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**Collected Reports on Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455, of  
Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by  
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**Collected Reports on Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455, of  
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**2021**

## **Abstract**

As a secretary and later councillor and top diplomat of Emperor Friedrich III, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) undertook many diplomatic missions. His reports on five of the most important ones have survived. The first mission was to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome in 1447, where he negotiated and presented the Holy Roman Empire's obedience to the Roman papacy and witnessed the pope's death and the election of his successor. The second, later in 1447, was to the city of Milan to make that city accept imperial rule after the death of the last Visconti duke. The third was to Bohemia in 1451, where he was to persuade the Bohemian estates to accept that the boy-king, Ladislaus the Posthumous, would remain under the emperor's guardianship until he came of age. Piccolomini also used the voyage to visit the Hussites in Tabor and have discussions with them, aiming at ending the Hussite schism. The fourth was to the imperial diet of Regensburg in 1454, summoned by the emperor to discuss a joint European military response to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and the threat of a Turkish invasion of Europe. This report is also known as the History of the Diet of Regensburg. The fifth was to Pope Calixtus III in Rome 1455, where he presented the emperor's declaration of obedience and also prepared the way for his own appointment as cardinal, the last career step before he was elected pope in 1456. Piccolomini's five reports witness important political and religious processes in Europe at the middle of the fifteenth century and provide precious insight into the history of Renaissance diplomacy and the history of the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Pope Nicolaus IV; Pope Niccolò IV; Pope Calixtus III; Pope Calistus III; Pope Callisto III; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Papal elections; Milan; Milano; Bohemia; Hussites; King Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg); 1447-1455; 15<sup>th</sup> century; Diet of Regensburg 1454; Regensburger Reichstag 1454; Obedience to the pope; History of diplomacy; Renaissance diplomacy; Diplomatic reports; Renaissance.

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## Dedication

I dedicate this work to my wife, Katja.

I am proud to be married to you, dear wife!

## Foreword

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a prolific and versatile author who mastered all the genres of Renaissance humanist literature.<sup>1</sup> During the last generations, most of the works have been edited critically, but the collected letters of Piccolomini still await a critical edition by modern standards, Wolkan's edition from 1909-1918 only covering the period before 1456.<sup>2</sup>

A group of important Piccolomini texts is formed by the reports on five of his diplomatic missions. 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 presumably based on some kind of diplomatic report, transcend the format of that genre. One is his report on the Diet of Regensburg 1454 ("*epistola, ne dicam historiam*"). The other is the report on his mission to Bohemia in 1451, which came to include a political dialogue and a verbatim debate of a theological nature. 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. Together they form a rich source on important political and religious events and processes towards the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the history of Renaissance diplomacy.

The five reports have not – in the opinion of the present editor – been given sufficient attention in modern scholarship, partly due to the absence of translations.<sup>3</sup> I have, therefore, undertaken to publish a critical edition, extending the manuscript base and the critical apparatus, with a parallel translation into English of these reports, using the model developed for my edition of Piccolomini's orations.<sup>4</sup> My critical edition of the reports included in Piccolomini's letters (*in episcopatu*) may, in time, be overtaken by a new critical edition of Piccolomini's collected letters. As for translations, only the report on Piccolomini's mission to Rome in 1447 has appeared previously in an English translation. Translations of the four others have not been published before.

The scope of the present work is to provide a parallel bilingual edition of the reports, placed in context through the introduction and notes. It is not to provide a scholarly study of the missions themselves nor of the reports. The editor hopes, however, that the present parallel edition will be useful to such studies.

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg  
14 May 2021

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<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to criticise Wolkan's edition, which observed the editorial norms of his age. It has been and still is of immense use to scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Except for his report to the emperor on a mission to Rome in 1447, published in *Reject*.

<sup>4</sup> COR

## Abbreviations

**CRDM** = Collected Reports on diplomatic missions, 1447-1455, of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the present work).

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

**COR** = *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020

**DGBC** = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967

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

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

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

**OO** = Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1571; Anstatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967]

**RTA** = *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III*. Fünfte Abt., Erste Hälfte. Herausg. von Helmut Weigel und Henny Grüneisen. Göttingen, 1969. (Deutsche Reichstagsakten; ÄR; 19, 1)

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

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

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

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

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

References to individual sections in the text of the reports have the form "Sect. x:y" (e.g. 4:17 = Report 4, section 17).

References to Piccolomini's orations have the form, e.g., "*Quam laetus quamque secundus*" [18], i.e., the incipit followed by the number of the oration in the collected edition of Piccolomini's orations (COR).

## Introduction: Enea Silvio Piccolomini as a diplomat

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    - 9.3.3. Ambassadors' personal interests
10. Mission report



The most important development in 15<sup>th</sup>-century diplomacy was the establishment of resident ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> Though Piccolomini came to know such diplomats during his missions to the papal and other Italian courts, he himself belonged to the imperial diplomatic function that did not - yet - use full-time professional diplomats but employed courtiers and others for various diplomatic missions.<sup>2</sup>

An exception was the papal curia, where the emperors were often continuously represented by procurators taking care of ordinary business. One such was Heinrich Senftleben, who in many instances assisted Piccolomini with his affairs at the curia, as witnessed by several letters in his correspondence.

Later, the emperors would, like other princes, have cardinal protectors at the curia. The first such was Piccolomini's own nephew, Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, but already during his own short tenure as cardinal, Piccolomini considered himself and acted as a promotor (protector) of imperial interests at the curia.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. Piccolomini's diplomatic career

Piccolomini's diplomatic career (or, to be more precise, the diplomatic part of his career) began with a mission in 1435 for Cardinal Niccolò Albergati to King James I of Scotland. As a papal legate, the cardinal had participated in the Congress of Arras in the same year, where he greatly contributed to the negotiations between England's ally, the Duke of Burgundy, and the King of France, which resulted in a peace. England was not happy and took a threatening military stance towards Burgundy, its former ally, and France, its enemy of a hundred years. The cardinal, therefore, sent one of his young talented – and expendable – secretaries, Piccolomini, on a secret mission to the King of Scotland to persuade him to engage in such hostilities against northern England that might weaken the English military pressure against their southern neighbours across the channel.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly, p. 51: ... *Before [Bernard] Rosier laid down his pastoral staff at Toulouse [1475], resident ambassadors were established, a revolutionary change in the practice, which finally forced so complete a shift in theory that the medieval law of diplomacy was almost forgotten.* See also Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from a section on curial procurators (Heinig, I, pp. 808-812), Paul-Joachim Heinig's monumental work *Kaiser Friedrich III (1440-1493). Hof, Regierung und Politik*, does not contain a systematic treatment of the emperor's diplomatic activities and organisation (Heinig, I, p. 808)

<sup>3</sup> Cotta-Schönberg: *Cardinal*.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote: *Before Philip broke with the English, however, the cardinal sent Aeneas to Scotland to restore a certain prelate to the king's favor* (COM, I, 5, 3 (Meserve, I, p. 16)). In another work, he gives another explanation, but Voigt is not in doubt about the real reason (Voigt, I, 4, pp. 90-91).

When Piccolomini returned from the voyage to Scotland, he became an official of the Council of Basel. As his standing at the council rose, he was entrusted with various missions. In his *Commentarii*,<sup>1</sup> he wrote: *He went on embassies for the Council<sup>2</sup> three times to Strassbourg, twice to Constance, and one each to Frankfurt, Trent and Savoy; and he always met with success.*<sup>3</sup> In April 1438, he also accompanied his former employer, Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti of Novara, on a diplomatic mission for the Duke of Milan to Emperor-Elect Albrecht II in Vienna. When they arrived, Piccolomini wrote the ambassador's address to Albrecht, the oration "*Quid est*".<sup>4</sup>

When the council elected Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy as (a schismatic) pope, Piccolomini became his secretary. In this capacity, he was part of an embassy from Pope Felix and the Council of Basel to an imperial diet in Frankfurt May-August 1442, where he was introduced to the court of the newly elected emperor, Friedrich III. In his *Commentarii*, he wrote: *When Felix sent legates to him [Friedrich III], he ordered Enea to join them.* In Frankfurt, he made a good impression on important councillors of the king<sup>5</sup> and late in 1442 joined his court as a secretary and later protonotary in the imperial chancery. In this capacity, he soon began to draft letters from the king to the pope, to other princes, to cardinals and city states, thus gaining experience with diplomatic affairs and correspondence.<sup>6</sup> He was also soon sent on a mission to Trieste to receive the city's allegiance to the king.<sup>7</sup>

Towards the end of 1444, a diplomatic mission meant an important career breakthrough for Piccolomini. The imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, exerted his influence on the king to effect an end of German neutrality between the two popes and to recognise the Roman pope Eugenius IV – in preference to the council's schismatic pope, Felix V. This was a matter of high policy, and the chancellor himself was to go to Rome to begin secret negotiations with the papal court on the matter. However, other vital affairs necessitated his presence in Austria/Germany. Instead, it was decided to entrust this very delicate and confidential diplomatic mission to his young protégé from the chancery, Piccolomini. So Piccolomini went to Rome in January 1445<sup>8</sup>. Though the mission as such was not successful, it initiated a dynamic eventually leading to German recognition of Eugenius IV and a new concordat between the Empire and the Papacy. For Piccolomini, this process involved another mission for the king to the pope in Rome in July 1446,<sup>9</sup> from where he returned in all haste to participate in a meeting with the German princes in Frankfurt in September. There he managed a diplomatic coup, persuading the German primate, Archbishop

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<sup>1</sup> The *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium, quae Temporibus suis Contigerunt*, the grand autobiography and work of contemporary history that Piccolomini wrote during his pontificate as Pope Pius II (1458-1464).

<sup>2</sup> "*legationes synodales*"

<sup>3</sup> COM, I, 8, 2 (Meserve, I, p. 32-33).

<sup>4</sup> The oration "*Quid est*" [3] of 27 April 1438, see COR, II, pp. 234-273. See also COM, I, 9 (Meserve, I, pp. 38-39).

<sup>5</sup> King of Germany, a title of the emperor-elect.

<sup>6</sup> See letters in WO, I, ii.

<sup>7</sup> COM, I, 11, 6 (Meserve, I, pp. 48-49)

<sup>8</sup> COM, I, 13, 1-5 (Meserve, I, pp. 52-57). See also Piccolomini's oration "*Prius, sanctissime praesul*" [7] of February 1445, in COR, III, pp. 190-211.

<sup>9</sup> COM, I, 14, 3 – 15, 1 (Meserve, I, pp. 60-63. See also Piccolomini's oration "*Et breviter me hodie*" [10] of 6 July 1446, in COR, III, pp. 342-367.

Dietrich Schenk von Erbach of Mainz, to support a compromise formula allowing the German nation to end its neutrality and declare obedience to Pope Eugenius.<sup>1</sup> At the head of a large German delegation consisting of diplomatic envoys of the German king and princes, Piccolomini returned to the papal court in January 1447,<sup>2</sup> where, together with the envoy of the German primate, Johann Lysura, he steered the difficult negotiations to a happy conclusion, thus obtaining a diplomatic triumph for both the emperor and the pope. Piccolomini was rewarded with the bishopric of Trieste. As bishop he could no longer work as an imperial secretary and ordinary member of the chancery, but he still gave a hand with the chancery's diplomatic correspondence and was sent on further diplomatic missions, now as a high-ranking member of the imperial court.

Later in 1447, after the death of the last Visconti duke of Milan, he was part of an imperial embassy to Milan to persuade the Milanese to come under imperial rule.<sup>3</sup> This mission was unsuccessful. Later the same year, he went to Istria to settle a boundary dispute between the Empire and Venice.

In 1449, he undertook a second mission to Milan, in the same errand and with the same negative result as in 1447.<sup>4</sup>

In 1450, he was again sent on an important diplomatic mission to Italy, first to King Alfonso V in Naples, to negotiate the emperor's wedding with the king's niece, Leonora of Portugal:

*In the jubilee year the emperor ... sent him together with Gregor Volckenstorf and Michael Pfullendorf on an embassy to King Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily: Their orders were to arrange the marriage between the emperor and the King of Portugal's sister, Leonora.<sup>5</sup>*

Then he visited the pope in Rome to formally convey the emperor's request for an imperial coronation in Rome.<sup>6</sup> During his travel in Italy, Piccolomini visited a number of cities to negotiate the emperor's coronation voyage:

*On his return to Austria, Aeneas brought back not only a marriage contract that pleased the emperor but also the assurance that the pope, the Sieneese, the Florentines, the Bolognese, the marquis of Este and the Venetians would all give a safe-conduct to the emperor when he went to be crowned; for he had negotiated favorable terms from all of them.<sup>7</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> COM, I, 15, 9-11 (Meserve, I, pp. 66-69).

<sup>2</sup> COM, I, 16 (Meserve, I, pp. 70-75). See also oration "*Non habet me dubium*" [11] of 2 February 1447, in COR, III, pp. 432-465.

<sup>3</sup> COM, I, 18, 3-4 (Meserve, I, pp. 80-83). See also oration "*Etsi mihi non parum*" [13] of 21 October 1447, in COR, III, pp. 466-497.

<sup>4</sup> COM, I, 19 (Meserve, I, pp. 82-93).

<sup>5</sup> COM, I, 20 (Meserve, I, pp. 94-20). See also oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14] to King Alfonso on 12 December 1450, in COR, IV, pp. 6-65.

<sup>6</sup> See oration "*Fateor*" [15] to the pope on 18 December 1450, in COR, IV, pp. 66-153.

<sup>7</sup> COM, I, 20, (Meserve, I, pp. 98-99).

To achieve this, Piccolomini had needed his considerable diplomatic skills since the Italian states were justifiably nervous about an emperor coming in state to their part of his empire.

Back in Austria, Piccolomini was soon sent as an imperial ambassador to the Bohemian estates to inform them and win their acceptance of the emperor keeping the young king Ladislaus under his guardianship until he reached maturity. He also had a confidential meeting with the Bohemian governor, Georg Podiebrad, laying the foundation for a later alliance between emperor and governor: *Aeneas addressed a public assembly ... where he delivered the message from the emperor. ... This speech<sup>1</sup> soothed their anger, and they promised not to call anyone else to the throne. There he also had a long conversation with the regent, George.<sup>2</sup>*

Shortly after his return to the imperial court, it fell to Piccolomini to answer, on behalf of the emperor, a Burgundian embassy, come to exhort the emperor to undertake a military expedition against the Turks, whose threat against Constantinople and the Balkans was continually growing.<sup>3</sup> Since foreign ambassadors would address the emperor in Latin, Piccolomini, as a high-ranking imperial councillor, prelate and humanist Latin scholar, was naturally chosen to answer them in that language.

The next year, 1452, was an extraordinarily busy one for the emperor's top diplomat. First, he visited a number of Italian states, again to negotiate the conditions of the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome. Then, on behalf of the emperor, he received the emperor's bride and conducted her to their first meeting in Siena. Afterwards, he accompanied the emperor to the coronation in Rome, where he held various orations on behalf of the emperor to the pope.<sup>4</sup> On the way back to Austria, he spoke for the emperor at solemn receptions in Florence, Ferrara and Venice.<sup>5</sup> And after their return, Piccolomini was one of the emperor's representatives to negotiate the conditions of ending the Austrian uprising against the emperor and the emperor's wardship over the boy king Ladislaus: *King Ladislas was sent back, and a congress was convened at Vienna to discuss peace. The emperor sent several distinguished ambassadors there, but Aeneas had the most authority of all. The envoys of every German state, great prelates, illustrious counts and prominent barons all met at his house. While there, he spoke on behalf of the emperor, twice before the nobles of Hungary ... and twice before the Bohemians.<sup>6</sup>*

When Piccolomini left Rome after the coronation, the pope appointed him his legate *de latere* to Central Europe: *When Aeneas finally left Rome in the emperor's train, the pope appointed him ambassador of the Apostolic See, with the powers of a legate de latere to Bohemia, Silesia, Austria, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Not long after, at Frederick's insistence, the pope extended*

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<sup>1</sup> See oration "*Petivistis ex Caesare*" [16] of 22 July 1451, in COR, IV, pp. 154-183.

<sup>2</sup> COM, I, 21 (*Aeneas caesaris legatus ad Bohemos ...*) (Meserve, I, pp. 100-101).

<sup>3</sup> See oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17] of 23 August 1451, in COR, IV, pp. 154-183.

<sup>4</sup> The orations "*Quam laetus quamque secundus*" [18] and the "*Moyses vir Dei*" [19], in COR, IV, pp. 210-357

<sup>5</sup> COM, I, 24, 6 (Meserve, I, pp. 122-123).

<sup>6</sup> COM, I, 25, 1 (Meserve, I, pp. 122-123).

*his mission to include the kingdom of Hungary.*<sup>1</sup> Though it was not unprecedented for someone to be at the same time in the service of a prince and of the pope, it was a rare and signal honour.

About the same time, Piccolomini, as bishop of the – in principle - imperial city of Siena, was promoted to prince of the Empire,<sup>2</sup> which further heightened his status as an imperial councillor and diplomat.

In May 1453, Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire finally fell to the Turks, which profoundly shocked Europe and created a flurry in the papal and princely chanceries. Though neither the pope nor the emperor wanted to go to war against the victorious Turkish armies, the emperor summoned an international conference in Regensburg on a joint military response, organised by Piccolomini. A papal legate was there, but of the European kings only the Polish king was represented, and since the emperor himself was absent, most of the German princes did not participate in person. The Italians sent polite excuses, if they bothered to react at all. As the highest-ranking legate from the imperial court, Piccolomini played a leading role at the conference. He opened its deliberations on the Turkish matter with a celebrated oration,<sup>3</sup> he was the one to formally receive the Polish king's ambassador, and he closed the conference with rhetorical accolades to the highest princes present or represented there.

Afterwards, two imperial diets were held on the matter, one in Frankfurt in Autumn 1454,<sup>4</sup> and one at the imperial court in Wiener Neustadt in Spring 1455.<sup>5</sup> Again Piccolomini played a leading role, delivered a series of orations in the emperor's name, and took the opportunity to have various confidential negotiations with the magnates and diplomats present, especially the governor of Bohemia, Georg Podiebrad, whom he had already met in Bohemia. By this time, the shock at the Fall of Constantinople had abated, and all enthusiasm for a crusade against the Turks had vanished, if there had ever been any (except for the Duke of Burgundy). And when towards the end of Diet in Wiener Neustadt, Pope Nicolaus V died, the whole matter was suspended and, in fact, abandoned.

Missing his native Italy and fed up with the impotence of the imperial institution, Piccolomini returned to Italy, first on a diplomatic mission to present the Empire's declaration of obedience to the new pope, Calixtus III, and then to stay close to the papal court to further his ecclesiastical career, the next step of which would be the coveted appointment to cardinal. He only had to wait for this appointment for about 16 months. In the meantime, he conducted a confidential mission on behalf of the emperor and King Ladislaus to the pope to obtain some compromise with the Bohemian Hussites, making it possible for the king to effectively rule Bohemia, and for the Habsburg dynasty to deepen its roots in Central Europe. In this connection, Piccolomini presented

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<sup>1</sup> COM, I, 24, 3 (Meserve, I, pp. 120-121).

<sup>2</sup> COM, I, 25, 2 (Meserve, I, pp. 124-125).

<sup>3</sup> The oration "*Quamvis omnibus*" [20] of 16 May 1454, in COR, V, pp. 6-97

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the oration "*Constantinopolitana clades*" [21] of 15 October 1454, in COR, V, pp. 98-231

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the orations "*In hoc forentissimo*" [22] of 25 February 1455, "*Si mihi*" [23] of 25 March 1455, and "*Optasset*" [24] of 23 April 1455, in COR, V, pp. 98-427.

a memoir in the form of an oration, the “*Res Bohemicas*”,<sup>1</sup> to the pope, remarkable for its common sense, its insightful Realpolitik, and its humanity and tolerance in religious matters, including diversity of rites. The pope was amenable to some kind of solution, but this whole matter came to a standstill when Ladislaus died in 1457 (at the age of 17 - possibly murdered), as did Pope Calixtus the following year.

Piccolomini’s last diplomatic mission was on behalf of his city, Siena, to King Alfonso of Naples, whom he knew from his earlier mission in 1450, to make peace between the king and Siena. This mission was successful, ending Piccolomini’s diplomatic career with another triumph.

The following year, he was elected pope, and though his diplomatic activities now became more intense and important than ever, he no longer performed them as an agent but as a principal, the leader of the Catholic Church (God’s representative on Earth) and the sovereign of the Papal States.

## **2. Piccolomini’s diplomatic principals, destinaries and functions**

### **2.1. Diplomatic principals<sup>2</sup>**

During his career, Piccolomini had four diplomatic principals. His first was the council of Basel, for whom he undertook various missions to cities in neighbouring countries. The second was antipope Felix V. The third was Emperor Friedrich III, and the fourth Pope Nicolaus V. One mission (to Pope Calixtus III on the Hussite issue), he appears to have undertaken on behalf of both the emperor and King Ladislaus the Posthumous of Bohemia and Hungary. Thus, Piccolomini’s principals were the highest-ranking in the Christian world. Pope Calixtus appears not to have used him for direct diplomatic purposes, but after his return to Italy, before he became a cardinal, he undertook a peace mission on behalf of his home city, Siena, to King Alfonso of Naples.

### **2.2. Diplomatic destinaries**

The destinaries of diplomatic envoys were in principle the same as the principals,<sup>3</sup> and, in Piccolomini’s case, city governments (like Siena), rulers of princely domains (like the Margrave of

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<sup>1</sup> Oration “*Res Bohemicas*” [28], in COR, VI, pp. 122-239

<sup>2</sup> See Mattingly, ch. 2

<sup>3</sup> Mattingly, p. 26: *The same sense of unity which led men to think of themselves as living in one society under the rule of a common law made it difficult to formulate a precise theory of diplomatic principals. The political realities of the later Middle Ages made it more difficult still. ... Kings made treaties with their own vassals and with the vassals of their neighbours. They received embassies from their own subjects and from the subjects of other princes, and sometimes*

Ferrara) and republican states (like Venice and Florence), kings (Alfonso V), popes (Eugenius IV, Nicolaus V; Calixtus III), imperial diets (Regensburg, Frankfurt, Wiener Neustadt 1454-1455) and high-level conferences (peace conference after the Austrian rebellion in 1452).

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*sent agents who were in fact ambassadors in return. Subject cities negotiated with one another without reference to their respective sovereigns. ... The precise definition of a body of diplomatic principals had to wait for a revolution in men's thinking about the nature of the state.*

## 2.3. Diplomatic functions<sup>1</sup>

Piccolomini's diplomatic functions were the usual:

- informing his host, as he did when he informed the Bohemian estates of the emperor's refusal to hand over the boy king Ladislaus in 1451;
- negotiating with the host, as he did in Rome when the Empire recognised the pope in 1447);
- gathering information about the host and the host country, as he did on all his missions, cf. his report to the emperor on a mission to Milan where he wrote: *We have decided to divide the report into four parts. In the first part, we shall relate the situation in Italy at our arrival in Lombardy. In the second, how we were received and what we negotiated with the Milanese. In the third, we shall report what we did in relation to other parties in Italy. And in the fourth, we intend to relate our departure and the situation in Lombardy when we left.* [Sect. 2:1]
- representing his principal at a ceremonious occasion (e.g., the declaration of obedience to popes, or the delivery of a formal oration on the emperor's behalf and in his presence to the pope or a visiting ambassador);
- and finally drafting the emperor's and Chancellor Schlick's diplomatic correspondence.

It must be kept in mind that though Piccolomini was employed in numerous missions for the emperor, he was not a full-time diplomat in our sense of the word. Mostly, he spent his time as a member of the imperial chancery or the imperial council, at the same time as (later) administering his dioceses through vicars – and, not to forget, maintaining a comprehensive literary activity.

## 3. Choice of diplomatic agents

When the diplomatic principal had decided on a diplomatic mission, the first task was to decide which kind of person to send both in terms of rank, type of mission, and required qualifications.

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<sup>1</sup> Lazzarini: *The Conduct*; Mattingly, ch. 3.



### **3.1. Rank of destinatary**

When in 1445 the emperor needed to send an agent to the pope to communicate certain conditions of the Empire's recognition of the Roman papacy, the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, one of the highest-ranking members of the imperial court, first intended to go himself. However, when Schlick was prevented from going, they decided to send Piccolomini instead, though he was just a secretary in the imperial chancery. It would appear that in this case the pope's eminent rank would not require an imperial envoy of high rank but rather an envoy who was close to the emperor and the chancellor and could represent them effectively.

However, 15 years later, Piccolomini himself, now Pius II, would reject an imperial delegation to the Congress of Mantua on the grounds that the envoys were not of sufficient rank, and only when the emperor finally sent the Bishop of Eichstätt and other notables, the imperial embassy was accepted.

### **3.2. Type of mission**

These two examples show that though the destinatary's rank was a factor in selecting the envoy sent to him, the type of mission was possibly more important.

If the mission was simply to confidentially present a request, as in Piccolomini's first imperial mission to Rome, a lowly court official would do. If the mission was one of negotiation, a centrally placed court official would be better. And in the case of high-profile ceremonious functions at the host court, a high-ranking agent would be necessary, as in the case of Pius' Congress of Mantua.

### **3.3. Required qualifications**

A third factor determining the choice of envoy was the qualifications needed for the particular mission. Intelligence, gifts of observation and affability were, of course, generally desirable, and most missions also required talent for negotiation. Knowledge of Latin, sufficient for the delivery of the formal initial oration at the host court, was necessary, whereas knowledge of the local language would only be necessary if no translators were available, as when Piccolomini went on a mission to the Bohemian estates and needed Prokop von Rabenstein to translate for him.

### **3.4. Terminology and typology**

Piccolomini, of course, did not know the words "diplomat" and "diplomacy" nor the typology of diplomatic agents that developed later. During his career, he would become aware of the

development of resident ambassadors (especially at the papal court) as distinct from ambassadors sent on individual missions, but such were not yet used by the emperor.

To Piccolomini, a diplomatic envoy was basically a person sent to act of behalf of someone else,<sup>1</sup> i.e., a representative. They were sent by diplomatic principals of some distinction, cf. above, and generally enjoyed high status, especially in Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Piccolomini used four terms for diplomatic envoys: ambas(x)iator, legatus, orator, and nuntius, see the following examples:

- *Romanus pontifex **legatum de latere** ... emittet* (*The Roman pontiff will send a legate de latere*). [Sect. 4:152]
- ... ***legatum apostolicum** venturum* (*the apostolic [papal] legate coming to Germany*). [Sect. 1:23]
- *Nicolaus quintus, Romanus pontifex ... **legatum** in Prusciam mittit* (*The Roman Pontiff, Nicolaus V, sends a legate to Prussia*) [Sect. 4:62]
- *Interim **oratores** Caesarei electorumque Basileam petierunt et contracta cum **oratoribus** aliorum principum intelligentia ...* (*In the meantime the orators<sup>3</sup> of the emperor and of the electors made for Basel. Reaching an understanding with the orators of the other princes ...*) (DGCB, pp. 8-9)
- ***Legatos** ergo ad summum pontificem misit, ad imperatorem, ad plerosque reges, ad Hungaros, ad Bohemos* (*He [the Duke of Burgundy] sent legates to pope, emperor and kings*) [Sect. 4:34]
- *ut **legatus** regis Poloniae refert* (... as the legate of the King of Poland relates) (*legate from the King of Poland to Diet of Regensburg*) [Sect. 4:118]
- *Ebronensis episcopus, ... regis Castellae **orator*** (*The Bishop of Hebron, orator of the King of Castile*) (DGCB, pp. 16-17)
- *Praesentes namque Maguntinensis, Coloniensis, Treverensis archiepiscopi sacrique Romani imperii electores, ac coëlectorum omnium **nuntii** affuerunt* (*For there were present the*

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<sup>1</sup> "... missurum tamen legatos viros egregios, qui suas vices impleant" [Sect. 4:27] (Duke of Bavaria to the Diet of Regensburg). Cf. Mattingly, p. 27-28: *In the thirteenth century, Gulielmus Durandus ... could write, 'A legatus [through the Renaissance about the commonest term for a diplomatic agent] is anybody sent by another.' ... not only the princes and free cities of the empire, and the greater feudal nobles, but even merchant towns, even universities and craft guilds, sent formal quasi-diplomatic agents on occasion, apparently without anyone's questioning their right to do so, or finding it odd to refer to them as ambassadors (legati) ...*

<sup>2</sup> "Magna est apud Italos legatorum reverentia." [Sect. 1:7]

<sup>3</sup> Hay translates as "ambassadors"

archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, and the delegates of all the other electors<sup>1</sup> (DGCB, pp. 12-13)

- *legati civitatum Fridericum tertium Caesarem adeunt (the legates of the cities come to the emperor)* [Sect. 4:61]
- *Misimus olim legatos nostros ad Basiliense concilium (We [Hussites] once sent legates to the Council of Basel)* [Sect. 3:21]
- *Fuisse quoque apud se regis Aragonum legatos ait et aliorum principum oratores (He [Pope Calixtus III] said that the legates of the King of Aragon and the orators of other princes had been with him)* [Sect. 5:10]
- *super quo prius tuos ambasiatores ad nos misisti (concerning which matter you [Duke of Burgundy] sent your ambassadors to Us [the emperor])* (RTA, 104-105)
- *Ex his omnibus effectus ambasiatae nostrae patet (All these make clear the results of our embassy)* (embassy from the emperor to Milan in 1447) [Sect. 2:55]
- *Relaturi tuae serenitati, Caesar invictissime, quae per hos dies in tua legatione Mediolani gessimus (We shall report to you, Unvanquished Caesar, what we did those days on your legation to Milan)* (the same embassy from the emperor to Milan in 1447) [Sect. 2:1]

In one instance, he uses term *apocrisarii* about ambassadors of the emperor, though that term usually designated the envoys of high-ranking ecclesiastics, e.g., the pope's representatives at the imperial court in Constantinople:

- *Apocrisarii Caesaris illic cum plena potestate veniunto. (The envoys of the emperor shall come there with full powers)* [Sect. 4:146].

These examples should suffice to show that Piccolomini used the terms *legatus*, *orator*, *ambasiator*, and *nuntius*<sup>2</sup> synonymously to designate a diplomatic envoy<sup>3</sup> without distinguishing between various types of envoys, though such distinctions were already developing by then<sup>4</sup>. He preferred the terms *legatus* and *orator*, possibly with heavier usage of *orator* over time, reflecting the development of humanist vocabulary but not indicating any differentiation of diplomatic role. It may be noted that otherwise Piccolomini mostly used the term *nuntius* in the sense of messenger/courier.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the King of Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> He may have used *nuntius*, though, to designate lesser envoys.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Rosier, in his treatise about ambassadors (1436), said that *legatus* and *ambaxiator* were two words for the same office, the first used by classical antiquity, the second of more recent origin (Mattingly, p. 29).

<sup>4</sup> Mattingly, pp. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> A detailed study of Piccolomini's usage of diplomatic terms and its development over time is desirable but outside the scope of the present work / MCS

When Piccolomini became pope, he inherited the distinction between cardinal legates a latere, other papal legates (cardinals or not) and papal nuntii, and to some extent, he contributed to the development of a differentiated papal diplomatic function.

#### 4. Diplomats' instructions<sup>1</sup>

A diplomat's instructions, or mandate as Piccolomini called them, were issued in writing and brought by the ambassadors on their travel to the host court. Sometimes, there was both a public mandate and a secret one with confidential instructions to ambassadors, not to be communicated to the opposite party. Such secret instructions are never mentioned by Piccolomini and may not have been used by the imperial court at the time.

On the German mission to Rome in 1447, the ambassadors from various princes met in Siena before travelling together to Rome:

*Within eight days, envoys from Mainz, the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bremen, and many other envoys with mandates from other princes and prelates arrived. [Sect. 1:5]*

In Piccolomini's reports, he only gave the text of the mandate issued by the emperor to his representatives at the Diet of Regensburg in 1454, in the turgid language of the imperial chancery. It was presumably written by Piccolomini himself (on the basis of similar documents in the imperial archive), who was generally responsible for the imperial documents concerning the conference:

*We have previously indicted a general assembly of kings, ecclesiastical and secular princes, dukes, counts, barons, cities, peoples and all the loyal subjects of Us and the Holy Empire. The assembly will be held in Our city of Regensburg on the Donau on the next Feast of Saint George. It will deal with the defence of the Catholic Faith, which the infidel followers of Muhammad are striving to attack and destroy, as well as with urgent affairs concerning the Holy Empire. We had hoped to come there in person and to deal vigorously with the common affairs. But now certain difficulties have arisen, which keep Us at home, though unwilling. Since We do not wish the realm to be neglected because of our absence, we have been considering to what qualified persons, gifted with wisdom and authority, We may confidently entrust these great matters, and Our mind has turned to you, whose foresighted circumspection, solid and unshaken loyalty and minds are inclined to all that is good, as known and proven to Our Serenity since past times. Therefore, We require you to go to the meeting in Regensburg and to apply yourselves diligently – together with the legate of the*

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<sup>1</sup> Lazzarini: *The preparatory*, ch. 1. Mattingly, pp. 40-41.

*Apostolic See and the prelates and princes present and the legates of the absent – to those matters concerning which We have indicted the meeting. Above all, you should take care that the discussions lead to a decision by which the Christian religion may continue in our time, secure and safe from the attacks of the Turks and other infidels, and by which the arrogance and insolence of the enemies of the Cross of Christ may be curtailed. You should also intelligently endeavour to make the Roman Empire able to reclaim its glory. And so that you may the more easily be able to effect this the more you are strengthened by us with power and authority to perform, execute, decide, manage and do all that is necessary and expedient, just as We Ourselves in such matters, if We were present, would perform, execute, decide, manage and do, We by virtue of the present letter grant to you, our legates and ambassadors and to the majority of you who will be present in Regensburg full and free powers. We shall ratify and accept all, whatever it is, that will be performed, executed, decided, managed and done by you or by the majority of you, who will be in Regensburg, and with the Lord's help we shall ensure that it is observed inviolably. Given in Neustadt on 11 April in the year of Our Lord 1454, the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Our reign, and the third year of Our imperial reign. [Sect. 4:26]*

Diplomatic mandates circumscribed the ambassador's freedom of action and were to be scrupulously observed. On the imperial mission to Rome in 1447, an envoy of King Alfonso V (Aragon / Naples) invited Piccolomini to visit his master:

*The king's secretary visited Enea in his lodgings and told him that the king would like us to come to Tivoli. But Enea 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. 1:15]*

Actions not explicitly mentioned in the mandate were to be avoided, as mentioned in the report from the mission to Rome in 1447:

*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 a mandate to declare obedience. [Sect. 1:24]*

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

*... 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. 1:17]*

When the imperial ambassadors negotiated with the Milanese in 1451 (on direct imperial rule after the death of the last Visconti duke), the Aragonese envoy made a proposal which the imperials could not negotiate since it was not foreseen by the mandate:

*Having considered it all, we said that it would please us much if there were friendship and good fraternal relations between the two kings, but we showed him that we could not negotiate such an arrangement since we did not have a mandate in this sense. But we advised that a royal ambassador be sent to His Royal Majesty with full powers in all such matters, for we hoped that something good would come of it. [Sect. 2:47]*

The Milanese, too, had mandates from their government. One such was mentioned when one of the Milanese negotiators, Bishop Visconti of Novara, had apparently been too forthcoming concerning the issue of taxation:

*... what was said about taxation had not been in accordance with their mandate, for the city would not be bound to pay any taxes whatsoever, and the people could not be persuaded otherwise: [on this issue] the Bishop of Novara had spoken for himself. [Sect. 2:33]*

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, negotiated in Rome in 1447:

*The reinstatement of the lord archbishops of Cologne and Trier, as stipulated in our mandate, was promised. [Sect. 1:19]*

The ambassadors might have some freedom of negotiation, but their actions on behalf of their principal must be compatible with their mandate. During the German negotiations in Rome in 1447, the ambassadors made promises but strictly within the limits defined by the instructions:

*To achieve this, we had to promise four things, which were, however, compatible with our instructions. [Sect. 1:20]*

The mandates were shown and even handed over to the host for examination, as happened in the public consistory where the German ambassadors in 1447 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. 1:27]*

The success of the diplomatic mission depended on the fulfilment of the mandate, as is clear from the conclusion in Piccolomini's report on the mission to Rome 1447:

*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 have been errors or things done against your wish, then please do not ascribe it to ill will or sloth, but ignorance and feebleness. [Sect. 1:64]*

When the mandate of the ambassadors gave them full powers to act in the name of the emperor, the promises made by them were binding on the emperor, as Piccolomini declared to the emperor in his report from the mission to Rome in 1447:

*All this we promised in the name of the king and issued letters under our 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. 1:20]*

In rare cases, it could become necessary for an ambassador to act outside the limits of his mandate. This happened to Piccolomini when on a mission to Pope Nicolaus at the end of 1450, he took upon himself to announce a reversal of the emperor's policy concerning a new council.

The pope was in the awkward position of having promised a council to the French king, Charles VII, seemingly with the understanding that it should be held on French territory. It was a council which the pope himself definitely did not want as he dreaded the negative consequences for the papacy. The emperor did not really want it either, though out of consideration for the German princes and for the sake of consistency and politeness, the fiction of the need for a council was still officially maintained.

Wisely, and following historical precedent, the pope had given his assent to the French with a significant proviso that the other princes should agree to the plan of a council on French territory.

In his oration, Piccolomini provided the solution to the pope's dilemma: referring to urgent letters which he alleged to have received from the imperial court, he announced the emperor's support for a new council but on three vital conditions: firstly, the pope was to have full control over it, secondly it should be postponed until after the imperial coronation, and thirdly it should take place on German territory.

Everybody got the message: there would not be another council, and if there was one, it would be the pope's council, and not a council of the French king nor a council of conciliarist rebels against the papacy, as the Council in Basel had become.

Concerning the issue of pope's promise to the King of France, Piccolomini in 1452, only two years afterwards, wrote, in the oration "*Sentio*":

*The promise to the king of a council was not given unconditionally; no, it was given on the condition that the other kings and princes would agree. But these mostly rejected the idea. The kings of Aragon, England and Portugal do not want a council to be held in France. I myself, at the command of the emperor, in a public consistory in Rome at the end of the Jubilee Year,<sup>1</sup> argued against holding this council – and with good reason! [Sect. 111]*

This text clearly shows that the real message in Piccolomini's oration was not that the emperor wanted a council and that it should be held under certain conditions, but that the emperor did not want another council. Moreover, Piccolomini asserts that this message was given at the emperor's command.

Toews had this commentary to this whole manoeuvre:

*The pope's new authority was still overshadowed by the prospect of the general council which he had promised the French King. The French ambassadors in Rome urged the fulfilment of this promise. Aeneas cleverly eliminated this threat to the happiness of the pope. In a speech before the Pope and Cardinals, he announced the betrothal of Frederick and his approaching coronation. He then went on to demand, in Frederick's name, that any prospective Council should be held in Germany. Thus Nicholas could answer the French ambassadors that the princes of Europe were not unanimous in consenting to a Council in France. This action stalled the conciliar threat indefinitely and allowed the Pope to engage in other interests.<sup>2</sup>*

Voigt claimed that the urgent letters Piccolomini referred to in the Early Version of the oration were a pure invention, proving his immoral and duplicitous character.<sup>3</sup> But Voigt does not document his claim, which he made quite gratuitously and in line with his generally very negative assessment of Piccolomini's character. However, the important issue here is whether Piccolomini's intervention was in keeping with his imperial master's policy. It actually was, and if there really were no letters, they were simply a diplomatic pretext of the kind necessary in times of slow communications. If the problem had not been foreseen in the instructions of the imperial ambassador and came to the fore only when Piccolomini returned to Rome from Naples, he could not very well wait some months before receiving specific instructions on the matter.

Catherine Fletcher makes this observation concerning the flexibility of Renaissance ambassadors in the exercise of their function:

*While representatives of republics were often tied closely to instructions, a royal diplomat who enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign might well have more latitude (in terms of tactics, at least) so long as that confidence lasted. As Daniela Frigo has argued, in the*

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. in the oration "Fateor" [15], in COR, IV, pp. 66-153.

<sup>2</sup> Toews, pp. 224-225.

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, III, pp. 20-21.



*fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there was a 'marked distinction' between the ambassadors of princes and those of republics: in the principalities diplomacy lacked clear rules and instead relied on the reciprocal relationship of fidelity (fidelitas) from the ambassador and grace (gratia) from the prince. The republics, on the other hand, had much more formalised systems: their statute books contain numerous injunctions relating to the conduct of ambassadors. Although diplomacy was an international system and required international norms, there was sufficient flexibility to accommodate a range of local practices. Ambassadors were expected to be aware of their limits and to exercise their judgement appropriately.<sup>1</sup>*

So, given that Piccolomini was negotiating about the imperial coronation with a pope fearing the spectre of a council, it may reasonably be held that his diplomatic move making it possible for the pope to politely deny the French claims for such a council was within the general scope of his diplomatic mandate, which was to ensure the coronation. Voigt's claims of personal immorality and duplicity, therefore, appear to be unjustified.

In his report on the mission to Regensburg, Piccolomini mentioned another case, relevant to this issue. The Polish ambassador had come to the diet to communicate his master's support of a crusade against the Turks. When he found the diet in full swing against the Prussian cities that had recently allied themselves with the King of Poland against the Teutonic Order, he felt – though without instructions on the matter - obliged to warn the Germans against any action that might be injurious to his principal:

*... then the ambassador said, "I see that some Teutonic Knights are present and greatly agitated. Maybe they have taken up the Prussian matter with you. I have not received any mandate in this matter, but since I am bound to protect my king's interests, I ask that you – in case you receive any requests regarding the Prussians - do nothing in a hurry and do not decide anything unheard of against my king for you cannot decide anything against the Prussian cities without injury and trouble to the King of Poland." [Sect. 4:82]*

Apart from the formal mandate, the ambassadors also brought with them letters of credence. Such a letter is probably mentioned in Piccolomini's report to the emperor on the mission to Milan in 1447:

*When all had taken their seat, and there was silence, the king's<sup>2</sup> letter was presented, and after a formal greeting,<sup>3</sup> we made the proposition and statement of the embassy ... [Sect. 2:11]*

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<sup>1</sup> Fletcher, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The emperor's.

<sup>3</sup> Probably by Chancellor Schlick, who spoke first.

## 5. Travels

The ambassadors' travels to and back from their destination had sufficient interest to be included in Piccolomini's mission reports. Firstly, they were – as all travel then – not without risk. Secondly, they gave the ambassadors the opportunity to gather information about the regions and cities they travelled through. And thirdly, the quality of the reception in the host cities on the way was an indication of the local attitude towards the ambassadors' principal.

Ambassadors would be protected by safe-conducts issued by the governments of the territories they passed through, but they would not always be enough. In 1453, the envoys of the Prussian cities to the imperial court were taken prisoners despite having safe-conducts from King Ladislaus, causing a discussion at the court whether their case should be postponed or proceed in their absence:

*This postponement was made against the opposition of the Knights who contended that the trial should proceed notwithstanding the capture of the legates from the [Prussian] cities: though they could have chosen other routes, they had decided to travel through Moravia, an inhospitable country and home of robbers, where plunder is praised, and no one is considered noble if he does not live from robbery and pillage. But those who favoured the postponement considered that there is no really safe road from Prussia to Austria. Moreover, the [Prussian] legates could not be blamed since they had obtained safe-conducts both from the emperor, from King Ladislaus of Bohemia and from the Margrave of Moravia, and had hastened directly to Austria, trusting in them. [Sect. 4:63]*

The risks of travel are vividly described by Piccolomini in his report on the imperial ambassadors' travels to Rome in 1447:

*We had had just come from Venice to Ferrara, intending to continue to Bologna, when we learnt that 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 should not have been safe if we had not been joined by the chancellor of the Marquess of Este, 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. [Sect. 1:5]*

And on the return travel, they experienced physical danger as well:

*At Timavum, today called Tagliamento, we escaped an immense danger: when the snows had melted in the Alps, heavy rains made the river flow over. Many travellers wanted 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 ship's ropes 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. [Sect. 1:64]*

As for the quality of reception on the way, the practice of the host cities varied. Piccolomini, in his report from the mission to Rome in 1447, made this observation:

*The Sieneese 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. 1:7]*

## 6. Reception

The ceremonial of reception was designed to show honour to the diplomats' principal.<sup>1</sup>

In Rome, the highest grade of welcome was due to the emperor. When Friedrich came on his coronation voyage in 1452, he was first received by two cardinals, one of them the pope's brother, who accompanied him all the way from Siena to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

When the imperial and German ducal ambassadors reached Rome in 1447, wrote Piccolomini to the emperor,

*we were met by a group of apostolic [papal] 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. ... We had just dismounted when Bishop Francesco of Ferrara, the apostolic treasurer, arrived, accompanied by several bishops. He welcomed us in the name of the Supreme Pontiff ... [Sect. 1:7-8]*

The ambassadors were received at the first milestone from Rome. Though the ambassadors were not prelates themselves, they rated to be received by all the ecclesiastical orders below the cardinals.

Later the same year, an imperial embassy reached Milan. In the report to the emperor, Piccolomini described the reception in these terms:

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly, p. 37, quoting Rosier (see above): *On arrival the embassy must expect to make a solemn entry. The court to which they are destined will send to greet them, at some distance from the place appointed for their reception 'persons of a rank and distinction appropriate to the position of the ambassadors and the solemnity of the embassy'.*

<sup>2</sup> COM, I, 23

*At the second milestone from the city, we were met by several prelates on the part of the Cardinal of Milan, who later in Milan, out of respect for the Holy Empire, greatly honoured us with provisions and useful advice, offering [us] whatever would be useful to His Royal Majesty. After them, we were met joyfully by the governors and officials of the city, with a large following and the sound of trumpets. They accompanied us to our lodgings. Though we would have forbidden the trumpet music,<sup>1</sup> given the duke's death, they said that the people liked the trumpets to be sounded, and especially at the arrival of their true lord. [Sect. 2:9]*

In this case, the embassy was received at the second milestone, evidently a higher mark of honour than the first milestone. The first greeters were representative of the cardinal-archbishop of Milan, possibly because the delegation included two high-ranking clerics (a bishop and a bishop-elect), or because the archbishop, in the absence of a duke, counted as the highest-ranking citizen of Milan. In Milan, ceremonies of welcome apparently included trumpet music.

And finally, when the imperial ambassadors, with Piccolomini now bishop of Siena and prince of the empire, reached Rome in 1455 to declare the emperor's obedience to the new pope, Calixtus III, they rated this reception:

*When we entered the City, we were met by the legates of all the princes present in Rome, all the bishops, and the households of the cardinals and the pope. [Sect. 5:9.]*

The milestone is not mentioned, but this time the Roman prelates were joined by members of the pope's and the cardinals' household and all the ambassadors present in Rome.

## **7. Lodgings and provisions**

Practices concerning the provision of lodgings, victuals and other necessities to visiting ambassadors varied from court to court.

When the imperial envoys visited Duke Ludwig XI on their way to Regensburg in 1454, they were apparently lodged at some local inn, but the duke covered their expenses:

*Ludwig invited the legates to join him [on the hunt], but when they declined, he ordered that they be given money to cover their expenses on lodgings. [Sect. 4:28]*

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly, p. 38: *the ambassadorial procession ... would advance to the sound of music ... of clanging bells and booming canon.*

It is not known if the imperial ambassadors to Pope Eugenius in 1447 were lodged at the pope's expense, but their provisions were to a great extent provided through the cardinals' gifts and hospitality:

*That evening [the evening of arrival], 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. 1:8]*

*After the [first] audience, the gate to banquets was immediately thrown open. 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 Kalteisen, a good and learned man. The Patriarch of Aquileia entertained us most honourably three times ... Also the Cardinal of Théroutanne invited us to dinner very often. The Cardinal of Bologna had us practically as his table-fellows. The Cardinal of Sant'Angelo never let us remain at home. The Cardinal of Milan was not content with sending gifts but also invited us to supper. The Cardinal of Angers received us splendidly, and no less did the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova, as well as the Cardinal of Fermo, and Cardinal Colonna. The Cardinal of San Sisto only invited the royal [ambassadors], whereas the Cardinal of Taranto invited all but could not get the ambassador of Brandenburg. The Procurator of the Teutonic Knights also arranged a dinner party for us, as often did the Bishop of Ravenna. Also the Cardinal of Portugal invited us. However, we got completely 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 dishes that are rare taste better. Hunger rather than abundance improves a dinner. The man who feasts often somehow lacks feasting. [Sect. 1:13]*

## **8. Audience of welcome and the ambassador's formal oration**

After the ambassadors had rested from their travel, they were received in a public and solemn audience. The delay would also be used by the hosts to inquire into the aims of the embassy, as Piccolomini had recommended to the emperor in his *Pentalogus*.<sup>1</sup>

From the imperial embassy to Pope Eugenius in 1447, Piccolomini reported:

*On the day appointed for the audience, we were asked to meet at Saint Peter's and attend 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*

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 74-79)

*grave and most venerable Father. Around him sat 15 cardinals. After we had been received for the kiss, and all the bystanders had left, Enea – as decided – held an oration. [Sect. 1:10]*

The embassy to Milan later the same year was received somewhat differently since there was at that time no Duke of Milan to receive them in audience:

*The next day, we took a break to properly prepare our opening address and proposition. The Milanese conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say, honouring their lord through us. But we preferred to go to their place, both because it was us who had been sent to them, and because a larger crowd of people could assemble in a large place. So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men. When all had taken their seat, and there was silence, the king's letter was presented, and after a formal greeting, we made the proposition and statement of the embassy to this effect ... [Sect. 2:10-11]*

Only after the formal audience of welcome could the ambassadors begin their work and socialise publicly. From the mission to Rome 1445:

*After the audience, the gate to banquets was immediately thrown open. [Sect. 1:13]*

Private meetings, even with the prince, might take place before the audience, however. During the imperial embassy to Pope Calixtus in 1455, the ambassadors solicited a private audience with the pope, in reality to pose some conditions for the declaration of the emperor's obedience to be made during the formal audience. The pope knew very well what they wanted, and though he agreed to the meeting, he let the ambassadors know that he would accept no pre-conditions for the declaration of obedience:

*In the evening, we sent a message to Our Most Holy Lord saying that we desired to meet His Holiness before the public audience and speak with him on certain confidential matters. He let us know that he would gladly hear us, but that we should not want to make any agreements with him before the declaration of obedience because in no way would he accept a conditional obedience. [Sect. 5:9]*

The main point of the audience of welcome was the ambassador's formal oration.<sup>1</sup>

One function of this oration was to express the esteem in which a prince or a state held the ruler or state visited by the ambassador. This esteem was expressed firstly as direct praise, often extravagant, of the ruler, and secondly in the ornate style and elaboration of the speech.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly, pp. 38-3: *In Italy, Latin eloquence in the new humanist vein had already become one of the respectable weapons of statecraft. If the eloquence and pathos of the ambassador's Latin style and the effectiveness of his delivery did not really influence the success of his embassy, at least it was an Italian literary fashion to say that they did.* See also Maxson: *Diplomatic*.

<sup>2</sup> Labalme, pp. 132-133, on Bernardo Giustinian's orations: *Usually, however, his speeches which have been preserved are formal orations of greeting, departure, congratulations, or condolence, carefully prepared in a highly ornate Latin, similar in style to the funeral oration already discussed. As Bernardo once put it, those who praise should be prolix in all things, and the occasion for a formal oration was nearly always one where praise was considered due. The subject, his ancestors, and his country had all to be extolled, to be compared, favourably compared, with the sages and cities of*

Brian Maxson has studied the diplomatic orations of the Renaissance under this aspect and has coined the expression of orations as “cultural gifts”. Maxson’s thesis is that an ornate oration by a diplomat represented a form of gift. According to Maxson, the initial oration held by a diplomat arriving on some mission to a foreign court *rarely addressed political specifics directly. Instead, orators delivered short or long panegyrics, ranging from as little as five to ten minutes to over an hour. ... Opening orations served more to meet ceremonial requirements than to advance specific diplomatic negotiations ...*<sup>1 2</sup>

Piccolomini came to the papal court on diplomatic missions for the emperor in 1445, 1446, 1447, 1450, and 1455, and on each occasion he delivered a formal oration to the pope at the beginning of the visit, to be followed by negotiations with the papal court.

Thus, in 1446, he gave the oration “*Et breviter me hodie*” and in 1447 the oration “*Non habet me dubium*”, both to Pope Eugenius IV, in 1450 the oration “*Fateor*” to Nicolaus V, and in 1455 the oration of obedience “*Solent plerique*” to Calixtus V.

In the first three of these orations, Piccolomini presented only the briefest of compliments to the pope and then proceeded directly to the political matters to be negotiated.<sup>3</sup> That he completely mastered the praise function is shown by the oration “*Solent plerique*”: even if the panegyric element – quite obligatory in orations of obedience - was much toned down, with a clever excuse, and only took up about one tenth of the oration, it was still quite impressive.

Apart from the gift (praise) function of the diplomatic oration, it had, of course, also the function of conveying a concrete message from one ruler to another.

In the case of Piccolomini’s orations, this function was clearly the primary one. As he delivered his diplomatic orations on behalf of the emperor, the message was usually to communicate imperial policy in the matter of the diplomatic mission.

In the extant orations such policies concerned:

- German recognition of the Roman Papacy
- The emperor’s wardship over the young King Ladislaus

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*antiquity. The richness of classical allusions, the cleverness of the compliments, the effectiveness of the delivery, all these made up the virtù of the orator. Rhetorical praise was a strenuous art ...*

<sup>1</sup> Maxson: *Diplomatic*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Labalme, p. 132, on Bernardo Giustinian’s diplomatic orations: *There are other sources besides the official ones [i.e. diplomatic instructions etc.] mentioned above. Chief among these, for Bernardo’s work, are the orations which he made during these missions. These were distinct from the practical negotiations with the government to which he had been sent, although in the case of his speech to Pius II in 1463, he was dealing directly with the substance of his mission.*

<sup>3</sup> This practice was also followed by the Spanish diplomat and bishop Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo, contemporary of Pius II, on his political mission to various European princes, cf. Trame, pp. 30-33, 49-53, 77-79.



- The devolution of Milan to the emperor at the extinction of the Visconti dynasty
- The imperial coronation
- The Austrian rebellion against the emperor
- The military response to the Turkish war of aggression, in the form of a crusade
- The marriage between the emperor and Princess Eleonora of Portugal
- The settlement of the Hussite problem
- Peace between Jacopo Piccinino and Siena (on behalf of Siena, not on behalf of the emperor)

## 9. Negotiations

### 9.1. Negotiation strategy

Apart from generally gaining the greatest possible advantage for the diplomat's principal, at the smallest cost, all diplomatic missions had their own objectives requiring specific strategies of negotiation. Three examples, from 1447 and 1455, will suffice:

#### 9.1.1. Rome 1447

In the case of the German mission to Pope Eugenius in 1447, the main objective of the ambassadors was to reunite the German Church with the Roman papacy, to which were added four specific objectives formulated by the German side at the diet in Frankfurt in September 1446. They were expressed formally by Piccolomini in his opening oration to the pope, the "*Non habet me dubium*" and were

- to hold a new general council to settle church affairs and carry out much-needed reforms,
- to recognise 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.

The cardinals had the same main objective as the German ambassadors, the restoration of Church unity, but in no way would they accept a declaration that the pope's authority was inferior to that of the ecumenical councils as stated by the rebellious Council of Basel (1431-1437), in direct opposition to the papacy.

The ambassadors then told the cardinals that these conditions were a *sine qua non* for a return of all of Germany to papal obedience:

*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. 1:16]

The matter was clinched when Johann Lysura, ambassador of German primate, the Archbishop of Mainz, cleverly solved the problem of the council's authority by stipulating that a papal declaration on this issue should be based on the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418), which was recognised by the Roman popes. This was also somewhat problematic since the Council of Konstanz had declared the council's superiority over the popes under certain conditions. Still, these conditions were in itself not impossible to accept for the papacy, so much the more as the present line of popes had been founded by the council exercising this superiority by deposing, in 1417, three concurrently reigning popes. Tactfully administered the whole issue need not become a stumbling block:

*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 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. 1:19]

In return for the cardinals' acceptance of the German requirements, the German ambassadors had to accept four Roman conditions:

*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 safe-conduct to those 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.* [Sect. 1:20]

In the end, the negotiations were concluded successfully, which was considered a diplomatic triumph for both parties.

### **9.1.2. Milan 1447**

When, after the death of last Visconti duke, in 1447, an imperial mission arrived in Milan to negotiate the return of Milan from ducal rule to direct imperial rule (presumably under some kind of governor), the two parties had widely different negotiation strategies.

The imperial ambassadors' strategy consisted in making alluring promises to the Milanese of glory, wealth, freedom and safety as well as veiled threats of military intervention. They might compromise on practical and economic issues like taxation, but in no way would they compromise on the emperor's rights as the feudal lord.

The Milanese wanted to be a republic like Venice and Florence and rejected both imperial and ducal rule. So, their strategy consisted of delay and obstruction - and strategic use of the negotiations with the imperials to put pressure on the Venetians with whom they were negotiating concurrently for peace and recognition of their status as a republic.

Thus, the two strategies could not meet, and the negotiations were not successful.

Later, however, Piccolomini wrote that the imperials might have succeeded if they had employed a more accommodating strategy and accepted less than they wanted, e.g., a rather restricted form of imperial government, on the principle that something was better than nothing.

The strategically determined failure of the negotiations meant that neither the emperor nor the Milanese obtained what they wanted since the Visconti dynasty was eventually replaced by a new ducal dynasty, that of Francesco Sforza.

### **9.1.3. Rome 1455**

When the imperial ambassadors came to Rome in 1455 to declare the emperor's obedience to the pope and negotiate a number of other issues, they had planned on the strategy to negotiate the various affairs entrusted to them in a private audience with the pope before presenting the declaration of obedience, thus putting pressure upon him to grant their petitions. The pope, however, himself a most accomplished and experienced negotiator, very well understood and adamantly rejected this strategy. In no way would he negotiate the affairs before the declaration of obedience, and in no way would he accept a conditional obedience. So, this strategy failed abjectly. Interestingly, the episode was a learning experience for Piccolomini, who, when he became pope himself three years later, would take the same stance as Calixtus with ambassadors trying to use the declaration of obedience to bargain for advantages.

## 9.2. Negotiation technique<sup>1</sup>

The reports from Piccolomini's diplomatic missions illustrate various negotiation techniques.

### 9.2.1. Rome 1447

The report from the mission to Rome in 1447 mentions the interlocutors, the function of meetings, and the use of oral versus written procedures.

#### 9.2.1.1. *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. The choice of cardinals from both factions was intended to assure a balanced representation of papal interests in the negotiations, and – presumably – to placate the opposing factions and engage them in the final settlement. Incidentally, five of the eight cardinals were quite well-known and friendly to Piccolomini, one even being a former colleague, and another a former employer.

#### 9.2.1.2. *Meetings*

The negotiations were conducted in a series of formal, minuted meetings between the group of ambassadors and the group of cardinals. Presumably, a lot of informal negotiation took place, too, e.g., at the many dinner parties to which the cardinals invited the ambassadors - with a view to mutually sounding out the possibilities for concessions and the “red lines” in the negotiation.

#### 9.2.1.3. *Oral vs written procedure*

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

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.

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly, pp. 39-40

But the Germans ensured that the meetings were carefully minuted and that the minutes were 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. 1:19]

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 our own seals, as our instructions required us to do.* [Sect. 1:20]

When it was all finished, the dying pope – unknown to the ambassadors - made use of a device which previous popes had employed when they were forced by military and political pressure to agree to something they did not want or were sceptical of: a written unconditional or conditional repudiation.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Eugenius made a written declaration that he had been forced to accept the compromise with the Germans to obtain the obedience of the Germans and restore 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.<sup>2</sup> The pope was obviously thinking of a profession of faith based on the decrees of the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418) concerning the the superiority of the council over the pope in certain cases.<sup>3</sup>

## 9.2.2. Milan 1447

### 9.2.2.1. Interlocutors

The negotiations were mostly conducted in a small group consisting of the ambassadors and a few select representatives of the Milanese regime. However, the ambassadors wanted to present their case to a larger assembly, preferably the large Council of 900, since they apparently believed that their message would have greater appeal to the general public than to the small power elite.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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: *Consueverunt enim romani presules ubi iustitia sine publico scandalo ministrari non potest, tandiu dissimulare donec temporis oportunitatem capiant. Neque id legum conditores uetant; semper enim maiori malo est occurrendum* (COM, III, 12).

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, II, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the famous decree *Sacrosancta*.

<sup>4</sup> The body of 24 governors was composed of both Guelphs and Ghibellines. The power elite may have been dominated by Guelphs, traditionally unfriendly towards the Empire, whereas the Visconti party and the general public had greater, Ghibelline, sympathy for the Empire, cf. Piccolomini's remarks in his *De Viris Illustribus*, also written in 1447, about Emperor Sigismund's visit to Milan in 1432, 15 years before: *The Ghibellines [in Milan] were suspected of siding with Sigismund because of the Empire, whereas the Guelfs were in power. One night the Ghibellines came to*

They never got the large council, but they did manage to get a meeting with the 24 governors and a broader assembly of notable citizens:

*The conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say since they honoured us in the place of their master. But we absolutely preferred to go to them, both because it was us who had been sent to them, and because a greater crowd of people could assemble in a large place.<sup>1</sup> So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men. [Sect. 2:10]*

Later, the ambassadors tried again for the Great Council, but only got a meeting with the governors:

*We requested these representatives to obtain an audience with the Great Council, but they said that it should not be requested for several reasons. So we finally decided to go to the governors and that we did, and they conducted us from our lodgings to their residence, and there they gave us an audience together with many others. Thus, on Monday, on the Feast of Saint Leonard, we had a late audience and spoke for an hour. [Sect. 2:26]*

Yet once again, towards the end, they tried to get a meeting with the Great Council:

*Sixthly, we said that before leaving, we should like to be heard in the Council of 900, in fulfilment of our instructions which directed us towards the governors and the people .... [Sect. 2:32]*

But again, the ruling elite refused, not wanting to discuss the matter in a large, less controllable body, this time adding a veiled threat of physical harm:

*Concerning the last issue, they begged us to bear it with equanimity if an audience with the people was not granted, firstly because it would be a new and unusual thing, secondly because all power lay with the governors, thirdly because the nature of the matters under negotiation required confidentiality, which was impossible with the people. Fourthly, they*

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*Kaspar Schlick and Brunoro and presented many ideas for how they could give Milan to the king, for they were unhappy with the tyrant. [Sect. 2:128].*

<sup>1</sup> That the meeting place had some significance in a diplomatic negotiation is also attested by remarks in Piccolomini's *Report on an Imperial Mission to Regensburg, 1451*, where he said about the Duke of Burgundy: *And finally, the ambassadors had direct dealings with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they welcomed to the city, showing their instructions from the emperor, and letting him know that they had used his arrival to write to the emperor and urge him to come to Regensburg. They also asked if the duke desired the meetings of the diet to be held in his lodgings, but he politely declined, saying that here he was the guest and he would gladly accommodate the representatives of his host. [Sect. 4:90]*

*added that the people were restless and might erupt in dishonourable acts against us, which they would regret. [Sect. 2:37]*

#### 9.2.2.2. *Oral vs written procedure*

Naturally, most of the negotiations had the form of oral discussions. But at some point, it became necessary to have complete clarity in the matter of offers and counteroffers, arguments and counterarguments, and therefore it was decided to exchange written statements concerning the controversial points:

*A lively discussion back and forth ensued, and, finally, they agreed that the Milanese should present their demands of the king in writing. Then they left and later presented the demands which follow below, i.e. Infrascriptae sunt etc. These demands were refuted by us in many and various ways. Above all, we showed it to be untrue that the status of a duchy is inherently connected with the City of Milan. It only has this status when ruled by a duke appointed by the king. We also showed that such a demand was unacceptable, as we deduced from many dangers, and we even mentioned Wenceslaus. On this position we stayed firm. And, to come to the special issues, they asked us to say under what form we thought that liberty could be granted them in the name of the king. We come here to the articles following below, i.e. Ut inter regiam majestatem etc. [Sect. 2:14-15]*

*The Milanese considered that the written statement we had given them was prejudicial to them and their liberty, and, having requested time for their answer, they came back the next day and brought a written statement. However, they first made their statement orally, and afterwards they handed it to us in writing. The written statement ran like this: Ut ea etc. and in confirmation of it, they brought us the books of the city in which were registered certain privileges, copies of which are here, but which we leave for now for brevity's sake. From our answers, it may, however, be seen what they all were. To these [objections] we answered with the [articles] written below, i.e. Romanae etc. Though they are long, they merit to be heard, for on these the whole Milanese matter, now pending, turns. After we had given them the written [articles], they sent back to us [three] of their representatives: His Lordship of Novara, Lord Niccolò degli Arcimboldi, and Giovanni da Fagnano. We conferred with them for several days, without giving anything in writing, but discussing whether we could agree on any articles, and after various and many exchanges, we formulated five articles concerning the remaining problems. [Sect. 2:16-18]*

These written statements seem not to have survived, but they were apparently appended to the original report.



### 9.2.2.3. *Parallel negotiations*

At some point during the negotiations, the ambassadors received information that the Milanese were at the same time negotiating for peace with the Venetians. The ambassadors let the Milanese know that they knew, with a gentle warning:

*During our negotiations, we heard that the Milanese were conducting other negotiations for peace and alliance with the Venetians, for their ambassadors returned and argued vehemently for peace, scorning our actions and saying that the King of the Romans was neither willing nor able to help them against the Venetians. We thus realised that they [only] kept talking to us in order to obtain better terms from the Venetians. [Sect. 2:25]*

The ambassadors did not protest against the parallel negotiations, and indeed, they themselves conducted parallel negotiations with representatives of King Alfonso of Aragon and Francesco Sforza, who themselves held parallel negotiations with other parties. As the emperor was presumably not quite familiar with the Italian political *mores*, Piccolomini took care to explain that such parallel negotiations were not only normal but even expedient for a prudent prince:

*The king [of Aragon] has various dealings with the Milanese and also seeks his advantage there, for as a wise king he tries not just one way but several, and he does not cease before he has found one to his advantage. The same is done by the count who has dealings both with the French, the Venetians, the Milanese and His Royal Majesty, as mentioned. This is the way of prudent men, who begin many negotiations and finally bring the one to a conclusion they find to be most advantageous. One must be diligent in all matters, and it is better to anticipate than to be anticipated. The Milanese themselves are engaged in various negotiations. And the French do not sleep, as they strive for the lordship of Lombardy. [Sect. 2:54]*

### 9.2.3. **Bohemia 1451**

Piccolomini's report to Cardinal Carvajal on his diplomatic mission to Bohemia was not a diplomatic report in the sense of a report from an ambassador to his princely master, with an account of the mission and its results. However, the account of the visit to Benesov does throw some light on Piccolomini's conduct of diplomacy.

Firstly, in Benesov he negotiated with all the parties in presence, both adversaries and opponents of the imperial and royal cause, and both Hussites and Catholics.

Secondly, he correctly identified the principal partner on the opposite side with whom to conduct the essential negotiations. It was Georg Podiebrad whom the seasoned imperial diplomat considered to be *a very important man in Bohemia: he has great power in the party that*

*communicates under both species, and many from the other party are allied with him in military matters. If anybody can bring the cities to a union, it is Georg.* [Sect. 3:34]

Thirdly, his style of negotiation was pleasant, polite and direct. Here was no haughty imperial courtier dictating the emperor's will to a barbarian prince, here was no prelate of the Church bemoaning the wickedness of the lapsed subjects of the Church or threatening them with ecclesiastical censures. No, here was a charming, frank, intelligent, informed and sympathetic interlocutor. That this style, which probably came naturally to Piccolomini, was appreciated is shown by Podiebrad's own words to him: *I like you, for you do not dissemble or pretend, but say what is in your heart. I trust you.* [Sect. 3:32]

Fourthly, there was a direct approach to determining the main issues of the negotiation, assessing the impediments to a peaceful solution, naming the advantages of a settlement (including for the interlocutor personally), testing the limits of possible concessions, and identifying the basis for an honourable compromise.

In the case of the four basic issues separating Bohemia from the Church, Podiebrad could not yield in the matter of communion under both species, whereas Piccolomini could not yield in the doctrinal matter (non-necessity for salvation of communion under both species) nor in the matter of the Archbishop of Prague. Concerning the confiscated church properties, it appeared that a sensible compromise might be found. This would be the basis for Piccolomini's subsequent development of a proposal for the reunification of Bohemia with the Catholic Church: to grant communion under both species to Bohemia, to insist on the non-necessity of communion under both species, to refuse Jan Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, and to seek a pragmatic settlement on the issue of the Church properties.<sup>1 2</sup>

Fifthly, sending this report to Cardinal Carvajal was not just an act of friendship but a calculated diplomatic move in the interest of the emperor and King Ladislaus. It prepared the way for a compromise by informing the Roman curia of the real possibilities of settlement of the Bohemian conflict if only it was willing to deal with Podiebrad as the privileged Bohemian counterpart - and consequently not Ulrich von Rosenberg, the leader of the Catholic party, though Piccolomini, cleverly, did not fail to recommend this prince to the curia.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that Piccolomini had to speak with Podiebrad through a translator, his friend Prokop von Rabenstein, which may have led to some imprecision of communication and possibly to some misunderstanding on Piccolomini's part of Podiebrad's basic convictions and political margin of manoeuvring.<sup>3</sup>

#### **9.2.4. Rome 1455**

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<sup>1</sup> In the oration "*Res Bohemicas*" [28] of 1455, in COR, V, pp. 122-239.

<sup>2</sup> Fudge: *Seduced*, p. 91

<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini probably overrated Podiebrad's will "to lead, if he but willed, the Bohemian people back to complete orthodoxy" (Heymann: *John Rokycana*, p. 253)

#### 9.2.4.1. Interlocutors

The ambassadors presumably negotiated with cardinals and high curial officials concerning the affairs entrusted to them, some of them quite mundane. However, the pope chose to negotiate the important matters directly with the ambassadors in private meetings. This was really not an advantage for the ambassadors since the normal frank exchange between lower-level negotiators would not be possible with such an august personage. Also, their task was made difficult by the pope's superior negotiating style, a mixture of uncontradictable authority (the pope imposed silence upon the ambassadors concerning two important matters and bade them be content with his decisions), crass exaggeration (the pope claimed that his predecessor had left not even one coin in the treasury), and pious theatrics: *And raising his eyes to Heaven, as if speaking directly with God, he implored Divine Piety to remove him rather than to allow any scandal to arise through him* [Sect. 5:22]. What could the ambassadors possibly say to that? zzz

#### 9.2.4.2. Oral vs written procedure

The petitions from the imperial court were handed over in writing to the pope, who passed them on to the Bishop of Zamora for consideration. Otherwise, the negotiations took place in meetings in which the pope participated personally but without minutes being taken and sealed, as had happened during the imperial mission to Rome in 1447.

### 9.3. Other issues

#### 9.3.1. Interactions with princes

Interactions with the host princes was an important function of ambassadors. They had to maintain polite and respectful relations and at the same time promote their principal's interests. This was, of course, easy in the cases when the interests of the princes coincided. But in the many cases they did not, the ambassadors had a challenging time balancing the princes' conflicting interests with the demands of protocol and diplomatic regards.

The report of the mission to Regensburg 1454, records three instances of such interactions.

The first was with the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, whom the imperial ambassadors visited to put pressure on him to attend the Diet of Regensburg as one of the imperially appointed presidents. Having already heard that the emperor would not be coming, the archbishop said that he would not participate himself but send counsellors to represent him – obviously, he considered it beneath him to come to an imperial diet in the emperor's absence. And then he took up another matter with the ambassadors: the emperor had not yet granted him the *regalia*, i.e., the secular

rights and properties belonging to the archdiocese, and, furthermore, in his letter the emperor had not recognised his rank as a prince. The ambassadors then frankly answered the archbishop that *he had several castles belonging to the House of Austria in his possession as a pledge. If they were returned, the whole conflict would end, and this would be quite fair since the villages had already paid the yearly principal sum.* [Sect. 4:27].

The ambassadors also had a meeting with Duke Ludwig IX of Bavaria-Landshut, again to put pressure on him to attend the Diet of Regensburg as one of the imperially appointed presidents. The duke, a relative of the emperor, did not want to go in person because of the emperor's absence. Moreover - like his fellow dukes - he was not keen to involve himself in the crusading project or to be seen as one of its sponsors. He was more diplomatic than the archbishop, pointing to his youth and inexperience as an excuse for not immediately accepting the emperor's invitation. He did not refuse it directly but said he would consider the matter and inform the ambassadors of his decision in writing. In any case, he would send his counsellors. As the prince was then 34 years old and had been a reigning duke for four years, the excuse appears somewhat thin, but the ambassadors got the message. The state of the prince's mind was exposed in a hilarious episode which Piccolomini did not omit to relate:

*While they were speaking thus, a great many dogs were barking in front of the palace, and footmen and riders were shouting their dissatisfaction with having to wait and berating the prince for wasting precious time, and they cursed the legates for disrupting a great hunt. In the end, Ludwig invited the legates to join him [on the hunt], but when they declined, he ordered that they be given the money they had used on lodgings and gladly went hunting, accompanied by a throng of young people.* [Sect. 4:28]

Finally, the ambassadors had direct dealings with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they welcomed to the city, showing their instructions from the emperor. They also informed him that they had used his arrival to write to emperor and urge him to come to Regensburg. They asked if the duke desired the diet's meetings to be held in his lodgings, but he politely declined, saying that here he was the guest and would gladly accommodate the representatives of his host. [See sect. 4:90]

### **9.3.2. Problems of precedence**

Piccolomini reports no less than four conflicts of precedence at the Diet of Regensburg.

One of them concerned the seating of the ambassador of the King of Poland, who insisted that his master's honour required that he be given a place above those of the ambassadors of dukes. The matter became delightfully complicated. The royal ambassador's claim that his king had accepted the overlordship of Prussia and his insistent demand that the Teutonic Knights and the diet as a whole refrain from inimical acts against the Prussian cities greatly angered the Germans, who then

proved quite inventive in complicating the matter of precedence. The ambassador, however, proved his mettle:

*In the next session, which was to deal with common matters, a great controversy about the order of seating arose. The session would have two parts: one was to be led by the cardinal, and the other by the Bishop of Pavia as the pope's representative. To the cardinal's right were seated the bishops of Siena, Regensburg, Gurk and the other imperial legates. To Pavia's left were seated the ambassadors of the prince-electors. Then it was asked where the ambassador of the Polish king should be placed. The imperial legates said that he should be placed before the ambassadors of the electors. But the cardinal, angry with the Poles because of the Prussian rebellion, said that the envoys of the electors should be consulted, and they said that they would not accept that a man who was injurious to their nation should be placed before them, and they said much about the nobility and dignity of the prince-electors. The Pole was then asked to accept a place to the right of the imperial legates. He replied that he knew very well the seating order due to his king and pointed to the left of the apostolic legate, whereas the imperial legates were seated at the right. For in the context of the diet, the cardinal was held to be one of the imperial legates. If the Pole was placed to the right of the imperial legates, then the ambassadors of the electors would appear to be placed higher than him since they were placed directly to the left of Pavia. After much heated discussion, it was finally settled that the apostolic legate should be placed in the middle, with imperial legates placed both to his right and left, then the Pole to the right, and the electors to the left. This calmed the Pole. But when the session had thus come to order, the electors' ambassadors purposefully endeavoured to antagonize the Pole: they invited the Master of Germany to join them and placed him before themselves. Angered by this action, the Pole rose and said: "This I cannot accept, and I will not have a seat which is not worthy of my king, for it is not right that the imperial ambassadors should be placed on both sides of the apostolic legate. It is enough if they have the first place and observe the custom of the Council of Basel." The matter was discussed for a long time, and some actually said that the Pole should be excluded from the meeting since he had brought up scandalous matters and presumed to dispute the seating in another's home. But the imperial legates considered that this foreigner and legate of a great king must be treated with courtesy. Therefore a new arrangement was made. The ambassadors of the prince-electors were invited to sit to the right of the imperial legates while the Pole was given the place to left of the Bishop of Pavia, and after him the Master of Germany was placed. And thus it happened that the papal legate was given a higher place than the cardinal, a new thing and unheard of in our age. [Sect. 4:84-85]*

Interestingly, the final arrangement caused the papal legate, who was only a bishop, not a cardinal, to be placed higher than a cardinal, which elicited a piously scandalized comment from Piccolomini.

### 9.3.3. Ambassadors' personal interests

An ambassadors' personal interests might influence the course of negotiations, as was the case with the missions to Rome in 1447 and 1447. In both instances, Piccolomini was keen not to prejudice his own ecclesiastical advancement by opposing the Roman counterpart. In the first case, it was a matter of his appointment as bishop, which actually followed closely upon the end of the mission. In the second case, it was a matter of his appointment as cardinal, which also occurred some time after the mission. In neither case, he yielded unduly to the Roman counterpart, and in both of them, his subsequent ecclesiastical advancement was also desired by the emperor and advantageous to him. Still, the cases mentioned here show that there could be a problem.

## 10. Mission report<sup>1</sup>

Three of the five reports in the present collection (Rome 1447, Milan 1447, Rome 1455) are proper diplomatic reports to the ambassador's principal, in this case the emperor.

They each contain an account of

- the ambassador's travel to the destination and back
- the situation in the host region and at the host court
- the reception and hospitality
- the first formal audience
- the negotiations and its results
- a standard, preemptive excuse.

The last would take the form that the ambassadors regretted if they had not done all as the emperor would have liked, but that they had sincerely endeavoured to.

In the report to the emperor on the mission to Milan, Piccolomini apparently included, as appendices, the formal written statements exchanged between the ambassadors and their hosts.

Of the two expanded reports, one has the form of a history of the Diet of Regensburg 1454, and the other of a *narratio* of the mission to Bohemia in 1451 with dialogues included. They contain elements of the ordinary diplomatic report (travel, negotiations). The Regensburg report also gives

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<sup>1</sup> Lazzarini: *The Final*; Mattingly, p. 43

the emperor's mandate to his ambassadors *in extenso*, as well as Piccolomini's oration on the Turkish matter, the emperor's invitation to the duke of Burgundy (heavily edited) and the text of the ambassadors' propositions to the diet.

# **1. Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome, 1447.**



## **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 obedience to the pope on behalf of the Holy Roman Empire, thus ending the 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 himself did not enjoy the fruits of this victory for the papacy since he died some weeks later. The German ambassadors remained in Rome to participate in Pope Eugenius' funeral 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.

## **Foreword**

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, 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 it, taking the opportunity to propose a number of alternative translations.

MCS

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# **I. INTRODUCTION**

## 1. Context<sup>1 2</sup>

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 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<sup>3</sup> had ended the Great Western Schism, with three popes.<sup>4</sup>

When Emperor Sigismund<sup>5</sup> died in December 1437, the German prince-electors assembled in Frankfurt to elect the new emperor.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> In doing so, they followed the example of France, where King Charles VII had decreed the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.<sup>9</sup> 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*.<sup>10</sup> Among the Basilean decrees not recognised by the Germans was the deposition of Pope Eugenius.

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 16-17 (Merve, 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; Stoff, p. 204; Voigt, II, pp. 381-411

<sup>2</sup> This section is based on the introduction to my edition of Piccolomini’s oration “*Non habet me dubium*” (1447)

<sup>3</sup> The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418

<sup>4</sup> Gregorius XII, Benedictus XIII, Johannes XXIII,

<sup>5</sup> Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor

<sup>6</sup> Albrecht V Habsburg (1397-1439): Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor as Albrecht II (uncrowned)

<sup>7</sup> Stieber, p. 137

<sup>8</sup> Stieber, p. 161

<sup>9</sup> 1438

<sup>10</sup> Stieber, p. 169

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

After the death of Emperor Albrecht in 1439, Friederich III,<sup>1</sup> the new emperor, initially adhered to German neutrality. However, from 1443 the imperial court gradually came to favour the papal cause, and through a 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> and various German diets, and he eventually 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.<sup>4</sup>

Afterwards, it was decided to send an embassy from the emperor, the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg and 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.<sup>5</sup>

The German envoys arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447.<sup>6</sup> The imperial embassy was headed by Piccolomini.

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> 21 January 1446

<sup>3</sup> Where he became reconciled with Pope Eugenius on the first of his three imperial missions to that pope, in March 1445

<sup>4</sup> Stieber, pp. 292-293

<sup>5</sup> Stieber, p. 297

<sup>6</sup> Pastor, I, p. 261

*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. Enea 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 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.<sup>1</sup>*

And in 1453, he wrote, in his *Historia Austriallis* (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 conducto 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.<sup>2</sup>*

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.<sup>3</sup>*

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 Enea acted as the spokesman for the group; pope and cardinals alike greeted his speech with remarkable applause.<sup>4 5</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarii*. Translation quoted from Rejcek, pp. 378-379

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini: *Historia Austriallis*, 1. Version (Knödler, pp. 34-35)

<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 58, 231 (Brown, p. 261)

<sup>4</sup> CO, I, 16 (Meserve, I, pp. 70-71)

<sup>5</sup> 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)



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.<sup>1</sup> Reinhardt has this comment: *Nur zwei Jahre nach seiner Abschwörung hielt der Meisterrhetoriker Piccolomini am selben Ort und vor demselben Publikum erneut eine zutiefsts doppeldeutige Rede. Im Namen der deutschen Gesandtschaft musste er Anliegen rechtfertigen, denen er bei seiner Versöhnung mit Eugen IV. eine Absage erteilt hatte.*<sup>2</sup> 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 preceding Diet in Frankfurt,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.*<sup>5</sup>

When an agreement with the cardinals had been reached, the German ambassadors were conducted to the pope's sick-chamber, where they made the declaration of obedience directly to the pope. Afterwards it was 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*

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Siena of 23 January 1447, the abbot of San Galgano wrote about the oration: *Li ambasciatori 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; espone in tal modo et con tanto ornate la ambasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingegno 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 maggiori 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

<sup>2</sup> Reinhardt, p. 136

<sup>3</sup> See Voigt, II, p. 382

<sup>4</sup> Piccolomini's double function as an 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

<sup>5</sup> Reject, p. 253

*Enea's 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.*<sup>1</sup>

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, succeeding 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 aimed at an agreement that would serve as a basis for German recognition of the Roman papacy and 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 recognise 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.*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 16

Concerning the convocation of a new council, Piccolomini said:

*A council is requested because many things urgently need 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, but 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 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<sup>1</sup> – in Rome, and firmly under papal control.<sup>2</sup>

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 skilful 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 recognise that under

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<sup>1</sup> In clear defiance of the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Basel on the holding of general councils every ten years

<sup>2</sup> The Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512–1517) with Church reform as its main agenda

certain conditions, e.g., a heretical pope, the general council was above the pope. Moreover, 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, Martin V.

Concerning the burdens on the German nation, Piccolomini said:

*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 conditions**

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 safe-conduct to those 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 a 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<sup>1</sup>:

*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, tibi que 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 recognise, 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*

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<sup>1</sup> In the oration "Solent plerique" (1455)

*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.)*

### **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, dear [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 one. Where there is peace, there is the spirit of God. A short time ago, We 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 be 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 afterwards 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, Cardinal 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 Cardinal 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, e.g., 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 criticise 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 throng 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. The gospel was sung in Latin by the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo and in Greek by an abbot.<sup>1</sup> 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 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 temple's vestibule. The pope ascended the platform, only accompanied by the cardinals and Enea with the cross and two masters of ceremonies. There the cardinals again 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

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

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 also execute and uphold 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]*

*Afterwards, 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: wars and large expenses. He said, "Someone who spends when he should not, must also collect when he should not." That is true, indeed: whoever gives superfluously must also plunder ruthlessly. The hands of both him who receives and him 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.<sup>1</sup>

### **2.7.1. Eugenius IV**

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<sup>1</sup> As he showed in his *De Viris Illustribus*

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

*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 canonised Saint Nicolaus of Tolentino. He was taken captive in Rome but fled and returned. He lost and regained the Marche. 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,<sup>1</sup> 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*

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<sup>1</sup> In other texts, Piccolomini gives a more nuanced picture of Pope Nicolaus' personality

*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 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 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. [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 maybe 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 Enea in his lodgings and told him that the king would like us to come to Tivoli. But Enea 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 explicitly mentioned 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 a 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 errors 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 on the emperor:

*All this we promised in the name of the king and issued letters under our 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, by gifts of money to cover the ambassadors' expenses, and by hosting them for dinners.

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 yet another:

*However, we got completely 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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, the 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. Enea - 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, Enea - 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*”,<sup>1</sup> was delivered by Piccolomini. Piccolomini published it separately and did not even summarise it in his report.<sup>2</sup>

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

As custom at the papal court favoured,<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini then took as his point of departure an appropriate biblical quote,<sup>4</sup> indeed a very apt one. He then outlined the advantages of the settlement for the Apostolic See, and afterwards 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 indeed they 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]*

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

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<sup>1</sup> Oration “*Non habet me dubium*” (1447) [11]

<sup>2</sup> Which he did with his oration to the Milanese later in the same year, the “*Est mihi non parum*” (1447) [13]

<sup>3</sup> Continuing a tradition deriving from the medieval *ars praedicandi*

<sup>4</sup> This is the only oration in which Piccolomini did so, probably as a rhetorical gesture aimed at Pope Eugenius



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 instance 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 continuing 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 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 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 become 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. 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 the most eminent prince-elect, to the forefront and deferred to them as much as possible, thereby weakening the position of the ambassadors sceptical 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. Incidentally, five of the eight cardinals were quite well-known and friendly to Piccolomini, one even being a former colleague, and another a former employer.

### *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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 that 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 our 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 previous popes had employed when they were forced by military and political pressure to agree to something they did not want or were sceptical of: a written unconditional or conditional repudiation.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Eugenius made a written declaration that he had been forced to accept the compromise with the Germans to obtain the obedience of the Germans and restore 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.<sup>2</sup> The pope was obviously thinking of a profession of faith based on the decrees of the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418) concerning the the superiority of the council over the pope in certain cases.<sup>3</sup>

### 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 15<sup>th</sup> century the practice developed to deliver the report in writing.<sup>4</sup> The present text seems to be aimed both at a written report and an oral delivery (oration), see below.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 ministrari 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))

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, II, p. 394

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the famous decree *Sacrosancta*

<sup>4</sup> 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 summarised in the report, contrary to Piccolomini's report on the imperial mission 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 has 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<sup>1</sup> - 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 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,<sup>2</sup> [Sect. 13]*

There are no *exempla* from Antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup> Being locked away in conclave

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal: *Satirae*, 11, 205: *voluptates commendat rarior usus*

So, the literary genre of this report is definitely not that of an oration.<sup>1</sup> It is rather that of a *narratio*.

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's rhetorics, see Pius II: *Collected*, I, 7

### 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, presumably based on 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, this time 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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)

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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)(K, S and WO), and the second by the other manuscripts (H, I, M, V, and BA),
- it may tentatively be assumed that the first group represents an older version of the text and the second group a later version,<sup>3</sup>
- 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).

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's orations not delivered orally, see Pius II: *Collected*, I, pp. 46-47. An example from another humanist author is Manetti's oration "*Si optata fierent*", written for the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452. It was not actually delivered 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*

<sup>2</sup> See Pius II: *Collected*, I, sect. 5.1.3

<sup>3</sup> 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



Of the changes from the early report version to the later oration version (variants occurring in H, I, M, V, BA together) some are due to errors made by scribes and some to editorial revision made by Piccolomini himself<sup>1</sup>:

#### Changes in vocabulary:

Examples: *cupiditas* to *cupido* [1], *initium* to *principium* [3], *serenitas* to *majestas* [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], *gubernatio* to *dominatio* [32], *dilectissimi* to *dulcissimi* [37], *ordine* to *genere* [42], *immutari* to *mutari* [43], *nisi* to *quam* [46], *assurgens* to *surgens* [53], *longa* to *multa* [58].

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

#### Changes of syntax:

Many changes in 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 conviviiis* [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], *in clyte rex* [63].

#### Substitutions:

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<sup>1</sup> Numbers in square brackets refer to the relevant section of the text

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], *amatueros* to *amaturum* [55], *magnanimitatem* to *magnitudinem* [55].

#### Additions:

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

### 4.1. Manuscripts

The text is contained in a considerable number of manuscripts among 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<sup>1</sup> (**S**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 2638, ff. 1r-55v (**M**)  
Vat. lat. 12528, 112r-149v (**V**)

### 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**)

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

*[It is not known on which manuscript Baluze based his edition]*

- Ernst Münch: *Vollständige Sammlung aller ältern und neuern Konkordate nebst einer Geschichte ihres Entstehens und ihrer Schicksale*. II. Theile. Leipzig, 1830-1831 / I, pp. 172-201  
*[After Baluze]*
- Koch, Christophe Guillaume: *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 all six manuscripts listed above. The editions by Wolkan and by Baluze have also used. Variants in K not followed by Wolkan are marked with an asterisk

The readings of the Report Version are generally preferred in the main text as there is no evidence of the text ever having been delivered in the form of an oration.

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

## 5. Sigla

**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** = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien. (Fontes rerum austriacarum; 61-62, 67-68) / II, pp. 237-262 = Kremsmünster / Stiftsbibliothek / 143

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {163r}<sup>1</sup> Cupere<sup>2</sup> te, princeps serenissime, quae nostra in legatione sunt gesta, referri<sup>3</sup> tibi vel cernimus vel opinamur. Magna namque, dum Romae fuimus, contigerunt<sup>4</sup>, cum et summum pontificem sepeliri unum<sup>5</sup> viderimus et<sup>6</sup> alterum coronari. Innata est altis animis plurima<sup>7</sup> sciendi cupido<sup>8</sup>. Animum<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>10</sup>, velle noscere non ambigimus.

[2] {163v} Gesturi<sup>11</sup> ergo tuo morem<sup>12</sup> desiderio<sup>13</sup> relationem nostram quadrifariam dividemus<sup>14</sup>, et quid<sup>15</sup> in quavis parte acciderit<sup>16</sup>, quam brevissime absolvemus. Prima pars exponet iter nostrum de Vienna usque<sup>17</sup> Romam. Secunda reserabit<sup>18</sup>, quae acta sunt ab introitu nostro usque ad declarationem. Tertia dicet, quae post declarationem usque ad obitum Eugenii et successoris electionem contigerunt<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup>. Quarta et ultima pars electionem novi pontificis coronationem<sup>21</sup> et expeditionem ac reditum nostrum ante oculos ponet, inque<sup>22</sup> his tota nostra consumetur<sup>23</sup> oratio studiebimusque, ne prolixitate taedium generemus.<sup>24</sup> Nec enim delicata ingenia multis verbis tenenda sunt. Sententias graves, non verba longa nobilis<sup>25</sup> animus<sup>26</sup> exproscit, cui – ut non simus molesti – narrationis jam facimus initium<sup>27</sup> <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Sylvii 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 Sylvii Piccolominei Federici Romanorum regis secretarii ad ipsum regem relatio **M, V**; De sepultura summi pontificis et coronatio alterius Romae. Caspar Slick imperialis cancellarius Frederico regi Romanorum **S**; *no title* **K**

<sup>2</sup> cupientem **K**

<sup>3</sup> referre **H, I, WO**

<sup>4</sup> contingerunt **M, V**

<sup>5</sup> sepeliri unum : unum sepeliri **S**

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* **H, I, M, V, BA**

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* **H, I, M, V, BA**

<sup>8</sup> cupiditas **M, V**

<sup>9</sup> animam **S**

<sup>10</sup> quo pacto ... audivimus *omit.* **M**

<sup>11</sup> gestum **H, I**; geram **M, V**; gerentes **BA**

<sup>12</sup> tuo morem : morem tuo **H, I, M, V, BA**

<sup>13</sup> et *add.* **M, V**

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* **H, I, M, V, BA**

<sup>15</sup> quicquid **M, V**

<sup>16</sup> accidit **S**

<sup>17</sup> ad **S**

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* **M**

<sup>19</sup> contingerunt **H, M, V**

<sup>20</sup> successoris electionem contigerunt : electionem contigerunt successoris **S**

<sup>21</sup> coronationem **S**

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* **S**

<sup>23</sup> consuetur **WO**

<sup>24</sup> inque his ... generemus *omit.* **H, I, M, V, BA**

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* **WO**

<sup>26</sup> nobilis animus : animus nobilis **I**

<sup>27</sup> principium **H, I, M, V, BA**

[3] Cum abs te recessimus, invictissime princeps, {164r} sexta et decima Novembris dies<sup>2</sup> currebat<sup>3</sup> anni dominici MCCCCXLVI<sup>4</sup>. Aspera hiems fuit, nives omnia contexerant. Hungari per Austriam debacchabantur<sup>5</sup>, nam<sup>6</sup> fide fracta contra jus fasque armati Austriam invaserant.

## 0. Introduction

[1] Most Serene Prince,<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>8</sup> buried and another<sup>9</sup> 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. 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 all. The Hungarians were marauding in Austria, for - breaking their word - they had against justice and right invaded and attacked Austria.

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<sup>1</sup> Narrationis pars prima *add. in marg.* H

<sup>2</sup> Novembris dies : dies Novembris H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> Novembris currebat : currebat Novembris I

<sup>4</sup> 1456 M; millesimi quadringentesimi quadragessii sexti BA

<sup>5</sup> debacchabant H, I, M,

<sup>6</sup> *Here begins a lacuna which ends before the words* Philippus Maria *in sect. 4* M, V

<sup>7</sup> 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

<sup>8</sup> Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Cardinal 1408, pope 1431 to his death

<sup>9</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Bishop of Bologna 1444, cardinal 1446, pope from 1447 to his death

[3] Non licuit rectam nos viam facere. Montes imos<sup>1</sup> pertransivimus et<sup>2</sup> inhospitas gentes<sup>3</sup> pervenimus Pruchamque<sup>4</sup>, communi<sup>5</sup> posthac<sup>6</sup> via Venetias<sup>7</sup> venimus. Illic fuerat Vincentius Hungarus, Johannis vaivodae nuntius, qui Venetos<sup>8</sup> adiverat, tuam majestatem<sup>9</sup> accusaverat, suum dominum commendaverat. Accessimus et nos senatum illum Venetum. Exposuimus statum causae, quae inter te Hungarosque<sup>10</sup> versabatur<sup>11</sup>, nixique<sup>12</sup> sumus tuam innocentiam et Hungarorum injurias patefacere. Nihil tamen timere te<sup>13</sup> ostendimus, sed parvipendere illorum vim. Sic enim factum opus esse {164v} censuimus<sup>14</sup>. His<sup>15</sup> enim, quos scimus non esse amicos vel<sup>16</sup> quos suspectos habemus, non debemus miseros nos esse ostendere, ne nostro laetentur<sup>17</sup> 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<sup>18</sup>, quin regia majestas res illas cum suo honore terminaret<sup>19</sup>. Retulit quoque Philippum Mariam multis insidiis contra se uti, ob quas<sup>20</sup> causas<sup>21</sup> coactum fuisset<sup>22</sup> dominium arma capere ac<sup>23</sup> suam tueri libertatem, retulitque victoriam in agro Cremonensi partam<sup>24</sup>. Cum de cancellario fecissemus verbum<sup>25</sup> suumque debitum peteremus, subrisit dixitque satis persolutum<sup>26</sup> esse pergamenum ceramque septem millibus florenorum, nec replicantes aliud obtinere potuimus<sup>27</sup>. Sic enim comparata est {165r} humana natura, ut apud omnes peraeque<sup>28</sup> gentes nihil difficilius impetrandum<sup>29</sup> sit<sup>30</sup> quam pecunia. Hinc vulgo dici solet secundum sanguinem esse pecuniam.

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<sup>1</sup> invios S, K

<sup>2</sup> per *add.* BA

<sup>3</sup> Tellas *add.* H, I, BA; Zellas *add.* S

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>5</sup> communique K

<sup>6</sup> post haec BA; que *add.* S

<sup>7</sup> Venetiam H, I

<sup>8</sup> Venecias S

<sup>9</sup> vim H, I, BA

<sup>10</sup> Hungarosque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> vertebatur BA

<sup>12</sup> visique H, I, BA

<sup>13</sup> timere te : te timere S

<sup>14</sup> consulimus S

<sup>15</sup> iis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> sed I

<sup>17</sup> locentur S

<sup>18</sup> sic H, I, K, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> nec dubitare ... terminaret *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>20</sup> quam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> causam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> fuisse H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>24</sup> peractam H, I

<sup>25</sup> mentionem I, BA

<sup>26</sup> solutum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> valuimus S

<sup>28</sup> plerasque I, BA

<sup>29</sup> impetratum WO

<sup>30</sup> impetrandum sit : sit impetratum S





[3] Therefore we could not take the direct route, but passing over tall mountains and through inhospitable lands<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> had already been there. He had come to Venice, made accusations against Your Majesty,<sup>3</sup> and praised his own lord. We, too, had an audience with the Venetian senate.<sup>4</sup> We explained the situation between you and the Hungarians, endeavouring to make evident your innocence and the Hungarian abuses. 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 weak to those whom we know not to be friends or who are suspect to us lest they rejoice in our misfortune and attack us instead of believing us to be confident and assured. So, this we showed amply. Therefore the Venetian doge,<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "gentes"

<sup>2</sup> János Hunyadi (1387 or 1407-1456): Fought valiantly and often successfully against the Turks. Governor of Hungary 1446

<sup>3</sup> See the introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Tritum est sermone*" (1447) [14]

<sup>4</sup> Late November or early December 1446

<sup>5</sup> Francesco Foscari (1373-1457): Doge of Venice from 1423 to 1457

<sup>6</sup> Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Chancellor Kaspar Schlick (1396-1449): imperial chancellor of emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II and Friedrich III

<sup>8</sup> Chancery documents were sometimes jokingly referred to as pieces of paper/parchment with wax (seals), cf.

Piccolomini's quodlibetal disputation at the University in Vienna 1445 "*Aderat nuper*" [9], sect. 25-27

<sup>9</sup> Piccolomini also mentioned this episode in the section on Francesco Foscari in his *De Viris Illustribus: The pact did not make Sigismund a friend of the Venetians, but they did receive the letters of investiture from Chancellor Kaspar Schlick, 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.<sup>1</sup> Philippus Maria<sup>2</sup>, dux Mediolani, unicam habuit filiam eamque minime legitimam. Hanc nubilem plenis annis Francisco Sfortiae<sup>3</sup> Vicecomiti nuptui<sup>4</sup> tradidit. Dotis nomine<sup>5</sup> millia promissa sunt. Hypothecata<sup>6</sup> ob eam causam Cremona est<sup>7</sup> et comiti tradita. Fiunt ibi nuptiae. Franciscus exinde in Marchiam proficiscitur uxoremque secum ducit. Bellum interea Eugenius illi<sup>8</sup> movet Marchiamque repetit. Juvat Eugenium rex Aragonum<sup>9</sup>, duxque<sup>10</sup> Venetorum<sup>11</sup> et Florentini Francisco assistunt. Impar est bello Franciscus, utque peius<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> illi<sup>14</sup> succedat, repetit<sup>15</sup> Philippus<sup>16</sup> {165v} Cremonam offertque dotem<sup>17</sup>. Sic enim conventum erat, ut pecunia tradita restitueretur civitas. Sed invalida sunt inter principes pacta: nihil servatur, nisi quod<sup>18</sup> necesse est vel<sup>19</sup> utile. Honestati locus raro<sup>20</sup> est. Non suadent Veneti Cremonam restitui, quae<sup>21</sup> frenum est duci Mediolani. Ipsi curam civitatis recipiunt, arx comiti<sup>22</sup> servatur. Philippus exercitum mittit, civitatem, quae jure<sup>23</sup> negatur, vi petit. Resistent Veneti mandantque duci, ut desistat. Is jus suum se vindicare<sup>24</sup> dicit nec fas esse Venetis<sup>25</sup> obviare. Illi contra allegant. At cum fortius oppugnatur<sup>26</sup> Cremona, irruunt Veneti in exercitum Philippi atque ex improvise conflagunt. Magnam cladem exercitus Philippi peressus est. Inde progressi<sup>27</sup> Veneti Abdum {166r} usque grassati<sup>28</sup> sunt ibique arcem in altera ripa obtinuerunt potitque omnium molendinorum sunt usque<sup>29</sup> Mediolanum<sup>30</sup> ad tertium lapidem.

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<sup>1</sup> *Here ends the lacuna which started after the words dabacchabantur. Nam in sect. 3 M, V*

<sup>2</sup> *Viccomes add. M, V*

<sup>3</sup> *Fortie K*

<sup>4</sup> *nuptum BA, WO \**

<sup>5</sup> *multa add. I; lx add. S; ... add. WO*

<sup>6</sup> *hypotheca H, I, S; hipothecam M; hypothecam V*

<sup>7</sup> *fuit M*

<sup>8</sup> *Eugenius illi : illi Eugenius H, I, M, V, BA*

<sup>9</sup> *Alphonsus add. I, BA*

<sup>10</sup> *dux M, V*

<sup>11</sup> *Veneti H, K, S; Venetus M*

<sup>12</sup> *prius H, I, M, V, BA, WO*

<sup>13</sup> *Philippo add. M, V*

<sup>14</sup> *omit. M*

<sup>15</sup> *reperit V*

<sup>16</sup> *omit. H, I, M, V, BA*

<sup>17</sup> *Philippus add. I, BA*

<sup>18</sup> *vel add. S*

<sup>19</sup> *et M, V*

<sup>20</sup> *locus raro : raro locus M, V*

<sup>21</sup> *qua I*

<sup>22</sup> *arx comiti : comiti arx K, S*

<sup>23</sup> *civitatem quae jure : civitatemque intrare M, V*

<sup>24</sup> *se vindicare : vindicare se H, I, M, V, BA*

<sup>25</sup> *illi add. M, V*

<sup>26</sup> *impugnatur S*

<sup>27</sup> *profecti K; propecti S*

<sup>28</sup> *castrati S*

<sup>29</sup> *ad add. S*

<sup>30</sup> *usque Mediolanum : Mediolanum usque M*

Tanto afflictus malo Philippus ex<sup>1</sup> pontifice maximo et<sup>2</sup> rege Aragonum, qui regno Siciliae potitur, auxilia petit. Equitum illi quattuor millia<sup>3</sup>, peditum tria millia<sup>4</sup> mittunt.

[5] Nosque<sup>5</sup> jam ex Venetiis Ferrariam veneramus, cumque Bononiam proficisci vellemus, transire<sup>6</sup> illos per agrum<sup>7</sup> Bononiensem<sup>8</sup> accepimus<sup>9</sup> insecuremque omne iter reddere. Qui militiae operam dant, neque ignotis neque notis<sup>10</sup> ignoscunt. Praeda est, quidquid obviat<sup>11</sup>. Nil<sup>12</sup> verentur<sup>13</sup> nisi fortiorem gladium. Obvertimus igitur viam<sup>14</sup> Faventiamque petimus.

## 1.2. Affair of Cremona

[4] In this context, it is relevant, I believe, to relate the affair of Cremona. Duke Filippo Maria of Milan had only one child, an illegitimate daughter.<sup>15</sup> When she reached marriageable age, he engaged her to Francesco Sforza Visconti.<sup>16</sup> A dowry of thousands was promised, and Cremona was pledged as collateral and given to the count. The wedding took place there.<sup>17</sup> Then Francesco marched into the Marche<sup>18</sup>, bringing his wife with him. Meanwhile, Eugenius<sup>19</sup> sent an army against him to retake the Marche. Eugenius was supported by the King of Aragon<sup>20</sup>, 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 keeps the Duke of Milan in check. 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

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<sup>1</sup> a M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* H, I

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* K, S

<sup>4</sup> peditum tria millia *omit.* I

<sup>5</sup> nos S

<sup>6</sup> transisse K \*

<sup>7</sup> agros S

<sup>8</sup> Bononienses S

<sup>9</sup> accipimus K

<sup>10</sup> ignotis neque notis : notis neque ignotis H, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> objicitur M, V

<sup>12</sup> nihil H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> feritur S; morantur BA

<sup>14</sup> igitur viam : iter I

<sup>15</sup> 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

<sup>16</sup> Francesco Sforza (1401-1466): Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

<sup>17</sup> Nine years afterwards: Piccolomini's account is greatly abbreviated!

<sup>18</sup> Part of the Papal States

<sup>19</sup> The pope

<sup>20</sup> Alfonso V (Trastámara) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416 and of Naples from 1442 to his death

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.

### **1.3. 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.

[5] Nec sic tuti fuisset, nisi petiturus Romam Estensis marchionis cancellarius se<sup>1</sup> nobis adjunxisset. {166v} Obvii enim<sup>2</sup> in silvis Lucae<sup>3</sup> quamplures<sup>4</sup> fuere, qui exercitum sequebantur impeditamenta<sup>5</sup> per viam securiorem ducebant. Sed venimus Florentiam, posthabita Faventia<sup>6</sup>, Senasque<sup>7</sup> profecti<sup>8</sup> sumus, ibique – sicut decretum Francfordiae fuit<sup>8</sup> – principum electorum et aliorum nuntios expectavimus. Infra octendium affuerunt Maguntini, Palatini, Saxones<sup>9</sup>, Brandeburgenses<sup>10</sup> Bremensesque<sup>11</sup> et<sup>12</sup> quamplurimi<sup>13</sup> aliorum tum principum tum praelatorum mandatum habentes<sup>14</sup>. Ibi<sup>15</sup> conventum est, qua die Romam intrare deceret et<sup>16</sup> orationem fieri per Aeneam nomine omnium, quae<sup>17</sup> post<sup>18</sup> Romae fieri<sup>19</sup> deberet. Nemo enim facile<sup>20</sup> alium<sup>21</sup> pro<sup>22</sup> se loqui sinit, nisi, quae dicenda sunt, sciat<sup>23</sup>.

[6] Convenimus omnes apud Baccanum turrim<sup>24</sup>. Locus sine muro est, {167r} nullibi<sup>25</sup> major murium<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> copia<sup>28</sup> est, nec frigus illic neque calor evitari potest<sup>29</sup>. Pauca sunt mappalia eaque hospitia<sup>30</sup> faciunt Teutonici. Hoc hominum genus<sup>31</sup> totam fere Italiam hospitem facit. Ubi non repereris<sup>32</sup> hosce homines<sup>33</sup>, neque diversorium quaeras. Ex hoc loco simul<sup>34</sup> accepimus iter<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> sese S; sic *add.* K

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>3</sup> Luci I, K, S

<sup>4</sup> complur... *et passim* K, S

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

<sup>6</sup> Senas I

<sup>7</sup> proecti S

<sup>8</sup> Francfordiae fuit : fuit Francfordie H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> Saxoni H, I, M, V, BA; Saxonie WO

<sup>10</sup> Brandeburgensis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> Bremensisque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* K, S

<sup>13</sup> plurium K; qui plurimi S

<sup>14</sup> habebant H, I, K, S

<sup>15</sup> ibique M, V

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>17</sup> qua I; qui WO

<sup>18</sup> prius K, S

<sup>19</sup> videri K, S

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> aliamque M

<sup>22</sup> per H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> sciverit H, I, M, BA; scivit K

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* K, S

<sup>25</sup> nulli H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>26</sup> murum K \*, S

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* BA

<sup>28</sup> murium copia : inopia WO

<sup>29</sup> nec frigus ... potest *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>30</sup> hospitia K; hospita S; hospitiiis WO

<sup>31</sup> hominum genus : genus hominum S

<sup>32</sup> reperis K

<sup>33</sup> hosce homines : hos H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>34</sup> *em.*; similiter codd.

<sup>35</sup> accepimus iter : iter accepimus K

Sexaginta equites numero fuimus. Intellexeramus jam antea Thomam, episcopum Bononiensem, et Johannem<sup>1</sup> de Carvajal<sup>2</sup>, 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<sup>3</sup> nuntii, qui sistere nos gradum jubent, nec<sup>4</sup> inhonoratos intrare nos<sup>5</sup> sinunt. Magna est apud Italos legatorum<sup>6</sup> reverentia. Sciunt evangelicum {167v} dictum: *Qui vos recipit, me recipit*. Non missus, sed mittens penditur<sup>7</sup>. Ad horam et amplius expectavimus. Jussi<sup>8</sup> sunt omnes curiales obviam proficisci.

[5] Even then, we should not have been safe if we had not been joined by the chancellor of the Marquess of Este,<sup>9</sup> 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,<sup>10</sup> 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, Enea 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.

[6] We all met [again] at Torre Baccano.<sup>11</sup> The place has no walls (muro), but nowhere you can find more mice (murium), and you can avoid neither cold nor heat!<sup>12</sup> 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,<sup>13</sup> and Juan de Carvajal, Bishop-elect of Piacenza,<sup>14</sup> 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].

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<sup>1</sup> omit. M

<sup>2</sup> Carvagial H, I, V, BA; Caravagial M

<sup>3</sup> omit. S

<sup>4</sup> neque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> intrare nos : nos intrare S

<sup>6</sup> omit. M

<sup>7</sup> pendere H, I; attenditur M, V; pandere BA

<sup>8</sup> visi I

<sup>9</sup> Leonello d'Este (1407-1450): Marquess of Ferrara from 1441 to his death

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Sesselmann (ca. 1410-1483): Chancellor in Brandenburg 1445, later (in 1455) Bishop of Lebus (cf. Voigt, II, p. 381)

<sup>11</sup> A locality about one day's travel from Rome, on the then road from Siena/Viterbo to Rome

<sup>12</sup> NB: Witticism, a wordplay on murus (wall) and mus (mouse)

<sup>13</sup> Tommaso Parentucelli

<sup>14</sup> Juan de Carvajal (ca. 1400-1469): Cardinal 1446

#### **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.



[7] Effusa<sup>1</sup> est ad spectaculum<sup>2</sup> maxima<sup>3</sup> civium et<sup>4</sup> curialium multitudo. A cardinalibus<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> Senensium, quorum devotio erga imperium testimonio non indiget<sup>7</sup>: soli<sup>8</sup> ex omnibus Italis per viam<sup>9</sup> nos<sup>10</sup> honorarunt esculentis et poculentis ad hospitium ubertim<sup>11</sup> missis. Ac<sup>12</sup> sic primae<sup>13</sup> parti modum<sup>14</sup> imponimus. Non minores res pars secunda pollicetur neque indigniores cognitu<sup>15 16</sup>.

[8] {168r} Vix equis<sup>17</sup> descenderamus, cum<sup>18</sup> affuit et<sup>19</sup> Franciscus, episcopus Ferrariensis, thesaurarius apostolicus, pluribus episcopis comitatus, qui nomine summi pontificis nos recepit<sup>20</sup> obtulitque multa<sup>22</sup>, quamvis nihil attulit<sup>23</sup>. Hortatus est, tractabiles ut<sup>24</sup> essemus, nam bene dirigi omnia possent. Huic gratias egit Aeneas nomine omnium<sup>25</sup>, nam ei plerumque dicendi onus<sup>26</sup> incumberebat, dixitque regiam majestatem nihil petere nisi honesta atque utilia, nec diversam esse principum electorum sententiam, in oratoribus quoque non fore difficultatem. Contra enim hortatus est benignum ut se papa praeberet, unicuique<sup>27</sup> facilem. Nec multa fuerunt verba. Jejuni enim<sup>28</sup> adhuc eramus, et dies in noctem iverat. Famelicum, non<sup>29</sup> plenum oratorem audire {168v} velim<sup>30</sup>, sententiosus enim, non verbosus est, qui cibi<sup>31</sup> cupidus esurire se post orationem novit. Ea

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<sup>1</sup> offerta M, V

<sup>2</sup> spectandum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> cum *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> tum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> missa *add.* I

<sup>6</sup> Senenses K

<sup>7</sup> testimonio non indiget : non indiget testimonio H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>8</sup> enim *add.* I, BA

<sup>9</sup> per viam *omit.* M, V

<sup>10</sup> per viam nos : nos per viam S

<sup>11</sup> nostrum I

<sup>12</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> orationis nostrae *add.* I

<sup>14</sup> finem I

<sup>15</sup> non minores ... *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> secunda pars *add.* I

<sup>17</sup> equos K, S; equo WO

<sup>18</sup> tum K

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* I, S

<sup>20</sup> suscepit S

<sup>21</sup> nos recepit : recepit nos M, V

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>23</sup> attulerit BA

<sup>24</sup> tractabiles ut : ut tractabiles M

<sup>25</sup> Aeneas nomine omnium : nomine omnium Aenas H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>26</sup> dicendi onus : onus dicendi M

<sup>27</sup> et *add.* BA

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> quin S; quoque WO

<sup>30</sup> vellem BA

<sup>31</sup> tibi S

nocte cardinalis Bononiensis aprum nobis, perdices, fasianos vinumque optimum dono misit<sup>1 2</sup>, procurator Prutenorum<sup>3</sup> confectiones<sup>4</sup>, ceram<sup>5</sup> et vinum.

[9] Post haec convenimus altera die apud sanctum Laurentium in Damaso. Tria ibi discussa sunt. Visa est oratio, quam Aeneas conceperat. Ea omnibus<sup>6</sup> placuit, neque quidquam ex ea mutatum est, ni<sup>7</sup> quod ubi neutralitatis mentio fiebat, animorum dici suspensionem magis placuit.

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<sup>1</sup> mittit I

<sup>2</sup> dono misit : misit dono H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> Pincernarum H, BA; Picenorum M, V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>5</sup> etiam S

<sup>6</sup> ea omnibus : omnibus ea V

<sup>7</sup> nisi H, I, M, V, BA

[7] 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.<sup>1</sup> The Sienese were actually the only ones of all the Italians to honour us on the road by sending abundant food and drink to our lodgings.

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

## 2. Negotiations with the papal court

### 2.1. Welcome by the pope's representative

[8] We had just dismounted when Bishop Francesco of Ferrara,<sup>2</sup> the 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. Enea, 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, that the prince-electors wanted 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<sup>3</sup> 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.

### 2.2. Preparations for the papal audience

[9] The next day, we met at San Lorenzo in Damaso.<sup>4</sup> There, we discussed three matters: [Firstly,] the oration which Enea had drafted was reviewed. It pleased everybody, and no changes were made except that they decided to use the term "suspension of minds"<sup>5</sup> instead of "neutrality".

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<sup>1</sup> Says the emperor's Sienese official!

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Legnamine [da Padova] (1400-1462): Bishop of Ferrara 1446-1460

<sup>3</sup> Tommaso Parentucelli

<sup>4</sup> San Lorenzo in Damaso: Parish and titular (cardinal's) church in central Rome

<sup>5</sup> "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

[9] 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<sup>1</sup> plenae, atque ubi majora sunt ingenia, ibi plus invenias simultatis<sup>2</sup>. Conclusum est etiam<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>, cum adeundus esset pontifex maximus, metropolitanorum oratores accersiri. In ea re dubium erat: nec enim auditurus Eugenius oratores Magdeburgensis<sup>5</sup> et Bremensis archiepiscoporum credebatur, qui Basileae fuerant confirmati. Sed accepto consilio ex<sup>6</sup> cardinali<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>8</sup>. Saepe<sup>9</sup> impegit caput, qui erecta cervice quodcumque<sup>10</sup> {169v} ostium ingredi voluit.

[10] Ubi dicta est audientiae dies, jussi sumus<sup>11</sup> apud sanctum Petrum convenire<sup>12</sup> missarumque interesse solemnibus. Illuc missi sunt ad nos<sup>13</sup> Beneventanus archiepiscopus<sup>14</sup>, Ferrariensis antistes pluresque alii, qui nos ad secretum consistorium eduxerunt<sup>15</sup>. Eugenius in solio sedebat, gravis atque<sup>16</sup> omni veneratione dignissimus pater. Circa eum<sup>17</sup> XV cardinales consedebant, ibi<sup>18</sup> 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<sup>19</sup> Coloniensisque<sup>20</sup> archiepiscoporum desideria complecteretur, et tamen neque papam neque cardinales offenderet, sed volupe<sup>21</sup> ab omnibus audiretur. {170r} Ejus orationis quamplurimi postea copiam petivere<sup>22</sup>, non tam<sup>23</sup> propter ornatum quam propter materiam, quam omnes nosse<sup>24</sup> ajebant. Ubi Aeneas dicendi finem fecit, laudavit Eugenius dicta<sup>25</sup>, damnavit neutralitatem, commendavit regem

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<sup>1</sup> insidiarum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> simulationis M

<sup>3</sup> est etiam : etiam est K, S

<sup>4</sup> conclusum est etiam : etiam est conclusum WO

<sup>5</sup> Brandenburgensis H, I, V, MA; Brandemburgenses M

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* M; a BA

<sup>7</sup> cardinale BA

<sup>8</sup> et res M, V

<sup>9</sup> ille *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> quocumque M, V

<sup>11</sup> jussi sumus : jussimus S

<sup>12</sup> conuencio V

<sup>13</sup> sunt ad nos : ad nos sunt K

<sup>14</sup> episcopus M

<sup>15</sup> adduxerunt M, BA

<sup>16</sup> ac H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* K

<sup>18</sup> ibique H, I, BA

<sup>19</sup> Treverensium M

<sup>20</sup> Coloniensis H, V; Coloniensium M; et Coloniensis I, BA

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> petierunt H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> tamen M

<sup>24</sup> omnes nosse : nosse omnes K

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

electoresque<sup>1</sup>. De Treverensi Coloniensique admodum quaestus est suumque factum defendit conclusitque in re principali cum fratribus deliberandum.

[11] Post haec, cum<sup>2</sup> peteret Aeneas in factis Hungarorum aliam audientiam, libenti animo annuit litterasque Johannis vaivodae, quae prae manibus erant imperatoriamque majestatem<sup>3</sup> criminabantur, ut melius responderi posset, Aeneae tradi jussit.

[9] [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 greater the rivalry. [Thirdly,] we 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<sup>4</sup> and Bremen<sup>5</sup>, who had been confirmed in Basel.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, on the advice of the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,<sup>7</sup> 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 has someone struck his head when he wanted to go through a door with his head held high<sup>8</sup>.

### 2.3. First papal audience

[10] On the day appointed for the audience, we were asked to meet at Saint Peter's and attend a solemn mass. The Archbishop of Benevento,<sup>9</sup> 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, Enea – as decided – held an oration, which is available. In it, he included the requirements of the archbishops of Trier<sup>10</sup> and Cologne<sup>11</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> quatuor *add.* H, K \*; quorum scilicet *add.* M, V

<sup>2</sup> dum M

<sup>3</sup> potestatem S

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich III von Beichlingen (1427-1463): Archbishop of Magdeburg from 1445 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard von Hoya (-1463): Archbishop of Bremen from 1442 to his death

<sup>6</sup> i.e., by the schismatic Council of Basel

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Carvajal

<sup>8</sup> "erecta cervice": with raised/stiff neck

<sup>9</sup> Astorgio Agnesi (-1451): Archbishop of Benevento from 1436 to his death. Cardinal in 1448

<sup>10</sup> Jakob von Sierck (1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-elector from 1439 to his death

<sup>11</sup> Dietrich II von Mörs (ca. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death.

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, Enea 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 Enea so that it could be answered better.

[11] Erat ille pontifex mirum in modum<sup>1</sup> {170v} regiae serenitati<sup>2</sup> affectus nec timuit quemquam, dum amicum juvare voluit. Alti cordis fuit et amicitiae<sup>3</sup> tenacissimae<sup>4</sup>. Felix, quem semel dilexit, malum, nisi vidit, numquam illi<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> imputavit<sup>7</sup>. Nulla res illum magis<sup>8</sup> elusit<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>, nisi quia nimis<sup>11</sup> se credit. Diligere amicos non ut deos, sed ut homines decet.

[12] His<sup>12</sup> actis, dira febris adorsa<sup>13</sup> est papam diuque hominem torsit. De sanitate<sup>14</sup> nunc desperatio, nunc spes fuit. Accessimus tamen<sup>15</sup> eum jacentem, et<sup>16</sup> excusavimus majestatem regiam<sup>17</sup>, quia non antea se declarasset. Retulimus difficultates, quae Francfordiae fuerunt. Supplicavimus admitti petitiones, quae in communi fiebant. Recommendavimus Coloniensis<sup>18</sup> germanique sui causam. Questi sumus super<sup>19</sup> his, quae {171r} Jauriensis faciebat<sup>20</sup>. Pecunias, quae dicebantur<sup>21</sup> esse apud Prutenos<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>, uti commissum erat<sup>1</sup>, petivimus, in scriptisque<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> in modum *omit.* M

<sup>2</sup> majestati H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> amicorum S

<sup>4</sup> tenacissimi K, S

<sup>5</sup> ille BA

<sup>6</sup> numquam illi : illi numquam S

<sup>7</sup> putavit H, BA

<sup>8</sup> illum magis : magis illum BA

<sup>9</sup> illexit H, BA

<sup>10</sup> malum nisi ... elusit *omit.* I, M, V

<sup>11</sup> minus H, M, V, BA

<sup>12</sup> ipsis K \*

<sup>13</sup> adita M, V

<sup>14</sup> de sanitate *omit.* M, V

<sup>15</sup> ad *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* K \*, S

<sup>17</sup> majestatem regiam : regiam majestatem S

<sup>18</sup> Coloniensem H, I, M, S, V

<sup>19</sup> de H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>20</sup> Jauriensis faciebat : Januenses faciebant H, I, M, V; Jaurinenses faciebant S; per Januenses fiebant BA

<sup>21</sup> dicebant I

<sup>22</sup> Picanos H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> quae dicebantur ... Prutenos *omit.* V

petitiones porreximus. Humaniter, ut solebat, papa respondit, accepisse se ex Bononiensi ac sancti angeli cardinalibus sinceram regiae majestatis intentionem. Dixit<sup>3</sup> super re principali sex cardinales deputatos esse, in aliisque<sup>4</sup> deliberaturum se ait, atque ut respondit<sup>5</sup>, tuae serenitati rescripsimus. Et quamvis febris urgebatur, vultum tamen laetum quamvis gravem nobis ostendit.

[13] Post audientiam mox conviviis<sup>6</sup> apertum est ostium, quae subiceremus, nisi quia meminisse illorum<sup>7</sup> oportet, qui nos ob reverentiam majestatis imperatoriae<sup>8</sup> honorarunt. Primus omnium invitavit nos<sup>9</sup> magister palatii Johannes Kalteisen<sup>10</sup>, {171v} vir bonus doctusque. Tum patriarcha Aquilegiensis, atque is ter<sup>11</sup> nos honorificentissime pavit, seseque<sup>12</sup> ultra omnes<sup>13</sup> regiae majestati<sup>14</sup> obtulit. Huic<sup>15</sup> fecimus de patriarchatu mentionem: excusavimus praeterita, futura limitavimus. Placuerunt omnia viro magnanimo.

[11] This pontiff was amazingly well disposed towards to Your Royal Highness, and he was utterly fearless when he wanted to help a friend. He had a lofty mind and was most tenacious in friendship. Lucky the man Eugenius once 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.

[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 [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<sup>16</sup> and his brother.<sup>17</sup> We complained about the doings of the Bishop of Raab.<sup>18</sup> As instructed, we requested the money said to be with the Prussians and presented a number of petitions in writing. As was his way, the pope

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<sup>1</sup> est I

<sup>2</sup> scriptis atque S

<sup>3</sup> dixitque M, V

<sup>4</sup> aliis K \*, S

<sup>5</sup> respondet I; respondi S

<sup>6</sup> mox conviviis *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA [NB: clearly omitted by error – see following quae]

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

<sup>8</sup> majestatis imperatoriae : imperatoriae majestatis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* H, M, V

<sup>10</sup> magister palatii Johannes Kalteisen : Johannes Calterensis magister palatii H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> is ter : inter H, M, V; iste BA

<sup>12</sup> seque WO

<sup>13</sup> suas vires *add.* M, V

<sup>14</sup> regiae majestati : majestati regie S

<sup>15</sup> hinc BA

<sup>16</sup> Dietrich II von Mörs

<sup>17</sup> Walram von Mörs (ca. 1393-1456): in 1434 elected bishop of Utrecht but could not get possession of the diocese. 1450 elected Bishop of Münster

<sup>18</sup> Ágoston Salánki (d. 1466): Bishop of Raab (Győr) in Hungary from 1445 to his death

responded kindly, saying that the cardinals of Bologna and Sant'Angelo had told 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.

## 2.5. Dinner parties

[13] After the audience, the gate to banquets was immediately thrown open. 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<sup>1</sup> Kalteisen<sup>2</sup>, a good and learned man. The Patriarch of Aquileia<sup>3</sup> 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 magnanimous man.

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<sup>1</sup> Error for Heinrich

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Kalteisen (ca. 1390-1464): at the time, an official at the court of Pope Eugenius, later appointed Archbishop of Bergen (Norway)

<sup>3</sup> Ludovico Scarampo [Trevisan] (1401-1465): Patriarch of Aquileia 1439, cardinal 1440



[13] At<sup>1</sup> cum accepissemus<sup>2</sup> Petinensem<sup>3</sup> episcopum administratorem patriarchatus per Basilienses<sup>4</sup> deputatum ac per regiam majestatem admissum, ulterius loqui veriti sumus, ne mendaces inveniremur. Mentiri namque vel in maximis creduntur, quorum non est rata<sup>5</sup> fides in parvis. Morinensis quoque nobis saepissime<sup>6</sup> convivia<sup>7 8</sup> exhibuit. Bononiensis<sup>9</sup> quasi commensales nos habuit. Cardinalis sancti angeli numquam nos<sup>10</sup> esse<sup>11</sup> domi permisit. Mediolanensis {172r} non contentus muneribus missis etiam cenam apparare voluit. Andegavensis splendide<sup>12</sup> nos excepit nec minus cardinalis sanctae Mariae novae, Firmanus ac<sup>13</sup> Columnensis<sup>14</sup>. Sancti Sixti solos regios invitavit, Tarentinus omnes, sed Brandenburgensem oratorem obtinere nequivit<sup>15 16</sup>. Procurator quoque Teutonicorum nobis convivium struxit, saepius vero Ravennatensis antistes. Portugallensis cardinalis<sup>17</sup> invitavit nos. Sed jam fastidia<sup>18</sup> tanta<sup>19</sup> conviviorum frequentia<sup>20</sup> respicimus<sup>21</sup>. Vicecancellarius excusavit se, quia propter infirmitatem patrum minime convivari<sup>22</sup> decebat. Nobis vero multo gratiores erant excusationes quam convivia. *Voluptates enim rarior usus commendat*. Tunc sapiunt fercula, cum rara sunt. {172v} Convivium magis fames<sup>23</sup> quam copia laudat. Caret usu<sup>24</sup> convivii, qui saepius convivatur.

[14] In adventu nostro duae cardinalium factiones erant. Rem nostram juvabant<sup>25</sup> cardinalis Aquilegiensis, Morinensis, Andegavensis, sanctae Mariae novae<sup>26</sup>, Firmanus, Mediolanensis, sancti Pauli, Bononiensis<sup>27</sup>, sancti Angeli. Ceteri fere impugnabant omnes<sup>28</sup> dicebantque venditam<sup>29</sup> esse

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<sup>1</sup> ac M, V

<sup>2</sup> cepissemus S

<sup>3</sup> Portuensem K; Vetinensem S; Portunanensem WO

<sup>4</sup> Basiliensem H, I; Basileam M, V

<sup>5</sup> non est rara H, I; est rara M, V

<sup>6</sup> nobis saepissime : sepiissime nos S; saepissime nobis WO

<sup>7</sup> convivas S

<sup>8</sup> nobis saepissime convivia : saepissime convivia nobis K \*

<sup>9</sup> quoque *add.* M

<sup>10</sup> numquam nos : nos numquam S

<sup>11</sup> nos esse : esse nos K

<sup>12</sup> strenue H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* I, V; ac S

<sup>14</sup> et *add.* I

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* H; non potuit M, V

<sup>16</sup> sed Brandenburgensem ... nequivit : Brandenburgensi oratore excepto I, BA

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>18</sup> fastidio H, I; fastidire M, V; fastidititi S; fastidios BA

<sup>19</sup> tantam M, V

<sup>20</sup> frequentiam M, V

<sup>21</sup> respicimus M, V

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* M; convivare V

<sup>23</sup> famesque V

<sup>24</sup> usus S

<sup>25</sup> iuvabat H, M, V

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>27</sup> et *add.* I, M, V, BA

<sup>28</sup> impugnabant omnes : omnes impugnabant I, M, BA

<sup>29</sup> vendicatem S

Teutonicis<sup>1</sup> apostolicam sedem seque quasi bubalos<sup>2</sup> duci<sup>3</sup> naribus. Ea res promotionem Bononiensis et<sup>4</sup> sancti angeli cardinalium<sup>5</sup> acceleravit, ut litterati litteratos contunderent<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> venditam esse Teutonicis : Theutonicos venditam esse M, V

<sup>2</sup> bubales K

<sup>3</sup> ducere M, V

<sup>4</sup> ac S

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>6</sup> contenderent S

[13] But when we heard that the Bishop of Pedena<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> invited us to dinner very often. The Cardinal of Bologna had us practically as his table-fellows. The Cardinal of Sant'Angelo<sup>3</sup> never let us remain at home. The Cardinal of Milan<sup>4</sup> was not content with sending gifts but also invited us to supper. The Cardinal of Angers<sup>5</sup> received us splendidly, and no less did the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova<sup>6</sup>, as well as the Cardinal of Fermo<sup>7</sup>, and Cardinal Colonna<sup>8</sup>. The Cardinal of San Sisto<sup>9</sup> only invited the royal [ambassadors], whereas the Cardinal of Taranto<sup>10</sup> invited all but could not get the ambassador of Brandenburg. The Procurator of the Teutonic Knights also arranged a dinner party for us, as often did the Bishop of Ravenna.<sup>11</sup> Also the Cardinal of Portugal<sup>12</sup> invited us. However, we got completely fed up with all these dinners. The Vicechancellor<sup>13</sup> 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*,<sup>14</sup> and dishes that are rare taste better. Hunger rather than abundance improves a dinner. The man who feasts often somehow lacks feasting.

## 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,<sup>15</sup> Fermo, Milan, San Paolo,<sup>16</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Pietro Giustinian: Bishop of Pedena from 1434 to 1457

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Jean Le Jeune (1411-1451): Bishop of Thérouanne 1436, cardinal 1439

<sup>3</sup> Juan de Carvajal

<sup>4</sup> Enrico II Rampini (ca. 1390-1450): Archbishop of Milan 1443, cardinal 1446

<sup>5</sup> Guillaume d'Estouteville (d. 1483): Abbot of Mont Saint-Michel 1444, elected Bishop of Angers 1439, cardinal 1439

<sup>6</sup> Pietro Barbo (1417-1471): Nephew of Pope Eugenius IV, cardinal 1440, elected pope 1464

<sup>7</sup> Domenico Capranica (1400-1458): appointed cardinal *in petto* 1426, recognised as cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1434. First employer of Piccolomini

<sup>8</sup> Prospero Colonna (ca. 1410-1463): appointed cardinal *in petto* by Pope Martin IV, formally announced in 1430

<sup>9</sup> Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468): Cardinal 1439

<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto 1421-1439, cardinal 1439

<sup>11</sup> Bartolomeo Rovarella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna 1445

<sup>12</sup> Antonio Martins de Chavesm (d. 1447): Bishop of Oporto 1423 to his death. Cardinal 1439

<sup>13</sup> Francesco Condulmer (1390-1453): Nephew of Eugenius IV. Cardinal 1439. Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church 1437-1453

<sup>14</sup> Juvenal: *Satirae*, 11, 205: *voluptates commendat rarior usus*

<sup>15</sup> Pietro Barbo

<sup>16</sup> Johannes de Primis (-1449): Cardinal 1446. Abbot of San Paolo fuori le Mura

[14] Hinc<sup>1</sup> cum res coram Eugenio tractaretur<sup>2</sup> factumque nostrum impugnaretur<sup>3</sup>, “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<sup>4</sup> est eo modo favorem<sup>5</sup> Eugenii. Ad tractandum tamen nobiscum utriusque factionis cardinales deputati sunt. Acuit saepe intellectum<sup>6</sup> contentio perspicacioremque<sup>7</sup> reddit. Sex lecti sunt cardinales, qui facta nostra discuterent: Tarentinus, Morinensis, sancti Sixti, Valentinus, Bononiensis, sancti angeli. Septimus vero<sup>8</sup> concordiae causa additus<sup>9</sup> est<sup>10</sup> Firmanus.

[15] Alphonsus eo tempore, rex Aragonum<sup>11</sup>, Tiburim<sup>12</sup> venerat Romaeque<sup>13</sup> ad quintum et decimum lapidem proximus erat. De suo adventu varii rumores erant. Quidam vocatum eum per patriarcham asserebant<sup>14</sup>, qui moriturum<sup>15</sup> sciens papam sub ejus {173v} alis salutem quaerebat. Alii velle<sup>16</sup> regem Aragonum ex suo arbitrio<sup>17</sup> novum creati<sup>18</sup> papam autumabant<sup>19</sup>. Plures eum<sup>20</sup> venisse<sup>21</sup> ajebant Florentinos invasurum ac<sup>22</sup> sic<sup>23</sup> Philippo Mediolanensi opem laturum<sup>24</sup>. Senenses certe in societatem<sup>25</sup> belli ciebat<sup>26</sup> transitumque petebat. Circa hunc occupatus erat cardinalis Valentinus nec nostris potuit interesse<sup>27</sup> tractatibus. Hujus regis secretarius Aeneam domi convenit ostenditque carum esse regi suo<sup>28</sup>, si ambo Tibur peteremus. Sed timuit Aeneas, ne<sup>29</sup> suspectum Eugenio<sup>30</sup> se<sup>31</sup> redderet, nec ire voluit ad quem missus non erat. Diligenter

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<sup>1</sup> hi M, V

<sup>2</sup> tractarent M, V

<sup>3</sup> impugnarentur M, V

<sup>4</sup> venatus K \*, S; renatusque BA

<sup>5</sup> favor BA

<sup>6</sup> ingenium H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>7</sup> perspicaciusque BA

<sup>8</sup> autem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> additus S

<sup>10</sup> omit. S

<sup>11</sup> rex Aragonum : Aragonum rex M

<sup>12</sup> Tybur I; Tiburtum S; Tiburtim K

<sup>13</sup> Romaque H, I

<sup>14</sup> ayebant S

<sup>15</sup> moriturus M

<sup>16</sup> vero H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> arbitratu M, V

<sup>18</sup> creare H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> putabant M

<sup>20</sup> omit. M

<sup>21</sup> enim add. M

<sup>22</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> si S

<sup>24</sup> latiturum S

<sup>25</sup> societate H

<sup>26</sup> ducebat H, I, M, V, BA; licebat WO

<sup>27</sup> potuit interesse : interesse potuit S

<sup>28</sup> omit. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> ut H, M, V

<sup>30</sup> Eugenium WO

<sup>31</sup> Eugenio se : se Eugenio S

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<sup>1</sup> sunt hominibus ac<sup>2</sup> jumentis<sup>3</sup> praeter aquam<sup>4</sup> cariora reddidit, quinnimo<sup>5</sup> etiam domorum<sup>6</sup> auxit pensiones, quamvis urbem non intravit<sup>7</sup>. Sic avaritiam quaevis occasio manifestat. Parva pruina<sup>8</sup> Wiennensium<sup>9</sup> cellaria claudit.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* H, K, S

<sup>2</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> necessaria sunt ... jumentis : sunt hominibus et jumentis necessaria M, V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>5</sup> qui in modo K

<sup>6</sup> etiam domorum : domorum etiam S

<sup>7</sup> intraret I; intraverit BA

<sup>8</sup> penuria I

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V

[14] Thus, when the matter was debated before Eugenius, and our actions were criticised [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 criticise 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<sup>1</sup>: Taranto,<sup>2</sup> Thérouanne, San Sisto,<sup>3</sup> Valencia,<sup>4</sup> Bologna and Sant'Angelo. Fermo was added as the seventh for the sake of concord.

## 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 15<sup>th</sup> milestone. There were various rumours about his coming. Some thought that he had been invited by the patriarch [of Aquileia],<sup>5</sup> since he knew that the pope was dying and sought 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 Enea in his lodgings and told him that the king would like us to come to Tivoli. But Enea feared making himself suspect to Eugenius, and he would not go to someone to whom he had not been sent. Indeed, 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 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.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "facta"

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Berardi de Tagliacozzo

<sup>3</sup> Juan de Torquemada

<sup>4</sup> Alfonso Borja: Bishop of Valencia (1429). Cardinal 1444. Elected pope 1455

<sup>5</sup> Ludovico Scarampo

<sup>6</sup> The meaning may be that frost prevents provisions from reaching the city, and immediately people begin to guard and ration their own stored provisions

[16] Accessimus deputatos quampluribus<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> fuerant<sup>3</sup>, diximusque cardinalibus, si priora concederentur, Alemaniam totam in oboedientia<sup>4</sup> sedis apostolicae futuram, sin secunda<sup>5</sup>, solum regem, Maguntinensem<sup>6</sup> et Brandenburgensem cum adhaerentibus. Utilius autem esse totam habere nationem quam partem.

[17] {174v} Inter nos quoque variae erant sententiae<sup>7</sup>. Dicebant enim aliqui declarationem tutius<sup>8</sup> ad Norenbergensem<sup>9</sup> differri<sup>10</sup> dietam<sup>11</sup>, ibi ut tota natio se declararet. Alii dicebant, nisi tunc declaratio fieret, desperatam<sup>12</sup> rem esse. Inter haec curiales Alemani<sup>13</sup>, qui beneficia impetrarant<sup>14</sup>, intelligentes se nostris eludi<sup>15</sup> tractatibus, ambire cardinales, dicere se<sup>16</sup> diutius servivisse, nulla esse emolumenta laborum, ingratum papam, ingratos cardinales fore. Illi<sup>17</sup> omne malum ex<sup>18</sup> 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<sup>19</sup> vero praestamus oboedientiam, quamvis caretis<sup>20</sup> impetratis, impetrare tamen alia beneficia potestis. Stultum est rem simul spemque perdere. Nos, quae in mandatis suscepimus<sup>21</sup>, mutare nequaquam valemus<sup>22</sup>. Omnis concordia possessoribus favet."

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<sup>1</sup> quamplurimis M, V

<sup>2</sup> conclusa Francfordiae : Francfordiae conclusa M

<sup>3</sup> fuerunt K \*

<sup>4</sup> sanctae *add.* K

<sup>5</sup> secundum K; secundam V

<sup>6</sup> Maguntinum M, V

<sup>7</sup> scientiae M

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* I; totius M

<sup>9</sup> Norimbergensem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> deferri V

<sup>11</sup> dietum M, V

<sup>12</sup> desperatam M, V

<sup>13</sup> Alemann... *et passim* M, V; Alamann... *et passim* WO

<sup>14</sup> impetrarunt I; impetrarent V

<sup>15</sup> illudi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> dicere se : se dicere H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> illis H, I; ab illis M, W; illinc BA

<sup>18</sup> in H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> si H, I, M, V, BA,

<sup>20</sup> caretis BA

<sup>21</sup> recepimus H, I, BA; recipimus M, V

<sup>22</sup> possumus H, I, M, V, BA

## 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,<sup>1</sup> and the Margrave of Brandenburg,<sup>2</sup> and their adherents. It would be better, however, to gain the whole nation rather than only a part!

## 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<sup>3</sup> previously, realised that they might lose them as a result of our negotiations.<sup>4</sup> 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 the cardinals were ungrateful, too. The cardinals replied that all the evils came from their own compatriots, the Germans, and referred them to us. Enea said to them, “It is foolish of you to try to prevent the declaration, for if we remain outside [the papal] obedience, you can neither secure<sup>5</sup> the benefices you have obtained nor can you obtain others. 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.”

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<sup>1</sup> Dietrich Schenck von Erbach (d. 1459): Archbishop of Mainz, prince-electoral and primate of Germany from 1434 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich II (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471): Margrave of Brandenburg and prince-electoral from 1440 to his abdication in 1470

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiastical benefices, e.g., parishes, canonries, deaneries, abbeys, and sometimes even bishoprics

<sup>4</sup> As absentee holders of ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, many of which would be the subject of dispute between two or more claimants, the German curials were understandably nervous about the results of a new general settlement

<sup>5</sup> I.e., get actual possession of, as distinct from receiving the formal grant



[18] In tractatu cardinalium maximae difficultates contentionesque<sup>1</sup> fuerunt. Grave videbatur cardinalibus annatas remittere, collationes<sup>2</sup> beneficiorum amittere<sup>3</sup>, concilium<sup>4</sup> convocare, decreta recipere, privatos restituere, ajebantque non solum in natione Germanica<sup>5</sup> id esse<sup>6</sup> nocivum, sed alias quoque nationes exinde occasionem recepturas<sup>7</sup> et<sup>8</sup> apostolicam sedem perditum iri, nec bene consultum esse ceteris ecclesiis, quando Romana, {175v} quae est caput omnium, langueret. Conducere<sup>9</sup> Christianae religioni Romanum pontificem fore potentem, ut tueri alios praelatos queat<sup>10</sup>, inter principes pacem constituere, infidelibus resistere, haereses extirpare. Numquam tot haereses in Christiana religione fuisse, quot fuerunt ante Sylvestrum, quia paupertas Romani<sup>11</sup> pontificis neglectui<sup>12</sup> 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<sup>13</sup>, ad futurum usque concilium mansura. Ex cardinalibus {176r} quidam auctoritatem Romani<sup>14</sup> pontificis minui timebant, quidam emolumenta, quidam utrumque.

[19] At postquam<sup>15</sup> diebus plurimis<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>17</sup>, recepta sunt, vel usquequo cum legato aliter fuerit concordatum.<sup>18</sup> Circa possessores amplius provisum est quam nostrae instructiones exposcerent. Restitutio<sup>19</sup> dominorum Coloniensis<sup>20</sup> et Treverensis<sup>21 22</sup> archiepiscoporum, ut in articulis habuimus, repromissa est. Circa professionem<sup>23</sup> major difficultas fuit, auctoritatem namque conciliorum, uti<sup>24</sup> Basiliae<sup>25</sup> declarata fuerat, nullo pacto admitti volebant. Sed opitulati<sup>1</sup> sunt

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<sup>1</sup> intentionesque M

<sup>2</sup> collationem WO

<sup>3</sup> collationes beneficiorum amittere *omit.* M, V

<sup>4</sup> conciliumque WO

<sup>5</sup> non solum ... Germanica : in natione Germanica non solum M, V

<sup>6</sup> id esse : esse id M

<sup>7</sup> quoque nationes exinde occasionem recepturas : exinde nationes recessuras quoque nationes exinde occasionem

H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>8</sup> ac M, V

<sup>9</sup> decere M, V

<sup>10</sup> et *add.* M, V

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

<sup>12</sup> neglecta M, V

<sup>13</sup> quaerebamus I, BA

<sup>14</sup> summi BA, WO

<sup>15</sup> at postquam *omit.* M, V

<sup>16</sup> pluribus K [plurimis WO]

<sup>17</sup> ordinentur I

<sup>18</sup> aliter ordinetur ... concordatum : fuerit concordatum manere M, V

<sup>19</sup> reverendissimorum *add.* I

<sup>20</sup> Treverensium V

<sup>21</sup> Coloniensium V

<sup>22</sup> Coloniensis et Treverensis : Treverensis et Coloniensis Treverensium H, I, M, V

<sup>23</sup> profectionem H, I, M, V

<sup>24</sup> ut M, V

<sup>25</sup> basilica H; in Basilea M, V, BA

{176v} in ea re nobis Maguntini, qui ad concilii Constantiensis decreta referri illam<sup>2</sup> sufficere dixerunt, quos secutus est Brandeburgensis orator, et nos volupe accessimus, superque<sup>3</sup> his omnibus fieri minutas obtentum est, sed in illis etiam diutius disputatum est. Ad extremum et clausulae et verba ex<sup>4</sup> nostro arbitrio recepta sunt.

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<sup>1</sup> capitulati M

<sup>2</sup> illa M, V

<sup>3</sup> super BA

<sup>4</sup> clausulae et verba ex : verba et clausulae H, I, M, V, BA

## 2.10. Objections of the cardinals

[18] In the negotiations with the cardinals, there were major problems and disagreements. The cardinals thought it would be a difficult 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]<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2 3</sup> 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 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<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> By Pope Eugenius, especially the archbishops of Cologne and Trier

<sup>2</sup> Sylvester I (d. 335): Pope from 314 to his death

<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> Including the clever Johann Lysura

<sup>5</sup> I.e., the imperial envoys



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

[21] Ceterum, cum omnia composita forent<sup>23</sup>, subortum est majus dubium: invalescebat Eugenii morbus, timorque mortis erat, et<sup>24 25</sup> – ut fieri solet – omnia in majus extollebantur. Coeperunt ex nostris aliqui<sup>26</sup> haesitare, an facienda declaratio esset, nec morituro pontifici praestandam censebant<sup>27</sup> oboedientiam, quae Germaniae principes divideret. At Johannes<sup>28</sup> Lysura, acri<sup>29</sup> vir ingenio et facundia copiosa, non pontifici tantum, sed apostolicae quoque sedi praestari

<sup>1</sup> promittere nos : nos promittere WO

<sup>2</sup> ab K

<sup>3</sup> eius K \*

<sup>4</sup> majestas H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> quattuor promittere ... majestas *omit.* M, V

<sup>6</sup> primumque S

<sup>7</sup> confirmarent M, V

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

<sup>9</sup> civitati S

<sup>10</sup> mandaret M

<sup>11</sup> reuocaret M, V

<sup>12</sup> iis H, I, M, V; illis BA; hiis S, W

<sup>13</sup> sedis M

<sup>14</sup> sed etiam adjutricem *omit.* M

<sup>15</sup> regis M

<sup>16</sup> et litteras sub nostris sigillis dedimus *add.* K

<sup>17</sup> admonebant K \*

<sup>18</sup> ipsi K \*

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>21</sup> violator pactorum inveniatur : inveniatur violator pactorum M

<sup>22</sup> citraque K

<sup>23</sup> fuerant S

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* H

<sup>25</sup> majus dubium ... et *omit.* M

<sup>26</sup> ex nostris aliqui : aliqui ex nostris M, S, V

<sup>27</sup> confidebant K

<sup>28</sup> de *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* I

oboedientiam affirmabat<sup>1</sup>, personam mori, sedem non mori. Si re infecta decederemus<sup>2</sup>, magnas in natione futuras<sup>3</sup> discordias principum, huc alium, illuc alium tendere. Longum praeteritum<sup>4</sup> {178r} tempus, antequam tot<sup>5</sup> principes convenirent in unam sententiam, quot<sup>6</sup> nuper convenerant<sup>7</sup>. Magna esse, quae obtenta forent<sup>8</sup>. Habendas esse omnino bullas, difficile namque obtineri a successore<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> talia possent. Servandam esse unionem<sup>11</sup> principum, qui jam concordessent, neque id fieri posse nisi per declarationem: qua neglecta singulos esse liberos, facta vero<sup>12</sup> foederibus obnoxios.

## 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<sup>13</sup> 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 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.

## 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<sup>14</sup>, a man of sharp intellect and copious eloquence, stated that the obedience was declared

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<sup>1</sup> affirmat M

<sup>2</sup> recederemus K \*, S

<sup>3</sup> omit. H; esse add. M, V

<sup>4</sup> omit. M, V

<sup>5</sup> omit. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>6</sup> prout M, V

<sup>7</sup> interponi M, V

<sup>8</sup> fuerant I, BA

<sup>9</sup> a successore omit.

<sup>10</sup> obtineri a successore : a successore obtineri V

<sup>11</sup> principum huc alium ... unionem omit. I

<sup>12</sup> pro H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> [The papal legate to be sent to Germany](#)

<sup>14</sup> Vicar General of the Archbishop of Mainz

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 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.

[21] Suum esse consilium suamque sententiam absque declaratione minime abeundum<sup>1</sup>, etiam si unum tantum digitum Eugenius moveat: nolle se multis irrisum iri,<sup>2</sup> nolle<sup>3</sup> occasionem bene gerendae rei<sup>4</sup> amittere.

[22] Eadem sui collegae sententia fuit. His<sup>5</sup> postquam accessimus et reliqui omnes subsecuti<sup>6</sup> {178v} sunt, quoniam, si mori contingeret<sup>7</sup> Eugenium<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> et canonicam fieri successoris electionem, nulli dubium erat, quin<sup>10</sup> rata<sup>11</sup> manerent omnia, sin autem discordes fuissent cardinales electionemque minus rite fecissent, nationem sui juris fore<sup>12</sup> ac<sup>13</sup> ex integro posse deliberare<sup>14</sup>. Nec certa res erat de morte papae, qui<sup>15</sup> si nobis infecta re abeuntibus<sup>16</sup> convaluisset<sup>17</sup>, cum per eum concordiae satisfactum esset, reprehensione non parva<sup>18</sup> digni fuisset.

[23] Cum ergo conclusum esset fieri declarationem, mandavit Eugenius VI. februarii<sup>19</sup> die publicum celebrari consistorium<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>, adesse praelatos<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>, convenire curiales. Sed cum oratores principum nondum particularia expedivissent negotia neque sine illis publicum<sup>24</sup> vellent consumere<sup>25</sup>, non sine {179r} scandalo in alteram<sup>26</sup> diem dilatum<sup>27</sup> est consistorium. Accessimus omnes palatium apostolicum. Nondum bullae<sup>28</sup> omnes erant confectae, quae dari omnibus possent, sed de quavis materia una confecta erat. Vocarunt cardinales Aeneam et<sup>29</sup> Johannem de Lysura<sup>30</sup> eosque

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<sup>1</sup> obeundum BA

<sup>2</sup> nolle se iri *omit.* I

<sup>3</sup> se *add.* I

<sup>4</sup> occasionem bene ... rei : bene gerendae rei occasionem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> nos H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>6</sup> secuti S

<sup>7</sup> contigerit H, V; contigeret I; cederet M

<sup>8</sup> Eugenius M

<sup>9</sup> contingeret Eugenium : Eugenium contingeret S

<sup>10</sup> quoniam H, I

<sup>11</sup> data M

<sup>12</sup> fere BA

<sup>13</sup> et M, V

<sup>14</sup> posse deliberare : liberari posse M, V

<sup>15</sup> que S

<sup>16</sup> absentibus H, I, M, V

<sup>17</sup> invaluisset H, I; revaluisset M

<sup>18</sup> pauca M, V

<sup>19</sup> februaris S

<sup>20</sup> et *add.* M, V

<sup>21</sup> celebrari consistorium : consistorium celebrari M

<sup>22</sup> et *add.* M, V

<sup>23</sup> nec S

<sup>24</sup> publico BA

<sup>25</sup> consulere H, I, M, BA; concludere V

<sup>26</sup> alium H, M, BA; alteram K, S

<sup>27</sup> delatum I, M, S, V

<sup>28</sup> nondum bullae : bullae nondum I

<sup>29</sup> ac K

<sup>30</sup> jura H, V



interrogaverunt<sup>1</sup>, an fieri declaratio posset. Responsum est posse, si coram omnibus promitteretur etiam moriente papa reliquas bullas, quae non essent scriptae, datum<sup>2</sup> iri<sup>3</sup>. Legatum apostolicum<sup>4</sup> cum litteris restitutionis Coloniensis<sup>5</sup> et Treverensis<sup>6</sup> archiepiscoporum et cum litteris similibus iis, quae Maguntino<sup>7</sup> dabantur pro illis duobus ac Palatino et duce Saxoniae venturum<sup>8</sup>. Promiserunt haec omnia cardinales etiam coram aliis<sup>9</sup> verbumque pro cardinalibus summa prudentia pater<sup>10</sup> cardinalis {179v} Morinensis fecit.

[21] 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 become the laughing stock of many, and he did not wish to lose the opportunity to bring this matter to a happy conclusion.

[22] His colleagues<sup>11</sup> agreed. We<sup>12</sup> assented, and then all the others agreed, too, for if Eugenius happened to die and his successor was elected canonically,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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 deserve to be severely reprimanded.

## 2.14. German acceptance of conditions

[23] When we had resolved to make the declaration [of obedience], Eugenius decided to hold a public consistory on 6 February, in the presence of prelates and curials.<sup>15</sup> But the princes' ambassadors had not yet finished their individual affairs [with the curia] and therefore did not want to conclude the common one.<sup>16</sup> So, 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

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<sup>1</sup> interrogarunt K

<sup>2</sup> dari M, V

<sup>3</sup> in H, M, V; ad *add.* I

<sup>4</sup> legatum apostolicum : legato apostolico BA

<sup>5</sup> Coloniensium M

<sup>6</sup> Treverensium V

<sup>7</sup> Maguntiae BA, WO

<sup>8</sup> Ve/inetorum *add* H, M, V; omit. I, BA

<sup>9</sup> aliisque M

<sup>10</sup> presbiter M, V

<sup>11</sup> i.e., the legates of the Archbishop of Mainz

<sup>12</sup> i.e., the legates of the emperor

<sup>13</sup> i.e., legitimately

<sup>14</sup> i.e., with all the disagreements and conflicts which that would entail

<sup>15</sup> i.e., a public consistory this time

<sup>16</sup> i.e., the declaration of obedience

ready for everyone, but one bull on some or other matter was ready. The cardinals summoned Enea 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<sup>1</sup> and the Duke of Saxony.<sup>2</sup> The cardinals then, before others, promised all these things, and the Cardinal of Thérouanne, a Father of great wisdom, spoke on behalf of the cardinals.

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<sup>1</sup> Ludwig IV (Wittelsbach)

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich II

[24] Post haec introducti sumus ad pontificem in penitiori<sup>1</sup> cubiculo jacentem, quem velut unum ex sanctis patribus mirati sumus ac venerati osculatique manus ejus. Magna<sup>2</sup> inerat homini gravitas plenusque<sup>3</sup> majestate vultus<sup>4</sup> erat. Ipsa facies pontificem<sup>5</sup> indicabat<sup>6</sup>. Ubi nos vidit, benigne allocutus est ac dicere jussit. Paucis verbis oboedientiam suae sanctitati<sup>7 8</sup> praestitimus receptisque de sua manu litteris eas Maguntinis assignavimus. Multum enim eis saepe<sup>9</sup> detulimus, ut rem conduceremus in<sup>10</sup> finem. Ibi Palatini ac<sup>11</sup> Saxones suos principes honestis verbis excusarunt, quod in exhibitione oboedientiae non concurrerent. Aiebant enim illos non Romae, {180r} sed Norimbergae futuram declarationem intellexisse atque idcirco non dedisse<sup>12</sup> declarandi<sup>13</sup> mandatum, placitum<sup>14</sup> tamen illis, quae Romae fierent, nec se dubium habere, quin<sup>15</sup> principes ipsi in Norimberga se declararent ac regiae majestati et ceteris se conformarent. Eadem verba et<sup>16</sup> in publico postea consistorio<sup>17 18</sup> repetiverunt. Papa gratias Deo retulit nosque cum benedictione a se<sup>19</sup> lacrimantes dimisit. Nec enim tenere lacrimas quisquam potuit, qui tam venerandum<sup>20</sup> 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<sup>21</sup>, advocati et ingens turba doctorum stabant<sup>22</sup>. Nos etiam e<sup>23</sup> regione pontificalis<sup>24</sup> cathedrae<sup>25 26</sup> stabamus. Tum Aeneas brevem ex tempore oratiunculam habuit, nec tempus longiorem<sup>27</sup> ferebat, et legendae plurimae fuerunt<sup>28</sup> litterae<sup>29</sup>. Nominavit etiam Aeneas omnes,

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

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

<sup>3</sup> plenaque M, V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>5</sup> pontificis H, M, V, BA

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>7</sup> suae sanctitati : sanctitati sue I

<sup>8</sup> oboedientiam suae sanctitati : sue sanctitati obedientiam M

<sup>9</sup> eis saepe : saepe eis H, I, BA

<sup>10</sup> ad H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>12</sup> de *add.* BA

<sup>13</sup> declaranda I, BA

<sup>14</sup> placitum H, I, M, V

<sup>15</sup> quia H, I; quin K

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* I, BA; postea M, V

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>18</sup> postea consistorio : consistorio postea H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> a se *omit.* BA

<sup>20</sup> venerabilem M, V

<sup>21</sup> praesules H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> stabat H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>23</sup> a M, V

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>26</sup> pontificalis cathedrae : cathedre pontificalis K \*, S

<sup>27</sup> longiora V

<sup>28</sup> fuerant K \*, S

<sup>29</sup> fuerunt litterae : litterae fuerunt BA

qui sese<sup>1</sup> tunc declarabant, reddiditque in medium litteras imperatoriae majestatis atque inclyti Bohemiae regni, quae omnes lectae fuerunt.

[26] Cumque inter alios nominaretur magnus ordinis Prutenorum<sup>2</sup> magister, Andreas, theologus notae<sup>3</sup> facundiae ac probatae conversationis pater, qui procurator ordinis erat<sup>4</sup> - tamquam suus dominus suusque ordo declaratus diutius ante<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> fuisset – ejus<sup>7</sup> dictis sese opposuit, {181r} quamvis antea taciturnum se<sup>8</sup> promississet<sup>9</sup>.

## 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 face<sup>10</sup>, 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 a mandate to declare obedience. However, they would approve what was done in Rome, and the ambassadors did not doubt that they would make the declaration in Nürnberg and do as 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.<sup>11</sup> Then Enea improvised<sup>12</sup> an oration,<sup>13</sup> which had to be short since time did

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<sup>1</sup> se S

<sup>2</sup> procerum M

<sup>3</sup> mirae BA

<sup>4</sup> fuerat S

<sup>5</sup> antea I

<sup>6</sup> declaratus diutius ante : diutius ante declaratus K, S

<sup>7</sup> Enee S

<sup>8</sup> taciturnum se : se taciturnum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> ejus dictis ... promississet *omit.* M, V

<sup>10</sup> "vultus"

<sup>11</sup> "cathedra". It was empty, as the pope was lying ill in the palace.

<sup>12</sup> Piccolomini had undoubtedly given some thought in advance to what he would say

<sup>13</sup> This oration is not extant, probably because it was not written down

allow for a longer one, and since many letters had to be read aloud. Enea 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.

[26] The Prussian Order<sup>1</sup> and its Grand Master<sup>2</sup> had declared for obedience previously, but when Enea named the Grand Master of the Prussian Order among the others, the order's procurator<sup>3</sup>, a theologian noted for his eloquence and a Father of estimable conduct, protested, although he had previously promised to remain silent.

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<sup>1</sup> Teutonic order [*Ordo 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

<sup>2</sup> Konrad von Erlichshausen (ca. 1390-1449): Grand Master from 1441 to his death.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., it's representative at the Roman curia

[26] Tum Aeneas “nil<sup>1</sup> opus est verbis”, inquit, “reverendissimi patres. Ipsius magistri<sup>2</sup> extant sigilla, quae meis dictis fidem astipulantur. Ipse magni magistri orator apud Francfordiam unioni conventionique nostrae se miscuit<sup>3</sup>. Quae ibi conclusa sunt, hic exequantur<sup>4</sup>.” Erubuit homo nec libertatem replicandi<sup>5</sup> habuit. Cognovit tamen postea<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> suum erratum et, ut virum decet bonum<sup>8</sup>, veniam petivit<sup>9</sup>. Nemo umquam non<sup>10</sup> errat, sed animo pertinaci errorem tueri nefarium est. Vix errasse videtur<sup>11</sup>, qui correxit errorem.

[27] Declaratio nomine istorum<sup>12</sup> facta est Friderici, Romanorum regis, regni Bohemiae, Theodorici, Maguntini archiepiscopi, {181v} Friderici atque<sup>13</sup> Johannis atque Alberti, marchionum Brandeburgensium, Friderici Magdeburgensis, Friderici Salzburgensis<sup>14</sup> Bremensis<sup>15</sup> etiam archiepiscoporum<sup>16</sup>, Wilhelmi<sup>17</sup>, ducis Saxoniae, Jacobi, marchionis Badensis, Ludovici, lantgravii<sup>18</sup> Hassiae, plurium<sup>19</sup> quoque praesulum nationis Germaniae<sup>20</sup>, quorum epistolae<sup>21</sup> lectae sunt<sup>22</sup> mandataque<sup>23</sup> inspecta. Johannes<sup>24</sup> Lysura pauca verba, ornata tamen<sup>25</sup>, pro Maguntino effatus est, nec aliis oratio defuit, sed unusquisque<sup>26</sup> suo loco<sup>27</sup> verbum fecit. Postquam omnes locuti sunt<sup>28</sup>, vicecancellarius cardinalis Venetiarum primus omnium commendatis<sup>29</sup> cum rege<sup>30</sup> omnibus divinae pietati gratias egit, quae deposita tandem neutralitate {182r} inclytam<sup>31</sup> Germaniae<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> nihil H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> Andree *add.* K \*, S

<sup>3</sup> se miscuit : inmiscuit K

<sup>4</sup> exequantur BA; exequimur K

<sup>5</sup> libertatem replicandi : replicandi potestatem M; replicandi libertatem V

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

<sup>7</sup> tamen postea : postea tamen M

<sup>8</sup> virum decet bonum : bonum virum decet K

<sup>9</sup> petiit H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> umquam non : numquam H, I, M, V, BA

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

<sup>12</sup> ipsorum H, MA

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>14</sup> Salczburgensis K; Saltzburgensium M; Salczburgensis W

<sup>15</sup> Bremensium M

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* M; *et add.* M, V

<sup>17</sup> Wilermi H; Willelmi I; Vilermi M, V; Willermi BA; Wilelmi WO

<sup>18</sup> langravii V; lantgravii S; lancravii K

<sup>19</sup> plurimum M

<sup>20</sup> nationis Germaniae : Germanice nationis M; nationis Germanicae V

<sup>21</sup> epistolas M

<sup>22</sup> lectae sunt : legerunt M

<sup>23</sup> mandata quoque K \*, S

<sup>24</sup> *de add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>25</sup> *et gravia add.* K \*

<sup>26</sup> quisque WO

<sup>27</sup> unusquisque suo loco : suo quisque loco K, S

<sup>28</sup> sumus H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> commendatus H, I, M, V

<sup>30</sup> cum rege : est regem et de M, V

<sup>31</sup> inclyta H; inclytae M, V

<sup>32</sup> Germanicae M

nationem apostolicae sedi<sup>1 2</sup> reintegravit<sup>3</sup>. Orator Salzburgensis archiepiscopi, etsi novissimus omnium Romam petiit, in tempore tamen venit<sup>4</sup> interfuitque tractatibus et omnium gratior apostolicam sedem quibusdam pecuniis<sup>5</sup> honoravit, cujus gravis tarditas acceptior fuit quam nostra levis celeritas.

[26] Then Enea said, "Reverend Fathers, there is no need for words since we have the seals of the Master attesting my claims. In Frankfurt, the envoy 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 recognised 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.

[27] The declaration of obedience was made in the names of Friedrich, King of the Romans,<sup>6</sup> the Kingdom of Bohemia, Dietrich, Archbishop of Mainz,<sup>7</sup> Friedrich,<sup>8</sup> Johann<sup>9</sup> and Albrecht,<sup>10</sup> Margraves of Brandenburg, Friedrich of Magdeburg,<sup>11</sup> and Friedrich, Archbishop of Salzburg,<sup>12</sup> the Archbishop of Bremen,<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm, Duke of Saxony,<sup>14</sup> Jakob, Margrave of Baden,<sup>15</sup> Ludwig, Landgrave of Hesse,<sup>16</sup> 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,<sup>17</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V

<sup>2</sup> apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> reintegraverit K

<sup>4</sup> fuit S

<sup>5</sup> quibusdam pecuniis : pecuniis quibusdam S

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich III (Habsburg)

<sup>7</sup> Dietrich von Erbach

<sup>8</sup> Friedrich II von Brandenburg (Hohenzollern)

<sup>9</sup> Johann von Brandenburg-Kulmbach (Hohenzollern) (1406-1464): Margrave of Brandenburg 1426-1457

<sup>10</sup> Albrecht III Achilles von Brandenburg (Hohenzeollern) (1414-1486): Margrave, from 1471 Prince elector

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich III von Beichlingen

<sup>12</sup> Friedrich IV Truchsess von Emmersberg (-1452): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1441 to his death

<sup>13</sup> Gerhard von Hoya

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm III (1425-1482): Duke of Saxony.

<sup>15</sup> Jakob I von Baden (1407-1453): Margrave of Baden from 1431 to his death

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig II (1402-1458): Landgrave of Hesse fom 1413 to his death

<sup>17</sup> Francesco Condulmer

honoured the Apostolic See with a gift of money so that his grave lateness was more welcome than our light swiftness!



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

<sup>1</sup> accensi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> ut *add.* M, V; iusticium *add.* K \*, S

<sup>3</sup> esset *add.* M, V

<sup>4</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> mercatum BA

<sup>6</sup> processionem fieri solemnem *omit.* M, V

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

<sup>8</sup> planum H, I, BA; palatium M, V

<sup>9</sup> parumper K

<sup>10</sup> processionem fieri solemnem *add.* M, V

<sup>11</sup> quem K

<sup>12</sup> dedit H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> hec H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>14</sup> redempta S, WO

<sup>15</sup> enim H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> illam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> lucratur H; lucratus I, BA; lucratus est M, V

<sup>18</sup> circulata BA

<sup>19</sup> margarita H; margaritis I

<sup>20</sup> et nonnulli M;

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> lapides H, I, M, V, BA; pretiosi *add.* M

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>24</sup> in tuo : tuo in K

<sup>25</sup> veluti M, V

<sup>26</sup> neque BA

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>28</sup> pompam H, I, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> hujus aevi : evi hujus S

<sup>30</sup> luxuria M, V

<sup>31</sup> adaequarat BA

<sup>32</sup> maiorum M, V

<sup>33</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>34</sup> processionem H, M, V

<sup>35</sup> cardinalis *add.* I

est sermo<sup>2</sup>, ac mirifice commendati rex Romanorum sui que principes cum omni natione, finemque illic solemnitas declarationis accepit. Et nos etiam hic<sup>3</sup> secundae parti nostrae relationis<sup>4</sup> modum imponimus<sup>5</sup> atque ad tertiam festinamus.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ac factus M

<sup>2</sup> est sermo : sermo est S

<sup>3</sup> sic H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* I; orationis M, V

<sup>5</sup> imponamus I

<sup>6</sup> Pars narrationis tertia *in marg.* H; Tertia pars *add.* I

## 2.17. Public rejoicings 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 sales 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<sup>1</sup> gave to Pope Sylvester.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>. 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'<sup>4</sup> excesses will commend our own [simpler] lifestyle. At any rate, the crown of Sylvester<sup>5</sup> was carried in procession and afterwards returned to the Lateran. There, the Cardinal of Thérouanne<sup>6</sup> celebrated mass, a sermon was preached, and the King of the Romans and his princes together with the whole [German] nation were praised lavishly. 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<sup>7</sup> and hasten on to the third.

