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**De Viris Illustribus and other biographical writings of
Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), edited and
translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**De Viris Illustribus and other biographical writings of
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2021

Abstract

During the 1440s, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, at the time secretary and diplomat of Emperor Friedrich III, was intermittently working on a book which he himself called *De Viris Illustribus*. It comprises 43 biographies of varying length of eminent persons of his time, emperors, popes, dukes, cardinals, and others, many of whom he had met or seen in person. The work seems never to have been finished, and the last extant draft dates from 1447. Despite a number of errors, important omissions, and some bias, it gives a reasonably adequate description of the persons selected and provides a highly interesting picture of his age.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Biographies; Renaissance; Europe; Italy; Popes; Cardinals; Emperors; Kings, Princes; Condottieri; Humanists; Academics; Humanism.

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Foreword

The biographical writings of Enea Silvio Piccolomini comprise his *De viris illustribus*, written between 1445 and 1447 but never finished and apparently never published, the *Lives of four popes*, the *Lives of four emperors*, and a number of biographical sketches included in his other works, especially his *De Europa* (1458) and the *Commentarii* (1462-1464), the last of which he wrote as a pope.

As part of a broader long-term project of making works of Piccolomini available in a Latin-English parallel edition¹ (except those, of course, previously published in such editions²), I decided to publish a bilingual edition of the *De viris illustribus*, but it soon became apparent to me that this work forms only a part of his biographical writings, and I have therefore expanded the publication to include other such writings of his.

Thus, my text comprises four parts: 1) The *De Viris Illustribus*, where some biographies are supplemented with biographical texts on the same person from other works; 2) the *Lives of four popes*; 3) the *Lives of four emperors*; and 4) biographical texts from Pius' other works on persons not having their own chapter in the *De Viris Illustribus*.

By "biographical text" I do not mean any mention of a person in his works but only such which intend to give a – however – brief sketch of a person's life and character.

Concerning the *De viris illustribus*, it has, of course, already been excellently edited by Adrian van Heck, but – as a matter of principle – I have re-collated the text from the principal manuscript in the Vatican Library, the Vat. lat. 3887, taking the opportunity to correct a few errors in van Heck's edition and to propose some alternative readings and emendations (indicated in the critical apparatus). I have also found it worthwhile to collate the other extant manuscript in the Vatican Library, the Vat. lat. 5603, since it sometimes confirms doubtful readings in the Vat. lat. 3887, as well as Mansi's edition based on an unknown but rather corrupt manuscript from Venice, presumably now lost. I have not found it worthwhile to collate the Stuttgart edition from 1842, based on Mansi's edition with some supplements from the Vat. lat. 3887.

¹ Until now I have published the following: 1) *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. 2020; 2) *Collected Reports on Diplomatic Missions of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1447-1455*. 2021 / MCS.

² Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967; Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. and transl. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. (The I Tatti Renaissance Library); *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Transl. by Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43)

Concerning the other biographical writings I have used the Latin texts as collated by myself or quoted from other sources.

The translations from the DVI are my own. The translations from other writings are my own or cited from the translations by other scholars.

In the notes I have made liberal use of quotations from modern historical works and some Renaissance authors as a means of assessing the reliability of Piccolomini's text and putting it into perspective.

A word of caution: the present text is not intended as a study of the DVI as such, nor of the themes and biographies contained, nor of Piccolomini's historical and a biographical work, nor of his sources. All these subjects merit scholarly research and hopefully the present text will stimulate and facilitate such research. The introduction and comments are only intended to make the text more intelligible to modern readers and place it in meaningful context.

