carceribus Thomas, qui etsi omnium consensu dux creatur[14], ea tamen animi moderatione utitur, ut ducatum renuat nepotemque suum florenti aetate sibi senio confracto praeferat. Felicem licet hominem[15] dicere, qui dignitatem non admiserit[16], sed rejecerit. Bis dux fuit, bis expulsus. {186r} Ad extremum non[17] ducatu abdicatus est, sed ducatum a se ipse abdicavit[18]. Gallici, qui regis Franciae legatione fungebantur, petere se ad dominatum[19] admitti, regimen urbis gubernationemque[20] sibi deberi dicere jurgioque flagitare. Iis[21] Fregosii gratias egere, quod recuperandae patriae adjutores[22] fuissent, beneficium tamen non dominio, sed alio privato officio recognoscendum dicebant. Nec deerant[23], qui urbem imperialem, non[24] Gallicam dicerent. Sicque Janua prohibiti Francigenae[25] sunt.

---

[1] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[2] producta M; perducta V
[3] Fregosi M, V; Fulgos.. *et passim* K, S
[4] principes K *
[5] secundum K *
[6] persuadebant M, V
[7] ejus etiam : eius I; ejusque H, I, M, V, BA
[8] conuenerant I; curaverunt WO
[9] regno *add.* K, S
[10] Francia H
[11] *omit.* K *; sit M, V
[12] Adorna K; Adorni S
[13] in H, I, M, V, BA
[14] creatus BA
[15] licet hominem : licet hominem H, I, M, V, BA
[16] amiserit K, M, V; amiserat S
[17] illo K *; a *add.* M, V
[18] abducatus est M
[19] ducatum S
[20] dominationemque H, I, M, V, BA
[21] *corr. ex* hiis K; hiis S
[22] auditores H; auctores M, V
[23] deerunt V
[24] potius quam I
[25] prohibiti Francigenae : Francigenae prohibiti S

3.3. Situation in Genoa

[32] Since we have mentioned Genoa, we should say [something about how] this affair developed. The Adorno family governed Genoa, and the Fregoso family was exiled. Their leader, Tomaso Fregoso,[1] the second doge [from that family], languished in prison. The Fregosi were seeking to return to their fatherland and rousing the multitude they argued for inviting the French king back into the city and had arranged to have his ambassadors present. For this city is greatly devoted to France, although it is an imperial city and would favour the Empire if only the Empire cared about it. So, there was an uprising in the city, the doge – of the House of Adorno - was deposed, a new consulate was established, and the Fregosi were admitted into the city. Tomaso was released from prison[2] and elected doge by unanimous consent. But, showing restraint, he refused the dogeship and preferred his nephew[3] of flourishing age to himself, worn down by old age. We may call that man happy who does not accept high office[4] but refuses it. He was doge twice and was expelled twice. In the end, he was not forced to abdicate from the dogeship, but he himself abdicated from it. The French [partisans] of the King of France requested the lordship, claiming that the government and lordship of the city were theirs by right and demanding it with abuse and invectives. The Fregosi thanked them for their help in regaining their fatherland but said that this service should not be rewarded with the lordship but with some other, private office. Some said that the city was imperial not French. And thus the French were kept out of Genoa.[5]

[1] Tomaso di Campofregoso (1375-1453): doge of Genoa two times: 1415-1421, 1436-1442 (with a very short break in 1437)

[2] 1447

[3] Giano di Campofregoso, doge 1447-1448

[4] ”dignitas”

[5] In the 15th century, Genoa was under French dominion three times: the first time from 1396 to 1406, the second around 1460, and the third at the end of the century

[33] Dum haec aguntur, comes[1] Franciscus Sfortia[2], qui Venetorum stipendia[3] multis annis meruerat[4], sive quod Veneti ad retinendam Marchiam parum juverant[5], {186v} sive quod stipendiorum finierat terminus[6], sive quod eum ruinae[7] soceri[8] [9] [10] [11] paenitebat - sciebat enim[12], quod illo succumbente nulli vel principi vel tyranno in Italia[13] locum patere[14], sed omnia communitatum futura - sive quod[15] aliud fuit, occultos habuit cum Philippo Maria tractatus revertique ad eum decrevit. Quidam Eugenium, quidam regem Aragonum, quidam marchionem Estensem Leonellum sui reditus impulsorem[16] putavere. Nonnulli etiam Florentinos in causam traxere, nec enim tantum Venetorum[17] successum Florentinorum reipublicae conducere[18] suspicabantur. Dominandi appetitum insatiabilem esse, nec vicino nec amico parcere, proximam quamcumque victoriam sequentis {187r} esse gradum, nec Longobardiam[19] sive Tusciam satis firmam videri Venetis. Apud Italos non est probro[20] duces armatorum[21] nunc istis nunc illis servire. Temporaria[22] stipendia sunt, quibus finitis licet armigeris, cui velint, favere[23]. In conventionibus pactisque[24] [25] capitula plura fiunt, dum capitanei conducuntur. Nullum de proditione licet arguere, qui pacta servavit, sed aperiendi sunt in conventionibus[26] oculi.

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[1] *omit.* BA, WO
[2] Fortia WO
[3] stipendiis H, I, M, V, BA
[4] militaverat M, V
[5] juuerat I, M, V; inuverant WO
[6] tempus I, M
[7] iam I; *omit.* M *[blank space]*
[8] sui *add.* K **Alii?**
[9] *omit.* H
[10] sive quod eum … soceri : cum minae soceri sui H
[11] ruinae soceri : jam soceri sui I
[12] *omit.* K
[13] Italiam M, V
[14] pateret WO
[15] quid K
[16] impulsores H, I, M, V, BA
[17] venatorum K *
[18] *omit.* M; consulere H, I, V, BA
[19] Lombardiam K
[20] opprobrium M, V
[21] armorum H, I, M, V, BA
[22] temporalia I, M, V
[23] servire M, V
[24] pactis S
[25] in conventionibus pactisque : conventiones pactique H, I, M, V, BA
[26] in conventionibus *omit.* I

3.4. Return of Francesco Sforza to the Duke of Milan

[33] In the meantime, Francesco Sforza, who had been in the pay of Venice for many years, held secret negotiations with Filippo Maria and decided to return to him. The reason was either that Venice had not helped him enough to keep the Marche, or that his contract had run out, or that he regretted the ruin of his father-in-law, for he knew that if he fell, there would no longer be a place in Italy for a prince or a tyrant, all would belong to the communes.[1] Or there may have been some other reason. Some thought that the instigator of his return was Eugenius, others that it was the King of Aragon, and others again that it was Marquess Leonello d'Este. Many even pointed to the Florentines, who did not believe that Venetian success was good for the Florentine republic, for the desire for power is insatiable and spares neither neighbour nor friend. Every victory is the stepping stone to the next, and the Venetians considered neither Lombardy nor Tuscany to be strong enough [to resist them]. In Italy, it is not shameful for war leaders to serve now one party, now another. The contracts of service are limited in time, and when they end, the soldiers can side with whom they will. When captains are hired, the contracts and treatises contain many articles. You cannot accuse people of treason if they have kept their contract.[2] Therefore, one must have eyes wide open when making such contracts.

[1] The republics in contradistinction to the principalities

[2] In his *De Viris Illustribus*, Piccolomini wrote on the same subject: *in Italy, it is the custom of soldiers to engage their services for a specified period, and when it is finished, they are free and can serve others as they will, even former enemies.*[2] *For they do not serve a cause, but for money.* [Sect. 17]

[34] Licere Francisco Sfortiae sine[1] violatione foederum ducem repetere rumor erat, jamque[2] conclusum ferebant[3], dum captus est apud Venetos unus ex cancellariis ejus, qui tormentis adauctus secreta comitis[4] panderet[5], quamplures[6] cives senatorios fassus est pecunia Francisci corruptos[7], atque {187v} inter hos Andreas Donato[8], dux Candiae, nominatus[9] est, ad quem intercipiendum missam[10] triremem[11] ferebant[12], nonnullos alios salutem fuga quaesisse. Hoc accessu comitis[13] vires ducis admodum augeri sententia fuit. Marchia illum cedere dicebatur[14] pecuniamque pontificis et regis Aragonum[15] ad centum millia aureorum recipere.

[35] Tunc etiam non parva fama fuit Hungaros insultare[16] Austriae[17] tuaeque famae, rex inclyte, plurimum[18] detrahebatur. Nos autem jam[19] in consistorio secreto praesentibus oratoribus principum electorum aliorumque justitiam tuam et Hungarorum[20] perfidiam[21] exposueramus. Cardinales[22] omnes[23] de veritate satis instructos[24] [25] reddideramus. Quae autem diximus[26], in scriptis habentur, {188r} nec opus est illa repetere. Sed obviavimus[27] rumoribus, quoad potuimus, nec te formidare Hungaros asseveravimus. Bononiensis cardinalis[28] et sancti Angeli, patres optimi, non quasi communes homines, sed quasi Australes tuum honorem tuumque[29] decus tuebantur et inanibus ibant[30] rumoribus obviam.[31]

---

[1] siue K *
[2] iam V
[3] ferebatur K
[4] secreta comitis : comitis secreta M
[5] pandere K, S, BA
[6] complures K, S
[7] fassus est … corruptos *omit.* M
[8] Donatus H, I, M, V, BA
[9] donatus K *
[10] missum H, I, M, V, BA
[11] retinere H, I, M, V, BA
[12] ferebat H, I, BA, WO
[13] hoc accessu comitis : comitis hoc accessu I
[14] dicebant WO
[15] Arrogonum K
[16] insultasse S
[17] Austriam M, V
[18] *omit.* M, V
[19] *omit.* I, BA; tam H, M, V
[20] et Hungarorum : Hungarorumque H, I, M, V, BA
[21] injustitiam M; justitiam V
[22] cardinalesque K, S
[23] *omit.* I
[24] *omit.* M
[25] satis instructos : instructos satis H, I, M, V, BA
[26] dixi H, I, M, V, BA
[27] obuiamus H, I
[28] Bononiensis cardinalis : cardinalis Bononiensis BA
[29] tuum M
[30] tuis *add.* H, I, M, V
[31] Obitus Eugenii Papa Quarti et conclave Nicolai Papae Quinti Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei ad Federicum Romanorum regem *add.* M; Sequitur conclave Nicolai Quinti scriptum ad pares. Obitus Eugenii Papa Quarti et conclave Nicolai Papae Quinti Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei ad Federicum Romanorum regem *add.* V

[34] It was rumoured that Francesco Sforza could now return to the duke without breaking his contract [with the Venetians]. And it was said that he had already done so when a member of his chancellery was caught in Venice. He was tortured to make him reveal the secrets of the count and confessed that several senatorial citizens had been bought with money from Francesco. Among them, he named Andrea Donato,[1] the Doge of Candia. It is reported that the Venetians sent a galley to bring Donato back and that several others saved themselves by flight. According to common opinion, the duke was greatly strengthened by the count's return. It is said that Francesco handed over the Marche [to the pope] in return for a sum of 100,000 gold ducats from the pope and the King of Aragon.

3.5. Hungarian attacks on Austria

[35] Then, a rumour arose that the Hungarians were attacking Austria, which greatly harmed your reputation, Illustrious King. However, we had already, in a secret consistory where the ambassadors of the prince-electors and others were present, set forth your just cause and the perfidy of the Hungarians. We had sufficiently informed all the cardinals of the truth. However, what I said is consigned to writing,[2] so there is no reason to repeat it. Refuting the rumours to our best ability, we declared that you do not fear the Hungarians. The excellent Fathers, the cardinals of Bologna and Sant'Angelo, defended your honour and dignity not as if they ordinary men, but as if they were Austrians, and refuted the empty rumours.

[1] Andrea Donato: Venetian ruler of Crete 1445-1447. Son-in-law of Doge Jacopo Foscari. Recalled from his post as Doge of Candia for receiving 900 ducats from Sforza (Mallett, Mercenaries, p. 220).

[2] See Piccolomini's oration *"Tritum est sermone"* (1447) [12]

[36] Post haec cum desperata salus Eugenii videretur[1], coepit archiepiscopus Florentinus, vir omnium judicio bonus, extremam unctionem afferre, cui pontifex: “Quid[2], tu me,” inquit, “inunges[3]? Credis me tempus nescire? Satis ego[4] adhuc sum fortis. Cum aderit hora, admonitum te[5] [6] faciam, siste modo.” Pugnabat adversus mortem intrepidus pater ancepsque diu proelium tenuit. {188v} Nec medicorum satis certum erat[7] judicium. Hoc cum accepisset Alphonsus, rex Aragonum[8], ”Quid mirum,” inquit, ”si comitem Franciscum, si Columnenses, si me, si totam Italiam bello impetiit[9] Eugenius, qui ausus[10] est[11] cum morte pugnare!” Nec[12] facile succubuit, at cum certa mortis signa supervenissent, accersiti sunt cardinales, quos in hunc modum allocutus est Eugenius: “Meum[13] tempus meaque[14] dies adest[15], venerabiles amatique[16] fratres. Moriendum est mihi, nec de[17] naturae legibus queror. Diu vixi et honoratus. Utinam officio meo satisfecissem. Sed voluntatem magis quam opera[18] inspicit[19] Deus. Mihi pontificatus etsi speranti non tamen ambienti obvenit. Multa acciderunt adversa, dum sedi[20] {189r} praefuimus apostolicae[21]. Non tamen idcirco[22] minus acceptos Deo nos[23] credimus, quia quos *diligit Deus[24], corrigit atque castigat.* Nec male actum[25] esse[26] cum hominibus renuit[27], qui[28] cum fortunae varietate luctantur, sed esse arcanas causas, ad quas nulla mortalium curiositas potest[29] pervenire.

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[1] videbatur H, I
[2] est *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[3] inungas K, M, V; injungas S, WO *[The error may be due to a lapsus of Piccolomini]*
[4] inunges credis … ego *omit.* H
[5] *omit.* V
[6] admonitum te : te admonitum V
[7] certum erat : erat certum H, I, BA
[8] Rex Aragonum : Aragonum rex M
[9] bello impetiit : impetiit bello M
[10] usus V
[11] *omit.* I
[12] ne K
[13] Extrema Eugenii verba ad cardinales *in marg.* H; Extrema Eugenii verba cardinalibus *in marg.* I
[14] meusque H, I; meosque M, V
[15] est H, I, BA; habeo M, V
[16] amati meique K
[17] *omit.* H, I, M, V
[18] operam V
[19] respicit H, I, BA
[20] apostolice *add*. M, V
[21] *omit.* M, V
[22] *omit.* M, V
[23] Deo nos : nos Deo H, I, BA
[24] diligit Deus : Deus diligit M, V
[25] acta M, V, BA
[26] acta esse : esset actum si H; esset actura si I
[27] teniuit M, V
[28] que S; qua V
[29] curiositas potest : potest curiositas K

3.6. Pope's deathbed address to the cardinals

[36] Later, when Eugenius' health became desperate, the Archbishop of Florence,[1] who is considered a good man by all, began to administer extreme unction to him, but then the pope said, "Why do you anoint me? Do you think that I do not know the time? I am still strong enough. When the time comes, I will let you know. But cease for now." The fearless Father fought against death, and for a long time the outcome of the battle was uncertain, as was the opinion of the physicians. When he heard it, King Alfonso of Aragon said, "No wonder that Eugenius fought with Count Francesco[2], the Colonnas,[3] me, and the whole of Italy since he has dared to fight even with Death." He did not succumb easily, but when the sure signs of death appeared, and the cardinals had been summoned, he said to them, "My time and day has now arrived, venerable and beloved brethren. I am dying, and I make no complaints about the laws of nature. I have lived long and been honoured. I hope I have fulfilled my office, but God looks at the will and not the actions. I did hope for the papacy to come to me, but I did not campaign for it. Many misfortunes occurred while We were in charge of the Apostolic See, but We believe that this did not make us less dear to God, *for whom the Lord loveth,* He correcteth, *He chastiseth*.[4] And He does not reject what is poorly done by men struggling with a shifting fortune: His reasons are hidden, and no human curiosity can penetrate them.