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> Pope Sylvester I

<sup>3</sup> San Giovanni in Laterano, the pope's episcopal church as Bishop of Rome

<sup>4</sup> "minorum"

<sup>5</sup> Pope Sylvester I

<sup>6</sup> Jean Le Jeune

<sup>7</sup> Note that Piccolomini here uses the term *relatio*, not *oratio*

[29] Ex magnis scopulis, dive Caesar, incolumis nostra navigavit oratio. Superest tamen<sup>1</sup> adhuc undosum<sup>2</sup> pelagus, flant<sup>3</sup> adhuc venti<sup>4</sup>, insultantque procellae. Sed superabit omnia firma navis ac<sup>5</sup> salva<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> et ultra consuetudinem gravis. Hic<sup>9</sup> seni pestifer<sup>10</sup> fuit. Duplex illum febris urebat vexabatque catharrus. Interdum et<sup>11</sup> ventris fluxus<sup>12</sup> impetuosior erat. Istis<sup>13</sup> ille malis attritus saepe<sup>14</sup> nuntiabatur mortuus. Timor omnes curiales inceserat<sup>15</sup> metumque propinquitatis<sup>16</sup> regis Aragonum augebat. Mercatores pretiosa quaeque asportaverant. Tota in ancipiti civitas erat, viae circumquaque praedonibus infestabantur. Apud Viterbium<sup>17</sup> ex seditione civium nonnulli caesi<sup>18</sup> sunt. Vulsinii<sup>19</sup> dominus, {184r} cum audisset hostem suum ex primoribus Urbis Veteris<sup>20</sup> Roma<sup>21</sup> reverti, insidias locavit aggressusque hominem ex improvise ex comitatu ejus plerosque truncavit. Illum pernix equus et admotum<sup>22</sup> ilibus<sup>23</sup> calcar salvavit<sup>24</sup>. In eo congressu etiam sacerdoti amota est vita. Frequentes<sup>25</sup> in terris ecclesiae novitates fuere. Nec enim boni sunt, qui metu<sup>26</sup> 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<sup>27</sup> salutis<sup>28</sup>, nunc<sup>29</sup> mortis metum<sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> Eugenius<sup>32</sup> offerebat.

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

<sup>2</sup> undarum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> stant BA

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* K

<sup>5</sup> superabit omnia firma navis ac : superabuntur omnia et navis nostra H, I, M, V, BA

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

<sup>7</sup> animus BA

<sup>8</sup> erat annus : animus erat K

<sup>9</sup> is M, V

<sup>10</sup> seni pestifer : pesti senifer H, I, M, V, BA

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

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>13</sup> hisce K

<sup>14</sup> sepius K \*

<sup>15</sup> invaserat S

<sup>16</sup> propinqui H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> Viterbum M

<sup>18</sup> usi V

<sup>19</sup> Vulsinii K, M, V

<sup>20</sup> Venetis S; Venetorum H, I, M, V, BA, WO

<sup>21</sup> Romam M, V

<sup>22</sup> amotum H; armorum M, V

<sup>23</sup> illius H, I, M, V; illi BA

<sup>24</sup> saluabit S

<sup>25</sup> frequentesque M, V

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>27</sup> spes H, I, M, V, BA, WO

<sup>28</sup> offerebat *add.* M

<sup>29</sup> non H, M, V

<sup>30</sup> metus H

<sup>31</sup> mortis metum : metum mortis I, M

<sup>32</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

[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<sup>1</sup>, scripsit<sup>2</sup> Eugenio venturum se Romam resque optimas afferre, intellexisse tamen se<sup>3</sup> Januenses novitatem fecisse novumque ducem elegisse<sup>4</sup>, quod minime regi Franciae placeret, civitatem illam ad regnum pertinere, nec jus suum regem neglecturum.

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<sup>1</sup> et ad exitum ... perduxerat *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> etiam *add.* I, BA

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* K, S

### 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, 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 infested with 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 revert to type as soon as they are free. 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 his recovery, now fear of his death.

#### 3.2. Good news from France

[30] In the meantime, the Bishop of Aix<sup>1</sup> had been sent to the King of France<sup>2</sup> to negotiate a settlement concerning Amédée, Duke of Savoy,<sup>3</sup> who called himself Felix.<sup>4</sup> Having almost brought the negotiations to a successful end, he wrote to Eugenius that he was coming to Rome with excellent news. He had heard, however, that the Genoese had rebelled and elected a new doge.<sup>5</sup> This would not please the King of France, to whom that city belonged, and who would not neglect his own rights.

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 and King of France from 1429 to his death

<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> 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 recognised the pope in Rome, and the rump council in Basel ended

<sup>5</sup> Giano I di Campofregoso (1405-1448): Doge of Genoa from January 1447 to his death

[30] Rogare<sup>1</sup> igitur Eugenium, ne quid auxilii Januensibus daret, regem autem in recuperatione suae civitatis adjuvaret. Sic illum animosius unioni daturum operam<sup>2</sup>. Beneficium enim<sup>3</sup> praecedat, retributio autem<sup>4</sup> sequatur, oportet. Nemo cuiquam sine spe reve<sup>5</sup> servire<sup>6</sup> potest<sup>7 8</sup>.

[31] Significavit etiam universitatem Parisiensem injussu regis alia regni gignasia<sup>9</sup> litteris commovisse<sup>10</sup> ad<sup>11</sup> pacem<sup>12</sup> ecclesiasticam<sup>13</sup>, concilii congregationem expetere<sup>14</sup>, indignatum {185r} eo facto regem universitatis oratoribus diu audientiam denegasse, tandem per consiliarios absque praesentia sua<sup>15</sup> illos auditos<sup>16</sup>, petivere<sup>17</sup> plura in cassum<sup>18</sup>, reprehensos<sup>19</sup> fore, quod inscio rege concilium peterent<sup>20</sup> nec aptum<sup>21</sup> illud<sup>22</sup> unioni medium esse. Regi<sup>23</sup> meliores<sup>24</sup> vias patere<sup>25</sup>, jamque paene in manibus<sup>26 27</sup> unionem videri. Post<sup>28</sup> vero unio haberetur, pro ceteris ecclesiae necessitatibus a Romano pontifice concilium exposcendum<sup>29</sup>.

[32] Ceterum, quia Januensium incidit mentio, dicendum est<sup>30</sup>, quo res illa modo peracta<sup>31</sup> sit. Januae Adorni praesidebant, Fregosii<sup>32</sup> ejecti erant. Eorum princeps<sup>33</sup> Thomas, qui dux secundus<sup>34</sup> fuerat, in carcere tabescebat. Quaerebant Fregosii in patriam {185v} reditum concitataque

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<sup>1</sup> rogare WO

<sup>2</sup> daturum operam : operam daturum M, V

<sup>3</sup> aut H, I, K, S, BA

<sup>4</sup> aut H, I, K, S, BA

<sup>5</sup> recte M, V; *omit.* BA, WO

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* K \*, S

<sup>7</sup> prodest K \*, S

<sup>8</sup> nemo cuiquam ... potest *omit.* I

<sup>9</sup> gymnasia H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> commonuisse M, V

<sup>11</sup> prout M; ut pio V

<sup>12</sup> pace M, V

<sup>13</sup> et *add.* I; ecclesiae H, I, M, V

<sup>14</sup> expeterent M, V

<sup>15</sup> praesentia sua : sua presencia S

<sup>16</sup> illos auditos : illis auditis M, V

<sup>17</sup> petiuisse S

<sup>18</sup> in casum M

<sup>19</sup> reprehensosque K \*, S

<sup>20</sup> petierint BA

<sup>21</sup> captum I

<sup>22</sup> illum H, I; ad *add.* K

<sup>23</sup> regem M, V

<sup>24</sup> melioris BA

<sup>25</sup> petere M, V

<sup>26</sup> posse M

<sup>27</sup> paene in manibus : in manibus pene H, I, V, BA; in manibus posse M

<sup>28</sup> postquam I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> expetendum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>30</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>31</sup> producta M; perducta V

<sup>32</sup> Fregosi M, V; Fulgos.. *et passim* K, S

<sup>33</sup> principes K \*

<sup>34</sup> secundum K \*

multitudine regem Franciae in urbem recipiendum suadebant<sup>1</sup>, ejus etiam<sup>2</sup> oratores adesse curaverant<sup>3</sup>. Multum enim illa civitas<sup>4</sup> Franciae<sup>5</sup> afficitur, quamvis est<sup>6</sup> imperii et faveret imperio, si imperio, si curam ejus haberet imperium. Fit igitur in civitate tumultus, dux deponitur, qui ex domo Adorno<sup>7</sup> fuerat, fit novus consulatus, introducuntur Fregosii, mittitur e<sup>8</sup> carceribus Thomas, Thomas, qui etsi omnium consensu dux creatur<sup>9</sup>, ea tamen animi moderatione utitur, ut ducatum renuat nepotemque suum florenti aetate sibi senio confracto praeferat.

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<sup>1</sup> persuadebant M, V

<sup>2</sup> ejus etiam : eius I; ejusque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> conuenerant I; curaverunt WO

<sup>4</sup> regno *add.* K, S

<sup>5</sup> Francia H

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* K \*; sit M, V

<sup>7</sup> Adorna K; Adorni S

<sup>8</sup> in H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> creatus BA



[30] The bishop, therefore, asked Eugenius not to give any aid to the Genoese but help the king recover his city. Thus he would make the king more inclined towards unity. A good deed must come first, and its reward must come afterwards. Nobody can serve well without hope of something 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 university’s envoys 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.

### 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,<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> – 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<sup>3</sup> and elected doge by unanimous consent. But, showing restraint, he refused the dogeship and preferred his nephew<sup>4</sup> of flourishing age to himself, worn down by old age.

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

<sup>2</sup> Barnaba Adorno (1385-1459): Doge only for some weeks in January 1447.

<sup>3</sup> 1447

<sup>4</sup> Giano I di Campofregoso, doge 1447-1448

[32] Felicem licet hominem<sup>1</sup> dicere, qui dignitatem non admiserit<sup>2</sup>, sed rejecerit. Bis dux fuit, bis expulsus. {186r} Ad extremum non<sup>3</sup> ducatu abdicatus est, sed ducatum a se ipse abdicavit<sup>4</sup>. Gallici, qui regis Franciae legatione fungebantur, petere se ad dominatum<sup>5</sup> admitti, regimen urbis gubernationemque<sup>6</sup> sibi debere dicere jurgioque flagitare. Iis<sup>7</sup> Fregosii gratias egere, quod recuperandae patriae adjutores<sup>8</sup> fuissent, beneficium tamen non dominio, sed alio privato officio recognoscendum dicebant. Nec deerant<sup>9</sup>, qui urbem imperialem, non<sup>10</sup> Gallicam dicerent. Sicque Janua prohibiti Francigenae<sup>11</sup> sunt.

[33] Dum haec aguntur, comes<sup>12</sup> Franciscus Sfortia<sup>13</sup>, qui Venetorum stipendia<sup>14</sup> multis annis meruerat<sup>15</sup>, sive quod Veneti ad retinendam Marchiam parum juverant<sup>16</sup>, {186v} sive quod stipendiorum finierat terminus<sup>17</sup>, sive quod eum ruinae<sup>18</sup> soceri<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> paenitebat - sciebat enim<sup>22</sup>, quod illo succumbente nulli vel principi vel tyranno in Italia<sup>23</sup> locum patere<sup>24</sup>, sed omnia communitatum futura - sive quod<sup>25</sup> aliud fuit, occultos habuit cum Philippo Maria tractatus revertique ad eum decrevit. Quidam Eugenium, quidam regem Aragonum, quidam marchionem Estensem Leonellum sui reditus impulsorem<sup>26</sup> putavere. Nonnulli etiam Florentinos in causam traxere, nec enim tantum Venetorum<sup>27</sup> successum Florentinorum reipublicae conducere<sup>28</sup> suspicabantur. Dominandi appetitum insatiabilem esse, nec vicino nec amico parcere, proximam quamcumque victoriam sequentis {187r} esse gradum, nec Longobardiam<sup>29</sup> sive Tusciam satis

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<sup>1</sup> licet hominem : licet hominem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> amiserit K, M, V; amiserat S

<sup>3</sup> illo K \*; a *add.* M, V

<sup>4</sup> abducatus est M

<sup>5</sup> ducatum S

<sup>6</sup> dominationemque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>7</sup> *corr. ex hiis* K; hiis S

<sup>8</sup> auditores H; auctores M, V

<sup>9</sup> deerunt V

<sup>10</sup> potius quam I

<sup>11</sup> prohibiti Francigenae : Francigenae prohibiti S

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* BA, WO

<sup>13</sup> Fortia WO

<sup>14</sup> stipendiis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>15</sup> militaverat M, V

<sup>16</sup> juerat I, M, V; inuverant WO

<sup>17</sup> tempus I, M

<sup>18</sup> iam I; *omit.* M [*blank space*]

<sup>19</sup> sui *add.* K

<sup>20</sup> sive quod eum ... soceri : cum minae soceri sui H

<sup>21</sup> ruinae soceri : jam soceri sui I

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* K

<sup>23</sup> Italiam M, V

<sup>24</sup> pateret WO

<sup>25</sup> quid K

<sup>26</sup> impulsores H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> venatorum K \*

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* M; consulere H, I, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> Lombardiam K

firmam videri Venetis. Apud Italos non est probro<sup>1</sup> duces armatorum<sup>2</sup> nunc istis nunc illis servire. Temporaria<sup>3</sup> stipendia sunt, quibus finitis licet armigeris, cui velint, favere<sup>4</sup>. In conventionibus pactisque<sup>5 6</sup> capitula plura fiunt, dum capitanei conducuntur. Nullum de prodicione licet arguere, qui pacta servavit, sed aperiendi sunt in conventionibus<sup>7</sup> oculi.

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<sup>1</sup> opprobrium M, V

<sup>2</sup> armorum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> temporalia I, M, V

<sup>4</sup> servire M, V

<sup>5</sup> pactis S

<sup>6</sup> in conventionibus pactisque : conventiones pactique H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>7</sup> in conventionibus *omit.* I

[32] Oh, happy the man who does not accept high office<sup>1</sup> 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 who represented 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.<sup>2</sup>

### 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Venetian success to be good for the Florentine republic: the Venetian 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 service contracts are limited in time, and when they end, the soldiers can take employment 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.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, one must make such contracts with eyes wide open.

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<sup>1</sup> "dignitas"

<sup>2</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> The republics in contradistinction to the principalities

<sup>4</sup> 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. For they do not serve a cause, but for money.* [Sect. 17]

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> siue K \*

<sup>2</sup> iam V

<sup>3</sup> ferebatur K

<sup>4</sup> secreta comitis : comitis secreta M

<sup>5</sup> pandere K, S, BA

<sup>6</sup> complures K, S

<sup>7</sup> fassus est ... corruptos *omit.* M

<sup>8</sup> Donatus H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> donatus K \*

<sup>10</sup> missum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> retinere H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>12</sup> ferebat H, I, BA, WO

<sup>13</sup> hoc accessu comitis : comitis hoc accessu I

<sup>14</sup> dicebant WO

<sup>15</sup> Arrogonum K

<sup>16</sup> insultasse S

<sup>17</sup> Austriam M, V

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* I, BA; tam H, M, V

<sup>20</sup> et Hungarorum : Hungarorumque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> injustitiam M; justitiam V

<sup>22</sup> cardinalesque K, S

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>25</sup> satis instructos : instructos satis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>26</sup> dixi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> obuiamus H, I

<sup>28</sup> Bononiensis cardinalis : cardinalis Bononiensis BA

<sup>29</sup> tuum M

<sup>30</sup> tuis *add.* H, I, M, V

<sup>31</sup> 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

[36] Post haec cum desperata salus Eugenii videretur<sup>1</sup>, coepit archiepiscopus Florentinus, vir omnium iudicio bonus, extremam unctionem afferre, cui pontifex: “Quid<sup>2</sup>, tu me,” inquit, “inunges<sup>3</sup>? Credis me tempus nescire? Satis ego<sup>4</sup> adhuc sum fortis. Cum aderit hora, admonitum te<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> faciam, siste modo.” Pugnat adversus mortem intrepidus pater ancepsque diu proelium tenuit, {188v} nec medicorum satis certum erat<sup>7</sup> iudicium.

[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.<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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, with the ambassadors of the prince-electors and others present, set forth your just cause and the Hungarians’ perfidy, and thus we had sufficiently informed all the cardinals of the truth. What I said is consigned to writing,<sup>11</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> videbatur H, I

<sup>2</sup> est *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> inungas K, M, V; injungas S, WO [*The error may be due to a lapsus of Piccolomini*]

<sup>4</sup> inunges credis ... ego *omit.* H

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

<sup>6</sup> admonitum te : te admonitum V

<sup>7</sup> certum erat : erat certum H, I, BA

<sup>8</sup> Romano, p. 201: *In March [1447] Sforza’s secretary Angelo Simonetta went to Venice for the purpose of selling shares of Venetian government bonds ... He may have been on a bribery mission as well. The Ten ordered him arrested and tortured.*

<sup>9</sup> Andrea Donato [Dona]: Important Venetian official and diplomat. Son-in-law of Doge Jacopo Foscari. Governor of Crete 1445-1447. Recalled from Crete by decision of The Ten on 5 April 1447, he was condemned for receiving 900 ducats from Sforza in turn for helping him to obtain a state for himself. (Mallett: *Mercenaries*, p. 220). See also DVI, sect. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Romano, p. 201: *Based on Simonetta’s revelations, Donato came under suspicion of having been corrupted by Sforza and his agents.*

<sup>11</sup> See Piccolomini’s oration “*Tritum est sermone*” (1447) [12]

Sant'Angelo, defended your honour and dignity as if they were Austrians themselves and refuted the empty rumours.

### **3.6. Pope's deathbed address to the cardinals**

[36] Later, when Eugenius' state of health became desperate, the Archbishop of Florence,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Antonino Pierozzo (1389-1459): Archbishop of Florence 1346 to his death. Saint

[36] Hoc cum accepisset Alphonsus, rex Aragonum<sup>1</sup>, "Quid mirum," inquit, "si comitem Franciscum, si Columnenses, si me, si totam Italiam bello impetiit<sup>2</sup> Eugenius, qui ausus<sup>3</sup> est<sup>4</sup> cum morte pugnare!" Nec<sup>5</sup> facile succubuit, at cum certa mortis signa supervenissent, accersiti sunt cardinales, quos in hunc modum allocutus est Eugenius: "Meum<sup>6</sup> tempus meaque<sup>7</sup> dies adest<sup>8</sup>, venerabiles amatique<sup>9</sup> fratres. Moriendum est mihi, nec de<sup>10</sup> naturae legibus queror. Diu vixi et honoratus. Utinam officio meo satisfecissem. Sed voluntatem magis quam opera<sup>11</sup> inspicit<sup>12</sup> Deus. Mihi pontificatus etsi speranti non tamen ambienti obvenit. Multa acciderunt adversa, dum sedi<sup>13</sup> {189r} praefuimus apostolicae<sup>14</sup>. Non tamen idcirco<sup>15</sup> minus acceptos Deo nos<sup>16</sup> credimus, quia quos *diligit Deus*<sup>17</sup>, *corrigit atque castigat*. Nec male actum<sup>18</sup> esse<sup>19</sup> cum hominibus renuit<sup>20</sup>, qui<sup>21</sup> cum fortunae varietate luctantur, sed esse arcanas causas, ad quas nulla mortalium curiositas potest<sup>22</sup> pervenire. Utcumque res hactenus transiverint<sup>23</sup>, nobis maximum solamen est<sup>24</sup>, antequam oculos clauderemus, reunitam<sup>25</sup> ecclesiam cernere. Hoc filio nostro Friderico<sup>26</sup>, Romanorum regi, Theodoricoque Maguntino<sup>27</sup> archiepiscopo, fratri nostro, et dilecto filio marchioni Brandenburgensi adscribimus.

[37] Ceterum, quia<sup>28</sup> jam horae<sup>29</sup> nostrae<sup>30</sup> subripiuntur, *modicumque vobiscum* ero, quia<sup>31</sup> vocor ad iudicem<sup>1</sup>, regem et patrem, testari prius volui testamentumque domini nostri Jesu Christi

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<sup>1</sup> Rex Aragonum : Aragonum rex M

<sup>2</sup> bello impetiit : impetiit bello M

<sup>3</sup> usus V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>5</sup> ne K

<sup>6</sup> Extrema Eugenii verba ad cardinales *in marg.* H; Extrema Eugenii verba cardinalibus *in marg.* I

<sup>7</sup> meusque H, I; meosque M, V

<sup>8</sup> est H, I, BA; habeo M, V

<sup>9</sup> amati meique K

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V

<sup>11</sup> operam V

<sup>12</sup> respicit H, I, BA

<sup>13</sup> apostolice *add.* M, V

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>16</sup> Deo nos : nos Deo H, I, BA

<sup>17</sup> diligit Deus : Deus diligit M, V

<sup>18</sup> acta M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> acta esse : esset actum si H; esset actura si I

<sup>20</sup> tenuit M, V

<sup>21</sup> que S; qua V

<sup>22</sup> curiositas potest : potest curiositas K

<sup>23</sup> transierint H, I, V; transiverunt M; transierunt BA

<sup>24</sup> esset M, V

<sup>25</sup> redimitam K, S

<sup>26</sup> nostro filio Friderico : Friderico nostro filio H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* WO

<sup>28</sup> ceterum quia : ceterumque V

<sup>29</sup> hora H, I

<sup>30</sup> nostra H, I

<sup>31</sup> quod WO



{189v} vobis relinquere, qui transitorius ex<sup>2</sup> hoc<sup>3</sup> mundo ad<sup>4</sup> patrem, *pacem meam*, dixit<sup>5</sup>, *do vobis, pacem meam*<sup>6</sup> *relinquo vobis*. Ego vos omnes praeter unum<sup>7</sup> cardinales creavi, et illum unum quasi filium tractavi, amavique omnes, mei<sup>8</sup> estis fratres. Obsecro, dilectissimi<sup>9</sup>, 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.

[36] When he heard it, King Alfonso of Aragon said, “No wonder that Eugenius fought with Count Francesco<sup>10</sup>, the Colonnas,<sup>11</sup> 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 in any case, God looks at a man’s 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*.<sup>12</sup> 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. 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,<sup>13</sup> and to Our beloved son the Margrave of Brandenburg.<sup>14</sup>

[37] Since Our time is now running out, and *I shall be with you only for a little while more*,<sup>15</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> iudicium M,V

<sup>2</sup> omit. M

<sup>3</sup> omit. H, I

<sup>4</sup> omit. M

<sup>5</sup> inquit K \*

<sup>6</sup> do vobis ... meam omit. I, BA

<sup>7</sup> praeter unum : unum preter M

<sup>8</sup> meique M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> dulcissimi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> Francesco Sforza

<sup>11</sup> The powerful Roman Colonna family, which was the family of Eugenius’ predecessor, Martin V. They were political opponents of the pope

<sup>12</sup> Hebrews, 12, 6: *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat*

<sup>13</sup> The archbishop of Mainz

<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>15</sup> John, 7, 33: *Dixit ergo eis Jesus: Adhuc modicum tempus vobiscum sum*

from this world to the Father said, *My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you.*<sup>1</sup> I made all of you cardinals except one,<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>3</sup> Let there be no divisions among you. *Fulfil the law of Christ and bear ye one another's burdens.*<sup>4</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> John, 14, 26: *pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis*

<sup>2</sup> 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 Eugenius' pontificate. 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

<sup>3</sup> 1. Thessalonians, 4, 9; 1. Peter, 1, 22

<sup>4</sup> Galatians, 6, 2: *Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi*

[37] Ceterum, si me audieritis<sup>1 2</sup>, mediocrem virum unanimiter quam praestantissimum discorditer eligetis<sup>3</sup>. Ubi pax<sup>4</sup> ibi et {190r} spiritus Dei est<sup>5</sup>. Nuper unionem effecimus, sed radices schismatis nondum evulsimus. Cavete<sup>6</sup>, ne pullulet<sup>7</sup>, ne<sup>8</sup> germinet<sup>9</sup>, ne vos ipsi fomentum scissioni praebeatis. Salva ecclesia est, si concordēs eritis, misera, si discordēs<sup>10</sup>. Sed ista circumspectioni vestrae<sup>11</sup> magis paterne quam necessario<sup>12</sup> dicimus<sup>13</sup>, qui pro vestra prudentia non ignoratis, quid ecclesiae conveniat dignitatique vestrae. Verum ne me mortuo<sup>14</sup> de funere disputetis, quod in ceremoniis pontificum scriptum est, id solum facite: nemo amplius agat nec funus adornet meum. Absint pompae et inanis gloria<sup>15</sup> sepulturae. Apud Eugenium III. humili loco sepeliri libet. Si quis impedimento fuerit, anathema sit.”

[38] Excussit omnibus lacrimas<sup>16 17</sup>. Cum tamen instarent plerique revocari {190v} ab exilio cardinalem Capuanum, nequaquam obtinere<sup>18</sup>, 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<sup>19</sup> in pontifice, qui potestatem hominis<sup>20</sup> occidendi habuit pepercitque. Sed “*nescitis,*” inquit, “*quid petatis,* et vobis desiderium ejus et illi exilium magis convenit.” Post haec inunxit<sup>21</sup> Eugenium<sup>22</sup> Florentinus. Ille in cathedra sancti Petri vitalibus exinanitis<sup>23</sup> viribus invictum altumque spiritum exhalavit<sup>24</sup>. Corpus ejus balsamo conditum per integram<sup>25</sup> diem populo patuit atque inde sepultus<sup>26</sup> est apud sanctum Petrum in Vaticano {191r} juxta Eugenium III., uti<sup>27</sup> mandaverat<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> audiveritis M, V; audietis K \*, S

<sup>2</sup> potius *add.* M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> elegetis M, V

<sup>4</sup> est *add.* H

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

<sup>6</sup> caute V

<sup>7</sup> pullulent I; pollulet S

<sup>8</sup> nec V

<sup>9</sup> germinent I

<sup>10</sup> eritis misera ... discordes *omit.* H, I

<sup>11</sup> circumspectioni vestrae : vestre circumspectioni M

<sup>12</sup> necessarie M, K, S, V

<sup>13</sup> diximus M, V

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>15</sup> glorie K

<sup>16</sup> sermo iste *add.* V

<sup>17</sup> excussit omnibus lacrimas : omnibus iste sermo lacrimas excussit M

<sup>18</sup> obtinuerunt M, V

<sup>19</sup> odium erat : odium erat H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>20</sup> hominem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> iniunxit S, WO

<sup>22</sup> Eugenius M, V

<sup>23</sup> exinanitus WO

<sup>24</sup> die XXV. Februarii anno domini 1446 *add.* M, V; Eugenii quarti obitus *in marg.* H

<sup>25</sup> integrum H, I, BA

<sup>26</sup> sepultum M, S, V

<sup>27</sup> ut M, V

<sup>28</sup> uti mandaverat *omit.* H, I, BA



[37] And if you heed me, you will agree on choosing an average man rather than disagree on choosing an outstanding one. 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<sup>1</sup>. If anybody hinders this, let him be anathema.

### 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<sup>2</sup> from exile, they did not obtain it, which 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 readily 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.*"<sup>3</sup> 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 in 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Eugenius III (ca. 1080-1153): Pope from 1145 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Niccolò Acciapaccio (-1447): Archbishop of Capua 1436, and cardinal (1439). Exiled under pressure from Alfonso of Aragon for siding with René d'Anjou

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 20, 22

[39] Vix pontificem invenias<sup>1</sup>, 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 peressus est et<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> ignorantibus legem dedit. Adversus Turcas<sup>4</sup> classem misit legatoque<sup>5</sup> Juliano in Hussitas potestatem praebuit<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup>. Sigismundo Caesari prius bellum intulit, post diadema concessit. Archiepiscopos episcoposque dignitate {191v} privavit, nec cardinales nec electores imperii<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> reliquit intactos. Sanctum Nicolaum de Tolentino canonisavit. Romae captus est, fugit, rediit. Marchiam perdidit recuperavitque<sup>10</sup>. Braccium<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> in agris jacentem excommunicatum mortuum absolvit sepulturaeque restituit. Paenestre solo aequavit.<sup>13</sup> Johannem Vitellescum sublimem fecit<sup>14</sup>, post capi jussit<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>, qui mortem in carcere obiit. Bononiam recuperavit, post amisit<sup>17</sup>. Regi Aragonum infensus<sup>18</sup> fuit<sup>19</sup>, post regnum illi<sup>20</sup> confirmavit. Venetorum prius amicus, exinde<sup>21</sup> suspectus haberi coepit. Alti cordis fuit, sed nullum in eo majus<sup>22</sup> vitium fuit<sup>23</sup>, nisi quia sine mensura erat<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit aggressus est.

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<sup>1</sup> invenies H, I, BA

<sup>2</sup> omit. BA

<sup>3</sup> euangelicam H, M, S, V; evangelistam K

<sup>4</sup> Turchas H; Teucros S; Theucros K

<sup>5</sup> legatosque H, I, S, WO

<sup>6</sup> dedit S

<sup>7</sup> legatoque Juliano ... praebuit omit. I

<sup>8</sup> omit. M, V

<sup>9</sup> nec electores imperii omit. S

<sup>10</sup> recuperavit K \*; omit. V

<sup>11</sup> Brassium H, I

<sup>12</sup> Montinium add. I, BA

<sup>13</sup> sepulturaeque restituit ... aequavit omit. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>14</sup> fecerit V

<sup>15</sup> omit. H, I

<sup>16</sup> capi jussit : cepit BA

<sup>17</sup> mortem in ... amisit omit. M

<sup>18</sup> infestus H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> erat WO

<sup>20</sup> regnum illi : illi regnum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> deinde H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> magis S, BA

<sup>23</sup> erat K \*; fuerat WO

<sup>24</sup> fuit K, S

<sup>25</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> and dissolved it. He waged many wars, winning some and losing some. He suffered a sentence of deposition<sup>2</sup> in the name of a council<sup>3</sup>, and then he himself deposed those who deposed him. He had an adversary and rival in the papacy.<sup>4</sup> While he was pope, the new and unusual Neutrality began.<sup>5</sup> He lost Germany and regained it. He brought the Greeks to a union.<sup>6</sup> He gave the law to the Jacobites,<sup>7</sup> who did not know the gospel. He sent a fleet against the Turks and gave his legate Giuliano<sup>8</sup> the power to deal with the Hussites. He first made war against Emperor Sigismund<sup>9</sup> and then gave him the crown. He deprived archbishops and bishops of their office and did not leave even cardinals and imperial electors untouched. He canonised Saint Nicolaus of Tolentino.<sup>10</sup> He was taken captive in Rome but fled<sup>11</sup> and returned.<sup>12</sup> He lost and regained the Marche. When Braccio da Montone<sup>13</sup> was lying dead and excommunicated in the field, he absolved him and let him have a Christian burial.<sup>14</sup> 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 they came to suspect him. 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.

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<sup>1</sup> The council of Basel, indicted by Pope Martin V, who died before its first meeting

<sup>2</sup> 1438

<sup>3</sup> The rump Council of Basel, 1439

<sup>4</sup> Antipope Felix V

<sup>5</sup> 1439

<sup>6</sup> At the council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-1445

<sup>7</sup> Piccolomini is probably referring to the monophysite Syrian Orthodox Church with whom Eugenius signed an agreement in 1443

<sup>8</sup> Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426

<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>10</sup> Nicola da Tolentino (ca. 1246-1305): Canonised 1446

<sup>11</sup> 1434

<sup>12</sup> 1443

<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>14</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> cardinales sunt allocuti: “Accepit majestas regia summi pontificis obitum doletque tanto patre orbatam<sup>2</sup> ecclesiam sanctumque<sup>3</sup> hortatur collegium vestrum successorem illi<sup>4</sup> ut<sup>5</sup> dignum sufficiatis. Vicinitatem suam nulli suspectam<sup>6</sup> esse debere. Si quid vel<sup>7</sup> iuvamenti vel tutamenti ad liberam pontificis electionem conferre potest, in promptu est. Quidquid jusseritis<sup>8</sup>, libens<sup>9</sup> faciet.” His<sup>10</sup> actae sunt gratiae<sup>11</sup>. Cardinales IX diebus exequias celebrarunt. Has summo mane apud sanctum Petrum habebant. Postquam pransi fuerant<sup>12</sup>, apud<sup>13</sup> Minervam conveniebant, reipublicae consulturi.

[41] Cardinalis Capuanus, ut audivit Eugenium mortuum<sup>14</sup>, Romam<sup>15</sup> venit magnoque {192v} populi ac<sup>16</sup> cleri favore exceptus est exequiisque interfuit et pro illo preces effudit, qui se<sup>17</sup> 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<sup>18</sup>. Raro vulgus cum sapientibus sentit. Pauci ex cardinalibus<sup>19</sup> remotiores illo fuerunt<sup>20</sup> ab<sup>21</sup> summo pontificio. Is post electionem factam in<sup>22</sup> morbum incidit Eugeniumque morte<sup>23</sup> secutus est. Ejus aedes cardinali<sup>24</sup> sancti angeli non minori hospiti obvenerunt. Sic dum suis<sup>25</sup> aedificare homines putant, alienis construunt, nec haeredem sibi<sup>26</sup> quisquam potuit scire. Incerti sunt et vani cogitatus nostri. Non quod sapienter, sed {193r} quod feliciter cogitamus, impletur.

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<sup>1</sup> in hunc modum : hunc in modum K \*, M, S, V

<sup>2</sup> esse *add.* H, I, V, BA; *esset* M

<sup>3</sup> sacrumque I; *seque* K \*, S

<sup>4</sup> illius H, I

<sup>5</sup> uti M, V, BA

<sup>6</sup> molestam M, V

<sup>7</sup> in K

<sup>8</sup> juberitis H, I, M, V

<sup>9</sup> libens K \*

<sup>10</sup> iis H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> *deinde add.* M, V

<sup>12</sup> fuerunt I

<sup>13</sup> ad I

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>15</sup> *accelerate add.* M

<sup>16</sup> et K \*, M, S, V

<sup>17</sup> eum ipsum M, V; ipsum BA

<sup>18</sup> senatui K, S, V

<sup>19</sup> ex cardinalibus : cardinales M, V

<sup>20</sup> fuerant H, I

<sup>21</sup> a M, S, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* K \*, S

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>24</sup> cardinalis I, K \*

<sup>25</sup> sibi BA

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* M, V; *suum* BA



[42] Eugenio duo funerei<sup>1</sup> sermones facti sunt: alterum Malatesta quidam ex ordine<sup>2</sup> auditorum, alterum cardinalis Bononiensis effecit<sup>3</sup>, prima atque<sup>4</sup> ultima exequiarum die. Ille vitam Eugenii commendavit, hic obitum. Ille qualis fuerat Eugenius enarravit<sup>5</sup>, hic<sup>6</sup> qualis eligi<sup>7</sup> successor deberet<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>, edocuit. Comminatus est<sup>10</sup> extremum iudicium cardinalibus, si amore, si odio, si aliquo affectu indigno in electione uterentur, tantaque vehementia locutus est, ut angelum non hominem sermocinari putarent<sup>11</sup>, pluresque sibi<sup>12</sup> summum pontificium<sup>13</sup> augurarentur.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>2</sup> genere H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> effecit H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> et BA

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

<sup>6</sup> is M

<sup>7</sup> elegi K

<sup>8</sup> eligi deberet : debere eligi M

<sup>9</sup> successor deberet : deberet successor H, I, BA

<sup>10</sup> in *add.* M

<sup>11</sup> putaret H; putaretur I; putares BA

<sup>12</sup> Ibi K \*

<sup>13</sup> pontificatum M, V

### 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<sup>1</sup> should give nobody cause for suspicion. If he can provide assistance and protection to 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 public matters.

### 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> a host just as great as he. Thus, while men 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 come true.

### 3.11. Funeral sermons

[42] Two funeral sermons were held for Eugenius, one by a Malatesta<sup>4</sup> of the order of auditors,<sup>5</sup> and another by the Cardinal of Bologna,<sup>6</sup> 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 other 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,

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> The college of cardinals

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Juan Carvajal

<sup>4</sup> Unidentified

<sup>5</sup> Auditors of the Rota

<sup>6</sup> Tommaso Parentucelli

hate or any other, unworthy emotion.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

[44] Conclave in dormitorio praedicatorum Minervae constructum est. Ostium primum quattuor praelatis commissum est, qui<sup>19</sup> quattuor claves habere, archiepiscopus Ravennas, Anconitanus, Aquilanus et<sup>20</sup> Zamorensis<sup>21</sup> episcopi. Duoque<sup>22</sup> sub duabus clavibus tenebantur. Alternatim nos cum oratoribus regis {194v} Aragonum<sup>23</sup>, regis Cypri et Anconitanorum has observavimus. Statio nostra in capitolio<sup>24</sup> fuit. Rursus aliud erat ostium, quod nos claudebat. Hujus custodiam

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<sup>1</sup> mutari H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> minime mutari custodiam : custodiam minime mutari M, V

<sup>3</sup> haberi S, WO

<sup>4</sup> complures S

<sup>5</sup> exire jussi : egressi H, I

<sup>6</sup> ac *add.* M, V

<sup>7</sup> jussi sunt : sunt iussi M

<sup>8</sup> sibi *add.* M, S, V

<sup>9</sup> quemlibet H, I; sibique K \*

<sup>10</sup> sibi *add.* BA, WO

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

<sup>12</sup> non solum ... sed *omit.* M, V

<sup>13</sup> esse *add.* H, I, M, V, BA, WO

<sup>14</sup> acceptius H, I

<sup>15</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> conclavis secreti clavium : clavium secreti conclavis I; clavium conclavis secreti BA

<sup>17</sup> functum I; privatam M, V

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> ostium primum ... qui : cuius M, V

<sup>20</sup> est K \*

<sup>21</sup> Semorensis H, I, M, V; Semocensis BA

<sup>22</sup> *em.*; hi quoque *codd.*

<sup>23</sup> Romanorum M, V

<sup>24</sup> Campidolio BA

procurator Rhodiensium<sup>1</sup> habuit, quartum est. Quintum ostium cives observavere, nec minus<sup>2</sup> mille armatis die noctuque in vigiliis fuerunt. Senator urbis excubias<sup>3</sup> habuit<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Rhodiensis H, I, M, V; Rhodiorum BA; Rhodiensium K, S

<sup>2</sup> numquam S

<sup>3</sup> excubias K \*

<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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. Since the root of schism was not yet removed, they considered it necessary to avoid any irregularity and even the suspicion of such.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> at the Minerva. The first gate was entrusted to four prelates, who had four keys: the Archbishop of Ravenna,<sup>4</sup> the Bishop of Ancona,<sup>5</sup> the Bishop of Aquila,<sup>6</sup> and the Bishop of Zamora.<sup>7</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the main seat and convent of the Dominicans in Rome

<sup>2</sup> Like Caesar's wife

<sup>3</sup> The Dominicans

<sup>4</sup> Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna 1445 to his death. Cardinal 1461

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Caffarelli (d. 1467): Bishop of Ancona 1437 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Amico Agnifili (1398-1476): Bishop of L'Aquila 1437 to his death. Cardinal 1467

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Mella (1397-1467): Bishop of Zamora 1440. Cardinal 1456

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

[46] Cibaria in cornutis<sup>26</sup> feruntur<sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> clausa, sed aperiuntur ante ultimum ostium<sup>29</sup> per quattuor praelatos inspiciunturque, ne quid litterarum armorumve feratur. Cornutarum nomine nihil<sup>1</sup> aliud

<sup>1</sup> obitum Eugenii : Eugenii obitum S

<sup>2</sup> decima post ... die *omit.* I

<sup>3</sup> finitis exequiis ... cardinales *omit.* M

<sup>4</sup> receptis I

<sup>5</sup> oratoribus et *add.* I

<sup>6</sup> quibuscumque M, V

<sup>7</sup> reclusisque BA, WO

<sup>8</sup> laneo V

<sup>9</sup> inter sese quicquid : quidquid inter sese BA

<sup>10</sup> forte WO

<sup>11</sup> suam cellam : cellam suam K \*

<sup>12</sup> suam cellam ... Bononiensis : cardinalis Bononiensis suam cellam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> cuique M, V; cujusquam BA

<sup>14</sup> quisquam ex eo : ex eo quisquam M, S

<sup>15</sup> votum ejus : eius votum V

<sup>16</sup> celebratur K, V

<sup>17</sup> fuerant S

<sup>18</sup> sint H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> exinde M; ex in BA

<sup>20</sup> elixum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>21</sup> conclave H, BA

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>23</sup> duos famulos : famulos duos I

<sup>24</sup> famulos habere : habere famulos K, M, V

<sup>25</sup> sacrista et *add.* BA

<sup>26</sup> cornuta H, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> ferunt V

<sup>28</sup> in cornuta feruntur : erunt in cornuta M

<sup>29</sup> aperiuntur ante ... ostium : ante ultimum ostium aperiuntur M, V

intelligas nisi<sup>2</sup> cistas ligneas depictas et<sup>3</sup> armis cujuslibet cardinalis ornatas. Intus fercula reconduntur. Duo scutiferi unam perticam suspensam portant, alii bini praecedunt<sup>4</sup>. {196r} Sequuntur in processione episcopi ceterique clerici<sup>5</sup> de familia illius<sup>6</sup> cardinalis, cujus cornuta fertur. Tot funera duci credas, quot cornutae cardinalesque sunt. Usque adeo miseros<sup>7</sup> curiales<sup>8</sup> adulandi consuetudo illexit, ut cum cardinalibus nequeant<sup>9</sup>, cornutis assententur atque illas non minus quam cardinales honorant<sup>10</sup>.

### 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,<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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<sup>13</sup> was purer or cleaner than his. Before that day, nobody could wrest his vote from him.

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. For 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. Only these are allowed inside except two masters of ceremonies, who after the election have the right of the new pope's cell and its decorations.

### 3.14. Weird rituals

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<sup>1</sup> nil M, V; non K

<sup>2</sup> quam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> ac M, V

<sup>4</sup> procedunt M, V

<sup>5</sup> ceterique clerici : clericique S

<sup>6</sup> ipsius H, I; ejus BA

<sup>7</sup> miseri H

<sup>8</sup> cardinalis H

<sup>9</sup> nequeunt K

<sup>10</sup> honorent M, V

<sup>11</sup> i.e., singing the hymn "Veni creator spiritus"

<sup>12</sup> "lumen commentitium"

<sup>13</sup> "mens"



[46] The food is brought in closed *cornutae*,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> The customary adulation of cardinals has brought the miserable curials to to the point where, since they cannot honour the cardinals,<sup>3</sup> they revere their hampers and honour them no less than the cardinals themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> Hamper

<sup>2</sup> Meaning that the food procession resembles a funeral procession

<sup>3</sup> Being locked away in conclave

[46] Duae<sup>1</sup> his in rebus risu dignae visae sunt ceremoniae: haec una<sup>2</sup>, altera, quoniam media hieme sub pyra, quam doloris castrum appellant, quattuor lugubribus induti vestibibus flabellis, quae non adsunt, muscas<sup>3</sup> expellunt<sup>4</sup> ventulumque non praesenti faciunt pontifici<sup>5</sup>. Alterum superstitiosum<sup>6</sup> dixerunt quidam, alterum anile. Nos utrasque<sup>7</sup> ceremonias ab ecclesia {196v} secludi vellemus, quam puram et immaculatam esse<sup>8</sup> praedicant, sed concedendum est aliquid consuetudini. Illud admodum placuit nobis, quoniam singulis diebus processio sacerdotum circa conclave<sup>9</sup> fuit, summis precibus spiritus sancti praesentiam<sup>10</sup> electioni deprecans. Nec enim abesse solet, cum sincera mente deprecatur<sup>11</sup> spiritus<sup>12</sup> ille, sed ultro vocantibus adest opusque dirigit. Is et orationis nostrae tertiam partem in finem<sup>13</sup> perduxit.<sup>14</sup>

[47] Sic et ipse quartae<sup>15</sup> atque<sup>15</sup> ultimae partis directet<sup>16</sup> tuasque aures, clementissime Caesar<sup>17</sup>, benignas praebeat. Si quid est enim de<sup>18</sup> his<sup>19</sup>, quae<sup>20</sup> diximus, quod pietati divinae tribuendum putes, hoc<sup>21</sup>, quod<sup>22</sup> restat, maxime Deo {197r} imputandum est. Bene, mehercule, atque vere cardinalem Portugallensem dixisse constat. Is, ut est voce<sup>23</sup> quam cruribus ac<sup>24</sup> tibiis robustior et lingua quam corpore agilior, cum locum electionis<sup>25</sup> exiret<sup>26</sup> impedimentoque parvo cespitans cecidisset, interrogatus, an papam cardinales fecissent, “Non”, inquit, cumque<sup>27</sup> instarent famuli factumque a cardinalibus papam contenderent, sic enim attestari alios ajebant, “Nequaquam,” inquit, “fecimus papam, Deus fecit, non nos.” Audi ergo, Caesar Invictissime<sup>28</sup>, opus Dei, opus

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<sup>1</sup> duo M

<sup>2</sup> haec una : una hec M, V

<sup>3</sup> flabellis quae ... muscas : quae non adsunt muscas M

<sup>4</sup> expellant BA

<sup>5</sup> faciunt pontifici : pontifici faciunt I, BA

<sup>6</sup> superstitionem M, V

<sup>7</sup> has *add.* M, V

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* H, K, M, S, V

<sup>9</sup> processio sacerdotum ... conclave : circa conclave processio sacerdotum S

<sup>10</sup> pontificis *add.* M, V

<sup>11</sup> sincera mente deprecatur : deprecatur sincera mente I

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* BA

<sup>13</sup> usque *add.* S

<sup>14</sup> 4a. pars narrationis *in marg.* H; quarta pars *add.* I

<sup>15</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> director K

<sup>17</sup> clementissime Caesar : Caesar clementissime H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>18</sup> ex K, S

<sup>19</sup> iis M, V

<sup>20</sup> quod X

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> non *add.* M

<sup>23</sup> atque vere ... voce *omit.* V

<sup>24</sup> et M, V

<sup>25</sup> locum electionis : electionis locum I

<sup>26</sup> exiisset H, I; existet K; exisset S

<sup>27</sup> cum H, BA

<sup>28</sup> invicte K

sanctum, opus mirabile. Spiritus sancti jam secreta pandemus<sup>1</sup>, quae ultimae nostrae orationis<sup>2 3</sup> parti<sup>4</sup> servavimus, ut magis haereant, quae novissime exeunt.

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<sup>1</sup> pandimus S

<sup>2</sup> narrationis I

<sup>3</sup> nostrae orationis : orationis nostre H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> omit. BA, WO

[46] In this connection, we saw two ridiculous ceremonies. One has just been mentioned, and the other was the following: beneath the bier, the so-called *castrum doloris*,<sup>1</sup> 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, others that it is absurd. We would eliminate both ceremonies from the Church, 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 the Holy Spirit is usually present when it is requested with a sincere mind, and when people invoke it repeatedly,<sup>2</sup> it [certainly] comes and directs their works.

He<sup>3</sup> has now ended the third part of our oration.

## 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.<sup>4</sup> Well and truly, by Hercules, did the Cardinal of Portugal<sup>5</sup> 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 on 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 us.” 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, reserved for the last part of our oration, so that what comes last will be remembered better.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini use of the word “pyra” is incorrect since it 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

<sup>2</sup> “ultra”

<sup>3</sup> The Holy Spirit

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the election of a pope who was known to be friendly to the emperor and his interests, and who had himself been one of the architects and principal negotiators of the agreement leading to German recognition of the Roman pope

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Martins de Chaves

[48] {197v} Cum<sup>1</sup> intrarent cardinales conclave, communis opinio fuit Prosperum de Columna summum pontificium adipisci, sed proverbium Romanorum<sup>2</sup> est exire cardinalem<sup>3</sup>, qui pontifex intrat conclave. Sic<sup>4</sup> illi obvenit. Sed vir magnanimus atlique cordis etiam summum<sup>5 6</sup> pontificium spernere potuit, nec enim illum spes erexit, nec deiecit<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>8</sup> sancti Pauli<sup>9</sup> Bononiensem superarunt, sed nullus ad papatum satis vocum habuit. Per eam diem, quae dominica fuit, varii inter cardinales fuere tractatus: quidam Columnensi favebant, quidam<sup>10</sup> summis conatibus obviabant. Ipse in utramque partem armatus erat.

[49] Ventum est die lunae<sup>11</sup> ad scrutinium secundum<sup>12</sup>. Quamplurimi<sup>13</sup> extra collegium voces habuere<sup>14</sup>. Archiepiscopus Beneventanus Florentinusque<sup>15</sup> nominati sunt, correctorem quoque<sup>16</sup> et<sup>17</sup> Nicolaum Cusanum<sup>18</sup> nonnulli vocabant. Sed superavit omnes cardinalis de Columna, qui etiam hac<sup>19</sup> die<sup>20</sup> decem votis {198v} flagitatus<sup>21</sup> est. Bononiensem solum tribus<sup>22</sup> expetitur ferunt<sup>23</sup>. Morinensis vero, ubi Prosperum apostolatui proximum vidit, “Quid,” inquit, “reverendissimi patres, terimus tempus<sup>24</sup>? Nihil ecclesiae periculosius<sup>25 26</sup> est cunctatione nostra. Urbs anceps est, rex Aragonum muris imminet, Amadeus de Sabaudia<sup>27</sup> nobis insidiatur, comitem

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<sup>1</sup> cumque M, V

<sup>2</sup> Romanum S

<sup>3</sup> exire cardinalem : cardinalem exire M, V

<sup>4</sup> hic M, V

<sup>5</sup> omit. H

<sup>6</sup> etiam summum : summum etiam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>7</sup> eiecit S

<sup>8</sup> omit. H, K \*, M, S, V

<sup>9</sup> etiam add. S; et add. V; in add. WO

<sup>10</sup> quibus S

<sup>11</sup> sequenti add. I

<sup>12</sup> scrutinium secundum : secundum scrutinium M

<sup>13</sup> quo plurimi M, V

<sup>14</sup> habuerunt BA

<sup>15</sup> et Florentinus I

<sup>16</sup> correctorem quoque : correctoremque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> omit. M, V

<sup>18</sup> Cusanum : de Cusa H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> hoc H, I

<sup>20</sup> hac die : die hac V

<sup>21</sup> efflagitatus K \*, S

<sup>22</sup> vocibus add. M, V

<sup>23</sup> fuerunt M

<sup>24</sup> terimus tempus : tempus terimus S, WO

<sup>25</sup> periculosior M

<sup>26</sup> ecclesiae periculosius : periculosius ecclesiae S

<sup>27</sup> de Sabaudia omit. M

Franciscum hostem habemus, hic multa incommoda ferimus<sup>1</sup>. Quin pontificem citius eligimus<sup>2</sup>. Ecce angelum Dei cardinalem de Columna, mansuetum agnum. Quin<sup>3</sup> hunc papam<sup>4</sup> assumimus<sup>5</sup>? Decem habet vota, duo absunt. Quin consurgitis vocemque huic<sup>6</sup> affertis? Acta res est: si unus accedit, non deerit alter.” Stabant omnes immobiles<sup>7</sup>. {199r} Tum<sup>8</sup> Bononiensis, ne longior mora ecclesiae noceret, assurgens, cardinali Columnensi<sup>9 10</sup> accedere<sup>11</sup> voluit.

#### 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,<sup>12</sup> the Cardinal of Théroutane<sup>13</sup> and several others favoured him, but the Vicechancellor<sup>14</sup> and the Cardinal of Taranto<sup>15</sup> wanted anyone but him. There had been quarrels and disputes in the City. Reportedly, there were two ballots. On the first one, Cardinal Colonna received ten votes, the Cardinal of Fermo<sup>16</sup> eight, he who is now pope five, and others received other numbers of votes. The Cardinal of Portugal and the Cardinal of San Paolo<sup>17</sup> got more votes than the Cardinal of Bologna, but no one got enough to become elected. On the same day, which was Sunday, there were various discussions between the cardinals: some favoured Cardinal Colonna, some opposed him with all their might. He himself was prepared for both eventualities.

#### 4.1.3. Second ballot

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

<sup>2</sup> eligamus H, I

<sup>3</sup> qui H, I

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>5</sup> assumamus H, M, V; assumemus I; sumimus K

<sup>6</sup> huc K\*; hic BA

<sup>7</sup> omnes immobiles : immobiles omnes M, V

<sup>8</sup> tunc M, V

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

<sup>10</sup> cardinali Columnensi : Columna cardinali H, I; Columnae cardinali BA

<sup>11</sup> assurgere M, V

<sup>12</sup> Ludovico Scarampo

<sup>13</sup> Jean Le Jeune

<sup>14</sup> Francesco Condulmer

<sup>15</sup> Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo

<sup>16</sup> Domenico Capranica

<sup>17</sup> Johannes de Primis

[49] On Monday, they proceeded to the second ballot. Many from outside the college<sup>1</sup> were nominated, like the Archbishop of Benevento<sup>2</sup> and the Archbishop of Florence, and several cardinals called for the corrector<sup>3</sup> and Nikolaus von Kues.<sup>4</sup> 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 Théroutanne saw that Prospero was getting very close to the papacy<sup>5</sup>, he said, “Most Reverend Fathers, why are we wasting time? Nothing is more dangerous for the Church than our hesitation. The City is agitated, the King of Aragon is close to the walls, Amédée of Savoy<sup>6</sup> is plotting against us, Count Francesco<sup>7</sup> 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 one first accedes<sup>8</sup>, a second one will be sure 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.

[50] At<sup>9</sup> Tarentinus veritus, quod erat futurum, si ille accessisset, “Siste,” inquit, “paulisper Bononiensis. Caecum est<sup>10</sup> festinantis consilium. Grandem rem agimus. Nihil tarde fit, quod bene fit. Pervestigemus rem altius. Non qui villae uni<sup>11</sup> praesit, sed qui totum regat orbem, qui caelum claudat et aperiat, qui liget et<sup>12</sup> solvat, et alium in terris Deum electuri<sup>13</sup> sumus. Nunc examine, nunc consilio est opus<sup>14</sup>. Parum vidit, qui cito vidit.” Tum<sup>15</sup> Aquilegiensis: “Omnia, quae dicis, Tarentine, eo tendunt, ne pontificatum Columnensis habeat. Si tua ex sententia pontifex fiat<sup>16</sup>, non incusabis {199v} celeritatem. Non consultantis, sed nolentis est<sup>17</sup> diuturna<sup>18</sup> deliberatio. Dic, obsecro, quem vis papam?” Tunc ille “Bononiensem,” inquit, “vellem eumque nomino.” “Placet et mihi,” Aquilegiensis respondit. Accedit Morinensis, accedunt<sup>19</sup> alii. Repente ad XI voces<sup>20</sup> pervenitur<sup>21</sup>. Exinde<sup>22</sup> cardinalis sancti Sixti: “Et ego te<sup>1</sup>,” inquit<sup>2</sup>, “Thoma<sup>3</sup>, pontificem facio, nam

<sup>1</sup> The college of cardinals

<sup>2</sup> Astorgio Agnesi (1391-1451): Archbishop of Benevento from 1436 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Not identified

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

<sup>5</sup> “apostolatus”: the apostolate

<sup>6</sup> The anti-pope, Felix V

<sup>7</sup> Francesco Sforza

<sup>8</sup> The procedure of “accession” at papal conclaves: after the ballot, the cardinals were allowed to change their vote and give it to another candidate

<sup>9</sup> tum I

<sup>10</sup> caecum est : numquam bonum M

<sup>11</sup> unus M

<sup>12</sup> ac V

<sup>13</sup> dilecturi V; delecturi K, M, S

<sup>14</sup> est opus : opus est M, V

<sup>15</sup> tunc WO

<sup>16</sup> vivat I

<sup>17</sup> omit. H, I

<sup>18</sup> diuturna M

<sup>19</sup> et add. H, M, V, BA

<sup>20</sup> XI voces : undecimam vocem H, K \*, M, S, V

<sup>21</sup> provenitur H, I

<sup>22</sup> exin K; exit H, I, M, V, BA, WO

vigiliam hodie beati Thomae facimus.” Mox alii omnes factum probaverunt<sup>4</sup>. Ille, postquam diutius<sup>5</sup> incassum se<sup>6</sup> excusavit imperfectumque suum<sup>7</sup> testatus est, cardinalium precibus acquievit induensque pontificalia<sup>8</sup> nomen sibi Nicolai V. ob reverentiam magistri<sup>9</sup> sui<sup>10</sup>, sanctissimi patris Nicolai<sup>11</sup> cardinalis sanctae crucis, adoptavit.

[51] {200r} Exacta jam hora sexta in nonam ferebatur dies, apertaue conclavis fenestra cardinalis de<sup>12</sup> Columna<sup>13</sup>, prior diaconorum<sup>14</sup>, crucem pontificalem emisit creatumque papam populo acclamavit. Altus erat locus, nec cardinalis<sup>15</sup> agnosci<sup>16</sup> nec<sup>17</sup> vox bene exaudiri poterat. Exiit<sup>18</sup> rumor cardinalem de Columna creatum<sup>19</sup> papam. Tum rupti repente cancelli. Ursini arma<sup>20</sup> domi clam<sup>21</sup> recipere<sup>22</sup> atque ad tuenda sua festinabant. Populus hilaris, quia Romanum haberet<sup>23</sup> papam<sup>24</sup>, et Columnenses saltationibus, risibus vocibusque gaudium expromebant<sup>25</sup>. Alii domum ejus<sup>26</sup> praedae exposuerunt<sup>27</sup>. Ubi sedatus is rumor est, cardinalis quoque Capuani diripiunt domum.

[50] But the Cardinal of Taranto<sup>28</sup>, 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 reflection and counsel. You

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

<sup>2</sup> te inquit : inquit te I

<sup>3</sup> Thomam H, I, K \*, M, V

<sup>4</sup> probavere K, S

<sup>5</sup> diu BA

<sup>6</sup> incassum se : se incassum S

<sup>7</sup> imperfectumque suum : imperfectionemque M; imperfectionemque suam V

<sup>8</sup> pontificale I, BA; pontificalem habitum M, V

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA, WO

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>11</sup> Albergati *add.* I

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>13</sup> de Columna *omit.* M

<sup>14</sup> decanorum M

<sup>15</sup> de Columna *add.* I, BA

<sup>16</sup> cognosci M, V

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* M; neque K \*, S

<sup>18</sup> exit H, I, BA

<sup>19</sup> esse *add.* I, WO

<sup>20</sup> ardua M, V

<sup>21</sup> iam H, I, BA; *omit.* M, V

<sup>22</sup> recepere K

<sup>23</sup> habebat H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>24</sup> pontificem M, V

<sup>25</sup> promebant S

<sup>26</sup> cardinalis Columnensis I

<sup>27</sup> praedae exposuerunt : exspoliaverunt M

<sup>28</sup> An Orsini, traditionally opposed to the Colonnas



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 criticise 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 Théroutanne acceded, and so did others. Quickly they reached 11 votes. Then the Cardinal of San Sisto<sup>1</sup> got up before the others and said, “And I, Thomas, make you pope, for today we celebrate the Vigil of Saint Thomas.”<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

[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<sup>5</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Juan de Torquemada

<sup>2</sup> According to Pastor, there were three ballots (Pastor, I (2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed., 1955), p. 377

<sup>3</sup> It belonged to tradition that persons elected for high ecclesiastical office should protest their unworthiness, thereby proving their humility and absence of personal ambition

<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>5</sup> Roman noble family, and traditional rivals, even enemies of the Colonnas

[51] Atque inde cognita<sup>1</sup> veritate Bononiensis bona<sup>2</sup> susceperunt, {200v} sed admodum pauca. Hoc pauperi beneficium est, quod<sup>3</sup> pauca potest amittere. Rex Aragonum haud libenter hanc promotionem accepit, Columnensi namque affectus erat.

[52] At<sup>4</sup> novus<sup>5</sup> pontifex rupto muro<sup>6</sup> conclavis in ecclesiam<sup>7</sup> deductus est et ante majus altare collocatus,<sup>8</sup> ibique<sup>9</sup> sibi omnes<sup>10</sup> cardinales oboedientiam praestiterunt. Post haec ascendens equum niveum, qui ad hunc usum paratus erat, ad sanctum Petrum perrexit. Equum ducebant<sup>11</sup> Procopius, senator<sup>12</sup> et alii oratores, qui aderant, regum et principum. Ingens ubique populi multitudo<sup>13</sup> erat<sup>14</sup>, nec ab osculo pedum<sup>15</sup> magnis percussioibus prohiberi vel viri vel feminae poterant. Ferventiora<sup>16</sup> sunt<sup>17</sup> omnium rerum principia, tempore frigescit caritas. Rursus cardinales in sancto Petro<sup>18</sup> oboedientiam exhibuerunt<sup>19</sup>, atque tandem fessus fractusque pontifex totaque immutatus facie in palatium deductus est.

[53] Accessimus eum etiam<sup>20</sup> die illa<sup>21</sup>, quamvis importunum<sup>22</sup> esset<sup>23</sup> tempus. Is, ubi nos vidit, assurgens<sup>24</sup> amplexum dedit vixque pedum<sup>25</sup> permisit oscula<sup>26</sup>. Pauca pro tempore diximus: te gavisurum assumptione sua, ut commendatum haberet, supplicavimus; bene<sup>27</sup> imperio et ecclesiae<sup>28</sup> fore, si duo mundi capita<sup>29</sup> invicem se diligerent. Familiariter et benigne<sup>30</sup>, ut solebat,

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<sup>1</sup> agnita BA

<sup>2</sup> cuncta M, V

<sup>3</sup> quia H, K \*, M, V; qui I

<sup>4</sup> hic H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> novissimus H, I

<sup>6</sup> rumore M

<sup>7</sup> ecclesia H, I, M, V

<sup>8</sup> est *add.* M

<sup>9</sup> ibi V

<sup>10</sup> sibi omnes : omnes sibi K, M, S, V

<sup>11</sup> ducebat H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>12</sup> venator M

<sup>13</sup> populi multitudo : multitudo populi M, V

<sup>14</sup> fuit H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>15</sup> pedis M, V

<sup>16</sup> enim *add.* S

<sup>17</sup> enim *add.* K

<sup>18</sup> cardinales in sancto Petro : in sancto Petro cardinales K \*, M, S, V

<sup>19</sup> exhibuere K

<sup>20</sup> eum etiam : etiam eum S

<sup>21</sup> die illa : illa die S

<sup>22</sup> inoportunum K

<sup>23</sup> erat H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>24</sup> assurgens H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>25</sup> pedem I

<sup>26</sup> osculari I

<sup>27</sup> bonum I

<sup>28</sup> imperio et ecclesiae : ecclesiae et imperio H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>29</sup> mundi capita : capita mundi M

<sup>30</sup> et benigne : benigneque S

respondit, et, quia confirmationem gestorum<sup>1</sup> Eugenii {201v} petiveramus, "Ego," inquit, "quae cum natione Germanica meus antecessor fecit, non solum approbare confirmareque<sup>2</sup> volo, sed exequi ac<sup>3</sup> manutenere<sup>4</sup> omnia. Nimis, ut mihi videtur, Romani pontifices fimbrias suas extenderunt, qui nihil jurisdictionis ceteris episcopis reliquerunt; nimis quoque Basilienses<sup>5</sup> apostolicae sedis manus abbreviaverunt.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> confirmarique S

<sup>3</sup> et H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> manuteneri S

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

#### 4.1.4. Announcement of the new pope

[51] When the truth finally became known, they looted the belongings of the Cardinal of Bologna, too, but they were only a few.<sup>1</sup> The advantage of being poor is that you can only lose a little! The King of Aragon was not happy to hear about this election for he was attached to Colonna.

#### 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<sup>2</sup> and other ambassadors of kings and princes present in the city, as well as the Senator,<sup>3</sup> led the horse. Everywhere, there was an enormous multitude of people. Only blows could prevent men and women from kissing the pope's feet. All beginnings create enthusiasm, but as time passes, devotion grows cold. In Saint Peter's, the cardinals once again promised obedience, and finally the pontiff was led into the palace, tired and completely worn out and drawn.

[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 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 concerning the the German nation but also execute and uphold 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Plundering cardinals' homes after a papal election was traditional, almost a ritual

<sup>2</sup> Prokop von Rabenstein

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the Senator of Rome, a Roman public office in the Middle Ages

[53] Sed ita evenit: qui facit indigna<sup>1</sup>, ut injusta ferat<sup>2</sup>, oportet. Arborem, in unam quae<sup>3</sup> 4 partem<sup>5</sup> pependit<sup>6</sup>, qui volunt erigere, in partem adversam<sup>7</sup> 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*<sup>8</sup> facturus erat.

[54] In ea, quae secuta est, nocte maximi facti sunt ignes. Castellanus sancti angeli venienti<sup>9</sup> ex Minerva pontifici super<sup>10</sup> pontem<sup>11</sup> obvius<sup>12</sup> fuit<sup>13</sup> arcisque tutissimae claves restituit contraque datas recepit. Hanc tamen postea, sicut accepimus, arcem procurator Prutenorum<sup>14</sup> custodiendam<sup>15</sup> accepit<sup>16</sup>. Tota curia totaque urbs ex hujus assumptione pontificis laetata est. Fuerunt, qui alium cardinalem, a quo majora sperabant, pontificem factum magis optassent<sup>17</sup>, at hunc papam nemo invitatus vidit. Nemo ex cardinalibus fuit praeter {202v} hunc nostrum, quem non aliquod excluderet<sup>18</sup> odium: alium Ursini<sup>19</sup>, alium Columnenses<sup>20</sup>, alium Veneti, alium Mediolanenses,<sup>21</sup> 22 alium Gallici, alium Cathelani<sup>23</sup> formidabant, et<sup>24</sup> tamen unum ex his, quem<sup>25</sup> habituri erant inimicum<sup>26</sup>, improvida mortalium mens<sup>27</sup> diligebat<sup>28</sup>.

[55] Sed conscius omnium rerum<sup>29</sup> paraclitus hunc accepit, hunc praefecit, quam amaturos<sup>30</sup> sciebat omnes. Vidit *scrutator*<sup>1</sup> *cordium* Deus in hoc patre summam humilitatem, hanc exaltavit.

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

<sup>2</sup> *sciat* M, V

<sup>3</sup> *qui* M, V

<sup>4</sup> in unam quae : quae in unam H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> in unam partem : partem in unam M

<sup>6</sup> *pendit* M

<sup>7</sup> partem adversam : adversam partem I

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

<sup>9</sup> *venit* M

<sup>10</sup> *supra* H, I, BA; *omit.* M, V

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

<sup>12</sup> *obvium* M

<sup>13</sup> *venit* BA

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* H, I [*blank space*], M, V, BA

<sup>15</sup> *susciendam* S

<sup>16</sup> *suscepit* K \*, S

<sup>17</sup> *optabant* S, V

<sup>18</sup> *excluserat* H; *excusaverat* I

<sup>19</sup> *Ursinensem* I; *Ursinenses* BA

<sup>20</sup> *Columnensem* I

<sup>21</sup> *alium Veneti alium Mediolanenses* : *alium Mediolanenses alium Veneti* M, V

<sup>22</sup> *alium Veneti ... Mediolanenses* *omit.* I

<sup>23</sup> *Cathalani* BA

<sup>24</sup> *ex* H; *omit.* V

<sup>25</sup> *qui* K \*, S

<sup>26</sup> *inimicos* H, I, K, M, S, BA

<sup>27</sup> *mortalium mens* : *mens mortalium* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>28</sup> *diligebat* K, M

<sup>29</sup> *omnium rerum* : *rerum omnium* M

<sup>30</sup> *amaturum* H, I, M, V, BA

Vidit singularem justitiam, hanc praemiavit. Vidit praecipuam humanitatem, hanc amavit<sup>2 3</sup>. Vidit prudentiam grandem, hanc delegit<sup>4</sup>. Vidit ingentem magnanimitatem<sup>5</sup>, hanc probavit. Vidit {203r} scientiam profundissimam, hanc ecclesiae sponsae suae<sup>6 7</sup> praefecit. Vidit exuberantem eloquentiam, hanc necessariam in pontifice<sup>8</sup> maximo judicavit.

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<sup>1</sup> conservator M

<sup>2</sup> vidit singularem ... amavit *omit.* S

<sup>3</sup> vidit singularem ... amavit : vidit praecipuam humanitatem, hanc amavit. Vidit singularem justitiam, hanc praemiavit

K

<sup>4</sup> elegit S

<sup>5</sup> magnitudinem H, I, M, V, BA

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

<sup>7</sup> sponsae suae : suae sponsae H, I, BA

<sup>8</sup> pontificio K \*, S

#### 4.1.6. First meeting with the ambassadors

[53] 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.”<sup>1</sup> He also asked us to stay for his coronation, which would be held on Laetare Sunday.

#### 4.1.7. Public rejoicings

[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<sup>2</sup> was appointed governor of the castle. The whole curia and all the citizens rejoiced in this election.<sup>3</sup> Some had wished for another cardinal from whom they hoped for great [benefits], but still, all accepted this pope. Among the cardinals, there was nobody, except this cardinal of ours,<sup>4</sup> 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 yet another: the shortsighted mind of men loved one of those, whom they would later have as an enemy.<sup>5</sup>

[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 up to rule the Church, His bride. He saw vigorous eloquence, and that is what He found necessary in a supreme pontiff.

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<sup>1</sup> Note this remarkable statement!

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts do not agree on who was appointed governor of the Castel Sant’Angelo

<sup>3</sup> “assumptio”

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Parentucelli

<sup>5</sup> 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] Neque enim una vel altera doctrina callet<sup>1</sup>, ut quidam ex nostris, qui una et hac minus nota scientia superbientes contemnunt ceteras<sup>2</sup>. Artibus septem, quas liberales vocant, sic a puero imbutus est, ut omnia praesentia sint. Philosophos omnes novit, historicos, poetas, cosmographos<sup>3</sup>, theologos, nam et sacris artibus<sup>4</sup> initiatus est. Juris<sup>5</sup> civilis et pontificii notitiam habet, nec medicinam ignorat. Extra scientiam est hominum, quidquid illi occultum est. Provincias plurimas peragravit, {203v} principes Christianae reipublicae<sup>6</sup> majores adivit<sup>7</sup>, in rebus maximis versatus est, et domus et civitatum regimina est expertus<sup>8</sup>. Quod si umquam sperare beatam ecclesiam futuram<sup>9</sup> licuit, sub hoc pontifice spes ista florebit, quoniam<sup>10</sup> rectorem<sup>11</sup> ejus studere sapientiae<sup>12</sup> contigit<sup>13</sup>. Nunc vulgo dicitur exclusis vitiis virtutes et doctrinas imperium habituras. Origo illi ex<sup>14</sup> Sarzana<sup>15</sup> est<sup>16</sup>, quod Januensium est oppidum in Tuscia juxta Ligusticum mare, ubi nunc sedes Lunensis<sup>17</sup> est. Honesto loco natus est<sup>18</sup>. Majores ejus quidam ex<sup>19</sup> Luca, quidam ex Pisis profectos Sarezanam<sup>20</sup> ajunt<sup>21</sup>. Armis in pontificatu nullis uti {204r} vult, nisi quibus ecclesia utitur.

[56] In crastinum electionis suae duos cardinales ad regem Aragonum transmisit, vicecancellarium et camerarium. Ille contra quattuor<sup>22</sup> ad summum<sup>23</sup> pontificem oratores destinavit<sup>24</sup>, qui publice sic contionati sunt: “Gavisa est regia serenitas ex tua promotione, sanctissime pater, nam et sibi et toti ecclesiae exinde<sup>25</sup> bene sperat. Commendat se tuae sanctitati et offert regna et arma. Coronandum te scit.<sup>26</sup> Quia nequit adesse, jussit<sup>27</sup> nos venire suoque nomine coronationem honorare.” Hilari fronte hos exceptit<sup>28</sup> pontifex gratiasque regi et oratoribus egit<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> caret M

<sup>2</sup> exteras I

<sup>3</sup> et *add.* M, V

<sup>4</sup> eius artis K \*, S

<sup>5</sup> et *add.* K, M, S, V

<sup>6</sup> Christianae reipublicae : reipublicae Christianae M, V

<sup>7</sup> adivit M

<sup>8</sup> est expertus : expertus est S

<sup>9</sup> sperare beatam ... futuram : beatam futuram sperare ecclesiam K, S

<sup>10</sup> quando K \*, S

<sup>11</sup> rectores H, I, K, M,

<sup>12</sup> studere sapientiae : sapientiae studere H, I, V, BA

<sup>13</sup> contingit M, V

<sup>14</sup> est M, V

<sup>15</sup> Sarezana K

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>17</sup> Lucensis M, V

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>20</sup> Sarazanam H; Sarzanam I, M, V, BA; Sarezanam K

<sup>21</sup> petiisse *add.* M, V

<sup>22</sup> civitates *add.* K \*; pontifices *add.* S

<sup>23</sup> quattuor ad ... pontificem : summum ad pontificem quatuor M

<sup>24</sup> oratores destinavit : destinavit oratores M

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>26</sup> et *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> misit BA

<sup>28</sup> accepit M





#### 4.1.8. Personality of the new pope

[55] 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<sup>1</sup> and met the most important princes of the Christian commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> He has handled great affairs and has experience with governing both households<sup>3</sup> and cities.<sup>4</sup> 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 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<sup>5</sup>. 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 of the Church.

#### 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<sup>6</sup> and the Camerlengo.<sup>7</sup> The king, in turn, sent four ambassadors to the Supreme Pontiff. They addressed him thus in public: "His Serene Highness rejoices in your elevation<sup>8</sup>, 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Germany, France, England

<sup>2</sup> The emperor and many German princes

<sup>3</sup> The household of Cardinal Albergati

<sup>4</sup> The city of Bologna

<sup>5</sup> Roman city, Luna (today Luni), established in 177 BCE, in former Etruscan territory

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Condulmer

<sup>7</sup> Ludovico Scarampo

<sup>8</sup> "promotio"

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

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<sup>1</sup> venit M, V

<sup>2</sup> spectandum M, V

<sup>3</sup> effluerat S

<sup>4</sup> uti K

<sup>5</sup> omit. H, I

<sup>6</sup> papa fuit : erat papa M, V

<sup>7</sup> et texerunt H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>8</sup> coepta res : res cepta H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>9</sup> Piccolomineus add. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> diaconorum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>11</sup> receptus BA

<sup>12</sup> e BA

<sup>13</sup> omit. M

<sup>14</sup> decantavit cardinalis ... Graece omit. M

<sup>15</sup> cardinalis sancti angeli evangelium Latine et abbas quidam Graece decantavit add. M

<sup>16</sup> aquam ter recepit : ter cepit aquam M, V

<sup>17</sup> regis add. I

<sup>18</sup> Cypri I, BA

<sup>19</sup> orator regis add. I, BA

<sup>20</sup> orator add. I, BA

<sup>21</sup> miles add. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>22</sup> omit. M

<sup>23</sup> intrant K

<sup>24</sup> omit. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>25</sup> ibi est : est ibi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>26</sup> sanctorum H

<sup>27</sup> omit. M, V

<sup>28</sup> omit. M

<sup>29</sup> advocati auditores : auditores advocati H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>30</sup> omit. H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>31</sup> ecclesia H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>32</sup> iter S

<sup>33</sup> est ante vestibulum : ante vestibulum est M, V

<sup>34</sup> solum M

praestita rursus<sup>2</sup> oboedientia per cardinales<sup>3</sup>, primus diaconorum<sup>4</sup> cardinalis de Columna  
acclamante universo<sup>5</sup> populo *Kyrie Eleison*, coronam capiti sacro<sup>6</sup> imposuit.

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<sup>1</sup> ubi M, V

<sup>2</sup> praestita rursus : rursus prestita H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> oboedientia per cardinales : per cardinales oboedientia H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> diaconus H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* I, M

<sup>6</sup> 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 throng 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.<sup>1</sup> The epistle was sung by one of the officials<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>4</sup> 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 temple's vestibule. The pope ascended the platform, only accompanied by the cardinals, Enea with the cross, and two masters of ceremonies. There the cardinals again 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*.

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

<sup>2</sup> A curial official, official

<sup>3</sup> "corpora": bodies

<sup>4</sup> Help him [oh God]

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* H, V, BA

<sup>3</sup> papae H, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> multaque circum : circum multaque M

<sup>5</sup> habuit K

<sup>6</sup> rosam auream ... sinistra : pontifex manu sinistra rosam auream que benedicatur eo die habet I

<sup>7</sup> se benedicere : benedicere se K

<sup>8</sup> Aragonensis H, M, V; Aragonensis orator I

<sup>9</sup> nunc Aragonenses : Strigoniensis S

<sup>10</sup> Mosaicam *add.* I

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

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* H, S

<sup>13</sup> et aliis : aliisque WO

<sup>14</sup> longamque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>15</sup> pensavit H, I, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> etiam communique H, I, BA; etiam communi M, V

<sup>17</sup> nosque H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>18</sup> ad sanctum Petrum per eandem viam reditum est : per eandem viam reditum est ad sanctum Petrum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>19</sup> mandavit S

<sup>20</sup> ad *add.* V

<sup>21</sup> et *add.* I

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* H

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* H, I, BA

<sup>24</sup> si quae *add.* M, V

<sup>25</sup> interdum annuit *omit.* M

<sup>26</sup> cum negavit *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> The pontiff held a golden rose in his left hand,<sup>2</sup> 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 the Law itself 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 Campisio,<sup>3</sup> but this should not be imputed to the pontiff, but to friendship.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carrying the eucharist before the pope was a tradition of the papal court

<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Campisio (d. 1474): Nicolaus later (1453) appointed him Bishop of Piacenza, see letter in WO, III, 1, 90 (pp. 161-163). He was an old and close friend of Piccolomini

<sup>4</sup> The meaning is probably that the pope reasonably thought that secretaryships ought not to be granted on the basis of friendship but of qualifications



[60] Postquam suae<sup>1</sup> coronationis litteras regibus ac principibus scribi jussit, id inseri omnibus {207r} voluit se<sup>2</sup> cameram apostolicam ad instituta<sup>3</sup> veterum reducturum. Dixit et<sup>4</sup> nobis se nolle prioribus exactionibus uti<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> comites duoque milites, quorum unus etiam<sup>7</sup> doctor fuit. Hi publico in<sup>8</sup> consistorio oboedientiam solemnem Nicolao pontifici praestiterunt. Orationem habuit unus<sup>9</sup> ex eis<sup>10</sup>, qui saepius cespitavit. At pontifex paululum moratus tam ornate sententioseque<sup>11</sup> respondit, ut omnes in {207v} admirationem sui converteret<sup>12</sup>. Post haec advenerunt Perusini, orationemque<sup>13</sup> jureconsulto<sup>14</sup> dignam habuerunt. Sunt Perusinis<sup>15 16 17</sup> uti<sup>18</sup> manus ita<sup>19</sup> ingenia<sup>20</sup> prompta<sup>21</sup>. Advenerat Romam adolescens quidam ex Perusinis exulibus, annos<sup>22</sup> XVII natus<sup>23</sup>, egregia indole, Laurentium – ni fallor – vocabant. Is etiam oratione ornata gravique<sup>24</sup> pontificem adorsus est. Memoria illi aeterna<sup>25</sup> fuit: nihil Ciceronis incipere<sup>26</sup> poterat, quod ille non prosequeretur. Favet ingeniis Nicolaus adolescentique benefactorum creditur, nam et Fernando Hispano, summa doctrina juveni, initio sui pontificatus pingue beneficium contulit.

[62] Expectavimus subinde legati ad Germaniam venturi<sup>27</sup> creationem interrogatique {208r} ac jussi opinionem dicere, cardinalem<sup>28</sup> sancti angeli commendavimus. Papa, etsi illo propter res

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

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

<sup>3</sup> institutum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>5</sup> ut H, I, M, V

<sup>6</sup> sunt *add.* H, BA

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

<sup>8</sup> publico in : in publico I

<sup>9</sup> habuit unus : unus habuit S

<sup>10</sup> his M, V

<sup>11</sup> tam sententiose M

<sup>12</sup> conuerterit K \*, S

<sup>13</sup> orationem H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>14</sup> in re consulto H, I, K

<sup>15</sup> Perusini H, I

<sup>16</sup> sunt Perusinis : haben Perusini isti V

<sup>17</sup> orationemque jureconsulto ... Perusinis : isti M

<sup>18</sup> sicut M, V; sic et K \*, S

<sup>19</sup> et *add.* H, I, M, V

<sup>20</sup> quoque *add.* M

<sup>21</sup> orationem jureconsulto dignam habuerunt *add.* M

<sup>22</sup> anno H; annum agens I; annis M, V

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>24</sup> summum *add.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>25</sup> illi aeterna : eterna illi I

<sup>26</sup> incipi BA

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>28</sup> cardinalemque K

Hispanicas aegre careret, nationi tamen Germanicae voluit complacere. Quo legato pronuntiato et per cardinales, ut<sup>1</sup> est moris<sup>2</sup>, domum usque associato, itineri nos accinximus expeditisque litteris III. Kalendas Aprilis ex urbe recessimus.

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<sup>1</sup> uti M

<sup>2</sup> est moris : moris est H, I, M, V, 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 return the Apostolic Chamber to its former institute. To us he said that he did not want to maintain the previous [level of] exactions but instead limit their causes: wars and large expenses.<sup>1</sup> He said, "Someone who spends when he should not, must also collect when he should not." That is true, indeed: whoever gives superfluously must also 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 of Perugia

[61] After the coronation, other ambassadors came from the King of Aragon, three important counts from his court and two knights, one of whom 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 [in his presentation]. After a short pause, the pontiff replied with an oration so ornate and weighty that it left all in admiration.<sup>2</sup> 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 he delivered an elegant and weighty speech to the Supreme Pontiff. He had total recall<sup>3</sup>: you could not begin [a passage] from Cicero, which he would not continue straightaway. 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.

#### 4.2.6. Appointment of a papal legate to Germany

[62] After that, we awaited the appointment of the legate who would come 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> "aeterna"

[62] Oratores Florentinos ad primum lapidem obviam<sup>1</sup> habuimus, Senenses in Vulsinio<sup>2</sup> reperimus<sup>3</sup>, Bononienses parum citra<sup>4</sup> Florentiam. Majorem hebdomadam et pascha alter nostrum Senis, alter Florentiae fecit. Florentini adversus Senenses repressalia<sup>5</sup> concesserant. Eam ob causam saluum conductum Aeneas<sup>6</sup> petebat jussusque erat unus ex familia prioris<sup>7</sup> illum conducere. Sed {208v} illo ad diem non veniente jussis familiaribus sequi mutatis vestibibus Aeneas solus praecessit casuque in via famulum<sup>8</sup>, qui ad se veniebat, invenit. Sic expectatis familiaribus Florentiam venit, inde simul iter<sup>9</sup> fecimus. Apud Timavum<sup>10</sup>, quod moderni Tagliamentum<sup>11</sup> vocant, ingens discrimen evasimus. Solutis in Alpibus nivibus magnaue pluvia inundaverat fluvius.<sup>12</sup> Peregrini quamplures aderant tranare<sup>13</sup> cupientes. Equi et homines simul vehimur<sup>14</sup>. Ubi ad cursum navis venit, velociter<sup>15</sup> sagitta in ripam fertur. Peregrini submergi timentes in terram saliunt cordaque navis percussi omnes prostrantur, dumque periculum fugiunt, majus<sup>16</sup> incidunt. Quamplures tibias brachiaque laeserunt, parumper<sup>17</sup> {209r} abfuit<sup>18</sup>, quin<sup>19</sup> inter navem ripamque comprimerentur. Post XII. Kalendas Maji ad te reversi sumus.

[63] In via percepimus<sup>20</sup> oratores Venetorum Philippique ducis Mediolani Romam missos, similiter et<sup>21</sup> Januenses. Papa, sicut<sup>22</sup> nobis dixit, niti<sup>23</sup> vult pacem Italiae<sup>24</sup> componere<sup>25</sup>. Irritati animi sunt. Fama erat Dalphinum<sup>26</sup> in Italiam venturum opemque Philippo laturum<sup>27</sup>. Erant et qui<sup>28</sup> ducem Sabaudiae in partibus Philippi dicerent<sup>29</sup>, sed vincit omnia diligens cura. Saepe res fieri vidimus,

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<sup>1</sup> obvios I, S; *omit.* M

<sup>2</sup> Volsino K; Vulsinio S

<sup>3</sup> reperivimus M, V

<sup>4</sup> circa H, I, M, V

<sup>5</sup> represalias K \*, S

<sup>6</sup> saluum conductum Aeneas : Aenas saluum conductum M, V

<sup>7</sup> priorum M, K\*, S, V

<sup>8</sup> in via famulum : famulum in via M, V

<sup>9</sup> simul iter : similiter H, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> Tianum H, I, BA

<sup>11</sup> Tugliamentum S

<sup>12</sup> apud Timaevum ... fluvius *omit.* M, V

<sup>13</sup> transire H, M, V

<sup>14</sup> uehuntur S

<sup>15</sup> velut *add.* M, V; velocior K \*, S

<sup>16</sup> magis H, I, K, M, V, BA, WO

<sup>17</sup> parum M; parumque H, I, K \*, S, V

<sup>18</sup> affuit M

<sup>19</sup> ne K \*, S

<sup>20</sup> praecepimus M, V

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> sicuti M

<sup>23</sup> mitti H; *omit.* M, V

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>26</sup> delphinum H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>27</sup> daturum H, I, M, V

<sup>28</sup> dicebant *add.* M

<sup>29</sup> duci M

cum minime sperarentur. Multa huic pontifici fortunata<sup>1</sup> cesserunt, forsitan et hoc sequetur. Nempe dum Romae fuimus, quamplures Hispanos, Catelanos<sup>2</sup>, Gallos<sup>3</sup> Germanosque<sup>4</sup> vidimus, {209v} qui mores<sup>5</sup> curiae detestabantur recessurosque<sup>6</sup> dicebant<sup>7</sup>, qui postea sub moderno pontifice nec<sup>8</sup>, si pellerentur, abituros se affirmabant<sup>9</sup>. Sic probitas hujus patris<sup>10</sup> omnes allexit. Aquensis archiepiscopus et orator regis Renati nihil se dubitare dicebant<sup>11</sup>, quin rex Franciae totaque Gallia modernum pontificem sequerentur.

[62] We met the Florentine envoys<sup>12</sup> at the first milestone<sup>13</sup>, the Sienese in Bolsena, and the Bolognese a little before Florence. One of us<sup>14</sup> spent the Great Week and Easter in Siena, the other in Florence.<sup>15</sup> Since the Florentines had voted reprisals against the Sienese, Enea 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,<sup>16</sup> today called Tagliamento, we escaped an immense danger: when the snows had melted in the Alps, heavy rains made the river flow over. Many travellers wanted 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 ship's ropes 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.

#### 4.2.7. Travel back to Austria

[63] On the road, we met the ambassadors of Venice, of Duke Filippo of Milan and of Genoa on their way to Rome. The pope himself told us that he wanted to arrange peace in Italy, where

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<sup>1</sup> fortunate K

<sup>2</sup> Cathalanos BA

<sup>3</sup> Gallosque WO

<sup>4</sup> Germanos M

<sup>5</sup> morem I

<sup>6</sup> recessurique H, M, V; se *add.* K \*, S

<sup>7</sup> dicebantur H, M, V

<sup>8</sup> ne I, V

<sup>9</sup> affirmant H, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> partis BA

<sup>11</sup> dicebat M, V; ajebant K, S

<sup>12</sup> Going to Rome to salute the new pope and declare obedience

<sup>13</sup> From Rome

<sup>14</sup> Piccolomini himself, who would take the opportunity to visit his family and friends

<sup>15</sup> Prokop von Rabstein

<sup>16</sup> Also: Tranum

indeed tempers are flaring. Rumour has it that the dauphin<sup>1</sup> will come to Italy to help Filippo, and some claim that the Duke of Savoy has invaded Filippo's lands. However, diligent care overcomes all, and we have often seen things happen that nobody [dared] hope for. Many other things have already turned out favourably for this pontiff, so maybe he will succeed in this, too. Indeed, 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<sup>2</sup> has won all over. The Archbishop of Aix<sup>3</sup> and the ambassador of King René<sup>4</sup> said they did not doubt that the French king<sup>5</sup> and the whole of France would follow the new pope.<sup>6</sup>

[64] Hae<sup>7</sup> sunt Italiae res<sup>8</sup>, inclyte rex<sup>9</sup>, quas<sup>10</sup> nostra in legatione vidimus, audivimus, fecimus. Si mandatis tuis rite paruimus, si bene acta res est, Deo gratias referto<sup>11</sup>, qui tuos dirigit actus, praeteritoque et praesenti<sup>12</sup> pontifici votivam expeditionem adscribito, qui te amantes nihil<sup>13</sup> tibi non<sup>14</sup> concedere potuerunt<sup>15</sup> 16. Si quid erratum est tuaeque contraventum voluntati<sup>17</sup>, ne<sup>18</sup> malitiae, ne<sup>19</sup> desidia<sup>20</sup>, sed {210r} ignorantiae atque<sup>21</sup> imbecillitati<sup>22</sup> deputa<sup>23</sup>. Nos certe in recessu nostro ex liberalitate summi<sup>24</sup> pontificis centum aureos, qui nos in via laetificarent, accepimus.

[65] Tuum<sup>25</sup> nunc est<sup>1</sup> promissa servare; revocare<sup>2</sup> salvum conductum; innovare<sup>3</sup> declarationem<sup>4</sup>; mandare omnibus, ut pontifici oboediant Nicolao; legatum, cum<sup>5</sup> advenerit, honorifice suscipere;

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<sup>1</sup> Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death. At the time, the crown prince of France (*dauphin*)

<sup>2</sup> The new pope

<sup>3</sup> Robert Roger

<sup>4</sup> René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Bar, Lorraine, Anjou, Count of Provence. At the time, titular king of Naples

<sup>5</sup> Charles VII

<sup>6</sup> And not the antipope Felix, elected by the rump council of Basel

<sup>7</sup> hec K \*, S

<sup>8</sup> Italiae res omit. K \*, S

<sup>9</sup> inclyte rex *omit.* H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>10</sup> que K \*, S

<sup>11</sup> Deo gratias referto : gratias referto Deo M

<sup>12</sup> et praesenti : praesentique M

<sup>13</sup> nil H, BA

<sup>14</sup> potuerunt non : non potuerunt H, M, V; non potuerunt non I

<sup>15</sup> et *add.* V

<sup>16</sup> non concedere potuerunt : potuerunt non concedere H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>17</sup> contraventum voluntati : voluntati contraventum M

<sup>18</sup> nec M, V

<sup>19</sup> nec M, V

<sup>20</sup> dissidia<sup>e</sup> H, M, V

<sup>21</sup> ac M

<sup>22</sup> impossibilitati K \*, S

<sup>23</sup> tribue M, V; deputato BA

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* I

<sup>25</sup> tum K \*

et in his, quae restant agenda, juvare. Hoc<sup>6</sup> si feceris, observator, non violator promissorum judicaberis - nam quae promisimus, te obligant; animosiores, qui tibi adhaerent<sup>7</sup>, facies<sup>8</sup>; schismati<sup>9</sup> viam praecludes<sup>10</sup>; neutralitatem, quam difficulter exivisti, non reintrabis; terror<sup>11</sup> eris aemulis tuis<sup>12</sup> et Hungaris<sup>13</sup> maxime; papam tibi affectuosissimum {210v} reddes; et ad suscipiendam coronam imperii<sup>14</sup> iter habebis apertum. Vale<sup>15</sup>.

[66] Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis<sup>16</sup> coram Divo Caesare Frederico tertio<sup>17</sup> facta oratio<sup>18</sup> explicit, quam idem orator in gratiam Nicolai V. compilavit eique misit, aliam quoque huic similem regi serenissimo praesentavit. Ex tunc electus Tergestinus<sup>19</sup> episcopus in partibus Austriae, post vero Senensis episcopus<sup>20 21</sup>, ac demum a Calixto III cardinalis creatus; quo defuncto, summi apostolatus apicem adeptum, nomen sibi Pii II assumpsit, coronatus Romae<sup>22</sup> tertia Septembris die<sup>23</sup> anno Domini 1457<sup>24 25 26</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> nunc est : est nunc H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>2</sup> renovare BA

<sup>3</sup> renouare I

<sup>4</sup> et *add.* M, V

<sup>5</sup> dum K, S

<sup>6</sup> hec H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>7</sup> adhaereant BA

<sup>8</sup> si *add.* M, V

<sup>9</sup> schismatis I, M, V

<sup>10</sup> et M, V

<sup>11</sup> terrori H, I, K \*, S, V; terroris M

<sup>12</sup> terror eris ... tuis : tuis terroris aemulis eris M

<sup>13</sup> Hungariae WO

<sup>14</sup> suscipiendam coronam imperii : coronam imperii suscipiendam K \*, S

<sup>15</sup> dixi H, I, M, V, BA

<sup>16</sup> oratoris *add.* H, V; oratio *add.* M

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* H, M, V

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>19</sup> Tergentinus M, V

<sup>20</sup> antistes I

<sup>21</sup> in partibus ... episcopus *omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> die *add.* M, V

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* I, M, V

<sup>24</sup> (*sic!*)

<sup>25</sup> Aeneae Sylvii ... 1457 *omit.* K, S

<sup>26</sup> finis *add.* H, V

#### 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 were done against your wishes, please do not ascribe it to ill will or sloth but to ignorance and feebleness.

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

[65] Now it is up to you to keep the promises, to revoke the safe-conduct<sup>1</sup>, 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 that remain to be done. If you do this, you will be known as [a prince] who keeps his promises and does not break them - 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 caused you such trouble. 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 composed as a service to Nicolaus V<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> To the participants in the rump council of Basel

<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> Error for 1458



## **2. Report on an Imperial Mission to Milan, 1447.**

## **Abstract**

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan in 1447, the House of Visconti became extinct. Among the pretenders to the Visconti heritage was Emperor Friedrich III who, with some justice, claimed that Milan was an imperial feud that had now reverted to the Empire. The emperor sent three successive embassies to Milan to persuade the city to accept his direct lordship, and Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first (1447) and the last (1449). Having returned to Vienna after the first embassy, Piccolomini wrote a report on the mission, of which a draft is still extant. The main issues of the negotiations as reported by Piccolomini concerned the form of government under an imperial rule, taxation and subsidies, and imperial visits.

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1 2</sup>

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan on 13 August 1447, the House of Visconti became extinct. A number of pretenders to the rich Visconti heritage soon presented themselves: King Alfonso V of Aragon (by virtue of testament), the condottiero Francesco Sforza (by virtue of marriage), and the Duke of Orleans (by virtue of heritage). Venice, of course, was quite ready to conquer some of the neighbouring territories in Lombardy belonging to the Milanese state, thus solidifying and extending their hold on the *terra ferma*. The Duke of Savoy, too, would try his luck at occupying some territories from Milan.

Also Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich III, presented his claim to Milan.<sup>3</sup> This claim was based on feudal law, Milan being in principle a feudal grant by earlier emperors to the Viscontis, which had now reverted to the Empire (by devolution).

The Milanese themselves would rather be an independent commune, like Venice and Florence. An agent of Sforza reported to him: *Sento da alcuni boni et notabili cittadini che la dispositione di questa citade è, dopo la morte de costui, fare consiglio generale fra loro et de proponere et invocare la libertade.*<sup>4</sup>

The cautious emperor, for his part, was not willing to commit himself to a military adventure in Italy. He limited himself to diplomatic action and sent three embassies to Milan in the years 1447-1449.<sup>5</sup> These missions were not hopeless, as the Milanese might possibly prefer a practically autonomous regime under the nominal direct overlordship of the emperor, but when it became apparent that the emperor was not willing to use military power to protect the Milanese from other states, *in casu* Venice, the Milanese soon lost interest.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first and the third imperial embassy.<sup>6</sup> The first embassy was headed by the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, and the other members were

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<sup>1</sup> This section is mainly based on my introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Est mihi non parum*" (1447)[13]

<sup>2</sup> CO, I, 18-19 (Meserve, I, pp. 80-93); HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80); Piccolomini: *De Europa*, bk. 49 (Brown, pp. 222-231); see also letters of Piccolomini, in WO, II, pp. 225-226, 265, 271, and documents concerning the Milanese situation 1447 printed in Chmel, I, pp. 255-268. See also Ady, pp. 104-105; Boulting, 182-184; Cellerino, ch. II, 3; Hufnagel, pp. 405-419; Paparelli, pp. 217-128; Reinhardt, pp. 147-149. Voigt, II, pp. 431-435

<sup>3</sup> He first did so in a letter to the Milanese dated 1 September 1447, see Chmel, I, pp. 255-256

<sup>4</sup> Cellerino, p. 605

<sup>5</sup> Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* (Reject, p. 384): *The king of the Romans sent envoys among whom was Enea, and asked that rule devolve to him on the death of the duke of Milan. ... They [the Milanese] declared themselves subjects of the king of the Romans, but they thought nothing was due him beyond reverence and honor. ... Caesar sent twice to them afterwards. The last time, Enea arrived. ... But Enea, who had been commissioned to receive all, could not conclude these things without some compromise.* This indicates that there were actually three embassies to Milan from the emperor and that Enea only participated in the first (1447) and the last (1449). See also HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80)

<sup>6</sup> He may not have participated in the second because at that time he lived in Trieste, his new bishopric, in a semi-retirement that was probably connected with the fall of his patron, Heinrich Schlick, the imperial chancellor

high-ranking court officials.<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini had been appointed Bishop of Trieste six months previously, so he was now bishop-elect, to be consecrated after his return to Vienna from the first mission.

His advice to the emperor in the matter had already been prepared in his *Pentalogus* of 1443, i.e., four years before, where he directly says that when the Duke of Milan dies, his duchy will revert to the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

The first imperial embassy arrived in Milan on 19 October 1447 and departed again on 10 November.

The mission report to the emperor was written up by Piccolomini, presumably in close collaboration with the chancellor.<sup>3</sup> The report states that the royal ambassadors were received honourably by the Milanese:

*The next day we took a pause to prepare what we should say so as to make a well-considered proposition. The conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say, honouring their lord through us. But we absolutely preferred to go to them, both because it was us who had been sent to them, and because a greater crowd of people could assemble in a large place. So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men.*

*When all had taken their seat, and there was silence, the king's letter was presented, and after a formal greeting, we made the proposition and statement of the embassy ... [Sect. 10-11]*

As the leader of the embassy, the chancellor spoke first, and afterwards the Bishop-Elect of Trieste gave a polished but frank oration, the "*Etsi mihi non parum.*"<sup>4</sup>

After the oration, the ambassadors returned to their lodgings, and later the Milanese representatives came to them and gave their answer in the form of a reply by Niccolò Arcimboldi.

In his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Piccolomini wrote about the events:

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<sup>1</sup> Hufnagel, p. 408. According to Voigt, II, p. 33, Piccolomini was the leader of the embassy, but that would be extremely unlikely if the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick was also a member. At the first public meeting of the ambassadors with the Milanese, it was the chancellor who spoke first, and only afterwards Piccolomini

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 180): *Nec dubium est quin eo mortuo, quantum jus est, ducatus ad imperium revertatur*

<sup>3</sup> WO, II, pp. 263-278

<sup>4</sup> Hufnagel, p. 409, quoting Schlick's own words in a report to the emperor: *Ego incepti, Tergestinus prosecutus est*

*While this was happening, Duke Filippo Maria of Milan died of dysentery. He had publicly proclaimed King Alfonso of Aragon his heir, but he had no right to do so. The emperor therefore sent Enea to Milan together with a group of noble knights ... to claim the duchy for the empire. Thus the lordship of that powerful city came to be claimed at the same time by Emperor Frederick, Alfonso of Aragon and Duke Charles of Orléans; for this last lord was also asserting his rights to the title on the grounds of the marriage contract between Filippo's father and his own.*

*The people of Milan, however, wished to be free. They had elected a senate of prominent citizens and appointed magistrates to carry out the business of government. They rejected the claims of the king and the duke<sup>1</sup> but after hearing Enea speak for the emperor, they acknowledged Frederick as their lord, though they still claimed the right to their own city. As the negotiations concluded, they were on the point of accepting Frederick's rule provided certain conditions were met; and this, though less than he deserved to accomplish, seemed to Enea satisfactory under the circumstances. But his German colleagues, by demanding too much, lost everything.<sup>2</sup>*

Piccolomini also had the opportunity to address the Milanese governors during the subsequent negotiations, on 6 November, when he spoke for an hour, as reported to the emperor. His address seems to not have survived, neither in full nor in summary.<sup>3</sup>

During the third and last imperial embassy to Milan, Piccolomini again spoke to the Milanese. The content of the oration is only known from a summary given by himself in the *Commentarii*:

*After displaying the emperor's letter and reading it aloud, Enea made a speech along these lines: he said that at Filippo's death the emperor had sent ambassadors to take control of the city<sup>4</sup> but, though his demands were just, he had not been heeded. Instead, the Milanese let their new liberty go to their heads; they had elected their own magistrates to run the government, an act of rebellion that persisted down to the present day. But the emperor, mild as ever, refused to be provoked despite the injustice of his rejection. In the meantime, Francesco Sforza had appeared on the scene. Once their friend, now their enemy, he had reduced the surrounding towns to his control. Milan was under siege and enduring great hardships; the troops had deserted to Francesco; food was scarce; none of the neighbouring princes would bring them aid. The emperor alone, heedless of every insult, took pity on their plight. If they would now, at last, submit to the Holy Empire and acknowledge the emperor as their lord, he was ready to help them. They should keep in mind that agreements had already been made with the emperor's cousin, Duke Sigismund, a neighbour of the Lombards; in a short time a large force would cross the Alps and descend into their territory. They could not*

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<sup>1</sup> King Alfonso V and Duke Charles of Orléans

<sup>2</sup> CO, I, 18 (Meserve, I, p. 81)

<sup>33</sup> Decembrio: *Annotatio* (Ianziti, p. 231): *Vain hopes were also being entertained at this time regarding the emperor Frederick III, for his ambassador Enea Silvio Piccolomini swayed public opinion in his master's favor with a slick and seductive speech.* (Cf. Ianziti's note, p. 310-311, nr. 104: *the full text of the speech of 1449 is to my knowledge no longer extant.*)

<sup>4</sup> The first imperial embassy to Milan



*rely on themselves alone, for that would be hopeless, but neither should they imagine that acknowledging the emperor as their sovereign would mean the loss of their freedom. To serve a legitimate and natural lord was the only true liberty; in cities ruled in the name of the people, some groups of men always emerged to subject the people to their will. Indeed, the choice lay between the emperor's rule or Sforza's, for it had got to point where, unless they submitted to the emperor, they would never escape the lordship<sup>1</sup> of Francesco. If they would only acknowledge the emperor, he would shower his citizens with extraordinary favours and important privileges: they would trade freely throughout Germany and make Milan a magnificent city, the capital of Italy.<sup>2</sup>*

The imperial intervention in the succession of the last Visconti duke was unsuccessful, and the diplomatic missions are barely mentioned in the Italian chronicles of the time.<sup>3</sup>

The whole issue was settled by military power when, after a lengthy siege, Francesco Sforza entered Milan with his troops on 26 February 1450.<sup>4</sup>

Remarkably, in his report Piccolomini does not mention his patron, the imperial chancellor Heinrich Schlick, the highest-ranking member of the embassy. The reason may be that when he wrote the report, he was aware of the chancellor's problems with the emperor, which would soon lead to his disgrace and retirement - but this is conjecture.

## 2. Themes

### 2.1. Milan's position

After the extinction of their ruling dynasty, the Milanese – except some court cliques – did not want any new ruling dynasty to take power. They wanted their freedom and self-rule, with the status of a republic as Venice, Florence and Genoa:

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<sup>1</sup> "dominatum": Meserve translates as "tyranny"

<sup>2</sup> CO, I, 19 (Meserve, pp. 86-89)

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, II, p. 433

<sup>4</sup> Gamberini, p. 158: *Following the death of Filippo Maria (1447) the major change was, clearly, that of the ruling dynasty. The main line of the Visconti dynasty had no male heirs, and from the competition for the succession the victor who emerged was the condottiero Francesco Sforza, husband of the only descendant of the late duke, Bianca Maria. With difficulty, Francesco established his control over a state that was once more fragmenting, and on 26 February 1450 he entered the capital: a Milan that, following the death of Filippo Maria, had experienced a republican government. However, Francesco Sforza could not obtain acknowledgement by the emperor. As the investiture of 1395 excluded the possibility of succession through the female line, Frederick III claimed the duchy to be devolved to the empire. By appealing to the right of Milan to choose its own rulers, the new prince was content with legitimation 'from below'. He obtained the title of duke by a general assembly of the people and received the symbols of the office during a public ceremony in the presence of the highest ranks of Milanese aristocracy*

*When Duke Filippo Maria of Milan had closed his eyes and been buried, the Milanese began to hope for liberty: they took over the lordship and, hailing Saint Ambrose and Liberty, they elected 24 Governors, both from the Guelph and the Ghibelline party. For a period of three months, they were entrusted with supreme authority to conduct peace and war. The supreme authority to strike coin remained, however, with the Council of Nine Hundred. Later, they decided to tear down the fortress they had taken over from the commandant for money, even though Filippo had in his testament charged him with keeping the castle for the King of Aragon. So this fortress has now been razed to the ground. The same happened in Castro Cusago, which served as hunting grounds at the duke's pleasure. [Sect. 2]*

Their ambition would eventually be quashed, but in Autumn 1447, hope was still flourishing, while they were trying to fend off various ambitious princes and states desiring to rule them (the emperor, King Alfonso V, Duke Charles of Orléans) or to take some of their territories from them (Venice, Duke Louis of Savoy), or at least to clip their wings (Florence):

*... never before have so many foreign parties intervened as now when both the Germans and Italians and even the French and the Spanish are seeking the inheritance of the Duke of Milan. The reason for this is the location and fertility of this region, for Lombardy is close to other nations, and the fruitfulness and fertility of its soil are such that it attracts all. [Sect. 1]*

Besides their liberty, the Milanese certainly wanted help against the Venetian expansion on the mainland (*terra ferma*), either in the form of direct military aid or in the form of effective pressure on the Venetians to cease and desist.

## **2.2. Imperial offer**

The initial imperial offer - as expressed in the formal oration "*Est mihi non parum*"<sup>1</sup> by Piccolomini, delivered at the embassy's first meeting with the Milanese governors on 21 October - was that the city, if it returned to imperial rule, would be governed in the emperor's name, and that in return the Milanese would have the following advantages of imperial rule:

### **2.2.1. Freedom and privileges**

*All privileges granted to you and duly confirmed by the emperors your benevolent king will ratify. Moreover, he intends to abolish all new and extraordinary exactions as well as unusual and heavy taxes, and to keep your rights and freedoms inviolate insofar as they have developed reasonably. [Sect. 9]*

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<sup>1</sup> Oration "*Etsi mihi non parum*" (1447) [13]

### **2.2.2. Peace**

*Through the king's providence, your neighbours will be brought to or forced to peace. For as everyone knows, the power of our Most Serene Lord and King is not small: he governs his nephew, the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The illustrious House of Austria, over which he presides, rules far and wide, spanning Italy from the Adriatic Gulf as far as Friuli over the Etsch and many mountains to Savoy. It is related by blood and marriage to all the princes of Germany and France. Moreover, the strength of the empire is incomparable, and great lords and powerful cities in Germany willingly support its glory and splendour. Also, in Italy there are, as you will see – God willing - princes and peoples who support the empire. With such help to support you, with the assistance of Saint Ambrose, your protector, and supported by justice it will not be difficult for His Royal Highness to do as he intends: to drive out your enemies, to protect your lands, to reclaim what has been taken away, and to establish a permanent peace. [Sect. 10]*

### **2.2.3. Glory**

*From these, immense glory will accrue to the people of Milan when, having been raised from ducal to imperial status, it has defended its liberty, scared the enemies away, recovered what was lost, and gained peace. It will be directly under a ruler who rules all. It will have a king born of its own blood, who loves and treasures it more than all others. It will only obey the emperor whose office, dignity and authority surpass all other secular powers. To obey him is to be free and to rule rather than to serve. [Sect. 11]*

### **2.2.4. Wealth**

*When peace has come, your wealth will grow. Poverty is the daughter of war, and peace is the mother of wealth. In times of peace, fields are bountiful, rivers useful, and even forests are prolific. During peace, everything bears fruit. Peace will bring you many and great benefits, and the presence of His Royal Majesty will be highly advantageous. For he has decided to come to you in person, to stay with you, and to establish his residence here after the custom of the forefathers – for he knows this to be necessary. Many princes will follow him from Germany, and his court will flourish and always be full of illustrious magnates. Here you will have a gentle prince, harsh against nobody, kind towards everybody, pious, religious and just. You will always be able to talk to him and enjoy his kind and happy demeanour. Your clergy will lead a pious life under a pious prince, and it will enjoy its possessions freely. The nobility at the royal court will be more splendid. Learned and industrious men will surround the imperial tribunal. All lands and seas will be open to your merchants. The*

*artisans will double their profits. All individuals will have better conditions of life, and when the city has grown in prosperity, power, honour, and glory, it will return to its former dignity and splendour. With the emperors residing here, Milan will be called the Second Rome. [Sect. 12]*

## 2.3. Milanese reaction

The initial imperial proposition may not have been very tempting to the Milanese.

As for freedom and privileges, their whole ambition was then to assume their own freedom and not to accept it conditionally from any exterior power.

Peace they certainly wanted, but they quite rightly doubted the emperor's will, power and military means to enforce any peace with their belligerent and greedy neighbours.

Being Italians, they might want glory, but they would, in any case, be sceptical that such could come from being governed by the weakened and ineffectual Holy Roman Empire.

And as for wealth, they were certainly able to prosper economically and financially on their own. A foreign master or even a local dynasty would presumably detract from their wealth, not increase it.

So, as formulated by the ambassadors, the imperial offer, was hardly attractive in the eyes of the Milanese.

However, in case they were not able to maintain their independence, the status of an imperial domain subject to a remote and weakened imperial power, letting the Milanese rule themselves for all practical purposes, might be worth exploring, especially if the emperor should really be willing to aid Milan militarily.

## 2.4. Main issues of negotiation

So, they agreed to enter into negotiations, which soon came to focus on the following four issues: the form of government, taxation and subsidies, the emperor's visits to the city.

### 2.4.1. Form of government

Concerning the form of government, it is not easy to see what the parties' final position was since the appendices to the report with their position statements are missing.

Basically, the Milanese claimed that they had retained their liberty by virtue of *jus postliminii* (the right of restoring a previous legal state, *in casu* the state of Milan before the Empire). The ambassadors denied this, declaring that Milan was by nature a duchy belonging to the Empire and that the Milanese did not have the right to change this legal state. The Milanese seem to have accepted this view but on the condition of the emperor granting them their freedom anew.

However, the emperor could evidently not govern Milan in person, and some compromise might have been found concerning the appointment of a government.

Apparently, the unsolvable problem was: who would bestow the feudal grants of territory and the privileges of nobility in the Lombard state. The Milanese finally offered the solution that the grants would effectively be made by the city, with the king formally confirming them, but this solution was unacceptable to the ambassadors, stating that the king must retain the right to obligate his vassals through oaths. In the end, no agreement on this issue could be found.

#### **2.4.2. Taxation and subsidies**

The Milanese initially claimed that they were free of any taxation. Pressed by the ambassadors, they offered a ridiculously small sum, which was rejected by the ambassadors. In the end, they compromised, offering to pay a yearly sum for Milan and the Lombard cities, but not as taxes, only as subsidies, to be agreed upon during later negotiations.

In return, the Milanese expected the emperor to go to war to protect the Milanese, especially from the Venetians, but the ambassadors replied that the taxes and subsidies mentioned by the Milanese could not cover the costs of such a war.

#### **2.4.3. Emperor's visits**

The Milanese wanted to be notified two months in advance when the king would come, the number of his followers, the route he would take, the reason he would come, and how long he would stay, and guarantees that he would only come with their agreement. The ambassadors were willing to compromise on one month's advance notice and a guarantee that the visits would not be prejudicial to the liberty granted to Milan, but this offer was rejected by the Milanese.

#### **2.4.4. A lawsuit**

To break this impasse, the ambassadors offered a proper lawsuit to determine the outstanding issues, to be conducted before the pope, another Christian king, or the imperial prince-electors. The Milanese wisely declined a judicial procedure and prettily excused themselves, saying – among others - that it was not proper for subjects to litigate with their lord and that such litigation creates enmity.

Instead, they promised to send ambassadors to the imperial court to settle the thorny issues, but it was an empty promise.

Thus, the negotiations had reached an impasse.

Piccolomini apparently thought<sup>1</sup> that the Milanese would have accepted imperial overlordship if they could maintain a high level of autonomy and, of course, low taxes. The other ambassadors found the Milanese conditions unacceptable, but Piccolomini considered that it would be better for the emperor to have some standing in Milan rather than nothing at all, and he would have compromised with the Milanese.

## 2.5. Two courses open to the emperor

Just as the Milanese were negotiating with various parties (including the Venetians) at the same time, so did the imperial embassy conduct negotiations with representatives of King Alfonso and Francesco Sforza at the same time as negotiating with the Milanese. These negotiations appeared to open another way for the emperor to acquire the lordship of Milan, i.e., to enter an alliance with one or both of these two other parties to acquire Milan by military force mostly provided by his partners.

King Alfonso's representative proposed that the emperor's alliance with the king could take this form:

*the King of the Romans would give Toscana as a vicariate to his lord<sup>2</sup> - he is old, and thus Toscana would, at his death, return to the Empire. On his part, the King of Aragon would, with all his might, help the King of the Romans to acquire Milan and Lombardy, for it is in their common interest that the republics of Venice, Florence and Milan do not enter an alliance. For if allowed to, those three powers would drive the Empire from Italy and the King of Aragon from Puglia. Therefore, he said, the princes needed to oppose them, with the King of Aragon attacking Florence by right of the [imperial] vicariate and the King of the Romans attacking Venice by right of the Empire. For when the Milanese - divided between a party wanting liberty and a party wanting the Empire - saw such [developments], they could do nothing but submit to the Empire, especially if the King of the Romans arranged for another captain to make war on the Milanese in his name. [Sect. 47]*

As for an alliance with Francesco Sforza, Sforza's representative proposed

*that Count Francesco be made captain-general of the Empire in Lombardy and receive the imperial standards and enter Milanese territory, which nobody can prevent him from. Then, with the support of the Visconti party and others who favour the Empire, he should acquire*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. his later comments in the *Commentarii*, see above

<sup>2</sup> King Alfonso

*Milan and proclaim the Empire not only in Milan but also in the other neighbouring territories which had belonged to the duke [of Milan]. Also, the count should be accompanied by men who could take possession in the name of the king. Giovanni said that all this would be very easy for the count because of the Milanese divisions and because of his experience and popularity, especially since there is nobody in Milan who would not rather submit to the Empire than to Venice. ... In compensation for these services, the same envoy requested that Pavia and Cremona be given to the count as lawful possessions, together with one of the other cities on the other side of the river Po, to cover salaries. After Milan had come into the king's power, the count should have the status of a captain hired by His Royal Majesty, with the salary which he now gets for serving the Milanese. [Sect. 48-49]*

Thus, as a result of the embassy, Piccolomini could inform the emperor that two courses were open to him with regard to acquiring Milan:

*The first one is through amicable agreement, in case it will please His Royal Majesty to accept the offers to be brought by the ambassadors of the city. One thing is sure, as openly said by the Milanese: the only lord they want is the King of the Romans, whom they know to be their supreme lord, and to whom they offer the loyalty due to him, as well as some subsidies, which they must legitimately provide whenever the emperor is in Italy, and the presentation of the crown etc. [Sect. 54]*

*The second way is through Count Francesco and the King of Aragon, as formulated in the abovementioned negotiations – unless they should first decide on another course than sending their ambassadors here (with the prince-electors or other German princes entering Italy), in which case it would be necessary to come to an understanding with several Italian princes ... [Sect. 55]*

## **2.6. Conduct of diplomacy**

As Piccolomini was a seasoned and high-ranking diplomat who had performed a number of missions, some very important, for his imperial master, the reports on his diplomatic activities throw an interesting light on the development of the diplomatic function in the fifteenth century.

### **2.6.1. Choice of ambassadors**

For the mission to Milan, the emperor chose a high-ranking group of ambassadors: the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick; the Bishop of Seckau, Friedrich Gren; Johann, imperial chamberlain;



Jacopo Landrono, imperial physician; the knight Pankraz Riutschad; and Piccolomini himself, now Bishop-Elect of Trieste.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.6.2. Mandate of ambassadors

Mandates (instructions) of ambassadors were issued by their prince or his council or a minister. Sometimes, there was both a public one, given and/or read to the prince visited by the ambassadors, and a secret one with confidential instructions to ambassadors, not to be communicated to the opposite party.

In the case of the imperial embassy to Milan, Piccolomini only mentions the emperor's mandate generally, when a proposal by the other party was not foreseen by the instructions, and therefore had to be referred to the emperor:

*Having considered it all, we said that it would please us much if there were friendship and good fraternal relations between the two kings, but we showed him that we could not negotiate such an arrangement since we did not have a mandate in this sense. But we advised that a royal ambassador be sent to His Royal Majesty with full powers in all such matters, for we hoped that something good would come of it. [Sect. 47]*

*In compensation for these services, the same envoy requested that Pavia and Cremona be given to the count as lawful possessions, together with one of the other cities on the other side of the river Po, to cover salaries. After Milan had come into the king's power, the count should have the status of a captain hired by His Royal Majesty, with the salary which he now gets for serving the Milanese. We replied that our mandate did not cover this matter, but we said it would be good if the count should send one of his men to His Royal Majesty, with full powers, for then some good decision could be made ... [Sect. 49-50]*

The Milanese, too, had mandates from their government. One was instructions concerning the first Milanese response to the demands of the ambassadors.<sup>2</sup> Another was mentioned when Bishop Visconti of Novara had apparently been too forthcoming concerning the issue of taxation:

*Concerning the first issue, they said that we had related all honestly and truly, but what was said about taxation had not been in accordance with their mandate, for the city would not be bound to pay any taxes whatsoever, and the people could not be persuaded otherwise: [on this issue] the Bishop of Novara had spoken for himself. [Sect. 33]*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 18 (Meserve, I, p. 81)

<sup>2</sup> See Chmel, I, pp. 258-260

### 2.6.3. Facilitation of the ambassadors' travels

Different courts had different practices. In the case of the imperial mission to Milan in 1447, the hosting government of Milan, apart from issuing the necessary safe-conducts, procured boats for the embassy to cross the Como Lake and provided guides for the travel to Milan.

*When we arrived in Chiavenna, we received a letter from the Milanese with the safe-conduct, and where the lake begins, we found ships in readiness with two commissioners, Galeazzo and Marco, waiting for us. [Sect. 8]*

And when the ambassadors left Milan for Austria, the Milanese

*arranged to pay for the boats on Lago di Como and for us to be accompanied to the end of the lake by the same men who had brought us [to Milan]. [Sect. 52]*

The host city also provided provisions for the visiting ambassadors and presumably the lodgings.

In some cases, the host court also provided some financial emoluments to the ambassadors, but this was not done in the present case. The previous ruler of Milan, Duke Filippo Visconti, however, treated visiting ambassadors generously, as Piccolomini had said in his oration to the council fathers of Basel, the "Audivi" from 1436:

*You would not believe me if I told you how large sums he spends in honouring the lords who every year pass through his realm, and the ambassadors who come to him. If you choose Pavia, the ambassadors and prelates of the princes shall have the same experience: no one will depart without a gift. [Sect. 78]*

### 2.6.4. Ceremonies at arrival and departure

Ambassadors were greeted ceremonially on arrival and bidden farewell at departure. The level of ceremony reflected the importance of the princely master of the ambassadors. The ambassadors of the emperor, the highest-ranking prince in Christendom, were naturally received with special ceremony, including trumpet music (which the ambassadors found somewhat inappropriate given the duke's death):

*At the second milestone from the city, we were met by several prelates on the part of the Cardinal of Milan, who later in Milan, out of respect for the Holy Empire, greatly honoured us with provisions and useful advice, offering [us] whatever would be useful to His Royal Majesty. After them, we were met joyfully by the governors and officials of the city, with a large following and the sound of trumpets. They accompanied us to our lodgings. Though we*

would have forbidden the trumpet music, given the duke's death, they said that the people liked the trumpets to be sounded, and especially at the arrival of their true lord. [Sect. 9]

And at the departure,

*when we had finished this whole business, we informed the Milanese that we would leave the next day, i.e. Friday 10 October, the Vigil of Saint Martin. In the morning, they all honourably came to our lodgings, and though it was raining heavily, they accompanied us outside the city gate, to the sound of trumpets. There they begged permission [to leave] and recommended themselves much to His Royal Majesty .... [Sect. 52]*

### 2.6.5. Ambassadorial oration

The ambassador's oration 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 Milan in 1447, the formal ambassadorial oration, the "*Est mihi non parum*",<sup>1</sup> was delivered by Piccolomini.

He began with the *captatio benevolentiae* and compliments to the audience, obligatory in Renaissance rhetorics, following classical models.

Then he first explained the cause of the imperial mission, i.e., the death of the Duke of Milan and the extinction of the Visconti dynasty:

*A short time ago, His Royal Highness heard that your duke and prince, Lord Filippo Maria, of indelible and noble memory, had closed his eyes and paid his due to nature. His death was a great sorrow to His Royal Majesty, knowing that he had personally lost a very dear relative, famous for many victories and great deeds, and that the Holy Empire had been deprived of a faithful and outstanding prince. As war was raging, he feared that the death of this great lord would cause upheavals and devastation. And as he is of Milanese blood, he is greatly concerned about this city and therefore concerned about you and your state.*

*You already know from his letter how he has ordered the Venetians and others around you not to molest you in any way, but to let this city and this whole state enjoy honest freedom and peace, as belonging to the Holy Empire and being under the protection of His Royal Majesty, its true, natural and ordinary lord. You have also heard that His Royal Majesty decided to send his ambassadors here to explain his intentions more fully and to support your cause by all means. [Sect. 2-3]*

Secondly, he stated the objective of the mission, that is the return of Milan to the imperial rule:

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<sup>1</sup> Oration "*Non est mihi parum*" [13]

*For you know, of course, that this city and the other regions of the country belonging to the aforesaid duke have by his death rightfully reverted to the Holy Empire and our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, as the feudal lord, and that, now, only His Royal Majesty has legitimate jurisdiction over them. Therefore, we, the ambassadors of the king, whom you see before you, have come, invested with full powers. We ask and require that Your Excellencies set aside any treaties that may contravene our purpose and that you only follow His Royal Highness, your true and natural lord. [Sect. 4]*

Thirdly, he presented and developed the arguments for the course desired by the emperor, being the freedom, peace, glory and wealth that would accrue to Milan if this course was followed (see above).

And finally, he summed it all up:

*This realm legitimately belongs to the Empire. His Royal Majesty will and can protect you.<sup>1</sup> You have been given the promise of honourable freedom and the benefit of peace. Glory and great advantage will accrue to you. Undoubtedly, no state in this country can be stable without justice and imperial favour. Our Lord and Holy Emperor Friedrich, born of Milanese blood, is greatly devoted to this city, and as King of the Romans he is your natural, ordinary, true and supreme lord. For all these reasons, I ask your Magnificent Lordships to give due honour to His Majesty as your lord and to accede to his wishes concerning the rule of this city and the government of your state and other territories, since they are just and reasonable. [Sect. 13]*

Thus, the oration served as a statement of position introducing the diplomatic negotiations to follow.

Apart from this essential function of the formal ambassadorial oration, the function of such orations as “cultural gifts” has been studied by Brian Maxson,<sup>2</sup> referring to the deployment of the rich rhetorical apparatus, developed by Renaissance humanists in imitation of classical rhetorics in general and Cicero in particular, and the ornamentation of the oration with well-chosen quotations and examples from classical authors.

In the case of Piccolomini’s oration to the Milanese, the style is eloquent and elegant but simple, and with very few quotations and exempla from classical authors. The reason may be that oration was aimed at a large popular assembly not greatly appreciative of such embellishments, and also

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<sup>1</sup> Well-informed Milanese might have doubted the emperor’s interest in and ability to undertake a serious military intervention in Italy. It was known that the emperor was involved in several conflicts in Austria, Germany and Central Europe, and the threat of a Turkish invasion was growing all the time, especially after the decisive Turkish victory at Varna, three years before. Moreover, by then it was known that the emperor personally was quite unwarlike and cautious

<sup>2</sup> Maxson

that the oration would, for the same reason, have been given not in Latin but in Italian,<sup>1</sup> which would not provide the proper linguistic setting for elegant classical, Latin ornamentation.

### **2.6.6. Strategy of negotiation**

The strategy of the imperial negotiators aimed at persuading the Milanese to accept imperial rule using three main arguments: the legal rights of the emperor in the case of a feudal dynasty becoming extinct, the advantages to Milan under imperial rule, including protection against its adversaries, and the veiled threat of an imperial military intervention.

As none of these arguments turned out to be convincing to the Milanese, the negotiations came to focus on the imperial concessions to the Milanese concerning the central issues of the form of government, taxation and subsidies, the emperor's feudal rights, and his visits to Milan.

The ambassadors evidently negotiated for the smallest possible concessions, and the Milanese for the largest.

In the end, the negotiations did not lead to a compromise on these issues acceptable to both parties since the ambassadors would not accept any infringement on the emperor's feudal rights and considered the Milanese offers in the matter of taxation and subsidies as ridiculously small.

Piccolomini later wrote that the embassy would have had greater success if the ambassadors had been more forthcoming instead of taking a course that led to nothing instead of something.

### **2.6.7. Tactics and technique of negotiation**

#### *2.6.7.1. Interlocutors*

The negotiations were mostly done in a small group consisting of the ambassadors and a few select representatives of the Milanese regime. However, the ambassadors much wanted to present their case to a larger assembly, preferably the large Council of 900, since they apparently believed that their message would have greater appeal to the general public than to the small power elite.<sup>2</sup> They never got the large council, but they did manage to get a meeting with the 24 governors and a broader assembly of notable citizens:

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini either wrote the Latin text first and then delivered an Italian version to the assembly, or vice versa

<sup>2</sup> The body of 24 governors was composed of both Guelphs and Ghibellines (see sect. 2). The power elite may have been dominated by Guelphs, traditionally unfriendly towards the Empire, whereas the Visconti party and the general public had greater, Ghibelline, sympathy for the Empire, cf. Piccolomini's remarks in his *De Viris Illustribus*, also written in 1447, about Emperor Sigismund's visit to Milan in 1432, 15 years before: *The Ghibellines [in Milan] were suspected of siding with Sigismund because of the Empire, whereas the Guelphs were in power. One night the Ghibellines*

*The conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say since they honoured us in the place of their master. But we absolutely preferred to go to them, both because it was us who had been sent to them, and because a greater crowd of people could assemble in a large place.<sup>1</sup> So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men. [Sect. 10]*

Later, the ambassadors tried again for the Great Council, but only got a meeting with the governors:

*We requested these representatives to obtain an audience with the Great Council, but they said that it should not be requested for several reasons. So we finally decided to go to the governors and that we did, and they conducted us from our lodgings to their residence, and there they gave us an audience together with many others. Thus, on Monday, on the Feast of Saint Leonard, we had a late audience and spoke for an hour. [Sect. 26]*

Yet once again, towards the end, they tried to get a meeting with the Great Council:

*Sixthly, we said that before leaving, we should like to be heard in the Council of 900, in fulfilment of our instructions which directed us towards the governors and the people .... [Sect. 32]*

But again, the ruling elite refused, not wanting to discuss the matter in a large, less controllable body, this time adding a veiled threat of physical harm:

*Concerning the last issue, they begged us to bear it with equanimity if an audience with the people was not granted, firstly because it would be a new and unusual thing, secondly because all power lay with the governors, thirdly because the nature of the matters under negotiation required confidentiality, which was impossible with the people. Fourthly, they added that the people were restless and might erupt in dishonourable acts against us, which they would regret. [Sect. 37]*

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*came to Kaspar Schlick and Brunoro and presented many ideas for how they could give Milan to the king, for they were unhappy with the tyrant. [Sect. 128]*

<sup>1</sup> That the meeting place had some significance in a diplomatic negotiation is also attested by remarks in Piccolomini's *Report on an Imperial Mission to Regensburg, 1451*, where he said about the Duke of Burgundy: *And finally, the ambassadors had direct dealings with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they welcomed to the city, showing their instructions from the emperor, and letting him know that they had used his arrival to write to the emperor and urge him to come to Regensburg. They also asked if the duke desired the meetings of the diet to be held in his lodgings, but he politely declined, saying that here he was the guest and he would gladly accommodate the representatives of his host. [Sect. 90]*

### 2.6.7.2. Oral vs written procedure

Naturally, most of the negotiations had the form of oral discussions. But at some point, it became necessary to have complete clarity in the matter of offers and counteroffers, arguments and counterarguments, and therefore it was decided to exchange written statements concerning the controversial points:

*A lively discussion back and forth ensued, and, finally, they agreed that the Milanese should present their demands of the king in writing. Then they left and later presented the demands which follow below, i.e. Infrascriptae sunt etc. These demands were refuted by us in many and various ways. Above all, we showed it to be untrue that the status of a duchy is inherently connected with the City of Milan. It only has this status when ruled by a duke appointed by the king. We also showed that such a demand was unacceptable, as we deduced from many dangers, and we even mentioned Wenceslaus. On this position we stayed firm. And, to come to the special issues, they asked us to say under what form we thought that liberty could be granted them in the name of the king. We come here to the articles following below, i.e. Ut inter regiam majestatem etc. [Sect. 14-15]*

*The Milanese considered that the written statement we had given them was prejudicial to them and their liberty, and, having requested time for their answer, they came back the next day and brought a written statement. However, they first made their statement orally, and afterwards they handed it to us in writing. The written statement ran like this: Ut ea etc. and in confirmation of it, they brought us the books of the city in which were registered certain privileges, copies of which are here, but which we leave for now for brevity's sake. From our answers, it may, however, be seen what they all were. To these [objections] we answered with the [articles] written below, i.e. Romanae etc. Though they are long, they merit to be heard, for on these the whole Milanese matter, now pending, turns. After we had given them the written [articles], they sent back to us [three] of their representatives: His Lordship of Novara, Lord Niccolò degli Arcimboldi, and Giovanni da Fagnano. We conferred with them for several days, without giving anything in writing, but discussing whether we could agree on any articles, and after various and many exchanges, we formulated five articles concerning the remaining problems. [Sect. 16-18]*

These written statements seem not to have survived, but they were apparently appended to the original report.

### 2.6.8. Parallel negotiations

At some point during the negotiations, the ambassadors received information that the Milanese were at the same time negotiating for peace with the Venetians. The ambassadors let the Milanese know that they knew, with a gentle warning:

*During our negotiations, we heard that the Milanese were conducting other negotiations for peace and alliance with the Venetians, for their ambassadors returned and argued vehemently for peace, scorning our actions and saying that the King of the Romans was neither willing nor able to help them against the Venetians. We thus realised that they [only] kept talking to us in order to obtain better terms from the Venetians. [Sect. 25]*

The ambassadors did not protest against the parallel negotiations, and indeed, they themselves conducted parallel negotiations with representatives of King Alfonso of Aragon and Francesco Sforza, who themselves held parallel negotiations with other parties. As the emperor was presumably not quite familiar with the Italian political *mores*, Piccolomini took care to explain that such parallel negotiations were not only normal but even expedient for a prudent prince:

*The king [of Aragon] has various dealings with the Milanese and also seeks his advantage there, for as a wise king he tries not just one way but several, and he does not cease before he has found one to his advantage. The same is done by the count who has dealings both with the French, the Venetians, the Milanese and His Royal Majesty, as mentioned. This is the way of prudent men, who begin many negotiations and finally bring the one to a conclusion they find to be most advantageous. One must be diligent in all matters, and it is better to anticipate than to be anticipated. The Milanese themselves are engaged in various negotiations. And the French do not sleep, as they strive for the lordship of Lombardy. [Sect. 54]*

### **2.6.9. Diplomatic report**

Upon his return to his prince or government, an ambassador had to make a report on his mission. For a long period, this report was made orally, but in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the practice developed of delivering the report in writing.<sup>1 2</sup>

The practice, in this respect, of the imperial court seems not to be as well documented as the practices at Italian courts, and it is not known to what extent Piccolomini's report on the embassy to Milan 1447 reflects current practices at the imperial court.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Lazzarini

<sup>2</sup> An interim report in German had been sent by the ambassadors to the emperor on 21 October 1447, see Chmel, I, p. 267-268



The main text consists of a quite detailed description of the negotiations, i.e. the meetings held and the propositions of the ambassadors and the counterpropositions of the Milanese. The written statements of the two parties seem to have been appended to the report.

The formal oration held by Piccolomini at the opening of the negotiations was summarised in the report, the full text being available separately.

Apart from the negotiations on the principal issue, Piccolomini gave a survey of the political and military situation in Northern Italy in which the Milanese issue played out.

There are few of the maxim-like general observations of a moral or psychological nature interspersed in Piccolomini's other diplomatic reports and indeed his writings in general.

And there is almost no ornamentation of the text in the form of rhetorical ploys, quotations and exempla from classical authors.

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

In the only extant manuscript, the text of the report is written by Piccolomini himself in a completely uniform hand. It included a description of the ambassadors' travel back to the imperial court in Austria. It may therefore reasonably be presumed to have been written at court shortly after the ambassadors' return around 1 December 1447. This is supported by the passage in which Piccolomini says that the Milanese "*would send their ambassadors here*" [Sect. 55].

In view of the many words and passages deleted or added in the margin or between lines, the text was evidently a draft. The text of the final report – with appendices – is not known to be extant.

The recipient was naturally the emperor himself.

The format was that of a - relatively – concise report, with no rhetorical ornaments.

## **4. Text**

### **4.1. Manuscript**

The text is only extant in one manuscript:

- **Wien / Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv**

## 4.2. Editions

The text has seen two previous editions:

- Chmel, Joseph: *Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte aus Archiven und Bibliotheken gesammelt und ausgegeben*. 2 vols. Wien, 1832-1838 / I, pp. 261-267, c. 111, h
- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien. (Fontes rerum austriacarum; 61-62, 67-68) / II, pp. 263-278, nr. b

## 4.3. Present edition

The present edition is based on the only extant manuscript and Wolkan's edition. The manuscript has been collated directly from a copy made available by the Staatsarchiv, and some readings in Wolkan's edition have been corrected, as indicated in the critical apparatus.

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {1r} Relaturi tuae serenitati, Caesar invictissime, quae per hos dies in tua legatione Mediolani gessimus, attulisse felicius nuntium vellemus felicioresque novitates, quam modo sis auditurus, nec enim minus est nobis quam tuae sublimitati desiderium, ut jus atque decus imperii longe lateque conservetur. Afferimus tamen non mala nova, si rerum conditiones, naturas hominum temporaque pensamus, quae ut brevi sermone comprehendamus, relationem nostram in quattuor partes dividere instituimus. In prima referemus, quis fuerit Italiae status, cum intravimus Lombardiam. In secunda, quomodo recepti fuerimus, et quid tractaverimus cum Mediolanensibus. In tertia dicemus, quae cum aliis in Italia gesserimus. In quarta recessum nostrum et in quibus terminis Lombardiam reliquerimus, exponere mens est.

[2] Aggredimur partem primam. Cum intraremus Italiam, invenimus magnos rerum motus ex morte ducis Mediolani factos. Supposita est Italia novitatibus, nostro tamen tempore numquam tot extraneae partes illuc intrarunt, sicut hac tempestate, quando haereditatem ducis Mediolani et Germani et Itali, etiam Galli et Hispani quaerunt. Facit hoc situs regionis et bonitas, nam et proxima est nationibus aliis Lombardia, et ea ubertas est solique fecunditas, ut omnes ad se invitent.

## 0. Introduction

[1] {1r} Unvanquished Emperor, as we are now going to report to your Serene [Highness] what we have done these days on our mission from you to Milan, we should much prefer to bring you a happier message than the one you are going to hear now, for we wish - as much as Your Highness - to widely preserve the rights and honour of the Empire. However, our news is not bad if you consider the circumstances, the characters of men, and the times. To give a concise report of these, we have decided to divide the report into four parts. In the first part, we shall relate the situation in Italy at our arrival in Lombardy. In the second, how we were received and what we negotiated with the Milanese. In the third, we shall report what we did in relation to other parties in Italy. And in the fourth, we intend to relate our departure and the situation in Lombardy when we left.

## 1. Situation in Italy

### 1.1. Milan

We now begin the first part. Arriving in Italy, we found that the death of the Duke of Milan<sup>1</sup> had caused major upheavals. Italy is [always] subject to political disturbances, but never before have so many foreign parties intervened as now when both the Germans<sup>2</sup> and the Italians<sup>3</sup> and even the French<sup>4</sup> and the Spanish<sup>5</sup> are seeking the inheritance of the Duke of Milan. The reason for this is the location and fertility of this region, for Lombardy is close to other nations, and the fruitfulness and fertility of its soil are such that it attracts all.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death

<sup>2</sup> The emperor

<sup>3</sup> Francesco Sforza and the Venetians

<sup>4</sup> The Duke of Orléans

<sup>5</sup> The King of Aragon and Naples

<sup>6</sup> Already in his first oration, the "Audi" from 1436, Piccolomini had mentioned the fertility of Lombardy: *The neighbouring country overflows with wine and all kinds of foodstuffs ... today all these things are to be found in Pavia and the other regions of Lombardy. They gather more hay and grain than their own inhabitants need, and there is a great abundance of fruit ... the peoples of Lombardy never had to live on imported wheat, but on the contrary they exported their own wheat to the other provinces.*

[2] Postquam igitur clauserat oculos Philippus Maria, dux Mediolani, sepultusque fuerat, erecti Mediolanenses in spem libertatis, dominium in se receperunt et acclamantes *Sancto Ambrosio libertatique vitam* XXIV gubernatores delegerunt, Guelfos et Gibellinos, quibus summum imperium ad tres menses et pacis et belli gerendi commiserunt. Suprema tamen potestas excutiendi auri apud consilium noningentorum virorum mansit. His peractis arcem disrumpere decreverunt, quam pecunia ex manibus castellani receperant, licet illi per testamentum Philippus commisisset, ut regi Aragonum castellum conservaret, id fortilitum jam terrae aequatum est. Similiter et de castro Cusagi fit, ubi venationes ad voluptatem ducis patebant.

[3] Missi exinde legati sunt ad civitates alias: Comum in deditionem Mediolanensium venit, Novaria quoque et Alexandria. Alleviatae sunt tamen compluribus gravaminibus hae civitates, ut quaelibet sibi melius cavere novit. {1v} Parma in societatem recepta est, Terdona in pendentem mansit, datis obsidibus arbitrium comitis Francisci velle se sequi. Comitem autem per annos quinque ad eorum stipendia Mediolanenses receperant cum equitibus IIII milibus, peditibus vero mille quingentis. Stipendium ejus fuit XIII milium ducatorum in menses<sup>1</sup> singulos. Adhuc defecerunt evestigio Papienses, qui nec Venetorum nec Mediolanensium dominio subicere se voluerunt, comitem vero in protectorem<sup>2</sup> receperunt, cui castrum assignarunt et in annos singulos XX milia ducatorum. Hinc subortae contentiones sunt. Ajebant enim Mediolanenses injuriam fecisse sibi comitem, cum Papiam recepit, ille contra se jure potuisse contendit, communisque opinio est salvis capitulis licuisse comiti Papiam recipere, quae se sponte illi commisit. Utcumque sit, magnae suspiciones hinc inde sunt. Comes contra Placentinos profectus est cum exercitu, qui sese Venetis tradiderant, lentamque ducit obsidionem. Haec forma status Mediolani comitisque Francisci<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *corr. ex annos cod.*

<sup>2</sup> *protectionem Wolkan*

<sup>3</sup> *comitisque Francisci in marg. cod.*

[2] When Duke Filippo Maria of Milan had closed his eyes and been buried, the Milanese began to hope for liberty. They took over the lordship and, hailing *Saint Ambrose<sup>1</sup> and Liberty*, elected 24 governors from both the Guelph and the Ghibelline<sup>2</sup> party. The governors were entrusted for three months with supreme authority<sup>3</sup> to conduct peace and war. However, the supreme authority<sup>4</sup> to strike coin remained with the Council of Nine Hundred<sup>5</sup>. Later, they decided to tear down the fortress they had taken over from the commander for money, even though in his testament, Filippo had charged him with keeping the castle for the King of Aragon<sup>6</sup>. That fortress has now been razed to the ground. The same happened in Castro Cusago,<sup>7</sup> which the duke liked to use for hunting.

## 1.2. Count Francesco Sforza

[3] Then the Milanese sent legates to other cities: Como surrendered to Milan, and so did Novara and Alessandria. However, many burdens on these cities were lightened, as all cities well know how to look after themselves. Parma became an alliance partner. Terdona's<sup>8</sup> fate is still undecided: it has exchanged hostages and wants to follow Count Francesco<sup>9</sup> as their leader. As for the count himself, the Milanese had engaged him as a salaried captain, with 4,000 cavalry and 1,500 infantry. His salary was 13,000 ducats per month. Pavia defected immediately [from Milan], not wanting to submit to the lordship of either Venice or Milan, but taking the count as their protector to whom they assigned the fortress and 20,000 ducats per year. This gave rise to conflicts, for the Milanese said the count had violated [their contract] by receiving Pavia, whereas he claimed that he could do so legitimately. According to common opinion, it was not against the terms of the contract for the count to receive Pavia since it had given itself to him freely. Whatever the case may be, the affair gave rise to great suspicions. The count marched with his army to Piacenza, which had submitted to Venice, and conducted a slow siege. This was the situation with Milan and Count Francesco.

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<sup>1</sup> Ambrosius, Aurelius (339-397): Archbishop of Milan from 347 to his death. Patron Saint of Milan

<sup>2</sup> Guelphs and Ghibellines: political factions in Italy supporting the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor respectively during the high middle ages. After the end of the conflict between the papacy and the empire, the factions continued but now as political parties motivated by local concerns. In a letter to Emperor Sigismund of 15 June 1437, ten years before, Piccolomini had written: *Do you know the meaning of "Guelph"? Guelph is someone who opposes the Empire, and a Ghibelline is someone who obeys it.* (Piccolomini: *Collected reports*, 2, sect. 4; WO, I, I, ep. 25, p. 77)

<sup>3</sup> "imperium": power

<sup>4</sup> "potestas": power

<sup>5</sup> One of the governing bodies of Milan during the republican period

<sup>6</sup> Alfonso V (Trastámara) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416 and of Naples from 1442 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Ca. 11 km from Milan. With a Visconti castle

<sup>8</sup> Present-day Tortona

<sup>9</sup> Francesco Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiero. Founder of the Milanese Sforza dynasty. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death





[4] Dux Aurelianensis praemissis duobus milibus equitum Astensem civitatem occupavit, sed dum sui ulterius proficiscuntur occupareque Alexandriam pergunt, cujus partem trans aquam obtinuerant, apud vicum, cui nomen est Castellatium, per Mediolanenses conflicti sunt. Jactura Gallorum mille trecentorum equitum fuit. Ipse dux postea cum equis ferme centum ad civitatem Astensem sese contulit receptaque civitate et arce legatos Mediolanum misit *Ducem se Aurelianensem et Mediolanensem* scribens. Legatio ejus fuit: Inter Filippum suosque progenitores et Aurelianensem domum veteres inscriptiones fuisse, quibus invicem in ducatu succederent. Litteras prae manibus esse. Mortuo Filippo sibi ducatum deberi. Petere se jus suum. Si annuant Mediolanenses, facturum se optimam eis conditionem, in omnem vero eventum jus suum se minime dimissurum. His nondum erat responsum, prope tamen diem responderi debebat, intelleximusque Mediolanenses Gallis nullo pacto favere. Conabantur Gallici etiam comitem Franciscum cum multis promissionibus ad se trahere - illum enim esse ajebant cum patre suo, qui nomen Francorum in Italia sustinuerant - sed nihil adhuc conclusionis intercesserant.

[5] {2r} Rex Aragonum missis oratoribus Mediolanum significavit sese ducis Filippi testamento haeredem factum jusque sibi in ducatu competere, quod cum voluntate bona Mediolanensium nec alio modo prosequi vellet. Sive dominatum ejus sive ligam expetant, facturum se illis, quae placeant, dum se Venetis minime jungant, a quibus eos tueri<sup>1</sup> potens volensque sit. Quod si se eis amicitia ligent, habiturum se Mediolanenses hostium loco, nec se jus suum neglecturum. His oratoribus verba data: nulla spes dominationis permissa. Ipsi adhuc Mediolani degebant. Ipse autem rex cum exercitu VII milium tam equestrium quam pedestrium versus Florentinos tendens jam in agro Senensi constitutus dicebatur. Papa namque transitum dederat, ut communis omnibus<sup>2</sup>. Is vero jam Bononiam in deditionem acceperat. Florentini absque militibus et armorum copiis pleni terrore asseverabantur et praesertim formidantes, ne regi se conjungerent Senenses<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ~~posse~~ *add. cod.*

<sup>2</sup> omnium Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> ipse autem rex ... Senenses *in marg. cod.*

### 1.3. Duke Charles of Orléans

[4] Having sent 2,000 cavalry ahead, the Duke of Orléans<sup>1</sup> seized the city of Asti. His troops then marched on, seeking to seize Alessandria. When they had already occupied the part of the city that lies beyond the river, they were met in battle by the Milanese at a village named Castellazo<sup>2</sup>. The French lost 1,300 cavalry. Afterwards, the duke with about 100 horses continued to the city of Asti, and having received the city and its fortress, he sent legates to Milan, styling himself as *Duke of Orléans and Milan*. The legates' message was this: Between Filippo<sup>3</sup> and his ancestors on the one side and the House of Orléans on the other, there were old documents to the effect that they should succeed each other in their dukedoms.<sup>4</sup> The letters were available. When Filippo died, his dukedom [therefore] fell to him. Now, he was seeking his rights. If the Milanese agreed, he would give them the best possible terms, but under no condition would he give up his rights. The Milanese had not yet replied to this though the term for the reply was near. We have been given to understand that the Milanese do absolutely not favour the French. The French also sought to draw Count Francesco to their party, with many promises, saying that he and his father were the ones who had supported the French cause in Italy - but as yet nothing had been decided.

### 1.4. King Alfonso V of Aragon

[5] The King of Aragon sent ambassadors to Milan declaring that he had been made heir to Duke Filippo by testament, and therefore he had the rights to the duchy. However, he only wanted to pursue this matter with the good will of the Milanese. Whether they should desire his lordship or an alliance, he would do as they pleased as long as they did not join up with the Venetians, from whom he was both able and willing to protect them. But if they allied themselves with Venice, he would consider the Milanese, too, as enemies and not disregard his rights. The Milanese answered the ambassadors with the message that the king should not hope for the lordship [of the city]. The ambassadors were still in Milan while the king himself with an army of 7,000 cavalry and infantry was moving towards Florence and was said to already be in Sienese territory. The pope had given him free passage, as common to all. The king had already accepted the surrender of Bologna. The Florentines, without soldiers and arms, were reported to be terrified, especially since they feared that the Sienese would join up with the king.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles I (Valois) (1394-1465): Duke of Orleans from 1407 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Present-day Castellazo Bormida?

<sup>3</sup> Filippo Maria Visconti

<sup>4</sup> In case of the legitimate male line dying out

[6] Veneti autem Placentiam et Laudam occupaverant, quae se eis sponte commiserant, ne in deditionem Mediolanensium venirent. Ad hos missi fuerant oratores ex Mediolano, Guarnerius de Castilione et Lanzelottus Crottus, qui, cum adempta repeterent pacemque poscerent, gravibus verbis recepti sunt. Nec enim restituere quidquam Venetis mos est, nisi cogantur. Habiti sunt tamen tractatus varii. Polliciti enim sunt Veneti, quae ultra Abduam tenerent, restituros se fore excepta Lauda adjuturosque se Mediolanenses contra Franciscum comitem, cujus terrae Mediolanensibus cederent. Ac sic pacem obtulerunt, remissis oratoribus, qui rem istam in senatu Mediolanensi ferventibus animis agitent. Ipsi autem Veneti munita Placentia, ut comiti resisteret, exercitum ultra Adduam miserunt factaque non parva prope Mediolanum praeda, etiam locum quendam munitum receperunt.<sup>1</sup>

[7] Dux autem Sabaudiae Valentiam et alia quaedam castella territorii Novariensis invaserat veneratque Verzellas sperans se vocari a civitatibus. Sed audito Gallorum conflictu, parum fidens Verzellensibus, Yporegiam retrocesserat ac de pace cum Mediolanensibus tractabat, cum quo postea treugae annales factae<sup>2</sup> sunt, ea, quae occupaverat, retinente omnia. Haec erat Italiae facies, et Lombardiae status hujusmodi fuit, dum intravimus.

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<sup>1</sup> ~~hec erat Italiae facies dum devenimus~~ *add. cod.*

<sup>2</sup> facti Wolkan

## 1.5. Venice

[6] The Venetians had occupied Piacenza and Lodi, which had given themselves freely to them lest they were forced to surrender to Milan. The Milanese sent Guarnerio da Castiglione<sup>1</sup> and Lanzelotto Crotto<sup>2</sup> as ambassadors to Venice. When they had requested the return of [the lands] taken from Milan and asked for peace,<sup>3</sup> they were received with grave words [only] since the Venetians do not usually return anything unless forced to. Nonetheless, they did negotiate a number of matters, for the Venetians promised to return all they held beyond the Adda [river] except Lodi. They also promised to help the Milanese against Count Francesco, whose lands they would hand over to the Milanese. And thus they offered peace and sent back the ambassadors, who argued this matter fiercely in the Milanese senate. But the Venetians fortified Piacenza so that it could resist the count and sent their army across the Adda, making great plunder close to Milan and even taking a fortified place.

## 1.3. Duke Louis I of Savoy

[7] The Duke of Savoy<sup>4</sup> had seized Valenza and some other castles in the territory of Novara and come to Vercelli hoping to receive a call from the citizens. But when he heard about the conflict with the French and had little trust in the people from Vercelli, he withdrew to Ivrea<sup>5</sup> and negotiated for peace with the Milanese with whom he later arranged a one-year truce, keeping what he had seized.

This was the situation in Italy and the state of Lombardy when we arrived.

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<sup>1</sup> Guarnerio Castiglione (d. 1460): Counsellor of Filippo Maria Visconti

<sup>2</sup> Lanzelotto Crotto: Counsellor of Filippo Maria Visconti

<sup>3</sup> In a letter dated 1 September 1447 to Venice, the emperor had demanded that the Venetians cease hostilities against Milan (Chmel, II, p. 256)

<sup>4</sup> Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Yporegia

[8] Nunc ad secundam partem transeundum est. Cum venissemus Clavennas, delatae ad nos sunt litterae Mediolanensium cum salvo conducto, et in principio lacus invenimus paratas naves cum duobus commissariis, Galeazio et Marco, qui nos expectabant, ingressique lacum biduo Comum venimus. Ibi ab episcopo pluribusque abbatibus et potestate civitatis suisque nobilibus recepti sumus. Jam civitas illa subjecerat se Mediolanensibus. Quievimus ibi per diem, ut, si fieri posset, communitatem alloqueremur. Conati sumus habere consilium civitatis, sed aperte potestas urbis locutus est non facturam se copiam populi nisi ex mandato regiminis Mediolani, dicens esse capitale, si quis se nolente de congregatione civitatis ageret. Vix impetravimus, ut litterae credentiales civitati praesentarentur. Cives libenter nos audivissent, sed non erant ausi, dixeruntque nonnulli ex eis clanculum se numquam subjecisse {2v} Mediolanensibus, si litteras regias, quas Matheus de Pisis attulerat, prius recepissent, jamque de Mediolanensibus querebantur, qui conventa non tenerent. Matheus autem citius ad eos venire non potuerat<sup>1</sup>.

[9] Profecti sumus die sequenti Mediolanum. Extra urbem ad secundum lapidem obviam nobis venerunt nonnulli praelati ex parte cardinalis Mediolanensis, qui postea Mediolani ob reverentiam sacri imperii nos suis esculentis egregie honoravit et utilia consilia dedit, semper se ad quaevis regiae majestati grata offerens. Post hos<sup>2</sup> venerunt obviam cum magna comitiva tubisque sonantibus ipsi civitatis gubernatores et officiales magnoque gaudio nos exceperunt et usque ad hospitium nos sociarunt. Et licet propter mortem ducis prohiberemus tubas sonare, ipsi tamen dixerunt populo futurum ingratum, nisi clangor audiretur tubarum et praesertim in adventu oratorum<sup>3</sup> veri domini.

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<sup>1</sup> poterat Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> hoc Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> omit. Wolkan

## 2. Negotiations with the Milanese

### 2.1. Travel to Milan

[8] Now we move on to the second part of our report. When we arrived in Chiavenna, we received a letter from the Milanese with the safe-conduct, and where the lake<sup>1</sup> begins, we found ships in readiness with two commissioners, Galeazzo and Marco,<sup>2</sup> waiting for us. We entered the lake and arrived at Como in two days. There, we were received by the bishop<sup>3</sup> and several abbots, the city's *podestà* and his nobles. The city had previously submitted to the Milanese. We rested there for a day to address the community, if possible. We sought to have a meeting with the citizens, but the *podestà* said directly that he could not arrange an assembly of the people without permission from the government of Milan and that it was a capital crime to assemble the citizens against his will. We barely obtained that we could present our letters of credence to the city. The citizens would have heard us gladly but did not dare to, and several of them told us in secret that they would never have submitted to the Milanese if they had first received the king's letter, which Matteo da Pisa<sup>4</sup> had brought. Already, they complained that the Milanese had not kept their agreements. Matteo, however, had not been able to come more quickly to them.

### 2.2. Reception in Milan

[9] The next day we left for Milan. At the second milestone from the city, we were met by several prelates representing the Cardinal of Milan,<sup>5</sup> who later in Milan, out of respect for the Holy Empire, greatly honoured us with provisions and helpful advice, offering [us] whatever would be useful to His Royal Majesty.<sup>6</sup> After them, we were met joyously by the governors and officials of the city, with a large following and the sound of trumpets. They accompanied us to our lodgings. Given the duke's death, we would have forbidden the trumpet music, but they said that the people liked the trumpets to be sounded, and especially at the arrival of their true lord.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lago di Como

<sup>2</sup> In a letter from the Milanese government to the ambassadors dated 12 October, the government welcomes them, informs them that Galeazzo Bernardo and Florio de Castronovale will be their guides on their travel to Milan, and sends them their safe-conduct, cf. Chmel, II, p. 257

<sup>3</sup> Landriano, Bernardo (d. 1451): Bishop of of Asti 1439-1446, and of 1446 to his death.

<sup>4</sup> An imperial messenger bringing the emperor's letter of 1. September to Milan had apparently been delayed, cf. Chmel, II, p. 257

<sup>5</sup> Enrico II Rampini

<sup>6</sup> The emperor

<sup>7</sup> I.e., the emperor as represented by his ambassadors



[10] Supersedimus sequenti die, ut recolligeremus dicenda et melius deliberati ad proponendum veniremus. Offerebant se conservatores ad hospitium nostrum venturos ibique nos audituros, quia loco domini sui nos venerantur. Nobis autem placuit omnino eos accedere, tum quia missi ad eos eramus, tum quia in loco amplo major haberetur populi multitudo. Accesserunt igitur die tertia nos ipsi conservatores sive gubernatores cum pluribus magnatibus nosque ad locum residentiae suae conduxerunt. Ibi magna nobilium et doctorum copia fuit, plenum erat auditorium notabilibus viris.

[11] Postquam omnes considerunt facto silentio praesentatis litteris regis et condigna salutatione praemissa propositionem et expositionem ambassatae in hunc fecimus effectum:

[12] Primo exposuimus, quomodo regia majestas audiverat mortem ducis Mediolani, de qua doluerat pluribus respectibus. Secundo diximus per mortem ejus ducatum Mediolanensem ceteraque dominia quondam Filippi ad imperium sacrum pleno jure devoluta fore<sup>1</sup> eaque debitis modis petivimus<sup>2</sup>, monstrantes<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> nullam aliam viam tenere Mediolanenses posse<sup>5</sup> securam et honestam, quam viam regis, laudantes quae medio tempore Mediolanenses fecerant defendendo patriam, sperantes, quod omnia pro honore imperii fecissent.<sup>6</sup> Tertio narravimus statum urbis Mediolanensis, quam varius fuerit superioribus temporibus, nunc laetus, nunc tristis, adjicientes<sup>7</sup>, quod nunc ad pristinam gloriam reverterentur, si sub imperio vellent degere, uti deberent<sup>8</sup>, exponentes<sup>9</sup> quattuor principalia bona, quae ipsi Mediolanenses assequerentur, si regiae majestati debite parerent, libertatem honestam, pacem longam, gloriam {3r} ingentem et divitiarum incrementa, offerentes subsidia opportuna adversus eos, qui turbare Mediolanenses niterentur. Quarto<sup>10</sup> fecimus de omnibus dictis brevem epilogum cum repetitione juris imperii, quae<sup>11</sup> regia majestas<sup>12</sup> nullatenus esset neglectura.

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<sup>1</sup> Tertio *add.* cod.

<sup>2</sup> ipsa imperii jura quanto *add.* cod.

<sup>3</sup> *corr.* ex monstravimus cod.

<sup>4</sup> quod ~~add.~~ cod.

<sup>5</sup> *corr.* ex poterant cod.

<sup>6</sup> laudantes quae ... fecissent *in marg.* cod.

<sup>7</sup> addicientes cod.

<sup>8</sup> *corr.* ex Sexto cod.

<sup>9</sup> *corr.* ex demonstravimus cod.

<sup>10</sup> *corr.* ex Septimo cod.

<sup>11</sup> quod Wolkan

<sup>12</sup> quae regia majestas *corr.* ex et majestatis imperatoriae cod.



## 2.3. First round of negotiations

[10] The next day, we took a break to properly prepare our opening address and proposition. The Milanese conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say, honouring their lord<sup>1</sup> through us. But we preferred to go to their place, both because it was us who had been sent to them, and because a larger crowd of people could assemble in a large place. So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men.

### 2.3.1. Oration of Piccolomini

[11] When all had taken their seat, and there was silence, the king's<sup>2</sup> letter was presented, and after a formal greeting,<sup>3</sup> we made the proposition and statement of the embassy to this effect:

[12] Firstly, we told how His Royal Majesty had heard about the death of the Duke of Milan, grievous to him in several regards. Secondly, we stated that by his death the Milanese duchy and his other domains had devolved upon the Holy Empire in full right, and we claimed them in the proper forms, showing that there was no other safe and honourable course for the Milanese than the king's, and moreover praising what the Milanese had done in the meantime to defend their country, hoping that all they had done had been for the honour of the Empire. Thirdly, we expounded on the state of the Milanese city and how varied it had been in former times, sometimes happy, sometimes miserable. We added that they would now return to their former glory if only they would be under the Empire, as they ought to, and we set forth the four major advantages that the Milanese would gain if they duly obeyed His Royal Majesty: honourable liberty, long peace, immense glory and the growth of wealth. We also offered assistance against those who would endeavour to disturb the Milanese. Fourthly, we delivered a brief epilogue, restating the rights of the Empire, which His Royal Majesty would in no way disregard.

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<sup>1</sup> The emperor

<sup>2</sup> The emperor's

<sup>3</sup> Probably by Chancellor Schlick, who spoke first

[13] His dictis et ad longum expositis, ut extat<sup>1</sup> oratio ad verbum scripta, Mediolanenses deliberationem receperunt et venientes postea ad hospitium nostrum per dominum Nicolaum de Arziboldis responderi fecerunt. Primo regratiati sunt permaxime regiae majestati pro salutationibus et pro sumpto dolore ex morte principis eorum et pro congratulatione facta civitati de tutatione patriae. Secundo dixerunt non expedire patriae neque regi gubernare Mediolanum et illas terras vel per se vel per legatos, quandoquidem cives libertatem natura, jure ac honestis pactionibus sibi partam longis retro temporibus jure quodam postliminii recuperatam, ita complexi essent, uti tutari illam non vererentur, nihilominus praestaturi favoris, honoris, obsequii ac reverentiae culmini regiae majestatis, quam si per se ipsam gubernaret, parati, quo decet honore, suscipere ipsam majestatem volentem diadema, quod Mediolanum praestat, accipere et ea facere omnia, quae liber populus, Romanum recognoscens imperium, erga ipsum jure aut probatis moribus debet.

[14] Haec per nos oratores<sup>2</sup> variis modis confutata fuere, monstrantes libertatem nullam ipsis competere, nisi ab imperio daretur, nec locum habere jus *postliminii*. Cumque hinc inde magna disceptatio esset, ventum ad hoc est, ut Mediolanenses suas requisitiones, quas optarent a rege, in scriptis darent, et sic redeuntes ipsi requisitiones infrascriptas dederunt, videlicet *Infrascriptae sunt* etc.

[15] Haec variis et multis viis confutata sunt per nos, maxime autem ostendimus non esse verum, quod ducatus haereret civitati Mediolanensi nisi passive, ut regantur a duce, quem rex dederit, et ostendimus, quod talis petitio admitti non posset, deducati propter multa pericula, et fecimus etiam mentionem de Venceslao. Et sic remansimus, ut ad specialia veniremus, et petiverunt ipsi, ut nos diceremus, sub qua forma crederemus<sup>3</sup> nomine regio libertatem eis concedi posse. Unde nos ad haec capitula devenimus, quae sequuntur, videlicet *Ut inter regiam majestatem etc.*

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<sup>1</sup> exstat Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> ~~regios~~ add. cod.

<sup>3</sup> corr. ex vellemus cod.

### 2.3.2. Reply of the Milanese

[13] After a lengthy discourse of this matter – the written version of the oration is available<sup>1</sup> - the Milanese deliberated between them, and afterwards, they came to our lodgings and made their answer through Lord Niccolò degli Arcimboldi.<sup>2</sup> Firstly, they greatly thanked His Royal Majesty for the greetings, for having mourned the death of their prince, and for the congratulations to the city for protecting the country. Secondly, they said that it would be expedient neither for the city nor the king to [have the king] govern Milan and its lands either directly or through legates. The citizens had long ago by *jus postliminii*<sup>3</sup> regained the liberty it had obtained from nature and by law and honourable treaties, and they would not fear to defend it. Nonetheless, they would show His HRoyal Majesty the same favour, honour, deference and reverence as if he had governed them directly. They were also ready to welcome His Majesty with due honour if he should wish to receive the crown which Milan offers<sup>4</sup> and to do all that a free people, recognizing the Roman Empire, owes him by law and accepted custom.

### 2.3.3. Refutation of the Milanese position and exchange of written statements

[14] This was refuted by us ambassadors in various ways, showing that the only liberty they could have must be granted by the Empire, and that there was no basis for a *jus postliminii*. A lively discussion back and forth ensued, and finally, they agreed that the Milanese should present their demands of the king in writing. Then they left and later presented the demands which follow below, i.e. *Infrascriptae sunt* etc.

[15] These demands were refuted by us in many and various ways. Above all, we showed it to be untrue that the City of Milan has the status of duchy in its own right. It only has this status when ruled by a duke appointed by the king. We also showed that their claim was unacceptable, as we deduced from many dangers, and we even mentioned Wenceslaus.<sup>5</sup> We stayed firm on this position. As for the special issues, they asked us to say under what form we thought that liberty could be granted them in the name of the king. We come here to the articles following below, i.e. *Ut inter regiam majestatem* etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini's oration "*Est mihi non parum*" (1447) [13]

<sup>2</sup> Niccolò degli Arcimboldi (1404-1459): Counsellor of the Duke of Milan. Previously acquainted with Piccolomini with whom he had corresponded.

<sup>3</sup> *jus postliminii*: In civil law, the right of postliminy, i.e. the right or claim of a person who had been restored to the possession of a thing or to a former condition, to be considered as though he had never been deprived of it. (Wikipedia). By this right, the Milanese claimed to have returned to the state prevailing before its integration into the Empire

<sup>4</sup> The Iron Crown of Lombardy: The crown was kept in the Cathedral of Monza, near Milan. Coronation with the Crown of Lombardy was one of the rituals of imperial coronations in the Middle Ages

<sup>5</sup> Wenceslaus IV: (1361-1419). King of Bohemia, and emperor (uncrowned) from 1376 to 1400. It was emperor Wenceslaus who in 1395 (for 100,000 florins) had raised Milan to the status of a duchy and appointed the Visconti lords its dukes. The ambassadors mentioned him to remind the Milanese that the status of duchy had been granted by an emperor, only ca. 50 years before.

[16] Per haec autem, quae sic in scriptis dedimus, existimaverunt Mediolanenses, sibi suaeque libertati nimis praejudicari, petentesque respondendi tempus ad diem sequentem revenerunt et adduxerunt hujusmodi scripta. Omnia tamen prius pronuntiabant et postea in scriptis relinquebant. Scripta autem hujusmodi sunt *Ut ea* etc., et ad confirmationem illorum adduxerunt libros civitatis, ubi registrata sunt quaedam privilegia, quorum hic sunt copiae, quas dimittimus causa brevitatis. Ex responso vero poterit tamen intelligi, qualia sunt omnia.

[17] Ad haec per infrascripta respondimus videlicet *Romanae* etc., quae licet longa sunt nimis, audienda sunt tamen, quia ex his pendet totus status rerum, quae cum Mediolanensibus pendent<sup>1</sup>.

[18] {3v} Post haec in scriptis data, remissi sunt ad nos ex deputatis dominus Novariensis, dominus Nicolaus de Arziboldis et Johannes de Fagnanao, cum quibus per plures dies contulimus, nihil tamen in scriptis dando, sed conferendo, si possemus super capitulis concordare, et post varios multosque tractatus rem ipsam ad quinque articulos deduximus, in quibus remansit difficultas.