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

1 September 2021

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my children, Nanna and Andreas.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

1.1. Piccolomini's literary work¹

Humanist literature comprised a number of genres: textbooks, commentaries, treatises, letters, dialogues, translations, history, and poetry.² It appears as if Piccolomini had deliberately set himself the goal to produce works in all the common genres of this literature.³ His *oeuvre* includes historical, geographical and biographical works, monographs on various subjects (hippology, education of children, rhetoric, court life, the Empire, Islam), poetry and a comedy. His erotic novel, *De Duobus Amantibus*, from 1444 – i.e. two years before he embarked upon his ecclesiastical career – would not have caused a sensation in the 21st century, but it most certainly did so in his own day. His three works on the Council of Basel are remarkable, not least because they are written from diametrically opposed angles: two of them from 1440, take the conciliarist view: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*, and *Libellus Dialogorum de generalis concilii autoritate et gestis Basiliensium*. The third one, from 1450, takes a papalist view: *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. His most outstanding work, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium quae Temporibus suis Contigerunt*, consists of almost 1000 pages of memoirs concerning events during his own pontificate from 1458 to 1464. It is a unique document in its genre and constitutes an invaluable testimony of the function and development of Renaissance Papacy and European politics and warfare in that period. He also wrote several dialogues on contemporary issues and hundreds of private and official letters, many lost today, which he penned as secretary and official serving two popes, an antipope, an emperor, an ecumenical council, and a series of cardinals and bishops, and later as a bishop and cardinal, and finally as a pope. To all these works come Pius' orations.⁴ For him, orations were an important genre of literary activity, as witnessed by the care he took in polishing, editing, and publishing them in various ways.⁵

Piccolomini's *De Viris Illustribus* is his only full-scale attempt in the biographical genre, which he would probably have considered as a subgenre of historical literature.

¹ This section is based on COR, I, sect. 1.2.

² Kristeller, p. 214.

³ Haller: *Pius*, p. 87: *Mit Ausnahme des grossen Epos sind bei ihm die üblichen Gattungen der humanistischen Literatur sämtlich vertreten.*

⁴ COR.

⁵ COR, I, ch. 3-4.

1.2. The *de viris illustribus* genre

Biography was a well-developed literary genre in Antiquity though it took very different forms and was often not clearly distinct from the historical genre.¹ The particular genre of a biographical work consisting of a collection of short biographies of famous men and entitled *De Viris Illustribus* (*De Hominibus Illustribus*) is represented by authors like Cornelius Nepos, Suetonius, Jerome, and Gennadius of Massilia, the last two focusing on Christian personalities.²

In the early Renaissance, this genre was taken up by Petrarch in his *De Viris Illustribus*³ and Bocaccio in his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*⁴ and *De Muliebris claris*⁵, both authors writing on classical and biblical personalities.⁶ Leonardo Bruni took up the genre with his biographies of Cicero and Aristotle, again classical personalities, and Dante and Petrarca, now closer to his own age.

A generation later, around 1445, Piccolomini wrote his *De Viris Illustribus*. In contrast to Petrarch and Bocaccio, he did not write about classical or biblical personalities but about famous men from his own age. Paolo Viti made this observation:

- *Proprio in questa impostazione – cioè nell’essersi il Piccolomini rivolto a considerare solo uomini (e anche donne) delle sua età – sta la principale novità e originalità di quest’opera rispetto alle altre raccolte umanistiche di biografie che, a partire dal De Viris Illustribus del Petrarca, l’avevano precedute.*⁷

About ten years later again (1455-1457), he was followed by Bartolomeo Facio, who in his *De Viris Illustribus* - like Piccolomini – wrote about contemporaries, and even Piccolomini himself. And somewhat later appeared Vespasiano da Bisticci’s *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*.

From this time on, the theme of eminent men and women became an important subject not only in literature but also in art.⁸

¹ See, among others, the articles on Biography, Greek and Roman, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*; Leo; Stuart

² There were also collections of biographies of famous men not entitled *De Viris Illustribus*, like Plutarch’s *Lives* and some thematical like Diogenes Laertius’ *Vitae Philosophorum*, and the medieval *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* by Thomas Burley, used by Piccolomini in various writings.

³ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Viris_Illustribus_\(Petrarch\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Viris_Illustribus_(Petrarch))

⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_casibus_virorum_illustrium

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Mulieribus_Claris

⁶ On the biographical genre in Renaissance humanism, see Cochrane, ch. 14. See also Viti, p. 200.

⁷ Viti, p. 200.