[1] Antonino Pierozzo (1389-1459): Archbishop of Florence 1346 to his death. Saint

[2] Francesco Sforza

[3] The powerful Roman Colonna family, which was the family of the Eugenius' predecessor, Martin V. They were political opponents of the pope

[4] Hebrews, 12, 6: *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat*

[37] Utcumque res hactenus transiverint[1], nobis maximum solamen est[2], antequam oculos clauderemus, reunitam[3] ecclesiam cernere. Hoc filio nostro Friderico[4], Romanorum regi, Theodoricoque Maguntino[5] archiepiscopo, fratri nostro, et dilecto filio marchioni Brandeburgensi adscribimus. Ceterum, quia[6] jam horae[7] nostrae[8] subripiuntur, *modicum*que *vobiscum* ero, quia[9] vocor ad judicem[10], regem et patrem, testari prius volui testamentumque domini nostri Jesu Christi {189v} vobis relinquere, qui transiturus ex[11] hoc[12] mundo ad[13] patrem, *pacem meam,* dixit[14], *do vobis, pacem meam[15] relinquo vobis*. Ego vos omnes praeter unum[16] cardinales creavi, et illum unum quasi filium tractavi, amavique omnes, mei[17] estis fratres. Obsecro, dilectissimi[18], servate vinculum pacis. *Diligite invicem.* Non sint inter vos schismata. *Adimplete legem Christi et alter alterius onera portate.* Mox vacatura est apostolica sedes. Scitis, quem virum cupiat hoc solium. Eligite successorem, qui me doctrina et moribus superet. Nulla vos affectio seducat. Non privatae rei, sed publicae consulite. Ceterum, si me audieritis[19] [20], mediocrem virum unanimiter quam praestantissimum discorditer eligetis[21]. Ubi pax[22] ibi et {190r} spiritus Dei est[23]. Nuper unionem effecimus, sed radices schismatis nondum evulsimus. Cavete[24], ne pullulet[25], ne[26] germinet[27], ne vos ipsi fomentum scissioni praebeatis. Salva ecclesia est, si concordes eritis, misera, si discordes[28]. Sed ista circumspectioni vestrae[29] magis paterne quam necessario[30] dicimus[31], qui pro vestra prudentia non ignoratis, quid ecclesiae conveniat dignitatique vestrae. Verum ne me mortuo[32] de funere disputetis, quod in ceremoniis pontificum scriptum est, id solum facite: nemo amplius agat nec funus adornet meum. Absint pompae et inanis gloria[33] sepulturae. Apud Eugenium III. humili loco sepeliri libet. Si quis impedimento fuerit, anathema sit.”

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[1] transierint H, I, V; transiverunt M; transierunt BA
[2] esset M, V
[3] redimitam K, S
[4] nostro filio Friderico : Friedrico nostro filio H, I, M, V, BA
[5] *omit.* WO
[6] ceterum quia : ceterumque V
[7] hora H, I
[8] nostra H, I
[9] quod WO
[10] judicium M,V
[11] *omit.* M
[12] *omit.* H, I
[13] *omit.* M
[14] inquit K *
[15] do vobis … meam *omit.* I, BA
[16] praeter unum : unum preter M
[17] meique M, V, BA
[18] dulcissimi H, I, M, V, BA
[19] audiveritis M, V; audietis K *, S
[20] potius *add.* M, V, BA
[21] elegetis M, V
[22] est *add.* H
[23] *omit.* K
[24] caute V
[25] pullulent I; pollulet S
[26] nec V
[27] germinent I
[28] eritis misera … discordes *omit*. H, I
[29] circumspectioni vestrae : vestre circumspectioni M
[30] necessarie M, K, S, V
[31] diximus M, V
[32] *omit.* M
[33] glorie K

[37] Whatever happened before, it is a very great consolation to Us to see the Church reunited before We close Our eyes. We attribute this to Our son Friedrich, King of the Romans, to Our brother Archbishop Dietrich,[1] and to Our beloved son the Margrave of Brandenburg.[2]

Since Our time is now running out, and *I shall be with you only for a little while more*,[3] and since I am being summoned before the judge, the king and father, I want first to make my testament: I leave you the testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who when he was about to pass from this world to the Father said, *My peace I give unto you, my peave I leave with you.*[4] I made all of you cardinals except one,[5] and him I treated like a son. I have loved you all, and you are my brothers. I beg of you, beloved [brothers], to preserve the bond of peace. *Love one another.*[6] Let there be no divisions among you. *Fulfil the law of Christ and bear ye one another's burdens.*[7] The Apostolic See will soon be vacant. You know what kind of man this See requires. Choose a successor who surpasses me in learning and character. Let no affection lead you astray. Be concerned not about your private interests but about the public. And if you heed me, you will rather agree on choosing an average man than disagree on choosing an outstanding. Where there is peace, there is the spirit of God. A short time ago, We have achieved [Church] union, but we have not yet torn up the roots of schism. Take care that it does not sprout forth and germinate and provide the tinder for a new schism. The Church is safe if you are united, and miserable if you are divided. But We say this to your prudent selves not out of necessity, but as a father, for in your wisdom, you know what befits the Church and your dignity. And, so that you shall not get into a dispute about the funeral when I am dead, you must only do as much as is written in the books on papal ceremonies: nobody must do more nor embellish my funeral rites. Let there be no pomp nor vainglory in the burial. I should like to be buried in a humble place near Eugenius III[8]. If anybody hinders this, let him be anathema.

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[1] The archbishop of Mainz

[2] The mention of Albrecht of Brandenburg in the present context is somewhat curious. Though he belonged to the imperial party, he was not a main player in the events leading up to the German recognition of the Roman Papacy. If Eugenius did not, in fact, mention him, Piccolomini's insertion of his name here may have a political aim or be just a compliment to a German whom Piccolomini admired greatly

[3] John, 7, 33: *Dixit ergo eis Jesus:*
Adhuc modicum tempus vobiscum sum

[4] John, 14, 26: *pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis*

[5] Actually, two of Eugenius' cardinals were created by his predecessor, Prospero Colonna (1426), and Domenico Capranica whose appointment in 1423 was made in secret (*in petto*) and only published or confirmed during the pontificate of Eugenius. Either Piccolomini here has a lapsus of memory, or he considers that Capranica's formal appointment as cardinal belonged to Eugenius' period. If Eugenius actually said "one" cardinal, it must have been Colonna, and then his words may be understood in the sense that as a pope, Eugenius had risen above the party and clan factions of Rome

[6] 1. Thessalonians, 4, 9; 1. Peter, 1, 22

[7] Galatians, 6, 2: *Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi*

[8] Eugenius III (ca. 1080-1153): Pope from 1145 to his death

[38] Excussit omnibus lacrimas[1] [2]. Cum tamen instarent plerique revocari {190v} ab exilio cardinalem Capuanum, nequaquam obtinuere[3], quod plerique sinistre interpretati sunt absurdumque dicebant, Romanum pontificem etiam in extremis laborantem odii custodem esse. Sed interpretantur omnes malum quam bonum facilius. Non enim odium erat[4] in pontifice, qui potestatem hominis[5] occidendi habuit pepercitque. Sed *"nescitis,"* inquit, "*quid petatis,* et vobis desiderium ejus et illi exilium magis convenit." Post haec inunxit[6] Eugenium[7] Florentinus. Ille in cathedra sancti Petri vitalibus exinanitis[8] viribus invictum altumque spiritum exhalavit[9]. Corpus ejus balsamo conditum per integram[10] diem populo patuit atque inde sepultus[11] est apud sanctum Petrum in Vaticano {191r} juxta Eugenium III., uti[12] mandaverat[13].

[1] sermo iste *add.* V
[2] excussit omnibus lacrimas : omnibus iste sermo lacrimas excussit M
[3] obtinuerunt M, V
[4] odium erat : odium erat H, I, M, V, BA
[5] hominem H, I, M, V, BA
[6] iniunxit S, WO
[7] Eugenius M, V
[8] exinanitus WO
[9] die XXV. Februarii anno domimi 1446 *add*. M, V; Eugenii quarti obitus *in marg.* H
[10] integrum H, I, BA
[11] sepultum M, S, V
[12] ut M, V
[13] uti mandaverat *omit.* H, I, BA

3.7. Pope's death

[38] He drew tears from all. However, when several of them pressed for the recall of the Cardinal of Capua[1] from exile, they did not obtain it, what many interpreted in the worst way, claiming it to be absurd that the Roman Pontiff nursed his hatreds even in his last hours. But all more easily interpret something in the bad sense than in the good. There was no hatred in the pontiff, who had the power to kill this man but spared him. "But," he said, " *you know not what you ask.*[2] It is better for you to be missing him, and for him to be in exile." After that, the Archbishop of Florence anointed Eugenius. Having spent all his life forces on the See of Saint Peter, he gave up his unvanquished and noble spirit. His embalmed body was exhibited to the people for a whole day, and afterwards it was buried in Saint Peter's in the Vatican, next to Eugenius III as he had requested.

[1] Niccolò Acciapaccio (-1447): Archbishop of Capua 1436, and cardinal (1439). Exiled under pressure from Alfonso of Aragon for siding with René d'Anjou

[2] Matthew, 20, 22

[39] Vix pontificem invenias[1], sub quo plura et adversa et secunda contigerint. Is concilium congregavit dissolvitque. Is bella quamplurima gessit, vicit atque succubuit. Sententiam depositionis sub nomine concilii adversus se perpessus est et[2] ipse deponentes deposuit. Adversarium et competitorem in pontificatu habuit. Neutralitas eo pontifice - res nova et inusitata - coepit. Perdidit Alemaniam et recuperavit. Graecos ad unionem redegit. Jacobitis evangelium[3] ignorantibus legem dedit. Adversus Turcas[4] classem misit legatoque[5] Juliano in Hussitas potestatem praebuit[6] [7]. Sigismundo Caesari prius bellum intulit, post diadema concessit. Archiepiscopos episcoposque dignitate {191v} privavit, nec cardinales nec electores imperii[8] [9] reliquit intactos. Sanctum Nicolaum de Tolentino canonizavit. Romae captus est, fugit, rediit. Marchiam perdidit recuperavitque[10]. Braccium[11] [12] in agris jacentem excommunicatum mortuum absolvit sepulturaeque restituit. Penestre solo aequavit.[13] Johannem Vitellescum sublimem fecit[14], post capi jussit[15] [16], qui mortem in carcere obiit. Bononiam recuperavit, post amisit[17]. Regi Aragonum infensus[18] fuit[19], post regnum illi[20] confirmavit. Venetorum prius amicus, exinde[21] suspectus haberi coepit. Alti cordis fuit, sed nullum in eo majus[22] vitium fuit[23], nisi quia sine mensura erat[24] [25] et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit aggressus est.

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[1] invenies H, I, BA
[2] *omit.* BA
[3] euangelicam H, M, S, V; evangelistam K
[4] Turchas H; Teucros S; Theucros K
[5] legatosque H, I, S, WO
[6] dedit S
[7] legatoque Juliano … praebuit *omit.* I
[8] *omit.* M, V
[9] nec electores imperii *omit.* S
[10] recuperavit K *; *omit.* V
[11] Brassium H, I
[12] Montinium *add.* I, BA
[13] sepulturaeque restituit … aequavit *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[14] fecerit V
[15] *omit.* H, I
[16] capi jussit : cepit BA
[17] mortem in … amisit *omit.* M
[18] infestus H, I, M, V, BA
[19] erat WO
[20] regnum illi : illi regnum H, I, M, V, BA
[21] deinde H, I, M, V, BA
[22] magis S, BA
[23] erat K *; fuerat WO
[24] fuit K, S
[25] sine mensura erat : erat sine mensura M

3.8. Pope's personality

[39] You will hardly find another pope who experienced more good as well as bad things. He gathered a council[1] and dissolved it. He waged many wars, winning some and losing some. He suffered a sentence of deposition[2] in the name of a council[3], and then he himself deposed those who deposed him. He had an adversary and rival in the papacy.[4] While he was pope, the new and unusual Neutrality began.[5] He lost Germany and regained it. He brought the Greeks to a union.[6] He gave the law to the Jacobites,[7] who did not know the gospel. He sent a fleet against the Turks and gave his legate Giuliano[8] the power to deal with the Hussites. He first made war against Emperor Sigismund[9] and then gave him the crown. He deprived archbishops and bishops of their office, and even cardinals and electors of the empire he did not leave untouched. He canonized Saint Nicolaus of Tolentino.[10] He was taken captive in Rome but fled[11] and returned.[12] He lost and regained the Marche. When Braccio da Montone[13] was lying dead and excommunicated in the field, he absolved him and let him have a Christian burial.[14] He razed Palestrina to the ground. He raised Giovanni Vitelleschi to high position and later had him arrested, to die in prison. He regained Bologna and afterwards lost it again. He fought the King of Aragon and later confirmed him as the ruler of the Kingdom [of Naples]. He was first a friend to Venice but later came to be suspect to them. He had a noble soul and no major vice, except that he did not know any measure and undertook not what he could but what he wanted to.

[1] The council of Basel, indicted by Pope Martin V, who died before its first meeting
[2] 1438
[3] The rump Council of Basel, 1439
[4] Antipope Felix V
[5] 1439
[6] At the council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-1445
[7] Piccolomini is probably referring to the monophysite Syrian Orthodox Church with whom he signed an agreement in 1443
[8] Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426
[9] Sigismund (Luxembourg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary (1387) and of Bohemia (1419). Elected King of the Romans (King of Germany) 1410, and crowned Holy Roman Emperor 1433
[10] Nicola da Tolentino (ca. 1246-1305): Canonized 1446
[11] 1434
[12] 1443
[13] Braccio da Montone (1368-1424): Died, defeated in battle, in 1424. Being excommunicate he was not buried in consecrated earth. Eugenius IV absolved him in 1432 and allowed him a Christian burial
[14] In his *De Viris Illustribus,* Piccolomini wrote about Braccio's burial: *Since he had died in the state of excommunication, his body was carried to the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mure and buried in unconsecrated earth. But later, at the request of Niccolò Fortebraccio, who was close to him and mighty in arms, Pope Eugenius gave him absolution and ordered that his body be dug up and buried with great honours in a church in Perugia. When his body, or bones, were carried to Perugia, it was followed by a great storm that caused serious damage to all fields and vineyards.* [Sect. 40]

[40] Eo mortuo affuerunt mox oratores regis Aragonum, qui in hunc {192r} modum[1] cardinales sunt allocuti: “Accepit majestas regia summi pontificis obitum doletque tanto patre orbatam[2] ecclesiam sanctumque[3] hortatur collegium vestrum successorem illi[4] ut[5] dignum sufficiatis. Vicinitatem suam nulli suspectam[6] esse debere. Si quid vel[7] juvamenti vel tutamenti ad liberam pontificis electionem conferre potest, in promptu est. Quidquid jusseritis[8], lubens[9] faciet.” His[10] actae sunt gratiae[11]. Cardinales IX diebus exequias celebrarunt. Has summo mane apud sanctum Petrum habebant. Postquam pransi fuerant[12], apud[13] Minervam conveniebant, reipublicae consulturi.