[19] Primus articulus fuit de libertate, quam Mediolanenses dicebant sibi de jure competere et tamen pro gratia recepturos se, si regia majestas illam eis de novo concederet. In hoc dicebamus nos sperare de concordia, si cetera complanarentur, sed cum etiam in hoc reservarem imperio feuda et privilegia nobilium et cleri, ipso nullo modo hanc reservationem admittebant.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> quia ex ... pendent *corr.* ex si placet omittemus. Effectus est, quod omnia dicta Mediolanensium, per quae ajunt sibi libertatem competere, manifestis rationibus refelluntur, et in fine diximus fugiendas esse disputationes, ex quo non esset iudex, qui judicaret inter nos et cessavimus in scriptis amplius dare cod.

<sup>2</sup> ~~veneruntque solum ad hoc, quod feuda per civitatem, cum tempus esset, conferrentur et regia majestas confirmaret, cui rei non prebuimus assensum, dicentes regem debere conferre et posse tamen provideri per juramenta et alias vias, quod vasalli imperii non impedirent libertatem Mediolanensium per regiam majestatem concedendam~~ *add.* cod.

[16] The Milanese considered that the written statement we had given them was prejudicial to them and their liberty. They requested time for their answer and came back the next day with a written statement. However, they first made their statement orally, and afterwards they handed it to us in writing. The written statement ran like this: *Ut ea etc.* and in confirmation of it they brought us the books of the city, in which were registered certain privileges, copies of which are here,<sup>1</sup> but which we leave for now for brevity's sake. From our answers, it may, however, be seen what they all were.

[17] To these [objections] we answered with the [articles] written below, i.e. *Romanae etc.* Though they are long, they merit to be heard, for on these the whole Milanese matter, now pending, turns.

## **2.4. Second round of negotiations**

[18] After we had given them the written [articles], they sent back to us [three] of their representatives: His Lordship of Novara,<sup>2</sup> Lord Niccolò degli Arcimboldi, and Giovanni da Fagnano.<sup>3</sup> We conferred with them for several days without giving anything in writing but discussing whether we could agree on any articles, and after various and many exchanges, we formulated five articles concerning the remaining problems.

### **2.4.1. Liberty**

[19] The first article concerned liberty. The Milanese claimed that it belonged to them by right but that they would accept it gracefully if His Royal Majesty would grant it to them anew. We replied that we hoped for an agreement if the other issues were settled, but that on this point we had to reserve the feudal possessions and the privileges of nobility and clergy to the Empire. They could in no way accept such a reservation.

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<sup>1</sup> At the imperial court (e.g. in the archives) or appended to the report

<sup>2</sup> Bartolomeo Visconti (1402-1457): Bishop of Novara from 1429-1457. Old acquaintance, employer and friend of Piccolomini

<sup>3</sup> Not identified

[20] Secundus articulus fuit de censu Mediolani, quia cum Mediolanenses dicerent se omnino liberos a solutione census, nosque negaremus et tandem offeremus viam juris vel coram electoribus, vel coram uno rege catholico, de quo concederetur, vel coram papa et collegio, primo dixerunt se acceptare viam juris coram papa, sed velle prius scire in eventu, quo succumberent, quantitatem<sup>1</sup> census. Nos utrumque diximus committendum juri, et sic secundo replicarunt<sup>2</sup>, quod, antequam vellent litigare cum domino suo, potius vellent se ad censum honestum et competentem submittere, et tandem nominarunt censum unius coppae aureae annuatim dandae, quingentorum<sup>3</sup> ducatorum et tandem usque mille. Super qua re diximus, quod nullo modo possemus concordare cum eis, quia regia majestas nihil nobis commiserat de censu, sed petebat plenam administrationem Mediolani et aliarum terrarum. Et sic diximus hunc articulum ad regiam majestatem remittendum.

[21] Tertius articulus fuit de aliis civitatibus. Nos enim illas dicebamus regiae majestati remanere debere, quae teneret eas in bona libertate sub imperio, cum amicitia tamen et bona intelligentia Mediolanensium. Ipsi vero omnino petebant omnes civitates, quas habuit dux Mediolani tempore primae guerrae, et sic comprehendebant Brixiam, Bergamum, Papiam, Cremonam, Placentiam, Laudam et Tortosam, quas nunc non habent, volentes concedi sibi facultatem acquirendi eas et concordandi cum eis, et offerebant pro illis censum. Replicavimus hoc esse nimis, nam licet destitissent a petitione ducatus, ut ajebant, tamen in effectu ducatum volebant. [4r] Subjunximus tamen libenter audituros nos, qualem vellent praestare censum<sup>4</sup>, quia forsitan talis esset, quod regia sublimitas se inclinaret, super quo tamen diximus nos non habere mandatum. Nominaverunt pro qualibet civitate quingentos ducatos, super quo nolimus aliquid respondere, quia ridiculum videbatur.

[22] Quartus articulus fuit de adventu regiae majestatis ad Mediolanum. In hoc dicebant Mediolanenses velle suscipere majestatem suam honorifice, sed velle sibi significari per duos menses ante, quando rex venturus esset, cum quot gentibus, per quam viam, qua de causa, quamdiu mansurus, et quod cum eorum consensu veniret<sup>5</sup>. Confutavimus haec vivacibus rationibus et obtulimus regiam majestatem, cum venire vellet, per mensem ante significaturam et assecuraturam litteris et sigillis sub verbo regio, quod libertati concedendae Mediolanensibus et eorum regimini non praejudicaret. Nec potuimus in hoc articulo concordare.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; quantitate cod.

<sup>2</sup> se acceptare ... replicarunt *in marg.* cod.

<sup>3</sup> ~~aut mille~~ *add.* cod.

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* cod.

<sup>5</sup> et quod ... veniret *in marg.* Cod.

### **2.4.2. Taxation**

[20] The second article concerned the taxation of Milan. The Milanese claimed that they were completely free of taxes, and we denied it but did offer them a judicial procedure either before the prince-electors,<sup>1</sup> or before any catholic king on whom the parties could agree, or before the pope and the college of cardinals. They replied that they would accept a lawsuit before the pope, but first they would know the size of the taxes in case they lost the suit. We said that both questions<sup>2</sup> should become a matter for litigation, and they answered that rather than entering into a litigation with their lord, they preferred to accept an honourable and fair tax, and in the end they named a tax consisting of one golden bowl a year and between 500 and 1,000 ducats. We replied that on this point we could not reach a conclusion with them since His Royal Majesty had given us no instructions concerning taxation but requested the full administration of Milan and the other lands, so we declared that this article would have to be referred to His Royal Majesty.

### **2.4.3. Other cities in Lombardy**

[21] The third article concerned the other cities. We said that these must be subject to His Royal Majesty, who would keep them in good liberty under the Empire but with friendship and good understanding with the Milanese. However, they absolutely wanted all the cities which the Duke of Milan possessed at the time of the first war, comprising Brescia, Bergamo, Pavia, Cremona, Piacenza, Lodi and Tortosa, that they do not possess now, wanting to be given the possibility to acquire them and ally themselves with them, and offering to pay taxes for them. We replied that this was too much, for though they had said they did not seek the duchy, now they effectively wanted it. But we added that we would willingly hear what taxes they would pay, for maybe they were such that His Royal Highness would accept them. We stated, however, that we did not have instructions on this matter. They mentioned a sum of 500 ducats for each city, to which we would not reply since it appeared ridiculous.

### **2.4.4. Emperor's visits**

[22] The fourth article concerned His Royal Majesty's visits to Milan. On this issue, the Milanese said they would receive His Majesty honourably but that they wanted to be notified two months in advance when he would come, with how many people, by what route, for what reason, how long he would stay, and that he would only come with their agreement. We refuted these [claims] with vivid arguments, offering that His Royal Majesty would notify [the Milanese] of his visits one month in advance and that he would guarantee under royal letters and seals that this would not be prejudicial to the liberty to be granted the Milanese and to their government. On this article, too, we could not reach an agreement.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the seven prince-electors of the Holy Roman Empire

<sup>2</sup> I.e., both the principle and the amount of taxation

[23] Quintus articulus fuit de subsidiis praestandis. Volebant enim Mediolanenses, quod regia majestas requireret infra duos menses Venetos et alios, ut restituerent ablata et pacem tenerent<sup>1</sup>, et si non facerent mox ad requisitionem Mediolanensium regia majestas deberet cum omni posse suo bellum movere Venetis. Dicebamus tempus nimis breve et indignum esse, quod regia majestas tantum belli pondus intraret pro tam modicis emolumentis, sicut erant illa, quae offerebantur. Posse tamen super hoc concordari, si Mediolanenses in aliis suum debitum facerent.

[24] Haec in effectum fuerunt inter nos et illos tres deputatos, cum quibus etiam aliquando plures erant ventilata. Nec illi voluerunt amplius condescendere, nec nos.

[25] Cum hoc tractaremus, intelleximus Mediolanenses varios habere tractatus pacis et ligae cum Venetis, quia reversi erant oratores et ardentem pacem<sup>2</sup> promovebant, factaque nostra vilipendebant, dicentes nec velle regem Romanorum nec posse eos contra Venetos juvare, ob quam rem cognovimus dari nobis verba, ut eo melius cum Venetis tractaretur.

[26] Petivimus ab illis deputatis, ut impetrarent nobis audientiam consilii majoris, et dixerunt non esse petendam multis ex causis. Sed nos finaliter decrevimus ire ad gubernatores, et sic fecimus, qui nos de hospitio usque ad locum residentiae suae conduxerunt, et ibi cum pluribus aliis audientiam nobis dederunt. {4v} Die igitur lunae, in festo sancti Leonardi, de sero habuimus audientiam ac per horam locuti sumus.

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<sup>1</sup> ~~alio~~ add. cod.

<sup>2</sup> ~~trae~~ add. cod.



### **2.4.5. Subsidies**

[23] The fifth article concerned the subsidies to be made. The Milanese wanted that His Royal Majesty should, within two months, demand of the Venetians and others to return what they had taken and keep the peace, and if they did not do so, His Royal Majesty should, at the request of the Milanese, speedily and with all his might make war on the Venetians. We said that the period indicated was too short and that it would be unreasonable for His Royal Majesty to undertake such a burdensome war in return for the small financial contributions offered by them. But we should be able to reach an agreement on this matter if the Milanese did as they ought to in the others.

[24] These were the central issues negotiated between us and their three representatives, but we also discussed several other matters. However, they would make no more concessions and neither would we.

[25] During our negotiations, we heard that the Milanese were conducting other negotiations on peace and alliance with the Venetians, for their ambassadors returned and argued vehemently for peace, scorning our actions and saying that the King of the Romans was neither willing nor able to help them against the Venetians. We then realised that they [only] kept talking to us in order to obtain better terms from the Venetians.<sup>1</sup>

## **2.5. Third round of negotiations**

### **2.5.1. Imperial proposals to the governors of Milan**

[26] We requested their representatives to obtain an audience with the great council, but they said it was not possible for several reasons. So we finally decided to go to the governors and that we did, and they conducted us from our lodgings to their residence, and there they gave us an audience together with many others. Thus, on Monday, the Feast of Saint Leonard, we had a late audience and spoke for an hour.

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<sup>1</sup> If the Venetians feared a Milanese understanding with the emperor, it might make them more amenable in their negotiations with the Milanese

[27] Primo exposuimus seriose omnia per nos gesta cum suis deputatis et retulimos illos articulos, in quibus remansit difficultas, ut supra continetur, ostendentes quod per nos non restabat ad conclusionem venire.

[28] Secundo<sup>1</sup>. Ad finem, ne aliquis posset dicere, quod regia sublimitas nimis gravaret Mediolanenses, obtulimus ipsam majestatem staturam juri coram uno ex praenuntiatis iudicibus non solum in facto census Mediolani, sed super omnibus juribus et actionibus imperii sive<sup>2</sup> petitionibus regiae majestatis, quas vel fecisset vel facere vellet.

[29] Tertio diximus nos audisse, quod ipsi Mediolanenses haberent aliquos tractatus pacis vel ligae vel foederis cum quibusdam aliis quam cum rege Romanorum. Rogavimus et avisavimus eos, ut bene considerent<sup>3</sup> in omnibus, quae facerent, tria: primo seipsos et quid eis expediret. Secundo illos, cum quibus agerent et an possent in illis bene confidere. Tertio illos, quos relinquerent, ne offenderent Deum ac justitiam et illum, qui posset eis jure nocere, multumque hortati sumus eos<sup>4</sup>, ut recordarentur imperiales se fore, et ostendimus ipsis nullam esse illis viam salubriorem quam majestas regia, declarantes potentiam suam et dicentes non esse credendum, quod regia majestas negligat jus suum, licet alia, quae occupantur indebite de imperio hucusque non vindicaverit, quia plus urget injuria facta in persona propria quam in aliena, narrantes, quomodo Mediolanum ad modernum regem pertinebat et sibi facit injuriam, qui occuparet tale dominium.

[30] Quarto regratiati sumus de honore nobis impenso.

[31] Quinto diximus nos velle ad majestatem regiam reverti, et obtulimus nos, si quid honeste pro eis possemus.

[32] Sexto diximus, quod, antequam recederemus, libenter vellemus audiri in consilio noningentorum, ut servaremus formam litterarum nostrarum, quae gubernatoribus et populo dirigebantur, et quod vellemus istamet eis dicere.

[33] {5r} Ipsi vero Mediolanenses nobis benigne et attente auditis per dominum Nicolaum de Arziboldis fecerunt nobis responderi, et diviserunt dicta nostra in quatuor partes. Primo dixerunt nos rem gratam exposuisse, secundo narasse de tractatibus, qui cum aliis habebantur, tertio regratiatos de honore, quarto petivisse audientiam majoris concilii.

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<sup>1</sup> *diximus add. cod.*

<sup>2</sup> sine Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; considerant cod.

<sup>4</sup> *ne add. cod.*



[27] Firstly, we, in all sincerity, told them what we had negotiated with their representatives, and we informed them of those articles where there were still problems, as described above, showing that it was not us who blocked an agreement.

[28] Secondly, to avoid any claims that His Royal Highness would overly burden the Milanese, we presented the offer that His Majesty would accept a lawsuit before one of the aforesaid judges not only concerning the taxation of Milan but also concerning all the rights and actions of the Empire and the demands which His Royal Majesty had made or would make.

[29] Thirdly, we said that we had heard the Milanese were conducting negotiations for peace or an alliance or a treaty with other parties than the King of the Romans. We asked and advised them to consider carefully three things in all they did: Firstly, themselves and what was to their advantage. Secondly, those with whom they were dealing and whether they could be trusted. Thirdly, those whom they abandoned, so that they would not offend God and justice and him who could rightfully harm them<sup>1</sup>. We also exhorted them to remember that they belonged to the Empire. We showed them that no way was more profitable for them than that of his His Royal Majesty, emphasizing his power and saying that it was not credible that His Royal Majesty would neglect his rights. He had not yet claimed other imperial lands occupied unrightfully by others, but the injury done to one's own person is more compelling than any injury done to others. [Finally,] we explained how Milan belongs to the present king and that anybody who seized this domain would be guilty of serious injury to him.

[30] Fourthly, we thanked them for the honour shown to us.

[31] Fifthly, we announced that we would return to His Royal Majesty and offered our [services] if there was anything we could do for them, with honour.

[32] Sixthly, we said that before leaving, we should like to be heard in the council of 900, in fulfilment of our instructions which directed us towards the governors and the people, and what we should like to tell them.

### **2.5.2. Milanese reply**

[33] When the Milanese [governors] had heard us benignly and attentively, they let us have their answer through Lord Niccolò Arcimboldi. Dividing our statement into four parts, they said that in the first, we had set forth a welcome matter, in the second, we had spoken about their negotiations with others, in the third, we had thanked them for the honour [shown to us], and in the fourth, we had asked for an audience with the great council.

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

[34] Super primo dixerunt nos omnia seriose et vere retulisse, declararunt, tamen quod quidquid de censu fuerat dictum, non erat ex mandato ipsorum dictum, quia civitas ad nullam census praestationem teneretur, nec populo aliter suaderi posset. Sed Novariensis ex se ipso locutus fuerat.

[35] Ad secundum dixerunt, quod quidquid Mediolanenses facerent aut facturi essent, semper salvum reservarent honorem imperii, cui nullatenus vellent derogare, adjicientes, quod adhuc ante recessum vellent nobiscum amplius loqui.

[36] Super tertio de honoribus dixerunt se fecisse minus, quam debuerant, et excusaverunt se.

[37] Ad ultimum supplicarunt, ut aequo animo ferremus, si non daretur audientia populi, primo quia res esset nova et insolita, secundo quia in ipsis gubernatoribus tota potestas resideret, tertio quia res istae, quas tractabamus, de sui natura taciturnitatem exposcerent, quae in populo esse non potest. Addiderunt et quarto incompositum esse populum, qui posset ad aliqua inhonesta contra nos prorumpere, de quibus ipsi dolerent. Addiderunt rogantes, ut ad bonam concordiam nos vellemus interponere inter regiam majestatem et eos.

[38] Interrogavimus post haec, quid dicerent ad juris oblationem. Responderunt et in hoc et<sup>1</sup> in aliis velle nobiscum latius loqui, rogantes ne cito discederemus ab his, qui libenti animo nos viderent, quia secunda post die ad nos mitterent, et sic nos omnes usque ad hospitium associarunt.

[39] Venerunt ad nos postea deputati et iterum ostenderunt velle concordare, et super primo articulo de feudis dicebant, quod posset talis modus inveniri, sicilicet quod civitas illa conferret et regia majestas confirmaret. Nos vero dicebamus regem debere conferre et vasallos posse astringi juramento, ne impedirent libertatem Mediolanensibus per regem concedendam. Nec concordare potuimus.

[40] Super adventu regis stabant in eo, ut cum eorum consensu iretur. Nos vero dicebamus, non debere regem astringi Mediolani, qui nullibi est astrictus.

[41] {5v} Super facto aliarum civitatum dicebant posse augeri censum. Nos vero dicebamus eos<sup>2</sup> esse valde remotos<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ut Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> eas WO

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; remote cod.

[34] Concerning the first issue, they said that we had related all honestly and truly, but what was said about taxation had not been in accordance with their mandate, for the city would not be bound to pay any taxes whatsoever, and the people could not be persuaded otherwise: [on this issue] the Bishop of Novara had spoken for himself.

[35] Concerning the second issue, they said that whatever the Milanese did or would do, they would always respect the honour of the Empire, which they would in no way neglect. They added that they wanted to speak more with us before our departure.

[36] Concerning the third issue, the honours [shown to us], they said they had done less than they ought to and excused themselves.

[37] Concerning the last issue, they begged us to bear it with equanimity if an audience with the people was not granted, firstly, because it would be a new and unusual thing, secondly, because all power lay with the governors, thirdly, because the nature of the matters under negotiation required confidentiality, which was impossible with the people. Fourthly, they added that the people were restless and might erupt in dishonourable acts against us, which they would regret. They added a request that we would intermeditate between His Royal Majesty and them in the interest of harmonious relations.

[38] Then we asked them what they said about the right of subsidy. They answered that they would speak more about this and other issues, asking us not to depart soon from those who were happy to see us, for two days later, they would send someone to us.<sup>1</sup> Then they accompanied us to our lodgings.

[39] Later, their representatives came to us and again showed a willingness to come to an agreement. Concerning the first article, about feudal possessions, they said that an arrangement might be found, consisting in the city conferring them and His Royal Majesty afterwards confirming them. But we said that the king should have the right to confer them and be able to obligate vassals through oaths not to oppose the liberty to be granted by him to the Milanese. So we could not agree to [that proposal].

[40] Concerning the king's arrival, they insisted that he must [only] come with their agreement. But we said that the king should not have obligations in Milan that he had nowhere else.

[41] Concerning the other cities, they said that the taxes could be raised, and we said that they were very far from [what would be expected].

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<sup>1</sup> The Milanese presumably wanted to prolong the stay of the imperial ambassadors as a means to put pressure on the Venetians in their parallel negotiations with them.

[42] Super facto census Mediolani dicebant posse concordari de una summa, quam infra certos annos non pro censu, sed pro subsidio Mediolanenses darent regi. Nos diximus non habere potestatem nisi ad jus remittere censum, audituros tamen quam summam nominarent et relatores regi – nec umquam postea nominarunt summam.

[43] Super facto subsidiorum dicebant posse de tempore melius concordari<sup>1</sup>. Et sic remansimus in hoc, quod ipsi scriberent illa, ad quae vellent descendere, et nobis portarent. Ac sic recessimus ab invicem.

[44] Postea vero, cum intelligerent, quod nos nollemus concludere cum eis, nisi ad formam prius datam, dimiserunt viam istam et decreverunt velle suos oratores ad regiam majestatem destinare, et sic significaverunt nobis per dominum episcopum Novariensem, dominum Nicolaum de Arziboldis, Alvisum Crottum et Johannem de Fagnano. Interrogavimus, quando venturi essent, ne regia majestas in suspenso teneretur<sup>2</sup>, et qui oratores. Suasimus, ut cum majoribus rebus venirent, quam nobis obtulerant.

[45] Interrogavimus etiam, quid dicerent ad oblationem juris, factam in praesentia gubernatorum. Responderunt cito venturos oratores, sed nescire<sup>3</sup> praefinitam diem, oratores nondum nominatos, venturos, instructos, sed regem hortandum, ut inclinaret se de oblatione juris responsum est, quia longum esset disceptare, et non deceret subditos litigare cum domino, et quia via juris parit inimicitias. Respondimus viam juris posse abbreviari, humanissimum esse principem offerre subdito justitiam, regna nihil esse sine justitia nisi magna latrocinia, et sic non odia, sed pacem dare justitiam, atque hoc modo ab invicem discessimus. Et sic finem facimus parti<sup>4</sup> secundae de his, quae cum Mediolanensibus gesta sunt.

[46] Transimus nunc ad partem tertiam de his, quae cum aliis gessimus.<sup>5</sup> Haec brevissima est et utilis. {6r} Erant Mediolani oratores regis Aragonum et comitis Francisci, milites et graves viri, qui per medium Johannis Orlandi visitaverunt nos et obtulerunt se multum, quos nos libenter vidimus et vice versa oblationes fecimus. Hi postea per Johannem Orlandi secretos habuerunt tractatus nobiscum, quos libenter audivimus videntes, quod a Mediolanensibus non habebamus illa, quae debebantur.

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<sup>1</sup> accordari Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> ne regia ... teneretur *in marg. cod.*

<sup>3</sup> nesciri Wolkan

<sup>4</sup> parte Wolkan

<sup>5</sup> III. pars *in marg. Cod.*

[42] Concerning the taxation of Milan, they said that they could agree on a sum which the Milanese would – for a specified number of years - give the king not as taxes but as subsidies. We said that we were only empowered to refer the matter of taxation to adjudication, but that we would hear the sum they proposed and communicate it to the king – but at no time afterwards did they mention any sum.

[43] Concerning the subsidies, they said that if there was more time, it would be easier for them to reach an agreement. We stayed firm on the position that they should let us know in writing what they would be willing to pay. And on this, we departed from each other.

### **2.5.3. Promise of ambassadors to the emperor**

[44] Later, when they understood that we could only come to an agreement with them based on the arrangement first proposed, they gave up that way and decided to send ambassadors to His Royal Majesty, and this they communicated to us through the Lord Bishop of Novara, Lord Niccolò Arcimboldi, Alviso Crotto<sup>1</sup> and Giovanni da Fagnano. We asked when the ambassadors would arrive, so that His Royal Majesty would not be kept waiting, and who they would be. We advised that they should come with larger offers than they had given us.

[45] We also asked them what they had to say concerning our offer of a judicial procedure, made in the presence of the governors. They replied that they would soon send ambassadors, but they did not know when. The ambassadors had not yet been appointed, but they would come, with instructions. However, they did answer that the king should be exhorted to yield in the matter of a judicial procedure since it would demand a protracted discussion and it is not proper for subjects to litigate with their lord, and, finally, since litigation breeds enmity. We replied that the legal procedure could be shortened, that it was most generous of the prince to offer litigation to a subject, and that without justice kingdoms are nothing but great robberies: justice breeds peace, not hate. On this note, we departed from each other.

And here we end the second part, the one concerning our dealings with the Milanese.

## **3. Negotiations with other parties**

[46] We now move on to the third part, which concerns our dealings with other parties. This part is very short but not unimportant. Present in Milan were the ambassadors of the King of Aragon and of Count Francesco, soldiers and serious men. They made a visit to us, arranged by Giovanni Orlandi. They visited us several times after that, and we received them gladly and visited them in

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<sup>1</sup> Not identified



return. Later they negotiated secretly with us through Giovanni Orlandi – which we welcomed since the Milanese did not give us what they ought to.

[47] Orator regis Aragonum dicebat ligam esse faciendam inter dominum nostrum Romanorum regem et dominum suum, ita videlicet quod rex Romanorum daret Tusciam in vicariatu domino suo, qui tamen antiquus est, et per ejus mortem ad imperium Tuscia reverteretur, quodque rex Aragonum juvaret regem Romanorum cum omni posse suo ad acquirendum Mediolanum et Lombardiam, quia multum interest utriusque providere, ne communitas Venetiarum, Florentinorum et Mediolanensium ad invicem communitatem gerentur<sup>1</sup>. Nam istae tres potentiae, si sic permetterentur, excluderent imperium de Italia et regem Aragonum de Apulia, et sic dicebat obstandum<sup>2</sup> esse principibus<sup>3</sup>, videlicet quod rex Aragonum invaderet Florentinos cum jure vicariatus et rex Romanorum Venetos cum jure imperii. Nam tunc Mediolanenses, qui inter se sunt divisi, et pars vult libertatem, pars imperium, quando viderent talia, non possent facere, quin se subderent imperio et maxime, si rex Romanorum provideret, quod aliquis suo nomine capitaneus Mediolanenses<sup>4</sup> infestaret, multumque requirebat idem orator per Johannem Orlandi, ut ad talem ligam attenderemus. Nos consideratis omnibus dicebamus placere nobis multum, quod amicitia et bona fraternitas esset inter ipsos reges, sed ostendimus, quia non poteramus talia praticare non habentes commissionem, suasimusque, ut ad majestatem regiam mitteretur aliquis orator regius cum pleno mandato super omnibus talibus, quia speraremus aliquid boni fieri posse. Et sic orator regis Aragonum promisit se curaturum apud regem, cui jam omnia per zifram significasse se dixerat, et sic speramus venturum unum cum pleno mandato.

[48] Orator vero comitis Francisci cum talibus praticis veniebat per medium Johannis Orlandi {6v} videlicet, quod comes Franciscus fieret capitaneus generalis imperii in Lombardia et reciperet vexilla imperialia veniretque in agrum Mediolanensem, quem nullus potest sibi prohibere, et cum favore<sup>5</sup> Vicecomitum et aliorum, qui favent imperio, et sibi acquireret Mediolanum et faceret acclamari imperium, non solum in Mediolano, sed etiam in aliis terris vicinis, quae fuerunt ducales, et essent cum comite aliqui, qui nomine regio reciperent possessionem, dicebatque hoc esse valde facile comiti propter divisionem Mediolanensium et propter peritiam suam et favorem, quem habet, et maxime, quia nullus in Mediolano est, qui non potius imperio quam Venetis subesse velit. Veneti autem non caperent pugnam pro Mediolanensibus contra imperium nisi cum maximis conditionibus, quae non fierent per Mediolanenses. Et ulterius dicebat, quod si Veneti se intromitterent, regia majestas a dorso posset eos invadere et cogere ad revocandum subsidia, et sic infallanter Mediolanum cum aliis terris in potestatem veniret domini nostri regis, dicebatque idem orator licere comiti hoc facere, quia Mediolanenses non dant sibi stipendia debita et ipse in pactis habet, quod quando Mediolanenses cessant a solutione per certum tempus, tunc ipse non est eis obligatus.

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<sup>1</sup> gerantur Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; ostandum cod.

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; principibus cod.

<sup>4</sup> Mediolanensis WO

<sup>5</sup> ~~Mediolanensium~~ *add.* cod.



### 3.1. King of Aragon

[47] The ambassador of the King of Aragon said that it would be desirable to have an alliance between our lord, the King of the Romans, and his own lord: the King of the Romans would give Toscana as a vicariate to his lord - he is old, and thus Toscana would at his death return to the Empire. On his part, the King of Aragon would, with all his might, help the King of the Romans to acquire Milan and Lombardy, for it is in their common interest that the republics of Venice, Florence and Milan do not enter an alliance. These three powers would, if allowed to, drive the Empire from Italy and the King of Aragon from Puglia, and therefore, he said, the princes needed to oppose them, with the King of Aragon attacking Florence by right of the [imperial] vicariate and the King of the Romans attacking Venice by right of the Empire. For when the Milanese - divided between a party wanting liberty and a party wanting the Empire<sup>1</sup> - saw such [developments], they could do nothing but submit to the Empire, especially if the King of the Romans arranged for another captain to make war on the Milanese in his name. Giovanni Orlando vehemently urged us to work for such an alliance. Having considered it all, we said that it would please us much if there were friendship and good fraternal relations between the two kings, but we showed him that we could not negotiate such an arrangement since we did not have a mandate in this sense. But we advised that a royal ambassador be sent to His Royal Majesty with full powers in all such matters, for we hoped that something good could come of it. The ambassador of the King of Aragon promised to work for this with his king, saying that he had already informed him in a ciphered letter. So we hope that someone will come with full powers.

### 3.2. Francesco Sforza

[48] Through Giovanni Orlando, the envoy of Count Francesco made the following proposals: Count Francesco should be made captain-general of the Empire in Lombardy and receive the imperial standards and enter Milanese territory, from which nobody can prevent him. With the support of the Visconti party and others who favour the Empire, he would then acquire Milan and proclaim the Empire not only in Milan but also in the other, neighbouring territories that had belonged to the Duke [of Milan]. Also, the count should be accompanied by men who could take possession in the name of the king.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni said that all this would be easy for the count because of the divisions in Milan and because of the count's experience and popularity. Indeed, there is nobody in Milan who would not rather submit to the Empire than to Venice. The Venetians would only go to war for the Milanese against the Empire on strict conditions that would be unacceptable to the Milanese. Orlando said, moreover, that if the Venetians intervened, His Royal Majesty could attack them from the rear and force them to recall their troops. Thus, Milan would unfailingly come into the power of Our Lord King together with the other territories. The envoy also said that the count was free to do this since the Milanese had not paid him the

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<sup>11</sup> The Ghibelline party

<sup>2</sup> The emperor

salary due to him by contract, the count ceasing to be obliged to the Milanese when they did not pay him within a certain time.

[49] In praemium autem istarum rerum petebat idem orator Papiam et Cremonam in titulum dari comiti et unam ex aliis civitatibus ultra Paduam pro stipendiis et quod, postquam Mediolanum esset in potestate regis, tunc comes intelligeretur conductus a majestate regia cum illis stipendiis, cum quibus nunc servit Mediolanensibus.

[50] Nos diximus ad hoc non habere mandatum. Laudavimus tamen, ut cum pleno mandato mitteret comes unum de suis ad regiam majestatem, quia posset aliqua bona fieri conclusio, et sic orator promisit se curaturum per medium Johannis Orlandi, qui omnibus in istis rebus fideliter laboravit, unde majestas vestra debet eum habere recommendatum, sicut suo tempore dicemus.

[51] Intelleximus praeterea vicecomites Crivellos et illos de Lampognano uno excepto Oldrado, videlicet plures alios nobiles invicem colligatos esse et nullum velle alium dominum quam majestatem regiam, qui sine dubio aperirent multa loca exercitui, qui ex parte regis intraret potens. Et sic finis est tertiae partis relationis nostrae. Nunc ultima brevissime expeditur.

[52] {7r} His omnibus peractis significavimus Mediolanensibus recessum nostrum esse in crastinum, die videlicet Veneris X. Octobris in vigilia Martini, qui venerunt de mane omnes honorifice ad hospitium nostrum et, licet esset ingens pluvia, associarunt nos usque extram portam tubis sonantibus, et ibi petita licentia recommendarunt se multum regiae majestati et provideri nobis fecerunt suis sumptibus in Como de navibus, facientes nos associari per eosdem, qui nos conduxerant, usque ad finem lacus.

[49] In compensation of these services,<sup>1</sup> the envoy requested that Pavia and Cremona be given to the count as lawful possessions,<sup>2</sup> together with one of the cities on the other side of the river Po, to cover salaries. After Milan had come into the king's power, the count should have the status of a captain hired by His Royal Majesty, with the salary which he now gets for serving the Milanese.<sup>3</sup>

[50] We replied that our mandate did not cover this matter but said it would be excellent if the count sent one of his men to His Royal Majesty, with full powers, for then some good decision could be made, and the ambassador, through Giovanni Orlando, promised to arrange this. The said Giovanni worked loyally in all these matters, wherefore Your Majesty should extend Your favour to him<sup>4</sup>, as we will say more about at the proper time.

[51] Apart from this, we heard that of the Visconti party the Crivelli and the Lampognano<sup>5</sup> (except Oldrado) and many other nobles had bound themselves mutually to not accept any other lord than His Royal Majesty. These men would undoubtedly open up many places to a strong invading army of the king.

Here we finish the third part of our report, and we shall now very briefly deal with the last part.

## 4. Travel home

### 4.1. Departure

[52] When we had finished the whole business, we informed the Milanese that we would leave the next day, i.e. Friday 10 October, the Vigil of Saint Martin. In the morning, they all came to honour us at our lodgings and, though it was raining heavily, accompanied us outside the city gate with trumpet music. There they begged permission [to leave], recommended themselves greatly to His Royal Majesty and arranged to pay for the boats on Lago di Como and for us to be accompanied to the end of the lake by the same men who had brought us [to Milan].

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<sup>1</sup> "rerum"

<sup>2</sup> "in titulum"

<sup>3</sup> But which had seemingly not been paid, see above

<sup>4</sup> "eum habere recommendatum"

<sup>5</sup> Noble Milanese families that had served the Viscontis

[53] In Como misit ad nos secreto unus castellanus Clavennarum, qui libenter nobis castrum dedisset, quod est fortissimum, si recipere voluissemus. Sed pendentibus tractatibus cum Mediolanensibus non videbatur nobis res facienda nec etiam pro parva tam re, licet castrum sit bonum, videbatur incipienda guerra. Sed diximus illi, ut toleraret, quo melius posset. Rursus petivit consilium, an deberet cum episcopo Curiensi concordare, et an ille esset fidelis regi. Diximus nescire sibi consulere, episcopum tamen illum esse imperii principem, nec nos aliud scire quam bonum de eo. Et sic recessus noster ex Italia fuit.

[54] Italia vero in eisdem ferme terminis remansit, in quibus erat tempore introitus nostri, sed Veneti prope Mediolanum ad XII miliaria lucrati noviter fuerunt Meltium locum, non multum tamen munitum, et magnam praedam fecerant, ob quam rem fortius de pace tractabatur. Ferebatur etiam Venetos magnam classem parare, ut succurrerent Placentiae per Paduam. Rex Aragonum in agro Senensi est minaturque Florentinis. Habet varias praticas hic rex cum Mediolanensibus et etiam quaerit ibi facta sua, quia ut sapiens princeps non solum unam viam, sed plures temptat et non concludit, donec unam sibi utilem reperiat. Similiter etiam comes facit, qui cum Gallicis, cum Venetis, cum Mediolanensibus et cum majestate regia habet praticas, quas diximus, et sic moris est prudentum virorum, qui multas incipiunt praticas et tandem illam concludunt, quam reperiunt meliorem. Oportet itaque in omnibus diligentiam habere et praevenire potius quam praeveniri. Ipsi Mediolanenses etiam in diversis sunt praticis. Gallici quoque non dormiunt, quaerentes dominium Lombardiae.

[55] Ex his omnibus effectus ambassiatæ nostræ patet, videlicet quod duæ sunt viae habendi Mediolanum, una per modum concordiae, si majestati<sup>1</sup> regiae<sup>2</sup> placebit acceptare, quæ portabunt oratores civitatis. Illud autem certum est et palam dicunt Mediolanenses, quia nullum {7v} volunt alium dominum quam Romanorum regem, quem sciunt<sup>3</sup> esse suum supremum dominum, offerentes sibi debitam fidelitatem et alia subsidia, quæ de jure præstare tenentur, quando imperator est in Italia et dare coronam etc.

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<sup>1</sup> majestas Wolkan

<sup>2</sup> regia Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> scium Wolkan

## 4.2. Como

[53] During our stay in Como, the commandant of the fortress in Chiavenna sent a secret message to us that he would willingly hand over the very strong fortress to us if we wanted it. But since the negotiations with the Milanese were still going on, we considered that this would not be proper, and, moreover, though the fortress was an excellent one, it was not worth starting a war on account of such a small matter. So we told him to tolerate the situation as best he could. Then he asked for advice on whether to reach an agreement with the Bishop of Chur,<sup>1</sup> and whether that bishop was loyal to the king. We said that we could not advise him [in the matter], but that the bishop was a prince of the Empire, and that we knew only good things about him. And thus we left Italy.

## 4.3. Situation in Italy

[54] The situation in Italy was almost the same as when we arrived, except that the Venetians had recently gained Melzo, about twelve miles from Milan but not much fortified. They had taken great booty, for which reason the peace negotiations had been intensified. It was also reported that the Venetians were preparing a large fleet to come to the assistance of Piacenza via the Po river. The King of Aragon is in Siennese territory and threatens the Florentine. He has various dealings with the Milanese and also seeks his advantage there, for as a wise king he tries not just one way but several, and he does not cease before he has found one to his advantage. The same is done by the count, who - as mentioned - has dealings both with the French, the Venetians, with the Milanese and with His Royal Majesty. This is, indeed, the way of prudent men, who begin many negotiations and finally bring the one to a conclusion which they find is most advantageous. One must be diligent in all matters, and it is better to anticipate than to be anticipated. The Milanese themselves are engaged in various negotiations. And the French do not sleep as they strive for the lordship of Lombardy.

## 4.4. Two possible courses for the emperor

[55] The present account<sup>2</sup> makes clear the result of our embassy, i.e., that there are two ways to gain Milan.

The first one is through amicable agreement, in case it will please His Royal Majesty to accept the offers to be brought by the ambassadors of the city. One thing is sure, as openly said by the Milanese: the only lord they want is the King of the Romans, whom they know to be their supreme

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<sup>1</sup> Heinrich IV von Hewen (ca. 1398-1462): Administrator of the diocese of Chur 1441-1456

<sup>2</sup> "Ex his omnibus"

lord. They offer him the loyalty due to him, as well as some subsidies, which they must legitimately provide whenever the emperor is in Italy, and the presentation of the crown etc.

[56] Secunda via est per comitem Franciscum et per regem Aragonum, tenendo illas praticas, de quibus supra dictum est, nisi illi viam aliam prius concludant, quam huc mittant<sup>1</sup>, vel cum electoribus et aliis Alamaniae principibus intrando Italiam, in quo etiam casu esset tenenda intelligentia cum nonnullis Italiae principibus, ut suo tempore dicemus latius.

[57] Haec sunt per nos gesta Mediolani, in quibus, si non est secutus effectus, quem<sup>2</sup> majestas vestra desiderasset, fides tamen nostra et diligentia non defuit. Omnes diligentes<sup>3</sup> et fideliter laboravimus, quoad potuimus et scivimus, et praesertim reverendus pater episcopus Secoviensis, qui abest, qui sua prudentia et scientia in rebus omnibus, quae occurebant, gravia et matura consilia praebuit et multum fideliter servivit majestati regiae. Non tamen plus obtineri a Mediolanensibus potuit, quam supra dictum est. Nec mirum pro prima vice. Proverbium enim est uno ictu non cadere arborem. Illi sunt novi in sua libertate, experti sunt mala regimina suorum principum, adhuc sunt recentia vulnera, timent semper priora<sup>4</sup>. Utcumque sit, majestas vestra debitum suum fecit eos requirendo et debitum faciet, nisi aliter se habuerint ad oboedientiam cogendo, in qua re non deerunt modi, cum vestra majestas ad res illas intenderit. Nos supplicamus haberi excusatos, si qua negleximus in agendis, ut non dubitamus, quia per ignorantiam potius quam per malitiam potuimus aliquid praetermississe. Et sic relationis finis. Laus Deo.

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<sup>1</sup> nisi illi ... mittant *in marg.* cod.

<sup>2</sup> quam Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> *Probably author's own error for diligenter*

<sup>4</sup> pejora Wolkan



[56] The second way is through Count Francesco and the King of Aragon, as established in the abovementioned negotiations – unless they should first decide on another course than the one concerning which they would send their ambassadors here,<sup>1</sup> either with the prince-electors or other German princes entering Italy. In such a case, it would be necessary to reach an understanding with several Italian princes, as we shall explain in greater detail at the proper time.

#### 4.5. Conclusion

[57] This is what we did in Milan. If we did not achieve the results desired by Your Majesty, it is not because our loyalty and diligence failed. We all, diligently and loyally, did as much as we could and knew how to, especially the Bishop of Seckau,<sup>2</sup> who is not here<sup>3</sup> at present, and who prudently and expertly gave important and mature advice in all the matters that came up and served His Royal Majesty most faithfully. But he could not obtain more from the Milanese than what is mentioned above.<sup>4</sup> This is not surprising in the first attempt. The proverb says that the tree does not fall at the first blow. The Milanese are new to their liberty, they have experienced the bad government of their princes, the wounds are still fresh, and they always fear the former conditions. In any case, Your Majesty has done as you should by making demands of them, and you will continue to do so unless their behaviour makes it necessary to use force. In that case, there will not lack ways if Your Majesty so desire. We beg to be excused if there is anything we have failed to do since if we missed something, it was out of ignorance rather than ill will. And this is the end of the report. Thanks be to God.

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<sup>1</sup> This passage seems to indicate that Piccolomini wrote his report after returning to Vienna

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich III Gren (bef. 1399-1452): Bishop of Seckau from 1446 to his death

<sup>3</sup> At the imperial court, at the time of writing the report

<sup>4</sup> It is unclear what role the Bishop of Seckau had in negotiations since he is not otherwise mentioned by Piccolomini. Possibly, he did not play a great role but was warmly recommended by Piccolomini as a matter of form or court politics

### **3. Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia, 1451.**

## **Abstract**

In 1451, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena and senior imperial diplomat, went on a mission for Emperor Friedrich III to Bohemia. The purpose of the mission was to communicate to the Bohemian estates the emperor's refusal to end his wardship over the Bohemian boy king, Ladislaus, then 11 years old. Piccolomini took the opportunity to have an important political conversation with the Bohemian governor, Georg Podiebrad, investigating the possibilities for a political alliance between the emperor and the governor as well as for a *modus vivendi* between the papacy and the Bohemian Hussites. He also visited the city of Tabor, home of radical Hussites, and had a debate with them concerning the Hussite claims for communion under both species (Utraquism).

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**Appendix: Conciliar decree *Cum in nonnullis* of 15 June 1415 (Council of Konstanz, XIII Session)**

# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1 2</sup>

Piccolomini wrote extensively about Bohemia and the Hussites.<sup>3</sup> If anybody in Europe was a specialist on Hussitism, it was he, even if he was somewhat prejudiced in his general understanding of the Hussite phenomenon. Moreover, he may not have fully comprehended the differences between the various Hussite factions.<sup>4</sup> He was in Basel during the discussions with the Hussites, being close to Cardinal Cesarini who, by then, favoured a peaceful solution to the Hussite problem. At the imperial chancery, he had many occasions to deal with Bohemian matters, and he apparently used his access to the imperial archives to study Bohemian history. He travelled in Bohemia, even visiting the Hussite city of Tabor, having direct contacts with persons knowledgeable about Hussitism, and debating with Taborite theologians. He had extensive discussions with Bohemian nobles and especially the Hussite governor of Bohemia, Georg Podiebrad. And he wrote a book on Bohemian history, including the Hussite period. His letters frequently touched upon Bohemian matters, and several of his orations concerned Bohemia, including the two very important orations “*Res Bohemicas*” from 1456 and “*Superioribus diebus*” from 1462.

In his *De rebus Basileae gestis commentarius (DRGB)* from 1450, the year before his mission to Bohemia, Piccolomini wrote about the process against Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague at the Council of Konstanz,<sup>5</sup> the development of Hussitism and the Hussite wars, including the failed crusade against the Hussites led by Cardinal Cesarini in 1431,<sup>6</sup> and the debates and negotiations at the Council of Basel with a Hussite delegation.<sup>7</sup> In this account, Piccolomini said about the communion under both species: *It pleased the council to indulge the Bohemians so that the laity, too, could receive the sacrament of the Eucharist under the species of bread and wine, but with the added condition that they should preach in public sermons that it was not a necessity but a privilege to receive both species.*<sup>8</sup> In the *DRGB*, Piccolomini also wrote about the battle of Lipany (1434), opposing various Hussite factions and ending with the defeat of the Taborites and the Orphans.<sup>9</sup>

So, when in summer 1451, Piccolomini went on an imperial mission to Bohemia, he was already reasonably informed about the general and political situation in Bohemia and especially the Hussite question. The object of the mission was to communicate the emperor’s refusal of yet

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<sup>11</sup> This section is to a great extent based upon the section on the Hussite heresy in Pius II: *Collected Orations*, I, sect. 6.3.4.

<sup>2</sup> CO, I, 21; HB, I, pp. 486-497; Piccolomini’s orations “*Petivistis ex Caesare*” (1451), “*Res Bohemicas*” (1455) and “*Superioribus diebus*” (1462); Boulting, pp. 187-189; Fudge: *Seduced*; Heymann: *George*, pp. 50-53; Kaminsky; Voigt, III, pp. 26-29

<sup>3</sup> See HB, I, pp. 101-113

<sup>4</sup> Kaminsky, p. 302; Fudge: *Seduced*, pp. 94, 99

<sup>5</sup> Reject, I, p. 323

<sup>6</sup> Reject, I, pp. 325-328

<sup>7</sup> Reject, I, pp. 337-339

<sup>8</sup> Reject, I, p. 339

<sup>9</sup> Reject, I, pp. 344-345

another Bohemian request to end his wardship over the then 11-year-old boy king, Ladislaus the Posthumous. He was also to persuade the Bohemian estates to accept that this issue should be deferred until the emperor returned from his coronation voyage to Rome, on which he would be accompanied by Ladislaus. Apparently, Piccolomini was successful in this regard, and he also had a very important political conversation with the Bohemian governor, Georg Podiebrad. The conversation opened the way to a *de facto* alliance between the governor and the emperor and the formal imperial recognition of Podiebrad as governor of Bohemia. On his travel back to Austria, Piccolomini made a second visit to Tabor, where he had his famous discussion with Hussite theologians concerning communion under both species. In this discussion, Piccolomini based himself on the two fundamental tenets of the Council of Basel: firstly, communion under both species was a matter of rite on which a compromise was possible since rites could be legitimately changed by the Church. And secondly, the Hussite assertion of the necessity of this form of communion for salvation was a matter of faith since it meant that the Catholic Church had for hundreds of years sent its followers directly to Hell by not allowing them communion under both species. Piccolomini was unable to persuade the Hussite theologians of the orthodox view, and he must have come away from Tabor knowing that the Hussites would never give up their communion under both species, as Georg Podiebrad had already told him. This whole issue may have had theological interest for Piccolomini, but its political import was more important to the imperial diplomat: pacifying the Hussites was a prerequisite for King Ladislaus' peaceful accession to the Bohemian crown, for his government of Bohemia, and for the development of Habsburg dominance in Central Europe.

In the first version of his *Historia Austriacalis* from late 1453/beginning of 1454,<sup>1</sup> i.e., two or three years later, Piccolomini wrote about the events in Benesov:

*In the meantime, the Bohemians, as is their custom when they have to act in common, summoned a meeting in Prague, but when the plague broke out, they moved it to Benesov. It was rumoured that they would petition the emperor to send Ladislaus to their kingdom and elect another king if their request was refused. The emperor sent legates to soften their agitated minds. We ourselves were among the legates. ... There, the imperial legates were heard, and with kind words they put an end to all the excitement.*<sup>2 3</sup>

In the second/third version of the *Historia Austriacalis* from 1455-1458<sup>4</sup> Piccolomini wrote:

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<sup>1</sup> HA, I, p. xvii

<sup>2</sup> *Dum haec aguntur, Bohemi suo more de verbis [rebus] acturi communibus conventum apud Pragam indixere, sed cum ibi pestis crassaretur, ad Villam, quam Benedicti appellant, convenere. Fama erat eos Ladislaum petitorios ad regnum mitti; nisi obtinerent, alium regem quesituros. Eo missi legati a cesare sunt, qui feroces eorum animos lenirent. Nos quoque inter eos fuimus... Ibi legati caesaris auditi benigne omnem turbam amoverunt.*

<sup>3</sup> HA, I, pp. 99-100. The editors point out that according to the acts of the diet, the estates were not satisfied with Piccolomini's vague promises on the emperor's behalf but sent new petitions to the emperor, cf. also Palacky: *Geschichte*, 4, 1, p. 267 ff, 500

<sup>4</sup> HA, I, p. xx



*In the meantime, the Bohemians, as is their custom when they have to act in common, summoned a meeting in Prague, but when the plague broke out, they convened in Benesov. It was rumoured that they would petition the emperor for their king and that they would elect another king if their request was refused. As this would be an impediment to the emperor's journey to Italy, legates were sent. They were Enea, Bishop of Siena, Prokop,<sup>1</sup> a Bohemian knight, and two noblemen from Austria. Their task was to soften the agitated minds of the Bohemians so that they would not prematurely ask for the boy who could not at the time be of any profit to the kingdom. .... There, the imperial legates were heard, and with kind words they put an end to all the excitement. The Bohemians should wait until Ladislaus attained his majority and not doubt that he would come to them first when he was released from the wardship. This message was accepted by the Bohemians, who asked for the king more out of a sense of duty than because they really wanted it.<sup>2</sup>*

In the *Historia Bohemica*, which he finished in summer 1458, shortly prior to his election as pope,<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini wrote:

*But when Friedrich had decided to travel to Italy to receive the imperial crown, the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and the Austrians again sent embassies to the emperor, putting pressure on him and demanding Ladislaus. All their demands were denied. The Bohemians were to hold an assembly on this question in Prague, and they appeared to be very upset and wanted to elect another king unless their demands were met. The emperor decided to send legates to them, adding us to their number. The representatives from the provinces had been summoned to Prague, but as the plague broke out there, they met in Benesov. Georg Podiebrad presided over their numerous assembly. We addressed them as follows: "You have requested of the emperor ... [here follows the text of the oration<sup>4</sup>]" The oration inspired confidence and was accepted favourably. Our colleague, Prokop made it even more acceptable as he translated it into their language for the benefit of those who did not understand Latin. Then we were asked to leave the assembly, but shortly afterwards we were called back and given this answer: "Thank the emperor for sending this embassy and for having stated his preference for the Bohemians over the others when the king will be released." They accepted the good counsel received. They would send young noblemen to*

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<sup>1</sup> Prokop von Rabstein, friend and former colleague of Piccolomini

<sup>2</sup> HA, II, pp. 443-444: *Inter haec Bohemi suo more de rebus acturi communibus conventum regni apud Pragam indicunt. Sed cum pestifera lues eo supervenisset, apud Villam quam Benedicti appellant, convenere. Fama fuit eos regem repetituros; nisi obtinerent, alium quesituros. Id caesaris iter in Italiam remorari videbatur. Mittuntur erga ad eos legati Aeneas episcopus Senensis, Procopius eques Bohemus et duo ex Austria viri nobiles, qui feroces lenirent animos, ne pupillum ante annos expeterent, dum nullo usui regno esse posset. Expectarent pubertatem neque dubitarent illum, cum dimitteretur, ad eos imprimis venturum. Grata hec legatio Bohemis fuit, quippe qui magis ex debito quam ex animo regem petebant*

<sup>3</sup> HB, I, p. 02

<sup>4</sup> Piccolomini's oration "Petivistis ex Caesare" (1451)

*join and serve the emperor on his journey to Italy. They would await his return peacefully and wished happiness, prosperity, and the favour of Heaven upon him.*<sup>1 2</sup>

Some years later, Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II, wrote in his *Commentarii*:

*Meanwhile the Bohemians, after many vain efforts to get Ladislas for their king, convened a national council at Prague to discuss their affairs. They declared that unless Albert's son, the heir to the kingdom, was sent to them, they would choose another king for themselves. Enea was therefore despatched, together with several other noblemen, to meet with them. A terrible plague was then raging through Prague, so the council was transferred to the village of Benesov. There Enea addressed a public assembly where he delivered a message from the emperor. He explained that the boy-king needed a guardian; he could be in no better hands than the emperor's; moreover, it would not be long before they saw their wishes fulfilled. This speech soothed their anger, and they promised not to call anyone else to the throne.*<sup>3</sup>

One of Pius' two contemporary biographers, Campano wrote:

*Immediately after his return to Friedrich, he was sent to the Bohemians, who would have taken up arms if he did not hurry. Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, was still a young boy, being the son of Friedrich's brother.<sup>4</sup> Fear of plots and the fact that the boy was too young to govern and at risk of coming to harm caused Friedrich to keep him at court and to give him guards so that he would not be abducted. However, the Bohemians thought it was an unworthy treatment of the boy to guard him and keep him away from his paternal kingdom. Therefore they threatened to gather troops and go to war unless they were given a proper explanation of why the emperor did as he did. [In his oration, Enea especially referred to the danger of poison which actually, due to a Bohemian plot, killed the boy some years after when he had been sent off by his uncle.]<sup>5 1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> *At cum Fridericus imperialis coronae suscipiende gratia Italiam petere statuisset, rursus Bohemi, Hungari et Austriales legationibus seorsum missis imperatorem fatigavere Ladislaum reposcentes. Postulata omnibus negata sunt. Ad Bohemos, qui ea de re conventum Prage habituri erant ac ferocius agere videbantur regem alium electuri, nisi mos eis gereretur, legatos mittere placuit, quibus et nos additi sumus. Provinciales, quibus apud Pragam dies statuta fuerat, crassante illic peste, in Beneschavia convenere. Quos in frequenti conventu presidente Georgio Pogiebratio in hunc modum allocuti sumus: "Petivistis ex Caesare [here follows the oration]." Vero similis oratio visa neque sine favore excepta est. Acceptiorem Procopius, noster collega, reddidit, qui patrio sermone latine lingue ignaris verba nostra interpretatus est. Iussi sumus ex conventu paululum abire. Mox revocatis responsum datum: Reddite imperatori gratiae, qui eam legationem misisset atque in dimittendo rege Bohemos preferre ceteris. Accipere se bene consulta consilia. Missuros ex nobilitate sua primarios juvenes, qui cesarem Italiam petentem sequantur eique ministrant. Expectaturos quiete reditum, quem felicem faustumque superum benignitate futurum exoptent*

<sup>2</sup> HB, I, pp. 486-496

<sup>3</sup> CO, I, 21 (Meserve, I, p. 101)

<sup>4</sup> He was not the son of Friedrich's brother but of his cousin, Albrecht II

<sup>5</sup> Zimolo, pp. 19-20: *Extemplo ubi ad Federicum pervenit, ad Boemos mittitur, arma sumpturos nisi properasset. Cum enim Ladislaum Pannoniae ac Boemia regem admodum puerum fratris filium Federicus metu insidiarum et quod regno immaturo adhuc esset atque injuriae obnoxius apud se educaret, adhibitis custodibus ne clam subduceretur, Boemi indignum rati custodiri accersirique a regno patrio regem, coactis copiis bellum, nisi dimitteret, comminabantur. Horum conatus statim compescuit, ratione adhibita cur ita fieri oporteret, maxime iniecto metu veneni, quo paucis post annis dimissus a patruo puer fraude boemica absumptus est*

And Platina, the other contemporary biographer, wrote: *When he returned to the emperor, he was immediately sent as ambassador to Bohemia to settle a conflict between him and the Bohemians. When the Bohemians had been pacified...*<sup>2</sup>

It is worth noting that in his other writings, Piccolomini did not mention his theological debate with the Hussites in Tabor.

After the voyage to Bohemia in 1451, Piccolomini was – in connection with the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452 – appointed papal legate to a number of countries in Central Europe, including Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. One of the goals of his legatine mission was to reunite Bohemia with Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Later he had further talks with Bohemian diplomats at the imperial diet in Frankfurt in 1454 and with the Bohemian governor himself at the imperial diet in Wiener Neustadt in 1455, which apparently convinced him of the necessity of seeking an accommodation on the ritual question to ensure Habsburg government in Bohemia.

When he went to Rome in 1456, he was therefore bringing with him the ideas and possibly even a draft of a memorandum in the form of an oration to Pope Calixtus. In this text, he clearly, but modestly and conditionally recommended not only a papal grant of communion under both species to the Bohemians but also made a remarkable declaration to the pope on diversity of rites and religious toleration in general. On the communion issue, he said: *For our part, we only know as much as we understand. But since we have seen the Fathers in Basel grant the Bohemians the right to drink from the chalice – before the council was dissolved by apostolic authority – we think, rather than believe it should be granted to them again and for the same reason.*<sup>4</sup>

Intriguingly, in his memorandum to the pope, Piccolomini strenuously argues against some positions he had – just as strenuously defended in his discussions in Bohemia five years before, e.g., on the reactions of the Bohemian Catholics, the Germans and other peoples to a papal grant of communion under both species to the Bohemians.

And – somewhat amusingly given his personal experiences in Tabor – Piccolomini told the pope that persuading the Hussites through debate was completely futile:

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<sup>1</sup> The causes of Ladislaus's death in Prague, at the age of 18, are not known except that he died of a sudden illness. Pius certainly thought – and wrote – that he had died by poisoning, suspecting the regent, Georg Podiebrad, or Hussite clerics of the deed

<sup>2</sup> Zimolo, p. 102: *Ad Caesarem tandem reversus, ab eo statim orator in Bohemiam mictitur, ad tollendam omnem controversiam, que inter eum et Bohemos orta erat. Pacata Bohemia ...*

<sup>3</sup> Kaminsky, p. 295

<sup>4</sup> Piccolomini's oration "*Res Bohemicas*" (1455), sect. 64. Piccolomini's recommendation, though preceded by conditions and protestations of modesty, was in itself unambiguous and does not support the observation of the editors of the HB: *Trotz seiner humanistischen Gelehrsamkeit trug Enea seine Rede also lediglich als unverbindlichen Entwurf vor, in dem Gründe pro et contra angeführt werden, keineswegs in starrer Form, d.h. lediglich als causa disputationis, nicht etwa als asserendo* (HB, I, p. 095, note 3)

*If you ask the Hussites to arrange a debate, they say that they desire nothing more than a debate, for this is a garrulous people, avid for debate. And when, at the debate, you ask what judge they will follow, they accept neither the Roman Pontiff, a General Council, nor any man. They will only submit to the pronouncements of the Old and the New Testament. And when you reach the point where you must use the witness of Holy Scriptures, they will accept none of the interpretations of our teachers, for they have their own interpretations to which they cling. And they insist that only God's judgment between meaning and meaning, between interpretation and interpretation should be heard, and thus they rob the debate of any meaning. When they debate, they require the presence of the ignorant people, they gesture, they clap their hands, they point now here now there, they raise their heads, they roll their eyes, they keep glancing around to see if the audience is impressed by their maxims and arguments, they try to gain the applause of the dullards by raising their voices, and they listen avidly to their own voice as if they were speaking beautifully and pleasantly. When Origen and others demolished errors through debate, they spoke to people who wanted to learn. But never will you bring the Bohemian teachers to become pupils. To them, the name of teacher is the sweetest of all, and to be called "Rabbi" by the crowd, and to rule the chair of pestilence. They think that nothing is worse than to learn. Bohemia cannot be saved by debate, since its teachers are stubborn, and the people only believe its own teachers. [Sect. 23-24]*

Seven years afterwards, in March 1462, ambassadors of King Georg came to Rome to petition the pope, now Pius II, for papal confirmation of the Bohemians' permission to communion under both species which Pius had himself, as imperial ambassador, Bishop of Siena, recommended to Pope Calixtus III.

On 30 March, the pope – after intense deliberations with his cardinals and advisers - gave his judgment from the throne, in the oration "*Superioribus diebus*" [66]:

*... having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, the kingdom, or the people. The words of the Lord to the sons of Zebedaeus apply to you, too: You know not what you ask. It is Us who are the dispensers of the ministries of God. Ours is the charge to guard the sheep and to lead the flock of the Lord to the road of salvation. We must imitate the supreme family father who never heeds those who ask for harmful things but directs everything for the best. Not all understand what is truly good, and therefore many people have regretted it when their wishes were fulfilled. What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory.*

*We desire the salvation of your souls, and therefore We refuse to grant that which militates against it. We exhort you to be satisfied with receiving the Lord's body and blood under the species of bread [alone]. It is sufficient for salvation, as says the Lord in the same text quoted*

*above: I am the living bread which came down from Heaven. He that eateth this bread shall live forever. Do not wish to be greater than those disciples who, going to Emmaus, recognised the Lord in the breaking of the bread. Do not wish to know more than you should know, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory, and conform to the rest of Christianity: it is shameful for a part to be in disharmony with the whole. If you abandon your new rite and return to the old custom, your kingdom will be united both internally and with its neighbours, and your former wealth will return together with your former peace and glory. You will be happy in this world, and you will be blessed in the next, as granted by Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is the honour and the power through the infinite ages of ages. [Sect. 16-18]*

Why did Pope Pius II take the diametrically opposite view of the matter now, denying a petition that he had himself recommended six years before?

In view of the importance of the matter, he must have had very good reasons for doing so. To understand his change of mind it is necessary to look at how the situation relating to the Hussite schism had changed from 1456 to 1462.

In 1456, Pope Calixtus III was quite amenable to a solution to the Bohemian schism and believed that King Ladislaus and his governor, Georg Podiebrad, would be able to contribute effectively to ending the schism.

The conditions for finding some kind of solution to the Bohemian problem were indeed favourable, as George Heymann wrote:

*At no time before or after was there so much optimism for a permanent settlement on both sides, in Rome and in Prague, than in the years following the meeting at Wiener-Neustadt<sup>1</sup> and Enea's great speech to Calixtus III, and especially in the years 1457-1458.<sup>2</sup>*

However, in November 1457, King Ladislaus of Bohemia died at the age of eighteen. Many, including Piccolomini, believed that he may have been poisoned at the instigation of Georg Podiebrad or Hussite church leaders like Rokycana.

This meant that the Kingdom of Bohemia was no longer ruled by a catholic monarch, whose example would conceivably strengthen the position of the catholics in the kingdom and who might be expected to actively support a process of ending the Hussite schism.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Imperial Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1455, February to April

<sup>2</sup> Heymann: *George*, p. 165; see also Voigt, IV, p. 424, and Kaminsky, p. 283

<sup>3</sup> Catholic hopes of Ladislaus suppressing the Hussite heresy were nourished, among others, by two exemplary episodes from Prague, related by Piccolomini in his *Report on an Imperial Mission to Regensburg 1454* (*Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta*): *Among others, we heard two noteworthy things from the Burgundian ambassadors. They told [of*

Ladislav was succeeded as king by the governor of the realm, Georg Podiebrad, who though a Hussite by personal conviction was well thought of in Rome - partly because of the reports of Bishop Piccolomini - as a sensible man who would need the support of the papacy and with whom reasonable deals might be struck.

So Pope Calixtus dealt with him agreeably and trustingly and even allowed him to be crowned by two catholic bishops from Hungary but only after he had made an oath in secret

- to obey the Roman and Catholic Church and the popes,
- to conform to the true Faith as professed by the Holy Roman Church,
- to defend the Faith,
- and to make his people abandon all errors, heresies, and teachings contrary to the Catholic faith and bring it to obedience to and conformity and union with the Holy Roman Church and to restore its rites and forms of worship.<sup>1</sup>

Podiebrad himself may not have interpreted this oath as an abandonment of the practice of communion under both species, but he did promise to obey the popes and to restore catholic rites. There was, indeed, a good reason why he insisted that the oath should not be made public.

After the coronation, Georg would not or could not take effective measures in support of Catholic doctrine and ritual practice. He remained a defender of Hussitism, and before he died in 1458, Pope Calixtus had lost his illusions concerning his willingness or ability to contain, weaken and end the Hussite schism.<sup>2</sup>

In August 1458, Piccolomini then became pope, under the name of Pius II.

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*an episode where] Rokycana had gone in a procession with clergy and laypeople, carrying the holy sacrament of the eucharist before the royal palace. The king had been looking at the square through a window and had not bowed his head nor his neck and had shown no sign of reverence. The other young men who were with him had followed his example. When he was asked why he had done so and was rebuked for not honouring the Saviour, he replied that he knew the Lord's body was worthy of every honour, but since it was being carried by Rokycana, an enemy of the true religion, he had feared that if he showed honour to the sacrament, the foolish people would think that he had also shown honour to the priest and that the king accepted his views which he actually detested. On another occasion shortly afterwards, Ladislav ordered his priest to celebrate mass in a chapel close to the palace. When he wanted to carry out the order, he was prevented from doing so by the priest who was in charge of the chapel, saying that he himself wanted to celebrate mass and that the king could hear and see him celebrate if he wanted to. This would be the same for the king as if he heard his own chaplain. This priest was a follower of Rokycana and adhered to his beliefs. When the king heard it, he ordered his marshal to go immediately and tell the priest to yield to the royal chaplain. If he did not obey, he should throw him from the tall cliff next to the chapel. Terrified at this message, the priest swallowed his anger. These things the ambassadors told about the King of Bohemia, a most noble boy, to the joy and great pleasure of the listeners. [Sect. 138-139]*

<sup>1</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 425, 427 ff.; Heymann: George, p. 181

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 431-432

As pope, Piccolomini was no longer a diplomat-fixer of thorny political problems like the Bohemian situation. He was the pope and primary guarantor of the purity of the Faith, a role which he took quite seriously. In the Bohemian matter, he might well accept the conditioned and limited continuance of the practice of communion under both species, which was not in itself a doctrinal matter. But in no way could he condone or appear to tolerate a heresy declaring, as the Hussites did, that men could only be saved if they received communion under both species.

So, whereas a compromise on the ritual matter might be possible, a compromise on the doctrinal issue was impossible.

After the solution achieved by the Council of Basel, based on the Bohemian Compacts, experience had shown that the Hussites had continued with communion under both species without really fulfilling the conditions connected with the Compacts and without accepting the Church's doctrine in the matter.

The pope's acceptance of a compromise on the ritual of communion would therefore be dependent on Rome's perception of a new Bohemian willingness to accept Church doctrine concerning communion and salvation. The position of the Bohemian ruler was rightly considered by Rome to be of paramount importance in this respect.

Though he had his doubts concerning the role of Podiebrad in the death of King Ladislaus, Pius, in the beginning of his pontificate, still believed, though possibly with some misgivings, that Podiebrad would be an able ruler and a dependable ally for the papacy in handling the Hussite schism and in organising a crusade against the Turks.<sup>1</sup>

So, when he invited Podiebrad to come to the Congress of Mantua in 1459, it was as a Catholic king – a fact which Podiebrad naturally exploited to legitimate himself vis-a-vis the Bohemian Catholics as a king recognised by the papacy.

Throughout 1459 and 1460, Podiebrad continued to "play" the pope and received his support as ruler of Bohemia.<sup>2</sup>

But no embassy from Bohemia was forthcoming,<sup>3</sup> and Podiebrad made no offers concerning the Hussite schism and Bohemian participation in the projected crusade against the Turks. On the contrary, the pope received continuous complaints from Catholics in Bohemia and especially from the very important Catholic city of Breslau about the papal support of a proven heretic as King of Bohemia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Heymann: *George*, p. 180-181

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, IV, pp. 451-2

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 452-453

<sup>4</sup> Heymann: *George*, ch. 10

During these years, it was becoming clear that Podiebrad was not actively working for a solution to the Hussite schism. Moreover, in 1459-1460 he engaged in a plot with a number of German princes to take over the imperial power by becoming elected King of the Romans, the actual emperor, Friedrich III, continuing in a nominal function. In this context, also the threat of an ecumenical council, so perilous to the papacy, was ventilated. The plot failed, but Podiebrad had now revealed himself to be an adventurous and dangerous player on the European power scene and someone in whom the papacy should not naively place its trust.

The gloves came off.

In January 1462, a papal envoy came to King Podiebrad to let him know that his relations with Rome had now reached a critical state.<sup>1</sup>

Podiebrad understood that procrastination and subterfuge would no longer serve, and he soon dispatched a Bohemian embassy to the pope. One of the members of the embassy was the pope's old friend, Prokop von Rabenstein, who had taken part in the earlier direct meetings between Podiebrad, as the governor of Bohemia, and Piccolomini, as an imperial and papal diplomat. The embassy reached Rome on 10 March 1462, some days before the arrival of a splendid embassy from the King of France, coming to announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438.

In the ensuing weeks, the pope conducted two extremely important negotiations, one with the French and another one with the Bohemians. The negotiation with the French took priority and was highlighted by the papal oration "*Per me reges regnant*" [65], celebrating a great diplomatic victory for the papacy. Although that victory proved to be short-lived, it undoubtedly influenced the negotiations with the Bohemians, since – for the time being - it seemed to assure the pope of peaceful relations with the French and remove the threat of an ecumenical council.<sup>2 3</sup>

The Bohemian ambassadors were received in two consistory meetings. In the first, Prokop von Rabenstein presented the king's declaration of obedience to the pope. Afterwards, another member of the embassy, a Hussite priest, ill-advisedly argued for benefits of the communion under both species as divinely revealed and – indirectly - as necessary for salvation, an argument which the Holy See must consider as heretical.<sup>4</sup>

The following negotiations with the Bohemians did not, and probably could not, establish the basis for a compromise on the Bohemian schism. The Hussite priests in the Bohemian embassy

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 458; see also Heymann: *George*, pp. 232-365 and ch. 12

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 459; Heymann: *George*, p. 262

<sup>3</sup> See Heymann: *John Rokycana*, p. 255

<sup>4</sup> See Pius' own description of this event in CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 512-514). See also the report in Rainaldus, Ad ann. 1462. Also Heymann: *George*, p. 270-275



staunchly upheld Hussite teachings, and King Podiebrad could not afford, had he been willing, to alienate his Hussite subjects *en bloc*. On his part, the pope would not and could not compromise on the doctrinal issue.

So, without some, even a minimal commitment from Podiebrad to uphold his coronation oath (as understood by Rome) and to affirm catholic doctrine and thereby recognise that the Roman Church had not sent generations of believers and countless souls to Hell by denying them the communion under both species, Rome could not budge on the question of rite though this was not in itself the stumbling block of the matter. There were also other considerations than the doctrinal one, especially political considerations. But the basic issue for the Catholic Church was and had to be doctrinal: it could only grant communion of the chalice to the Bohemians if the Bohemians acknowledged that this form of communion was not necessary for salvation. In the circumstances, confirming or granting the communion under both species to the Bohemians would be taken by the Hussites as an admission by the Church that the Hussite teachings on the Eucharist were right and the Church's teachings wrong.

The momentous papal decision concerning the communion under both species was the starting point for a process leading, shortly before Pius' death, to the summoning of King Podiebrad to Rome to defend himself against accusations of heresy, to the king's excommunication by Pius' successor, and to later wars so detrimental to all parties, and first of all to Bohemia itself. It may also reasonably be believed that it contributed to a weakening of Podiebrad's position to the extent that it would be impossible for him to establish his own family as a continuing royal dynasty.

## 2. Themes

### 2.1. Politics

Piccolomini's travel to Bohemia was an imperial diplomatic mission with clear political aims.<sup>1</sup> These were the subject of his negotiations with the various parties represented at the assembly in Benesov and with governor Georg Podiebrad. Only the issue of pacification of the Bohemian lands for its future Habsburg king is mentioned directly by Piccolomini in the present text, but the other issues, known from other texts,<sup>2</sup> he undoubtedly refers to in the passage: *Thus we ended our conversation and took leave of each other. We actually spoke about much more [than related here], but this is the gist of our discussion on the ecclesiastical issues. And though the words may*

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<sup>1</sup> In writing and sending his report to Cardinal Carvajal and through him to the curia and the pope, Piccolomini, quite probably also had other, personal aims, e.g. promoting his own ecclesiastical career, with his eyes firmly fixed on the cardinal's hat, see Kaminsky, p. 287-288

<sup>2</sup> See oration "*Petivistis ex Caesare*" (1451)

*not have been the same, I have rendered their substance without distortions and changes. [Sect. 34]*

Piccolomini's first political aim was to communicate to the Bohemian estates the emperor's refusal to end his wardship over his royal nephew, Ladislaus the Posthumous, and send him to Bohemia to be brought up there, under Bohemian governors. The important thing was, however, not just to communicate this decision but to make the Bohemians accept it and not join Austrian and Hungarian protests against the emperor's bringing Ladislaus on his coronation journey to Rome. Piccolomini does not comment on this issue in the present text, but it is otherwise known that in this regard, the mission was a success though there may have been some Bohemian protest – more as a matter of form.

The second aim was to induce governor Georg Podiebrad to work for a *modus vivendi* with the Catholic Church concerning the Hussite schism. This would clear the path for King Ladislaus' peaceful accession to the throne and thus facilitate the extension of the Habsburg power sphere into Central and Eastern Europe. This theme is mentioned directly by Piccolomini:

*But you, who lead the peoples of the kingdom where you wish, make a great name for yourself, make the Apostolic See love you, give her back the sons whom Satan abducted. ... If it is your wish, all will return and venerate the Roman Church. The Roman Pontiff and the Emperor will love you above all, and when Ladislaus comes to the kingdom, he will call you his guide and father and thank you fervently for giving him back a pacified province, cleansed of errors, at peace, distinguished by its morals, fervent in the Faith. [Sect. 20]*

Podiebrad was not unwilling, but he clearly informed Piccolomini that the condition *sine qua non* for reunification of Bohemia with the Roman Church was the confirmation of the Compacts made with the Council of Basel, granting the Bohemians the practice of communion under both species. He said:

*... I tell you that if the treaty is not kept, there will no place for peace and no word of agreement. If we go to war again, and you offer us the old pacts, we shall not accept them. We are not few, though you appear to think so. Many in the neighbouring lands agree with us and are only waiting for us to lead out an army. You know what happened in former years. If the pope is wise, he will not discuss whether we have lost our privileges, or we shall take a great revenge by arms. Anyone who refuses just [requests], gives all to the one who holds the weapons. Maybe there are some who make extravagant promises, who pledge large armies, and who boast that they will force their way to us. But we know the ways and strengths of our neighbours. If I should give the pope an advice, it would be to keep the Compacts. [Sect. 25]*

On this and later occasions, Podiebrad managed to persuade Piccolomini that the grant of communion under both species was necessary for a reunification of the Bohemians with Rome.

The third aim was to create the basis for an alliance between the emperor and Georg Podiebrad, that would generally strengthen the emperor's position vis-à-vis his enemies and rivals and, not the least, his own Austrian subjects. Also in this matter, the mission proved to be a success.

## 2.2. Communion under both species

This very complicated matter had three different components: ritual, faith, and authority. It was further complicated by the fact that without access to relevant historical records, neither the Hussites nor the representatives of the Church of that age had a clear knowledge of the historical process which had, only some centuries before, gradually led to the abolition of the communion of the chalice for laypeople.

### 2.2.1. Ritual

Historically, the Church was quite familiar with diversity of rites between the various patriarchates and had even accepted it within single dioceses as witnessed by a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, saying:

*Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque diocesim permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores, districte praecipimus, ut pontifices hujusmodi civitatum sive diocesum, provideant viros idoneos, qui secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum divina officia illis celebrent et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent, instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo.<sup>1</sup>*

And in the Latin Church, the Ambrosian rite of Milan as well as the Mozarabic rite of Toledo have survived to the present age.

In 1455, Piccolomini himself told the pope, in the memorandum/oration “*Res Bohemicas*”, that

*ceremonies and solemn holy rites are found to be different in different peoples, and the Divine Piety has not told us which rites please him most, though it may be assumed that those which are more common are more pleasing to God. For only with divine approval do ritual ceremonies develop and spread to all the world and are accepted by it. It is not for us to oppose those forms of devotion that are not contrary to divine law. [Sect. 63]*

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<sup>1</sup> Constitutio 9. COD, p. 215

As for the communion under both species, the Roman Church knew perfectly well that it had been the practice of the Early Church, and it accepted without reservation that it had been kept by the Eastern churches [see sect. 56-57].

So, the ritual matter in itself was not the great stumbling block for a settlement between the Bohemians and the Roman Church, as had been shown when the Council of Basel made the Compacts with the Hussites in 1436.

Piccolomini himself said that in abolishing the communion of the chalice for laypeople,

*the Church does not corrupt the sacrament but changes the rite. That which belongs to the essence of the sacrament continues unchangeably. That which belongs to the rite, the Church can change, for its power is not smaller today than it was under the apostles. ... In the administration of the sacraments, the Church can also abolish previous rites and introduce new rites and ceremonies. Therefore, though the Lord gave communion to his disciples after they had eaten dinner, the Church does not, except under urgent circumstances, permit brothers who have eaten breakfast or the noon meal to receive this great sacrament. And though Christ instituted this sacrament girded with a towel and only said a few words, the Church out of reverence for the sacrament gave ornamental vestments to the priests and adorned the solemnity of the mass with readings from the prophets and the apostles as well as with pious prayers. In the Old Law, the skins dyed red and the primitive tabernacle were followed by the holy glory of the high temple, and similarly, the simple ways of the Primitive Church in the New testament were gradually followed by splendour in the divine worship and a lustrous ritual for the sacraments and a greater majesty of the priesthood. [Sect. 67-69]*

Asked by the Hussites for papal and conciliar pronouncements forbidding the communion under both species, Piccolomini could only refer to the declarations of the two recent councils of Konstanz and Basel. At the time, he may not have known that no pope except Pope Martin V had ever forbidden this form of communion and neither had any previous council except the Council of Konstanz, but some years later, again in the “*Res Bohemicas*” he said to the pope that

*The Latins, however, treated the sacraments of Christ with greater reverence, understanding how much we should honour and revere the body and blood of Our Saviour, the son of God supreme, who thunders from on high. They also understood that the divine flesh and heavenly blood must be treated with awe. Fearing that the Holy blood would sometimes be treated uncautiously and spilt on the earth when distributed to the masses, they gradually abolished the communion of the chalice for the people. And thus, over time, it became the normal practice in the Latin [Church] that no layman might presume to demand the chalice of the Lord. For the Latin Church knows that the whole and complete body of Christ is contained in the sacrament administered under one species and that laymen do not need to take communion under both species to be saved. But I have never read nor heard who*

*initiated this custom and when the prohibition of the chalice for the people was introduced.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, however, that before the Council of Konstanz neither the Roman Pontiffs nor the Universal Synods<sup>2</sup> are found to have authorised this prohibition. And from older times many decrees are extant that appear to mandate the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 41]*

### **2.2.2. Faith**

The problem concerning communion under both species was not a matter of ritual, but a matter of Faith. On the basis of the description of the last supper by the evangelists and Saint Paul, the Hussites believed that Jesus Christ himself had commanded that all should receive the sacrament under both species. Those who only received it under one species, therefore, disobeyed a divine command and were not saved but condemned to Hell. The Hussites, furthermore, pointed to a number of declarations of Fathers, doctors and even a pope to prove that communion under both species was part of Church tradition:

*When Paul and the evangelists show the command of eating together with the command of drinking, who does not see that the Roman Church is in violation of this command and closes the way of salvation by forbidding the people [to drink] the blood of Christ. To this should be added the praxis of the holy apostles and other disciples, who learnt the meaning of the new law not from a man but from the mouth of the Lord. Their action is our instruction, for it is sinful to think they were in error. Also Greece, the mother of letters and the teacher of all disciplines, has until now kept unchanged the tradition of Paul, who was the author of [the practice of] eating the bread and drinking from the chalice, as his own letter to the Corinthians attests. Moreover, several of the doctors interpret the text of John in our sense, and Pope Leo is said to have declared that those who take the sacrament under one species should not abstain from the chalice. So, when the Roman Church so clearly gainsays the divine precepts, how can we respect it and heed its words and keep its law? Must we obey men rather than God, the pope rather than Christ, and the decretals rather than the Gospel? [Sect. 48]*

On his part, Piccolomini did his best to refute – point for point and at some length - the Hussite interpretation of the Gospel and to prove that Christ’s command for communion under both species only applied to priests performing the sacrament. He, too, of course, could point to doctors and theologians.

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<sup>1</sup> Communion under both species was the normal practice in the Church for more than 1.000 years. In the High Middle Ages, it gradually gave way to the communion under the species of bread alone. Piccolomini was correct in stating that no ecumenical council and no pope had (as far as he knew) forbidden the communion under both species before the Council of Konstanz, see Smend, p. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. General Council

Whatever the truth of this matter, the Hussite view that communion under both species also for laymen is a divine command, had the unfortunate consequence firstly that Christians – including their own forefathers - who only communicated under one species, were not saved but condemned to Hell, and secondly that this was the fault of the Church which had forbidden them the communion under both species.

Such a view was, of course, utterly unacceptable to the Church, which rejected it as heretical, as declared by the councils of Konstanz and Basel, and as Piccolomini told Podiebrad:

*When the council spoke about communion under both species, it rejected your opinions, declaring that it is not necessary for salvation nor commanded by Christ that the people should receive communion under both species. [Sect. 22]*

Thus the Church could never accept a settlement with the Bohemians, which did not explicitly reject the heretical view of communion under both species also for laymen as a divine command and therefore as necessary for salvation.

### **2.2.3. Authority**

In the light of the Lutheran reformation some generations later, owing much to Hussitism,<sup>1</sup> the Hussite challenge to Church authority was possibly even more serious for the Catholic Church than the heresy concerning communion under both species as a divine command. It had, of course, not originated in Bohemia, but rather with Wycliffe in England, but it really continued a current of defiance against established religious authority represented by a number of teachings and movements in the Middle Ages, condemned by the Church as heretical.

Church history, with its many heresies and schisms, had abundantly proven that scriptural passages could be interpreted differently. God had foreseen this would happen and had therefore set up a tribunal on Earth to make the final judgment concerning the true meaning of Scripture. As Piccolomini told the Hussites:

*The doubts that afflict you arise from Holy Scripture, for it was never so straightforward and clear that it could not be bent towards different meanings. From the time of the Early Church until now, all schisms have their origin in the Holy Books. But God knew what would happen, so after he had given the law to the people of Israel through his servant Moses and listed clearly what to pursue and what to avoid, and knowing there would be people who made conflicting interpretations of His law, he safeguarded the future and set up a barrier against heresies by establishing a supreme tribunal on Earth, to which all major causes and all doubts concerning the law should be referred. For in the Deuteronomy the Lord says: If thou*

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<sup>1</sup> Heymann: *John Rokycana*, p. 240

*perceive that there be among you a hard and doubtful matter in judgment between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy: and thou see that the words of the judges within thy gates do vary: arise, and go up to the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come to the priests of the Levitical race, and to the judge, that shall be at that time: and thou shalt ask of them, and they shall shew thee the truth of the judgment. And thou shalt do whatsoever they shall say, that preside in the place, which the Lord shall choose, and what they shall teach thee, according to his law; and thou shalt follow their sentence: neither shalt thou decline to the right hand nor to the left hand. But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel. This was the Lord's command to those who followed the Old Testament, so that nobody, led astray by his own opinions, would divide the people and introduce foreign religions. For evil things will happen to those, who walk in the error of their heart.*

*And neither did Christ – founder of the new law, teacher of truth and maker of salvation - neglect the refuge of a supreme tribunal. He chose Peter and through Peter the other bishops of the Roman See to be his vicars after his ascension into Heaven and hold the first place in the Church. This he did when he promised Peter the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven and the power to bind and to loosen and when he finally entrusted to him the care of the flock, saying: Feed my sheep. Why did he do that? Why was it needful for Peter to become the shepherd, to keep the keys of the Kingdom, to accept the first place, to act as Christ's vicar, if not to bring the erring back, to instruct the unknowing, to strengthen the fearful, to oust the intractable, to assist the faithful, to oppose the heretics. If we were just and all naturally saw and followed what is true, we would not need the law of a prince. But since destructive characters arise, who sow pestiferous doctrines and pour lethal poison and kill gullible souls, it was necessary to establish a supreme tribunal to judge between leprosy and leprosy. This tribunal is with the Apostolic See. The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See. And – in the words of holy Pope Calixtus - there is no doubt whatsoever that the Apostolic See is the mother of all churches and that nobody should deviate from its norms. [38-39]*

Piccolomini summed up:

*Many passages in the Holy Book can be given different interpretations. In those cases, we should not seek elsewhere for a different or external meaning, but establish the meaning on the basis of scriptural testimony, and wrest the true meaning from Scripture itself, which only the Church knows and teaches to her sons. [Sect. 49]*

When the Hussites insisted that in this case the Church's interpretation of Scripture was wrong and theirs was right, Piccolomini asked who would prevail in the case of doubt and received the answer that *Christ the Lord will be the judge*. [Sect. 62]

Piccolomini, correctly, concluded that the Hussites

*do not accept any judge or any superior on Earth who could settle dubious matters. Thus you do not believe that the Roman Pontiff is the head of the Christian people, nor do you accept the general councils, but you disdain Militant Church, though she is the mentor of the faithful, the teacher of truth, the enemy of lies, our mother that gave us rebirth in Christ, and who raises and nourishes us in the Faith.* [Sect. 63]

It was a total non-meeting of minds. The established Church, sure of its own supreme religious authority, considered Hussitism to be just another heresy in the long line of heresies encountered over hundreds of years, to be fought with the usual means, while the Hussites, completely rejecting the Church's authority, maintained that they had found an absolute truth and obstinately clung to it. Neither party was aware that they were surfing on a mighty wave of history which would in a few generations lead to a religious revolution and later to a fundamental contestation of divinely established authority.

### **2.3. Church properties**

Another stumbling block to the reunification of Bohemia with the Catholic Church was the takeover of many church properties by laypeople, often important nobles, and even some catholic ones, like Ulrich von Rosenberg.

The Church naturally demanded the restitution of these properties.

In this matter, Podiebrad showed himself to be accommodating, perhaps surprisingly so in view of the difficulty in wresting such properties from the great nobles who had appropriated them:

*The issue of the church properties I consider to be of lesser importance, since those who occupy them do not claim to have the right to do so, and the kingdom does not favour them. But these properties have been taken over by a number of people, and at a very low mortgage rate. In the kingdom, properties with a yearly income of five sexagenae are normally bought at a price of 100 sexagenae. But these people have acquired properties with yearly incomes of 10, 20 or more sexagenae at the [standard] price of 100 sexagenae. Therefore, they can be compelled to immediately restore occupied properties with unusually high incomes. The rest they may keep until they are redeemed. Thus, these properties will soon be restored to the Church, and in a short time they will regain them all, or a better way may be found, if so wished.* [Sect. 27]





## 2.4. Jan Rokycana

Concerning Jan Rokycana,<sup>1</sup> the Hussite cleric whose election as Archbishop of Prague had been recognised by Emperor Sigismund as part of the settlement in Iglau in 1436, Piccolomini frankly told Podiebrad that this appointment was totally unacceptable to Rome. As an archbishop he would systematically promote Hussitism at the cost of the Bohemian Catholics, and his confirmation as archbishop would utterly alienate these Catholics who had remained loyal to the Church, even in times of dire persecution by the Hussites. Said Piccolomini to Podiebrad:

*The Apostle admonishes us not to take a neophyte as bishop, lest being puffed up with pride, he fall into the judgment of the devil. But your Rokycana is not new in the Faith, no, he is not of the Faith at all. In his sermons he denounces the Apostolic See and declares that the whole Church is in error, claiming that the communion under both species is necessary for all the faithful, and insisting that he holds truths which the Roman Church contradicts. But it is he who is in error, and the truth is not in him. Without divine dispensation, he made himself the leader of the reckless rabble in Prague. Without any legal claim, he appointed himself provost. Despite the refusal of the Vicar of Christ, he assumed the name and office of bishop. His speech slithers along like a snake and pours mortal poison into the hearts of the listeners. The chair that your Rokycana occupies is not an episcopal chair, but the chair of pestilence. He is a master of error and an consummate expert on corrupting truth, who has forsaken the fountain of living water and dug for himself hollowed lakes which cannot hold water. I say openly what I think and hold nothing back. How can the Roman Pontiff entrust so important a church to this man? He dismays the Apostolic See, he curses the whole Church, he introduces new rites, he will subject himself to nobody's examination, he disrupts the peace of the Lord with the fury of discord, and though he wants to govern many, he himself wants to be governed by nobody. Should we entrust the sheep to such a wolf? What would the others from the kingdom say who have until now followed the Roman Church with courage and loyalty? If the Supreme Pontiff appointed Rokycana, would they not come to him and ask: "Holy Father, who is this man to whom you commit us? To whom do you entrust us who have been loyal to you? Do you give our souls to the enemy to be killed? Can you not find someone among us to appoint as leader of our Church? We are the majority, whether you consider the nobility or the people of the kingdom. How does our loyalty help us? Our constancy? You show greater favour to your adversaries [than to us]. Is this how you reward the faithful? Will the others get an archbishop who supports communion under both species? Will we who communicate under one species only be left as orphans?" I do not think, Georg, that what you request can be done. Rokycana's hope is vain, and so is yours. If you want peace, then abandon him, and you who promised to support him should not be bound by your seals. It is enough that you have tried hard. One cannot be obliged to do what is impossible, and you cannot force the pope. Follow the rite of the Church and conform to the*

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<sup>1</sup> For a long time, historians neglected Rokycana or had a somewhat negative view of him. For a modern historian's reappraisal of Rokycana, his theological views, his policies, and his importance, see Heymann: *John Rokycana*

*ways of the other Christians. Thus you will win the pope for you, and all others will be kindly disposed. And thus you may peacefully enjoy the benefits of a tranquil and happy kingdom.* [Sect. 30-32]

Apparently, Podiebrad accepted Piccolomini's position or at least he made him believe that he had, indicating that he would work for the appointment of another man as Archbishop of Prague, and telling Piccolomini that

*I trust you and no longer think that we may hope for Rokycana. We must look to others. However, since he was elected by a vote of the Kingdom, he must be encouraged and enticed to renounce the election. Then we can ask for somebody else from the clemency of the Apostolic See.* [Sect. 32]

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

Piccolomini's report to Cardinal Carvajal on his diplomatic mission to Bohemia was not a diplomatic report in the sense of a report from an ambassador to his princely master, with an account of the mission and its results. The account of the visit to Benesov does, however, throw some light on Piccolomini's conduct of diplomacy.

Firstly, in Benesov he negotiated with all the parties in presence, both adversaries and opponents of the imperial and royal cause, and both Hussites and Catholics.

Secondly, he correctly identified the principal partner on the opposite side with whom to conduct the essential negotiations. It was, as seen, Georg Podiebrad whom the seasoned imperial diplomat considered to be *a very important man in Bohemia: he has great power in the party that communicates under both species, and many from the other party are allied with him in military matters. If anybody can bring the cities to a union, it is Georg.* [Sect. 34]

Thirdly, his style of negotiation was pleasant, polite and direct. Here was no haughty imperial courtier dictating the imperial will to a barbarian prince, here was no prelate of the Church bemoaning the wickedness of the lapsed subjects of the Church or threatening them with ecclesiastical censures. No, here was a charming, frank, intelligent, informed and sympathetic interlocutor. That this style, which probably came naturally to Piccolomini, was appreciated is shown by Podiebrad's own words to him: *I like you, for you do not dissemble or pretend, but say what is in your heart. I trust you.* [Sect. 32]

Fourthly, there was a direct approach to determining the main issues of the negotiation, assessing the impediments to a peaceful solution, naming the advantages of a settlement (including for the interlocutor personally), testing the limits of possible concessions, and identifying the basis for an honourable compromise.

In the case of the four basic issues separating Bohemia from the Church, Podiebrad could not yield in the matter of communion under both species, whereas Piccolomini could not yield in the doctrinal matter (non-necessity for salvation of communion under both species) nor in the matter of the Archbishop of Prague. Concerning the fourth issue, the confiscated church properties, it appeared that a sensible compromise might be found. This would be the basis for Piccolomini's subsequent development of a proposal for the reunification of Bohemia with the Catholic Church: to grant communion under both species to Bohemia, to insist on the non-necessity of communion under both species, to refuse Jan Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, and to seek a pragmatic settlement on the issue of the Church properties.<sup>1 2</sup>

Fifthly, sending this report to Cardinal Carvajal was not just an act of friendship but a calculated diplomatic move in the interest of the emperor and King Ladislaus. It prepared the way for a compromise by informing the Roman curia of the real possibilities of settlement of the Bohemian conflict if only it was willing to deal with Podiebrad as the privileged Bohemian counterpart - and consequently not Ulrich von Rosenberg, the leader of the Catholic party, though Piccolomini, cleverly, did not fail to recommend this prince to the curia.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that Piccolomini had to speak with Podiebrad through a translator, his friend Prokop von Rabenstein, which may have led to some imprecision of communication and possibly to some misunderstanding on Piccolomini's part of Podiebrad's basic convictions and political margin of manoeuvring.<sup>3</sup>

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

The report is dated 21 September 1451 and would have been compiled after Piccolomini's return to the imperial court in August and September.

It was addressed and sent to Cardinal Carvajal, who would undoubtedly forward it to the pope and the curia or at least inform them of it, as intended by Piccolomini.

The format is a letter, but it is rather a *narratio*, even containing two dialogues – as also used by Piccolomini's model, Cicero, as the format for his treatises on various subjects. One dialogue concerned Piccolomini's negotiation with the Bohemian governor and the other his theological debate with the Taborite Hussites.

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<sup>1</sup> In the oration "*Res Bohemicas*" (1455)

<sup>2</sup> Fudge: *Seduced*, p. 91

<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini probably overrated Podiebrad's will "to lead, if he but willed, the Bohemian people back to complete orthodoxy" (Heymann: *John Rokycana*, p. 253)

Piccolomini claims that the dialogues were very close to the actual conversation and debate, and they do appear to give a fair representation of the views of his interlocutors. Undoubtedly, however, Piccolomini would, to some extent, have shaped the account to fit his style and purpose.

## 5. Text

The manuscripts collated for the present edition appear to represent two versions of the text, the older version (mss. L, N, M) being identical with or close to Piccolomini's original text, and the later version (the other mss., F, O, U, V, WO) having been slightly revised for inclusion in the "official" edition of Piccolomini's correspondence as bishop (*epistolae in episcopatu*).<sup>1</sup> One of the manuscripts of the second group, the O, appears to have been handled directly by Pius II himself, carrying several margin notes in his hand.

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<sup>1</sup> The pattern of variants clearly indicates two groups of mss., L/N/M and F/O/U/V/WO. The assessment of L/N/M as the elder group is based on the following errors in transcription common to the Later Version: 1) Sect. 54: triplex est, ut noster Aquinas ait ... hujus excellentissimae rei significatio triaque tempora respicit. Ex *praeterito* significat nobis dominicam passionem vocaturque sacrificium. Ex *praesenti* refert ecclesiasticam unitatem et communio dicitur. Ex *futuro* praesignat Dei fruitionem, quam praestolamur in caelis, et vocatur viaticum, quia viam praebet ad patriam, et secundum hoc etiam eucharistia, id est bona gratia, nuncupatur. Et sacerdotibus quidem sacrificium convenit, ceteris vero communio **atque**<sup>1</sup> viaticum (Early Version: **atque**; Later Version: **ad**. Since Piccolomini here lists the two forms of communion available to the laity, only **atque** gives meaning, and **ad** must be due to a later scribal error). 2) sect. 55: Galechus: ... Hic nodus est, hic vis. Aeneas: Pulchre de nodo locutus es, nam tu nodum in sirpo quaeris. Sed non est hic **nodus**, quem ferunt Alexandrum in curri Gordii reperisse, quem cum solvere manu non posset, ense rescidit. (EV: **nodus**; LV: **modus**. From the context (de nodo / hic nodus) it is evident that Galechus talked about a **nodus**, not a **modus**, which must be due to a later scribal error. 3) sect. 56: Mirabile dictu est, si multa fercula et **mixta** cervisiae vina et longissimi somni melius vobis scripturam exponunt quam ceteris abstinentiae atque vigiliae (EV: **mixta**; LV: **mixte**. Grammatically **mixta** is correct, and **mixte** must be due to a later scribal error). 4) sect 56, 57: Galechus: Male nos arguis, non enim nostram sed **apostolorum doctrinam Graecorumque** sequimur. Aeneas: At **illi** non dixerunt damnatos esse populos, qui de calice non acciperent, nec nos ad omnia tenemur, quae in ecclesia primitiva patres egerunt. Sed nec tu tibi de **Graecia** blandiaris. (LV: omits Graecorumque from the EV, though Piccolomini in his reply explicitly mentions both the Early Church (apostolorum) and the Greek); 5) sect. 69: ornamenta vestimentorum **sacerdotibus** dedit (LV: omits **sacerdotibus**, though it clearly belongs to the context); 6) sect. 75: qui, **dum** frena superioritatis abjiciunt libertatemque praedicant, necessarium est (LV omits *dum* which introduces a conditional clause)

## 5.1. Manuscripts<sup>1 2</sup>

- **Bamberg**  
M II 9, ff. 96r-141r
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana**  
Plut. 54, 19, ff. 122r-137v **(F)**
- **Gotha**  
Ch. B, Nr. 61, ff. 233r-261r
- **Göttingen**  
Hist. 61, ff. 319r-348r
- **Göttweih**  
390, ff. 108v ff.
- **Leipzig / Universitätsbibliothek**  
1326, ff. 261r-275r
- **Magdeburg / Domgymnasium**  
21, ff. 253r-264r
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**  
clm 70, ff. 349r-362r<sup>3</sup> **(L)**  
clm 5335, ff. 178r-200r<sup>4</sup> **(M)**  
clm 16188, ff. 235f-247r  
clm 18740, ff. 195r ff.  
clm 19608, ff. 124r-136v<sup>5</sup> **(N)**  
clm 24861, ff. 1r-22r
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**  
10343, ff. 73r ff.
- **Quedlinburg / Gymnasium**  
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<sup>1</sup> The following list of mss. is given by WO, but it is not comprehensive

<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts collated for the present edition are marked with an \*.

<sup>3</sup> Bild 698-724 in digital version

<sup>4</sup> Bild 361-406 in digital version

<sup>5</sup> Bild 256-281 in digital version

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**

Ott. lat. 347, ff. 218v-242r<sup>1</sup> (O)<sup>2</sup>

Urb. lat. 401, ff. 263r-287r<sup>3</sup> (U)

Vat. lat. 1787, ff. 261r-299r<sup>4</sup> (V)

- **Salzburg / St. Peter**

a II, ff. 22r ff.

- **Sankt Florian**

XI 108, ff. 356r-366r

- **Wien / Nationalbibliothek**

3338, ff. 13r-25r

3420, ff. 148r-159r

3704, ff. 147r-160r

4498, ff. 65 ff.

- **Wien / Dominikanerkloster**

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## 5.2. Editions

- Marquard Freher: *Rerum Bohemicarum Antiqui Scriptorum Aliquot Insignes ...* Hannover, 1602 / pp. 181-193.

*[A version closely related to the L/N/M group of manuscripts]*

- Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [and 1571], pp. 660-678

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918 // Tom. III, I. Wien 1918, pp. 22-57<sup>5</sup>

*[Wolkan often follows the readings of the Firenze manuscript]*

The text is also included in a number of early printed editions of Piccolomini's letters, e.g.,

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<sup>1</sup> [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Ott.lat.347](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.347)

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript was handled by Pius himself, as shown by several comments in the margin, e.g. "Facete" (Sect. 56)

<sup>3</sup> [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Urb.lat.401](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.401)

<sup>4</sup> [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.1787](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1787)

<sup>5</sup> Singular forms in address to Cardinal Carvajal are changed to plural by Wolkan

- *Epistolae et varii tractatus Pii secundi pontificis maximi*. Lyon: Etienne Geynard, nr. 130

Excerpts are given in the

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663 // ad ann. 1451, nr. 11

### 5.3. Present edition

The edition is based on the manuscripts listed above with the siglum, with the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Plut. 54, 19 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 6. Sources

In this oration, 83 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, most from the Bible (68), some from patristic and medieval sources (11), a few from classical sources (4), and none from contemporary sources.

The quotations from Thomas Aquinas and Augustine have not been identified. Piccolomini had not studied theology, and he may not have read the works cited, but had possibly - during the Hussite discussions at the Council of Basel 1433-1436 – heard and copied the quotations for his file of quotations and exempla for future use.

Biblical: 68

Classical: 4

Patristic and medieval: 11

Contemporary: 0

**All: 83**

**Biblical sources: 68**

Old Testament: 20



- Genesis: 1
- Exodus: 1
- Deuteronomy: 1
- Numbers: 1
- Canticle: 1
- Isaiah: 3
- Jeremiah: 3
- Joel: 1
- 2. Kings: 2
- Lamentations: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 4

#### New Testament: 48

- John: 11
- Luke: 3
- Mark: 12
- Matthew: 5
- Acts: 4
- Apocalypse: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 3
- 2. Corinthians: 3
- Galatians: 3
- Hebrews: 1
- Romans: 1
- 1. Timothy: 1

#### **Classical sources: 4**

- Cicero: 1<sup>1</sup>
- Horatius: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Terentius: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Vergilius: 1<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> De republica

<sup>2</sup> Epistolae

<sup>3</sup> Phormio

<sup>4</sup> Aeneis



## Patristic and medieval sources: 11

- Albertus Magnus: 1<sup>1</sup>
- Augustinus: 1
- Cyprianus: 3<sup>2</sup>
- Decretum Gratiani: 3
- Jacobus de Voragine: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Thomas Aquinas: 1<sup>4</sup>
- Zacharias Chysopolitanus: 1<sup>5</sup>

## Contemporary sources: 0

## 7. Sigla

**F** = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Plut. 54, 19

**L** = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

**M** = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 5335

**N** = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 19608

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

**U** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 401

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

**WO** = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918 // Tom. III, I. Wien 1918, pp. 492-595

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<sup>1</sup> *Sermones XXXII de Corpore Christi*

<sup>2</sup> *De unitate ecclesiae*

<sup>3</sup> *Legenda aurea / Petrus*

<sup>4</sup> Probably the *De venerabili Sacramento Altaris*

<sup>5</sup> *Unum ex quattuor, sive concordia evangelistarum*

## **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

[1] {122r}<sup>1</sup> Aeneas, episcopus Senesis, Johanni Carvajal, cardinali sancti angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

Quamvis apud Bohemos apostolicae sedis legationem obieris<sup>2</sup> et omnes illius gentis<sup>3</sup> mores opinionisque noveris, tamen quia perversi quidam homines<sup>4</sup> novos<sup>5</sup> in dies<sup>6</sup> errores cudunt, et ego nuper jussu Caesaris in Bohemia fui cognovique bonos et malos et multa cum eis contuli et audivi multa, quae sedem apostolicam intelligere non est inutile, decrevi, quae<sup>7</sup> hac in via<sup>8</sup> mihi<sup>9</sup> contigerunt, tuae dignationi perscribere<sup>10</sup>. Quod si magnam<sup>11</sup> papyrum<sup>12</sup> implevero, non erit tamen<sup>13</sup> arguenda narratio, quia res plurimas non potest brevis epistola comprehendere, et cavendum est, ne fiam obscurus, dum brevis esse laboro<sup>14</sup>. Praetermittam nihilominus multa de multis et solos<sup>15</sup> attingam<sup>16</sup> locos<sup>17</sup> illustriores. Adhibeat mihi benignas<sup>18</sup> aures tua modestia bonique<sup>19</sup> consulat, si liberius scripsero quam tuae dignitati par sit<sup>20</sup>, nam vetus notitia et usura, quae inter nos olim<sup>21</sup> fuit, me audacem<sup>22</sup> facit. Sed incipiam jam narrare, quia nulla est mihi de tua benignitate dubitatio, quae solet omnia in partem recipere meliorem.

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<sup>1</sup> Title: Dialogus de fide et sectis Bohemorum **L**; Opus breve atque elegans reverendi patris domini Enee episcopi Senensis ac poete laureati de sectis Bohemorum ad dominum Johannem cardinali Sancti Angeli **M**; Epistola domini Enee episcopi Senensis ad cardinalem dominum Johannem de statu et heresi terre Pragensis **N**; Epistola CLXXVIII disputat per dialogos contra errores Hussitarum **F, O, V**; No title [*due to rubrics not filled in*] **U**

<sup>2</sup> abieris L, N

<sup>3</sup> et *add.* L

<sup>4</sup> perversi quidam homines : quidam homines perversi L

<sup>5</sup> novosque L, M

<sup>6</sup> in dies *omit.* N

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

<sup>8</sup> hac in via : in hac via N

<sup>9</sup> que *add.* N

<sup>10</sup> proscribere L; prescribere M, WO

<sup>11</sup> magnum WO

<sup>12</sup> bapirum L

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

<sup>14</sup> volo L; labor N

<sup>15</sup> solo L

<sup>16</sup> attingo L

<sup>17</sup> loco U

<sup>18</sup> benignitas N

<sup>19</sup> bonumque N

<sup>20</sup> par sit : prosit N

<sup>21</sup> inter nos olim : olim inter nos M

<sup>22</sup> me audacem : audacem me F, O, U

[1] Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Juan de Carvajal, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo.

## 1. Introduction

You have yourself been on a legatine mission for the Apostolic See to Bohemia<sup>1</sup> and know all the ways and opinions of this people. Still, since some perverted people invent<sup>2</sup> new errors every day, and I myself have recently been in Bohemia at the command of the emperor and become acquainted with good and bad people and discussed many things with them and heard many things that will be useful for the Apostolic See to know, I have decided to write an account to Your Honour<sup>3</sup> of my experiences on this voyage. Even if I fill a great sheet of paper, there is no reason to blame the account that so many things cannot be contained in a short letter, and I must take care not to become incomprehensible while I strive to be brief. Nonetheless, I shall omit much about many things and only touch upon the more important.<sup>4</sup> May Your Modesty lend me benign ears and take it well if I write more freely than your dignity requires, for our old acquaintance and the companionship,<sup>5</sup> which we once had, give me courage. But now I shall begin my account since I have no doubt concerning your kindness which usually accepts all favourably.

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<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Juan Carvajal had been on a mission as papal legate to Prague in May 1448, a little more than three years before Piccolomini's own mission for the emperor. The legate had been met with the Bohemian demands for confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts (communion under both species) and Rokycana's appointment as archbishop of Prague. The legate, inflexibly defending the position of the Roman Church, refused both demands, and his mission of reconciliation turned into a complete failure. He even, reportedly, attempted to deprive the Bohemians of the original sealed document containing the Bohemian Compacts. See Heymann: *George*, pp. 334-40, and *John Rokycana*, p. 250. See also sect. 21

<sup>2</sup> "cudere"

<sup>3</sup> "dignatio"

<sup>4</sup> "illustrior"

<sup>5</sup> "usura"

[2] Cum ergo per hos dies de Nova Domo versus Pragam iter agerem essentque<sup>1</sup> mihi collegae nobiles Albertus Eberstorffius<sup>2</sup> baro, Procopius Rabensteinius<sup>3</sup> et Haidenricus<sup>4</sup> Truscers<sup>5</sup> equestris ordinis milites, ex usu visum nobis<sup>6</sup> est, quia raptores et insidias<sup>7</sup> timebamus, ad Thaboritas<sup>8</sup> potius divertere quam in apertis villis pernoctare ac luporum magis quam leporum sequi fidem<sup>9</sup>. Praemisimus<sup>10</sup> igitur, qui<sup>11</sup> Thaboritas accederent<sup>12</sup> atque ab his jus<sup>13</sup> hospitalitatis<sup>14</sup> expeterent. Acceperunt haec<sup>15</sup> laetis animis Thaboritae dederuntque fidem atque obviam venerunt. Res spectaculo digna fuit rusticanum et incompositum vulgus, quamvis urbani videri velint. Frigus erat et pluviale tempus, nam Bohemia saepe miscet aestati hiemem<sup>16</sup>. Ex illis alii<sup>17</sup> nudi erant, solis tecti camisiis, alii<sup>18</sup> pelliceas<sup>19</sup> tunicas induerant<sup>20</sup>, alii<sup>21</sup> sella<sup>22</sup> carebant, alii freno, alii calcaribus. Alteri<sup>23</sup> crus ocreatum fuit, alteri nudum. Huic oculus defuit, illi manus, et – ut Virgilianis utamur verbis<sup>24</sup> – *foedum*<sup>25</sup> *videre fuit populataque*<sup>26</sup> *tempora*<sup>27</sup> *raptis auribus et truncas*<sup>28</sup> *inhonesto vulnere nares*<sup>29</sup>. Incedendi nullus ordo, loquendi {122v} nulla modestia, barbaro et<sup>30</sup> rusticano ritu nos<sup>31</sup> exceperunt<sup>32</sup>. Obtulerunt tamen xenia: pisces, vinum<sup>33</sup>, cervisiam.

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<sup>1</sup> essent F

<sup>2</sup> de Ebersdorff L; de Eberstorff M; de Eberstorff N

<sup>3</sup> de Rabenstein L, M, N

<sup>4</sup> Henricus L, N; Ainricus M

<sup>5</sup> Druchssess L; Druchsass M; Trursess N; Trucksecz V

<sup>6</sup> visum nobis : nobis visum F, N, V

<sup>7</sup> terre *add.* M

<sup>8</sup> Tabar... *et passim* L

<sup>9</sup> sequi fidem : fidem sequi N

<sup>10</sup> permisimus U

<sup>11</sup> que N

<sup>12</sup> incederent WO

<sup>13</sup> ut N

<sup>14</sup> hospites N

<sup>15</sup> hoc L

<sup>16</sup> aestati hiemem : hyemem estati L

<sup>17</sup> aliqui L, N

<sup>18</sup> aliqui L

<sup>19</sup> pelliciis N

<sup>20</sup> induti erant N

<sup>21</sup> aliqui L

<sup>22</sup> sellis N

<sup>23</sup> alii L, N, U

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>25</sup> fidem N

<sup>26</sup> apostolica quidem N

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>28</sup> truncatas N; tunicas U

<sup>29</sup> uares U

<sup>30</sup> ac WO

<sup>31</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>32</sup> susceperunt N

<sup>33</sup> pisces vinum : vinum pisces N

[3] Sic oppidum ingressi locum vidimus, quem nisi haeticorum arcem aut asylum<sup>1</sup> vocem nescio, quo appellem nomine, nam quaecumque deteguntur inter Christianos impietatis ac blasphemiarum<sup>2</sup> monstra, huc confugiunt tutamentumque habent, ubi<sup>3</sup> *tot* sunt haereses *quot capita*, et libertas est, quae velis, credere. In exteriori<sup>4</sup> civitatis porta duo fuerunt<sup>5</sup> scuta: in altero pictura erat angeli calicem tenentis quasi communionem sub specie vini suaderet populo, in altero Zischa<sup>6</sup> pictus fuit, homo senex et utroque lumine cassus.

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<sup>1</sup> asilium U

<sup>2</sup> blasphemias L

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

<sup>4</sup> in exteriori : interiori L

<sup>5</sup> fuerant L

<sup>6</sup> Gischa F, O; Zizka N; Gisca U



## 2. Visit to Tabor

### 2.1. Reception

[2] When, quite recently, I travelled from Neuhaus<sup>1</sup> to Prague, together with my noble colleagues, Baron Albrecht Ebersdorf<sup>2</sup> and the knights Prokop von Rabenstein<sup>3</sup> and Heinrich Truchsess,<sup>4</sup> we found it expedient, fearing robbers and ambushes, to make a detour to the Taborites<sup>5</sup> rather than staying overnight in open cities and trust in wolves more than hares. We, therefore, sent people ahead to the Taborites to request rights of hospitality from them. The Taborites accepted gladly, giving their word and coming to meet us. These people were quite a sight, being rustic and rude but wanting to appear civilised. It was cold and rainy, for Bohemia often mixes summer with winter. Some of the Taborites went nude, only wearing a shirt,<sup>6</sup> while others had put on leather tunics. Some rode without a saddle, others without a bridle, and others again without spurs. Some wore greaves, others were bare-legged. One lacked an eye, another a hand, and – to use Virgil's words – it was terrible to see *ears wrenched from despoiled temples, and nostrils lopped by a shameful wound*<sup>7</sup>. They advanced without order and spoke without restraint. They received us in a barbarous and rustic manner, but they did offer us guest gifts in the form of fish, wine and beer.

[3] Entering the city, we saw a place which I can only call the fortress or asylum of heretics – I know no other name! For whatever monsters of impiety and blasphemy are found among Christians, they flee to this place and seek protection here, where there are as many heresies as *heads*<sup>8</sup>, and freedom is to believe whatever you will. On the exterior city gate, two shields were hanging, one carrying the picture of an angel holding a chalice as if urging the people to [take] communion under the species of wine, and the other a picture of Zizka,<sup>9</sup> an old man, blind in both eyes.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nova domus / Jindrichuv Hradec. In this city, Piccolomini met the renegade utraquist priest John Papousek, who provided him with valuable materials and (tendentious) information on Hussitism, see Kaminsky, p. 291

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht IV von Ebersdorf: baron and imperial courtier

<sup>3</sup> Prokop von Rabenstein (ca. 1420-1472): Member of the Roman Chancellery of Friedrich III, in 1453 chancellor of Bohemia. A close friend of Piccolomini

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Truchsess von Staatz: Imperial courtier

<sup>5</sup> Tábor: town in the present-day Czech Republic, ca. 100 km. South of Prague. A radical wing of the Hussites was named after the city

<sup>6</sup> Note that the concept of nudity also comprises seminudity

<sup>7</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6, 496-497

<sup>8</sup> Terentius: *Phormio*, 454: *quot homines, tot sententiae*

<sup>9</sup> Jan Zizka (ca. 1360-1424): Bohemian Hussite general, leader of the radical Taborite faction

<sup>10</sup> HB, I, pp. 340-341

[4] Hic olim dux Thaboritarum fuerat, et alterum oculum in pueritia perdiderat, alterum hostili sagitta confossus<sup>1</sup> amisit<sup>2</sup>. Ab<sup>3</sup> hoc saepe victos fideles ajunt<sup>4</sup>, saepe Christianorum caedes factas, complures<sup>5</sup> civitates<sup>6 7</sup> exustas, diruta<sup>8</sup> monasteria, sacras aedes incensas, prostitutas virgines, sacerdotes occisos<sup>9</sup>, quem<sup>10</sup> Thaboritae non solum monoculum, sed<sup>11</sup> caecum quoque<sup>12</sup> secuti sunt ducem<sup>13</sup>, neque absurde, nam tali populo<sup>14</sup>, qui nihil divinitatis intelligit, nihil religionis tenet, nil aequi rectique videt, quis ducatum praebere debuit nisi<sup>15</sup> caecus? Impletum est illud salvatoris in eis<sup>16</sup>: *Si caecus caeco ducatum praebat*<sup>17</sup>, *ambo in foveam cadunt*.<sup>18</sup> Hic dux, cum<sup>19</sup> morti proximus<sup>20</sup> esset<sup>21</sup>, consultarentque Thaboritae, quem post<sup>22</sup> se principem designaret, “Postquam,” inquit, “animus a me fugerit, excoriate corpus meum et carnes<sup>23</sup> date volucris; ex corio vero tympanum facite atque<sup>24</sup> hoc in proelio ducem habete. Nam quovis<sup>25</sup> locorum Theutones sonum ejus audierint<sup>26</sup>, mox terga dabunt, Zischam in tympano formidantes.” Hic postquam obiit, Thaboritarum<sup>27</sup> alii Procopium sibi<sup>28</sup> ducem legerunt<sup>29</sup>, alii in<sup>30</sup> tantum illius memoriam<sup>31</sup> dilexerunt, ut neminem dignum existimarent, qui tanto duci succederet, aspernatique principem<sup>32</sup> orphanos sese<sup>33</sup> vocabant, quasi patre carentes atque orbatos, ut qui caecitatem non vivam tantum sed mortuam quoque colendam censebant et ad inferos usque<sup>34</sup>

<sup>1</sup> confixus L, M, N

<sup>2</sup> auulsit U

<sup>3</sup> ad N

<sup>4</sup> agunt N

<sup>5</sup> compluris F, O, U, V

<sup>6</sup> civitatis F, O

<sup>7</sup> complures civitates : civitates plures N

<sup>8</sup> dirupta N

<sup>9</sup> omit. L

<sup>10</sup> hunc L

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

<sup>12</sup> omit. L

<sup>13</sup> secuti sunt ducem : ducem secuti sunt N

<sup>14</sup> omit. L

<sup>15</sup> ducem add. N

<sup>16</sup> in eis : omit. L, N; mei U

<sup>17</sup> prebet L

<sup>18</sup> ducatum praebat ... cadunt : etc. N

<sup>19</sup> dux cum : dum L, M, N

<sup>20</sup> morti proximus : proximus morti N

<sup>21</sup> erunt N

<sup>22</sup> potius L

<sup>23</sup> meas add. U

<sup>24</sup> et L

<sup>25</sup> nam quovis : quovis namque L

<sup>26</sup> audiuerint V

<sup>27</sup> dux add. N

<sup>28</sup> Procopium sibi : sibi Procopium M

<sup>29</sup> elegerunt L, N

<sup>30</sup> omit. N

<sup>31</sup> illius memoriam : memoriam illius N

<sup>32</sup> principemque O, U

<sup>33</sup> se N

<sup>34</sup> ut M

sequendam. Hunc autem veluti<sup>1</sup> numen Thaborenses habent et, quamvis picturas<sup>2</sup> omnes abhominantur<sup>3</sup>, hujus tamen picturam religiose<sup>4</sup> colunt<sup>5</sup> et honorem, quem<sup>6</sup> Christo negant, concedunt Zischae<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> velud N

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

<sup>3</sup> abhominantur L, M

<sup>4</sup> religiosi N

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

<sup>6</sup> quam L

<sup>7</sup> concedunt Zischae : Zizkae concedunt N

## 2.2. Zizka

[4] This man was once the leader of the Taborites. One eye he lost as a child, the other when it was pierced by a hostile arrow.<sup>1</sup> They relate that he often defeated the faithful, slaughtered the Christians, burnt many cities, destroyed monasteries, fired holy buildings, raped virgins, and killed priests. Thus they followed a leader who was not just one-eyed but blind, and that was not absurd at all, for who else than a blind man would be willing to lead such a people, that understands nothing of the divine, has no religion, and sees nothing just and right. In them was fulfilled the Lord's saying: *if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the pit.*<sup>2</sup> When this leader was close to death, the Taborites asked him whom he would designate as leader after himself. He replied, "When my soul has left me, then flay my body and give the meat to the birds. From the skin you should make a drum to have as your leader in battle. For wherever the Germans hear its sound, they will flee immediately, fearing Zizka in the drum."<sup>3</sup> When he died, some of the Taborites chose Prokop<sup>4</sup> as their leader, but the others loved his memory so much that they found nobody worthy to succeed such a great leader. Deciding not to have a leader, they called themselves The Orphans,<sup>5</sup> as if lacking and being deprived of a father, believing that their blind leader should be honoured not only alive but also in death and followed into Hell.<sup>6</sup> This man the Taborites considers as divine, and though they abhor all pictures, they worship Zizka's, thus showing him the honour they refuse to give Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> See Heymann: *John Zizka*, pp. 18, 255-258; HB, I, pp. 308-309,

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 15, 14

<sup>3</sup> The story of Zizka and the drum is a legend, reported by Piccolomini but probably not invented by him. See HB, I, 340-341

<sup>4</sup> Prokop the Bald (ca. 1380-1434)

<sup>5</sup> Orphans: Radical Taborite faction

<sup>6</sup> HB, I, pp. 340-343

[5] Horum secta pestifera et abhominabilis est ac summo digna supplicio<sup>1</sup>. Romanam<sup>2</sup> ecclesiam nolunt<sup>3</sup> habere primatum aut proprium<sup>4</sup> clerum habere quicquam<sup>5</sup>. Imagines Christi sanctorumque<sup>6</sup> delent, ignem<sup>7</sup> purgatorium<sup>8</sup> inficiantur<sup>9</sup>, nihil sanctorum preces jam cum Christo regnantium prodesse mortalibus asseverant<sup>10</sup>, {123r} festum diem praeter dominicum et paschalem non agunt, jejunia spernunt, horas canonicas abjiciunt, eucharistiam sub specie panis et vini et<sup>11</sup> parvulis et dementibus praebent. Conficientes nihil praeter orationem dominicam et verba consecrationis dicunt, neque vestimenta mutant neque ornatus assumunt aliquos. Quidam vero eo usque desipiunt<sup>12</sup>, ut<sup>13</sup> non verum Christi corpus<sup>14</sup> in sacramento altaris, sed repraesentationem quandam esse contendunt<sup>15</sup>, errantis Berengarii non conversi sequaces. Ex sacramentis ecclesiae baptismum, eucharistiam, matrimonium ordinemque recipiunt. De poenitentia parum sentiunt<sup>16</sup>, de confirmatione et extrema unctione<sup>17</sup> nihil. Monachorum religionibus infestissimi sunt, inventiones<sup>18</sup> diabolicas asserunt esse. Baptisma simplicis undae volunt, nullam aquam benedicunt. Cimiteria non habent consecrata, cadavera mortuorum in campis et<sup>19</sup>, ut digni<sup>20</sup> sunt, cum bestiis sepeliuntur, vanumque<sup>21</sup> censent orare pro mortuis. Ecclesiarum consecrationes derident et in omnibus locis passim<sup>22</sup> conficiunt sacramentum.

[6] Nulla major his cura est quam sermonis audiendi. Si quis negligens est domique torpet aut negotio ludove vacat, dum sermo est, virgis caeditur et intrare<sup>23</sup> ad verbum, ut ajunt, Dei<sup>24</sup> compellitur. Est illis domus quaedam lignea, similis horreo ruris, hanc templum appellant, hic<sup>25</sup> populo praedicant, hic legem per omnes dies exponunt, hic altare unicum habent neque

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<sup>1</sup> supplicio digna : digna supplicio L

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* L; Romanamque M

<sup>3</sup> volunt N

<sup>4</sup> proprii F, L; propii M, N; proprii O, U, V

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

<sup>6</sup> sanctorum F, O, U, V

<sup>7</sup> lignem U

<sup>8</sup> purgatorium F; purgatorii N

<sup>9</sup> negant N

<sup>10</sup> asserunt N

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

<sup>12</sup> decipiunt N

<sup>13</sup> et N

<sup>14</sup> Christi corpus : corpus Christi L, M, N

<sup>15</sup> errantes *add.* N

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

<sup>17</sup> extrema unctione : unctione extrema L

<sup>18</sup> inventionesque L, M, N

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>20</sup> digna L, M, N

<sup>21</sup> vanum L, N

<sup>22</sup> passi U

<sup>23</sup> in terre N

<sup>24</sup> ut ajunt Dei : Dei ut ajunt L, N

<sup>25</sup> illic L

consecratum<sup>1</sup> neque consecrandum<sup>2 3</sup>, ex quo sacramentum plebibus exhibent. Sacerdotes neque coronas ferunt neque barbas tondent<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> benedictum L

<sup>2</sup> consecratum L

<sup>3</sup> neque consecrandum *omit.* N

<sup>4</sup> tudent L

## 2.3. Taborite sect

[5] Their sect is pestilential and abominable, deserving of the severest punishment. They do not accept the primacy of the Roman Church, nor do they want to have their own clergy. They destroy the images of Christ and his saints; they deny the fire of purgatory; they claim that the prayers of the saints reigning with Christ do not profit mortals; except Sundays and Easter, they do not observe any feast days; they spurn fasting; they reject the canonical hours; they offer the eucharist under the species of bread and wine both to babies and to the insane. Those who perform the sacrament only use the Lord's prayer and the words of consecration. They do not change their clothes nor put on vestments. Following the errors of the unrepentant Berengér,<sup>1</sup> some go so far in their madness as to claim it is not the true body of Christ that is present in the sacrament of the altar but only some kind of representation. Of the Church's sacraments, they only accept baptism, the eucharist, matrimony, and [priestly] ordination.<sup>2</sup> They think little of penitence<sup>3</sup> and nothing of confirmation and extreme unction. They absolutely hate religious orders, claiming that they are the inventions of the Devil. They want baptism [to be performed] simply, in flowing water, and they do not bless the water. They do not have consecrated cemeteries, burying the corpses in the fields, together with animals, as they deserve, and they consider it futile to pray for the dead. They scorn the consecration of churches, and they perform the sacrament everywhere.<sup>4</sup>

[6] Their greatest concern is the hearing of sermons. If someone is neglectful and stays lazily at home or trades or plays while a sermon is being given, he is whipped and forced – as they say – to enter to [hear] the word of God. They have some kind of wooden building, like a barn, which they call “temple”. Here they preach to the people, here they daily expound on the law, here they have their only altar, which has not been consecrated and will not be so, from where they administer the sacrament to the people. The priests do not have tonsures nor shave their beard.

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<sup>1</sup> Berengér de Tours (ca. 999-1088): French theologian. Though he accepted the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, a view he later retracted, only to even later retract the retraction

<sup>2</sup> Later in the text, sect. 68, Piccolomini states that the Hussites accepted five sacraments, presumably here including confession

<sup>3</sup> Confession

<sup>4</sup> *Here Utraquism entered upon a new development. The priests of Austi, starting from the principle that the Bible contained the whole teaching of Christ, abolished every traditional rite and liturgy. There were to be no more churches, altars, vestments, sacred vessels, chants, or ceremonies. The Lord's Prayer was the only liturgical prayer; the communion table was a common table with common bread and common appointments, the celebrant wore his everyday clothes and was untonsured. Children were baptized with the first water at hand and without any further ceremony they received Communion in both kinds immediately after Baptism. Extreme unction and auricular confession were abolished; mortal sins were to be confessed in public. Purgatory and the worship of saints were suppressed, likewise all feasts and fasts. (Wilhelm)*

[6] His Thaboritae frumento, cervisia, lardo, leguminibus<sup>1</sup>, lignis et omni suppellectili necessaria publice domum complent et addunt in singula capita singulis mensibus sexagenam, ex qua pisces, carnes recentes et, si velint, vinum emant. In altari<sup>2</sup> nihil offerunt, decimas omnes damnant, primitiarum neque nomen neque rem tenent. Non tamen concordēs sunt in una fide<sup>3 4</sup>, sed aliter isti, aliter illi<sup>5</sup> sentiunt. Velle suum cuique est nec voto<sup>6</sup> vivitur<sup>7</sup> uno.

[7] Hos tamen<sup>8</sup> sacrilegos et<sup>9</sup> sceleratissimos homines<sup>10</sup> Sigismundus caesar civitate<sup>11</sup> donavit<sup>12</sup>, et quos exterminare decebat<sup>13</sup>, aut in ultimas terras ad fodiendos secandosque lapides, humani generis omni commercio privatos, relegare<sup>14</sup>, liberos fecit minimo tributo contentus. Quae res non sibi tantum, sed regno quoque maximo<sup>15</sup> dedecori<sup>16</sup> fuit, quia<sup>17</sup> sicut<sup>18</sup> modicum<sup>19</sup> fermenti totam massam corrumpit, sic fex illa hominum totum nomen gentis Bohemicae {123v} foedat.

[8] Sed accipe nunc urbis situm, quia fuisti loco proximus, intueri<sup>20</sup> moenia potuisti, quae duplicata cingunt undique<sup>21</sup> civitatem, munita turribus et propugnaculis<sup>22</sup>. Collis est in occidentem<sup>23</sup> extensus, nulla ex<sup>24</sup> parte vicinis altior campis, sed praeuptis hinc<sup>25</sup> atque inde rupibus tutus. Hunc uno ex latere fluvius alluit, quem<sup>26</sup> Lucnisam<sup>27</sup> accolae vocitant; ex altero rivus est tenuis aquae, sed profundus et<sup>28</sup> aditu difficilis. Is quasi vellet ante<sup>29</sup> oppidum ingredi majorem fluvium, in angustias viginti passuum collem restrinxit et penetrasset – ut arbitror – montem, nisi saxis

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<sup>1</sup> legumini F

<sup>2</sup> altare N

<sup>3</sup> via M

<sup>4</sup> sunt in una fide *omit.* L

<sup>5</sup> isti aliter illi : illi aliter isti N

<sup>6</sup> voti L

<sup>7</sup> finitur L

<sup>8</sup> tam F, O, U, V

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

<sup>10</sup> et sceleratissimos homines : homines et sceleratissimos L

<sup>11</sup> civitati L, M, N

<sup>12</sup> donatus L

<sup>13</sup> dicebat L

<sup>14</sup> religare N

<sup>15</sup> quoque maximo : maxime quoque N

<sup>16</sup> dedicioni L

<sup>17</sup> nam M

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>19</sup> modium F, WO

<sup>20</sup> intueri : ni tueri N

<sup>21</sup> *illeg.* N

<sup>22</sup> pugnaculis L

<sup>23</sup> occidente N

<sup>24</sup> in F

<sup>25</sup> huic N

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>27</sup> Luznisam F, O, V; *omit.* L; Zhozo M; Luzznicie *illeg.* N; Luzinsam U

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>29</sup> cum L; *omit.* N



durioribus impeditus iter flectere coactus fuisset<sup>1</sup>. Vertitur ergo ad dexteram rivus et ambiens oppidi<sup>2</sup> magnam partem, tandem fluvio, qui reliquam portionem circumdedit, finito colle miscetur. Sic civitas ex omni parte rupibus et aquis munita uno tantum<sup>3</sup> loco per planum habet accessum, sed arctum et ingenti fossa et latiori muro defensum. Tres hic portae sunt, priusquam<sup>4</sup> urbem ingrediaris. In priori vero propugnaculum est, cujus muri 20 pedes latitudinis habent<sup>5</sup>, altitudinis duplum. Machinas belli plurimas victis hostibus excisisque civitatibus obtinuerunt<sup>6</sup>, quas in foro ad terrorem vicinae plebis<sup>7</sup> ostentant<sup>8</sup>.

[6] The Taborites as a community<sup>9</sup> provide their homes with grain, beer, bacon, vegetables, wood, and all kinds of furniture and equipment, adding a monthly [allowance] of one *sexagena*<sup>10</sup> per in the household, which they can use to buy fish, fresh meat and – if they so want – wine. They make no offerings at the altar, they reject all tithes, and they do not have the practice of firstfruits nor even use that word.<sup>11</sup> But they disagree on matters of Faith, some believing this, and others that. They all want their own, and they disagree on everything.

[7] Nonetheless, these sacrilegious and criminal men were given the city by Emperor Sigismund,<sup>12</sup> and those whom he ought to destroy or banish to the end of the Earth and set to digging out and cutting stones, deprived of human society, he instead made free, being satisfied with a minimal tax. This thing was a huge disgrace not only for himself but also for the whole kingdom, for just as little ferment infects the whole lump, that human scum defiles the entire name of the Bohemian people.

## 2.4. City of Tabor

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<sup>1</sup> coactus fuisset : cogereetur L

<sup>2</sup> opidum L; fuisset coactus V

<sup>3</sup> tamen L, M, N

<sup>4</sup> antequam L

<sup>5</sup> et *add.* N

<sup>6</sup> obtinuerant L

<sup>7</sup> gentis WO

<sup>8</sup> ostendantur N

<sup>9</sup> "publice"

<sup>10</sup> Sexagena: a money unit worth 60 Prague Groschen. Du Cange: Monetæ species, f. quod pretii 60. solidorum esset. Charta Casimiri Polon. Reg. ann. 1335. apud Ludewig. tom. 5. Reliq. MSS. pag. 594: *Recognoscimus..... nos teneri et remanere obligatos.... Regi Boemiæ et suis hæredibus de summa et quantitate viginti millium Sexagenarum grossorum denariorum Pragensium, in qua dicto Dom. Regi Boemiæ decem mille Sexagenas dictorum denariorum jam solvimus in una parte.*

<sup>11</sup> "primitiæ"

<sup>12</sup> Sigismund (Luxembourg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia 1437, King of Germany 1411, King of Bohemia 1419, crowned Holy Roman Emperor 1433

[8] Hear now how this city is situated since you have been quite near to the place and able to see the double-wall surrounding the city on all sides, protected by towers and bulwarks. There is a hill which stretches towards the West, nowhere higher than the neighbouring fields, but safely ensconced among steep cliffs. On one side, a river flows by, which the inhabitants call Luznice. On the other side, there is a stream, narrow but deep and difficult to cross. It seems as if it would join the big river before the city, but then it meets the hill, which narrows it down to 20 *passus*. If it was not forced by the hard rocks to bend its course, it would – I believe – flow into the hill itself. Instead, it turns to the right and passes around most of the city, until it finally, where the hill ends, joins the river, which passes around the other part. Thus, the city is protected on all sides by cliffs and water. On even ground, it can only be entered in one place, through a narrow passage protected by a huge moat and a massive wall. Three gates must be passed before you enter the city. The first is set in a bastion, whose walls are 20 feet broad and double as high. From defeated enemies and destroyed cities, they have taken many war machines that they have put on display in the public square to frighten the neighbouring peoples.<sup>1</sup>

[9] Domorum parietes aut lignei<sup>2</sup> sunt aut lutei<sup>3</sup>, nullo platearum ordine distincti<sup>4</sup>, sed ad casum positi<sup>5</sup>. Nam sicut olim tentoria passim locarunt<sup>6</sup>, sic postea domos erexerunt. Multa illis et pretiosa suppellex est, et divitiae inter eos plurimae sunt, multarum enim gentium spolia in unum locum<sup>7</sup> congessere<sup>8</sup>. Voluerunt hi quondam<sup>9</sup> ecclesiae primitivae moribus vivere<sup>10</sup>, et in *communi tenebant omnia*. Fratres se invicem appellabant, et quod uni defuit, alter subministravit. Nunc sibi quisque vivit, et alius quidem esurit, alius autem ebrius est. Brevis fervor caritatis<sup>11</sup>, brevis imitatio fuit<sup>12</sup>. Sed priores Christi discipuli et qui nascentis ecclesiae fundamenta jecerunt, quae propria prius habebant, fratribus<sup>13</sup> communicabant, nihil alieni recipiebant<sup>14</sup>, nisi sponte et amore Christi donatum. Thaboritae vero haereditates alienas expilabant, et, quae violenta manu rapuerant, haec tantum in commune dederunt. Nec sic perseverare potuerunt. Reversi ad ingenium avaritiae<sup>15</sup> jam omnes student, et quia rapere ut olim nequeunt, nam languidiores facti vicinos timent, lucris inhiant mercaturae sordidosque sequuntur quaestus.

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<sup>1</sup> For another description of Tabor, see HB, I, pp. 286-289

<sup>2</sup> lignee M, N

<sup>3</sup> lutee M, N

<sup>4</sup> distincte L, M

<sup>5</sup> posite L, M, N

<sup>6</sup> locarint F; locaverunt WO

<sup>7</sup> latum N

<sup>8</sup> congesserunt L

<sup>9</sup> quidem N

<sup>10</sup> omit. L

<sup>11</sup> fuit add. N

<sup>12</sup> omit. N

<sup>13</sup> sibi L

<sup>14</sup> rapiebant L

<sup>15</sup> omit. L

[10] Sunt in civitate ad quatuor<sup>1</sup> milia virorum, qui possent<sup>2</sup> educere gladium, sed artifices facti lana ac tela {124r} ex magna parte<sup>3</sup> victum quaerentes inutiles bello<sup>4</sup> creduntur. Praedia nulla his erant, sed nobilium et<sup>5</sup> monasteriorum villas invaserunt, quas sibi postea Sigismundus - nescio an<sup>6</sup> divinae legis et humanae perversor idcirco dici possit<sup>7</sup> – perpetuo jure possidendas ascripsit.

[11] Intellexisti<sup>8</sup>, quae sit haec civitas, qui mores hujus populi, qui situs oppidi, qualis haereticorum senatus, qualis nequitiae synagoga, quale domicilium Sathanae, quod templum Belial, quod regnum Luciferi.

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<sup>1</sup> ad quatuor : ut dicitur L

<sup>2</sup> possunt L, N

<sup>3</sup> ex magna parte *omit.* L

<sup>4</sup> ad bella L

<sup>5</sup> ac L

<sup>6</sup> aut N

<sup>7</sup> posset N, WO

<sup>8</sup> intellexistis L

[9] The walls of the houses are of wood and clay. They are not arranged by roads but placed randomly, for they place their houses just as they once did their tents. They have many and costly furnishings, and there is much wealth among them, for they have gathered the spoils from many peoples in one place. Earlier, they wanted to live like the Primitive Church and *had all in common*.<sup>1</sup> They called each other “brother”, and what one was lacking, another provided. Nowadays, everybody lives for himself, and one may be thirsty, while the other is drunk. Brief was the fervour of charity, and brief the imitation [of the old ones]. But the first disciples of Christ and those who cast the foundations of the Church at its birth shared with their brothers all that each of them had before. They took nothing from others unless it had been given freely and out of love for Christ. The Taborites, however, plundered others’ inheritances and only shared what they had seized violently. But even that they could not continue. They have returned to character, and they are all busy being greedy. And since they can no longer plunder as they could once – for they have grown weak and fear their neighbours – they covet commercial profit and pursue sordid gains.

[10] In the city, there are about 4,000 men capable of fighting, but they have become artisans, who mostly ensure their livelihood from wool and home-spun products and are considered to be useless in war. These people did not possess farms of their own, so they seized the properties<sup>2</sup> of nobles and monasteries to which Sigismund<sup>3</sup> later gave them permanent rights – if he thus perverted both divine and human law, I do not know.

[11] You have now seen what this city is, the character of the people, the site of the city, the senate of heretics, the synagogue of wickedness, the dwelling of Satan, the temple of Belial, and the realm of Lucifer.

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<sup>1</sup> Acts, 2, 44: *habebant omnia communia*

<sup>2</sup> “villa”: house or village

<sup>3</sup> Sigismund

[12] Hic ego, cum pernoctassem et ab hospite meo cuncta<sup>1</sup>, quae<sup>2</sup> jam scripsi<sup>3</sup>, vera esse<sup>4</sup> didicissem<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>, hortabar hominem<sup>7</sup>, tantis ut<sup>8</sup> erroribus renuntiaret. Non erat hic omnino durus<sup>9</sup> neque monitiones aspernabatur, et habebat in<sup>10</sup> penitiori<sup>11</sup> thalamo beatae Mariae virginis et Christi salvatoris imagines, quas occulte colebat. Credo, nisi timeret amissionem bonorum<sup>12</sup>, nam dives est, publice ab illa insania resiliet<sup>13</sup>, sed malunt animam<sup>14</sup> plerique quam opes perdere, et multi propter pecunias periire. Idcirco salvatoris voce *facilius dicitur camelum per foramen acus transire*<sup>15</sup> *quam divites adipisci regna*<sup>16</sup> *caelorum*.

[13] In crastinum<sup>17</sup> cum venissent<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> ad nos tam sordidae civitatis magistratus et gratias agerent, quia visitassemus eos, et urbani magis verbo quam mente viderentur, dico ego ad collegas meos: "Peccavimus, fratres, genti peccatrici et inimicae Dei communicavimus. Non putavi tantos hic<sup>20</sup> esse quantos errores invenio<sup>21</sup>. Credebam<sup>22</sup> solius ritu communionis hunc populum a nobis esse secretum<sup>23</sup>, sed nunc compertum habeo<sup>24</sup> haereticum<sup>25</sup> esse populum hunc<sup>26</sup>, infidelem, Deo rebellem, nihil pensi<sup>27</sup>, nihil religionis habentem. Quapropter si volumus conscientiae satisfacere<sup>28</sup>, necessarium est his<sup>29</sup> aliqua dicere, ne sua nobis facta<sup>30</sup> placere putent et<sup>31</sup> apud vicinos<sup>32</sup> gloriantur Romani regis sibi legatos communicasse." Assentiebatur mihi Procopius et<sup>33</sup> utile

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<sup>1</sup> certa L

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

<sup>3</sup> scripta L

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>5</sup> didicissem N

<sup>6</sup> et ab hospite ... didicissem *omit.* F

<sup>7</sup> homini L

<sup>8</sup> tantis ut : ut tantis N

<sup>9</sup> dicitur N

<sup>10</sup> *Here begins a lacuna which ends after the words cujus corpus in sect. 15 U*

<sup>11</sup> secretiori N

<sup>12</sup> nisi timeret ... bonorum : ni bonorum timeret amissionem L

<sup>13</sup> illeg. *add.* N

<sup>14</sup> animas L

<sup>15</sup> pertransire N

<sup>16</sup> regnum L

<sup>17</sup> crastino L, N

<sup>18</sup> venisset L

<sup>19</sup> cum venissent : advenissent N

<sup>20</sup> tantos hic : hic tantos L

<sup>21</sup> errores invenio : invenio errores L

<sup>22</sup> credebatur N

<sup>23</sup> segregatum L; *illeg.* N

<sup>24</sup> est L

<sup>25</sup> et(h)nicum M, V; hennicum F, O

<sup>26</sup> populum hunc : hunc populum N

<sup>27</sup> nihil pensi *omit.* N

<sup>28</sup> facere satis V

<sup>29</sup> iis V

<sup>30</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>31</sup> postea *add.* N

<sup>32</sup> ipsos N

<sup>33</sup> ut L

consilium dicebat, sed Australibus<sup>1</sup> terrore plenis et leporino corde praeditis<sup>2</sup>, persuaderi sententia mea non potuit, quamvis verba sic<sup>3</sup> efferre<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> proposuissem<sup>6</sup>, ut nulla irritatio populi timenda esset. Recessimus ergo<sup>7</sup>, et licet dies dominicus<sup>8</sup> esset, divina tamen officia negleximus, ne communicaremus haereticis<sup>9</sup>.

## 2.5. Piccolomini's host

[12] I stayed there overnight, and my host confirmed that all I have written now is true. I exhorted the man to renounce these serious errors, and he was neither intractable nor indifferent to my advice. In his inner bedroom, he actually had images of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Christ the Saviour that he worshipped in secret. I do believe that if he had not feared losing his property – for he is a rich man – he would publicly denounce this folly. But many will rather lose their soul than their wealth, and many have perished because of money. Therefore the Saviour says: *It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.*<sup>10</sup>

## 2.6. Departure

[13] Next day, the magistrates of this sordid city came to us and thanked us for visiting them, appearing more civilised in speech than in mind. Then I said to my colleagues, “We have sinned, brothers, by having contact with a sinful people, enemies of God. I have underestimated the errors I find here. I believed that the communion rite was the only thing that separated this people from us, but now I have learnt it is a heretical people, faithless, rebellious towards God, without learning<sup>11</sup> and religion. Therefore, if we want to satisfy our conscience, it is necessary to say something to them so that they do not believe we condone their actions and boast to their neighbours of having received the legates of the Roman king.” Prokop agreed with me and said my plan was useful, but the Austrians<sup>12</sup> were fearful, having a hare's heart, so I could not convince

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<sup>1</sup> Australibus L, M

<sup>2</sup> perditis F; praeditos L

<sup>3</sup> omit. L

<sup>4</sup> afferre L

<sup>5</sup> sic efferre : efferre sic N

<sup>6</sup> potuisset N

<sup>7</sup> e illo L

<sup>8</sup> dominica esset N

<sup>9</sup> communicaremus haereticis : hereticis communicaremus L

<sup>10</sup> Matthew, 19, 24

<sup>11</sup> "pensum"

<sup>12</sup> The two other members of the imperial embassy

them, even though I proposed to speak in such a way that I would not provoke people. So we left, and though it was Sunday, we omitted the divine offices to not be in contact with heretics.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Less likely: “give communion to heretics”

[14] Erat animus mihi<sup>1</sup> Pragam videre, urbem fama celebrem<sup>2</sup> regnique caput, sed pestis illic ingens grassabatur<sup>3</sup> nec<sup>4</sup> minus quam 200 capita per singulos dies auferri<sup>5</sup> dicebatur. Ob quam rem terrefacti proceres<sup>6</sup>, qui convenerant, congregationem solvunt et ad villam Benedicti se<sup>7</sup> transferunt, quinque<sup>8</sup> et viginti milibus passuum<sup>9</sup> a Praga<sup>10</sup> distantem<sup>11</sup>.

[15] Interea et Barbara imperatrix, quae fuit Sigismundi conjunx, Friderici comitis Ciliae soror, diem obiit, cujus<sup>12</sup> corpus Pragam delatum in castro<sup>13</sup> {124v} sepultum est. Cordata mulier fuit, sed futurae vitae, ut ajunt, parum credula. Nunc, si pie vixit, mercedem habet. Sunt, qui defunctam bene et ut Christianam decuit, supremum spiritum emisisse dicunt.

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<sup>1</sup> animus mihi : mihi animus L

<sup>2</sup> reserem L; celerem N

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; crassabatur codd.

<sup>4</sup> ne M

<sup>5</sup> afferre L

<sup>6</sup> terrefacti proceres : proceres terre statim N

<sup>7</sup> sese L, M

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

<sup>9</sup> transferunt quinque ... passuum *omit.* N

<sup>10</sup> a Praga : ad Pragam N

<sup>11</sup> transferunt *add.* N

<sup>12</sup> *Here ends the lacuna which begins after the words in penitiori in sect. 13* U

<sup>13</sup> crastino L



## 2.7. Pest in Prague

[14] I did wish to see Prague, that famous city and capital of the kingdom, but a great pest was raging there and reportedly killed more than 200 people per day. Therefore the assembled nobles were terrified and, ending the meeting there, moved to Benesov, about 25,000 *passus*<sup>1</sup> from Prague.

## 2.8. Death of Empress Barbara

[15] In the meantime<sup>2</sup> Empress Barbara<sup>3</sup> died. She had been the consort of Sigismund<sup>4</sup> and the sister of Count Friedrich von Cilly. Her body was brought to Prague and buried in the castle. She was a sensible<sup>5</sup> woman but said to be sceptical concerning the afterlife. If she lived a pious life, she now has her reward. Some say that she had a good death and expired as befits a Christian woman.

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<sup>1</sup> Ca. 35 km. Benesov is actually about 40 km. southeast of Prague.

<sup>2</sup> 11. July 1451

<sup>3</sup> Barbara von Cilly (1392-1451): Empress. Married Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1405

<sup>4</sup> Emperor Sigismund

<sup>5</sup> "cordata"

[16] Cum venissemus ad villam Benedicti, regni<sup>1</sup> conventum illic offendimus<sup>2</sup>. Barones erant Georgius Pogiebratius<sup>3</sup>, Henricus Rosensis<sup>4</sup>, Alscio<sup>5</sup>, Zdenko<sup>6</sup> et Petrus Sterembergii<sup>7</sup>, Sbencho<sup>8</sup> Lepus, Johannes Zagimachus<sup>9</sup>, Johannes Smiritius<sup>10 11</sup>, Johannes Chiabelizus<sup>12</sup>, Sdencho Coscha<sup>13 14</sup>, Johannes Malovecius<sup>15 16</sup>, Johannes Radechus<sup>17</sup>, et barones alii<sup>18</sup> complures<sup>19</sup>. Civitatum oratores aderant ex Praga, ex Cuthnis<sup>20</sup>, ex Pilzina<sup>21</sup>, ex Luna, ex Colonia<sup>22</sup>, ex Glatovia<sup>23</sup>, ex Grezia<sup>24</sup>, ex Litomeritia<sup>25</sup>, ex Slana<sup>26</sup>, ex Sacen<sup>27</sup>, ex Buthovaiza<sup>28</sup>, ex Thabor, et erant haeretici et catholici<sup>29</sup> simul mixti. Vidisses<sup>30</sup> illud Isaiae completum<sup>31</sup> illic<sup>32</sup>: *Vitulus<sup>33</sup> et ursus pascentur simul, requiescent catuli eorum*. Proceres regni ex magna parte sequuntur Romanam ecclesiam, civitates ut plurimum aut Thaboritas aut Rochezanam<sup>34</sup> sequuntur<sup>35</sup>.

[17] Venerunt ad nos plurimi ex ambabus partibus et alteri alteros accusabant. Quia vero conventus ille nostri causa tenebatur, ut videret<sup>36</sup>, quae Caesar ad petitiones<sup>37</sup> regni responderet, fuimus tribus diebus in tractatu cum eis quartaque demum die et illi nostram intentionem ad

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

<sup>2</sup> comperimus M

<sup>3</sup> Pogebtrat L; de Pogiebrat M; de Bodiebrad N; Pogibratius U

<sup>4</sup> de Rosis L, M, N

<sup>5</sup> Alschio L, M; Allso N

<sup>6</sup> Sdenko F, M, O, V, WO; Schlenko L; Sedencho U

<sup>7</sup> de Sternberg L; de Sterenberg M, N; Sterenbergii V

<sup>8</sup> Slencko L; Sbinkco N; Sdencho WO

<sup>9</sup> de Sagimach L; Zagimach M; Zagunachus V

<sup>10</sup> de Zmirius L; de Zmirics M; Smirischius V

<sup>11</sup> Johannes Smiritius *omit.* U

<sup>12</sup> de Chiabeliz M

<sup>13</sup> Cocha M; Coscha V

<sup>14</sup> Johannes Zagimachus ... Costha *omit.* N

<sup>15</sup> de Malovez M; de Malovetz N

<sup>16</sup> Johannes Chiabelizus ... Malovecius *omit.* L

<sup>17</sup> de Radoch L, M; Badoch N

<sup>18</sup> barones alii : alii barones L, M, N

<sup>19</sup> quamplures L, N

<sup>20</sup> Cuthinis L; Kuttinis N; Cutnis U

<sup>21</sup> Pilzna L; Plzna N

<sup>22</sup> Calonia L

<sup>23</sup> Glagovia L; Glathonia N; Glatonia U; Glotovia V

<sup>24</sup> Grena L; Gretz regine N

<sup>25</sup> Littermoricia L; Litomericia M; Lithomietztiz N

<sup>26</sup> Zlaua L; Salua N; Glana V

<sup>27</sup> Saz L; Zacen M; Jaz N

<sup>28</sup> Bothovaiza L; Budweiss N

<sup>29</sup> et catholici *omit.* L

<sup>30</sup> vidissetis WO

<sup>31</sup> est *add.* U

<sup>32</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>33</sup> vitules WO

<sup>34</sup> Rockenzam L; Rokyzianam N

<sup>35</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>36</sup> audirent L, N

<sup>37</sup> petitionem N

ultimum intellexerunt, et nos illorum propositum cognovimus, dimissumque concilium est. Prius tamen allatae fuerant<sup>1</sup> marchionum<sup>2</sup> Brandenburgensium<sup>3</sup> litterae, quae conventum inter regni proceres et legatum apostolicum sancti Petri<sup>4</sup> cardinalem petebant ad res ecclesiae componendas. Placuit id<sup>5</sup> nobis, et apud ambas partes verba fecimus, quibus conventionem suadebamus. Accepta conditio est, dies ad festum divi Martini, locus conventionis in Lithomeritia dictus<sup>6</sup>. Mediatores inter cardinalem et regnum marchiones recepti. Faxit<sup>7</sup> Deus, ut<sup>8</sup> finis<sup>9</sup> discordiarum fiet<sup>10</sup>, ut reflorat in Bohemia fides, et errorum<sup>11</sup> plena<sup>12</sup> regio veritatis ignara jam tandem ad verae candidam lucem de<sup>13</sup> profundo tenebrosae<sup>14</sup> superstitionis emergat.

### 3. Assembly at Benesov

[16] When we arrived in Benesov, we met with an assembly of the realm. The barons [present] were Georg Podiebrad,<sup>15</sup> Heinrich von Rosenberg,<sup>16</sup> Ales,<sup>17</sup> Zdenek<sup>18</sup> and Peter von Sternberg,<sup>19</sup> Zbynko Has,<sup>20</sup> Johann Zagimachius,<sup>21</sup> Jan Smiricky,<sup>22</sup> Jan Cabelicky,<sup>23</sup> Zdenko Kostka,<sup>24</sup> Jan of Malenovice,<sup>25</sup> and Jan of Nachod,<sup>26</sup> and many other barons. Envoys had come from the cities of Prague, Kuttenberg, Pilsen, Luna, Kolin, Klattau, Königgrätz, Leitomischl, Slana, Sacen, Budweiss,

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<sup>1</sup> fuerunt L, WO

<sup>2</sup> marchionis L

<sup>3</sup> Brandenburgensis L

<sup>4</sup> ad vincula *add.* L

<sup>5</sup> illud L

<sup>6</sup> dictos L, N

<sup>7</sup> sanxit N

<sup>8</sup> et N

<sup>9</sup> fines F

<sup>10</sup> fiat V; fieret N

<sup>11</sup> erroris N

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>13</sup> in L

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>15</sup> Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Governor of Bohemia 1451 to 1457 when he became King of Bohemia

<sup>16</sup> Jindrich ze Rozmberka (ca. 1430-1457): Son of Ulrich von Rosenberg, a leader of the catholic noble party, enemy of Georg Podiebrad

<sup>17</sup> Ales Holicky ze Sternberka (-1455): Bohemian noble of the Sternberg family, allies of Georg Podiebrad

<sup>18</sup> Zdenek Sternberg (1410-1476): Bohemian noble of the Sternberg family

<sup>19</sup> Petr ze Sternberka: Bohemian noble of the Sternberg family

<sup>20</sup> Bohemian noble of the Zajic von Hasenburg family

<sup>21</sup> Johann Zagimachius: Bohemian noble. One of the leaders of the catholic party

<sup>22</sup> Jan Smiricky ze Zmiric (-1453): Bohemian noble, one of the leaders of the Utraquist party

<sup>23</sup> Jan Cabelicky ze Soutic (-1457/58): Bohemian noble. Mint master of Kutna Hora. A prominent member of the Utraquist gentry

<sup>24</sup> Zdenek Kostka ze Postupic (1425?-1468): Bohemian noble, one of the leaders of the Utraquist party. A close ally of Georg Podiebrad

<sup>25</sup> Unidentified

<sup>26</sup> Unidentified

Tabor. Heretics<sup>1</sup> and Catholics were mixed. You would have seen the saying of Isaiah fulfilled here, *The calf and the bear shall feed: their young ones shall rest together.*<sup>2</sup> The nobles of the kingdom mostly follow the Roman Church, whereas the cities mostly follow either the Taborites or Rokycana.<sup>3</sup>

[17] Many men from both parties<sup>4</sup> came to see us and made accusations against those of the other party. But since this assembly was held for our sake so we could inform them of the emperor's reply to the demands of the realm, we negotiated with them for three days, and when the fourth day came, they completely understood our position and we theirs, and the assembly was dissolved.<sup>5</sup> Before that, however, a letter from the margraves of Brandenburg<sup>6</sup> arrived, requesting a meeting between the nobles of the kingdom and the apostolic legate, the Cardinal of Sant Pietro,<sup>7</sup> to settle the affairs of the Church.<sup>8</sup> We<sup>9</sup> agreed with this request and spoke to both parties urging them to accept the meeting. The proposed meeting was accepted, to be held on the Feast of Saint Martin<sup>10</sup> in Leitomischl.<sup>11</sup> The margraves were accepted as mediators between the cardinal and the kingdom. May God give that there be an end to the conflict, that Faith comes to flourish again in Bohemia, and that this region, now full of errors and ignorant of the truth, finally emerge from the depths of dark superstition and [attain] the shining light of true religion.

[18] Ad quam rem, ut nos<sup>12</sup> quoque pro virili nostra iuvamen adjeceremus<sup>13</sup>, rogavi Procopium me atque<sup>14</sup> Georgium fidelis ut interpres esset<sup>15</sup>, nam magnum illum et potentem virum, quem regni pars maxima sequitur<sup>16</sup>, si concordiae cupidum invenissem<sup>17</sup>, adduci<sup>18</sup> ceteros facile posse credebam<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. Hussites

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, 11, 7

<sup>3</sup> Jan Rokycana (ca. 1396-1471): Bohemian Hussite theologian. Promised the archbishopric of Prague by the Bohemian estates but never appointed as such by a pope

<sup>4</sup> I.e. from the catholic party and the Hussite party

<sup>5</sup> Piccolomini does not mention the oration he held, formally delivering the emperor's reply that the young King Ladislaus would not be sent to Bohemia for now, the "*Petivistis ex Caesare*" (1451)

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich II and Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg

<sup>7</sup> Nikolaus of Kues (1401-1464): Cardinal 1448. Prince-bishop of Brixen 1450

<sup>8</sup> The planned meeting never took place since the cardinal demanded a prior declaration from the Bohemian estates that they would obey his final decisions, which the estates refused to do (Heymann: *George*, p. 69)

<sup>9</sup> As ambassadors of the emperor

<sup>10</sup> 11 November

<sup>11</sup> Litomysl: Bohemian city ca. 136 km. east of Prague

<sup>12</sup> uos U

<sup>13</sup> ad(d)iceremus F, L, N, O, U; adiiceremus V

<sup>14</sup> et L

<sup>15</sup> interpres esset : esset interpres L

<sup>16</sup> consequitur N

<sup>17</sup> inuenirem U

<sup>18</sup> educi N

<sup>19</sup> vacat *add.* M

Fuimus diu<sup>1</sup> simul. Quae locuti sumus<sup>2</sup> invicem, nunc referam, utque sim brevior, neque opus sit verbis<sup>3</sup> illis “inquam” et “inquit” saepius uti<sup>4</sup>, praeponam verbis meis nomen meum et verbis illius nomen suum,<sup>5</sup> sicut et {125r} Ciceronem et plerosque factitasse reperio, qui collocutores<sup>6</sup> in suis opusculis introducunt. Sic enim - me iudice – brevior et dilucidior oratio redditur<sup>7</sup>. Sed audi<sup>8</sup> jam dialogum.

[19] **Aeneas:** Quod te alloqui volui, vir magnifice, neque privata res est neque parva, sed<sup>9</sup> regni<sup>10 11</sup> huius<sup>12</sup> quietem tuique magnum bonum concernit, quam si vis audire, mox tibi exponam.

**Georgius:** Cupio audire<sup>13</sup>, dicit, quaecumque libet.

**Aeneas:** Et<sup>14</sup> ego in *caritate non ficta*<sup>15</sup> loqui volo, quae nihil reticet et summa utitur libertate.

**Georgius:** Hoc expecto<sup>16</sup>. Loquere.

[20] **Aeneas:** Regnum hoc olim florentissimum fuit et inter<sup>17</sup> occidentalia regna ditissimum. Viguerunt hic religiones et omnium bonarum artium<sup>18</sup> studia claruerunt. Nunc inops regio est, concussa, lacera. Cur hoc? Sane quia non potest veritas nostra mentiri, dum per<sup>19</sup> evangelistam dicit: *Omne regnum in se*<sup>20</sup> *divisum*<sup>21</sup> *desolabitur et domus supra domum cadet.*<sup>22</sup> Vos Bohemi non solum invicem divisi estis, verum etiam ab ipsa Christianitatis majori parte secreti, nec<sup>23</sup> Romanam auditis ecclesiam, quamvis mater est et magistra fidelium, neque<sup>24</sup> mandata conciliorum recipitis.

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<sup>1</sup> adhuc L

<sup>2</sup> simus WO

<sup>3</sup> nobis N

<sup>4</sup> ut N

<sup>5</sup> *These names are omitted [with blank space], possibly intended for later filling in of the names in red] in F and U*

<sup>6</sup> collocuturas res L; collucatores N

<sup>7</sup> oratio redditur : redditur oratio N

<sup>8</sup> audite WO

<sup>9</sup> omit. L

<sup>10</sup> omit. L

<sup>11</sup> parva sed regni : persuadet. N

<sup>12</sup> patrie add. L

<sup>13</sup> te add. N

<sup>14</sup> at L

<sup>15</sup> victa N

<sup>16</sup> expeto M

<sup>17</sup> et inter : inter et U

<sup>18</sup> entium M

<sup>19</sup> apud/t L, M, N

<sup>20</sup> ipsum add. N

<sup>21</sup> in se divisum omit. U

<sup>22</sup> et domus ... cadet : etc. L

<sup>23</sup> secreti nec : nec sequestrati N

<sup>24</sup> nec L

## 4. Dialogue with Georg Podiebrad

### 4.1. Introduction

[18] To do everything in our power to advance this matter, I asked Prokop to serve as a loyal interpreter between me and Georg, for I considered that if I found this great and powerful man, whom a large part of the kingdom follows, to want peace, then the others would easily be made to follow suit. We spent much time together. I shall now report what we said to each other, and to be brief and not need to use the words “I said” and “he said” incessantly, I shall put my name before my own words and his name before his, just as I find that Cicero and many others did when they used interlocutors in their works<sup>1</sup>. In my opinion, this will make the narration shorter and clearer. But hear now the dialogue.

[19] **Enea:** The matter I want to speak with you about, Your Excellency, is neither a private nor a small matter but concerns the peace of this kingdom and your own great advantage. If you want to hear it, I shall explain it to you right now.

**Georg:** I do wish to hear it. Say whatever you wish to.

**Enea:** And I wish to speak *in charity unfeigned*,<sup>2</sup> which does not hold anything back and has complete freedom.

**Georg:** This is what I expect. Speak.

### 4.2. Hussite rejection of the Catholic Church

[20] **Enea:** This kingdom was once quite prosperous and the richest among the Western kingdoms. Here religious orders flourished, and the studies of the good arts<sup>3</sup> were famous. Now it is an impoverished region, weak and miserable. Why is that? It is because as He, who is our Truth and cannot lie, says through the evangelist, *Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to desolation, and house upon house shall fall*.<sup>4</sup> But not only do you Bohemians have your internal divisions, you are also separated from the greater part of Christianity, and you do not follow the Roman Church, though she is the mother and teacher of the faithful. Nor do you accept the decrees of the councils.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. when they use the form of a dialogue

<sup>2</sup> 2. Corinthians, 6, 6

<sup>3</sup> The liberal arts

<sup>4</sup> Luke, 11, 17

[20] Quod si unitatem<sup>1</sup> amplecteremini<sup>2</sup> et *in domo domini*<sup>3</sup> *ambuletis cum consensu*, facile regnum vestrum pristinam dignitatem splendoremque suum resumeret. Tu ergo, qui regni populos quo vis trahis, fac tibi nomen grande, fac<sup>4</sup> te sedes apostolica diligit, redde<sup>5</sup> sibi<sup>6</sup> filios, quos Sathan abduxit<sup>7</sup>. Hauriat ex fonte rivus aquas suas, ne praecisus arescat. Redibunt omnes et Romanam ecclesiam venerabuntur, si volueris. Te Romanus pontifex<sup>8</sup>, te Caesar inprimis carum habebit, cumque<sup>9</sup> Ladislaus in regnum venerit, te tutorem, te patrem appellabit, tibi<sup>10</sup> maximas gratias aget, qui sibi pacatam provinciam restitueris, erroribus expurgatam, pace quietam, ornatam moribus, fide ferventem, consequerisque<sup>11</sup> non tu solus gloriam, sed et posteri tui et nati natorum, et qui nascentur<sup>12</sup> ab illis, ob eam rem semper habebuntur honori, eritque memoria nominis tui sempiterna, et fixus familiae<sup>13</sup> tuae<sup>14</sup> status, qui vera virtute creverit. Transitorius<sup>15</sup> autem ex hac vita ad meliorem migrabis, lucidas sedes<sup>16</sup> accipies beatitudinemque perennem immortalitate vestitus. *Omnibus enim, qui patriam ornarint*<sup>17</sup>, *auxerint*<sup>18</sup>, *juverint*<sup>19</sup>, *defenderint*<sup>20</sup>, *certum est esse in caelo diffinitum locum, quo beati aevo fruuntur sempiterno*. Quod si viam nosti, qua rectus ad unionem trames ducat, edoctum me redde, nam sedem apostolicam certiore efficiam<sup>21</sup>. Vos jam legato conventum promisistis et recte {125v} quidem, nam boni cupidus est et industrius pater doctrinaque plenus. Inveniet – nisi<sup>22</sup> fallor – convenientes ad unionem modos<sup>23</sup>. Nescio tamen, qua facultate praeditus<sup>24</sup> est<sup>25</sup>. Quod si scirem, desideria vestra scriberem pontifici maximo, isque<sup>26</sup>, priusquam dies conventionis adesset, de sua mente legatum commoneret.

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<sup>1</sup> ecclesie *add.* L, M, N

<sup>2</sup> complecteremini V

<sup>3</sup> dei L

<sup>4</sup> ut *add.* L, N

<sup>5</sup> reddatur N

<sup>6</sup> tibi U

<sup>7</sup> adduxit N

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

<sup>9</sup> cum L

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* L; et N

<sup>11</sup> consequeris F

<sup>12</sup> nascuntur N

<sup>13</sup> fructus *add.* N

<sup>14</sup> familiae tuae : tue familie L, M

<sup>15</sup> transitus U

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

<sup>17</sup> ornarunt N

<sup>18</sup> auxerunt N

<sup>19</sup> iuuerunt N

<sup>20</sup> defenderunt N

<sup>21</sup> reddam L, M, N

<sup>22</sup> ni L

<sup>23</sup> moris N

<sup>24</sup> predictus N

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>26</sup> is L

### 4.3. Hussite rejection of the Catholic Church

[20] If you would embrace unity and *walk in the house of the Lord with consent*,<sup>1</sup> then your kingdom would easily regain its former dignity and splendour. But you, who lead the peoples of the kingdom where you wish, do make a great name for yourself, make the Apostolic See love you, give her back the sons whom Satan abducted. Let the river draw its waters from the source so that it will not dry out, cut off as it is.<sup>2</sup> If it is your wish, all will return and venerate the Roman Church. The Roman Pontiff<sup>3</sup> and the Emperor<sup>4</sup> will love you above all, and when Ladislaus<sup>5</sup> comes to the kingdom, he will call you his guide and father and thank you fervently for giving him back a pacified province, cleansed of errors, at peace, distinguished by its morals, fervent in Faith. And not only will you gain glory for yourself, but your descendants and the sons of your sons and those who are born from them will always be honoured, and the memory of your name will be eternal, and the status of your family will remain firm since it grew great by true virtue. And when you pass from this life to the better one, you will find shining seats and eternal happiness, and you will be clothed in immortality. For *all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in the heavens, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness*.<sup>6</sup> If you know a way which leads straight to union, please tell me about it, and then I shall inform the Apostolic See. You have already promised to meet with the legate,<sup>7</sup> and justly so, for he is desirous of that which is good, a diligent Father, full of learning. He will – if I am not mistaken – find ways that lead to union. But I do not know the extent of his powers. If I knew them, I would write what it is you desire to the Supreme Pontiff, and he would, before the date of the meeting, inform the legate of his intentions.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 54, 15: *in domo Dei ambulavimus cum consensu*

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini had this image from Cyprianus: *De Unitate ecclesiae*, 5: *A fonte praecide rivum, praecisus arescet*. He would reuse it the next year in his oration "*Sentio*" (1452) against the Austrian rebels against the emperor

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

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, 1424. Duke of Austria, 1439. King of Germany, 1440. Crowned as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome, 1452

<sup>5</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia

<sup>6</sup> Cicero: *De republica*, 6.9.13: *omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur*

<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues



[21] **Georgius:** Ago tibi gratias, pater, quia nostri regni curam geris. Regnum – ut ais – quassatum compilatumque est. Novit Deus, quorum<sup>1</sup> culpa est<sup>2</sup>. Nos cupidi pacis sumus neque bellamus, ut bellemus, sed ut pacem habeamus. Coacti gerimus arma, coacti versamur in proeliis. Misimus olim legatos nostros<sup>3</sup> ad Basiliense concilium<sup>4</sup>, nonnullaque cum patribus, qui tunc ibi praesidebant, pacta percussimus, quae, si servata fuissent, et<sup>5</sup> cum sede apostolica et cum<sup>6</sup> ceteris Christianis pacem haberemus, et in regno nulla divisio esset. Sed violantur foedera nobis, haeretici et schismatici vocitamus. Si qui ex nostris apud vos<sup>7 8</sup> moriuntur, cum asinis sepulturam accipiunt. Clerici nostri<sup>9</sup>, quamvis docti modestique sint, nusquam consecrari possunt. Deridentur, qui de calice bibunt. Fuit apud nos cardinalis sancti angeli legatus. Adiverunt<sup>10</sup> eum nostri sacerdotes<sup>11</sup>. Fui et ego cum eo. Petivimus innovari firmarique<sup>12</sup> priscum<sup>13</sup> foedus. Si<sup>14</sup> nobis auscultasset<sup>15</sup>, non secuta fuissent<sup>16 17</sup> scandala<sup>18</sup>, quae postea emergerunt. Obaudivit preces nostras. De compactatis sic loquebatur, quasi nihil umquam<sup>19</sup> de illis accepisset. Nos tamen illa valida scimus et authentica, quae generale nobis concilium<sup>20</sup> admisit, priusquam dissolveretur ab Eugenio. Quod si Nicolaus pontifex maximus nostri memor est nosque sibi obsequentes cupit, jubeat servari<sup>21</sup> conventa et venerabimur eum. Haec brevis<sup>22</sup> et unica via pacis unionisque via. Hac<sup>23</sup> gradiendum est, hoc<sup>24</sup> iter ad concordiam patet.