⁸ Joost-Gaugier

2. Piccolomini's biographical writings

Piccolomini would – at least from Bruni - have known of the individual biography of a single person as one form of biographical work. He may also have known that his fellow humanist, Pier Candido Decembrio,¹ was working on a full-length life of Filippo Maria Visconti,² that actually appeared in 1448, the year after Piccolomini finished the latest extant draft of his *De Viris Illustribus*.

Piccolomini's own biographical work, however, went in the direction of the collection of individual biographies or even biographical sketches - in the classical and medieval tradition. It comprises both his *De Viris Illustribus*, a small collection of papal vitae, a small collection of lives of emperors, and a number of biographical sketches and much prosopographical material inserted into his other works.

His work was, as already mentioned, original in the sense that he wrote about contemporary personalities, many still alive at the time of writing.³

2.1. De viris illustribus

2.1.1. Status

That Piccolomini intended to publish a book on famous men is shown by passages in letters from 1444 and 1450:

On 28 November 1444, he wrote to Giacomo de Castro Romano about Piccinino and his death:

- ... *tu doles virum illustrem Nicolaum Piceninum decessisse de vita. Ego sui causa maxime gaudeo. Nam cum viderem illum scientia rei militaris et armorum gloria omnibus, qui nostra etate fuerunt, prestitisse, cum scirem, ipsum semper constantem ac fidelissimum fuisse, timebam semper, ut varie et mutabiles sunt res mundane, ne qua res intercideret, que vel glorie vel bonitati sue detraheret. Cupiebam semper illum diem venire, quo tantus*

¹ Pier Candido Decembrio (1399-1477): Italian humanist.

² Decembrio: *Vita Philippi Mariae Tertii Ligurum Ducis*.

³ See Wagendorfer: *Herzog*, p. 243: ... *Piccolomini arbeitete ... an einer derartigen Biographienreihe, "De viris illustribus", in der er insofern einen neuen inhaltlichen Akzent setzte als er – etwa im Unterschied zu Petrarca, der sich vorwiegend mit antiken wie auch alttestamentlichen Persönlichkeiten beschäftigte – praktisch ausschliesslich Porträts von Zeitgenossen in seine Sammlung aufnahm.*

homo dici beatus posset, quod ante obitum, ut Ovidio placet, de nullo dici potest. ... Congaudeo igitur et admodum tanto viro congratulor, qui vitam suam cum laude finivit. Cui et nunc epitaphium ederem, nisi quod nunc librum de viris illustribus evi nostri compono, in quo et ipsum suo loco sepeliam et tumulum meliorem diuturnioremque faciam quam dux Mediolani construxisse sibi dicatur.¹

And concerning Margrave Albrecht III of Brandenburg, he wrote in a letter of 23 July 1450:

- *I commend his virtus and rejoice that our age is distinguished by this great man, equal to eminent Achilles and Hector. I have reserved a prominent place for him in a book about illustrious men from our own age that I am working on now. Therefore, I have decided not to say more about him for the present.²*

It is also clear that the latest version known today, the autograph Vat. lat. 3887³, is not complete. This is shown by the fact that the first page of the DVI (fol. 39r) begins with the last part of a biography of Cardinal Antonio Correr, followed directly by the biography of Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo which continues on the next page. So the first part of the text is missing. Heck⁴ and Märzl⁵ have convincingly argued that the missing text comprises the biographies of nine popes and cardinals plus the first half of the biography of Cardinal Antonio Correr, whose names are listed in the margin of fol. 92v (together with other names, see below).

The whole text ends at the bottom of fol. 89 recto. Fol. 89 verso contains the draft of a letter to Ulrich Rosenberg, which begins at the top, fills most of the page, and is followed by a blank space at the bottom. The next page, fol. 90 recto, is a blank page, and there are no more biographies in the rest of the manuscript (ff. 90v-92v). It may, therefore, reasonably be concluded that no biographies are missing at the end of the text.⁶

Finally, it is evident that Piccolomini fully intended to develop and revise this text, as amply proven by van Heck in the introduction to his edition of the text,⁷ and that he still had this ambition as late as July 1450 - as shown by the above remark on Albrecht of Brandenburg.