[1] in hunc modum : hunc in modum K *, M, S, V
[2] esse *add.* H, I, V, BA; esset M
[3] sacrumque I; seque K *, S
[4] illius H, I
[5] uti M, V, BA
[6] molestam M, V
[7] in K
[8] juberitis H, I, M, V
[9] libens K *
[10] iis H, I, M, V, BA
[11] deinde *add.* M, V
[12] fuerunt I
[13] ad I

3.9. Message from King Alfonso of Aragon

[40] Soon after he died, ambassadors from the King of Aragon arrived and addressed the cardinals in this fashion: “His Royal Majesty has heard that the Supreme Pontiff has died. He deeply regrets that the Church has lost this great Father, and he exhorts your holy college to give him a worthy successor. The king’s proximity[1] should give nobody cause for suspicion. If he can provide assistance and protection for the free election of the pope, he is ready to do so. Whatever you request, he will do gladly.” The cardinals thanked him for this. They celebrated the pope’s funeral rites for nine days, early in the morning at Saint Peter’s. After lunch, they met at the Minerva to consult about the commonweal.

[1] At the time, the king was staying in Viterbo with his troops, causing consternation in Rome, where they feared an intervention in the coming conclave

[41] Cardinalis Capuanus, ut audivit Eugenium mortuum[1], Romam[2] venit magnoque {192v} populi ac[3] cleri favore exceptus est exequiisque interfuit et pro illo preces effudit, qui se[4] in exilium miserat. Magni consilii vir fuit multarumque litterarum, aetate ac moribus maturus. Multi papatum illi auspicabantur, sed non quae populi est opinio, eadem est senatus[5]. Raro vulgus cum sapientibus sentit. Pauci ex cardinalibus[6] remotiores illo fuerunt[7] ab[8] summo pontificio. Is post electionem factam in[9] morbum incidit Eugeniumque morte[10] secutus est. Ejus aedes cardinali[11] sancti angeli non minori hospiti obvenerunt. Sic dum suis[12] aedificare homines putant, alienis construunt, nec haeredem sibi[13] quisquam potuit scire. Incerti sunt et vani cogitatus nostri. Non quod sapienter, sed {193r} quod feliciter cogitamus, impletur.

[42] Eugenio duo funerei[14] sermones facti sunt: alterum Malatesta quidam ex ordine[15] auditorum, alterum cardinalis Bononiensis effecit[16], prima atque[17] ultima exequiarum die. Ille vitam Eugenii commendavit, hic obitum. Ille qualis fuerat Eugenius enarravit[18], hic[19] qualis eligi[20] successor deberet[21] [22], edocuit. Comminatus est[23] extremum judicium cardinalibus, si amore, si odio, si aliquo affectu indigno in electione uterentur, tantaque vehementia locutus est, ut angelum non hominem sermocinari putarent[24], pluresque sibi[25] summum pontificium[26] augurarentur.

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[1] *omit.* M
[2] accelerate *add.* M
[3] et K *, M, S, V
[4] eum ipsum M, V; ipsum BA
[5] senatui K, S, V
[6] ex cardinalibus : cardinales M, V
[7] fuerant H, I
[8] a M, S, V, BA
[9] *omit.* K *, S
[10] *omit.* H, I, BA
[11] cardinalis I, K *
[12] sibi BA
[13] *omit*. M, V; suum BA
[14] *omit.* H, I, BA
[15] genere H, I, M, V, BA
[16] effecit H, I, M, V, BA
[17] et BA
[18] *omit.* I
[19] is M
[20] elegi K
[21] eligi deberet : debere eligi M
[22] successor deberet : deberet successor H, I, BA
[23] in *add.* M
[24] putaret H; putaretur I; putares BA
[25] Ibi K *
[26] pontificatum M, V

3.10. Cardinal of Capua

[41] When the Cardinal of Capua heard that Eugenius had died, he came to Rome and was received with great joy by people and clergy alike. He attended the funeral rites and even prayed for the man who had sent him into exile. He was a clever man, had extensive knowledge of literature, and was mature both in age and conduct. Many predicted that he would become pope, but the opinion of the people is not the same as that of the senate.[1] Rarely do the common people think the same as the wise. Indeed, few cardinals were further from the supreme pontificate than he. After the election, he fell ill and followed Eugenius in death. His palace passed to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, a host just as great as he. Thus, while people think they build for themselves, they actually build for others, and nobody can know who will inherit him. Our calculations are uncertain and vain. It is not our bright ideas, but our lucky ones that will come true.

3.11. Funeral sermons

[42] Two funeral sermons were held for Eugenius, one by a Malatesta[2] of the order of auditors,[3] and another by the Cardinal of Bologna,[4] on the first and the last day of the funeral rites, respectively. The first one praised Eugenius' life, the other his death. The first one spoke about how Eugenius had been- The second one showed what kind of successor should be chosen, threatening the cardinals with the last judgment if they let themselves be influenced in the election by love, hate, or any other, unworthy emotion.[5] Indeed, he spoke so vehemently that people thought it was an angel, not a man who preached, and many predicted that he would become pope.

[1] The college of cardinals
[2] Unidentified
[3] Auditors of the Rota
[4] Tommaso Parentucelli

[5] Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 51.1: *Omnes homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet*. A passage several times used or alluded to by Piccolomini in his various writings

[43] Interea portarum custodia curialibus commissa fuerat. Capitolium procurator ordinis Prutenorum custodiendum accepit. {193v} Castri sancti angeli minime immutari[1] custodiam[2] placuit. Conclave apud Minervam haberi decretum est, quamvis jus canonicum in eo palatio teneri[3] mandet, ubi mortuum pontificem constat, quod eo tempore minus tutum videbatur. Barones Romani ad futuram electionem pontificis videndam quamplures[4] convenerunt, qui mox exire jussi[5] sunt[6] [7] , prohibiti ceteri, ne venirent. Timebant enim cardinales, ne barones impetum facerent vique papam[8], quem[9] vellent[10], extorquerent aut alio modo electionem macularent. Stante namque[11] adhuc radice schismatis non solum maculas electionis, sed[12] macularum quoque suspiciones fugiendas[13] arbitrabantur. {194r} Nemo acerbius[14] excludi tulit quam Baptista Sabellus, homo nobilis ac[15] senio gravis, qui jus sibi observandarum conclavis secreti clavium[16] competere asserebat atque hoc defunctum[17] honore libenti se animo moriturum ajebat, sed frustra questus est[18]: privatam causam publicae opportuit cedere. Romani tempus nacti pluribus se levari oneribus obtinuere.

[44] Conclave in dormitorio praedicatorum Minervae constructum est. Ostium primum quattuor praelatis commissum est, qui[19] quattuor claves habuere, archiepiscopus Ravennas, Anconitanus, Aquilanus et[20] Zamorensis[21] episcopi. Duoque[22] sub duabus clavibus tenebantur. Alternatim nos cum oratoribus regis {194v} Aragonum[23], regis Cypri et Anconitanorum has observavimus. Statio nostra in capitolio[24] fuit. Rursus aliud erat ostium, quod nos claudebat. Hujus custodiam procurator Rhodiensium[25] habuit, quartum est. Quintum ostium cives observavere, nec minus[26] mille armatis die noctuque in vigiliis fuerunt. Senator urbis excubia[27] habuit[28].

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[1] mutari H, I, M, V, BA
[2] minime mutari custodiam : custodiam minime mutari M, V
[3] haberi S, WO
[4] complures S
[5] exire jussi : egressi H, I
[6] ac *add.* M, V
[7] jussi sunt : sunt iussi M
[8] sibi *add.* M, S, V
[9] quemlibet H, I; sibique K *
[10] sibi *add.* BA, WO
[11] *omit.* M
[12] non solum … sed *omit.* M, V
[13] esse *add.* H, I, M, V, BA, WO
[14] acceptius H, I
[15] et H, I, M, V, BA
[16] conclavis secreti clavium : clavium secreti conclavis I; clavium conclavis secreti BA
[17] functum I; privatum M, V
[18] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[19] ostium primum … qui : cuius M, V
[20] est K *
[21] Semorensis H, I, M, V; Semocensis BA
[22] *em.;* hi quoque codd.
[23] Romanorum M, V
[24] Campidolio BA
[25] Rhodiensis H, I, M, V; Rhodiorum BA; Rhodiensium K, S
[26] numquam S
[27] excubias K *
[28] quartum est … habuit *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA *This omission is clearly due to a scribal error at some point during the process of textual transmission, and not to an editorial correction]*

3.12. Preparations for the conclave

[43] In the meantime, the guardianship of gates was entrusted to curials. The procurator of the Teutonic order obtained the custody of the Capitol. The custody of the Castel Sant'Angelo was left unchanged.

It was decided to hold the conclave at the Minerva.[1] Canon law actually stipulates that the conclave should be held in the palace where the pope had died, but that seemed less safe at the time. Many of the Roman barons arrived to see the election of the pope, but they were soon ordered to leave, and the others were forbidden from coming: the cardinals feared that the barons would make an armed intervention and force through the election of the pope they wanted or in some other way foul the election. For since the root of schism was not yet removed, they considered it necessary to avoid any irregularity and even the suspicion of such.[2] No one complained more bitterly about being excluded than Battista Savelli, a noble heavy with age. He claimed that he had the right to guard the keys of the secret conclave and that he would die happy if he had performed this honourable charge. But his complaints were in vain: the private cause must yield to the public one. The Romans seized the opportunity to be made free of several burdens.

[44] The conclave was set up in the dormitory of the Preachers[3] at the Minerva. The first gate was entrusted to four prelates, who had four keys: the Archbishop of Ravenna,[4] the Bishop of Ancona,[5] the Bishop of Aquila,[6] and the Bishop of Zamora.[7] Two other gates were held with two keys, which we guarded in rotation with the ambassadors of the King of Aragon, the King of Cyprus, and the Anconitans. Our station was in the Capitol. There was also another gate, [the fourth one], closed to us and guarded by the procurator of the Knights of Rhodes. A fifth gate was guarded by the citizens: day and night at least 1,000 armed men were keeping watch there under the supervision of the senator of the City.

[1] Santa Maria sopra Minerva, church of the main seat and monastery of the Dominicans in Rome
[2] Like Caesar's wife
[3] The Dominicans
[4] Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna 1445 to his death. Cardinal 1461
[5] Giovanni Caffarelli (d. 1467): Bishop of Ancona 1437 to his death
[6] Amico Agnifili (1398-1476): Bishop of L'Aquila 1437 to his death. Cardinal 1467
[7] Juan de Mella (1397-1467): Bishop of Zamora 1440. Cardinal 1456

[45] Finitis exequiis decima post obitum Eugenii[1] die[2] cardinales[3] apud Minervam hora vespertina convenerunt receptisque[4] juramentis fidelitatis ab[5] officialibus quibusque[6] cum processione et invocatione sancti spiritus, humi deflexis capitibus atque oculis conclave sunt ingressi reclusique[7] clavibus cellulas non ligno, sed panno clausas habent. Parietes omnes lanei[8]. Audire, inter sese quidquid[9] agatur, possunt. Nullum ibi lumen nisi commenticium. Loca cellarum sorte[10] deliguntur. Post per se quisque ornat suam. {195r} Quidam rubeis, quidam viridibus pannis tabernaculum sibi faciunt. Solus omnium suam cellam[11] cardinalis Bononiensis[12] albo vestivit: forsitan nec purior nec mundior cuiquam[13] erat mens. Nec enim ante illam diem extorquere quisquam ex eo[14] potuit votum ejus[15]. Capella in conclavi fuit, ubi communis missa celebrabatur[16]. Ea finita soli cardinales inter se scrutinium habebant. Octo et decem fuerunt[17] numero, nec papatus ulli obvenire poterat nisi duodecim votis expetito, quamvis sunt[18], qui jure licere dicant electi quoque vocem facere numerum. Lex est cardinalibus prioribus quinque diebus, quaecumque velint cibaria tradi, exin[19] triduo unicum dumtaxat ferculum, sive assum, sive lixum[20] magis {195v} cupiant, post solum panem vinumque permitti. In conclavi[21] licet cardinalem[22] duos famulos[23] habere[24], capellanum scutiferumque. Ultra hos nemo intromittitur, nisi[25] duo ceremoniarum clerici, quibus post electionem lucro est cella novi pontificis et quod illic ornamenti est.

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[1] obitum Eugenii : Eugenii obitum S
[2] decima post … die *omit.* I
[3] finitis exequiis … cardinales *omit.* M
[4] receptis I
[5] oratoribus et *add.* I
[6] quibuscumque M, V
[7] reclusisque BA, WO
[8] laneo V
[9] inter sese quicquid : quidquid inter sese BA
[10] forte WO
[11] suam cellam : cellam suam K *
[12] suam cellam … Bononiensis : cardinalis Bononiensis suam cellam H, I, M, V, BA
[13] cuique M, V; cujusquam BA
[14] quisquam ex eo : ex eo quisquam M, S
[15] votum ejus : eius votum V
[16] celebratur K, V
[17] fuerant S
[18] sint H, I, M, V, BA
[19] exinde M; ex in BA
[20] elixum H, I, M, V, BA
[21] conclave H, BA
[22] *omit.* M
[23] duos famulos : famulos duos I
[24] famulos habere : habere famulos K, M, V
[25] sacrista et *add.* BA

3.13. Opening of the conclave

[45] After the funeral rites, on the evening of the tenth day after Eugenius' death, the cardinals assembled at the Minerva. Having received the oaths of fidelity from some officials, they entered the conclave in a procession while invoking the Holy Spirit,[1] and with bowed heads and downcast eyes. The gates were locked. Their cells were not made of wood but of linen cloth. Since the walls were made of such cloth, they could all hear whatever went on between them. There was no light except artificial light.[2] The cells were distributed by lot. Then they all decorated their own cell. Some made their tent with red, some with green drapes. The Cardinal of Bologna was the only one to decorate his cell with white drapes: maybe no one's soul[3] was purer or cleaner than his. Before that day, nobody could wrest from him his vote.

In the conclave, there was a chapel where the common mass was celebrated. Afterwards only the cardinals were present for the balloting. As eighteen cardinals were present, nobody could become pope unless he obtained 12 votes, though some maintain that it is legitimate to include the vote of the elected cardinal himself.