**Aeneas:** Mos hominum est, ut paria paribus referant. Cur violari foedus querimini<sup>25</sup>, quod priores rupistis?

[22] Neque enim sufficit vobis sub duplici specie communicare, nisi et si<sup>26</sup> sub una solum<sup>1</sup> communicantes damnetis<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> quod N

<sup>2</sup> omit. L

<sup>3</sup> omit. V, WO

<sup>4</sup> noti add. U

<sup>5</sup> omit. L

<sup>6</sup> omit. L

<sup>7</sup> vos corr. ex nos F, U; nos WO

<sup>8</sup> apud vos omit. L

<sup>9</sup> omit. L

<sup>10</sup> audierunt N

<sup>11</sup> nostri sacerdotes ; sacerdotes nostri L

<sup>12</sup> confirmarique L

<sup>13</sup> pristinum N

<sup>14</sup> a add. N

<sup>15</sup> si add. N

<sup>16</sup> essent N

<sup>17</sup> secuta fuissent : fuissent secuta L

<sup>18</sup> fraudula N

<sup>19</sup> nihil umquam : um/nquam nichil M, N

<sup>20</sup> nobis concilium : concilium nobis L, M, N

<sup>21</sup> observari N

<sup>22</sup> est add. L, M, N

<sup>23</sup> ac L; huc N

<sup>24</sup> ac M; hac N

<sup>25</sup> conquerimini N

<sup>26</sup> omit. F, L, M, N

[21] **Georg:** I thank you, Father, for being concerned about our kingdom. As you say, the kingdom is dilapidated and battered. God [only] knows whose fault it is. We desire peace, and we do not fight for the sake of fighting but to have peace. We fight because we are forced to, we battle because we forced to. Once we sent our legates to the Council of Basel<sup>3</sup> and made a number of agreements with the Fathers who presided then.<sup>4</sup> If they had been kept, we would [now] have peace with the Apostolic See and the other Christians, and there would be no divisions in the kingdom. But the treaties have been violated, and we are being called heretics and schismatics. If one of us dies in your countries, he is buried with the asses. Though our clerics are learned and modest, they can never be consecrated. Those who drink from the chalice are scorned. The Cardinal of Sant'Angelo visited us.<sup>5</sup> Our priests went to see him and I with them. We requested that the old treaty be renewed and confirmed. If he had heeded us, the scandals that came later would never have happened. He did listen to our petitions but spoke about the Compacts as if he had never heard about them. We know, however, that they are valid and authentic, for they were accepted by the general council<sup>6</sup> before it was dissolved<sup>7</sup> by Eugenius.<sup>8</sup> But if Pope Nicolaus<sup>9</sup> cares about us and desires our obedience, let him order the agreements to be upheld, and then we shall honour him. This is the one and only way to peace and union. This is the path that must be trodden, this is the path to peace.

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<sup>1</sup> sola L

<sup>2</sup> damnatis N

<sup>3</sup> See Fudge: *Hussites*. The first Hussite delegation to the Council of Basel stayed in Basel from January to April 1433. Piccolomini, who had arrived in Basel with Cardinal Capranica in Spring 1432 (Voigt, I, 3, p. 58) may have seen them, and his description of their arrival certainly sounds like that of a direct onlooker (HB, I, p. 370-371; Fudge: *Seduced*, p. 96). He possibly even heard the council fathers debate with them. When he later became close to the council's president, Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, he may have had first-hand knowledge from him about the Hussite negotiations, and in his oration "*Audivi*" to the council fathers of 16 November 1436, Piccolomini told Cesarini: *Whatever happens, you will always be praised for bringing back the Hussites* [Sect. 82]

<sup>4</sup> Following the visit of the Hussite delegation in Basel, negotiations between the council and the Hussite - more moderate - Utraquist majority faction continued, leading to the formal permission for Hussites to continue with communion under both species, sealed in the Compacts of Iglau/ Jihlava (Bohemian Compacts) on 5 July 1436, in the presence of all parties, including the emperor (Fudge: *Hussites*, p. 274). In the meantime, the Utraquist party had destroyed the inflexible Taborites at the Battle of Lipany in 1434

<sup>5</sup> Here Podiebrad refers to Cardinal Carvajal's mission to Bohemia in 1448, see sect. 1

<sup>6</sup> The Council of Basel

<sup>7</sup> In 1438

<sup>8</sup> Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

<sup>9</sup> Pope Nicolaus V

**Enea:** It is the custom of men to compare things with other, similar things. Why do you complain about the agreement when you were the first to break it?

#### **4.4. Hussite claim of communion under both species as necessary for salvation**

[22] And it is not enough for you to receive communion under two species, you also condemn those who only receive communion under one.

[22] **Georgius:** Ubi damnamus?

**Aeneas:** Cum dicitis neminem salvari, nisi communicet sub duplici specie, nos<sup>1</sup> omnes damnatis, haereticos perditosque dicitis. Quid mirum si vitium haeresis in vos retorquemus. Tu conventiones cum concilio factas refers et authenticas dicis, auctoritate concilii probatas. Audio libenter, sed concilium de communione utriusque speciei loquens opinioni vestrae contrarium est, quia neque<sup>2</sup> ad salutem necessarium<sup>3</sup> esse dicit neque Christi praeceptum esse sub duplici specie<sup>4</sup> communicari<sup>5</sup> populum. {126r}

**Georgius:** Si non est sub duplici specie mandata communio, neque sub una quidem. Nam qui sub<sup>6</sup> specie panis communicari<sup>7</sup> plebem jussit, et sub specie vini jussit, et<sup>8</sup> in usum deduxit.

**Aeneas:** Falleris. Nam Christus apostolis, non plebi sacramentum praebuit. Sed non fert<sup>9</sup> tempus<sup>10</sup> ista discutere. Sine me dicere, quod institui.

**Georgius:** Perge, ausculto.

[23] **Aeneas:** Si noluit<sup>11</sup> legatus innovare pactiones vestras, quid miri est? Vobis indulta est sub duplici specie communicatio. Jussi tamen sacerdotes vestri<sup>12</sup> sunt, quotienscumque ministrant populo<sup>13</sup> sacramentum, commonere atque instruere omnes, ne sub duplici tantum specie<sup>14 15</sup>, sed sub<sup>16</sup> qualibet totum et integrum esse Christum intelligant. Nihil faciunt. Prohibiti sunt infantibus atque dementibus eucharistiam porrigere. Porrigunt tamen<sup>17</sup>. Neminem communicare sub duplici specie compellere debent. Compellunt sepulturam negantes, ni communicent. Qui prius non habuit<sup>18</sup> hujus communionis usum<sup>19</sup>, repelli ab his<sup>20</sup> debet<sup>21 22</sup>. Ipsi autem invitant, provocant,

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<sup>1</sup> uos N, U

<sup>2</sup> est quia neque : quod L

<sup>3</sup> necessariam F, M, O, U, V

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>5</sup> communicare F, L, N

<sup>6</sup> una *add.* N

<sup>7</sup> communicare F, L

<sup>8</sup> jussit et : et panis L

<sup>9</sup> refert N

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

<sup>11</sup> voluit N, U

<sup>12</sup> nostri F, U

<sup>13</sup> ministrant populo : populo ministrant L

<sup>14</sup> communicaret *add.* U

<sup>15</sup> tantum specie : specie tantum N

<sup>16</sup> una *add.* L, M, N

<sup>17</sup> porrigunt tamen : tamen porrigunt N

<sup>18</sup> habent L, M

<sup>19</sup> hujus communionis usum : usum communionis L; usum illius communionis N

<sup>20</sup> aliis L

<sup>21</sup> debent L, M

<sup>22</sup> ab his debet : debet ab his N

urgent<sup>1</sup>. Debent<sup>2</sup> universalis ecclesiae ritum tenere. Postponunt divinis officiis vulgaria carmina commiscentes. Pulchra oboedientia, pulchra foederis observatio. Quae prohibentur facere, faciunt. Quae jubentur, omnino postponunt. Cum ergo abutamini privilegio et transgrediamini leges patrum praevaricantes leges<sup>3</sup> concilii, haud jure legatum accusatis compactata firmare nolentem<sup>4</sup>, quia privilegium amisistis male utentes.

[22] **Georg:** When do we condemn you?

**Enea:** When you claim that nobody may be saved unless he communicates under both species, then you condemn us all and call us heretics and lost souls<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>. Why do you wonder that we return the accusation of heresy against you? You refer to the agreements with the council<sup>7</sup> and call them authentic and sanctioned by authority of the council. I hear it willingly, but when the council spoke about communion under both species, it rejected your opinions, declaring that it is not necessary for salvation nor commanded by Christ that the people should receive communion under both species.

**Georg:** If communion under both species is not commanded [by the Lord], then neither is communion under one species. For he who commanded that the people should receive communion under the species of bread also commanded that it should receive communion under the species of wine and made that the ordinary practice.

**Enea:** You are mistaken. Christ did not give the sacrament to the people but to the apostles. But time does not allow a discussion of this matter. Please let me to say what I had planned to.

**Georg:** Go ahead, I am listening.

[23] **Enea:** It is not strange at all that the legate<sup>8</sup> did not renew the agreements. You were, indeed, granted communion under both species. But your priests were given the command that whenever they give communion to the people, they should instruct and admonish all to understand that the whole and complete Christ is present not only under both species together but also under each species separately. They do not do it. They were forbidden to give the eucharist to infants and insane people. They give it to them anyway. They should force no one to receive communion under both species, but they force them anyway by refusing them burial unless they communicate [in this way]. Those who did not previously take communion in this form they should prevent from doing it afterwards. But on the contrary, they invite them, they push them, they urge them to do

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<sup>1</sup> provocant urgent : urgent prouocant L

<sup>2</sup> omit. N

<sup>3</sup> mandata L, M, N

<sup>4</sup> uolentem U

<sup>5</sup> "perditus"

<sup>6</sup> According to the Catholic Church, this is the fundamental heresy of the Hussites. Claiming that men could not be saved unless they took communion under both species meant that for centuries the Church had condemned the faithful to eternal damnation by only giving them communion under one species. Such a tenet was, of course, utterly unacceptable to the Church and must be inflexibly rejected

<sup>7</sup> The Council of Basel

<sup>8</sup> Cardinal Carvajal

it. They were required to observe the rites of Universal Church. They fail to do so and have even introduced common hymns into divine worship. That is really splendid obedience, that is really a splendid way of keeping the treaty! What they are forbidden to do, they do. What they are commanded to do, they do not. So, when you yourselves abuse the privilege and break the laws of the Fathers and the laws of the council, then it is not just of you to criticise the legate for not wanting to confirm the Compacts, for you have lost the privilege by misusing it.

[24] **Georgius:** In conventionibus nostris cautum est, quamvis aliqui ritum, qui generaliter observatur, non statim reciperent, non tamen pacis et unionis impediri<sup>1</sup> foedus.

**Aeneas:** Vera dicis: non si<sup>2</sup> omnes<sup>3</sup>, sed si aliqui, dicunt foedera, ritum<sup>4</sup> ecclesiae non reciperent, compactata manere<sup>5</sup>. Quod si omnes<sup>6</sup> abicerent<sup>7</sup> ritus, ut<sup>8</sup> omnes abicitis, vigor conventionibus aufertur. Rursus quoque de ritu fit mentio, non de fide. Nam si fidem violatis, quae possunt inter nos vosque<sup>9</sup> foedera robur habere? At<sup>10</sup> vos - quod pace tua sit dictum – fidem nostram abicitis, dum<sup>11</sup> necessariam populis<sup>12</sup> sub duplici specie communionem astruitis<sup>13</sup>.

[25] **Georgius:** Ignota sunt ista mihi, sed hoc dico tibi: nisi pacta serventur, neque paci locus erit neque concordiae mentio. Quod si rursus arma sumpserimus, offeretis ultro pactiones veteres neque recipientur. Non sumus, ut creditis, pauci. Multi sunt in vicinatu, qui nobiscum<sup>14</sup> sapiunt nec aliud expectant, nisi ut exercitum educamus. Scitis, quae superioribus acta sunt annis. Papa, si sapiet, non disputabit, an perdiderimus privilegia, ne vendicemus armis majora. Arma tenenti omnia dat, qui {126v} iusta negat. Sunt fortasse, qui magna promittunt, qui<sup>15</sup> grandes pollicentur exercitus, qui viam ad nos esse facturos se jactitant. Nos vicinorum mores viresque novimus. Ego, si papae consilium dederim<sup>16</sup>, compactata servaverim.

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<sup>1</sup> impedire L, M

<sup>2</sup> non si : sed non N

<sup>3</sup> si omnes : omnes si N

<sup>4</sup> rituum N; ritus U

<sup>5</sup> monere N

<sup>6</sup> non reciperent ... omnes *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> abii.. *et passim* V

<sup>8</sup> et N; prout L, N

<sup>9</sup> nos vosque : vos nosque M, N, O, U, W, WO

<sup>10</sup> vt N

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

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>13</sup> construitis N

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>16</sup> darem L

[26] **Aeneas:** Ut video<sup>1</sup>, spem ponis in armis, et animum tibi priores victoriae congeminant. Sed vincunt saepe mali, ut boni probentur: non semper veritati victoria comes est. Alta nimis et incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia Dei<sup>2</sup>. Vicistis diu: quid scitis, si vester<sup>3</sup> dies adest<sup>4</sup>? *Varius est eventus belli* neque temptanda saepius fortuna est. Non is vobis favor est, qui prius fuit: multi a vobis defecerunt, qui<sup>5</sup>, si exurgat contra vos pugna, et a fronte ferient et a tergo. Nam vestram fidem irritam vident, quam prius evangelicam sanctissimamque<sup>6</sup> rebantur, et quam tunc favore, nunc odio insequuntur. Sed mittamus haec. Tu pacem sola foederum observantia stare putas. Mihi tribus ex rebus concordia pendere videtur: ex compactatis, ut ais; ex bonis ecclesiasticis, quae occupantur; ex archiepiscopi constitutione<sup>7</sup>, quae nec parva sunt nec leviter componenda. Nam compactata postquam violata sunt, rursus innovare magnum est. Qui bona ecclesiarum occupant, inviti restituent. In archiepiscopo vos ipsi vim facitis, qui Rochezanam petitis (nec alium vultis), quem nisi me fallit opinio, numquam sedes apostolica ad id fastigii promovebit.

[24] **Georg:** But in the agreements it is stipulated that even if some do not immediately accept the rite generally observed, the treaty of peace and unity is not therefore annulled.

**Enea:** Precisely! The treaty says that if “some” - not “all” - do not accept the rite of the Church, the compacts still stand. But if all reject the rites, as you all do, then the agreements lose their validity. This is a matter of rite, not of Faith. But if you break faith, what force can any treaty between us have? With all respect – you reject our Faith if you claim that communion under both species is necessary for salvation.

[25] **Georg:** I do not know about this, but I tell you that if the treaty is not kept, then there will no place for peace and no word of agreement. If we go to war again, and you offer us the old pacts, we shall not accept them. We are not a few, though you appear to think so. Many in the neighbouring lands agree with us and are only waiting for us to lead out an army. You know what happened in former years. If the pope is wise, he will not discuss whether we have lost our privileges, or we shall take great revenge by arms. Anyone who refuses just [requests], gives all to the one who holds the weapons. Maybe there are some who make extravagant promises, who pledge large armies, and who boast that they will force their way to us. But we know the ways and strengths of our neighbours. If I should give the pope an advice, it would be to keep the Compacts.

[26] **Enea:** I see that you put your trust in arms and that your former victories give you courage. But often wicked men win so that good men can be tested: victory is not always the companion of truth. God’s judgments are deep and incomprehensible. You have been victorious for a long time: who knows if your day [of reckoning] is near? *Various is the event of war*,<sup>8</sup> and the fortune of war

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<sup>1</sup> videre F

<sup>2</sup> alta nimis ... dei *omit.* L

<sup>3</sup> vestra L

<sup>4</sup> aderit L

<sup>5</sup> quod L

<sup>6</sup> evangelicam sanctissimamque : sanctissimam evangelicamque L

<sup>7</sup> institutione F

<sup>8</sup> 2. Kings, 11, 25

should not be tested often. You do not enjoy the same popularity as earlier: many have abandoned you, and if war comes to you, they will hit you from both sides, for they see that your faith has failed. Formerly they believed it to be evangelical and holy, and they approved of it, whereas now they hate it. But let that be. You think that peace is only possible if the Compacts are kept. I consider that concord depends on three things: the Compacts, as you say; the ecclesiastical properties, which have been seized; and the appointment of the archbishop. These matters are neither small nor easily settled. For after the Compacts have been violated, it is difficult to renew them. And those who have seized ecclesiastical properties are not willing to give them back. And concerning the archbishop, you yourselves are forcing the issue by demanding only Rokycana, whom – unless I am mistaken – the Apostolic See will never raise to this exalted position.



[26] **Georgius:** De compactatis dixi tibi, quae sentio. Si durus erit papa, durius regnum inveniet. Nescio, quis vincet. Scripturam sentio, quae dicit: *Si fortis in fortem impegerit, ambo corruent*, neque nobis neque vobis<sup>1</sup> utilitati contentio erit.

[27] De bonis ecclesiasticis non est apud me grave pondus: nam, qui occupant, nullo se jure defendunt<sup>2</sup>, neque his<sup>3</sup> regnum favet. Verum quia nonnullis proscripta<sup>4</sup> sunt haec bona, et multa pro paucis jacent pignori<sup>5</sup>, cum<sup>6</sup> regni mos sit, quae bona singulis annis quinque sexagenas<sup>7</sup> habent census<sup>8</sup>, ea centum sexagenis emi, hi<sup>9</sup> autem pro centum sexagenis et decem et viginti et amplius impignoratas sexagenas habent, compelli poterunt, quos supra consuetudinem census occupant, hos ut<sup>10</sup> evestigio restituant<sup>11</sup>, reliquos teneant, donec redimantur. Sic<sup>12</sup> mox ecclesiae restaurabuntur brevique<sup>13</sup> tempore omnia<sup>14</sup> vendicabunt<sup>15</sup> vel, si placuerit, melior modus invenietur<sup>16</sup>.

[28] De archiepiscopo vero nescio, cur nobis tantopere<sup>17</sup> papa<sup>18</sup> sit adversus, cur nobis Rochezanam<sup>19</sup> renuat confirmare, quem Sigismundo consentiente delegimus<sup>20</sup> et assistere sibi promisimus omnes.

**Aeneas:** Saepius ante questus<sup>21</sup> es compactata convelli. Nunc tu solus es, qui foedera rumpis.

**Georgius:** {127r} Quonam pacto?

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<sup>1</sup> vobis neque nobis : nobis neque uobis L

<sup>2</sup> defendent V

<sup>3</sup> eis L

<sup>4</sup> scripta L; prescripta N

<sup>5</sup> pignora N

<sup>6</sup> cur U

<sup>7</sup> sexagenis WO

<sup>8</sup> census L; antedicta *add.* N

<sup>9</sup> ii V

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

<sup>11</sup> restituerunt N

<sup>12</sup> si U

<sup>13</sup> post *add.* M, N

<sup>14</sup> que *add.* N

<sup>15</sup> brevique tempore ... vendicabunt *omit.* U

<sup>16</sup> inueniretur L

<sup>17</sup> tanto tempore N

<sup>18</sup> tantopere papa : papa tantopere L

<sup>19</sup> Ra/ockeza... *et passim* L; Rokyca... *et passim* N

<sup>20</sup> elegimus N

<sup>21</sup> conquestus L, N

[26] **Georg:** Concerning the Compacts I have told you what I feel. If the pope is hard, he will find the kingdom to be even harder. I do not know who will win. But I know Scripture which says that if *the strong stumbleth against the strong, both will fall together*.<sup>1</sup> A conflict will profit neither us nor you.

#### 4.5. Church properties

[27] The issue of the church properties I consider to be of lesser importance since those who occupy them do not claim to have the right to do so, and the kingdom does not favour them. These properties have been taken over<sup>2</sup> by a number of people, at a very low mortgage rate. In the kingdom, properties with a yearly income<sup>3</sup> of five *sexagenae* are normally bought at a price of 100 *sexagenae*.<sup>4</sup> But these people have - at the [standard] price of 100 *sexagenae* - acquired properties with yearly incomes of 10, 20, or more *sexagenae*.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, they can be compelled to immediately restore occupied properties with unusually high incomes. The rest they may keep until they are redeemed. Thus, these properties will soon be restored to the Church, and in a short time they will regain them all, or a better way may be found if so wished.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.5. Jan Rokycana

[28] Concerning the archbishop, I do not know why the pope is so much against us, and why he refuses to confirm Rokycana, whom we elected with the consent of Sigismund, and whom all promised to support.

**Enea:** You have several times complained that the Compacts are not observed. Here, you are the one to break the agreements.

**Georg:** How?

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah, 46, 12: *fortis impegit in fortem, et ambo pariter conciderunt*

<sup>2</sup> "proscripta"

<sup>3</sup> "census". Another example of Piccolomini's use of the word census in the sense of income is given in his *Report on the imperial mission to the Diet of Regensburg* (nr. 4 in the present series): *Nicolaus ... clero decimam partem sui census ut ad rem conferret bellicam, indixerat* (*Nicolaus ... had announced a tithe on the incomes of the clergy*)

<sup>4</sup> Meaning that properties were normally bought at a sum twenty times that of the annual income

<sup>5</sup> Meaning that the ecclesiastical properties were acquired at the very advantageous sum of only five or ten times that of the yearly income, thus ensuring relatively higher incomes for the occupant

<sup>6</sup> The translator is in some doubt about this section on church properties and would be much obliged to knowledgeable readers for corrections and improvements / MCS

[28] **Aeneas:** In compactatis promisistis omnes servare ritus universalis ecclesiae praeterquam in communione calicis. Ritus autem Latinae ecclesiae, cujus vos membrum estis, hoc habet: archiepiscopos aut<sup>1</sup> eligunt capitula ecclesiarum auctoritate apostolica confirmandos, aut<sup>2</sup> vacantibus ecclesiis Romanus pontifex solus praeficit. Vos alium ritum<sup>3</sup> novumque modum<sup>4</sup> inducitis: postquam devoluta<sup>5</sup> est provisio<sup>6</sup>, electionem populariter facitis, cumque ritus ecclesiae sit examinari<sup>7</sup> electionem electique meritum Romani pontificis iudicio comprobari, vos nisi Rochezanam habueritis, nullum<sup>8</sup> vultis. Servare hoc<sup>9</sup> est an<sup>10</sup> violare pactiones?

[29] **Georgius:** Si privilegium regni<sup>11</sup> est<sup>12</sup> archiepiscopum sibi<sup>13</sup> eligere, cur non illud papa<sup>14</sup> servaverit<sup>15</sup>?

**Aeneas:** Servaret, si quod esset, sed vobis nulla est huiusmodi facultas.

**Georgius:** Vetus consuetudo regni est: eligit archiepiscopum rogante rege capitulum, papa confirmat.

**Aeneas:** Non inficior, sed hunc<sup>16</sup> neque<sup>17</sup> capitulum elegit<sup>18</sup> neque<sup>19</sup> potestas eligendi fuit. Post diutinam<sup>20</sup> vacationem provisio devoluta<sup>21</sup>, et persona, quam vocatis electam, gravibus testimoniis infamatur.

**Georgius:** Me iudice<sup>22</sup>, si papa Rochezanam confirmaret<sup>23</sup>, bonum opus efficeret, multum enim hic homo et apostolicae sedi et regno et regi Ladislao sua praedicatione consuleret.

**Aeneas:** Potest fieri, ut dicis, sed neque mihi neque - ut arbitror - papae suadenda res est: aliud tuum<sup>1</sup>, aliud nostrum de hoc<sup>2</sup> homine iudicium.

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

<sup>2</sup> sint N

<sup>3</sup> nonnunquam *add.* U

<sup>4</sup> novumque modum : modumque novum N

<sup>5</sup> inuoluta L

<sup>6</sup> promissio L

<sup>7</sup> examinare L

<sup>8</sup> alium habere *add.* N

<sup>9</sup> autem *add.* L

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* L; aut N

<sup>11</sup> regno M, N

<sup>12</sup> regni est : est regno L

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

<sup>14</sup> non illud papa : illud papa non L; papa id non N

<sup>15</sup> servaret N

<sup>16</sup> nunc F, L, M, N, O, U

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>18</sup> eligit L, M, U

<sup>19</sup> episcopus *add.* N

<sup>20</sup> diuinam U

<sup>21</sup> in papam *add.* N

<sup>22</sup> indice U

<sup>23</sup> confirmat O, U, V, WO; infirmaret N

**Georgius:** Veracem te judico, tot enim sunt, qui Rochezanam quamvis injuria criminantur, ut nedum mihi negari fidem arbitror<sup>3</sup>, sed neque beatum Petrum audiri Romae putaverim<sup>4</sup> Rochezanae<sup>5</sup> faventem.

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<sup>1</sup> est *add.* L, M, N

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* F; isto M, N; istoc M

<sup>3</sup> arbitrer N, WO

<sup>4</sup> putarim L

<sup>5</sup> Rokyzano N

[28] **Eneas:** In the Compacts, you promised to follow all the rites of Universal Church except as regards the communion of the chalice. But [on this point], the rite of the Latin Church, to which you belong, is that archbishops are elected by the cathedral chapters of their churches, to be confirmed by apostolic authority, or that the Roman pontiff alone makes the appointment. You have introduced another rite and a new procedure: after the provision had reverted [to Rome], you made your own popular election.<sup>1</sup> Although the rite of the Church prescribes that the election must be examined and the merits of the elected [person] confirmed by a decree from the Roman Pontiff, you will not accept anyone but Rokycana. Is that to respect or to violate the agreements?<sup>2</sup>

[29] **Georg:** But if the kingdom has the privilege to elect its own archbishop, why should the pope not respect it?

**Enea:** If there was such a privilege, he would respect it, but you do not have such a prerogative.

**Georg:** But it is an old custom of the kingdom: the [cathedral] chapter elects the archbishop on the king's proposal, and the pope confirms.

**Enea:** I do not deny it, but this man was not elected by the chapter, nor did it have the power to do so, for after the long vacancy the provision had reverted [to Rome], and the person you claim to have been elected was tainted by grave testimonies.

**Georg:** I believe that if the pope confirms Rokycana [as archbishop], he will do a good thing, for this man would profit both the Apostolic See,<sup>3</sup> the kingdom, and King Ladislaus with his preaching.

**Enea:** It might happen as you say, but I cannot be persuaded of this, and neither – as I believe – can the pope. You have one opinion of the man, and we have another.

**Georg:** I think you may be right: so many people denounce Rokycana as pernicious that I believe that not only I would not be trusted [on this], but that Saint Peter himself would not be heard in Rome if he supported Rokycana!

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<sup>1</sup> Rokycana was elected archbishop of Prague by the Bohemian estates, not by the cathedral chapter, and therefore his election was canonically unlawful

<sup>2</sup> Whether the concept of rite (ritus) covers the procedure of electing bishops is debatable

<sup>3</sup> This claim is quite preposterous: there was no chance that Rokycana would begin to preach in favour of the Apostolic See and the traditional teachings of the Roman Church

[30] **Aeneas:** Admonet apostolus *neophytum*<sup>1</sup> ne quis episcopum assumat<sup>2</sup>, *ne in superbiam elatus in iudicium incidat*<sup>3</sup> *diaboli*. At tuus Rochezana non novus in fide sed nullus est<sup>4</sup>, qui sedem apostolicam suis sermonibus carpit<sup>5</sup> errareque totam ecclesiam dicit, dum necessariam omnibus<sup>6</sup> fidelibus utriusque speciei communionem affirmat et aliquas veritates<sup>7</sup> habere<sup>8</sup> se contestatur, quibus Romana ecclesia contradicit<sup>9</sup>. Sed fallax est, et *veritas non est cum eo*, qui ultro apud temerarios convenasque Pragenses sine divina dispensatione se praeficit, qui se praepositum sine ulla ordinationis lege constituit, qui negante<sup>10</sup> Christi vicario episcopi<sup>11</sup> sibi nomen assumit atque usurpat officium, cuius sermo ut<sup>12</sup> cancer<sup>13</sup> serpit et auditorum cordibus mortale virus infundit<sup>14</sup>. Sed non pontificalis sed *pestilentiae cathedra* est, quam tuus occupat Rochezana, magister erroris et artifex corrumpendae {127v} veritatis egregius, qui *dereliquit fontem aquae vivae et effodit*<sup>15</sup> *sibi*<sup>16</sup> *lacus detritos, qui non possunt aquam portare*. Loquor aperte, quod sentio, nihil<sup>17</sup> reticeo. Quo pacto Romanus pontifex huic tantam ecclesiam commendare potest? Qui confundit apostolicam sedem, qui maledicit toti ecclesiae, qui novos ritus inducit<sup>18</sup>, qui<sup>19</sup> nullo<sup>20</sup> se subjicere vult examini, qui pacem domini discordiae furore corrumpit, qui, cum velit praeesse quam multis, nulli vult ipse subesse. Siccine lupo commitemus oves?

[31] Quid dicant ceteri de regno<sup>21</sup>, qui<sup>22</sup> Romanam ecclesiam<sup>23</sup> forti pectore et immobili corde nunc usque secuti sunt? An non sic aggredi summum<sup>24</sup> pontificem possent<sup>25</sup>, si Rochezanam promoveat<sup>26</sup>: “Cui nos, pater sancte, committis? Cui nos credis<sup>27</sup>, qui tibi fideles fuimus<sup>28</sup>? Hosti

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<sup>1</sup> ne officium N

<sup>2</sup> famat L

<sup>3</sup> in iudicium incidat : incidat in iudicium N

<sup>4</sup> in fide sed nullus est : sed nullus est in fide L

<sup>5</sup> omit. L

<sup>6</sup> omit. L

<sup>7</sup> auctoritates U

<sup>8</sup> habet U

<sup>9</sup> contraxit U

<sup>10</sup> negauere U

<sup>11</sup> Christi U

<sup>12</sup> cum U

<sup>13</sup> ut cancer : cancer ut N

<sup>14</sup> infudit F, M, O

<sup>15</sup> fodit N

<sup>16</sup> omit. L

<sup>17</sup> nil N

<sup>18</sup> interducit L

<sup>19</sup> omit. L

<sup>20</sup> nulli V, WO

<sup>21</sup> ceteri de regno : de regno ceteri F

<sup>22</sup> omit. U

<sup>23</sup> omit. U

<sup>24</sup> Romanum L

<sup>25</sup> summum pontificem possent : possent summum pontificem N

<sup>26</sup> promoveat : permoueat N

<sup>27</sup> tradis N

<sup>28</sup> sumus N

animas nostras<sup>1</sup> occidendas praebes? Numquid apud nos<sup>2</sup> est, quem possis<sup>3</sup> ecclesiae nostrae<sup>4</sup> praeficere? Nos plures sumus, sive nobilitatem sive plebem regni<sup>5</sup> advertis<sup>6</sup>. Quid juvat nostra fides? Quid constantia? Meliori loco apud te sunt, qui tibi adversi fuerunt. Haecine tuis<sup>7</sup> fidelibus praemia reddis<sup>8</sup>? Archiepiscopum illi habebunt, qui communionem sub duplici specie tueatur<sup>9</sup>? Nos, qui sub una communicamus, orphani relinquemur?”

[30] **Enea:** The Apostle admonishes us not to take *a neophyte* as bishop, *lest being puffed up with pride, he fall into the judgment of the devil.*<sup>10</sup> But your Rokycana is not new in the Faith, no, he is not of the Faith at all. In his sermons, he denounces the Apostolic See and declares that the whole Church is in error, claiming that the communion under both species is necessary for all the faithful, and insisting that he holds truths which the Roman Church contradicts. But it is he who is in error, and the *truth is not in him.*<sup>11</sup> Without divine dispensation, he made himself the leader of the reckless rabble in Prague. Without any legal claim, he appointed himself provost. Despite the refusal of the Vicar of Christ, he assumed the name and office of bishop. His speech slithers along like a snake and pours mortal poison into the hearts of the listeners. The chair that your Rokycana occupies is not an episcopal chair but the *chair of pestilence*<sup>12</sup>. He is a master of error and an outstanding expert on corrupting truth, *who has forsaken the fountain of living water and dug for himself hollowed lakes that cannot hold water.*<sup>13</sup> I openly say what I think and hold nothing back. How can the Roman Pontiff entrust such an important church to this man? He dismays the Apostolic See, he curses the whole Church, he introduces new rites, he will subject himself to nobody's examination, he disrupts the peace of the Lord with the fury of discord, and though he wants to govern many, he himself wants to be governed by nobody. Should we entrust the sheep to such a wolf?

[31] What would the others from the kingdom say who have until now followed the Roman Church with courage and loyalty? If the Supreme Pontiff appointed Rokycana, would they not come to him and ask, “Holy Father, who is this man to whom you commit us? To whom do you entrust us who have been loyal to you? Do you give our souls to the enemy to be killed? Can you not find someone among us to appoint as the leader of our Church? We are in the majority, whether you consider the nobility or the people of the kingdom. How does our loyalty benefit us? Our constancy? You show greater favour to your adversaries [than to us]. Is this how you reward

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<sup>1</sup> animas nostras : nostras animas L, M, N

<sup>2</sup> apud nos : ex nobis quis N; uos U

<sup>3</sup> omit. U

<sup>4</sup> ecclesiae nostrae : nostrae ecclesiae N

<sup>5</sup> sive plebem regni : regni siue plebem L, M; regni siue plures N

<sup>6</sup> aduertat M

<sup>7</sup> omit. F, WO

<sup>8</sup> praemia reddis : reddis premia N

<sup>9</sup> tueantur L

<sup>10</sup> 1. Timothy, 3, 6

<sup>11</sup> John, 8, 44: *non est veritas in eo*

<sup>12</sup> Psalms, 1, 1

<sup>13</sup> Jeremiah, 2, 13, as quoted by Optatus of Milevis: *De schismate Donatistarum*, 4, 9 (MPL, XI, col. 1041)

the faithful? Will the others get an archbishop who supports communion under both species? Will we who communicate under one species only be left as orphans?"

[32] Non<sup>1</sup> arbitror, Georgi, fieri posse, quod petitis. Vana Rochezanae, vana spes vestra est. Quod si pacem quaeritis, sinite illum, nec sigilla vos teneant, qui<sup>2</sup> promisistis assistere<sup>3</sup>. Satis est diligentiam impendisse. Impossibilium nulla est obligatio<sup>4</sup>, nec vestrum est papam<sup>5</sup> cogere. Sequimini<sup>6</sup> ritum ecclesiae, et aliorum Christianorum vos moribus coaptate. Sic benignum papam, sic omnes vobis<sup>7</sup> affectos invenietis, sic tranquilli felicisque regni bonis in pace frui poteritis.

**Georgius:** Places<sup>8</sup> mihi, quia<sup>9</sup> neque fictus neque tectus<sup>10</sup> es, sed, quae corde geris, ore proferis<sup>11</sup>. Ego tibi propemodum habeo fidem neque de Rochezana sperandum esse amplius arbitror<sup>12</sup>. In alios cura vertenda est. Quia tamen<sup>13</sup> regni voto<sup>14</sup> electus est ille, commonendus<sup>15</sup> et inducendus erit<sup>16</sup> electioni renuntiare<sup>17</sup>. Tunc alium ex apostolicae sedis clementia postulabimus.

**Aeneas:** Facite, ut<sup>18</sup> libet, dum<sup>19</sup> Rochezana desistat, qui<sup>1</sup>, si resipuerit<sup>2</sup> et humilitatem induerit, gratiam inveniet<sup>3</sup> et apostolici culminis benignitatem experietur, quia non est *abbreviata manus*

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<sup>1</sup> nam L

<sup>2</sup> quia L, M, N

<sup>3</sup> promisistis assistere : assistere promisistis L

<sup>4</sup> est obligatio : obligatio est L, M, N

<sup>5</sup> est papam : papam est N

<sup>6</sup> sequamini L

<sup>7</sup> omit. U

<sup>8</sup> placet U

<sup>9</sup> omit. L

<sup>10</sup> rectus U

<sup>11</sup> proferis U

<sup>12</sup> omit. F, O, U; add. in marg. V

<sup>13</sup> cum N

<sup>14</sup> voce L

<sup>15</sup> commouendus L, M, N, U

<sup>16</sup> ut add. L; est N

<sup>17</sup> renuntiaret L

<sup>18</sup> dum U

<sup>19</sup> ut U



ejus. Et si<sup>4</sup> tu<sup>5</sup> rem<sup>6</sup> hanc<sup>7</sup> ad optatum perduces finem - ut ante dixi - honoribus et praemio cumulaberis. Mea tamen sententia est, ne unum solum, sed papae viros plures<sup>8 9</sup> nominetis, ex quibus unum doctrina et vita probatum possit eligere.

[33] Ceterum, quia de communione duarum specierum deque praecepto domini sermo incidit, neque otium {128r} est tanti sacramenti mysterium nunc exponere, quamvis disputata Basileae declarataque tibi et omni<sup>10</sup> Christiano sufficere debeant, quia tamen vestri sacerdotes nondum conversi sunt<sup>11</sup> suaque malunt impudenter<sup>12</sup> ingerere quam nostra patienter audire, consulo tibi adveniente Johanne de Capistrano, docto sanctoque viro, quae sunt apud te dubia, sibi<sup>13</sup> exponito et omnia tuae mentis archana patefacito, nam si operam<sup>14</sup> medicantis expectas<sup>15</sup>, detegenda sunt vulnera. Invenies – si volueris – sanitatem.

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<sup>1</sup> quia N

<sup>2</sup> resipuit L

<sup>3</sup> inuenerit L

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>5</sup> si tu : tu si L, M; tamen N

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

<sup>7</sup> rem hanc : hanc rem L, M

<sup>8</sup> viros plures : plures viros F, L, M, O, U

<sup>9</sup> papae plures viros : plures viros pape N

<sup>10</sup> populo *add.* N

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

<sup>12</sup> pudenter F, O, U, V; prudenter L, M

<sup>13</sup> tibi M

<sup>14</sup> opera WO

<sup>15</sup> expectes L

[32] I do not think, Georg, that what you request can be done. Rokycana's hope is vain, and so is yours. If you want peace, then abandon him. You who promised to support him should not be bound by your seals. It is enough that you have tried hard. One cannot be obliged to do what is impossible, and you cannot force the pope. Follow the rite of the Church and conform to the ways of the other Christians. Thus, you will win the pope for you, and all others will be kindly disposed. And thus, you may peacefully enjoy the benefits of a tranquil and happy kingdom.

**Georg:** I like you, for you do not dissemble or pretend but say what is in your heart. I trust you and no longer think that we may hope for Rokycana. We must look to others. But since he was elected by a vote of the Kingdom, he must be encouraged and enticed to renounce the election. Then we can ask for somebody else from the clemency of the Apostolic See.

**Aeneas:** Do as you wish, if only Rokycana desists. If he comes to his senses and shows humility, he will find favour and experience the kindness of His Apostolic Highness, for his *hand is not shortened*.<sup>1</sup> And if you bring this matter to the desired conclusion, you yourself will – as I said before – be covered with honours and rewards. In my opinion, you should nominate not just one man but several to the pope, from which he may choose one who is of proven learning and life.

[33] We have spoken of communion under both species and the Lord's command, and we do not have leisure, now, to expound the mystery of this great sacrament. The discussions and statements at Basel<sup>2</sup> ought, however, to be sufficient for you and every Christian. Still, since your priests have not yet been converted and will spread their own [opinions] with impudence rather than listen to ours with patience, I advise you to tell your doubts to Giovanni Capistrano,<sup>3</sup> that learned and holy man, when he arrives, and to disclose all the secrets of your mind to him, for if you wish to be treated by a physician, you must bare your wounds to him. Then you will find healing if you want to.

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah, 59, 1: *Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini*

<sup>2</sup> At the Council of Basel

<sup>3</sup> The mission of Giovanni Capistrano in Bohemia would prove to be a complete failure, see Heymann: *John Rokycana*, pp. 251-252

[33] **Georgius:** De Rochezana cogitabimus, quae<sup>1</sup> paci<sup>2</sup> regnoque<sup>3</sup> convenient. De Johanne<sup>4</sup> Capistrano, quamprimum<sup>5</sup> ad nos<sup>6</sup> venit<sup>7</sup>, decrevi, quae nunc dixisti<sup>8</sup>, etsi nullus mones<sup>9</sup>, facere<sup>10</sup> 11 12. Neque<sup>13</sup> enim alta sentio et timeo, ne offendam, neque mihi confido neque nostris<sup>14</sup> sacerdotibus omnem<sup>15</sup> habeo<sup>16</sup> fidem. Sed vale, nam<sup>17</sup> tempus est alia in manus recipere.

**Aeneas:** Et tu vale, nostri sermonis memor.

[34] Sic facto verbis fine disjuncti sumus<sup>18</sup>. Complura fuerunt inter nos dicta, sed hic sensus eorum est, quae<sup>19</sup> de rebus ecclesiae disputavimus. Et quamvis verba non eadem fuerint<sup>20</sup>, sententiam tamen<sup>21</sup> immutlatam invariataque refero. Intellexisti, quae cum Georgio Pogiebratio<sup>22</sup> contuli. Non sunt - ut mea fert opinio - parvi ponderis, nam<sup>23</sup> Georgius apud Bohemos magnum nomen habet et potens est illius partis, quae sub duplici specie communicat, et multi ex alia parte in rebus bellicis juncti sunt ei<sup>24</sup>. Si quis est<sup>25</sup>, qui civitates ad unionem trahere possit<sup>26</sup>, Georgius est<sup>27</sup>. Sed transeamus nunc ad alia.

[35] Postquam<sup>28</sup> soluta<sup>29</sup> congregatio est<sup>30</sup>, accessit nos Henricus<sup>31</sup> Rosensis<sup>32</sup> dixitque se patris scripto monitum, ne<sup>33</sup> quo pacto domum redeat, nisi<sup>1</sup> nos secum adducat oneravitque<sup>2</sup> nos multis

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

<sup>2</sup> pacem ... (*illeg.*) L

<sup>3</sup> regnique L

<sup>4</sup> de *add.* W

<sup>5</sup> quamprimo L

<sup>6</sup> rumor *add.* L, M, N

<sup>7</sup> veniet V, WO

<sup>8</sup> quae nunc dixisti : accedere N

<sup>9</sup> moues M; ammouetur N

<sup>10</sup> mones facere : monefacere U

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

<sup>12</sup> decrevi quae ... facere : que moues facere decreui L

<sup>13</sup> nec N

<sup>14</sup> vestris N

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>16</sup> adhibeo N

<sup>17</sup> iam V

<sup>18</sup> simus U

<sup>19</sup> quibus N

<sup>20</sup> fuerunt L, N

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* F

<sup>22</sup> de Pogibrat L, M; de Podiebrat N

<sup>23</sup> hic *add.* L

<sup>24</sup> juncti sunt ei : sunt ei iuncti N

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>26</sup> posset N

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>28</sup> post N

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>30</sup> congregatio est : est congregatio N

<sup>31</sup> Henricus *et passim* F, O, WO

<sup>32</sup> de Rosis L, M, N

<sup>33</sup> *omit.* L

precibus extorsitque tandem, ut secum iremus. Cum prope Thabor iter faceremus essetque<sup>3</sup> hora prandendi, exeuntes Thaboritae Henrico, ut ad se divertat secumque prandeat, preces accumulunt. Is quaerit ex<sup>4</sup> me, iturusne<sup>5</sup> sim<sup>6</sup>. Dico nolle me amplius apud hostes fidei divertere. Tristatur Heinricus, nam et visere civitatem cupiebat, et me solum<sup>7</sup> relinquere non audebat, et accusabant<sup>8</sup> me<sup>9</sup> omnes durumque<sup>10</sup> dicebant et inurbanum et<sup>11</sup> agrestem, qui nollem nobili domino morem<sup>12</sup> gerere.

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<sup>1</sup> et *add.* L, M, N

<sup>2</sup> oneratque N

<sup>3</sup> atque L

<sup>4</sup> a N

<sup>5</sup> utrum iturus N

<sup>6</sup> sum L, N

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

<sup>8</sup> accusabantque L

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

<sup>10</sup> duriusque N

<sup>11</sup> ac L

<sup>12</sup> moram N

[33] **Georg:** In the matter of Rokycana, we shall consider what is best for peace and for the kingdom. And in the case of Giovanni Capistrano, I have decided to do as you say as soon as he comes to us.<sup>1</sup> For I am not a proud man, I fear to do wrong, I am not overly confident in myself and do not entirely trust our priests. But now, I must say goodbye, for I have to deal with other matters.

**Enea:** And goodbye to you, too. Remember our conversation.

## 4.6. Conclusion

[34] Thus we ended our conversation and took leave of each other.

We actually spoke about much more [than related here], but this is the gist of our discussion on the ecclesiastical issues. And though the words may not have been exactly the same, I have rendered their substance without distortions and changes. So now, you know what I discussed with Georg Podiebrad. I believe that it is not without significance, for Georg is a very important man in Bohemia: he has great power in the party that communicates under both species,<sup>2</sup> and many from the other party<sup>3</sup> are allied with him in military matters. If anybody can bring the cities to union [with the Church],<sup>4</sup> it is Georg. But let us now move on to other things.

## 5. Travel back to Tabor

[35] After the assembly<sup>5</sup> had been dismissed, Heinrich von Rosenberg came to us and said that his father<sup>6</sup> had written to him not to come home without bringing us with him, and he urgently requested us to come. In the end, we had to give in and agree to come with him. When, at lunchtime, we approached Tabor, the Taborites came out and begged Heinrich to visit them and have lunch. He asked me if I would come, too. I replied that I would not stay again with enemies of the Faith. This made Heinrich sorry, for he wished to visit the city, but he did not dare to leave me alone. All [the others] blamed me for being hard, impolite, and rude since I would not accommodate the noble lord.

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the following passage "etsi nullus mones" is unclear

<sup>2</sup> The Hussite Utraquists

<sup>3</sup> The Catholics

<sup>4</sup> With the Catholic Church

<sup>5</sup> The assembly of Bohemian nobles in Benesov to which Piccolomini had been sent as an imperial ambassador

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich von Rosenberg (1403-1462): Bohemian noble, leader of the Catholic party

[35] Tum Procopius: “Quin tu,” inquit<sup>1</sup>, “ingrederis civitatem, nunc ea facultas erit dicere, quae prius voluisti. Nunc tuae<sup>2</sup> conscientiae satisfacere poteris<sup>3</sup>.” Moverunt me verba Procopii intravique civitatem, sed neque comedi quidquam illic neque bibi. Repetivi tamen<sup>4</sup> vetus hospitium ibique mansi, dum ceteri prandebant, vixque curru descenderam<sup>5</sup>, cum sacerdotes oppidi ad me venerant<sup>6</sup>, Nicolaus, quem dicunt episcopum, plenus dierum<sup>7</sup> malorum, Johannes Galechus, qui nuper {128v} ex Polonia fugerat<sup>8</sup>, ignem timens, et Wenceslaus<sup>9</sup> Coranda, vetus diaboli mancipium, qui sacramentum altaris solam<sup>10</sup> esse figuram significationemque contendit<sup>11</sup>. Cum his fuerunt scholares<sup>12</sup> et cives plurimi, latinum edocti sermonem, nam perfidum genus id<sup>13</sup> hominum hoc solum boni habet, quia<sup>14</sup> litteras amat. Horum consalutatio<sup>15</sup> in<sup>16</sup> hunc fere<sup>17</sup> modum fuit, qui subscriptus est.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* F, O, U, V, WO

<sup>2</sup> me U

<sup>3</sup> satisfacere poteris : poteris satisfacere V

<sup>4</sup> repetivi tamen : repetivique N

<sup>5</sup> descenderem N

<sup>6</sup> uenerunt L, M, N; veniunt V

<sup>7</sup> ducum L

<sup>8</sup> fugerit L

<sup>9</sup> Wenceslaus F, O, U

<sup>10</sup> solum L

<sup>11</sup> contendunt N

<sup>12</sup> seculares L

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

<sup>14</sup> quod L

<sup>15</sup> consolatio U; consultatio WO

<sup>16</sup> per L

<sup>17</sup> vere L, M, N

[35] But then Prokop<sup>1</sup> said, “If you enter the city, you will now have the opportunity to say what you wanted to the first time. Now you can satisfy your own conscience.” Prokop’s words persuaded me, and I entered the city but did not eat or drink anything there. I went to my former lodgings and stayed there while the others had lunch. I had barely descended from the carriage,<sup>2</sup> when the priests of the city arrived, Mikulas whom they call bishop,<sup>3</sup> a man full of evil days, Jan<sup>4</sup> Galka,<sup>5</sup> who had recently fled from Poland, fearing the fire,<sup>6</sup> and Vaclav Koranda, an old servant of the Devil,<sup>7</sup> who claims that the sacrament of the altar is only an image and a symbol. With them were many scholars and citizens, who knew Latin, for the one good thing this race of men possesses is their love of letters. Their greeting went more or less as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Prokop von Rabstein

<sup>2</sup> Note that Piccolomini apparently travelled by carriage, not on horseback

<sup>3</sup> Mikulas of Pelhrimov (ca. 1385 - ca. 1459): Elected bishop of Tabor 1420 - 1452. Member of the Hussite delegation to the Council of Basel January to April 1433. Piccolomini, who was then in Basel may have heard his interventions in the debates at the council or at least seen him. Fudge, p. 258: *He possessed a keen mind, a sharp tongue, and a sense of history. He remained active in Hussite affairs for forty years.*

<sup>4</sup> Error for Andreas

<sup>5</sup> Andrzej Galka of Dobzyna (ca. 1400-ca. 1454): Polish theologian who had to flee Poland because of his unorthodox views

<sup>6</sup> I.e., being burnt as a heretic

<sup>7</sup> Václav Koranda (ca. 1390-1453): Radical Hussite clergyman

[36] “Gaudemus, pater, quia civitatem nostram introisti nosque visere dignatus es. Suscipimus te<sup>1</sup> libentibus animis utque nostris bonis utaris cupimus. Cum primus hic fuisti, non te accessimus<sup>2</sup>, quia non eramus praesentes. Nunc cum<sup>3</sup> te videmus, precamur, aliquid nobis consolationis<sup>4</sup> edisseras fructumque<sup>5</sup> ut<sup>6</sup> nobis aliquem<sup>7</sup> tuus adventus pariat.” Tunc ego datam<sup>8</sup> mihi occasionem loquendi<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> laetus arripui dixique illis: “Quod me voluistis accedere<sup>11</sup> resque vestras obtulistis, urbana res est et digna<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>. Suscipiendi sunt enim<sup>14</sup> hospites et omni humanitate fovendi, sicut apostolus ait: *Hospitalitatem<sup>15</sup> autem persequentes*, neque sine causa verbum persecutionis adjecit, ut non levi et usitato sermone atque – ut ita loquar – summis labiis hospites invitemus, sed toto mentis ardore teneamus, tamquam auferentes se de<sup>16</sup> lucro nostro atque compendio. At ego hic non facio prandium neque cibum ad noctem usque recipiam. Quia vero consolationem ex me quaeritis<sup>17</sup>, loquar vobis, quae<sup>18</sup> mihi consolatoria videbuntur, eritque sermo meus non in sublimibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in sinceritate cordis puroque mentis affectu sobrietatis et veritatis sensu<sup>19</sup> depromam. Utinam recipiatis verba mea sicut a me proferentur animo bono.” Quibus dicentibus et<sup>20</sup> audire libenter et audiri<sup>21</sup> velle, jussi eos consedere, cupiens certare fortiter<sup>22</sup>, sacramenti mei memor et fidei. Cetera, quae sequuntur<sup>23</sup>, quia dialogi formam habent<sup>24</sup>, servabo<sup>25</sup> quem supra ordinem<sup>26</sup> coepi. Tu, si<sup>27</sup> aures adhibueris, et ineptias nostras audies<sup>28</sup> et inter audaces senes puerilem pugnam spectabis<sup>29</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> de N

<sup>2</sup> suscepimus N

<sup>3</sup> dum L, M, N

<sup>4</sup> vt *add.* N

<sup>5</sup> fructum M, N

<sup>6</sup> fructumque ut : ut fructum L

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

<sup>8</sup> data N

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

<sup>10</sup> occasionem loquendi : loquendi occasionem M; loquendi occasione N

<sup>11</sup> voluistis accedere : accedere uoluistis N

<sup>12</sup> *add.* laude L, M

<sup>13</sup> digna laude : laude digna N

<sup>14</sup> sunt enim : enim sunt L, N

<sup>15</sup> hospitem N

<sup>16</sup> se de : de se L

<sup>17</sup> requiritis V, WO

<sup>18</sup> qui N

<sup>19</sup> sensus N; sensa F, O, V, WO

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>21</sup> libenter et audiri *omit.* L

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>23</sup> dicuntur L

<sup>24</sup> habuerunt L; habenti M

<sup>25</sup> sermo N

<sup>26</sup> modum L

<sup>27</sup> tu si : si tu N

<sup>28</sup> audias L

<sup>29</sup> spectans N; expectabis U



[37] **Aeneas:** Optatis ex me, viri<sup>1</sup> Thaboritae, consolationem audire. Est igitur aliquid<sup>2</sup>, quod<sup>3</sup> vos premit, nam miseros tristesque consolari, non<sup>4</sup> beatos solemus<sup>5</sup>. At cum video<sup>6</sup> vos in civitate munita bonis temporalibus abundare, pacem cum vicinis habere fruique sanitate, nescio, cur vobis consolatione sit opus, nisi fortasse in<sup>7</sup> his, quae fidei sunt, vacillatis<sup>8</sup>, et affligit spiritum vestrum dubitatio, quod mihi satis verisimile fit<sup>9</sup>, namque<sup>10</sup> cum multis in rebus ab universali ecclesia discordetis, necessarium est nutare<sup>11</sup> credulitatem<sup>12</sup> vestram et animos tristari<sup>13</sup> vestros.

## 6. Debate with the Taborite<sup>14</sup>

### 6.1. Introduction

[36] “We are happy, Father, that you have entered our city and deign to visit with us. We receive you gladly, and all we have is yours to use. When you were here the first time, we did not come to see you since we were absent. But now that we see you, we ask you to speak words of solace so that your coming will bring us some benefit.” I gladly seized the opportunity to speak that was given to me and said, “Your coming to visit me and offering me what you have is courteous and honourable. For guests should be received and treated with all courtesy, as the Apostle says: *Pursuing hospitality ...*<sup>15</sup> Not without reason did he use the word “pursuing”, for he meant that we should not invite guests in superficial and common terms and – so to say – with lips alone<sup>16</sup> but treat them with sincere cordiality, even though it may cost you. But I shall not have lunch here nor take food before night. However, since you ask me for comfort, I shall say such words to you as I consider to be comforting. I shall not speak in lofty terms of human wisdom but in terms of sobriety and truth, with sincerity of heart and the affection of a pure mind. I speak my words out of kindness. I hope you will receive them in the same way.” They answered that they would both hear and be heard gladly, so I asked them to sit, as, remembering my oath and faith, I desired to

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<sup>1</sup> fieri M, N

<sup>2</sup> aliud N

<sup>3</sup> quidem N

<sup>4</sup> nunc N

<sup>5</sup> sciremus N

<sup>6</sup> uideam L

<sup>7</sup> omit. N

<sup>8</sup> fallatis N

<sup>9</sup> sit L; videtur N

<sup>10</sup> nam N

<sup>11</sup> mutari U

<sup>12</sup> incredulitatem N; crudelitatem U

<sup>13</sup> testari

<sup>14</sup> Thomas A. Fudge notes that *In his account to Cardinal Carvajal, Aeneas attempts to recount, practically verbatim, his head-to-head debates with the Taborite theologians. It is revealing that Aeneas gets longer speeches, scores more telling points and speaks in a more sophisticated way. ... Since Aeneas is clearly a partisan historian – an unsympathetic enemy of all heresies – he does not simply dismiss the strange doctrines, as one might expect, but makes an effort to understand and refute them.* (Fudge: *Seduced*, p. 99). To the present editor it appears that Piccolomini’s account quite fairly reproduces the often perspicacious observations of the Hussite priests / MCS

<sup>15</sup> Romans, 12, 13: *Hospitalitatem sectantes*

<sup>16</sup> “summis labiis”

fight strenuously. What follows has the form of a dialogue, and I shall use the same format I began with above. If you lend your ears, you will hear our nonsense and see a juvenile fight between brash old men.

[37] **Enea:** Men of Tabor, you wish to hear [words of] comfort from me. Therefore, there must be something which bothers you, for usually, we do not comfort those who are happy but those who are unhappy and sad. But when I observe you in your fortified city, overflowing with worldly goods, at peace with your neighbours, and being in good health, I do not see why you need to be comforted unless, perhaps, you are unsettled in matters of Faith, and your spirit is plagued by doubt. This seems quite likely to me for you are in conflict with Universal Church in many areas. Therefore, your beliefs must be uncertain, and your souls sad.

[37] Quod si consolatoria propterea<sup>1</sup> verba<sup>2</sup> desideratis, obsequar petitioni vestrae certumque solamen ostendam.

[38] {129r} Dubia, quae vos cruciant, ex sacris litteris oriuntur, neque enim scriptura umquam ulla sic aperta<sup>3</sup> claraque fuit, ut in diversos flecti sensus<sup>4</sup> nequiret, traxeruntque sacris ex<sup>5</sup> codicibus ortum omnia, quae ab initio surgentis ecclesiae<sup>6</sup> usque nunc fuerunt schismata<sup>7</sup>. Sed norat hoc futurum Deus. Idcirco cum per famulum suum Moysen Israelitico<sup>8</sup> populo legem dedisset, et quid sectandum quidve fugiendum esset manifesta serie praescripsisset<sup>9</sup>, sciens tamen futuros<sup>10</sup> esse, qui legi suae dissonos sensus accommodarent, consulturus<sup>11</sup> futuro saeculo et obicem positurus haeresibus, supremum tribunal in terra constituit, ad quod majores causae et omnes afferri dubitationes de<sup>12</sup> lege<sup>13</sup> deberent. Ait enim in Deuteronomio dominus: *Si difficile et ambiguum apud te iudicium esse<sup>14</sup> prospexeris<sup>15</sup> inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram et iudicium<sup>16</sup> inter portas videris verba variare, surge et ascende ad locum, quem elegerit*

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<sup>1</sup> consolatoria propterea : propterea consolatoria L, M

<sup>2</sup> consolatoria propterea verba : propterea verba consolatoria N

<sup>3</sup> aperte WO

<sup>4</sup> flecti sensus : sensus flecti L, N

<sup>5</sup> sacris ex : ex sacris L

<sup>6</sup> omit. L

<sup>7</sup> fuerunt schismata : scismata fuere L

<sup>8</sup> Israelitico F, O, V, WO; Israelico M

<sup>9</sup> scripsisset L; conscripsisset U

<sup>10</sup> uenturos L, M, N

<sup>11</sup> consulturos L

<sup>12</sup> hac L

<sup>13</sup> de lege : leges N

<sup>14</sup> omit. V, WO

<sup>15</sup> conspexeris L

<sup>16</sup> omit. N; iudicium F, V, WO

*dominus, Deus tuus, veniesque ad sacerdotes Levitici generis et ad iudicem, qui fuerit illo tempore, et quaeres ab eis, qui iudicabunt tibi iudicii veritatem, et facies, quaecumque dixerint, qui<sup>1</sup> praesunt loco, quem elegerit dominus, et docuerint te juxta legem ejus sequerisque sententiam<sup>2</sup> eorum nec declinabis ad dexteram vel<sup>3</sup> sinistram. Qui autem superbierit nolens oboedire<sup>4</sup> sacerdotis imperio, qui eo tempore ministrat domino, Deo tuo, et decreto iudicis, morietur homo ille et auferes malum de Israel.<sup>5</sup> Sic veteris testamenti sequacibus dominus imperavit, ne quis<sup>6</sup> seductus opinione scindere populum peregrinasque religiones introducere posset. Nam qui ambulant in errore cordis sui, venient super eos mala.*

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<sup>1</sup> que L

<sup>2</sup> sententiamque N

<sup>3</sup> neque ad U

<sup>4</sup> et audire *add.* N

<sup>5</sup> Israhel F, M, V

<sup>6</sup> sua *add.* L, M, N

[37] If that is why you wish for words of comfort, I shall fulfil your request and show you solace.

## 6.2. Supreme religious authority established by God<sup>1</sup>

### 6.2.1. The Old Testament

[38] The doubts that afflict you arise from Holy Scripture, for it was never so straightforward and clear that it could not be bent towards different meanings. From the time of the Early Church until now, all schisms have their origin in the Holy Books. But God knew what would happen, so after He had given the law to the people of Israel through his servant Moses and listed clearly what to pursue and what to avoid,<sup>2</sup> and knowing there would be people who made discordant interpretations of His law, He safeguarded the future by establishing a supreme tribunal on Earth as a barrier against heresies to which all major causes and all doubts concerning the law should be referred. For in the Deuteronomy the Lord says: *If thou perceive that there be among you a hard and doubtful matter in judgment between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy: and thou see that the words of the judges within thy gates do vary: arise, and go up to the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come to the priests of the Levitical race, and to the judge, that shall be at that time: and thou shalt ask of them, and they shall shew thee the truth of the judgment. And thou shalt do whatsoever they shall say, that preside in the place, which the Lord shall choose, and what they shall teach thee, according to his law; and thou shalt follow their sentence: neither shalt thou decline to the right hand nor to the left hand. But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel.*<sup>3</sup> This was the Lord's command to those who followed the Old Testament so that nobody, led astray by his own opinions, would divide the people and introduce foreign religions. For evil things will happen to *those who walk in the error of their heart.*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eight years later, as pope Pius II, Piccolomini would, in his oration "*Dominatorem caeli*" (1459), return to the theme of God establishing a supreme religious authority in the Old Testament and continued in the New Testament with Saint Peter and his successors as bishops of Rome

<sup>2</sup> The Decalogue

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy, 17, 8-12

<sup>4</sup> Jeremiah, 13, 10

[39] Sed nec Christus dominus, novae legis conditor, veritatis magister ac salutis<sup>1</sup> inventor, supremi refugium tribunalis omisit. Elegit enim Petrum et in Petro ceteros Romanae sedis antistites, qui post ejus in caelum ascensionem vicariatum tenerent et in ecclesia primum locum, cum claves regni caelorum illi<sup>2</sup> promisit<sup>3</sup> ac<sup>4</sup> ligandi solvendique potestatem et tandem pasturam gregis commisit<sup>5</sup> dicens: *Pasce oves meas*. Cur haec<sup>6</sup>? Quid opus erat Petrum fieri pastorem, claves regni tenere, principatum accipere, Christi vicarium gerere<sup>7</sup>, nisi ut errantes reduceret, ignaros instrueret, timidos roboraret, pertinaces eliminaret<sup>8</sup>, fidelibus subveniret, haereticis repugnaret. Si justi essemus ac nostro ingenio verum videremus et<sup>9</sup> sequeremur omnes, neque lege neque principe opus esset, sed, quia<sup>10</sup> surgunt<sup>11</sup> ingenia pernicioosa, quae<sup>12</sup> doctrinas pestiferas seminant funduntque venena<sup>13</sup> letalia et occidunt credulas animas, necessaria<sup>14</sup> fuit<sup>15</sup> supremi tribunalis erectio, quod inter lepram {129v} et lepram dijudicaret. Hoc autem est apud apostolicam sedem<sup>16</sup>, quae *cardo et caput, ut factum est a domino et non ab alio, est constituta fidelium. Et sicut cardine hostium regitur, sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes<sup>17</sup> ecclesiae domino disponente reguntur*, atque - ut Calixti<sup>18</sup> papae sanctissimi<sup>19</sup> verbis utamur - *nulli dubium est, quod apostolica sedes mater sit omnium ecclesiarum, a cujus nos<sup>20</sup> regulis nullatenus convenit deviare*.

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<sup>1</sup> veritatis L

<sup>2</sup> eis L

<sup>3</sup> commisit N

<sup>4</sup> et L

<sup>5</sup> omit. L

<sup>6</sup> hoc N

<sup>7</sup> principatum accipere ... gerere omit. F

<sup>8</sup> illuminaret L, N

<sup>9</sup> omit. N

<sup>10</sup> ni N

<sup>11</sup> insurgunt F

<sup>12</sup> etiam L

<sup>13</sup> uena U

<sup>14</sup> ecclesia N

<sup>15</sup> sunt N

<sup>16</sup> apostolicam sedem : sedem apostolicam N

<sup>17</sup> alie add. L

<sup>18</sup> Calisti F, L, U, V

<sup>19</sup> omit. L

<sup>20</sup> omit. U

## 6.2.2. The New Testament

[39] And neither did Christ – founder of the new law, teacher of truth, and maker of salvation - neglect the refuge of a supreme tribunal. He chose Peter and, through Peter, the other bishops of the Roman See to be his vicars after his ascension into Heaven and hold the first place in the Church. This he did, when he promised Peter the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven and the power to bind and to loosen,<sup>1</sup> and when he finally entrusted the care of the flock to him with the words: *Feed my sheep.*<sup>2</sup> Why did he do that? Why was it needful for Peter to become the shepherd, to keep the keys of the Kingdom, to accept the first place, and to act as Christ's vicar, if not to bring the erring back, to instruct the unknowing, to strengthen the fearful, to oust the intractable, to assist the faithful, to oppose the heretics. If we were just and all naturally saw and followed what is true, we would not need the law of a prince. But since destructive characters arise, who sow pestiferous doctrines and pour lethal poison and kill gullible souls, it was necessary to establish a supreme tribunal to judge between *leprosy and leprosy*. This tribunal is with the Apostolic See. *The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See.*<sup>3</sup> And – in the words of holy Pope Calixtus<sup>4</sup> - *there is no doubt whatsoever that the Apostolic See is the mother of all churches and that nobody should deviate from its norms.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 16, 18-19

<sup>2</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>3</sup> Decretum, D.22.2. (col. 74). Cf. Pseudo-Isidore: *Letters of Pope Anacletus*, 3, 34 (MPL, 130, col. 78): *Haec vero apostolica sedes caput et cardo, ut praefatum est, a domino ...* Also used by Piccolomini several times in his orations when arguing for the primacy of the Roman See. Unfortunately, the passage referred to is a late, forged text from the Pseudo-decretals of Isidore

<sup>4</sup> Calixtus I (d. ca. 223): Pope from 218 to his death.

<sup>5</sup> Decretum, D.12.1. (col. 27). From Pseudo-Isidore

[40] Vos igitur<sup>1</sup>, Thaboritae, si qua<sup>2</sup> vos fidei dubitatio tenet, consulite Romanam ecclesiam, audite vicarium Christi, *facite quaecumque dixerint vobis, qui praesunt loco, quem dominus elegit*. Dicit cum Isaia: *Venite, ascendamus ad montem domini et ad domum<sup>3</sup> Dei Jacob et docebit nos vias<sup>4</sup> et ambulabimus in semitis ejus*. Quis<sup>5</sup> est mons domini nisi apostolica sedes<sup>6</sup>? Quae domus Dei est<sup>7 8</sup> nisi ecclesia? Quis locus electus a domino nisi Roma, quem<sup>9</sup> beatorum Petri et Pauli martyrium consecravit? Fugiebat Petrus ex urbe mortem timens, *sed cum offendisset<sup>10</sup> in via dominum, dixit ad eum: Domine, quo vadis? Et dominus sibi<sup>11</sup>: Vado Romam iterum crucifigi<sup>12</sup>*. Sic reversus Petrus ibi<sup>13</sup> cathedram<sup>14</sup> summi pontificatus<sup>15</sup> erexit, ubi<sup>16</sup> crucis patibulum subiit. Huc ergo recurrendum est, hinc doctrina sumenda est, hinc veritatis hauriendi latices. Hic fons aquae vivae signatus scaturit, hic hortus conclusus<sup>17</sup>, hic arca domini, extra quam non est<sup>18</sup> salus, resedit<sup>19 20</sup>.

[41] Non pudeat vos<sup>21</sup>, Thaboritae, quae de fide sentitis apostolicae sedi referre, nam Paulus vocatus, e<sup>22</sup> caelo segregatus, in evangelium Christi securitatem non habuit<sup>23</sup> evangelium praedicandi, nisi Petri et ceterorum apostolorum, qui cum eo erant<sup>24</sup>, fuisse<sup>25</sup> sententia roboratum. Eapropter ad Galatas scribens, *Iterum, inquit, ascendi Hierosolymam<sup>26</sup> cum Barnaba assumpto Tito. Ascendi autem secundum revelationem et contuli cum illis evangelium, seorsum autem his qui videbantur aliquid esse, ne forte in vacuum currerem aut<sup>27</sup> cucurrissem*. Et divus<sup>28</sup> Hieronymus<sup>29</sup>, doctrina plenus et omnem scientiam callens<sup>30</sup>, cum fidei scripta dictasset, ad

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<sup>1</sup> ergo N

<sup>2</sup> quae N

<sup>3</sup> et ad domum *omit.* U

<sup>4</sup> suas *add.* N

<sup>5</sup> qui WO

<sup>6</sup> apostolica sedes : sedes apostolica N

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

<sup>8</sup> domus Dei est : est domus dei F

<sup>9</sup> quam L, M, N; quam *corr. ex* quem V

<sup>10</sup> vidisset N

<sup>11</sup> respondit N

<sup>12</sup> crucifixi N

<sup>13</sup> ubi WO

<sup>14</sup> sedem N

<sup>15</sup> pontificis WO

<sup>16</sup> ibi N

<sup>17</sup> hic fons ... conclusus *omit.* L

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>19</sup> residet L; *omit.* N

<sup>20</sup> hic hortus ... resedit *omit.* M

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* M; est de N; est V

<sup>23</sup> Christi securitatem ... habuit *omit.* U

<sup>24</sup> fuerant L

<sup>25</sup> fuisse L

<sup>26</sup> Jerosol... *et passim* L, M, N

<sup>27</sup> uel L

<sup>28</sup> dominus N

<sup>29</sup> Jeron... *et passim* L, M, N

<sup>30</sup> tollens N

Damasum, *Haec est, inquit, fides, papa beatissime, quam didici in ecclesia, quamque semper tenui, in qua si minus perite aut parum caute forte aliquid positum est<sup>1</sup>, emendari<sup>2</sup> a te volo, qui fidem Petri<sup>3</sup> tenes et meritum.* Sic et vos facere Thaboritas exhortor. Ostendite vos et doctrinam vestram vestram Romano pontifici. Facite, quae jusserit, neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinantes. Sic consolationem {130r} spiritus, sic animae vestrae quietem assequentur<sup>4</sup> et salutem.

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<sup>1</sup> sit N

<sup>2</sup> cupio *add.* N

<sup>3</sup> fidem Petri : Petri fidem V, WO

<sup>4</sup> assequimini L; pariter *add.* N



### 6.2.3. Exhortation to the Taborites to obey the Roman Church

[40] Therefore, men of Tabor, if you have any doubt concerning the Faith, you should consult the Roman Church, hear the Vicar of Christ, and *do whatsoever they shall say*. Say with Isaiah: *Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths.*<sup>1</sup> What is *the mountain of the Lord* if not the Apostolic See? And what is *the house of God* if not the Church? Which place did God choose if not Rome, consecrated by the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul? Fearing death Peter fled the City, but *when he met the Lord on the way, he said to him: Lord, where are you going? And the Lord replied: I go to Rome to be crucified again.*<sup>2</sup> Then Peter returned to Rome and set up the See of the Supreme Pontificate, where he was later crucified. So, there is your recourse, there you must take your doctrine, there you must pour your water, there the *fountain of living water* gushes forth, there is *the closed garden*<sup>3</sup> and the ark of the Lord outside which there is no salvation.

[41] Do not be ashamed, men of Tabor, to refer your ideas concerning the Faith to the Apostolic See, for when Paul had received his calling from Heaven<sup>4</sup> and passed over to the Gospel of Christ, he did not feel qualified to preach the Gospel before he had been strengthened by the doctrine<sup>5</sup> of Peter and the apostles with him.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, as he wrote to the Galatians, *I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to revelation; and communicated to them the gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles, but apart to them who seemed to be some thing: lest perhaps I should run, or had run in vain.*<sup>7</sup> And Holy Jerome<sup>8</sup>, a man full of learning and knowledge, when he had composed some writings on the Faith, wrote to Damasus: *This is, Most Holy Father, the Faith which I learnt in the Church and which I have always kept. If it contains anything that is less apt and not circumspect enough, I wish it to be corrected by you, who hold the Faith and merit of Peter.*<sup>9</sup> This is what I urge you to do, too, men of Tabor. Show yourselves and your teachings to the Roman Pontiff. *Do what he commands, and do not deviate to the right or the left.* Thus you will gain consolation of the spirit, peace of mind, and salvation.

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah, 2, 3

<sup>2</sup> Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea* / S. Petrus

<sup>3</sup> Canticle, 4, 12. Likely quoted from Decretum, D.24.1.20 (col. 973). From Jerome

<sup>4</sup> Acts, 9, 3

<sup>5</sup> "sententia"

<sup>6</sup> Galatians, 1, 18

<sup>7</sup> Galatians, 2, 2

<sup>8</sup> Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 347-420): Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint.

<sup>9</sup> Not by Jerome. A forgery included in Gregory of Pavia's *Polycarpus*, from where it passed into *Decretum Gratiani*, from where Piccolomni probably had it. (NB: Decretum, D.24.1.14 (col. 970) – note 137: "Non est Hieronymi, Polyc. I, 3, 6"

[42] **Nicolaus:** Oboediremus apostolicae majestati et omni devotione subjecti essemus, nisi legi divinae contraria juberet.

**Aeneas:** In his, quae sunt fidei<sup>1</sup>, numquam reperta est apostolica sedes<sup>2</sup> errasse aut adulterinis acquievisse dogmatibus

[43] **Galechus:** At<sup>3</sup> fuit in Agnete manifestus<sup>4</sup> error.

**Aeneas:** Quam<sup>5</sup> tu mihi Agnetem<sup>6</sup> commemoras?

**Galechus:** Quam<sup>7</sup> Romana sedes feminam pro mare coluit et in apostolatus apice<sup>8</sup> collocavit.

**Aeneas:** Istic neque fidei neque juris error, sed ignorantia facti<sup>9</sup> fuit, neque certa historia est<sup>10</sup>.

[44] **Nicolaus:** At plures Romani pontifices criminosi fuerunt, qui nunc dant apud inferos poenam.

**Aeneas:** Nescio. Si quis tamen peccasse<sup>11</sup> compertus est, fragilitate deceptus more hominum lapsus est. Sed hoc ausim<sup>12</sup> dicere: Romanus praesul indubitatus nemo umquam inventus est falsae doctrinae publicus assertor.

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<sup>1</sup> Here begins a lacuna which ends after the words quod si lex fidem in sect. 45 U

<sup>2</sup> apostolica sedes : fides apostolica N

<sup>3</sup> et N

<sup>4</sup> magnus M

<sup>5</sup> quantum N

<sup>6</sup> mihi Agnetem : Agnetem michi N

<sup>7</sup> nam N

<sup>8</sup> apostolatus apice : apice apostolatus N

<sup>9</sup> facta U

<sup>10</sup> historia est : est historia L

<sup>11</sup> omit. L

<sup>12</sup> ausum L; auserim N

### 6.3. Hussite objection: the teachings of the Roman Church are false

[42] **Mikulas:** We would obey His Apostolic Majesty and be his devoted subjects if he did not make commands against the law of God.

**Enea:** In matters of the Faith, the Apostolic See has never been found to be in error or to have accepted false doctrines.

#### 6.3.1. The papess

[43] **Galka:** But what about Agnete? Was there no manifest error there?<sup>1</sup>

**Enea:** What Agnete are you talking about?

**Galechus:** The woman whom the Roman See honoured as a man and placed on the summit of the apostolate.

**Enea:** But that was an error neither of Faith nor of law but ignorance of a factual circumstance. Moreover that story is not certain.

#### 6.3.2. Criminal popes

[44] **Mikulas:** But several Roman popes were criminal and are now being punished in Hell.

**Enea:** I know nothing of that. But if anyone of them is known to have sinned, he fell in the manner of men, deceived by his own fragility. But this I dare say: no undoubted Roman bishop has ever been found to publicly declare a false doctrine.

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<sup>1</sup> Galka is referring to the legend of Papess Joan

[45] **Nicolaus:** Saepe Romanus pontifex legem praecessoris<sup>1</sup> evertit: aut unus ergo<sup>2</sup> aut alter erravit.

**Aeneas:** Inanis argumentatio tua<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> est. Licet enim vetus decretum novus papa deturbet, non tamen primi conditoris sententiam reprobatur, quoniam secundum tempora leges variantur humanae<sup>5</sup>, neque enim, quod semel utile fuit decretum, semper utile perseverat. Non erravit<sup>6</sup> ecclesia primitiva<sup>7</sup>, quae sacerdotibus permisit uxores<sup>8</sup>, nec errat moderna, quae subtrahit. Et vos, quamvis multis in rebus<sup>9</sup> Romanam<sup>10</sup> impugnatis ecclesiam, conjugia tamen presbyterorum abjicientes neque primitivam ecclesiam neque Graecam, sed nostram<sup>11</sup> sequimini. Quia vero mores hominum tempore<sup>12</sup> variantur, decreta, quae super his promulgantur<sup>13</sup>, perpetua esse non possunt, sed utiliter saepe conscripta lapsu temporis vertuntur ad noxam. Ex quo fit, ut alteruter sit commendandus, et qui prius edidit et qui postea decretum abrogavit. Moysen novimus mandato domini *serpentem aeneum fabricasse*, quem Christi figuram fuisse doctores nostri testantur. Hunc tamen Ezechias longo post tempore<sup>14</sup> sine culpa destruxit. Sic et<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> Romanus praesul<sup>17</sup> legem super moribus editam et absque suo potest<sup>18</sup> et absque illius erratu cassare. Quod si lex fidem<sup>19</sup> respicit et aliquid de<sup>20</sup> fide<sup>21</sup> declarat, immutabilis est<sup>22</sup>. Nam verum fidei<sup>23</sup> semper est verum, nec ullo potest vel<sup>24</sup> loco vel tempore variari. Ideo decreta, quae sunt de fide a sanctis patribus instituta, summa veneratione recepta sunt et immutata atque inviolata perdurant.

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<sup>1</sup> antecessoris L; predecessoris sui N

<sup>2</sup> omit. F, WO

<sup>3</sup> omit. L

<sup>4</sup> argumentatio tua : tue argumentatio N

<sup>5</sup> variantur humanae : humanae variantur N

<sup>6</sup> errat N

<sup>7</sup> ecclesia primitiva : primitiva ecclesia M

<sup>8</sup> uxorem N

<sup>9</sup> in rebus : diebus N

<sup>10</sup> omit. L

<sup>11</sup> vestram N

<sup>12</sup> secundum tempora N

<sup>13</sup> non multum con...(*illeg.*) add. N

<sup>14</sup> post tempore : tempore post L, N

<sup>15</sup> omit. M

<sup>16</sup> sic et : sicque N

<sup>17</sup> praecessoris add. L; antecessoris add. M, N

<sup>18</sup> omit. V

<sup>19</sup> Here ends a lacuna which began after the words quae sunt fidei in sect. 42 U

<sup>20</sup> de F

<sup>21</sup> de fide : inde N

<sup>22</sup> et N

<sup>23</sup> verum fidei : fidei vere N

<sup>24</sup> omit. L



### 6.3.3. Popes change church laws

[45] **Mikulaus:** The Roman pontiffs have often overturned one of his predecessor's laws: so, one of them must have been in error.

**Enea:** Your argument is inane. A new pope may overturn an old decree, but he does not thereby reprove the judgment of the pope who first passed it, for human laws change with times, and a decree that was useful at one time does not remain useful forever. The Primitive Church did not err when it allowed priests to take wives, and the present-day Church does not err when she forbids it. You yourselves, though you criticise the Roman Church in many areas, reject priestly marriage, so in this respect, you are following neither the Primitive Church nor the Greek Church but our Church. Since men's behaviour change with the times, decrees which were passed at one time cannot be permanent: useful [laws] often become harmful with the passage of times. Therefore, both popes are to be commended, both he who first made the decree, and he who later repealed it. We know that on the Lord's command, Moses had a copper snake made<sup>1</sup> which our doctors say was an image prefiguring Christ. But after a long time, Ezechias had it destroyed without incurring any guilt.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Roman bishop can repeal a law regulating men's behaviour without error on his own part or on the part of him who first made it. But a law that concerns the Faith and declares something about the Faith is immutable. For a truth of Faith is always true and cannot vary with time and place. Therefore, decrees concerning the Faith passed by the Holy Fathers must be accepted with complete reverence, and they are forever valid, unchanged and inviolate.

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<sup>1</sup> Numbers, 21: 4-9

<sup>2</sup> 2. Kings, 18, 4

[46] **Galechus:** Pergis Romanam ecclesiam ab errore defendere. Incassum laboras, nam contra evangelium Christi<sup>1</sup> contraque<sup>2</sup> proxim<sup>3</sup> praedicat<sup>4</sup> {130v} agitque<sup>5</sup>.

**Aeneas:** Ubinam? Quibus in rebus?

**Galechus:** Ubique gentium et in altaris sacramento.

**Aeneas:** Quo pacto? Effare.

**Galechus:** Porrigi<sup>6</sup> calicem populo<sup>7</sup> vetat<sup>8</sup>, Christus jussit.

**Aeneas:** Ostende, ubi jussit.

[47] **Galechus:** Apud Johannem inquit dominus: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis*<sup>9</sup>. *Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternam*.<sup>10</sup> Magna est audacia, ne dicam temeritas apostolicae sedis<sup>11</sup>, quae potum sanguinis populo<sup>12</sup> subtrahit, sine<sup>13</sup> quo negat dominus haberi<sup>14</sup> vitam aeternam. Sed accipe nunc<sup>15</sup> in natali<sup>16</sup> magni<sup>17</sup> hujus sacramenti, quae fuerunt Christi verba. Matthaeus sic rem gestam exponit: *Cenantibus autem eis*<sup>18</sup> *accepit Jesus panem et benedixit ac*<sup>19</sup> *fregit deditque discipulis et*<sup>20</sup> *ait: Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum*<sup>21</sup>. *Et accipiens calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic est enim sanguis*<sup>22</sup> *novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*. Vides<sup>23</sup>, ut imperat omnes bibere. Sed<sup>24</sup> audi Marcum: *Et*

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<sup>1</sup> evangelium Christi : Christi evangelium N

<sup>2</sup> omit. L

<sup>3</sup> proximum L, N

<sup>4</sup> dicat L

<sup>5</sup> et agit N

<sup>6</sup> porrigere L

<sup>7</sup> populis L

<sup>8</sup> negat L

<sup>9</sup> et biberitis ejus ... vobis : et ultra N

<sup>10</sup> et bibit meum ... aeternam : etc. N

<sup>11</sup> apostolicae sedis omit. L

<sup>12</sup> potum sanguinis populo : populo potum sanguinis M

<sup>13</sup> siue U

<sup>14</sup> habere N, U

<sup>15</sup> omit. F

<sup>16</sup> omit. N

<sup>17</sup> omit. F, L; magnitudinem N

<sup>18</sup> illis N

<sup>19</sup> et M

<sup>20</sup> suis N

<sup>21</sup> accepit Jesus ... meum : etc. L

<sup>22</sup> meus add. M

<sup>23</sup> uidetur M

<sup>24</sup> qui pro multis ... sed omit. N

*manducantibus illis, ait, accepit Jesus panem et benedicens fregit et dedit illis<sup>1</sup> et ait: Sumite, hoc est corpus meum, et accepto calice gratias agens dedit eis<sup>2</sup>, et biberunt ex illo omnes et ait illis: Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur.<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> eis M

<sup>2</sup> illis N

<sup>3</sup> gratias egit et dedit illis dicens bibite... effundetur *omit.* L



#### 6.3.4. Roman communion practice erroneous

[46] **Galka:** You continue to defend the Roman Church, [claiming that it is not] in error. But you labour in vain, for she preaches and acts against the Gospel of Christ and the praxis [of the Early Church].

**Enea:** Where? In what matters.

**Galka:** Everywhere and in the matter of the sacrament of the altar.

**Enea:** How? Speak.

**Galka:** She forbids the chalice to be offered to the people, whereas Christ commands it to be.

**Enea:** Show me where he commanded it.

### 6.4. Discussion of communion under both species

#### 6.4.1. Hussite arguments

##### 6.4.1.1. *The Bible*

[47] **Galka:** In the Gospel of John, the Lord says, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.*<sup>1</sup> Great is the audacity, not to say the temerity, of the Apostolic See since it prevents the people from drinking the blood without which the Lord says you cannot have eternal life. But hear now what Christ said at the birth of this great sacrament. This is how Matthew relates it: *And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke: and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye, and eat. This is my body. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks, and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this. For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins.*<sup>2</sup> As you see, he commands all to drink. And Mark: *And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread; and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said: Take ye. This is my body. And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them. And they all drank of it. And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John, 6, 54-55

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 26, 28

<sup>3</sup> Mark, 14, 22-24

[47] Lucas vero sic<sup>1</sup> ait: *Et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis<sup>2</sup> dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem<sup>3</sup>. Similiter et calicem, postquam cenavit, dicens: Hic est calix, novum testamentum in sanguine meo<sup>4</sup>, qui pro vobis fundetur.*<sup>5 6</sup> Ostendunt evangelistae, ut vides, quia jussit dominus facere, quod ipse fecit, verbo usus imperativo: Facite.

[48] Quod si quis existimaret<sup>7</sup> circa priorem dumtaxat speciem stare praeceptum domini, sicut Lucas testari videtur, audiat ad Corinthios Paulum, quid ille *Ego enim accepi a domino*, inquit, *quod et<sup>8</sup> tradidi vobis, quoniam dominus noster<sup>9</sup> Jesus<sup>10</sup>, in qua nocte tradebatur<sup>11</sup>, accepit panem et<sup>12</sup> gratias<sup>13</sup> agens fregit et dixit: Accipite et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Similiter et calicem, postquam cenavit, dicens: Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine. Hoc facite, quotienscumque biberitis, in meam commemorationem<sup>14 15</sup>. Supplet apostolus Paulus, quod evangelistis defuisse videtur, praeceptumque non panis<sup>16</sup> solum<sup>17</sup>, sed calicis<sup>18</sup> quoque subjungit. Et Matthaeus circa panem, *Comedite*, inquit, et circa calicem *Bibite*, quae sunt verba praeceptionis<sup>19</sup>. Cum ergo Paulus et evangelistae simul juncti manducationis praeceptum et bibitionis ostendant<sup>20</sup>, quis Romanam ecclesiam hujus mandati violatricem non videt, quae populo Christi sanguinem interdicit viamque {131r} salutis occludit<sup>21</sup>? His<sup>22</sup> accedit sanctorum apostolorum et aliorum observantia discipulorum, qui novae legis sensum non ab homine, sed ab ore domini didicerunt, quorum actio nostra instructio est, quos<sup>23</sup> errasse nefas est opinari. Graecia quoque litterarum mater et omnis disciplinae<sup>24</sup> magistra, traditionem Pauli<sup>25</sup> immutilatam hucusque<sup>1</sup> servavit, qui panis edendi bibendique calicis auctor illi fuit, sicut ejus ad Corinthios scripta manifestant.*

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

<sup>2</sup> illis N

<sup>3</sup> et fregit et dedit ... commemorationem : etc. L

<sup>4</sup> sanguine meo : meo sanguine F

<sup>5</sup> effundetur N

<sup>6</sup> postquam cenavit ... fundetur *omit.* L

<sup>7</sup> existimat L, M, N

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

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

<sup>10</sup> Christus *add.* M, N, V

<sup>11</sup> tradetur M

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>13</sup> et gratias : graciens M

<sup>14</sup> inquit quod et tradidi ... commemorationem : etc. L

<sup>15</sup> similiter et calicem ... commemorationem *omit.* F

<sup>16</sup> pani M

<sup>17</sup> panis solum : solum pane N

<sup>18</sup> calici L, M, N

<sup>19</sup> receptionis F

<sup>20</sup> ostenderunt L; ostendunt N

<sup>21</sup> concludit N

<sup>22</sup> hic M; is U

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* L, N

<sup>24</sup> mater et *add.* N

<sup>25</sup> Paula N

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<sup>1</sup> immutilatam hucusque : hucusque immutilatam L

[47] And this is what Luke says: *And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake; and gave to them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me. In like manner, the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.*<sup>1</sup> As you see, the evangelists show that by using the word "do" in the imperative form, the Lord commanded us to do what he himself did.

[48] If anybody believes that the Lord's command only applies to the first species, as Luke appears to indicate, then let him hear what Paul tells the Corinthians: *For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread. And giving thanks, broke, and said: Take ye, and eat: this is my body, which shall be delivered for you: this do for the commemoration of me. In like manner also the chalice, after he had supped, saying: This chalice is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of me.*<sup>2</sup> Here, Paul provides what seems to be missing in the evangelists, giving not only the command of the bread but also the command of the chalice. And concerning the bread, Matthew says, "Eat" and concerning the chalice "Drink", both in the command form. When Paul and the evangelists show the command of eating together with the command of drinking, who does not see that the Roman Church is in violation of this command and closes the way of salvation by forbidding the people [to drink] the blood of Christ.

#### 6.4.1.2. *The Primitive Church*

To this should be added the praxis of the holy apostles and other disciples who learnt the meaning of the new law not from a man but from the mouth of the Lord. Their action is our instruction, for it is sinful to think they were in error.

#### 6.4.1.3. *The Greek Church*

Also Greece, mother of letters and teacher of all disciplines, has until now kept unchanged the tradition of Paul, who was the author of [the practice of] eating the bread and drinking from the chalice, as his own letter to the Corinthians attests.

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<sup>1</sup> Luke, 22, 19-20

<sup>2</sup> 1. Corinthians, 11, 23-25

[48] Sunt praeterea<sup>1</sup> nonnulli doctores, qui Johannis textum ad nostrum<sup>2</sup> sensum<sup>3</sup> accipiunt, et Leonem papam statuisse tradunt, ut qui sacramenti suscipit unam speciem a calice non absteat. Quomodo igitur Romanam ecclesiam consulere<sup>4</sup> et vocem ejus audire servareque legem possumus, quae tam<sup>5</sup> manifeste divinis<sup>6</sup> contradicit oraculis? Numquid Deo magis oboedire oportet quam hominibus, Christo quam papae, evangelio quam<sup>7</sup> decretalibus?

[49] **Aeneas:** Multa et magna sunt, quae dixisti, nam et fucum<sup>8</sup> veritatis habent et multos<sup>9</sup> decipere possunt, qui sacrae scripturae sonum audientes, sensum negligunt, cujus mysteria non verbo docentur, sed spiritu revelantur. Idcirco, *Revela*, inquit David<sup>10</sup>, *oculos meos et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua*. Nemo<sup>11</sup> scripturam nisi spiritu sancto<sup>12</sup> docente cognoscit. Hinc<sup>13</sup> Paulus *Ministros* ait<sup>14</sup>, *fecit nos Deus novi testamenti non littera, sed spiritu*. *Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem*<sup>15</sup> *vivificat*. Est ergo<sup>16</sup> necessarium, si<sup>17</sup> volumus evangelium intelligere, ut spiritu ambulemus, sicut<sup>18</sup> ad Galatas doctor gentium scribit. Verum ego, quia *peccator sum et iniquitate circumdatus*, non credo mihi neque me puto sacra eloquia intelligere et altos percipere sensus. Eapropter responsurus tibi nihil de meo, sed quod sancti doctores divino afflatus<sup>19</sup> spiritu tradunt, et quod docet ecclesia, dicam, nam sibi assistit<sup>20</sup> Christus, et<sup>21</sup> suggerit omnia spiritus sanctus, cujus maxima dignitas est, summa potestas<sup>22</sup>, immensurabilis auctoritas, quae neque fallit neque fallitur, quam si quis docentem corripientemque contempserit, ut *ethnicus et*<sup>23</sup> *publicanus* habendus est. Atque – ut Cypriani, clarissimi et doctissimi<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> martyris, sententiae consonemus – *alienus est*<sup>26</sup> *profanus*<sup>27</sup> *est, hostis est*<sup>28</sup>, *habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non*

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<sup>1</sup> propterea WO

<sup>2</sup> omit. L

<sup>3</sup> nostrum sensum : sensum nostrum M

<sup>4</sup> omit. L

<sup>5</sup> tamen M

<sup>6</sup> omit. M

<sup>7</sup> plusquam M

<sup>8</sup> votum L; succum N

<sup>9</sup> multis L

<sup>10</sup> omit. N

<sup>11</sup> neque M

<sup>12</sup> omit. L

<sup>13</sup> hic U

<sup>14</sup> ministros ait : ait ministros N

<sup>15</sup> omit. L

<sup>16</sup> enim L, N

<sup>17</sup> sed N

<sup>18</sup> sic etiam N

<sup>19</sup> appellatu N

<sup>20</sup> assit L

<sup>21</sup> ut L

<sup>22</sup> omit. F

<sup>23</sup> ut M, N

<sup>24</sup> clarissimi et doctissimi : doctissimi et clarissimi M

<sup>25</sup> et doctissimi omit. U

<sup>26</sup> omit. M

<sup>27</sup> orphanus M

<sup>28</sup> prophanus est add. M

*habet matrem.* Plurima<sup>1</sup> sunt sacri codicis verba<sup>2</sup>, quae diversis accommodari<sup>3</sup> sensibus possunt, quapropter non<sup>4</sup> alienum<sup>5</sup> aut<sup>6</sup> extraneum foris<sup>7</sup> sensum querere<sup>8</sup> debemus, quem scripturae testimonio confirmemus<sup>9</sup>, sed ab ipsa scriptura rapiendus<sup>10</sup> est sensus veritatis, quem<sup>11</sup> sola novit et suis filiis exponit ecclesia.

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<sup>1</sup> plurimi WO

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

<sup>3</sup> accomodare L

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>5</sup> non alienum : alienum non U

<sup>6</sup> atque L

<sup>7</sup> infero N

<sup>8</sup> habere L

<sup>9</sup> conformemus L; conferemus N

<sup>10</sup> recipiendus L, M, N

<sup>11</sup> que L

#### 6.4.1.4. Doctors and popes

[48] Moreover, several doctors interpret John's text in our sense, and Pope Leo<sup>1</sup> is said to have declared that those who take the sacrament under one species should not abstain from the chalice. When the Roman Church so clearly gainsays the divine precepts, how can we respect it and heed its words and keep its law? Must we obey men rather than God, the pope rather than Christ, and the decretals<sup>2</sup> rather than the Gospel?

#### 6.4.2. Piccolomini's refutation

[49] **Enea:** You have said many and important things that have the appearance of truth and can deceive many men who only hear the literal words (sonum) of Holy Scripture and neglect their meaning (sensus). However, the mysteries of Scripture are not taught in words but revealed in spirit. Therefore David said: *Open thou my eyes: and I will consider the wondrous things of thy law.*<sup>3</sup> Nobody understands Scripture unless taught by the Holy Spirit. Therefore Paul says: God made us *ministers of the new testament, not in the letter, but in the spirit. For the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth.*<sup>4</sup> So, if we want to understand the Gospel, we must walk in the spirit, as the Doctor of the Gentiles<sup>5</sup> writes to the Galatians.<sup>6</sup> But since *I am a sinner and surrounded by iniquity,*<sup>7</sup> I do not trust myself nor believe that I understand Holy Scripture and its profound meanings. Therefore, in my answer to you, I shall not bring forth anything of my own but [only] what the holy doctors, inspired by the Holy Spirit, say, and what the Church teaches, since Christ himself assists her, and the Holy Spirit inspires her in everything. Therefore, the dignity of the Church is immense, her power supreme, and her authority immeasurable, and she neither deceives nor is deceived. If anybody disdains her teachings or censures, he should be regarded as a *heathen and a publican.*<sup>8</sup> And, echoing the words of Cyprian,<sup>9</sup> the noble and learned martyr, *he who does not have the Church as his mother is a stranger, impious, an enemy, who cannot have God as his father.*<sup>10</sup> Many passages in the Holy Book can be given different interpretation. In those cases, we should not seek elsewhere for a different or external meaning but determine the meaning on the basis of scriptural testimony and wrest the true meaning from Scripture itself, which only the Church knows and teaches to her sons.

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<sup>1</sup> Leo I (ca. 400-461): Pope from 440 to his death.

<sup>2</sup> Decretals: collections of papal decrees

<sup>3</sup> Psalms, 118, 18

<sup>4</sup> 2. Corinthians, 3, 6: *qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti : non littera, sed Spiritu : littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat*

<sup>5</sup> Saint Paul

<sup>6</sup> Galatians, 5, 25

<sup>7</sup> Quotation, origin not traced

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, 18, 17c

<sup>9</sup> Cyprianus, Thascus Caecilius (ca. 200-258): Bishop of Carthage and eminent Christian writer. Saint

<sup>10</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 6 (MPL, IV, col. 503)

[50] Teneo te fortasse<sup>1</sup> {131v} nimis! Perstringo<sup>2</sup> sermonem, et<sup>3</sup> ad rem propero. Accusasti Romanam ecclesiam, quae dum<sup>4</sup> communionem calicis plebi denegat, evangelium vitiat<sup>5</sup>, Christum negat, salutem adimit<sup>6</sup>. Quattuor sunt – ut video<sup>7</sup> – quae non te solum, sed omnes movent<sup>8</sup>, quos Hussitarum opinio, ne dicam rabies, ab ecclesia Romana sejunxit<sup>9</sup>: primum est Johannis testimonium; secundum est institutio sacramenti per tres evangelistas relata cum Paulo; tertium est ecclesiae primitivae Graecorumque praxis; quartum est nonnullorum doctorum ac Romanorum pontificum auctoritas. Sunt<sup>10</sup> ad haec omnia nobis<sup>11</sup> parata<sup>12</sup> et clara responsa, quae de penu<sup>13</sup> spiritus sancti recipit et ministrat mater ecclesia.

[51] Negat Johannes – ut ais<sup>14</sup> – immo negat<sup>15</sup> apud Johannem dominus vitam esse cuiquam, nisi carnem suam comederit et sanguinem ejus biberit, quibus verbis non minus utriusque speciei communionem quam baptismatis undam<sup>16</sup> mandatam<sup>17</sup> censes. Vetus haec Armenorum insania fuit, qui natos, ut in lucem veniebant, mox baptizatos altaris sacramento reficiebant, quod et vos<sup>18</sup> ajunt facere, qui dementes atque infantes ad eucharistiae libamina<sup>19</sup> vocatis, inhonorantes divinissimum sacramentum, communionem<sup>20</sup> Pauli despicientes, qui ad Corinthios scribens ait: *Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat*<sup>21 22</sup>. Quomodo<sup>23</sup> se<sup>24</sup> parvuli et amentes<sup>25</sup> probare<sup>26</sup> possunt, quibus nec certus nec verus rationis est usus? Sed non est<sup>27</sup> evangelio<sup>28</sup> Johannis, quem sibi sensus<sup>29</sup> ascribitis<sup>30</sup>: non bibitio<sup>1</sup> sacramentalis illic praecipitur<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> vis add. N

<sup>2</sup> perstringendo F

<sup>3</sup> ut N

<sup>4</sup> dua L

<sup>5</sup> cruciat U

<sup>6</sup> impedit N

<sup>7</sup> ut video omit. L

<sup>8</sup> uolunt L

<sup>9</sup> disiunxit N

<sup>10</sup> ut N

<sup>11</sup> vobis N

<sup>12</sup> rata N

<sup>13</sup> parte reparacione L; pena M; vena N

<sup>14</sup> ait L, M, N

<sup>15</sup> Johannes ... negat omit. U

<sup>16</sup> nudam U

<sup>17</sup> datam L

<sup>18</sup> nos U

<sup>19</sup> libamenta L, M, N

<sup>20</sup> comunicacionemque L, M, N

<sup>21</sup> etc. add. N

<sup>22</sup> et sic de pane ... bibat : etc. L

<sup>23</sup> et sic de pane ... quomodo omit. U

<sup>24</sup> omit. L

<sup>25</sup> dementes L, N

<sup>26</sup> se add. L

<sup>27</sup> in add. N

<sup>28</sup> evangelii L

<sup>29</sup> sensum N

<sup>30</sup> nam add. N



sed spiritualis insinuat. Nam sanguinis Christi triplicem potum Alberti magni sententia tradit in eo sermone, quem de Christi corpore<sup>3</sup> non minus subtiliter quam veraciter edidit. Est enim potus sacramentalis, quem<sup>4</sup> soli sacerdotes accipiunt, est<sup>5</sup> intellectualis, qui plebibus Christianis sub specie panis ministratur, et est<sup>6</sup> spiritualis, quo salvandi omnes utuntur incarnationem passionemque<sup>7</sup> domini pia et assidua meditatione recolentes. Et hanc bibitionem dominus apud Johannem praecipit, sicut verborum evangelistae<sup>8</sup> series luculenter ostendit.

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<sup>1</sup> dubito U

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* L, N

<sup>3</sup> Christi corpore : corpore Christi L

<sup>4</sup> sibi *add.* WO

<sup>5</sup> et N, V, WO

<sup>6</sup> et est: est et L

<sup>7</sup> passionem L

<sup>8</sup> evangelistarum L

[50] Maybe I am taxing your attention overly, so I shall tighten my exposition and come directly to the issue at hand. You have accused the Roman Church of deforming the Gospel, denying Christ, and removing salvation by forbidding [laymen] the communion of the chalice. As I see it, four things motivate not only you but all whom Hussite beliefs, not to say madness, have separated from the Roman Church. The first is the testimony of John. The second is the institution of the sacrament as related by three evangelists together with Paul. The third is the praxis of the Primitive Church and the Greeks. And the fourth is the authority of several doctors and Roman pontiffs. On all these points, we have ready and clear answers, which Mother Church receives and dispenses from the storehouse of the Holy Spirit.

#### 6.4.2.1. *Gospel of John*

[51] As you say, John, or rather the Lord in John's [Gospel] denies that anybody can have life unless he eats His flesh and drinks His blood. You believe that with these words He not only commands communion under both species but also baptism in flowing water.<sup>1 2</sup> This is the old madness of the Armenians who, when their children were born, immediately baptized them and gave them the sacrament of the altar. It is said that you do the same, inviting the insane and the infants to the firstfruits of the eucharist, thus showing irreverence for the most holy sacrament and spurning the communion of Paul, who wrote to the Corinthians: *But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the chalice.*<sup>3</sup> For how can small children and insane people prove themselves when they do not have sure and true use of reason? The Gospel of John does not have the meaning you ascribe to it, for the passage in question does not command the sacramental drinking but imply the spiritual. For in Albert the Great's perspicacious and true sermon about Christ's body,<sup>4</sup> he says that there are three ways to drink the blood of Christ. [Firstly,] the sacramental drinking, which only the priests perform. [Secondly,] the intellectual drinking which is given to the Christian laypeople under the species of bread. And [thirdly,] the spiritual drinking performed by all who piously and assiduously meditate on the Lord's incarnation and passion. The last one is the [form of] drinking which the Lord commands in the Gospel of John, as the splendid passage of the evangelist shows.

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<sup>1</sup> "baptismatis unda": cf. HB, I, p. 232: *Baptismum fluvialis unde ... recipiendum*, translated as *Die Taufe ist im fließenden Wasser vorzunehmen*

<sup>2</sup> In Piccolomini's own summary of Galca's arguments (sect. 44), there is no mention of baptism

<sup>3</sup> 1. Corinthians, 11, 28

<sup>4</sup> Albertus Magnus: *Sermones XXXII de Corpore Christi*. XXIII: *De triplici potu sanguinis Christi*. According to Smend, it is doubtful that Albert the Great ever spoke against communion under both species, see Smend, p. 10-11

[51] Namque<sup>1</sup> cum dixisset dominus: *Caro mea vere est cibus et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in eo*<sup>2</sup>. Multi audientes ex discipulis ejus dixerunt: *'Durus est hic sermo, quis potest eum audire?'* Sciens autem<sup>3</sup> Jesus apud semetipsum<sup>4</sup>, quia murmurarent de hoc discipuli ejus<sup>5</sup>, dixit eis: *'Hoc vos scandalizat? Si ergo videritis filium hominis ascendentem, ubi erat prius? Spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro non {132r} prodest quidquam. Verba, quae ego locutus sum, vobis*<sup>6</sup> *spiritus et vita sunt. Sed sunt quidam ex vobis*<sup>7</sup>, *qui non credunt.'* Declarat dominus his verbis<sup>8</sup> non carnalis esus aut potus illic<sup>9</sup>, sed spiritualis arcana mysteria contineri, dum ait: *Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quidquam*<sup>10</sup>. Et iterum: *Verba, quae locutus sum, vobis*<sup>11</sup> *spiritus et vita sunt.*

[52] Vis aperte cognoscere, quoniam de spirituali manducatione, quae fit per fidem, loquitur evangelista? Adverte, quae dicit dominus: *Qui manducat et bibit*, ait: instantis non futuri temporis verba sunt. Erant igitur<sup>12</sup>, dum sic loqueretur dominus, qui manducabant<sup>13</sup> et qui<sup>14</sup> bibebant, cum<sup>15</sup> nondum<sup>16</sup> passus dominus<sup>17</sup> erat<sup>18</sup>, nec adhuc institutum fuerat<sup>19</sup> sacramentum. Quomodo ergo manducabant aut<sup>20</sup> bibebant<sup>21 22</sup> aliqui<sup>23</sup> Christum, nisi spiritualiter per fidem et caritatem, credentes in eum et facientes opera ejus<sup>24</sup>? Nam et prius dixerat: *Ego sum panis vivus*<sup>25</sup>. *Qui venit*<sup>26</sup> *ad me*<sup>27</sup>, *non esuriet, et qui credit in me, non sitiet umquam*<sup>28</sup>. Qui credebant in eum et opera<sup>29</sup> sectabantur ejus<sup>30</sup>, hi<sup>1</sup> potabant<sup>2</sup> sanguinem. Atque<sup>3</sup> hic verior est

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<sup>1</sup> nam L

<sup>2</sup> et sanguis meus ... in eo *omit.* L

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* L; illud N

<sup>4</sup> seipsum L, M

<sup>5</sup> de hoc discipuli ejus : discipuli eius de hoc L

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

<sup>7</sup> verbis WO

<sup>8</sup> his verbis *omit.* L

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

<sup>10</sup> caro non ... quidquam *omit.* L

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

<sup>12</sup> autem L

<sup>13</sup> qui manducabant *omit.* L

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>15</sup> *em.*; eum codd.

<sup>16</sup> nam dum L

<sup>17</sup> passus dominus : dominus passus N

<sup>18</sup> dominus erat : erat dominus L

<sup>19</sup> erat L

<sup>20</sup> et L

<sup>21</sup> biberent L

<sup>22</sup> aut bibebant : bibebantque M, N

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* L, M, N

<sup>24</sup> ipsius N

<sup>25</sup> uite L, M, N

<sup>26</sup> uenerit WO

<sup>27</sup> adhuc *add.* U

<sup>28</sup> non sitiet umquam : nunquam siciet N

<sup>29</sup> ejus nam et prius ... opera *omit.* L

<sup>30</sup> sectabantur ejus : eius sectabantur N

evangelii sensus, quia tunc aliter edi caro aut bibi Christi sanguis<sup>4</sup> non poterat. Fuit enim figurata locutio domini<sup>5</sup>, sicut et Samaritanae et in cruce se sitire<sup>6</sup> dixit, quia<sup>7</sup> fidem illius et salutem nostram<sup>8</sup> sitiebat. Sic glossator intelligit hoc evangelium, sic magnus Augustinus, doctrina et verecundia justa<sup>9</sup> nobilis, cujus tanta gloria est, ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuat.

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

<sup>2</sup> hospitabant L

<sup>3</sup> at L

<sup>4</sup> aut bibi ... sanguis : et sanguis eius bibi L

<sup>5</sup> locutio domini : domini locutio L

<sup>6</sup> se sitire : sitire se M

<sup>7</sup> qui L

<sup>8</sup> salutem nostram : nostram salutem L, M, N

<sup>9</sup> juxta O, U, WO; justa *corr.* ex juxta V

[51] For when the Lord said: *My flesh is meat indeed: and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.*<sup>1</sup> Many therefore of his disciples, hearing it, said: *This saying is hard, and who can hear it? But Jesus, knowing in himself, that his disciples murmured at this, said to them: Doth this scandalise you? If then you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you, are spirit and life. But there are some of you that believe not.*<sup>2</sup> In the passages *It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing*, and *The words that I have spoken to you, are spirit and life*, the Lord makes clear that he is not speaking of corporeal eating and drinking but about the hidden mysteries contained in the spiritual drinking.

[52] Do you wish to understand clearly that [here] the evangelist speaks about the spiritual eating done through faith? Then note that when the Lord said *Who eats and drinks*, he used the present tense, not the future. So, speaking thus, the Lord [was addressing] those who were eating and drinking [at that moment]. The Lord had not yet had his suffering, and the sacrament had not yet been instituted, so how could the others eat and drink Christ unless spiritually, through faith and love, believing in him and doing his works? And had he not previously said: *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger: and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.*<sup>3</sup> Those who [at that time] believed in him and followed his works, they were the ones who ate his flesh and drank his blood. So, this is the true meaning of the gospel, for at that time you could not eat the flesh of Christ or drink his blood differently. Thus, the Lord was speaking in the figurative sense, just as when he spoke to the Samaritan and when he said on the cross that he was thirsty,<sup>4</sup> for what he was thirsting for was the other's faith and our salvation. This is how the glossator<sup>5</sup> understands this gospel and also the great Augustine, famed for his learning and just virtue, and whose glory is so great that it cannot be augmented by praise nor diminished by vituperation.

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<sup>1</sup> John, 6, 56

<sup>2</sup> John, 6, 64

<sup>3</sup> John, 6, 35

<sup>4</sup> John, 19, 28

<sup>5</sup> The medieval commentator of the gospel text

[52] Quo postposito, si quis Wiclefium<sup>1</sup> Rochezanamque sequitur, luci tenebras, veritati mendacium praefert. Quid plura? Nonne<sup>2</sup> dominus in<sup>3</sup> contextu evangelii dicit: *Ego sum panis vitae*<sup>4</sup>. *Qui venit*<sup>5</sup> *ad me, non esuriet. Et qui*<sup>6</sup> *credit in me, non sitiet umquam*. Eccum tibi<sup>7</sup> panem<sup>8</sup>, qui cibus<sup>9</sup> et potus est<sup>10</sup>, qui esuriem<sup>11</sup> tollit et sitim. Cui tollit? Quomodo tollit<sup>12</sup>? Credenti tollit, per caritatem tollit<sup>13</sup>, nam qui fidem rectam habet et opera facit digna fide, hic est, qui carnem domini digne<sup>14 15</sup> manducat et sanguinem bibit, et<sup>16</sup> vitam aeternam assequitur<sup>17</sup>, mundo mortuus, Christo vivens. Sic, quod de Johanne vobis<sup>18</sup> assumitis, nostrae sententiae, non vestrae confert.

[53] Nunc ad reliquos evangelistas transeamus hisque Paulum adjungamus. Nam simul omnes integram referunt cenam<sup>19</sup> Christi, et quamvis in uno plus quam in altero sit<sup>20</sup>, nulla tamen discordia, nulla dissonantia est, sed quod unus<sup>21</sup> omisit, alter admisit. Et quamvis evangelistarum nullus dicat *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*<sup>22</sup> nisi solus Lucas, qui post panem benedictum haec verba ponit<sup>23</sup>, nec post calicem geminat, {132v} tamen quia Paulus hoc ad utramque speciem repetit, tenendum est et post panem et post calicem dixisse dominum *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*. Ex quibus verbis praecepta tibi utriusque speciei communicatio videtur, et quia praecepta Christi servanda sunt his, qui salvi esse volunt, quicumque sub specie panis et vini non acceperit<sup>24</sup> sacramentum, damnationem incidit, et injusta est apostolica sedes, hujus inimica praecepti. Sed audi responsionem. Fateor sic<sup>25</sup> locutos, ut dicis<sup>26</sup>, evangelistas, neque verbis Pauli quidquam demo<sup>27</sup>. Non tamen idcirco praeceptum esse intelligo sub specie panis et vini communicare<sup>28</sup> plebes, nam verba, quae retulisti, non omnibus fidelibus, sed apostolis<sup>1</sup> solum<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wicleff L; Biclef M; Viklef N; Videsium U; Wiclefium F, V

<sup>2</sup> non et N

<sup>3</sup> omit. N

<sup>4</sup> uite L, M, N

<sup>5</sup> veniet L

<sup>6</sup> omit. L

<sup>7</sup> dominus add. N

<sup>8</sup> tibi panem : panem tibi M

<sup>9</sup> est add. L, N

<sup>10</sup> potus est : potum tribuit N

<sup>11</sup> tibi add. L; esurienti U

<sup>12</sup> quomodo tollit omit. WO

<sup>13</sup> omit. N

<sup>14</sup> omit. L, M, N

<sup>15</sup> domini digne omit. L

<sup>16</sup> acquirit add. L, M, N

<sup>17</sup> omit. L, M, N

<sup>18</sup> omit. L

<sup>19</sup> referunt cenam : cenam referunt L

<sup>20</sup> quam in altero sit : sit quam in altero N

<sup>21</sup> omit. M

<sup>22</sup> meam commemorationem : memoriam L

<sup>23</sup> postponit L

<sup>24</sup> accepit N

<sup>25</sup> si N

<sup>26</sup> ais L

<sup>27</sup> devio L, N

<sup>28</sup> communicari L, M, N

dicta fuerunt<sup>3</sup>, qui – ut est communis sententia doctorum – aut jam sacerdotes erant<sup>4</sup> aut tunc<sup>5</sup> sacerdotium<sup>6</sup> acceperunt. Quod si praeceptum<sup>7</sup> id est *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, praeceptum hoc sacerdotes, non plebes obligat ecclesiamque simul collectam, non quodlibet ecclesiae membrum<sup>8</sup> respicit.

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<sup>1</sup> apostolicis U

<sup>2</sup> apostolis solum : solum apostolis L

<sup>3</sup> fuere V, WO

<sup>4</sup> fuerant L

<sup>5</sup> nunc F

<sup>6</sup> tunc sacerdotium : sacerdotium tunc N

<sup>7</sup> hoc *add.* N

<sup>8</sup> ecclesiae membrum : membrum ecclesiae L, M

[52] Those who ignore them and follow Wycliffe and Rokycana prefer darkness to light and lies to truth. What more? Does not the Lord say in the gospel: *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger: and he that believeth in me shall never thirst?* So, there is your bread, which is both food and drink, and which satisfies both hunger and thirst. Whom does it satisfy? How does it satisfy? It satisfies the believer, it satisfies through charity, for he who has the right faith and does works worthy of the faith, he it is who worthily eats the flesh of the Lord and drinks His blood, and gains eternal life, being dead to the world and living for Christ. Thus, your quotations from John support our view, not yours.

#### 6.4.2.2. *Synoptic evangelists and Saint Paul*

[53] Let us now pass on to the other evangelists and add Paul. They all relate the whole supper of Christ, and though there may be more in one than in another, there is no divergence, no disagreement [between them]: what one omitted, another included. None of the evangelists said, *“Do this for a commemoration”* except Luke who put these words after the blessing of the bread and did not duplicate them after the chalice. Still, Paul repeats these words after each species, so that we must hold that the Lord said, *“Do this for a commemoration”* both after the bread and after the chalice. On the basis of this passage, you believe that [the Lord has] commanded the communion [to be taken] under both species, and since the commands of Christ must be obeyed by those who wish to be saved, anyone who does not receive the sacrament under the species both of bread and wine falls into damnation, and the Apostolic See is in error, rejecting this command. But hear my answer. I admit that the evangelists have spoken as you say, and I do not take away anything from the words of Paul. Still, I do not consider that there is a command for the people to communicate under the species of both bread and wine, for the words you refer to were not said to all the faithful but only to the apostles, who – as is the general view of the doctors – were already priests or received the priesthood on that occasion. If there is a command to *do this for my commemoration*, then this command obliges the priests, not the [lay]people, and it applies to the Church in general, not to any particular member of the Church.



[53] Atque<sup>1</sup> - ut tecum nervosius<sup>2</sup> agam et argumentationibus fortioribus utar<sup>3</sup> - aut sacerdotes erant apostoli, quando mandatum hoc acceperunt, et ad id soli sunt obnoxii sacerdotes, aut erant adhuc laici, et tunc non sumere tantum, sed<sup>4</sup> conficere<sup>5</sup> quoque<sup>6</sup> sacramentum laicis est praeceptum. Sed hoc tam vobis quam nobis<sup>7 8</sup> absurdum est. Ergo sacerdotes erant apostoli<sup>9</sup>, et sacerdotes tantum praeceptio<sup>10</sup> ligat.

[54] **Galechus:** At Paulus<sup>11</sup> ad Corinthios non sacerdotibus solum<sup>12 13</sup>, sed universae plebi, clericis<sup>14</sup>, laicis, maribus<sup>15</sup>, feminis<sup>16</sup> scribit.

**Aeneas:** Non mandat illic Paulus, sed domini<sup>17</sup> mandatum refert<sup>18</sup> et rem gestam, et, quomodo sacramentum instituit dominus, exponit. Cumque nullus evangelistarum verba illa *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem* post communionem calicis ponat, notandum est, quomodo Paulus loquatur<sup>19</sup>. Quid ille post panem sacrum inquit? *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*<sup>20</sup>. Post calicem autem: *Hoc facite*<sup>21</sup>, *quotiescumque biberitis in meam commemorationem*. Additur hic: *Quotiescumque biberitis*<sup>22 23</sup>. Quid sibi hoc vult<sup>24</sup>? *Quotiescumque biberitis*<sup>25</sup>, inquit, *facite*, hoc est, quando necessarium erit de calice bibere: quando conficietis, quando sacrificium offeretis, *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, quod solis sacerdotibus convenit. Duobus namque modis hoc divinissimum sacramentum consideramus, ut sacramentum<sup>26</sup> solum, ut sacrificium et sacramentum<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> omit. M

<sup>2</sup> ferventius N

<sup>3</sup> fortioribus utar : utar fortioribus V

<sup>4</sup> sederi N

<sup>5</sup> conficitur N

<sup>6</sup> quodlibet sacramentum N

<sup>7</sup> preceptum add. F

<sup>8</sup> vobis quam nobis : nobis quam vobis N

<sup>9</sup> apostolici U

<sup>10</sup> precepto N

<sup>11</sup> apostolus add. N

<sup>12</sup> tantum M

<sup>13</sup> sacerdotibus solum : solum apostolis N

<sup>14</sup> et add. L

<sup>15</sup> et add. M

<sup>16</sup> suis N

<sup>17</sup> divinum N

<sup>18</sup> omit. U

<sup>19</sup> omit. M

<sup>20</sup> post communionem calicis ... commemorationem omit. N

<sup>21</sup> in meam commemorationem add. F

<sup>22</sup> in meam commemorationem additur ... biberitis omit. L

<sup>23</sup> in meam commemorationem post calicem ... biberitis omit. U

<sup>24</sup> hoc vult : vult hoc L, M

<sup>25</sup> quid sibi hoc ... biberitis omit. N

<sup>26</sup> consideramus ut sacramentum omit. N

<sup>27</sup> et sacramentum : solum L, N



[53] And – to reason more strongly with you and use more forceful arguments – either the apostles were already priests when they received this command, and then only priests are obliged by it, or they were still laymen, in which case laymen were commanded not only to receive the sacrament but also to perform it. But this is absurd both to you and us. Therefore the apostles were priests, and only priests are bound by the command.

[54] **Galka:** But in his letter to the Corinthians, Paul addresses not only the priests but also the whole people, clerics, lay people, men and women.

**Enea:** But there, Paul does not make a command, he relates the Lord's command and the event as it occurred, and he explains how the Lord instituted the sacrament. None of the evangelists put the words "*Do this for my commemoration*" after the communion of the chalice, so therefore it should be noted what Paul says. What does he say after the holy bread? "*Do this for my commemoration.*" But after the chalice: "*This do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of me.*"<sup>1</sup> Here he adds, "*as often as you shall drink.*" What does this mean? He says, "*this do ye, as often as you shall drink,*" which means whenever it is necessary to drink from the chalice. When you perform [the sacrament], when you offer the sacrifice, you should *do this for the commemoration of me*, which only applies to the priests. For this divine sacrament may be understood in two ways: as a sacrament alone, and as a sacrifice and sacrament.

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<sup>1</sup> 1. Corinthians, 11, 25

[54] In sacrificio utraque species exigitur, quia imago est illius sacrificii, in quo *Christus assistens*<sup>1</sup> *pontifex futurorum bonorum per amplius et perfectius tabernaculum non manu factum, id est non hujus creationis*<sup>2</sup>, se ipsum pro nobis sacrificium<sup>3</sup> {133r} obtulit<sup>4</sup> Deo patri in ara crucis, ideoque non solum repraesentari debet Christus passus, sed ipsa quoque passio Christi, in qua sanguis fuit<sup>5</sup> a corpore separatus, referenda<sup>6</sup> est. In puro autem sacramento, quod ad sanctificationem<sup>7</sup> nostram requirimus<sup>8</sup>, ut<sup>9</sup> invisibilis gratia sub visibili specie<sup>10</sup> tradatur, sufficit repraesentatio Christi passi, quem panis species abunde refert, quia et ipse dominus grano tritici se comparavit, qui mortuus est, ut multum fructum afferret<sup>11</sup>. Atque - ut altius de tanto sacramento loquamur - triplex est, ut noster Aquinas ait, sanctus et<sup>12</sup> profundissimus doctor<sup>13</sup>, hujus excellentissimae rei significatio triaque tempora respicit. Ex praeterito significat nobis dominicam passionem vocaturque sacrificium. Ex praesenti refert ecclesiasticam unitatem et communio dicitur. Ex futuro praesignat<sup>14</sup> Dei fruitionem, quam praestolamur in caelis, et vocatur viaticum, quia viam praebet ad patriam<sup>15</sup>, et secundum hoc etiam eucharistia, id est bona gratia, nuncupatur. Et sacerdotibus quidem sacrificium convenit, ceteris vero<sup>16</sup> communio atque<sup>17</sup> viaticum, in quibus species panis est sufficiens signum, quia ex multis granis conficitur et pulchre denotat ecclesiasticam unitatem et illum panem angelorum, quo fruemur in caelesti Jerusalem<sup>18</sup>.

[55] **Galechus:** Multa provolvit et a propositae quaestionis statu longe recedis. *Hoc facite*, inquit<sup>19</sup> dominus, id est, conficite ut ego sacramentum. Sumite vobis, bibite<sup>20</sup> et aliis date. Hic nodus<sup>21</sup> est, hic<sup>22</sup> vis<sup>23</sup>.

**Aeneas:** Pulchre de nodo locutus es, nam<sup>24</sup> tu nodum in sirpo<sup>1</sup> quaeris<sup>2</sup>. Sed non est hic nodus, quem ferunt Alexandrum in curri Gordii<sup>3</sup> reperisse, quem cum solvere manu non posset, ense

<sup>1</sup> existens L

<sup>2</sup> neque per sanguinem hircorum *add.* N

<sup>3</sup> per amplius et perfectius ... sacrificium : assistens etc. usque semetipsum L

<sup>4</sup> pro nobis sacrificium obtulit : sacrificium obtulit pro nobis N

<sup>5</sup> sanguis fuit : fuit sanguis V

<sup>6</sup> reuerenda N

<sup>7</sup> sanctificationem WO

<sup>8</sup> requiritur L

<sup>9</sup> et L

<sup>10</sup> nobis *add.* L, M, N

<sup>11</sup> affert N

<sup>12</sup> ac L

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

<sup>14</sup> designat U

<sup>15</sup> *add.* L

<sup>16</sup> quoque N

<sup>17</sup> ad F, O, U, V, WO

<sup>18</sup> etc. *add.* N

<sup>19</sup> facite inquit : inquit facite F

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>21</sup> modus L; nobis O, U, V, WO

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* F, O, U, V, WO

<sup>23</sup> ius V

<sup>24</sup> et *add.* F

rescidit<sup>4</sup>. Facilis est hujus<sup>5</sup> solutio<sup>6</sup> nodi. Neque enim, inquit dominus, quomodo ego feci, ita<sup>7</sup> vos facite<sup>8</sup>, sed *hoc*<sup>9</sup> facite, id est<sup>10</sup> hoc sacramentum conficite *in meam commemorationem*.

[54] In the sacrifice [of the mass] both species are necessary because it is an image of that sacrifice where *Christ, being come an high priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hand, that is, not of this creation,*<sup>11</sup> gave himself as a sacrifice for us to God the Father on the altar of the cross. Therefore, it is not only Christ who suffered that must be represented but the suffering of Christ itself in which blood was separated from the body. But in the sacrament alone<sup>12</sup>, which we require for our salvation so that the invisible grace may be given [to us] under a visible species, it is enough with the representation of the suffering Christ, who is abundantly signified by the species of bread, for the Lord himself compared himself to a grain of wheat which died in order to bear much fruit.<sup>13</sup> And - to speak more deeply about this great sacrament – our Aquinas,<sup>14</sup> the holy and most profound doctor, says that the meaning of this most excellent matter is triple, concerning, as it does, three different times. Concerning the past time, it signifies the Lord's suffering for us and is called sacrifice. Concerning the present, it refers to ecclesiastical unity and is called communion. Concerning the future, it prefigures the fruition in God, which we expect in Heaven, and is called viaticum, because it offers the way (via) to the fatherland. Accordingly, it is also called the eucharist, meaning good grace. The priests have the sacrifice, but the others have the communion and the viaticum, in which the species of bread is an adequate sign since it is made of many grains and beautifully designates ecclesiastical unity and that bread of angels, which we shall enjoy in heavenly Jerusalem.

[55] **Galka:** You are really tossing many ideas around and have strayed far from the question at issue. The Lord said: *Do this*, meaning “perform the sacrament as I have done”. Take it, drink of it and give it to others. This is the knot, this is the essence of the matter.

**Enea:** What you say about the knot is entirely appropriate for someone seeking the knot in a woven basket. But the knot [we are talking about] here is not [like] that knot which they say Alexander found in the cart at Gordium: since he could not untie it by hand, he sliced through with

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<sup>1</sup> stirpo N

<sup>2</sup> nam tu ... quaeris *omit.* L

<sup>3</sup> Gradii L

<sup>4</sup> recidit M, O, U, V, WO

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

<sup>6</sup> talis *add.* N

<sup>7</sup> sic M, N

<sup>8</sup> ita vos facite : facite et vos L

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

<sup>10</sup> id est *omit.* N, U

<sup>11</sup> Hebrews, 9, 11

<sup>12</sup> Without sacrifice

<sup>13</sup> John 25-25

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274): Dominican Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Piccolomini probably refers to Aquinas' *De venerabili sacramento altaris*, but it is not clear which concrete passages he is referring to

his sword. But untying our knot is easy. For the Lord did not say “Do as I have done”, but “Do this”, meaning perform this sacrament *in commemoration of me*.

[55] Quod si notam praecepti sub illis latere verbis<sup>1</sup> affirmas<sup>2</sup>, “accipite” et<sup>3</sup> “comedite” et “bibite”, dico<sup>4</sup> prius ad sacerdotes mandata<sup>5</sup> referri, quia tunc apostoli sacerdotium susceperunt<sup>6</sup>. Ceterum, sicut mandatum illud<sup>7</sup>, *Euntes praedicate evangelium omni creaturae*, sic et<sup>8</sup> istud suscepit ecclesia non ab omnibus, sed ab electis ministris ac sacerdotibus exequendum. Sic doctores intelligunt verba<sup>9</sup> domini, sic sancta ecclesia docet. Quod si Christus his verbis communionem calicis etiam<sup>10</sup> laicis imperasset, non solum Bohemis, sed<sup>11</sup> aliis quoque gentibus per tot annorum curricula revelatum fuisset. Sed nulla schola hoc sentit, nulla civitas<sup>12</sup> probat, nulla extra Bohemiam collegia tenent. Mirabile dictu<sup>13</sup> est, si<sup>14</sup> multa fercula<sup>15</sup> et mixta<sup>16</sup> cervisiae vina et longissimi somni melius vobis scripturam exponunt quam ceteris abstinentiae atque vigiliae<sup>17</sup>.

[56] **Galechus:** Male nos {133v} arguis, non enim nostram sed apostolorum doctrinam Graecorumque<sup>18</sup> sequimur.

**Aeneas:** At illi non dixerunt damnatos esse populos, qui de calice non acciperent, nec nos ad omnia tenemur, quae in ecclesia primitiva patres egerunt. Complurima<sup>19</sup> illi, quae ad perfectionis<sup>20</sup> statum pertinebant, tamquam perfecti observabant, neque enim quidquam proprii<sup>21</sup> possidebant, sed – ut in Actibus Apostolorum<sup>22</sup> Lucas ait – *omnes, qui credebant, erant pariter et habebant omnia communia. Possessiones et substantias vendebant, et<sup>23</sup> dividebant illa omnibus, prout cuique<sup>24</sup> opus erat*. Nos autem non cogimur omnia vendere, et tamen salvamur. Illi carnem cum sanguine non edebant, nos comedimus et non damnamur. Illis uxores fuerunt, nobis desunt, et magis meremur. Illi populum a communionem calicis non prohibebant, nos arcemus et meritum inde recipimus oboedientes ecclesiae, quae communionem sub specie vini subtrahendum multitudini

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<sup>1</sup> latere verbis : verbis latere F, L

<sup>2</sup> confirmas V

<sup>3</sup> omit. V

<sup>4</sup> quod add. L, M, N

<sup>5</sup> mandatum N

<sup>6</sup> accipiebant L

<sup>7</sup> id N; illud V

<sup>8</sup> est M

<sup>9</sup> verbum M; etiam N

<sup>10</sup> et L

<sup>11</sup> etiam add. L

<sup>12</sup> hoc add. L

<sup>13</sup> dictum L, N

<sup>14</sup> Margin note in Pius II's own late and hardly legible hand: Facete O

<sup>15</sup> multa fercula : fercula multa L

<sup>16</sup> mixte F, L, O, U, V, WO

<sup>17</sup> deditis add. N

<sup>18</sup> omit. F, O, U, V, WO

<sup>19</sup> quamplurima N

<sup>20</sup> perfectionis U

<sup>21</sup> quidquam proprii : proprii quicquam N

<sup>22</sup> eorum L, M, N

<sup>23</sup> cum N

<sup>24</sup> unicuique M; cuiquam N

monente<sup>1</sup> spiritu sancto decrevit, dicente apud Johannem domino: *Paraclitus autem spiritus sanctus<sup>2</sup>, quem mittet pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia et suggeret vobis omnia<sup>3</sup> quaecumque dixerō vobis<sup>4</sup>.*

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<sup>1</sup> mediante L

<sup>2</sup> spiritus sanctus *omit.* U

<sup>3</sup> et suggeret ... omnia *omit.* U

<sup>4</sup> in nomine meo ... vobis : etc. usque quecumque dixerō vobis L



[55] If you claim that these words contain a command, I contend that the words “take”, “eat” and “drink” refer to the commands already given to the priests since the apostles had by then received the priesthood. Besides, this command was received by the Church to be performed not by all but by the elected ministers and priests, just like the command: *Go ye and preach the gospel to every creature.*<sup>1</sup> This is how the doctors understand the Lord’s words, and this is what the Church teaches. If Christ had commanded, in these words, that the communion of the chalice be given also to laymen, it would - over so many years - have been revealed not only to the Bohemians but also to other peoples. But no school teaches this, no city approves it, no community outside Bohemia holds it. It would really be extraordinary if your many courses of food, wine mixed with beer,<sup>2</sup> and sleeping long would give you better instruction in Scripture than abstinence and vigils do to other people.

#### 6.4.2.3. *The Primitive Church*

[56] **Galka:** You blame us unjustly, for we do not follow our own doctrine but that of the apostles and the Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

**Enea:** But they did not claim that people are damned if they do not receive the chalice. Moreover, we are not bound to do all that the fathers in the Primitive Church did. As perfect men, they did everything which belongs to the state of perfection, and they possessed nothing individually, but – as Luke says in the Acts of the Apostles - *all they that believed were together, and had all things in common. Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all, according as every one had need.*<sup>4</sup> But we are not forced to sell all, and still we are saved. They did not eat meat with the blood, we eat it and are not damned. They had wives, we<sup>5</sup> do not, and gain greater merit. They did not forbid the people [to receive] the communion of the chalice, we do and in so doing we gain merit by obeying the Church, which under guidance from the Holy Spirit decided to take away communion under the species of wine from the multitude, for in the Gospel of John the Lord said: *But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you.*<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mark, 16, 15: *Et dixit eis : Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae*

<sup>2</sup> In the margin of the text, Pius himself noted that he was speaking ironically (facete)

<sup>3</sup> In 1452, the Bohemian Hussites sent an expedition to Constantinople to explore “*the possibilities of a closer tie between Prague and the Greek Church,*” an initiative which was doomed to fail with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks the next year, 1453. See Heymann: *John Rokycana*, p. 252

<sup>4</sup> Acts, 2, 44-45

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the catholic priests

<sup>6</sup> John, 14, 26

[56] Cum enim ex praecepto Christi non sit communio calicis in<sup>1</sup> populo, quis non videt in hoc sicut in ceteris, quae dominus expresse non jussit, ecclesiae standum esse<sup>2</sup> iudicio. Cuncta enim, quae sub praecepto divino<sup>3</sup> non cadunt, regentis ecclesiae dispositioni<sup>4</sup> sunt<sup>5</sup> commissa, cujus mandata tamquam divina recipienda sunt et omni devotione complenda, quando<sup>6</sup> praecepto Dei non sunt adversa, vel utrum sint adversa, non est certa cognitio.

[57] Sed nec tu tibi de Graecia blandiaris. Quamvis enim non errant<sup>7</sup> Graeci vetustam consuetudinem observantes, non tamen<sup>8</sup> vobis excusatio est, qui<sup>9</sup> sub Latinis<sup>10</sup> nati educatique moribus honestum, laudatum<sup>11</sup>, securum, purum ecclesiae Romanae ritum auctoritate propria rejecistis, quamvis ordinationem ejus sive consuetudinem longo usu probatam infringere peccatum transgressionis existat. Nec scio, quid<sup>12</sup> vos hac<sup>13</sup> in<sup>14</sup> re Graecam magis<sup>15</sup> quam Latinam ecclesiam imitari<sup>16</sup> compellat. Latinus certe senatus<sup>17</sup> et mundius et<sup>18</sup> rationabilius et<sup>19</sup> cautius agit quam<sup>20</sup> Graecus, nam tribus de causis calicis potum plebibus interdixit: prima, ne<sup>21</sup> rudis populus sub duplici solum specie contineri Christum<sup>22</sup> putaret; altera, ne quod est liquidum, multis attractum manibus effunderetur in terram, quemadmodum nuper in Praga factum referunt, ubi puerulus vix anniculus ab ubere matris ad sanguinem domini raptus calicem ex manu minus<sup>23</sup> considerati sacerdotis arripiens sacramentum sparsit in humum; tertia<sup>24</sup>, ut impleretur figura<sup>25</sup> veteris legis<sup>26</sup>, quae licet populo {134r} ministrari de sacrificio<sup>27</sup> juberet, libamina tamen solis sacerdotibus levitisque<sup>28</sup> reservabat.

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

<sup>2</sup> est L

<sup>3</sup> domini N

<sup>4</sup> dispositione L; dispensationi N

<sup>5</sup> dispositioni sunt : sunt dispositione L; sunt dispositioni M, N

<sup>6</sup> que L

<sup>7</sup> erant N

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

<sup>9</sup> si N

<sup>10</sup> literis L

<sup>11</sup> honestum laudatum U

<sup>12</sup> quod M, N; qui F, O, U, V

<sup>13</sup> ac N

<sup>14</sup> hac in : in hac L

<sup>15</sup> Graecam magis : magis Grecam L

<sup>16</sup> ecclesiam imitari : imitari ecclesiam L

<sup>17</sup> sanatus L

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>22</sup> contineri Christum : Christum contineri L

<sup>23</sup> vnus ni N

<sup>24</sup> tertium M

<sup>25</sup> scriptura M, N

<sup>26</sup> testamenti M

<sup>27</sup> ministrari de sacrificio : de sacrificio ministrari L

<sup>28</sup> levitibusque WO



#### 6.4.2.4. *The Primitive Church*

[56] But since the people's communion of the chalice is not a command of Christ, who does not see that in this as in other matters where the Lord did not make an explicit command, one must accept the judgment of the Church? For all that falls outside the divine command is left to the disposition of the ruling Church, whose commands must be received as God's own and carried out with complete loyalty when they are not against God's command, or it is uncertain whether they are.

#### 6.4.2.5. *The Greek Church*

[57] And do not fool yourself with Greece. The Greeks do not err when they keep their old custom, but that is no excuse for you who, though born and brought up under Latin customs, have on your own authority rejected the honourable, praiseworthy, safe and pure rite of the Roman Church, as if it was not a sin to violate and abandon its old, established practice or custom, sanctioned by longstanding use. And I do not know what compels you to imitate the Greek Church in this matter rather than the Latin. Indeed, the Latin senate<sup>1</sup> acts more purely, reasonably and cautiously than the Greek since it forbade the people to drink from the chalice for three reasons: firstly, so that the uneducated people would not believe that Christ was only contained in both species together; secondly, so that the liquid would not be spilt on the earth when reached for by many hands (as reportedly happened recently in Prague, where a little boy, almost a year old, held by its mother at her breast, reached for the chalice, snatched it from the incautious priest and spilt the sacrament on the ground); and thirdly, to fulfil what was prefigured in the old law, which commanded the people to be served from the sacrificial [animals] but also commanded the drink offerings to be reserved for the priests and levites only.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini usually uses the term senate to designate the college of cardinals presided over by the pope. In this context, he may be referring more generally to the church government

[58] Quid est, quod Graecam ecclesiam tantopere laudatis? An non Latinam ecclesiam<sup>1</sup> multo florentiorem esse<sup>2</sup> quam<sup>3</sup> Graecam cernitis, et nostram longe<sup>4</sup> lateque dominantem, illam Mahumeti<sup>5</sup> cultoribus servientem; hanc uno sub capite gubernatam, illam<sup>6</sup> multis schismatibus implicatam; hanc templis sublimioribus exornatam, illam omni splendore nudatam; hanc semper recta dogmata praedicantem, illam saepius errori consentientem? Nolo cum<sup>7</sup> Cicerone dicere: *Romanos aut nihil a Graecis suscepisse aut ab eis accepta<sup>8</sup> fecisse meliora*. Laudo et magnifico Graecos, ex quorum fontibus nostri majores hausere<sup>9</sup> doctrinam. Sed consenuit<sup>10</sup> Graecia, frigida est et non habet, qui<sup>11</sup> calefaciat<sup>12</sup> eam. *Facta est sub tributo domina gentium<sup>13</sup>*, et quae fuit<sup>14</sup> Asianorum magistra, nunc est discipula Latinorum.

[59] Quid<sup>15</sup> vos<sup>16</sup> Bohemos sub norma Latina nutritos in communionem calicis graecari<sup>17</sup> compellit? Cur non ceteras quoque<sup>18</sup> Graecorum observantias amplectimini? Cur non panem fermentatum consecratis? Cur religiones monachorum, quas illi recipiunt, aspernamini? Cur vestis<sup>19</sup> ornatus ut illi sacrificantes non recipitis? Cur non conjugio copulamini, quod cum Graeca potestis<sup>20</sup> et cum<sup>21</sup> primitiva ecclesia facere<sup>22</sup>? Non decet vos partim Graecos, partim Latinos esse: aut calidum<sup>23</sup> fieri oportet aut frigidum<sup>24</sup>. Sed agite, quod in rem vestram est: nolite plus sapere, quam oportet. Audite docentem matrem, amplectimini legem ecclesiae, quae sancta est et honestate condita. Nolite putare semper apostolos aliosque Christi discipulos communionem calicis accepisse, quia post Christi passionem de calice rarus, de pane frequens habetur sermo<sup>25</sup>, ut est illud: *Et<sup>26</sup> cognoverunt eum<sup>27</sup> in fractione panis*. Et in<sup>28</sup> Actibus<sup>1</sup> Apostolorum: *Frangentes circa domos*

<sup>1</sup> omit. L

<sup>2</sup> omit. L

<sup>3</sup> quamuis M

<sup>4</sup> legem U

<sup>5</sup> Machumethi L; Machometi N; Maumethi M, U

<sup>6</sup> illis L

<sup>7</sup> tamen N

<sup>8</sup> suscepta L, M; arrepta U

<sup>9</sup> hauserant L; aufere U; habuere WO

<sup>10</sup> consonuit L; confremuit N

<sup>11</sup> que L

<sup>12</sup> calefaciant L; calefaciet M

<sup>13</sup> domina gentium : gentium domina N

<sup>14</sup> omit. F

<sup>15</sup> est quod add. L, M, N

<sup>16</sup> nos U

<sup>17</sup> vos add. N

<sup>18</sup> omit. N

<sup>19</sup> vestrum L; vrbis N

<sup>20</sup> omit. L

<sup>21</sup> omit. L

<sup>22</sup> potestis add. L

<sup>23</sup> calidos L

<sup>24</sup> frigidus L

<sup>25</sup> habetur sermo : sermo habetur L

<sup>26</sup> omit. L

<sup>27</sup> illum N

<sup>28</sup> omit. U

*panem, et iterum: Perseverantes in fractione panis*<sup>2</sup>, quibus in locis nullam reperimus de vino mentionem<sup>3 4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> actis L

<sup>2</sup> et in actibus ... panis *omit.* F

<sup>3</sup> reperimus de vino mentionem : de vino reperimus mentionem L

<sup>4</sup> quibus in locis ... mentionem *omit.* U

[58] But why do you praise the Greek Church so highly? Do you not see that the Latin Church is much more flourishing than the Greek: our Church rules far and wide, but their Church serves the followers of Muhammad; our Church is governed by one head, but their Church is embroiled in many schisms; our Church is adorned with lofty temples, but their Church is ribbed of all splendour; our Church always preaches right teachings, but their Church often agreed with erroneous teachings. I do not want to say with Cicero: *The Romans took over nothing from the Greeks or if they did they made it better*,<sup>1</sup> nay, I praise and acclaim the Greeks from whose fountains our ancestors drew their learning. But Greece has grown old and cold and has nobody to warm her: *The mistress of the Gentiles has been made tributary*,<sup>2</sup> and she who was once the teacher of the Asians is now the disciple of the Latins.

[59] So, what compels you Bohemians, brought up under Latin norms, to imitate the Greeks in having communion of the chalice. Why do you not embrace the other practices of the Greeks? Why is the bread you consecrate not fermented? Why do you reject the orders of monks that those accept? Why do you not use their vestments when you perform the sacrifice of the mass? Why do you<sup>3</sup> not unite in marriage, which you can do if you follow the Greek Church as well as the Primitive Church? It is not right that you are part Greek and part Latin: you must be either warm or cold.<sup>4</sup> No, do what is best for you: do not wish to know more than you ought to, hear your mother's teachings, accept the law of the Church, holy and based on honesty. Do not believe that the apostles and Christ's other disciples always took the communion of the chalice, for after Christ's passion the chalice is rarely mentioned, but the bread frequently, as for example in: *They knew him in the breaking of the bread*,<sup>5</sup> and in the Acts of the Apostles: *Breaking bread from house to house*,<sup>6</sup> and again: *They were persevering in the breaking of bread*.<sup>7</sup> In these places, we find no mention of wine.

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<sup>1</sup> Source not identified

<sup>2</sup> Lamentations, 1, 1

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the priests

<sup>4</sup> Apocalypse, 3, 16

<sup>5</sup> Luke, 24, 35

<sup>6</sup> Acts, 2, 46

<sup>7</sup> Acts, 2, 42

[60] Sed nec moveri debetis, quod nonnulli doctores de communione sacramentali loquentes illamque populo suadentes Johannis verba recipiunt, neque enim propterea illius loci talis verus est et proprius intellectus, sed ex quadam similitudine consonantique ratione trahitur inde<sup>1</sup> sensus magis quam ducitur. Et licet doctoribus oratorio more loquentibus nunc figuris, nunc translationibus uti, ex quo fit, ut saepe de signo loquentes transeat ad signatum. Sed plurimum interest, an<sup>2</sup> determinando docentes an<sup>3</sup> persuadendo componentes<sup>4</sup> loquantur<sup>5</sup>. Et<sup>6</sup> advertendum est, quod etsi plerique doctores incidenter<sup>7</sup> verba Johannis ad sacramentum altaris referant, in continua tamen expositione nullus id<sup>8</sup> agit, sicut in libro, quem de textura<sup>9</sup> evangeliorum<sup>10</sup> scripsit, {134v} Zacharias Chrisopolitanus affirmat. Quod autem de Leonis decreto commemorasti<sup>11</sup>, nihil<sup>12</sup> impedit nostri propositi cursum, namque<sup>13</sup> cum Manichaei Leone sedente Christum non vero corpore sed<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> fantastico et sine sanguine vestitum praedicarent neque<sup>16</sup> resurrectionem ejus crederent neque diem dominicum sanctificarent<sup>17</sup> sumentesque Christi corpus sub specie panis, ut suum pallearent<sup>18</sup> errorem, potum calicis renuerent<sup>19</sup>, obviaturus tantae nequitiae pontifex statuit, ut qui sub una specie communicasset, ab altera non abstineret.

[61] Sic<sup>20</sup> plurima saepe statuta sunt<sup>21</sup> ex<sup>22</sup> causa, ex<sup>23</sup> persona, ex loco, ex tempore<sup>24</sup>, quae considerare<sup>25</sup> oportet, qui de illis judicant, ne prius inculpent<sup>26</sup>, quam intelligant, prius arguant, quam sensa<sup>27</sup> perquirant. At<sup>28</sup> cum hodie alius sit rerum status, cum vestri nostrique progenitores sub una specie communicaverint<sup>29</sup>, cum multi doctores ab ecclesia recepti et in catalogo

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<sup>1</sup> in N

<sup>2</sup> ad U

<sup>3</sup> aut U

<sup>4</sup> communicantes L; commouentes N, U

<sup>5</sup> loquantur L, N

<sup>6</sup> sed L

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

<sup>8</sup> illud L

<sup>9</sup> de textura : dextura N

<sup>10</sup> euangelistarum N

<sup>11</sup> commemoras N

<sup>12</sup> nil N

<sup>13</sup> nam L, M, N

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>15</sup> corpore sed : sed corpore L

<sup>16</sup> nec L; *omit.* N

<sup>17</sup> celebrarent L

<sup>18</sup> palliant F, M, O, U, V, WO

<sup>19</sup> renuerunt L

<sup>20</sup> sed L

<sup>21</sup> saepe statuta sunt : statuta sunt saepe N

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>23</sup> et N

<sup>24</sup> parte N

<sup>25</sup> considerari L, N

<sup>26</sup> culpent V

<sup>27</sup> sensu L; sensum N; pensa U

<sup>28</sup> et N

<sup>29</sup> communicarint L, N



sanctorum<sup>1</sup> conscripti, miraculis<sup>2</sup> coruscantes, retinendum plebi calicem<sup>3</sup> dicant, cum Latina ecclesia id servet, doceat, mandet, suadeo, ut vos illi obtemperetis custodiatisque legem matris, ut *addatur gratia capiti vestro et torques collo vestro*, sicut Salomonis verba promittunt his, qui sunt matribus obsequentes.

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<sup>1</sup> patrum *add.* N

<sup>2</sup> mirabiliter N

<sup>3</sup> catholicam fidem N

#### 6.4.2.5. Doctors

[60] And it should not affect you that several doctors, when speaking about sacramental communion and arguing for it to be given to the people, refer to John's words, for this is not the true and proper meaning of this passage: the meaning [they give it] is drawn from some similarity and related sense, rather than deduced. Indeed the doctors speaking like orators sometimes use images, sometimes metaphors, and often move from the sign to the signified. But it is most important whether in speaking they are teaching by definition or urging by persuasion. And it should be noted that though many doctors relate John's words about the sacrament of the altar incidentally, nobody does so in a systematic exposition of the matter, as Zachary of Besancon<sup>1</sup> states in his book about the structure of the gospels. Your reference to Leo's decree in no way disturbs our line of argumentation, for during Leo's pontificate, the Manicheans<sup>2</sup> preached that Christ does not have a real body but only a phantom body, without blood.<sup>3</sup> They did not believe in his resurrection, nor did they keep holy the day of the Lord,<sup>4</sup> and they only took Christ's body under the species of bread and – to palliate their error – refused to drink from the chalice. It was to oppose this wickedness that the pontiff decreed that those who communicated under one species should not abstain from the other.

[61] Thus, over time, many decisions have been made on the basis of the matter itself, the person, the place, and the time, and these must be taken into consideration by those who would judge those decisions so that they do not criticise before they have understood deeply nor argue before they have inquired diligently. Since the situation is different today, since yours and our ancestors received communion under one species, since many doctors accepted by the Church and entered into the catalogue of saints, resplendent with miracles, say that laypeople should not have the chalice, and since this is what the Latin Church maintains, teaches and commands, I urge you to obey and keep the law of your mother, so that *grace may be added to your head, and a chain of gold to thy neck*,<sup>5</sup> as the words of Solomon promise those who obey their mother.

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<sup>1</sup> Zacharias Chysopolitanus (d. ca. 1155): Biblical scholar of the Premonstratensian order, from Besancon (Chrysopolis). Ca. 1140-1445, he published his great work on the gospels, the *Unum ex quattuor, sive concordia evangelistarum* (MPL, CLXXXVI, cols. 11-620)

<sup>2</sup> Manicheism: Long considered a Christian heresy, it was a major religion founded in the 3rd century AD by the Persian prophet Mani (ca. 216–274 AD). Manicheism taught an elaborate dualistic cosmology describing the struggle between a good, spiritual world of light, and an evil, material world of darkness

<sup>3</sup> This is the docetist view of Christ. Docetism taught that the phenomenon of Jesus, his historical and bodily existence, and above all the human form of Jesus, was mere semblance without any true reality

<sup>4</sup> Sunday

<sup>5</sup> Proverbs, 1, 9

[62] **Nicolaus:** Estne ullum apostolicae sedis aut generalis concilii decretum, quod laicos sub utraque specie communicare prohibeat<sup>1</sup>?

**Aeneas:** Vultis obtemperare, si decretum ostendo?

**Nicolaus:** Obtemperabimus, si non erit legi divinae contrarium.

**Aeneas:** Lex divina nulla est<sup>2</sup>, cui talis sanctio possit esse contraria.

**Nicolaus:** Tibi sic videtur, nobis longe alia sententia est.

**Aeneas:** Vos communionem duplicis speciei de praecepto domini dicitis<sup>3</sup>, nos contra. Cui magis credendum est<sup>4 5</sup>, vobis<sup>6</sup> an<sup>7</sup> sedi Romanae<sup>8</sup>?

**Nicolaus:** Ei<sup>9</sup> credendum est<sup>10</sup>, cui scriptura divina suffragatur<sup>11</sup>.

**Aeneas:** At<sup>12</sup> vos dicitis legem<sup>13</sup> divinam sentire vobiscum, nos contra. Quid modo?

**Nicolaus:** Qui verbis divinae legis propinquior est, hunc fide digniorem puto.

**Aeneas:** Quid, si est hoc<sup>14 15</sup> dubium<sup>16</sup>, quis obtinebit<sup>17</sup>?

**Nicolaus:** Christus dominus judicabit.

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<sup>1</sup> prohibebat U

<sup>2</sup> nulla est : est nulla V

<sup>3</sup> omit. U

<sup>4</sup> omit. U

<sup>5</sup> credendum est : est credendum N

<sup>6</sup> nobis WO

<sup>7</sup> aut V, WO

<sup>8</sup> sedi Romanae : apostolicae sedi L

<sup>9</sup> et N

<sup>10</sup> omit. WO

<sup>11</sup> divina suffragatur : suffragatur divina N

<sup>12</sup> et N

<sup>13</sup> dicitis legem : legem dicitis L

<sup>14</sup> omit. L

<sup>15</sup> est hoc : hoc est N

<sup>16</sup> est hoc dubium : dubium est L

<sup>17</sup> quis obtinebit omit. L

6.4.2.6. *Popes and councils*

[62] **Mikulas:** Is there any decree from the Apostolic See or a general council forbidding laymen to communicate under both species?

**Enea:** Will you obey if I show you one?

**Mikulas:** We will obey if it is not against divine law.

**Enea:** There is no divine law that such a decree could be against.

**Mikulas:** You may think so, but we have a very different view.

**Enea:** You say that communion under both species is a command of the Lord's, and we say the opposite. Whom should we most believe, you or the Roman See?

**Mikulas:** We should believe whoever is supported by divine Scripture.

**Enea:** But you say that divine law agrees with you, and we the opposite. So what now?

**Mikulas:** Whoever is closest to divine law merits most to be believed.

**Enea:** But who prevails in case of doubt?

**Mikulas:** Christ the Lord will be our judge.

[63] **Aeneas:** Nullum ergo, ut intelligo<sup>1</sup>, iudicem<sup>2</sup>, nullum in terra<sup>3</sup> superiorem<sup>4</sup> vultis, qui res dubias diffiniat. Sic neque Romanum pontificem caput esse Christiani populi creditis<sup>5</sup>, neque generalia concilia<sup>6</sup> recipitis<sup>7</sup>, militantem ecclesiam inhonoratis<sup>8</sup>, quamvis est magistra fidelium, doctrix veritatis, inimica mendacii, mater nostra, quae nos Christo regeneravit<sup>9</sup> et alit atque nutrit in fide. Quod si vos aliud non<sup>10</sup> moveret<sup>11</sup>, vestra vos paucitas exterrere<sup>12</sup> deberet. Quot enim<sup>13</sup> estis, qui adversus vivos<sup>14</sup> innumerabiles<sup>15</sup> et mortuos infinitos linguas<sup>16</sup> acuitis? Tota {135r} Christianitas contra vos et, et tamen a sententia non receditis, quae, si vera esset, omnes vestri<sup>17</sup> progenitores<sup>18</sup> cum diabolo<sup>19</sup> et angelis ejus arderent<sup>20</sup>, qui calicis expertes fuerunt. Nam regnum hoc<sup>21</sup>, postquam sacramentis ecclesiae relictis idolis initiatum est, semper apostolicae sedis ritu communicavit, exceptis paucis annis aevi nostri<sup>22</sup>, in quo monitore Johanne Hus<sup>23</sup> atque Jeronimo ab ecclesiae unitate recessistis<sup>24</sup>.

**Galechus:** Arguis paucitatem nostram, sed Christus adversus multitudinem Judaeorum paucis discipulis circumdatus praedicare non timuit, nec multi erant Judaei considerata gentilium multitudine<sup>25</sup>, quando legem acceperunt Mosaicam.

**Aeneas:** Christus, Deus et homo, dominus et magister, novam daturus legem in mundum venit redempturus<sup>26</sup> populum. Qualis comparatio lucis ad tenebras, terrae ad caelum, Christi ad Belial? Non tamen dominus sine miraculis creditus est, neque Moyses absque<sup>27</sup> signis legem tulit. At vos, quae<sup>28</sup> signa facitis, ut vestrae paucitati credamus et<sup>1</sup> vobiscum<sup>2</sup> simus?

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<sup>1</sup> ut intelligo *omit.* L

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

<sup>3</sup> nullum in terra : in terra nullum L

<sup>4</sup> ut intelligo *add.* L

<sup>5</sup> Christiani populi creditis : populi creditis Christiani L

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

<sup>7</sup> concilia recipitis : recipitis concilia L

<sup>8</sup> militantem ecclesiam inhonoratis : neque militantem ecclesiam honoratis L, M, N

<sup>9</sup> regnavit N

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

<sup>11</sup> moneret M

<sup>12</sup> quod si vos ... exterrere *omit.* U

<sup>13</sup> vos *add.* L

<sup>14</sup> et *add.* F

<sup>15</sup> innaturales N

<sup>16</sup> linguam N

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>18</sup> vestri progenitores : progenitores vestri N

<sup>19</sup> diabolis M

<sup>20</sup> penas eternas luerent L

<sup>21</sup> Boemie N

<sup>22</sup> vestri N

<sup>23</sup> Huszone L; Huss N

<sup>24</sup> discessistis L

<sup>25</sup> gentilium multitudine : multitudine gentilium N

<sup>26</sup> redempturusque L, M, N

<sup>27</sup> sine N

<sup>28</sup> qui N

[64] **Galechus:** *Generatio prava<sup>3</sup> et adultera signum<sup>4</sup> quaerit.* Nos paucitatis nostrae tutorem Christum<sup>5</sup> habemus, qui<sup>6</sup> apud evangelium dicit: *Ubicumque fuerint duo aut tres collecti<sup>7</sup> in nomine meo, ego cum eis sum<sup>8</sup>.* Non indigemus humano favore, qui ducimur<sup>9</sup> caelesti doctore<sup>10</sup>.

[63] **Enea:** As I understand it, you do not accept any judge or any superior on Earth who could settle dubious matters. Thus, you do not believe that the Roman Pontiff is the head of the Christian people, nor do you accept the general councils, but you disdain Militant Church, although she is the mentor of the faithful, the teacher of truth, the enemy of lies, our mother that gave us rebirth in Christ, and who raises and nourishes us in the Faith. But if nothing else impresses you, you should still be greatly upset at how few you are. How many are you who sharpen your tongues against innumerable living and countless dead people? The whole of Christendom is against you, but still you do not abandon your own opinions: were they true, all your ancestors would be burning [in Hell] with the Devil and his angels because they did not have the chalice. Ever since this kingdom left the [pagan] idols and was initiated into the sacraments of the Church, it has always received communion after the rite of the Apostolic See except for a few years in our own age when, under the leadership of Jan Hus and Jerome<sup>11</sup>, you left the unity of the Church.

**Galka:** Now you are arguing on the basis of our small numbers, but Christ himself did not fear to preach against the multitude of Jews even if he had only a few disciples around him. Moreover, compared to the multitude of gentiles, the Jews were not many when they received the Mosaic law.

**Enea:** Christ, God and man, Lord and master, came into the world to give a new law and to save the people. How can you compare light with darkness, Heaven with Earth, Christ with Belial? But the Lord was not believed without miracles, and Moses did not bring the law without signs<sup>12</sup>. But you, what signs do you give that may make us believe your few numbers and agree with you?

[64] **Galka:** *An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign.<sup>13</sup>* We have Christ as our protector to defend our few numbers, for in the Gospel he says: *Where there are gathered two or three in my*

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<sup>1</sup> omit. F, O, U

<sup>2</sup> et vobiscum : uobiscumque L, M

<sup>3</sup> parua U

<sup>4</sup> signa L, N

<sup>5</sup> tutorem Christum : Christum tutorem L

<sup>6</sup> quid N

<sup>7</sup> congregati N

<sup>8</sup> nos add. L; cum N

<sup>9</sup> dicimur L; ducitur U

<sup>10</sup> ductore N, WO

<sup>11</sup> Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, two leading Hussite theologians, who were burnt as heretics at the Council of Konstanz

<sup>12</sup> i.e., miracles

<sup>13</sup> Matthew, 12, 39: *Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit*

*name, there I am in the midst of them.*<sup>1</sup> We are led by a heavenly teacher, and therefore we do not need the favour of men.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 18, 20

[64] **Aeneas:** Apud Cyprianum martyrem his sororia<sup>1</sup> verbis nonnulli jactabant<sup>2</sup>, quibus ille sic<sup>3</sup> respondit: *Corruptores evangelii et<sup>4</sup> interpretes falsi extrema ponunt et superiora praetereunt, partim memores, partim subdole<sup>5</sup> comprimentes. Ut ipsi ab ecclesia scissi sunt, ita capituli unius sententiam scindunt. Dominus enim, cum discipulis<sup>6</sup> suis unanimatem suaderet<sup>7 8</sup> et pacem dico, inquit, vobis, quoniam si duobus<sup>9</sup> ex vobis convenerit<sup>10</sup> in terra, de omni re, quam<sup>11</sup> petieritis, continget vobis a patre meo, qui in caelis est<sup>12</sup>. Ubi cumque enim<sup>13</sup> fuerint<sup>14</sup> duo aut<sup>15</sup> tres collecti in nomine meo<sup>16</sup>, cum eis sum, ostendens non multitudini, sed unanimitati deprecantium plurimum tribui. Si duobus<sup>17</sup>, inquit, ex vobis convenerit<sup>18</sup> in terra, unanimatem prius posuit, concordiam pacis ante praemisit<sup>19</sup>. Ut<sup>20</sup> conveniat vobis<sup>21</sup> fideliter et firmiter docuit. Quomodo autem<sup>22</sup> potest ei cum aliquo convenire, qui cum corpore ipsius ecclesiae et cum universa fraternitate non convenit?* Notate verba et<sup>23</sup> signate mysteria. Non est cum eis Christus, qui<sup>24</sup> ab ecclesia recedunt. In<sup>25</sup> una<sup>26</sup> ecclesia fuimus omnes<sup>27</sup> prius<sup>28</sup>: una fides, unus Deus, unus ritus et<sup>29</sup> vobis<sup>30</sup> et nobis erat<sup>31</sup>. *Non<sup>32</sup> nos a vobis, sed vos a nobis recessistis facientesque vobis<sup>33</sup> conventicula diversa peregrinaque dogmata recipientes, quae non audiverant<sup>34</sup> patres vestri.*

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<sup>1</sup> sordida N

<sup>2</sup> iactitabant L; iactabatur U

<sup>3</sup> omit. M

<sup>4</sup> atque L, M, N

<sup>5</sup> et superiora ... subdole omit. U

<sup>6</sup> cum discipulis omit. L

<sup>7</sup> suadet L, N

<sup>8</sup> unanimatem suaderet : suadet unanimatem N

<sup>9</sup> duo N

<sup>10</sup> conuenerint N

<sup>11</sup> quacumque L, M; quamcumque N

<sup>12</sup> in caelis est : est in celis L

<sup>13</sup> autem L; omit. V

<sup>14</sup> omit. N

<sup>15</sup> uel L

<sup>16</sup> ego add. L, M, N

<sup>17</sup> duo N

<sup>18</sup> omit. N

<sup>19</sup> promisit L, N

<sup>20</sup> et N

<sup>21</sup> nobis N; omit. U

<sup>22</sup> ergo N

<sup>23</sup> omit. L, N

<sup>24</sup> quia N

<sup>25</sup> omit. U

<sup>26</sup> prius add. L

<sup>27</sup> fuimus omnes : omnes fuimus L

<sup>28</sup> omit. L

<sup>29</sup> omit. L; enim add. N

<sup>30</sup> nobis N

<sup>31</sup> nobis erat : erat vobis N

<sup>32</sup> illeg. add. N

<sup>33</sup> erat non nos ... vobis omit. U

<sup>34</sup> audierant L; audierunt N



*Veritatis caput atque originem reliquistis*<sup>1</sup>. Quod si Christi praesentiam {135v} cupitis, ad sponsam ejus redeundum est.

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<sup>1</sup> discessistis L; reliquisse M

[64] **Enea:** Several people made similar boastful claims to Cyprian the Martyr. He answered them as follows: *Corruptors of the Gospel and false interpreters, they lay down the last words, and omit what goes before: giving heed to part, and deceitfully suppress in part. As they have cut themselves out from the Church, they cut out one sentence from the whole chapter [of the Gospel]. For the Lord, when preaching unanimity and peace to his disciples, said: 'I say unto you that if two of you shall agree on Earth, concerning anything whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be done to you by my Father. For wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, I am with them,' showing that most is given, not to the number but to the unanimity of the petitioners. With the words "if two of you shall agree on Earth", he places agreement first: the concord of peace is the preliminary condition. He taught you faithfully and firmly how you should agree. Yet how can he possibly be at agreement with another, who is at variance with the body of the Church and with the universal brotherhood?*<sup>1</sup> Take note of the words and mark the mysteries. Christ is not with those who leave the Church. Formerly, we were all in one Church: you and we shared one Faith, one God, one rite. *We did not leave you, it was you who left us, setting up separate conventicles*<sup>2</sup> and accepting foreign teachings that your own fathers had not heard. You have *abandoned the head and spring of truth.*<sup>3</sup> If you desire the presence of Christ, you must return to his bride.