¹ WO, I, 1, ep. 165, p. 452.

² *Congratulor virtuti sue letorque nostrum seculum tanto viro ornari, qui vel Achillis vel Hectoris prestantie par sit. Ego ille inter viros illustres nostri temporis, de quibus modo tractatum cudo, non infimum locum servavi atque idcirco silendum inpresentiarum decrevi* (WO, II, ep. 43, p. 163). NB: Albrecht von Brandenburg is not included in the latest version of text known today (Vat. lat. 3887).

³ As copied in the Vat. lat. 5603.

⁴ DVI (Heck), pp. vi-viii.

⁵ Märzl, pp. 178-183.

⁶ Therefore, the present editor hesitates to agree with Märzl (p. 177) that biographies have been lost at the end of the manuscript.

⁷ DVI (Heck), pp. viii-ix.

The draft status of the text is indicated by a number of uncorrected evident errors, references to other passages that are not actually included in the text, empty spaces intended for later filling in etc.¹

However, Piccolomini apparently never finished nor published the text.²

It may naturally be asked: why not? In the absence of factual evidence, there is only room for conjecture. One obvious reason may be that updating (from 1447) and bringing this work up to a publishable standard would demand more time and effort than Piccolomini could find in his later career, especially when he became pope. Another may be that as he rose in the hierarchy and became an eminent person himself, he increasingly became dependent on the goodwill of other eminent persons. Therefore, it may have become a sensitive matter to publish a collection of biographies with sometimes frank³ - even indelicate - details from the lives of the persons biographed, e.g., that the emperor's uncle died from drinking⁴ or that another uncle was bisexual, or or that the reigning Polish king was possibly a bastard.⁵ (However, in other finished and published works, Piccolomini did not shy back from relating controversial judgments and intimate details which others might find offensive.) A third reason may be that as Piccolomini became more and more taken with the writing of historical works, he became aware that a collection of short or medium length biographies were not the best way to treat complex historical events and processes with many actors. An example is provided by the Lombard wars in which several of the persons biographed by Piccolomini took part (mercenary captains, rulers and the pope), and which could only be described peace-meal and confusingly through the various biographies of these persons. It would prove easier to write history based on geographical/political entities (e.g., *De Europa*, *Historia Australis*, *Historia Bohemica*) rather than on persons.

Though Piccolomini did not finish and publish the *De Viris Illustribus*, it served him as a file of biographical information that he would later use in other works, mainly the *Europa*, the *Germania*, the *Revised History of the Council of Basel (1450)*, the *Historia Austriacalis*, and the *Commentarii*.⁶ Lesca advanced a theory that the DVI was from the beginning intended as a file to be used by

¹ See DVI (Heck), p. viii.

² DVI (Heck) p. viii): *Non est autem cur credamus libellum, sicuti nobis traditus est, ab auctore absolutum fuisse; Wagendorfer: Herzog, p. 243: Wie auch andre Werke des späteren Papstes blieb "De viris illustribus" ein Torso: Piccolomini dürfte die Arbeiten daran wohl gegen Mitte des Jahres 1450 eingestellt haben.*

³ E.g., Cardinal Cesarinis's knowledge of the sealing plot at the Council of Basel (see sect. 1).

⁴ Alexander of Mazovia, see sect. 65.

⁵ Duke Friedrich IV of Austria's rumoured bisexuality (see sect. 243).

⁶ Voigt, III, p. 324: *Jedenfalls fand es der Verfasser in der Ordnung, wenn er die einzelnen Biographien in andern Werken zu Episoden benutzte, mitunter fast wörtlich abschrieb.*

Piccolomini in his later works,¹ but this does not seem likely in view of his clear intention to write the DVI as an independent work, as stated in 1444 and 1450 (see above).²

In conclusion, Piccolomini's text *De Viris Illustribus*, in the latest version known to us today, is an incomplete draft of a book that was never finished and published.