The law stipulates that for the first five days, the cardinals may be given the food they want. The next three days, they can only have one dish, whether they want it roasted or boiled. Afterwards, they are only allowed bread and wine. During the conclave, each cardinal can [only] have two assistants, a chaplain and a squire. Other than these, no one is allowed inside except two masters of ceremonies, who after the election have the right of the new pope's cell and its decorations.

[1] I.e., singing the hymn "Veni creator spiritus"
[2] "lumen commentitium"
[3] "mens"

[46] Cibaria in cornutis[1] feruntur[2] [3] clausa, sed aperiuntur ante ultimum ostium[4] per quattuor praelatos inspiciunturque, ne quid litterarum armorumve feratur. Cornutarum nomine nihil[5] aliud intelligas nisi[6] cistas ligneas depictas et[7] armis cujuslibet cardinalis ornatas. Intus fercula reconduntur. Duo scutiferi unam perticam suspensam portant, alii bini praecedunt[8]. {196r} Sequuntur in processione episcopi ceterique clerici[9] de familia illius[10] cardinalis, cujus cornuta fertur. Tot funera duci credas, quot cornutae cardinalesque sunt. Usque adeo miseros[11] curiales[12] adulandi consuetudo illexit, ut cum cardinalibus nequeant[13], cornutis assententur atque illas non minus quam cardinales honorant[14]. Duae[15] his in rebus risu dignae visae sunt ceremoniae: haec una[16], altera, quoniam media hieme sub pyra, quam doloris castrum appellant, quattuor lugubribus induti vestibus flabellis, quae non adsunt, muscas[17] expellunt[18] ventulumque non praesenti faciunt pontifici[19]. Alterum superstitiosum[20] dixerunt quidam, alterum anile. Nos utrasque[21] ceremonias ab ecclesia {196v} secludi vellemus, quam puram et immaculatam esse[22] praedicant, sed concedendum est aliquid consuetudini. Illud admodum placuit nobis, quoniam singulis diebus processio sacerdotum circa conclave[23] fuit, summis precibus spiritus sancti praesentiam[24] electioni deposcens. Nec enim abesse solet, cum sincera mente deposcitur[25] spiritus[26] ille, sed ultro vocantibus adest opusque dirigit. Is et orationis nostrae tertiam partem in finem[27] perduxit.[28]

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[1] cornuta H, M, V, BA
[2] ferunt V
[3] in cornuta feruntur : erunt in cornuta M
[4] aperiuntur ante … ostium : ante ultimum ostium aperiuntur M, V
[5] nil M, V; non K
[6] quam H, I, M, V, BA
[7] ac M, V
[8] procedunt M, V
[9] ceterique clerici : clericique S
[10] ipsius H, I; ejus BA
[11] miseri H
[12] cardinalis H
[13] nequeunt K
[14] honorent M, V
[15] duo M
[16] haec una : una hec M, V
[17] flabellis quae … muscas : quae non adsunt muscas M
[18] expellant BA
[19] faciunt pontifici : pontifici faciunt I, BA
[20] superstitionem M, V
[21] has *add.* M, V
[22] *omit.* H, K, M, S, V
[23] processio sacerdotum … conclave : circa conclave processio sacerdotum S
[24] pontificis *add.* M, V
[25] sincera mente deposcitur : deposcitur sincera mente I
[26] *omit.* BA
[27] usque *add.* S
[28] 4a. pars narrationis *in marg.* H; quarta pars *add.* I

3.14. Weird rituals

[46] The food is brought in closed *cornutae*,[1] which are opened and inspected before the last gate by four prelates lest they contain letters or weapons. The word *cornuta* just means a painted box decorated with the arms of the cardinal in question. The dishes are placed inside. Two squires carry the hamper suspended from a pole, preceded by two other squires. They are followed in procession by the bishops and other clerics belonging to the household of the cardinal whose hamper is being carried along. You would think that there were as many funerals as there were hampers and cardinals.[2] The custom of adulating cardinals has brought the miserable curials to the point where, since they cannot honour the cardinals,[3] they revere their hampers and honour them no less than the cardinals themselves.

In this connection, we saw two ridiculous ceremonies. The above-mentioned was one, and the other was the following: beneath the bier, which they call the *castrum doloris*,[4] four men clothed in mourning used fans to keep the flies away although there were none, it being midwinter, and to create a small breeze for the pontiff who was not there, either. Some say that the first ceremony is superstitious, and others that it is absurd. We would eliminate both ceremonies from the Church, which is proclaimed to be pure and immaculate. On the other hand, there must be some concessions to custom. We were, however, greatly pleased to see the daily processions around the conclave of priests fervently praying for the Holy Spirit to be present at the election. For that spirit is usually present when it is requested with a sincere mind, and when people invoke it repeatedly,[5] it [certainly] comes and directs their works.

He[6] has now ended the third part of our oration.

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[1] Hamper

[2] Meaning that the food procession resembles a funeral procession

[3] Being locked away in conclave

[4] Piccolomini also uses the word "pyra", but that is incorrect since pyre means a funeral pile meant to be burnt, which was certainly not the case at Eugenius' funeral and indeed at Christian funerals at that time. Piccolomini´s use of the word is an anachronism reflecting classical, pagan burial rituals

[5] "ultro"

[6] The Holy Spirit

[47] Sic et ipse quartae atque[1] ultimae partis directet[2] tuasque aures, clementissime Caesar[3], benignas praebeat. Si quid est enim de[4] his[5], quae[6] diximus, quod pietati divinae tribuendum putes, hoc[7], quod[8] restat, maxime Deo {197r} imputandum est. Bene, mehercule, atque vere cardinalem Portugallensem dixisse constat. Is, ut est voce[9] quam cruribus ac[10] tibiis robustior et lingua quam corpore agilior, cum locum electionis[11] exiret[12] impedimentoque parvo cespitans cecidisset, interrogatus, an papam cardinales fecissent, "Non", inquit, cumque[13] instarent famuli factumque a cardinalibus papam contenderent, sic enim attestari alios ajebant, "Nequaquam," inquit, "fecimus papam, Deus fecit, non nos." Audi ergo, Caesar Invictissime[14], opus Dei, opus sanctum, opus mirabile. Spiritus sancti jam secreta pandemus[15], quae ultimae nostrae orationis[16] [17] parti[18] servavimus, ut magis haereant, quae novissime exeunt.

[48] {197v} Cum[19] intrarent cardinales conclave, communis opinio fuit Prosperum de Columna summum pontificium adipisci, sed proverbium Romanorum[20] est exire cardinalem[21], qui pontifex intrat conclave. Sic[22] illi obvenit. Sed vir magnanimus altique cordis etiam summum[23] [24] pontificium spernere potuit, nec enim illum spes erexit, nec dejecit[25] desperatio. Nobilitate, moribus, scientia papatu dignus, hoc uno dignior, quia contempsit. Dum scrutinium papatus fieret, favebant huic Aquilegiensis et Morinensis cardinales et alii quamplures. Vicecancellarius et Tarentinus alium quemvis quam hunc malebant. Simultates autem fuisse et urbis divisiones. Duo scrutinia feruntur habita. {198r} In primo cardinalis de Columna decem, Firmanus octo, qui nunc pontifex quinque, alii alia habuerunt vota. Portugallensis et[26] sancti Pauli[27] Bononiensem superarunt, sed nullus ad papatum satis vocum habuit. Per eam diem, quae dominica fuit, varii inter cardinales fuere tractatus: quidam Columnensi favebant, quidam[28] summis conatibus obviabant. Ipse in utramque partem armatus erat.

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[1] et H, I, M, V, BA
[2] director K
[3] clementissime Caesar : Caesar clementissime H, I, M, V, BA
[4] ex K, S
[5] iis M, V
[6] quod X
[7] *omit.* M
[8] non *add*. M
[9] atque vere … voce *omit*. V
[10] et M, V
[11] locum electionis : electionis locum I
[12] exiisset H, I; existet K; exisset S
[13] cum H, BA
[14] invicte K
[15] pandimus S
[16] narrationis I
[17] nostrae orationis : orationis nostre H, I, M, V, BA
[18] *omit.* BA, WO
[19] cumque M, V
[20] Romanum S
[21] exire cardinalem : cardinalem exire M, V
[22] hic M, V
[23] *omit.* H
[24] etiam summum : summum etiam H, I, M, V, BA
[25] eiecit S
[26] *omit.* H, K *, M, S, V
[27] etiam *add.* S; et *add.* V; in *add.* WO
[28] quibus S

4. Election and coronation of Nicolaus V

4.1. Election

4.1.4. Pope elected by God

[47] May the Holy Spirit himself thus direct the fourth and last part and make you, Most Clement Emperor, listen benignly. For if you believe that some of the things we have said must be ascribed to the Divine Piety, what remains must absolutely be attributed to God.[1] Well and truly, by Hercules, did the Cardinal of Portugal[2] speak (his voice is stronger than his limbs and bones, and he is quicker in speech than in body). When he left the building where the election had taken place, he stumbled over some small obstacle and fell. Asked by the attendants if the cardinals had made a pope, he said, "No." When they persevered and insisted that the cardinals had made a pope, asserting that others had confirmed it, he said, "It is not we who made the pope. It is God who did it, not we." So hear, Unvanquished Emperor, of this divine work, this holy work, this wonderful work, for we shall now reveal the secrets of the Holy Spirit, that we have reserved for the last part of our oration, so that what comes last, will stick better [in the mind].

4.1.2. First ballot

[48] When the cardinals entered the conclave, the common opinion was that Prospero Colonna would become Supreme Pontiff. However, a Roman proverb says that "One who enters the conclave as a pope, leaves it as a cardinal." That is what happened to him. However, this magnanimous man of noble soul was able to disregard the supreme pontificate: he was not elated by hope nor dejected by the lack of it. His nobility, character, and learning made him worthy of the papacy, and the very fact that he was able to disregard it, made him even more worthy of it. During the papal election, the Cardinal of Aquileia,[3] the Cardinal of Thérouanne,[4] and several others were in his favour, but the Vicechancellor[5] and the Cardinal of Taranto[6] wanted anyone but him. There had been quarrels and disputes in the City. Two ballots were reportedly held. On the first one, Cardinal Colonna received ten votes, the Cardinal of Fermo[7] eight, he who is now pope five, and others received other numbers of votes. The Cardinal of Portugal and the Cardinal of San Paolo[8] got more votes than the Cardinal of Bologna, but no one got enough votes for election. On the same day, which was Sunday, there were various discussions between the cardinals: some favoured the Cardinal of Colonna, some opposed him with all their might. He himself was prepared for both eventualities.

[1] I.e., the election of a pope known and friendly to the emperor and his interests, and who had himself been one of the architects and principal negotiators of the agreement between pope and emperor leading to Germain recognition of the Roman pope

[2] Antonio Martins de Chaves

[3] Ludovico Scarampo

[4] Jean Le Jeune

[5] Francesco Condulmer

[6] Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo

[7] Domenico Capranica

[8] Johannes de Primis

[49] Ventum est die lunae[1] ad scrutinium secundum[2]. Quamplurimi[3] extra collegium voces habuere[4]. Archiepiscopus Beneventanus Florentinusque[5] nominati sunt, correctorem quoque[6] et[7] Nicolaum Cusanum[8] nonnulli vocabant. Sed superavit omnes cardinalis de Columna, qui etiam hac[9] die[10] decem votis {198v} flagitatus[11] est. Bononiensem solum tribus[12] expetitum ferunt[13]. Morinensis vero, ubi Prosperum apostolatui proximum vidit, "Quid," inquit, "reverendissimi patres, terimus tempus[14]? Nihil ecclesiae periculosius[15] [16] est cunctatione nostra. Urbs anceps est, rex Aragonum muris imminet, Amadeus de Sabaudia[17] nobis insidiatur, comitem Franciscum hostem habemus, hic multa incommoda ferimus[18]. Quin pontificem citius eligimus[19]. Ecce angelum Dei cardinalem de Columna, mansuetum agnum. Quin[20] hunc papam[21] assumimus[22]? Decem habet vota, duo absunt. Quin consurgitis vocemque huic[23] affertis? Acta res est: si unus accedit, non deerit alter." Stabant omnes immobiles[24]. {199r} Tum[25] Bononiensis, ne longior mora ecclesiae noceret, assurgens, cardinali Columnensi[26] [27] accedere[28] voluit.

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[1] sequenti *add.* I
[2] scrutinium secundum : secundum scrutinium M
[3] quo pluririmi M, V
[4] habuerunt BA
[5] et Florentinus I
[6] correctorem quoque : correctoremque H, I, M, V, BA
[7] *omit.* M, V
[8] Cusanum : de Cusa H, I, M, V, BA
[9] hoc H, I
[10] hac die : die hac V
[11] efflagitatus K *, S
[12] vocibus *add.* M, V
[13] fuerunt M
[14] terimus tempus : tempus terimus S, WO
[15] periculosior M
[16] ecclesiae periculosius : periculosius ecclesiae S
[17] de Sabaudia *omit.* M
[18] *omit.* K
[19] eligamus H, I
[20] qui H, I
[21] *omit.* I
[22] assumamus H, M, V; assumemus I; sumimus K
[23] huc K *; hic BA
[24] omnes immobiles : immobiles omnes M, V
[25] tunc M, V
[26] *omit.* I
[27] cardinali Columnensi : Columna cardinali H, I; Columnae cardinali BA
[28] assurgere M, V

4.1.3. Second ballot

[49] On Monday, they proceeded to the second ballot. Many from outside the college[1] were nominated, like the Archbishop of Benevento[2] and the Archbishop of Florence, and many called for the corrector[3] and Nikolaus von Kues.[4] But Cardinal Colonna surpassed them all, who on that day obtained 10 votes. They say that the Cardinal of Bologna only got three. When the Cardinal of Thérouanne saw that Prospero was getting very close to the papacy[5], he said, "Most Reverend Fathers, why are we wasting time? Nothing is more dangerous to the Church than our hesitation. The City is unstable, the King of Aragon is close to the walls, Amédée of Savoy[6] is plotting against us, Count Francesco[7] is our enemy, and here in this place, we suffer many discomforts. So, why don´t we elect the pope quickly? Here we have Cardinal Colonna, an angel of God, a gentle lamb. Why not elect him pope? He already has 10 votes and only lacks two. Why don't you stand up and give him your vote, too? Then the thing is done. If first one accedes[8], a second one will not be fail to do the same." But they stayed immobile. Then the Cardinal of Bologna, lest further delay should harm the Church, stood up and would accede to Cardinal Colonna.