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<sup>1</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 12; MPL, IV, col. 508-509: *Ne se quidam vana interpretatione decipiant, quod dixerit dominus: Ubicumque fuerint duo aut tres collecti in nomine meo, ego cum eis sum. Corruptores evangelii atque interpretes falsi extrema ponunt et superiora praetereunt, partis memores, et partem subdole comprimantes, ut ipsi ab ecclesia scissi sunt, ita capituli unius sententiam scindunt. Dominus enim, cum discipulis suis unanimam suaderet et pacem, Dico, inquit, vobis, quoniam si duobus ex vobis convenerit in terra de omni re quamcumque petieritis, continget vobis a patre meo, qui in caelis est. Ubicumque enim fuerint duo aut tres collecti in nomine meo, ego cum eis sum, ostendens non multitudini, sed unanimam deprecantium plurimum tribuendum. Si duobus, inquit, ex vobis convenerit in terra, unanimam prius posuit, concordiam pacis ante praemisit, ut conveniat nobis fideliter et firmiter docuit. Quomodo autem potest ei cum aliquo convenire, qui cum corpore ipsius ecclesiae et cum universa fraternitate non convenit? Quomodo possunt duo aut tres in nomine Christi colligi, quos constat a Christo et ab eius evangelio separari. Non enim nos ab illis, sed illi a nobis recesserunt. Et cum haereses et schismata postmodum nata sunt, dum conventicula sibi diversa constituunt, veritatis caput atque originem reliquerunt.*

<sup>2</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 12; MPL, IV, col. 509

<sup>3</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 12; MPL, IV, col. 509

[65] **Galechus:** Nos<sup>1</sup> in ecclesia sumus nec ab illa recessimus umquam<sup>2</sup>. Transire autem<sup>3</sup> ad vos<sup>4</sup>, dum Christi legem violatis, nulla ratio<sup>5</sup> suadet, quia numquam mystico Christi<sup>6</sup> corpori jungitur, qui ab ejus evangelio separatur. Sed cur nobis<sup>7</sup> retices<sup>8 9</sup>, si qua est constitutio, quae sumere calicem vetat?

**Aeneas:** Quia nolulistis<sup>10</sup> oboedientiam polliceri, sed dicam<sup>11</sup> tamen<sup>12</sup>. Ego ita vos peritos arbitror, ut consuetudinem universalis ecclesiae non minoris efficaciae censeatis<sup>13</sup> quam scriptam legem, quia vis legis ex consensu resultat. Consensus autem non minor<sup>14</sup> inest consuetudini quam legi conscriptae<sup>15</sup>, nam consuetudinem longus<sup>16</sup> et approbatus<sup>17</sup> usus inducit<sup>18</sup>, quae nullius impedita<sup>19</sup> clamore divino<sup>20</sup> magis quam humano videtur recepta consilio<sup>21</sup>. Leges autem, quamvis Dei nutu decerni credantur, saepe tamen vel populi vel senatus magna parte dissentiente traduntur. Ob quam rem non minus plectendus est vestustae<sup>22</sup> consuetudinis quam scriptae legis praevaricator. Cum igitur jam pluribus saeculis observarit<sup>23</sup> ecclesia, ne plebes<sup>24</sup> de calice biberent<sup>25</sup>, decebat<sup>26</sup> et vos<sup>27</sup> Bohemos hujus observantiae tamquam paternae legis aemulatores existere, quae – sicuti<sup>28</sup> ante dictum est – neque novi neque veteris testamenti codicibus adversatur, sed ratione<sup>29</sup> magna et honestate subnixata est.

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

<sup>2</sup> numquam L, M

<sup>3</sup> transire autem : autem transire M

<sup>4</sup> nos U

<sup>5</sup> res N

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

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

<sup>8</sup> reticetis M

<sup>9</sup> nobis retices : retices nobis L

<sup>10</sup> nolutisti L; uolulistis N, U

<sup>11</sup> dico L

<sup>12</sup> dicam tamen : tamen ego dicam N

<sup>13</sup> ego ita vos ... censeatis *omit.* N

<sup>14</sup> minus WO

<sup>15</sup> scripte L, N, V

<sup>16</sup> longius U

<sup>17</sup> approbatus U

<sup>18</sup> ibi ducit N

<sup>19</sup> impedito L

<sup>20</sup> clamore divino : diuino clamore L

<sup>21</sup> concilio L, N

<sup>22</sup> ne iuste F

<sup>23</sup> obseruasset L; observaret N

<sup>24</sup> plebs L, N

<sup>25</sup> biberet L, N

<sup>26</sup> docebat L; dicebat N

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* L

<sup>28</sup> sicut L, M, N

<sup>29</sup> ecclesie *add.* N

[66] Verum, quia<sup>1</sup> scripti decreti sanctionem requiritis, non frustrabor expectationem vestram. Evolvite Constantiense concilium<sup>2</sup> atque ejus acta perquirite: consuetudinem, quam<sup>3</sup> modo exposui, et approbatam et pro lege<sup>4</sup> receptam<sup>5</sup> et scripto firmatam<sup>6</sup> reperietis. In Basilea quoque<sup>7</sup>, dum generalis synodus illic erat, postquam exacte visa<sup>8</sup> sunt et diligenter excussa sacrarum testimonia litterarum, magnorum conciliorum decretis ac sanctorum patrum et illustrium doctorum traditionibus enucleate pensatis, decretum promulgatum est, quod aperte declarat fideles laicos sive clericos communicantes et non conficientes ad suscipiendum sub specie panis et vini<sup>9</sup> divinum eucharistiae sacramentum ex praecepto domini non esse astrictos.

[65] **Galka:** We are in the Church and have never left it. There is no reason for us to join you as long as you are violating the law of Christ, for nobody who separates himself from Christ's Gospel can be part of his mystical body. But why do you not tell us if there is any decree<sup>10</sup> that forbids the taking of the chalice?

**Enea:** Because you have not wanted to promise obedience. But I shall tell you anyway. I consider you to be so knowledgeable that you do not consider the custom of Universal Church as having less power than the written law, for the vigour of law is the result of consensus. But consensus is no less important for custom than for written law, for longstanding and approved use creates a custom, that, when uncontested, must be considered as having been established by divine rather than human counsel. But even though laws are considered to be made with God's assent, they are often passed despite dissent from a large part of the people or the senate. Therefore, someone who transgresses an old, established custom must be punished no less than someone who transgresses a written law. So, since the Church has for many centuries observed [the custom] not to have laymen drink from the chalice, you Bohemians, too, were obliged to keep this practice just as much as if it had been an ancestral law, since - as already said - it is not against the Old and the New Testament, but is most reasonable and decent.

[66] But if you require the sanction of a written decree, I shall not frustrate your expectations. Leaf through the [annals of] the Council of Konstanz and examine its acts: you will find that the custom I have now explained has both been approved and accepted as having the force of law, and it is confirmed in writing.<sup>11</sup> Also in Basel, while the general council was there, after careful examination and diligent search of the testimonies from Holy Scripture and after intense reflection on the

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<sup>1</sup> que N

<sup>2</sup> consil... *et passim* N

<sup>3</sup> quando U

<sup>4</sup> pro lege : perlonge L

<sup>5</sup> ratam L; rectam M

<sup>6</sup> firmam N

<sup>7</sup> autem V, WO

<sup>8</sup> iussa N

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

<sup>10</sup> "constitutio"

<sup>11</sup> *The decree Cum in nonnullis, of 15 June 1415, see Appendix.* The conciliar decree was confirmed by Pope Martin V *Inter cunctas* of 22 February 1417 (see Mansi, XXVII, col. 1204-1216)

decrees of the great councils and the teachings handed down from the holy Fathers and illustrious doctors, a decree was promulgated which declared that the faithful laymen as well as clerics receiving communion without performing the sacrament were not obliged by divine command to receive the divine sacrament of the eucharist under both species of bread and wine.

[66] In cujus fine subjungitur<sup>1</sup> laudabilis quoque<sup>2</sup> consuetudo<sup>3</sup> communicandi laicalem populum sub una specie ab ecclesia et<sup>4</sup> sanctis patribus introducta ac hactenus diutissime observata<sup>5</sup> et a doctoribus divinae legis sanctarum<sup>6</sup> scripturarum atque canonum multam peritiam habentibus jam longo tempore commendata pro lege habenda est nec<sup>7</sup> alicui licitum est<sup>8</sup> reprobare aut<sup>9</sup> sine auctoritate ecclesiae ipsam immutare. Sic ergo et scripta conciliorum habetis decreta et vetustum ecclesiae ritum.

[67] **Galechus:** Potest ecclesia vel concilium, quae Christus instituit, {136r} sacramenta pervertere?

**Aeneas:** Non potest.

**Galechus:** At<sup>10</sup> sacramentum hoc sub specie panis et vini Christus instituit. Cur pervertit ecclesia, quae panem solum ad<sup>11</sup> laicos defert<sup>12</sup>?

**Aeneas:** Non pervertit ecclesia sacramentum, sed ritum mutat. Quae sunt enim de necessitate sacramentorum, immutabilia perseverant. Quae circa<sup>13</sup> ritum sunt, mutare ecclesia<sup>14</sup> potest<sup>15</sup>, cujus potestas non minor est hodie quam sub apostolis erat. Potestas<sup>16</sup> autem et administratio ecclesiae, sicut doctores<sup>17</sup> tradunt, tribus in rebus consistit: in ordinibus diversorum praelatorum, in administrationibus sacramentorum, in diversis praeceptis subditorum.

[68] Ob quam rem non sine ratione putavit doctor insignis<sup>18</sup> Aquinas<sup>19</sup> in arbitrio esse ecclesiae diversos gradus praelatorum instituere et institutos pro<sup>20</sup> rerum diversitate vel<sup>21</sup> temporum amovere. Sic subdiaconi sunt ordinati, quos ecclesia primitiva<sup>22</sup> nescivit<sup>23</sup>. Sic praelati presbyteris<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> subiungere N

<sup>2</sup> quomodo N

<sup>3</sup> quoque consuetudo : consuetudo quoque L

<sup>4</sup> a *add.* L

<sup>5</sup> diutissime observata : obseruata diutissime L

<sup>6</sup> sacrarum L

<sup>7</sup> et M

<sup>8</sup> eam *add.* L, M; eam N

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

<sup>10</sup> et N

<sup>11</sup> et N

<sup>12</sup> reffert N

<sup>13</sup> cetera N

<sup>14</sup> mutare ecclesia : ecclesia mutare L, M

<sup>15</sup> mutare ecclesia potest : ecclesia potest mutare N

<sup>16</sup> Potestas et administratio ecclesie *margin note in Pius II's own late and hardly legible hand beginning with the words*

... O

<sup>17</sup> tractores N

<sup>18</sup> Thomas *margin note in Pius II's own late and hardly legible hand* O

<sup>19</sup> aliquos L

<sup>20</sup> per U

<sup>21</sup> et N

<sup>22</sup> ecclesia primitiva : primitiua ecclesia N

<sup>23</sup> nescit N

episcopi, quos olim Jeronimus aequalis fuisse potestatis affirmat. Sic cardinalium sacer senatus inventus, ecclesiae magnum decus et stabile firmamentum.

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<sup>1</sup> presbiteri L, N

[66] It was added that the praiseworthy custom of lay people receiving communion under one species alone had been introduced by the Church and the holy Fathers, had now been observed for ages, and had for a long time been recommended as having the force of law by doctors with great knowledge of the divine law of Holy Scripture and the canons, and that it was unlawful for anybody to reject it or change it without the authority of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Thus you have both the written decrees of councils and the ancient rite of the Church.

[67] **Galka:** Can the Church or a council corrupt the sacraments instituted by Christ?

**Enea:** No, they cannot.

**Galka:** But Christ instituted this sacrament under the species of bread and wine. Why, then, does the Church corrupt it by only giving bread to the laypeople?

**Enea:** [In doing so,] the Church does not corrupt the sacrament but changes the rite. That which belongs to the essence of the sacrament continues unchangeably. That which belongs to the rite the Church can change, for its power is not smaller today than it was under the apostles. As the doctors teach, the power and administration of the Church comprise three things: the orders of the various prelates, the administration of the sacraments, and the various rules for its subjects.

[68] This is why the excellent doctor, Aquinas, justly considered that the Church had the competence to create various ranks of prelates and to remove them because of different conditions and times. Thus we ordain subdeacons though they were unknown in the Primitive Church. Thus bishops were set above priests, though – as Jerome states – they once had equal power. And thus was established the holy senate of cardinals, a great ornament and stable foundation of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fudge: *Hussites*, p. 277: *As for the council itself, it ratified the compacts [of Iglau] on 15 January 1437 but waited almost an entire year before making a formal statement. This occurred at the 30<sup>th</sup> session on 23 December [1437] wherein the synod concluded that Utraquism was in no sense obligatory, the Church could and should determine the proper mode of celebration, the doctrine of concomitance trumped any argument, and the practice of communion sub una was lawful. In other words, Utraquism was allowed with the caveat that its practitioners not force the matter on traditional Catholics and make clear that the Catholic practice of communing in one kind only was equally valid. Pope Eugenius had issued a bull on the Compactata on 18 September 1437 but couched in such language that it was unclear whether he approved or rejected them (Fudge, ibidem)*

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini would return to the theme of the rise of the order of cardinals in his *Report on in Imperial Mission to the Diet of Regensburg, 1454* (Nr. 4 in the present series of reports), sect. 48-49



[69] Potest etiam<sup>1</sup> ecclesia in administratione sacramentorum abolitis prioribus novos ritus inducere<sup>2</sup> et ceremonias novas. Qua de re, licet dominus discipulos suos facta cena communicaverit, ecclesia tamen neque pransos neque cenatos fratres, nisi necessitatis causa tantum sacramentum permittit<sup>3</sup> assumere<sup>4</sup>. Rursus quoque, quamvis accinctus *linteo* Christus quotidianaque veste indutus hoc sacramentum instituerit dixeritque<sup>5</sup> paucissima verba, ecclesia tamen ob ejus reverentiam et ornamenta vestimentorum sacerdotibus<sup>6</sup> dedit et missarum sollemnia prophetarum et apostolorum lectionibus et<sup>7</sup> devotis orationibus adornavit. Sicut enim in lege veteri *rubricatas*<sup>8</sup> *pelles* et *rudia*<sup>9</sup> tabernaculi sacra sublimis templi gloria<sup>10</sup> secuta est<sup>11</sup>, sic et in novo testamento post illa ecclesiae primitivae rudimenta pedetentim splendor<sup>12</sup> in cultu divino et ritus sacramentorum expolitior<sup>13</sup> et<sup>14</sup> majestas sacerdotii major successit.

[70] Tertio loco potest ecclesia statuta et ordinationes patrum, que de moribus agunt, prout loco et<sup>15</sup> tempori et personis viderit convenire, immutare et abrogare – sicut et prius diximus<sup>16</sup>.

[71] Sed quantum ad sacramenta<sup>17</sup> pertinet, quod necessarium est, tolli non potest, quod necessitati non subest, et variari potest et tolli. In eucharistia vero – sicut ante probatum est – non est usus utriusque speciei populo necessarius. Adimi ergo altera<sup>18</sup> species non inepte potuit, quia non est hoc sacramentum variare sed usum.

[72] **Galechus:** Sacramentum est<sup>19</sup> sub specie vini, {136v} quis neget? Ergo qui speciem vini<sup>20</sup> tollit, Christi<sup>21</sup> sacramentum<sup>22</sup> tollit.

**Aeneas:** Haud<sup>1</sup> recte infers. Septem sunt ecclesiae sacramenta, etsi vos quinque tantum<sup>2</sup> recipitis. Ex his unum est eucharistia praecellentissimum<sup>3</sup> et maximum. Hoc semper integrum et unum<sup>4 5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> enim WO

<sup>2</sup> indicere L

<sup>3</sup> permittitur N

<sup>4</sup> sumere L

<sup>5</sup> dixitque M

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* F, O, U, V, WO

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

<sup>8</sup> *lubricatas* N; *rubricatas* F, L, M, O, U

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* L; *rubeas* N

<sup>10</sup> templi gloria : gloria templi L, M, N

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

<sup>12</sup> splendorem N

<sup>13</sup> spolitior U

<sup>14</sup> est N

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>16</sup> sicut et ... diximus *omit.* L

<sup>17</sup> sacramentum L, N

<sup>18</sup> alteri U

<sup>19</sup> esse V

<sup>20</sup> speciem vini : vini speciem L, N

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* L, N

<sup>22</sup> vim O

est, sive sub una specie sumatur, sive sub duabus<sup>6</sup>. Et licet mille particulae panis fiant vinique<sup>7</sup> totidem, unus tamen est<sup>8</sup>, ubique<sup>9</sup> totus et integer Christus. Nec subtracta vini specie subtrahitur sacramentum, quia totum in altera sumitur. Recte igitur<sup>10</sup> et sanctissime Romana ecclesia in hujus observantia sacramenti sese habet.

[69] In the administration of the sacraments, the Church can also abolish previous rites and introduce new rites and ceremonies. Therefore, though the Lord gave communion to his disciples after they had eaten dinner, the Church does not, except under urgent circumstances, permit brothers who have eaten breakfast or the noon meal to receive this great sacrament. And though Christ instituted this sacrament girded with a *towel*<sup>11</sup> and only said a few words, the Church out of reverence for the sacrament gave ornamental vestments to the priests and adorned the solemnity of the mass with readings from the prophets and the apostles as well as with pious prayers. In the Old Law, the *skins dyed red*<sup>12</sup> and the primitive tabernacle were followed by the holy glory of the high temple, and similarly, the simple ways of the Primitive Church in the New Testament were gradually followed by splendour in the divine worship and a lustrous ritual for the sacraments and a greater majesty of the priesthood.

[70] Thirdly, as said before, the Church can change and abolish the Fathers' statutes and decisions dealing with morals, as it fits place, time and persons.

[71] But as far as the sacraments are concerned, what belongs to the essence may not be taken away, whereas that which does not belong to the essence can be changed and abolished. In the eucharist - as already shown - the use of both species is not essential to the people. Therefore, one of the two species could fittingly be taken away since that does not change the sacrament but only the practice.

[72] **Galka:** But who denies that the sacrament is under the species of wine? So, whoever takes the species of wine away, takes away the sacrament.

**Enea:** Your reasoning is false. The Church has seven sacraments, even if you only recognise five. The greatest and most eminent of these is the eucharist. This is always complete and one, whether it is taken under one or two species. Even if the bread is divided into a thousand particles and the

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<sup>1</sup> hanc N

<sup>2</sup> quinque tantum : tantum quinque N

<sup>3</sup> excellentissimum L

<sup>4</sup> vinum N

<sup>5</sup> integrum et unum : unum et integrum L

<sup>6</sup> sumatur sive sub duabus : siue duabus sumatur L

<sup>7</sup> unique U

<sup>8</sup> tamen est : est tamen V

<sup>9</sup> est ubique : ubique est M

<sup>10</sup> ergo WO

<sup>11</sup> John, 13, 4

<sup>12</sup> Exodus, 25, 5 *et al.*

wine in as many, each one is Christ, whole and complete. If you take the species of wine away, you do not take away the sacrament, for you still have the whole Christ in the other species. Therefore, the practice of the Roman Church in the administration of this sacrament is legitimate and pious.

[73] Quibus ex rebus, si consolationem spiritus cupitis, si quietem amatis, si veritatem quaeritis, si lucrifacere animas<sup>1</sup> vultis<sup>2</sup>, sedem apostolicam audite, sequimini traditiones ejus, honorate illam, quoniam sancta est,<sup>3</sup> immaculata Christi sponsa, columba pura et albissima<sup>4</sup>, ex cujus ore felicitis<sup>5</sup> *ramus olivae*<sup>6</sup> dependet, qui pacem humilibus<sup>7</sup> pollicetur<sup>8</sup>, superbis bella minatur.

[74] Finitis<sup>9</sup> sermonibus istis assurexit<sup>10</sup> unus ex primoribus Thaboritarum et animo satis<sup>11</sup> inflato<sup>12</sup>, “Quid tu nobis,” inquit, “apostolicam sedem tot verbis amplificas? Nos papam et cardinales avaritiae servos novimus, impatientes, inflatos, tumidos<sup>13</sup>, ventri<sup>14</sup> ac libidini deditos, ministros scelorum, diaboli sacerdotes, et Antichristi praecursores, quorum deus venter est, pecunia caelum.” Erat hic homo ventrosus, crassus et multo<sup>15</sup> abdomine<sup>16</sup> pinguis, quem cum aspexissem, admovi ventri ejus leviter<sup>17</sup> manus ac<sup>18</sup> subridens, “Unde,” inquam<sup>19</sup>, “tumor hic<sup>20 21</sup> ventris est<sup>22</sup>? Cur te jejunio maceras et affligis inedia<sup>23</sup>?” Riserunt omnes magnisque illum cachinnationibus exceperunt<sup>24</sup>.

[75] At ego, cum animadverterem<sup>25</sup> sacerdotes illos magis studio contradicendi quam voto discendi<sup>26</sup> ad me venisse, posui modum verbis meis subtraxique disputationi pedem. Intellexi enim, quia facilius et levius esset turbulenti maris concitos fluctus clamoribus retundere quam illorum rabiem sermonibus coercere. Nam labor irritus et nullius<sup>27</sup> effectus est offerre lumen caeco, sermonem surdo, sapientiam bruto. Conversus tamen ad eos dixi: “Collegae mei pransi sunt et itineri se accingunt<sup>28</sup>. Hora est, ut a vobis recedam. Satis diu simul<sup>1</sup> disputavimus. Vos tamen, ut

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<sup>1</sup> lucrifacere animas : luci animas facere L

<sup>2</sup> animas vultis : vultis animas N

<sup>3</sup> et *add.* WO

<sup>4</sup> pura et albissima : albissima et pura N

<sup>5</sup> felici L, N

<sup>6</sup> olivarum L, N

<sup>7</sup> hominibus L, O, U, V, WO

<sup>8</sup> humilibus pollicetur : pollicetur hominibus L

<sup>9</sup> *NB: margin note in Pius II's own, late and hardly legible hand beginning the words* Is Thaborita multos reliquit ... O

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* L; surrexit N

<sup>11</sup> sanctis U

<sup>12</sup> dixit *add.* N

<sup>13</sup> inflatos tumidos : tumidos inflatos M

<sup>14</sup> servientes *add.* L

<sup>15</sup> multus N

<sup>16</sup> a deo N; *omit.* U

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>18</sup> et M, V, WO

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* L, N

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>21</sup> tumor hic : hic tumor L, N

<sup>22</sup> inquam *add.* L, U; inquit *add.* N

<sup>23</sup> media nocte L; media F, M

<sup>24</sup> acceperunt L

<sup>25</sup> adverterem N

<sup>26</sup> dicendi N, U

<sup>27</sup> nullus L

<sup>28</sup> itineri se accingunt : itineris ea cingunt N

video, nec meis verbis<sup>2</sup> fidem praebetis<sup>3</sup>, nec ego vestris argumentationibus moveor. Remaneamus<sup>4</sup> omnes, quod<sup>5</sup> ante fuimus. Existimavi hoc priusquam inciperem, nolui tamen silere, ne<sup>6</sup> mea taciturnitas opinionum<sup>7</sup> vestrarum<sup>8</sup> fieret auctoritas, ne<sup>9</sup> quis posthac diceret: 'Fuit apud Thaboritas Senensis episcopus<sup>10</sup>, nec quidquam adversus illorum<sup>11</sup> sententiam dixit. Aut eos vera sentire {137r} putavit, aut eorum<sup>12</sup> argumenta superari<sup>13</sup> posse disputando diffisus est.'

[73] So, if you desire consolation of the spirit, if you love peace, if you seek truth, if you want your souls to thrive, then heed the Apostolic See, follow its traditions, and honour it, for she is holy, the immaculate bride of Christ, the pure and brightly shining dove, carrying a bough from that happy *olive tree*<sup>14</sup> in her mouth, who promises peace to the humble, and threatens the proud with war.

## 7. End of visit to Tabor

[74] When we had finished speaking, one of the notables of the Taborites, a rather presumptuous man, rose and said, "Why do you praise the Apostolic See to us at such length? We know that the pope and the cardinals are the slaves of greed, impatient, arrogant, puffed up with pride, given to the pleasures of the flesh, servants of crime, priests of the devil, and precursors of Antichrist, whose god is their stomach and whose heaven is money." This man was thick and fat, with a large stomach. I looked at him and then pricked him lightly in the stomach and said, with a smile, "Where does this lump in your stomach come from? Why do you torment yourself with fasting and abstain from food?" Then they all burst into guffaws and laughed at him.

[75] But now I knew that those priests had come to me to dispute, not to learn, so I would not say more and withdrew from the debate. I realised that it would be easier to quell the violent waves of a stormy sea by shouting than to keep their madness in check by words. For it is a futile and unsuccessful labour to offer light to a blind, speech to a deaf, and wisdom to a brute. So I turned towards them and said, "My colleagues have now had lunch and are preparing to leave. It is time for me to leave you. We have debated long enough, but I see that you do not believe my words, and on my part, I am not moved by your arguments. So, let us remain as we were before. This is

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

<sup>2</sup> meis verbis : verbis meis N

<sup>3</sup> habetis V, WO

<sup>4</sup> remanemus L, M

<sup>5</sup> ut L, N

<sup>6</sup> ut L, N

<sup>7</sup> opinionem WO

<sup>8</sup> ne *add.* L; non *add.* N; nostrarum U

<sup>9</sup> nec L

<sup>10</sup> Senensis episcopus : episcopus Senensis N, WO

<sup>11</sup> horum L; illos M; eorum N

<sup>12</sup> horum L

<sup>13</sup> superare L, N

<sup>14</sup> Genesis, 8, 11

what I thought [would happen] before I began, but I did not want to be silent so that my silence would become proof of your views, and people would later say: 'The Bishop of Siena visited the Taborites and spoke nothing against their views. Either he thought that their views are true, or he did not think that their arguments could be defeated by debate.'

[75] Quod si nihil aliud verba nostra<sup>1</sup> fecerunt, hoc tamen praestant, quod me vestris opinionibus adversantem omnes, qui astant, intellexerunt. Vos tamen amplius et fortasse melius cogitabitis. Tunc illi: “Si tempus esset, afferemus huc<sup>2</sup> libros<sup>3</sup> ostenderemusque tibi, qui<sup>4</sup> Christi sequaces et legis Dei<sup>5</sup> zelatores<sup>6</sup> simus<sup>7</sup>. Sed vale.” Ad quos ego: “Nec vobis nec mihi<sup>8</sup> otium est: Valet.” Atque hoc modo eos a me dimisi<sup>9</sup> et exeunte domino de Rosis cum eo<sup>10</sup> Soboslaviam<sup>11</sup> veni atque inde Curvam<sup>12</sup> Insulam et seniore de Rosis dominum<sup>13</sup> petivi.

[76] Videbatur mihi *ultra Sauromathas et glaciale oceanum* fuisse, inter barbaros, inter antropofagos aut inter monstruosas Indiae Lybiaeque gentes. Nec sane in omni terra, quam circuit<sup>14</sup> Amphitrites, gens ulla est monstruosior Thaboritis. Ethiopes<sup>15</sup> enim quosdam et<sup>16</sup> Scythas et Taprobanos<sup>17</sup> corporis vitio monstruosos ajunt, Thaboritas vero depravatae<sup>18</sup> mentis vitia<sup>19</sup> et<sup>20</sup> innumerabiles<sup>21</sup> animi maculae<sup>22</sup> monstruosos efficiunt, ad quos omnes<sup>23</sup> haereses migravere, quot<sup>24</sup> ab initio nascentis ecclesiae usque in<sup>25</sup> hanc diem pestifera ingenia seminarunt<sup>26</sup>. Sunt ibi Nicolaitae, sunt Arriani<sup>27</sup>, sunt Manichaei, sunt Armenii<sup>28</sup>, sunt Nestoriani, sunt Berengarii, sunt pauperes de Lugduno. Praecipui<sup>29</sup> tamen apud eos Waldenses<sup>30</sup> habentur, unius Christi vicarii et apostolicae sedis capitales inimici, qui dum<sup>31</sup> frena superioritatis abjiciunt libertatemque<sup>1</sup> praedicant, necessarium est<sup>2</sup>, ut omnes errores admittant<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> mea L

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* L; tibi N

<sup>3</sup> hic *add.* N

<sup>4</sup> quia L, M, N

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

<sup>6</sup> zelatores WO

<sup>7</sup> sumus L, M, N, O

<sup>8</sup> nobis N

<sup>9</sup> dimisi M

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

<sup>11</sup> Sabellauiam L; Bobeslauiam M; Sobiflaniam N; Soboslaniam U

<sup>12</sup> inde Curvam : Curvam inde L

<sup>13</sup> de Rosis dominum : dominum de Rosis L, N, V

<sup>14</sup> circuiuit U

<sup>15</sup> Ethiopas L, M, O, U, V, WO

<sup>16</sup> quosdam et : et quosdam N

<sup>17</sup> Tropobanos L; Trapobanos M, O, U; Trabonamos N

<sup>18</sup> damnate gentis N

<sup>19</sup> vicina N

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>21</sup> sunt *add.* N

<sup>22</sup> maculas L

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* F, L, O, U, V, WO

<sup>24</sup> quas L, M, N

<sup>25</sup> ad L

<sup>26</sup> seminare L

<sup>27</sup> sunt Arriani : Arriani sunt O, V, WO

<sup>28</sup> Armeni F, M, L, N, O

<sup>29</sup> precipue WO

<sup>30</sup> Gualdenses L; Valdenses M, N, U

<sup>31</sup> qui dum *omit.* F, O, U, V, WO

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<sup>1</sup> libertatem L  
<sup>2</sup> *omit.* U  
<sup>3</sup> admittunt M



[75] So, if our words did nothing else, they at least made it clear to all the attendants that I oppose your opinions. But you will think more and perhaps better [about these matters]. Then they said, "If there was time, we would bring our books here and show you that we are followers of Christ and zealously adhere to the law of God. But farewell." And I said to them, "Neither you nor I have time. So, farewell." And thus I took my departure from them, and leaving with lord von Rosenberg I went with him to Soboslavia and from there to Krumlov<sup>1</sup> and the elder lord von Rosenberg.

[76] It seemed to me that I had been *beyond the Sarmatians and the icy Ocean*,<sup>2</sup> among barbarians, among man-eaters, or among the monstrous peoples of India and Libya. For absolutely nowhere on the Earth, surrounded by Amphitrite<sup>3</sup>, is there any people more monstrous than the Taborites. They say that some Ethiopians and Schythians<sup>4</sup> and Taprobanes<sup>5</sup> are hideous because of bodily defects, but the Taborites are made monstrous by the flaws of a depraved mind and countless blemishes on the soul. For all heresies sowed by troublemaking minds since the days of the Early Church have migrated there. They have Nicolaitans,<sup>6</sup> Arians,<sup>7</sup> Manichees, Armenians,<sup>8</sup> Nestorians,<sup>9</sup> Berengarians,<sup>10</sup> and the Poor Men of Lyon.<sup>11</sup> But the first place among them belongs to the Waldensians,<sup>12</sup> the foremost enemies of the one Vicar of Christ and the Apostolic See, who, casting off the reins of all lordship and preaching freedom, must of necessity permit all errors.

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<sup>1</sup> Cesky Krumlov: City in Southern Bohemia. The seat of the von Rosenberg family

<sup>2</sup> Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 2.1

<sup>3</sup> Amphitrite: Gk. myth. Sea goddess

<sup>4</sup> Scythia: In Antiquity, region of Central Asia

<sup>5</sup> Sri Lanka

<sup>6</sup> Nicolaitans: Heretical sect mentioned twice in the Apocalypse (2, 6; 2, 14-16). It is not clear which specific form of heresy Piccolomini attributed to them

<sup>7</sup> Arianism: the Christological position that Jesus, as the Son of God, was created by God. It was proposed early in the 4th century by the Alexandrian presbyter Arius and was popular throughout much of the Eastern and Western Roman empires, even after it was denounced as a heresy by the Council of Nicaea (325)

<sup>8</sup> Armenianism: it is not clear which specific form of heresy Piccolomini attributed to them except that they gave communion to new-borns, see sect. 51

<sup>9</sup> Nestorianism: a Christian theological doctrine that opposes the concept of hypostatic union and emphasizes that the two natures (human and divine) of Jesus Christ were joined by will rather than personhood. Nestorianism was named after the Christian theologian Nestorius (386–450), Archbishop of Constantinople (428-431)

<sup>10</sup> See sect. 5

<sup>11</sup> The original name for the Waldensians

<sup>12</sup> Waldensians: The founding of the Waldensians is attributed to Pierre Waldo, a wealthy merchant who gave away his property around 1173, preaching apostolic poverty as the way to perfection. Waldensian teachings came into conflict with the Catholic Church, and by 1215 the Waldensians were declared heretical

[76] A quibus cum<sup>1</sup> exivissem, ex inferiori videbar inferno reversus, nec<sup>2</sup> me prius ad superos recepisse putavi, quam Pudvisseos<sup>3</sup> atque<sup>4</sup> Ulricum<sup>5</sup> de Rosis offendi. Nam et Pudvissei<sup>6</sup> nullis haeresibus inquinati<sup>7</sup> sunt<sup>8</sup>, et Ulricus<sup>9</sup> acerrimus hostis haeticorum<sup>10</sup>, verus ecclesiae filius, inter alios Bohemiae principes, qui fidem catholicam verbis armisque tuentur<sup>11</sup>, anterior est, dignus, quem sedes apostolica inter caros habeat<sup>12</sup> et inter primos<sup>13</sup> honoret.

[77] Scripsi haec tuae praestabilitati festino et currenti calamo. Properante namque Romam Johanne meo, quem probe<sup>14</sup> nosti, malui<sup>15</sup> te, quae<sup>16</sup> mihi in hac via<sup>17</sup> contigerant<sup>18</sup> utcumque narrata cognoscere<sup>19</sup> quam penitus ignorare. Res altas de fide disputantes<sup>20</sup> et arcanos scripturae sensus attingere praesumpsimus<sup>21</sup>. Scio, quod<sup>22</sup> non defuerunt ineptiae, nam rudem et inexpertum tironem haec me pugna suscepit. Sed nolui latrantes impune lupos abire, nolui<sup>23</sup> deserere<sup>24</sup> veritatem, nolui ecclesiae deesse. Et quoniam imperitiae meae tenebras non ignoravi<sup>25</sup>, supernae claritatis lumen intrepidus expectavi. *Jactavi super dominum curam meam et ipse me adjuvit.* {137v} Sensi divinitus assistentiam, nam verba nescio quomodo suapte<sup>26</sup> fluebant, quibus miseri Thaboritae miserabiliter premebantur. *Benignus et misericors dominus*, qui nec peccatorum voces obaudit. Credo et certus sum, quia non mea vita, sed mea<sup>27</sup> fides meruit audiri, ne<sup>28</sup> Thaboritarum elenchis involverer aut sophismatibus caperer<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> tamen N

<sup>2</sup> ne M, N

<sup>3</sup> Pudvisseos F; Pudvisseos L; Wudweiis N; Puduuisseos O; Puduiceos V

<sup>4</sup> ad N

<sup>5</sup> Henricum N

<sup>6</sup> Pudvissei L; Wudweiis N; Puduisei O; Puduicei V

<sup>7</sup> inquinata N

<sup>8</sup> est N

<sup>9</sup> Henricus N

<sup>10</sup> et *add.* N

<sup>11</sup> tenentur L, N

<sup>12</sup> caros habeat ; habeat caros N

<sup>13</sup> pravos N

<sup>14</sup> probum N

<sup>15</sup> volui N

<sup>16</sup> vel N

<sup>17</sup> in hac uia : hac in via WO

<sup>18</sup> contigerunt N

<sup>19</sup> cognoscemus N

<sup>20</sup> disputando N

<sup>21</sup> presumpsi L

<sup>22</sup> quia L, M, N

<sup>23</sup> abire nolui : opicem N

<sup>24</sup> disserere M

<sup>25</sup> ignoui M; ignoram U

<sup>26</sup> sic apte N

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* L; me M

<sup>28</sup> nec U

<sup>29</sup> capetur N; caperet U

[78] Utcumque res acta est<sup>1</sup>, scio me plura et tunc dixisse et nunc scripsisse digna correptione<sup>2</sup>. Sed<sup>3</sup> quae tunc dixi, corripere nequeunt, quia *semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*. Quae nunc scribo, facile poterunt emendari, priusquam edantur. Ideo te<sup>4</sup> per veterem benivolentiam et, quam mihi semper ostendisti, caritatem precor et oro, huic opusculo ut<sup>5</sup> tuam limam<sup>6</sup> summamque manum admoveas neque prius in lucem sinas exire, quam tuo fuerit acri et gravi iudicio comprobatum. Vale, nostri memor et amans. Quando<sup>7</sup> Deus et fata volent, veniemus ad te<sup>8</sup>. Ex Nova Civitate, 12. Kalendas septembris anno domini<sup>9</sup> 1451<sup>10 11</sup>.

[76] When I left them, it was as if I had returned from deepest Hell. I did not feel that I had returned to the people on Earth before I arrived in Budweis<sup>12</sup> and met Ulrich von Rosenberg. Indeed, the people of Budweis are stained by no heresy, and Ulrich himself is the bitterest enemy of the heretics, a true son of the Church, holding the first place among those Bohemian princes who protect the Catholic Faith with words and weapons. He is indeed worthy of being loved by the Apostolic See and honoured among the first.

## 8. Conclusion

[77] I wrote this to Your Eminence with a rapid and running pen, for as my Johann, whom you know well, was to depart shortly for Rome, I wanted you to be aware of what happened to me on the way rather than to be entirely ignorant of it. It was, of course, daring of me to debate about profound matters of Faith and to touch upon the hidden meanings of Scripture. I know that there was no lack of inadequacies, for I undertook this fight as an untrained and inexperienced beginner. But I did not want to let the barking wolves go unpunished, I did not want to desert truth, I did not want to fail the Church. And since I knew the depth of my ignorance, I unhesitatingly hoped for the light of supreme clarity. *I cast my care upon the Lord and he helped me.*<sup>13</sup> I felt divine help, for words came flowing off themselves – I know not how – and put great pressure upon the miserable Taborites. *The Lord is gracious and merciful*, and he does not heed the voices of the sinners.<sup>14</sup> I believe, nay I am certain that not my life, but my faith merited to be heard so that I would not become entangled by the Taborites' reasoning or caught by their sophistry.

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<sup>1</sup> acta est : est acta L

<sup>2</sup> correctione N; conceptione WO

<sup>3</sup> omit. M

<sup>4</sup> scribo facile ... te omit. U

<sup>5</sup> et L

<sup>6</sup> lunam F; omit. L, N

<sup>7</sup> quem M

<sup>8</sup> 1451 add. L

<sup>9</sup> omit. L

<sup>10</sup> 51 L

<sup>11</sup> Finis add. M; Deo gratias. Amen add. N

<sup>12</sup> České Budějovice: City in Southern Bohemia

<sup>13</sup> Psalms, 54, 23: *Jacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet*

<sup>14</sup> Joel, 2, 13

[78] Whatever happened, I know that I have said many things then and have written many things now that require correction. What I said then cannot be corrected, for *the word once let slip flies beyond recall*.<sup>1</sup> But what I am writing now can easily be corrected before it is published. Therefore I beg and ask you, out of the kindness and affection you have always shown me, to use your exquisite hand and polish this little work and not let it appear before it has been approved by your keen and grave judgment. Farewell, remember and love us. When God and the fates wish it, we shall come to you. From Neustadt, 21 September in the year of the Lord 1451.

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<sup>1</sup> Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1.71

## **Appendix: Conciliar decree *Cum in nonnullis* of 15 June 1415 (Council of Konstanz, XIII Session)<sup>1</sup>**

Cum in nonnullis mundi partibus quidam temerarie asserere praesumunt populum Christianum debere sacrum eucharistiae sacramentum sub utraque panis et vini specie suscipere, et non solum sub specie panis, sed etiam sub specie vini populum laicum passim communicent, etiam post coenam, vel alias non ieiunum, et communicandum esse pertinaciter asserant, contra laudabilem ecclesiae consuetudinem rationabiliter comprobata, cum tamquam sacrilegam damnabiliter reprobare conantur, a capite incipiendo: hinc est, quod praesens Constantiense concilium generale, in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, adversus hunc errorem salutem fidelium providere satagens, matura plurium doctorum tam divini quam humani iuris deliberatione praehabita, decernit et definit, quod licet Christus post coenam instituerit, et suis apostolis ministraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, tamen, hoc non obstante, sacrorum canonum auctoritas laudabilis et approbata consuetudo ecclesiae servavit et servat, quod huiusmodi sacramentum non debet confici post coenam, neque a fidelibus recipi non ieiunis, nisi in casu infirmatis, aut alius necessitatis, a iure vel ab ecclesia concesso, vel admissio. Et, sicut haec consuetudo ad vitanda aliqua pericula et scandala rationabiliter introducta est, sic potuit simili aut majori ratione introduci et rationabiliter observari, quod, licet in primitiva ecclesia huiusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen postea a conficientibus sub utraque et a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur, cum firmissime credendum sit, et nullatenus dubitandum, integrum Christi corpus et sanguinem tam sub specie panis, quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri. Unde, cum huiusmodi consuetudo ab ecclesia et sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta et diutissime observata sit, habenda est pro lege, quam non licet reprobare, aut sine ecclesiae auctoritate pro libito innovare. Quapropter dicere, quod hanc consuetudinem aut legem observare, sit sacrilegum aut illicitum, censeri debet erroneum: et pertinaciter asserentes oppositum praemissarum, tamquam haeretici arcendi sunt et graviter puniendi per diocesaneos locorum, seu officiales eorum, aut inquisitores haereticae pravitatis, in regnis seu provinciis, in quibus contra hoc decretum aliquid fuerit forsitan attentatum aut praesumptum, iuxta canonicas et legitimas sanctiones, in favorem catholicae fidei, contra haeticos et eorum fautores salubriter adinventas.

Sequitur: Quod nullus presbyter sub poena excommunicationis communicet populum sub utraque specie panis et vini: Item ipsa sancta synodus ...

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<sup>1</sup> COD, p. 418 ff.

#### **4. Report on an Imperial Mission to Regensburg, 1454 (History of the Diet of Regensburg)**

## Abstract

The Fall of Constantinople, lingering capital of the Byzantine Empire, to the Ottoman Turks in May 1453 created widespread and justified fear in Europe. It might reasonably be assumed that the young Turkish sultan, Mehmed II, would pursue his war of expansion and move further into European territories. The two international institutions of Europe, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, were compelled to react, although both incumbents, Emperor Friedrich III and Pope Nicolaus V, were peaceful men, averse to risk-taking. After some procrastination, the emperor convened a conference of the European rulers and German princes in the city of Regensburg in May 1454. The driving force at this meeting was his counsellor and senior diplomat, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena. Piccolomini gave a grand speech in which he dramatically described the damage inflicted upon Europe by the Turks and made a rousing appeal for a joint European war against them. The aim of the war would be twofold: first, to avenge the injuries suffered by the Europeans and regain the territories lost to the Turks and the Arabs, and second, to protect Europe against a Turkish invasion. Although the audience was moved, caution prevailed, and the only result of the diet was to agree on war in principle and propose another diet to further discuss the matter. Besides the crusade matter, two other issues were discussed at the diet: the need for a reform of the Holy Roman Empire, and the conflict between the Prussians and the German Order.

## Foreword

Enea Silvio Piccolomini participated in the imperial diet of Regensburg in 1454 as one of the emperor's envoys (legates) and representatives and afterwards wrote a report of the diet. This report transcends the format of a proper diplomatic report, being really a history of the diet (often called *Historia de Ratisponensi dieta*) as seen by an eye witness and central actor at the diet, and it has a clear political purpose, being addressed to the Hungarian chancellor.

The report has been published twice previously: the first time in 1759 by Mansi, and the second time Wolkan in 1918.

According to Mansi himself, his edition was based on a manuscript in the collection of his predecessor as bishop of Lucca, Felino Sandei, a learned author like himself, to which he had access. The manuscript has a number of omissions and other scribal errors, presumably "inherited" from a previous manuscript in the line of transmission.

Wolkan mainly used the Vat. lat. 3888 for his edition.

Since neither edition is properly critical, after modern standards, I have found it worthwhile to produce such an edition based on five manuscripts and the texts published by Mansi and Wolkan.

A translation of the text has not been published previously.

Michael Cotta-Schönberg  
30 December 2020



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# I. INTRODUCTION

# 1. Context<sup>1 2</sup>

During the first half of the fifteenth century, it had become clear that the Ottoman military expansion constituted a serious threat not only to the Byzantine Empire (or the Greek Empire, as it was called then) but also to Europe as a whole. The Italian humanists had caught on quickly, and their anti-Turkish works in the form of orations, public letters to European rulers, treatises, poems and other writings soon developed into a literary genre.<sup>3</sup>

Already in his first oration, the “*Audivi*”,<sup>4</sup> delivered to the Fathers of the Council of Basel in November 1436, Piccolomini had addressed the Turkish issue, saying, among other things about the Turks, that

*... great is the realm of the Turks, immense is the power of the Asians and enormous their riches. They have extended their empire from Asia to Europe, and they have occupied the whole of Greece as if they were the avengers of the destruction of Troy. To expel them from Greece would not be the task of a single city or state but of the entire Christian world.*

In his oration to Emperor-Elect Albrecht II, the “*Quid est*”, of April 1438, he had designated the Turks as one of the enemies of the Holy Roman Empire, whom the new emperor would have to fight.<sup>5</sup>

In his oration “*Si Putarem*” to Emperor Friedrich III, of April 1444, he referred to Pope Eugenius IV’s crusade against the Turks as one of the great merits of this pope.<sup>6</sup>

In his oration “*Et breviter me hodie*” to Pope Eugenius IV in July 1446, he, again, mentioned the pope’s meritorious fight against the Turks:

*Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums to protect the Hungarians, who are like a wall protecting the Christian faith, and to expel the Turks from Europe and free the miserable Greeks from their hands, those who were once the masters of the East but now appear to be slaves.*

His first full oration on the Turks was the “*Quamvis in hoc senatu*”, in August 1451, to the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy at the imperial court. Here, he developed some of the

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 26; RTA 19, 1, esp. pp. 1-3; Ady, pp. 126-129; Bisaha; Boulting, pp. 204-209; Helmrath: *Pius*; Helmrath: *German*; Meuthen; Mitchell, pp. 113-114; Nowak, pp. 130-131; Reinhardt, p. 162-165; Schwoebel, p. 32-33; Setton, II, ch. 3 and pp. 151-153; Stolf, pp. 282-284; Toews, pp. 261-251; Voigt, II, pp. 105-119

<sup>2</sup> This section is based on my introduction to Piccolomini’s oration “*Quamvis omnibus*” (1454) [21]

<sup>3</sup> See Hankins

<sup>4</sup> Oration “*Audivi*” (1436) [1], sect. 21

<sup>5</sup> Oration “*Quid est*” (1438) [3], sect. 3-4

<sup>6</sup> Oration “*Si putarem*” (1444) [5], sect. 38

themes he would use in later Turkish orations, e.g. the emperor's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the Turkish and Saracens atrocities, their attacks on Christianity, and – not the least – the need for a concerted European military response to the Turkish expansion.

And at the occasion of the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452, Piccolomini had, on behalf of the emperor, held the oration "*Moyses vir Dei*", in which he formally and officially petitioned Pope Nicolaus V for a crusade to regain the territories lost to the Turks and the Arabs, including Jerusalem.

All to no avail. The two leaders of Christian Europe, the emperor and the pope, were both quite unwarlike and averse to risk-taking. And the other kings and princes were engaged in their own wars, both external and internal, and the most important of them, King Charles VII of France, moreover considered the Turkish venture as an unrealistic dream not to be seriously pursued. The only ruler who truly desired a crusade against the Turks was Duke Philippe III of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup>

Then, in May 1453, Constantinople fell to the onslaught of the Ottoman army under the leadership of the young sultan, Mehmed II. Though the Byzantine Empire lingered on for some years more at Trebizond, the Fall of Constantinople and the killing of its emperor, Constantine XI Dragases Palaeologus, was generally considered to be the end of the Byzantine Empire and the opening of a new phase in the Turkish expansion towards Europe

The Fall of Constantinople shocked Europe and created a flurry of activity in the chanceries.<sup>2</sup> As the nominal political head of Europe and the champion (advocatus) and protector of the Church, the emperor evidently had to do something – though he really much preferred for the pope to take responsibility, and vice versa.

After mature reflection and some procrastination, as was his wont, he decided to call a conference on the matter that would be both a pan-European conference of princes and a German imperial diet. He thus set in motion procedural machinery that would, if successful, result in a common European military response to Ottoman aggression. In this endeavour, he was ably assisted by his councillor and senior diplomat, the Bishop of Siena, Enea Silvio Piccolomini.<sup>3</sup>

Though the Ottoman threat was in itself quite real and did require a concerted European military response, a number of other issues actually made the Turkish venture an interesting undertaking both for the empire and the papacy<sup>4</sup> as well as for Piccolomini personally. Politically, both the empire and the papacy would gain from a great and successful enterprise conducted under their auspices. Financially, they might profit from the financing of the crusade. And as for Piccolomini

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<sup>1</sup> Paviot; Meuthen, pp. 21-23

<sup>2</sup> Schwoebel, ch. 1

<sup>3</sup> Meuthen, p. 16; Toews, p. 242: *The imperial-papal response to the Turkish menace was largely due to the activities of Aeneas Sylvius*

<sup>4</sup> Toews, p. 242

himself, he had an overriding urge to be engaged in important affairs of state, and, moreover, a great cause like a crusade might further his own ecclesiastical ambitions and bring him the cardinal's hat.

These motives have been unmercifully described by Piccolomini's 19<sup>th</sup> century German protestant biographer, Georg Voigt.<sup>1</sup> As concerns Piccolomini, Voigt's analysis, however, tends to overlook two things: Firstly, Piccolomini's geopolitical assessment of the enormous Turkish military threat to Europe was, in fact, correct and would shortly be proven to be so.<sup>2</sup> And secondly, Voigt's personal – and quite bigoted – aversion to Piccolomini made him blind to the complexity of his character and the genuineness of his religious development, in which the crusade became a guiding theme of faith, devotion, generosity and courage – all other motives notwithstanding.

At any rate, after the Fall of Constantinople, the crusade against the Turks became the main focus of Piccolomini's activities, first in his remaining period as a top imperial advisor and diplomat (1453-1456), later as a cardinal of Pope Calixtus III (1457-1458), whose mind was firmly fixed on the crusade, and finally as pope (1458-1464).

The imperial diet summoned by the emperor to discuss a military response to the Turkish war of expansion met in Regensburg in May 1454. In the beginning, it as was not well-attended, mainly because the emperor did not participate personally. However, when the Duke of Burgundy arrived,<sup>3</sup> the conference gained in status, and for Piccolomini personally, the ducal presence gave birth to the illusion of having the duke as a strong European partner in the Turkish venture. This illusion would last for a decade, even forming the basis for his later, papal, crusading strategy, until it was shattered, painfully, during the last year of his own pontificate.

By Spring 1454, the general scare caused by the Fall of Constantinople almost a year before had abated considerably. The Europeans were back at their political bickering, their regional conflicts and wars, their discouragement caused by former defeats at the hands of Turks. Some, e.g., the emperor, even nurtured some secret satisfaction that buffer states like Hungary would have to deal with the Turks before these became an imminent threat to themselves.

In his letters from before the diet, Piccolomini himself was quite aware that it would not be an easy matter to mobilise the Europeans for a joint military venture against the Turks.<sup>4</sup> But this was the task he wanted and one which the emperor had assigned to him. And if oratorical arts and diplomatic skills could clinch the matter, he was definitely the right person to try.

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt III, pp. 98-118

<sup>2</sup> Setton, II, p. 149

<sup>3</sup> Du Fresne de Beaucourt, V, 398-399: *Le duc de Bourgogne ne voulut pas perdre l'occasion de manifester hautement ses intentions au sujet de la Croisade: il déclara qu'il était prêt à entrer en campagne à la tête de soixante mille hommes si les autres princes voulaient faire comme lui*

<sup>4</sup> E.g., his letter to Cardinal Carval of 11 April 1454 (WO, III, 1, nr. 272, pp. 459-272)

As he had been during the preparations of the diet, Piccolomini was also the driving force during the diet itself. Partly due to the wholehearted support of the Duke of Burgundy, Piccolomini managed to whip up some enthusiasm for the crusade, and the Diet in Regensburg actually agreed to the war in principle. However, when the next diet assembled in Frankfurt to deal with the practical organization of the crusade, the enthusiasm had evaporated again. After the death of Pope Nicolaus in 1455, the crusade project would fall apart.

After the diet in Regensburg, Piccolomini wrote a report about it which he addressed and sent to the Hungarian chancellor, János Vitéz. It is inconceivable that he would have done so without the knowledge of the emperor since the emperor's relations with Hungary were at the time quite inimical due to his longstanding conflicts with the Hungarian governor, János Hunyadi,<sup>1</sup> and the relations with his cousin, King Ladislaus of Hungary, poisoned by the events surrounding the ending of the emperor's wardship over him.<sup>2</sup>

Piccolomini's gesture had the purpose of demonstrating two things to the Hungarian chancellor. The first was that the emperor's absence from Regensburg – which did certainly not help the cause of the crusade and military support for Hungary against the Turks - was due to the Hungarian governor Hunyadi's own threats against the emperor:

The second was that the absence of ambassadors from Hungary at the diet was detrimental to the Hungarian cause.

Piccolomini's contemporary biographer, Campano, had this to say about the Diet in Regensburg:

*... qua de causa peregit et conventum Ratisponae, ubi progressum in contionem omnibus qui aderant excusisse lacrimas constat, deploratis Graecorum calamitatibus et recenti clade Constantinopolitana in medium exposita.*<sup>3</sup>

And his other biographer, Platina, commented:

*Aeneas non multo post ad conventum Ratisponensem mictitur, ubi imperatorias vices gerens, presente Philippo, Burgundionum duce, et Ludovico Baiovariae, de immanitate Turchorum et de calamitate christiane reipublice tanta contentione dixit, ut omnibus gemitum et lacrimas excusserit.*<sup>4</sup>

Concerning the veracity of the text, Piccolomini's report is correct in the main substance. This is why it is used – also by the editors of the Reichstagsakten – as an important source on the diet of Regensburg. However, as always, Piccolomini's does his best to make the emperor appear as a

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<sup>1</sup> See oration "*Tritum est sermone*" (1447) [12]

<sup>2</sup> See oration "*Sentio*" (1452) [20]

<sup>3</sup> Zimolo, p. 23

<sup>4</sup> Zimolo, p. 103



wise ruler and himself as an important, competent mover of things. The report is also coloured by his political purpose: to convince the Germans to go on a crusade against the Turks and the Hungarians to join them.

## 2. Themes

The main themes at the diet were the crusade, the state and reform of the Empire, the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussians and Poles, and the politically important subtheme of the emperor's absence from the conference. Another subtheme - though it was not treated as such - is the conduct of diplomacy. Noteworthy are also Piccolomini's sketches of the personalities of some of the main actors.

### 2.1. Crusade

The main question was: would it be possible for the imperial legates to make the sceptical Germans approve of a crusade and support a concrete plan for a military expedition against the Turks.

The primary instrument for gaining approval was to be oratory, i.e. the orations of Piccolomini himself, cardinal Nikolaus von Kues, the apostolic legate and the representative of the Duke of Burgundy.

In his grand crusade oration to the diet, the *"Quamvis omnibus"*, Piccolomini declared that the emperor had two motives for proposing a crusade against the Turks, one being revenge for the loss of Christian lands to the Mohammedans, and the other the Turkish threat of invading Europe:

*Two reasons have moved the emperor to summon the present diet. The first one is the great, nay enormous injury that the Turkish leader, Mehmed, inflicted upon the Christian cause last summer, at Constantinople. The second is the reported intensive Turkish military build-up, aiming at the complete destruction of the Christian people. The injury inflicted by the Turks he considers as belonging to the past, whereas the build-up means future risk and danger. In a moment, I shall speak of both so that all may understand how serious is the injury, which we claim should be avenged, and how great is the danger which we urge you to prepare for.*  
[Sect. 108]

Expounding on the past losses to the Mohammedans and especially the Turks was a delicate matter: firstly, the present-day rulers of Europe might not be terribly interested in remediating the failures of their forefathers, and secondly, it would remind them of the overwhelming force of the

Turkish military which had triumphed decisively over large European armies at Nicopolis in 1396 and Varna in 1444. But the recent Fall of Constantinople gave the orators the opportunity to engage in arousing speechmaking on the atrocities of the Turks, hoping to whip up an enthusiastic response of the audience, as had happened in Clermont in 1396, leading to the First Crusade:

*Then, having gathered great forces by land and sea, he [Mehmed II] declared war on the emperor, besieged Constantinople, deployed his war machines, broke down the walls, made a ferocious attack on the city, captured it and plundered it. There Emperor Constantine fell. How wondrous are the judgments of God and how mysterious his ways! About 1,000 men were killed during the attack itself, and afterwards a general slaughter took place throughout the city. All the nobles were killed, and the priests put to the sword. Virgins and matrons suffered the pleasure of the victors. Boys were killed in their parents arms, and an infinite number of people were carried off to captivity and permanent slavery. Oh, the miserable and tearful destiny of that city: everywhere you saw plunder, fire, debauchery, blood and corpses. The temples dedicated to the divine name were profaned in unspeakable ways and turned into taverns and – oh, what shame - brothels. The icons of the Great God, of His Mother, of the Precursor and of all the saints were destroyed. The precious relics of martyrs and other saints now reigning with Christ, which were kept in the temples, were thrown to pigs and dogs. A crucifix was carried into the [Turkish] camp, preceded by trumpets. They made a game of throwing it back and forth, mocked it and dragged it through the filth. Does this [outrage] seem small and insignificant? Who can talk about such things without tears? I shudder even as I tell them. Oh, what great and intolerable shame on the Christian people! I believe that the heart of every Christian who hears about this will be moved and burn with anger. Is there any believer who will not cry in sorrow? ... This is the city, so memorable and so glorious, which the Turks without any provocation whatsoever have now conquered and taken from the Christians' hands, shedding the blood of harmless people, burning libraries and important books, polluting the holy places and committing sacrileges against Christ, Our God, which I shudder to relate. ... These [events] have shocked the emperor profoundly. His Majesty believes that such crimes and shameful acts must be avenged: this enormous injury, this flagrant abuse must not be left unavenged. It is not only the Greeks who have been scorned. Indeed, all Christendom has been grievously wounded and mocked. And not only have mortals, but even the immortal beings in Heaven been mocked and provoked. Our God has been scorned unspeakably. [Sect. 111-114]*

Mobilising the Europeans for revenge might have been difficult, but - in the light of the Fall of Constantinople and subsequent Turkish forays into the Greek heartland and islands - mobilising them for a joint defence against the threatening Turkish invasion appeared eminently sensible. It was also an altogether more realistic project than a crusade to regain not only Constantinople but also the Holy Land and Jerusalem:

*The emperor, however, is not just moved by the motive of avenging this injury, though it is, of course, quite serious. For he sees a great danger threatening us and considers that we must*

take care to avoid that one injury leads to another. Mehmed has now conquered Constantinople. There he has a large harbour and a site very suitable for ships, which can hold not just one or some ships, but almost immense fleets. No other place on the Mediterranean is more convenient for dominating the whole sea, for Constantinople lies above Propontis, so that you cannot, against the will of the Turks, sail from the Pontus Euxinus (which today is called the Great Sea) to the Euboan, Jonian and Cretan seas, which is considered as one sea (today called the Archipelago), nor the opposite way. The narrow straits through Thracian Bosphorus and through the Hellespont (that our people call The Arm of Saint George) being now in the power of the Turks, no commercial goods can come from Tanais to our regions against their will. And it will now be possible for the Turks to prepare a fleet in the port of Constantinople with which to lay waste to all the islands of the Archipelago – actually they are already said to have attacked and plundered a number of them.

But men who know Mehmed's character and life well and who come to us from those regions report that Mehmed has grown bolder and will certainly not want peace and quiet: one victory is the means for the next. He is gathering large armies and strong fleets to further assail Christianity. Night and day, he only thinks about how to completely destroy the Christian cause and to destroy the memory of Jesus, Our Lord. Indeed, it is not to be wondered that his mind swells and raves when he considers his father's and his own victories. Only a few years ago, his father, Murad, twice destroyed large and strong Christian armies, causing the death of Vladislaus, the young and noble king of Poland, and Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, one of the most outstanding men of his time. Proud of his victory at Constantinople and the killing of the Greek Emperor, Mehmed now boasts that he is greater than his father. And since he carries the same name as that false and lying prophet Muhammad, who enlarged and strengthened the sect of the Agarenes, he is tormented by his burning desire to destroy the Christian name.

The Christian Faith was solidly rooted in four patriarchal sees, from where it once spread over the whole Earth, like vine sprouts. Of these, the Agarenes have now taken three: Alexandria, Antiochia and Constantinople. Therefore Mehmed has no doubt that he can also win the Roman patriarchate from us. Indeed, among his intimates he often says: "Why should I not be able to conquer and possess the whole of the West since I am already lord of Asia, Thracia, Macedonia and all of Greece? After all, Alexander, son of Philip, was only lord of Macedonia when he dared to invade the East with [just] 32,000 soldiers and reach as far as India." He actually compares himself to Julius Cesar, Hannibal of Carthage, Pyrrhus of Epirus and other illustrious men, and he claims to surpass them all.

He claims that he can arm and lead countless forces into war. This is not a lie, for it is evident that he can bring more than 200,000 soldiers into battle. And if the tartars join him, as the legate of the Polish King reports and the Governor of Hungary confirms, then he will be able to mobilise an almost innumerable army. But why dwell on something that is common

*knowledge? Though his forefathers did not have any land over the sea, they often brought great forces over to Europe. What will he do now when his empire reaches from the frontiers of Hungary to Dalmatia? We should certainly not despise this mighty enemy! His mind is set on war. He is young and hot-blooded. He loves glory. He is determined to pursue Christians - with a kind of natural hate born of ingrained and innate malignity and cruelty. He has many renegades from our people with him who encourage him and from whom he learns of all our plans. He is our immediate neighbour, with easy access to Italy and Germany through the neighbouring regions of Dalmatia and Croatia – for most Albanians and Bosnians have surrendered to him and have become his clients. Do you really believe that this man, enticed by so many advantages, will settle down after his victories? Those who well know the man and his intentions are quite certain that next year he will assault the Christians with all his might and do all he can to vanquish his neighbours. [Sect. 115-118]*

To counter the Turkish threat, it would be necessary for the Europeans to mobilise a joint defence:

*Princes, now it is time to take up weapons, to attack the enemies of the Cross in their own dwellings, and to wage war with brave hearts and united forces. Certain victory will be in our hands if only we go to battle with a pure mind, for the honour of God and for the salvation of the Christian people, and with reformed minds seek not what is our own, but what is Jesus Christ's. Though Mehmed is - as I said before - a most ferocious and powerful enemy, he does not equal German strength, nor can he be compared to the German name. There is no reason for you, Nobles, to fear him if only you decide for war unanimously, for you are lacking neither in men nor horses, weapons, wagons and ships: in all these things you are superior to your enemies. If you think back on the deeds of our forefathers, you will find that the Turks never equalled them in battles at sea or on land if only the Christians acted in concert against them. Just think of the great victories over the Turks and other infidels won by the Roman emperors Charlemagne, Konrad III, Friedrich I, Friedrich II and by Godefroy, Duke of Lorraine. [Sect. 126]*

Except for the main strategy of a combined German-led land army and an Italian navy [Sect. 131], the emperor did not want to propose a plan of action but instead exhorted the participants in the diet to consult between them and make concrete proposals, to which he would then give his assent:

*Our [the imperial envoys] most important task is to demand of Your Excellencies not to depart from here before you have made a unanimous decision to not only defend what remains of Christianity but also to reclaim, as far as possible, what is now in the hands of the enemies. We have not received specific instructions concerning the manner and the order in which this should be done. Rather, we have been ordered to receive your counsel, to hear your views, to follow your serious and enlightened judgment, to discuss with you what would be useful and necessary, and to reach a common agreement on the best course to follow. [Sect. 120]*

The lengthy address of Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues was summarised by Piccolomini in a few words:

*After him, the Cardinal of San Pietro, who had personally visited Constantinople several times and seen almost all of Greece, spoke gravely and at length about the site of the lost city, the character of the people, the power of the Turks, and how to conduct the war. And though he declared that the Greeks had merited their sufferings since they had not wanted to follow the Roman Church and had fraudulently feigned the union, he did much urge the Christians to avenge the injury to the Saviour. [Sect. 133]*

On the oration of the apostolic legate, Giovanni Castiglione, the “*Gravi totiens*”, Piccolomini wrote:

*Afterwards, Bishop Giovanni of Pavia, the apostolic legate, held an oration of great refinement and with vivid and elegant expressions. The purport of the oration was this: since the beginning of time, the devil has hated truth and fostered divisions, errors and schisms, and he has stirred up innumerable heretical movements against the light of truth. The bishop declared the sect of Muhammad to be the most malignant and abominable of them all - all know how much it has grown and spread. The bishop also mentioned the evil deeds perpetrated by the Saracens and the Turks in the time of our fathers. Then, coming to our own times, he put the Fall of Constantinople before our eyes, showing how great dangers threaten our religion if the savage Turks are not resisted. He told us how the Roman Pontiff was concerned about protecting Christianity and had contemplated many and great things, and how he himself had been sent by him first to the emperor, and then to the King of Hungary and to the barons of that kingdom, to rouse them and stir them up to come to the aid of the Christian commonwealth, mentioning the main points in each of the orations he had delivered to those princes. Finally, he urged all who were present to take up arms against the Turks, saying that from the apostolic throne they would get all they considered necessary for this undertaking. [Sect. 134]*

The imperial legates did not want to submit a concrete plan of action to the diet and exhorted the participants to put forward their ideas and proposals. Instead, they were met with an insistent demand for specific proposals from the emperor, and after some days of hard thinking, they produced a note for the assembly containing an explicit and detailed proposal for joint defence of Europe against the Turks:

*The imperial legates several times and urgently requested the princes to present their opinions [on the matter], but when all wanted to hear the emperor's ideas, the legates discussed the matter for a while and then put in writing what they thought would be appropriate, and presented this note to the assembly, saying that it represented the emperor's thinking. [Sect. 140] [Here follows the text of the note, see sect. 141-146]*

The ambassadors knew the proposals would have to be discussed by the German princes at home before a decision could be reached. They, therefore, proposed that a new diet should be held later the same year to decide upon the practical organisation of the crusade.

With some amendments, the imperial proposals were accepted by Albrecht of Brandenburg, who spoke in the name of the assembly including the Duke of Burgundy. The text of Albrecht's German address is only known in Piccolomini's Latin version, but apparently its substance was rendered faithfully:

*Distinguished ambassadors, we have heard what you said about the intentions of Holy Emperor Friedrich in the matter of the protection of the Christian religion. We consider that His Majesty is acting wisely and prudently in this great matter. The dukes Philippe of Burgundy and Ludwig of Bavaria and the ambassadors of the King of Poland and of the electors and other princes require me to say some words on this matter, and I shall do so briefly. We all commend the objectives of our emperor and thank the Best and Greatest God that he has, at this time, given us a prince who is concerned about the common good. We wish that he be kept safe and unharmed for the commonwealth for a long time. We praise and approve of his intentions. We pray and beg that he may persist with all his might in this holy endeavour, both for the common welfare of the Christians and for the praise and eternal name of our illustrious nation.*

*Concerning the articles you have presented, there is not much to say, since you yourselves have decided that they should be discussed more closely in another diet to be held later. We are sure that many others will meet there who have better knowledge than us about the Turkish and Greek matters and the geographical conditions. Maybe the counts Ulrich of Cilly and János of Bistrita<sup>1</sup> will be present. From them we shall hear how many soldiers to bring, where and when the Turks should be attacked, what kind of battle to fight, what machines to use, by what route the provisions should be transported, and which advice to accept and which to reject. We shall also learn what the Italians, the French, and other nations will do. If the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Poles and other Christians join up, it will hardly be necessary to contribute so many soldiers from our nation as your articles stipulate, for then the army will become too big to be fed, and – as told about Xerxes – will not only lack food to eat but even rivers to drink. The other articles we consider to have been thought out with great acumen and a divine mind, especially what you stated about ordaining a five-year peace. Would that it could be permanent! It is evident that no army can be brought forth from our nation if we do not achieve peace between us. We are sorry that you are uncertain about the emperor's attendance at the next diet, for we know that many things require the emperor's presence and especially what was said about peace. So, if the emperor wishes for the matter [of an expedition] against Turks to succeed, you must persuade him to come to*

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<sup>1</sup> The governor of Hungary

*the diet. This is our considered opinion, and this is the advice we give His Majesty as his loyal princes and obedient vassals. [Sect. 154-155]*

Compliments, compliments, and a certain willingness to entertain the concrete proposals but also a direct warning that the emperor's presence at the future diet was essential to the crusade project.

The crusade plans were thus given a quite reluctant welcome by the Germans, but at the end of the congress they gained serious momentum when the Bishop of Toul delivered an oration on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy. Again the text is only known in Piccolomini's version, but the substance would have been rendered faithfully. The bishop echoed the description of the Turkish atrocities and threats in the previous orations, summarised the duke's initiatives in the Turkish matter, and proceeded to a clear and concrete commitment to the crusade, thus pushing the vacillating Germans to move forward:

*Since there is going to be a delay and you will hold another diet, and Philippe may not be able to participate in that meeting, he prefers to state his intentions already now, for he does not require time for further thought since he came to you having already considered the matter and with his mind made up. What he was going to say in the emperor's presence, he says now. Possibly it will prove an advantage if he makes known his intentions already now.*

*Concerning the imperial propositions, Philippe would add nothing and take nothing away from what Margrave Albrecht said in the name of all. If this way is accepted, then Philippe will follow what is ordained. If not, he promises (as his intentions have already been made known everywhere) this before God and you, in unshakeable good faith: If His Imperial Majesty accepts the leadership of an army against the Turks and participates personally in the expedition, Philippe will serve in his own person under the imperial banner, with the largest and strongest possible following. If the emperor declines this charge, but King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, though still a boy, wishes to fight in the army for the Catholic Faith, Philippe will join his army. And if neither the emperor nor Ladislaus decides to fight against the Turks, but other Christian princes take weapons and make preparations worthy of such a great war, then Philippe will join them and in no way be absent unless he is prevented for a reason which the whole of Christianity would consider a valid excuse. In that case, he will send a prince of his blood, with cavalry and infantry worthy of the Duke of Burgundy. This Philippe has commanded me to declare so that you shall not be ignorant of his intentions. [Sect. 162-163]*

This declaration moved Albrecht of Brandenburg to express a more positive support for the crusade project, and the diet ended in a state of some enthusiasm, although it would prove to be short-lived:

*Philippe, Illustrious Duke, you fill all of us here today with great consolation and joy, as you declare how far you are willing and ready to protect the Christian religion. We have eagerly heard your address and consider you worthy of eternal praise. We, too, shall not fail you in this*

*praiseworthy endeavour, and we shall not leave you alone. We, too, desire to protect the Faith of Christ with all our might since we must – if we do not wish to be unworthy of our ancestors – come to the aid of the Christian religion as much as we can. Let there be no doubt that we who are present and many of the princes of our nation who are absent will go to war against the Turkish people, fighting in person, and that we shall show the Christian people how much we care about the catholic and orthodox Faith.”*

*After these addresses, great enthusiasm rose among all ... [Sect. 173-174]*

## **2.2. The Empire**

The state and need of a reform of the Empire was treated in two important addresses reported by Piccolomini, one by himself in the imperial council, and one by his friend Johann Lysura at the diet. Piccolomini wrote both texts after the events, and they may be coloured by his perception of the issue at the time of writing.

His own intervention took place at a meeting in the imperial council before the diet. Piccolomini argued that the emperor's presence was necessary not only for the success of the crusade project but also for another urgent need: the reform of the Empire. On this issue, he exhorted the emperor to confront the princes and cities with their criticism of his infrequent stays visit to Germany: he should make clear to them that they were themselves responsible for the Empire's lack of resources and thence the emperor's inability to come often to Germany and his lack of coercive means to fulfil justice, enforce obedience, and to settle armed conflict. Furthermore, the princes should not expect the financial needs of the Empire to be covered by the House of Austria:

*Right now, we are discussing whether you should go there. If I was in your place. I would go and show myself to the princes. I would make such arguments for the [defence of the] Christian faith which I find compelling. Then I would add: 'I hear that you, princes and cities, are exasperated because I do not come often to you, because I do not end conflicts and wars, do not punish the guilty, and do not force all to follow justice. You appear not to realise that the imperial office is drained and has no resources to make these things happen. Just coming here once, I would easily spend more funds than I could collect from the Empire in ten years. If I pronounce a judgement, nobody executes it. If I write or command anything, you only obey if you wish to. So, why do you criticise me? Should I spend my own inherited property to save yours? Certainly not! It is enough that I offer and dedicate my cares, my zeal, my labour, my work, and my person to you. If you grant me [an income which allows me] to live among you and dispense justice to everyone and to perform the office of a king and emperor, then I shall never fail you nor the state. If you are concerned about the poverty of the Empire, then*



*stop criticising, and do not blame me if you all lose your power and liberty because each of you wants to rule.’ I am convinced, emperor, that if the princes hear you speaking like this, it will benefit both yourself and the Empire. The princes will realise how shameful it is that the kings of other nations are amazingly rich while their own king is poor. They are also tired of daily and unceasing conflicts, and they know that these go on and on because you have neither [your subjects’] obedience nor soldiers to enforce it. But they do know that soldiers cannot be hired or maintained without money, the most important muscle of the republic. If the Germans want peace and justice among them, they must provide for you and the Empire. This you have already been promised by Jakob, Bishop of the Church of Trier, the most clear-sighted and clever of your [prince] electors, as you were told last year by Johann Lysura, an intelligent and wise man. So, you will deal with two matters at the Diet of Regensburg: you will organise an army against the Turk, and you will restore the Empire to its former glory. If you just achieve one of these, you will gain honour and a great name. If you achieve neither, the peoples will [at least] praise you for pursuing honourable and great matters.*  
[Sect. 15-16]

At the diet, Johann Lysura took up the issue of the Empire in an address reported by Piccolomini and which closely echoed Piccolomini’s address in the imperial council. Piccolomini probably reported the substance of the address loyally but shaped it to fit his own conceptions and strategic aims:

*“I did not want to hear the emperor’s plans against the Turks in order to criticise them, for I understand that this is very great matter which cannot be touched by unwashed hands, though it would really be a small matter for the German name if our Empire was governed as it should be. But you all see our Germany being mauled and scourged from all sides and falling apart everywhere. Here the cities have unending conflicts with the princes, there the princes are at war with other princes, and the cities with other cities. Nobody is so abject that he will not dare to declare war on his neighbour on his own authority. No corner of our nation is at peace. Wherever you turn, you must fear robbers, ambush, plundering and death. The clergy has no peace and the nobles no honour. Everything lies wide open to robbers. We fulfil this verse of Ovid: Men lived on plunder. A guest was not safe from his host, nor a father-in-law from son-in-law. Our wickedness is complete. Nobody lives peacefully in his home. What can you do when people behave like that? How can we go to war against the Turks when we fear each other at home. We are ashamed of our name, we are ashamed of this state of things.*

*Our forefathers had neither our means nor our soldiers, but they still took over the Roman Empire, which was in Greek hands. How could they do that? Because they cultivated peace at home, made wars abroad, with their armies protected the Roman Church against aggressors, brought help to neighbours who were being molested, did not rob each other, and did not allow others to be robbed unjustly. Thus – and it is not so long ago – they extended the*

*Empire from the Pyrenean Mountains to Hungary, had the obedience of the Italians, and gave kings to the Spanish, the English, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and the Poles. Nowadays, some German-speaking people are not part of the Empire. Whereto has our apathy brought us? Whereto do our divisions drive us? All the neighbouring nations scorn and despise us: we are powerful and noble at home, we have an abundance of rich and populous cities and all good things, but that which is the greatest good for men, keeping peace at home, we cannot have, and among ourselves we leave no place for justice which begets and preserves peace.*

*When I say this, you imperial ambassadors may think that I am blaming yours and our prince for failing to give us justice and peace, but nothing is further from my mind. I do not reproach His Majesty that he does not strive to give peace to Germany, and there is no need for his personal resources. All know what little power he has, all know what tax revenues he has. From his own paternal lands he only gets what is fitting for an honourable prince. From the Empire he barely gets enough to sustain the legates he sends here and there. Styria and Carinthia cannot sustain the burden of the Empire, and even if it could, it would not be reasonable to expect the emperor to cover the costs of the Empire out of his paternal inheritance and to rob his children of their inheritance to care for the common good. For even though exalted and praiseworthy princes sometimes have done so, today such charity would be preposterous. It is enough that the emperor makes himself available and works for the common good, as I remember hearing from his own mouth last year when I came to Wiener Neustadt on a mission from the Archbishop of Trier. You bishops of Siena and Gurk were there.*

*So who do I blame? Who do I consider responsible for our evils? I blame all who carry the name of German. We are all passive and indolent; we all merit to be punished for not respecting our king and not caring for our state. We are letting the Empire fall apart as if it had nothing to do with us, and we are allowing the light in our hands to be extinguished for which our forefathers gave their lives. How do we believe that the members can be strong if the head is weak? What do we give to our head, our king? He gets nothing from us except the name of emperor. Do we really consider this to suffice? What country under the heaven – I ask – does not feed its own king? We all want peace, we hate war, we denounce conflict and plunder, but we are not searching for a way to have peace. You will never find peace without justice. A peaceful realm delivers justice. Here someone may object: “It is the emperor’s responsibility to deliver justice. If he does not do that, then he is at fault.” But – I ask you – from where can he get the funds to pay the judges?*

*Take away the soldiers, and let the lawmen deliver judgments regularly: who forces those to obey who will not? Very recently, a judgment was delivered against the Prussians, but instead of obeying as ordered, they intensify their attacks against the Order, they drive their old masters from their homes, and they fear neither the censures of the Apostolic See nor the decrees of the Empire. I could point to many decisions of the emperors Sigismund, Albrecht*

*and Friedrich that we remember to have remained without effect. For many years we have seen the See of Utrecht being occupied by someone against the orders of the Roman Pontiff and the emperor's command. And now, too, you know with what right the Church of Münster is being held. What shall I say about the people of Soest and the scandalous defeat of the Church of Cologne? Did those people of Soest fear the curse of the Supreme Pontiff or the ban of the Empire? In vain we make laws, keep justice, render judgments if there is no armed arm to coerce defiant subjects. You blame the emperor for not censuring the effrontery of the disobedient, for not preventing plundering, and for not resisting powerful transgressors. But what can he do when he is unarmed? Who bothers about words when they are not followed by whips? The emperors of old had armed legions with which they could easily punish stiff-necked and criminal men. Now our emperor is on his own and without means. "But let him arm legions," someone may say. "And how shall he feed them", I say. How can anybody without money sustain an army? We contribute nothing to the Empire. With us, the name of king is an empty title. We have a realm without a treasure, and therefore we only obey it when we want to. Everybody considers himself a king, and consequently we have those unending conflicts.*

*If we want peace, we must have one prince who can both give orders and enforce them. This will happen if we do not allow our king to be lacking in means and if we make it possible for him to mobilise an army to suppress the defiance of the disobedient whenever needful. Indeed, I think that nobody who loves the German name will consider this to be preposterous, for our Germany is not so poor that it cannot provide for its king magnificently. I have often been in France, and when I compared our nation with the French, all said that we would be vastly superior if we obeyed our king. But since there is no obedience among us, and everybody wants to be his own emperor, the French say about us that what once happened to the Greek cities also applies to us: each of them wanted to govern, and therefore they all together lost the government. They say that Germany is a great province, rich, full of men, horses and weapons, strong by virtue of its nature, but with a weak government, and in my opinion they are not wrong. But I do believe that there is no grander nation under the sky that hath gods so nigh them, as your Lord God is with you. If we would only be kind to ourselves and let us live like other nations, honour our head, submit to the king, bow to justice, and preserve order! But if we go living as we have now begun to, then I would say that our nation is finished. Others will come and take the kingdom and the people from us, and we who do not wish to serve an emperor of our own blood will be forced to carry a foreign yoke.*

*I believe that you noble and powerful men are already aware of this and that you have often been thinking about the reform of the nation and the Empire, and I do not believe it will be a difficult thing if only the emperor would meet with his princes. Though many disagree with these ideas, they will be persuaded by reason itself and will not be able to fight against synderesis, which is innate in all men and carry the seeds of seeking what is virtuous and good. But – to return to my point of departure – I believe that we should absolutely not go to*

*war against the Turks unless we have first restored the Empire to its proper state. And I do not see how we can reform the Empire if the emperor does not come and take counsel with his princes on reforming the state. But if the Empire is set in order, we shall not only be able to resist the Turks with ease but also to bridle the other nations, as we did in the past, and raise up high the German name which is now considered as vile and worthless. [Sect. 95-101]*

It was difficult for the imperial ambassadors to disagree on the substance, but they would not accept that a discussion of the reform of the Empire should precede the crusade since they well knew that then there would be no crusade.<sup>1</sup>

The issue of the Empire surfaced later in the proceedings of the diet, occasioning a short address of Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues in support of the reform of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

### **2.3. The Teutonic Knights and Prussia/Poland**

It may not have been planned that way, but still one of the main issues at the Diet of Regensburg became the conflict between the Teutonic Knights on one side and the Prussian cities and Poland on the other. Piccolomini's account of this matter fell into three parts: the development of the conflict, the lawsuit in the imperial court, and events at the diet itself.

From this account, it would appear that though Piccolomini did not favour the Prussian cities, whose revolt offended his aristocratic mindset, he did not sympathize either with the Teutonic Knights, and in general he wanted a peaceful settlement of the conflict, which – like all the other conflicts in Germany – would be an impediment to the grand crusade project.

Concerning the development of the conflict itself, he gave a broad historical outline, weak on details and timeline but fair in substance. Recently, Piccolomini wrote, the Prussians

*had made a sordid pact between them against the Order, but though they had been ordered both by the Apostolic See and the Emperor to annul it, they had scorned the Two Swords,<sup>3</sup> taken up arms against their lords and driven them out of the whole of Prussia. Now the Order's power only comprised Marienburg and some unimportant cities, but these were under siege by the Prussians, and the Grand Master of the Order was himself beleaguered and could barely defend himself. [Sect. 55]*

The "sordid" pact between the cities had actually been made following an initiative of a Grand Master, beset with internal rivalries in the Order:

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<sup>1</sup> Sect. 102

<sup>2</sup> Sect. 105-106

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the religious and the secular power with their different means of coercion

*... when peace had brought wealth, and wealth arrogance and luxurious living, fortune began to rage and throw all into disorder. During Paul's administration, the Order broke into two factions, each pursuing its own policies, loathing and plotting against each other. The Knights had endured great hardships and dangers of war, but they could not bear tranquillity and wealth. Thus the majority of the Brethren deserted the Master. Fearing that the cities, too, would become divided and that some would follow him and others his rivals, he summoned the cities' leaders and bade them unite, believing that once united they would side with him. The cities seized upon the opportunity to do what they so ardently desired: they summoned the nobles and the military leaders of the province and presented a bitter indictment of the injuries inflicted over many years on the people by the prelates and the Order. Their government, they said, was the worst in the world and would destroy their country if unopposed. They all agreed that they should now, while they had the opportunity, join forces to aid their country and not give up on their own salvation. With the Master's permission, they held a meeting in which it was decided to set up a board of 16 men to meet once a year in a certain place and on a certain date and settle conflicts between private people, correct abuses, and not allow anyone to be harmed. If anyone should disregard the board's decisions, public measures would be taken against him, be he a bishop or even the Grand Master himself. As presidents of this board they decided to appoint four prelates and four Knights, and the other eight from the nobles and the cities. Paul approved everything to keep the cities on his side. [Sect. 61]*

Concerning the lawsuit at the imperial court, Piccolomini took some pleasure in describing the lively confrontation of two German top lawyers at the time, Peter Knorr and Martin Mair, with both of whom he entertained friendly relations. At the end of the day, the matter was decided by a majority of princely counsellors. They had rushed to the imperial court and participated in the proceedings to defend their masters' interest in the case by preventing an imperial ruling in favour of the democratically governed cities against their aristocratic masters, with dire consequences for the princes' domination of their subjects:

*Many legates from the princes were present, for when these heard that there would be a trial before the emperor of the Prussian cities against the Order, and that subjects would vindicate their rights against their superiors (servants against their lords, as they said), then they hastened to come, not in obedience to the emperor, who summoned them, but to protect their own interests and extinguish a fire threatening them all. [Sect. 70]*

Piccolomini's main interest in the matter was to prevent an imperial ruling which would be disregarded by the Prussians and not end the conflict, thus – further - diminishing the emperor's prestige and legal authority:

*"As far as I can see, this conflict, Excellent Emperor, which agitates the Order and the cities, is neither small nor insignificant. It is not the question of a field in Arpinum or Tusculum, but of a great province and a powerful realm. The Order is endeavouring to keep the cities as*

*subjects obeying all commands, while the cities are striving to become free and owe as little as possible to the Order. If I am not mistaken, 55 cities have made a pact between them, which the Order now rejects. Breaking it or approving it is a grave matter, to be undertaken with wide-open eyes and – so to say - with the tips of the fingers. ... Conflicts about kingdoms are settled by friends and good men or by the sword. Laws are silent when kings speak, as it is said both truly and elegantly. Laws are like the webs of spiders: they may catch unimportant men like flies, but when powerful men pass through, they are torn apart as by eagles. ‘But what is your intention with this?’ someone may ask. It is that you should not, Emperor, believe that your judgments will be accepted whatever you decide; that you should not make a judgment precipitously; that you should not pass a sentence that is laughed at. I would rather try everything to make peace rather than pass a sentence that the parties will not obey.*

*You ask us whether the requested postponement should be granted. No, Peter says, for why should we want proof of something that even when proven is not relevant to the case? That is Peter’s opinion. I, on the contrary, believe as follows: if the cities prove that the Grand Master and a great part of the Knights accepted the pact and that the Order has ruled the province abusively, ignored the cities’ privileges, and allowed access neither to the pope’s nor the emperor’s law courts, then – even if one of the statutes is incompatible with ecclesiastical liberty - there is no reason for us to fine the cities heavily as perjurers and infamous, and to annul the whole pact when it may to a great extent be preserved. I, therefore, consider that the requested postponement should be granted not only to examine the objections of the cities, but also that peace may be negotiated repeatedly. The principal parties with full powers to [make] peace and war will be there, while their representatives, bound to carefully respect the limits of their mandate, will be here. Who knows whether the peace that is refused here may be found there? So, in my opinion, Emperor, you should grant the requested postponement and send eminent men as legates to Prussia, and do everything you can to draw the parties towards peace. If they assent, you will have performed an almost divine thing. If there is no room for peace there, either, you should ask for the documentation they can deliver, summon the parties to appear on another day, and pass sentence with the princes’ advice. But if you deny the petition now and continue the proceedings, I fear that the cities will claim to have been tricked and molested and refuse to obey your sentence as prejudiced and one-sided. [Sect. 71-72]*

Eventually, a sentence was passed in favour of the Teutonic Knights and against the Prussian cities. The result was exactly as foreseen by Piccolomini:

*The sentence was passed, to this effect: the cities did not have the right to make a pact between them; therefore the pact they had made was not valid but null and void. Nothing was said about penalties, for before the sentence was passed, the Order had made such dependent on the emperor’s will. Both parties received a letter with the judgment, the cities so that they might be blamed, and the Order so that they might be helped.*

*The legates of the cities went home and said that they had been scorned and mocked before the emperor, that the sentence passed was based on hate and envy, that the compromise had been violated, that the princes' counsellors, partial and bribed men, had come, sat with the emperor, and not allowed fair and good justice to be done. They had denied the due postponement and the adjudication of the counterclaim which had been agreed upon, they had condemned the league with unheard-of reasons, they had declared all the cities to be infamous, they had wanted to impose an incredible fine, they had ignored the [cities'] privileges and liberties, they had wanted the death penalty for the high-ranking citizens and to make the rest of the people permanent slaves of the maddened Knights*

*Enraged by this report the people took to arms. They stormed the walled cities and fortresses of the prelates and the Order, pulled them down and destroyed them. They threw many brothers [of the Order] in chains. They killed the opponents, and in a few days they subdued all of Prussia. Only the city called Marienburg and a few others remained in the Order's power, a city reported to be much fortified, surrounded with a triple moat, built with high walls and towers, and abundantly provided with food supplies, weapons and war machines of every kind. All the Knights took refuge there, hoping to be able to reconquer all of the lost provinces from there – as had happened before. But the people were not deterred by the strength of this city: they brought their forces there and mounted a siege but were driven back with large losses. [Sect. 76-78]*

Piccolomini wrote his account after these events, and the concerns expressed in his statement to the court may have been coloured by the factual outcome. On the other hand, one of Piccolomini's strengths as diplomat, counsellor and problem fixer was his realism and sense of Realpolitik, and there seems to be little reason to doubt that his own account of his advice to the emperor at the trial was substantially correct.

Incidentally, his report of the trial shows an understanding and enjoyment of legal affairs and arguments which has not always been appreciated by scholars considering him as inimical towards lawyers and the legal system.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Kirsch for a balanced view of Piccolomini's attitude to the science and practice of law. See also Piccolomini's address to the University of Vienna in 1445, the "*Nisi satis Exploratum*" where, on the subject of law, he said: ... *who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines [civil and canon law] as they merit? Through them, indeed, the life of all men is being constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them, cities, peoples and nations are being ruled, protected and multiplied, united by law. Indeed, distinguished men, I often consider and ponder how cities were formed in the beginning, how they were preserved afterwards, and how they developed the structure we see today. I can see no other reason why this happened than the force of justice itself or fear of justice or respect for it. For what other virtues or what other arts could make men scattered in forests and living like wild animals come together in one place and make them prefer to obey and submit to those who excelled in virtue and wisdom rather than to live like animals? Indeed, this could only happen because reason itself and wisdom consistent with justice could bring them away from their customs and incite them to live a cultured life based on rules.* [Sect. 12-13]

It also shows that Piccolomini had sufficient German to be able to follow intricate and convoluted deliberations at the imperial court – as well as at a large meeting like the Diet of Regensburg.

At the Diet in Regensburg, the matter was raised by the Order's master of Germany, arousing much sympathy among the German aristocrats:

*Much was said about this great injury: all expressed their regret at the plight of the Order and denounced the cities' actions. The matter was given special importance by the ambassadors of the Margraves of Brandenburg, who wish to be seen as the first among the friends of the Order. Also, the Cardinal of San Pietro spoke indignantly about this rebellion, admonishing at length the German nation not to lose its honour and pride, for Prussia was the only foreign country the Germans had conquered by arms. They should take care not to lose this glory if the cities reclaimed their liberty or took a new king from another nation. The papal and imperial legates declared that what the cities were trying to do was unacceptable both to the Empire and the Apostolic See, and both powers would undoubtedly come to the support of the Order. It would be necessary to obtain both the pope's and the emperor's assent to selling the possessions [of the Order]. The Order should as quickly as possible consult with well-wishers and friends about mobilising an army and march to Marienburg before it would be conquered. However, the cardinal did not reject peace negotiations if possible, for any wise man knows that diplomacy should always be tried before arms. [Sect. 80]*

And when the Polish ambassador warned against German reprisals against the Prussian cities now having accepted the lordship and protection of the Polish king, the Germans became furious, almost violent:

*When he had spoken, all the Germans began to rage and curse the man and almost attacked him with their nails. But the Master of Germany said: "It is only a few years ago that we made a perpetual pact with you king, confirmed with oaths, letters and seals, and we do not believe that so great a king will fail his oath. We tore Prussia from the hands of the infidels with arms and bought it with our blood. Now – if what you say is true – it is astounding and monstrous that the king, the bishops and all the nobility of Poland should disregard their oaths. But that shall not prevent us from reclaiming our province." Then they quarrelled violently, and finally this day's meeting was ended. [Sect. 83]*

Later, reports were received at the diet that Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg had negotiated an agreement for Bohemian military aid to the Teutonic Knights, but the price was so great that the Order could not accept it. In the end, a proposal by Piccolomini to try for a diplomatic resolution of the matter was accepted:



*Then the Bishop of Siena said: "If you listen to me, you will send two or more legates in your name to the King of Bohemia. They shall inform him that this assembly considers the Prussian rebellion damaging and harmful to the Christian Commonwealth. They shall beg him to send his counsellors to the King of Poland to ask him to accept a truce with the Order in his own name and in the name of the Prussian cities and to agree to hold a meeting in Vratislava or another place where common friends can settle all the conflicts which the Prussians and the Poles have with the Order. Also, the Roman Pontiff should send a legate de latere, and the emperor, together with the electors, should send eminent ambassadors. In the meantime, you will beg the pope to entrust this task to the Cardinal of San Pietro." Margrave Albrecht agreed with this proposal and immediately translated it into German. All the others assented. Then they wrote to the Roman Pontiff and chose legates who would meet in Prague on the Feast of the Lord's Ascension. [Sect. 152]*

#### **2.4. Emperor's absence**

The issue of the emperor's absence from the Diet of Regensburg was a highly political and sensitive matter.

The matter was discussed in a restricted meeting of the imperial council at which Piccolomini was asked, as the first, to give his opinion:

*When the time of the diet approached, the emperor summoned his senators and asked them whom to send to Regensburg as his representatives. The matter was discussed in secret and with only a few people. First, Enea, Bishop of Siena, was asked to give his opinion [Sect. 12-13]*

He was not in doubt: the emperor had to go to the meeting for two reasons. Firstly, only with him present would it be possible for the diet to reach a decision to go to war against the Turks. And secondly, only by being present could he persuade the princes of the Empire to accept and ensure a proper financial basis for the functioning of the Empire as guarantor and executor of justice and laws.

Concerning the war against the Turks, he said that it would be to the emperor's glory and advantage, and he even dared to raise the spectre of a coup against the emperor if he failed to do his duty:

*... unless you go yourself, neither the prince-electors nor the other nobles will attend or send ambassadors qualified for such an important matter. The diet will become a laughing matter, and nothing worthwhile will be done there. If you stay away, all will criticise your indifference since you attach so little importance to this great matter, the defence of Christianity. ... if you do not undertake this voyage, then you will disregard both your honour and your advantage. Attacking the Turks is incumbent on you for many reasons, not just because you are emperor*

*of the Romans and champion and protector of the Church, but also because you are the closest relative to Ladislaus, King of Hungary, whose kingdom – situated so close to the Turks – begs for help from the Christians: indeed, it would be both impious and cruel not to help him. Also, your own territory is threatened if you consider the Slavonic March and Carniola, also very close to the Turks. Moreover, you are of flourishing age and healthy body, robust and in good condition for war. The eyes of all are now turned to you, and they believe that you more than any other are responsible for conducting this war. If you do not attend the diet and show yourself eager to defend the state, you will be called an uncaring deserter of the Empire, and your own territory will not be safe. But God will not desert his own Church; he will raise up someone else, from another people and another family, to save his people, to dedicate himself to the common salvation, and to harvest the glory which should have been yours. ... Besides, there are the pecuniary benefits that such a war will bring you if the armed people have you as their leader. Will they not greatly contribute to your fame? Many spoils from opulent princes and prosperous cities will be brought to you. And you do not even have to fear the cost of spending your own money on the war: yours and your army's salaries will be covered through tithes from the clergy and contributions from the people, and you will easily receive more than you spend. [Sect. 13-14]*

Concerning the state and finances of the Empire, Piccolomini strongly advised the emperor to personally meet with the princes and use the Turkish crisis to persuade them to restore the financial basis and the power of the Empire, as seen above.

The other imperial counsellors agreed with Piccolomini, but the emperor did not. He understood, of course, that a successful campaign against the Turks would raise his own and the Empire's prestige immensely as well as avert the deadly peril of a Turkish invasion against Europe. But he was sceptical about its success against the powerful Turkish war machine and about the support he would receive from the German princes and the European rulers. He would have preferred for the pope to take the lead in this venture, but the pope realised that the Papacy was no longer in a position to do so nor to repeat the performance of Pope Urban II in Clermont in 1096.<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, placed the responsibility for the crusade squarely on the shoulders of the emperor, more or less forcing him, with the enthusiastic help of Piccolomini, to summon the meeting in Regensburg.

But the emperor had at least four motives for not going to Regensburg and ensuring the success of the crusading enterprise at the present time:

Firstly, as the other European princes, he feared the military superiority of the Turks and did not wish to see and even be responsible for a repetition of the military disasters of Nicopolis in 1396 and Varna in 1444.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini himself, as Pope Pius II, would try to do it five years afterwards in Mantua five years – and fail miserably

Secondly, at the time, Hungary and King Ladislaus himself were his enemies, and the emperor might not be dissatisfied at all that the Hungarians were pressed and threatened from the East by the Turks, thus relieving the Hungarian pressure on himself.

Thirdly, the troop movements of the Hungarian governor, János Hunyadi, constituted a clear and present danger against the Habsburg territories, and the emperor well remembered what had happened last time he was absent from Austria, two years before, in 1452, on his coronation voyage to Rome when the Austrians had rebelled and inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him.

And fourthly, he had reasons to fear the great princes of Germany, their lack of real support of the imperial institution, and the concessions they might wring from him in a meeting face to face. From the beginning, as a Habsburg prince with a limited "Hausmacht", he was quite aware that he was playing from a position of weakness, and he generally distrusted the princes, except his few supporters among them.

He said it very well himself, in the words of Piccolomini:

*When he had heard them, the emperor remained silent for a short while, and then he said, visibly agitated: "Each of you – being generous with another man's affairs - advises me to go to the diet. But if this country was your own, you would judge otherwise. Gilles and Nankenreuter are camping close to our borders, and we do not know how they are minded towards us. But we do know that they are robbers and greedy for other people's possessions. János, Governor of Hungary, is leading an army against them, but he is our enemy, and who knows if he is preparing threats against them but whips against us? As for Ulrich, Count of Cilly, you know how little he loves us. Nothing would please him more than our ruin. The Austrians are plotting night and day to destroy us. And you think that it would be to my advantage to go to Regensburg? You want me to be the good shepherd who flees his sheep when surrounded by wolves! But for me it is not a small thing to lose my inherited lands. I know the ways and the schemes of the enemies. They are only waiting for me to leave my home empty to take it into their possession. I should certainly wish to attend the diet since nothing is closer to my heart than the common good. But it is hard to care for the common good at your own peril. I admit that we should all assist the commonwealth, but I see nobody who cares more for others' benefit than for one's own. Why do you mention my [prince] electors? I well know how little they care about the common good. If I go to Regensburg, they will stay at home, or if they come to the diet it will be because they are moved by some private interest. So, think rather on how the diet may be conducted without Us and who should represent Us there." [Sect. 21]*

At the proposal of Johann Ungnad, it was resolved to send a diplomatic mission to governor János Hunyadi to assess the danger from Hungary. The governor's reply left no doubt about the threat he represented to Austria and moved the imperial counsellors to advise the emperor to stay at home and not go to Regensburg.

If Piccolomini still had his doubts, he remained silent at that point. Later, however, in his account of the proceedings at Regensburg, he returned to the matter several times, but in the words of others, thus expressing an indirect criticism of the emperor's absence and a strong exhortation not to miss the next diet, which would eventually be held in Frankfurt.

In the report, he lets the Duke of Burgundy clearly express his concerns at the emperor's absence:

*The imperial legates visited him in his lodgings. They praised his coming from afar. They said that what he had done was most pleasing to the emperor. They explained the reasons that had kept the emperor at home. They said that they had informed His Imperial Majesty about the duke's arrival and recommended that the emperor come to the diet, and they thought he would if his own and the public interest made it possible. They were expecting a reply any day. ... To this Philippe answered something like this: He had received the emperor's letter summoning him to the diet while he was in Flanders making war on the English who had broken their pact and laid waste to his territory. The inhabitants had asked him to stay and defend their country, but the emperor's command was more important to him than his subjects' requests. So, putting the greater things above the smaller and the public above the private, he had come to Regensburg – but not without loss to his lands. He had hoped that the emperor would be present as he had written he would be. He still wished he would come so that the affairs of the Catholic Faith might be better taken care of. [Sect. 90]*

Moreover, in his oration at the end of the diet, the duke's representative, the Bishop of Toul, told the assembly:

*But coming here at the emperor's call, he [the Duke of Burgundy] seeks nothing but the honour of God and the salvation of the Christian people. He hoped that both the emperor and the princes would have come here to decide on war against the haughty Turks. He was – as you have seen – both willing and ready to [undertake] God's work, and he completely accepted your counsel. [Sect. 162]*

Johann Lysura, too, considered the emperor's absence a problem, saying – in Piccolomini's words:

*I believe that we should absolutely not go to war against the Turks unless we have first restored the Empire to its proper state. And I do not see how we can reform the Empire, if the emperor does not come and take counsel with his princes on reforming the state. But if the Empire is set in order, we shall be able to resist the Turks with ease and bridle the other nations, as we did in the past, and raise up high the German name which is now considered as vile and worthless. [Sect. 101]*

Even the emperor's staunch supporter, Albrecht of Brandenburg, said in his farewell address to the assembly – again in Piccolomini's words:

*It is certain that no army can be brought forth from our nation if we do not achieve peace between us. We are sorry that you are uncertain about the emperor's attendance at the next diet, for we know that many things require the emperor's presence and especially what was said about peace. So, if the emperor wishes for the matter [of an expedition] against Turks to succeed, you must persuade him to come to the diet. This is our considered opinion, and this is the advice we give His Majesty as his loyal princes and obedient vassals. [Sect. 155]*

One may ask why Piccolomini would keep returning to this issue in a report about a diet that had already ended. It may reasonably be assumed that a copy of the text would be given to the emperor in the place of a proper diplomatic report. The repeated references to what important personages like the Duke of Burgundy and Margrave Albrecht thought about the emperor's absence aimed at impressing him with the need of attending the next conference on the matter.

## **2.5. Hungary's absence**

Also, the absence of Hungarian representatives from the diet was a highly sensitive and political issue. The emperor's problems with Hungary have been mentioned, which undoubtedly explained the lack of representatives. However, as Piccolomini well perceived and said in several orations and other texts, the Hungarians were and had been Europe's first line of defence against the Turks for many years. The immediate effect of the mobilisation of a German-led army against the Turks would be to strengthen Hungary. The Hungarians were quite aware of this and even threatened the Europeans with dire consequences should they fail to come to their assistance. Indeed, the Hungarian governor, János Hunyadi, had told the emperor's envoy:

*As for the Turks, if the Christian kings mobilise an army against them, the Hungarians will not be missing. I myself shall not spare neither my resources nor my life if only I see that the fight benefits Christianity. But if we are deserted by the Christian people, we do not intend to bear the Turkish attacks alone since we are not their equals. The Turks are demanding free passage [through our territories] with no harm to us. If Christianity sleeps, as we plainly see, then we shall grant it. Mehmed, who rules the Turks, holds court in Adrianopolis, while his generals gather their troops in Sophia. The Tartars have made an alliance with them. There will be peace this year, but after that they will attack the Christians with all their might. Tell this to the emperor whose responsibility it is to counter such evils. [Sect. 24]*

The Hungarians' absence from the Diet of Regensburg certainly did not help the crusade project nor gain sympathy for their own cause, as Piccolomini told the Hungarian chancellor:

*... most shameful of all was the absence of ambassadors from King Ladislaus. As King of Bohemia, a noble and preeminent member of the Holy Empire, he was obliged to obey the emperor, and as King of Hungary he most certainly ought not to ignore this diet which*

*aimed at ensuring his own subjects' welfare and peace. Among the Christians, no people has a greater interest than Hungary in destroying the Turkish people, a hostile neighbour for many centuries. For if the Turks wish to march against the Germans, they must first overrun the Hungarians and their subject peoples, like the Dalmatians and the Croatians. This is in no way a criticism of that noble adolescent. He is ready and eager to do good, but because of his young age he does not govern but is governed. Indeed, it was his governors who ought not to disregard this diet, that was to deal with the affairs of this great king above all. Here I would vehemently accuse the Hungarian prelates and barons of obstinacy or slothfulness since they did not deign to send even one representative to this important diet if I did not fear your counterattack since with your brilliant intellect you are very good at shooting arrows back your enemies. [Sect. 10]*

The Diet of Regensburg left the concrete planning of the crusade to another diet, which would eventually be held in Frankfurt in the autumn. So, as one of the means to ensure its success, Piccolomini considered it necessary to have the Hungarians be present and commit themselves to a joint military venture.

As mentioned above, Piccolomini had possibly written an earlier report to the emperor on the mission to Regensburg (as he did after his missions to Rome and Milan in 1447) and soon afterwards developed it into a history of the diet. In so doing, he was to some extent moved by his penchant for writing on history and especially contemporary history.<sup>1</sup> And sending the report to János Vitez, he was probably also motivated by an urge to share his humanist writings with fellow humanists who could appreciate them.

Still, it may reasonably be argued that his main reason for developing his diplomatic report into a history of the diet of Regensburg and for sending it to the Hungarian chancellor was political. He clearly wanted to make one of the highest-ranking servants of the Hungarian crown aware of the importance of the German crusade project for Hungary itself and to demonstrate that the Hungarian governor's threatening stance towards the emperor was a serious impediment to the project. In sending the report to the chancellor, Piccolomini was trying to create a counterbalance at the Hungarian court to the influence of the Hungarian governor and also the boy king's governors. His initiative was undoubtedly known and approved by the emperor, who would not take kindly to his counsellor having - without his knowledge - political dealings with an inimical foreign court and even reporting on confidential meetings in his own privy council. Piccolomini's report on the Diet of Regensburg was thus – and intentionally so - an instrument of high politics.

## 2.6. Personalities

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<sup>1</sup> He said about himself in his *De Gestis* (Hay), Preface, p. 3: *It is a misfortune of mine and a fate by which I am plagued that I cannot steal away from history and use my time more profitably.*

Piccolomini mastered the art of describing personalities, often in few words or in revealing side remarks.

### 2.6.1. Duke Philippe III of Burgundy

The principal personality described in his report on Regensburg is Duke Philippe III the Good of Burgundy.

Piccolomini gives much space to the duke's previous engagement in the cause of the crusade. It was well-known to Piccolomini, who had delivered an oration to the duke's ambassadors in the crusade matter to the emperor only two years before.<sup>1</sup> He even included a description of the famous Feast of the Pheasant and could not resist the temptation to give his own version of the duke's address to his courtiers. Furthermore, he gave much space to the duke's travel to Regensburg and his participation in the diet.<sup>2</sup>

He included this description of the duke's personality:

*Philippe had a noble physique, large and brilliant eyes, a curved, so-called aquiline nose, straight chest, slender limbs, modest mien, pleasant manners, graceful conversation. He ate and drank with moderation. He was more than 60 years old and did not conceal his age. It was his habit to rise shortly before noon and to hear mass. Then he met with his council to discuss affairs of state. Afterwards, he had lunch and spent time with friends. After a short nap, he relaxed with games and sports until evening. Finally, he dined until late at night, hearing songs and dancing. Then he met again with his counsellors, and afterwards he went to bed. However, people who know of his private life have told us that he does not sleep until noon, but gets up earlier than people, even his household, know, having chosen to spend some hours with his family and dealing with private affairs, for since he has a courteous nature and does not refuse to see anybody, he would not have any time he could call his own if he did not arrange his life in this way. [Sect. 89]*

In the conflict of precedence with the ambassadors of the prince-electors, thought up by invidious Germans, the duke showed himself to be an accommodating and personally modest prince:

*For some time, this matter agitated the nobles, but when it was referred to Philippe, he said: "This evil spirit shall not have the power to obstruct the enterprise of Christ. I did not come here out of ambition, and I shall not leave out of arrogance. I do not mind speaking in the last place if only religion is well provided for." [Sect. 153]*

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<sup>1</sup> In the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" (23 August 1451, Wiener Neustadt) [17]

<sup>2</sup> Sect. 2.13 and 2.15, 5, 9.2, 9.5, 10.2, 10.6

The world might be greatly impressed by his highminded engagement in God's crusade cause, but many considered that the duke was also a prince skilled in advancing his own political interests and that his attendance at Regensburg had ulterior motives. This is revealed – probably quite intentionally – by Piccolomini, when he reported such criticisms of the duke:

*But there were also hateful and malicious critics who kept saying that this prince had come to serve his own private interests and not the common good. Some claimed that he is a man greedy for power who only pretends to hate the Turks and love religion, and who is chasing popularity only to be judged worthy of ruling. Some say that he has occupied Brabant, Holland and Zeeland unjustly and now comes to the emperor to make him raise these provinces to the status of a kingdom: since he has the power befitting a great king, he would also have the title of king, and if he can not not have that, he would at least wrest the title of feudal lord [of these provinces from the emperor. These insolent and vile cynics claim that the duke cannot possibly have come to support Christ's cause since he loves pleasures and refinement, rules large areas and great peoples, abounds in wealth and comfort, and there is nothing that can delay the satisfactions of this ageing man. But men measure others after their own standards. We judge our neighbours according to our own character. To a thief, nothing is more suspect than other thieves. To a criminal mind, piety seems unbelievable, and the timid soul does not believe in great ventures. Everyone calmly accepts what is easy for him to do; what is hard, he considers to be a fraud. Many were actually jealous: seeing that their own princes ignored the public good, they could not bear Philippe's glory. They found it unworthy and intolerable that the French should earn the praise which the Germans ought to merit. As for ourselves, we previously believed that the duke's soul is unblemished, and now we know it for a fact. [Sect. 47]*

Despite Piccolomini's fervent condemnation of the criticism of the duke's motives, he was not a naïve person, and neither was Janos Vitez nor the emperor, who would very well have understood the oblique message and warning.

## **2.6.2. Other personalities**

Some other personalities are given attention in Piccolomini's report.

### *2.6.2.1. Emperor Friedrich III*

As the great absentee from the Diet in Regensburg, the emperor was naturally not much present in Piccolomini's report.

But some passages do throw light upon his personality.



He sought his counsellors' advice, and they apparently felt sufficiently safe with him to give him frank advice they knew might displease him:

*“For these reasons - as far as my puny intellect understands - I advise you not to perform a marriage by procurator,<sup>1</sup> but to drop all talk of ambassadors and go to the diet with all your court. If what I say is not to your advantage, your own wisdom, Emperor, or the eminent good sense of these senators will judge [the merits] of my advice.”* When Enea had said this and it had been translated into German, all the others were asked to give their opinion in turn. They all, unanimously, held and advised that nothing good could be hoped [to come] from the diet unless the emperor participated in person, and nobody argued for sending representatives. [Sect. 19-20]

The emperor has often been described as a phlegmatic and unemotional type, but in a crisis, he could show some degree of exasperation, not to say anger, in the face of his counsellors' insufficient appreciation of danger and peril to the emperor and his house. It had happened during the crisis in Austria, after his return from Rome and confrontation with the Austrian rebels. It happened again during the deliberations in the imperial council on whether, in the face of perilous Hungarian troop movements, the emperor should leave Austria for Regensburg. Faced with the counsellors' advice to calmly turn his back on the danger, the emperor told them, visibly agitated (*vultu parum sereno*):

*When he had heard them, the emperor remained silent for a short while, and then he said, visibly agitated: “Each of you – being generous with another man’s affairs - advises me to go to the diet. But if this country was your own, you would judge otherwise.* [Sect. 21]

But he was not a naïve, emotional ruler. On the contrary, he understood very well the complex game of imperial rule and his weak position as emperor. He was certainly not willing to use the resources of his ducal domains to finance the running of the empire and its wars, and at any rate the Habsburg “Hausmacht” did not outweigh the power of the electoral princes and the great German dukes - permanent rivals of the Habsburg dukes - and his other, local competitors and enemies, as he plainly told his counsellors (see above, sect. 4.2).

Nonetheless, his failure to show leadership in the crusade matter would damage his reputation, as indirectly shown in Piccolomini's remarks on the enthusiasm of the participants in the diet at its closure:

*After these addresses, great enthusiasm rose among all. The whole assembly rejoiced and praised and wished the best for Philippe and Albrecht, comparing them and extolling Philippe, who though he could have stayed at home in great peace, enjoying exquisite pleasures, wanted to take on hardship and danger for the sake of the common good. They*

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<sup>1</sup> Princely weddings were sometimes conducted with procurators representing one or both of the spouses. Here it means that the emperor should not participate in the diet through representatives but be personally present

*also praised Albrecht to whom nothing seemed to be difficult, and who appeared to be the most hardworking and prudent of all. They declared both of them to be worthy of praise and glory and to be the only ones, in our time, who [truly] cared about the Christian commonwealth. [Sect. 174]*

Here, remarkably, the emperor was not considered to be one who truly cared about the Christian commonwealth. Piccolomini, presumably, shared this view of the emperor, whose court he would leave next year to pursue his own career under more germane conditions, in Rome.

Also, the emperor's soft dealings with the German princes transpire clearly and unflatteringly in Piccolomini's description of the lawsuit at the imperial court of the Teutonic Knights vs the Prussian cities. Fearful of an imperial judgment in favour of cities opposing their prince, *in casu* the Order, the German princes had sent so many counsellors to advise the emperor in the legal proceedings that they outnumbered the emperor's own advisers and were able to ensure several decisions favouring the Order. Piccolomini has this acerbic comment, indirectly criticizing the emperor's weak stance:

*Then the counsellors of the emperor were asked for their opinion. With few exceptions, they all agreed with Enea. The princes' legates were 18, and the counsellors of the emperor 14, of whom two were uncertain. Though the rest agreed with Enea, they were defeated by numbers. The emperor, as is the custom, followed the majority. It is bad, though, when opinions are counted, not weighed. [Sect. 73]*

#### 2.6.2.2. King Ladislaus

At that time, Ladislaus, King of Bohemia and Hungary and Duke of Austria, was 14 years old and resided in Prague. Piccolomini takes pleasure in quoting the report of the Burgundian ambassadors who had recently been in Prague, of two episodes involving the king:

*Among others, we heard two noteworthy things from the Burgundian ambassadors. They told [of an episode where] Rokycana had gone in a procession with clergy and laypeople, carrying the holy sacrament of the eucharist before the royal palace. The king had been looking at the square through a window and had not bowed or shown any sign of reverence. The other young men who were with him had followed his example. When he was asked why he had done so and was rebuked for not honouring the Saviour, he replied that he knew the Lord's body was worthy of every honour, but since it was being carried by Rokycana, an enemy of the true religion, he had feared that if he showed honour to the sacrament, the foolish people would think that he had also shown honour to the priest and that the king accepted his views which he actually detested.*

*On another occasion shortly afterwards, Ladislaus ordered his priest to celebrate mass in a chapel close to the palace. When the priest tried to carry out the order, he was prevented from doing so by the priest who was in charge of the chapel, saying that he himself wished to celebrate mass and that the king could hear and see him celebrate if he wanted to. This would be the same for the king as if he heard his own chaplain. This priest was a follower of Rokycana and adhered to his beliefs. When the king heard it, he ordered his marshal to go immediately and tell the priest to yield to the royal chaplain. If he did not obey, he should throw him from the tall cliff next to the chapel. Terrified at this message, the priest swallowed his anger. These things the ambassadors told about the King of Bohemia, a most noble boy, to the joy and great pleasure of the listeners. [Sect. 138-139]*

These episodes made a great and favourable impression in Regensburg, showing that the young king was gradually coming into his own, that he was not a pliable puppet of the court, and that he might be expected to oppose the Hussites vigorously and, if possible, return Bohemia to the fold of the Catholic Church.

#### 2.6.2.3. Duke Ludwig IX of Bavaria-Landshut

This remarkable prince was related to the emperor. At the time of the Diet of Regensburg, he was 34 years old. Thus he was certainly not young, especially not by 15<sup>th</sup> century standards – but he may have been somewhat inexperienced since he had only become a reigning duke four years before. Using his young age as an excuse to not share the presidency of the diet was probably just a pretext not to become involved in the imperial crusading project.

At any rate, Piccolomini appears to have been much impressed by the duke and wrote about him:

*It is appropriate here to write a little about this great duke since he is one of the three secular princes who came to Regensburg as enthusiastic and fervent defenders of Faith. Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, is the son of Heinrich, and his mother was from the House of Austria, a sister of Emperor Albrecht, and an aunt of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia. While his father lived, he was given a strict upbringing, and he was allowed neither to consort with harlots and prostitutes nor to have feasts. He had little money to spend and was continuously urged to be virtuous. He did not render his father's labour vain, for when he took up the reins of government, he became an excellent prince, even though he did not imitate his father's frugality (some say his avarice). He had all the laudable qualities in a prince, being strong, just, strict, grave, magnanimous and well-disposed. He cleansed his province of criminals, expelled the Jews, made peace with his neighbours, administered justice to his subjects. He married a [princess] from Saxony, the emperor's niece. When the Austrians unjustly rebelled against the emperor, he offered himself as mediator. He helped King Ladislaus as much as possible. He did what he could to end the wars in Franconia and Swabia. One of the first he*

*got reconciled with was his uncle Albrecht,<sup>1</sup> with whom his father had often been at war. He is said to be 28 years old. His stature is noble, his mien joyful, his speech pleasant, his bearing princely. If only he knew Latin, you could wish for nothing more in such a great prince. He mostly resides in Burghausen, a city situated above the Salz. It is a new and very well-protected city. It has a large fortress, renowned in all of Germany, whose natural conditions and walls make it almost invincible. It has a big tower, richly decorated with gold and silver, announcing to all the great wealth [of the duke]. [Sect. 29]*

#### 2.6.2.4. Margrave Albrecht III of Brandenburg

Among the few princes that Piccolomini admired was Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg.<sup>2</sup>

In the report, he does not give a sketch of his life and personality, but many passages show him as the admirable prince and mover of great things, a man of extraordinary authority.

Some examples are:

The Teutonic Knights' Master of Germany asked Albrecht to negotiate military assistance to the order with the government of Bohemia, a task which the margrave fulfilled:

*When the [Order's] Master of Germany, a man remarkable for his nobility and wisdom, heard this, he begged Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, a great and most experienced military leader, to go to Bohemia to ask the king<sup>3</sup> for help against the Prussian cities. [Sect. 79]*

*In the meantime, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, that great light of the German name, returned from Prague. [Sect. 140]*

In a number of passages, Piccolomini shows that the margrave was the key political player at the diet.

When the assembly had to respond to the concrete imperial proposals, it was Albrecht who spoke not only for the Germans but also for the Duke of Burgundy, and with a personal authority which clearly transpires from Piccolomini's version of his address:

*Then good men, desirous of harmony, persuaded the assembly that the duke's counsellors should be called on together with the Germans and consulted together with them concerning the imperial articles. When that had been settled, they were informed that the duke agreed with what the Germans had decided to say about the articles, and Margrave Albrecht was charged with addressing the imperial legates on behalf of all. ...*

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<sup>1</sup> Emperor Albrecht II

<sup>2</sup> The others being King Alfonso of Aragon, the Duke of Burgundy and Francesco Sforza

<sup>3</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous

The margrave finished his address with the words:

*This is our considered opinion, and this is the advice we give His Majesty as his loyal princes and obedient vassals.” [Sect. 154-155]*

And at later negotiations concerning the Teutonic Order:

*This eloquent man of great authority easily convinced all. [Sect. 148]*

At the end of the diet, Albrecht addressed the Duke of Burgundy and declared his wholehearted commitment to the crusading cause:

*When Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, whom many call the German Achilles, a man of powerful body and mind, heard Philippe being so highly commended, he – also desirous of praise! – spoke in his own name and in the name of the great Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, sitting next to him, in this fashion: “Philippe, Illustrious Duke, you fill all of us here today with great consolation and joy, as you declare how far you are willing and ready to protect the Christian religion. We have eagerly heard your address and consider you worthy of eternal praise. We, too, shall not fail you in this so praiseworthy endeavour, and we shall not leave you alone. We, too, desire to protect the Faith of Christ with all our might since we must – if we do not wish to be unworthy of our ancestors – come to the aid of the Christian religion as much as we can. Let there be no doubt that we, too, who are present and many of the princes of our nation who are absent will go to war against the Turkish people, fighting in person, and that we shall show the Christian people how much we care about the catholic and orthodox Faith.” [Sect. 173]*

In his concluding address to the diet, Piccolomini thanked him for his contribution:

*Your words, Illustrious Margrave, spoken on behalf of all We have heard with pleasure since they make it clear that His Imperial Serenity’s proposals<sup>1</sup> for the protection of Christianity are welcome and accepted [by the assembly]. The advice you gave we shall pass on to His Imperial Highness unchanged ... . [Sect. 165]*

The participants in the diet shared Piccolomini’s enthusiasm for the margrave:

*After these addresses, great enthusiasm rose among all, the whole assembly rejoiced and praised and wished the best for Philippe and Albrecht, comparing them and extolling Philippe, who though he could have stayed in great peace, enjoying exquisite pleasures, wanted to take on hardship and danger for the sake of the common good. They also praised Albrecht to whom nothing seemed to be difficult, and who appeared to be the most*

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<sup>1</sup> The formal decisions of the conference, drawn up by Piccolomini

*hardworking and prudent of all. They declared both of them to be worthy of praise and glory and to be the only ones, in our time, who [truly] cared about the Christian commonwealth.* [Sect. 174]

#### 2.6.2.5. Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues

The cardinal was an old acquaintance and somewhat of a friend of Piccolomini's. Their relationship would be pursued, sometimes stormily, when Piccolomini became pope and entrusted the cardinal with sensitive, important tasks like governing Rome in his own absence and drafting a major reform of the Church.

The report from Regensburg gives a couple of glimpses of his personality.

His importance in German church affairs was recognised generally:

*They [the cardinal and Johann Lysura] both became so great that in all German assemblies they were seen to be the first and said to be the helmsmen and guides of the people since they excelled not only in wisdom and knowledge of letters but also in innate eloquence.* [Sect. 135]

His wisdom, learning and memory were considered as outstanding:

*In the meantime, Nikolaus of Kues, Cardinal of San Pietro and Bishop of Brixen, a man of superior wisdom, gifted with knowledge of that precious discipline called theology, with care for the elegant language of Antiquity, and with an excellent memory ...* [Sect. 31]

Although a proud man, he was capable of personal modesty, as when he accepted being placed at an inferior place to the papal legate to solve a problem of precedence:

*And thus it happened that the papal legate was given a higher place than the cardinal, a new thing and unheard of in our age. But the cardinal did not want any disturbance for his sake: though he is a proud and perspicacious man, he also loves peace and unity and puts public matters before private.* [Sect. 85]

But Piccolomini seems to indicate some smallness of character where he relates the cardinal's concern about his travel costs and his pretence of not yet having left home when, in reality, he was already quite close to Regensburg:

*When he approached Regensburg, he sent a letter, as if he was still at home, to his colleagues,<sup>1</sup> asking them if he should come and how his expenses would be covered. [Sect. 31]*

And he noted the cardinal being swayed by national sentiment to a less than statesmanlike behaviour concerning the seating the Polish ambassador:

*But the cardinal, angry with the Poles because of the Prussian rebellion, said that the envoys of the electors should be consulted, and they said that they would not accept that a man who was injurious to their nation should be placed before them. [Sect. 84]*

Though in other contexts, Piccolomini used the expression “copious eloquence” as a compliment, he may, finally, have faintly mocked - by way of praise - the cardinal’s verbosity, which was not necessarily a virtue to a man of Piccolomini’s elegant, but economical eloquence:

*Also the Cardinal of San Pietro spoke indignantly about this rebellion, admonishing at length (pluribus verbis) the German nation not to lose its honour and pride [Sect. 80]*

*When the Master of Germany heard this from those legates of the princes who participated in the diet, he asked for a consultation, excluding the envoys of the cities whom he thought were favouring the Prussians. ... The Cardinal of San Pietro as usual spoke at length (suo more copiose) and wisely [Sect. 104]*

*After him, the Cardinal of San Pietro, who had personally visited Constantinople several times and seen almost all of Greece, spoke gravely and at length (copiose) about the site of the lost city, the character of the peoples, the power of the Turks, and how to conduct the war. [Sect. 133]*

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<sup>1</sup> The other imperial legates

### 2.6.3. Enea Silvio Piccolomini

As for Piccolomini himself, the direct references to his standing in the imperial council make it abundantly clear to the reader that the Bishop of Siena (and in this capacity a Prince of the Empire) was a high-ranking and important imperial councillor, first to be asked for his opinion and capable of influencing his colleagues or at least declaring their unanimous position to the emperor.

The first instance occurred during the debate in the privy council of the emperor's attendance at the diet:

*When the diet approached, the emperor summoned his senators and asked them whom to send to Regensburg as his representatives. The matter was discussed in secret and with only a few people. ... First, Enea, Bishop of Siena, was asked to give his opinion. ... When Enea had said this, and it had been translated into German, each of the others were asked to give their opinion. They all, unanimously, held and advised that nothing good could be hoped [to come] from the diet, unless the emperor participated in person, and nobody argued for sending representatives. [Sect. 12-13, 20]*

The second instance occurred during the imperial court trial involving the Teutonic Knights and the Prussian cities:

*The first one asked to speak was Enea, Bishop of Siena, who spoke in this fashion ... Then the emperor's counsellors were asked for their opinion. With few exceptions, they all agreed with Enea. [71-73]*

His eminent position among the imperial counsellors and diplomats is also underlined by the fact that Piccolomini was the one to open the diet's deliberations on the Turkish matter and close it. The report also shows his importance in managing the issues and proceedings at the diet.

A first example is the reception of the ambassador of the Polish where it was Piccolomini who – as a matter of course – answered his address and promised him a hearing:

*Bishop Enea of Siena improvised a short answer, commending the king who had sent him to the diet, as well as the man who came, and promising him a hearing when he wished it. [Sect. 81]*

Another example is the matter of a Greek fraud. When the other presidents of the diet wanted to imprison him, it was forbidden by Piccolomini:

*... when he [the Greek] was requested to speak, he asked the presidents about the army the Germans could raise and how they would proceed. Thinking that the man was a spy, they*



*decided to have him seized and thrown into chains, and they would have done so if Enea had not prevented it, saying that they could not contravene the emperor's letter which the Greek had on him as a safe-conduct. [Sect. 136]*

And the third example is the affair of the Teutonic Knights versus the Prussians. When all other attempts, including Margrave Albrecht's, had failed, it was Piccolomini who clinched the matter with the proposal of a diplomatic solution – as was his wont:

*Then the Bishop of Siena said: "If you heed me, you will send two or more legates in your name to the King of Bohemia. They shall inform him that this assembly considers the Prussian rebellion damaging and harmful to the Christian Commonwealth. They shall beg him to send his counsellors to the King of Poland to ask him to accept a truce with the Order in his own name and in the name of the Prussian cities and to agree to holding a meeting in Vratislava or another place where common friends can settle all the conflicts which the Prussians and the Poles have with the Order. The Roman Pontiff should also send a legate de latere, and the emperor together with the electors should send eminent ambassadors. In the meantime, you will beg the pope to entrust this task to the Cardinal of San Pietro." Margrave Albrecht agreed with this proposal and immediately translated it into German. All the others assented. [Sect. 152]*

The report demonstrates Piccolomini's considerable political acumen, e.g., in the affair of the Teutonic Knights, where he foresaw what would happen if the Germans imposed a judgment unacceptable to the Prussians, and in the debate of the emperor's absence, where he was aware from the beginning that without the presence and direct engagement of the emperor the crusading venture was doomed to fail.

It also demonstrates a certain independence of mind, visible in his unafraidness of giving the emperor advice not to his liking, and – intellectually – in his ability to free himself of the shackles of traditional ecclesiastical thought and conceive of a historical foundation (time and custom) of the development of the ecclesiastical orders (priest, bishops, cardinals) rather than divine decree:

*But everything yields to time, all obey custom, mistress of all. We must consider things as they are now, not as they were once. Today, not only are cardinals given precedence over bishops, but – and I do not know why - even those notaries called protonotaries (a vain and presumptuous title) stand before the bishops. Sometime in the future, it will probably happen that valets and doorkeepers and all the servants in the [papal] palace will be given precedence over bishops since we see that it is the ambition of many people to destroy the name of bishop. And with some reason, in my opinion: the high episcopal honour has grown old. Everything that is born dies, and everything that rises grows old. The rank of bishop is old and goes back to the time of the apostles themselves: it's very old age makes it decay and wither away. Cardinals and protonotaries are new titles. Why wonder if their flowering youth forces out the old age of the episcopacy and takes the lead instead? At the beginning of the*

*Early Church, the parishes were ruled by the common counsel of the priests, and the bishop was not greater than the priest, at least if we believe Jerome. But when heresies broke out and it was said in the churches: "I am of Paul, I am of Cephas," the custom developed – for the sake of unity - to subordinate priests to bishops. So there is no reason why we should consider it an abuse if the same custom, which placed us bishops above priests, now places us below cardinals or men of another rank. So, if you heed me, you will not refuse to the cede [the first place] to the cardinal, especially not to such a cardinal who is also a bishop. [Sect. 50]*

So, through his report, Piccolomini clearly shows himself as a high-ranking imperial official, the first man in the emperor's council, bishop of a venerable see, a consummate diplomat and problem fixer, a cultured humanist and speaker, a man well placed in the centre of great affairs, and, finally, as a fervent believer in the crusade against the Turks (which would, in the end, become the great fiasco and tragedy of his life).

To some extent, this message is indirect, shown through actions and oral interventions. Piccolomini often lets the imperial ambassadors or others appear as responsible for events, although he himself was probably an important mover in them all, and in at least one case, he suppresses his own name in the revised version of the account, i.e., in the discussion with the papal legate on rights of precedence of a bishop legate before a cardinal non-legate, where he says that the bishop's interlocutor was a friend and not himself).

So, even if the report undoubtedly aimed – apart from the primary matter of the diet – to demonstrate his own importance and qualities, it was done with some, commendable discretion.

## **2.7. Conduct of diplomacy**

The Diet of Regensburg was, among other things, an exercise in high diplomacy with the aim of uniting the German princes and cities and the neighbouring princes, locked in a permanent pattern of rivalry, conflict and war, in one grand, joint project: the crusade against the Turks. As such, it contained all the basic elements of the conduct of diplomacy, and Piccolomini's report thus sheds light on this important phase in diplomatic history.

### 2.7.1. Appointment of ambassadors

When it had been decided that the emperor would not attend the diet, it became necessary to appoint his representatives, who would also preside over the conference. One group of presidents consisted of high officials from the imperial court, who would also act as his ambassadors (legates) at the diet. Another consisted of princes and prelates from outside the court, who would preside over the conference but not act as the emperor's ambassadors (rank alone would forbid it).

The matter was debated in the emperor's privy council: as presidents and legates from the court were chosen two prelates, Piccolomini himself and Bishop Sonnenberger of Gurk, and two barons, Georg Volckdorf and Johann Ungnad. As high-ranking presidents from outside the court were chosen the prelates Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues and the archbishops of Trier, Würzburg and Regensburg, and prince-electors Friedrich of Saxony, the dukes Albrecht of Austria and Ludwig of Bavaria, and the margraves Albrecht of Brandenburg and Karl of Baden. The princes and prelates from outside the court formed a most high-ranking group, intended to bolster the diet's authority and entice their princely colleagues to attend. However, most of them, like the Archbishop of Trier, did not, in fact, attend the diet in person but sent representatives, and the Duke of Bavaria attended but not as a president. [See Sect. 26]

Piccolomini's report mentions several instances of interventions by the imperial ambassadors (legates) but only a few involving the diet's presidents as such.

### 2.7.2. Mandate

The mandate, or instructions, to the ambassadors – and to a majority at the diet - was presumably written by Piccolomini himself (on the basis of similar documents in the imperial archive), who was generally responsible for the imperial documents concerning the conference:

*We have previously indicted a general assembly of kings, ecclesiastical and secular princes, dukes, counts, barons, cities, peoples and all the loyal subjects of Us and the Holy Empire. The assembly will be held in Our city of Regensburg on the Donau on the next Feast of Saint George. It will deal with the defence of the Catholic Faith, which the infidel followers of Muhammad are striving to attack and destroy, as well as with urgent affairs concerning the Holy Empire. We had hoped to come there in person and to deal vigorously with the common affairs. But now certain difficulties have arisen, which keep Us at home, though unwilling. Since We do not wish the realm to be neglected because of our absence, we have been considering to what qualified persons, gifted with wisdom and authority, We may confidently entrust these great matters, and Our mind has turned to you, whose foresighted circumspection, solid and unshaken loyalty, and minds are inclined to all that is good as known and proven to Our Serenity since past times. Therefore, We require you to go to the meeting in Regensburg and to apply yourselves diligently – together with the legate of the*

*Apostolic See and the prelates and princes present and the legates of the absent – to those matters concerning which We have indicted the meeting. Above all, you should take care that the discussions lead to a decision by which the Christian religion may continue in our time, secure and safe from the attacks of the Turks and other infidels, and by which the arrogance and insolence of the enemies of the Cross of Christ may be curtailed. You should also intelligently endeavour to make the Roman Empire able to reclaim its glory. And so that you may the more easily be able to effect this the more you are strengthened by us with power and authority to perform, execute, decide, manage and do all that is necessary and expedient, just as We Ourselves in such matters, if We were present, would perform, execute, decide, manage and do, We by virtue of the present letter grant to you, our legates and ambassadors and to the majority of you who will be present in Regensburg full and free powers. We shall ratify and accept all, whatever it is, that will be performed, executed, decided, managed and done by you or by the majority of you, who will be in Regensburg, and with the Lord's help we shall ensure that it is observed inviolably. Given in Neustadt on 11 April in the year of Our Lord 1454, the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Our reign, and the third year of Our imperial reign. [Sect. 26]*

### **2.7.3. Facilitation of travel**

The imperial ambassadors evidently had safe-conducts from the emperor as well as funds to pay the travel costs. Presumably, they also had imperial guards to protect them on the road.

It is explicitly mentioned that Duke Ludwig of Bavaria gave the ambassadors money to cover their expenses or lodgings in his city, a fairly common diplomatic practice.

### **2.7.4. Interactions with princes**

Interactions with the host princes was an important function of ambassadors. They had to maintain polite and respectful relations and at the same time promote the interests of their master. This was, of course, easy in the cases when the interests of the princes coincided. But in the many cases they did not, the ambassadors had a challenging time balancing the princes' conflicting interests with the demands of protocol and diplomatic regards.

The report records three instances of such interactions.

The first was with the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, whom the imperial ambassadors visited to put pressure on him to attend the Diet of Regensburg as one of the imperially appointed presidents. Having already heard that the emperor would not be coming, the archbishop said that he would not participate himself but send counsellors to represent him – obviously, he considered it beneath him to come to an imperial diet in the absence of the emperor. And then he took up

another matter with the ambassadors: the emperor had not yet granted him the regalia, i.e., the secular rights and properties belonging to the archdiocese, and, furthermore, in his letter the emperor had not recognised his rank as a prince. The ambassadors then frankly answered the prince that *he had several castles belonging to the House of Austria in his possession as a pledge. If they were returned, the whole conflict would end, and this would be quite fair since the villages had already paid the yearly principal sum.* [Sect. 27].

The ambassadors also had a meeting with Duke Ludwig IX of Bavaria-Landshut, again to put pressure on him to attend the Diet of Regensburg as one of the imperially appointed presidents. The duke, a relative of the emperor, did not want to go in person both because of the emperor's absence and - like his fellow dukes - he was not keen to involve himself in the crusading project or to be seen as one of its sponsors. He was more diplomatic than the archbishop, pointing to his youth and inexperience as an excuse for not immediately accepting the emperor's invitation. He did not refuse it directly but said he would consider the matter and inform the ambassadors of his decision in writing. In any case, he would send his counsellors. As the prince was then 34 years old and had been reigning duke for four years, the excuse appears somewhat thin, but the ambassadors got the message. The state of the prince's mind was exposed in a hilarious episode which Piccolomini did not omit to relate:

*While they were speaking thus, a great many dogs were barking in front of the palace, and footmen and riders were shouting their dissatisfaction with having to wait and berating the prince for wasting precious time, and they cursed the legates for disrupting a great hunt. In the end, Ludwig invited the legates to join him [on the hunt], but when they declined, he ordered that they be given the money they had used on lodgings and gladly went hunting, accompanied by a throng of young people.* [Sect. 28]

As luck would have it, the Duke of Burgundy later arrived, which changed the Duke of Bavaria's perspective on the matter. He appears to have been instrumental in Burgundy's decision to come to Regensburg even though the emperor was absent, but he did not accept the charge of president of the diet, despite the polite urgings of the imperial ambassadors.

Finally the ambassadors had direct dealings with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they welcomed to the city, showing their instructions from the emperor, and letting him know that they had used his arrival to write to emperor and urge him to come to Regensburg. They also asked if the duke desired the diet's meetings to be held in his lodgings, but he politely declined, saying that here he was the guest and would gladly accommodate the representatives of his host. [See sect. 90]<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The protocolary importance of the meeting place was also mentioned in Piccolomini's *Report on an Imperial Mission to Milan 1447: The conservators offered to come to our lodgings to hear what we had to say since they honoured us in the place of their master. But we absolutely preferred to go to them, both because it was us who had been sent to them and because a greater crowd of people could assemble in a large place. So, on the third day, the conservators or governors came with many magnates and brought us to their residence. There, a great crowd of nobles and doctors had assembled, and the audience hall was full of distinguished men.* [Sect. 10]

### 2.7.5. Negotiation strategy

The primary aim of the imperial diplomats was the diet's approval of the crusading. To achieve this, they hammered two themes home to them: first, the terrible injury inflicted upon Christianity, and second, the imminent threat of a Turkish invasion of Europe. The princes may have been less responsive to the first theme: revenge might be fine for some, but avenging Christianity – and even almighty God himself – might not appear just as urgent to secular rulers as to high-ranking ecclesiastics. But the imminent threat of invasion ought to have been more convincing, especially as it was confirmed by the Governor of Hungary concerning the Turks and by the Polish ambassador concerning the Tartars. The princes might have considered that the Hungarians were able to defeat the Turks, as they had done before, and therefore, the imperial ambassadors pointed to Hungary's exhausted means and the Hungarian governor's declaration that without help from Germany, the Hungarians would have to come to terms with the Turks.

Influential groups, however, considered that without peace at home, in war-torn Germany, there would be no chance of mounting a successful military expedition against the Turks. And since a reform of the Empire as a financial, judicial and military institution was necessary for peace to be established, they wanted such a reform to be dealt with before the crusade. Every time this argument was raised, the imperial ambassadors countered it, pointing with some justice to the great likelihood that this reform would take so much time that the Turks would have arrived long before it could be achieved.

Apart from debates in public meetings and multilateral negotiations behind closed doors, the primary instrument of persuasion was to be oratory, the imperial ambassador Piccolomini and the papal legate Castiglione representing the Italian style, and Cardinal von Kues and the Bishop of Toul the Northern style (their orations are only extant in Piccolomini's reworked versions). The efficacy of orations in general and of Latin orations in particular, however, was probably not as great as Piccolomini imagined. Voigt amusingly conjectured – and he may not have been wrong – *dass der Grund dieses Schweigens<sup>1</sup> war vielleicht der Verlegenheit der Anwesenden, deren viele die Worte Enea's nicht eher verstanden bis sie der Bischof von Gurk in deutscher Sprache zusammengefasst!*<sup>2</sup>

As for the concrete planning of the expedition, the imperial court had decided upon the strategy to leave that to the attendants themselves to avoid causing irritation and opposition by issuing an imperial plan. That strategy, however, singularly failed since the participants in the diet demanded a concrete plan in writing from the imperial ambassadors, which they were forced to give. Though it was given some consideration and amendments by the diet, its treatment was postponed to a later one.

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<sup>1</sup> The silence following Piccolomini's grand oration "*Quamvis omnibus*"

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, III, p. 113

The diet did end in an enthusiastic pledge to go on a crusade against the Turks, but it was probably less due to the oratorical and negotiating skills of the ambassadors than the forceful intervention of the prestigious Duke of Burgundy, supported by Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg.

### 2.7.6. Problems of precedence

Piccolomini reports three conflicts of precedence at the Diet of Regensburg.

The first concerned a bishop who was a papal legate and a cardinal who was not:

*The Cardinal of San Pietro happened to be staying in the neighbourhood. When he heard that Philippe was approaching, he decided not to await the reply from his colleagues to whom he had written but immediately sent a message to Regensburg announcing his arrival and requesting that a house be prepared for him. When the apostolic legate heard it, he was in doubt whether to [honour him by] going out to meet him. He invited a friend to his house and said to him that the cardinal was, of course, worthy of all honours, being dear to the pope, a Father living a virtuous life, and one of the first among learned men. But he was coming there in his own name only or in the emperor's, whereas he himself was the envoy of the First See. He feared that it would somehow show disrespect to the pope if a bishop who was [papal] legate came to meet a cardinal who was not. His friend replied: "When you consider whether a bishop precedes a cardinal, and you search Holy Scripture and ancient laws, you can find nothing which gives precedence to a cardinal, a new title unknown to the early fathers, even though some claim that Saint Jerome was a cardinal. ... Therefore, our forefathers gave precedence to bishops since they were the apostles of Christ and vicars of the Great God among their peoples. But everything yields to time, all obey custom, mistress of all. We must consider things as they are now, not as they were once. Today, not only are cardinals given precedence over bishops, but – and I do not know why - even those notaries called protonotaries (a vain and presumptuous title) stand before the bishops. ... But you say to me: 'I am not contending with a bishop who is also a cardinal, but I do believe that a [papal] legate, even if [only] a bishop, should take precedence over a cardinal who is not a [papal] legate.' But you are wrong. At Basel, we saw that those archbishops Eugenius had sent to preside [over the council] gave the place of honour to the cardinals. For they say, as you know, that the pope and the cardinals form one body. Finally, not to use many arguments with you, when we are in doubt whether what we are doing is right or wrong, we should consider the character and behaviour of the person, to whom we are responsible so that you do what you may confident he would approve of. At present, you are acting on behalf of the Apostolic See: why would that See criticise you for giving precedence to a cardinal, when everything there is ruled by the will and assent of the cardinals? If I was in your place, I would go to meet the cardinal and be the first to show him honour, and I would not fear to diminish my own status since my office would be limited in time, while his is permanent. ... These arguments persuaded Giovanni, who went to meet the cardinal. The*

*cardinal entered the city, and the imperial legates brought their instructions to him. [Sect. 48-51]*

The second conflict of precedence concerned the Polish king's ambassador and the representatives of the German prince-electors. The ambassador's claim that his king had accepted the overlordship of Prussia and his insistent demand that the Teutonic Knights and the diet as a whole refrain from inimical acts against the Prussian cities did not endear him to the Germans, who then proved quite inventive in involving the ambassador in problems of precedence. The ambassador, however, proved his mettle:

*In the next session, which was to deal with common matters, a great controversy about the order of seating arose. The session would have two parts: one was to be led by the cardinal, and the other by the Bishop of Pavia as the pope's representative. To the cardinal's right were seated the bishops of Siena, Regensburg, Gurk and the other imperial legates. To Pavia's left were seated the ambassadors of the prince-electors. Then it was asked where the ambassador of the Polish king should be placed. The imperial legates said that he should be placed before the ambassadors of the electors. But the cardinal, angry with the Poles because of the Prussian rebellion, said that the envoys of the electors should be consulted, and they said that they would not accept that a man who was injurious to their nation should be placed before them, and they said much about the nobility and dignity of the prince-electors. The Pole was then asked to accept a place to the right of the imperial legates. He replied that he knew very well the seating order due to his king and pointed to the left of the apostolic legate, whereas the imperial legates were seated at the right. For in the context of the diet, the cardinal was held to be one of the imperial legates. If the Pole was placed to the right of the imperial legates, then the ambassadors of the electors would appear to be placed higher than him since they were placed directly to the left of Pavia. After much heated discussion, it was finally settled that the apostolic legate should be placed in the middle, with imperial legates placed both to his right and left, then the Pole to the right, and the electors to the left. This calmed the Pole. But when the session had thus come to order, the electors' ambassadors purposefully endeavoured to antagonize the Pole: they invited the Master of Germany to join them and placed him before themselves. Angered by this action, the Pole rose and said: "This I cannot accept, and I will not have a seat which is not worthy of my king, for it is not right that the imperial ambassadors should be placed on both sides of the apostolic legate. It is enough if they have the first place and observe the custom of the Council of Basel." The matter was discussed for a long time, and some actually said that the Pole should be excluded from the meeting since he had brought up scandalous matters and presumed to dispute the seating in another's home. But the imperial legates considered that this foreigner and legate of a great king must be treated with courtesy. Therefore a new arrangement was made. The ambassadors of the prince-electors were invited to sit to the right of the imperial legates while the Pole was given the place to left of the Bishop of Pavia, and after him the Master of Germany was placed. And thus it happened that the papal*



*legate was given a higher place than the cardinal, a new thing and unheard of in our age.*  
[Sect. 84-85]

Interestingly, the final arrangement caused the papal legate, who was only a bishop, not a cardinal, to be placed higher than a cardinal, which went against Piccolomini's own solution to the first problem of precedence and caused a piously scandalized comment from him.

The third conflict of precedence at the diet concerned the city of Aachen and the city of Cologne.

*There was also another conflict about the seating order, this time between the legates from Cologne and Aachen. Though the City of Aachen has no bishop, it is raised above the other cities of the German Kingdom by privileges from Charlemagne and other emperors, and it is held to be the first seat and capital of the kingdom, where the king is crowned, and the crown received. They say that in the memory of our fathers, no other citizens in Germany would come before the citizens of Aachen. But who protects the privileges of the poor? In vain do people seek honours if they lack wealth. Riches have always won and occupied the first place. So, when the people of Aachen lost their means, the people from Cologne began to come before them, and in many diets held in our memory they gained the first place, being considered the richest of the German cities. But in Regensburg the people from Aachen tried to claim their place, and on the first day they did sit as the first among the cities. But on the next day the people from Cologne rose and said that the first place was owed to their city. For why should Colonia Agrippina give way to Aachen, which could in no way equal their power and nobility? Cologne was founded by Agrippa himself, who is said to have been the son-in-law of Augustus Octavian. It belonged to Italy before the city of Aachen came into existence. In Cologne, there is a metropolitan See, the see, moreover, of the bishop who has the right to anoint and crown the King of the Romans, while the City of Aachen is not even considered worthy of an episcopal see. In Cologne there are many noble families whose forefathers were Roman patricians. A school of philosophy flourishes there as well as the studies of all the good arts. Albert the Great shone there. The bodies of the three kings, whom we call magis, and the bones of the 11,000 virgins are resting there. This very large and populous city, endowed with the most splendid temples and citizens' buildings as well as with the river Rhine, has no equal in all of Germany. It would be intolerable if the legates of such a great city should be forced to cede [the first place] to the legates from Aachen. The [envoys from] Aachen denied nothing of this but said that their city was so dear to the emperors that they wanted to receive the crown of the kingdom there rather than in Cologne. They had letters from the emperors placing them above the other cities of Germany. It was only just that they should enjoy their own privileges. The city of Aachen belonged directly to the Empire, while Cologne had earlier had an archbishop as their lord though they later returned to the Empire. It was quite superfluous to argue about nobility, power and age, when the law of an emperor clearly placed the people from Aachen before all other citizens because of their loyalty. It is futile to argue a case that has already been decided. But almost all the other cities supported Cologne, for men tend to side with the rich. In the end, the matter was settled in this way: one of the envoys from Cologne was placed first, then*

*followed the highest-ranking envoy from Aachen, then another envoy from Cologne, then another envoy from Aachen and so forth. And the two parties agreed that this arrangement should not prejudice the privilege of Aachen. [Sect. 86-87]*

### **2.7.7. Diplomatic report**

Though the present text clearly transcends the format of an ordinary diplomatic report, it still contains the main features of such reports as written by Piccolomini himself in other circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

There is a detailed account of the appointment of ambassadors, the imperial mandate to the ambassadors is given in full, the ambassadors' travel to Regensburg is described, the grand ambassadorial oration is not only mentioned or summarised but given in full, the negotiations concerning the main issues of the conference are carefully described, and even the disputes of precedence are reported in some detail.

The report transcends the format of the diplomatic report in length and detail. It also has a highly developed section on the antecedents of the conference, which would be well-known at the imperial court, and not the subject matter for the report on the diplomatic mission itself. It also diverges into history in its account of the Prussian conflict with the Teutonic Knights. And it is coloured by the political objective of making the Hungarians attend the next crusade diet.

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

### **3.1. Date**

The editors of the RTA-volume on the diet have argued that the report was written in the period from the end of July to the middle of August 1454.<sup>2</sup> Collation of manuscripts for the present edition has made it possible to narrow down the date of composition: the manuscript Ottob. lat. 1563, considered by the present editor to contain the first version of the report (see below), ends with the date: *Ex Nova Civitate pridie nonas Augusti millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto*. On the basis of this information, 6 August 1454 is accepted here as the date of composition.

### **3.2. Recipient**

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<sup>1</sup> See the other reports in the present series

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, p. 30. The cover letter to János Vitéz may be found not only in Ottob. lat. 347 and the Plut. 54, 19, as indicated by RTA, but also in the other manuscripts containing Piccolomini's *epistolae in episcopatu*, e.g. the Vat. lat. 1787, num. 45

The recipient was the Hungarian chancellor, János Vitéz, a humanist friend of Piccolomini. Based on the introduction to the text, the RTA-editors believe that Vitéz had himself asked Piccolomini for a report on the diet.<sup>1</sup> The passage in question is: *Ratisponense concilium, quod imperante Friderico III. superioribus diebus celebratum est, si tibi, quod initium quemque progressum habuerit, ad verum denarravero, non tuo tantum – ut arbitror – sed omnium desiderio morem geram, qui posthac mea scripta perlegerint.* [Sect. 1] This passage does not point to a specific request for a report on the diet, and neither does Piccolomini's cover letter which only says: *Rogasti me, pater observantissime, tibi ut aliquid novi operis scriberem. Nolui tuo desiderio morem deesse ...*<sup>2</sup> The present editor considers that Vitéz had simply asked for some new work of Piccolomini, and it was Piccolomini himself who chose to send him a report on the Diet in Regensburg.

Piccolomini used the report to convey three political messages to the chancellor. Firstly, the crusade project was in the Hungarians' own great interest. Secondly, the emperor's absence from the diet, so detrimental to its success, was due to the Hungarian governor's aggressive stance towards him. Thirdly, the Duke of Burgundy's presence was immensely important to the crusade project, implying that it would be in the Hungarian interest to come to some kind of understanding with the duke on the matter of Luxembourg.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3. Format

Piccolomini may originally have written or intended to write a proper diplomatic report to the emperor on the mission to Regensburg,<sup>4</sup> and the report in its present state is patterned on the format of such reports. It is, however, expanded to form a *historia* – in Piccolomini's own words (*epistola ne dicam historia*, sect. 1) – of a major political event, such as Piccolomini had previously written about the Council of Basel.<sup>5</sup> In the introduction, Piccolomini himself said that he had taken the time to write a more comprehensive text: *Curavi namque, cum essem in scribendo tardior, opere ut supplerem, quod tempore defuisset.* [Sect. 1.]

Its form is that of a letter, which Piccolomini used in other cases for his works, e.g., his treatise on the education of boys addressed to King Ladislaus.<sup>6</sup> The epistolary fiction, however, is based only upon the initial salutation and direct address to the recipient. In his later accompanying letter to the chancellor, Piccolomini calls the text an opus (*aliquid novi operis scriberem*).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, p. 30: *Aus dieser Einleitung ergibt sich 1. der Wunsch des ungarischen Kanzlers nach einem Bericht über den Verlauf des Regensburger Reichstags.*

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, p. 30

<sup>3</sup> The chancellor had himself participated in a failed negotiation on this matter in Mainz, March 1454 (RTA, p. 31)

<sup>4</sup> As after his previous diplomatic missions for the emperor, see the other reports in the present series

<sup>5</sup> Piccolomini: *De gestis*

<sup>6</sup> WO, II, nr. 40

<sup>7</sup> RTA, 19, 1, p. 30

Concerning the style, the text has – apart from the orations and addresses – few rhetorical ornaments and classical quotations, and there are no *exempla* from Antiquity.

It may be noted that the orations of others inserted into the text are literary productions and considered as such by Piccolomini who felt free to form – like classical historians - the orations and addresses of others to fit his own political purposes and his own rhetorical style, though retaining – presumably - their substance. This is the case of the addresses of the emperor in council (sect. 21); the intervention of Johann Lysura on the reform of the Empire, which corresponds remarkably with Piccolomini's own intervention in the imperial council (sect. 15); the address of the Burgundian ambassador (sect. 153-163) which is so close to Piccolomini's own account of the acts of the Duke of Burgundy that he may have borrowed part of it from the ambassador; and the closing address of Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg (sect. 173). Since Piccolomini had actually heard the orations and addresses being delivered in their original form, these texts may be considered as semi-fictive orations. However, the oration he puts into the mouth of the Duke of Burgundy at the Feast of the Pheasant (sect. 37-38) is a fully fictive text, though he probably heard about it from eye-witnesses in the duke's following (*Philippus in hunc modum fertur locutus*).<sup>1</sup>

More surprisingly, he also extensively reworked the text of an imperial document, the imperial letter of summons to the Duke of Burgundy (see Appendix for the original and the revised version): Piccolomini himself wrote the original version, which is why he may have felt that he had an author's right to revise its style, though not its substance.<sup>2</sup> Still, it is surprising that even an important imperial document would not be exempt from Piccolomini's concept of an author's literary freedom and right to revise his texts.<sup>3</sup>

## 4. Text

The text is extant in a large number of manuscripts, mostly humanistic collective manuscripts. The manuscripts collated for the present edition are:

### 4.1. Manuscripts

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ottob. lat. 1563, ff. 1r-45r (O)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of fictive orations, see COR, I, sect. 2.7

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix

<sup>3</sup> See COR, I, sect. 3.3.

<sup>4</sup> NB: error of pagination in WO

Urb. lat. 405, ff. 183v-245r<sup>1</sup> (U)

Vat. lat. 3888, ff. 1r-58r<sup>2</sup> (V)

Vat. lat. 5604, ff. 1r-58r<sup>3</sup> (K)

- **Wolfenbüttel / Herzog-August Bibliothek**

Weissenburg 90, ff. 62r-95r<sup>4</sup> [W]<sup>5</sup>

These manuscripts appear to represent three slightly different versions of the text, the oldest version being represented by O and W, the intermediate version by K and V, and the last version by U (and MA).

The differences between the three versions are mostly of style.

The O and W have variants that are clearly the original ones, whereas the corresponding variants in the other manuscripts clearly derive from a scribal error, e.g. the passage *Praetereo emolumenta pecunaria, quae secum hoc bellum afferre potest, si te populus armatus ducem habuerit*. [sect. 14], where O and W have the correct *praetereo*, whereas the other manuscript have *praeterea* which does not function grammatically since then the sentence it has no verb. Also the O is the only manuscript to give the date of the text (in the end). It is unlikely that this date could have been added to a later manuscript version not supervised by Piccolomini/Pius himself. Finally, in the O and W the initial passage of the major oration delivered by Piccolomini is *Omnibus qui adestis ... etsi nota est causa vestrae vocationis* and in the other manuscripts *Quamvis omnibus qui adestis ... etsi nota est causa vestrae vocationis*. Since *quamvis* and *etsi* are clearly redundant, this points to O and W representing the earlier text, revised by the inclusion of *quamvis* without deleting the *etsi*.

The U forms part of a splendid manuscript containing a compilation of Piccolomini's major works and written after he became a cardinal. The significant variants in this manuscript indicate a late, stylistic revision. It is therefore reasonable to consider this manuscript as representing the latest version of the text.<sup>6</sup>

## 4.2. Editions

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<sup>1</sup> Digivatlib: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Urb.lat.405](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.405)

<sup>2</sup> [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3888](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3888)

<sup>3</sup> Digivatlib: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.5604](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5604)

<sup>4</sup> Due to an error of binding, the sequence of the text in W is as follows: sect. 1-14 = ff. 61r-62v, sect. 14-52 = ff. 75r-82v, sect. 52-71 = ff. 71r-74v, sect. 71-105 = ff. 63r-70v, sect. 108-174 = ff. 83r-95r

<sup>5</sup> In the W, the title indicates Piccolomini's cardinalial but not his papal state, wherefore that manuscript must have been written or copied between 1456 when Piccolomini was appointed cardinal and 1458 when he was elected pope.

<sup>6</sup> On the relationship between the manuscripts, see also RTA, pp. 28-29

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / III, pp. 1-84 **(MA)**  
[On the basis of manuscripts in the collection of Sandeo Felini, now in the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca (“Felini codicibus suppeditantibus”, III, p. iv)]<sup>1</sup>
- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918 / III, nr. 291, pp. 492-563 **(WO)**  
[On the basis of Vat. lat. 3888 (“Aus Vat. lat. 3888. Schreiberhand mit Korrekturen des Eneas.”). In many cases, however, Wolkan does not follow the text of that manuscript, but prefers the text in Mansi’s edition]<sup>2</sup>

In the RTA 19, 1, a large part of the text was published in small sections inserted where appropriate in the running text of the RTA:

- *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III*. Fünfte Abt., Erste Hälfte. Herausg. von Helmut Weigel und Henny Grüneisen. Göttingen, 1969. (Deutsche Reichstagsakten; ÄR; 19, 1)

The sections concerning the Prussians were apparently issued by Piccolomini both a) as an individual text, b) and included in his report on Diet of Regensburg, and c) – in a revised form – in his *Historia Austriaca*.<sup>3</sup>

They have been published in:

- *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum : Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*. Eds. Th. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke. 6 vols. 1861-1968. (Scriptores rerum Prussicarum) // IV, 1870, pp. 218-231 ff.

Apparently, there are no previous translations of the text.

### 4.3. Present edition

The text is based on the Ottob. lat. 1563 (O), the Vat. lat. 3888 (V), the Urb. lat. 405 (U), the Vat. lat. 5604 (K), and the Weissenburg 90 (W), as well as the text as edited by Wolkan (WO) and two (or possibly more) manuscripts in the Felini collection as edited by Mansi (MA). Only such variants

<sup>1</sup> According to Wolkan, Mansi based his edition on the manuscript BAV / Vat. Lat. 5604, but this does not appear to be correct

<sup>2</sup> Second person singular forms changed to plural by Wolkan

<sup>3</sup> See *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum : die Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 213-215 for manuscripts and early editions

in Wolkan that differ from the Vat. lat. 3888 are given in the critical apparatus. Variants in Vat. lat. 3888 are marked with an asterisk in those cases when Wolkan's edition follows the main text. As lead manuscript has been chosen the Vat. lat. 5604.

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sigla

**K** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 5604

**O** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ottob. lat. 1563

**U** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 405

**V** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 3888

**W** = Wolffenbüttel / Herzog-August Bibliothek / Weissenburg 90

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

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





## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

# Aeneae episcopi Senensis epistola ad Johannem episcopum Varadiensem de conventu Ratisponensi<sup>1</sup>

Doctissimo ac<sup>2</sup> reverendissimo patri, domino Johanni, Varadiensium praesuli regnique inclyti<sup>3</sup> Hungariae cancellario, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] {1r} Ratisponense concilium, quod imperante Friderico<sup>4</sup> III. superioribus diebus celebratum est, si tibi<sup>5</sup>, quod initium quemque progressum habuerit, ad verum denarravero, non tuo tantum – ut arbitror – sed omnium desiderio morem geram, qui posthac mea scripta perlegerint. Grandia enim illic<sup>6</sup> negotia et quae totam Christianitatem spectant<sup>7</sup> inter manus recepta sunt parientque proculdubio maximum et uberrimum fructum, si coeptis aspiraverit divinus favor. Quamvis me futura praemeditantem Christiani populi vel nequitia terret vel secordia<sup>8</sup> frangit, tibi si melior animus spem bonam praestat, ne me celes, oro. Sed dices fortasse: “Tertio ab hinc mense conventus Ratisponae cessat. Quae ibi gesta sunt, jam pistores, piscatores, cetarii cupedinarii que omnes decantant. Quid tu nunc afferas<sup>9</sup> novi?” Audio, nec moveor. Scio vulgata esse decreta concilii. Pleraque tamen invenies inter scripta mea<sup>10</sup>, quae nondum ex aliis accepisti. Curavi namque, cum essem in scribendo tardior, opere ut supplerem, quod tempore defuisset. Legito ergo, si vacat, hanc epistolam, ne dicam historiam, et cum percurreris<sup>11</sup> universam, si nihil auditu dignum scribimus, amici supervacuum sedulitatem contemnito. Sin qua<sup>12</sup> tuas aures oblectamus, scito nihil esse nobis<sup>13</sup> jucundius quam tuae satisfacisse voluntati. Sed jam rem ipsam aggrediamur.

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<sup>1</sup> U; Incipit tractatulus reverendissimi patris domini domini Aeneae Silvii de Piccolominibus Senensis praesulis ac demum sacrosanctae ecclesiae Romanae presbiteri cardinalis et deinde pape Pii II. W; Pii II. P.M. Ratisponensis Dieta quae fuit Anno Domini 1454 MA; no title K, O, V, WO

<sup>2</sup> et W

<sup>3</sup> regnique inclyti : inclytique regni U

<sup>4</sup> Frideric... et passim W; Federic.. et passim O, U; Frederic.. et passim K, V, MA

<sup>5</sup> [singular forms of 2<sup>nd</sup> person personal pronoun systematically converted to plural forms WO]

<sup>6</sup> ibi W

<sup>7</sup> omit. K; spectant corr. ex concernunt V; concernunt O, W

<sup>8</sup> socordia O, MA, WO; secordia corr. ex socordia V

<sup>9</sup> asseras WO

<sup>10</sup> omit. MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> praecurreris MA; precurreritis WO

<sup>12</sup> corr. ex aliqua V; aliqua K, O, W

<sup>13</sup> nihil esse nobis : nobis nihil esse W

# Letter of Enea, Bishop of Siena, to János Bishop of Várad, on the Diet of Regensburg

Enea, Bishop of Siena and imperial counsellor, sends many greetings to the most learned and reverend Father, His Lordship János<sup>1</sup>, Bishop of Várad and Chancellor of the illustrious Kingdom of Hungary.

## 1. Introduction

[1] The Diet of Regensburg was held a short time ago, at the command of Friedrich III.<sup>2</sup> If I inform you accurately about its beginning and proceedings, I shall – I believe – satisfy not only your desire but also the desire of all who later read my work. For there great affairs, important to all of Christianity, were dealt with, and no doubt the results will be great and abundant if only God favours our undertakings. As I ponder the future, I am terrified by the negligence of the Christian people and even shocked by its passivity. Therefore, if greater courage gives you better hope, then - pray - do not hide it from me. But maybe you will say: “It is now the third month since the end of the Diet of Regensburg. What was done there is now being bandied about by every miller, fisher, fishmonger, and confectioner. So, what new [insight] can you provide?” I hear what is said, but I am unmoved. [Of course,] I know that the decisions of the diet have been published already. But in my report, you will find things that you have not yet heard from others, for since I was somewhat late in writing, I have taken time to write a more complete report than I would otherwise have been able to. So, if you have time, then read this letter, not to say history. If you read it through and do not find anything worthy of hearing, then dismiss the superfluous efforts of a friend. But if we please your ears, then know that we have no greater joy than to accommodate your wishes. But let us now move on to the matter itself.

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<sup>1</sup> János Vitéz (ca. 1408-1472): Hungarian humanist. Bishop of Várad 1445. Archbishop of Esztergom 1465. Chancellor of Hungary

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola 1424. Duke of Austria 1439. King of Germany 1440. Crowned as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome 1452

[2] Cum accepisset aestate superiori majestas<sup>1</sup> imperatoria Constantinopolim a Turcis<sup>2</sup> expugnatam nobilitatemque urbis cum principe caesam nostramque fidem miris illic modis<sup>3</sup> probro<sup>4</sup> habitam, revolvens animo, quantum esset Christianae religioni {1v} vulnus inflictum, quantumque deinceps fidei<sup>5</sup> populo discrimen impenderet, mox Nicolao V., primae sedis antistiti, litteras dedit, quibus et cladem Constantinopolitanam deflevit<sup>6</sup> et operam suam<sup>7</sup> ad propulsandas ac vindicandas istiusmodi injurias obtulit.

{3} Nicolaus autem, qui suo<sup>8</sup> ingenio et<sup>9</sup> officio pastorali<sup>10</sup> rem corde<sup>11</sup> gerebat summoque studio his rebus intentus erat, quibus et orthodoxa fides defendi et Turcorum impetus retundi posset, jam cum fratribus suis, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae<sup>12</sup> cardinalibus, clero decimam partem sui census ut ad rem conferret<sup>13</sup> bellicam<sup>14</sup>, indixerat; plenariam peccatorum remissionem his<sup>15</sup>, qui militarent contra Turcos, repromiserat; apostolicae camerae universos redditus ac decimam partem vectigalium ecclesiae Romanae ad expeditionem nauticam deputaverat. Is cognita mente Caesaris, qui de communi Christianorum periculo anxius esset, Johannem episcopum Papiensem, nobili loco apud Insubres natum et comi<sup>16</sup> ingenio facundiaque<sup>17</sup> praestantem<sup>18</sup>, in Austriam ire jussit, qui et imperatoris animum ad vindicandum commune Christianorum vulnus magis ac magis incenderet et apostolicae sedis consilia<sup>19</sup> provisionesque demonstraret.