2.1.2. Selection

The last numbered folio page of the manuscript is fol. 92v.³ It contains notes for Piccolomini's book *De liberis educandis* (which he finished in 1450). However, in the margins are written – in Piccolomini's own hand - a number of names⁴ which appear to be:

- a) The names of the persons whose biographies are presumed to be missing in the beginning of the text (the missing biographies).
- b) The names of the persons whose biographies are contained in the text (the extant biographies).⁵
- c) The names of persons whose biographies Piccolomini intended to include in a later version of the text (the planned biographies).

The names are the following:

Missing biographies

1. Angelo Correr = Gregory XII, Pope
2. Baldassare Cossa = Johannes XXIII, Pope
3. Odo Colonna = Martin V, Pope
4. Gabriele Condulmer = Eugenius IV, Pope
5. Prospero Colonna, Cardinal
6. Domenico Capranica, Cardinal
7. Gerardo Landriano, Cardinal
8. Ludovico Trevisan (Scarampo), Cardinal
9. Giovanni Vitelleschi, Cardinal

¹ See Lesca.

² Viti had some other arguments against Lesca's theory, see Viti, p. 201.

³ The following unnumbered folio contains an alphabetical index to the DVI, written in a later hand.

⁴ See DVI (Heck), tab. 1.

⁵ With a couple of names omitted presumably by an error of Piccolomini (see DVI (Heck), p. viii)

10. Antonio Correr, Cardinal (first half of biography)¹

Extant biographies

[Antonio Correr, Cardinal (second half of biography)]

11. Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo, Cardinal
12. Francesco Condulmer, Cardinal
13. Pietro Barbo, Cardinal
14. Niccolò de' Tedeschi, Archbishop
15. Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop
16. Ludovico Pontano, Protonotary
17. Niccolò Piccinino, Captain
18. Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Captain
19. Braccio da Montone, Captain
20. Francesco Sforza, Captain
21. Niccolò III d'Este, Marquess
22. Leonello d'Este, Marquess
23. Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga, Marquess
24. Francesco Foscari, Doge
25. Cosimo de' Medici, Banker
26. Leonardo Bruni, Humanist
27. Bernardino da Siena, Preacher
28. Mariano Sozzini, Professor
29. Giovanni da Imola, Professor
30. Tommaso Fregoso, Doge
31. Bartolomeo della Capra, Archbishop
32. Sigismund, Emperor
33. Albrecht II, Emperor²
34. Friedrich III, Emperor³
35. Charles VII, King
36. Amédée VIII, Duke (= Felix V)
37. Alfonso V, King
38. Henry V, King
39. Juan II, King (Castille)
40. Duarte, King
41. Isabella of Portugal, Duchess (Burgundy)

¹ On the missing biographies, see Viti, p. 199; Märkl, 1, 178

² Uncrowned

³ Crowned 1452

42. Barbara, Empress
43. James I, King
44. Wladyslaw II, King
45. Friedrich IV, Duke (Austria)
46. Erik VII, King
47. Jakoba van Beiern, Duchess
48. Albrecht VI, Duke (Austria)
49. Pedro de Luna (= Pope Benedict XIII)
50. Alfonso Carillo, Cardinal
51. Albrecht II, Duke (Bavaria)
52. Ludwig I, Duke (Württemberg)
53. Janos Jiskra, Captain

Planned biographies

54. Ladislaus, King (Sicily)
55. Giovanna II, Queen (Sicily)
56. Galeazzo Visconti (Duke)
57. Giovanni Salonio
58. Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke
59. Niccolò Albergati, Cardinal
60. Giuliano Cesarini, Cardinal
61. Branda da Castiglione, Cardinal
62. Giordano Orsini, Cardinal
63. Lucido de' Conti, Cardinal
64. Francesco Zabarella, Cardinal
65. Arcidicino de Porta Novaria, Cardinal
66. Angelotto Fusco, Cardinal
67. Albrecht III von Brandenburg¹

Some remarkable omissions from this list are Cardinal Juan Carvajal, an influential cardinal and a close friend of Piccolomini, and Duke Philippe III the Good of Burgundy, whom Piccolomini came to much admire, and whose wife, Duchess Isabella of Portugal, was included in the DVI. In the survey of Italian humanists, Lorenzo Valla, a brilliant and controversial humanist, is not mentioned at all, though Piccolomini appears to have known him personally and written to him, receiving a

¹ Not part of the list in f. 92, but see above.

cordial answer.¹ And the equally brilliant and controversial Francesco Filelfo, whose lectures Piccolomini may have followed in Florence ca. 1430 and with whom he corresponded intermittently,² is barely mentioned.³ The last two cases are undoubtedly intentional and may reflect the toxic characters and reputations of the two men and, in the case of Valla, his attacks on established authorities, incl. the Papacy and its claim to temporal rule based on the forged Donatio Constantini.