[1] The college of cardinals

[2] Astorgio Agnesi (1391-1451): Archbishop of Benevento from 1436 to his death

[3] Not identified

[4] Nikolaus von Kues [Cusa/Cusanus] (1401-1464): Renaissance philosopher and theologian. Cardinal 1448 and Prince-Bishof of Brixen 1450

[5] "apostolatui": the apostolate

[6] The anti-pope, Felix V

[7] Francesco Sforza

[8] The procedure of accession at papal conclaves: after the ballot, the cardinals were allowed to change their vote and give it to another candidate

[50] At[1] Tarentinus veritus, quod erat futurum, si ille accessisset, “Siste,” inquit, “paulisper Bononiensis. Caecum est[2] festinantis consilium. Grandem rem agimus. Nihil tarde fit, quod bene fit. Pervestigemus rem altius. Non qui villae uni[3] praesit, sed qui totum regat orbem, qui caelum claudat et aperiat, qui liget et[4] solvat, et alium in terris Deum electuri[5] sumus. Nunc examine, nunc consilio est opus[6]. Parum vidit, qui cito vidit.” Tum[7] Aquilegiensis: “Omnia, quae dicis, Tarentine, eo tendunt, ne pontificatum Columnensis habeat. Si tua ex sententia pontifex fiat[8], non incusabis {199v} celeritatem. Non consultantis, sed nolentis est[9] diutina[10] deliberatio. Dic, obsecro, quem vis papam?” Tunc ille “Bononiensem,” inquit, “vellem eumque nomino.” “Placet et mihi,” Aquilegiensis respondit. Accedit Morinensis, accedunt[11] alii. Repente ad XI voces[12] pervenitur[13]. Exinde[14] cardinalis sancti Sixti: “Et ego te[15],” inquit[16], “Thoma[17], pontificem facio, nam et vigiliam hodie beati Thomae facimus.” Mox alii omnes factum probaverunt[18]. Ille, postquam diutius[19] incassum se[20] excusavit imperfectumque suum[21] testatus est, cardinalium precibus acquievit induensque pontificalia[22] nomen sibi Nicolai V. ob reverentiam magistri[23] sui[24], sanctissimi patris Nicolai[25] cardinalis sanctae crucis, adoptavit.

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[1] tum I
[2] caecum est : numquam bonum M
[3] unus M
[4] ac V
[5] dilecturi V; delecturi K, M, S
[6] est opus : opus est M, V
[7] tunc WO
[8] vivat I
[9] *omit.* H, I
[10] diuturna M
[11] et *add*. H, M, V, BA
[12] XI voces : undecimam vocem H, K *, M, S, V
[13] provenitur H, I
[14] exin K; exit H, I, M, V, BA, WO
[15] *omit.* H
[16] te inquit : inquit te I
[17] Thomam H, I, K *, M, V
[18] probavere K, S
[19] diu BA
[20] incassum se : se incassum S
[21] imperfectumque suum : imperfectionemque M; imperfectionemque suam V
[22] pontificale I, BA; pontificalem habitum M, V
[23] *omit.* H, I, BA, WO
[24] omit. M, V
[25] Albergati *add.* I

[50] But the Cardinal of Taranto[1], fearing what would happen if Bologna acceded, said. "Wait a little, Bologna. Blind is the counsel of those who are in a hurry. We are dealing with a great matter. Nothing is done late that is done well. Let us consider the matter more deeply. We are not electing the head of a village but the ruler of the whole Earth, who will close and open Heaven, who will bind and loosen, another God on Earth. Now there is a need for deep inquiry and counsel. You see too little if you look quickly." Then the Cardinal of Aquileia said, "All that you are saying, Taranto, aims at keeping Colonna from becoming pope. If a pope is made according to your wish, you will not criticize the speed. A long discussion is wanted only by those who are against, not those who are for. So, tell us – I beg – whom do you want as pope?" He replied, "I would like the Cardinal of Bologna and him I nominate." "I want him, too", Aquileia said. Then Thérouanne acceded, and so did others. Quickly they reached 11 votes. Then the Cardinal of San Sisto[2] got up before the others and said, "And I, Thomas, make you pope, for today, we celebrate the Vigil of Saint Thomas."[3] Rapidly all the others approved what was done. For a long time, Bologna excused himself, declaring that he was not perfect, but all in vain,[4] and in the end, he gave in to the pleas of the cardinals, donned the papal robes, and took the name of Nicolaus V out of reverence for his saintly master and teacher, Cardinal Niccolò of Santa Croce.[5]

[1] An Orsini, traditionally opposed to the Colonnas

[2] Juan de Torquemada

[3] According to Pastor, there were three ballots (Pastor, I (2nd. Ed., 1955), p. 377

[4] It belonged to tradition that persons elected for high ecclesiastical office should protest their unworthiness, thereby proving their humility and absence of personal ambition

[5] Niccolò Albergati (1373-1443): Bishop of Bologna 1417, cardinal 1422. Employer, mentor and patron of Tommaso Parentucelli who governed his household, as he was also for a time employer and patron of Piccolomini himself

[51] {200r} Exacta jam hora sexta in nonam ferebatur dies, apertaque conclavis fenestra cardinalis de[1] Columna[2], prior diaconorum[3], crucem pontificalem emisit creatumque papam populo acclamavit. Altus erat locus, nec cardinalis[4] agnosci[5] nec[6] vox bene exaudiri poterat. Exiit[7] rumor cardinalem de Columna creatum[8] papam. Tum rupti repente cancelli. Ursini arma[9] domi clam[10] recipere[11] atque ad tuenda sua festinabant. Populus hilaris, quia Romanum haberet[12] papam[13], et Columnenses saltationibus, risibus vocibusque gaudium expromebant[14]. Alii domum ejus[15] praedae exposuerunt[16]. Ubi sedatus is rumor est, cardinalis quoque Capuani diripiunt domum. Atque inde cognita[17] veritate Bononiensis bona[18] susceperunt, {200v} sed admodum pauca. Hoc pauperi beneficium est, quod[19] pauca potest amittere. Rex Aragonum haud libenter hanc promotionem accepit, Columnensi namque affectus erat.

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[1] *omit.* I
[2] de Columna *omit*. M
[3] decanorum M
[4] de Columna *add.* I, BA
[5] cognosci M, V
[6] *omit*. M; neque K *, S
[7] exit H, I, BA
[8] esse *add.* I, WO
[9] ardua M, V
[10] iam H, I, BA; *omit*. M, V
[11] recepere K
[12] habebat H, I, M, V, BA
[13] pontificem M, V
[14] promebant S
[15] cardinalis Columnensis I
[16] praedae exposuerunt : exspoliaverunt M
[17] agnita BA
[18] cuncta M, V
[19] quia H, K *, M, V; qui I

4.1.4. Announcement of the new pope

[51] It was past the sixth hour, and the ninth was approaching when they opened the window in the hall of the conclave. Cardinal Colonna, first of the [cardinal] deacons, put out the papal cross and announced to the people that a pope had been elected. The window being high up, Cardinal Colonna could neither be seen nor heard well. A rumour started that Cardinal Colonna had been created pope. Then [all] barriers broke. The Orsini[1] had secretly gathered weapons and rushed to protect their properties. People were overjoyed that they had a Roman pope and showed their joy dancing, laughing, and shouting. Some plundered Colonna's home, and when that rumour subsided, they pillaged the home of the Cardinal of Capua. And when the truth was finally known, they looted the belongings of the Cardinal of Bologna, too, but they were only a few.[2] The advantage of poverty is that it can only lose a little. The King of Aragon was not happy to hear about this election for he was attached to Colonna.

[1] Roman noble family, and traditional rivals, even enemies of the Colonnas

[2] The plundering of cardinals' homes after a papal election, was traditional, almost a ritual

[52] At[1] novus[2] pontifex rupto muro[3] conclavis in ecclesiam[4] deductus est et ante majus altare collocatus,[5] ibique[6] sibi omnes[7] cardinales oboedientiam praestiterunt. Post haec ascendens equum niveum, qui ad hunc usum paratus erat, ad sanctum Petrum perrexit. Equum ducebant[8] Procopius, senator[9] et alii oratores, qui aderant, regum et principum. Ingens ubique populi multitudo[10] erat[11], nec ab osculo pedum[12] magnis percussionibus prohiberi vel viri vel feminae poterant. Ferventiora[13] sunt[14] omnium rerum principia, tempore frigescit caritas. Rursus cardinales in sancto Petro[15] oboedientiam exhibuerunt[16], atque tandem fessus fractusque pontifex totaque immutatus facie in palatium deductus est.

[53] Accessimus eum etiam[17] die illa[18], quamvis importunum[19] esset[20] tempus. Is, ubi nos vidit, assurgens[21] amplexum dedit vixque pedum[22] permisit oscula[23]. Pauca pro tempore diximus: te gavisurum assumptione sua, ut commendatum haberet, supplicavimus; bene[24] imperio et ecclesiae[25] fore, si duo mundi capita[26] invicem se diligerent. Familiariter et benigne[27], ut solebat, respondit, et, quia confirmationem gestorum[28] Eugenii {201v} petiveramus, ”Ego,” inquit, ”quae cum natione Germanica meus antecessor fecit, non solum approbare confirmareque[29] volo, sed exequi ac[30] manutenere[31] omnia. Nimis, ut mihi videtur, Romani pontifices fimbrias suas extenderunt, qui nihil jurisdictionis ceteris episcopis reliquerunt; nimis quoque Basilienses[32] apostolicae sedis manus abbreviaverunt. Sed ita evenit: qui facit indigna[33], ut injusta ferat[34], oportet. Arborem, in unam quae[35] [36] partem[37] pependit[38], qui volunt erigere, in partem adversam[39] trahunt. Nobis sententia est, in partem sollicitudinis qui vocati sunt, episcopos suo jure minime spoliare. Sic enim jurisdictionem nostram nos denique {202r} servaturos speramus, si non usurpaverimus aliena,” rogavitque nos, ut ad coronationem suam maneremus, quam in dominica *Laetare*[40] facturus erat.

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[1] hic H, I, M, V, BA
[2] novissimus H, I
[3] rumore M
[4] ecclesia H, I, M, V
[5] est *add.* M
[6] ibi V
[7] sibi omnes : omnes sibi K, M, S, V
[8] ducebat H, I, M, V, BA
[9] venator M
[10] populi multitudo : multitudo populi M, V
[11] fuit H, I, M, V, BA
[12] pedis M, V
[13] enim *add.* S
[14] enim *add.* K
[15] cardinales in sancto Petro : in sancto Petro cardinales K *, M, S, V
[16] exhibuere K
[17] eum etiam : etiam eum S
[18] die illa : illa die S
[19] inoportunum K
[20] erat H, I, M, V, BA
[21] assurgens H, I, M, V, BA
[22] pedem I
[23] osculari I
[24] bonum I
[25] imperio et ecclesiae : ecclesiae et imperio H, I, M, V, BA
[26] mundi capita : capita mundi M
[27] et benigne : benigneque S
[28] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[29] confirmarique S
[30] et H, I, M, V, BA
[31] manuteneri S
[32] *omit*. M
[33] *omit.* I
[34] sciat M, V
[35] qui M, V
[36] in unam quae : quae in unam H, I, M, V, BA
[37] in unam partem : partem in unam M
[38] pendit M
[39] partem adversam : adversam partem I
[40] *omit*. M

4.1.5. Procession to the Vatican

[52] When the wall of the conclave had been torn down, the new pontiff was led into the church and placed before the high altar. There, all the cardinals vowed obedience. Afterwards, he mounted a white horse, kept in readiness for this purpose, and went to Saint Peter's. Prokop[1] and other ambassadors of kings and princes present in the city as well as the Senator[2] led the horse. Everywhere, there was an enormous multitude of people, and only blows could prevent men and women from kissing the feet. All beginnings are, indeed, enthusiastic, but with time, devotion grows cold. In Saint Peter's, the cardinals once again promised obedience, and then, finally, the pontiff, tired and completely worn out and with a countenance to match, was led into the palace.

4.1.6. First meeting with the ambassadors

[53] Though it was not an opportune time, we visited him later that day. Seeing us, he rose and embraced us, barely allowing us to kiss his feet. We improvised a small address saying that you would rejoice in his elevation. We asked that he would hold you in high esteem and said that it was good both for both Church and Empire if the two heads of the world were linked by bonds of affection. He answered familiarly and kindly, as was his wont, and when we requested his confirmation of the acts of Eugenius, he said, "Not only will I approve and confirm all that my predecessor did with regard to the German nation but even execute and maintain it. To me, it seems that the Roman pontiffs have extended their limits exceedingly by not leaving any jurisdiction to the other bishops. On the other hand, the Basileans have exceedingly limited the reach of the Apostolic See. However, this is what happens: whoever does something intolerable, must suffer intolerable actions in return. When people want to straighten a tree drooping to one side, they pull it in the opposite direction. The bishops are called to take part in the [pastoral] care, and it is Our intention to not deprive them of their rights. And when we do not usurp the rights of others, We may hope finally to preserve Our own."[3] He also asked us to stay for his coronation, which would be held on Laetare Sunday.

[1] Prokop von Rabenstein *n*

[2] I.e., the Senator of Rome, a Roman public office in the Middle Ages

[3] Note this remarkable statement!

[54] In ea, quae secuta est, nocte maximi facti sunt ignes. Castellanus sancti angeli venienti[1] ex Minerva pontifici super[2] pontem[3] obvius[4] fuit[5] arcisque tutissimae claves restituit contraque datas recepit. Hanc tamen postea, sicut accepimus, arcem procurator Prutenorum[6] custodiendam[7] accepit[8]. Tota curia totaque urbs ex hujus assumptione pontificis laetata est. Fuerunt, qui alium cardinalem, a quo majora sperabant, pontificem factum magis optassent[9], at hunc papam nemo invitus vidit. Nemo ex cardinalibus fuit praeter {202v} hunc nostrum, quem non aliquod excluderet[10] odium: alium Ursini[11], alium Columnenses[12], alium Veneti, alium Mediolanenses,[13] [14] alium Gallici, alium Cathelani[15] formidabant, et[16] tamen unum ex his, quem[17] habituri erant inimicum[18], improvida mortalium mens[19] diligebat[20].