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<sup>1</sup> majestas W

<sup>2</sup> Turc... : Turch... *et passim* K, O, U, V; Thurc... *et passim* W; Turc... *et passim* MA, WO

<sup>3</sup> illic modis : modis illic MA, WO

<sup>4</sup> probio WO

<sup>5</sup> fidei WO

<sup>6</sup> defluit K; *corr. ex defluit* V

<sup>7</sup> operam suam : operas suas K, O, W; operam suam *corr. ex operas suas* V

<sup>8</sup> suapte O, W, MA

<sup>9</sup> ex K, O, W, MA, WO

<sup>10</sup> officio pastorali : pastorali officio MA

<sup>11</sup> cordi O, W

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>13</sup> ad rem conferret : conferret ad rem MA

<sup>14</sup> conferret bellicam : bellicam conferret WO

<sup>15</sup> iis MA

<sup>16</sup> comi *corr. ex ameno* V; ameno O, W

<sup>17</sup> facundia U

<sup>18</sup> prestantem *corr. ex prestabilem* V; prestabilem O, W

<sup>19</sup> concili... *et passim* U

## 2. Antecedents of the diet

### 2.1. Emperor's reaction to the Fall of Constantinople

[2] When, last summer, His Imperial Majesty learnt that Constantinople had been conquered by the Turks,<sup>1</sup> that the city's nobles had been killed together with their emperor,<sup>2</sup> and that our Faith had been mocked there in unimaginable ways,<sup>3</sup> he considered how great a wound had been inflicted upon the Christian religion and how great a danger threatened the faithful people. He then very soon wrote to Nicolaus V,<sup>4</sup> Bishop of the First See, lamenting the Fall of Constantinople and offering his help to avert and avenge these offences.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.2. Pope's reaction

[3] But Nicolaus - both by nature and by virtue of his pastoral office – already had this matter at heart and was utterly determined to defend orthodox Faith<sup>6</sup> and counter the Turkish attacks. He had therefore – together with his brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church – announced a tithe on the incomes of the clergy, promised a plenary remission of sins to those who fought against the Turks, and allocated the total income of the Apostolic Chamber and a tenth of the tax revenues of the Roman Church to a naval expedition. When he was informed about the intent of the emperor, concerned about the common danger to the Christians, he dispatched Giovanni,<sup>7</sup> Bishop of Pavia, from a noble family in Lombardy, an affable and well-spoken man, to Austria, to rouse the emperor to avenge the common injury to the Christians and to inform him of the intentions of the Apostolic See and the measures taken.

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<sup>1</sup> Constantinople fell to the troops of the Turkish sultan, Mehmed II, on 29 May 1453. RTA, 19, 1, pp. 4-18

<sup>2</sup> Constantine XI Dragases (Palaeologus) (1405-1453): Byzantine emperor from 1449 to his death

<sup>3</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 19-20

<sup>4</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 1447 to his death

<sup>5</sup> In a letter of 10 August 1453 written by Piccolomini himself, the emperor informed the pope about the Fall of Constantinople and asked him to summon the Christian princes to a meeting with the purpose of mobilising a crusade against the Turks: *censemus clementiam vestram ... nunc exurgere, scribere regibus, legatos mittere, monere, hortari principes accompunitates, in aliquem communem locum aut veniant aut mittant ... atque junctis viribus adversus salutiferae crucis inimicos arma promoveant* (WO, III, p. 579). RTA, 19, 1, pp. 31-33

<sup>6</sup> The Christian religion as a whole – not the Greek Orthodox Church

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni da Castiglione (1420-1460): Bishop of Pavia 1453. Papal envoy to Germany 1454-1455. Cardinal 1456

[4] Eo audito ex re esse visum est Caesari principes atque communitates imperii in unum aliquem locum evocare cumque his<sup>1</sup> de tanto negotio transigere. Instabant eo tempore natalia salvatoris domini, quibus de more peractis Theutonicorum<sup>2</sup> conventus ad festum sancti Georgii, quod Christiani VIII. kal.<sup>3</sup> Maji celebrare consueverunt, apud Ratisponam indicitur.

[5] Haec urbs in Norico, cui nunc Bavaria<sup>4</sup> vocabulum est, supra Danubium jacet, ampla atque insignis, ambitiosis aedibus palatiisque referta. {2r} Templata hic divino nomini dicata<sup>5</sup> complura<sup>6</sup> et magnifica sunt. Pontem habet ex lapide secto<sup>7</sup> et quadrato tota Germania celeberrimum<sup>8</sup>, qui ripam utramque<sup>9</sup> Danubii<sup>10</sup> conjungit atque in Franconiam Bohemiamque praebet iter. Murus altus spissusque cingit urbem et fossa latior atque profundior. Turres admodum multae et propugnacula pro moenibus eminent. Hic saepe Romanorum Caesares consedere atque habere concilia consueverunt. Hic quoque Conradus II. conventum tenuit, cum recepta domini salvatoris cruce exercitum adversus infideles eduxit.

[6] Huc ergo ex Alemania vocati sunt omnes, quorum vel auxilia vel consilia in hoc opus necessaria putabantur.

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<sup>1</sup> iis MA

<sup>2</sup> Theoton... *et passim* MA

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

<sup>4</sup> Bajoar... *et passim* K, O, U, MA, V; Bavar... *et passim* W

<sup>5</sup> *et add.* O, W

<sup>6</sup> complura U; compluria K, O, MA

<sup>7</sup> septo U

<sup>8</sup> famosissimum K, O, W; celeberrimum *corr. ex famosissimum* V

<sup>9</sup> ripam utramque : ripas utrasque K, O, W; ripam utramque *corr. ex ripas utrasque* V

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

### 2.3. Emperor's decision to summon a diet

[4] When the emperor had heard the bishop,<sup>1</sup> he decided to summon the princes and communities of the Empire to a meeting somewhere to discuss this important matter with them.<sup>2</sup> The Feast of the Birth of Our Lord and Saviour was close, but after the usual festivities, a diet was summoned, to meet in Regensburg on the Feast of Saint George, which the Christians celebrate on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.4. Regensburg

[5] This city in Noricum,<sup>4</sup> now called Bavaria, lies above the Danube. It is large and splendid, full of grand buildings and mansions. There are many and magnificent temples dedicated to the divine name. It also has a bridge<sup>5</sup> built with ashlar - famous in all Germany - which connects the two shores of the Danube and opens a road leading to Franconia and Bohemia. A tall and thick wall surrounds the city as well as a broad and deep moat. The walls have many towers and ramparts. The Roman emperors<sup>6</sup> often dwelled in that city and held diets there. Also Konrad II.<sup>7</sup> held a meeting there,<sup>8</sup> when he took the cross of the Lord Saviour and led his army against the infidels.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.5. Parties invited to the diet

[6] To this city were summoned all those from Germany whose help or counsel were considered to be necessary for this undertaking.

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Castiglione. RTA, 19, 1, pp. 51-63

<sup>2</sup> The emperor's letters to the kings and princes were written by Piccolomini

<sup>3</sup> Or rather the 23rd

<sup>4</sup> Old Latin name for an area comprising most of present-day Austria and part of Slovenia

<sup>5</sup> Steinerne Brücke in Regensburg, built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>6</sup> I.e., the Holy Roman emperors

<sup>7</sup> Error for Konrad III (Hohenstaufen) (ca. 1193-1152): Duke of Franconia 1127, king of Germany 1138 to his death

<sup>8</sup> Under Konrad III, two imperial diets, in Speyer December 1446 and in Frankfurt March 1447, dealt with Second Crusade

<sup>9</sup> The German troops participating in the Second crusade met in and departed from Regensburg in May 1447



[7] Ex Italia quoque non pauci accersiti. At cum dies affuit, Italarum nemo comparuit, nisi Papiensis episcopus, qui Romani pontificis locum tenuit. Veneti jam finito concilio<sup>1</sup> legatos misere. Florentini ac Lucani, etsi scripserant gesturos se Caesari morem, postea tamen gravioribus occupati negotiis implere promissa non potuerunt. Borsius, dux Mutinae, bellorum praetendit incommoda. Senenses cum mandatum tardius accepissent, jure merito excusati sunt. Genuenses, Mediolanenses atque cum his marchiones Montisferrati et Salutiarum<sup>2</sup> nec excusatione opus sibi<sup>3</sup> esse crediderunt. Ludovicus, marchio Mantuanus, errante cancellario sub nomine Caroli vocatus est: itaque litterae ad fratrem ejus missae nulli usui fuerunt.

[8] Ex regibus rogati sunt oratores mittere, qui viciniore videbantur: Carolus Franciae, Ladislaus Hungariae ac Bohemiae, Henricus Angliae, Casimirus Poloniae, Jacobus Scotiae, et Johannes Daciae. Neque in hac vocatione usus est imperio Fridericus, neque arroganter quidquam scripsit, sed reges quasi amicos, quasi fratres hortatus est, in {2v} communi Christianae religionis negotio ut secum concurrere ac dicere et audire consilia vellent. Nemo tamen, si Casimirum excipias, imperiali voto morem gessit, sive odio Caesarei nominis, quod omnes videri exempti volunt, sive quia religionis extinctus est ubique zelus.

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<sup>1</sup> consi... *et passim* U

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

<sup>3</sup> opus sibi : sibi opus MA

### 2.5.1. Italian powers<sup>1</sup>

[7] Many were also summoned from Italy, but when the diet opened, no Italian had come except the Bishop of Pavia,<sup>2</sup> representing the Roman Pontiff.<sup>3</sup> The Venetians sent legates after the diet had ended. The Florentines and the Lucchese had written that they would obey the emperor, but afterwards they became embroiled in very serious matters and could not fulfil their promises. Borso, Duke of Modena,<sup>4</sup> gave troubles of war as his excuse.<sup>5</sup> The Sienese had received the invitation too late and were justly excused. The Genoese and the Milanese and the marquesses of Monferrato<sup>6</sup> and Saluzzo<sup>7</sup> apparently thought they needed no excuse. And due to an error in the chancery,<sup>8</sup> Ludovico, Marquess of Mantua,<sup>9</sup> was invited under the name of Carlo, and therefore the letter was sent to his brother<sup>10</sup> and had no effect.

### 2.5.2. European kings

[8] Of the kings, those who were the closest<sup>11</sup> were invited to send ambassadors<sup>12</sup>: Charles of France,<sup>13</sup> Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia,<sup>14</sup> Henry of England,<sup>15</sup> Casimir of Poland,<sup>16</sup> James of Scotland,<sup>17</sup> and Johannes<sup>18</sup> of Denmark. In his invitation, Friedrich made no imperial command, and he did not write in a superior manner,<sup>19</sup> but exhorted the kings as friends and brothers to meet with him and give and take counsel concerning this common matter of the Christian religion. However, except Casimir nobody accommodated the emperor's desire,<sup>20</sup> whether out of dislike for the name of emperor, whose power nobody wishes to recognise, or because the zeal for religion has been extinguished everywhere.

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 196-203

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Castiglione

<sup>3</sup> Nicolaus V

<sup>4</sup> Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Marquess of Ferrara 1450, Duke of Modena from 1452 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Emperor's letter to the duke, written by Piccolomini and dated 9. January 1454 (WO, III, pp. 609-610)

<sup>6</sup> Giovanni IV (Paleologo) (1413-1464): Marquess of Monferrat from 1445 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Ludovico I (del Vasto) (1405-1475): Marquess of Saluzzo from 1416 to his death

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the imperial chancellery

<sup>9</sup> Ludovico III (Gonzaga) (1412-1478): Marquess of Mantua from 1444 to his death

<sup>10</sup> Carlo Gonzaga (ca. 1415-1456)

<sup>11</sup> The letters of invitation were written by Piccolomini (RTA, 19, 1, pp. 96-103)

<sup>12</sup> Thus, the kings of Spain and Portugal were not invited

<sup>13</sup> Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 and King of France from 1429 to his death

<sup>14</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia

<sup>15</sup> Henry VI (Lancaster) (1421-1471): King of England 1422-1461 and 1470-1471

<sup>16</sup> Casimir IV (Jagiellon) (1427-1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death

<sup>17</sup> James II (Stewart) (1430-1460): King of Scotland from 1437 to his death

<sup>18</sup> Another chancery error. The name of the Danish king was Christian I (1426-1481): King of Denmark (1448) and Norway 1450) to his death and of Sweden from 1457 to 1464

<sup>19</sup> Piccolomini would know since it was he who had written the letters

<sup>20</sup> In a letter to the emperor of Palm Sunday 1454, King Christian I of Denmark regretted that he would not be able to participate in the diet, having received the letter of invitation only 10 days before the opening (OO, pp. 658-659)

[9] Rex Franciae – ut ajunt – suscepta sacra imperiali, cum neque suam operam<sup>1</sup> Christianitati negare auderet, neque Caesari tamen tribuere vellet, ut suo rogatu motus existimari posset, ad Romanum pontificem litteras scripsit, quibus se bello minime defuturum affirmavit, si Germani principes contra Turcos arma susciperent. Aliorum in tanto negotio tanta vel taciturnitas vel negligentia non admiranda dumtaxat, sed cunctorum hominum votis damnanda execrandaque fuit.

[10] Maxime vero Ladislai regis notata est legatorum absentia, qui et propter regnum Bohemiae, quod est imperii sacri nobile et<sup>2</sup> praecipuum<sup>3</sup> membrum, parere Caesari tenebatur et propter Hungariam negligere eum conventum haudquaquam debuit, in quo suorum subditorum salus ac tranquillitas quaerebatur. Neque enim inter Christianos populi<sup>4</sup> sunt, quorum magis quam Hungarorum referat exterminari Turcorum gentem, quam vicinam habent multis jam saeculis infestam. Quod si Turci contra Theutones progredi velint, necesse est Hungaros eorumve<sup>5</sup> subditos prius atterant, quales sunt et Dalmatae et Croatini. Sed nihil impingendum est nobilissimo adolescenti, qui quamvis est in omne bonum pronus et ardens, pro sua tamen aetate magis regitur quam regit. Rectoribus eam curam esse par fuit, ne conventum spernerent, in quo tanti regis negotium in primis erat agendum. Accusarem hic vehementer praelatorum ac baronum Hungariae sive {3r} pervicaciam sive somnolentiam<sup>6</sup>, qui tale concilium<sup>7</sup> nec unico nuntio dignati sunt adire<sup>8</sup>, nisi remorsus timerem tuos, qui pro tua singulari providentia remittere sagittas in hostes optime calles.

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<sup>1</sup> suam operam : suas operas K, O; suam operam *corr.* ex suas operas V, W

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

<sup>3</sup> et praecipuum *omit.* K; principale *corr.* ex precipuum V; principale O, W

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>5</sup> eorumque U

<sup>6</sup> sive somnolentiam *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> tale concilium : tali consilio U

<sup>8</sup> visitare K, O, U, W; adire *corr.* ex visitare V

### 2.5.2.1. King Charles VII

[9] Concerning the king of France, it is said that when he received the emperor's letter,<sup>1</sup> he neither dared refuse to help Christianity nor did he want to appear to accommodate the emperor by acting on his invitation. He, therefore, wrote to the Roman Pontiff that he would certainly not fail to go to war if the German princes decided to take up arms against the Turks. The silence or negligence of the other [princes] in this vital matter is not admirable at all but deserves the disapproval and condemnation of all men.

### 2.5.2.2. King Ladislaus

[10] But most shameful of all was the absence of ambassadors from King Ladislaus. As King of Bohemia, a noble and preeminent member of the Holy Empire, he was obliged to obey the emperor, and as King of Hungary he most certainly ought not to ignore this diet which aimed at ensuring his own subjects' welfare and peace. Among the Christians, no people has a greater interest than Hungary in destroying the Turkish people, a hostile neighbour for many centuries. For if the Turks wish to march against the Germans, they must first overrun the Hungarians and their subject peoples, like the Dalmatians and the Croatians. This is in no way a criticism of that noble adolescent,<sup>2</sup> who is ready and eager to do good, but who because of his age does not govern but is governed. Indeed, it is his governors who should not have neglected this diet, which first and foremost was to deal with the affairs of this great king.<sup>3</sup> Here I would vehemently accuse the Hungarian prelates and barons of obstinacy or slothfulness since they did not deign to send even one representative to this important diet if I did not fear your<sup>4</sup> counterattack since with your brilliant intellect you are very good at shooting arrows back your enemies.

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<sup>1</sup> "sacra". Letter of 9. January 1454, written by Piccolomini (WO, III, 602-607. RTA, 19, 1, pp. 97-100): *Cum autem fraternitas vestra inter Christianos reges sublimem locum divino munere sit sortita regnoque maximo et potentissimo praesit, non est nobis ambiguum, quin ad juvandam ejus causam, cujus dono regnat suosque populos in pace gubernat, mentem erectam habeat iamque vias et modos excogitaverit, quibus Turcorum confringi gladius, compesci furor et audacia plecti Christianaque rursus resurgere gloria possit. quibus ex rebus apprime nobis gratum esset et ad negotium fidei bene feliciterque deducendum admodum utile reputamus, quod vestra fraternitas in die dicta ad civitatem Ratisponensem nostramque presenciam suos prestantes destinet oratores, qui nos de mente vestra in hoc tam grandi et utili negocio efficiant cerciores ...*

<sup>2</sup> King Ladislaus was 14 years old at the time

<sup>3</sup> As late as 14 February 1454, Piccolomini believed that King Ladislaus would send ambassadors to the diet, see his letter to Carvajal of that date (WO, III, 1, 256, p. 443)

<sup>4</sup> János Vitéz, the Hungarian chancellor and recipient of Piccolomini's report

[11] Ceterum quidnam alios arguimus, nisi et aliorum similem contumaciam vidissem? Nam<sup>1</sup> quid faciant externi, quando neque ipsi Theutoniae principes neque civitates, ut necessum<sup>2</sup> erat, tam utile concilium adiverint<sup>3</sup>? Senserat hoc imperator atque idcirco Romanum praesulem rogatum fecerat, ut et<sup>4</sup> ipse suis scriptis tum<sup>5</sup> episcopos, tum duces, marchiones, comites Germanicae nationis ad conventum Ratisponensem invitaret, quia vocante papa atque<sup>6</sup> imperatore<sup>7</sup> concilium concursus proculdubio major fieret. Ea res apostolicae sedi non placuit, quod<sup>8</sup> fortasse latere dolos sub ea vocatione Nicolaus timuit: nihil est enim in alto sedenti tutum. Magni conventus magnos motus pariunt. Inimica<sup>9</sup> est novitatum summa potestas. Spes mutationis enutrit miseros.<sup>10</sup>

[12] Imperator, cum dies conventionis appropinquasset, convocatis senatoribus quinam mittendi sint<sup>11</sup> Ratisponam vices acturi suas quaerit. Res secreto inter paucos agitur.

[13] Prior, qui sententiam<sup>12</sup> dicere jussus est, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis: “Ego,” inquit, “Caesar, nequaquam<sup>13</sup> is fuerim, qui te mittere legatos suaserim ad eum conventum, qui tuam praesentiam exigit. Nisi enim tu iveris, neque principes electores atque<sup>14</sup> ceteri proceres eo venient<sup>15</sup> neque oratores mittent<sup>16</sup> ad tantam rem idoneos. Ridiculum concilium erit, nihil illic geretur<sup>17</sup> laude dignum. Si tu absis, omnes tuam negligentiam<sup>18</sup> incusabunt, quia tantum negotium, quantum est Christianitatis defensio, parvipenderis. Quod si verum admittis, necesse est fateare nullam te causam concilio<sup>19</sup> posse reddere<sup>20</sup>, si haec non reddit, ex qua pendet nostrae fidei salus. Illud quoque tua venia dixerim: nisi hoc iter assumis, neque honori tuo neque utilitati consules.

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<sup>1</sup> nisi et ... nam *omit.* O

<sup>2</sup> necessarium MA

<sup>3</sup> adiverunt O, W

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>5</sup> cum O

<sup>6</sup> et MA

<sup>7</sup> ad *add.* MA

<sup>8</sup> quia MA

<sup>9</sup> inimicitia U

<sup>10</sup> Incipit liber VIII. de conventu Ratisponensi *add.* U

<sup>11</sup> sunt W

<sup>12</sup> summam MA

<sup>13</sup> Caesar nequaquam : nequaquam Caesar W

<sup>14</sup> neque O, W

<sup>15</sup> veniant K; conuenit U

<sup>16</sup> mitterent MA

<sup>17</sup> geritur U

<sup>18</sup> absenciam W

<sup>19</sup> consil... *et passim* W

<sup>20</sup> dare W

### 2.5.3. The Germans<sup>1</sup>

[11] Moreover, why should we criticise others when we see similar defiance elsewhere? For what should foreigners do when neither the German princes nor the cities attended this important<sup>2</sup> diet, as was necessary? The emperor foresaw that this might happen, and therefore he requested of the Bishop of Rome that he, too, should write to the bishops, dukes, margraves and counts of the German nation and invite them to the Diet in Regensburg, since a joint invitation to the diet from pope and emperor would undoubtedly increase the number of participants.<sup>3</sup> But the Apostolic See did not wish to do so, possibly because Nicolaus feared some trick or deceit behind such an invitation: nothing is safe for anyone in a high position.<sup>4</sup> Great meetings cause great changes. Supreme power is an enemy of change, [whereas] hope of change sustains those who are miserable.

## 2.6. Deliberations in the imperial council on the emperor's participation

[12] When the diet approached, the emperor summoned his senators<sup>5</sup> and asked them whom to send to Regensburg as his representatives. The matter was discussed in secret and with only a few people.

### 2.6.1. Piccolomini's intervention

[13] First, Enea, Bishop of Siena, was asked to give his opinion. He said, "Emperor, it is certainly not I who would advise you to send ambassadors to this diet. It demands your own presence, for unless you go yourself, neither the prince-electors nor the other nobles will attend or send ambassadors qualified for such an important matter. The diet will become a laughing matter, and nothing worthwhile will be done there. If you stay away, all will criticise your indifference since you attach so little importance to this great matter, the defence of Christianity. If you accept that this is true, you must admit that if this matter on which depends the salvation of our Faith cannot induce you to attend the diet, then nothing can. Pardon me for saying this: if you do not undertake this voyage, then you will disregard both your honour and your advantage."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 204-210

<sup>2</sup> "tam utile"

<sup>3</sup> In the emperor's letter 1 January 1454 written by Piccolomini, the emperor asked the pope to exhort and admonish a number of princes to personally participate in the diet: *Utile et accomodum reputamus nonnullos principes [ecclesiasticos] et saeculares, quorum nomina praesentibus interclusimus, vestris litteris obnixe hortari et commonere, ut ad dietam hujusmodi non per legatos et oratores, sed in propriis se conferant personis* (WO, II, p. 601)

<sup>4</sup> The very cautious and unwarlike pope did not want to be responsible for a European military venture against the Turks, preferring it to be the emperor's responsibility. He might have feared that by issuing a joint summons to the diet, he would somehow be tricked into a position of co-responsibility

<sup>5</sup> The privy council

<sup>6</sup> *Honestum et utile*: an important pair of concepts in classical moral philosophy

[13] Impugnatio namque Turcorum tibi multis ex causis debetur, non modo quod imperator es<sup>1</sup> Romanorum et advocatus et<sup>2</sup> protector ecclesiae, verum etiam quia proximus consanguineus existis Ladislao, regi Hungariae, cujus regnum in faucibus Turcorum situm auxilia<sup>3</sup> Christianorum implorat, cui non opem ferre impium et crudele fuerit. Nec tui fines<sup>4</sup> sine periculo sunt, si Marchiam Slavonicam<sup>5</sup> Carniolamque<sup>6</sup> respicis<sup>7</sup>, haud procul a Turcis regiones. Tibi praeterea aetas florida est, corpus incolume, robustum ac bello aptissimum. Nunc omnium in te<sup>8</sup> oculi sunt directi<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> tibi que<sup>11</sup> ante omnes hanc belli gerundi provinciam credunt. Nisi conventum adis teque cupidum ostendis reipublicae defendendae<sup>12</sup>, neglector ac desertor imperii vocitabere, nec tuus ager<sup>13</sup> in tuto erit. Non tamen ecclesiam suam deseret Deus, suscitabit alium de quacumque gente, de quocumque genere sui populi salvatorem, qui se pro communi salute devoveat et gloriam, quae tibi debetur, accipiat. *Imperium* semper, ut est apud Sallustium, *ad optimum quemque a minus*<sup>14</sup> *bono transfertur*. Quod si tua serenitas in concilio fuerit seque publici commodi procuratricem monstraverit, recuperabis pristinam famam, nomenque tuum, quod nunc paene sepultum videtur, rursus emerget. Et si, quod futurum speramus, tuo ductu Graecia vindicetur deleanturque Turci, *nulla umquam aetas de tuis laudibus* {Ar} *conticescet*.

[14] Etenim quamvis<sup>15</sup> est lugubris hoc tempore fortuna Graecorum ac dolenda nimis Constantinopolitana clades, tibi tamen, si gloriae cupidus es, optanda fuit haec ruina, quae te possit in altum vehere. Sigismundo quidem atque Alberto Caesaribus, qui te novissimi praecesserunt, optatissime haec obvenisset occasio, qua totam commovere Christianitatem potuissent seque fama clarissimos reddere.

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<sup>1</sup> imperator es : es imperator U

<sup>2</sup> etiam K; ac *corr. ex et* V; ac O, W, MA, WO

<sup>3</sup> auxilium K

<sup>4</sup> tui fines : tua futura K; tua dominia O, W

<sup>5</sup> Slavonicam K, MA

<sup>6</sup> Slavonicam Carniolamque : Slavoniamque U

<sup>7</sup> respicio K

<sup>8</sup> in te : inter K

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

<sup>10</sup> si Marchiam *add.* U

<sup>11</sup> tibi W

<sup>12</sup> cupidum ostendis ... defendendae : reipublicae defendendae cupidum ostendis MA

<sup>13</sup> tuus ager : tuum territorium O, W

<sup>14</sup> a minus : animus K, U, V \*

<sup>15</sup> quantumvis MA

[13] Attacking the Turks is incumbent on you for many reasons, not just because you are Emperor of the Romans and champion and protector of the Church, but also because you are the closest relative to Ladislaus, King of Hungary, whose kingdom – situated so close to the Turks – begs for help from the Christians: indeed, it would be both impious and cruel not to help him. Also, your own territory is threatened if you consider the Slavonic March and Carniola, also very close to the Turks. Moreover, you are of flourishing age and healthy body, robust and in good condition for war. The eyes of all are now turned to you, and they believe that you more than any other are responsible for conducting this war. If you do not attend the diet and show yourself eager to defend the state, you will be called an uncaring deserter of the Empire, and your own territory will not be safe. But God will not desert his own Church: He will raise up someone else, from another people and another family, to save His people, to dedicate himself to the common salvation, and to harvest the glory which should have been yours. As Sallust says, *sovereignty is always being transferred to the best man from the hands of his inferior*.<sup>1</sup> If Your Serenity attends the diet and shows yourself as caring for the public good, then you will regain your former fame, and your name, now almost buried, will shine forth once more. And if, as we hope will happen, Greece is reclaimed and the Turks destroyed under your leadership, then *no future age shall fail to make mention of your praise*.<sup>2</sup>

[14] The fortune of the Greeks is lamentable, and the Fall of Constantinople is indeed a grievous matter, but if you are eager for glory, then this disaster is actually an opportunity for you to rise to the summit. Indeed, such an opportunity would have been highly welcome to emperors Sigismund<sup>3</sup> and Albrecht<sup>4</sup>, your immediate predecessors, and they would have used it to shake up the whole of Christendom and reach the highest fame.

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<sup>1</sup> Sallustius: *De bello Catilinae*, 6: *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur*

<sup>2</sup> Cicero: *Pro Marcello*, 3.9.

<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439). Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary and elected King of the Romans (King of Germany) 1438



[14] Sed data est tibi a Deo nostro haec<sup>1</sup> facultas, tibi hoc decus reservatum est, ut defensor conservatorque Christiani nominis appellere, si<sup>2</sup> modo eniti audereque<sup>3</sup> velis. Adde, quod te religiosum et Christianissimum principem vulgo dicunt nec tibi majorem esse<sup>4</sup> curam, quam ut Deo placeas atque animam lucrifacias. Et quid est – obsecro - in quo vel Deo magis placere vel animae tuae melius consulere possis quam operam dare, ne Christiana religio pessundetur? Quis est, qui dubitet *omnibus, qui fidem orthodoxam adjuverint, defenderint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo diffinitum*<sup>5</sup> locum, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur? Praetereo<sup>6</sup> emolumenta pecunaria, quae secum hoc bellum afferre potest, si te populus armatus ducem habuerit. Quantum in te praeclarum<sup>7</sup> derivabitur? Quot ad te spolia deferentur opulentissimorum principum ditissimarumque civitatum? Neque te sumptus vereri oportet, quasi tuo argento sit militandum: ex decima cleri, ex contributione populi stipendia tibi et militi distribues facileque plus accipies quam eroges. Sed quid ego nunc<sup>8</sup> ista commemoro? Praematura est haec belli gerendi disputatio. Ratisponae hoc erit agendum.

[15] Impresensiarum an eo tibi sit eundum quaerimus. Ego, si tuum locum teneam, ibo ac principibus me ostendam. Suadebo ex re Christiana, quae necessaria putem. Deinde {4v} addam: “Audio vos principes ac civitates aegro animo esse, quia non saepe ad vos venio, quia non amputo lites, non aufero bella, non punio nocentes, non parere omnes justitiae compello, neque animadvertitis exhaustum imperium facultates habere nullas, quibus haec perficiat. Si semel huc venio, facile plus absumo, quam decennio ex imperio queam corradere. Si jus dico, non est, qui exequatur<sup>9</sup>. Si scribo, si mando, tantum paretis, quantum libet. Cur verba me vestra lacerant? An ego patrimonium meum dilapidabo, vestrum vobis ut salvum fiet? Non faciam! Satis est, si curam, si studium, si laborem, si operam, si personam meam vobis offero et dedo. Si datis, unde inter vos vivere et jus suum unicuique<sup>10</sup> tribuere<sup>11</sup>, et quae regis atque imperatoris sunt, agere possim, neque vobis neque reipublicae deero. At si paupertas imperii vobis cordi est, parcite saltem maledicere nec vestram culpam in me transferetis<sup>12</sup>, si dum singuli vultis imperare, omnes imperium et libertatem amittitis.” Persuadeo mihi, Caesar, si te ita loquentem principes audiant, tibi atque imperio bene futurum. Intelligent, quantum sit dedecus, cum ceterarum nationum<sup>13</sup> reges mirifice abundant, egere suum. Taedet insuper omnes quotidianarum assiduarumque litium, quas idcirco durare non ignorant, quia neque oboedientiam habes neque militem, quo illam

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<sup>1</sup> talis W

<sup>2</sup> omit. U

<sup>3</sup> audireque W

<sup>4</sup> maiorem esse : esse majorem MA, WO

<sup>5</sup> omit. W

<sup>6</sup> O, W; praeterea K, U, V, MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> O, W; praedarum K, U, V, MA, WO

<sup>8</sup> iam add. W

<sup>9</sup> exequar O, W

<sup>10</sup> cuique O, W

<sup>11</sup> tradere W

<sup>12</sup> transferatis O, W \*\*

<sup>13</sup> omit. U

exigas. Militem vero sciunt absque<sup>1</sup> pecunia, quam nervum esse reipublicae vel praecipuum constat, conduci atque ali non posse. Quod si pacem et justitiam inter se<sup>2</sup> jungere<sup>3</sup> Alemanni<sup>4</sup> voluerint, tibi atque imperio uti<sup>5</sup> provideant necessum erit.

[14] But now our God has given this opportunity to you. If only you will strive and dare, the glory of being called the defender and the saviour of the Christian cause has been reserved for you. Moreover, the people will call you a religious and most Christian prince and say that you have no greater concern than to please God and benefit your soul. But what – I ask – is more pleasing to God and better for your soul than to ensure that the Christian religion is not ruined? Who will doubt that *all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged the orthodox Faith have a special place prepared for them in the heavens, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness.*<sup>6</sup>? I pass over the pecuniary benefits, which such a war will bring you if the armed people have you as their leader. How much booty will you not get? Many spoils from opulent princes and rich cities will be brought to you. And you do not even have to fear the cost of spending your own money on the war: your expenses and your army's salaries will be covered through tithes from the clergy and contributions from the people, and you will easily receive more than you spend. By why am I dwelling on this now? Talking about the conduct of the war is premature: this is a matter to be discussed in Regensburg.

[15] Right now, we are discussing whether you should go there. If I was in your place, I would go and show myself to the princes. I would argue for the [defence of the] Christian Faith as necessary. Then I would add, "I hear that you, princes and cities, are exasperated because I do not come to you often, do not end conflicts and wars, do not punish the guilty, and do not force all to follow justice. You appear not to realise that the imperial office is drained and has no resources to make these things happen. Just coming here once, I might easily spend more funds than I could collect from the Empire in ten years. If I pronounce a judgement, nobody executes it. If I write or command anything, you only obey if you wish to. So why do you criticise me? Should I spend my own inherited property to save yours? Certainly not! It is enough that I offer and dedicate my cares, my zeal, my labour, my work and my person to you. If you grant me [an income which allows me] to live among you and dispense justice to everyone and to perform the office of a king and emperor, then I shall never fail you nor the state. If you are concerned about the poverty of the Empire, then stop criticising, and do not blame me if you all lose your power and liberty because each of you want to rule." I am convinced, Emperor, that if the princes hear you speaking like this, it will benefit both yourself and the Empire. The princes will realise how shameful it is that the kings of other nations are amazingly rich while theirs is poor. They are also tired of daily

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<sup>1</sup> sine W

<sup>2</sup> sese O, W

<sup>3</sup> vigere O, W

<sup>4</sup> Alemanni... et passim K, O, V, MA; Alaman... et passim U; Alamanni... et passim W; Aleman... et passim WO

<sup>5</sup> ut O, W

<sup>6</sup> Cicero: *De republica*, 6.9.13: *omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevi sempiterno fruuntur*. Cicero was speaking of the state, here Piccolomini applied the quotation to the Christian Faith

and unceasing conflicts, and they know that these go on and on because you have neither [your subjects'] obedience nor soldiers to enforce it. But they do know that soldiers cannot be hired or maintained without money, the most important muscle of the republic. If the Germans want peace and justice among them, they must provide for you and the Empire.

[15] Idque jam tibi pollicitus est curaturum se fore Jacobus, Trevirensis<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae pontifex, inter electores tuos oculatissimus et solertissimus princeps, quemadmodum ex Johanne Lysura, viro acuto et prudenti, annus ab hinc dilapsus est, audisti.

[16] Duo igitur haec negotia in conventu Ratisponensi {5r} absolves: exercitum contra Turcos<sup>2</sup> institues, et imperium ad pristinum splendorem<sup>3</sup> rediges. Quorum si alterum fiat, honorem nomenque vel maximum assequeris<sup>4</sup>; si neutrum, officio tuo satisfeceris, neque illaudatum te populi praeteribunt honesta ac magnifica negotia prosequentem.

[17] Sed ais fortasse tacitus: “Quo pacto concilium adibo, si non est aurum?” Nescio, Caesar, quantum habes in arca, neque tuae crumenae sum iudex. Illud in tanto negotio palam dico: si non est in promptu argentum, corradendum est undecumque. Possessiones vendi aliquas malo quam res tantas negligi. Neque grandi pecunia opus est, quando nec multam familiam adducere oportebit. Ducenti equites comitatum honestum dabunt. Sigismundus, archiepiscopus Juvaviensis<sup>5</sup> Ludovicusque, Bavariae<sup>6</sup> dux, inter eundem sese tibi comites adiungent. Auri viginti milia nummum hoc iter tibi explicabunt.

[18] Quod si rursus objicias<sup>7</sup> armatas in vicinia<sup>8</sup> copias esse, quas dicunt comitem<sup>9</sup> Ciliae nutrire, gubernatorem Hungariae paratum exercitum habere, utrumque tibi infensum parare insidias, verendum esse, ne dum bona communia curas, amittas propria, respondebo: Oppida tua non ea videri, quae primo insultu expugnari queant, dimittendos esse probatos viros, qui te absente patriam tueantur, neque male dictum putarim<sup>10</sup>, si agrum<sup>11</sup> tuum futurum in absentia tua quam in praesentia tutiorem<sup>12</sup> affirmarim. Quis enim tuam invadere terram praesumpserit, dum tu reipublicae operam praebeas? Quo ausu tuos subditos infestent<sup>13</sup> Hungari, dum tu quaeris, ne ipsi amplius infestentur a Turcis? Amabunt te - mea quidem sententia - omnes Christianae fidei consulentem aut certe verebuntur, cum tuos tibi principes<sup>14</sup> adjunctos viderint auxilia certissima praestituros<sup>15</sup>, si te quispiam conturbare praesumpserit. Te vero solum domi manentem non video, cur timeant armis ac populo longe imparem. Cum Francfordiae<sup>16</sup>, cum Norimbergae, cum Romae fuisti, multo {5v} melius defensa est terra tua, quam cum domi mansisti. Nec mirum, nam

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<sup>1</sup> Treverensis O, W, MA

<sup>2</sup> Turc(h)um MA, WO

<sup>3</sup> vigorem W

<sup>4</sup> assequaris W

<sup>5</sup> Innaniensis U; Junamensis W

<sup>6</sup> Baioa... *et passim* O

<sup>7</sup> abicias W

<sup>8</sup> vicina U

<sup>9</sup> comite U

<sup>10</sup> putaverim O, W

<sup>11</sup> territorium O, W

<sup>12</sup> tutius O, W

<sup>13</sup> infestant W

<sup>14</sup> participes MA

<sup>15</sup> prestaturos K, O, W; *corr. ex prestaturos* V

<sup>16</sup> Francfordi... *et passim* K, U, W, MA; Francofordi... *et passim* WO

dum te Austria sive Styria tenet, ea existimatio de te est, quae de<sup>1</sup> duce vel Austriae vel Styriae haberi potest. Cum vero apud electores moram trahis, omnes te veluti Caesarem recognoscunt et venerantur.

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

[15] This you have already been promised by Jakob, Bishop of the Church of Trier,<sup>1</sup> the most clear-sighted and clever of your [prince] electors, as you were told last year by Johann Lysura<sup>2</sup>, an intelligent and wise man.

[16] So, you should deal with two matters at the Diet of Regensburg: you will organise an army against the Turk, and you will restore the Empire to its former glory. If you achieve just one of these two, you will gain honour and a great name. If you accomplish neither, the peoples will [at least] praise you for pursuing honourable and important matters.

[17] But maybe you are thinking, "How can I go to the diet if there is no money?" I do not know, Emperor, how much money there is in your coffers, and I am not the judge of your purse. But this I say openly: if money is not readily available for this great venture, then it must be scraped together from everywhere. I would rather sell some properties than neglect such great affairs. And the sum needed is not enormous since it will not be necessary to bring a large suite of followers. 200 knights will be a decent company. Sigismund, Archbishop of Salzburg,<sup>3</sup> and Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria<sup>4</sup>, will join you on the way.<sup>5</sup> 20,000 ducats will be enough for this travel.

[18] If you object that there are armed forces in the vicinity reportedly maintained by the Count of Cilly<sup>6</sup>, and that the Governor of Hungary<sup>7</sup> has an army ready, and that both are enemies plotting against you, and that it must therefore be feared that while you are occupied with the common good, you will lose your own, then I shall answer that your cities are not such that can be conquered at the first attack. You must appoint proven men to protect your country in your absence, and it may well be said that your territory is safer in your absence than in your presence. For who will dare to invade your country while you are labouring for the good of commonwealth? How will the Hungarians dare to attack your subjects while you are seeking to free them from the attacks of the Turks? In my opinion, all will love you as you work for the good of the Christian faith, or they will undoubtedly fear you as they see you joined by your princes, who will certainly come to your aid if they see someone daring to attack you. But if you stay at home, I do not see why they should fear you since you are certainly not their equal in weapons and people. When you stayed in Frankfurt, Nürnberg and Rome, your country was much better defended than if you had stayed at home.<sup>8</sup> And no wonder, since when you stay in Austria or Styria, you are considered as a

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<sup>1</sup> Jakob von Sierck (1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-electoral from 1439 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Johann Lysura (d. 1459): Born in the village of Lieser (close to Kues). Doctor of canon law. Counsellor to the archbishop of Mainz

<sup>3</sup> Sigismund I von Volkersdorf (1395-1461): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1452 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig IX (1417-1479): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1450 to his death

<sup>5</sup> I.e., and thus augment the imperial party

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich II von Cilly (1406-1456): Count of Cilly and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire

<sup>7</sup> János Hunyadi (1387 or 1407-1456): Fought valiantly and often successfully against the Turks. Governor of Hungary 1446

<sup>8</sup> In view of the Austrian rebellion against the emperor during his stay in Rome for his imperial coronation in 1452, only two years before, Piccolomini's argument seems far-fetched, and instead of convincing the emperor, it might have reminded him of the dangers of being absent from Austria in turbulent times

duke of Austria or Styria. But when you are staying with the prince-electors, all recognise and honour you as the emperor.

[19] His ex causis, quantum ingenioli mei parvitas capit, consulo, ne tuas nuptias per procuratorem agites, sed omissa legatorum mentione cum omni tua curia ad concilium te conferas. Quod si parum est ex re tua, quod dico, vel tua sapientia, Caesar, vel horum senatorum singularis prudentia de meo consilio iudicabit.

[20] His ab Aenea dictis atque in Theutonicum sermonem expositis, rogati sunt alii ex ordine sententiam promere, sed omnium unus animus, unum consilium fuit, nihil esse de conventu Ratisponensi bene sperandum, nisi Caesar interesset, nec procuratores mittendos quisquam suasit.

[21] Quibus auditis Caesar aliquandiu subtauit<sup>1</sup>, deinde vultu parum sereno in haec verba prorupit<sup>2</sup>: "Conventum me petere singuli suadetis, in aliena re facile liberales. Quod si vestra haec provincia fuerit, aliter iudicabitis. Gilles<sup>3</sup> et Anchenreuter<sup>4</sup> castra nobis vicina tenent, nec scimus, quo animo erga nos sunt. Raptores autem esse et alieni cupidos non ignoramus. Johannes, Hungariae gubernator, adversus eos<sup>5</sup> exercitum ducit, nobis infestus qui<sup>6</sup> est. Quis novit, si minas illis, nobis verbera parat? Ulricus, Ciliae comes, quantum nos amet, nostis. Nihil ei antiquius fuerit quam nos perire. Austriales<sup>7</sup> in nostrum exitium<sup>8</sup> dies noctesque nituntur, et vobis<sup>9</sup> ex usu videtur videtur Ratisponam me proficisci? Pastorem me bonum esse vultis, oves in medio luporum qui relinquens fugiam. At mihi non est leve patrimonium perdere. Novi ego<sup>10</sup> mores hostium atque insidias. Nihil illi aliud modo expectant, nisi me domum exire, {6r} vacuam ut in<sup>11</sup> possessionem sese recipiant. Ego certe<sup>12</sup> libens in concilio fuerim, quoniam nihil mihi cordi magis est quam communi utilitati consulere. Durum tamen est cum periculo proprio curare communia. Fateor, quia reipublicae<sup>13</sup> subvenire singuli debemus, sed nullum ego video, qui alienae magis quam suae commoditati studeat. Quid vos mihi meos electores commemoratis? Non me fugit, quantum iis<sup>14</sup> in commune bonum est studium<sup>15</sup>. Ibo ego Ratisponam, illi domi manebunt, aut si<sup>16</sup> venerint ad concilium, privato aliquo emolumento trahentur. Cogitate potius, quo pacto sine nobis conventus agatur, quique nostras vices illic agere possint."

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<sup>1</sup> subtauit K, O, U, V, W

<sup>2</sup> praerupit K; *corr. ex prerupitur* V; prorupit O, W

<sup>3</sup> Gilles K

<sup>4</sup> Anchrauter O, W

<sup>5</sup> nos K

<sup>6</sup> infestus qui : qui nobis O, W

<sup>7</sup> Australes O, W, WO

<sup>8</sup> exitum K, U

<sup>9</sup> nobis U

<sup>10</sup> ergo U

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

<sup>12</sup> certo W

<sup>13</sup> reis MA

<sup>14</sup> his O, U, W

<sup>15</sup> in commune ... studium : studium est in commune bonum O, W

<sup>16</sup> sic K





[19] For these reasons - as far as my puny intellect understands - I advise you not to perform a "marriage by procurator",<sup>1</sup> but to drop all talk of ambassadors and go to the diet with all your court. If what I say is not to your advantage, your own wisdom, Emperor, or the eminent good sense of these senators will judge [the merits] of my advice."

[20] When Enea had said this and it had been translated into German, each of the others were asked to give their opinion. They all, unanimously, held and advised that nothing good could be hoped [to come] from the diet unless the emperor participated in person, and nobody argued for sending representatives.

### **2.6.2. Emperor's decision not to participate in the diet**

[21] When he had heard them, the emperor remained silent for a short while, and then he said, visibly agitated, "Each of you, generous with another man's possessions, advises me to go to the diet. But if this country was your own, you would judge otherwise. Gilles and Ankenreuter<sup>2</sup> are camping close to our borders, and we do not know how they are minded towards us. But we do know that they are robbers and greedy for other people's possessions. János, Governor of Hungary, is leading an army against them, but he is our enemy, and who knows if he is preparing threats against them but whips against us? As for Ulrich, Count of Cilly, you know how little he loves us. Nothing would please him more than our ruin. The Austrians are plotting night and day to destroy us. And you think that it would be to my advantage to go to Regensburg! You want me to be the good shepherd who flees his sheep surrounded by wolves! But for me, it is not a small thing to lose my inherited lands. I know the ways and the schemes of the enemies. They are only waiting for me to leave my home empty to take it into their possession. I should certainly wish to attend the diet since nothing is closer to my heart than the common good.<sup>3</sup> But it is hard to care for the common good<sup>4</sup> at one's own peril. I acknowledge that we should all assist the commonwealth, but I see nobody who cares more for others' benefit than for his own. Why do you mention my prince-electors? I well know how little they care about the common good. If I go to Regensburg, they will stay at home, or if they come to the diet, it will be because they are moved by some private interest. So, think rather on how the diet may be conducted without Us, and who should represent Us there."

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<sup>1</sup> Princely weddings were sometimes conducted with procurators representing one or both of the spouses. Here it means that the emperor should not participate in the diet through representatives but be personally present

<sup>2</sup> Leaders of mercenary troops

<sup>3</sup> "utilitas"

<sup>4</sup> "communia"

[22] Ad haec Ungenodius<sup>1</sup>, "Si cujuspiam interest," inquit, "te salvum resque tuas florentes esse, Caesar optime, nos ipsi sumus, quibus tua consilia credis. Nam quae tibi noxia, ea nobis mortifera sunt. Sine te neque honorem neque utilitatem consequi possumus. Tecum stamus tecumque perimus. Quod modo suasum est a nobis, in rem tuam esse credimus<sup>2</sup>, veriti ne, qui te oderunt<sup>3</sup> aut fortunae tuae invident, nocendi, si concilio desis, occasionem accipiant. Nec propterea tuam hereditatem sine custode<sup>4</sup> relinquendam censuimus<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>. Sunt tibi nobiles et fidelissimi proceres, quibus abfuturus<sup>7</sup> patriam committas. Nec tu extra orbem iveris, ut auditis, si quae fiant adversum te novitates<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>, non queas evestigio reverti, tanto terribilior hosti quanto cum damno Christianitatis majori ad tua defendenda fueris revocatus. At<sup>10</sup> si omnino te timor agitat gubernatorisque horres exercitum, quin das operam, ut ejus animum persentiscas? Prope est, mittito ad eum, dicito te concilium Ratisponae magnum convocasse, ibi ut de republica Christianorum tutanda consilium capias, quae res inter omnes fideles Hungaris potissime conducit, qui sunt Turcorum genti finitimi. Quod nisi tu<sup>11</sup> Ratisponam pergas, parum<sup>12</sup> esse, {6v} quod ibi te absente concludi possit. Velle te scire, quo animo in te ipse<sup>13</sup> sit: iturum<sup>14</sup> te, si pacem Hungari teneant; si minus, domi mansurum expositurumque Romano pontifici et universis regibus Christianis, quia impredientibus Hungaris negotia orthodoxae religionis nequeas, ut menti sedet, prosequi.

[23] Caesari {190v} ac senatui cum haec sententia placuisset, Artongus Cappel, utroque jure consultus, cum hisce mandatis ad gubernatorem mittitur, cum quo sibi vetus notitia fuit. Per idem tempus oraverat gubernator Caesarem, sibi adversus latrones ut auxilio esset, bombardas atque alias belli machinas concederet. Ad ea jussus<sup>15</sup> est Artongus dicere latrones altas radices habere, comitem Ciliae stipendia his praebere. Si juvandus sit contra eos gubernator, necessarium<sup>16</sup> esse<sup>17</sup>, si<sup>18</sup> bellum inde majus emergat, foedus Caesari cum gubernatore<sup>19</sup>, quo<sup>20</sup> se ambo communibus viribus tueantur. Videri ex re utriusque colloquium esse invicem, quando itinere unius diei dumtaxat disjuncti essent.

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<sup>1</sup> Eneas O, W

<sup>2</sup> credidimus O

<sup>3</sup> odiunt O, W

<sup>4</sup> custodia W

<sup>5</sup> censemus MA

<sup>6</sup> relinquendam censuimus : censuimus relinquendam W

<sup>7</sup> affuturus K, U,

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; novitatibus codd.

<sup>9</sup> te novitates : novitatibus te K

<sup>10</sup> ac U

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

<sup>12</sup> paratum U

<sup>13</sup> in te ipse : ipse in te MA

<sup>14</sup> iterum U

<sup>15</sup> missus W

<sup>16</sup> necessariam O, W

<sup>17</sup> intelligenciam *add.* O, W

<sup>18</sup> ut si O; ut W

<sup>19</sup> sit *add.* O, W

<sup>20</sup> quomodo MA



### 2.6.3. Intervention of Johann Ungnad

[22] To this Ungnad<sup>1</sup> replied, “If any people have your safety and success at heart, it is us, Best Emperor, whom you entrust with advising you. For what is harmful to you is deadly to us. Without you, we can gain neither honour nor profit. We stand with you, and we fall with you. The advice we have given you now we believe to be to your advantage, for we fear that those who hate you or are jealous of your [good] fortune will seize the opportunity to harm you if you stay away from the diet. Moreover, we have not advised you to leave your inherited lands without guardians. You have lords and most loyal nobles to whom you can entrust your country in your absence. Finally, you are not leaving this world so that you cannot quickly return if you hear that there is some rebellion against you. Then you would be a much greater terror to your enemy since it would be most detrimental to Christianity if you were called back to defend your own. But if you are moved by fear and dread of the governor’s army, then why not find out what his intentions are? He is not far away. Send someone to him and tell him that you have summoned a great diet in Regensburg to consult on protecting the Christian commonwealth, a matter more important to the Hungarians than to all other Christians since the Hungarians are neighbours of the Turkish people. If you do not go to Regensburg, very little can be decided in your absence. You wish to know how he is minded towards you. If the Hungarians will keep the peace, you go to Regensburg. If not, you stay at home and inform the Roman Pontiff and all the Christian kings that the Hungarians prevented you from dealing with the affairs of orthodox religion as you wish to.

## 2.7. Mission to the Governor of Hungary

[23] The emperor and the senate agreed to this proposal. Hartung Kappel<sup>2</sup>, a specialist in both laws,<sup>3</sup> was sent with those instructions to the governor, with whom he had an old acquaintance. At about the same time, the governor had asked the emperor to help him against the robbers and send him bombards and other war machines. Concerning this request, Hartung was ordered to say that the robbers were firmly entrenched and were paid by the Count of Cilly. For the governor to get help against them, it would be necessary to have a treaty of mutual assistance between the emperor and the governor in case of a major war arising.<sup>4</sup> It seemed appropriate for the two to meet since only a day’s travel separated them.

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Ungnad (bef. 1429-1461): counsellor and chamberlain of Emperor Friedrich III

<sup>2</sup> Hartung von Kappel: counsellor of Emperor Friedrich III

<sup>3</sup> Civil law and canon law

<sup>4</sup> Since the emperor feared being attacked by the Hungarian governor, it would indeed have been the height of folly to send him canons and other machines of war, at least without some binding treaty

[24] Gubernatoris audito Artongo hoc responsum fuit: “Auxilia contra latrones invasoresque regni nostri, qui nec Caesari parcunt, ab eo petivi. Existimavi, etsi majora peterem, nihil negatum iri, quando et majestati Caesareae multis in rebus usui fui, nec facultas abest, si velim, aut juvandi aut nocendi. Negata sunt, quae postulavi<sup>1</sup>. Expugnabo tamen vel sine adiutorio suo latronum nidos. Caesar posthac<sup>2</sup> videbit, an rei<sup>3</sup> suae bene consuluerit. Contra Turcos autem, si Christiani reges exercitum armaverint, non deerunt Hungari. Nec ego vel meae substantiae vel vitae parcam, si modo pugnam Christianiti utilem videro. At si relictui sumus Christiano populo, non est consilium nostrum, ut soli Turcorum feramus<sup>4</sup> impetum, quibus impares sumus. Turci ex nobis sine detrimento nostro transitum petunt. Dabimus, {7r} si - ut palam<sup>5</sup> videmus – Christianitas dormit. Maumethus,<sup>6</sup> qui Turcis imperat, apud Andrinopolim curiam<sup>7</sup> habet. In Sophia duces belli copias apparant. Tartari cum his foedus iniere<sup>8</sup>. Quies hoc anno erit, exinde totis sese conatibus in Christianos agitabunt. Haec Caesari meo nomine dices, cujus officium est hisce malis obviam ire.”

[25] Ea cum renuntiasset Artongus, nemo ultra fuit, iter qui Caesari ad concilium suaderet, quando et latronum armatae<sup>9</sup> copiae vicinae essent, et gubernatoris animus irritatus, ejusque responsum minarum videretur plenum.

[26] Libuit igitur deligere viros, qui nomine Caesaris in concilio praesiderent. Ex absentibus nominati sunt Nicolaus sancti Petri ad vincula cardinalis, Jacobus archiepiscopus Treverensis, Gothfridus Herbipolensis, Fredericus Ratisponensis episcopus, Fridericus Saxoniae princeps elector, Albertus Austriae, Ludovicus Baioariae duces, Albertus Brandenburgensis et Carolus Badensis marchiones. Ex curia vero, qui praesentes erant, missi sunt Aeneas Senensis et Ulricus Gurcensis ecclesiarum pontifices, Georgius Folchstorfius et Johannes Ungnodius<sup>10</sup>, Austriae ac Styriae barones<sup>11</sup>, hisque mandatum ab imperatoris culmine hujuscemodi datum est:

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<sup>1</sup> quae postulavi *omit.* O, W

<sup>2</sup> post hoc W

<sup>3</sup> an rei : aurei U

<sup>4</sup> Turcorum feramus : feramus Turcorum MA

<sup>5</sup> paulum U

<sup>6</sup> Maumet... *et passim* U

<sup>7</sup> curam MA, WO [NB: here Wolkan follows the erroneous reading in Mansi]

<sup>8</sup> inire K

<sup>9</sup> impuratae O, W

<sup>10</sup> Ungenodius O, U, W

<sup>11</sup> Here begins the text of the imperial mandate, only given in O, W

[24] Having heard Hartung, the governor replied, "I have sought help against the robbers and invaders of our kingdom who do not spare the emperor either. I thought that though I asked for much, it would not be denied since I have been of help to the emperor in many matters and do not lack the means to help or to harm him if I so wish. But my request has been denied. Nonetheless, I shall destroy the robber nests, even without his help. Then the emperor will see how well he has looked after his own affairs. As for the Turks, if the Christian kings mobilise an army against them, the Hungarians will not be missing. And personally, I shall not spare neither my resources nor my life if only I see that the fight benefits Christianity. But if we are deserted by the Christian people, we do not intend to bear the Turkish attacks alone since we are not equal to them. The Turks are demanding free passage [through our territories] with no harm to us. If Christianity sleeps - as we plainly see it does - then we shall grant it. Mehmed,<sup>1</sup> the Turkish ruler, holds court in Adrianopolis while his generals gather their troops in Sophia. The Tartars have made an alliance with them. There will be peace this year, but then they will attack the Christians with all their might. Tell this to the emperor whose responsibility it is to counter such evils."

[25] When Hartung had reported this, nobody any longer advised the emperor to go the diet since the armed robber bands were close, and the governor was angry and his reply full of threats.

## 2.8. Appointment and mandate of imperial ambassadors

[26] So they were now free to select the men to preside over the diet in the emperor's name. Of those who were absent, the following were chosen: Cardinal Nikolaus of San Pietro in Vincoli,<sup>2</sup> Jakob, Archbishop of Trier,<sup>3</sup> Gottfried of Würzburg,<sup>4</sup> Friedrich, Bishop of Regensburg,<sup>5</sup> Friedrich, Prince-Elector of Saxony,<sup>6</sup> the dukes Albrecht of Austria<sup>7</sup> and Ludwig of Bavaria,<sup>8</sup> and the margraves Albrecht of Brandenburg<sup>9</sup> and Karl of Baden.<sup>10</sup> From those who were present [at court], the following were sent: the bishops Enea of Siena and Ulrich of Gurk,<sup>11</sup> Georg Volkersdorf,<sup>12</sup> Baron of Austria, and Johann Ungnad, Baron of Styria. They were given this mandate from the Imperial Highness:

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<sup>1</sup> Mehmed II (1432-1481): Sultan of the Turks 1444-1446, 1451-1481

<sup>2</sup> Nikolaus of Kues (1401-1464): Cardinal 1448. Prince-bishop of Brixen 1450

<sup>3</sup> Jakob von Sierck

<sup>4</sup> Gottfried IV Schenk von Limpurg (1404-1453): Prince Bishop of Würzburg from 1443 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich II von Parsberg (d. 1450) Prince Bishop of Regensburg 1437-1450

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich II (1412-1464): Duke of Saxony from 1428

<sup>7</sup> Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke (and from 1453 archduke) of Austria. Brother of Emperor Friedrich III

<sup>8</sup> Ludwig IX

<sup>9</sup> Albrecht III Achilles von Brandenburg (1414-1486): Margrave, from 1471 Prince elector

<sup>10</sup> Karl I von Baden (1427-1475): Margrave of Baden

<sup>11</sup> Ulrich III Sonnenberger (d. 1469): Prince Bishop of Gurk. Imperial counsellor

<sup>12</sup> Georg II von Volkersdorf (1422-1476) Counsellor of Emperor Friedrich III

[26] “Cum nos pridem pro defensione fidei catholicae quam perfidi Maumethi sectores impugnare et conculcare satagunt necnon pro magnis et arduis negotiis sacrum imperium concernentibus regum, principum ecclesiasticorum et saecularium, ducum, comitum, baronum, civitatum, populorum et universorum nostrorum et imperii sacri fidelium generalem conventionem in civitate nostra Ratisponensi supra Danubium ad festum sancti Georgii proximum indixerimus sperantes ibidem personaliter comparere rebusque communibus pro virili nostra consulere, quia tamen impraesentiarum difficultates aliquot emersae sunt, quae nos domi vel invitos remorantur, nolentes rempublicam propter absentiam nostram negligi, cogitantesque de personis idoneis, prudentia et auctoritate praeditis, quibus tanta negotia confidenter committere valeamus, ad vos<sup>1</sup> nostrae mentis convertimus aciem, quorum provida circumspectio, solida et inconcussa fides mensque in omne bonum prona retroactis temporibus serenitati nostrae multis in rebus cognita et probata est. Eapropter harum serie vobis committimus, quatenus conventum Ratisponensem accedentes tam cum legato sanctae sedis apostolicae quam cum praelatis et principibus, qui affuerint, ac legatis absentium ad ea diligenter intendatis, propter quae concilium est a nobis indictum, maxime autem id curetis, ut ea deliberatio conclusioque recipiatur, per quam Christiana religio ab impetu Turcorum et aliorum infidelium nostro tempore salva et tuta perseveret inimicorumque crucis Christi superbia atque insolentia retundatur. Ad ea quoque pro vestra solertia navetis operas, per quae Romanum imperium splendorem suum<sup>2</sup> valeat vindicare. Nos enim vobis, legatis et oratoribus nostris, vestrumve parti majori, qui Ratisponae praesentes eritis, ut haec tanto facilius curare possitis, quanto majori per nos auctoritate et potestate fueritis communiti omnia et singula tractandi, practicandi, concludendi, gerendi et faciendi, quae necessaria et<sup>3</sup> opportuna fuerint, quemadmodum nos ipsi in talibus, si praesentes essemus, tractare, praticare, concludere, gerere et facere possemus, quamlibet<sup>4</sup> plenam et liberam tenorem praesentium concedimus potestatem, ratum et gratum habituri, quidquid per vos aut majorem partem vestrum, qui Ratisponae fuerint, circa praemissa tractatum, practicum, conclusum, gestum factumve quovismodo fuit, idque faciemus auctore domino inviolabiliter observari. Datum in Novacivitate Austriae undecima die mensis Aprilis anno domini<sup>5</sup> nativitatis 1454, regni nostri 14. Imperii vero 3.<sup>6</sup>

[27] Legati ex curia Caesaris ad XVI. Kalendas Majas exeuntes<sup>7</sup> tres per Alpes ad Sigismundum, Juvaviensem<sup>8</sup> archiepiscopum, qui modo Saltzburgensis<sup>9</sup> appellatur, recta via se contulerunt<sup>10</sup>. Ratisponam Georgius per Austriam petiit. Aeneae hoc iter incommodissimum fuit, qui cum laborare inter eundum podagra coepisset neque curru vehi posset in Alpibus neque legationem

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; nos W

<sup>2</sup> splendorem suum : splendorem suum O

<sup>3</sup> aut O

<sup>4</sup> quomodolibet O

<sup>5</sup> dominice O

<sup>6</sup> *Here ends the text of the imperial mandate, only given in O, W*

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

<sup>8</sup> Innanie... *et passim* U

<sup>9</sup> Salsburgensis K, O, U, V, W; Salisburgensis WO

<sup>10</sup> contulit W

vellet negligere, inter ceteras molestias pede, qui patiebatur, ad sellam suspenso unius diei viam fecit.



[26] “We have previously indicted a general assembly of kings, ecclesiastical and secular princes, dukes, counts, barons, cities, peoples and all the loyal subjects of Us and the Holy Empire. The assembly will be held in Our city of Regensburg on the Donau on the next Feast of Saint George. It will deal with the defence of the Catholic Faith, which the infidel followers of Muhammad are striving to attack and destroy, as well as with urgent affairs concerning the Holy Empire. We had hoped to come there in person and to deal vigorously with the common affairs. But now certain difficulties have arisen that keep Us at home, though unwilling. Since We do not wish the realm to be neglected because of our absence, we have been considering to what qualified persons, gifted with wisdom and authority, We may confidently entrust these great matters, and Our mind has turned to you, whose foresighted circumspection, solid and unshaken loyalty, and minds inclined to all that is good are known and proven to Our Serenity since past times. Therefore, We require you to go to the meeting in Regensburg and apply yourselves diligently – together with the legate of the Apostolic See and the prelates and princes present and the legates of the absent – to those matters concerning which We have indicted the meeting. Above all, you should take care that the discussions lead to a decision by which the Christian religion may continue in our time, secure and safe from the attacks of the Turks and other infidels, and by which the arrogance and insolence of the enemies of the Cross of Christ may be tamed. You should also diligently endeavour to make the Roman Empire able to reclaim its glory. And so that you may the more easily be able to effect this the more you are strengthened by us with power and authority to perform, execute, decide, manage and do all that is necessary and expedient, just as We Ourselves, if We were present, would perform, execute, decide, manage and do in such matters, We by virtue of the present letter grant to you, our legates and ambassadors and to the majority of you who will be present in Regensburg full and free powers. We shall ratify and accept all that may be performed, executed, decided, managed and done by you or by the majority of you who will be in Regensburg, and with the Lord’s help We shall ensure that it is observed inviolably. Given in Neustadt on 11 April in the year of Our Lord 1454, the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Our reign, and the third year of Our imperial reign.”<sup>1</sup>

## 2.9. Archbishop of Salzburg

[27] The ambassadors from the emperor’s court left on 15 April. Three of them<sup>2</sup> passed through the Alps and went directly to Sigismund,<sup>3</sup> Archbishop of Juvavia, now called Salzburg. Georg<sup>4</sup> went through Austria to Regensburg. For Enea, this voyage was most uncomfortable since on the road he suffered an attack of gout and could neither travel by wagon in the Alps nor wished to neglect the embassy. Among other troubles, he had to travel a whole day with the suffering foot bound to the saddle with a sling.

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<sup>1</sup> Also printed in RTA 19, 1, p. 133

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini, Ulrich Sonnenberger and Johann Ungnad

<sup>3</sup> Sigismund von Volkersdorf

<sup>4</sup> Georg von Volkersdorf

[27] Ulricus et Johannes ubi<sup>1</sup> Juvaviae sunt, magnum praesulem adeunt, utque conventum adeat reipublicae consulturus<sup>2</sup>, pluribus verbis orant. Is ait accinctum se fuisse, ut Caesarem sequeretur, si ejus majestatem ituram accepisset. Nunc se {7v} minime hoc itineris subiturum, quando Caesarem abfuturum intelligit. Missurum tamen legatos viros egregios, qui suas vices impleant, complexurumque pro communi utilitate Christianorum quaecumque concludi Ratisponae contingeret<sup>3</sup>. Multa insuper de Caesare quaestus est, qui neque regalia sibi concederet, neque se principem scriberet. Contra legati pleraque domus Austriae castella<sup>4</sup> jure pignoris possidere eum<sup>5</sup> dicebant, quae si restituerentur, controversiam omnem adimerent, neque id injuria peti, cum oppidorum<sup>6</sup> annui redditus principalem jam summam dissolvissent<sup>7</sup>.

[28] Missa Juvavia, legati Purchausam<sup>8</sup> se contulerunt. Aeneas aqua vectus est per fluvium, quem Salzam accolae vocant, alii terra iter habuere. Hic Ludovicum, Bavariae magnum ducem, conveniunt ac redditis Caesaris litteris<sup>9</sup> dicunt, quibus de causis concilium Ratisponae sit vocatum<sup>10</sup>. Unum ipsum inter praesidentes dictum, de quo tamquam consanguineo et imperii principe summam fidem Caesar gerat, orat, ne gravetur in tanta populi Christiani necessitate Ratisponam, que prope est vicinaque suis agris, petere<sup>11</sup> atque consulere reipublicae. Id si faciat, non daturum oblivioni haec Caesarem asserunt. Ad haec Ludovicus accepisse se paucis ante diebus litteras imperatoris ait, quibus tamquam princeps imperii Ratisponam in communi causa Christianitatis vocatus esset. Dignum videri sibi tam se quam ceteros<sup>12</sup> principes imperatori tanto et tam necessario in negotio morem gerere nec defuturum se Christianae religioni, quam sui progenitores summo conatu defendere ac propagare<sup>13</sup> studuissent. Illud autem grave esse, quod sibi, juveni inexperto et ad magnas res nequaquam idoneo, legationis onus Caesar imponeret. {8r} Agere tamen se gratias imperatori, qui<sup>14</sup> tantam de sua aetate vel fiduciam vel aestimationem habuisset. Meditaturum se paulo, an<sup>15</sup> sibi haec legatio suscipienda sit, missurumque propediem suos consiliarios Ratisponam, qui mentem suam referant. Inter haec latrare innumeri<sup>16</sup> canes<sup>17</sup> ante regiam, voces extollere pedites equitesque indigne moram ferre, accusare principem, qui tempus idoneum amitteret, maledicere legatis, qui venationem optimam deturbarent. Tum<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ut U

<sup>2</sup> consulturi K

<sup>3</sup> contigerit O

<sup>4</sup> cum *add. interlin.* O

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* O, W

<sup>6</sup> castrorum O, W

<sup>7</sup> dissolvisset MA, WO [*NB: WO follows MA's erroneous reading*]

<sup>8</sup> Purchansam U; Purchausen W; Burckhausam MA

<sup>9</sup> apicibus O, W

<sup>10</sup> sit vocatum : vocatum sit O, W

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

<sup>12</sup> veteres MA

<sup>13</sup> propugnare W

<sup>14</sup> quod MA

<sup>15</sup> ante U

<sup>16</sup> innumeres U

<sup>17</sup> cani U

<sup>18</sup> cum MA

Ludovicus invitatis legatis, ut secum irent, cum illi recusassent, quas in hospitibus pecunias consumpsissent, his<sup>1</sup> reddi jussit laetusque magna juvenum comitante caterva venatum exiit.

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<sup>1</sup> illis MA, WO

[27] When Ulrich and Johann arrived in Salzburg, they went to the great bishop and asked him in many words to go to the diet and participate in the consultations concerning the commonwealth. He replied that he had already made preparations for following the emperor if His Majesty went, but now he had heard that the emperor would be absent, and therefore he would not go himself. He would, however, send legates, excellent, to represent him, and he would accept everything that might be decided in Regensburg for the common good of the Christians. He also made vehement complaints against the emperor who had not granted him the regalia<sup>1</sup> nor addressed him in his letters as a prince. The legates<sup>2</sup> countered that the archbishop had several castles belonging to the House of Austria in his possession as a pledge. If they were returned, the whole conflict would end, and this would be entirely fair since the villages had already paid their yearly contribution.

## 2.10. Duke Ludwig IX of Bavaria-Landshut

[28] The legates left Salzburg and went to Burghausen.<sup>3</sup> Enea was transported by water, on the river called Salz by the inhabitants, while the other [two] went overland. Here they met with Ludwig, great Duke of Bavaria, presented him with a letter from the emperor and explained why the Diet of Regensburg had been summoned. The duke himself had been named one of the presidents as a person whom the emperor trusted greatly both as a relative and a prince of the empire. The emperor, therefore, asked him not to consider it a burden to go, for the good of the realm, to Regensburg, which was close - indeed a neighbour - to the duke's lands in so great a crisis for the Christian people. If he went, they said, the emperor would not forget it. Ludwig replied that he had received a letter from the emperor a few days before inviting him, as a prince of the empire, to Regensburg in the matter common to all Christianity. He thought it would be proper for him and the other princes to obey the emperor in this important and urgent matter and to not fail the Christian religion which his forefathers had striven with all their might to defend and propagate. However, he was concerned that the emperor would put the burden of a legation on him, an inexperienced youth, unqualified for such important matters. But he did thank the emperor for thinking so confidently and well of his [young] age. He would soon consider whether to accept this mission, and in a few days he would send his counsellors to Regensburg to inform [them] of his intentions. While they were speaking thus, a great many dogs were barking in front of the palace, and footmen and riders were shouting their dissatisfaction with having to wait and berating the prince for wasting precious time, and they cursed the legates for disrupting a great hunt. In the end, Ludwig invited the legates to join him [on the hunt], but when they declined, he ordered that they be given money to cover their expenses on lodgings, and then he went hunting, gladly and accompanied by a throng of young people.

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<sup>1</sup> The secular rights and possessions of the archbishop, granted by the emperor

<sup>2</sup> Ungnad and Sonnenberger

<sup>3</sup> The residence of Duke Ludwig



[29] Admonet<sup>1</sup> hic me<sup>2</sup> locus pauca de tanto duce scribere, quando is<sup>3</sup> unus est ex tribus, qui Ratisponae visi sunt, principibus saecularibus ad fidem protegendam et animati et ferventes. Ludovicus, Bavariae dux, Henrici filius, matrem habuit ex<sup>4</sup> domo Austriae, Alberti Caesaris sororem, Ladislai, Hungariae ac Bohemiae regis<sup>5</sup> amitam<sup>6</sup>. Vivo patre sub custodia educatus<sup>7</sup> est dura<sup>8</sup>, neque scortari<sup>9</sup> neque convivari potuit, exigue sumptum habuit, ad virtutem assiduis commonitionibus<sup>10</sup> excitatus. Haud vanum patris laborem reddidit<sup>11</sup>, nam regni gubernaculis postquam potitus est, quamvis paternam illam frugalitatem, quam vulgo tenacitatem dixere, non est imitatus, principem tamen egregium egit, et – quae sunt regiae laudes – fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum beneficumque<sup>12</sup> se praebeuit. Provinciam expurgavit<sup>13</sup> facinorosis hominibus<sup>14</sup>, Judaeos exire fines<sup>15</sup> iussit, vicinis pacem dedit, subditis jus dixit. Uxorem de {8v} Saxonia, Friderici Caesaris neptem<sup>16</sup>, duxit. Cum lites in Caesarem Austriales<sup>17</sup> non aequas movissent, arbitrum se concordiae dedit. Regi Ladislao, quantum potuit, opitulatus est. Franconica et Suevica bella pro virili sua sedavit. Albertum patruum, cum quo pater<sup>18</sup> saepe contendit, inter primos sibi conciliavit. Annos jam - ut ajunt – natus est duo de triginta. Statura ei procera est, robustum corpus, laeta facies, sermo jucundus, gestus principe dignus. Si litteras norit Latinas, nihil est amplius, quod in maximo principe desideres<sup>19</sup>. Ejus mansio plerumque in Purchausia<sup>20</sup> est. Id oppidum supra Salzam jacet. Novum est<sup>21</sup> et munitissimum, arcemque<sup>22</sup> habet amplissimam totaque Theutonia memorabilem, natura loci et murorum structura paene inexpugnabilem, cujus majorem turrim auri et argenti magno thesauro plenam<sup>23</sup> praedicant.

[30] Hoc loco<sup>24</sup> dimisso duce legati Ratisponam veniunt, ubi et urbis episcopum et Georgium, alteros collegas, offendunt. Johannes quoque, Papiensis episcopus - cujus supra meminimus - apostolicae sedis orator, nonnullos ante dies eo pervenerat. Ex aliis, quorum tanta res

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<sup>1</sup> admovet W

<sup>2</sup> hic me : me hic U

<sup>3</sup> his U

<sup>4</sup> e MA, WO

<sup>5</sup> Hungariae ac ... regis : regis Hungariae ac Bohemiae MA

<sup>6</sup> omit. [blank space] U

<sup>7</sup> eductus O, W

<sup>8</sup> diu W

<sup>9</sup> crebro add. W

<sup>10</sup> commotionibus MA

<sup>11</sup> frugalitatis contemptorem sese praebeuit principem add. O

<sup>12</sup> beneficum W

<sup>13</sup> expugnavit U, W

<sup>14</sup> omit. U

<sup>15</sup> fines corr. ex territorium K, V; territorium O, W

<sup>16</sup> nepotem U

<sup>17</sup> Australes MA, WO

<sup>18</sup> omit. U

<sup>19</sup> desideras W

<sup>20</sup> Purchansia U; Purchausen W; Burchausia MA

<sup>21</sup> omit. W

<sup>22</sup> arcem K, U, O, V \*, W

<sup>23</sup> magno thesauro plenam : plenam magno thesauro plenam MA, WO

<sup>24</sup> loci K, O, V \*, W

praesentiam exposcebat, nemo adhuc comparuerat. Causa tarditatis credita est, quia per sacros majoris hebdomadae paschalesque dies, qui tum<sup>1</sup> currebant, haud volentes<sup>2</sup> magni viri domum<sup>3</sup> exire<sup>4</sup>, tamquam majus sit opus et acceptius Deo intra cubiculi parietes orare quam pro salute Christiani populi<sup>5</sup> conventus adire et consulere reipublicae.

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<sup>1</sup> cum U, W

<sup>2</sup> nolentes W

<sup>3</sup> demum U

<sup>4</sup> *em.*; exeunt codd.

<sup>5</sup> Christiani populi : populi Christiani MA, WO

[29] Here, it is appropriate to write a little about this great duke since he is one of the three secular princes who came to Regensburg as enthusiastic and fervent defenders of Faith. Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, is the son of Heinrich,<sup>1</sup> and his mother<sup>2</sup> was from the House of Austria, a sister of Emperor Albrecht,<sup>3</sup> and an aunt of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia. While his father lived, he was given a strict upbringing, and he was allowed neither to consort with harlots and prostitutes nor to have feasts. He had little money to spend and was continuously urged to be virtuous. He did not render his father's labour vain, for taking up the reins of government, he became an excellent prince, even though he did not imitate his father's frugality (some say his avarice<sup>4</sup>). He had all the laudable qualities in a prince, being strong, just, strict, grave, magnanimous and well-disposed. He cleansed his province of criminals, expelled the Jews,<sup>5</sup> made peace with his neighbours, administered justice to his subjects. He married a [princess] from Saxony,<sup>6</sup> the emperor's niece. When the Austrians unjustly rebelled against the emperor,<sup>7</sup> he offered himself as a mediator. He helped King Ladislaus as much as possible. He did what he could to end the wars in Franconia and Swabia. One of the first he became reconciled with was his uncle Albrecht,<sup>8</sup> with whom his father had often been at war. He is said to be 28 years old. His stature is noble, his body strong, his mien joyful, his speech pleasant, his bearing princely. If only he knew Latin,<sup>9</sup> you could wish for nothing more in such a great prince. He primarily resides in Burghausen, a city situated above the Salz. It is a new and very well-protected city, with a large fortress, renowned in all of Germany and made invincible by the natural conditions and its walls. It has a big tower, richly decorated with gold and silver, announcing to all the great wealth [of the duke].

## 2.11. Arrival of delegates in Regensburg<sup>10</sup>

[30] The legates left the duke there and proceeded to Regensburg, where they were met by their two colleagues, the city's bishop<sup>11</sup> and Georg. The envoy of the Holy See, Bishop Giovanni of Pavia - whom we have mentioned before - had arrived some days before. None of the others whose presence the important matter demanded had yet appeared. The reason for their tardiness was thought to be that it was the Great Week and Easter, and therefore the great men did not want to leave their homes, as if it was more important and pleasing to God to pray behind the walls of

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<sup>1</sup> Heinrich XVI (Wittelsbach) (1386-1450): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1393 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Margarete von Österreich (Habsburg) (1395-1447)

<sup>3</sup> Emperor Albrecht II

<sup>4</sup> "tenacitas"

<sup>5</sup> Note that expulsion of Jews was considered as a laudable princely virtue

<sup>6</sup> Amalia von Sachsen (1436-1501)

<sup>7</sup> The Austrian rebellion against the emperor in 1452, to free Ladislaus the Posthumous, Duke of Austria, from the emperor's wardship

<sup>8</sup> Albrecht II

<sup>9</sup> Already in his *Pentalogus* from 1443, Piccolomini had insisted on the ability of princes to know and speak Latin (Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schिंगnitz), pp. 66-68, 92

<sup>10</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 223-229

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich II von Parsberg



one's own chamber than to attend a meeting about the safety of the Christian people and the benefit of the Commonwealth.

[31] Nicolaus interea Cusanus, cardinalis sancti Petri, Brixinensis<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae pontifex, praestabilis homo {9r} sapientiae doctrinaque ista utiliore, quam theologiam vocant, elegantiarum quoque veterum cura et memoria multum<sup>2</sup> praeditus, accepta sacra imperiali, quae se concilii praesidentem dicit, commendatis ovibus<sup>3</sup>, ut potest<sup>4</sup>, suis, Sigismundum Austriae ducem adit, Ratisponam iturum se<sup>5</sup> aperit. Si quid committere velit in concilio gerendum, rogat litterasque cum cum Caesaris tum summi pontificis, quae sibi mandant hoc iter, ostendit. Is<sup>6</sup> se quoque vocatum a Caesare perhibet, sibi tamen ex usu non esse patriam relinquere. Cardinalis uti suum in concilio locum teneat hortatur, amplexurum se omnia libenti animo asserit<sup>7</sup>, quae pro communi Christianorum profectu conventus in concordia decreverit. Suscipit onus cardinalis atque itinere continuato cum Ratisponae proximus esset, litteras, quasi adhuc domi sedeat, ad collegas mittit atque an ei veniendum sit et quis modus praebeatur<sup>8</sup> faciendi sumptus exquirat.

[32] Dum haec geruntur, incertus rumor exoritur Philippum, Burgundiae potentissimum ducem et magnis aequandum<sup>9</sup> regibus, Constantiae visum esse. Res vana<sup>10</sup> ac somno similis ducitur tantum principem, tam divitem, tam potentem, qui tot tantisque provinciis praesidet, cui suppetunt, quae cupit, omnia, ad quem nihil attinet vereri Turcos, jam plena aetate ex terra loginqua Ratisponam quaerere. Nugaces omnes creduntur, qui se ducem hunc in Alemania vidisse profitentur. Sed ecce inter murmurandum vir domi nobilis et ipsa facie fidem exigens navigio applicat, qui se ducis nuntium asserit, missum ad Caesarem sciscitatum, an locus concilio sit futurus, litterasque legatorum petit, quibus Caesari commendetur. {9v} Ducem vero a se Ulmae relictum dicit. Simulque multi in horas veniunt, qui ducem Ulmae receptum astruunt<sup>11</sup>. Quibus cognitis legati, quanta audiverint<sup>12</sup>, mox Caesari scribunt, utque veniente duce, et ipse ascendere velit, magnopere suadent, quod et<sup>13</sup> res fidei Christianae feliciter conduci posse et honorem suae serenitati pulcherrimum redundare confidunt.

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<sup>1</sup> Brixinensis U

<sup>2</sup> multa O, W

<sup>3</sup> omnibus O, U

<sup>4</sup> post U

<sup>5</sup> iturum se : se iturum W, MA

<sup>6</sup> his U

<sup>7</sup> asseret W

<sup>8</sup> modus praebeatur : modum praebeat MA

<sup>9</sup> equitantum U

<sup>10</sup> nova W

<sup>11</sup> asseruerunt W

<sup>12</sup> audierint K, MA

<sup>13</sup> quod et : quae U

## 2.12. Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues

[31] Meanwhile, Nikolaus of Kues, Cardinal of San Pietro and Bishop of Brixen, a man of superior wisdom, gifted with knowledge of that most valuable discipline called theology, with care for the elegant language of Antiquity and with an excellent memory, had received the emperor's letter<sup>1</sup> appointing him one of the presidents of the diet. Having provided for his flock as best he could, he went to Siegmund, Duke of Austria,<sup>2</sup> and told him that he would be going to Regensburg.<sup>3</sup> He asked if the duke wanted to entrust him with any tasks at the diet and showed him the letters from the emperor and the Supreme Pontiff requiring him to undertake this travel. The duke then told him that he, too, had been summoned by the emperor but that he found it inexpedient to leave his country. The duke, therefore, asked the cardinal to represent him at the diet and assured him that he would gladly accept everything which would be unanimously decided at the diet concerning a common Christian expedition [against the Turks]. The cardinal accepted the task and continued his travel. When he approached Regensburg, he sent a letter as if he was still at home to his colleagues,<sup>4</sup> asking them if he should come and how his expenses would be covered.

## 2.13. Duke Philippe III of Burgundy<sup>5</sup>

### 2.13.1. Arrival in Germany

[32] In the meantime, an uncertain rumour had arisen that Philippe,<sup>6</sup> mighty Duke of Burgundy and equal to great kings, had been seen in Konstanz. However, it was considered to be a false and dreamlike thing that so great, so rich and so powerful a prince should travel from faraway to Regensburg, a prince who rules many and great provinces that provide all he may wish for, who does not need to fear the Turks, and who is of advanced age. All those who claimed to have seen this duke in Germany were thought to be blathering fools. But, lo!, while they were gossiping, a man of a noble house and trustworthy appearance<sup>7</sup> came sailing. He claimed that he was the duke's envoy, sent to the emperor to inquire whether this was the location of the diet. He also asked for a letter of recommendation to the emperor from the legates. He said that he had left the duke in Ulm. Many people now arrived confirming that the duke had been received in Ulm. When they learnt about this, the legates immediately wrote what they had heard to the emperor and urged him to come himself now that the duke was arriving, confident that the matter of the Christian Faith could be conducted successfully and with great honour to His Serene Majesty.

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<sup>1</sup> "sacra"

<sup>2</sup> Siegmund (Habsburg) (1427-1496): Duke of Austria. Ruler of Tyrol from 1446 to 1490

<sup>3</sup> As a cardinal, Nikolaus referred to the pope alone, but as the Bishop of Brixen, he had *regalia*, i.e. secular rights and possessions, from the Duke of Tyrol. It was therefore quite proper for him, as Bishop of Brixen, to inform the duke of his summons to the diet

<sup>4</sup> The other imperial legates

<sup>5</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 141-193, 339 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Probably Friedrich von Mengersreut (RTA, p. 222)

[33] Nunc de duce Burgundiae quoniam sermo incidit, repetenda sunt paulo altius aliqua, ex quibus hic suus adventus originem ducit. Quae sit nobilitas hujus principis, quae altitudo animi non est, cur me scribere oporteat, quando nulla est *toto orbe*<sup>1</sup> *tam barbara tamque* inaccessa natio - Christiana inquam - quae suum nomen cum singulari laude non decantet.

[34] Illud tamen non me dixisse paenitebit, quamvis<sup>2</sup> maximi et opulentissimi et nobilissimi principatus huic homini parent, non tamen eum tanti imperii<sup>3</sup> tam superba facies adeo clarum, gloriosum atque admirabilem facit<sup>4</sup>, quam mentis sinceræ probitas et animus ad virtutis egregia facinora promptus. Is aliquot ante annos, cum Christianos in oriente commorantes a Turcis modo, modo a Saracenis infinitas ferre<sup>5</sup> contumelias didicisset gentemque illam Maumetho<sup>6</sup> credentem inimicissimam esse nomini Christiano atque in dies tendere insidias nitique modis omnibus, ut orthodoxam fidem perdant. Irritatus animo accensusque zelo domus Dei statuit excitare atque adhortari rectores nostri orbis, ut arma contra impuratam Maumethi plebem sumerent Christianumque sanguinem vindicarent, quem pessima barbaries impune in dies<sup>7</sup> fundit. Legatos ergo ad summum pontificem misit, ad imperatorem, {10r} ad plerosque reges, ad Hungaros, ad Bohemos seque in eam militiam iturum<sup>8</sup> promisit, adjuutores ejus propositi si Christianos reliquos inveniret.

[35] Quod si monitis ejus auscultatum fuisset, haud modo Constantinopolitana jactura nos angeret, et fortasse jam Turcorum truculentum genus trans Hellespontum fugavissemus. Sed laudarunt omnes ducis animum, nemo manus apposuit. Verum est quod ille ait: *omnes ignoscunt, nemo succurrit*. Calent magna verba, tenuia<sup>9</sup> frigent opera, cuique pacis consilia<sup>10</sup> magis placent. Remotus adhuc hostis esse videtur. Cum audiret quispiam lectulo resupinatus vociferantem populum, quia flagraret incendio civitas, "Non assurgam," inquit, "nisi spondam calentem sensero. Quid mihi, si *proximus ardet paries*, dum mea domus integra friget." At illum, dum vicinis opem ferre recusat, inopinantem subitus ignis exussit<sup>11</sup>. Idem vereor, ne Latinis accidat, quibus de salute Graecorum nulla sollicitudo fuit. Quippe Philippus, ubi torpere<sup>12</sup> Christianorum animos seque frustra niti animadvertit, cum soli sibi<sup>13</sup> tanti belli molem minime

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<sup>1</sup> toto orbe : orbe toto K, O, U, V \*, W

<sup>2</sup> quivis MA

<sup>3</sup> corr. ex dominii K, V; dominii O; domini W

<sup>4</sup> omit. U

<sup>5</sup> fere U

<sup>6</sup> Maumeto U

<sup>7</sup> in dies : dietim O, W

<sup>8</sup> seque in ... iturum : militaturumque propria in persona sese O, W

<sup>9</sup> omit. [blank space] U; tenua WO

<sup>10</sup> pacis consilia : consilia pacis O, W

<sup>11</sup> excussit K, U, W; corr. ex excussit V

<sup>12</sup> corpore K

<sup>13</sup> tibi U

subeundam intelligeret, decrevit et ipse quiescere ac sibi et subditis suis<sup>1</sup>, dum superi permittant, vivere.

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<sup>1</sup> eius U

[33] Since we are speaking about the Duke of Burgundy, let us now say a little about the background of his coming. I do not need to write about the nobility of this prince nor of his noble soul since *no nation in the whole - Christian, I mean - world is so barbarous and isolated* that they do not praise his name to the skies.

### 2.14.1. Diplomatic initiatives 1450-1451

[34] But I shall not regret saying this: Though great and rich and noble pryncedoms obey this man, he is not made so famous, glorious and admirable by the proud appearance of so great a power but by the integrity of his sincere mind and the eagerness of his soul to perform the great deeds of virtue. Some years ago, he learnt that the Christians living in the East were being fiercely persecuted now by the Turks, now by the Saracens, and that the people believing Muhammad was extremely hostile towards the Christian name. Always, they were plotting and endeavouring in every way to destroy the orthodox Faith. Upset and filled with zeal for the house of God, the duke decided to arouse and admonish the rulers of our world to take up arms against Muhammad's filthy people and to avenge the Christian blood, shed every day with impunity by brutal barbarians. He, therefore, sent legates to the Supreme Pontiff, to the emperor<sup>1</sup> and to many kings, to the Hungarians, and to the Bohemians, promising that he would personally join a military expedition if he found other Christians willing to back his plan.

[35] If his warnings had been heeded, we would hardly now be lamenting the Fall of Constantinople, and maybe we might even have forced the ferocious Turkish people to flee back across the Hellespont. But though all praised the duke's intentions, nobody did anything. It is true what they say: *every one acknowledges it,<sup>2</sup> but no one comes to their rescue.<sup>3</sup>* While the magnificent words were warm, the paltry actions were cold. Everybody preferred the counsels of peace. The enemy seemed still to be far away. When somebody lying on his bed heard the people crying that the city was in flames, he said. "I won't get up before I feel the bed burning. Why should I care *when the neighbour's wall is in flames<sup>4</sup>*, as long as my own whole house is cool." But while he refused to aid his neighbours, he was suddenly consumed by an unexpected fire. The same, I fear, will happen to the Latins since they have no care for the deliverance of the Greeks. Philippe saw the apathy of the Christians and noted that his own endeavours were in vain. Realising that he was not able to sustain the burden of so great a war on his own, he decided to relax too and live for himself and his subjects as long as the higher beings permitted.

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<sup>1</sup> See Piccolomini's oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" (1451), held at the reception of the duke's ambassadors in the imperial court

<sup>2</sup> *Ignoscere* rather means to forgive, pardon. Piccolomini is probably thinking of the word *agnosco*, which means to recognise, realise, acknowledge

<sup>3</sup> Seneca: *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, 1.1.4

<sup>4</sup> Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1.18.84.: *tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*

[35] Et fortasse in rem suam fuit non inventos esse, qui contra Turcos cum eo pergerent. Namque si rebellassent Gandavenses, Luziburgensesque novas res moliti essent, Philippo in Graecia aut<sup>1</sup> in<sup>2</sup> Asia militante, quemadmodum postea<sup>3</sup> secutum est, motus profecto formidabiles excitassent turbasque<sup>4</sup> Burgondo<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> paene intolerandas dedissent, quos<sup>7</sup> ille domi manens partim bello domuit, partim sapientia et lenitate<sup>8</sup> ad oboedientiam reduxit.

[36] Ceterum postea ruinam Graecorum cum audisset {10v} ac Romani pontificis litteras accepisset<sup>9</sup>, quibus expeditio<sup>10</sup> contra Turcos indicebatur, jam tempus advenisse ratus, quo suo posset desiderio<sup>11</sup> satisfacere, grande convivium apud Insulas in Flandria facit ostentansque regni sui magnificentiam nobilitatem utriusque sexus ad mensam vocat. *Apponitur cena dubia*, id est<sup>12</sup>, *ubi tu dubites, quid sumas potissimum*: longe quasitae dapes vinaque, quibus regibus uti mos est: nemo non auro bibit. Ultime, ubi jam<sup>13</sup> mensae locus adest, duae virgines *forma egregia, aetate integra*, venustis moribus, alta nobilitate ex interiori cubiculo in cenaculum prodeunt, vivum<sup>14</sup> fasianum afferunt ducique dono dant. Tum Philippus in hunc modum fertur locutus:

[37] “Vos mihi, proceres, testes estis decrevisse me tris ante annos adversus impiam Maumethi sectam bellum gerere<sup>15</sup>, si Christiani me reges<sup>16</sup> adjutassent<sup>17</sup>, rogasse complurimos una vellent arma induere, ut quibus esset una fides, unus esset ad eam tutandam animus. Cum nemo mihi aures adhiberet, coactus sum domi manere, nam soli mihi grandius coeptum<sup>18</sup> fuit. Post haec secuta est Constantinopolis expugnatio, nobilitas ibi cum principe suo caesa<sup>19</sup>, plebs in captivitatem ducta, altaria Christi subversa, imagines ac<sup>20</sup> reliquiae sanctorum<sup>21</sup> luto provolutae. Sic dum nos silemus, Christiano nomini insultant Turci, qui si essemus viri<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>, non auderent terga nostra, ne dicam vultus<sup>24</sup> intueri! At ecce modo, quamvis sero invitat nos Romanus praesul, hanc

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<sup>1</sup> vel U

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

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

<sup>4</sup> regimini *add.* O, W

<sup>5</sup> Borgundorum O, W

<sup>6</sup> Borgon... *et passim* K, O, U, W, WO; Burgund... *et passim* MA

<sup>7</sup> quas W

<sup>8</sup> admirabile tractatu O, W

<sup>9</sup> recepisset O, W

<sup>10</sup> passagium O, W

<sup>11</sup> posset desiderio : desiderio posset W

<sup>12</sup> id est : *corr. ex.* et O; et W; *omit.* MA

<sup>13</sup> non W

<sup>14</sup> vnum O, W

<sup>15</sup> bellum gerere : belligerare O, W

<sup>16</sup> regem U

<sup>17</sup> adjuvassent MA, WO

<sup>18</sup> ceptus U

<sup>19</sup> est *add.* O, W

<sup>20</sup> atque MA, WO

<sup>21</sup> in *add.* O, W

<sup>22</sup> homines O; *corr. ex* homines V

<sup>23</sup> essemus viri : viri essemus MA

<sup>24</sup> *corr. ex* facies V; facies O, W

uti contumelian vindicemus<sup>1</sup> neque ulterius tantam ignominiam religioni nostrae patiamur inferri<sup>2</sup>.  
inferri<sup>2</sup>. Utinam ante vulneratam causam hoc egisset<sup>3</sup>: inferre ultro vulnus, quam illatum  
praestabat ulcisci! Sed non est cur praeterita corrigamus.

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<sup>1</sup> vendicemus V

<sup>2</sup> infecti W

<sup>3</sup> quod nunc agitat *add.* O, W

[35] And maybe it was good for him that he found nobody to accompany him against the Turks, for if the people of Ghent had risen up or the people of Luxembourg had rebelled (as they actually did later), while Philippe was in Greece or in Asia,<sup>1</sup> they might indeed have caused fearful troubles and almost overwhelming turmoils for the Burgundian. However, staying at home, he was able to reduce them to obedience partly through war, partly through wisdom and leniency.

### 2.13.3. Feast of the Pheasant

[36] Anyway, when he had heard about the ruin of the Greeks<sup>2</sup> and received the letter of the Roman Pontiff declaring a crusade<sup>3</sup> against the Turks, he thought that the time had now come to fulfil his desire. He, therefore, invited noble men and women to a great feast<sup>4</sup> in Lille in Flanders,<sup>5</sup> where he showed off the splendour of his rule. *A problematical meal<sup>6</sup> is laid before them: the problem is what to eat first.*<sup>7</sup> Culinary specialities and wines were brought from far away, as is the custom of kings. Everybody drank from golden cups. At the end of the meal, two virgins of *exquisite beauty, of flowering age,*<sup>8</sup> charming manners and high nobility came into the dining room from an interior chamber, bringing with them a live pheasant which they gave to the duke. Then the duke reportedly spoke as follows<sup>9</sup>:

[37] “You are my witnesses, nobles, that three years ago, I decided to go to war against the impious sect of Muhammad,<sup>10</sup> if only the Christian kings would support me. I asked several to join me in arms so that just like we have one Faith, we would also be of one mind to protect it. But since nobody heeded me, I was forced to stay at home, for the venture was too great for me alone. Then followed the Fall of Constantinople, where the nobility was killed together with their prince, the people led into captivity, the altars of Christ overturned, the images and relics of the saints smeared with filth. Thus, while we are silent, the Turks insult the Christian name. If we were men, they would not dare to look at our backs, not to say our faces! But now, though late, the Bishop of Rome invites us to avenge this affront and to no longer tolerate this great dishonour to our religion. If only he had done so before the damage was done! It would have been better to

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<sup>1</sup> Asia Minor

<sup>2</sup> The Fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453

<sup>3</sup> “expeditio”

<sup>4</sup> The famous *Banquet du voeu du Faisan*, held on 17 February 1454

<sup>5</sup> Lille: Now part of France

<sup>6</sup> “cena dubia”

<sup>7</sup> Terentius: *Phormio*, 342-343: *cena dubia apponitur ... ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum*

<sup>8</sup> Terentius: *Andria*, 73: *egregia forma atque aetate integra*

<sup>9</sup> In the manner of classical historians, Piccolomini wrote his own versions of speeches given by great men. He also wrote, in the *Commentarii*, the speech given by King Henry to his men at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 (CO, VI, 7). He indicates, however, that he is not giving the exact wording of the oration, which was anyway in French: *Tum Philippus in hunc modum fertur locutus (Then the duke reportedly spoke as follows)*

<sup>10</sup> At that time, the Church considered Islam to constitute a heretical sect that had split off from orthodox Christianity and not as a separate religion



cause harm to the others than to avenge the harm they have done to us. But we should not try to correct the past.

[37] Nunc tempus nostrum est: neque imperator – ut arbitror – {11r} neque reges ceteri tacebunt. Omnes haec injuria tangit. Quis erit jam Christianus, qui non ardenti animo bello sese accingat, quando<sup>1</sup> tanta est in salvatorem nostrum irrogata hoc tempore<sup>2</sup> contumelia? Nunc qui viri simus, licebit ostendere! Nunc, si juvatis, proceres, patrem ulciscar meum, quem Turci captum duris<sup>3</sup> diu<sup>4</sup> vinculis constrinxere! Vos igitur, quibus cor nobile est et<sup>5</sup> animus generosus, qui religionem colitis nostramque fidem cupitis esse sublimem, dicite jam nobis palam, an<sup>6</sup> coepta nostra sequi velitis. Mihi, quae sit mens<sup>7</sup> quodve<sup>8</sup> propositum hinc audietis.”

[38] Atque aperta veste, qua pectus claudebatur, schedulam detraxit heraldoque<sup>9</sup> dedit legendam. Schedulae<sup>10</sup> fuit hujuscemodi<sup>11</sup> sensus<sup>12</sup>: “Ne proterat ecclesiam catholicam neve ultro<sup>13</sup> Christiano illudat nomini Turcorum genus impuratum, si Carolus Francorum rex Dalphinusve<sup>14</sup> primogenitus aliasve<sup>15</sup> clarus ex regno princeps in Turcos exercitum hac tempestate ductaverit, in comitatu ejus ero roburque meae militiae peditesque equitesque huic expeditioni dicabo pugnamque manu conseram. Si se<sup>16</sup> obtulerit hostis, singulare certamen non detrectabo. Si minus, provocabo daboque operam, spolia, ut opima feram. Sic tibi, Deo viventi, patrique filioque flaminique spondeo et promitto dux ego Burgundiae Philippus. Vosque, matronae nobiles virginesque illustres, hujusce voti testes adhibeo, ut cum has aliasve istiusmodi generis aves, quas Phasidos Insula primum vidit, in conspectu habebitis, mendacii me insimuletis, nisi steterit dicto fides.”

[39] Haec ubi alta voce lecta sunt, exultare ac vociferari omnes, magnificare suum principem, laudare propositum, offerre se comites, dare dexteras, orare superos, ut coepta secundent<sup>17</sup> pioque duci longam atque incolumem vitam praebeant. Philippus seorsum quemque ad se vocitat et quem secum {11v} ducturus sit comitatum<sup>18</sup> rogat<sup>19</sup> jubetque<sup>20</sup> numerum describi. Edunt cuncti nobiles sua nomina ingentesque<sup>21</sup> copias<sup>22</sup> promittunt. Unus dumtaxat consulendi regis Franciae

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<sup>1</sup> quoniam MA

<sup>2</sup> irrogata hoc tempore : hoc tempore irrogata MA

<sup>3</sup> omit. MA, WO

<sup>4</sup> duris diu : diu duris W

<sup>5</sup> est WO

<sup>6</sup> ante U

<sup>7</sup> meus U

<sup>8</sup> quidve MA

<sup>9</sup> haraldoque MA

<sup>10</sup> cedula W

<sup>11</sup> hujusmodi W

<sup>12</sup> scriptus U

<sup>13</sup> ultra K, O, U, W

<sup>14</sup> Dalphinusque K; Dalphinus vel MA

<sup>15</sup> altusve MA, WO

<sup>16</sup> omit. O, W

<sup>17</sup> secundarent W

<sup>18</sup> comitiuam O, W

<sup>19</sup> rogatque W

<sup>20</sup> omit. W

<sup>21</sup> ingentemque O, W

<sup>22</sup> comitatum O, W

tempus expetit, cuius esset ditioni subjectus. Laetus tanta suorum procerum alacritate Philippus sacerdotes, uti mentem suam exponant populo, jubet, sacrificia et publicas supplicationes decernit<sup>1</sup>, quibus divina gratia valeat impetrari.

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<sup>1</sup> discernit U

[37] Now it is our time: neither the emperor – as I believe – nor the other kings will remain silent. All are affected by this calamity. Which Christian will not ardently prepare for war when so great an injury has been done, in our own time, to Our Saviour? Now we can show what kind of men we are! Now I can – with your help, nobles – avenge my father, whom the Turks held captive for a long time, harshly chained! So, you who have a noble heart and soul, who honour religion and wish our Faith to be supreme, tell us now openly if you will join our undertaking. As for me, hear now my mind and my intentions.

[38] And opening his doublet<sup>1</sup>, he pulled out a document and gave it to the herald to read. This was the purport of the document<sup>2</sup>: “To prevent the filthy Turkish people from crushing the Catholic Church and further mock the Christian name, I shall, if King Charles of France or the dauphin or some other illustrious prince from that kingdom next summer<sup>3</sup> leads an army against the Turks, join him. I pledge the strength of my army, infantry and cavalry, to this expedition, and I shall be fighting in person. If the enemy comes forward, I shall not decline a duel. If he does not, I shall challenge him and endeavour to take rich spoils. This I, Duke Philippe of Burgundy, vow and promise to you, the Living God, Father, Son and Spirit.<sup>4</sup> And you distinguished dames and illustrious virgins I take as witnesses to this vow, so that you – with these and other pheasants, first seen here in Lille with your own eyes - may accuse me of lying if the vow is not kept.”

[39] After this had been read in a loud voice, all rejoiced and shouted. The nobles extolled their prince, they praised his intent, they offered themselves as his companions, pledging themselves and asking the supreme beings to favour the undertaking and give the pious duke a long and safe life. Then Philippe summoned each of them separately, asked what company they would bring, and ordered the numbers to be noted. All the nobles gave their names and promised large troops. Only one asked for permission to consult the King of France, whose subject he was. Delighted by the enthusiasm of his nobles, Philippe ordered the priests to announce his plans to the people<sup>5</sup> and decreed masses<sup>6</sup> and public prayers to obtain divine mercy.

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<sup>1</sup> Or jerkin

<sup>2</sup> Here Piccolomini gives his own version of the text, in Latin, indicating, however, that he is giving the *sensus* of the text, and not the exact wording

<sup>3</sup> “tempestate”

<sup>4</sup> “flaminique”

<sup>5</sup> In their sermons

<sup>6</sup> “sacrifica”

[40] Sed neque hoc pacto desiderium pii principis locum habet<sup>1</sup>, neque enim rex Franciae neque alius ex regno princeps in Turcos pugnare proponit. Huc accedunt regis Angliae vexationes, qui missa non parva classe agros Arthoos<sup>2</sup> populatur atque incendit, cui nisi resistatur omnis in metu Flandria<sup>3</sup> atque Picardia ponitur. Optimates provinciarum Philippum<sup>4</sup> adeunt, Anglicorum conatum exponunt, ne se deserat, rogant. Is ubi suorum periculum videt, neque Christianos<sup>5</sup> magnificare<sup>6</sup> Turcorum facta<sup>7</sup> cognoscit, rursus inter suos morari ac tueri patriam statuit, quando nec Luzeburgensium<sup>8</sup> civitas satis constans firmaque videretur. Erat enim ei de ducatu Luzeburgensi cum rege Bohemiae vetus et anceps controversia, neque terrae cultores satis exploratum habebant, cui potissimum<sup>9</sup> foret parendum, regis alio, ducis alio causam probante.

[41] At ei dum modo repellere Anglicos, modo rebus consulere Luzeburgensibus studet, litterae Caesaris hujusmodi<sup>10</sup> afferuntur:

”Fridericus tertius, divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator, Philippo, duci Burgundiae illustri, salutem. Memores sumus te oratores ante aliquot annos ad nos misisse, qui nobis duras et acerbissimas molestias, quas Christiani per orientem sive a Turcis sive a Saracenis paterentur, non sine quadam commiseratione referentes<sup>11</sup> {12r} summopere nos adhortati fuerunt, ut tamquam protectores<sup>12</sup> et advocati<sup>13</sup> fidei catholicae adversus inimicos salutiferae crucis expeditionem<sup>14</sup> institueremus<sup>15</sup>, reges et principes, quicumque Christum colerent, invitantes<sup>16</sup>. Ad quod tam pium et necessarium opus corpus<sup>17</sup> tuum<sup>18</sup> et<sup>19</sup> offerebas et dedicabas. Nos tunc id<sup>20</sup> propositum commendantes, cum Romam propediem petaturi essemus, cumque res maxima esset, quam nobis suadebas, ac fidem spectaret<sup>21</sup>, respondimus<sup>22</sup> - ut par fuit - de tanto negotio Romanum pontificem consulendum<sup>23</sup>, quemadmodum paulo post Romam venientes in publico consistorio

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

<sup>2</sup> Artheos U

<sup>3</sup> Frandria *et passim* K, O, U, V, W

<sup>4</sup> duces O, W

<sup>5</sup> Christiana nos MA

<sup>6</sup> magnificere O; magnificare WO

<sup>7</sup> fata MA

<sup>8</sup> Lucenb... *et passim* W

<sup>9</sup> potissime O, W

<sup>10</sup> homini U

<sup>11</sup> refertas W

<sup>12</sup> protector O, W; procuratores MA

<sup>13</sup> aduocatus O, W

<sup>14</sup> passagium O, W

<sup>15</sup> instituerimus U; instituerunt W

<sup>16</sup> imitantes U

<sup>17</sup> personam O, W

<sup>18</sup> tuam O, W

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* O, W

<sup>21</sup> *corr. ex* concerneret V; concerneret O, W

<sup>22</sup> nos *add.* O, W

<sup>23</sup> consulturos O, W

fecimus. Praesul vero Romanus pro verbis nostris hilarior factus et verba nostra et rem ipsam mirifice laudavit, et quoniam nos optime<sup>1</sup> animatos<sup>2</sup> videbat, dixit et<sup>3</sup> aliorum quoque regum nostri orbis se<sup>4</sup> mentes perscrutaturum, quemadmodum rei magnitudo videbatur exposcere.

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<sup>1</sup> optimos U

<sup>2</sup> dispositos O, W

<sup>3</sup> omit. U

<sup>4</sup> omit. MA

[40] But the pious prince's desire could not be fulfilled in this manner, either, for neither the King of France nor any other prince from that kingdom decided to fight the Turks. In addition to this came troubles with the King of England, who sent a large fleet to burn and destroy the region of Artois. If he was not resisted, all of Flanders and Picardie would be reduced to fear and trembling. The nobles of these provinces came to Philippe and informed him about the English operations, asking him not to let them down. When he saw the danger of his subjects and realised that the Christians did not make much of the Turkish actions, Philippe again decided to stay among his own and protect his country since also the City of Luxembourg did not appear to be sufficiently constant and stable.<sup>1</sup> For he had a longstanding and unsettled conflict with the King of Bohemia concerning the Duchy of Luxembourg, and the peasants were uncertain whom of the two they should obey, one party siding with the king and another with the duke.

#### 2.13.4. Emperor's summons to Regensburg

[41] As he was now fending off the English and now being occupied with the matter of Luxembourg, the letter from the emperor<sup>2</sup> arrived, saying<sup>3</sup>:

"Friedrich III, by the grace of merciful God Emperor of the Romans, to Philippe, Illustrious Duke of Burgundy, greetings.

We remember that you sent ambassadors to Us some years ago, who pityingly told us about the harsh and bitter abuse suffered by the Christians in the East at the hands of either the Turks or the Saracens. You movingly exhorted Us – as protector and champion of the Catholic Faith – to organise an expedition against the enemies of the cross of salvation and to invite all the kings and princes who worship Christ [to join it]. You offered and dedicated your own person<sup>4</sup> to this pious and urgent undertaking. We praised your proposal, replying<sup>5</sup> that as We were shortly to go to Rome, and as the matter you urged upon Us was most important and concerned the Faith, We would - as was reasonable – consult with the Roman Pontiff on this great affair, and when We came to Rome, We did so in a public consistory.<sup>6</sup> The Bishop of Rome was glad to hear Our words and highly praised them and the matter itself, and seeing Our great resolve, he said that he would – as the importance of the matter appeared to require – ask of the other kings of our world how they felt about it.

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<sup>1</sup> In their allegiance to the duke

<sup>2</sup> Written by Piccolomini himself

<sup>3</sup> The version of the emperor's letter included in the report is a revised version of the original document, see Introduction, sect. 3.3, and Appendix

<sup>4</sup> "corpus"

<sup>5</sup> Through his counsellor Piccolomini, in the oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" (1451) [17]

<sup>6</sup> Again through Piccolomini, in the oration "*Moses vir Dei*" (1452) [19]

[41] At opus ingens, dum suapte natura tempus ex tempore quaerit, crudelis Turcorum dominus Constantinopolim, orientalis imperii caput Graeciaeque decus, invadit, obsidet, expugnat<sup>1</sup>, diripit. Imperatorem gentis interficit<sup>2</sup>, nobilitatem majori ex parte gladio ferit, innumeras animas in servitutem redigit<sup>3</sup>, templa<sup>4</sup> divino dicata nomini spurciciae Maumethi<sup>5</sup> subigit, altaria proterit, salvatoris nostri ac matris ejus, intemeratae virginis, imagines delet, sanctas quascumque reliquias invenit, porcis objectat. Neque contentus his, nactus locum et portum, ex quo plurimum Christiano populo nocere potest, ingentes copias<sup>6</sup> terra marique parat hisque se totum occidentem invasurum subversurumque Christi legem<sup>7</sup> jactitat.

[42] Quod quamprimum cognovimus, mox domino nostro papae litteras dedimus rogantes, ut de modo resistendi tam potentibus inimicis consilium in communi<sup>8</sup> caperet<sup>9</sup>, {12v} nam et nos operam nostram<sup>10</sup> in obsequio fidei minime negaremus. Is vero misso legato et intentione sua in tali negotio nobis exposita vehementer atque impense nos hortatus est, ut adversus Turcorum insolentem et perniciosissimam audaciam cum nostris principibus insurgamus, ac veluti primi inter saeculares potestates, quibus de profectu reipublicae Christianae<sup>11</sup> cura et<sup>12</sup> sollicitudo incumbit, ceteros Christiani orbis rectores nostris exemplis et hortationibus invitemus. Nos ergo considerantes rem esse dignam, in qua laboremus, nosque praecipue tamquam imperatorem et advocatum ecclesiae respicere<sup>13</sup>, universorum<sup>14</sup> principum ecclesiasticorum et saecularium cunctorumque<sup>15</sup> nostrorum et imperii sacri subditorum in festo Sancti Georgii proxime futuro in civitate nostra Ratisponensi supra Danubium statuimus habere conventum, in quo<sup>16</sup> comparituri cum his, qui aderunt, de propulsandis hostibus tuendaque nostra religione consultabimus<sup>17</sup>, sperantes<sup>18</sup> et apostolicae sedis legatos<sup>19</sup> et nonnullorum potentum regum, quibus super hoc scripsimus, oratores adfore<sup>20</sup>. Cum igitur res haec ad illum finem tendat, super quo nos pridem<sup>21</sup> hortabare, cumque modo non solum<sup>22</sup> utile, sed necessarium sit pro fide nostra consurgere et

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<sup>1</sup> oppugnat MA

<sup>2</sup> interfecit U

<sup>3</sup> redegit W

<sup>4</sup> item U

<sup>5</sup> Maumeti U; Maumethhi MA

<sup>6</sup> Christiano populo ... copias *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> Christi legem *omit.* W

<sup>8</sup> consilium in communi : in communi consilium MA

<sup>9</sup> *corr. ex* reciperet V; reciperet O, W

<sup>10</sup> operam nostram : *corr. ex* operas nostras V; operas nostras K, O, W

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

<sup>12</sup> atque U

<sup>13</sup> *corr. ex* concernere V; concernere O, W

<sup>14</sup> ~~universorum~~ O

<sup>15</sup> universorumque O, W

<sup>16</sup> personaliter *add.* O, W

<sup>17</sup> consultationes habebimus O, W; consuleretur MA

<sup>18</sup> sperantem MA, WO

<sup>19</sup> legatum MA

<sup>20</sup> adesse O, W

<sup>21</sup> nos pridem : pridem nos O, W

<sup>22</sup> modo O, W



instantibus inimicis toto conatu resistere, dilectionem<sup>1</sup> tuam requirimus tibi<sup>2</sup>que velut imperii sacri principi<sup>2</sup> mandamus, ut tamquam princeps orthodoxus ac fidelis cultur crucis Christi statuto<sup>3</sup> termino ad Ratisponense concilium te conferas neque graveris in tanta necessitate populi Christiani eo<sup>4</sup> proficisci, qui te<sup>5</sup> alias etiam in Asiam transiturum hac ipsa<sup>6</sup> de causa promittebas.

[41] But such a large enterprise naturally takes time, and then the cruel lord of the Turks<sup>7</sup> attacked, besieged, conquered and pillaged Constantinople, capital of the Eastern Empire and the pride of Greece. He killed the emperor of that people, struck down most of the nobles, carried innumerable people into servitude, subjected the temple dedicated to the divine name<sup>8</sup> to the filthy rites of Muhammad, overturned the altars, destroyed the images of Our Lord and His Mother, the pure Virgin, threw all relics he could find to the dogs. And not content with this, having acquired a place and a port from which he can seriously damage the Christian people, he is now mobilizing enormous troops on land and at sea, bragging that with them he will invade the whole of the West and destroy the law of Christ.

[42] As soon as We heard this, We wrote to Our Lord Pope asking him to arrange a joint consultation on how to resist such powerful enemies, and We assured him of Our own loyal efforts for the Faith. He sent Us a legate,<sup>9</sup> who set forth his intentions in this great matter and vehemently exhorted Us to rise up together with our princes against the insolent and dangerous effrontery of the Turks, and - as the first among the secular powers responsible for the care and concern about the welfare of the Christian commonwealth - to encourage<sup>10</sup> the other rulers of our Christian world by example and exhortation. Considering that this is a matter worthy of Our efforts and that it must concern Us as emperor and champion of the Church, We have decided to hold a meeting with all the ecclesiastic and secular princes and all Our subjects<sup>11</sup> and the subjects of the Holy Empire on the coming Feast of Saint George in Our city of Regensburg on the Danube. We shall go there and together with those present deliberate on how to repel the enemies and protect our religion, in the hope that legates of the Apostolic See and of several powerful kings, to whom We have written in this matter, will be present. Since they are pursuing the same goal as you previously urged upon Us, and since it is not only advantageous but necessary to stand up for our Faith and resist the threatening enemies with all our might, We ask Your Highness<sup>12</sup> and direct you as a prince of the Holy Empire, orthodox prince and faithful worshipper of the cross of Christ, to appear at the Diet of Regensburg on the appointed date, and not find it burdensome to travel

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<sup>1</sup> dilectionem U

<sup>2</sup> ~~seriose~~ add. V; seriose add. O, W

<sup>3</sup> omit. K; corr. ex in prefixo V; in prefixo O, W

<sup>4</sup> personaliter add. O, W

<sup>5</sup> omit. U

<sup>6</sup> omit. MA

<sup>7</sup> Mehmed II

<sup>8</sup> Hagia Sophia

<sup>9</sup> Bishop Giovanni Castiglione of Pavia

<sup>10</sup> "invitemus"

<sup>11</sup> As Duke of Austria

<sup>12</sup> "dilectionem tuam"

there in this great crisis of the Christian people, since on another occasion you promised to go even to Asia in this cause.

[42] {13r} Nos enim illic<sup>1</sup> et cum tua dilectione et cum ceteris, qui advenerint, eam deliberationem, si Deus faverit<sup>2</sup>, capiemus, per quam non modo tueri haereditatem domini, id est Christianum populum, sed ultro in suis finibus impias Turcorum manus coercere atque confringere valeamus. Datum in Nova Civitate pridie idus Januarias anno dominicae nativitatis<sup>3</sup> MCCCCLIII<sup>4</sup>.”

[43] Lectis his Philippus iterum bene gerendi negotii spem recipit. Dubius tamen inter duo<sup>5</sup>, an Ratisponam quamprimo<sup>6</sup> petat, an hostes ex agro suo prius deturbet, hominem quemdam Dei in solitudine morantem, sanctum atque incorruptum, adit<sup>7</sup> ac rebus expositis consilium quaerit. Ad quem ille: “Magna sunt,” inquit, “quae tibi divina pietas beneficia contulit, neque si mille annos in obsequio Dei labores<sup>8</sup>, satis videri gratus queas. Nunc, si quod te dignum est efficere cupis, non tam tuum negotium quam Dei curabis. Quae te domi premit, tua causa est. Quod Ratisponam vocaris, Dei res est. Si mihi auscultabis, duces eliges<sup>9</sup>, qui terram tuam ab Anglico tueantur. Tu vero imperatori oboedies profectusque Ratisponam, ut Christiana religio ab infidelibus defendatur<sup>10</sup>, navabis operam.”

[44] Confirmatus atque animatus magis ac magis hoc responso Philippus Vilhelmum, Tullensem episcopum, gravis iudicii virum doctrinaque juris pontificii ac prudentia multa praestantem<sup>11</sup>, et alios plerosque legatos in Bohemiam mittit, qui de concordia cum rege tractent (nam et paucis ante diebus per legatos partium coram pontifice Treverensi apud Maguntiam de hoc<sup>12</sup> ipso actum fuerat, si pacem nequeant invenire, at<sup>13</sup> saltem indutias belli petant, ne, si Bohemis opponere se oporteat, contra Turcos minus queat). {13v} Duci quoque<sup>14</sup> id esse decretum asserant aut cum Caesare aut cum rege in Graecia atque Asia pro fide catholica militare, nec minus quam sexaginta milia pugnatorum secum adducere<sup>15</sup>. Cumque<sup>16</sup> rex ipse Ladislaus non modo Bohemiae, sed Hungariae quoque regnum possideat, quantum sua intersit prosterni ac deleri Turcos ostendant, utque suam pueritiam tam necessario bello consecret oratum faciant.

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<sup>1</sup> illuc W

<sup>2</sup> faveret U

<sup>3</sup> dominicae nativitatis : a nativitate domini W

<sup>4</sup> MCCCCLVII. W

<sup>5</sup> duos U

<sup>6</sup> quamprimum O, U, W

<sup>7</sup> adiit U; *omit.* W

<sup>8</sup> vivas O, W

<sup>9</sup> eleges U

<sup>10</sup> ab infidelibus defendatur : defendatur ab infidelibus MA

<sup>11</sup> *corr.* ex callentem V; colentem O, W

<sup>12</sup> per legatos ... ipso : Maguntie, uti nosti, qui unus inter legatos regis aderas, coram Treverensi pontifice, profunde cogitationis et ingenii summi prelati, de hoc O, W

<sup>13</sup> ac K, O, W

<sup>14</sup> quomodo MA

<sup>15</sup> traducere O, W; abducere MA

<sup>16</sup> modo *add.* MA

[42] There We shall, together with Your Highness and the others who attend, deliberate on not only how to protect the Lord's inheritance, that is the Christian people, but also how we shall be able to force the impious Turkish troops back beyond their frontiers and destroy them.

Given in Wiener Neustadt on 12 January in the year of Our Lord 1453<sup>1</sup>.

### **2.13.5. Travel to Regensburg**

[43] Having read this, Philippe regained hopes for a successful outcome of this matter. However, he was in doubt whether to go to Regensburg immediately or to drive the enemies from his lands first. He, therefore, went to a holy and honest man of God, living in solitude<sup>2</sup>, told him about the problem, and asked for his advice. The man said to him, "The Divine Piety has shown you great favour, and even if you labour a thousand years in his service, you will not have shown enough gratefulness. Now, if you wish to do the worthy thing, you must be more concerned about God's cause than your own. Your problems at home are your own cause. What calls you to Regensburg is God's cause. If you heed me, you will choose leaders to defend your lands against the English while you obey the emperor and go to Regensburg, endeavouring to defend the Christian religion from the infidels."

### **2.13.6. Embassy to King Ladislaus**

[44] This answer greatly strengthened Philippe's resolve. He sent Guillaume,<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Toul, a man of great discernment and wisdom and an eminent specialist in pontifical law, to Bohemia with several other legates to negotiate a peace with the king.<sup>4</sup> Actually, the legates of the two parties had met in Mainz some days before with the Archbishop of Trier<sup>5</sup> to explore the possibilities of peace or at least a truce: it would make it easier [for the duke] to fight the Turks if he did not have to fight the Bohemians at the same time. The ambassadors were to inform the king that the duke had decided to fight for the Catholic Faith in Greece and Asia either with the emperor or with the king himself, and that he would bring at least 60,000 soldiers with him. They should also point out that since Ladislaus was king not only of Bohemia but also of Hungary, the overthrow and destruction of the Turks would be to his own great advantage, and they were to ask him to dedicate his youthful self<sup>6</sup> to this very necessary war.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. 1454; 1453 in the dating system used by the imperial chancellery

<sup>2</sup> I.e., a hermit

<sup>3</sup> Guillaume Fillastre Jr. (d. 1473): Bishop of Toul, counsellor and ambassador of Duke Philippe III (including, later, to Piccolomini as Pope Pius II)

<sup>4</sup> In 1443, Philippe III had bought the Duchy of Luxembourg from Duchess Elisabeth of Bohemia. However, King Ladislaus claimed the same duchy as part of his inheritance from his maternal grandfather, Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg. See RTA, 19, 1, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Jakob von Sierck

<sup>6</sup> "pueritiam"

[45] Tali legatione in Bohemian missa, Philippus ordinatis, quae<sup>1</sup> domi fieri voluit, cum paucis comitibus ex Flandria in Burgundiam se recipit, post in Alemaniam transit ac per Suicensium et domus Austriae fines<sup>2</sup> Constantiam venit, ubi nostra aetate magnum et memorabile illud concilium celebratum est, quod trium summorum pontificum<sup>3</sup> deleto schismate Martinum quintum, Romanae primaeque sedi non dubitatum pontificem dedit. At Philippo, quacumque iter facit, innumerabiles occurrunt populi miranturque tantum ducem et summos aequantem reges inter nationes exteras iter habere. Hi diversos habitus, illi non intellectum sermonem notant. Nemo illi honorem negat: portae civitatum, templa, fora, triclinia publicaeque viae omnes ornantur.

[46] Certant inter se principes ac civitates, quis magnificentius ducem excipiat. Albertus, Austriae dux, non liberalitate minus quam nobilitate praestans, obviam factus se suaque illi dedit<sup>4</sup> licereque sibi impetrat, ut Philippi se filium vocitet. Comes quoque<sup>5</sup> Virtembergensis<sup>6</sup> non sine muneribus duci se exhibet. Omnis Sveviae nobilitas Philippo gratias agit, qui suam terram visere dignatus sit et amicorum domus fidenter accesserit. Ille omnibus pro dignitate salutatis<sup>7</sup> cum magna Germanorum caterva ad Ulmam descendit, quem cives<sup>8</sup> ejus urbis et honore ingenti<sup>9</sup> et affectu benevolentissimo suscipiunt. Fama {14r} interea regiones vicinas opplet Philippum, Burgundiae ducem<sup>10</sup>, Ratisponam petere, intrasse Germaniam, venisse Constantiam jamque Ulmam supra Danubium appulisse. Laudare complurimi<sup>11</sup> pium principem, qui servandae amplificandaeque<sup>12</sup> fidei nostrae curam gerat, superos illi optare faventes, benedicere ac magnificare nomen atque hunc unum esse asserere, cui rerum summam par sit<sup>13</sup> credere.

[47] Sed neque obtrectatores desunt lividi ac maledici, qui principem hunc privati boni causa, non communis advenisse dictitent. Alii hominem imperandi cupidum simulare se Turcis infestum, religionis amantem ajunt, inde ut favores aucupetur<sup>14</sup> et rumusculos<sup>15</sup> populorum, quibus dignus imperio judicetur. Alii Brabantiam eum, Hollandiam<sup>16</sup> Zelandiamque<sup>17</sup> injuste occupasse asserunt,

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

<sup>2</sup> *corr. ex* dominia V; dominia O, W

<sup>3</sup> summorum pontificum *corr. ex* paparum K, V; paparum O, W

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* W

<sup>5</sup> comesque MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> Virtembergensis K; Vntenburgensis U; Virtembegensis O; Virtenbergensis W; Virtenburgensis MA

<sup>7</sup> salutis U

<sup>8</sup> ciuem U

<sup>9</sup> honore ingenti : honorem genti U

<sup>10</sup> Burgundiae ducem : ducem Burgundie W

<sup>11</sup> complurimi U

<sup>12</sup> ampliandaeque O, W

<sup>13</sup> sic U, V \*

<sup>14</sup> *corr. ex* venetur V; venetur O, U, W

<sup>15</sup> tumusculos WO

<sup>16</sup> Olandiam K, U, V

<sup>17</sup> Zelaudiamque U

venire ad imperatorem, has provincias ut in regnum erigat, cui sunt opes regi<sup>1</sup> magno convenientes, ne desit titulus, aut si hoc nequeat<sup>2</sup> obtinere, titulum<sup>3</sup> saltem feudi<sup>4</sup> extorqueat.

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<sup>1</sup> et *add.* W

<sup>2</sup> hoc nequeat : nequeat hoc W

<sup>3</sup> investituram O, W

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* O, W

### 2.13.7. Enthusiastic reception in Germany

[45] Having sent this embassy to Bohemia, Philippe arranged matters at home as he wished to. Then he left Flanders with a small following to go to Burgundy and from there to Konstanz via Swiss territories and lands of the House of Austria. (In that city, a great and memorable council was held in our own time, which ended the schism of three popes<sup>1</sup> and gave Martin V<sup>2</sup> as undoubted pope to the Roman and First See.) Wherever Philippe went, countless people flocked together in wonder that so great a duke, equal to the greatest kings, was travelling abroad. Some were fascinated by the foreign dresses, others by a language they could not understand. All honoured the duke: the city gates, the temples, the squares, the dining rooms<sup>3</sup> and the public roads were decorated.

[46] Princes and cities were competing about giving the duke the most splendid reception. Albrecht, Duke of Austria,<sup>4</sup> outstanding in generosity and nobility, came to meet him, [saying to him that] he and his were the duke's. He even obtained the right to call himself Philippe's son. The Duke of Württemberg<sup>5</sup> presented himself, bearing gifts. All the nobility of Swabia thanked Philippe for deigning to visit their country and coming trustingly to the home of friends. He greeted everybody according to their rank, and then, with a large following of Germans, he proceeded to Ulm, whose citizens received him with immense honour and enthusiasm. Rumour spread to the neighbouring regions that Duke Philippe of Burgundy was going to Regensburg, had entered Germany, come to Konstanz, and had now reached Ulm on the Danube. Many praised the pious prince who cared for the protection and propagation of the Faith. They prayed the heavenly beings to protect him, they blessed and extolled his name, and proclaimed that he was the only man who might be entrusted with the greatest matters.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.13.8. Criticism of the duke

[47] But there were also hateful and malicious critics who kept saying that this prince had come to serve his own private interests and not the common good. Some claimed that he is a power greedy man who only pretends to hate the Turks and love religion, and who is chasing popularity only to be judged worthy of ruling. Some say that he has occupied Brabant, Holland and Zeeland unjustly and now comes to the emperor to make him raise these provinces to the status of a kingdom: since the duke has the power befitting a great king, he would also have the title [of king],

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<sup>1</sup> The Great Western Schism (1378-1417)

<sup>2</sup> Martin V [Odo Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death

<sup>3</sup> "triclinia"

<sup>4</sup> Albrecht VI (Habsburg)

<sup>5</sup> Ulrich V (1413-1480)

<sup>6</sup> "rerum summam": meaning uncertain. If Piccolomini implies supreme government, it would be threatening to the emperor whose authority was otherwise under criticism and would later even be plotted against by his own princes

and if he cannot have that, then he would at least wrest the title of feudal lord [of these provinces from the emperor].<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., to receive these provinces from the emperor as a feudal possession



[47] Negant importuni atque impurati dicaces verisimile posse videri eum ducem, cui libertiae gratiaeque<sup>1</sup> cordi fuerint, qui latissimis regionibus, maximis populis dominetur, abundet opibus, deliciis affluat, nulla re careat, quae possit voluptatem retardare, cum jam<sup>2</sup> senescit, Christi<sup>3</sup> causam quaerere. Sed ut sunt homines, ita alios aestimant. De nostro ingenio proximos iudicamus. Nulli suspiciores esse fures quam furi constat. Sceleratae menti non est pietas verisimilis, neque pusillus animus maximis rebus fidem praebet. Quae sibi quisque facilia factu<sup>4</sup> putat, aequo animo accipit: supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit<sup>5</sup>. Plerosque invidia vexavit, qui cum viderent suos principes communia facta negligere, Philippi gloriam ferre<sup>6</sup> non poterant. Indignum minimeque<sup>7</sup> tolerandum putabant, quas mereri<sup>8</sup> laudes Germanos<sup>9</sup> {14v} decuit eas secum Gallos<sup>10</sup> reportare. Nos illius ducis<sup>11</sup> intemeratum animum et antea credidimus et postea re ipsa cognovimus.

[48] Cardinalis autem sancti Petri, qui forte in propinquo delitescebat, postquam Philippum adventare didicit, haud expectandum collegarum, ad quos scripserat, responsum censuit, sed mox Ratisponsam mittit, qui se venturum dicat domumque<sup>12</sup> apparet. Quod cum legatus apostolicus cognovisset, an cardinali obviam exeat<sup>13</sup> dubius, amicum quendam<sup>14</sup> accersit, cardinalem quovis honore dignum affirmat, quem summo pontifici acceptum norit, optima vita patrem et inter doctos facile primum, sed venire eum aut suo tantum aut Caesaris nomine, se vero primae sedis nuntium esse. Vereri, ne dignitati summi praesulis<sup>15</sup> detrahat, si cardinali non legato legatus episcopus occurrat: parvam<sup>16</sup> esse apud Germanos cardinalium curam, nisi legati nomen teneant, nam et Gnesnensem<sup>17</sup> archiepiscopum in coronatione reginae Poloniae in civitate Cracoviensi<sup>18</sup> novissime constabat cardinali esse praelatum.

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<sup>1</sup> omnes *add.* O, W

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

<sup>3</sup> Christianam U

<sup>4</sup> facta W

<sup>5</sup> dicit U

<sup>6</sup> ferri W

<sup>7</sup> minime U

<sup>8</sup> merere U

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

<sup>10</sup> *corr. ex Gallicos* O, U, W

<sup>11</sup> duci U

<sup>12</sup> demumque MA

<sup>13</sup> obviam exeat : exeat obviam K

<sup>14</sup> amicum quendam : Eneam O, W

<sup>15</sup> populi MA

<sup>16</sup> parvamque W

<sup>17</sup> Genesenem K; Gnesenenem O; Gnesensem U

<sup>18</sup> Carcouiensi K, V \*; Carconiensi U

[47] These insolent and vile cynics claim that the duke cannot possibly come to support Christ's cause since he loves pleasures and refinement, rules large areas and great peoples, abounds in wealth and comfort and lacks for nothing that may prolong the satisfactions of his ageing self.<sup>1</sup> But men measure others after their own standards. We judge our neighbours according to our own character. To a thief, nothing is more suspect than other thieves. To a criminal mind, piety seems unbelievable, and the timid soul does not believe in great ventures. Everyone calmly accepts what is easy for him to do; what is hard, he considers to be a fraud. Many were actually jealous: seeing that their own princes ignored the public good, they could not bear Philippe's glory. They found it unworthy and intolerable that the French<sup>2</sup> should earn the praise which the Germans ought to merit. As for ourselves, we believed until now that the duke's soul is unblemished, and now we know it for a fact.

## 2.14. A problem of precedence: papal legate vs cardinal

[48] The Cardinal of San Pietro<sup>3</sup> happened to be staying in the vicinity. When he heard that Philippe was approaching, he decided not to await the reply from his colleagues<sup>4</sup> to whom he had written<sup>5</sup> but immediately sent a message to Regensburg to announce his arrival and prepare a house for him. When the apostolic legate<sup>6</sup> heard it, he was in doubt whether to [honour him by] going out to meet him. He invited a friend<sup>7</sup> to his house and said to him that the cardinal was, of course, worthy of all honours, being dear to the pope, a Father living a virtuous life, and one of the first among learned men. But he was coming there in his own name only or in the emperor's, whereas he himself was the envoy of the First See. He feared that it would somehow show disrespect to the pope if a bishop who was a [papal] legate came to meet a cardinal who was not. The Germans had little respect for cardinals if they did not have the status of a [papal] legate. Indeed, at the recent coronation<sup>8</sup> of the Queen of Poland<sup>9</sup> in the city of Krakow, the Archbishop of Gniezno<sup>10</sup> was clearly given precedence over a cardinal.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the last passage is doubtful, possibly due to a corrupt Latin text

<sup>2</sup> The House of Burgundy was part of the royal House of France (Valois)

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaus von Kues

<sup>4</sup> The imperial legates

<sup>5</sup> See above sect. 31

<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia, not a cardinal

<sup>7</sup> Most likely Piccolomini himself, cf. the Wolffenbüttel manuscript (W), which twice has Aeneas instead of amicus. See also RTA p. 223

<sup>8</sup> In March 1454, a month before the opening of the Diet in Regensburg

<sup>9</sup> Elisabeth of Austria (ca. 1436-1505): Queen of King Casimir IV of Poland. Sister of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>10</sup> Jan Sprowski (d. 1464): Archbishop of Gniezno from 1453 to his death

<sup>11</sup> At the coronation, the archbishop primate of Poland and the Polish cardinal, Zbigniew Olesnicki, quarrelled about precedence. The primate won (RTA, p. 227)

[49] {200v} Super his amicus<sup>1</sup>: “Cum respicis,” inquit, “cardinali<sup>2</sup> an<sup>3</sup> episcopus praestet, si sacras litteras et jura vetusta rimeris, nihil est, quod tribuas cardinali, incognito et inaudito nomini priscis patribus, quamvis divum Hieronymum quidam velint cardinalem fuisse. Verum et hic Augustino episcopo scribens, quoniam erat Hieronymus major natu<sup>4</sup>, in calce litterarum<sup>5</sup>: ‘Vale,’ inquit, ‘amice carissime, aetate fili, dignitate parens.’ Nemo, qui vetera legerit<sup>6</sup>, cardinalem anteponat episcopo, quem vicem tenere apostolorum non est<sup>7</sup> ambiguum: hic dignitatem, hic ordinem, hic grande officium invenias, et ligandi solvendique potestatem (fateor, cardinalis maximam esse dignitatem, altum officium - cetera ne requiras). {15r} Hinc majores nostri<sup>8</sup> episcopos praetulerunt, quoniam Christi essent apostoli<sup>9</sup> et vicarii summi Dei apud suas plebes.

[50] Sed cedunt omnia tempori, omnia rerum dominae consuetudini parent. Quod nunc est, non quod olim fuit, spectare oportet. Hodie non modo cardinales episcopis anteferuntur<sup>10</sup>, sed - nescio cur<sup>11</sup> - tabelliones, quos vocant<sup>12</sup> protonotarios (non minus inanis quam arrogantis<sup>13</sup> nominis) episcopis antestant. Credo futurum aliquando<sup>14</sup>, ut et cubicularii et ostiarii et omnes intra palatium ministri ecclesiarum pontifices antecedant, quando hoc esse studium nonnullorum videmus, ut episcoporum nomen funditus extingatur<sup>15</sup>. Nec ab re meo iudicio: nimis enim inveteravit episcopalis apex. Omnia nata occidunt<sup>16</sup>, et omnia orta senescunt. Vetus est episcopi dignitas et ipsis apostolorum coeva<sup>17</sup> temporibus: vetustate ipsa jam corruiatque<sup>18</sup> tabescit. Cardinalium ac protonotariorum nova est appellatio.<sup>19</sup> Quid miri<sup>20</sup> est, si virens<sup>21</sup> ipsa juvenus suis<sup>22</sup> innixa viribus episcopalem senectutem loco pellit et accipit ipsa principatum? In exordio nascentis ecclesiae communi presbyterorum consilio parochiae regebantur, neque major episcopus presbytero fuit, si Hieronymo credimus. At cum schismata excrevissent et diceretur<sup>23</sup> ecclesiis: *Ego sum Pauli, ego Cephae*, ad unionem tenendam usu receptum est presbyteros episcopis haberi subjectos. Non est,

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<sup>1</sup> Eneas O, W

<sup>2</sup> cardinalis K, O, U, W

<sup>3</sup> aut U

<sup>4</sup> major natu : natu major O, W

<sup>5</sup> in calce litterarum *omit.* U

<sup>6</sup> legit U; legent W

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

<sup>8</sup> ante *add.* W

<sup>9</sup> altissimo K, O, U, V \*, W

<sup>10</sup> anteferantur W

<sup>11</sup> *em.*; qui codd.

<sup>12</sup> vocitant V

<sup>13</sup> arroganter W

<sup>14</sup> alioquin MA

<sup>15</sup> extingvetur W

<sup>16</sup> occidunt U; aridunt W

<sup>17</sup> cena U

<sup>18</sup> ac O, W

<sup>19</sup> cardinalium ac ... appellatio *omit.* U

<sup>20</sup> mirum U

<sup>21</sup> virtus W

<sup>22</sup> sua U

<sup>23</sup> in *add.* O, W

cur nobis injuriam fieri dicamus, si quae nos presbyteris anteposuit consuetudo, eadem nobis aut<sup>1</sup> cardinales aut alios cujusvis ordinis homines antetulerit. Tu ergo, si me audias, non recusabis cardinali cedere, at<sup>2</sup> huic maxime, qui cum cardinalatu servat episcopatum.

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<sup>1</sup> et MA

<sup>2</sup> atque O, W

[49] His friend replied, “When you consider whether a bishop precedes a cardinal, and you search Holy Scripture and ancient laws, you can find nothing which gives precedence to a cardinal, a new title unknown to the early fathers (even though some claim that Saint Jerome was a cardinal). But Jerome,<sup>1</sup> who was older than Bishop Augustine, wrote to him at the end of a letter, “Farewell, dearest friend, my son in age but my parent in rank.”<sup>2</sup> Nobody who has read the old writings would give precedence to a cardinal over a bishop, who most certainly holds the place of the apostles. In the bishops, you find dignity, order, a great office and the power to bind and to loosen. (Otherwise – you do not need to ask – I consider the cardinal’s rank to be eminent and his office to be high). Therefore, our forefathers gave precedence to bishops since they were the apostles of Christ and vicars of the Great God among their peoples.<sup>3</sup>

[50] But everything yields to time, all obey custom, mistress of all. We must consider things as they are now, not as they were once. Today, not only are cardinals given precedence over bishops, but – and I do not know why - even those notaries called protonotaries (a vain and presumptuous title) stand before the bishops. Sometime in the future, it will probably happen that valets and doorkeepers and all the servants in the [papal] palace will be given precedence over bishops since we see that it is the ambition of many people to destroy the name of bishop. And with some reason, in my opinion: the high episcopal dignity has grown old. Everything that is born dies, and everything that rises grows old. The episcopal rank is old and goes back to the time of the apostles themselves: its very old age makes it decay and wither away. Cardinals and protonotaries are new titles. Why wonder if their flowering youth forces out the ancient episcopacy and takes the lead instead? At the beginning of the Early Church, the parishes were ruled by the common counsel of the priests, and the bishop was not greater than the priest, at least if we believe Jerome. But when heresies broke out and it was said in the churches: *I am of Paul, I am of Cephas*,<sup>4</sup> the custom developed – for the sake of unity - to subordinate priests to bishops. So, there is no reason why we should consider it an abuse if the same custom that placed us bishops above priests now places us below cardinals or men of another rank. So, if you heed me, you will not refuse to cede [the first place] to the cardinal, especially not to a cardinal who is also a bishop.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A priest

<sup>2</sup> Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 105, 5, 2

<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini had already mentioned the rise of the order of cardinals in his *Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia*, 1451 (Nr. 3 in the present series), sect. 63

<sup>4</sup> 1. Corinthians, 1, 12: *Ego quidem sum Pauli : ego autem Apollo : ego vero Cephae : ego autem Christi (Now this I say, that every one of you saith: I indeed am of Paul; and I am of Apollo; and I am of Cephas; and I of Christ)*

<sup>5</sup> Nikolaus of Kues was both a cardinal and bishop of Brixen

[51] At mihi dicis: non est episcopo cum cardinali contentio, legatum episcopum<sup>1</sup> cardinali non legato praeferendum existimo. Falleris: Basileae vidimus, quos miserat Eugenius praesidentes, archiepiscopos honorem locumque cardinalibus dare. Ajunt enim, ut nosti, unum summi pontificis atque cardinalium corpus esse. Denique, ne multis agam tecum, cum dubitamus aequumne sit, quod agimus, an iniquum, ejus ingenium moresque ante oculos revocare oportet, cui est facti reddenda ratio, ut hoc geras, quod illi probare<sup>2</sup> posse confidas. Tibi modo cum sede apostolica negotium est: quo pacto haec te arguat cardinali cedentem, quae cardinalium voluntate nutuque regitur? Ego, si tuo loco sim, cardinali obviam ibo primumque sibi honorem locumque dabo, nec verebor, ne parum dignitatem meam retinere videar, cum sit mihi temporale munus, illi perpetuum. Rursusque nec me Polonorum movebit<sup>3</sup> exemplum, si consuetudo apud illos, non ratio<sup>4</sup> episcopo cardinalem submitit et<sup>5</sup> archiepiscopo<sup>6</sup> jus<sup>7</sup> coronandi suum servavit. Placere Johanni verba<sup>8</sup>: itum est obviam cardinali. Introivit. Legati Caesaris, quae mandata habuerunt, ad eum retulere.

[52] Ludovicus interea Bavariae dux consiliarios quattuor Ratisponam mittit, qui legatos imperatorios convenientes in hunc modum colloquuntur<sup>9</sup>: “Quamvis honoratum sese magnopere Ludovicus intelligit<sup>10</sup>, quod<sup>11</sup> se praesidentem in hoc concilio caesar elegerit, non tamen id muneris sibi subeundum<sup>12</sup> existimat, tum quia juvenis est inexpertus, tum quia Philippus Burgundiae dux eum ad se accersit, quem videre, ut ait, admodum cupit, antequam Germania<sup>13</sup> excedat. Hoc Ludovicus pro necessitudine, quam cum illo habet, negare non potest. Accedet<sup>14</sup> eum<sup>15</sup>, gratias sibi aget<sup>16</sup>, qui nostram nationem sua praesentia illustrare<sup>17</sup> dignatus est<sup>18</sup>, {16r} morem<sup>19</sup> ei, in quavis re<sup>20</sup> geret<sup>21</sup>, sive seria sive jocos<sup>22</sup> malit. Vestrum erit principem nostrum excusatum Caesari<sup>23</sup> reddere, si legationem<sup>24</sup> ejus hoc tempore non amplectitur. Verum quia incertus adhuc

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<sup>1</sup> at mihi ... episcopum *omit.* U

<sup>2</sup> probari O, W

<sup>3</sup> monebit U

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* O, W

<sup>5</sup> sed O, W

<sup>6</sup> archiepiscopoum W

<sup>7</sup> uis U

<sup>8</sup> Enee *add.* O, W

<sup>9</sup> locuntur O; loquuntur W

<sup>10</sup> intellexit MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> qui U; quia MA

<sup>12</sup> sibi subeundum : subeundum sibi U

<sup>13</sup> Germaniam MA

<sup>14</sup> accedit K; accedat MA

<sup>15</sup> cum K

<sup>16</sup> agit W

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>18</sup> visitare *add.* W

<sup>19</sup> moram W

<sup>20</sup> ut W

<sup>21</sup> quavis re geret : quavis gereret U

<sup>22</sup> iocus W

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>24</sup> legationes W

Philippus est, an<sup>1</sup> huc se conferre<sup>2</sup> debeat, cum de Caesaris adventu nihil certi exploratum habeat, habeat, cupit Ludovicus ex vobis<sup>3</sup> cognoscere, an Caesari complaciturus<sup>4</sup> sit, Philippum huc loci si forte adduxerit. Nam sive hoc sive aliud malit imperator, id curabitur, quod ex re Caesaris arbitremini. Neque id arduum erit, cum dubius animus paulo momento aut huc aut illuc impelli possit. Nos interea temporis apud vos erimus et in rebus agendis nostri ducis nomine navabimus operam<sup>5</sup>.”

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<sup>1</sup> ad *add.* U

<sup>2</sup> se conferre : conferre se W

<sup>3</sup> nobis U

<sup>4</sup> compliciturus U; complacitus MA

<sup>5</sup> *corr. ex operas* V; operas K, O, W

[51] But you say to me, “I am not contending with a bishop who is also a cardinal, but I do believe that a [papal] legate, even if [only] a bishop, should take precedence over a cardinal who is not a [papal] legate.” But you are wrong. At Basel, we saw that those archbishops Eugenius had sent to preside [over the council] gave the place of honour to the cardinals. For they say, as you know, that the pope and the cardinals form one body. Finally, not to use many arguments with you, when we are in doubt whether what we are doing is right or wrong, we should consider the character and behaviour of the person to whom we are responsible so that you do what you believe he would approve of. At present, you are acting on behalf of the Apostolic See. Why would that See criticise you for giving precedence to a cardinal when everything there is ruled by the cardinals’ will and assent? If I was in your place, I would go to meet the cardinal and be the first to show him honour, and I would not fear to diminish my own status since my office would be limited in time while his office is permanent. Moreover, the Polish example would not sway me since it is custom, not reason which gave the bishop precedence over a cardinal and reserved the right of crowning to the archbishop.<sup>1</sup> These arguments persuaded Giovanni, who went to meet the cardinal.<sup>2</sup> The cardinal entered the city, and the imperial legates brought their instructions to him.

## 2.15. Duke Ludwig and Duke Philippe

[52] In the meantime, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria sent four counsellors to Regensburg. They met with the imperial legates and told them as follows: “Ludwig recognises that he has been greatly honoured by the emperor choosing him to be one of the presidents of the diet. However, he does not think that he should accept this charge since he is an inexperienced youth and because Duke Philippe of Burgundy has sent him an invitation and said that he much wants to see him before he leaves Germany again. Because of their kinship,<sup>3</sup> Ludwig cannot decline this invitation. He will go to him and thank him for deigning to honour our nation with his presence, and he will accommodate him in any way whether he wants to see him for serious business or for lighthearted companionship. Please send our prince’s apology to the emperor for not accepting the function of a legate at the present time. Since Philippe does not have certain information concerning the emperor’s arrival, he is uncertain whether to come to Regensburg. Therefore, Ludwig would like to know from you if it would please the emperor if he could persuade Philippe to come here. For whatever the emperor wishes, Ludwig will do as you see fit. And it will not be difficult since Philippe is in doubt, and it will take very little to induce him to do this or that. In the meantime, we counsellors will remain with you and participate in the proceedings on behalf of our duke.”

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<sup>1</sup> The primate of Poland

<sup>2</sup> The cardinal arrived in Regensburg on 2 May

<sup>3</sup> Duke Philippe was related to the House of Wittelsbach through his mother, Margaret of Bavaria



[52] Ad haec legati Caesaris optasse se ajunt, Ludovicum ducem praesidentiae pondus accepisse, qui et suo<sup>1</sup> ingenio multum saperet et consiliarios haberet expertos rerum; mansuros se tamen adventum ejus secumque de hoc ipso denuo locuturos. Philippum autem Burgundiae ducem scire se litteris imperialibus accersitum, nec dubitare adventum ejus impense placiturum Caesari. Facturum, quod<sup>2</sup> se<sup>3</sup> decet, Ludovicum, si tantum principem magnifice honoraverit Ratisponamque traxerit. Praesentiam autem consiliariorum ejus in conventu sibi esse carissimam, quos prudentia et auctoritate praestare non ignorarent<sup>4</sup>.

[53] Dum haec aguntur, legati diversorum principum plurimumque<sup>5</sup> civitatum adventant, qui se praesidentibus exhibentes operam suam<sup>6</sup> in communi offerunt. Consilarii Caesaris, ubi conventum paulo auctum<sup>7</sup> vident, in praetorium civitatis universos vocant. Ulricus ibi<sup>8</sup>, Gurcensis episcopus, inter consiliarios Caesaris fide prudentiaque nulli cedens<sup>9</sup>, patrio sermone verbum facit: quae gesserit apud Constantinopolim Turcorum {16v} feritas, quae ultra minatur, cur dies universae Germaniae dicta sit<sup>10</sup>. Optasse Caesarem cum suis principibus convenire<sup>11</sup>, impeditum domi remansisse magna causa.<sup>12</sup> Necessarium esse<sup>13</sup> Christianitati consulere<sup>14</sup> seque cum collegis missum<sup>15</sup> vicem Caesaris impleturum. Mandatum quoque in medio legi jubet. Denique, ut omnes in communi consulant, ne quid detrimenti amplius quam passa est Christiana res patiaturo nostro tempore, rogat.

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<sup>1</sup> *corr. ex suapte* V; *suapte* K, O, W

<sup>2</sup> *quoque* U

<sup>3</sup> *si* W

<sup>4</sup> *ignorent* W

<sup>5</sup> *plurimumque* U; *plerumque* W

<sup>6</sup> *corr. ex operas suas* V; *operam suam : operas suas* K, O, W

<sup>7</sup> *ante* K, U

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

<sup>9</sup> *cedere* W

<sup>10</sup> *palam facit add.* O, W

<sup>11</sup> *dicit add.* O, W

<sup>12</sup> *impeditum domi ... causa : impedimenta que domi eum eum retinere proponit quoniam* O, W

<sup>13</sup> *sit* O, W

<sup>14</sup> *docet add.* O, W

<sup>15</sup> *ait add.* O, W

[52] The imperial legates replied that they wished the duke would accept the charge of co-presiding the diet since he had a great understanding of affairs and moreover had experienced counsellors. But they would await his arrival and then speak with him about the presidency. As for Duke Philippe of Burgundy, he knew that he had been summoned by an imperial letter, and they did not doubt that his coming would much please the emperor. If Ludwig showed great honour to this high prince and brought him to Regensburg, he would be doing as he should, but in any case, the presence of his counsellors at the diet was very welcome to the legates since they knew of their wisdom and authority.

### **3. First session of the diet, 5 or 6 May<sup>1</sup>**

[53] In the meantime, legates from various princes and many cities arrived. Upon arrival, they presented themselves to the presidents and offered their contribution to the joint enterprise. When the imperial counsellors saw that attendance at the diet had increased somewhat, they summoned all to [a meeting] in the town hall.

#### **3.1. Address of Bishop Ulrich Sonnenberger**

There, Bishop Ulrich of Gurk, eminent among the imperial counsellors for his loyalty and wisdom, addressed the assembly in the vernacular. He spoke about the actions of the rabid Turks in Constantinople, the future threats, and the reasons for summoning all the Germans to a diet. The emperor had wanted to meet personally with his princes but had been prevented from doing so for urgent reasons forcing him to stay at home. Nonetheless, it was necessary to take counsel for Christianity, and therefore the bishop would, together with his colleagues, fulfil the emperor's mission. Then he read [the emperor's] mandate and finally asked all to deliberate on measures to prevent the Christian cause from being subjected to more damage than it had already suffered in our time.

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 229 ff.

[54] Quibus dictis cardinalis sancti Petri, quoniam et ipse aliquando in Graecia fuisset Constantinopolimque vidisset, multa de potentia Turcorum deque Graecorum moribus in medium retulit, asserens idcirco videri sibi<sup>1</sup> exterminatum iri Graecorum genus, quia Romanam ecclesiam parvipenderint, durae cervicis atque impurae mentis homines, qui etsi palam intelligerent Latinos<sup>2</sup> de fide multo melius quam se sapere, errori<sup>3</sup> succumbere mallebant quam Romanae sedis institutionem<sup>4</sup> suscipere. Nullam gentem minus tolerabilem se aliquando vidisse quam Graecam, quae<sup>5</sup> licet opes amiserit atque imperium nec eloquentiam aut quarumvis bonarum artium studia retinuerit, mentis tamem elatione atque superbia paene incredibili carere non potest. Legatus apostolicus pro tempore pauca dixit, in aliud tempus dicturum se plura promittens.

[55] Post eum viri religiosi, quos fratres beatae Mariae Theutonicorum appellant, cum priore suo Alemaniae surgunt deque populis Prutenorum grandem querelam faciunt, qui cum<sup>6</sup> foedus inter se minus honestum adversus religionem percussissent idque demum<sup>7</sup> apostolica et imperiali sententia rescindere jussi essent<sup>8</sup>, utrumque<sup>9</sup> gladium contempsissent atque arma sumentes dominos suos tota<sup>10</sup> Pruscia<sup>11</sup> pepulissent, neque religioni jam {16v} aliud parere quam castellum<sup>12</sup> sanctae Mariae et quaedam alia non magni momenti oppida<sup>13</sup>, et ea<sup>14</sup> quoque obsessa<sup>15</sup> ab his esse magistrumque magnum ordinis<sup>16</sup> clausum vix posse defendi. Consilia igitur<sup>17</sup> atque auxilia petunt.

[56] Hic, quoniam de Prutenis mentio incidit, quae sit haec regio et quo pacto in religionis Theutonicae potestatem devenerit, si modo referam, nemo – ut arbitror – ab re dixerit. Pruscia regio est supra mare<sup>18</sup> Balteum, quod ad Sueciam Norvegiamque<sup>19</sup> protenditur<sup>20</sup>. Hinc Saxones, illinc Polonos Livoniosque conterminos habet. Mediam terram perlabitur fluvius, cui Viscela nomen est, qui ex Sarmatiae montibus ortus per Poloniam et Prusciam in mare devolvitur ac Germaniam Scythiamque<sup>21</sup> disterminat.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> *laci* W

<sup>3</sup> *errore* U

<sup>4</sup> *videri add.* O, W

<sup>5</sup> *si add.* U

<sup>6</sup> *tum* U

<sup>7</sup> *domum* K, W

<sup>8</sup> *jussi esent : jussissent* U

<sup>9</sup> *utrum* U

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

<sup>11</sup> *Peruscia* U; *Prussia* W

<sup>12</sup> *castrum* O, W

<sup>13</sup> *et quaedam ... oppida omit.* O, W

<sup>14</sup> *id* O, W

<sup>15</sup> *obsessum* O, W

<sup>16</sup> *in eo add.* O, W

<sup>17</sup> *agitur* U

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* K

<sup>19</sup> *Novergiamque* V

<sup>20</sup> *praetenditur* MA

<sup>21</sup> *Scythiamque* U



### 3.2. Address of Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues

[54] Afterwards, the Cardinal of San Pietro, who had himself been in Greece and visited Constantinople, spoke at length about the power of the Turks and the character of the Greeks. He thought that the Greek people were being destroyed because it spurned the Roman Church. They were obstinate and sordid men who, although they were clearly aware that the Latins know the Faith much better than themselves,<sup>1</sup> would rather fall into error than accept the guidance of the Roman See. He had never seen a people less agreeable than the Greeks. Although they had lost both power and empire and had preserved neither eloquence nor any of the good arts, they were still incredibly proud and arrogant.

The apostolic legate only improvised a short address, promising to say more later.

### 3.3. Prussian issue<sup>2 3</sup>

[55] After him, the brethren of the Order of Holy Mary of the Germans, rose with their prior and vehemently complained about the Prussian peoples. These had made a sordid pact between themselves against the Order. Though they had been ordered both by the Apostolic See and by an imperial judgment to annul it, they had scorned the Two Swords,<sup>4</sup> taken up arms against their lords, and driven them out of the whole of Prussia. Now, the Order's power only comprised Marienburg and some unimportant cities, but these were under siege by the Prussians, and the Grand Master<sup>5</sup> of the Order was beleaguered and could barely defend himself. Therefore, they asked for advice and help.

#### 3.3.1.1. *Geography of Prussia*

[56] Since we are now speaking of Prussia, no one would consider it irrelevant – I believe – if I give an account of this region and how it came into the power of the Teutonic Order. Prussia is a region neighbouring the Baltic Sea that reaches to Sweden and Norway. They share frontiers with the Saxons in one direction and in other directions with the Poles and the Livonians. Through the middle of the country runs a river called Viscela,<sup>6</sup> that flows from the Sarmatian Mountains, runs through Poland and Prussia, empties into the [Baltic] sea, and separates Germany from Scythia.

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<sup>1</sup> The cardinal was probably referring to the theological debates at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1445), leading to the reunion of the Latin and Greek Churches

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 416 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A survey of Piccolomini's writings on Prussia is given in *Scriptores*, IV, pp. 213 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The religious and the secular power with their different means of coercion

<sup>5</sup> Ludwig von Ehrlichshausen

<sup>6</sup> Jordanes, ch. 3

[56] Hoc mare, quamvis ab oceano Britannico ducit originem, undique tamen terra cingitur neque – ut plerique tradunt – Amphitrites dici potest. In quo errore mihi videtur fuisse Jordanis, qui Viscelam<sup>1</sup> Justulam<sup>2</sup> nominans in oceanum decurrere confirmat.

[57] Hanc terram<sup>3</sup> cum Gothi duce Berigo Scandaviam reliquissent, Ulmerigi tenebant, quos illi bello victos propriis sedibus expulerunt, atque deinde cum Vandalis, qui vicini fuerunt, manum conserentes, cum virtutem paene parem invenissent, eos sibi socios asciverunt. Manserunt hic Gothi usque ad Filimerum<sup>4</sup>, qui post Berigum quinto loco regnavit. Filimerus autem, gloriae cupidus, sedes dum novas quaerit, ad paludes Maeotidas pervenit ac ponte facto<sup>5</sup> partem trajecit exercitus atque in Pontum Euxinum victis, quae mediae<sup>6</sup> fuerunt, gentibus penetravit ibique sibi<sup>7 8</sup> suisque perpetuas sedes habuit.

[58] Hinc Scytharum<sup>9</sup> laboribus ac bellis asperum genus ortum, a quo rex Persarum Darius turpi fuga summotus, Cyrus cum omni exercitu trucidatus, dux Alexandri magni Sepirion<sup>10</sup> pari ratione cum universis {17v} copiis deletus<sup>11</sup> traditur, quod<sup>12</sup> Romanorum audisse, non sensisse arma perhibetur, quod<sup>13</sup> Parthicum et Bactrianum imperium condidisse vetus opinio confirmat. Nondum tamen omnes Filimeri copiae trajecerant, cum pons in medio fractus et<sup>14</sup> illis redeundi<sup>15</sup> et his, qui retro fuerunt, transeundi facultatem ademit<sup>16</sup>. Remansit igitur non parva pars Gothorum citra paludes, quae sedes priores ad Viscelam fluvium<sup>17</sup> ac Baltici maris littora repetunt. Haec cum ritu barbaro foetidoque<sup>18</sup> vitam degeret gens, Brutenica dicta est, quamvis postea mutata prima littera Prutenicum nomen obtinuerit.

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<sup>1</sup> Viscelani U

<sup>2</sup> Iustulani U; Instulam W

<sup>3</sup> turram U

<sup>4</sup> Felimerium W

<sup>5</sup> magnam *add.* O, W

<sup>6</sup> medio W

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

<sup>8</sup> ibique sibi : ibi suique W

<sup>9</sup> Hinc Scytharum *omit.* W

<sup>10</sup> Sopirion O; Soprion W

<sup>11</sup> delatus U

<sup>12</sup> quem MA

<sup>13</sup> quem MA

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* MA

<sup>15</sup> redeundis W

<sup>16</sup> adeunt U, W

<sup>17</sup> Flavium U

<sup>18</sup> fetido U

### 3.3.2. Conflict between the Prussian cities and the Teutonic Knights

[56] Though this sea originates in the Britannic Ocean, it has land on all sides and cannot – contrary to what many say – be called Amphitrites. I believe that Jordanes<sup>1</sup> held this error since he named the Viscela river Justulum and claimed that it empties into the Ocean.

#### 3.3.2.1. Early history of Prussia

[57] At the time when the Goths left Scandavia with Berigus as their leader, this country was held by the Ulmerigi. The Goths defeated the Ulmerigi and drove them from their homes. Then they fought the Vandals, their neighbours, but finding them almost their equal in strength, they instead allied themselves with them. The Goths stayed in Prussia until Filimerus, who was their fifth ruler after Berigus. But Filimerus was eager for glory and went to find a new home for the people. Coming to the Maeotian Marshes, he built a bridge and led part of his army over it. Having defeated the peoples in between, he reached Pontus Euxinus,<sup>2</sup> where he established a permanent home for himself and his people.

[58] (There, the Scythian people,<sup>3</sup> strengthened by labours and wars, had its origins. It is said to have forced Darius, King of the Persians, to flee shamefully, to have killed Cyrus with all his army, and to have destroyed Sepirion,<sup>4</sup> a general of Alexander the Great, together with all his forces. This people is said only to have heard of Roman arms but never to have felt them. According to an old belief, they founded the Parthian and the Bactrian empire.<sup>5</sup>)

Not all of Filimerus' troops had passed over when the bridge broke in the middle, making it impossible for the first to return and for the last to pass over. Thus, a large part of the Goths was left in the area beyond the [Maeotian] marshes, but later they returned to their former home by the river Viscela and the coast of the Baltic Sea. Here they lived their barbarous and sordid lives, for which reason they were called the Brutenic (brute) people.<sup>6</sup> Later, the first letter in the name was changed to P, and thus they obtained the name Prutenic (Prussian).

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<sup>1</sup> Jordanes (6th cent.): Gothic Byzantine official and historian, who wrote a history of the Goths (*De origine actibusque Getarum / Getica*), about 551, which Piccolomini used as a basis for his own *Historia Gothorum* and for his description of the Goths in the present report

<sup>2</sup> The Black Sea

<sup>3</sup> A Central Asian people, known to the Greeks and the Romans

<sup>4</sup> Not identified

<sup>5</sup> This whole passage (a quo rex Persarum ... confirmat) is taken almost literally from Justinus' epitome of Trogus' *Liber Historiarum Philippicarum*, 2.3: *Imperium Asiae ter quaesivere; ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti aut invicti mansere. Darium, regem Persarum, turpi ab Scythia submoverunt fuga, Cyrum cum omni exercitu trucidaverunt, Alexandri Magni ducem Zopyriona pari ratione cum copiis universis deleverunt. Romanorum audivere, non sensere arma. Parthicum et Bactrianum imperium ipsi condiderunt. Gens laboribus et bellis aspera*

<sup>6</sup> This etymology is, of course, false

[59] Hic Christi nomen incognitum neque audita Romana tuba neque signum aquilae visum ante Friderici secundi tempora fuit. Eo vero imperante, cum jam Saraceni Jerosolymam<sup>1</sup> obtinuissent atque urbem Accon<sup>2</sup> expugnassent, fratres beatae Mariae Theutonicorum, qui ex orienti fugam fecerant, ne per otium tabescerent, Hermano duce, claro atque animi et corporis dote<sup>3</sup> pollenti, qui tum religionis magister fuit, imperatorem adeunt, Prusciam, si queant, ab infidelibus extorquere, dono petunt. Obtinent, auxilia vicinorum implorant, bellum Prutenis inferunt, diu varia victoria pugnant, ad extremum victos paganos sub jugum mittunt, dominatum terrae accipiunt, in Livoniam transeunt, regionem longe lateque populantur, barbaros quamplurimos ad Christi<sup>4</sup> religionem trahunt, ditionem suam mira felicitate amplificant. Fiunt potentia, fastu, gloria pares regibus.

[60] Cum Polonis frequentes lites ineunt, nunc superantur, nunc superant. Denique patrum nostrorum memoria {18r} Vladislao<sup>5</sup> gentis regi, prudentia et animi magnitudine ac religionis cultu memorabili, bellum indicunt. Is impigre proelium struit<sup>6</sup> Vitoldumque fratrem suum, magnum Lituaniae ducem, in auxilium vocat, virum sui temporis severissimum et astutiarum<sup>7</sup> plenum. Proelium Julio mense committitur, pugnatum est summa contentione, diu Mars dubius fuit. Multi hinc atque inde ceciderunt. Ad ultimum victi religiosi corruunt, sexcenti<sup>8</sup> equites natu nobiles ea pugna periere<sup>9</sup>, vulgus ignobile sine numero caesum. Victor Polonus omnem Prusciam invadit. Religioni castellum<sup>10</sup> beatae Mariae tantum remanet. Sed interveniente Sigismundo Caesare provincia fratribus<sup>11</sup> restituta est, aurum regi datum, foedus utrimque perpetuo dictum. Regnaverunt posthac suo modo<sup>12</sup> religiosi compluribus annis, subditos suos pace parta non tam metu<sup>13 14</sup> quam beneficiis in oboedientia retinentes.

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<sup>1</sup> Hierosoly... *et passim* MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> Acharon U; Accaron O, W

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

<sup>4</sup> regionem longe ... Christi *omit.* K

<sup>5</sup> Ladislao U

<sup>6</sup> truit U

<sup>7</sup> astutia W

<sup>8</sup> quadringenti O

<sup>9</sup> perire K

<sup>10</sup> castrum O, W

<sup>11</sup> patribus U

<sup>12</sup> more O, W

<sup>13</sup> mora W

<sup>14</sup> tam metu : tametu U



### 3.3.2.2. *Arrival of Teutonic Knights*

[59] The name of Christ was unknown there, and they had neither heard the Roman trumpet nor seen the eagle standard before the times of Friedrich II. When, during his reign, the Saracens took Jerusalem and conquered Accon, the brothers of Holy Mary of the Germans fled from the East. So as not to waste away in idleness, they – under the leadership of Hermann,<sup>1</sup> a nobleman of great physical and mental strength, and at that time Master of the Order – went to the emperor and requested to be given Prussia as a gift if they were able to wrest it from the infidels. When their request was granted, they asked for help from their neighbours and made war on the Prussians.<sup>2</sup> Long they fought with changing success, but in the end, they defeated the pagans and sent them under the yoke.<sup>3</sup> Having taken the lordship of that country, they continued to Livonia, which they laid to waste far and wide, forcing many barbarians to convert to the Christian religion. They extended their domain with astonishing success and became the equals of kings in power, splendour and glory.