The group of 64 men in the total list has the following distribution:

Clerics	28
Popes ⁴	06
Cardinals	17
Archbishops and bishops	03
Others	02
Laymen	34
Emperors ⁵	03
Kings	09
Other princes	12
Academics and humanists	03
Captains	05
Others	02

Of the three women, one was an empress, and two were duchesses.

It has been discussed which criterion of selection Piccolomini used.

Märtl states that Piccolomini *nimmt in der Biographiensammlung einen sehr persönlichen Standpunkt ein: es geht ihm ausschliesslich um Zeitgenossen, vornemlich um Personen, mit denen er selbst zu hatte.*⁶ Piccolomini, indeed, had a close personal acquaintance with a great number of the persons listed above (e.g., Emperor Friedrich, Cardinals Albergati and Cesarini, Professor Mariano Sozzini), had met them peripherally or had seen them at some public function (e.g., Emperors Sigismund and Albrecht). However, in 1447 he had certainly never met, seen or

¹ WO, I, 1, ep. 49; CPL, II, ep. 48 (letter from 1443): *Hoc tamen dico, mi Enea: simulac te vidi audivique, amore captus sum tuae humanitatis, tuae litteraturae, tui ingenii, isque amor magis ac magis postea crevit, semperque te et dilexi et admiratus sum ...*

² E.g., WO, I, 1, ep. 19, 30; III, 1, 2. CPL, I, ep. 19, 29 (letters from 1436, 1439, 1450) .

³ *Filelfo, who taught rhetorics in Florence, was hostile to him [Cosimo de' Medici], favouring the opposing party, which led to his precipitous departure from the city [sect. 76].*

⁴ Incl. antipopes.

⁵ Crowned and uncrowned as emperors.

⁶ Märtl, p. 182.

corresponded with Gregory XII, Johannes XXIII, Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Braccio da Montone, Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga, Charles VII, Alfonso V, Henry V, Juan II (Castille), Duarte (King of Portugal), Empress Barbara, Wladyslaw II, Friedrich IV (Duke of Austria), Erik VII, Jakoba (Duchess of Holland), Benedict XIII, Ladislaus (King of Sicily), Giovanna II (Queen of Sicily), and Giangaleazzo Visconti.

The criterion of selection as indicated by the list above appears to be the chief personalities in the religious, secular and academic sphere, including all the popes since 1378, influential cardinals and important preachers, the emperors from Sigismund onwards, all the kings of Europe and rulers of Italy, important dukes, and leading academics and humanists in Italy.

Some persons were included not because they were in the illustrious class but because of Piccolomini's personal sympathies and antipathies: Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, friend and one-time employer of Piccolomini; Mariano Sozzini, a brilliant professor from Siena, a close and admired friend of Piccolomini; and Giovanni Nicoletti da Imola, a brilliant jurist at the University of Bologna, a very dull man whom Piccolomini gave a separate, very short, biography mostly to vent his scorn.

Apart from the main personality in each biography, many chapters also contain mentions and even minibiographies of secondary personalities.

An example of such a minibiography is that of Francesco Pizzolpasso, included in the biography of his predecessor as Archbishop of Milan, Bartolommeo de la Capra:

- *When he died, Eugenius appointed Francesco Pizzolpasso from Bologna in his place. He was a man of great culture, always studying, with a simple lifestyle, and grave manners. He was a legate of Martin in the war in which Braccio was killed at Aquila. Later, he was appointed Bishop of Dax in the farthest regions of France, where he was much liked though a foreigner. However, he was recalled to Italy and appointed Bishop of Pavia, and later Archbishop of Milan, where he died after his return from Basel [sect. 108].*

Another example is the biography of Leonardo Bruni, in which he includes minibiographies or mentions of the leading Italian humanists (see below, sect. 6.4).