[1] venit M
[2] supra H, I, BA; *omit.* M, V
[3] *omit.* M
[4] obvium M
[5] venit BA
[6] *omit.* H, I *[blank space],* M, V, BA
[7] suscipiendam S
[8] suscepit K *, S
[9] optabant S, V
[10] excluderat H; excusaverat I
[11] Ursinensem I; Ursinenses BA
[12] Columnensem I
[13] alium Veneti alium Mediolanenses : alium Mediolanenses alium Veneti M, V
[14] alium Veneti … Mediolanenses *omit.* I
[15] Cathalani BA
[16] ex H; *omit.* V
[17] qui K *, S
[18] inimicos H, I, K, M, S, BA
[19] mortalium mens : mens mortalium H, I, M, V, BA
[20] deligebat K, M

4.1.7. Public rejoicing

[54] During the following night, great bonfires were lit. The governor of Castel Sant'Angelo met the pope coming from Minerva on the bridge and returned the keys of this very secure fortress and afterwards received them back. However, we have heard that later the procurator of the Prussians[1] was appointed governor of the fortress. The whole curia and the whole city rejoiced in this election.[2] Some had wished for another cardinal from whom they hoped for great (benefits), but still, all accepted this pope. And among the cardinals, there was nobody, except this our cardinal,[3] who was not barred [from election] by someone's enmity. The Orsini feared one cardinal, the Colonnas another, the Venetians another, the French another, and the Catalans another: the shortsighted mind of men loved one of those, whom they would later have as an enemy.[4]

[1] The manuscripts do not agree on who was appointed governor of the Castel Sant'Angelo

[2] "assumptio"

[3] Cardinal Parentucelli

[4] Probably meaning that their preferred candidate might later not be their friend, as had been the case with the Venetians and Pope Eugenius IV (a Venetian himself), and later with King Alfonso V and Pope Calixtus III (former high-ranking official of the king)

[55] Sed conscius omnium rerum[1] paraclitus hunc accepit, hunc praefecit, quam amaturos[2] sciebat omnes. Vidit *scrutator*[3] *cordium* Deus in hoc patre summam humilitatem, hanc exaltavit. Vidit singularem justitiam, hanc praemiavit. Vidit praecipuam humanitatem, hanc amavit[4] [5]. Vidit prudentiam grandem, hanc delegit[6]. Vidit ingentem magnanimitatem[7], hanc probavit. Vidit {203r} scientiam profundissimam, hanc ecclesiae sponsae suae[8] [9] praefecit. Vidit exuberantem eloquentiam, hanc necessariam in pontifice[10] maximo judicavit. Neque enim una vel altera doctrina callet[11], ut quidam ex nostris, qui una et hac minus nota scientia superbientes contemnunt ceteras[12]. Artibus septem, quas liberales vocant, sic a puero imbutus est, ut omnia praesentia sint. Philosophos omnes novit, historicos, poetas, cosmographos[13], theologos, nam et sacris artibus[14] initiatus est. Juris[15] civilis et pontificii notitiam habet, nec medicinam ignorat. Extra scientiam est hominum, quidquid illi occultum est. Provincias plurimas peragravit, {203v} principes Christianae reipublicae[16] majores adivit[17], in rebus maximis versatus est, et domus et civitatum regimina est expertus[18]. Quod si umquam sperare beatam ecclesiam futuram[19] licuit, sub hoc pontifice spes ista florebit, quoniam[20] rectorem[21] ejus studere sapientiae[22] contigit[23]. Nunc vulgo dicitur exclusis vitiis virtutes et doctrinas imperium habituras. Origo illi ex[24] Sarzana[25] est[26], quod Januensium est oppidum in Tuscia juxta Ligusticum mare, ubi nunc sedes Lunensis[27] est. Honesto loco natus est[28]. Majores ejus quidam ex[29] Luca, quidam ex Pisis profectos Sarezanam[30] ajunt[31]. Armis in pontificatu nullis uti {204r} vult, nisi quibus ecclesia utitur.

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[1] omnium rerum : rerum omnium M
[2] amaturum H, I, M, V, BA
[3] conservator M
[4] vidit singularem … amavit *omit.* S
[5] vidit singularen … amavit : vidit praecipuam humanitatem, hanc amavit. Vidit singularem justitiam, hanc praemiavit K
[6] elegit S
[7] magnitudinem H, I, M, V, BA
[8] *omit.* I
[9] sponsae suae : suae sponsae H, I, BA
[10] pontificio K *, S
[11] caret M
[12] exteras I
[13] et *add.* M, V
[14] eius artis K *, S
[15] et *add.* K, M, S, V
[16] Christianae republicae : republicae Christianae M, V
[17] audivit M
[18] est expertus : expertus est S
[19] sperare beatam … futuram : beatam futuram sperare ecclesiam K, S
[20] quando K *, S
[21] rectores H, I, K, M,
[22] studere sapientiae : sapientiae studere H, I, V, BA
[23] contingit M, V
[24] est M, V
[25] Sarezana K
[26] *omit.* M, V
[27] Lucensis M, V
[28] *omit.* M, V
[29] *omit.* S
[30] Sarazanam H; Sarzanam I, M, V, BA; Sarezanam K
[31] petiisse *add.* M, V

4.1.8. Personality of the new pope

[55] But the all-knowing Paraclete accepted and put the man in charge whom it knew all would love. God, the *searcher of* men's *hearts,* saw matchless humility in this father, and that is what He raised up. He saw singular justice, and that is what He rewarded. He saw outstanding kindness, and that is what He loved. He saw great wisdom, and that is what He chose. He saw immense magnanimity, and that is what He approved of. He saw profound knowledge, and that is what He set to rule the Church, His bride. He saw vigorous eloquence, and that is what He found necessary in a supreme pontiff. The new pope is not a specialist in one branch of knowledge, like some of ours, who pride themselves in one lesser-known discipline and despise all others. From childhood, he was imbued with the seven arts, the so-called liberal arts, so that they are all open [to him]. He knows all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians, too, for he was also initiated into the sacred arts. He has knowledge both of civil and pontifical law, and he is not ignorant of medicine. Whatever is hidden to him is beyond the knowledge of men. He has travelled through many provinces[1] and met the most important princes of the Christian commonwealth.[2] He has handled great affairs and has experience with governing both households[3] and cities.[4] If ever it was allowed to hope for the future happiness of the Church, such hope will now flourish under this pontiff since its ruler is one who strives for wisdom. It is now commonly said that vice will be banished, and virtues and learning will rule. The new pope comes from Sarzana, a Genoese town in Toscana, close to the Ligurian Sea, where Luni is situated[5]. He was born into a respectable family. They say that some of his forefathers came to Sarzana from Lucca and some from Pisa. As pope, he will only use the coat of arms used by the Church.

[1] Germany, France, England
[2] The emperor and many German princes
[3] The household of Cardinal Albergati
[4] The city of Bologna
[5] Roman city, Luna (today Luni), established in 177 BCE, in former Etruscan territory

[56] In crastinum electionis suae duos cardinales ad regem Aragonum transmisit, vicecancellarium et camerarium. Ille contra quattuor[1] ad summum[2] pontificem oratores destinavit[3], qui publice sic contionati sunt: “Gavisa est regia serenitas ex tua promotione, sanctissime pater, nam et sibi et toti ecclesiae exinde[4] bene sperat. Commendat se tuae sanctitati et offert regna et arma. Coronandum te scit.[5] Quia nequit adesse, jussit[6] nos venire suoque nomine coronationem honorare.” Hilari fronte hos excepit[7] pontifex gratiasque regi et oratoribus egit[8].

[1] civitates *add*. K *; pontifices *add.* S
[2] quattuor ad … pontificem : summum ad pontificem quatuor M
[3] oratores destinavit : destinavit oratores M
[4] *omit.* M, V
[5] et *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[6] misit BA
[7] accepit M
[8] ait S; agit V

4.1.9. Messages between the pope and the King of Aragon

[56] The day after his election, he sent two cardinals to the King of Aragon, the Vicechancellor[1] and the Camerlengo.[2] The king, in turn, sent four ambassadors to the Supreme Pontiff. They addressed him thus in public: "His Serene Highness rejoices in your elevation[3], Holy Father, for he hopes it will benefit both himself and the whole Church. He commends himself to Your Holiness and offers you his kingdoms and arms. He knows that you will be crowned, but since he is unable to attend, he has ordered us to come here and honour the coronation in his name." The pontiff received them with a happy countenance and thanked the king and the ambassadors.

[1] Francesco Condulmer
[2] Ludovico Scarampo
[3] "promotio"

[57] Ubi dies coronationus advenit[1], adfuerunt {204v} omnes urbis barones, circumvicinae civitates legatos misere, multi sua sponte venerunt. Ingens hominum multitudo ad spectaculum[2] confluxerat[3]. Cives, ubi[4] transiturus papa[5] fuit[6], vias quaslibet pannis adornarunt texeruntque[7]. Summo mane coepta res[8] est. Crucem ante pontificem Aeneas[9] portavit in subdiaconorum[10] acceptus[11] ordinem. Epistolam unus ex[12] comitibus Latine et alter Graece decantavit[13], cardinalis sancti angeli evangelium Latine et abbas quidam Graece.[14] Missam ipse summus pontifex celebravit[15]. Aquam ter recepit[16], primam orator[17] Cyprianus[18], secundam[19] Aragonensis, {205r} tertiam[20] imperialis Procopius[21] dedit. Ibi cardinales omnesque praelati oboedientiam papae[22] praestiterunt. Quamprimum autem ecclesiam intravit[23], ante portam canonici ecclesiae[24] idem fecere. Acclamatum ibi est[25] juxta corpora beatorum[26] Petri et Pauli: *Nicolao V. a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali papae vita[27]!* Lectisque litaniis per cardinalem de Columna gradatim per sanctos quoslibet acclamatum est: *Tu illum adjuva*. Qui acclamant, sunt advocati, auditores[28] [29], secretarii, acolyti, et[30] subdiaconi. Similis acclamatio fit in patriarchio[31] Lateranensi. Ubi missa finita est, ad pulpitum itur[32], quod in gradibus prioribus est ante {205v} vestibulum[33] templi. Illuc solus[34] ascendit papa cum cardinalibus Aeneasque cum cruce et clerici cerimoniarum duo. Ibi[35] praestita rursus[36] oboedientia per cardinales[37], primus diaconorum[38] cardinalis de Columna acclamante universo[39] populo *Kyrie Eleison,* coronam capiti sacrato[40] imposuit.

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[1] venit M, V
[2] spectandum M, V
[3] effluxerat S
[4] uti K
[5] *omit.* H, I
[6] papa fuit : erat papa M, V
[7] et texerunt H, I, M, V, BA
[8] coepta res : res cepta H, I, M, V, BA
[9] Piccolomineus *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[10] diaconorum H, I, M, V, BA
[11] receptus BA
[12] e BA
[13] *omit.* M
[14] decantavit cardinalis … Graece *omit.* M
[15] cardinalis sancti angeli evangelium Latine et abbas quidam Graece decantavit *add.* M
[16] aquam ter recepit : ter cepit aquam M, V
[17] regis *add.* I
[18] Cypri I, BA
[19] orator regis *add.* I, BA
[20] orator *add.* I, BA
[21] miles *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[22] *omit*. M
[23] intrant K
[24] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[25] ibi est : est ibi H, I, M, V, BA
[26] sanctorum H
[27] *omit.* M, V
[28] *omit.* M
[29] advocati auditores : auditores advocati H, I, M, V, BA
[30] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[31] ecclesia H, I, M, V, BA
[32] iter S
[33] est ante vestibulum : ante vestibulum est M, V
[34] solum M
[35] ubi M, V
[36] praestita rursus : rursus prestita H, I, M, V, BA
[37] oboedientia per cardinales : per cardinales oboedientia H, I, M, V, BA
[38] diaconus H, I, M, V, BA
[39] *omit.* I, M
[40] sancto S; sacro K

4.2. Coronation

4.2.1. Coronation in Saint Peter's

[57] When the day for the coronation came, all the barons of the City were present. The surrounding cities sent legates, and many came on their own. An immense multitude flowed in for the spectacle. The citizens adorned and covered the streets where the pope would pass with drapes. The ceremonies began in the early morning. The cross was carried before the pontiff by Enea, who had been received into the order of subdeacons.[1] The epistle was sung by one of the officials[2] in Latin and by another in Greek. The mass was celebrated by the supreme pontiff himself. He was offered water three times, the first time by the ambassador of Cyprus, the second time by the ambassador of the King of Aragon, and the third time by the imperial ambassador, the Knight Prokop. There the cardinals and all the prelates made the oath of obedience to the pope. Immediately upon his arrival at the church, the canons did the same, before the gate. He received the acclamations by the tombs[3] of Saint Peter and Saint Paul: "[Long] life to Nicolaus V, made Supreme Pontiff and universal pope by God." The litanies were sung by Cardinal Colonna, and for each saint, they replied in acclamation: *Tu illum adjuva.*[4] Those who sang the acclamations were the advocates, the auditors, the secretaries, the acolytes, and the subdeacons. (Similar acclamations were made in the Lateran patriarchal church.) After the mass, they went to a platform raised above the first steps before the vestibule of the temple. The pope ascended the platform, only accompanied by the cardinals, Enea with the cross, and two masters of ceremonies. There, again, the cardinals made the oath of obedience, and then the first deacon, Cardinal Colonna, placed the crown on the holy head while the whole people chanted *Kyrie Eleison.*

[1] I.e., he had been made an apostolic subdeacon. He had already taken minor orders and been ordained a priest (1446)

[2] Presumably a curial official

[3] "corpora": bodies

[4] Help him [oh God]

[58] His peractis praelati baronesque in equis sunt[1], sed abbates, episcopi et[2] cardinales equis albo vestitis insident. Tria ante papam vexilla feruntur et umbraculum unum. Corpus Christi[3] ante processionem portatur multaque circum[4] luminaria. Rosam auream in manu habet[5] pontifex sinistra[6], dextra populo se benedicere[7] innuit. {205v} Equum ejus per vices ducebant nunc Procopius, nunc Aragonenses[8] [9], nunc barones. Apud montem Jordanum Judaei legem[10] pontifici tradiderunt, quam ille non damnavit, sed interpretes. Sic[11] itum est ad sanctum Johannem, ubi multis peractis ceremoniis illae fuerunt ultimae, quia praelatis et oratoribus pecuniae datae sunt: cardinalibus argentei duo, unus autem aureus, et[12] aliis[13] aureus et argenteus. Longum jejunium multamque[14] vexationem haec pecunia compensavit[15], quae eo dulcior fuit, quia cum fine laborum venit. Apud Lateranum solemne palatium est et insigne claustrum monachorum, quod Eugenius, reparator aedificiorum urbis erectorque[16] monasteriorum, struxerat. Papa in palatio, cardinales {206r} in claustro comederunt, nos[17] cardinalis sancti angeli hospites habuit. Post prandium ad sanctum Petrum per eandem viam reditum est[18] jam nocte.

[59] Mandaverat[19] pontifex[20], se ut saepe accederemus. Paruimus non inviti[21]. Litteras confirmationis gestorum per Eugenium petivimus, obtinuimusque gratias plerasque, quas et[22] [23] pro nobis et pro amicis[24] petivimus. Interdum annuit[25], interdum negavit. Cum negavit[26], sic locutus est, ut non se difficilem, sed nos injustos ostenderet. Nempe Aeneam nulla negatio laesit[27], nisi quae Johanni Campisio secretariatum negabat. Non tamen pontifici, sed amicitiae, quod imputaret, erat.

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[1] *omit.* I, M, V, BA
[2] *omit.* H, V, BA
[3] papae H, M, V, BA
[4] multaque circum : circum multaque M
[5] habuit K
[6] rosam aurem … sinistra : pontifex manu sinistra rosam auream que benedicitur eo die habet I
[7] se benedicere : benedicere se K
[8] Aragonensis H, M, V; Aragonensis orator I
[9] nunc Aragonenses : Strigoniensis S
[10] Mosaicam *add.* I
[11] *omit.* M
[12] *omit.* H, S
[13] et aliis : aliisque WO
[14] longamque H, I, M, V, BA
[15] pensavit H, I, V, BA
[16] etiam communique H, I, BA; etiam communi M, V
[17] nosque H, I, M, V, BA
[18] ad sanctum Petrum per eandem viam reditum est : per eandem viam reditum est ad sanctum Petrum H, I, M, V, BA
[19] mandavit S
[20] ad *add.* V
[21] et *add.* I
[22] *omit.* H
[23] *omit.* H, I, BA
[24] si quae *add.* M, V
[25] interdum annuit *omit.* M
[26] cum negavit *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[27] laeserat M

4.2.2. Taking possession of San Giovanni in Laterano

[58] After that, the prelates and barons mounted their horses. The horses of abbots, bishops, and cardinals were caparisoned in white. Three banners and a parasol were carried before the pope. The body of Christ was born before the procession, surrounded by many candles.[1] The pontiff held a golden rose in his left hand,[2] using his right to bless the people. His horse was led in turn by Prokop, the Aragonese, and the barons. At Monte Giordano, the Jews presented their Law to the pontiff who did not condemn it but only its interpreters. Then, they proceeded to San Giovanni, where many ceremonies were performed. Since these were the last ones, the prelates and ambassadors were given money: the cardinals two silver pieces and one gold piece each, and the others one silver piece and one gold piece each. This money compensated for a long fast and a long strenuous day, and it was all the more welcome since it meant the end of the labours [of the day]. By the Lateran, there is a venerable palace and a splendid monastic cloister, built by Eugenius, who restored the buildings of the City and built monasteries. The pope dined in the palace and the cardinals in the cloister. We were the guests of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Night had already fallen when, after the meal, we returned to Saint Peter's by the same route.