### 3.3.2.3. *War with Poland*

[60] They often fought with the Poles, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Finally, in the memory of our fathers, they declared war on the king of that country, Wladislaw,<sup>4</sup> a man of superior wisdom, greatness of soul, and piety. He prepared energetically for war, calling on his brother<sup>5</sup> Vytautas,<sup>6</sup> Grand Duke of Lithuania, for help. Vitold was one of the most ruthless men of his time and very crafty. Battle was joined in July<sup>7</sup>. They fought relentlessly, and for a long time, it was uncertain who would win. Many fell on both sides, but in the end, the Order lost. 600 Knights of noble birth were slain and numerous common soldiers killed. The victorious Pole invaded all of Prussia, and only Marienburg remained in the hands of the Order. But at the intervention of Emperor Sigismund, the Order regained the province, the king was given a sum of money, and a permanent settlement was imposed on the two parties. Since then, the Order has reigned for many years, and after the peace was obtained, they kept their subjects obedient less through fear than through favours.

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<sup>1</sup> Hermann von Salza (ca. 1165-1232): Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights from 1210 to his death

<sup>2</sup> 1230

<sup>3</sup> "sent them under the yoke": a classical Roman expression, cf. Caesar: *De bello Gallico*, 1, 7: *Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum*

<sup>4</sup> Wladyslaw II (Jagiellon)(1351-1434): Grand Duke of Lithuania, King of Poland from 1386 to his death

<sup>5</sup> They were not brothers but cousins.

<sup>6</sup> Vytautas (ca. 1350-1430): Grand duke of Lithuania.

<sup>7</sup> Battle of Tannenberg, 15 July 1410

[61] At cum pax divitias<sup>1</sup>, divitiae<sup>2</sup> superbiam luxumque peperissent, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Administrante Paulo<sup>3</sup> religio scissa est: aliud his, aliud illis videri, insidias invicem tendere, alter alterum ferre non posse. Qui res belli asperrimas maximaque pericula toleraverunt<sup>4</sup>, quietem atque opes<sup>5</sup> pati non posse. Fratrum igitur major pars a magistro deficit. Is veritus, ne civitates quoque dividerentur, et aliae suam, aliae suorum aemulorum partem sequerentur, vocatis rectoribus earum, ut se uniant, jubet haud dubitans, quin uniti secum sentirent. Civitates occasionem nactae faciendi, quod tota mente quaerebant, accersita nobilitate ac militia {18v} provinciae, quas vel praelati vel religiosi multis ante annis injurias in populum contulissent, non sine grandi querela commemorant. Regimen terrae pessimum esse, nisi occurrant, ruituram patriam dicunt. Est omnibus unus animus nunc, cum facultatem habeant, succurrendi, ne propriam salutem deserant. Fit conventus indulgente magistro. In eo decernitur sedecim virorum fieri consilium oportere, quod singulis annis certo loco certoque tempore sedens querelas privatorum audiat, gravamina corrigat, neque injuriam fieri cuiquam<sup>6</sup> sinat. Si quis hujus consilii censuram contempserit, in eum publice vindicetur<sup>7</sup>, sive is episcopus sive magister supremus fuerit. In eo consilio qui praesideant, placet quattuor ex ordine praelatorum, quattuor ex religiosis, reliquos octo ex nobilibus ac civitatibus<sup>8</sup> assumi debere. Probat omnia Paulus, faventes sibi ut civitates sint<sup>9</sup>. Nec diu post<sup>10</sup> legati civitatum Fridericum tertium Caesarem adeunt, religiosorum ineptum regimen accusant, indignis se contumeliis affici queruntur. Foedus, quo se ab injuriis<sup>11</sup> tueantur ut sibi habere liceat, impense petunt. De facto foedere nihil aperiunt. Indulget Caesar, si modo juri religionis nihil praejudicii fiat.

[62] Post aliquot annos mortuo Paulo Ludovicoque in ejus locum suffecto notitia foederis ad Nicolaum quintum, Romanum pontificem, defertur<sup>12</sup>. Is legatum in Prusciam mittit episcopum Silvensem, hominem Portugallia natum, qui brevi tempore cuncta rimatus conventiones {19r} nexusque civitatum in publica forma Romam defert. In his pleraque capitula inventa sunt ecclesiasticae libertati adversa canonibusque contraria. Decernit apostolica sedes iniquum foedus atque ipso jure irritum. Qui illo posthac utatur, eum<sup>13</sup> anathemate ferit<sup>14</sup>. Id ubi inter Prutenos palam factum est, sunt qui censuras<sup>15</sup> veriti mox foederi renuntiant, quos reliqui velut infames ac pejerantes<sup>16</sup> falsum probro habent atque indignos hominum consortio.

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<sup>1</sup> diuitiae U

<sup>2</sup> diuitias U

<sup>3</sup> omit. U

<sup>4</sup> toleraverant K, O, W

<sup>5</sup> corr. ex opem V; opem K, U, W

<sup>6</sup> fieri cuiquam : cuiquam fieri MA

<sup>7</sup> vendicet W

<sup>8</sup> esse add. W

<sup>9</sup> int corr. ex fiant; functo U; sunt O, W

<sup>10</sup> posse W

<sup>11</sup> iuriis O; iuris W

<sup>12</sup> defertum U

<sup>13</sup> cum U

<sup>14</sup> ferat W

<sup>15</sup> omit. U

<sup>16</sup> deierantes O, W



#### 3.3.2.4. *Alliance of Prussian cities*

[61] But when peace had brought wealth, and wealth arrogance and luxurious living, fortune began to rage and throw all into disorder. During Paul's<sup>1</sup> administration, the Order broke into two factions, each pursuing its own policies, loathing and plotting against each other. The Knights had endured great hardships and dangers of war, but they could not bear tranquillity and wealth. Thus, the majority of the Brethren deserted the Master. Fearing that the cities, too, would become divided and that some would follow him and others his rivals, he summoned the cities' leaders and bade them unite, believing that once united, they would side with him. The cities seized upon the opportunity to do what they so ardently desired. They summoned the nobles and the military leaders of the province and presented a bitter indictment of the injuries inflicted over many years on the people by the prelates and the Order. Their government, they said, was the worst in the world and would destroy their country if unopposed. They all agreed that they should now, while they had the opportunity, join forces to aid their country and not give up on their own salvation. With the Grand Master's permission, they held a meeting in which it was decided to set up a board of 16 men to meet once a year in a certain place and on a certain date and settle conflicts between private people, correct abuses, and allow no one to be harmed. If anyone disregarded the decisions of this board, public measures would be taken against him, be he a bishop or even the Grand Master himself. As presidents of this board they decided to appoint four prelates and four knights, and the other eight from the nobles and the cities. Paul approved everything in order to keep the cities on his side. Soon afterwards, the cities' legates came to Emperor Friedrich III, accusing the Order of incompetent government and complaining of the bad treatment they were receiving. They earnestly sought permission to set up an alliance to protect themselves against further injury – without saying anything about the pact they had already made.<sup>2</sup> The emperor gave his permission on the condition that the rights of the Order were respected.

#### 3.3.2.5. *Papal intervention*

[62] Some years later, Paul died and was succeeded by Ludwig.<sup>3 4</sup> Then information about the pact reached the Roman Pontiff, Nicolaus V. He sent the Bishop of Silva,<sup>5</sup> a Portuguese, as a legate to Prussia. Having investigated everything in a very short while, he brought public information about the agreements and the alliance between the cities back to Rome. In the agreements were found several articles contrary to ecclesiastical liberty and the canons.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the Apostolic See judged that the pact was unlawful and illegitimate, and excommunicated those who kept it in the future. When this [judgment] was made public in Prussia, some, fearing the censures, soon

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<sup>1</sup> Paul von Rusdorf (ca. 1385-1441): Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights from 1422 to his death

<sup>2</sup> 1440

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1410-1467): Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights 1449 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Paul Rusdorf was not directly succeeded by Ludwig von Erlichshausen, but by Konrad von Erlichshausen, grandmaster from 1441 to 1449

<sup>5</sup> Rodrigo Didaci (d. 1449): Bishop of Silves, Portugal, 1441 to his death.

<sup>6</sup> Canon law

renounced the pact. The others considered them to be infamous oathbreakers, unworthy of human fellowship.

[62] Crescit ob eam causam vulnus, odia inter civitates et religionem augentur. Turbida omnia fiunt, nihil boni aut aequi consulitur.

[63] Religiosi, postquam auctoritas ecclesiastica contemptui est, Caesarem uti bracchium saeculare adhibeat contra rebelles oratum faciunt. Imperatori vocanda altera pars atque audienda videtur. Ante Caesaris tribunal legati<sup>1</sup> utriusque partis ubi comparent, alteri criminantur alteros, deinde in Caesarem velut arbitrum compromittunt, ut is<sup>2</sup> controversiam, quae hinc atque inde objici possit, omnem audiat ac jure<sup>3</sup> diffiniat, eo pacto, ut conventio ac reconventio<sup>4</sup> eodem iudicio terminetur. Ad diem dictam cum ambae partes misissent, legati civitatum, dum per Moraviam iter faciunt, in manus latronum incidunt excussique bonis omnibus carceribus mancipantur. His de rebus suspenditur in alteram diem cognitio et rursus in alteram, donec verisimile sit, aut dimitti legatos interceptos aut alios ex Prussia remitti. Fit haec prorogatio contranitentibus {19v} religiosis, qui non obstante captura procedendum esse contendebant, cum legati civitatum aliud iter habentes suo<sup>5</sup> ingenio per Moraviam perrexissent, inhospitam terram ac latronum domum, ubi rapina laudi datur, nec nobilis quisquam censetur, nisi praeda raptuque vivat<sup>6</sup>. Sed qui dandam esse dilationem putabant, nullam ex Prussia in Austriam satis tutam viam inveniri dicebant legatisque nihil imputandum, qui non modo imperatoris, sed Ladislai quoque Bohemiae regis ac Moraviae marchionis publicae securitatis litteras impetrassent atque his confisi recta via ad Austriam properassent. Fuit autem ultima, quae concessa est, dilatio sex dierum et XII hebdomadarum. Ea pendente legati civitatum e custodia dimittuntur, adnitente plurimum Georgio Pogiebratio<sup>7</sup>, regni Bohemiae governatore, viro illustri et alto ingenio.

[64] Postquam secundo partes in praesentia Caesaris adsunt, concordiam prius<sup>8</sup> quaerere quam iudicialium sequi rigorem placet<sup>9</sup>, delecti, qui hoc agunt<sup>10</sup>. Diebus plusculis frustra nituntur, legati legati civitatum indigne se multa<sup>11</sup> perpressos a religiosis quaerunt, relicturos se foedus ajunt, si modo cautum<sup>12</sup> sit, ne contra privilegia deinceps vexari queant. Religiosi nihil se indigne fecisse affirmant. Foedus nisi ante omnia refutetur, spem nullam concordiae praebent. Itur ergo in jus.

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<sup>1</sup> legatique U

<sup>2</sup> his U

<sup>3</sup> in re W

<sup>4</sup> ac reconventio *omit.* U

<sup>5</sup> suapte O, W

<sup>6</sup> iuvat O, U, W

<sup>7</sup> Pogiebratiae U; Podzebracio W

<sup>8</sup> plus MA

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

<sup>10</sup> agitant W

<sup>11</sup> multos W

<sup>12</sup> tantum U

[62] Thus, the wound keeps worsening, and the hate between the cities and the Order keeps growing. All is in disorder, and nobody cares for what is good and just.

### 3.3.2.7. *Imperial court trial (June – December 1453)*<sup>1</sup>

[63] The Prussians ignored the ecclesiastical authority, and therefore the Knights asked the emperor to employ the secular arm against the rebels. The emperor decided that the other part should be seen and heard, too. When the legates of the two parties appeared before the emperor's tribunal, they made accusations against each other and then agreed to submit to the emperor's arbitration. He would hear the whole controversy and the arguments from both sides and then make a judgment, in such a way that both the claim [of the Knights] and the counterclaim<sup>2</sup> [of the Prussians] would be adjudicated in the same judgment. Both parties sent their representatives to appear on the appointed day, but then it happened that the legates of the [Prussian] cities fell into robbers' hands while travelling through Moravia, were robbed of all their possessions, and thrown into prison. Therefore the trial<sup>3</sup> was adjourned twice until there was reliable information whether the legates who had been abducted would be freed or others would be sent from Prussia. This postponement was made against the opposition of the Knights who contended that the trial should proceed notwithstanding the capture of the legates from the [Prussian] cities: though they could have chosen other routes, they had decided to travel through Moravia, an inhospitable country and home of robbers, where plunder is praised, and no one is considered noble if he does not live from robbery and pillage. But those who favoured the postponement considered that there is no really safe road from Prussia to Austria. Moreover, the [Prussian] legates could not be blamed since they had obtained safe-conducts both from the emperor, from King Ladislaus of Bohemia and from the Margrave of Moravia, and had hastened directly to Austria, trusting in them. But the last postponement granted was for 12 weeks and six days. During this postponement, the cities' legates were released from prison due to the energetic intervention of Georg Podiebrad,<sup>4</sup> Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, an illustrious man of noble character.

[64] The second time they met before the emperor, it was decided to seek mutual agreement before having recourse to strict judicial process, and the persons who would undertake this were selected. For several days they laboured in vain: the legates of the [Prussian] cities complained of the many and undeserved abuses they had suffered at the hands of the Knights, but they also said that they would end their pact if only they could have guarantees that they would no longer be harassed, in contravention of their privileges. On their part, the Knights claimed that they had done nothing unjustified. The pact must be repealed before they would give any hope of an agreement. So, a judicial process was initiated.

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 419 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "conventio / reconventio": claim / counterclaim

<sup>3</sup> "cognitio"

<sup>4</sup> Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Governor of Bohemia 1451 to 1457 when he became King of Bohemia

[65] Ibi Petrus Knor<sup>1</sup>, qui tum<sup>2</sup> religionis patronus erat, vir doctus ac<sup>3</sup> dicendi peritus, iniquitatem foederis exponit, quod neque civili neque canonico jure subsistere possit. Civitates magno magistro simulque conventui oboedientiam promississe ac jurasse dicit, constitutiones Caroli quarti et aliorum Caesarum vetustas leges in medium profert, quibus {20r} conventiculae<sup>4</sup> prohibentur. Omnes, qui convenissent damnosumque religionis foedus inissent, infames ac perjuros<sup>5</sup> asserit, excidisse privilegiis, amisisse feuda, dignitate quavis nudatos esse simulque auri magno pondere plectendos. Foedus iniquum, cassum atque irritum pronuntiari debere. Anathema quoque in omnes promulgat, qui foederi contra mandata Romani praesulis adhaesissent.

[66] Martinus Mair eo tempore causam civitatum tuebatur, bona facundia et scientia juris viris disertioribus comparandus. Ubi Petrus dicendi finem fecit, rogato Caesare, ut se quoque audiret, civitates, inquit, indigne accusari neque merito vel perjuras vel infames dici, quae minime jusjurandum contempsissent foedus ineuntes, quod cum voluntate magistri et aliquorum praeceptorum percussissent facturosque sese omnia promississent,<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> in quibus religioni tenerentur, neque belle adduci leges aut canones conventiculas<sup>8</sup> prohibentes, quae tum<sup>9</sup> damnantur, cum sine jussu aut voluntate superioris aguntur. Civitates namque Prutenicas jubente magistro convenisse, ligam nullo pacto irritam videri posse, quae auctore principe facta fuisset, nec rursus excommunicationis vinculo civitates teneri, quae numquam vocatae neque auditae a summo pontifice fuissent. Esse praeterea jus naturae, ut se quisque vitam corpusque tueatur neque indignas oppressiones ferat. Religiosos tenuisse civitates loco servorum, nihil curasse libertates earum a divis imperatoribus obtentas. Hos agris, illos uxoribus spoliasse. Monetam percussisse damnosam. Theolonia graviora induxisse. Bella minus necessaria gessisse. Damnasse ultimo supplicio innocentes, delinquentes accepta pecunia liberasse. Non fuisse in terra Pruscia<sup>10</sup> justitiae locum. Frustra quaestum populum. Si quando Romanus pontifex imploratus est, dixisse {20v} fratres ad imperii se tribunal pertinere; si rursus imperatoris censura quaesita est, in apostolicae sedis refugisse tutelam. Viros quattuor et viginti, qui de gravibus causis Romam ibant questum, interceptos a religiosis occisos et cum equis terra obrutos. Tot insolentiis oppressas civitates, cum nullum esset aliud remedium, ad suam defensionem id foederis necessario recepisse<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Kuor U

<sup>2</sup> tam W

<sup>3</sup> atque W

<sup>4</sup> conuenticula W

<sup>5</sup> perjuros K, O, U, V \*, W

<sup>6</sup> permisissent MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> facturosque sese ... permisissent *omit.* U

<sup>8</sup> conventicula MA, WO

<sup>9</sup> tunc MA

<sup>10</sup> Pruscie O

<sup>11</sup> accepisse O

[65] There Peter Knorr,<sup>1</sup> at the time an advocate of the Order, a learned man and a trained speaker, expounded on the heinousness of the [Prussian] pact, invalid in terms of civil as well as canon law.<sup>2</sup> The cities had promised and sworn obedience both to the grandmaster and to the Order. He also cited the constitutions of Karl IV<sup>3</sup> and old laws of other emperors that forbade associations. He claimed that all who had met and joined this pact, so harmful to the Order, were infamous perjurers, who had lost their privileges and feudal possessions, had been deprived of all their offices, and should be heavily fined. The pact must be declared unlawful, null and void. Finally, he stated that all who had kept the pact against the pope's command were excommunicated.

[66] At that time, Martin Mair defended the cause of the cities, a well-spoken man who equalled the most eloquent men of law. When Peter had finished speaking, the emperor asked to hear Martin, too. He said that the accusations against the cities were without foundation and that they had not deserved being called infamous perjurers. They had not disregarded their oath when they entered the pact, for they had done so at the instigation of the grandmaster and some preceptors [of the Order], and they had promised to fulfil all their obligations to the Order. Moreover, it was unjust to refer to the laws and canons<sup>4</sup> forbidding associations since these are only forbidden when they are created against the command and will of the superior. The Prussian cities had met at the order of the Master, and the league could in no way be invalid when it had been founded at the instigation of their own prince. And the cities could not be excommunicated since they had neither been summoned nor heard by the Supreme Pontiff. Also, the law of nature allows all men to protect their own life and body and not suffer unjust oppression. The Knights had treated the cities as slaves and ignored the liberties they had obtained from the holy emperors. Some of them robbed them of their lands, others of their wives. They had struck bad money. They had imposed hefty levies. They had made unnecessary wars. They had sentenced innocents to death and taken money to set criminals free. In Prussia, there was no room for justice. The people complained in vain. If they begged the Roman Pontiff [for help], the Knights claimed they were subject to the emperor's tribunal, and if they then sought a judgment from the emperor, the Knights took refuge with the Apostolic See. When 24 men went to Rome to complain of very important matters, the Knights ambushed and killed them and buried them together with their horses. The cities had suffered so much abuse that, with no other remedy available, they had been forced to make the pact for their own protection.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Knorr (1410-1478): German cleric and doctor in canon law

<sup>2</sup> Therefore they could not justify their actions by appealing to the grandmaster's permission alone

<sup>3</sup> Karl IV (Luxembourg) (1316-1378): King of Bohemia 1446. Elected King of the Romans 1346 and crowned emperor in Rome in 1355

<sup>4</sup> Canon law



[67] Ad eamque rem Caesaris auctoritatem accedere dicens litteras Friderici tertii, qui tum sedebat, legi iussit. Auditis litteris negavit Petrus magistrum Prussiae conventum civitatibus indulsisse aut ligam quovismodo probasse. Quod si factum fuisset, non tamen excusatas civitates esse, quae non magistro dumtaxat, sed magistro atque conventui iuramentum oboedientiae praestitissent. Apostolicum anathema refelli non posse dixit, cum Romanus pontifex causa cognita ligam damnasset jussissetque<sup>1</sup>, ne quis illa uteretur. Si quis contra faceret, anathemate feriretur<sup>2</sup>. Quid ni excommunicati essent, scienter usi. Quae de gravaminibus atque injuriis Martinus dixerat, partim refellit, partim negavit. Contra Caesaris litteras objecit<sup>3</sup>, quia neque locum, in quo datae fuissent, neque secretum geminae<sup>4</sup> signum ex more continerent emanassentque longe post ligam factam<sup>5</sup> neque retro trahi deberent. Deinde laxatis habenis: "Quid ego," inquit, "tecum, Martine, contendam? Concedo tibi, quae cupis omnia; esto<sup>6</sup>, magister conventusque ligam fieri consenserit, Caesar facultatem praebuerit, papa minime manum apposuerit<sup>7</sup>, gravissimas injurias ex religione civitates acceperint<sup>8</sup>. Quid tum? Licetne idcirco foedus inire perversum, statuta iniqua condere<sup>9</sup>, iuramenta recipere, quae libertatem ecclesiasticam pessumdent? {21r} Age, Martine, quid hic respondes? Capitulum illud est unum pessimum, quod inter cetera civitates sanxerunt, in quo se iudices super dominos suos constituunt. Ajunt enim: si factam injuriam cuiquam cognoverint, sive religiosi sive praelati injuriati fuerint, daturus se operam, menda<sup>10</sup> ut aequa dignaque fiat; id si nequeant obtinere vindicatos se. Id mali minantur in eum, qui damnum dederit, quicumque is<sup>11</sup> demum fuerit, sive magister ordinis, sive pontifex. Quid tibi, Martine, videtur: licetne subditos facta superiorum corrigere? Esto, liceat! Quid illud? Vindicare in praelatos inque religiosos licet?"

[68] Tum Martinus "Cogis me," inquit, "Petre, plura, quam ab initio statueram, dicere. Parebo voluntati tuae. Unicum est – ut video – capitulum, quod toto in foedere damnas, reliqua ergo omnia probas. Recte hic agis, illud inique, quia multa, quae bona sunt, unico malo perire vis. Non sic rector orbis caelique motor Deus, qui multa milia malorum salvatorum se Loth promisit, si decem in civitate bonos viros offendisset. Apud Deum paucis<sup>12</sup> bonis<sup>13</sup> multi<sup>14</sup> mali<sup>15</sup> salvati sunt<sup>16</sup>; apud te, Petre, multis bonis unus malus exitio est. Sed ostendam tibi neque unicum hic malum inveniri capitulum, nam quod sedecim viris permissa est super illatis injuriis cognoscendi facultas, eatenus intelligendum est, quatenus illi capaces sunt. Si de re profana quaestio est, cur nequeat

<sup>1</sup> jussitque U

<sup>2</sup> si quis ... feriretur *omit.* U

<sup>3</sup> abjecit MA, WO

<sup>4</sup> gemme K, O, V, W; WO

<sup>5</sup> fractam MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> ego U

<sup>7</sup> opposuerit MA, WO

<sup>8</sup> acceperunt K

<sup>9</sup> concedere W

<sup>10</sup> emenda O, W

<sup>11</sup> his U

<sup>12</sup> *corr. ex pauci* V; pauci K, O, W; paci U

<sup>13</sup> *corr. ex bonis* V; boni K, O, U, W

<sup>14</sup> *corr. ex multi* V; multis K, O, U, W

<sup>15</sup> *corr. ex mali* V; malis K, O, U, W

<sup>16</sup> salvati sunt : sunt saluti W

laicus adjuncto clerico cognoscere? Si hoc - quemadmodum diximus - ex consensu partium datum est, haud<sup>1</sup> hic actio injuriarum intentatur, quam possis dicere personalem, sed rei per injuriam amissae vendicatio datur.

[67] Declaring that he could also refer to the emperor's own authority, he had the letter of Friedrich III read – in his presence. After the letter was read, Peter denied that the grandmaster had allowed the cities to meet or had in any way approved such a league. And even if he had, it was still no excuse, for they had made an oath not only to the grandmaster but also to the Order. And the apostolic anathema could not be disputed since the pope had condemned the league and forbidden membership in it only after investigating the matter formally. All who disobeyed were excommunicated. Thus, those who were knowingly active in the pact were excommunicated. What Martin had said about the abuses and injuries [suffered by the Prussians], Peter partly refuted, partly denied. Against the emperor's letter, he objected that the place of issue was not indicated and neither had the secret, double<sup>2</sup> seal been used. Moreover, the letter had been issued long after the league had been formed, and it could not be made retroactive. Then Peter said, letting go of all restraints, "But why do I dispute with you, Martin? I admit everything you wish me to. Let us assume that the grandmaster and the Order actually approved the creation of the league, that the emperor gave his assent, that the pope did not intervene, and that the cities were greatly harmed by the Order. So what? Would they therefore be allowed to make a wicked pact, pass evil statutes, receive oaths, and do away with ecclesiastical freedom? Now, Martin, what do you answer to that? The one completely unacceptable article, which the cities endorsed among others is the one in which they made themselves the judges of their lords. For they say: If they learn of an injury done to anyone, be it by the knights or by the prelates, then the cities shall endeavour to redress the matter reasonably and fairly. If they are unable to, then they shall take revenge. Thus, they threaten the person who did the injury, whoever he is, be he the grandmaster or a bishop. What do you think, Martin: May subjects correct the actions of their superiors? And if that is allowed: may they take revenge on prelates and members of religious orders?"

[68] Then Martin said, "You force me, Peter, to say more than I wanted to from the beginning, but I shall obey your wish. I see that you only condemn one article in the whole treaty, which means that you approve of the others. To approve the others is right, but to condemn the one is wrong, for thus you want all the good ones to be quashed because of one bad. This is not what God, the ruler of the world and the mover of Heaven, would do: he promised Loth to save many thousand evil men if only he could find ten good men in the city. Thus God saved many evil men for the sake of a few good, but with you, Peter, one evil man is the ruin of many good men. But I will show you that this one article is, in fact, not bad, either. For when the 16 men are authorized to investigate injuries suffered, it should be understood in the sense that "as far as they have the competency." If the matter in question is of a secular nature, then why can it not be investigated by a layman

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<sup>1</sup> aut U

<sup>2</sup> "geminae": a reference to the imperial double-headed eagle?

joined by a clergyman?<sup>1</sup> And if that was actually – as we have said – decided unanimously by the [two] parties, then this action has no injurious intent, not being aimed at any one person, but rather at reclaiming the thing lost injuriously.

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<sup>1</sup> The board of investigation was actually composed of both laymen and clergy, see above

[68] {21v} Si hoc modo capitulum accipis, nihil est, quod criminari possis, neque tua est justa objurgatio, qui vindictam accusas in episcopos atque magistrum. Ostendis enim, cum multum intelligas, te nihil intelligere. Non enim vindicaturas<sup>1</sup> sese<sup>2</sup> injurias civitates ajunt, nisi cum alia via saluti suae consulere nequeant, hoc est, si<sup>3</sup> potenti manu vel<sup>4</sup> magister vel<sup>5</sup> episcopus injuriam perguit facere. *Ibo obviam ac vim vi repellam*: neque tu, Petre, hoc justum esse negabis, qui a natura ipsa defensionem indultam esse non ambigis neque hic<sup>6</sup> vindictam quasi vetitam ultionem interpreteris. Nam et vindicta dicitur, cum se quisquam adversus injuriantes modo licito atque honesto tuetur, neque nos tam verba quam sensum convenit sequi. Ego paulo ante dixi tuos religiosos multis modis injurios civitatibus esse multaque ab his fieri indigna, neque permitti homines Prusciae justitiae causa vel papam vel imperatorem adire. Haec - si vera sunt - quis non intelligit licere civitatibus factum facto tollere? At cum tu<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> ista neges, in nos onus probandi transfers, neque id nos recusamus, si modo tempus datur et ad partes remissio et compulsoria. Annuis jam his, Petre, non dubito, qui nos aequum petere non ignoras.”

[69] “Immo vero,” inquit Petrus, “neque annuo neque justum censeo. Hic jam finiri litem oportet. Diem dictam novistis: armatos venire in bellum decuit, non postquam in campum exieras<sup>9</sup> domum redire atque arma sumere. Demirror tuam, Martine, prudentiam, qui tempus ad ea probanda {22r} requiris, quae probata tuam causam nihil adjuvent. Age, si quid telorum habes, nunc emittito neque parte praesente certamen fugias. Novi<sup>10</sup> ego tuas versutias, fuga salutem quaeris.”

[70] Cum diu<sup>11</sup> Petrus diuque Martinus invicem contendissent, eo demum deducta res est, ut super danda negandave<sup>12</sup> dilatione omnis controversia consistere videretur. Emissis igitur ligatoribus, Caesar inter assistentes ex bono et aequo, quid agendum sit, percontatur. Aderant legati principum complures<sup>13</sup>, qui cum accepissent coram Caesare civitates Prutenicas adversus religionem litem habere subditosque contra superiores atque – ut ipsi dicebant – servos contra dominos, jus sibi nimium vendicare, non tam vocanti Caesari morem<sup>14</sup> gesturi<sup>15</sup> quam propriam acturi<sup>16</sup> causam ad commune restringendum incendium accurrisse videbantur.

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<sup>1</sup> iudicaturus W

<sup>2</sup> esse MA

<sup>3</sup> omit. MA

<sup>4</sup> omit. MA

<sup>5</sup> dominus add. MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> hoc W

<sup>7</sup> omit. W

<sup>8</sup> cum tu : tu cum MA

<sup>9</sup> exieris K

<sup>10</sup> non W

<sup>11</sup> diuque K, V

<sup>12</sup> neganda ne W

<sup>13</sup> contra quamplures MA

<sup>14</sup> moram W

<sup>15</sup> gestari W

<sup>16</sup> auctori K

[68] If you understand the article in this way, there is nothing to incriminate, and when you criticise the vindication against bishops and the grandmaster, you do so unjustly, showing that though you understand much, you really understand nothing. For the cities state that they shall only vindicate themselves in case of such injuries if they are unable to assure their safety and well-being by other means, that is if the grandmaster or a bishop endeavours to harm them by force, [according to the principle]: “*I shall oppose them and repeal force by force.*”<sup>1</sup> You, Peter, cannot deny that this is just since you can have no doubt that nature itself allows self-defence, and you do not interpret vindication as forbidden revenge. For it is called vindication when someone protects himself by licit and honourable means against those who harm him. Here it is important to understand the sense of the words rather than the words themselves. A short while ago, I said that the Knights had harmed the cities in many ways, had done many unjustified things, and had not allowed the Prussians to seek redress either from the pope or the emperor. If this is true, who does not understand that the cities protected themselves from action by action? But if you deny this, you move the burden of proof to us. We do not decline this if only we are given time, and both [parties] are obliged to come back. I do not doubt, Peter, that you approve of this since you know that what we ask for is just.

[69] Peter replied, “I most certainly do not approve of it nor consider it just. The trial must be ended here and now. You knew the appointed day: you should have come armed to the war and not return home and arm yourselves after you had entered the battlefield. I really wonder at your wisdom, Martin, since you demand time to get proofs when those proofs do not aid your cause. If you have any spears, throw them now, and do not flee battle while the [other] party is present. But I know your clever tricks: you seek salvation by flight.”

[70] When Peter and Martin had argued against each other for a long time, in the end the whole controversy became a question of whether a postponement should be granted or not. The litigants were then sent out of the room, and the emperor asked the attendants what they thought would be good and equitable to do. Many legates from the princes were present, for when these heard that there would be a trial before the emperor of the Prussian cities against the Order and that subjects would vindicate their rights against their superiors (servants against their lords, as they said), they hastened to come, not in obedience to the emperor, who had summoned them, but to protect their own interests and extinguish a fire threatening them all.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vim vi repellere licet*: the principle of self-defence in Roman law, as codified in the Digest of Justinian

[71] Primus tamen, qui sententiam dicere rogaretur, Aeneas fuit, Senensis episcopus, qui hoc modo locutus est: “Lis, quantum mihi videtur, optime Caesar, neque parva neque contemnenda est, quae religiosos fratres civitatesque vexat. Non hic ager<sup>1</sup> Arpinas aut Tusculanus in dubium<sup>2</sup> venit: de grandi provinca, de regno potenti quaestio est. Religiosi, ut<sup>3</sup> sibi subjectas et ad omne imperium obsequentes habeant civitates, conantur. Civitates, ut liberae sint religionique minimum debeant, contra nituntur<sup>4</sup>. Quinque – nisi fallor – et quinquaginta civitates inter se<sup>5</sup> foedus iniere<sup>6</sup>, quod nunc religio damnat. Hoc lippis oculis ac summis – ut ita dicam – digitis aut infringere aut approbare grave est. Quantum ego sive legendo sive videndo in hanc usque diem percipere potui, haudquaquam regnorum causas jure ac iudicio diffinitas invenio, nisi {22v} fortasse sub magno imperio parvum regnum in litem cecidit<sup>7</sup>. Nam tempore, quo floruit Romana potestas, non me latet et litigasse reges<sup>8</sup> de regno et accepta sententia paruisse. Nec obscurum est duos fratres de regno Bulgariae<sup>9</sup> contententes apud Francfordiam imperatoris olim iudicium suscepisse. Sed poterat eo tempore Caesar, quod verbo dixerat, opere complere. Nunc, quae sit potestas imperii, neminem fugit. Sedes apostolica, etsi nonnumquam regnorum causas suscipit, quantas diffiniat, videtis. Saepe nostris diebus de regno Franciae, de regno Siciliae, de regno Hungariae disputatum audivimus, sed adhuc sub iudice lis est. Regnorum controversias aut amici bonique viri componunt, aut gladius dirimit. Mutae sunt leges, ubi loquuntur reges. Non minus vere quam pulchre dictum est similes araneorum telis esse leges, quae tenuis census homines quasi muscas capiunt, in transitu potentum velut aquilarum dissipantur. “Sed quorsum haec?” dicat aliquis. Nempe ne credas, Caesar, quamcumque sententiam tuleris, acceptum iri, ne praecipis iudicium agas, ne sententiam promas, quae ridiculo sit. Omnia experiri prius, quae sunt ad concordiam, malim quam ferri<sup>10</sup> sententiam, cui non pareant partes.

[72] Quaeris ex nobis, an quae petitur<sup>11</sup> danda dilatio videatur? Minime, inquit Petrus, cur enim eorum probatio requiratur, quae probata nihil praesidii causae afferunt? Sic Petrus existimat. Ego contra sentio, namque<sup>12</sup> si probant civitates magnum magistrum conventusque magnam partem fieri foedus consensisse, rursusque religiosos contumeliose rexisse provinciam, {23r} privilegia civitatum sprevisse neque Romani praesulis neque Caesaris adiri tribunalia permississe, quamvis ruit<sup>13</sup> statutum<sup>14</sup> ecclesiasticae libertati contrarium, non tamen<sup>15</sup> est, cur civitates quasi perjuras

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<sup>1</sup> agere K

<sup>2</sup> quaestionem MA

<sup>3</sup> autem U

<sup>4</sup> mittuntur U

<sup>5</sup> inter se *omit.* O

<sup>6</sup> iniere K, U

<sup>7</sup> venit O

<sup>8</sup> litigasse reges : reges litigasse MA

<sup>9</sup> Hungariae U

<sup>10</sup> ferre MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> petito W

<sup>12</sup> nam MA, WO

<sup>13</sup> ruat MA, WO

<sup>14</sup> statum U

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* U

atque infames grandi pecunia condemnemus<sup>1</sup> foedusque totum irriterimus, quod potest magna in parte salvari.

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<sup>1</sup> dampnemus W

[71] The first one asked to speak was Enea, Bishop of Siena, who spoke in this fashion<sup>1</sup>: “As far as I can see, this conflict, excellent Emperor, which agitates the Order and the cities, is neither small nor insignificant. It is not a question of a field in Arpinum or Tusculum, but of a great province and a powerful realm. The Order is endeavouring to keep the cities as subjects obeying all commands, while the cities are striving to become free and owe as little as possible to the Order. If I am not mistaken, 55 cities have made a pact between them, which the Order now rejects. Breaking it or approving it is a grave matter, to be undertaken with the eyes wide open and – so to say - with the tips of the fingers. As far as I have been able to ascertain until now, by reading and by seeing, the causes of kingdoms are not regulated by law or judicial practice – except, possibly, in those cases when a small kingdom under a great empire came into conflict. For I know that when the Roman power flourished, kings were sometimes fighting about a kingdom and obeyed the sentence passed. And it is known that once two brothers fighting about the Kingdom of Bulgaria accepted the emperor’s judgment in Frankfurt.<sup>2</sup> But at that time, the emperor had the power to carry out what he said. Everybody, however, knows what [little] power the Empire has today. As for the Apostolic See, it sometimes intervenes in matters of kingdoms, but you see with how small effect. In our own days, we have often heard about conflicts concerning the Kingdom of France, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Kingdom of Hungary, but these conflicts are still under judicial consideration. Conflicts about kingdoms are settled by friends and good men<sup>3</sup>, or by the sword. Laws are silent when kings speak. As it is said both truly and elegantly, laws are like the webs of spiders: they may catch unimportant men like flies, but when powerful men pass through, they are torn apart as by eagles. ‘But what is your intention with this?’ someone may ask. It is that you should not, Emperor, believe that your judgments will be accepted whatever you decide; that you should not make a judgment precipitously; that you should not pass a sentence that is laughed at. I would try everything to make peace rather than pass a sentence which the parties will not obey.

[72] You ask us whether the requested postponement should be granted. No, Peter says, for why should we want proof of something which, even if proven, is not relevant to the case? That is Peter’s opinion. I, on the contrary, believe as follows: if the cities prove that the grandmaster and a large part of the Knights accepted the pact and that the Order has ruled the province abusively, ignored the cities’ privileges, and allowed access neither to the pope’s nor the emperor’s law courts, then, even if one of the statutes is incompatible with ecclesiastical liberty, there is no reason for us to fine the cities heavily as perjurers and infamous and to annul the whole pact when it may to a great extent be preserved.

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<sup>1</sup> As Peter Knorr and Martin Mair would have spoken in German, and there is no mention of translation from German to Latin, this passage may indicate that Piccolomini had sufficient German to understand even a complex oral argumentation in German

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini is probably referring to the judgment of Emperor Ludwig der Fromme between two brothers, each claiming the crown of the Wilzen (changed by Piccolomini to Bulgaria). The incident is mentioned in the *Annales Einhardi*, but it is uncertain if Piccolomini had his knowledge of the event directly from that source

<sup>3</sup> I.e., mediators



[72] Statuo<sup>1</sup> igitur dandam esse dilationem, quae petitur, non modo ut probentur, quae civitates objiciunt, sed ut iterum atque iterum de pace tractetur. Illic principales erunt partes, apud quas et pacis et belli plena potestas est, hic procuratores sunt, quos servare mandati fines diligenter oportet. Quis novit, an quae hic negatur, ibi concordia reperiatur? Dilationem mea sententia, Caesar, quae petitur, non negabis<sup>2</sup>, legatos in Prusciam praestantes viros mittes, partes ad concordiam summo conatu vocabis. Si annuunt, rem paene divinam confecisti. Si neque illic paci locus est, jube<sup>3</sup> probationes recipi, quae possunt, atque in alteram diem vocatis partibus cum consilio principum sententiam prome. Quod si negata dilatione processeris, vereor, ne civitates indigne circumventas aut oppressas se dicant atque sententiae tuae quasi nimis affectatae parere recusent.

[73] His ab Aenea dictis, rogantur legati archiepiscopi Maguntini, quae sentiant<sup>4</sup>, dicere. Hi cum ceteris principum legatis colloquium petunt. Assurgunt universi atque in alium se locum recipiunt. Diu inter se<sup>5</sup> confabulantur. Ubi unanimes sunt, reversi dilationem<sup>6</sup> concedendam negant neque aliud causae dicunt, nisi quia<sup>7</sup> probatis, quae Martinus pro sua parte adduxisset<sup>8</sup>, non tamen<sup>9</sup> foederi pondus esset. Atque hoc esse legatorum omnium concursus iudicium asserunt. Ad ea, quae dixerat Aeneas, nihil {23v} respondent. Quaeritur deinde, quid opinionis habeant<sup>10</sup> consilarii Caesaris. Demptis paucis omnes in sententiam Aeneae dilabuntur<sup>11</sup>. Legati principum duodeviginti fuerunt, consilarii Caesaris quattuordecim, ex quibus duo incerti fuerunt. Ceteri, quamvis cum Aenea saperent, numero tamen victi sunt. Caesar, quod est consuetum, majorem partem secutus est, quamquam male sese res<sup>12</sup> habet, cum sententiae numerantur, non ponderantur. Martinus, quamvis spe<sup>13</sup> magna cecidisset, non tamen animo decidit, sed cum succedere hac via non videt, alteram aggreditur. Audiri jam civitates aequum esse, dicit, super querelis suis contra religiosos, antequam sententia de foedere promatur, quando<sup>14</sup> ex compromisso liquet conventionem atque reconventionem simul terminari debere, nihil dubitans, quin admissa reconventionem dilationem obtineat ad ea probanda, quae contra religiosos objecerit. Sed neque hac via successit.

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<sup>1</sup> *corr. ex statuto* V; statuto U, MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> *corr. ex non negabis petitur* V; petitur non negabis : non negabis petitur K

<sup>3</sup> lube U

<sup>4</sup> sentient W

<sup>5</sup> sese O, W

<sup>6</sup> deletionem U

<sup>7</sup> quod MA

<sup>8</sup> adduxit O

<sup>9</sup> tantum MA, WO

<sup>10</sup> habent W

<sup>11</sup> Aeneae dilabuntur : dilabuntur Enee W

<sup>12</sup> sese res : res se W

<sup>13</sup> spes K

<sup>14</sup> quin MA

[72] I, therefore, consider that the requested postponement should be granted not only to examine the objections of the cities but also that peace may be negotiated repeatedly. The principal parties with full powers to [make] peace and war will be there,<sup>1</sup> while their representatives, bound to carefully respect the limits of their mandate, will be here.<sup>2</sup> Who knows whether the peace that is refused here may be found there? So, in my opinion, Emperor, you should grant the requested postponement, send eminent men as legates to Prussia, and do everything you can to draw the parties towards peace. If they assent, you will have performed an almost divine thing. If there is no room for peace there, either, you should ask for the documentation the Prussians can deliver, summon the parties to appear on another day, and pass sentence with the princes' advice. But if you deny the petition now and continue the proceedings, I fear that the cities will claim to have been tricked and molested and refuse to obey your sentence as prejudiced and one-sided.<sup>3</sup>

[73] When Enea had spoken, the legates of the Archbishop of Mainz were asked for their opinion. They requested [time for a] meeting with the other legates of the princes. Then they all rose and went to another room where they had a long discussion. When they had reached unanimity, they returned and said that the postponement should not be granted, giving no other reason than that the proofs which Martin had presented on the part of his clients were of little importance with regard to the pact. And they stated that this was the unanimous judgment of all the legates. They did not make any response to Enea's arguments. Then the counsellors of the emperor were asked for their opinion. With few exceptions, they all agreed with Enea. The princes' legates were 18 and the emperor's counsellors 14, of whom two were uncertain. Though the rest agreed with Enea, they were defeated by numbers. The emperor, as is the custom, followed the majority. It is bad, though, when opinions are counted, not weighed. Though Martin had been disappointed as regards his great hope, he did not lose courage but seeing that one way did not succeed, he tried another. He said that it was equitable to hear the cities concerning their conflicts with the Order before passing sentence on the pact, since, according to the compromise [that had been reached previously], both the claim<sup>4</sup> and the counterclaim<sup>5</sup> should be dealt with. He did not doubt that if they accepted to deal with the counterclaim, he would obtain a postponement, making it possible for him to obtain proofs of the complaints against the Order. But this way did not succeed either.

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<sup>1</sup> In Prussia

<sup>2</sup> At the emperor's court

<sup>3</sup> That this was not just Piccolomini's judgement after the events but before them is shown by a letter from him to Cardinal Carvajal from the beginning of December 1453, right before the emperor passed sentence, where he wrote: *Prutenica causa non me permisit recedere. Ea hodie ut puto finietur. Pars civitatum existimans se gratam, non vult in iudicio amplius comparere, nisi aliud nascatur; timendum est inter partes grave bellum. Neque enim legibus aut canonibus inter populos potentes diffiniri lites solent; facile est ferre sententiam, exequi difficillimum* (WO, III, 1, 188, p. 369).

<sup>4</sup> Of the Order

<sup>5</sup> Of the cities

[74] Assurgens enim Petrus, renuntiatum esse reconventioni a Martino dixit, qui cum defensionem suam multis verbis exposuisset, interrogatus denique, num quidquam proponere vellet, et<sup>1</sup> reconventionem se nolle interpretari<sup>2</sup> dixisset. Fatetur Martinus illis se verbis usum, quae Petrus ait, sed addidisse “ea vice” atque “illam<sup>3</sup> vicem” pro illa audientia posuisse, ne taedio esset auditoribus, neque verisimile cuiquam videri posse tantam causam, tam magnam, tam contentiose agitatam unico verbo donari ac propterea esse remissum<sup>4</sup>, quia dictum a se fuerit “ea vice”; nolle reconventionem praeponere<sup>5</sup> neque se mandatum tantae donationis {24r} habere, qui sit ad causam procurator atque advocatus constitutus. Negat Petrus dictum esse “ea vice”, Martinus instat dictum. Fit controversia an sit dictum<sup>6</sup>. Hic rursus emissis litigatoribus de dicto quaeritur. Notario, qui pro Martino testimonium praebet, non adhibetur fides. Rogantur assistentes, quid audiverint. “Ea vice” dictum quinque dicunt, XII negant, reliqui neque hoc neque<sup>7</sup> illud asserere se posse asserunt<sup>8</sup>, qui<sup>9</sup> non sint<sup>10</sup> omnium verborum memores. Res tum<sup>11</sup> magis dubia redditur: sunt, qui voces illorum praeferendas putant<sup>12</sup>, qui dictum ajunt obaudisse, namque quae sunt dicta, facile quispiam potest audisse, quae dicta non sunt, nemo potest<sup>13</sup>. Contraria tamen sententia obtinuit atque his<sup>14</sup> creditum est, qui dictum “ea vice” negaverunt.

[75] Non tamen reconventio prorsus negata est, sed procedendum in causa foederis sententiatum, atque id tacite sublatum, quod Martinus ex forma compromissi petebat, conventionem simul reconventionemque<sup>15</sup> currere. Inter haec rursus de concordia tractatur. Legati civitatum arbitrio Caesaris concedunt, foedus ex communi consensu deleat<sup>16</sup>, dum suis privilegiis alio consulat remedio. Religiosi, nisi sententia feratur, casseturque liga, nulli concordiae auscultant. Tum Martinus civitates, inquit, ex compromisso coram Caesare litigare, arbitros autem prohibente parte pronuntiare non posse; ne Caesar in causa ultra procedat, quando<sup>17</sup> formae<sup>18</sup> compromissi non est locus, rogat. Legati procuratores revocant<sup>19</sup>, notarios quosdam relinquunt, qui publice protestentur, si contingat absente parte procedi. Pars legatorum evestigio recedit. Sequentibus diebus quaeritur in consilio, {24v} an liceat Caesari parte altera sive absente sive prohibente sententiam promere. Sunt, qui negant, et qui affirmant, nec leges aut isti parti aut illi desunt.

<sup>1</sup> *interlin.* V; *omit.* K, O, W

<sup>2</sup> *intemptare* O; *intemptae* W

<sup>3</sup> *eam* O, W

<sup>4</sup> *remissam* O

<sup>5</sup> *proponere* K, O, U, V, W

<sup>6</sup> *sit dictum* : sic *sit* U

<sup>7</sup> *nec* MA, WO

<sup>8</sup> *dicunt* W

<sup>9</sup> *quod* MA; *quia* WO

<sup>10</sup> *sunt* W

<sup>11</sup> *cum* MA, WO

<sup>12</sup> *putent* K, O, U, V \*, W

<sup>13</sup> *audisse quae ... potest* *omit.* W

<sup>14</sup> *iis* MA

<sup>15</sup> *et (interlin.) reconventionem* O

<sup>16</sup> *debeat* O, W

<sup>17</sup> *quoniam* MA

<sup>18</sup> *ferme* W

<sup>19</sup> *invocant* W

Scientia namque juris huc atque<sup>1</sup> illuc facile flectitur. Majori parti placet litigatoribus quamvis absentibus sententiam ferri<sup>2</sup>, quia compromissum in Caesarem factum jurisdictionem, quae illi est in omnes, haudquaquam extinxerit<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> huc atque : aut huc aut MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> fieri U

<sup>3</sup> extinserit O; extenserit W

[74] Peter rose up and said that Martin had waived the counterclaim [of the Prussian cities] when - after he had made his lengthy defence - he was asked if he wanted to say something further and then replied that he would not be talking about the counterclaim. Martin responded that he had, in fact, said that but had added "for now"<sup>1</sup>, meaning in the present court hearing since he did not wish to exhaust the audience. Nobody could consider it likely that so important a cause, so vehemently fought, could be given up with one word and conceded just because he had said "for now". He did not want to waive the counterclaim, and he - as an appointed procurator and advocate in this trial - did not have the mandate to make such an important concession. Peter then denied that Martin had said "for now", but Martin insisted that he had. A disagreement arose as to whether it was said or not. Again the litigators were sent out of the room so that the question of what was actually said could be discussed. The notary gave testimony in support of Martin but was not believed. Those present were asked what they had heard. Five said they had heard the words "for now", 12 denied it, and the rest said they could not say since they did not remember all the words. The matter became even more uncertain when some thought that the opinion of those who said they had heard these words should be heeded since it is easy to remember something you have heard but impossible to remember something you have not heard. But the opposite opinion won, and it was decided to believe those who denied that Martin had said "for now".

[75] The [adjudication of] the counterclaim was not wholly denied, though: it was decided to proceed in the matter of the pact<sup>2</sup> and only tacitly avoid what Martin had requested by virtue of the formal compromise, viz. to address both the claim and the counterclaim<sup>3</sup> together. In the meantime, they again discussed a possible peace. The cities' legates entrusted the decision to the emperor: he could dissolve the pact by common consent if only he preserved their privileges by other means. On their part, the Order would hear of no peace unless a formal sentence was passed and the league dissolved. Then Martin said that the cities were participating in this lawsuit on the basis of the compromise made in the emperor's presence and that bystanders<sup>4</sup> had no say in it if just one of the two parties forbade it. He asked the emperor not to proceed with the case since the stipulations of the compromise were not respected. Then the legates [of the cities] recalled their procurators, leaving only some notaries who were to protest publicly if the trial was continued in the absence of one of the parties. A part of the legates left immediately. The following days, it was debated in the [imperial] council whether the emperor could pass judgement if one of the parties was absent or forbade it. Some said no, others yes, and both parties found laws in support. For legal science can easily be bent in one or the other direction. The majority found that sentence could be passed even in the absence of the litigants, for the compromise reached in the emperor's presence did not annul his general legal authority.

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<sup>1</sup> "ea vice"

<sup>2</sup> The claim of the Order against the Prussian cities that their pact was illegal

<sup>3</sup> The counterclaim of the Prussian cities against the Order, that they ruled badly

<sup>4</sup> The representatives of the princes

[76] Quod si non teneat sententia tamquam arbitri, tamquam Caesaris et ordinarii iudicis omnino sit valitura. Caveri quoque in compromisso<sup>1</sup> dicunt, si qua pars litigatorum abfuerit<sup>2</sup>, ad instantiam praesentis procedi debere. Convocantur<sup>3</sup> de more civitates sententiam auditurae. Notarii, quibus id negotii mandatum erat, adversus compromissi formam et absente parte procedi queruntur solemnemque protestationem efficiunt, sed nullum his pondus inest. Fertur sententia, quae hunc habet sensum: civitates inter se foedus jure<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> facere non potuisse neque valere factum, cassum<sup>6</sup> atque irritum esse. De poenis nihil dicitur, nam eas religiosi, priusquam sententia promeretur, in voluntate<sup>7</sup> Caesaris posuerant. Litteras sententiae utraque pars recipit<sup>8</sup>, civitates uti calumnientur, religiosi uti se his juvent.

[77] Legati civitatum<sup>9</sup> reversi domum spreto se atque irriso coram Caesare dicunt, sententiam ex odio atque invidia latam, compromissum violatum, venisse consiliarios {25r} principum homines partiales pretio conductos, qui Caesari assedissent, neque jus fieri ex bono et<sup>10</sup> aequo<sup>11</sup> sinissent<sup>12</sup>. Debitam dilationem pactamque reconventionem negassent, inauditis rationibus ligam damnassent, civitates omnes infames declarassent, pecunia inextimabili mulctassent, privilegia libertatesque ademissent, optimates populi capitali<sup>13</sup> poenae subiecissent, reliquum vulgus in perpetuam servitatem iratis fratribus praebuissent.

[78] Commoti hac relatione populares non sine grandi furore arma sumunt. Oppida muro<sup>14</sup> cincta et arces<sup>15</sup> quasque munitas sive praelatorum sive religiosorum expugnant, diripiunt<sup>16</sup>, diruunt<sup>17</sup>. Fratres complurimos<sup>18</sup> in vincula conjiciunt. Obstantes occidunt, intraque dies paucos omnem Prusciam sibi subjiciunt<sup>19</sup>. Oppidum, quod beatae Mariae vocitant, cum paucis aliis<sup>20</sup> in potestate religionis remanet, quod esse munitissimum ferunt, triplici fossa circumdatum, muris egregie<sup>21</sup> ac turribus aedificatum, annona<sup>22</sup>, armis et omni machina belli copiose refertum. Huc se tota religio

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<sup>1</sup> in compromisso *omit.* U

<sup>2</sup> adfuerit K; affuerit U

<sup>3</sup> cum vocantur O, U, W

<sup>4</sup> inire U

<sup>5</sup> foedus jure : jure foedus W, MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> quoque *add.* V

<sup>7</sup> voluntatem MA

<sup>8</sup> recepit W

<sup>9</sup> civitatum U

<sup>10</sup> ex *add.* U

<sup>11</sup> bono et aequo : aequo et bono W, MA, WO

<sup>12</sup> siuissent K, O; siuissent *corr.* ex sinissent V \*

<sup>13</sup> capituli W

<sup>14</sup> mura MA, WO

<sup>15</sup> arcis W

<sup>16</sup> damnant W

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>18</sup> complures O

<sup>19</sup> solum *add.* O, W

<sup>20</sup> cum paucis aliis *omit.* O, W

<sup>21</sup> egregiis U

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* K; victualibus O, W; *corr.* ex victualibus V

recipit, sperans, quod olim contigit, ex hoc loco amissam provinciam vindicare posse. Nec populares hujus oppidi fortitudine deterrentur: copias huc admovent<sup>1</sup> obsidionemque parant, sed non absque magno suorum detrimento repelluntur.

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<sup>1</sup> admonent U

[76] Even if the emperor did not pass judgment as the [chosen] arbitrator [of the present case], he could still pass judgment as emperor and ordinary judge. They also said it was stipulated in the compromise that even if one party of litigants was absent, they could proceed [with the case] at the demand of the party which was present. As customary, the cities were summoned to hear the judgment. Their notaries, who had been charged with this task, made complaints that the proceedings continued despite the formal compromise and the absence of one party, and they made a solemn protest which carried no weight, however. The sentence was passed to this effect: the cities did not have the right to make a pact between them: therefore, the pact they had made was not valid but null and void. Nothing was said about penalties, for before the sentence was passed, the Order had made such dependent on the emperor's will. Both parties received a letter with the judgment, the cities so that they might be blamed, and the Order so that they might be helped.

[77] The cities' legates went home and said that they had been scorned and mocked before the emperor, that the sentence passed was based on hate and envy, that the compromise had been violated, that the princes' counsellors, partial and bribed men, had come, sat with the emperor, and not allowed fair and good justice to be done. They had denied the due postponement and the adjudication of the counterclaim, which had previously been agreed upon. They had condemned the league for unheard-of reasons. They had declared all the cities to be infamous. They had wanted to impose an incredible fine. They had ignored the [cities'] privileges and liberties. They had wanted the death penalty for high-ranking citizens and to make the rest of the people permanent slaves of the maddened Knights.

#### *3.3.1.8. Prussian rebellion*

[78] Enraged by this report, the people took to arms. They stormed the walled cities and fortresses of the prelates and the Order, pulled them down and destroyed them. They threw many brothers [of the Order] in chains. They killed the opponents, and in a few days, they subdued all of Prussia. Only the city called Marienburg and a few others remained in the power of the Order, a city reported to be much fortified, surrounded with a triple moat, built with high walls and towers, and abundantly provided with food supplies, weapons and war machines of every kind. All the Knights took refuge there, hoping to be able to reconquer all of the lost province from there – as had happened before. But the people were not deterred by the strength of this city: they brought their forces there and mounted a siege but were driven back with large losses.



[79] Magister Alemaniae, vir nobilitate ac prudentia memorabilis, cum haec audit, Albertum, marchionem Brandenburgensem, magnum illum et peritissimum belli ducem, multis rogatum precibus in Bohemiam dirigit, ubi ut auxilia regis adversus civitates Prutenicas quaerat. Ipse Ratisponam se confert, ubi Theutoniae<sup>1</sup> principes conventuros<sup>2</sup> {25v} intelligit. Quo cum venisset atque<sup>3</sup> fandi potestatem impetrasset, perfidiam civitatum duris verbis accusat, quae spretis apostolicae sedis atque imperii sacri<sup>4</sup> decretis adversus dominos suos arma cepissent, castra diruissent, religiosos fratres partim neci, partim captivitati dedissent. Consilia atque auxilia contra rebellem perjuriamque gentem flagitat, et quoniam<sup>5</sup> necessarium sit ei argentum ad militem conducendum, quae sunt in Alemania possessiones religionis, venditurum se ait. Indulgentiam papae atque imperatoris ex legatis petit.

[80] Multa ibi de tanta injuria verba fiunt<sup>6</sup>: Dolere se omnes casum religionis ostendunt. Acta civitatum vituperant. Rem potissime<sup>7</sup> gravem reddunt oratores marchionum Brandenburgensium, qui primi inter amicos religionis videri volunt. Cardinalis quoque sancti Petri acerbo<sup>8</sup> animo de tali novitate locutus est: nationem Theutonicam<sup>9</sup> pluribus verbis admonet, ne suam gloriam suumque decus amittat. Prusciam enim<sup>10</sup> unicam esse terram<sup>11</sup> ait, quam Theutones armis in alieno solo quaesiverint<sup>12</sup>. Caveant, ne id laudis perditum eant, si vel libertatem sibi civitates vendicent vel dominum ex alia natione asciscant. Legati papae atque imperatoris rem esse odio dignam ajunt, neque imperio neque apostolicae sedi tolerandam, quam civitates attemptasse dicuntur, nec<sup>13</sup> dubitandum esse, quin utraque potestas {26r} in favorem religionis assurgat. Consensum de vendundis possessionibus ex papa atque imperatore petendum. Consulere<sup>14</sup> religio<sup>15</sup> quamprimum possit<sup>16</sup> cum benevolis atque amicis exercitum paret atque ante occurrat<sup>17</sup> quam Mariae castrum expugnetur. Non tamen concordiae tractatum spernat, si quis haberi possit. Scitum<sup>18</sup> illud esse, omnia prius<sup>19</sup> consilio quam armis aggredi sapientem<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Theutonicae K; *corr. ex.* Thetonicae V; Theutonices U

<sup>2</sup> futurum O; futuros W

<sup>3</sup> et O

<sup>4</sup> imperii sacri : sacri imperii U, MA, WO

<sup>5</sup> quantum MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> sunt U

<sup>7</sup> potissimum U

<sup>8</sup> acerbo *corr. ex amarulento* V; amarulento K, O, W

<sup>9</sup> Theutoniam K

<sup>10</sup> ne suam ... enim *omit.* U

<sup>11</sup> esse terram : terram esse MA

<sup>12</sup> quaesierint MA

<sup>13</sup> neque MA, WO

<sup>14</sup> consulere O, W

<sup>15</sup> religioque U

<sup>16</sup> posset U

<sup>17</sup> occurratur U

<sup>18</sup> scitumque O

<sup>19</sup> plus MA

<sup>20</sup> sapienter U

[81] Inter haec venit ad concilium Johannes Luthico, Casimiri regis Poloniae ac Lituaniae magni ducis orator, homo cautus et qui juris scientiam calleret. Is, cum audiretur, Casimirum, inquit, quoniam<sup>1</sup> esset Christianae religionis zelantissimus, aegerrime audisse, quae apud Constantinopolim Turci perpetrassent, quia et gravissimo vulnere Christianitatem confossam cerneret et in futurum<sup>2</sup> nostram<sup>3</sup> religionem funditus eversum iri timeret, quando et Tartari et Turci una mente Christi nomen delere conarentur foedusque invicem ferocissimae illae gentes iniissent<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.3.2. Plea of the Master of Germany

[79] When the [Order's] Master of Germany,<sup>5</sup> a man remarkable for his nobility and wisdom, heard this, he begged Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, a great and most experienced military leader, to go to Bohemia to ask the king<sup>6</sup> for help against the Prussian cities. He himself went to Regensburg since he had heard that the German princes would assemble there. When he arrived and obtained permission to speak, he vehemently accused the cities of treacherousness: they had scorned the decrees of the Apostolic See and the Holy Empire, had taken arms against their lords, destroyed their castles, and killed or imprisoned Knights. Now he begged for advice and help against this rebellious and perjurious people, and since he would need money to hire soldiers, he would sell possessions of the Order in Germany. Finally, he asked – through their legates - for acceptance from pope and emperor.

[80] Much was said about this great injury: all expressed their regret at the plight of the Order and denounced the cities' actions. The matter was given special importance by the ambassadors of the Margraves of Brandenburg, who wish to be seen as the first among the friends of the Order. Also, the Cardinal of San Pietro spoke indignantly about this rebellion, admonishing at length the German nation not to lose its honour and pride, for Prussia was the only foreign country, he said, that the Germans had conquered by arms. They should take care not to lose this glory<sup>7</sup> if the cities reclaimed their liberty or took a new lord from another nation.<sup>8</sup> The papal and imperial legates declared that what the cities were trying to do was unacceptable both to the Empire and the Apostolic See, and both powers would undoubtedly come to the aid of the Order. It would be necessary to obtain both the pope's and the emperor's assent to sell possessions [of the Order]. The Order should consult as quickly as possible with supporters and friends about mobilizing an army and march to Marienburg before it would be conquered. However, the cardinal did not reject peace negotiations if possible, for any wise man knows that diplomacy<sup>9</sup> should always be tried before arms.

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<sup>1</sup> quantum MA

<sup>2</sup> futuro U

<sup>3</sup> nostratem O, W

<sup>4</sup> inissent K, O, U, W

<sup>5</sup> Jost von Venningen (d. 1455): Master of the Teutonic Knights in Germany (Deutschmeister) from 1447-1454

<sup>6</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>7</sup> "laudis"

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the King of Poland, which actually happened

<sup>9</sup> "consilium"

### 3.3.3. Intervention of the Polish ambassador<sup>1</sup>

[81] In the meantime, Jan Lutek<sup>2</sup>, ambassador of Casimir, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, arrived, a clever man and a specialist in law science. Given leave to speak, he said that since Casimir was a fervent believer in the Christian religion, he had been much pained to hear what the Turks had done at Constantinople. He considered that Christianity had received a terrible wound, and he feared that our religion would be completely ruined if the Tartars and the Turks joined efforts to destroy the name of Christ and if these ferocious peoples made an alliance between them.

[81] Pacatum tamen regis animum esse, quia cognovisset imperatorem cum suis principibus de tuenda Christianitate deque vindicanda injuria Graecorum adversus Turcos consilium cepisse. Hortari ergo, ne coeptum opus deseratur. Quod si Theutones et reliqui Christiani contra Turcos exercitum ducant<sup>3</sup>, Polonos, qui sunt finitimi Tartaris, immanibus illis et atrocissimis barbaris bellum illaturos acturosque, ne Turcis praesidio esse queant. Reliqua in aliud tempus dicturum se pollicetur. Huic<sup>4</sup> Aeneas, Senensis episcopus, pro tempore pauca respondens et regem, qui ad conventum misisset, et hominem, {26v} qui venisset, commendavit audientiamque, cum vellet<sup>5</sup>, repromisit.

[82] Tum ille: "Video," inquit, "astare hic fratres Theutones admodum sollicitos. Fortasse de re Prutenica vobiscum<sup>6</sup> agunt. Quamvis ea minime mihi commissa est, quia tamen regi meo sum obnoxius, si quid ex vobis petitur, quod ad Prutenos pertineat<sup>7</sup>, oro, ne properetis<sup>8</sup>, neve contra regem meum inauditum quidquam decernatis. Nihil enim contra civitates Prussiae statuere potestis, quin regi Poloniae damno atque incommodo sitis. Fuit enim Prussia quondam Polonici juris, sed eam hi fratres multis annis contra jus fasque occupaverunt. Nunc, quia nihil est perpetuum, quod violenter agitur, exclusi eliminatique fratres sunt. Prussia ad suum dominum reversa est. Praelati omnes excepto Varmiensi<sup>9</sup> pontifice<sup>10</sup> mei regis fidem sequuntur, neque is diu alienus erit. Militia et civitates universae sacramentum<sup>11</sup> regi praestitere<sup>12</sup>. Is jam magno magistro bellum per fetiales indixit, obsiderique ab eo castrum Mariae non ambigo. Cavete, ne vestris decretis meo regi molesti sitis. Pensate atque attendite diligenter, quid expediat in tanta re agere,

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 231-236

<sup>2</sup> Jan Lutek [Lutka] (1405-1471): Counsellor and diplomat of King Casimir IV. Later (1464) appointed Archbishop of Krakow

<sup>3</sup> ducunt U

<sup>4</sup> hic U

<sup>5</sup> velle U

<sup>6</sup> nobiscum U

<sup>7</sup> pertineat *corr. ex* concernat K, V; concernat O, W

<sup>8</sup> properatis MA

<sup>9</sup> Varmiensi U

<sup>10</sup> pontifici U; episcopo MA

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* K; *corr. ex* homagium V; homagium V

<sup>12</sup> prestare U

ne quid statuatis, quod postea statutum esse nolitis. *A Deo factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris*, ut tantum<sup>1</sup> terrae, tantum<sup>2</sup> populorum, tantum dominiorum, tot saeculis a corona nostra alienatum, jam sine sanguine, sine gladio, sine ulla – {27r} ut ita dicam – opera nostra in potestatem Polonicam redierit. Quod si vos modo hanc regionem novo bellum implicueritis<sup>3</sup>, vereor, ne Turcorum causae faveatis.”

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<sup>1</sup> tam MA

<sup>2</sup> tantorum MA

<sup>3</sup> implicaueritis U

[81] But the king's mind was eased when he heard that the emperor was taking counsel with his princes about protecting Christianity against the Turks and avenging the injury done to the Greeks. He, therefore, urged that this undertaking should not be abandoned. If the Germans and the other Christians led an army against the Turks, the Poles, neighbours to the Tartars, would go to war against those monstrous and dreadful barbarians so that they could not come to the aid of the Turks. He promised to say more [about this] at a later time.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Enea of Siena improvised a short answer, commending the king who had sent him to the diet as well as the man who came, and promising him a hearing when he wished it.

[82] But then the ambassador said, "I see that some Teutonic Knights are present and greatly agitated. Maybe they have taken up the Prussian matter with you. I have not received any mandate in this matter, but since I am bound to protect my king's interests, I ask that you – in case you receive any requests regarding the Prussians - do nothing in a hurry and do not decide anything unheard of against my king for you cannot decide anything against the Prussian cities without injury and trouble to the King of Poland. Prussia was once subject to Poland, but many years ago, the Knights conquered it with arms, against law and right. Now, since nothing gained violently lasts forever, the Knights have been driven away and thrown out, and Prussia has returned to its lord. All the prelates have now submitted to the king, except the Bishop of Warmia,<sup>2</sup> but he will soon come over. The soldiers and all the cities have made an oath to the king. Through his heralds, he has declared war on the Grand Master, and I do not doubt that he is now besieging Marienburg. Take care not to offend my king with your decrees. Ponder and think carefully about what is expedient in this great matter, and do not make decisions you will regret later. *This is the Lord's doing, and it is wonderful in our eye,*<sup>3</sup> that so great a country, so great a people, so great a dominion, lost to our crown for so many centuries, has now without shedding blood, without the use arms, and – if I may say so – without any efforts on our part returned to the power of Poland. If you now embroil this region in a war, I fear that you will aid the cause of the Turks."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pilat: *The Ottoman*, p. 125: *The Ottoman threat is presented in even darker colours by Jan Lutek of Brzezina, the Polish emissary at the Diet of Regensburg. On 5 May 1454, he told of the Ottoman domination in the northwest area of the Black Sea as being a certainty. After the fall of Constantinople, he went on to give an account of how Moldavia came under the power of Turks, which created a direct boundary between Poland and the Ottoman Empire. Jan Lutek asked for the help of the emperor and the other princes who were present at the Diet, so that the realms of Poland and Hungary remain unconquered by barbarians. Even if a future confrontation with the Turks and the Tartars were worrying for Poland, the realm was not as exposed as Hungary at that moment. Lutek obviously exaggerated in order to demonstrate the eagerness and fervor which King Casimir invested into the defence of faith and the reconquest of Constantinople*

<sup>2</sup> Franz Kuhschmalz (d. 1457): Prince-bishop of Warmia from 1424 to his death.

<sup>3</sup> Psalms, 117, 23

<sup>4</sup> Pilat: *The Ottoman*, p. 125: *The Diet of Regensburg, one of those "Turkish Reichstage" organised in 1454-1455, had been called in order to prepare the general crusade for expelling the Turks from Europe. It provided a good opportunity for the King of Poland to complain about the difficulties he was facing. Still, Poland's real reason for attending was not to paint King Casimir as an eager crusader, but to advocate its cause in the disputes with the Teutonic Order. Present at the sessions of the Diet, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini recorded the conflict between the Polish and the followers of the Teutonic Order and Jan Lutek's famous line, which claimed that if the Order should want to start a new war, it would actually aid the Ottomans*

[83] His dictis fremere ac maledicere homini omnes Alemani vixque se continere<sup>1</sup>, quin hominem unguibus laniarent. At magister Alemaniae: “Nos” inquit, ”homo, cum tuo rege foedus aeternum paucis ante annis percussimus, jurejurando ac litteris et sigillis id firmavimus, nec putamus tantum regem fidem fallere. Prusciam ex manibus infidelium armis quaesivimus emimusque nostro sanguine. Nunc - si vera narras<sup>2</sup> – mirum est ac<sup>3</sup> monstri simile et regem et praesules et nobilitatem Poloniae universam juramenta contemnere. Nos tamen propterea<sup>4</sup> provinciam nostram haudquaquam vindicare<sup>5</sup> negligemus.” Jurgatum est utrimque diu<sup>6</sup>, atque ita demum ejus diei soluta conventio.

[84] In sequenti contione, cum de rebus communibus agendum esset, orta est de consessu<sup>7</sup> non parva contentio. Constituta erant duo sessionis capita: alterum cardinalis tenuit, alterum Papiensis episcopus, qui tum summi pontificis vices agebat. At dexteram cardinalis consederunt Senensis, Ratisponensis et Gurcensis episcopi ac<sup>8</sup> reliqui Caesaris legati. Sinistram Papiensis tenebant oratores principum electorum. Quaesitum est, ubi locandus esset orator regis Poloniae. Legati Caesaris ante oratores<sup>9</sup> electorum<sup>10</sup> locum ei<sup>11</sup> deberi dicebant. Cardinalis, qui Polonos ob novitatem Prutenicam<sup>12</sup> odisset, consulendos electorum nuntios ait. Illi minime se passuros inquirunt hominem ante {27v} se esse, qui nationi fuerit injurius, multaque de principum electorum nobilitate ac dignitate in medium afferunt. Rogatur Polonus ad dexteram oratorum Caesaris locum accipiat. Is se<sup>13</sup> non ignorare consessum<sup>14</sup> suo regi debitum ait ostenditque legati apostolici sinistram, quando imperatoris oratores<sup>15</sup> dextram tenerent. Nam et cardinalis ex<sup>16</sup> legatis<sup>17</sup> Caesaris unus habebatur<sup>18</sup>. Quod si post legatos Caesaris<sup>19</sup> ipse collocaretur, viderentur oratores electorum altius sedere, quibus sinistra Papiensis concederetur. Cum diu certatum esse, denique ita conveniunt: legatus apostolicus uti medius sedeat, tum hinc atque inde legati Caesaris, dexteram deinde Polonus, sinistram electores teneant. Quiescit hoc dicto Polonus<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> continerent U

<sup>2</sup> narres U

<sup>3</sup> et W

<sup>4</sup> praeterea MA

<sup>5</sup> vindicare MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> duo MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> consensu U, W

<sup>8</sup> et U

<sup>9</sup> regis Poloniae ... oratores *omit.* U

<sup>10</sup> doctorum MA

<sup>11</sup> locum ei : ei locum MA

<sup>12</sup> novitatem Prutenicam : novitates Prutenicas MA

<sup>13</sup> is se : ipse U

<sup>14</sup> consensum U, W

<sup>15</sup> oratoris U

<sup>16</sup> et U

<sup>17</sup> legati U

<sup>18</sup> habebatur K

<sup>19</sup> unus habebatur ... Caesaris *omit.* U

<sup>20</sup> sinistram electores ... Polonus *omit.* U

[83] When he had spoken, all the Germans began to rage and curse the man and almost attacked him with their nails. But the Master of Germany said, "It is only a few years ago that we made a perpetual pact with your king, confirmed by oaths, letters and seals, and we do not believe that such a great king will fail his oath. We tore Prussia from the hands of the infidels with arms and bought it with our blood. Now, if what you say is true, it is astounding and monstrous that the king, the bishops, and all the nobility of Poland would disregard their oaths. But that shall not prevent us from reclaiming our province." Then they quarrelled violently, and finally this day's meeting ended.

## **4. Second session of the Diet, 7 or 8 May**

### **4.1. More problems of precedence**

#### **4.1.1. Polish ambassador vs ambassadors of prince electors**

[84] In the next session, which was to deal with common matters, a great controversy about the order of seating arose. The session would have two parts: one was to be led by the cardinal, and the other by the Bishop of Pavia acting as the pope's representative. To the cardinal's right were seated the bishops of Siena, Regensburg, Gurk, and the other imperial legates. To Pavia's left were seated the ambassadors of the prince-electors. Then it was asked where the ambassador of the Polish king should be placed. The imperial legates said that he should be placed before the ambassadors of the electors.<sup>1</sup> But the cardinal, angry with the Poles because of the Prussian rebellion, said that the envoys of the electors should be consulted, and they said that they would not accept that a man who was injurious to their nation should be placed before them, and they said much about the nobility and dignity of the prince-electors. The Pole was then asked to accept a place to the right of the imperial legates. He replied that he knew very well the seating order due to his king and pointed to the left of the apostolic legate, whereas the imperial legates were seated at the right. For in the context of the diet, the cardinal was held to be one of the imperial legates. If the Pole was placed to the right of the imperial legates, then the ambassadors of the electors would appear to be placed higher than him since they were placed directly to the left of Pavia. After much heated discussion, it was finally settled that the apostolic legate should be placed in the middle, with imperial legates placed both to his right and left, then the Pole to the right, and the electors to the left. This calmed the Pole.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., immediately to the left of the Bishop of Pavia

[85] Cumque jam sessio concors esset, tum oratores electorum tamquam studiose<sup>1</sup> facerent<sup>2</sup>, quod Polono displiceret, magistrum Alemaniae vocant eumque ante se collocant. Indignatus hoc facto Polonus assurgens, “Non feram”, inquit, “neque hoc loco sedebo, qui non est par meo regi: neque enim aequum<sup>3</sup> est oratores imperatoris utrumque<sup>4</sup> latus apostolici legati stipare. Satis est, si primum obtineant locum”, moresque Basiliensis concilii in medium adducit. Diu res in dubio est, neque defuerunt, qui Polonum excludendum dicerent, qui et res odiosas attulisset et in aliena domo de sessione<sup>5</sup> contendere praesumeret. At legati Caesaris peregrinum hominem et magni regis legatum benigne tractandum censuerunt. Fit igitur nova ordinatio. Vocantur oratores principum electorum<sup>6</sup> ad dexteram legatorum Caesaris, Polono ad sinistram Papiensis<sup>7</sup> episcopi<sup>8</sup> locus<sup>9</sup> assignatur<sup>10</sup>, et post eum magister Alemaniae collocatur. Atque ita visum est legatum papae digniori esse loco quam cardinalem<sup>11</sup>, res nova et inaudita nostro tempore, sed noluit<sup>12</sup> cardinalis sui causa turbam fieri, homo quamvis alti cordis et animi videntis, pacis tamen et unitatis amator, et qui privatis rebus publicas antefert.

[86] Fuit et alia contentio<sup>13</sup> de consessu<sup>14</sup> inter legatos Colonienses et Aquenses. Civitas enim Aquensis, quamvis episcopatu caret, ex privilegiis tamen Caroli magni et aliorum imperatorum<sup>15</sup> ceteris civitatibus regni Alemanici praelata est eaque prima sedes et regni caput existimatur, in qua et rex inungitur, et regni corona suscipitur, servatumque ferunt patrum memoria, ne quis civium Alemaniae Aquensibus antestaret. Sed quis pauperum privilegia tueatur? Frustra honores quaerunt, quibus opes desunt. Vicere semper divitiae primumque locum occupavere<sup>16</sup> ditiores. Attenuatis igitur Aquensium facultatibus coeperunt praeire Colonienses, atque in plerisque conventibus memoria nostra celebratis priorem locum obtinuerunt, qui ex Theutonicis civitatibus opulentiores habentur. In Ratispona tamen temptaverunt Aquenses suum locum vindicare<sup>17</sup> et prima quidem<sup>18</sup> die inter civitates primi sederunt, in sequenti vero contione assurgentes Colonienses civitati primum debere<sup>19</sup> locum<sup>20</sup> dixere. Cur enim Colonia Agrippina cedat

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<sup>1</sup> studio O, W

<sup>2</sup> fecerant W

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

<sup>4</sup> utrum K

<sup>5</sup> possessione MA

<sup>6</sup> et electores U

<sup>7</sup> Piensis MA

<sup>8</sup> episcopus MA

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

<sup>10</sup> assignarunt K

<sup>11</sup> cardinali U; cardinalis O, W

<sup>12</sup> nouit U

<sup>13</sup> inter legatos *add.* MA, WO

<sup>14</sup> consensu W

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* W

<sup>16</sup> occupare U, W

<sup>17</sup> vindicare MA

<sup>18</sup> quid W

<sup>19</sup> debere K, U, V, MA, WO; deberi O, W

<sup>20</sup> debere locum : locum deberi W



Aquensibus, qui nec vetustate neque<sup>1</sup> potentia neque nobilitate pares esse quoquo modo<sup>2</sup> possunt? Coloniam ab ipso Agrippa conditam, quem generum Augusti Octaviani ferunt, Italici juris {28v} ante fuisse, quam civitas Aquensis in rerum natura reperiretur.

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<sup>1</sup> nec W, MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> quoquo modo : quomodo MA, WO

[85] But when the session had come to order, the prince-electors' ambassadors purposefully undertook to antagonize the Pole: they invited the Master of Germany to join them and placed him before themselves.<sup>1</sup> Angered by this action, the Pole rose and said, "This I cannot accept, and I will not have a seat which is not worthy of my king, for it is not right that the imperial ambassadors should be placed on both sides of the apostolic legate. It is enough if they have the first place," and then he referred to the practice at the Council of Basel.<sup>2</sup> The matter was discussed for a long time. Some actually said that the Pole should be excluded from the meeting since he had brought up scandalous matters and presumed to dispute the seating in another's home. But the imperial legates considered that this foreigner and legate of a great king must be treated with courtesy. Therefore, a new arrangement was made. The prince-electors' ambassadors were invited to sit to the right of the imperial legates while the Pole was given the place to the left of the Bishop of Pavia, and after him, the Master of Germany was placed. Thus it happened that the papal legate was given a higher place than the cardinal, a new thing and unheard of in our age. But the cardinal did not want any trouble for his sake: though he is a proud and perspicacious man, he also loves peace and unity and puts public matters before private.

#### 4.1.2. Aachen vs Cologne

[86] There was also another conflict about the seating order, this time between the legates from Cologne and Aachen. Although the City of Aachen has no bishop, it is raised above the other cities of the German Kingdom by privileges from Charlemagne and other emperors, and it is held to be the first seat and capital of the kingdom, where the king is anointed and crowned. They say that in the memory of our fathers, no other citizens in Germany would come before the citizens of Aachen. But who protects the privileges of the poor? In vain do people seek honours if they lack wealth. Riches have always won and occupied the first place. So, when the people of Aachen lost their means, the people from Cologne began to come before them, and in many diets held in our memory, they gained the first place, being considered the richest of the German cities. But in Regensburg, the people from Aachen tried to claim their place, and on the first day, they did sit as the first among the cities. But on the next day, however, the people from Cologne rose and said that the first place was owed to their city. For why should Colonia Agrippina give way to Aachen, which could in no way equal their power and nobility? Cologne was founded by Agrippa<sup>3</sup> himself, who is said to have been the son-in-law of Augustus Octavianus<sup>4</sup>. It belonged to Italy before the city of Aachen came into existence.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., immediately to the left of those imperial legates who were placed to the left of the Bishop of Pavia

<sup>2</sup> The Polish ambassador here refers to the order of precedence and seating used at the Council of Basel (1432-1438)

<sup>3</sup> Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius (ca. 64-12 BCE): Roman statesman, son-in-law to Emperor Augustus

<sup>4</sup> Augustus, Gaius Octavianus (63 BCE – 14 CE): Roman statesman, adoptive son of Julius Caesar, the first emperor of the Roman Empire (27 BCE to his death)

[86] In Colonia sedem metropolitica[m] esse et ejus quidem pontificis, cujus est<sup>1</sup> Romanorum regem inungere et coronare. Aquensem civitatem neque episcopali cathedra dignam habitam. In Colonia multas esse nobilium familias, quorum majores ex patriciis Romanorum fuere. Vigere illic scholam philosophiae et omnium bonarum artium studia. Claruisse illic magnum Albertum. Corpora trium regum, quos magos dicimus, et ossa XI milium<sup>2</sup> virginum apud se quiescere. Urbem illam amplissimam, templis atque civium aedibus splendidissimis ac Rheno flumine dotatam<sup>3</sup>, populo plenissimam, nusquam tota<sup>4</sup> Germania<sup>5</sup> parem habere. Intolerabile videri, si tantae urbis legati Aquensibus cedere cogantur.

[87] Aquenses nihil horum negare, sed fuisse civitatem suam adeo imperatoribus acceptam dicere, ut infulas<sup>6</sup> illic regni quam Coloniae accipere maluissent. Habere se litteras Caesarum<sup>7</sup>, quibus ceteris Alemaniae<sup>8</sup> civitatibus praeferentur. Dignum esse se suis privilegiis gaudere. Aquenses ad imperium sine medio<sup>9</sup> pertinere, Colonienses habuisse archiepiscopum<sup>10</sup> ante tempora dominum, quamvis postea ad imperium redierint. Frustra de nobilitate<sup>11</sup>, de potentia, de vetustate disputari, quando lex<sup>12</sup> aperta est imperatoris, quae propter fidelitatem {29r} suam Aquenses omnibus aliis civibus anteponit. Diffinita causa, in vanum argumenta<sup>13</sup> proferri. Sed assistebant Coloniensibus aliae fere civitates universae. Nam ubi divitiae plurimae sunt, eo et favor hominum se inclinat. Eo denique<sup>14</sup> deducta res est, ut ex Coloniensibus unus antestaret, tum primus inter Aquenses, deinde mixtim, modo Aquensis, modo Coloniensis ordinem teneret. Placitum tamen utrimque est, ne quid per hunc actum Aquensium privilegio derogaretur.

[88] Dum haec aguntur, Philippus, Burgundiae dux, et Ludovicus Bavariae, qui ei obviam processerat, per Danubium Ratisponae applicant et cum his Alberti ducis Austriae, Ludovici ducis Sabaudiae et aliorum principum diversarumque<sup>15</sup> communitatum<sup>16</sup> legati veniunt, quibus omnis conventus ad Danubii ripam occurrit atque amicis verbis magnos duces excipit.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* U; et *add.* W

<sup>2</sup> milia W

<sup>3</sup> ditatam W

<sup>4</sup> totam O

<sup>5</sup> Germaniam O

<sup>6</sup> insulas K, W

<sup>7</sup> Caesaris in K

<sup>8</sup> partibus *add.* W

<sup>9</sup> ad imperium sine medio : sine medio ad imperium W

<sup>10</sup> habuisse archiepiscopum : archiepiscopum habuisse O, W

<sup>11</sup> de nobilitate *omit.* U

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>13</sup> argumentum U

<sup>14</sup> eo denique : eodemque K

<sup>15</sup> diversorumque MA, WO

<sup>16</sup> comitatuum MA, WO



#### 4.1.2. Aachen vs Cologne

[86] In Cologne, there is a metropolitan See, indeed the see whose bishop has the right to anoint and crown the King of the Romans, while the City of Aachen is not even considered worthy of an episcopal see<sup>1</sup>. In Cologne, there are many noble families whose forefathers were Roman patricians. A school of philosophy flourishes there as well as the studies of all the good arts. Albert the Great shone there. The bodies of the three kings, whom we call mages, and the bones of the 11,000 virgins are resting there. This very large and populous city, endowed with the most splendid temples and citizens' buildings as well as with the river Rhine, has no equal in all of Germany. It would be intolerable if the legates of such a great city should be forced to cede [the first place] to the legates from Aachen.

[87] The [envoys from] Aachen denied nothing of this but said that their city was so dear to the emperors that they wanted to receive the crown of the kingdom there rather than in Cologne. They had letters from emperors placing them above the other cities of Germany. It was only just that they should enjoy their privileges. The city of Aachen belonged directly to the Empire, while Cologne earlier had an archbishop as their lord though they later returned to the Empire. It was quite superfluous to argue about nobility, power and age when an emperor's law clearly placed the people from Aachen before all other citizens because of their loyalty. It is futile to argue a case that has already been decided. But almost all the other cities supported Cologne, for people tend to side with the rich. In the end, the matter was settled in this way: one of the envoys from Cologne was placed first, then followed the highest-ranking envoy from Aachen, then another envoy from Cologne, then another envoy from Aachen and so forth. And the two parties agreed that this arrangement should not prejudice the privilege of Aachen.

#### 5. Arrival of Duke of Burgundy, 9 May<sup>2</sup>

[88] In the meantime, Duke Philippe of Burgundy and Ludwig of Bavaria, who had gone to meet him, was coming to Regensburg, and together with them the legates of Duke Albrecht of Austria, Duke Louis of Savoy, and other princes and various cities<sup>3</sup>. The assembly met them all on the shore of the Danube and received the great dukes with cordial greetings.

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<sup>1</sup> "cathedra"

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 237-239

<sup>3</sup> "communitatum"

[89] Fuit autem Philippus corpore procero, grandioribus et illustribus oculis, naso adunco, quem vocant aquilinum, erecto pectore, gracilioribus tibiis, modesto intuitu, moribus benignis, gratissimo alloquio<sup>1</sup>, cibo potuque temperatori<sup>2</sup>, annos supra LX natus neque mentitus aetatem. Mos illi fuit paulo ante meridiem e somno surgere, rem divinam visere, inde consilium de re publica habere, tum prandere, post inter amicos versari. Hinc dormiscere paulum, mox ludo josisque ad vesperam laxare animum, cenam denique ad multum noctis pertrahere, audire cantus, interesse choreis, rursusque consiliariis aures dare, ac postremo quieti se committere. Accepimus<sup>3</sup> tamen ex his, qui secreti ejus habentur conscii, non dormire {29v} hominem ad meridiem, sed consurgere ante opinionem vulgi ac familiae aliquot horis idque temporis privatis actionibus suis<sup>4</sup> elegisse. Nam cum sit alioquin suapte natura facilis neque ulli se neget, nisi hoc ordine vitam instituisset, nullum erat tempus, quod suum dicere potuisset.

[90] Hunc visitorunt domi suae legati Caesaris. Laudarunt<sup>5</sup> de remotioribus partibus adventum ejus. Dixerunt enim<sup>6</sup> rem fecisse imperatori gratissimam. Exposuerunt et sibi causas<sup>7</sup>, quae Caesarem domi retinuissent. Dixerunt se<sup>8</sup> de suo accessu reddidisse majestatem imperatoriam<sup>9</sup> certiore suassiseque, ut ascenderet ad concilium venturamque<sup>10</sup> opinari, si id ex utilitate sua publica facere possit. Responsum propediem affuturum conventumque apud se haberi, uti ferret, rogaverunt, nam ceteri, qui adessent, excellentiae suae non inviti cederent. Ad ea Philippus hoc fere sensu respondit: litteras Caesaris, quibus ad concilium vocatus esset, ait in Flandria se<sup>11</sup> recepisse. Fuisse sibi adversus Anglicos bellum, qui rupto foedere agros suos populati essent. Rogasse se<sup>12</sup> incolas terrae ad tuendam patriam demorari<sup>13</sup>, sed plus apud se<sup>14</sup> Caesaris mandata quam subditorum postulata valuisse. Praeposuisse<sup>15</sup> majora minoribus et privata publicis<sup>16</sup>. Venisse Ratisponam non sine ditionis suae dispendio. Adesse Caesarem, qui se affuturum scripserat, speravisse. Cupere adhuc ejus adventum, ut res fidei catholicae feliciter dirigantur. Conventum apud eum<sup>17</sup> fieri non decere<sup>18</sup>, venturum se in aedes, quas legati Caesaris habitent, aut alium in locum, quo illi jusserint. Caesarem suum esse dominum, aequum se scire his geri

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<sup>1</sup> eloquio MA, WO

<sup>2</sup> moderatori MA

<sup>3</sup> accipimus U

<sup>4</sup> actionibus suis : suis actionibus MA

<sup>5</sup> laudaverunt O, W

<sup>6</sup> eum O; emi U

<sup>7</sup> causam MA

<sup>8</sup> ei U

<sup>9</sup> reddidisse majestatem imperatoriam : imperatoriam majestatem reddidisse MA

<sup>10</sup> venturumque MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> sese MA, WO

<sup>12</sup> omit. U

<sup>13</sup> demari U

<sup>14</sup> apud se : ad pulse W

<sup>15</sup> proposuisse K, U, V, W

<sup>16</sup> privata publicis : privatis publica MA, WO

<sup>17</sup> se O, W

<sup>18</sup> dicere U

morem, qui ab eo legati essent. Sic maximus ille princeps, quanto sublimior est, tanto se submissius gerere ostentans, quod erat omnium in<sup>1</sup> se nobilissimum.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* O, W

[89] Philippe had a noble physique, large and brilliant eyes, a curved, so-called aquiline nose, straight chest, slender limbs, modest mien, pleasant manners and graceful conversation. He ate and drank with moderation. He was more than 60 years old and did not conceal his age. It was his habit to rise shortly before noon and to hear mass. Then he met with his council to discuss affairs of state. Afterwards, he had lunch and spent time with friends. After a short nap, he relaxed with games and sports until evening. Finally, he dined until late at night, hearing songs and dancing. Then he met again with his counsellors, and afterwards, he went to bed. However, people who know of his private life have told us that he does not sleep until noon but gets up earlier than people, even his household, know, since he has chosen to spend some hours with his family and dealing with private affairs, for since he has a courteous manner and does not refuse to see anybody, he would not have time he could call his own if he did not arrange his life in this way.

[90] The imperial legates visited him in his lodgings. They praised his coming from so far away. They said that what he had done was most pleasing to the emperor. They explained the reasons that had kept the emperor at home. They told him that they had informed His Imperial Majesty about his arrival and recommended that the emperor come to the diet, and they thought he would do so if his own and the public interest made it possible. They were expecting a reply any day. They asked the duke if the meetings should be held in his lodgings, for all the others who were present would gladly bow to his eminence. To this Philippe answered something like this: He had received the emperor's letter summoning him to the diet while he was in Flanders, making war on the English who had broken their pact and laid waste to his territory. The inhabitants had asked him to stay and defend their country, but the emperor's command was more important to him than his subjects' requests. So, putting the greater things above the smaller and the public above the private, he had come to Regensburg – but not without loss to his lands. He had hoped that the emperor would be present as he had written he would be. He still wished he would come so that the affairs of the Catholic Faith might be better taken care of. He thought that the diet should not meet in his lodgings and said that he would come to the building where the emperor's legates resided or in any other they might decide: the emperor was his lord, and he knew that it was proper for him to accommodate his legates. Thus, this great prince showed that the greater his nobility was, the more modest his behaviour, which was really his most noble quality.



[91] Neque enim multa de se nobilitas opinatur neque primas sibi<sup>1</sup> vindicat partes nec *cervice*<sup>2</sup> *procedit obstipa*<sup>3</sup>, nullum salvare<sup>4</sup> jubens, nulli manum porrigens, quemadmodum plerosque novimus, qui sanguini suo renuntiatum a se censent, si minorem se quempiam salutaverint: veri trunci nihil plus pensi habentes quam columnae marmoreae aut<sup>5</sup> aereae<sup>6</sup> statuae, degeneres isti atque ignobiles habendi sunt. Virum nobilem jure dicimus, qui cum majores suos longa serie claros potentesque referat, progenitorum vestigia imitatur gloriamque gentilem adauget, qualem vidimus Ratisponae Philippum, non elatum<sup>7</sup> potentia, non inflatum opinione<sup>8</sup> sui, nulli se praeferentem, nulli molestum, aditu facilem et nobilitati et plebi communem. Is, ne se levi motu tractum ostenderet, jussit afferi litteras Caesaris, quae se vocaverant<sup>9</sup>, atque his lectis adventum suum in Caesaris vocatione fundatum palam fecit, quia non licuisset se suo principi non paruisse. Legati Caesaris rursus gratias agentes magno duci, qui mandatis imperialibus obtemperasset, tanto<sup>10</sup> eum efferendum<sup>11</sup> magis affirmavere, quanto cum<sup>12</sup> majori periculo {30v} atque incommodo pro communi omnium patria<sup>13</sup> suam propriam reliquisset. Conventionem autem in praetorio civitatis habendam statuerunt, quando apud se illam teneri Philippo non placuisset. Prius tamen, quam de communi negotio transigeretur, expectari Caesaris responsum libitum, si forte sua celsitudo ascendere decrevisset.

[92] Johannes de Lysura, dum expectatio pendet, vir acris ingenii ac rerum agendarum et scientiae juris impense<sup>14</sup> doctus, qui<sup>15</sup> tunc<sup>16</sup> Jacobi Treverensis archiepiscopi et principis electoris oculatissimi et ad rempublicam attentissimi, locum tenebat, legatos imperatoris adit aitque, priusquam publicae res<sup>17</sup> agitentur, pro quibus dicta dies est, ex usu videri solos Theutones inter se convenire, omissis civitatibus, quae nondum vocandae<sup>18</sup> viderentur. Aperitulum se illic nonnulla, quae Caesaris gloriam attingant. Annuunt legati, convenitur apud Ludovicum Bavariae ducem. Ibi Johannes quasi ex ore omnium servatum esse retroactis temporibus ait, cum de rebus gravioribus haberi concilia fuit<sup>19</sup> necessum<sup>20</sup>, antequam principes convenirent inter legatos res

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<sup>1</sup> primas sibi : sibi primas U

<sup>2</sup> servire U; cervici W

<sup>3</sup> obstipi W

<sup>4</sup> salvare W

<sup>5</sup> ut U

<sup>6</sup> enee U

<sup>7</sup> illatum U

<sup>8</sup> opinionem U

<sup>9</sup> notaverant U

<sup>10</sup> tantum U

<sup>11</sup> afferendum *corr. ex efferendum* U; offerendum W

<sup>12</sup> enim U

<sup>13</sup> patriam O, W, WO

<sup>14</sup> impende U

<sup>15</sup> cui U

<sup>16</sup> tum K, O, W, WO; cum U

<sup>17</sup> publicae res : res publicae MA

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* W

<sup>19</sup> sint W

<sup>20</sup> necesse U

ipsas discuti ac discussas ad dominos demum referri, tumque<sup>1</sup> concilium agitari. Idem quoque<sup>2</sup> in hoc Turcorum negotio et maximo et difficillimo fuisse faciendum. Memores priscae consuetudinis principes electores habuisse inter sese<sup>3</sup> colloquia, priusquam ad concilium seu venirent seu mitterent, praemeditatosque nonnihil esse pro tuenda religione Christiana.

[91] For [the true] noble does not make much of himself, he does not demand the first place, nor does he *stride along with stiff neck*<sup>4</sup>, greeting nobody, giving his hand to nobody, as we have seen in many who think that they demean their bloodline if they greet someone of lesser rank: they are really like trunks with no more thought than marble columns or bronze statues, and should be considered degenerate and ignoble. We say that a true noble is a man with a long line of noble and powerful forefathers in whose steps he follows while he himself increases his family's glory.<sup>5</sup> This we saw Philippe do in Regensburg, not carried away by his own power, not swollen with self-importance, not standing on his own,<sup>6</sup> not being injurious to anyone, a man approachable to all, both noblemen and common people. To show that he had not come for some frivolous reason, he ordered the emperor's letter of summons to be brought and had it read aloud, thus making it plain to all that his coming was caused by the emperor's summons and that he had not been at liberty to disobey his own prince. The imperial legates again thanked the great duke for obeying the imperial command, saying that it was so much more praiseworthy as he had, with great risk and trouble, left his own country for the sake of the common country of all.

The diet would assemble in the town hall since Philippe did not wish it to be held at his own place. But before they began to deal with the common affairs, they would await the emperor's letter in case His Highness decided to come in person.

## 8.1. Intervention of Johann Lysura

[92] On that occasion, Johann Lysura, a man of keen intellect, experienced in the conduct of affairs, and a specialist in law, represented Archbishop and Prince-Elector Jakob of Trier, a most perspicacious man and attentive to public affairs. During the waiting period, Johann approached the imperial legates and said to them that before the public affairs were taken up on the day appointed, it would be useful for the Germans to have a meeting between them – excluding the cities, which should not be summoned yet. There, he would speak openly on a number of matters touching upon the emperor's honour. The legates assented, and they met at [the residence of] Duke Ludwig of Bayern. There, Johann, as if speaking for all, said that in the past it was the

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<sup>1</sup> cumque W

<sup>2</sup> idem quoque : idemque MA

<sup>3</sup> se O, U

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Tiberius*, 68: *Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa*

<sup>5</sup> A contribution of Piccolomini to the Renaissance discussion of true nobility, see also Poggiolini and Landino (Jorde, p. 61)

<sup>6</sup> "nulli se praeferentem"

custom, when necessary to hold diets concerning important matters, that envoys met before the princes and discussed the matters and then reported back to their lords, and only afterwards the diet would be held. This should also have been done in this most important and difficult matter of the Turks. The old custom should have been observed, and the prince-electors ought to have discussed the matter between them before they came or sent [representatives] to the diet, having considered in advance all that should be done for the defence of the Christian religion.

[92] {31r} Salubre nunc videri, quoniam neglecta sit conventio praecursoria cum legatis electorum et aliorum principum, uti praesidentes imperiales de provisione contra Turcos facienda pertractent mentemque Caesaris notam reddant, atque hic vires potius Germaniae<sup>1</sup> examinentur quam in aures Gallorum et aliorum nationum deferantur.

[93] Agebat hoc Johannes, quatenus eo<sup>2</sup> res deduceretur, ut necesse esset de adventu Caesaris ac deinde de paupertate imperii disputare paulatimque<sup>3</sup> de resarcienda republica sermonem inveniri. Sed accepta sunt ejus verba a legatis imperialibus in sinistram deterrimamque partem, tamquam Caesar ab eo incusaretur, qui conventum insciis electoribus indixisset, mentemque Caesaris in facto Turcorum nosse vellet, non tam probaturus quam calumniaturus existimabatur. Ea propter, cum paululum inter se collocuti essent legati Caesaris, in hanc sententiam Gurgensem episcopum respondere jusserunt<sup>4</sup>: sive res magnae sive mediocres in consultationem veniant<sup>5</sup>, imperatorem suo jure principum et subditorum suorum conventum indicere solitum, nec subpeditasse hac tempestate Caesari tantum spatii, ut vel consulere principes electores de concilio indicendo posset vel colloquium inter legatos praemittere<sup>6</sup>.

[94] Quod adversus Turcorum insolentiam praemeditatus esset imperator, id se jussos publice proponere neque neglecturos aut quovis pacto variaturos imperatoris mandatum, ne suo principi non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondere videantur. Commotusque deinde<sup>7</sup> {31v} aliquantisper Gurgensis episcopus, “Quid<sup>8</sup> vos<sup>9</sup> hic,” ait, “electores tantopere commemoratis, quasi omnes hoc in loco legatos habeant? At nos trium tantum<sup>10</sup> electorum<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> oratores praesentes cernimus, reliqui nullum hic vel nuntiolum habent, cui mentem Caesaris exponamus.”

[95] Haec cum audisset Johannes, miratus apud imperatorios oratores sua verba aegre fuisse recepta, ut est astuto corde et animo videnti, se prudenter expurgatum dedit. Exin pedetentim ad rem Turcorum transiens, “Ego,” inquit, “non calumniae causa cupidus eram audire, quae cogitasset adversus Turcos imperator. Intelligo enim rem illam esse maximam neque *illotis manibus attingendam*, quamvis minima esset Germanico nomini, si hoc nostrum<sup>13</sup> imperium suo ordine regeretur. Sed videtis<sup>14</sup> omnes<sup>15</sup> hanc nostram Theutonium quassatam undique ac

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<sup>1</sup> vires potius Germaniae : Germaniae vires potius O

<sup>2</sup> ea U

<sup>3</sup> paulatim U

<sup>4</sup> jussere U

<sup>5</sup> venient W

<sup>6</sup> permittere U

<sup>7</sup> qui U

<sup>8</sup> qui U

<sup>9</sup> nos W

<sup>10</sup> trium tantum : tantum trium O, W

<sup>11</sup> electores MA, WO

<sup>12</sup> tantum electorum : tanto tempore W

<sup>13</sup> nostrorum U

<sup>14</sup> videns U

<sup>15</sup> omit. W

laceratam et nulla in parte sibi ipsi cohaerentem. Hic civitates cum principibus lites immortales ducunt, ibi principes principi, civitas<sup>1</sup> civitati bellum movet<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> civitates MA

<sup>2</sup> movent MA

[92] Since an advance meeting between the legates of the electors and other princes had not been held, it now seemed profitable that the imperial presidents examine the measures to be taken against the Turks and announce the intentions of the emperor, and that the German strength should be reviewed here<sup>1</sup> rather than brought to the knowledge of the French and other nations.<sup>2</sup>

[93] Johann's initiative really aimed at a discussion of the emperor's participation, then the poverty of the Empire, and finally the restoration of the Empire.<sup>3</sup> But the imperial legates perceived his words as hiding a sinister and ill-intentioned meaning, as if the emperor was being criticised for indicting the diet without the prince-electors' knowledge, and as if Lysura wanted to know the emperor's intentions, not to commend them but to denounce them. Therefore, after a short exchange on the matter, the imperial legates asked the Bishop of Gurk to make the following answer: Whether the subject for consultation was important or ordinary, the emperor was in his full right to summon his princes and subjects to a diet, and in the present circumstances he simply had not had the necessary time to consult the princes on holding the diet or having an advance meeting between legates.

[94] Concerning the emperor's plans against the insolent Turks, they had been requested to announce them publicly. This they would not fail to do, nor would they in any way disregard the emperor's mandate and thus be seen to not give their prince the respect due to him or to give unwanted advice. And the Bishop of Gurk, somewhat agitated, said, "Why do you make so much of the prince-electors, as if they all had their legates here? We only see the ambassadors of three electors. The others have not sent any representative at all<sup>4</sup> to whom we could explain the emperor's intentions."

[95] When Johann heard this, he was surprised that the imperial ambassadors were displeased at his words, but – being astute and clear-sighted – he excused himself and then gradually passed on to the Turkish matter, saying, "I did not want to hear the emperor's plans against the Turks to criticise them for I understand that this is a most important matter that cannot be *touched by unwashed hands*,<sup>5</sup> though it would really be a small matter for Germany if our Empire was governed as it should be. But you all see our Germany being mauled and scourged from all sides and falling apart everywhere. Here, the cities have unending conflicts with the princes, and there, the princes are at war with other princes, and the cities with other cities.

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<sup>1</sup> In a closed meeting for the Germans

<sup>2</sup> In a meeting open to all

<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini would quite likely agree with this aim, and he may have known of Lysura's initiative beforehand

<sup>4</sup> "nuntiolum"

<sup>5</sup> Plautus: *Poenulus*, 315: *tu hujus oculos illutis manibus tractes aut teras*. Proverbial expression meaning irreverently or without proper preparations

[95] Nemo est tam infimae<sup>1</sup> conditionis, qui vicinis ex arbitrio suo bellum indicere non praesumat. Nullus angulus est nationis nostrae quietus. Quocumque pergis, latrones, insidias, spoliationes<sup>2</sup>, mortem timeas. Neque pax clero est neque nobilitati honor. Raptoribus omnia patent. Impletum est in nobis<sup>3</sup> Ovidianum illud: *Vivitur ex raptu, non hospes ab hospite tutus, Non socer a genero*. Completa est nequitia nostra. Nemo suae domi<sup>4</sup> tutam<sup>5</sup> agit vitam. {32r} Quid tu cum hisce moribus agas? Quo pacto contra Turcos arma sumemus, qui domi timemus alterutrum? Et pudet nostri nominis, pudet hujus regiminis.

[96] Majores nostri, quamvis neque opum neque militum quantum nos haberent, imperium tamen Romanum, quod apud Graecos erat, ad se traxerunt. Cur hoc? Nempe quia<sup>6</sup> domi pacem colebant, foris bellum gerebant, ecclesiam Romanam adversus invasores coactis exercitibus tutabantur, oppressis per injuriam quibusque proximis opem ferebant neque inter se rapinas exercebant neque in alios injusta spolia fieri permittebant. Hinc illi - nec vetusta adeo res est – imperium a Pyreneis montibus in Pannoniam<sup>7</sup> protenderunt<sup>8</sup>, Italiam parentem habuerunt, Hispanis, Anglicis, Hungaris, Bohemis, Polonis<sup>9</sup> reges dederunt. Nunc vix lingua omnis Theutonica nostri juris existit. En quo desidia nostra nos redigit<sup>10</sup>? En quo nostrae nos divisiones impellunt? Omnibus per circuitum nationibus derisui atque contemptui sumus, qui cum simus<sup>11</sup> ipsi<sup>12</sup> potentes, domi nobiles, opulentas civitates ac<sup>13</sup> populo plenas habeamus bonisque omnibus abundemus – quod est mortalibus optimum – domi pacem tenere nescimus<sup>14</sup>, et, quae illam gignit atque conservat, justitiae locum inter nos esse non sinimus.

[97] Haec dum ajo, vos<sup>15</sup> fortasse, Caesaris oratores, sugillare<sup>16</sup> me vestrum nostrumque<sup>17</sup> principem arbitramini, qui<sup>18</sup> nos justitiae ac pacis egentes {32v} reddat. Minime gentium<sup>19</sup> hoc agitem<sup>20</sup>: nihil est enim, quod improperem suae majestati, si Germaniam pacare non pergat, neque enim opus est suarum virium. Nota est omnibus ejus potentia. Novimus, quae sunt ejus vectigalia. Ex patrimonio tantum habet, quantum decet honestum principem. Ex imperio vix exhaurit, unde

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<sup>1</sup> intime U

<sup>2</sup> spolia O, W

<sup>3</sup> est in nobis : in nobis est O, W

<sup>4</sup> domus K; domui W

<sup>5</sup> tutus O, W

<sup>6</sup> qui U

<sup>7</sup> Poloniam U

<sup>8</sup> pretenderunt W

<sup>9</sup> omit. MA, WO

<sup>10</sup> en quo ... redigit omit. MA

<sup>11</sup> sumus U

<sup>12</sup> episcopi U

<sup>13</sup> provincias add. O, W

<sup>14</sup> tenere nescimus : nescimus tenere W

<sup>15</sup> nos U

<sup>16</sup> sugillare U

<sup>17</sup> nostrorumque U

<sup>18</sup> quod U

<sup>19</sup> gentem W

<sup>20</sup> agentem W

legatos alere possit, quos huc atque illuc dirigit. Non est Styria atque Carinthia, quae onera sufferre possit imperii, neque, si posset<sup>1</sup>, aequum censeam ex patrimonio Caesarem imperio satisfacere, exhaeredare<sup>2</sup> proprios liberos, ut communi utilitati subveniat. Nam quamvis aliquando<sup>3</sup> sublimes et laudatissimi principes id egerunt, nunc tamen monstruosa fuerit haec caritas.

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<sup>1</sup> possit O, W, MA

<sup>2</sup> exhereditare U

<sup>3</sup> alioquin MA



[95] Nobody is so abject that he will not dare to declare war on his neighbour on his own authority. No corner of our nation is at peace. Wherever you turn, you must fear robbers, ambush, plundering and death. The clergy has no peace and the nobles no honour. All lies wide open to robbers. We fulfil this verse of Ovid: *Men lived on plunder. Guest was not safe from host, nor father-in-law from son-in-law.*<sup>1</sup> Our wickedness is complete. Nobody lives peacefully in his home. What can you do when people behave like that? How can we go to war against the Turks when we fear each other at home. We are ashamed of our name. We are ashamed of this state of things.

[96] Our forefathers had neither our means nor our soldiers, but still, they took over the Roman Empire, which was in the hands of the Greeks. How could they do that? Because they cultivated peace at home, made wars abroad, with their armies protected the Roman Church against aggressors, brought help to neighbours who were being molested, did not rob each other, and did not allow others to be robbed unjustly. Thus – and it is not so long ago – they extended the Empire from the Pyrenean Mountains to Hungary, had the obedience of the Italians, and gave kings to the Spanish, the English, the Hungarians, the Bohemians and the Poles. Nowadays, some German-speaking people are not part of the Empire. Whereto has our apathy brought us? Whereto do our divisions drive us? All the neighbouring nations scorn and despise us: we are powerful and noble at home, we have an abundance of rich and populous cities and all good things, but that which is the greatest good for men, keeping peace at home, we cannot have, and among ourselves, we leave no place for justice which begets and preserves peace.

[97] When I say this, you imperial ambassadors may think that I am blaming yours and our prince for failing to give us justice and peace, but nothing is further from my mind. I do not reproach His Majesty that he does not strive to give Germany peace, and there is no need for his personal resources. All know what little power he has. All know of his tax revenues. From his own paternal lands, he only gets what is fitting for an honourable prince. From the Empire, he barely gets enough to sustain the legates he sends here and there. Styria and Carinthia cannot carry the burden of the Empire, and even if they could, it would not be reasonable to expect the emperor to cover the costs of the Empire out of his own paternal inheritance and to rob his own children of their inheritance in order to care for the common good. For although exalted and praiseworthy princes have sometimes done so, today such charity would be preposterous.

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<sup>1</sup> Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 1.144-145

[97] Satis est, si personam suam Caesar exhibet et in communi laboraturum<sup>1</sup> se offert, quemadmodum anno superiore ex ore suo audisse me<sup>2</sup> recolo, cum apud novam civitatem archiepiscopi Treverensis agerem vices. Vos Senensis ac<sup>3</sup> Gurcensis episcopi praesentes eratis.

[98] Sed quos ego accuso? In quos malorum nostrorum causam retorqueo? Equidem omnes increpo, qui nomine Theutonico censentur. Omnes inertes atque ignavi sumus, omnes supplicio digni, qui neque regem nostrum respicimus neque de nostra republica solliciti sumus, et – quasi nihil ad nos imperium pertineat – omnia ruere sinimus et in nostris manibus tantam extinguere lucem, pro qua {33r} nostri progenitores animas suas dediderunt<sup>4</sup>. Et quo pacto credimus valitura membra languente capite? Quid nos capiti nostro, regi nostro contribuimus? Nihil ex nobis praeter nomen Caesar habet. Satisne<sup>5</sup> hoc iudicamus? Et quod – oro – sub caelo regnum est, quod suum non pascit<sup>6</sup> regem? Pacem omnes optamus, odimus bellum, discordias, rapinas accusamus, nec modum quaerimus habendae quietis! Nusquam sine iustitia pacem reperias. Quietum regnum iudicia reddunt. At dicat aliquis: “Iuri reddendo Caesar praeest. Nisi iudicium faciat, in culpa est.” Sed unde is – obsecro – stipendia sumat, quae iudicibus eroget?

[99] Pono milites, et iuris interpretes assidue jus dicere: quis parere compellit<sup>7</sup> invitum? Ecce nunc adversus Prutenos lata sententia est, at illi, dum iubentur oboedire, religioni magis insultant, vetustos dominos domo pellunt, neque sedis apostolicae censuras neque imperii decreta formidant. Possem multa in medium afferre mandata Caesarum Sigmundi, Alberti ac Friderici<sup>8</sup>, quae memoria nostra incassum<sup>9</sup> prodire<sup>10</sup>. Ecclesiam Traiectensem pluribus annis et contra Romani pontificis iussiones et adversus imperium Caesaris vidimus occupatam. Nunc quoque Monasteriensis ecclesia, quo iure teneatur, non ignoratis. Quid Susatenses referam, ecclesiae Coloniensis notissimam cladem? Quid illi vel summi pontificis anathema vel nostri Caesaris bannum extimere<sup>11</sup>? {33v} Frustra leges condimus, iudicia tenemus, sententias proferimus<sup>12</sup>, nisi manus assit<sup>13</sup> armata, quae contumaciam<sup>14</sup> coerceat subditorum. Sed accusatis Caesarem, qui temeritatem inoboedientium<sup>15</sup> non corripit neque<sup>16</sup> spolia prohibet neque resistit potentibus injuriam facientibus.

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<sup>1</sup> laboratum U

<sup>2</sup> audisse me : me audisse W

<sup>3</sup> et U

<sup>4</sup> rediderunt WO

<sup>5</sup> satis in U

<sup>6</sup> pascit W

<sup>7</sup> compellet K, O; compellat W

<sup>8</sup> moderni *add.* O, W

<sup>9</sup> in casum U

<sup>10</sup> prodire U

<sup>11</sup> extimauere O, W

<sup>12</sup> praeferimus MA

<sup>13</sup> esset W

<sup>14</sup> contumacia U

<sup>15</sup> inobedientiam W, MA, WO

<sup>16</sup> nec MA, WO



[97] It is enough if the emperor engages himself personally and works for the common good, as I remember hearing from his own mouth last year when I came to Wiener Neustadt on a mission from the Archbishop of Trier.<sup>1</sup> You bishops of Siena and Gurk<sup>2</sup> were there.

[98] So, who do I blame? Who do I consider responsible for our evils? I blame all, indeed, who carry the name of German. We are all passive and indolent. We all merit to be punished for not respecting our king and not caring for our state. As if the Empire had nothing to do with us, we are letting all fall apart and allow the light in our hands to be extinguished for which our forefathers gave their lives. How do we believe that the members can be strong if the head is weak? What do we offer to our head, our king? He gets nothing from us except the name of emperor. Do we really consider that to be sufficient? What country under the heaven – I ask – does not feed its own king? We all want peace, we hate war, we denounce conflict and plunder, but still we are not searching for a way to have peace. You will never find peace without justice. Justice makes for a peaceful realm. Here someone may object, “It is the emperor’s responsibility to deliver justice. If he does not, then he is at fault.” But – I ask you – from where can he get the funds to pay the judges?

[99] Take away the soldiers and let the lawmen deliver judgments regularly: who forces the unwilling to obey? Quite recently, a judgment was delivered against the Prussians, but instead of obeying as ordered, they intensify their attacks against the Order, drive their old masters from their homes and fear neither the censures of the Apostolic See nor the decrees of the Empire. I could point to many decisions of emperors Sigismund, Albrecht, and Friedrich that in our own memory remained without effect. For many years, we have seen the See of Utrecht occupied by someone against the Roman Pontiff’s orders and the emperor’s command.<sup>3</sup> And now, too, you know with what right the Church of Münster is being held.<sup>4</sup> What shall I say about the people of Soest and the scandalous defeat of the Church of Cologne? Did those people of Soest fear the curse of the Supreme Pontiff or the ban of the Empire?<sup>5</sup> In vain we make laws, keep justice and render judgments if there is no armed arm<sup>6</sup> to coerce defiant subjects. You blame the emperor for not censuring the effrontery of the disobedient, for not preventing plundering, and for not resisting powerful transgressors.

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<sup>1</sup> Jakob von Sierck

<sup>2</sup> Ulrich Sonnenberger

<sup>3</sup> In 1424 the Cathedral Chapter of Utrecht elected Rudolf von Diepholt as Bishop of Utrecht. He was the preferred candidate of the town council of Utrecht. The pope, Martin V, appointed another bishop, Walram von Mörs, and excommunicated the citizens in 1425 and the region was put under interdict. In 1433, Rudolf of Diepholt was appointed bishop of Utrecht by Martin’s successor, Pope Eugenius IV (*Handbook of Dutch*, pp. 108-109)

<sup>4</sup> In the *Münsterische Stiftsfehde* from 1450 to 1457 two candidates fought to become Bishop of Münster, Walram von Moers and Erich von Hoya. Pope Nicolaus V intervened in the conflict, excommunicating the opponents of his own candidate/s and putting the district under interdict. The University of Erfurt pronounced against the papal censures, which were then ignored by the concerned parties

<sup>5</sup> The Soest Feud: a feud that took place from 1444 to 1449, in which the town of Soest claimed its freedom from the Archbishop of Cologne. In 1444, Soest accepted a new lord, the Duke of Cleve, and as a result, the emperor imposed the imperial ban on the city

<sup>6</sup> “manus”: hand



[99] Quid ille inermis agat? Quis curet verba, quae non sequuntur verbera<sup>1</sup>? Vetusti Caesares armatas habuerunt legiones, quibus iniusti ac cervicosi homines facile plectebantur. Nunc noster imperator solus est et nudus<sup>2</sup>. 'Armet et ipse legiones,' dicat quispiam. Et unde has nutriat? inquam ego. Quis exercitum nisi pecuniosus alit? Nihil est quod imperio ministramus. Titulare atque inane est regis nostri nomen<sup>3</sup>. Absque aerario regnum habemus atque idcirco tantum paremus, quantum volumus. Hinc lites immortales, cum se quisque regem ducit<sup>4</sup>.

[100] Quod si quietem cupimus, unum esse principem oportet, qui et jubere possit et cogere. Id fiet<sup>5</sup>, si regem nostrum egere prohibuerimus atque ita ordinaverimus, ut ad retundendam inoboedientium contumaciam exercitum, cum necesse est, contrahere possit. Nec ego profecto quemquam esse arbitror Theutonici nominis amantem, cui haec odiosa videantur, neque enim Alemania nostra adeo pauper est, ut regem {34r} suum magnifice nutrire non possit. Ego saepe apud Gallos sum versatus, cumque nostram nationem cum Gallica compararem, fatebantur omnes nos multo<sup>6</sup> praestare, si parentes regi nostro fuerimus. At cum nulla inter nos oboedientia vigeat<sup>7</sup>, sitque sibi quilibet imperator, ajunt de nobis, quod de Graecis olim civitatibus dictum constat, quae dum singulae imperare volunt, omnes imperium perdidere. Dicunt Theutonium grandem esse provinciam, opulentam, hominibus, equis armisque refertam, natura potentem, regimine imbecillem, neque falluntur mea quidem sententia<sup>8</sup>. Neque enim arbitror ullam esse nationem tam grandem sub caelo, quae *habeat deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut adest<sup>9</sup> nobis dominus<sup>10</sup> Deus noster*. Tantum nos ipsi propitii nobis simus velimusque<sup>11</sup> vivere sicut ceterae nationes, honorem capiti nostro<sup>12</sup> deferre, regi parere, submittere colla justitiae, servare ordinem. Quod<sup>13</sup> si pergimus ita vivere, quemadmodum coeptum est, actum<sup>14</sup> de nostra natione dixerim. Venient alieni<sup>15</sup> et auferent<sup>16</sup> nobis regnum et gentem, et qui nolumus<sup>17</sup> nostri sanguinis imperatori servire, jugum ferre alienum cogemur.

[101] Puto vos haec jamdudum animadvertisse<sup>18</sup>, viri nobiles ac potentes, vestramque mentem de reformatione nationis atque imperii saepe cogitantem esse, neque ego rem difficilem arbitror, si

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<sup>1</sup> quis curet ... verbera *omit.* MA

<sup>2</sup> est et nudus : et nudus est O, W

<sup>3</sup> regis nostri nomen : nomen regis nostri W

<sup>4</sup> dicit U, W

<sup>5</sup> fit W

<sup>6</sup> multa W

<sup>7</sup> vigeat W

<sup>8</sup> regimine imbecillem ... sententia *omit.* U

<sup>9</sup> est U

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

<sup>11</sup> velimus U

<sup>12</sup> capitique nostro honorem MA

<sup>13</sup> qui U

<sup>14</sup> est *add.* U

<sup>15</sup> enim U

<sup>16</sup> auferunt U

<sup>17</sup> uolumus U

<sup>18</sup> animo advertisse MA

Caesar cum principibus conveniat. Nam etsi multi sunt ab hoc proposito alieni, vincentur {34r} tamen ratione, neque *sinderesi* poterunt adversari, quae omnibus est innata hominibus, habens in se virtutis et boni quaerendi semina. Mihi ergo - ut eo<sup>1</sup> redeam<sup>2</sup>, unde sum digressus – nullo pacto contra Turcos arma sumenda videntur, nisi prius statum imperii ad suam normam redigamus

[99] But what can he do unarmed? Who bothers about words when they are not followed by whips? The emperors of old had armed legions with which they could easily punish stiff-necked and criminal men. Now, our emperor is on his own and without means. ‘But let him arm legions,’ someone may say. And how shall he feed them? I ask. How can anybody sustain an army without money? We contribute nothing to the Empire. In our country, the name of king is an empty title. We have a kingdom without a treasure, and therefore we only obey it when we want to. Everybody considers himself a king, and consequently we have those unending conflicts.

[100] If we want peace, we must have one prince who can both give orders and enforce them. This will happen if we do not allow our king to be lacking in means and make it possible for him to mobilise an army to suppress the defiance of the disobedient whenever needful. Indeed, I think that nobody who loves the German name will consider this to be preposterous, for our Germany is not so poor that it cannot provide magnificently for its king. I have often been in France, and when I compared our nation with the French, all said that we would be much superior if we obeyed our king. But since there is no obedience among us, and everybody wants to be his own emperor, the French say that what once happened to the Greek cities also applies to us: each of them wanted to govern, and therefore they all, together, lost the government. They say that Germany is a great province, rich, full of men, horses, and weapons, strong by nature, but with a weak government, and in my opinion, they are not wrong. However, I do believe that there *is no grander nation* under the sky *that hath gods so nigh them, as your Lord God is with you.*<sup>3</sup> If we would only be kind to ourselves and let us live like other nations, honour our head, submit to the king, bow to justice and preserve order! But if we go on living as we have now begun to, then I would say that our nation is finished. Others will come and take the kingdom and the people from us, and we who do not wish to serve an emperor of our own blood will be forced to carry a foreign yoke.<sup>4</sup>

[101] I believe that you, noble and powerful men, are already aware of this and have often been thinking about the reform of nation and Empire. I do not believe it will be difficult if only the emperor would meet with his princes. Although many disagree with these ideas, they will be persuaded by reason itself and will not be able to fight against *synderesis*<sup>1</sup>, which is innate in all

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<sup>1</sup> ego U

<sup>2</sup> reddam U

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy, 4, 7. Piccolomini would reuse this passage in his oration “*Constantinopolitana clades*” [22], sect. 32, delivered at the Diet of Frankfurt later that same year

<sup>4</sup> As pope, Piccolomini would reuse this passage in his grand opening oration at the Congress of Mantua, the “*Cum bellum hodie*” [45], sect. 18: *Utinam mendaces et falsi prophetae simus in hac parte, sed credite nos folium recitare Sybillae. Venient, venient Turci, nisi obviam imus, et auferent nobis locum et gentem*

<sup>1</sup> Greek *synteresis*: the supposed innate ability of the human mind to realise the basic principles of ethics and morals

men and carry the seeds of seeking what is virtuous and good. But – to return to my point of departure – I believe that we should absolutely not go to war against the Turks unless we have first restored the Empire to its proper state.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "norman"



[101] Reformare autem<sup>1</sup> imperium non video quo pacto valeamus, nisi Caesar ascendat ac cum suis principibus de reformanda republica consilia captet. Quod si ordinatum imperium fuerit<sup>2</sup>, non modo Turcis facile resistemus, sed alias quoque nationes in frena pristina redigemus ac nomen Theutonicum<sup>3</sup>, quod modo suppressum et<sup>4</sup> vile habetur, in altum efferemus.

[102] Probaverunt omnes dicta Johannis. Legati tamen Caesaris illud refellere conati sunt, quod ultimo positum erat, non esse contra Turcos pugnandum, nisi prius imperium resarciretur, id enim tempus expetere longius<sup>5</sup> videbatur. Turcis, nisi quam primum obviam itum esset, religionem Christianam funditus perire, quam illi armati ac victores summo conatu persequerentur<sup>6</sup>. Reliqua Johannis verba pleno ore commendant<sup>7</sup>.

[103] Dum haec geruntur, Albertus marchio Brandeburgensis, qui petiturus adversus Prutenos auxilia in Bohemiam se contulerat<sup>8</sup>, magistro Alemaniae scribit hujusmodi sese conventiones<sup>9</sup> cum rege Bohemiae pepigisse: "Exercitum Bohemi contra Prutenos ductabunt {35r} equitum quattuor milium, peditum viginti milium. Instructi armatique erunt, ut est Bohemis pugnaturis modus, pugnabuntque summo conatu hebdomadis quindecim. Si Prusciam hoc tempore vendicabunt, religioni restituent. Si minus, non erunt obnoxii amplius<sup>10</sup> morari aut bellum gerere absque novis pactionibus. Hujus rei causa dabit religio regi Bohemiae, quamprimum exercitus erit instructus, auri Hungarici trecenta<sup>11</sup> milia nummorum<sup>12</sup> tantundemque, postquam Prusciam introierint copiae<sup>13</sup>. Vendicata autem regione quattuor milia quotannis coronae Bohemorum pendebit<sup>14</sup>. Rex vero in aevum protector religionis erit. Rex quoque Poloniae, ne sit impedimento religiosis, quadringenta milia similium nummorum ex ipsis accipiet. Georgius, Bohemiae gubernator et harum fabricator rerum, auri Rhenensis octuaginta milia nummorum emerebitur. Ea si velint religiosi fratres amplecti, necessarium esse quamprimum scribere." Non videri dubium, quin<sup>15</sup> eo pacto superbia civitatum conteratur. Ad rem hanc remissi sunt nonnulli ex fratribus, qui cum marchione profecti fuerant<sup>16</sup>. Ipse paululum aegrotans marchio Pragae aliquot diebus remansit.

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

<sup>2</sup> *faterit* U

<sup>3</sup> *Theutonicorum* U

<sup>4</sup> *ac* U

<sup>5</sup> *expetere longius* : *longius expetere* W

<sup>6</sup> *prosequerentur* MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> *reliqua Johannis ... commendant* *omit.* U

<sup>8</sup> *contulerit* K, U

<sup>9</sup> *sese conventiones* : *conventiones sese* MA

<sup>10</sup> *obnoxii amplius* : *amplius obnoxii* MA

<sup>11</sup> *tricenta* W

<sup>12</sup> *nummorum* W

<sup>13</sup> *capit* W

<sup>14</sup> *pendet* *corr.* *ex penedebit* V

<sup>15</sup> *qui* U

<sup>16</sup> *fuerint* WO

[101] And I do not see how we can reform the empire, if the emperor does not come and take counsel with his princes on reforming the state. But if the Empire is set in order, we shall not only be able to resist the Turks with ease but also to bridle the other nations, as we did in the past, and raise up high the German name, now considered as vile and worthless.

## 6.2. Reply of the imperial legates

[102] All approved of Johann's words, but the imperial legates endeavoured to refute what he had said last about not fighting the Turks before the Empire had been set in order, for that would take a very long time. Unless the Turks were confronted as soon as possible, the Christian religion would be destroyed by armed victors persecuting it with all their might. The rest of Johann's speech they agreed with wholeheartedly.

## 7. Bohemian aid to the Teutonic Knights<sup>1</sup>

[103] Meanwhile, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg had gone to Bohemia to seek aid against the Prussians. Now he wrote to the Master of Germany that he had made this agreement with the King of Bohemia:

"The Bohemians will lead a war against the Prussians consisting of 4,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. They will be trained and armed as Bohemian soldiers usually are, and they will fight with all their might for 15 weeks. If during that time they gain Prussia, they will restore it to the Order. If not, they will have no obligation to stay longer or to wage war without new agreements. In return, the Order will, as soon as the army is formed, give the King of Bohemia<sup>2</sup> 300,000 Hungarian gold ducats and the same amount when the troops enter Prussia. If they gain the region, the Order will pay the Crown of Bohemia 4,000 ducats annually, and the king will be its protector in perpetuity. The Knights will also pay the King of Poland<sup>3</sup> 400,000 ducats to not trouble them. Georg, Governor of Bohemia,<sup>4</sup> who made this arrangement, will be paid 80,000 Rhinish gold ducats. If the Knights accept the agreement, they must write as soon as possible."

This way, there was no doubt that the haughty cities would collapse. Some of the Knights who had accompanied the margrave were sent back on this errand while he himself, due to a brief illness, stayed in Prague for some days.

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 247-257

<sup>2</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>3</sup> Kazimierz IV

<sup>4</sup> Georg Podiebrad



[104] Magister Alemaniae his cognitis ex legatis principum, qui conventum agebant, exclusis oratoribus civitatum, quos favere Prutenis opinabatur, consilium petit: auri maximam esse, quae requiritur<sup>1</sup>, summam dicit neque scire {35v} se, unde corradi possit. Cardinalis sancti Petri suo more copiose prudenterque locutus, legatos mitti suadet<sup>2</sup>, qui concordiam cum rege Poloniae tractent, quem constaret patrocinari civitatibus. Interea, quem possent, religiosi exercitum compararent, marchioni Alberto scriberent, tractatus cum Bohemis eo usquam prorogaret, donec ex magistro Prusciae cognosci posset, an aurum expetitur in promptu habeat. Nam ex Alemania, etsi omnes possessiones religionis venundentur, non tamen pactionibus satisfaciunt. Ea fere<sup>3</sup> omnium sententia fuit. Placuit tamen expectari marchionem, quem brevi affuturum dicebant, uti ex eo pressius omnia cognoscerentur.

[105] His actis, cum jam plenum<sup>4</sup> concilium<sup>5</sup> videretur, statuunt legati Caesaris contionem advocare atque illic imperatoris mandata referre. Et quamvis Nicolao cardinali antea commisissent, ut is<sup>6</sup> verba faceret, pridie tamen quam conventus celebretur, mutato proposito Aeneam dicere jubent, non quod is orator videretur melior, sed quoniam unus ex his esset, qui ex curia Caesaris missi fuerant, quasi plus ponderis apud eos existeret, qui ex latere Caesaris novissime<sup>7</sup> adventassent<sup>8</sup>. Cardinalis enim ex domo sua per litteras vocatus concilium adiverat. Gravis ea res Aeneae fuit, cui ad meditandum, quae proferret, una tantum nox intercedebat, sed fuit ei<sup>9</sup> praesidio valitudo ducis Burgundorum, qui febribus {36r} ea nocte vexatus concilio interesse non potuit. Dilata est igitur in aliam diem audientia. Ibi cum omnes adessent, in hunc modum Aeneas oravit:

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<sup>1</sup> quaeritur MA

<sup>2</sup> suadere K, O, U, V, W

<sup>3</sup> vere W

<sup>4</sup> satis plenum O; plenum satis W

<sup>5</sup> consilium U

<sup>6</sup> his U

<sup>7</sup> nouissimi O, W

<sup>8</sup> advenissent W

<sup>9</sup> omit. MA

[104] When the Master of Germany heard this from those legates of the princes who participated in the diet, he asked for a consultation, excluding the envoys of the cities whom he thought were favouring the Prussians. He said that the required amount of money was enormous and that he did not know how to scrape it together. The Cardinal of San Pietro, as usual, spoke at length and wisely: he advised them to send legates to negotiate a settlement with the King of Poland who was known to protect the cities. In the meantime, the Knights should gather such an army as they could. They should also write to the margrave and ask for a postponement of the treaty with the Bohemians until they could hear from the Master of Prussia if he had the required sum available. For even if all the German possessions of the Order were sold, they were not enough to fulfil the terms of the treaty. Almost all agreed, but they decided to await the margrave whose arrival was said to be imminent so that they could learn about the matter in greater detail.<sup>1</sup>

## **8. Third session, 16 May: Crusade against the Turks<sup>2</sup>**

### **8.1. Oration “*Quamvis omnibus*” of Piccolomini**

[105] Afterwards, as the diet now seemed to be fully attended, the imperial legates decided to summon a meeting and there to communicate the emperor’s mandate. They had previously asked the cardinal to speak, but the day before the meeting, they changed their mind and asked Enea to speak. The reason was not that he was the better speaker, but that he was one of those who had been sent from the emperor’s court since those who had come straight from the emperor’s court carried greater weight. For the cardinal had come to the diet from his own home, summoned by letter. This was a quite demanding task for Enea since he only had one night to plan what to say. However, he was helped by the state of health of the Burgundian duke, who that night suffered an attack of fever and therefore could not participate in the meeting. The session was therefore postponed to the next day. When all had assembled, Enea spoke in this fashion:

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<sup>1</sup> “pressius”

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 258 ff.

[106] Quamvis<sup>1</sup> omnibus, qui adestis, reverendissimi patres, illustrissimi et nobilissimi principes, ceterique viri magnifici ac praestantes<sup>2</sup>, etsi nota est causa vestrae vocationis - in litteris enim<sup>3</sup> ad unumquemque transmissis exprimitur - quia tamen res ardua est et universam Christianitatem respicit<sup>4</sup>, ob quam divus Caesar Fridericus, Romanorum imperator, in hac urbe celeberrima conventum indixit, ex usu judicant<sup>5</sup> esse reverendissimi ac magnipotentis collegae mei sublimitatis imperatoriae<sup>6</sup> legati causam ipsam, quae vos<sup>7</sup> accersendos persuasit, in medium vestri amplius explicari, quodque Caesareae menti ad consulendum reipublicae<sup>8</sup> Christianae propositum sedeat, in hoc amplissimo auditorio palam fieri. Partes autem dicendi ad me, ut cernitis, delatae sunt, qui etsi pareo non invitus<sup>9</sup> majoribus meis, in hoc tamen negotio, quod est omnium maximum, non ab re alium meo loco<sup>10</sup> suffectum esse voluissem, qui parem rebus potuisset orationem habere.

[107] Verum quia turpe est contendere, ubi necesse est oboedire, munus<sup>11</sup> mihi demandatum pro mea facultate conabor absolvere. Vos pro vestra mansuetudine ac nobilitate, quas<sup>12</sup> ceteris praestare soletis aures, eas non dicam mihi, sed rerum, quas proponam magnitudini atque ipsi, cujus nomine loquar, Friderico Caesari concedetis. Ego ut quam brevissime res absolvam, {36v} oratiunculam meam duas in partes dividam. In prima referentur ex ordine convocati<sup>13</sup> hujus concilii rationes. In secunda commissionis nostrae tenor explicabitur. Ac ne tempus frustra teram, de priori parte succincte transigam.

[108] Duae fuerunt causae, quibus impulsus est Caesar hunc conventum indicere. Unam praestitit grandis<sup>14</sup> illa atque insignis contumelia, quam aestate<sup>15</sup> proxime decursa Turcorum ductor Maumethus apud Constantinopolim Christiano intulit nomini. Alteram maximus praebuit apparatus, quem ipsi iidem Turci habere dicuntur, ut Christianam gentem funditus perdant<sup>16</sup>. Illa damnum pensitat jam illatum, haec futurum discrimen periculumque metitur. De his est paulo altius conferendum, ut intelligant omnes neque parvam injuriam esse, quam dicimus vindicandam, nec minimum esse periculum, quod suademus vestro<sup>17</sup> consilio praecavendum.

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<sup>1</sup> ~~Quamvis~~ in marg. K; Quamvis add. in marg. V; omit. O, U, W

<sup>2</sup> prestabiles O, W

<sup>3</sup> omit. K

<sup>4</sup> corr. ex concernit V; concernit K, O, W

<sup>5</sup> viderant W; judicarunt MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> imperator U

<sup>7</sup> nos U, W

<sup>8</sup> publice rei K

<sup>9</sup> inuiditis U

<sup>10</sup> quod est ... loco omit. U

<sup>11</sup> minus W

<sup>12</sup> quibus MA, WO

<sup>13</sup> convocatio U

<sup>14</sup> omit. U [blank space]

<sup>15</sup> aetate U

<sup>16</sup> pergant U

<sup>17</sup> nostro W

### 8.1.1. Introduction

[106] Most Reverend Fathers, Illustrious and Noble Princes, and you other Excellent and Distinguished Men, present here today, you already know the reason why you have been invited to this conference since it was stated in the letter sent to each of you. But the matter concerning which Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich has summoned a meeting in this famous city is of the highest importance and concerns all of Christianity. Therefore my Most Reverend and Great Lords and Colleagues, ambassadors of His Imperial Highness, have deemed it useful to explain more fully to this excellent assembly the reasons you have been summoned and to disclose His Imperial Majesty's intention in taking counsel with you concerning the Christian Commonwealth. As you see, the task of speaking has fallen to me: though I gladly obey my betters in this matter, the most important of all, I should rather have wished to be replaced with someone who could give a more suitable oration.

[107] But since it is shameful to argue when you should obey, I shall perform the task requested of me to the best of my ability. And since you are kind and noble, you will - as you usually do to others - lend an ear, not to me but to the important matter concerned and to Emperor Friedrich in whose name I shall be speaking. I shall perform this task as briefly as possible, dividing my little speech into two parts. In the first, I shall state the reasons why this conference has been summoned. In the second, I shall explain our task [in this assembly]. And so as not to waste time, I begin the first part right now.

### 8.1.2. Turkish conquest of Constantinople

[108] Two reasons have moved the emperor to convene the present diet. The first one is the great, nay enormous injury that the Turkish leader, Mehmed,<sup>1</sup> inflicted upon the Christian cause last summer at Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The second is the reported intensive Turkish military build-up, aiming at the complete destruction of the Christian people.<sup>3</sup> The injury inflicted upon us by the Turks he considers as belonging to the past, whereas the build-up means future risk and danger. I shall shortly speak of both so that all may understand how serious is the injury we claim should be avenged and how great is the danger we urge you to prepare for.

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<sup>1</sup> Mehmed II

<sup>2</sup> The Fall of Constantinople, 29 May 1453

<sup>3</sup> See Isidore of Kiev: Letter to Pope Nicolas V of 6 July 1453 (Pertusi, I, 62): *comminatur omne christianum nomen radicitus excerpere*

[109] Circa injuriam autem, sicut mihi quidem videtur, nihil est, quod pro magnitudine rei satis dici possit. Nos tamen aliquid pro nostro captu in medium afferremus. Quiescebat Graecorum imperator domi suae apud Constantinopolim, quamvis in fide nostra orthodoxa non satis instructus neque<sup>1</sup> satis fixus, Christianus tamen<sup>2</sup>, Dei ac domini nostri Jesu pro captu suo<sup>3</sup> cultor, sanguine nobilis, et virtute clarus. Nulla ei cum Turcis lis erat. Ferre potius superbae gentis contumelias, quam inferre<sup>4</sup> cuipiam<sup>5</sup> molestiam in {37r} animum induxerat suum: nulli noxius<sup>6</sup>, nulli gravis. Tranquilla suum populum in pace regebat.

[110] Sed est in Thracia locus non longe a Constantinopoli, qui apud veteres Bosphoros nomen habuit, ubi magnus ille Hellespontus in angustias coactus, ut nonnulli tradunt, quingentorum passuum hinc<sup>7</sup> Europam inde Asiam disjungit.<sup>8</sup> Hinc olim Darius, rex Persarum, ponte facto copias transportavit, hic et Sacellum aliquando<sup>9</sup> fuit Michaelis Archangeli miraculis innumerabilibus illustratum. In hoc Europae latere, quod ditionis Graecorum erat, Maumethus contra foedus jusque castellum erigit, quo et suis trajicientibus sit praesidio, et naves ex Euxino in Propontidem transeuntes ex arbitrio impediatur. Denuntiat imperator novum opus haudquaquam faciendum esse, foedus fidemque commemorat, jus bonumque<sup>10</sup> petit. Ille in proposito perseverans castellum perficit.

[111] Exin magnis copiis terra marique congregatis imperatori bellum indicit, Constantinopolim obsidet, machinas admovet<sup>11</sup>, muros quatit, urbem vehementer oppugnat<sup>12</sup>, capit, diripit. Constantinus illic imperator occumbit. Mira Dei judicia et arcana consilia: sub eo nomine Graecorum extinguitur imperium, sub quo sumpsit exordium. In ipso ingressu mille hominum ferme<sup>13</sup> occiduntur<sup>14</sup>, fit deinde<sup>15</sup> per urbem major caedes. Nobilitas omnis extinguitur, sacerdotes in ore gladii pereunt. Virgines ac matronae ea {37v} perpetiuntur, quae sunt libita victoribus. Filii in complexu<sup>16</sup> parentum<sup>17</sup> enecantur, infinitus animarum numerus in captivitatem ac perpetuam

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<sup>1</sup> atque MA

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* O

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

<sup>4</sup> inferri W

<sup>5</sup> copiam U

<sup>6</sup> erat *add.* O, W

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

<sup>8</sup> disjungat WO

<sup>9</sup> alioquin MA

<sup>10</sup> hominumque U

<sup>11</sup> ammonet U

<sup>12</sup> expugnat *add.* O

<sup>13</sup> hominum ferme : ferme hominum MA

<sup>14</sup> occiditur O, W

<sup>15</sup> denique U

<sup>16</sup> amplexu MA

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* W



servitatem arripitur. Miseram et<sup>1</sup> lacrimabilem urbis fortunam, omnia plena rapinis, flammis, libidinibus, cruore, cadaveribus<sup>2</sup> vidissetis.

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<sup>1</sup> ac MA

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* W

[109] Concerning the injury, it is so great that it cannot be expressed in words. Still, we shall attempt to do so to the best of our ability. The Greek emperor<sup>1</sup> was living peacefully at home in Constantinople. Although he may not have been sufficiently instructed and firm in our orthodox faith, he was a Christian and a sincere believer in God and Our Lord, Jesus, and a man of noble blood and excellent virtues. He had no conflict with the Turks. He was convinced that it was better to tolerate being abused by this arrogant people than to cause trouble to others. He harmed no man, threatened no one, and ruled his people in tranquil peace.

[110] But in Thracia, not far from Constantinople, there is a region called Bosphorus by the ancients. There the great Hellespont narrows so much that some people claim only 500 *passus*<sup>2</sup> separate Europe from Asia. Once, the Persian King Darius<sup>3</sup> transported his forces from the other side on a bridge built for this purpose. On the European side, there used to be a chapel in honour of the Archangel Michael, famous for countless miracles. On that side, which belongs to the Greeks, Mehmed, in contravention of all treaties and rights, built a fortress. His purpose was to protect his men when they were shipped [from the Asian to the European side]. He also wanted to be able to prevent ships from sailing from Euxinus<sup>4</sup> to Propontis<sup>5</sup>. The emperor protested against the construction of the fortress, reminded Mehmed of their treaty, and demanded what is just and right. But Mehmed pursued his chosen course and finished the fortress.

[111] Then, he gathered great forces by land and sea, declared war on the emperor, besieged Constantinople, deployed his war machines, broke down the walls, made a ferocious attack on the city, captured and plundered it. There Emperor Constantine fell. How wondrous are the judgments of God and how mysterious his ways! During the attack, about 1,000 men were killed, and afterwards, a general slaughter took place throughout the city. All the nobles were killed. The priests put to the sword. Virgins and matrons suffered the pleasure of the victors. Boys were killed in the arms of their parents. An infinite number of people were carried off to captivity and permanent slavery. Oh, the miserable and tearful destiny of that city: everywhere you saw plunder, fire, debauchery, blood, and corpses.

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<sup>1</sup> Constantine XII

<sup>2</sup> Roman measure, ca. 1.5 m.

<sup>3</sup> Darius III (ca. 380-330 BC): Last king of the Achaemenid Empire of Persia from 336 BC to his death

<sup>4</sup> The Black Sea

<sup>5</sup> Sea of Marmara

[112] Templata divino dicata nomini nefandis profanantur modis, stabula ac - proh pudor - lupanaria fiunt. Effigies magni Dei matrisque praecursorisque beatorumque omnium delentur. Reliquiae martyrum et aliorum sanctorum jam cum Christo regnantium, quae fuerunt illis in templis pretiosissimae, porcis ac canibus objiciuntur. Simulacrum ipsum<sup>1</sup> crucifixi praeviis tympanis in castra deducitur; pro ludo hinc atque inde rapitur, conspuitur, luto provolvitur. Parvane ista videntur et non dolenda flagitia? *Quis talia fando<sup>2</sup> temperet a lacrimis? Horresco talia referens.* O maximam atque intolerabilem ignominiam Christianae gentis! Et cujus est, obsecro, pectus Christiani hominis, quod haec audiens non commoveatur, non incendatur, non ferveat ira? Quis est oculus fidelis hominis, qui non gemat? Amissa est<sup>3</sup> civitas nobilissima et amplissima, quam quondam Constantinus primus ejus nominis imperator, jussu domini salvatoris sibi per quietem apparentis, ad aemulationem Romanae urbis erexit, quae licet saepe civilibus<sup>4</sup> bellis ac barbaricis incursionibus vastata fuerit, numquam tamen extra manum Christianorum, nisi modo traducta est.

[113] {38r} Hic orientalis imperii solium, hic patriarchalis sedes longo tempore floruit, hic grande illud et memorabile concilium celebratum est, in quo Dioscorus et Eutyches prava de salvatore sentientes et praedicantes condemnati et in exilium missi sunt. Hic sacratissimae leges<sup>5</sup>, quae constringunt hominum vitas, cum essent antea confusae atque obscurissimae, per Justinianum Caesarem ad compendium claritatemque sunt redactae. Hic oratoria, hic philosophia et omnium bonarum artium studia, postquam consenuerunt et extinctae sunt Athenae, unicum domicilium et certissimum templum habuere. Hinc, si qua est hodie apud nostros, eloquentia manavit. Sed hanc urbem, adeo memorabilem, adeo gloriosam, Turci nostra tempestate nulla injuria lacessiti bello invadentes ex Christianorum manibus<sup>6</sup> abstulerunt, sanguinem innoxium fuderunt, bibliothecas et libros rerum memorabilium incenderunt, sanctorum loca foedarunt, et opprobria in Christum Deum, quae *referre horreo*, protulerunt.

[114] Haec Caesarem nostrum vehementer urgent et angunt; digna haec scelera suae majestati videntur, digna flagitia, quae vindicemus: minime ille tantam injuriam, tam insignem contumeliam inultam existimat<sup>7</sup> relinquendam. Neque enim solis hic Graecis illusum<sup>8</sup> est, sed omnis Christianitas enormiter laesa est atque contempta. Neque mortales tantum, sed ipsi superi immortales derisi ac provocati sunt, Deus noster indicibili more spretus. Quod si nos pro levibus {38v} damnis, pro rusticis nostris modica injuria lacessitis arma sumimus et ingentibus nos periculis objectamus, quid hic agendum erit, ubi tota Christianitas<sup>9</sup> laesa est? Et ipse Deus, quem<sup>10</sup> colimus, e suis ejectus sedibus?

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<sup>1</sup> ipsius O, W

<sup>2</sup> fanda W

<sup>3</sup> enim MA

<sup>4</sup> ciuibus W

<sup>5</sup> legis W

<sup>6</sup> nostra tempestate ... manibus *omit.* W

<sup>7</sup> estimat W

<sup>8</sup> illum U

<sup>9</sup> ita *add.* K

<sup>10</sup> et ipse ... quem *omit.* U



[112] The temples dedicated to the divine name were profaned in unspeakable ways and turned into taverns and – oh, what shame – brothels! The icons of the Great God, of His Mother, of the Precursor, and of all the saints were destroyed. The precious relics of martyrs and other saints now reigning with Christ, kept in the temples, were thrown to pigs and dogs. A crucifix was carried into the [Turkish] camp, preceded by trumpets. They made a game of throwing it back and forth, mocked it, and dragged it through the filth. Does this [outrage] seem small and insignificant? *Who can talk about such things without tears?*<sup>1</sup> *I shudder even as I tell them.*<sup>2</sup> Oh, what great and intolerable shame on the Christian people! I believe that the heart of every Christian who hears this will be moved and burn with anger. Is there any believer who will not cry in sorrow? For lost is the great and noble city built by Constantine,<sup>3</sup> first emperor of that name, at the command of Our Lord and Saviour appearing to him in his sleep. He built the city in emulation of the city of Rome, and although it was often plagued by civil wars and incursions of barbarian peoples, it has never, before today, passed out of Christian hands.

[113] There the throne of the Eastern Empire and a patriarchal see flourished for a long period. There that great and memorable council was held, where the false teachings and preaching of Dioscorus<sup>4</sup> and Eutyches<sup>5</sup> were condemned, and they themselves sent into exile.<sup>6</sup> There those holy – but by then confusing and incomprehensible – laws that regulate human life were clarified and edited in one law collection by Emperor Justinian.<sup>7</sup><sup>8</sup> There oratory, philosophy, and the studies of all the good arts<sup>9</sup> found a unique home and a secure temple after they had grown old and disappeared from Athens. There eloquence dwelt – if we can still talk of such in our time. This is the city, so memorable and so glorious, which the Turks without any provocation whatsoever have now conquered and taken from the Christians' hands, shedding the blood of harmless people, burning libraries and important books, polluting the holy places and committing sacrileges against Christ, Our God, which *I shudder to relate.*<sup>10</sup>

[114] These [events] have shocked the emperor profoundly. His Majesty believes that such crimes and shameful acts must be avenged: this enormous injury, this flagrant abuse must not go unavenged. It is not only the Greeks who have been scorned. Indeed, all Christendom has been grievously wounded and mocked. And not only have mortals, but even the immortal beings in Heaven been mocked and provoked. Our God has been scorned unspeakably. We go to war and risk terrible dangers in matters of small harm and when our farmers have been only slightly

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<sup>1</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2.361

<sup>2</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2.204

<sup>3</sup> Constantine I the Great (272-337): Emperor from 306 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Dioscorus I (d. 454): Patriarch of Alexandria 444

<sup>5</sup> Eutyches (ca. 380-ca. 456): Archimandrite of Constantinople

<sup>6</sup> The Council of Chalcedon, 451 AD

<sup>7</sup> Justinianus I (483-565): Emperor from 527 to his death

<sup>8</sup> The corpus juris civilis, issued from 529 to 534 AD

<sup>9</sup> The liberal arts

<sup>10</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, II, 204: *horresco referens*

molested. So what should we do now when all Christianity has been injured and God himself, whom we worship, has been thrown out from his dwellings?

[114] An non aequum est vitam illi offerre, qui dedit, qui pro nobis in ara crucis voluit immolari? Ingratum genus hominum, si ei corpus nostrum tradere<sup>1</sup> negamus, qui nobis corpus et spiritum et animam elargitus est.

[115] Sed neque<sup>2</sup> injuriae vindicandae ratio dumtaxat Caesarem movet<sup>3</sup>, quae sane maxima est<sup>4</sup>. Instare periculum grande videt<sup>5</sup> existimatque cavendum, ne injuria injuriam pariat. Habet jam sibi subjectam Maumethus Constantinopolim. Illic portus est amplissimus et statio benefida carinis<sup>6</sup>, quae non modo unam aut alias<sup>7</sup> naves, sed infinitas paene classes capere possit. Neque toto Mediterraneo mari situs<sup>8</sup> est ad infestandum omne pelagus magis aptus. Jacet enim Constantinopolis supra Propontidem, ita ut neque ex ponto Euxino, quem mare majus hodie<sup>9</sup> vocant, in pelagus Euboicum, Jonium ac Creticum<sup>10</sup>, quae maria unum videri queunt, nunc quod Archipelagus appellatur, neque versa vice ex hoc in illud invitis Turchis transitus esse possit. Sunt enim angustiae per Bosphorum Thraciae ac per Hellespontum, quod Bracchium Sancti Georgii vulgus dicitur, in potestate Turcorum. Nec jam {39r} mercimonia ex Tanai prohibentibus Turcis ad nostros<sup>11</sup> deferri queunt. Facultas nunc illis est in portu Constantinopolis<sup>12</sup> classem parare, quae cunctas insulas Archipelagi vastatum eat, quarum jam<sup>13</sup> plerasque captas atque directas<sup>14</sup> memorant.

[116] Maumethus autem<sup>15</sup>, ut certo affirmant, qui ejus mores vitamque norunt, quique illis ex regionibus ad nos veniunt, auctus animo nequaquam se otio atque inertiae tradit, sed proximam quamque victoriam veluti sequentis instrumentum ducit<sup>16</sup>: exercitus copiosos classesque potentissimas extruit eo proposito, ut amplius Christianitatem lacescat, neque aliud dies noctesque meditatur, quam Christianum nomen funditus eradicare atque extinguere memoriam Jesu domini nostri. Nec mirum si tumescit atque insanit illius animus, cum patris sui ac suas

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<sup>1</sup> contradere O, W

<sup>2</sup> ne U

<sup>3</sup> monet W

<sup>4</sup> et ingentissima seq. V; et urgentissima add. O; et ingentissima add. W

<sup>5</sup> vidit W

<sup>6</sup> carinis W

<sup>7</sup> duas O, W

<sup>8</sup> sus U

<sup>9</sup> moderni O, W

<sup>10</sup> Creticum W

<sup>11</sup> nos MA

<sup>12</sup> Constantinopoleos O, W

<sup>13</sup> omit. U

<sup>14</sup> directas O

<sup>15</sup> ante U

<sup>16</sup> duci K

victorias mente revolvit. Genitor ejus Amurates<sup>1</sup> paucis ante annis bis Christianorum prostravit exercitus non parvos neque contemnendos. Vladislaum, Poloniae regem nobilissimum adolescentem, Julianumque sancti angeli cardinalem, apostolicae sedis legatum, virum sui temporis excellentissimum, ad necem compulit. Hic vero<sup>2</sup> de Constantinopolitana victoria et imperatore Graecorum caeso gloriosus majorem se patre jactitat<sup>3</sup>. Et quoniam falsi et<sup>4</sup> mendosissimi prophetae Maumethi, qui sectam ampliavit atque roboravit<sup>5</sup> Agarenorum, nomen gerit, incredibili torquetur<sup>6</sup> siti Christiani nominis extinguendi.

[114] Is it not right to offer our life to him who gave his life for us and accepted to become a sacrifice on the altar of the Cross? Humankind is indeed ungrateful if we refuse to offer our body to him, who granted us both body and spirit and soul.

### 8.1.3. Turkish threat to Europe

[115] The emperor, however, is not just moved by the motive of avenging this injury though it is, of course, quite serious. For he sees a great danger threatening us and considers that we must take care to avoid that one injury leads to another. Mehmed has now conquered Constantinople. There he has a large harbour and a site very suitable for ships, which can hold not just one or some ships, but almost immense fleets. No other place on the Mediterranean is more convenient for dominating the whole sea, for Constantinople lies above Propontis<sup>7</sup> so that you cannot against the will of the Turks sail from the Pontus Euxinus<sup>8</sup> (which today is called the Great Sea) to the Euboean, Ionian, and Cretan seas, which may be considered as one sea (today called the Archipelago), nor the opposite way. The narrow straits through Thracian Bosphorus and through the Hellespont (that our people call The Arm of Saint George) being now in the power of the Turks, no commercial goods can come from Tanais<sup>9</sup> to our regions against their will. And it will now be possible for the Turks to prepare a fleet in the port of Constantinople with which to lay waste to all the islands of the Archipelago – actually, they are already reported to have attacked and plundered a number of them.

[116] But men who know Mehmed's character and life well and who come to us from those regions report that Mehmed has grown bolder and will certainly not want peace and quiet: one victory is the means for the next. He is gathering large armies and strong fleets to further assail Christianity. Night and day, he only thinks about how to completely destroy the Christian cause<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Amurathes K, V, MA, WO; Homorat O, W

<sup>2</sup> vere W

<sup>3</sup> patre jactitat : jactitat patre MA

<sup>4</sup> ac O, W

<sup>5</sup> irroboravit O, W

<sup>6</sup> torquentur U

<sup>7</sup> The Marmara Sea

<sup>8</sup> The Black Sea

<sup>9</sup> Don

<sup>10</sup> "nomen" (*et passim*)

and to wipe out the memory of Jesus, Our Lord. Indeed, it is not to be wondered that his mind swells and raves when he considers his father's and his own victories. Only a few years ago, his father, Murad,<sup>1</sup> twice destroyed large and strong Christian armies, causing the death of Wladyslaw, the young and noble King of Poland,<sup>2</sup> and Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, one of the most outstanding men of his time.<sup>3</sup> Proud of his victory at Constantinople and the killing of the Greek Emperor, Mehmed now boasts that he is greater than his father. And since he carries the same name as the false and lying prophet Muhammad, who enlarged and strengthened the sect of the Agarenes, he is tormented by his burning desire to destroy the Christian name.

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<sup>1</sup> Murad II (1404-1451): Sultan of the Turks from 1421 to 1444 and from 1446 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon) (1424-1444): King of Hungary from 1440 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444). Cardinal (1426), papal legate, President of the Council, mentor and friend of Piccolomini. Little did Piccolomini know that one day he himself would succeed him as Cardinal of Santa Sabina



[117] Cumque patriarchalibus ex sedibus illis quattuor, super quibus veluti solidissimis basibus Christiana subnixa {39v} fides in totum olim orbem palmites suos extendit, jam tres obtineant Agareni, Alexandrinam, Antiochenam, et Constantinopolitanam, nullo jam dubio tenetur, quin<sup>1</sup> et Romanam nobis eripiat. Usurpare quoque inter familiares sermones haec verba solet: "Cur ego non totum mihi occidentem armis subjiciam, qui sum Asiae, Thraciae,<sup>2</sup> Macedoniae ac<sup>3</sup> totius Graeciae dominus, quando Alexander, Philippi filius, cum soli Macedoniae dominaretur, ausus est cum<sup>4</sup> duobus et triginta milibus militum orientem invadere et<sup>5</sup> usque ad Indiam penetrare? Comparat se Julio Caesari, Hannibali Poeno, Pyrrho Epirotae ac ceteris illustribus viris, praestareque se omnibus asserit<sup>6</sup>.

[118] Copias sese ait innumeras armare atque in proelium ducere posse. Neque hic mentitur. Manifestum enim est ducenta et amplius milia pugnatorum in bellum ab eo educi posse. Quod si Tartarus<sup>7</sup> junctus fuerit, ut legatus regis Poloniae refert et Hungariae gubernator affirmat, exercitum paene innumerabilem conflare valebit. Sed quid ego in re notissima moror? Progenitores hujus Maumethi, cum nihil citra mare possiderent, maximos<sup>8</sup> saepe populos in Europam trajecere. Quid modo is faciat, qui usque ad Hungariae metas et usque ad Dalmatiam protendit imperium? Non est spernendus hic hostis, cui et potentia ingens est et animus ad bella paratus, qui juvenis est<sup>9</sup> laudis amans et<sup>10</sup> sanguine bulliens, cui naturali quodam odio ex insita et innata malignitate atque crudelitate Christianos persequi propositum est, qui multos habet apostatas nostri generis, ad audendum provocantes<sup>11</sup>, ex quibus omnia consilia nostra {40r} cognoscit, qui nobis vicinus est et aditum habet sive in Italiam, sive in Germaniam non difficilem per loca propinqua Dalmatiae atque Croatiae. Nam et Albani<sup>12</sup> et Bosnenses magna ex parte in ejus sese clientelam dedere. An putandum est quieturum hominem victoria functum, quem tot invitant ad insequendum commoditates? Qui norunt hominem et consilia sua<sup>13</sup> perscrutati sunt, haud dubium censent, quin<sup>14</sup> anno proximo in Christianos magno impetu<sup>15</sup> ruat atque omni<sup>16</sup> conatu vicinos opprimere pergat.

[119] Ob has igitur causas indictum est hujuscemodi concilium: de vindicanda injuria, de vitandis amplioribus malis captanda consilia sunt. Optavit Caesar ad hunc locum se conferre, sed

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<sup>1</sup> quod MA

<sup>2</sup> ac *add.* MA, WO

<sup>3</sup> atque MA

<sup>4</sup> dico *add.* W

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Thartaris W

<sup>8</sup> permaximos O, W

<sup>9</sup> et *add.* MA

<sup>10</sup> belli *add.* K

<sup>11</sup> prouocantis O

<sup>12</sup> Albam U, MA

<sup>13</sup> eius O, W

<sup>14</sup> quod MA

<sup>15</sup> in Christianos ... impetu : magno impetu in Christianos MA

<sup>16</sup> enim W

compulsus ex causis saepe relatis pro tutela suarum provinciarum domi manere, direxit huc hos patres et<sup>1</sup> proceres insignes, meque cum eis, qui vices suas gereremus<sup>2</sup>. Mandatum nostrum nudiustertius, cum legeretur, audistis.

[117] The Christian Faith was solidly rooted in four patriarchal sees,<sup>3</sup> from where it spread over the whole Earth, like vine sprouts. Of these, the Agarenes have now taken three: Alexandria, Antiochia and Constantinople. Therefore Mehmed has no doubt that he can also win the Roman patriarchate from us. Indeed, among his intimates, he often says, "Why should I not be able to conquer and possess the whole of the West since I am already lord of Asia, Thracia, Macedonia, and all of Greece? After all, Alexander,<sup>4</sup> son of Philip,<sup>5</sup> was lord of Macedonia only when he dared to invade the East with [just] 32,000 soldiers and reach as far as India." He actually compares himself to Julius Cesar,<sup>6</sup> Hannibal of Carthage,<sup>7</sup> Pyrrhus of Epirus,<sup>8</sup> and other illustrious men and claims to surpass them all.

[118] He claims that he can arm and lead countless forces into war. This is not a lie, for he can evidently bring more than 200,000 soldiers into battle. And if the tartars join him, as the legate of the Polish King reports and the Governor of Hungary confirms,<sup>9</sup> then he will be able to mobilise an almost innumerable army. But why dwell on something that is common knowledge? Although his forefathers did not have any land over the sea, they often brought great forces over to Europe. What would he do now when his empire reaches from the frontiers of Hungary to Dalmatia? We should indeed not despise this mighty enemy! His mind is set on war. He is young and hot-blooded. He loves glory. He is determined to pursue Christians - with a kind of natural hate born of ingrained and innate malignity and cruelty. He has many renegades from our people with him who encourage him and from whom he learns of all our plans. He is our immediate neighbour, with easy access to Italy and Germany through the neighbouring regions of Dalmatia and Croatia – for most Albanians and Bosnians have surrendered to him and have become his clients. Do you really believe that this man, enticed by so many advantages, will settle down after his victories? Those who know the man and his intentions well are quite certain that next year he will assault the Christians with all his might and do all he can to vanquish his neighbours.

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<sup>1</sup> atque MA

<sup>2</sup> geremus U

<sup>3</sup> In the texts, there is some fluctuation concerning whether there were four or five main patriarchates (Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Rome – with or without Jerusalem)

<sup>4</sup> Alexander III the Great (356-323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece and Egypt into present-day Pakistan

<sup>5</sup> Philippos II of Macedon (382-336 BC): King of the Hellenic kingdom of Macedon from 359 BC until his assassination in 336 BC

<sup>6</sup> Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman

<sup>7</sup> Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BC): Carthaginian general and statesman

<sup>8</sup> Pyrrhos of Epirus (ca. 319-272 BC): King of Epirus

<sup>9</sup> See sect. 24 and 81

#### 8.1.4. War against the Turks

[119] Therefore, the present meeting has been convened to deliberate on how to avenge the injury and avoid even greater evils. The emperor himself wanted to come here, but he had to stay at home to protect his lands for reasons that have been explained several times already. Instead, he has sent these illustrious fathers and nobles and me with them to come here and represent him. You heard our mandate when it was read to you the day before yesterday.

[119] Quae<sup>1</sup> Caesar in hac re potuisset, eadem quoque et nos possumus, si modo vestrae mentes ad tuendam vindicandamque Christianam religionem erectae sunt<sup>2 3</sup>. Intelligitis, quae fuerint convocationis vestrae rationes.

[120] Nunc<sup>4</sup>, quae sit nostra commissio, paucis expediam. Id est enim, quod secundo loco dicturum me promisi. Munus nostrum hoc potissimum est requisitas atque commonitas facere vestras excellentias, ne quo pacto hinc<sup>5</sup> abeatis<sup>6</sup>, priusquam conclusionem unanimum recipiatis, per quam non modo defendi<sup>7</sup>, quae superat Christianitas, sed et vendicari possit<sup>8</sup>, quae in hostium potestate consistit. Id autem quo pacto quoque ordine faciendum {40v} sit, non est<sup>9</sup> nobis certo limite demandatum. Sed jussi sumus audire consilia vestra, opiniones vestras agnoscere<sup>10</sup>, gravia et illuminatissima sequi iudicia vestra, discutere vobiscum<sup>11</sup>, quae opportuna quaeque necessaria videantur, et in communi, quae meliora visa<sup>12</sup> fuerint, amplecti atque concludere.

[121] Ipse autem divus Fridericus, tamquam Romanorum imperator, tamquam advocatus et protector ecclesiae, tamquam princeps religiosissimus, cui cordi est catholica et orthodoxa fides Christiana, suam operam<sup>13</sup> suasque vires et omne patrimonium suum in medium offert. Voluntarium quoque et promptum paratumque se dicit, quantum in ejus potestate fuerit, cuncta executioni mandare, quae in hac conventionem pro tutela Christiani nominis, pro augmento fidei Catholicae, pro honore Romani imperii, pro gloria Germanicae nationis quoquomodo deliberata conclusaque fuerint.