Thus, the DVI is more than a series of biographies of 44 eminent men and women. It is a comprehensive presentation of the political, ecclesiastical and intellectual elite of Europe, though in the political sphere its focus is on the Holy Roman Empire, and in the ecclesiastical and intellectual spheres on Italy.

2.1.3. Order of presentation

There appears to be no clear order of presentation and no attempt at categorisation¹ as seen in the almost contemporary collections of Bartolomeo Fazio and Vespasiano da Bisticci.

Whereas the text in Mansi contains 40 chapters, the text in the Vat. lat. 3387 contains 43: the extra chapters concern three emperors, Sigismund, Albrecht II and Friedrich III. Moreover, three chapters have changed place: in Mansi's edition, the chapter on Amédée VIII of Savoy AKA Felix V is placed after the chapter on Bartolomeo della Capra, and in the Vat. lat. 3387 after the chapter on Charles VII, whereas the chapters on Pedro de Luna AKA Benedict XIII and Alfonso Carillo in Mansi are placed after Amédée VIII AKA Felix V. and in the Vat. lat. after the chapter on Duke Albrecht VI of Austria.

These changes from one version of the text to the other are probably the result of some editorial reworking of the sequence of the chapters. If Piccolomini had continued to work with the text, he might possibly have followed some consistent principle of ordering.²

2.1.4. Length of chapters

The individual chapters are of quite unequal length. The chapter on Emperor Sigismund is the longest and the chapter on Pietro Barbo the shortest. The chapters on the mercenary captains Braccio da Montone and Jan Jiskra are relatively long, too. As the DVI was never finished by the author, it is not possible to know if he would have extended the short chapters to create a more uniform coverage of the individual persons.

2.3. Lives of four popes

The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has a manuscript, the clm 14134, an early humanist collective manuscript, containing Aesop's Fables, the Prophecies of Joachim of Bohemia, a collection of letters of various humanists, some works of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (*Carmen Sapphicum de Passione Domini*, Five Epitaphs, the Pentalogus, the Report on an imperial Mission to Rome in 1447, the *De Origine et Auctoritate Imperii Romani*, The *De Miseriis Curialium*) and some other

¹ VO, III, p. 324: *Es sind biographische Collectaneen, ohne sonderliche Ordnung zusammengestellt*. However, Viti appears to see a somewhat coherent structure in the text.

² As he did in his orations, which were given a more consistent chronological order from version to version, see COR, I, sect. 5.1.

works. Immediately before Piccolomini's *Carmen de Passione Domini*, the manuscript contains an untitled text (ff. 105v-107r) with the vitae of popes Gregory XII, Johannes XXIII, Martin V and Eugenius IV.

This text was published by F.X. Glasschröder in 1891.¹ He identified the author as a cleric who had participated in the Council of Konstanz.² Based on the vita of Eugenius IV, Glasschröder indicated a time of composition between 1439 and 1447.

In 2016, the text was republished by Claudia Märzl,³ who identified the author as Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the text as a missing part of the DVI. The identification is based on the following⁴:

- a) The text is part of a manuscript containing other works by Piccolomini.
- b) It follows directly after his treatise *De Miseriis Curialium* from 1444.
- c) The names of the popes are the same and in the same order as the names listed in the margin of f. 92v in the latest version of the DVI, the Vat. lat. 3887 (see above).
- d) The text, especially the section on Eugenius IV, closely resembles Pius' other texts on the same pope.
- e) The text contains a number of linguistic similarities with other works of Piccolomini.
- f) Contentwise the text is, in various points, related to the DVI.

Märzl points to the *Liber Pontificalis* as a model for the *Vitae*, which explains the colourlessness of the text.⁵

To the present editor, Märzl's argumentation is convincing.