4.2.3. Further meetings with the ambassadors

[59] The pope had bidden us visit him often, and we obeyed gladly. We asked for a letter confirming the acts of Eugenius and obtained it as well as many favours that we requested for ourselves and our friends. Some he accepted, some he refused. When he rejected a petition, he did it in such a way as to show that he was not being difficult, but that we were unreasonable. None of these refusals affected Enea except the refusal of a secretaryship to Giovanni Campisi,[3] but this should not be imputed to the pontiff, but to friendship.[4]

[1] Carrying the sacrament of the eucharist before the pope was a tradition of the papal court

[2] The golden rose was usually blessed on Laetare Sunday, in this case also the pope's coronation day, and sent as a mark of distinction to some high personage

[3] Giovanni Campesi (d. 1474): Nicolaus later (1453) appointed him Bishop of Piacenza. He was an old and close friend of Piccolomini

[4] The meaning is probably that the pope reasonably thought that secretaryships ought not to be granted on the basis of friendship rather than qualifications

[60] Postquam suae[1] coronationis litteras regibus ac principibus scribi jussit, id inseri omnibus {207r} voluit se[2] cameram apostolicam ad instituta[3] veterum reducturum. Dixit et[4] nobis se nolle prioribus exactionibus uti[5] causasque illarum - bella et magnas expensas - restricturum. “Qui exponit,” inquit, “ubi non debet, et ubi non debet recipere cogitur.” Ita est equidem: Rapit impie, qui donat superflue. Et recipientis et dantis moderandae sunt manus.

[61] Post coronationem rursus alii regis Aragonum oratores venerunt, tres curiae suae majores[6] comites duoque milites, quorum unus etiam[7] doctor fuit. Hi publico in[8] consistorio oboedientiam solemnem Nicolao pontifici praestiterunt. Orationem habuit unus[9] ex eis[10], qui saepius cespitavit. At pontifex paululum moratus tam ornate sententioseque[11] respondit, ut omnes in {207v} admirationem sui converteret[12]. Post haec advenerunt Perusini, orationemque[13] jureconsulto[14] dignam habuerunt. Sunt Perusinis[15] [16] [17] uti[18] manus ita[19] ingenia[20] prompta[21]. Advenerat Romam adolescens quidam ex Perusinis exulibus, annos[22] XVII natus[23], egregia indole, Laurentium – ni fallor – vocabant. Is etiam oratione ornata gravique[24] pontificem adorsus est. Memoria illi aeterna[25] fuit: nihil Ciceronis incipere[26] poteras, quod ille non prosequeretur. Favet ingeniis Nicolaus adolescentique benefacturus creditur, nam et Fernando Hispano, summa doctrina juveni, initio sui pontificatus pingue beneficium contulit.

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[1] *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[2] *omit.* S
[3] institutum H, I, M, V, BA
[4] *omit.* M, V
[5] ut H, I, M, V
[6] sunt *add.* H, BA
[7] *omit.* S
[8] publico in : in publico I
[9] habuit unus : unus habuit S
[10] his M, V
[11] tam sententiose M
[12] conuerterit K *, S
[13] orationem H, I, M, V, BA
[14] in re consulto H, I, K
[15] Perusini H, I
[16] sunt Perusinis : haben Perusini isti V
[17] orationemque jureconsulto … Perusinis : isti M
[18] sicut M, V; sic et K *, S
[19] et *add*. H, I, M, V
[20] quoque *add.* M
[21] orationem jureconsulto dignam habuerunt *add.* M
[22] anno H; annum agens I; annis M, V
[23] *omit.* I
[24] summum *add.* H, I, M, V, BA
[25] illi aeterna : eterna illi I
[26] incipi BA

4.2.4. Message to kings and princes

[60] Afterwards, he ordered letters announcing his coronation to be written to kings and princes. In them all, it was said that he wanted to bring the Apostolic Chamber back to its former institute. And to us, he said that he did not want to maintain the previous [level of] exactions but instead limit their causes, that is wars and large expenses.[1] "One who spends," he said, "when he should not, is also forced to collect when he should not." That is, indeed, so: whoever gives superfluously must plunder ruthlessly. The hands of both him who receives and him who gives must be restrained.

4.2.5. Obedience of the King of Naples and Perugia

[61] After the coronation, other ambassadors came from the King of Aragon, three important counts from his court and two knights, of whom one was even a doctor. They made a solemn declaration of obedience to Pope Nicolaus in a public consistory. The oration was held by one of them who often stumbled [over the text]. After a short pause, the pontiff replied in an oration so ornate and weighty that it left all in admiration.[2] Later, the Perugians arrived and held an oration worthy of a lawyer. Indeed, the wits of the Perugians are as quick as their hands. A young man, one of the Perugian exiles, 17 years old and of excellent character, named Lorenzo (if I am not mistaken), had come to Rome and delivered an elegant and weighty speech to the Supreme Pontiff. He had total recall[3]: you could not begin [a passage] from Cicero, which he would not continue. Nicolaus likes intelligent men and will, it is believed, bestow some favour on the young man, as he did right in the beginning of his pontificate with a Spaniard named Fernando, a young man of extraordinary learning whom he gave a fat benefice.

[1] Except for avoiding wars, it is not clear how Nicolaus followed up on these excellent aims. If he had done so, he would have spared the Papacy much later trouble, not the least in Germany which continued to complain bitterly of the papal exactions

[2] Cotta-Schönberg, Michael von & Anna Modigliani: Nicholas V's only surviving oration the *Nihil est* of 24 March 1447. In: *Roma nel Rinascimento,* (2016) 271-288

[3] "aeterna"

[62] Expectavimus subinde legati ad Germaniam venturi[1] creationem interrogatique {208r} ac jussi opinionem dicere, cardinalem[2] sancti angeli commendavimus. Papa, etsi illo propter res Hispanicas aegre careret, nationi tamen Germanicae voluit complacere. Quo legato pronuntiato et per cardinales, ut[3] est moris[4], domum usque associato, itineri nos accinximus expeditisque litteris III. Kalendas Aprilis ex urbe recessimus. Oratores Florentinos ad primum lapidem obviam[5] habuimus, Senenses in Vulsinio[6] reperimus[7], Bononienses parum citra[8] Florentiam. Majorem hebdomadam et pascha alter nostrum Senis, alter Florentiae fecit. Florentini adversus Senenses repressalia[9] concesserant. Eam ob causam salvum conductum Aeneas[10] petebat jussusque erat unus ex familia prioris[11] illum conducere. Sed {208v} illo ad diem non veniente jussis familiaribus sequi mutatis vestibus Aeneas solus praecessit casuque in via famulum[12], qui ad se veniebat, invenit. Sic expectatis familiaribus Florentiam venit, inde simul iter[13] fecimus. Apud Timavum[14], quod moderni Tagliamentum[15] vocant, ingens discrimen evasimus: solutis in Alpibus nivibus magnaque pluvia inundaverat fluvius.[16] Peregrini quamplures aderant tranare[17] cupientes. Equi et homines simul vehimur[18]. Ubi ad cursum navis venit, velociter[19] sagitta in ripam fertur. Peregrini submergi timentes in terram saliunt cordaque navis percussi omnes prostrantur, dumque periculum fugiunt, majus[20] incidunt. Quamplures tibias brachiaque laeserunt, parumper[21] {209r} abfuit[22], quin[23] inter navem ripamque comprimerentur. Post XII. Kalendas Maji ad te reversi sumus.

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[1] *omit.* M
[2] cardinalemque K
[3] uti M
[4] est moris : moris est H, I, M, V, BA
[5] obvios I, S; *omit.* M
[6] Volsino K; Vulsino S
[7] reperivimus M, V
[8] circa H, I, M, V
[9] represalias K *, S
[10] salvum conductum Aeneas : Aenas salvum conductum M, V
[11] priorum M, K*, S, V
[12] in via famulum : famulum in via M, V
[13] simul iter : similiter H, M, V, BA
[14] Tianum H, I, BA
[15] Tugliamentum S
[16] apud Timaevum … fluvius *omit.* M, V
[17] transire H, M, V
[18] uehuntur S
[19] velut *add.* M, V; velocior K *, S
[20] magis H, I, K, M, V, BA, WO
[21] parum M; parumque H, I, K *, S, V
[22] affuit M
[23] ne K *, S

4.2.6. Appointment of papal legate to Germany

[62] After that, we awaited the appointment of the legate who would go to Germany, and, when asked and ordered to give our opinion, we recommended the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Although the pope much needed the cardinal for the Spanish affairs, he wanted to accommodate the German nation. When the cardinal had been appointed legate and had, as custom dictates, been accompanied to his home by the other cardinals, we made ready for departure. After the letters had been delivered to us, we left the City on 30 March. We met the Florentine envoys[1] at the first milestone[2], the Sienese in Bolsena, and the Bolognese a little before Florence. One of us[3] spent the Great Week and Easter in Siena, the other in Florence.[4] The Florentines had voted reprisals against the Sienese. Enea, therefore, requested a safe-conduct, and a member of the household of the prior was ordered to accompany him. But when he did not arrive on the appointed day, Enea ordered his attendants to follow him later, while he himself went ahead, alone and in disguise, and accidentally met the servant on the way to meet him. Thus, he arrived in Florence without his attendants, but afterwards, they travelled together. At Timavum,[5] which today is called Tagliamento, we escaped an immense danger: when the snows had melted in the Alps, heavy rains made the river flow over. There were many travellers wanting to cross over. Men and horses were transported together. When the boat met the current, it was carried towards the shore like an arrow. The travellers fearing to drown jumped on land, but then they were hit by the ropes of the ship and knocked down: fleeing one danger, they fell into a greater one. Many broke legs and arms, and they barely avoided being crushed between the ship and the shore.

We returned to you on 20 April.

[1] Going to Rome to salute the new pope and declare obedience
[2] From Rome
[3] Presumably, Piccolomini himself, who would take the opportunity to visit his family and friends
[4] Presumably Prokop von Rabstein
[5] Also: Tranum

[63] In via percepimus[1] oratores Venetorum Philippique ducis Mediolani Romam missos, similiter et[2] Januenses. Papa, sicut[3] nobis dixit, niti[4] vult pacem Italiae[5] componere[6]. Irritati animi sunt. Fama erat Dalphinum[7] in Italiam venturum opemque Philippo laturum[8]. Erant et qui[9] ducem Sabaudiae in partibus Philippi dicerent[10], sed vincit omnia diligens cura. Saepe res fieri vidimus, cum minime sperarentur. Multa huic pontifici fortunata[11] cesserunt, forsitan et hoc sequetur. Nempe dum Romae fuimus, quamplures Hispanos, Catelanos[12], Gallos[13] Germanosque[14] vidimus, {209v} qui mores[15] curiae detestabantur recessurosque[16] dicebant[17], qui postea sub moderno pontifice nec[18], si pellerentur, abituros se affirmabant[19]. Sic probitas hujus patris[20] omnes allexit. Aquensis archiepiscopus et orator regis Renati nihil se dubitare dicebant[21], quin rex Franciae totaque Gallia modernum pontificem sequerentur.

[64] Hae[22] sunt Italiae res[23], inclyte rex[24], quas[25] nostra in legatione vidimus, audivimus, fecimus. Si mandatis tuis rite paruimus, si bene acta res est, Deo gratias referto[26], qui tuos dirigit actus, praeteritoque et praesenti[27] pontifici votivam expeditionem adscribito, qui te amantes nihil[28] tibi non[29] concedere potuerunt[30] [31]. Si quid erratum est tuaeque contraventum voluntati[32], ne[33] malitiae, ne[34] desidiae[35], sed {210r} ignorantiae atque[36] imbecillitati[37] deputa[38]. Nos certe in recessu nostro ex liberalitate summi[39] pontificis centum aureos, qui nos in via laetificarent, accepimus.

---

[1] praecepimus M, V
[2] *omit.* M
[3] sicuti M
[4] mitti H; *omit.* M, V
[5] *omit.* I
[6] *omit.* M, V
[7] delphinum H, I, M, V, BA
[8] daturum H, I, M, V
[9] dicebant *add.* M
[10] duci M
[11] fortunate K
[12] Cathalanos BA
[13] Gallosque WO
[14] Germanos M
[15] morem I
[16] recessurique H, M, V; se *add*. K *, S
[17] dicebantur H, M, V
[18] ne I, V
[19] affirmant H, M, V, BA
[20] partis BA
[21] dicebat M, V; ajebant K, S
[22] hec K *, S
[23] Italiae res omit. K *, S
[24] inclyte rex *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA
[25] que K *, S
[26] Deo gratias referto : gratias referto Deo M
[27] et praesenti : praesentique M
[28] nil H, BA
[29] potuerunt non : non potuerunt H, M, V; non potuerunt non I
[30] et *add.* V
[31] non concedere potuerunt : potuerunt non concedere H, I, M, V, BA
[32] contraventum voluntati : voluntati contraventum M
[33] nec M, V
[34] nec M, V
[35] dissidiae H, M, V
[36] ac M
[37] impossibilitati K *, S
[38] tribue M, V; deputato BA
[39] *omit.* I

4.2.7. Travel back to Austria

[63] On the road, we met the ambassadors of Venice and of Duke Filippo of Milan, who had been sent to Rome, and equally the ambassadors of Genoa. The pope himself told us that he wanted to arrange peace in Italy, where indeed tempers are flaring. Rumour has it that the dauphin[1] will come to Italy and bring aid to Filippo, and some claimed that the Duke of Savoy had invaded the lands of Filippo. However, diligent care overcomes all, and we have often seen things happen that nobody [dared] hope for. [Already,] many other things have turned out favourably for this pontiff, so maybe he will succeed in this, too. Indeed, while in Rome we met many Spaniards, Catalans, French, and Germans who abhorred the customs of the curia and said they would leave, but afterwards, under the new pope, they declared that they would only leave if they were thrown out. Thus the moral integrity of this Father[2] has won all over. The Archbishop of Aix[3] and the ambassador of King René[4] said they did not doubt that the French king[5] and the whole of France would follow the new pope.[6]

4.2.8. Conclusion

[64] This is what we heard, said, and did during our mission in Italy. If we have executed your mandates properly, and things have been done well, then thank God, who directs your actions, and attribute the desired outcome to the previous and the present pope, who out of love for you were unable to refuse you anything. If there have been errors and things done against your wish, then please do not ascribe it to ill will or sloth but to ignorance and feebleness.