[122] Illud nihilominus vel sine consilio necessarium Caesar existimat atque in medium suadet, ut divinum auxilium in primis devotissime impleretur, ut fiant opera digna misericordia ac clementia

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<sup>1</sup> quecumque O, W

<sup>2</sup> erectae sunt : sunt erecte O, W

<sup>3</sup> omit. K, U, W; add. in marg. V

<sup>4</sup> Secunda pars in marg. V

<sup>5</sup> hoc W

<sup>6</sup> abeatis corr. ex habeatis W

<sup>7</sup> deferendi W

<sup>8</sup> posset W

<sup>9</sup> non est omit. W

<sup>10</sup> omit. U

<sup>11</sup> nobiscum U, W

<sup>12</sup> nisi W

<sup>13</sup> suam operam corr. ex operas V; suas operas O, W

Dei. Nam quemadmodum peccatis et iniquitatibus nostris offensa divina majestas Christianam gentem succumbere atque affligi sinit, ita piis actibus et orationibus placata suum tuebitur populum, praebebitque veniam omnipotens et misericors {41r} Deus, sine cujus nutu nihil est, quod humana potestas valeat explicare. Exhortatur igitur imperatoria sublimitas reverendissimos ecclesiarum pontifices ceterosque praelatos, ut commissos sibi populos ad opera pietatis invitent, atque ipsi per sese cum clero sibi subjecto immaculatas hostias pro peccatis offerant populorum.

[119] We are empowered to do what the emperor would have done in this matter if only your minds are focused on protecting and avenging the Christian religion. You now understand the reasons you have been summoned to this place.

[120] Now, I shall briefly deal with our mission, for that is what I promised to speak of in the second place. Our most important task is to demand of Your Excellencies not to depart from here before you have made a unanimous decision to defend what remains of Christianity and to reclaim, as far as possible, what is now in the hands of the enemies. We have not received specific instructions concerning the manner and the order in which this should be done. Instead, we have been ordered to receive your counsel, to hear your views, to follow your serious and enlightened judgment, to discuss with you what would be useful and necessary, and to reach a joint agreement on the best course to follow.

[121] As Holy Emperor of the Romans, as champion and protector of the Church, as a pious prince who has the Catholic and orthodox Faith at heart, Friedrich himself will dedicate all his efforts and resources to this enterprise. He declares that he is prompt and ready, and he will, to his greatest ability, order everything to be done that this assembly may decide for the protection of the Christian cause, for the growth of the Catholic faith, for the honour of the Roman Empire, and for the glory of the German nation.

[122] However, he needs no counsel to consider it necessary and to urge you first of all to humbly beg God for help and perform acts worthy of God's mercy and clemency. For just as the divine majesty has been offended by our sins and iniquities and therefore allows the Christian people to falter and be harassed, omnipotent and merciful God will be pleased by pious acts and prayers and, therefore, protect and forgive his people. For unless He wills it, human power can achieve nothing. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty exhorts the reverend bishops and other prelates to urge the people entrusted to them to perform pious acts and themselves together with their clergy to offer up immaculate hosts [in atonement] for the sins of the peoples.

[123] Vos autem, magnanimi proceres, duces, marchiones, comites<sup>1</sup>, equites, quos non minus alti cordis quam clari sanguinis esse<sup>2</sup> crediderim, commonitos efficit Caesarea majestas, ne Constantinopolitanam dumtaxat cladem<sup>3</sup>, quae recens est et supra<sup>4</sup> modum dolenda, sed vetusta quoque<sup>5</sup> vulnera, et jam<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> vix curabilia, ante mentis oculos revocetis cogitetisque quomodo perdidit<sup>8</sup> Deus caeli Jerosolimam terram suam, in qua visus est, et annis supra XXX homo cum hominibus conversatus, suam utique quam illustravit miraculis, quam proprio sanguine dedicavit, in qua primi resurrectionis flores apparuerunt. En Terram Sanctam, terram<sup>9</sup> benedictam, terram lacte et melle fluentem, officinamque nostrae salutis osos occupant vivificae crucis. Sacrosanctam<sup>10</sup> civitatem nostri possident hostes, pia et sacratissima loca agni immaculati purpurata cruore sceleratissimi calcant pedes.

[124] Advertite, obsecro, viri fortes, {41v} en quantum dedecus hoc nostrum est, quod ipsum religionis nostrae sacracrium lectumque illum pretiosissimum, in quo propter nos vita nostra obdormivit in domino nisi Saracenis ostendentibus videre<sup>11</sup> nequimus. Nam illi quaestus causa sepulchrum domini servant illaesum. Itane servos crucis nos<sup>12</sup> esse fatemur, et sanctum canibus margaritasque porcis dimittimus? Non est baptismatis unda renatus, non est verus Christicola, qui haec<sup>13</sup> sine dolore, sine lacrimis audit. En quo redacta est nostra religio! Proh quantum Maumethi perfidia crevit, dum nos domi sedemus neque vicinis, quid accidit<sup>14</sup>, advertimus. Cornua intumescunt hostium, sociosque nostrae fidei prosternunt, terramque nostram longe lateque sibi subjiciunt. Antiochia, in qua primo auditum est Christianorum<sup>15</sup> nomen, a Deo nostro facta est aliena, neque sancti quidquam<sup>16</sup> habet<sup>17</sup>, plena spurcitiarum est. Alexandria, in qua tot clarissimi ac sanctissimi viri divinum evangelium praedicarunt ac magnificarunt, nunc Maumethi fabulas audit: nihil est in Asia, nihil in Africa nostrum. Europae maximam<sup>18</sup> partem amisimus; in angulum nos Maumethus coarctavit: hinc Hungaros, inde Hispanos premit.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* MA, WO

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

<sup>3</sup> dumtaxat cladem : cladem dumtaxat MA

<sup>4</sup> super U

<sup>5</sup> quorum U

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

<sup>7</sup> et jam : etiam K

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

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

<sup>10</sup> sacrosanctamque U

<sup>11</sup> videri U

<sup>12</sup> non K

<sup>13</sup> hoc W

<sup>14</sup> accidat O, W

<sup>15</sup> Christianum MA

<sup>16</sup> sancti quidquam : quicquam sancti W

<sup>17</sup> habent MA

<sup>18</sup> magnam W

[123] Great Nobles, Dukes, Margraves, Counts, and Knights, whose courage I must believe equals your nobility, His Imperial Majesty urges you to call to mind not only the recent and lamentable Fall of Constantinople but also those old injuries that may now barely be healed. Consider how the God of Heaven lost Jerusalem and the Holy Land where he lived for more than 30 years, as a man together with other men, a land that he ennobled with his miracles and dedicated with his own blood, and where the first flowers of the resurrection appeared. And now those who hate the lifegiving cross occupy the Holy Land, that blessed land, that land overflowing with milk and honey,<sup>1</sup> the workplace of our salvation! Our enemies are in possession of the Holy City, and villains trample the pious and holy places,<sup>2</sup> empurpled by the blood of the immaculate lamb.

[124] Consider carefully, I beg you, mighty men, how shameful it is for us that, unless the Saracens will show them to us, we cannot visit the holiest place of our religion and indeed the very couch where He who is our life lay dead for our sake. They keep the tomb of Our Lord intact only for the sake of lucre. But, if we claim to be servants of the cross, why do we leave our Holy One to dogs and pearls to swine? Anyone who can hear about this without pain and tears has not been reborn from the baptismal water, and he is not a true follower of Christ. See what our religion has come to! See how Muhammad's false religion has grown while we were staying at home, ignoring what happened to our neighbours. Our enemies raise their horns, they cast down our fellows in the Faith, and they occupy our lands far and wide. Antiochia, the city where the name of Christians was heard first, has now become estranged from our God. It has nothing holy anymore and is filled with impurity. Alexandria, where so many famous and holy men preached and glorified the gospel, now follows Muhammad's fables. In Asia and in Africa, we have nothing left. Of Europe, we have lost a large part, and Muhammad has forced us into a corner: at one end, he harasses the Hungarians and at the other, the Spaniards.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 76]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]

[125] Evigilare jam tempus est fuissetque plurimos ante annos, et antequam haec vulnera<sup>1</sup> nobis infligerentur, {42r} antequam hostis tantum virium accepisset. Immortalis Deus omnia potest, sed non plus vult de nobis quam nostri parentes. At parentes, si pergunt liberi errare, bonis exhaeredant. Quid ergo nos<sup>2</sup> ab optimo<sup>3</sup> Deo nostro amplius expectemus, nisi malis actionibus<sup>4</sup> finem facimus<sup>5</sup>? Verberati sumus propter delicta nostra. Nunc si mentem bonam recipimus et animum<sup>6</sup> fortem, miserebitur nostri Deus noster. Si poenitentiam egerimus de malis nostris, aget et ipse poenitentiam super malum<sup>7</sup>, quod cogitavit, ut faceret nobis. Virtutem immortalis<sup>8</sup> Deus approbare, non prohibere<sup>9</sup> solet. Excitare alter alterum debemus, surgere atque occurrere hostibus, priusquam fines nostros, quos nunc habemus, ingrediantur, ne<sup>10</sup> nos in cubilibus nostris oscitantes ac somnolentos<sup>11</sup> inveniunt, nobisque locum et gentem<sup>12</sup> auferant.

[126] Hora est jam, principes, arma sumere atque inimicos crucis in suis laribus quaerere, bellum fortibus animis et unitis viribus gerere. Certa est in manibus nostris victoria, si modo pura mente ob Dei honorem<sup>13</sup> salutemque populi Christiani proelium inchoemus, emendataeque mentes nostrae, non quae sua sunt, sed quae Jesu Christi quaerant<sup>14</sup>. Etenim quamvis est ille – ut ante dixi<sup>15</sup> – ferocissimus et potentissimus hostis, non tamen par est Germanicis viribus neque Theutonico nomine comparandus. Non est cur eum<sup>16</sup> formidetis, proceres, si unanimes bellum amplectimini; neque enim aut<sup>17</sup> homines, aut equi, aut arma, aut currus, aut naves vobis<sup>18</sup> desunt. Sed {42v} omnia haec vobis<sup>19</sup> quam illis<sup>20</sup> meliora supersunt. Quod si majorum nostrorum<sup>21</sup> gesta memoriae repetamus, neque terrestri, neque maritimo bello<sup>22</sup> pares umquam fuisse Turcos<sup>23</sup> progenitoribus vestris<sup>24</sup> invenientis, quando concordibus animis adversus eos<sup>25</sup> est itum. Possem

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<sup>1</sup> haec vulnera : uulnera hec U

<sup>2</sup> omit. U

<sup>3</sup> opimo U

<sup>4</sup> corr. ex rationibus V; rationibus O, U, W

<sup>5</sup> faciamus K

<sup>6</sup> animam O, W

<sup>7</sup> malo O, W

<sup>8</sup> immortalitatis U

<sup>9</sup> em.; adhibere codd.

<sup>10</sup> vt W

<sup>11</sup> somnolentes K

<sup>12</sup> locum et gentem : gentem et locum MA

<sup>13</sup> amorem W

<sup>14</sup> querunt W

<sup>15</sup> ferinus add. U

<sup>16</sup> omit. MA

<sup>17</sup> omit. MA

<sup>18</sup> nobis U, W

<sup>19</sup> nobis U, W

<sup>20</sup> illi MA

<sup>21</sup> suorum U

<sup>22</sup> neque maritimo bello : bello neque maritimo O

<sup>23</sup> fuisse Turcos : Thurcos fuisse O, W

<sup>24</sup> nostris W

<sup>25</sup> omit. W



referre Caroli Magni, Conradi tertii, Friderici primi ac secundi, Romanorum imperatorum, Gotfridi quoque Lotharingiae<sup>1</sup> ducis, ingentes quas de Turchis deque ceteris infidelibus victorias habuere.

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<sup>1</sup> Lothoringiae K, O, U, V, WO

[125] It is time to wake up – indeed, we should have woken up years ago, before these wounds were inflicted upon us and the enemy had grown so powerful. Immortal God can do anything, but he demands no more from us than our own fathers. If children go astray, their fathers will disinherit them, so what may we not expect of Our Best God unless we put an end to our evil doings? We have been scourged because of our sins, but God will have mercy upon us if we now show goodness of mind and strength of soul. If we repent of our iniquities, He too will repent of the punishment he has devised for us. Immortal God approves of virtue and [certainly] does not forbid it. So, we should urge each other to act and rise and meet our enemies before they invade the territories we have still left and find us yawning and sleepy in our bedrooms and rob us of our peoples and lands.

[126] Princes, now it is time to take to weapons, to attack the enemies of the Cross in their own dwellings, and to wage war with brave hearts and united forces. Certain victory will be in our hands if only we go to battle with a pure mind, for the honour of God and for the salvation of the Christian people, and with reformed minds seek not what is our own but what is Jesus Christ's. Though Mehmed is - as I said before - a most ferocious and powerful enemy, he does not equal German strength, nor can he be compared to the German name. You have no reason to fear him, Nobles, if only you embrace war unanimously, for you lack neither in men, horses, weapons, wagons or ships: in all these things, you are superior to your enemies. If you think back on the deeds of our forefathers, you will find that the Turks never equalled them in battle at sea or on land if only the Christians acted in concert against them. Just think of the great victories over the Turks and other infidels won by the Roman emperors Charlemagne,<sup>1</sup> Konrad III,<sup>2</sup> Friedrich I<sup>3</sup>, Friedrich II<sup>4</sup> and by Godefroy, Duke of Lorraine.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Charlemagne (d. 814): Crowned emperor in Rome 800

<sup>2</sup> Konrad III (Hohenstaufen): Duke of Franconia. Elected Holy Roman Emperor 1138

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich I Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen) (1122-1190): Holy Roman Emperor 1152 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Frierich II (HohenstaufenI) (1194-1250): Holy Roman Emperor 1212 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Godefroy de Bouillon (ca. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the First Crusade. First ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

[127] Sed parco defessis auribus vestris. Unum dico: numquam<sup>1</sup> generale passagium contra hostes nostrae religionis institutum traditur, quin nostri triumphaverint, nisi fortasse cum fames, aut pestilentia, aut discordia nostros afflixit. Manifestum est igitur nostram esse victoriam, si abdicatis causis, quae nobis Deum iratum faciunt, pro Christi nomine bellum suscipiamus. Sumite<sup>2</sup> igitur, clarissimi<sup>3</sup> proceres, fortes animos. Nolite hinc prius abire quam gerendum adversus Turcos bellum decernatis. Nolite rem tantam ac tam necessariam in tempus aliud proferre, ne dum vos de bello gerendo deliberatis, hostis jam castra tenens, id faciat, quod vos<sup>4</sup> facturos spem gerimus. Etenim quis non intelligit<sup>5</sup> magnum instare Christianitati<sup>6</sup> discrimen, si hoc concilium rebus infectis dissolvatur? Habet adversarius noster exploratores, non latent eum consilia vestra. Tanto ferocior erit, quanto vos<sup>7</sup> cognoverit<sup>8</sup> magis desides.

[128] Christiani, qui vicini sunt Turcis, ubi de vestris<sup>10</sup> auxiliis desperaverint, {43r} in leges Turcorum ibunt. Sic Trapezuntios, Georgianos, Rascianos, Albanos, Bulgaros facile amitemus. Caramannus, qui auxilia contra Turcos pollicetur, quamvis est ejus perfidiae comes, ubi negligentes Christianos acceperit, et ipse sibi consulat. Hungari, qui sunt<sup>11</sup> admodum potentes<sup>12</sup> et annis pluribus<sup>13</sup> suum effundendo<sup>14</sup> sanguinem tutati sunt nostrum, indutias cum Turcis habent non longo tempore duraturas. Quod si audiant dissolutum esse sine fructu conventum, novis se pactionibus obligabunt, neque cum voluerimus eorum uti consiliis<sup>15</sup> dabitur.

[129] Neque hic rem dubiam proferimus. Johannes Huniat<sup>16</sup>, comes Bistricensis<sup>17</sup>, qui regnum<sup>18</sup> Hungariae gubernat, vir alti consilii, Turcorum metus, Christianorum spes, hoc ipsum novissime Caesari nostro significavit per oratores, qui ad se missi fuerant. Ait enim Turcorum principem grandes belli apparatus facere, Tartarorum gentem<sup>19</sup> foedere junctam<sup>20</sup> habere, personam ejus esse in Andrinopoli, exercitus in Sophia apud Bulgaros congregari ibique duces belli convenisse. Hungaros autem nihil magis optare quam Turcorum conatus infringere, se quoque sumpturum arma pugnaturumque totis viribus, si Theutones ceterique Christiani concurrant. At si nostrae

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

<sup>2</sup> *sinite* U

<sup>3</sup> *principes add.* W

<sup>4</sup> *nos* U, W

<sup>5</sup> *intelliget* W

<sup>6</sup> *instare Christianitati : Christianitati instare* MA

<sup>7</sup> *nos* W

<sup>8</sup> *cognovit* W

<sup>9</sup> *vos cognoverit : cognoverit vos* MA

<sup>10</sup> *nostris* O, W

<sup>11</sup> *sicut* MA

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* MA

<sup>13</sup> *quampluribus* K, O, W

<sup>14</sup> *fundendo* W

<sup>15</sup> *uti consiliis : uti ausiliis* O; *ut auxilium* W

<sup>16</sup> *Huniad* W

<sup>17</sup> *Vistricensis* O, W; *Bistticensis* MA;

<sup>18</sup> *rem* MA

<sup>19</sup> *gentes* K

<sup>20</sup> *iunctas* K

religionis principes torpeant, neque velle, neque posse Hungaros tantam belli molem subire, sed accepturos condiciones, quas Turci offerant, daturos transitum, qui ab illis petitur. Quod an sit in rem Christianorum, ipsi reges viderint {43v} Christiani<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>. Sic Hungari regno suo consulere proponunt.

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<sup>1</sup> quidne O; *omit.* U

<sup>2</sup> viderint Christiani : Christiani viderint MA

[127] But I shall spare your tired ears and only say this: never has it been heard that we were defeated in a crusade against the enemies of our religion unless our [troops] were struck by hunger, plague or strife. So it is clear that if we refrain from such things that anger God, we shall be victorious when we go to war for the cause of Christ. Therefore, excellent Nobles, be courageous. Do not leave from here before you have decided on war against the Turks. Do not put off this great and urgent matter so that while you are still discussing war, the enemy, already on the move, will actually do what you only hope to do. Who does not understand how dangerous it is for Christianity if our meeting ends with this matter left unfinished? Our adversary has spies; he knows of your plans. The more he sees you vacillate, the more ferocious he will become.

[128] If the Christians who are the Turks' neighbours lose hope of your help, they will accept the terms of Turks. Thus we shall easily lose the peoples of Trebizond, Georgia, Rascia, Albania and Bulgaria.

Karaman<sup>1</sup> is being promised help against the Turks, though an infidel like them. If he hears that the Christians are indifferent, he will look to his own interests.

The Hungarians, who are very strong and who for many years have shed much blood as they protected ours, have an armistice with the Turks that will expire shortly. If they hear that this conference has ended without a result, they will be forced to accept new agreements [with the Turks], and they will not be able to assist us when we want them to.

[129] We are not advancing a doubtful argument here, for this is what Janos Hunyadi, Count of Bistrita, who governs the Kingdom of Hungary, a most perspicacious man, the terror of the Turks and hope of the Christians, quite recently told our emperor through ambassadors sent to him<sup>2</sup>. He says that the Turkish prince is making serious preparations for war, that he has entered an alliance with the Tartars, that he is now himself in Adrianopolis, that his armies are assembling at Sophia in Bulgaria, and that his generals are gathering there. [Further, that] the Hungarians want nothing more than to oppose the Turkish endeavours and will go to war and fight with all their might if the Germans and the other Christians join them. But if the princes of our religion are passive, then the Hungarians neither can nor will shoulder this great burden of war [alone] but shall accept the conditions offered by the Turks and give them the free passage they demand. The Christian kings will have to consider whether that is in the interests of the Christians. This is how the Hungarians intend to provide for their kingdom.

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<sup>1</sup> The ruler of the Turkish tribe and principedom of Karaman, potential allies of the West against the dominant Osman Turks

<sup>2</sup> Mission of Kappel Hartung, see above sect. 23-25

[129] Quid Venetos, quidve<sup>1</sup> Genuenses facturos arbitramini? Nemo est qui non sibi quam alteri melius velit. Omnes de suo statu solliciti sunt. Rex autem Franciae Christianissimus, majorum suorum vestigia premens, teste reverendissimo cardinali, summo pontifici litteras dedit, quibus sese arma sumpturum pollicetur, si Germanos indixisse Turcis bellum cognoverit.

[130] Quod si vos nihil agitis, deserta Christianitas erit. Nemo illam tuebitur: *exterminabit eam aper de silva, et singularis feras depascetur eam*, vosque tanti mali causam praestabitis, si convenientes in hoc loco ad consulendum reipublicae Christianae infectis negotiis abieritis. Sunt enim omnium oculi in vos conversi, vosque veluti rectores Christiani populi omnes intuentur. Si audetis, omnium erigentur animi. Si torpetis, actum est de nostra<sup>2</sup> religione, Turcorum ferre imperium, Maumethique parere legibus oportebit.

[131] Agite igitur! Consulite in medium, proceres! Nolite matrem vestram<sup>3</sup> ecclesiam desertam relinquere. Cogitate quo pacto Turcorum rabiem elidatis. Non erit hoc difficile, si concordēs estis. Ecce divino nutu et ad nostrum tutamentum lites Italiae compositae sunt. Facile jam summus<sup>4</sup> apostolicae sedis praesul ac praestantissimus ille rex Aragonum cum Venetis, Genuensibus et aliis Italiae populis ac principibus adversus Turcos classem maritimam apparabunt. {44r} Quod si vos terrestrem exercitum armaveritis, terra simul ac mari uno tempore superbissimus hostis invasus, adiutore altissimo, nostris ex finibus propulsabitur. Haec sunt, quae pro nostra commissione secundo et ultimo loco de mente Caesaris dicenda fuerunt.

[132] Vos igitur, quibus curae<sup>5</sup> est orthodoxa religio nostra, quique bonum commune Christianae plebis exoptatis, operam dabit, ne hoc concilium, ex quo spes omnium Christianorum pendet<sup>6</sup>, absque salubri conclusione dissipetur, neve tantus et tam altus princeps, quantus<sup>7</sup> est Burgundiae dux, de remotissimis regionibus vocatu Caesaris ad vestros lares frustra venerit<sup>8</sup>, sed et ipse potius ad propria laetus jucundusque redeat, et omnes, qui spem habent in vobis, sui voti compotes fiant.”

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<sup>1</sup> quid et MA

<sup>2</sup> vestra W

<sup>3</sup> nostram U

<sup>4</sup> summamus U

<sup>5</sup> cura U

<sup>6</sup> pendet K, O, U; *corr. ex* pendent V; pudeat W

<sup>7</sup> quantum K

<sup>8</sup> veniret U

[129] And how do you think the Venetians and the Genoese will react? Nobody wants the other part to fare better than oneself; everyone is most concerned about his own affairs.<sup>1</sup>

The Most Christian King of France<sup>2</sup> follows the example of his forefathers and has, according to the Most Reverend Cardinal, sent a letter to the Supreme Pontiff,<sup>3</sup> in which he promises that he, too, will take up arms if he hears that the Germans have declared war on the Turks.

### 8.1.5. Conclusion

[130] So, if you do nothing, Christianity will be left defenceless; nobody will protect it. You have assembled here to provide for the Christian Commonwealth. If you leave without having done so, *the boar out of the wood will lay it waste: and a singular wild beast will devour it.*<sup>4</sup> All eyes are on you now, and the Christian peoples are looking to you for leadership. If you show determination, they will be encouraged. If you show apathy, our religion is done for, and we shall have to bear Turkish rule and obey the laws of Muhammad.

[131] So, act now, Nobles, consult together! Do not abandon the Church, your mother! Think about how to overcome the rabid Turks! It will not be difficult if only you are in agreement. The Italian conflicts have been settled by divine will and for our safety. It will now be easy for the Supreme Pontiff and the excellent King of Aragon together with the Venetians, the Genoese, and the other peoples and princes of Italy to prepare a fleet against the Turk. If you, on your part, mobilise a land army, our arrogant enemy can be attacked both on land and at sea, and, with the help of the Most High, he will be driven from our lands.

This is what we had been commissioned to say, in the second and last place, about the emperor's intentions.

[132] Now it is up to you, caring for our orthodox religion and desiring the common good of the Christian people, to make sure that this congress, on which hangs the hope of all Christians, does not end without a fruitful conclusion. Nor should the great and exalted prince, the Duke of Burgundy, at the emperor's call have travelled in vain from faraway regions to your homes. No, may he go back happy and joyful, and may all who hope in you be contented.

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini alludes to the probability of Venice and Genoa making separate treaties with the Turks to protect their commercial interests

<sup>2</sup> Charles VII

<sup>3</sup> See above, sect. 9

<sup>4</sup> Psalms, 79, 14

[133] Hanc orationem cum verbis latinis pronuntiasset Aeneas, factumque esset mirum silentium, assurgens Ulricus episcopus Gurensis, eandem in sermonem Theutonicum convertit, ne quis ex circumstantibus mentem Caesaris ignoraret. Post eum cardinalis sancti Petri, quoniam fuerat et ipse nonnumquam apud Constantinopolim Graeciamque paene omnem lustraverat, multa de situ amissae urbis, de moribus gentium, de potentia Turcorum, de modo gerendi belli graviter et copiose disseruit. Et quamvis Graecos digna supplicia passos asseruerit, qui Romanam ecclesiam sequi nolissent unionemque simulatam cum fraude fecissent, Christianos tamen magnopere adhortatus est, ut injuriam salvatoris ulciscerentur.

[134] Ex hinc Johannes episcopus Papiensis, legatus apostolicus, {44v} orationem habuit cum multa venustate<sup>1</sup> ac luce munditiaque verborum. Ejus orationis sensus fuit: diabolum ab initio saeculi veritatem odisse, divisiones, errores, schismata confovisse, haereses adversus veritatis lucem innumerabiles excitasse<sup>2</sup>, quarum pestilentissimam et omnium nefandissimam Maumethi sectam esse comprobavit, quae quantum aucta dilatataque sit, omnes nossent. Commemoravit mala, quae Saraceni Turcique patrum nostrorum memoria perpetrassent. Deinde veniens ad tempora nostra Constantinopolitanam cladem ante oculos posuit, ostendens quanta impedunt<sup>3</sup> religioni nostrae pericula, nisi furentibus Turcis obviam eatur. Romanum pontificem de tutanda Christianitate sollicitum multa et magna meditatam dixit, se quomodo<sup>4</sup> ab eo missum primo ad Caesarem, deinde ad regem Hungariae atque ad ipsos regni barones, qui mentes eorum ad succurendum reipublicae Christianae concitaret atque incenderet, commemorans<sup>5</sup> orationum capita singularum, quas illos apud principes habuisset. Postremo adhortatus est omnes, qui aderant, arma contra Turcos uti sumerent, habituri ex apostolico throno quaecumque ad id negotii necessaria ducerent. Cujus verba Johannes de Lysura in sonum Theutonicum transtulit non sine attentione ac gratia auditorii.

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<sup>1</sup> venustate *corr. ex* vetustate O; vetustate W

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

<sup>3</sup> impendunt O, W

<sup>4</sup> quoque K, U, O, V \*, W

<sup>5</sup> commemorando WO



## 8.2. Address of Nikolaus of Kues

[133] When Eneas had delivered this oration in Latin, there was a moment of remarkable silence. Then Bishop Ulrich of Gurk rose and translated the oration into German so that all the attendants would know the emperor's intentions. After him, the Cardinal of San Pietro, who had personally visited Constantinople several times and seen almost all of Greece, spoke gravely and at length about the site of the lost city, the character of the peoples, the power of the Turks, and how to conduct the war. And although he declared that the Greeks had merited their sufferings since they had not wanted to follow the Roman Church and had fraudulently feigned the union, he fervently urged the Christians to avenge the injury to the Saviour.

## 8.3. Oration of the apostolic legate, "*Gravi totiens*"

[134] Afterwards, Bishop Giovanni of Pavia, the apostolic legate, held an oration of great refinement and vivid and elegant expressions. The purport of the oration was this: since the beginning of time, the devil has hated truth and fostered divisions, errors and schisms, and has stirred up innumerable heresies against the light of truth. The bishop declared the sect of Muhammad to be the most malignant and abominable of them all - all know how much it has grown and spread. The bishop also mentioned the evil deeds perpetrated by the Saracens and the Turks in the memory of our fathers. Then, coming to our own times, he put the Fall of Constantinople before our eyes, showing how great dangers threaten our religion if the savage Turks are not resisted. He told us how the Roman Pontiff was concerned about protecting Christianity and had contemplated many and great things, and how he himself had been sent by him first to the emperor and then to the King of Hungary, and to the barons of that kingdom, to rouse them and stir them up to come to the aid of the Christian commonwealth, mentioning the main points in each of the orations he had delivered to those princes. Finally, he urged all who were present to take up arms against the Turks, saying that they would get all they considered necessary for this undertaking from the apostolic throne. His address was translated into German by Johann von Lysura to an attentive and sympathetic audience.

[135] Mira res: saepe vili ex loco grandia lumina surgunt. Verum est, quod ille ait: *Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos, Vervecum<sup>1</sup> in patria crassoque sub aeri nasci.* Cusa {45r} et Lysura in Treveris villulae sunt, haud multo inter se distantes, pauperes ac<sup>2</sup> nullius antea nominis. Sed alteram illustravit Nicolaus, cardinalis sancti Petri, illinc oriundus, alteram Johannes, de quo sermo est, qui cum ex Senensi gymnasio<sup>3</sup> devolasset, apud electores imperii totamque<sup>4</sup> Germaniam non doctrinae solum, sed prudentiae quoque temporalis opinionem singularis<sup>5</sup> luminis obtinuit. Creverunt ambo, ita ut in omnibus Theutoniae contionibus primi viderentur atque aurigae rectoresque populi dicerentur, quoniam praeter sapientiam et scientiam litterarum innata quadam eloquentia cunctos excelleret. Sed nulla sine invidia virtus eminent<sup>6</sup>, murmuri subjacet alta probitas. Hinc ab aemulis ortum proverbium est: *Cusa et Lysura pervertunt omnia jura*, quod tunc dictitatum est, cum pontifex Eugenius quartus Basiliensi concilio esset infestus. Nam hi duo adversus elevantem se nimis synodum praecipui bellatores habiti sunt. Postquam locuti sunt omnes, quae voluerunt, visum est, sibi ut quisque tempus deliberandi sumeret atque in alteram diem, quae<sup>7</sup> meditatus esset, afferret in medium.

[136] Interea Graeculus quidam inflatus opinione sui Ratisponam petit dicitque se cum Caesare apud novam civitatem fuisse, qui se consiliarium suum comitemque creaverit<sup>8</sup>, accedensque<sup>9</sup> praesidentes aperiturum se modos<sup>10</sup> ait, quibus Turci sine magno negotio deleantur. At jussus<sup>11</sup> dicere, quaerit ex praesidentibus, quam possint in armis habere militiam Theutones quemque<sup>12</sup> ordinem servaturi sunt<sup>13</sup>. {45v} Tum illi exploratorem rati capere hominem atque in vincula recipere cogitant fecissentque, nisi prohibuisset Aeneas, qui litteras Caesaris minime violandas ait, quas Graeculus publicae securitatis apud se habuit. Hic tamen paulo post, cum venisset in Sueviam ad Albertum, Austriae ducem, Graecumque alium ibi reperisset, qui se germanum Constantini, Graecorum imperatoris, novissime occisi diceret, cum illo una detentus est.

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<sup>1</sup> verne cum U

<sup>2</sup> et MA

<sup>3</sup> gignasio O, W

<sup>4</sup> tantamque U

<sup>5</sup> singularisque O

<sup>6</sup> omit. U

<sup>7</sup> omit. U

<sup>8</sup> creavit W

<sup>9</sup> acceditque U

<sup>10</sup> nodos K, U, V, MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> omit. U [blank space]

<sup>12</sup> denique U

<sup>13</sup> sint K, O, U

## 8.4. Careers of Nikolaus of Kues and Johann Lysura

[135] It is remarkable how great lights may arise from base conditions. And it is true what the [poet] said: *Men of high distinction and destined to set great examples may be born in dullard air, and in the land of muttonheads.*<sup>1</sup> Kues and Lysura are small villages in the region of Trier, not far from each other, poor and previously of no significance. But one was made famous by Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro, who came from there, and the other by Johann, whom we are speaking of now. When he left the University of Siena,<sup>2</sup> he gained an extraordinary reputation among the imperial electors and all of Germany for his learning and cleverness in worldly affairs.

They both became so great that in all German assemblies they were seen to be the first and said to be the helmsmen and guides of the people since they excelled not only in wisdom and knowledge of letters but also in innate eloquence. But no eminent virtue goes free of envy, and even outstanding rectitude is subject to carping criticism. Thus, people who were jealous of them invented the saying: *Cusa et Lysura pervertunt omnia jura [Kues and Lysura pervert all laws]*, which was often when Pope Eugenius IV was in conflict with the Council of Basel. For those two were considered the principal opponents of the council, which was getting too much above itself.

After all had said what they wanted, they decided that each should take time for reflection and present their conclusions on another day.

## 8.5. Greek frauds

[136] In the meantime, a presumptuous Greekling<sup>3</sup> came to Regensburg, claiming that he had visited the emperor in Wiener Neustadt and that the emperor had made him a counsellor and a count. He came to the presidents and said that he would reveal how the Turks could, without much trouble, be destroyed. But when he was requested to speak, he asked the presidents about the army the Germans could raise and how they would proceed. Believing the man was a spy, they decided to have him seized and thrown into chains, and they would have done so if Enea had not prevented it, saying that they could not contravene the emperor's letter which the Greek had on him as a safe-conduct. But when short time afterwards he came to Albrecht, Duke of Austria, and there met another Greek who claimed that he was the brother of Constantine, the Greek emperor, recently killed, they were both arrested.

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<sup>1</sup> Juvenalis, 10, 49-50

<sup>2</sup> Apparently, Piccolomini's report is the only source attesting Lysura's studies in Siena – at a time when Piccolomini himself was a student there. Though they may not have known each other then, their common university studies in Siena may have a bond between them (Daniels, p. 13: *seinen ehemaligen Sieneser Kommilitonen, Johannes Hof(f)mann aus Lieser*), and they had shared an important experience when they, on behalf of the emperor and the Archbishop of Mainz respectively, made the declaration of obedience to the dying pope Eugenius, in 1447 (see Report 1 in the present series)

<sup>3</sup> "Graeculus"

[137] Redierant jam legati Burgundiae ducis ex Bohemia, Vilhelmus Tullensis episcopus et alii plerique nobiles et docti viri, qui multa de rege Ladislao cum laude referebant eumque supra aetatem miro modo sapientem et religioni deditum asserebant, qui quamvis esset undique septus Hussitis atque ab his hominibus gubernaretur, qui ritum quendam habent apostolicae sedi contrarium, de communione calicis inter laicos non tamen se pollui permisit. Fugit ecclesias illorum et quasi pestem abhominatus est Rochezanae sermones. Est enim Johannes Rochezana princeps eorum, qui sub duplici specie communicandum censent Romanamque contemnunt<sup>1</sup> ecclesiam.

[138] Inter alia<sup>2</sup> vero duo memoratu digna relata sunt, quae nos ab<sup>3</sup> ipsis Burgundorum oratoribus audivimus. Aiebant enim Rochezanam<sup>4</sup>, cum processionem cleri populique<sup>5</sup> agitaret, sacratissimum eucharistiae sacramentum ante regias aedes<sup>6</sup> detulisse, regem ex fenestra in plateam conspexisse neque inclinasse caput neque cervicem inflexisse nullumque reverentiae signum ostendisse, ejus exinde<sup>7</sup> exemplum<sup>8</sup> {46r} ceteros adolescentulos<sup>9</sup>, qui cum eo erant, secutos. Interrogatum autem, quidnam id egisset, correptumque salvatorem, quia minime honorasset, respondisse se non ignorare corpus dominicum veneratu quocumque<sup>10</sup> dignissimum esse, sed cum Rochezana ejus portitor esset, verae religionis hostis, veritum se, si honorem<sup>11</sup> sacramento impendisset, ne stultus populus honoratum quoque sacerdotem existimaret atque illius opinioni regem accedere, quam detestaretur.

[139] Alio autem tempore non multis post diebus jussit Ladislaus sacerdotem suum in quadam capella palatio suo proxima rem divinam facere. Is, dum parere vult, a presbytero, qui capellam regebat, excluditur, dicente se velle missam celebrare, posse regem, si velit, se audire videreque celebrantem, atque id non minus esse regiae majestati, quam si capellanum proprium audiat. Erat hic presbyter auditor Rochezanae, sectator opinionum suarum. Haec ubi<sup>12</sup> rex intelligit, marescallum ocius ire jubet sacerdotique dicere regio capellano cedat. Nisi pareat, praecipitem agat ex rupe, quae proxima capellae imminet. Territus hoc nuntio presbyter irae locum dedit. Haec illi de rege Bohemiae, nobilissimo puero, cum laetitia et singulari audientium gaudio affirmabant.

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<sup>1</sup> contempnant W

<sup>2</sup> inter alia : interea U

<sup>3</sup> omit. W

<sup>4</sup> Rokizana... *et pass.* W

<sup>5</sup> processionem cleri populique : populi clerique processionem W

<sup>6</sup> omit. W

<sup>7</sup> omit. O, W

<sup>8</sup> omit. K, U; *add. in marg.* V

<sup>9</sup> adulescentulos U, W

<sup>10</sup> quacumque W

<sup>11</sup> si honorem : honorem si K, O, U, V \*, W

<sup>12</sup> illi U

## 8.6. King Ladislaus and the Hussites

[137] The Burgundian legates had now returned from Bohemia. They were Guillaume,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Toul, and many other noble and learned men. They spoke much in praise of King Ladislaus and said that he was wondrously pious and mature<sup>2</sup> beyond his age. Although he was surrounded by Hussites and governed by men who follow a rite contrary to [that of] the Apostolic See, he would not allow himself to be polluted by communion of the chalice for laymen. He avoided their churches and loathed the sermons of Rokycana, for Jan Rokycana was the leader of those who believe in communion under both species and scorn the Roman Church.<sup>3</sup>

[138] Among others, we heard two noteworthy things from the Burgundian ambassadors. They told [of an episode where] Rokycana had gone in a procession with clergy and laypeople, carrying the holy sacrament of the eucharist before the royal palace. The king had been looking at the square through a window and had not bowed nor shown any sign of reverence. The other young men with him had followed his example. When he was asked why he had done so and was rebuked for not honouring the Saviour, he replied that he knew the Lord's body was worthy of every honour. Still, since it was being carried by Rokycana, an enemy of the true religion, he had feared that if he showed honour to the sacrament, the foolish people would think that he had also shown honour to the priest and that he as king accepted Rokycana's views which he, in fact, detested.

[139] Shortly afterwards, Ladislaus ordered his chaplain to celebrate mass in a chapel close to the palace. When the chaplain tried to carry out the order, he was prevented from doing so by the priest who was in charge of the chapel and said that he himself wanted to celebrate mass. The king could hear and see him celebrate if he wanted to. This would be the same for the king as if he heard his chaplain. This priest was a follower of Rokycana<sup>4</sup> and adhered to his beliefs. When the king heard it, he ordered his marshal to go immediately and tell the priest to yield to the royal chaplain. If he did not obey, the marshall should throw him from the tall cliff next to the chapel. Terrified at this message, the priest swallowed his anger.<sup>5</sup> This is what the ambassadors told about the King of Bohemia, a most noble boy, to the joy and great pleasure of the listeners.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Guillaume Fillastre, later used by the Duke of Burgundy as his ambassador to Pope Pius II

<sup>2</sup> "sapiens"

<sup>3</sup> See Report 3 in the present series.

<sup>4</sup> Jan Rokycana (ca. 1396-1471): theologian and leading Hussite cleric

<sup>5</sup> Romans, 12, 19: *date locum irae*

<sup>6</sup> These two episodes Piccolomini would later reproduce in HB, I, 534-535

[140] Inter haec Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis, grande lumen<sup>1</sup> Theutonici nominis, ex Praga revertitur. Congregantur in praetorium proceres, consilia pro tuenda religione quaeruntur. Legati Caesaris, etsi {46v} multum ac saepe rogatos<sup>2</sup> principes fecerint, ut quae sentirent in medio proponerent, postquam tamen omnibus audire Caesaris sententiam placet, aliquantisper inter se deliberant et, quae sibi ex usu videntur, in scripturam redigunt<sup>3</sup> contionique schedulam hujusmodi praebent eamque dicunt Caesaris esse mentem:

[141] “Ex his, quae nuper hoc in loco dicta fuerunt, intelleximus plane omnes, si rempublicam Christianam adversus inimicos salutiferae crucis praestare volumus, necessarium esse cogi exercitum, qui mense Aprili proximo magnus ac bene instructus in Turcos proruat, aequumque Caesar existimat omnes fideles principes, maxime autem qui sub imperio degunt, exemplum sequi suum. Nam is<sup>4</sup> ad omnia sese offert, quae pro defensione Christianae religionis necessaria videantur. Singillatim<sup>5</sup> vero, quae suae majestati ex<sup>6</sup> republica videantur, inferius annotata sunt vestro tamen et aliorum, qui ad hoc sanctum negotium concurrere voluerint, excutienda et digerenda<sup>7</sup> iudicio, atque imprimis exercitus triennio duraturus adeo fortis ac numerosus paratus esto, ut nedum resistere<sup>8</sup> Turcorum conatibus, sed ipsos ultro lacessere ac Europa depellere queat.

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<sup>1</sup> nomen W

<sup>2</sup> rogatus K, U

<sup>3</sup> redigant U; redigere W

<sup>4</sup> his K, WO

<sup>5</sup> sigillatim W, MA

<sup>6</sup> e MA

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

<sup>8</sup> resisteret MA, WO

## 9. Fourth session, 18 May: Crusade against the Turks<sup>1</sup>

### 9.1. Proposition of the imperial legates<sup>2</sup>

[140] In the meantime, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, the great light of the German name, returned from Prague. The nobles gathered in the town hall and were asked for their advice concerning the defence of religion. The imperial legates several times and urgently requested the princes to present their opinions [on the matter]. Still, when all wanted to hear the emperor's ideas, the legates discussed the matter for a while and then put in writing what they thought would be appropriate and presented this note to the assembly, saying that it represented the emperor's thinking<sup>3</sup>:

[141] "From what has recently been said here, we all clearly understand that if we want the Christian commonwealth to prevail against the enemies of the Cross of Salvation, we must of necessity assemble a large and well-trained army to move speedily against the Turks next April. The emperor finds it reasonable that all Christian<sup>4</sup> princes, especially those who belong to the Empire, should follow his example, for he will contribute to all that seems necessary for the defence of the Christian religion. What the emperor considers should come from the commonwealth is noted singly in the [articles], to be carefully weighed and examined by you and the others who will contribute to this holy undertaking.

First of all, a strong and large army shall be prepared for a three year period to resist the Turkish endeavours and attack them aggressively and repel them from Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 307-323

<sup>3</sup> See Voigt, III, p. 140

<sup>4</sup> "fidelis": of the Faith

[142] Alimenta et stipendia militum<sup>1</sup> in annum, priusquam exercitus iter arripiat, tum durante<sup>2</sup> primo expeditionis anno<sup>3</sup> in secundum et secundo<sup>4</sup> in tertium procurata apparataque sunt. Dux exercitus unus vexillum crucis et aquilas {47r} imperii sacri victrices fert. Exercitum Alemania vicinusque populus imperio Romano parens hoc ordine convocato: Triginta viri equitem<sup>5</sup> unum, rursusque LX pedites duos armis instructos ac bello idoneos suo sumptu in<sup>6</sup> exercitum mittunt<sup>7</sup>. Hoc pacto credibile est ducenta milia pugnatorum<sup>8</sup> cogi posse. Quod si facta supputatione minor emerit numerus, sic taxant<sup>9</sup> viros, summa uti haec impleatur. Instrumenta bellica ac<sup>10</sup> machinas necessarias principes et civitates imperii pro facultatibus administrant et, quantum possint<sup>11</sup>, suo scripto docent.

[143] Tres viri locis opportunis in Alemania sunt<sup>12</sup> rei militaris periti, qui per sese aliosve, quos delegerint, milites idoneos admittunt, ineptos repellunt. Sex viri, tres ecclesiastici tresque saeculares, locis in Alemania convenientibus annonae ac stipendii militaris curam habent. Horum quoque officium esto inter provinciales onera mittendi militis ac stipendii dandi ita partiri, ut pro facultate cujusque aequa distributio fiat.

[144] Sanctissimus Romane urbis praesul classem adversus Turcos mense Aprili proximo in Aegaeo mari instructam habet, Turchiam ex Metelino insula inquietam reddidit. Alphonsi Aragonum et<sup>13</sup> Siciliae regis simulque Venetorum et Genuensium vires ad eam rem advocavit. Caramannum Saracenum contra Turcos provocavit. Imperatorem Trapesundarum<sup>14</sup>, Hybereorum regem, Albanos, Bulgaros, Ragusinos atque {47v} universos Dalmatas sub eodem tempore arma corripere atque invadere hostes exhortavit. Hungari et Bohemi exercitum simul cogunt atque unum corpus cum Theutonibus efficiunt. Utque milites et instrumenta bellica itemque victui<sup>15</sup> necessaria commodius evehantur, copias contra Turcos ea in parte collocant, qua sunt Danubio propiores.<sup>16</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> tum durante : tamen W

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

<sup>4</sup> secundum U

<sup>5</sup> equitum WO

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

<sup>7</sup> mittendo U

<sup>8</sup> credibile est ... pugnatorum : ducenta milia pugnatorum credibile est O, W

<sup>9</sup> taxando U

<sup>10</sup> et K, O, U, V\*, W

<sup>11</sup> possit K, U; quisque possit W

<sup>12</sup> sumpto U; *omit.* WO

<sup>13</sup> ac MA

<sup>14</sup> Tripesundarum W

<sup>15</sup> victu W

<sup>16</sup> propiores K, WO



[142] A year's provisions and soldiers' wages shall be prepared before the army sets out, and then during the first year for the second, and during the second year for the third.

There shall be one leader of the army, carrying the standard of the cross and the victorious eagles of the Holy Empire.

The army shall be mobilised from Germany and the surrounding peoples subject to the Empire, in this way: [Each group of] 30 men shall – at their own cost - send one horse soldier, and moreover [each group of] 60 men shall send two armed foot soldiers, able to fight. In that way, it should be possible to assemble 200,000 soldiers. If further calculations give a smaller number, the assessment shall be modified to reach the number of 200,000.

The princes and cities of the Empire shall provide instruments of war and the necessary machines and – as far as possible - commit themselves to this in writing.

[143] Three men with knowledge of military matters shall be placed in appropriate places in Germany to accept, either by themselves or through others delegated for this purpose, those men who are able to fight and reject those who are not.

Six men, three clergymen and three laymen, shall in appropriate places in Germany have charge of foodstuffs and soldiers' wages. They shall be responsible for distributing the burdens of providing soldiers and paying wages so that the distribution is fair and within everyone's means.

[144] Next April, The Most Holy Bishop of the City of Rome shall have a fleet against the Turks ready

in the Aegean Sea, which shall harass the Turks from the Island of Metelinum.<sup>1</sup> The forces of Alfonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, and those of Venice and Genoa, shall be called upon to aid in this venture. The Saracen Karaman shall be called forth against the Turks. The emperor of Trebizond,<sup>2</sup> the King of Hiberia<sup>3</sup>, the Albanians, the Bulgarians, the Ragusans,<sup>4</sup> and all the Dalmatians<sup>5</sup> shall be exhorted to at the same time take weapons and attack the enemies. The Hungarians and the Bohemians shall gather an army and join up with the Germans to make one body [of soldiers]. To facilitate the transportation of soldiers, machines of war and provisions, troops shall be placed in the regions closest to the Danube.

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<sup>1</sup> Mytilene, here = Lesbos

<sup>2</sup> David Megas Komnenos (ca. 1408-1463): last emperor of Trebizond from 1459 to 1461, when Trebizond was conquered by the Turks

<sup>3</sup> = Georgia

<sup>4</sup> Ragusa = Dubrovnik

<sup>5</sup> = (more or less) Croatia

[145] Ut autem in hoc opere sanctissimo pax et unitas<sup>1</sup> animorum<sup>2</sup> stabilior habeatur, contentiones ac lites tota Germania facessant, ex festo nativitatis dominicae, quod primo instat, ad quinquennium inde secuturum. Inter omnes, qui bello dissident, indutiae sunt<sup>3</sup>. Si quis medio tempore via facti<sup>4</sup> quemquam molestaverit, imperiali banno subjaceto atque, ubicumque terrarum sub imperio compertus fuerit, tamquam contemptor offensorque majestatis poenam expectato. Idem timeto, qui eum receptaverit sive conductum ei dederit. Actio super debitis tempore profectionis jam contractis adversus eum, qui hoc in exercitu militaverit, expeditione durante in annumque posthac<sup>5</sup> nulla esto, nisi aut profugerit aut ignominiae causa missus quis<sup>6</sup> fuerit. Bona et familiae militum, qui hac in expeditione<sup>7</sup> fuerint, toto quinquennio libera sub protectione imperii sunt.

[146] Haec legati, qui adsunt, suis dominis referunt. Concilium dehinc alterum ad festum sancti Michaelis proximum, si Caesar adesse voluerit, Norimbergae, si minus, Francfordiae<sup>8</sup> indictum esto. In eo principes {48r} civitatesque super hujuscemodi rebus, quid gerant animo<sup>9</sup>, significanto. Caesar interea temporis, si concilium adire voluerit, notum facito: si nihil intimaverit, apud Francfordiam conventus locum habeto<sup>10</sup>. Apocrisarii Caesaris illic<sup>11</sup> cum plena potestate<sup>12</sup> veniunto. Ut autem tanto citius atque facilius hostes fidei nostrae Christianis ex finibus propulsentur, quanto<sup>13</sup> majoribus ac magis unitis viribus in eos itum fuerit, reges<sup>14</sup> ac principes in Christo fideles Romanus pontifex, ut ad haec concurrant, simulque imperator roganto.” Ea cum audissent principes ac legati, qui praesentes fuere, articulorum, qui lecti erant, fieri sibi copiam petiverunt, qua concessa et deliberandi tempus impetravere.

[147] Philippus interea, dux Burgundiae, qui prius lentis febribus tenebatur, gravius aegrotare coepit, non sine timore ac paene desperatione suorum. Cum sanguis ejus minueretur, cruor viridis lividusque simul<sup>15</sup> niger effectus est. Caput ejus<sup>16</sup> doloribus assidue torqueri, manus ac pedes tremere, nullum membrum suum satis officium facere. Quod cum Aeneas accepisset, sciscitatus est ex caris Philippi, quotus illi principi jam vitae annus<sup>17</sup> instaret. Quibus tertium et sexagesimum

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<sup>1</sup> unita WO

<sup>2</sup> animarum W

<sup>3</sup> sumpto U

<sup>4</sup> facta K, V, MA, WO

<sup>5</sup> hoc W; haec MA

<sup>6</sup> missus quis : missusque W

<sup>7</sup> hac in expeditione : in hac expeditione MA, WO

<sup>8</sup> Franckfordiae *et passim* W

<sup>9</sup> animi K, O, V, W, MA

<sup>10</sup> habento MA

<sup>11</sup> illuc O, W

<sup>12</sup> plena potestate : pleno mandato W

<sup>13</sup> quando U

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* U

<sup>15</sup> simulque W

<sup>16</sup> minueretur cruor ... ejus *omit.* O

<sup>17</sup> annis U

annum agere illum dicentibus, “Nil<sup>1</sup> mirum<sup>2</sup> ,” inquit, “si vestrum principem morbus habet. *Observatum enim multa hominum memoria*, scribit Gellius, *expertumque esse senioribus plerisque hominibus sexagesimum ac tertium<sup>3</sup> vitae annum {48v} cum periculo et clade aliqua venire aut corporis<sup>4</sup> morbiue gravioris aut vitae interitus<sup>5</sup> aut animi aegritudinis.*

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<sup>1</sup> ni W

<sup>2</sup> nil mirum : nimirum K, U, V, W

<sup>3</sup> ac tertium *add. in marg. O; omit. W*

<sup>4</sup> corpus U

<sup>5</sup> interius U

[145] And so that in this most holy undertaking there may be firm peace and union of minds, all conflicts and strife in Germany shall cease, from the next Feast of the Lord's Nativity and for the following five years. There shall be a truce between all who are at war. If anybody makes bold to attack someone, then he shall be under the ban of the Empire, and wherever he be found in the lands belonging to the Empire, he shall expect to be punished for contempt of and offence against majesty. The same shall be feared by anyone who receives him or gives him a safe-conduct.

In matters of debts contracted before the departure [of the army], there shall be no action taken against anybody fighting in the army so long as the expedition lasts and for a whole year afterwards, unless he deserts the army or is dismissed in disgrace. Properties and families of soldiers in this expedition shall be free and under the protection of the Empire for a five year period.

[146] The legates who are present shall report these [articles] to their lords. Another diet shall be held on the next Feast of Saint Michael.<sup>1</sup> If the emperor wishes to participate, it shall be held in Nürnberg, if not in Frankfurt. At that diet, the princes and cities shall declare their opinions concerning this matter. In the meantime, the emperor shall make it known if he wishes to come to the diet. If he makes no announcement, the diet shall be held in Frankfurt. The envoys of the emperor shall come there with full powers. Since the enemies of the Faith will be expelled from the lands of the Christians the more quickly and easily the greater and more united are the forces sent against them, the Roman Pontiff and the Emperor shall both request of the Christian kings and princes to contribute to this undertaking."

When they had heard this, the princes and legates who were present asked for a copy of the articles that had been read which they obtained as well as time for consultation.

## 9.2. Illness of the Duke of Burgundy

[147] In the meantime, Duke Philippe of Burgundy, who had previously suffered from slow fevers, fell seriously ill, causing fear and almost desperation among his own people. When he was bled, the blood was greenish, bluish and even black. He suffered from continuous and severe headaches, his hand and feet were trembling, and none of his members functioned properly. When Enea heard this, he asked persons close to Philippe how old the prince was. When they told him he was 63 years old, he said, "No wonder that your prince is ill. For Gellius<sup>2</sup> writes that *it has been observed during a long period of human recollection, and found to be true, that for almost all old men the sixty-third year of their age is attended with danger, and with some disaster involving either serious bodily illness, or loss of life, or mental suffering.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 29 September

<sup>2</sup> Aulus Gellius (ca. 125-ca. 180): Roman author and grammarian

<sup>3</sup> Gellius, 15, 7, 1

[147] Augustus quoque in epistolis ad Gajum laetatus est, se tertium et sexagesimum annum evasisse. Alphonsus, rex Aragonum hoc temporis agens ulcus<sup>1</sup> in genu dolorosum ac paene exitiale sustinuit. Mater mea Victoria - ut *parva magnis aequem* - huc<sup>2</sup> aetatis provecta vicina morti fuit. Tenet natura suam morem, sed confidite: naturae dominus Deus est, cujus hic modo causam gerit. Evadet periculum princeps vester.”

[148] Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis, inter haec multa cum Prutenis religiosis agitat conventaque cum Bohemis recipi suadere nititur, nam eam esse unicam viam<sup>3</sup>, qua vendicari Pruscia possit, nec mirum videri debere magnam expeti pecuniam, ubi magna auxilia promittuntur. Homo eloquens et auctoritate praeditus facile omnes in suam sententiam trahit. Religiosi vel inviti marchionis sequi consilium statuunt, at dum quaerunt aurum neque inveniunt, ex proposito excidunt, rursusque consilia legatorum Caesaris et aliorum quaerunt. Fit conventio in praetorio civitatis. Ibi, cum exposita essent ea, super quibus consulendum videbatur, eques quidam, Franco, homo<sup>4</sup> minime malus, “Nescio”, inquit, “quinam<sup>5</sup> homines Theutones sumus. Juris certe nostri atque communis boni desertores sumus. Omnes, quae sua sunt, quaerunt; nos regni nostri fines ac jura negligimus. Gallici pro jure coronae suae pugnant. Anglici mori malunt, quam de coronae debito quidquam dimittant. Hungari bellum assiduum pro corona gerunt. Bohemi cum Saxonibus de limitibus coronae litigant. Poloni ad coronam suam spectare Prusciam dicunt: et quid nos desides de nostra corona<sup>6</sup> dicimus? Et quae – oro – corona est, cujus vel majora vel digniora sint<sup>7</sup> jura? Nemo coronae nostrae curam gerit. Corona excellens est, sublimis est, sed nemo eam respicit, indefensa desertaque manet.

[149] Tum Gurcensis episcopus “Mirare,” inquit, “ ut video, vir bone, non esse<sup>8</sup>, qui coronam nostram tueatur. Tacite, quod illa cingit caput, accusas quasi elingue mutumque sit. Desine – obsecro – mirari, non est capiti nostro, {236v} quod manducet<sup>9</sup>. Ceteri reges ditem cameram habent, hinc jura coronae tuentur. Camera nostra inops nihil regi nostro praebet. Age deinde, qui sunt jura coronae nostrae<sup>10</sup> occupantes nisi nostri? Si velit imperator jura coronae<sup>11</sup> vendicare, suos primum principes in jus vocare cogetur<sup>12</sup>, quod quam tutum sit, ipse nosti.”

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<sup>1</sup> uulcus U

<sup>2</sup> hac W

<sup>3</sup> omit. U

<sup>4</sup> omit. U

<sup>5</sup> qui natura MA

<sup>6</sup> nostra corona : corona nostra MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> sunt W

<sup>8</sup> est W

<sup>9</sup> mandaret W

<sup>10</sup> omit. K, V \*, W

<sup>11</sup> nostrae occupantes ... jura coronae omit. U

<sup>12</sup> cogitur W

[147] Also Augustus<sup>1</sup> in a letter to Gajus<sup>2</sup> rejoiced that he had passed his 63<sup>rd</sup> year.<sup>3</sup> At this time in his life, King Alfonso of Aragon had a painful and almost lethal ulcer in the knee. And at that [same] age, my own mother Vittoria<sup>4</sup> – *to compare small things with great*<sup>5</sup> – was close to death. Nature takes its course, but be assured: it is God who is the lord of nature, and as your prince is now engaged in His cause, he will escape this danger.”

### 9.3. Continued negotiations on Prussia and the Teutonic Knights<sup>6</sup>

[148] During this time, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg was much occupied with the Prussian Knights, endeavouring to persuade them to accept the agreement with the Bohemians, for that was the only way to regain Prussia, and it was not strange at all that a large sum was requested, where large auxiliary troops were promised. This eloquent man of great authority easily convinced all. The Knights reluctantly decided to follow the margrave’s advice, but when they looked for money and could not find it, they gave up the plan and again asked for the advice of the imperial legates and others. A meeting was held in the town hall of the city. When they had stated what they wanted to consult about, a knight named Franco, a good man, said, “I really do not know what kind of men we Germans are. We surely betray our own rights and the common good. All men seek their own, but we neglect the borders of our kingdom and our rights. The French fight for the rights of their crown. The English would rather die than give up anything due to the crown. The Hungarians wage continuous war for the crown. The Bohemians fight with the Saxons about the frontiers of the crown. Now the Poles claim that Prussia belongs to their crown, and what do we say in our indifference to our own crown? But what crown – I beg – has greater or more worthy rights? Nobody cares about our crown. It is an excellent crown, a lofty crown, but nobody respects it, and it remains undefended and deserted.”

### 9.4. Renewed debate on the state of the empire<sup>7</sup>

[149] Then the Bishop of Gurk<sup>8</sup> said, “I see, my good man, that you are wondering why no one protects our crown. Thus you silently accuse the head carrying this crown of being silent and mute. Stop wondering – I beg – for our head has nothing to eat. Other kings have a rich treasury, and therefore the rights of the crown are protected. Our penniless treasury can provide nothing to our king. But consider: who have seized the rights of our crown if not our own [princes]? If the

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<sup>1</sup> Emperor Augustus

<sup>2</sup> His nephew

<sup>3</sup> Gellius, 15, 7, 3

<sup>4</sup> Vittoria Piccolominia (born Forteguerra)(1385-1455): Mother of Piccolomini

<sup>5</sup> Vergilius: *Georgica*, 4, 176: *si parva licet componere magnis*

<sup>6</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 280-282

<sup>7</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 280-281

<sup>8</sup> Ulrich Sonnenberger

emperor wants to claim the rights of the crown, he will have first to call his own princes to justice – and you know how safe that would be!”

[150] Vix ea finierat, cum “Recte,” ait Nicolaus cardinalis sancti Petri<sup>1</sup>, “sermo institutus est, licet dolere, licet flere nostrae nationis statum. Nescimus more<sup>2</sup> hominum vivere neque caput nostrum in honore habemus. Inde cum eo perimus omnes. Tangit nos illa, quam ferunt<sup>3</sup>, fabula: Aegre fuit aliquando manibus ac pedibus, quod<sup>4</sup> se<sup>5</sup> laborantibus stomachus omnia consumeret, eorum parta labore. Statuerunt<sup>6</sup> cessare ac nihil {49v} ori porrigere. At cessante nutrimento defecere corporis vires, neque pedibus neque manibus vigor inerat. Cognoverunt igitur errorem suum atque cum stomacho in gratiam redeuntes, quae illi necessaria erant, ministrarunt. At<sup>7</sup> nos multo insulsiore sumus, qui etsi videmus statum nostrum in dies deficere, regi tamen nostro<sup>8</sup>, qui stomachi loco est, nihil praebemus. Quod<sup>9</sup> si pergimus hoc modo, actum est de natione nostra. Omnes in circuitu nationes nos invadent erimusque<sup>10</sup> cunctis in *derisum et subsannationem*.” Ibi et Johannes<sup>11</sup> Lysura et ceteri multa locuti sunt, quae ad<sup>12</sup> reformandum imperium ex usu putaverunt. Omnium vero ea sententia fuit, non posse stare rem Theutonicam, nisi capiti consulerent.

[151] Post haec rursus de Prutenis agitatum est, cumque religiosi negarent se posse argentum invenire, quod Bohemis darent, ad sententiam legatorum Caesaris reventum est, qui tractatus amicabile incoeptari suadebant. Cardinalis sancti Petri rogatus hanc provinciam suscipere, prohibitos cardinales ait injussu Romani praesulis cujusvis hominis legationem gerere, neque proficisci quopiam absque dominicae<sup>13</sup> signo crucis. Quod autem vocatu Caesaris Ratisponam petivisset<sup>14</sup>, id actum esse ex Nicolai pontificis jussione. Diu ventilata res est, nunc hoc, nunc illud contioni videri melius, nusquam tamen pedem figere neque finem invenire {50r} disputationum.

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<sup>1</sup> recte ait ... Petri: Nicolaus sancti Petri recte ait O, W

<sup>2</sup> in ore W

<sup>3</sup> fuerant K

<sup>4</sup> vel U

<sup>5</sup> sese MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> laborantibus stomachus ... statuerunt *omit.* U

<sup>7</sup> an W

<sup>8</sup> tamen nostro : nostro tamen U

<sup>9</sup> *del.* WO

<sup>10</sup> erimus U

<sup>11</sup> de *add.* O, W

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* U, W

<sup>13</sup> dominico U

<sup>14</sup> potuisset W

[150] He had barely finished when Cardinal Nikolaus of San Pietro said, “It is right to speak of this. Indeed, we may both lament and deplore the state of our nation. We do not know to live like men, and we do not honour our head. Therefore we all perish together with it. They tell a fable which concerns us: Once the hands and the feet were upset that while they were labouring, the stomach consumed everything though they were the ones doing the work. So they decided to stop and hand nothing to the mouth. But when nourishment stopped, the body grew weak, and neither the feet nor the hands had any strength left. Then, recognizing their error, they became friends again with the stomach and provided it with what it needed. But we are much more foolish, for though we see our state grow worse day by day, we offer nothing to the king, who is in the place of the stomach. If we continue like this, it will be the end of our nation. All the nations around us will invade us, and we shall be *a scoff and derision* to all.<sup>1</sup>”

Then Johann Lysura and others spoke much about what they thought would be useful for a reform of the empire. And all agreed that the German state could not stand if they did not provide for the head.

## 9.5. Continued negotiations on Prussia and the Teutonic Knights

[151] Afterwards, they again discussed [the matter of] the Prussians, and when the Knights said that they could not find the money for the Bohemians, they fell back on the opinion of the imperial legates, who argued for opening amicable negotiations. When the Cardinal of San Pietro was asked to undertake this task, he said that cardinals were forbidden to act as legates of any man unless at the command of the Roman bishop, and that they could not go anywhere without the crucifix.<sup>2</sup> That he had come to Regensburg at the emperor’s invitation, had only been done at the command of Pope Nicolaus. The matter was debated at length, now one thing pleased the assembly, now another: they could not come to a firm conclusion<sup>3</sup> nor find an end to the debates.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalm, 43, 14: *Posuisti nos opprobrium vicinis nostris, subsannationem et derisum his qui sunt in circuitu nostro*

<sup>2</sup> He may be referring to the cross carried before papal legates

<sup>3</sup> “pedem figere”



[152] Tum Senensis episcopus, “Si mihi auscultatis,” inquit<sup>1</sup>, “duos pluresve nomine vestro legatos ad regem Bohemiae transmittatis<sup>2</sup>, qui novitatem Prutenicam huic conventioni molestam damnosamque reipublicae Christianae visam fuisse dicant rogentque<sup>3</sup> consiliarios suos ad regem Poloniae una<sup>4</sup> dirigat<sup>5</sup>, rogatum indutias cum religiosis suo et civitatum Prutenicarum nomine amplectatur velitque Vratislaviae aut alio in loco conventum fieri, in quo de universis controversiis, quae Pruteni quaeve<sup>6</sup> Poloni cum religiosis habent, per communes amicos transigatur. Eo namque et Romanus pontifex legatum de latere et imperator cum electoribus praestantiores oratores emittent. Vos interea temporis papae supplicabitis id muneris cardinali sancti Petri committat.” Probavit consilium hoc Albertus marchio moxque illud in Theutonicum sermonem vertit. Ceteri omnes assensi sunt. Scriptum est Romano<sup>7</sup> pontifici, legati quoque delecti, qui ad festum ascensionis dominicae Pragae conveniant.

[153] His itaque<sup>8</sup> conclusis placet audire, quid principes quidve legati super articulis imperatorio nomine porrectis opinentur. Tum<sup>9</sup> vafer ille serpens, hostis humani generis, qui omnibus in locis sua venena dispergit, in hoc quoque conventu conatus est litem serere. Ejus enim – ut arbitror – suasu consurrexerunt nonnulli ex Alemanis, qui nullo pacto ferendum dicerent Burgundiae ducem ante principes electores {50v} verbum facere. Credo sciebant<sup>10</sup> ducem multa promissurum, se vero pauca oblaturus, verebanturque post magnifica verba ducis ea loqui, quae viderentur inania. Dicebant autem negotium passagii a Caesare ortum habere, dixisse illum per legatos ex bono, quae putavisset; nunc electoribus dicendi locum deberi, post Burgundiae duci. Legati Caesaris aequum censebant ducem Burgundiae, qui praesens esset, quemadmodum sedendo ita et loquendo legatos absentium anteire. Res aliquandiu mentes procerum conturbavit, sed ubi ad Philippum deducta<sup>11</sup> est, “Minime,” inquit ille, “vis haec maligni spiritus erit, ut hac de causa Christi negotium obvertat. Neque ambitiosus veni, neque redibo superbus: dicam vel ultimus, dum religione bene consulatur.”

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

<sup>2</sup> transmittetis O, U, W

<sup>3</sup> regentque U

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* W

<sup>5</sup> dirigi W

<sup>6</sup> quaeque MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> Romam U

<sup>8</sup> ita O

<sup>9</sup> cum MA

<sup>10</sup> sciebam U

<sup>11</sup> deductum W

[152] Then the Bishop of Siena<sup>1</sup> said, “If you heed to me, you will send two or more legates in your name to the King of Bohemia. They shall inform him that this assembly considers the Prussian rebellion damaging and harmful to the Christian Commonwealth. They shall beg him to send his counsellors, in his own name and in the name of the Prussian cities, to the King of Poland to ask him to accept a truce with the Order and agree to a meeting in Vratislava or another place. There common friends can settle all the conflicts, which the Prussians and the Poles have with the Order. Also, the Roman Pontiff should send a legate *de latere*, and the emperor together with the prince-electors should send eminent ambassadors. In the meantime, you will beg the pope to entrust this task to the Cardinal of San Pietro.” Margrave Albrecht agreed with this proposal and immediately translated it into German. All the others assented. Then they wrote to the Roman Pontiff and chose legates, who would meet in Prague on the Feast of the Lord’s Ascension.

## **9.6. Another problem of precedence: the Duke of Burgundy vs the electoral ambassadors**

[153] This matter closed, they decided to hear what the princes and the legates thought about the articles released in the emperor’s name.

But that cunning serpent, the enemy of humankind, who spreads his poison everywhere, tried to also sow strife at this meeting. For under his influence – as I believe – a number of Germans rose and said that it was intolerable that the Duke of Burgundy should speak before the prince-electors. I believe they knew that the duke would promise much, whereas they themselves would promise little, and they feared that after the grand words of the duke their own would seem paltry. But they argued that the whole affair of the crusade had been begun by the emperor and that his legates had expounded his views. Now it was the turn of the electors to speak, and afterwards the Duke of Burgundy would have his say. The imperial legates considered it reasonable that the Duke of Burgundy who was present should speak before the legates of the absent electors, just as he was seated before them. This matter agitated the nobles for some time, but when it was referred to Philippe, he said, “This malicious spirit shall not have the power to obstruct the enterprise of Christ. I did not come here out of ambition, and I shall not leave out of arrogance. I do not mind speaking in the last place if only religion is well provided for.”

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini himself

[154] Tum viri boni, quibus concordiae studium fuit, vocandos esse consiliarios ducis inter Theutones suaserunt cumque his de capitulis imperialibus conferendum. Hoc peracto compertum est placere duci, quod Theutones super capitulis respondere decrevissent, commissumque est marchioni Alberto verba unus pro omnibus ad legatos Caesaris faceret. Ille autem in conventu generali silentibus ceteris “Audivimus,” inquit, “clarissimi<sup>1</sup> oratores, quae pro tuenda Christiana religione divum Fridericum Caesarem praemeditatum exposuistis. Sapienter et graviter nostro iudicio in tanta re sua {51r} majestas movetur. Philippus Burgundiae, Ludovicus Bavariae duces, regis Poloniae, electorum aliorumque principum et civitatum legati loqui ad haec me<sup>2</sup> aliqua jubent. Faciam id breviter. Commendamus omnes nostri Caesaris animum gratiasque optimo et maximo Deo reddimus, qui nobis principem hoc tempore praebuit de communi utilitate cogitantem. Illum salvum, illum incolumem praestari quam diutissime reipublicae cupimus. Cogitatus ejus probamus<sup>3</sup> laudamusque<sup>4</sup>. Uti<sup>5</sup> sanctum hoc<sup>6</sup> propositum totis conatibus prosequatur, obnixè rogamus cum pro salute communi Christianorum, tum pro laude et nomine sempiterno inclitae nationis nostrae<sup>7</sup>.

[155] Super capitulis vero, quae porrexistis, non est cur multa dicamus, quando ex vestra sententia in altero concilio, quod futurum est, ea pressius discutienda sunt. Convenient<sup>8</sup>, uti confidimus, tunc alii complures, qui de Turcis deque rebus<sup>9</sup> Graecorum ac situ regionum notitiam majorem quam nos habebunt. Ulricus fortasse Ciliae ac Johannes Bistricensis<sup>10</sup> comites aderunt. Ex his cognoscemus, quae multitudo pugnatorum ducenda sit, quo in loco quove tempore invadendi sunt<sup>11</sup> Turci, quo genere pugnae, quibus utendum machinis, qua via ducendi sint commeatus, quae recipienda quaeve<sup>12</sup> consilia vitanda videantur. Intelligemus<sup>13</sup> etiam, quid acturi sint Itali, quid Gallici, quid ceterae nationes. Quod si concurrant Hungari, Bohemi, Poloni et alii Christiani, haudquaquam tantum<sup>14</sup> numerum<sup>15</sup> ex nostra natione deducere oportebit, {51v} quantum vestra capitula innuunt, ne fiat exercitus, qui pasci nequeat, atque, ut de Xerxe traditum est, nedum fruges edentibus sed ipsa quoque flumina potantibus desint. Cetera magno consilio divinaque mente cogitata existimamus atque illud potissimum, quod de<sup>16</sup> pace quinquennali sancendum asseverastis. Utinam inveniri possit perpetua<sup>17</sup>! Certum enim est, quia nullus<sup>1</sup> educi<sup>2</sup> exercitus ex

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<sup>1</sup> carissimi U

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

<sup>3</sup> probavimus MA, WO

<sup>4</sup> probamus laudamusque : probamusque W

<sup>5</sup> atque W

<sup>6</sup> sanctum hoc : hoc sanctum W

<sup>7</sup> inclitae nationis nostrae : nostrae inclitae nationis MA

<sup>8</sup> conveniunt U

<sup>9</sup> re W

<sup>10</sup> Vistricensis K, O, U, W; Bristicensis MA

<sup>11</sup> sint K, O, V \*

<sup>12</sup> quae MA

<sup>13</sup> intelligimus MA

<sup>14</sup> tamen MA

<sup>15</sup> nunquam MA

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

<sup>17</sup> possit perpetua : perpetua possit U, W, WO; perpetua possit *corr.* ex perpetua possit V

nostra natione poterit, nisi<sup>3</sup> pace inter nos potiamur. Quod autem Caesaris adventum ad concilium alterum in ancipiti ponitis, id nobis triste est. Scimus enim esse complura, quae Caesaris praesentiam exigunt atque hoc maxime, quod de pace dictum est. Si ergo cupit imperator rem contra Turcos feliciter geri, suadete ad conventum veniat. Haec nostra sententia est, hoc consilium suae majestati tanquam fideles principes et obsequentes vassalli praebemus.”

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<sup>1</sup> est *add.* W

<sup>2</sup> duci W

<sup>3</sup> insita W

## 10. Final session, 21 May<sup>1</sup>

### 10.1. Address of Albrecht of Brandenburg

[154] Then good men, desirous of harmony, persuaded the assembly that the duke's counsellors should be called in together with the Germans and consulted together with them concerning the imperial articles. When that had been settled, they were informed that the duke agreed with what the Germans had decided to say about the articles. Margrave Albrecht was charged with addressing the imperial legates on behalf of all. So, in a general meeting, while all the others stayed silent, he said, "Distinguished ambassadors, we have heard what you said about the intentions of Holy Emperor Friedrich in the matter of the protection of the Christian religion. We consider that His Majesty is acting wisely and prudently in this great matter. The dukes Philippe of Burgundy and Ludwig of Bavaria and the ambassadors of the King of Poland and of the electors and other princes require me to say some words on this matter, and I shall do so briefly. We all commend the objectives of our emperor and thank the Best and Greatest God that he has, at this time, given us a prince who is concerned about the common good. We wish that he be kept safe and unharmed for the commonwealth for a long time. We praise and commend his intentions. We pray and beg that he may persist with all his might in this holy endeavour for the common welfare of the Christians and the glory and eternal name of our illustrious nation.

[155] Concerning the articles you have presented, there is not much to say since you yourselves propose that they should be discussed more closely in a later diet. We are sure that many others will meet there who know more than we do about the Turkish and Greek matters and the geographical conditions. Maybe the counts Ulrich of Cilly and János of Bistrita<sup>2</sup> will be present. From them, we shall hear how many soldiers to bring, where and when the Turks should be attacked, what kind of battle to fight, what machines to use, by what route the provisions should be transported, and which advice to accept and which to reject. We shall also learn what the Italians, the French, and other nations will do. If the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Poles, and other Christians join up, it will hardly be necessary to contribute so many soldiers from our nation as your articles stipulate, for then the army will become too big to be fed, and – as told about Xerxes<sup>3</sup> – will not only lack food to eat but even rivers to drink. The other articles we consider to have been thought out with great acumen and a divine mind, especially what you stated about ordaining a five years peace. Would that it could be permanent! For it is certain that no army can be brought forth from our nation if we do not have peace between us. We are sorry that you are uncertain about the emperor's attendance at the next diet, for we know that many things require the emperor's presence and especially what was said about peace. So, if the emperor wishes for the matter [of an expedition] against the Turks to succeed, you must persuade him to come to the

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<sup>1</sup> RTA, 19, 1, pp. 282-306

<sup>2</sup> The governor of Hungary

<sup>3</sup> Xerxes I (ca. 518-465 BCE): King of Persia from 486 to his death

diet. This is our considered opinion, and this is the advice we give His Majesty as his loyal princes and obedient vassals.”

[156] His finitis assurgens Vilhelmus, episcopis Tullensis, qui tum ducis Burgundiae consiliarius imprimis acceptus fuit, litteris ac<sup>1</sup> prudentia memorabilis, in hunc modum locutus est: “Tacerem modo neque post<sup>2</sup> tantum principem, quantus est marchio Brandeburgensis, hiscere<sup>3</sup> auderem, nisi me res novas et alienas ab his, quas ipse attigit, praecellentissimus dominus meus Philippus, Burgundiae dux, in medium afferre juberet. Nam quantum ad capitula pertinet, quae nomine Caesareo producta sunt, copiose ac sapientissime nomine omnium locutus est marchio. Dicta ejus accipit probatque {52r} meus herus<sup>4</sup> neque adimit verbum. Sed sunt alia, quae dicere me oportet. Vos paululum<sup>5</sup>, quamvis estis audiendo defessi, non mihi, sed meo principi aures accommodate. Sic enim, qui sit animus ejus pro defensione nostrae fidei<sup>6</sup>, plenius intelligetis. Pauca dicam, sed ea neque vulgaria erunt neque indigna hoc auditorio.

[157] Magna et paene infinita<sup>7</sup> sunt beneficia, quae divina pietas meo principi contulit, qui natus ex alto Francorum sanguine inter nobilissimas orbis progenies educatus est, qui poterat non modo plebejus, sed mendicus nasci. Corpus illi<sup>8</sup> salubre, procerum robustumque dedit, vitam inoffensam et - quantum fas est homini optare - diuturnam, ditionem<sup>9</sup> populosissimam<sup>10</sup> et amplissimam<sup>11</sup>, nobilissimas civitates, provincias pares maximis regnis. Quae sint et quantae opes Philippi omnes scitis, quanta in ejus aula magnificentia, quantus splendor, quanta gloria. Usus est dulcissimo et felici<sup>12</sup> connubio sapientissimae et nobilissimae consortis suae. Filium sustulit, qui jam pubes<sup>13</sup> est, expectatae<sup>14</sup> indolis, institutione proba, optimis moribus, sibi et<sup>15</sup> conjugii obsequentem. Victorias ejus quis enumeret? Superatis hostibus saepe spolia duxit opima<sup>16</sup>. Triumphos ejus ostendunt templis affixa trophaea. Vicini per circuitum aut amicitia aut metu verentur eum. In Gallia, in Germania magnum Philippi nomen, neque terra est *tam barbara, tam inacessa*, quam hujus principis fama non penetraverit. Haec intelligit Philippus {52v} dona Dei esse cognoscitque propterea divino nomini<sup>17</sup> miris se modis obnoxium. Namque si omnes, qui vitam et animam rationis participem a Deo consecuti sunt, agere gratias debent, quia neque brutam<sup>18</sup> sortiti sunt

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<sup>1</sup> et U

<sup>2</sup> penes MA

<sup>3</sup> dicere MA

<sup>4</sup> heres U

<sup>5</sup> paulum U, MA

<sup>6</sup> nostrae fidei : fidei nostre W

<sup>7</sup> paene et : et paene U

<sup>8</sup> ille U, W

<sup>9</sup> *corr. ex dominia* V; dominia O, W

<sup>10</sup> populatissima O, W, populatissimam U

<sup>11</sup> amplissima O, W

<sup>12</sup> dulcissimo et felici : felici et dulcissimio O, W

<sup>13</sup> probus W

<sup>14</sup> expectare U

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* W

<sup>16</sup> optima K

<sup>17</sup> numinis W

<sup>18</sup> *corr. ex brutalem* V; brutalem K, O, W

animam neque inter arbores aut saxa dejecti, quanto magis gratum oportet Philippum esse, qui non solum homo, sed nobilis homo, sed princeps homo, sed maximus princeps homo natus est et inter omnes, qui hodie vivunt<sup>1</sup>, fortunae ac naturae bonis cumulatissimus homo?

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<sup>1</sup> vivunt W

## 10.2. Oration “*Tacerem modo*” of the Burgundian ambassador

[156] When he had finished, Guillaume,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Toul, who at that time was an important counsellor to the Duke of Burgundy, a man remarkable for his learning and wisdom, spoke in this fashion: “I would be silent now and not dare to open my mouth after such a great prince as the Margrave of Brandenburg, if my excellent lord, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy had not ordered me to speak on matters that are new and different from those mentioned by the margrave. Concerning the articles presented in the emperor’s name, the margrave has indeed spoken much and wisely in the name of all. My lord accepts and approves of his statements. But I must speak of other things. Though you are worn out by listening, please lend ears for a little while not to me, but to my prince, for thus you will fully understand his intentions concerning the defence of our Faith. So, I shall say a few things that are neither commonplace nor unworthy of this audience.

[157] Great and almost infinite are the favours bestowed by Divine Piety upon my prince. He could have been born a commoner or even a beggar,<sup>2</sup> but he was born of the high blood of the French and brought up among the most noble families of the world. God gave him a healthy, tall, and robust body, a happy and long life (as much as it is right for men to wish for), a very populous and large dominion, noble cities, and provinces equal to great kingdoms. You all know how great is Philippe’s wealth and how great the magnificence, splendour and glory of his court. He has a harmonious and happy marriage with his wise and noble consort.<sup>3</sup> His son<sup>4</sup> is now an adult,<sup>5</sup> with the character that might be expected, a solid education, excellent manners, and obedient to the duke and his wife. Who can count his victories? He often brought back rich spoils from defeated enemies. His triumphs are manifested by the trophies hung in the churches. The neighbours around him respect him either out of friendship or fear. In France and Germany, Philippe’s name is held in great esteem, and no country is *so barbarous or remote*<sup>6</sup> that the fame of this prince has not reached there. Philippe understands that all this is God’s gift, and he knows that in consequence he has extraordinary obligations towards the divine name. For if all who have received their life and their rational soul from God are obliged to thank Him for not having received a brute soul or been thrown down among trees and rocks, how much more ought Philippe not be grateful who was born not only as a man, but as a man who is a noble, a man who is a prince, even a very great prince, and who among all men living today has been most blessed by fortune and nature?

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<sup>1</sup> Guillaume Fillastre

<sup>2</sup> This passage is reminiscent of a passage in the text of the boy king Ladislaus’ oration to the pope at the emperor’s coronation in Rome two years before. The oration was probably written by Piccolomini but not actually delivered by the king. See oration “*Quam laetus quamque secundus*” (1452) [18], Appendix: *I am obliged to thank and serve Him [God] more than other people since it is through his bounty that I have been born a king. I could have been born as a commoner or a peasant (Poteram ego unus ex plebe aut unus ex rure pasci)*

<sup>3</sup> Isabelle de Portugal (1397-1471): Married Duke Philippe of Burgundy in 1429

<sup>4</sup> Charles le Téméraire (Valois)(1433-1477): Duke of Burgundy from 1467 to his death

<sup>5</sup> He was 20 years old at the time

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cicero: Pro Sulla, 76: *neque enim ulla gens tam barbara aut tam immanis umquam fuit*





[158] Haec ille secum nonnumquam pectore volvens<sup>1</sup>, quamquam nihil est, quod digne homines erga divinam pietatem rependere queant, cogitavit tamen assidue, quo pacto suum obsequium Deo acceptabile redderet<sup>2</sup>, cumque revolveret animo, qua in re<sup>3</sup> potissimum Deo suo complacitum ire posset, venit in mentem Jerosolimitana<sup>4</sup> civitas, quae licet salvatoris nostri sepulcrum in se claudat, in manibus tamen foedissimae gentis Saracenorum existit. Stetit ei ante oculos Antiochia<sup>5</sup> jamdudum amissa et Alexandria Saracenis parens. Consideravit totum orientem atque ipsum meridiem Maumethi fabulis occupatum, Graeciae majorem partem possidere Turcos, septentrionem gentilitatis errore deceptum, Christianos in angulos<sup>6</sup> occidentis redactos. Nam quamvis multi per orientem Christiani reperiantur, {53r} non tamen liberi sunt, mancipiorum more vitam agunt, afflicti in<sup>7</sup> dies<sup>8</sup> verberibus et contumeliis. Optimam ergo hanc palaestram Philippus existimavit, in qua sese exerceret placeretque Deo, si operam daret, qua Christiani Saracenorum excuterent jugum, ac sacer<sup>9</sup> domini lectus terraque illa sancta ex manibus infidelium eriperetur.

[159] Statuit igitur toto conatu ad haec incumbere, memor quia et pater suus eodem succensus<sup>10</sup> zelo vocatu Sigismundi, regis Hungariae, qui postea rerum potitus est, forti animo contra Turcos pugnavit, quamvis adversante<sup>11</sup> fortuna proelium inauspicatum infaustumque fuerit<sup>12</sup>. Sequitur igitur paterna vestigia Philippus. De fide tuenda sollicitus est. Huc suos cogitatus, huc curas omnes convertit. Nihil ei magis menti et cordi est, quam ut exercitus suo tempore instituatur, qui Turcos Saracenosque funditus delere possit. Hinc cum Eugenius pontifex et Vladislaus<sup>13</sup>, rex Poloniae, {240v} qui Hungariam tenuit, contra Turcos arma sumpsissent, classem armavit, quam ex portu Brugiensi<sup>14</sup>, qui est in mari Britannico, in pontum Euxinum atque in ipsa ora Danubii per tot inhospitas gentes, per infinita pelagi spatia et innumerabiles sinus emisit. Sed cum eo quoque tempore parum feliciter pugnatum esset, rursusque Hungari exercitum repararent, non destitit Philippus auxilia mittere. Sed heu nostras curas! Perierunt<sup>15</sup> et tunc nostri exercitus, in praedam nostri conatus iere. Non tamen defuit animus Philippo, qui quanto magis affligi Christianos animadvertit, tanto magis assurgendum consulendumque<sup>16</sup> {53v} nostrae religioni putavit. Cumque Turcos vincere neque suum neque Hungarorum intelligeret, decrevit summas Christianorum excitare potentias. Oratores suos ad Romanum praesulem, ad imperatorem, ad ceteros orbis reges transmisit, quanta per orientem Christiani paterentur opprobria

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<sup>1</sup> reoluens W

<sup>2</sup> reddet W

<sup>3</sup> in re : iure W

<sup>4</sup> Hierosolymitana MA

<sup>5</sup> *corr. ex* Antiochina ante oculos V; ante oculos Antiochia : Antiochia ante oculos K

<sup>6</sup> angulum W

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

<sup>8</sup> in dies : dietim O, W

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

<sup>10</sup> successu U

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* K, U; novercante O; *corr. ex* novercante V; non errante W

<sup>12</sup> querit U

<sup>13</sup> et Vladislaus : Vladislausque O

<sup>14</sup> Burgiensi W

<sup>15</sup> non destitit ... perierunt *omit.* W

<sup>16</sup> consulendum W

commemoravit, quae impenderent Christiano populo discrimina ante oculos posuit. Obviari malis instantibus, arma recipi, commune passagium fieri supplex oravit seque in propria persona iturum pugnaturumque obtulit. Quod si tunc ejus vox audita fuisset, haudquaquam modo florentissimae urbis Constantinopoleos deploraremus eventum, neque nos modo tantopere<sup>1</sup> Turcorum studia deterrerent.

[158] He often pondered this matter, and although there is nothing men can do to justly repay the Divine Piety, he constantly considered how he could make his service acceptable to God. As he was thinking of how to best please God, his thought fell on the city of Jerusalem, which is in the hands of that loathsome Saracen people though it contains the sepulchre of Our Saviour. In his mind, he also saw Antioch, lost a long time ago, and Alexandria, subject to the Saracens. He considered how the whole East and the South had been filled with Muhammad's fables, how the Turks possessed most of Greece, how the North was led astray by pagan error, and how the Christians had been pushed into the corners of the West. For though there are many Christians in the East, they are not free but live as slaves, whipped daily and abused. Therefore, Philippe judged that this would be an excellent ground in which to exert himself and please God if he endeavoured to free the Christians from the yoke of the Saracens and wrest the sacred bed of the Lord and the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels.

[159] He, therefore, decided to commit himself wholly to this endeavour, remembering that his own father,<sup>2</sup> inflamed by the same zeal, fought valiantly against the Turks at the call of Sigismund, King of Hungary, who later became lord of all.<sup>3</sup> (Hostile fortune, however, made that battle ill-omened and unlucky.)<sup>4</sup> So, Philippe is now following in the footsteps of his father. He is concerned about protecting the Faith, to which he now applies his care and thoughts. For nothing is closer to his heart and mind than to mobilise, in his own time, an army that can completely destroy the Turks and the Saracens. Therefore, when Pope Eugenius and King Wladyslaw of Poland,<sup>5</sup> who ruled Hungary, went to war against the Turks, the duke armed a fleet, which he sent from the port of Bruges at the Britannic Sea<sup>6</sup> to Pontus Euxinus<sup>7</sup> and the shores of the Danube, passing inhospitable peoples, through infinite stretches of the sea, and countless bays. And when the Hungarians, after their unfortunate fight, had rebuilt their army, Philippe did not fail to send troops. But alas, our cares! Once again, our armies perished,<sup>8</sup> and all our effort were in vain. But Philippe did not become discouraged, believing that the more he saw Christians being oppressed, the more he should rise and help religion. When he realised that neither he nor the Hungarians could defeat the Turks, he decided to arouse the greatest powers of the Christians and sent his ambassadors to the Bishop of Rome, to the emperor and to the other kings of our world. He related the abusive treatment suffered by the Christians in the East and the dangers threatening

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<sup>1</sup> tanto tempore W

<sup>2</sup> Jean sans Peur (1371-1419): Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to his death

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Holy Roman Emperor

<sup>4</sup> Battle of Nicopolis, 1396

<sup>5</sup> Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 to his death in the Battle of Varna

<sup>6</sup> The British Channel

<sup>7</sup> The Black Sea

<sup>8</sup> Battle of Varna, 1444

the Christian people. He begged that they would confront the evils, take up arms, and organise a joint expedition<sup>1</sup>, and he offered to go himself on the expedition and fight in person. If only his voice had been heard then, we would not now be lamenting the fate of the flourishing city of Constantinople, and the Turkish drive forward would not frighten us so much.

[160] At iratus iniquitatibus nostris immortalis Deus surdis auribus verba facere legatos Philippi sustinuit. Nemo his auscultavit, nemo assurexit. Quasi somnia, quasi deliramenta visa sunt Philippi monita. Solus autem, cum ipse tanto bello impar esset<sup>2</sup>, maluit quiescere quam frustra niti. Secuta est exinde Constantinopolis expugnatio eaque Graeciae ruina, quam nunc universi defletis, quaeque totam Christianitatem commovet atque conturbat. Hinc Romanus pontifex excitatus reges ac principes arma sumere jubet. Hinc Caesar irritatus<sup>3</sup> de ulciscendo Christianitatis vulnere consilia quaerit, conventum indicit, principes accersit, amissionem maximae civitatis exponit et acerbam orientalis imperii calamitatem. Rogatur inter ceteros principes Philippus, Burgundiae {54r} dux, ne pigeat<sup>4</sup> huc se conferre, qui paulo ante in Asiam sese militaturum ire promiserat. Is intellecta Romani praesulis atque imperatoris voluntate, maestus de damno Christianorum, laetus de vocatione utrasque palmas ad caelum tollit Deoque gratias refert<sup>5</sup>, qui tandem orbis capita de communi utilitate cogitare compulerit.

[161] Erant ei per id temporis<sup>6</sup> cum rege Anglorum<sup>7</sup> non parvae lites, qui ruptis indutiis violataque litterarum fide, missa non parva classe ducis agros populabatur, gladio atque igne quaeque obvia consumens. Ob quam rem nemo fuit, qui Philippum domo excedere suaderet. Consilium unum omnium<sup>8</sup> erat manere domi principem atque hostem depellere, legatos ad hunc<sup>9</sup> conventum mittere. Sed contra Philippo visum est. Resistere Anglicis rem suam duxit, huc accedere negotium Dei putavit plusque<sup>10</sup> se Deo quam sibi ipsi debere iudicavit. Opera sua per vicarios, negotia Dei per se ipsum aggredi statuit. Susceptis igitur, qui tunc apud se fuerunt paucis, comitibus ordinatisque domi rebus ac ducibus, qui bello intenderent Anglicano selectis, itineri se commisit. Ascendit in Burgundiam, deinde ad Suicenses, ad Suevos, ad Bavarios venit, exceptus<sup>11</sup> est omnibus in locis volente Deo laetantibus<sup>12</sup> populis. Vix dicere possem<sup>13</sup>, quantos illi honores Albertus Austriae et Ludovicus Bavariae duces simulque comes Virtembergensis impenderint, aut quam magnifice erga eum se civitates habuerint, quae satis intueri vultum ejus nequibant,

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<sup>1</sup> "commune passagium" i.e., a crusade

<sup>2</sup> esse U

<sup>3</sup> iratus W

<sup>4</sup> pigeatur U; pigritetur O, W

<sup>5</sup> referre W

<sup>6</sup> tempus W

<sup>7</sup> per id ... Anglorum : cum rege Anglorum per id temporis MA

<sup>8</sup> unum omnium : omnium unum W

<sup>9</sup> ad hunc : adhuc U

<sup>10</sup> plusquam K; plus MA

<sup>11</sup> exceptusque MA

<sup>12</sup> laetabundis MA

<sup>13</sup> possim O; possum W

praevenire sese invicem in honore praebendo<sup>1</sup>, beatum se quisque credere {54v} non modo qui Philippum, sed qui vel minimum ex servis ejus in cubiculum recepisset. Albertus autem eo usque Philippum efferre dignatus est, ut se filium ejus appellari vellet, idque sibi licere magni beneficii loco susceperit, quae res ex mente Philippi numquam excident. *Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi, et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces*, ut Mantuani verbis utamur, quam tot beneficiorum memoria apud Philippum intereat.

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<sup>1</sup> exhibendo MA

[160] But angered at our iniquities, Immortal God suffered Philippe's ambassadors to speak on deaf ears. Nobody heeded them, nobody rose up. Philippe's warnings were seen as dreams and delusions. Since he was unable to undertake so great a war alone, he would rather live in peace than strive in vain. Then followed the fall of Constantinople and the ruin of Greece that you are now all mourning and which disturbs and dismays all of Christianity. Therefore, the Roman pontiff has been aroused and orders all kings and princes to take weapons. Therefore, the emperor has been angered and takes counsel about avenging the injury to Christianity, he convenes an assembly, he summons the princes, he relates the loss of this great city and the bitter calamity of the eastern empire. Among the other princes, Duke Philippe of Burgundy is asked to come here with alacrity since he had already, not long ago, promised to go to war in Asia. When the duke was informed of the wish of the Roman bishop and the emperor, he, though saddened by the loss to Christianity, rejoiced at the invitation and, lifting his hands to Heaven, thanked God for finally compelling the heads of the world to take thought for the common good.

[161] At that time, he had a serious conflict with the English king who, breaking their truce and violating his written promises, sent a large fleet and laid waste to the duke's territories, destroying everything on the way with sword and fire. Therefore, there was nobody who would advise Philippe to leave from home. All unanimously advised the prince to stay at home, repel the enemy and send legates to this diet. But Philippe judged otherwise.<sup>1</sup> He considered that resisting the English was his own affair, but coming here was God's affair, and he judged that he owed more to God than to himself. Thus, he decided to handle his own affairs through delegates and God's affairs by himself. Having taken a few [courtiers], who were with him then as his companions, and having arranged his affairs at home and selected captains to conduct the war against the English, he set off on the journey. First, he went up to Burgundy and from there to the Swiss, Swabia, and Bavaria. Everywhere, as God willed it, he was received enthusiastically by the people. I can hardly say how much honour he was shown by Duke Albrecht of Austria, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, and the Count of Württemberg, or how magnificently he was received by the cities: they could not get enough of seeing his face, vying with each other in honouring him and counting themselves blessed if they received not just Philippe but even the least important of his servants in their home<sup>2</sup>. Albrecht even went so far in his compliments to Philippe that he asked to be called his son and was much gratified when this was permitted. Philippe shall never forget these things. In the words of the Mantuan: *Sooner, then, shall the nimble stag graze in air, and the seas leave their fish bare on the strand,*<sup>3</sup> before Philippe forgets so many kind deeds.

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<sup>1</sup> The contrast to the emperor who chose to stay at home is an implicit rebuke

<sup>2</sup> "cubiculum"

<sup>3</sup> Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 1.59

[162] Venit autem ille in hunc locum vocatu Caesaris praeter honorem Dei et Christiani populi salutem rem nullam quaeritans. Speravit hic cum Caesarem tum principes<sup>1</sup> complurimos<sup>2</sup> convenisse atque in hoc conventu adversus Turcorum superbiam bellum decerni. Fuit, ut vidistis, et voluntarius et promptus in opus Dei totumque se vestris consiliis praebuit. Nunc quando res<sup>3</sup> dilationem recipiunt rursusque<sup>4</sup> novum concilium habituri estis, quia fortasse<sup>5</sup> non erit ex re Philippi in eo comparere, jamjam quae sit animi sui sententia prodere mavult, neque enim is est, qui cogitandi tempus exposcat. Deliberatus et animo parato<sup>6</sup> ad vos venit. Quod dicturus erat imperatore<sup>7</sup> praesente id modo dicit. Proderit fortasse propositum ejus jam esse vulgatum.

[163] Quantum ad schedulam<sup>8</sup> imperatoris attinet, nihil addit nihilque minuit Philipus ex his, quae locutus est nomine omnium Albertus marchio. Si accepta fuerit ea via, sequetur<sup>9</sup> datum ordinem Philippus. Si minus, {55r} - ut testatus<sup>10</sup> sit apud omnes gentes animus ejus - haec pro<sup>11</sup> Deo ac vobis<sup>12</sup> inconcussa<sup>13</sup> fide pollicetur: si Caesarea majestas ducatum exercitus Christiani contra Turcos acceperit expeditionique personaliter affuerit, Philippus ei sub vexillo imperii cum comitatu, quam<sup>14</sup> poterit, maximo<sup>15</sup> et<sup>16</sup> robustissimo in propria persona famulabitur. Id oneris, si recusaverit imperator, volueritque rex Hungariae ac Bohemiae Ladislaus, quamvis puer adhuc, in exercitu pro fide catholica militare, in castris ejus Philippus erit. Rursusque si neque imperator neque is<sup>17</sup> pugnare in Turcos decreverit, et alii Christiani principes arma susceperint apparatusque tanto bello dignum fecerint, his sese Philippus adjunget neque ullo pacto deerit, nisi tali detineatur impedimento<sup>18</sup>, propter quod tota Christianitas excusatum eum suscipiat. Quo casu de sanguine suo nihilominus principem aliquem destinabit cum equitatu peditatuque digno, qui Burgundiae ducis videri debeat. Haec me jussit exponere Philippus, ne suae mentis essetis nescii. Ipse die crastina<sup>19</sup> recessurus vos bene valere optat.”

[164] His latine dictis ac deinde sermone Theutonico pronuntiatis legati Caesaris in penitiori se cubiculo<sup>20</sup> retrahentes, episcopo Senensi committunt<sup>1</sup>, nonnulla ex tempore, quasi pro fine concilii

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<sup>1</sup> principem U

<sup>2</sup> cum plurimos U

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

<sup>4</sup> rursusque U

<sup>5</sup> fortassis MA, WO

<sup>6</sup> paratus U

<sup>7</sup> imperator W

<sup>8</sup> cedula W

<sup>9</sup> sequitur MA

<sup>10</sup> est *add.* MA, WO

<sup>11</sup> pro O, U

<sup>12</sup> nobis U; pro nobis W

<sup>13</sup> concussa U

<sup>14</sup> quo MA

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* MA

<sup>16</sup> ac W

<sup>17</sup> his U

<sup>18</sup> detineatur impedimento : impedimento detineatur W

<sup>19</sup> crastini O, W

<sup>20</sup> se cubiculo : cubiculo se MA, WO

dicat Philippumque ducem commendet. Quibus in contionem reversis, idem episcopus in hunc modum profatus est:

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<sup>1</sup> promittunt U



[162] But coming here at the emperor's call, he seeks nothing but the honour of God and the salvation of the Christian people. He hoped that both the emperor and many princes would have assembled here to decide on war against the haughty Turks. He was, as you have seen, both willing and ready to [undertake] God's work, and he has fully accepted your counsel. Since there is going to be a delay and you will hold another diet, and Philippe may not be able to participate in that meeting, he prefers to state his intentions already now, for he does not require time for further thought since he came to you having already considered the matter and with his mind made up. What he was going to say in the emperor's presence, he says now. Possibly it will prove an advantage if he makes known his intentions already now.

[163] Concerning the imperial propositions, Philippe would add nothing and take nothing away from what Margrave Albrecht said in the name of all. If this way is accepted, then Philippe will follow what is decided. If not, he promises (as his intentions have already been made known everywhere) this before God and you, in unshakeable good faith: If His Imperial Majesty accepts the leadership of an army against the Turks and participates personally in the expedition, Philippe will serve in his own person under the imperial banner, with the largest and strongest possible following. If the emperor declines this charge, but King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, though still a boy, wishes to fight in the army for the Catholic Faith, Philippe will be in his camp. And if neither the emperor nor Ladislaus decides to fight against the Turks, but other Christian princes take weapons and make preparations worthy of such a great war, then Philippe will join them and not be absent unless he is prevented for a reason which the whole of Christianity would consider a valid excuse. In that case, he will send a prince of his blood, with cavalry and infantry worthy of the Duke of Burgundy. This Philippe has commanded me to declare so that you shall not be ignorant of his intentions. He himself will leave tomorrow and wishes you well.

### **10.3. Closing address of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, "*Tua verba*"**

[164] When he had finished his address in Latin, and it had been translated into German, the imperial legates withdrew to a private chamber, where they decided to charge the Bishop of Siena<sup>1</sup> with giving an improvised address to close the diet and to compliment Duke Philippe.<sup>2</sup> So, when they returned to the assembly, the aforesaid bishop addressed the assembly in this way:

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<sup>1</sup> Enea Silvio Piccolomini himself

<sup>2</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

[165] “Tua verba, marchio illustris, que unus pro omnibus fecisti, non sine voluptate accepimus<sup>1</sup>, quando ex his cognoscimus imperatoriae serenitatis {55v} propositum de tuenda Christianitate gratum atque acceptum esse. Quae veluti consulendo dixisti, referemus immutilata Cesareo culmini. Nec dubium nos habet, quin<sup>2</sup> futuro in concilio<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> Caesar adsit facultas ei modo veniendi fuerit<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>, nam hoc est, quod sibi prae ceteris rebus cordi est. Vos modo operam date, ne quid impedimenti tantis rebus injiciatur.

[166] Te autem Philippe, dux inclyte ac magnanime, et ut te nomine tuo compellem, nostri gloria saeculi, qui longo itinere non sine gravi sumptu ac labore, dimisso in discrimine regno tuo, jussioni Caesaris paruisti, ad consulendum ecclesiae catholicae huc profectus, teque liberaliter et supra<sup>7</sup> modum obtulisti magnifice, quibus commendemus verbis non satis in promptu est. Licebit tamen prae gaudio exclamando dicere: O cor tuum, nobilissimo<sup>8</sup> sanguine tuo nobilius<sup>9</sup>! O principem laudibus immortalibus efferendum! O Christiane gentis<sup>10</sup> unicum jubar lucemque mirificam! O patris optimi meliorem prolem! Quibus te nunc praeconiis efferemus? Numquam ita magnifice quidquam de te dixerimus, id virtus quin<sup>11</sup> superet tua. Tu profecto ita te hodie gessisti, ut imprimis caelesti regi, deinde terreno imperatori, postremo omnibus Christianis de te ipso copiose abundeque satisfeceris, possumque ego de te illud<sup>12</sup> proferre, quod in Julium Caesarem promittit Cicero: *Nulla enim umquam aetas de tuis laudibus conticescet.*

[167] Implesti hodie cunctorum, qui adsunt, desiderium mentesque omnium erexisti spemque nobis ingentem praebuisti rerum optime gerendarum, {56r} quando te maximum inter principes nostri orbis jam natu grandiore belli labores<sup>13</sup> sponte suscepturum pro nostra religione videmus. Nam quid alii faciant, quando te talem tantumque ducem lorica indutum aspexerint et fulgentibus armis? Conduplicasti hodie, quod volebamus<sup>14</sup>, namque cum satis esse diceremus te belli participem obtinere, ductorem excitatoremque<sup>15</sup> reliquorum te comperimus. Ingens est haec tua laus, aeternum hoc tibi decus comparasti, qui cum esses ultimus inter Christianos, cui Turchorum gladius extimescendus existat, primus tamen omnium prodis contra Turchos arma sumpturus<sup>16</sup>. Et quis erit – obsecro - adeo irreligiosus Christianus, adeo iners, adeo communis boni negligens, qui tuo exemplo non moveatur? Nos quidem tua promissa tuaque facta divo Caesari exponemus,

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<sup>1</sup> accipimus U, W

<sup>2</sup> quando MA

<sup>3</sup> consilio WO

<sup>4</sup> futuro in concilio : in futuro concilio MA

<sup>5</sup> affuerit MA

<sup>6</sup> veniendi fuerit : fuerit veniendi MA, WO

<sup>7</sup> super U

<sup>8</sup> nobilissimum U

<sup>9</sup> tuo nobilius : nobilius tuo W

<sup>10</sup> omit. W

<sup>11</sup> qui U

<sup>12</sup> de te illud : illud de te MA

<sup>13</sup> labores U

<sup>14</sup> volebamus W

<sup>15</sup> exercitoremque U, MA

<sup>16</sup> suscepturus MA, WO

quem tanto magis gavisurum<sup>1</sup> certissimi sumus, quanto promissiones tuae et acta tua, quasque<sup>2</sup> de te spes habuimus, exsuperare videmus. Nunc Virgilianum illud in te dicere possumus<sup>3</sup>: *in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae lustrabunt, convexa<sup>4</sup> polus dum sidera pascet, semper honos nomenque tum laudesque manebunt.*

[165] Your words, Illustrious Margrave,<sup>5</sup> spoken on behalf of all, we have heard with pleasure since they make it clear that His Imperial Serenity's proposals<sup>6</sup> for the protection of Christianity are welcome and accepted [by the assembly]. The advice you gave we shall pass on to His Imperial Highness unchanged, and we do not doubt that the emperor will attend the next diet<sup>7</sup> if at all possible, for this matter is extremely important to him. And on your part, you should take care that there be no impediment to this great cause.

[166] And you Philippe, Illustrious and Magnanimous Duke, and – to use an appropriate title – the glory of our age, you have obeyed the summons of the emperor and come here, on a long journey, at great cost and effort, and with risk to your own realm, to assist the Catholic Church. You have made generous and magnificent offers [to the cause]: it is not easy to find words to praise you adequately. But we may indeed cry out for joy: oh, heart of yours, even more noble than your most noble blood! Oh, prince, worthy of immortal praise! Oh, unique glory and wonderful light of the Christian people! Oh, son, surpassing a most excellent father! How can we praise you now? Your courage and strength surpass everything we can say about you. Today, you have truly acted in a way that marvelously satisfies firstly the king in Heaven, then the emperor on Earth, and finally all Christians. I can say about you what Cicero<sup>8</sup> declared about Julius Caesar<sup>9</sup>: *no future age shall fail to make mention of your praise.*<sup>10</sup>

[167] Today, you have fulfilled the wish of all who are present, you have encouraged all, and you have given us great hopes for success in the coming venture since we see that you, greatest among the princes of this world, freely undertake the hardships of war for our religion, even though you are now of advanced age.<sup>11</sup> What, indeed, will others do when they see a great duke like you, coated in mail and with shining arms. Today, you have fulfilled our expectations twofold, for when we said that it was enough if you just took part in the war, we have now heard that you will even lead and arouse others too. Immense will be your praise, and eternal will be the glory you acquire for yourself, since you, who are the last of the Christians who must fear the sword of

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<sup>1</sup> gavisuri U

<sup>2</sup> quas O, U, W

<sup>3</sup> possum U

<sup>4</sup> connexa O, W

<sup>5</sup> Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg

<sup>6</sup> The formal decisions of the conference, drawn up by Piccolomini

<sup>7</sup> The diet planned for October in Frankfurt. The emperor did not participate

<sup>8</sup> Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman, orator and author

<sup>9</sup> Caesar, Gajus Julius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

<sup>10</sup> Cicero: *Pro Marcello*, 3.9: *nec ulla umquam etas de tuis laudibus conticescet*

<sup>11</sup> The duke may not have appreciated Piccolomini's remark on his advanced age. Piccolomini, however, applied the figure to himself as pope, in his orations on the Congress of Mantua

the Turks,<sup>1</sup> are the first of all to come forth and take arms against the Turk. And what Christian - I ask - will be so impious, so sluggish, so indifferent to the common good that he will not be moved by your example. We shall certainly relate your promises and deeds to the Holy Emperor: we are sure that he will be overjoyed at how greatly we see them surpass the expectations we had of you. Now we can apply those words of Virgil<sup>2</sup> to you: *While rivers run to ocean, while on the mountains shadows move over slopes, while heaven feeds the stars, ever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide.*<sup>3</sup>

[168] Ad te nunc venio, magne parens ecclesiae Papiensis, quem prima sedes huc legatum misit. Grattissima fuit tua presentia in hoc loco. Ad res bene gerendas eloquentia ac prudentia {56v} tua singularis adjumento non parvo fuit. Agimus ingentes gratias domino apostolico, qui te direxit, teque magnopere commendamus, qui nulla in re defuisti. Quae hic gesta sunt, tuum erit apostolice pietati referre atque hortari, ut, quae suo incumbunt officio, expleat, in altero concilio legatum habeat, opus hoc sanctissimum, quod ferventi<sup>4</sup> animo inchoavit, ferventiori studio prosequatur. Haec incluta natio Germanica, quae ceteris in rebus apostolico culmini devotissima est, in hoc certe negotio fidei suae sanctitati obsequentissimam se praebebit.

[169] Tu quoque, Casimiri serenissimi regis Poloniae ac magni Lituaniae ducis orator, regem tuum super his, quae gesta hic<sup>5</sup> sunt, et quae gerenda superant, certiore efficias, cujus mentem ad commune bonum paratam libenter audivimus ejusque propositum Caesariae sublimitati non sine debita commendatione referemus. Praestet autem ipse facto, quod verbo promittit, assurgat totis viribus, quando sua potissimum interest, dum Turci bello premuntur, in Graecia proelium cum Tartaris, in Muldavia sive in Valachia miscere, ne alteri alteris auxilio esse possint. Sic enim disjunctae duae validissimae gentes facilius opprimuntur. Deserat rex tuus Prutenicum bellum, quod Christianis noxium est, atque ad infideles arma sua convertat, unde possit et laudem mereri et fructum capere<sup>6</sup>.

[170] {57r} Similiter et vos, clarissimi ac potentis Sabaudiae ducis oratores, domum redeuntes, quae vidistis et audivistis domino vestro nota efficietis curabitisque, ut ad futurum concilium legatos de sua mente instructos mittat, ut qui nunc dicto Caesaris parens fuit, tum quoque fidelem principem et imperatori obsequentem se<sup>7</sup> exhibeat.

[171] Idem vos ceteri, qui adestis, sive principum sive civitatum vices agentes, erga eos<sup>8</sup>, qui vos miserunt, efficietis, ut quod bene coeptum est opus, ad honorem divini nominis salutemque

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<sup>1</sup> Because of the geographical remoteness of his territories from the Turks

<sup>2</sup> Vergilius Maro, Publius (70-19 BC): Roman poet

<sup>3</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.607-609

<sup>4</sup> fruenti MA, WO

<sup>5</sup> gesta hic : hic gesta MA

<sup>6</sup> carpere O, W; suscipere MA

<sup>7</sup> omit. O, W

<sup>8</sup> nos U

Christiani populi et hujus inclytæ nationis decus atque imperii sacri gloriam optime consummari possit.”

[168] And now I come to you, great Father of the Church of Pavia,<sup>1</sup> whom the First See<sup>2</sup> has sent here as legate. Your presence has been a great boon, and your outstanding eloquence and wisdom have been of great help to the good conduct of the whole matter. We give immense thanks to His Apostolic Lordship<sup>3</sup> who sent you, and we praise you highly for not failing in any way whatsoever. It will be your charge to relate to His Apostolic Piety what has been achieved here, to exhort him to fulfil the task that is his,<sup>4</sup> and to send a legate to the next diet. May he pursue with even greater fervour the holy undertaking which he began so fervently. In all other matters so devoted to His Apostolic Highness, the illustrious German nation will undoubtedly prove completely obedient to His Holiness in this matter of the Faith.

[169] And you, ambassador of Casimir, Most Serene King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania,<sup>5</sup> you will inform your king about what has been done here and what remains to do. We have heard with pleasure that his mind is focused on the common good, and we shall relate his position to His Imperial Highness with due commendation. May he now translate his words into actions. May he mobilise all his forces since it is in his own great interest that the Turks be opposed militarily and that there be war with the Tartars both in Greece, in Moldavia, and in Wallachia so that they cannot come to help each other. Attacked separately, these two strong peoples<sup>6</sup> will be subdued more easily. Let your king abandon the war in Prussia,<sup>7</sup> which is harmful to the Christians, and turn his arms against the infidels. Thus he may acquire both glory and benefit.

[170] Similarly, you, ambassadors of the noble and mighty Duke of Savoy,<sup>8</sup> should return home and inform your lord about what you have seen and heard and ensure that he sends legates informed about his intentions to the next diet, so that he, who has now obeyed the emperor, will also then show himself to be a loyal prince, obedient to the emperor.

[171] And the same should all the rest of you who are here as representatives of your princes or cities do towards those who sent you, so that this venture, which has begun so well, will be accomplished to the honour of the divine name, to the salvation of Christian people, to the credit of this illustrious nation, and to the glory of the Holy Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanni di Castiglione (ca. 1413 – 1460): Bishop of Pavia 1453. Cardinal 1456

<sup>2</sup> The Apostolic See, i.e. the Papacy

<sup>3</sup> Pope Nicolaus V

<sup>4</sup> I.e., to organise an Italian fleet to support the land army mobilised by the other European powers

<sup>5</sup> Kasimir IV (Jagiellon) (1427-1492): King of Poland from 1447 to his death

<sup>6</sup> The Turks and the Tartars

<sup>7</sup> The war of the Prussian population, supported by the king, against the knightly German Order

<sup>8</sup> Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death

[172] Haec cum Aeneas latine pronuntiasset, Gurcensis episcopus sermone patrio exposuisset, assurgens legatus apostolicus in laudem Philippi ducis ornatam oratiunculam habuit commendans eum principem<sup>1</sup>, qui domo, uxore filioque unico pro Christi nomine tuendo relictis itineri laborioso ac longissimo se commisisset seque prae ceteris principibus in obsequium ecclesiae promptum paratumque ostendisset. Id futurum summo pontifici<sup>2</sup> acceptissimum nullasque gentes oblationem ejus audieturas, quae nomini suo non benedicant.

[173] Albertus autem marchio Brandeburgensis, quem Theutonicum Achillem nonnulli vocitant, vir corpore atque animo fortis, ubi tantopere<sup>3</sup> commendatum Philippum<sup>4</sup> accepit, cupidus et ipse laudis, suo ac Ludovici Bavariae magni ducis nomine, qui proximus assidebat<sup>5</sup>, {57v} his verbis usus est: “Imples nos hodie summa consolatione summoque gaudio, Philippe, dux inclyte, quando pro Christianae religionis tutela usque adeo te<sup>6</sup> primum paratumque dictitas. Audivimus cupide tuum sermonem teque dignum aeternis praeconiis judicamus. Neque tibi in hoc tam probabili desiderio deerimus<sup>7</sup>, neque te solum relinquemus<sup>8</sup>. Cupimus et nos Christi fidem pro virili nostra tueri, qui, nisi velimus a nostris majoribus degenerare, necessario cogimur<sup>9</sup> pro nostris conatibus Christianam religionem adjuvare. Facessat omne dubium, nam et nos, qui adsumus, et<sup>10</sup> complurimi ex absentibus nostrae nationis principes adversus impiam Turcorum gentem arma sumentes in personis propriis militabimus ostendemusque Christianae plebi curam esse nobis catholicae et orthodoxae fidei.”

[174] Alacritas his dictis inter omnes mira exorta est, laetari universa contio, nunc Philippo, nunc Alberto benedicere ac bona precari, conferre alterum alteri, Philippum extollere, qui cum<sup>11</sup> magna pace in summis deliciis vivere possit, pro communi tamen bono committere sese laboribus ac periculis velit, Albertum magnificare, cujus animo nihil videri difficile potest, et unus omnium laboriosissimus atque cautissimus videatur, utrumque laudis et gloriae dignissimum praedicare hosque tempestate nostra solos esse dicere, qui {58r} reipublicae Christianae curam gerant. Ludovicum quoque his adjuvare, cujus adolescentia bonis initiata principiis spem clarissimi principis exhibet. Atque in hunc modum soluta conventio est<sup>12</sup>. Manebimus deinde Francfordiense concilium, quod, si Deo placitum fuerit, initia Ratisponae habita prosequatur. Finis<sup>13 14</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> *se add.* U

<sup>3</sup> tanto tempore W

<sup>4</sup> tantopere commendatum Philippum : tanta opera Philippi MA

<sup>5</sup> assedebat W

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

<sup>7</sup> decernimus K

<sup>8</sup> relinquamus K

<sup>9</sup> coguntur W

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

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

<sup>12</sup> conventio est : conuentione W

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* O, U, W, MA

<sup>14</sup> Ex Nova Civitate pridie nonas Augusti millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto *add.* O

#### 10.4. Address of the papal legate

[172] When Enea finished his address in Latin, it was translated into the vernacular by the Bishop of Gurk. Then the apostolic legate rose and held a small but elegant oration in praise of Duke Philippe, commending the prince who had left his home, his wife,<sup>1</sup> and his only son<sup>2</sup> for the defence of the name of Christ and gone on a difficult and long journey. He had, more than the other princes, shown himself willing and ready to serve the Church. This would be most gratifying to the Supreme Pontiff, and no people who heard of his offer would fail to bless his name.

#### 10.5. Address of Albrecht of Brandenburg

[173] When Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, whom many call the German Achilles,<sup>3</sup> a man of powerful body and mind, heard Philippe being so highly commended, he – also desirous of praise! – spoke thus in his own name and in the name of the great Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, sitting next to him, “Philippe, Illustrious Duke, you fill all of us here today with great consolation and joy, as you declare how far you are willing and ready to protect the Christian religion. We have eagerly heard your address and consider you worthy of eternal praise. We, too, shall not fail you in this praiseworthy endeavour, and we shall not abandon you. We, too, desire to protect the Faith of Christ with all our might since we must, if we wish to be worthy of our ancestors, come to the aid of the Christian religion to our best ability. Let there be no doubt that we, too, who are present and many of the princes of our nation who are absent will go to war against the Turkish people and fight in person and that we shall show the Christian people how much we care about the Catholic and orthodox Faith.”

#### 10.6. Conclusion

[174] After these addresses, great enthusiasm rose among all. The whole assembly rejoiced and praised and wished the best for Philippe and Albrecht, comparing the two, and extolling Philippe, who though he could have stayed at home in great peace, enjoying exquisite pleasures, had wanted to take on hardship and danger for the sake of the common good. They also praised Albrecht, to whom nothing seemed difficult, and who appeared to be the most hardworking and prudent of all. They declared both of them to be worthy of praise and glory and to be the only ones, in our time, who [truly] cared about the Christian commonwealth. And they associated Ludwig with these two since he has come into his youth so well that he gives hope of becoming a most illustrious prince. And thus the meeting was brought to an end. We now await the Diet of Frankfurt<sup>4</sup>, which – if it pleases God – will follow the course set in Regensburg. The end.

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<sup>11</sup> Isabelle de Portugal (1397-1471): Married Philippe III in 1429.

<sup>2</sup> Charles le Téméraire (1433-1477): At the time, Count of Charolais.

<sup>3</sup> It was actually Piccolomini himself who had started calling Albrecht the German Achilles

<sup>4</sup> Apparently, Piccolomini already when he finished the report knew that the emperor would be absent from the next diet since he says that the meeting would be held in Frankfurt and not in Nürnberg, see sect. 146



## Appendix: Emperor's letter to the Duke of Burgundy

### *Revised version (Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta)*

**Fridericus tertius, divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator, Philippo, duci Burgundiae illustri, salutem. Memores sumus te oratores ante aliquot annos ad nos misisse, qui nobis duras et acerbissimas molestias, quas Christiani per orientem sive a Turcis sive a Saracenis paterentur, non sine quadam commiseratione referentes summopere nos adhortati fuerunt, ut tamquam protectores et advocati fidei catholicae adversus inimicos salutiferae crucis expeditionem institueremus, reges et principes, quicumque Christum colerent, invitantes. Ad quod tam pium et necessarium opus corpus tuum offerebas et dedicabas. Nos tunc id propositum commendantes, cum Romam propediem petituri essemus, cumque res maxima esset, quam nobis suadebas, ac fidem spectaret, respondimus - ut par fuit - de tanto negotio Romanum pontificem consulendum, quemadmodum paulo post Romam venientes in publico consistorio fecimus. Praesul vero Romanus pro verbis nostris hilarior factus et verba nostra et rem ipsam mirifice laudavit, et quoniam nos optime animatos videbat, dixit et aliorum quoque regum nostri orbis se mentes perscrutaturum, quemadmodum rei magnitudo videbatur exposcere. At opus ingens, dum suapte natura tempus ex tempore quaerit, crudelis Turcorum dominus Constantinopolim, orientalis imperii caput Graeciaeque decus, invadit, obsidet, expugnat, diripit.**

### *Original version (RTA, 104-105)*

*Fridericus divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator, semper Augustus etc., principi nostro, salutem etc. Memores sumus te ante nonnullos annos oratores tuos ad nos misisse, per quos diras et acerbissimas molestias, quas in orientis partibus tam Saraceni quam Turci cultoribus Christi dietim inferebant commemorando et condolendo nos veluti Romanorum principem ad quem potissimum de salute Christiani populi cogitare incumberebat, magnis precibus adhortabare, ut ad passagium contra inimicos crucis instituendum nostras operas ceteros reges et principes ad id ipsum requisitos redderemus, ad quod tam pium et necessarium opus in propria persona profecturum te offerebas. Nos tunc propositum tuum commendatum, cum Romam propediem petire intenderemus cumque res maxima esset, per tuos oratores nobis exposita, et fidem spectaret, respondimus de tanto negotio velle nos - ut par erat - cum summo pontifice verbum facere suaeque sanctitatis et consilium et directionem sequi, quemadmodum paulo post Romam venientes in publico consistorio de hoc ipso negotio sermonem nostro nomine fieri iussimus, ad quam rem non parum inclinatum eundem invenimus pontificem, qui publice nobis respondit etiam aliorum aliorum se regum, ut rei magnitudo videbatur exposcere, mentes perquisiturum ad opus ingens, dum suapte natura tempus ex tempore postulat, crudelis Turcorum dominus Constantinopolim, orientalis imperii caput Graeciaeque decus, invadit, obsidet, expugnat, diripit.*

***Revised version (Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta)***

**Imperatorem gentis interficit, nobilitatem majori ex parte gladio ferit, innumeras animas in servitutum redigit, templa divino dicata nomini spurcitiae Maumethi subigit, altaria proterit, salvatoris nostri ac matris ejus intemeratae virginis imagines delet, sanctas quascumque reliquias invenit, porcis objectat. Neque contentus his, nactus locum et portum, ex quo plurimum Christiano populo nocere potest, ingentes copias terra marique parat hisque se totum occidentem invasurum subversurumque Christi legem jactitat.**

***Original version (RTA, 104-105)***

***Imperatorem illius gentis interficit, nobilitatem majori ex parte gladio ferit, innumeras animas Christianorum in servitutum redigit, templa divino dicata nomini spurcitiae Maumethi subigit, altaria proterit, salvatoris nostri domini Jhesu et intemeratae matris ejus imagines delet, sanctorum reliquias conculcat. Neque contentus his, nactus locum et portum, ex quo plurimum Christiano populo nocere possit, terra marique copias parat numerosas quibus se totum jactitat occidentem invadere ac legem Christi et evangelium posse subvertere jactitat.***

### ***Revised version (Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta)***

**Quod quamprimum cognovimus, mox domino nostro papae litteras dedimus rogantes, ut de modo resistendi tam potentibus inimicis consilium in communi caperet, nam et nos operam nostram in obsequio fidei minime negaremus. Is vero misso legato et intentione sua in tali negotio nobis exposita vehementer atque impense nos hortatus est, ut adversus Turcorum insolentem et perniciosissimam audaciam cum nostris principibus insurgamus, ac veluti primi inter saeculares potestates, quibus de profectu reipublicae Christianae cura et sollicitudo incumbit, ceteros Christiani orbis rectores nostris exemplis et hortationibus invitemus. Nos ergo considerantes rem esse dignam, in qua laboremus, nosque praecipue tamquam imperatorem et advocatum ecclesiae respicere, universorum principum ecclesiasticorum et saecularium cunctorumque nostrorum et imperii sacri subditorum in festo Sancti Georgii proxime futuro in civitate nostra Ratisponensis supra Danubium statuimus habere conventum, in quo comparituri cum his, qui aderunt, de propulsandis hostibus tuendaque nostra religione consultabimus, sperantes et apostolicae sedis legatos et nonnullorum potentum regum, quibus super hoc scripsimus, oratores adfore.**

### ***Original version (RTA, 104-105)***

***Quod quamprimum intelleximus, mox domino nostro sanctissimo papae litteras dedimus exhortantes, ut de modo resistendi tam potentibus inimicis in communi cogitaret, nostras operas in obsequium fidei prompto animo offerentes. Is vero misso legato et intentione sua in tali negotio nobis exposita magnopere serenitatem nostram hortatus est, ut adversus Turcorum insolentem et perniciosissimam audaciam cum nostris principibus insurgamus, ac velut primi inter saeculares potestates, quibus de profectu reipublicae Christianae cura et sollicitudo incumbit, ceteros reges et principes nostris exemplis et hortationibus invitemus. Nos autem considerantes rem esse dignam, in qua laboremus, nosque praecipue velut imperatorem et advocatum ecclesiae totamque nationem nostram et imperii cunctos principes hoc opus prae ceteris Christianis concernere, universorum principum ecclesiasticorum et saecularium, baronum nobilium et communitatum et ceterorum subditorumque nostrorum ad festum Sancti Georgii proxime futurum in civitate nostra Ratisponensi supra Danubium statuimus habere conventum, in quo personaliter comparituri cum his, qui aderunt, tam de exercitu contra inimicos fidei instituendo quam de ceteris rebus ad defensionem Christianae religionis necessariis deliberabimus et agemus, sperantes et sanctissimi domini nostri papae legatos et nonnullorum potentum regum, quibus super hoc scripsimus, oratores illic invenire.***

### ***Revised version (Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta)***

**Cum igitur res haec ad illum finem tendat, super quo nos pridem hortabare, cumque modo non solum utile, sed necessarium sit pro fide nostra consurgere et instantibus inimicis toto conatu resistere, dilectionem tuam requirimus tibi que velut imperii sacri principi mandamus, ut tamquam princeps orthodoxus ac fidelis cultur crucis Christi statuto termino ad Ratisponense concilium te conferas neque graveris in tanta necessitate populi Christiani eo proficisci, qui te alias etiam in Asiam transiturum hac ipsa de causa promittebas. Nos enim illic et cum tua dilectione et cum ceteris, qui advenerint, eam deliberationem, si Deusnaverit, capiemus, per quam non modo tueri haereditatem domini, id est Christianum populum, sed ultro in suis finibus impias Turcorum manus coercere atque confringere valeamus. Datum in Nova Civitate pridie idus Januarias anno dominicae nativitatiss MCCCCLIII.**

### ***Original version (RTA, 104-105)***

***Cum ergo res haec ad illum finem tendat, super quo prius tuos ambasiatores ad nos misisti, cumque modo necessitas incumbat pro fide nostra consurgere et instantibus toto conatu resistere, dilectionem tuam requirimus tibi que velut imperii sacri principi de plenitudine Caesareae potestatis injungius et mandamus, ut tamquam princeps orthodoxus ac fidelis cultur crucis Christi in praedicta die Sancti Georgii omnia mora cessante ad Ratisponam te conferas neque graveris in tanta necessitate populi Christiani eo personaliter proficisci, qui te alias etiam in Asiam velle transitum facere in Dei honorem et fidei tutelam offerebas. Nos enim illic et cum tua dilectione et cum ceteris, qui advenerint, consilium et deliberationem recipiemus, ut adjuvante domino suam causam non solum tueri Christianam gentem, ne ulterius opprimatur, sed ultro in suis finibus impias Turcorum manus coercere atque infringere valeamus. Datum nona Januarii anno etc. 54to.***

## **5. Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome, 1455**

## **Abstract**

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

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**I. INTRODUCTION**



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **2. Themes**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.2. Papal control over ecclesiastical appointments

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

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

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

## 2.3. Papal finances

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.4. Crusade

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

The report does mention, however, several facts connected with the crusade worth mentioning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.5. Strategy of negotiation

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

### 3.6. Technique of negotiation

#### 3.6.1. Interlocutors

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

#### 3.6.2. Written procedure

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

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



### **3.7. Diplomatic report**

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

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

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

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

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

The addressee is the emperor.

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

## **5. Text**

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

## 5.1. Manuscripts

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

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

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

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

## 5.2. Editions

The collection of letters “in episcopatu” appears not to have been edited as a whole, but a number of the early letters were included in Wolkan’s edition of Piccolomini’s correspondence.

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

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

## 5.3. Present edition

The edition is based on all five manuscripts listed above.

Pagination is after the Plut. 54.19.

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

## 6. Sigla

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

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

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

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

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

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Inderbach Z

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

<sup>4</sup> ac U

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

<sup>6</sup> cardinalem U

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

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

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

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

## 1. Introduction

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

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

## 2 Situation at the papal court

### 2.1. Appointment of papal legates

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[5] Praestat tamen non modicum impedimentum desiderio suo Jacobus Picininus, qui cum magna manu militum equestrium ac pedestrium agrum Senensem ingressus non parvam spem habuit urbem illam imperialem sibi subjicere jamque se ducem Senarum<sup>4</sup> constituerat appellare, cujus conatus cum papa refringere conaretur missis adversus eum non parvis copiis, indignatus est parumper rex Aragonum, qui Jacobum defendere nixus est et in hanc usque diem defendit non sine magno Senensium ac Romanae ecclesiae damno.

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<sup>1</sup> sigillatim X

<sup>2</sup> possunt Z

<sup>3</sup> quam U

<sup>4</sup> senatum Y

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

## **2.2. Pope's crusading zeal**

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

## **2.3. Jacopo Piccinino and King Alfonso V**

[5] A major impediment to his plans, however, is Jacopo Piccinino, who has invaded the Sienese territory with a large force of cavalry and infantry. He greatly hopes to conquer this imperial city and has already decided to call himself Duke of Siena.<sup>5</sup> When the pope tried to block his endeavours and sent large troops against him, the King of Aragon became much upset. He came to Jacopo's assistance and is still helping him, to the great harm of Siena and the Roman Church.

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

<sup>2</sup> "communitates"

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

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

<sup>5</sup> In imitation of the condottiero Francesco Sforza's success in becoming Duke of Milan



[5] Proximis tamen diebus cum febricitasset rex ac salus sua venisset in dubium, Deo vovit, si sanitatem recuperaret, omnino se contra Turchos arma sumpturum, nec multo post resumpta bona<sup>1</sup> valitudine principibus ac optimatibus suis in contionem vocatis, quae voverat palam fecit publiceque contestatus est<sup>2</sup>, quam possit magnam et potentem adversus Maumethum<sup>3</sup> classem se instituere<sup>4</sup> velle eamque per se ducere ac pro tuenda fide propria in persona militare et<sup>5</sup> - si necesse fuerit - mori, statuens in die nativitatis sacratissimae virginis Mariae crucem assumere, cum quo multi nobiles votum fecere, misitque<sup>6</sup> ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum<sup>7</sup> deliberationem suam, et deinde concordiam inter Senenses et Jacobum Piccininum tractaturum se promisit, ita ut reddat Jacobus Senensibus omnia, quae abstulit, et a papa veniam petat. Sunt tamen aliqui, qui non parum dubitant de<sup>8</sup> promissionibus hujus regis, et praesertim cum ejus valitudinem non omnino solidam dicant.

[6] Dux autem Burgundiae<sup>9</sup> suis litteris dietim<sup>10</sup> affirmat in tempore debito absque ulla exceptione, si modo sanus fuerit, cum suis gentibus paratum se fore et affirmatur, quia infra XVI milia hominum armatorum secum {65v} nequaquam adducet.

[7] His rebus confortatus summus pontifex hoc mane rem divinam in sancto Petro fecit. Deinde cum maxima devotione multisque lacrimis duos cardinales, Avinionensem scilicet et<sup>11</sup> sancti angeli, aliquos episcopos et<sup>12</sup> plures nobiles cruce signavit statuens, ut quam primum cardinales ipsi in suas provincias iter arripiant<sup>13</sup>.

[8] Interea de Francia felicia<sup>14</sup> nova allata<sup>15</sup> sunt. Nam rex gentis illius oratores constituit, qui oboedientiam intra dies paucos allaturi sunt. Cardinalis autem Rothomagensis ex eo regno curiam repetens litteras praemisit, quibus significat praelatos regni<sup>16</sup> Franciae inclinatissimos esse domino nostro pragmaticamque illam sanctionem, quam inter se tenebant, ex apostolicae sedis arbitrio moderari velle. Atque hic est modo curiae status.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Maumetem X; Maumethem Z

<sup>4</sup> instruere Z

<sup>5</sup> ac Y

<sup>6</sup> misit U

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

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

<sup>9</sup> Borgundiae V, X

<sup>10</sup> in dies Y

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

<sup>12</sup> *omit. X*

<sup>13</sup> arriperent U; arripiant X, Z

<sup>14</sup> foelia X

<sup>15</sup> alta Z

<sup>16</sup> regi Z

[5] But a short while ago, the king caught a fever, and his survival was in doubt. He vowed to God that if he regained his health, he would go to war against the Turks. When, soon afterwards, he regained his health, he summoned his princes and nobles to a meeting, where he made a public announcement of his vow. He also told them that he intended to prepare the largest and strongest possible fleet against Mehmed, lead it in person, fight for the protection of the Faith and die, if necessary.<sup>1</sup> He also decided to take the cross on the [Feast of the] Nativity of the Holy Virgin Mary,<sup>2</sup> and many nobles made the same vow. He then informed Our Most Holy Lord about his decision and promised to negotiate a settlement between the Sienese and Jacopo Piccinino<sup>3</sup> so that Jacopo would restore everything to the Sienese that he had taken and ask the pope for forgiveness. Some, however, greatly doubt the promises of this king, especially since they say that he is not yet fully recovered.

## 2.4. Duke of Burgundy

[6] In his letters, the Duke of Burgundy,<sup>4</sup> however, daily confirms that if only he is in good health, he will under all circumstances be ready with his people on the appointed day, and he declares that he will certainly not bring less than 16,000 armed men with him.

[7] Thus reassured, the Supreme Pontiff this morning celebrated mass in Saint Peter's. Then, with great devotion and many tears, he gave the cross to two cardinals, the Cardinal of Avignon<sup>5</sup> and the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,<sup>6</sup> and decided that these cardinals should depart for their provinces<sup>7</sup> as soon as possible.

## 2.5. France

[8] In the meantime, good news arrived from France. The king of that people<sup>8</sup> has appointed ambassadors to bring [his declaration of] obedience very soon. But the Cardinal of Rouen,<sup>9</sup> returning from the kingdom to the curia, has sent a letter ahead stating that the prelates of the Kingdom of France are very sympathetic towards Our Lord<sup>10</sup> and desire to modify the Pragmatic Sanction, to which they adhere as a group, on the basis of the wishes of the Apostolic See.

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<sup>1</sup> In reality, the king's crusading zeal was minimal, like the other Christian kings'

<sup>2</sup> 8 September 1455

<sup>3</sup> This settlement was actually reached later, in 1456, see Piccolomini's oration "*Modestius*" [27]

<sup>4</sup> Duke Philippe III (Valois)(1376-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Alain de Coëtivy

<sup>6</sup> Juan de Carvajal

<sup>7</sup> I.e. their legatine provinces, see above

<sup>8</sup> Charles VII (Valois) (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death. Crowned king in Reims in 1429

<sup>9</sup> Guillaume d'Estouteville (ca. 1412-1483): Appointed cardinal in 1439, and Archbishop of Rouen in 1453

<sup>10</sup> The pope

This is the situation at the curia.

[9] Veniendum nunc est ad res nobis commissas, quas etiam breviter referemus. Intransibus nobis urbem obviam venire legati omnium principum, qui hic erant, omnes episcopi et omnium cardinalium comites<sup>1</sup> et denique familia papae. De sero autem misimus ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum dicentes, quod ante publicam audientiam vellemus secreta<sup>2</sup> alloqui suam<sup>3</sup> sanctitatem. Ipse vero nobis significavit, quia<sup>4</sup> libenti animo nos audiret<sup>5</sup>, sed caveremus, ne pacta cum eo propter oboedientiam facere vellemus, quia nullo pacto conditionalem oboedientiam susciperet. Dura nobis significatio visa est. Accessimus tamen sanctitatem suam die sequenti, et quae videbantur de sinceritate tuae majestatis erga suam beatitudinem exposuimus. Deinde cum omni modestia, qua potuimus, petitiones tuas annectere<sup>6</sup> curavimus: de pecunia debita, de reservationibus ecclesiarum, de decima, de nominationibus<sup>7</sup>, de collationibus beneficiorum, de primariis precibus, et de aliis pluribus causis, quibus ad longum enarratis sua sanctitas multa in laudem tuam retulit asserens eidem<sup>8</sup> sese magnopere affectum.

[10] Ad petitiones autem dixit, quia<sup>9</sup> post praestitam oboedientiam responderet<sup>10</sup>, nec dubitare deberemus<sup>11</sup>, quin omnia factura esset sua sanctitas<sup>12</sup>, possibilia saltem et honesta. Sed certi esse deberemus, quod ipse propter oboedientiam suscipiendam nullo modo quidquam<sup>13</sup> promitteret. Sciret enim illam sibi debitam<sup>14</sup> esse et mori mallet quam sub conditione recipere. Fuisse quoque apud se regis Aragonum legatos ait et aliorum principum oratores, qui cum pacisci super oboedientia<sup>15</sup> vellent, repulsam habuere. Itaque nollet sua sanctitas {66r} ante praestitam oboedientiam quidquam promittere, sed certa esse deberet imperialis mansuetudo, quia si umquam sedit aliquis in sede Petri imperatoriae majestati favens, ipse<sup>16</sup> ille esset, qui omni studio conari vellet tuae sublimitati complacere.

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

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<sup>1</sup> familiae Z

<sup>2</sup> secreta U

<sup>3</sup> alloqui suam : suam alloqui Y

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* Y

<sup>5</sup> auditurum Y

<sup>6</sup> ammittere X

<sup>7</sup> ecclesiarum de ... nominationibus *omit.* X

<sup>8</sup> ita X

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

<sup>10</sup> responsurum Y

<sup>11</sup> debemus X

<sup>12</sup> dubitare deberemus ... sanctitas : dubitandum facturam suam sanctitatem Y

<sup>13</sup> quidcumque U

<sup>14</sup> sibi debitam : debitam sibi Z

<sup>15</sup> oboedientiam X

<sup>16</sup> que *add.* U



### 3. Affairs of the Empire

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

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

When we entered the City, we were met by the legates of all the princes present in Rome, all the bishops, and the households of the cardinals and the pope.<sup>1</sup> In the evening, we sent a message to Our Most Holy Lord saying that we desired to meet His Holiness before the public audience and speak with him on certain confidential matters. He let us know that he would gladly hear us but that we should not want to make any agreements with him before the declaration of obedience because in no way he would accept a conditional obedience. We thought that this message was harsh. Still, we met with His Holiness on the following day and assured him of Your Majesty's sincere [devotion] towards His Beatitude. Then, as respectfully as we could, we, at length, presented your petitions concerning the money owed [to you], the reservations of churches, the tithes, the appointments, the granting of benefices, the first requests and several other matters.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, the pope said much in your praise, declaring that he had great affection for you.

[10] Concerning the petitions, he said that he would respond after the declaration of obedience and that we should not doubt that His Holiness would do everything [for you], as far as possible and honourable. However, we should know that he could make no promises before the declaration of obedience he was to receive. For he knew that the obedience was owed to him, and he would rather die than receive it conditionally. He said that also the legates of the King of Aragon<sup>3</sup> as well as ambassadors from other princes had met with him and wanted to negotiate their obedience but were rebuffed. Thus, His Holiness did not want to promise anything before the declaration of obedience, but Your Imperial Mansuetude could be sure that if ever somebody occupied Saint Peter's See who favoured the Imperial Majesty, it was him, and that he would endeavour with all his might to accommodate Your Highness.

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

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<sup>1</sup> The ambassadors of the Holy Roman Emperor, the highest-ranking Western prince, were naturally given an honourable reception in Rome

<sup>2</sup> "primariis precibus"

<sup>3</sup> Alfonso V

[12] Tenuit papa post biduum consistorium publicum<sup>1 2</sup>, in quo sicut de more est, sermonem habuimus et oboedientiam praestitimus. Ibi de laudibus tuis papa multa<sup>3</sup> disseruit, et quoniam de rebus Turcorum mentionem fecimus, juxta<sup>4</sup> conclusionem habitam<sup>5</sup> in dieta<sup>6</sup> coram serenitate tua habita<sup>7</sup>, multum<sup>8</sup> commendavit propositum<sup>9</sup> tuum et nationis<sup>10</sup>, et confirmavit sese omnia facturum, quae ad exterminium Turcorum tendunt.

[13] Sequentibus diebus dedimus in scriptis omnes petitiones tuas et iteratis vicibus cum sanctissimo domino nostro fuimus, qui post deliberationem habitam super<sup>11</sup> facto pecuniarum respondit, quod libenter vellet desiderio tuo satisfacere, sed impossibile esset ei<sup>12</sup> nunc quovis modo vel minimam pecuniam mittere, quia veritas esset, quod de suo praedecessore neque unum<sup>13</sup> nummum invenisset, quamvis argentum celatum et pannos et libros et ornamenta domus quamplurima reperisset. Ipse autem ad comprimendum Jacobum Picininum supra centum milia aureorum exposuisset, quae mutuo ex mercatoribus recepisset, et nunc legatis<sup>14</sup> pro sumptibus faciendis<sup>15</sup> non parum argenti traditurus esset, quod adhuc nesciret, unde recipere. Rogabat igitur majestatem tuam, ne sibi imputaret, si modo huic debito pecuniario satisfacere non posset.

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

<sup>2</sup> consistorium publicum : publicum consistorium V

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

<sup>4</sup> iusta X

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

<sup>6</sup> in dieta *omit.* X

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

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

<sup>9</sup> prepositum Z

<sup>10</sup> et nationis *omit.* X

<sup>11</sup> de U

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* Z

<sup>13</sup> minimum X

<sup>14</sup> legatus X

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* X

## 3.2. Declaration of obedience

[12] Two days afterwards, the pope held a public consistory in which we gave the traditional oration and made the declaration of obedience.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, the pope said much in your praise, and since we had spoken on the Turkish matters, on the basis of the decisions made in the diet<sup>2</sup> held in the presence of Your Serenity, he greatly commended yours and the nation's intentions and assured that he would do all he could to bring about the destruction of the Turks.

## 3.3. Emperor's petitions

### 3.3.1. Money owed to the emperor

[13] The following days, we handed over your petitions in writing and met with Our Most Holy Lord several times. After deliberating on the matter of the money [owed to you],<sup>3</sup> he answered that he would gladly satisfy your wish, but that it was absolutely impossible for him to do so now, or even to send just a small amount, for the truth was that he had found not one single coin left by his predecessor, though he had found some worked silver, cloth, books, and furnishings.<sup>4</sup> But he himself had had to spend more than 100,000 golden ducats on subduing Jacopo Piccinino, which he had borrowed from merchants. Moreover, he now had to spend much money for the legates' expenses, money which he did not yet know from where to get. He, therefore, asked Your Majesty not to blame him if he was unable to honour the debt, now.

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

<sup>2</sup> The Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1454, see Piccolomini's orations "*In hoc florentissimo*" [23], "*Si mihi*" [24], "*Optasset*" [25], all from 1454

<sup>3</sup> 25.000 or 18.000 ducats (Voigt, III, p. 162), out of the total sum promised by Pope Eugenius III to the emperor in 1447 in connection with his recognition of the Roman pope and the rejection of the antipope, Felix V (Toews, p. 266)

<sup>4</sup> Pope Nicolaus V had indeed left a very difficult financial situation to his successor, but it defies belief that there would not have been a single coin left. So either Calixtus exaggerated his financial distress, or there might have been some dubious manipulations with the money left by Nicolaus after his death and before the accession of Calixtus

[14] De reservationibus ecclesiarum respondit, quod vacantibus ecclesiis et monasteriis tuorum dominiorum indubitanter tibi complaceret. Videret tamen<sup>1</sup> tua serenitas, ne personam indignam nominaret, quia peccatum tuum esset.<sup>2</sup> Ipse autem, etiam si certe sciret se peccare, tibi semper morem gereret. Litteras autem super his dare negabat, apostolicae sedi indecorum esse dicens. Placet sibi tamen ecclesias et monasteria ac praeposituras, pro quibus supplicavimus, apostolicae sedis dispositioni reservare, ut cum vacaverint, ad tuam requisitionem de illis disponere possit.

[15] Super decima nullo pacto visum ei est novas litteras dare, interim quod exactio durat decimarum, quae pro ecclesia defendenda contra Turcos impositae sunt. Promittit tamen<sup>3</sup> illo negotio {66v} expedito omnes litteras opportunas et omnes favores impartiri, quibus tua majestas promissam sibi decimam colligere possit.

[16] De collatione beneficiorum nihil omnino promittere voluit. De nominationibus dixit, quod adhuc non deliberasset gratias expectativas dare, sed cum portam illam aperiret, erga majestatem tuam supra omnes principes liberalis esse vellet. Deliberavit tamen post<sup>4</sup> manus aperire ad gratias. Itaque putamus adhuc aliquid de nominationibus obtinere.

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> postea Z



### 3.3.2. Reservations of ecclesiastical offices

[14] Concerning the reservations of episcopal appointments, he would certainly accommodate you when churches and monasteries in your dominions fell vacant.<sup>1</sup> But Your Serenity would have to take care not to nominate unworthy persons since that would be a sin on your part. He himself would always accommodate you even if he knew that he would be sinning.<sup>2</sup> He declined, however, to issue a letter on this matter, saying that it would be unbecoming for the Apostolic See to do so. But he will reserve the churches, monasteries and deaneries, we have petitioned for, to the disposition of the Apostolic See so that it can dispose of them as you require when they become vacant.

### 3.3.3. Tithes

[15] Concerning the tithes<sup>3</sup> he considered that there was absolutely no reason to issue new letters as long as the present collection of tithes last, levied for the purpose of protecting the Church against the Turks. But when that business is finished, he promises to issue new letters and grant all the favours making it possible for Your Majesty to collect the tithes you have been promised.

### 3.3.4. Other affairs

[16] Concerning the granting of benefices,<sup>4</sup> he would promise nothing. Concerning the appointments, he said that he not yet decided to grant expectative favours, but when he opened that gate, he would be more generous to Your Majesty than any other prince. And he did intend to later open up for such favours. So we think that we might still obtain something concerning the appointments.

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *Ferner war in jenen Privataudienzen von den hundert Benefizien die Rede, deren Vergabung dem Kaiser in seinen Erblanden reserviert bleiben sollte*

<sup>2</sup> A quite remarkable statement for a pope to an emperor

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *Ebenso wollte er über den Zehnten, der dem Kaiser bei seiner Krönung von dem gesammten Klerus und allen geistlichen Stiftungen des Reiches zu fordern gestattet werden, durchaus keine neuen Bullen geben, so lange die Eintreibung der Türken-Zehnten dauere*

<sup>4</sup> Voigt, III, p. 162: *In Betreff der Nominationen zu Bisthümern, die Eugen IV dem Kaiser bewilligt, erklärte Calixtus, er habe sich noch nicht entschlossen, Expectanzen zu ertheilen*

[17] Remissionem annatae propter abbatem sancti Lamberti renitentibus<sup>1</sup> cardinalibus nulla ratione potuimus obtinere, sed domino Ulrico Riedrer<sup>2</sup> concessa est plena remissio.

[18] Supplicatio pro domino Tiberiadensi de confirmatione commendae per me, episcopum Senensem, factae de monasterio Oxiacense<sup>3</sup> signata est, sed expediri litterae nequeunt, quia multis pecuniis opus est propter annatam<sup>4</sup> et minuta servitia.

[19] Super facto praepositi in Berteschaden<sup>5</sup> nihil adhuc potuimus obtinere, quia<sup>6</sup> dominus Saltzburgensis<sup>7</sup> suos hic habet enixissime resistentes, et cardinalis sancti Marci eis assistit. Laboramus tamen<sup>8</sup> adhuc, si possimus<sup>9</sup> aliquid obtinere.

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

[21] Multa super his rebus et diximus papae et audivimus ab eo, et maxime super re pecuniaria ac decimarum necnon super confirmatione, quam petebamus ecclesiarum ad tuam nominationem conferendarum. Denique super re pecuniaria respondit papa, ne ultra instaremus, quia impossibilem rem peteremus<sup>10</sup> et frustra conaremur de saxo durissimo, ubi non est, oleum extrahere. Sed quia venturus esset cardinalis sancti angeli ad majestatem tuam cum plena potestate super facto decimarum et indulgentiarum, ei committere vellet, ut<sup>11</sup> de pecuniis, quae inde provenient, tuae serenitati aliquam partem tribuat, et - quanta<sup>12</sup> fieri posset – majorem, ita tamen ne scandalum oriatur, atque in hoc voluit nos esse contentos. Et ita quitantias sine fructu et cum modico honore reportabimus.

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<sup>1</sup> remitentibus X

<sup>2</sup> Riedrer U

<sup>3</sup> Oxiacensi Z

<sup>4</sup> annata Z

<sup>5</sup> Bertheschaden X; Bersteschaden Y

<sup>6</sup> qui X

<sup>7</sup> Salteburgensis X; Salczburgensis Y

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

<sup>9</sup> possumus Z

<sup>10</sup> petentes Y

<sup>11</sup> ne X

<sup>12</sup> quantam Y

[17] Because of the opposition of the cardinals, we were completely unable to obtain the remission of annates<sup>1</sup> for the Abbot of Saint Lambrecht,<sup>2</sup> but Lord Ulrich Riederer<sup>3</sup> was given a full remission.

[18] The petition for his Lordship of Tiberias<sup>4</sup> for confirmation of the grant of the abbey of Ossiach *in commendam*, made by me, Bishop of Siena, has been approved, but the letter cannot be expedited because a great sum of money is needed for the annates and the *minuta servitia*.<sup>5</sup>

[19] Concerning the matter of the Dean of Berchtesgaden,<sup>6</sup> we have been unable to achieve anything as yet because His Lordship of Salzburg<sup>7</sup> has his people here at the curia who oppose the matter strongly and have the support of the Cardinal of San Marco.<sup>8</sup> But we are still working on the matter and may achieve something.

[20] Concerning the first petitions<sup>9</sup>, the pope promised to make appropriate provisions, as we requested.

[21] Concerning these matters, we said much to the pope and heard much from him, especially about the pecuniary matter and the tithes as well as about the confirmation of your right of nomination to a number of churches, which we requested. Concerning the pecuniary matter, the pope finally said that we should not insist further since we were requesting something impossible and trying in vain to press oil from a hard rock where there was none. But since the Cardinal of Saint'Angelo<sup>10</sup> was going to Your Majesty with plenary powers in the matter of tithes and indulgences, he would charge him with allocating to Your Serene Majesty a part – and if possible a major part – of the money coming from them, but only in such a way that no scandal might arise. He bade us be content with this. Thus, we must report back to you a discharge of our tasks<sup>11</sup> without results and with little honour.

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<sup>1</sup> Payment for an ecclesiastical benefice, The cardinals' incomes came partly from the annates, and as a group they were therefore not much in favour of remitting the annates to anybody, even if they made exceptions for some influential person like Ulrich Riederer

<sup>2</sup> Benediktinerstift Sankt Lambrecht: Benedictine abbey in Austria

<sup>3</sup> Ulrich Riederer (1406-1460): chancellor and close counsellor of the emperor

<sup>4</sup> Benedikt Siebenhirter (ca. 1415-1458): in 1452, appointed court chaplain (court bishop) of Emperor Friedrich III and made titular archbishop of Tiberias by the pope. In 1454 he received the Abbey of Ossiach *in commendam*

<sup>5</sup> A fee for administrative service at the curia

<sup>6</sup> Not identified

<sup>7</sup> Sigismund I von Volkersdorf: Archbishop of Salzburg 1451-1461

<sup>8</sup> Pietro Barbò (1417-1441): Appointed cardinal by his uncle, Pope Eugenius IV, and elected pope in September 1464, at the death of Pius II

<sup>9</sup> Primarii preces. Voigt, III, p. 163: *Die "ersten Bitten" des Kaisers schien er indess nicht für ärgerlich zu halten*

<sup>10</sup> Juan Carvajal

<sup>11</sup> "quitantias"

[22] Super decima vero et ecclesiarum promissione obtestatus est nos per viscera domini nostri Jesu Christi, ne ultra instaremus<sup>1</sup>, quia non<sup>2</sup> posset salva conscientia sua, quod peteremus efficere, asserens se papatum *non in destructionem, sed in aedificationem* recepisse<sup>3</sup>, et quod intentionis suae nihil aliud esse<sup>4</sup> quam universalem ecclesiam reformare, et respiciens caelum quasi cum Deo loquens divinam pietatem deprecatus est, ut se potius de medio auferat<sup>5</sup> quam scandalum aliquod per eum {67r} fieri permittat. Itaque super his duabus rebus nobis omnino silentium imposuit. Speramus tamen<sup>6</sup> aliquas litteras ex sua beatitudine obtinere per quas, si non ut volumus, saltem ut possumus, decimae consulatur, ne penitus ruat.

[23] Alias diversas supplicationes per tuam serenitatem nobis commissas in rotulo quodam praesentavimus suae beatitudini, quae eas episcopo Zamorensi cancellariam regenti examinandas dedit, nec dum facta relatio est, expectamus<sup>7</sup> super illis responsionem.

[24] Haec egimus in hanc usque diem, nec plura obtinere potuimus. Adhibuimus<sup>8</sup> exactam diligentiam, sed nihil profuit. Interea ego, episcopus Senensis, aegrotare coepi propter febres, quas mihi lutea Roma reservavit, et timeo, ne nimis hic detinear. Ego Johannes interim, quae restant agenda, promoveo, nec aliud desiderium nostrum est, quam ut<sup>9</sup> hinc celeriter absolvamur, quo facto alter majestatem tuam, alter ad ecclesiam suam redibit.

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<sup>1</sup> molesti essemus Y

<sup>2</sup> quia non : non enim Y

<sup>3</sup> accepisse V, X

<sup>4</sup> esset V, X

<sup>5</sup> auferret Z

<sup>6</sup> omit. Y

<sup>7</sup> et add. Z

<sup>8</sup> exhibuimus Y

<sup>9</sup> omit. X

[22] Concerning the tithes and the promises of churches, the pope implored us – by the heart<sup>1</sup> of Our Lord Jesus Christ – not to insist further since he could not in conscience do as we requested. He declared that he had received the papacy *not for destruction, but for edification*,<sup>2</sup> and that his whole intention was only to reform the Universal Church. And raising his eyes to Heaven, as if speaking directly with God, he implored Divine Piety to remove him rather than to allow any scandal to arise through him. Then he imposed complete silence upon us on these two matters. But we hope to obtain some letters from His Beatitude providing for the tithes, maybe not such as we wish, but then at least such as we can obtain, so that this matter will not be a complete failure.

[23] The various other petitions entrusted to us by Your Serenity we wrote down in a document, which we presented to His Beatitude, who gave it for examination to the Bishop of Zamora,<sup>3</sup> head of the chancellery. We are not expecting any answer on these matters while his report on them is pending.

[24] This is what we have achieved until now. We have been unable to obtain more. We have shown diligent care but to no avail. In the meantime, I, Bishop of Siena, have fallen sick with a fever caused by the filth of Rome, and I fear that I shall be detained here for some time. In the meantime, I, Johann, pursue the remaining matters. Our only wish is to finish here quickly, and then one of us will return to Your Majesty, and the other to his Church.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "per viscera"

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

<sup>3</sup> Juan de Mella (1397-1467): Curial. Bishop of Zamora 1440-1465. Appointed cardinal in 1458

<sup>4</sup> Piccolomini had been released from his service to the emperor, likely so that he could pursue his ecclesiastical career in Rome, including his obtaining the cardinalate, which would also be in the emperor's interest

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Romae Z

<sup>5</sup> que Z

<sup>6</sup> prepararent Z

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **5. Conclusion**

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07585a.htm>>



# 7. PRINCIPLES OF EDITION AND TRANSLATION

1. Principles of edition
  - 1.1. Text
    - 1.1.1. Textual basis
    - 1.1.2. Lead manuscript
    - 1.1.3. Spelling, orthography, punctuation and capitalisation
    - 1.1.4. Presentation, divisioning, headings and pagination
  - 1.2. Critical apparatus
    - 1.2.1. Variants
    - 1.2.2. Corrections and marginalia
    - 1.2.3. Abbreviations
2. Principles of translation

# 1. Principles of edition<sup>1</sup>

## 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*), as 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.

### 1.1.3. Spelling, orthography, punctuation and capitalisation

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

## Orthography

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,<sup>5</sup> Martin Wagendorfer regrets that modern research has somewhat neglected the study of humanist orthography in general and Piccolomini's in particular: "... *wohin die von ihnen [i.e., the humanists]*

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<sup>1</sup> On principles of edition in recent editions of Piccolomini's writings, see *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, pp. 38-42); *Historia Austriacis* (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

<sup>2</sup> Following modern lexical practice. As for orthographical variants, see below

<sup>3</sup> Pius II: *Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)

<sup>4</sup> 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.*

<sup>5</sup> Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*

*tatsächlich praktizierte Orthographie nur in Ausnahmefällen – meist in Zusammenhang mit Studien zur humanistischen Schrift – und meist nur en passant analysiert wurde.*<sup>1</sup>

However, an in-depth collation of all the orthographical variants in the manuscripts collated for the present edition is outside the scope of the edition. It would be prohibitively time-consuming<sup>2</sup> 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 (afferre)
- dedoubling of consonants (e.g., diferre)
- addition of aspirate (e.g., habundare)
- deletion of aspirate (e.g., exibere)
  
- ci for ti (ocium)
- cq for dq (e.g., quicquid)
- ch for (michi; nichil)
- e for diphthongal ae or oe (e.g., anime; obedientia)
- 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)
- y/i (e.g., hystoria)(y as graphematic replacement of i/ii)

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<sup>1</sup> Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 431

<sup>2</sup> As Wagendorfer recognises, see Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 432

#### **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 the last, 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).

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<sup>1</sup>**

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 manuscripts 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's own life, the span of time in which manuscript copying of his texts took place was short, and consequently, the number of manuscripts for many of his works is low. Therefore, the textual history of Piccolomini's diplomatic reports is neither very extensive nor especially interesting.

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<sup>1</sup> 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)

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,<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 humorous 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
- *seq.*: sequitur = follows

## 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.*<sup>1</sup>

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 Piccolomini wanted to say in classicising Renaissance Latin
- It should not be a text which breaks down the distance between the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the 15<sup>th</sup>. Thus the translation may reflect the historical and cultural distance, which should not be eliminated by using language where the author's intended meaning 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 *recherchés* in direct translation. Another example is the double negation which has often been dissolved in the translation (e.g., *frequent* instead of *not infrequent*; *know* instead of *not being unaware of*).

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<sup>1</sup> 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 unnecessary and burdensome to directly translate tantus/quantus
- *Videri/haberi*: The same applies to the terms *videri* and *haberi* which is often seen with a meaning close to “to be.”

Historical present is mostly rendered in the 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 that 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 pronoun.

Names of persons have been retained in the original language<sup>1</sup> (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.

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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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



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!

## **8. INDEX OF PERSONS**

The names are usually given in the language of the person's country, with a cross-reference from the name as customarily used in English if very different from the original name. Papal names of popes are given in Latin. Disambiguation information is given in a parenthesis after the name.

Acciapaccio, Niccolò 1:38,41,51	<i>SEE Felix V</i>	Cabelicky, Jan 3:16.
Adorno, Barnaba 1:32	Andreas (Procurator in Rome of German Order) 1:13,26,43,54	Caffarelli, Giovanni 1:44
Agnesi, Astorgo 1:10	Ankenreuter (Robber captain) 4:21	Calixtus I 3:39
Agnifili, Amico 1:44	Aquinas, Thomas 3:54,68	Calixtus III 5: <i>passim</i>
Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius 4:86	Arcimboldi, Niccolò degli 2:13,18,33,44	Campisio, Giovanni 1:59
Albergati, Niccolò 1:50	Augustinus, Aurelius 3:52. 4:49	Campofregoso, Giano I di 1:30,32
Albert the Great 3:51. 4:86	Augustus, Gajus Octavianus 4:85,147	Campofregoso, Tomaso di 1:32
Albrecht II (HR Emperor) 4:14,29,99	Baden, Karl I von 4:26	Capistrano, Giovanni da 3:33
Albrecht III Achilles (Brandenburg) 1:27,36. 3:17. 4:26,79- 80,103-104, 140,148,152,154- 156,163, 165,173-174	<i>Barbo, Pietro</i> <i>SEE Paulus II</i>	Capranica, Domenico 1:13-14,48
Albrecht VI (Habsburg) 4:26,46,87,136,161	Barnabas (NT) 3:41	<i>Cardinalis Andegavensis</i> <i>SEE Estouteville, Guillaume d'</i>
Alexander III (the Great) 3:55. 4:58,117	Beichlingen, Friedrich III von 1:9,27	<i>Cardinalis Aquilegiensis</i> <i>SEE Scarampo, Ludovico</i>
Alfonso V. (Aragon) 1:5,15,29,31,36,39- 40,48,51,56,61. 2:2,5,46- 47,54,56. 4:131,144,147. 5:5,10	Bérenger de Tours 3:5	<i>Cardinalis Capuanus</i> <i>SEE Acciapaccio, Niccolò</i>
Amalia von Sachsen (Duchess of Bavaria) 4:29	Berigus (Goth) 4:57	<i>Cardinalis Bononiensis</i> <i>SEE Parentucelli, Tommaso</i>
Ambrosius, Aurelius (Bishop) 2:2	Bernardo, Galeazzo 2:8,52	<i>Cardinalis Columnensis</i> <i>SEE Colonna, Prospero</i>
<i>Amédée VIII</i>	Borja, Alfons de <i>SEE ALSO Calixtus III</i> 1:14-15	<i>Cardinalis Firmanus</i> <i>SEE Capranica, Domenico</i>
	Bouillon, Godefroi de 4:126	<i>Cardinalis Mediolanensis</i> <i>SEE Rampini, Enrico</i>
		<i>Cardinalis Morinensis</i>

<i>SEE Le Jeune, Jean</i>	Charles I (Orléans)	Crotto, Lanzelotto
<i>Cardinalis Portugallensis</i>	2:4	2:6
<i>SEE Chaves, Antonio Martins de</i>	Charles VII (France)	Cyrus
<i>Cardinalis sanctae Mariae novae</i>	1:30-32,63. 4:8,9,38,40,129, 5:8	4:58
<i>SEE Barbo, Pietro</i>	Charles le Téméraire	Cyprianus, Thascus Caecilius
<i>Cardinalis sancti Angeli</i>	4:172	3:49,64
<i>SEE Carvajal, Juan</i>	Chaves, Antonio Martins	Darius
<i>Cardinalis sancti Sixti</i>	1:13,47-48	4:58
<i>SEE Torquemada, Juan de</i>	<i>Christian</i>	Darius III
<i>Cardinalis Tarentinus</i>	<i>SEE Kristian</i>	4:110
<i>SEE Berardi di Tagliacozzi, Giovanni</i>	Cicero, Marcus Tullius	David (OT)
<i>Cardinalis Valentinus</i>	3:18,58. 4:166.	3:49
<i>SEE Borja, Alfons de</i>	Cilly, Barbara von	Didaci, Rodrigo
<i>Cardinalis Venetiarum</i>	3:15.	4:62
<i>SEE Condulmer, Francesco</i>	Cilly, Friedrich II	Diepholt, Rudolf von
Carvajal, Juan de	3:15.	4:99
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3:1,21,78. 5:2-3,7,21	4:18,21,23,155	4:113
<i>Casimir</i>	Coëtivy, Alain de	<i>Dona</i>
<i>SEE Kazimierz</i>	5:2,7	<i>SEE Donato</i>
Castiglione, Giovanni da	Colonna, Prospero	Donato, Andrea
4:3,7,30,48-51,54,84-85, 134,168,172	1:13,36,48,50-51,57	1:34
Castiglione, Guarnerio da	Condulmer, Francesco	Ebersdorf, Albrecht
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Castronovale, Florio de	<i>Constantine</i>	Elisabeth von Österreich (Qn. Poland)
2:7,52	<i>SEE Constantinus, Konstantinos</i>	4:48
<i>Celje</i>	Constantinus I Augustus, Flavius	Emmersberg, Friedrich IV
<i>SEE Cilly</i>	Valerius Aurelius	Truchsess von
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Ezechias (OT) 3:45	Gilles (Robber captain) 4:21	Isabelle de Portugal (Duchess of Burgundy) 4:172
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<i>Fregoso</i> <i>SEE Campofregoso</i>	Hannibal Barca 4:117	<i>Jerome</i> <i>SEE ALSO Jeronimus</i>
Friedrich I (HR Emperor) 4:126	Has, Zbynko 3:16	Jerome of Prague 3:63
Friedrich II (Brandenburg)	Heinrich XVI (Bayern) 4:29	Jeronimus, Eusebius Sofronius 4:49-50
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