When we left, the generous pope gave us 100 gold ducats to make our travel back more comfortable.

[1] Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death. At the time crown prince of France (*dauphin*)
[2] The new pope
[3] Robert Roger
[4] René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Bar, Lorraine, Anjou, Count of Provence. At the time titular king of Naples
[5] Charles VII
[6] And not the antipope Felix, elected by the rump council of Basel

[65] Tuum[1] nunc est[2] promissa servare; revocare[3] salvum conductum; innovare[4] declarationem[5]; mandare omnibus, ut pontifici oboediant Nicolao; legatum, cum[6] advenerit, honorifice suscipere; et in his, quae restant agenda, juvare. Hoc[7] si feceris, observator, non violator promissorum judicaberis - nam quae promisimus, te obligant; animosiores, qui tibi adhaerent[8], facies[9]; schismati[10] viam praecludes[11]; neutralitatem, quam difficulter exivisti, non reintrabis; terror[12] eris aemulis tuis[13] et Hungaris[14] maxime; papam tibi affectuosissimum {210v} reddes; et ad suscipiendam coronam imperii[15] iter habebis apertum. Vale[16].

[66] Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis[17] coram Divo Caesare Frederico tertio[18] facta oratio[19] explicit, quam idem orator in gratiam Nicolai V. compilavit eique misit, aliam quoque huic similem regi serenissimo praesentavit. Ex tunc electus Tergestinus[20] episcopus in partibus Austriae, post vero Senensis episcopus[21] [22], ac demum a Calixto III cardinalis creatus; quo defuncto, summi apostolatus apicem adeptum, nomen sibi Pii II assumpsit, coronatus Romae[23] tertia Septembris die[24] anno Domini 1457[25] [26] [27]

[1] tum K *
[2] nunc est : est nunc H, I, M, V, BA
[3] renovare BA
[4] renouare I
[5] et *add.* M, V
[6] dum K, S
[7] hec H, I, M, V, BA
[8] adhaereant BA
[9] si *add.* M, V
[10] schismatis I, M, V
[11] et M, V
[12] terrori H, I, K *, S, V; terroris M
[13] terror eris … tuis : tuis terroris aemulis eris M
[14] Hungariae WO
[15] suscipiendam coronam imperii : coronam imperii suscipiendam K *, S
[16] dixi H, I, M, V, BA
[17] oratoris *add.* H, V; oratio *add.* M
[18] *omit.* H, M, V
[19] *omit.* M
[20] Tergentinus M, V
[21] antistes I
[22] in partibus … episcopus *omit.* M
[23] die *add.* M, V
[24] *omit*. I, M, V
[25] *(sic!)*
[26] Aeneae Sylvii … 1457 *omit.* K, S
[27] finis *add.* H, V

[65] Now it is up to you to keep the promises, to revoke the safe-conduct[1], to repeat the declaration [of obedience], to order all to obey Pope Nicolaus, to honourably receive the legate when he arrives, and to help expedite the matters which remain to be done. If you do this, you will be considered as one who keeps and not one who breaks his promises (for our promises are binding on you). You will make your followers more dedicated, close the way to schism, and not return to the Neutrality which you left with such difficulty. You will be a terror to those who envy you and especially the Hungarians. You will make the pope most kindly disposed towards you, and you will have an open road to receiving the crown of the Empire. Farewell.

4.2.9. Postscript

[66] Thus ends the oration held by Enea Silvio Piccolomini of Siena before Holy Emperor Friedrich III, which the same orator compiled as a service to Nicolaus V[2] and sent to him, while another version similar to it was presented to the Most Serene King. Later, Enea was elected Bishop of Trieste, part of Austria, and still later, he became bishop of Siena, and finally, he was created cardinal by Calixtus III. When Calixtus died, he reached the pinnacle of the supreme apostolate, took the name of Pius II, and was crowned in Rome on 3 September in the year of the Lord 1457.[3]

[1] To the participants in the rump council of Basel

[2] In the oration version of this text as collated above, the oration appears only to be addressed to the emperor, and not to the pope

[3] Error for 1458

Appendix: Principles of edition and translation

1. Principles of edition[1]

1.1. Text

1.1.1. Textual basis

The edition of the texts is based on the reports as transmitted individually in humanist collective manuscripts or on the collection of Piccolomini´s letters as bishop (*in episcopatu*), transmitted in a number of manuscripts in the Vatican Library and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

1.1.2. Lead manuscript

The manuscript containing the least number of individual scribal errors has generally been chosen as the lead manuscript.

9.1.3. Orthography, punctuation and capitalisation

In accordance with the principles followed in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library*, "*spelling,*[2] *punctuation and capitalization have been modernized throughout.*"[3] [4]

<u>Orthography</u>

Among the diplomatic reports of Piccolomini, there is only one autograph, the report of the mission to Milan 1147, which shows his personal orthography. In his article on Pius' orthography,[5] Martin Wagendorfer regrets that modern research has somewhat neglected the study of humanist

[1] On principles of edition in recent editions of Piccolomini's writings, see *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 38-42); *Historia Austrialis* (Wagendorfer/Knödler), I, pp. clxxviii-clxxxiii; *Dialogus* (Henderson), pp. lxiv-lxviii; *Commentarii* (Heck), I, pp. 5-13; (Totaro), pp. xxii-xxvii; (Meserve), pp. 379-381

[2] Following modern lexicographical practice. As for orthographical variants, see below

[3] Pius II: *Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)

[4] This practice appears to be quite common, see Wittschier, in his edition of some orations by Giannozzo Manetti, p. 151: *Viele der orthographischen Abweichungen sind nicht in den Variantenapparat aufgenommen worden, um diesen nicht unnötig anschwellen zu lassen*. And McManamon, *Funeral,* p. xi: *In quoting Latin sources, I have decided to standardize orthography and punctuation according to modern criteria.*

[5] Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*

orthography in general and Piccolomini's in particular: "… *wohin die von ihnen [i.e., the humanists] tatsächlich praktisierte Orthographie nur in Ausnahmefällen – meist in Zusammenhang mit Studien zur humanistischen Schrift – und meist nur en passant analysiert wurde."*[1]

However, an in depth collation of all the orthographical variants in the manuscripts collated for the present edition is outside the scope of the present edition. It would be prohibitively time-consuming,[2] and would burden the textual apparatus with so many variants of no interest in terms of semantics and textual transmission that it would become unusable.

A complicating factor is the orthographical inconsistency of many scribes who use alternative forms of spelling in the same text, sometimes even in the same sentence, e.g., *Nihil erit, victa Ungaria, Turcis invium, nichil insuperabile,* and *quo nichil maius, nihil melius* in the manuscript Biblioteca Marciana / XIV 219, f. 19r and 22r.

Also, scribes would often employ the form of spelling they were used to, rather than the form employed in the manuscript they were copying.

The most common variations in the manuscript texts' of Piccolomini works from modern lexical use are, unsurprisingly,

- doubling of consonants (aufferre)
- dedoubling of consonants (e.g., diferre)
- addition of aspirate (e.g., habundare)
- deletion of aspirate (e.g., exibere)

- ci for ti or the opposite (ocium)
- cq for dq (e.g., quicquid)
- ch for (michi; nichil)
- e for diphthongal ae or oe (e.g., anime; obedientia) [e for diphthongal ae or oe]
- ihe-/je- (e.g., iherarchia)
- ii for i (e.g., ii) [single vowels for double vowels in forms of first person demonstrative]
- iu for ju (e.g., jus)
- mpn/mn (e.g., dampnum) [epenthetic h]
- nq/mq (e.g., tanquam)
- o/u (e.g., jocundus)
- ti/ci (e.g., mendatium)
- u/v (e.g., uolo)
- ut/ud (e.g., aput)

[1] Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 431

[2] As Wagendorfer recognises, see Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie,* p. 432

- y/i (e.g., hystoria)(y as graphematic replacement of i/ii]

1.1.4. Presentation, divisioning, headings and pagination

The Latin text and the English translation are juxtaposed, the Latin text on the left pages, and the English translation on the right pages.

Quotations are given in the cursive, including such quotations which differ slightly from the original. In those cases, the original text is generally given in the notes.

The divisioning into numbered sections is the editor's own. The divisioning serves three purposes: to make the text easier to read, to make it possible to make references to the text both for editor and reader, and to serve as the basis for the indexing of the orations (persons, places, subjects, and sources).

The section titles are the editors own but have only been included in the English translation.

Pagination of the Latin text follows the lead manuscript. The number of a new page (folio r or v) is not indicated in the middle of a word, but after the whole word (e.g., not appro- {33v} batione, but approbatione {33v}). This may not be an "orthodox" solution, but it does improve the reading experience.

1.2. Critical apparatus

1.2.1. Variants[1]

The exacting standards of editing a single manuscript have not been followed, since the present edition is of a text contained in many manuscripts. Complete notation of all variations in the manuscrupts would be practically impossible and destroy the value of the critical apparatus.

The main function of the collation of manuscripts should be to reveal the various layers of the text as edited and revised by Piccolomini himself.

Since book printing was invented and took off during Piccolomini' own life, the span of time in which manuscript copying of his texts took place was short, and consequently, the number of manuscripts

[1] Concerning variants, the practice in modern editions appears to vary from great to lesser selectivity, the Tatti Renaissance Library representing a high degree of selectivity and German editions a lower degree, though even the recent RTA-edition of Piccolomini's Reichstagsreden claims only to give important variants (e.g., "mit Berücksichtigung nur markanten Varianten", RTA, 19/2, p. 558)

for many of his works is low. Therefore, the textual history of Piccolomini's diplomatic reports is neither very extensive nor especially interesting.

From the outset, the editor aimed at a selective textual apparatus, indicating only important variants. But as the collation process was an ongoing one, it could not be known in advance if any given variant would be confirmed by a manuscript collated later as important in terms of textual history. Therefore, the critical apparatus actually ended up containing quite many non-important variants, found in one manuscript only.

However, to make the critical apparatus a meaningful tool of analysis,[1] the choice was made to generally exclude from the apparatus,

- insignificant scribal errors without importance for the textual transmission
- orthographical variants from accepted usage (see above)
- inadvertent repetition of words and passages

As insignificant scribal errors are considered errors such as consist in the deletion, addition or substitution of 1-2 letters in a word which do not change the meaning of the text, but result in "non-existing" words or lead to grammatical incongruence.

In the case of emendations of the lead manuscript, the reading of the lead manuscript is placed in the apparatus.

1.2.2. Corrections and marginalia

Corrections and marginalia in the collated texts have only been indicated in the apparatus when

- they add information to the text, and/or
- they are shared with at least one other manuscript and throw light on the transmission of the text

[1] In the sense of providing useful information to scholarly readers who may otherwise be tempted to skip over an important data source. Note Tom Keeline's humourous comment that *it is a truth universally known that no one except textual critics and pedants actually read an apparatus* (Keline, p. 342)

1.2.3. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the textual apparatus:

- *add.:* addition
- *dub.:* dubious text
- *em*.: emendation
- *corr. ex:* correction from (e.g., “abundans *corr. ex* abundant”). NB: no mention is made of the form of correction (marginal, interlinear)
- *in marg.:* in margine (in the margin)
- *omit.:* omission
- *aut:* or
- *illeg*.: illegible

2. Principles of translation

Generally, the translation is inspired by one of Pius' own literary models, Leonardo Bruni (1369-1447) who, in a letter to a friend commented on his own translation of Plato from Greek to Latin in these terms*: Of course I much prefer to render a Greek word directly, if it is not clumsy or absurd, but this is not always possible. In such cases, I do not timidly believe that it is an insult to majesty to avoid something which seems nonsensical. In those cases, I use a somewhat different term in Latin, as long as the meaning is kept. It is Plato himself who bids me to do so: he had an exquisite language when speaking to the Greeks, and he does not wish to appear clumsy to the Latins.*[1]

In the present translation, these main principles have been followed:

- To give a "close" translation which as far as possible expresses in modern English what Pius wanted to say in classicising Renaissance Latin

- It should not be a text which breaks down the distance between the 21st century and the 15th. Thus the translation may reflect the historical and cultural distance, which should not be eliminated by using language where the intended meaning of the author is being diluted or changed just to fit modern conceptions.

- The translation should respect Pius' "ornate" or "classicising" style, when he uses it. Thus, the use of colloquialisms and slang is generally avoided, and sometimes terms have been used which have become infrequent today or have acquired a somewhat different meaning (e.g., temple for church)

On the other hand,

- the translation must be easy to read, wherefore heavy Latin structure with many participial and absolute constructions, and relative clauses are replaced with direct parallel main clauses, without loss of the temporal sense.

- the translation should not be so close that it directly transposes terms and passages which give no meaning or a different meaning in modern English. Thus, e.g., superlatives, so abundantly used in Renaissance oratory, are toned down in those cases when they would appear artificial, stilted, and *recherché*s in direct translation. Another example is the double negation which has often been dissolved in the translation (e.g., *frequent* in stead of *not infrequent*; *know* instead of *not being unaware of*).

[1] I am sorry to have lost the reference to this quotation / MCS

As for individual terms, some indications may be useful:

- *Apostolicus*: Pius usually does not use the adjective "papalis", but prefers the term "apostolicus", which has been respected in the translation

- *Legatus:* consistently translated as legate

- *Magni animi:* according to context translated as proud, great-souled etc.

- *Mortales:* usually translated as "men", and only in special instances as "mortals"

- *Orator*: usually as ambassador

- *Tantus/quantus:* Often it has been found unnessary and burdensome to directly translate tantus/quantus

- *Videri:* The same applies to the term videri which is often seen with a meaning close to "to be"

Historical present is mostly rendered in past tense.

When the translation of a word or an expression is very free, the Latin word with quotation marks is given in a note.

For the sake of textual clarity, words which do not correspond directly to words in the Latin text have sometimes been inserted into the translation (between square brackets). Also, in complex sentences, the original subject or object is often given instead of a personal or demonstrative pronoun

Names of persons have been retained in the original language[1] (with certain exceptions, see the Index of Persons). It may seem strange to English-speaking readers to read "Emperor Friedrich" instead of "Emperor Frederick", but most will now accept "King Louis" instead of "King Lewis" which was used formerly. The practice of using the original form of names has been followed in a spirit of cultural internationalism, for which the editor requests the reader's tolerance.

[1] The translation of names is a problem that has been vexing many scholars and historians. Usually, English-language authors translate names into their English form, but to varying degrees, and the practice appears to develop over the years. See the remarks of Sean Ward in *Sophia of Hanover: Memoirs (1630-1680).* Ed. and transl. by Sean Ward. Toronto, 2013

The same courage, however, was not shown concerning names of places: well-known places like Rome have been given in English. This leads to somewhat inconsequential forms like “Duke Philippe of Burgundy”. In this area, complete consistency appears to be really difficult.

Texts from the Bible are quoted from the Douai-Reims edition, sometimes in a form slightly modified to fit Piccolomini’ text. Texts from classical authors are quoted from the Loeb edition, also sometimes modified.

Rare is the translation in which no unrecognised errors have survived, and this applies, of course, to the present translation, too: the reader’s generous benevolence is solicited!