Why Piccolomini wrote this text is a matter for conjecture. One such is that he wrote it, when still in Basel around 1439, as a memoir on the development and end of the papal schism 1378-1418, which

¹ Glasschröder.

² Glasschröder, p. 180: *Der Verfasser, zweifellos ein Cleriker, kam 1414 im Gefolge des Cardinals Otto Colonna nach Constanz zum Konzil. Als sein Herr, vom dem er voll Ehrfurcht und Bewunderung spricht, mit der päpstlichen Tiara geschmückt, nach Italien zurückkehrte, blieb er an dessen Seite. Auch Eugen IV scheint er nicht ferne gestanden zu sein. Zur Eruiierung seines Namens fehlt leider jedweder Anhaltspunkt.*

³ Märzl.

⁴ Märzl, pp. 178-183.

⁵ Märzl, p. 183.

he brought up to date with the lives of Martin V and Eugenius IV. He would thus be one of the many who at the time produced a history of the now-ended papal schism.¹ Another possibility is that he wrote it as a continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Märtl points out that he did something similar for the emperors when he wrote a continuation of Benvenuto Rambaldi's *Liber Augustalis* (see below).

At any rate, if Piccolomini wrote the text while still in Basel, it may have become the beginning of a project for a collection of biographies of eminent men.

2.4. Lives of four emperors

Around 1380, Benvenuto Rambaldi² from Imola, wrote a concise history of the emperors, from Julius Caesar to Wenzel IV,³ the *Liber Augustalis*.

In the beginning of 1458, Piccolomini was asked to write a continuation of this work. In his dedicatory letter of 29 March 1458 to Cardinal Antonio Lérica, introducing his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote about the request:

- *Recently, I had an attack of the gout and was suffering from my customary joint pains, when a German bookseller⁴ came to me with a small book⁵ containing the names and a little about the characters – and not so much the deeds - of the Roman emperors up to Wenceslas, son of Charles IV. Four emperors were missing from the work, since the author, Benvenuto da Imola, died under Wenceslas. The bookseller, therefore, asked me to add to the book what was lacking. Unwilling to disappoint the man, I wrote a supplement covering the emperors up to our time, using the same terse style as the previous author.⁶*

As Piccolomini had already written about these four emperors, Ruprecht III, Sigismund, Albrecht II and Friedrich III in his DVI, it was a small matter for him to write out a supplement to the *Liber*

¹ Duchesne, II, p. L: *Après Martin V, lorsqu'on se crut tout à fait sorti de la dernière crise [du grand schisme] il devint naturel d'en écrire l'histoire. Beaucoup s'y essayerent.* Another humanist who composed a work on the lives of the recent popes was Poggio Bracciolini, who in 1459 wrote a *Vitae Quorundam Pontificum*, reaching up to and including Pius II, published by Duchesne as an anonymous work (II, pp. 545-560).

² Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (1330-1388): Italian scholar, historian and teacher at the University of Bologna. Specialist and lecturer on Dante. From 1375 based in Ferrara.

³ Wenzel IV was elected King of the Romans in 1376. The *Liber Augustalis* must therefore have been written in the period from 1376 to 1388, when Benvenuto died.

⁴ "librarius": also meaning librarian or scribe.

⁵ The *Liber Augustalis*.

⁶ Piccolomini: *Europa*, Introduction (*Europa* (Brown), p. 25).

Augustalis, in the same style as Rambaldi had used, and bringing the section on Albrecht II and Friedrich III up to date with events from 1447 to 1458. In the case of Albrecht, the addition only concerned the death of his son, Ladislaus, in 1457. In the case of Friedrich, Piccolomini added the emperor's marriage, coronation, Hungarian campaigns, and the Austrian rebellion in 1452. Interestingly, Piccolomini did not mention the failed imperial crusade projects, which had occasioned his grand orations at the imperial diets of 1454 to 1456.

As Märtl pointed out, the four imperial lives added to the *Liber Augustalis* complement the four papal lives added to the *Liber Pontificalis*.

Manuscripts

- **B** = Basel D IV 10 (formerly E III 10), ff. 100v-104v [original pagination]

(In the manuscript, the four sections of Piccolomini's text are separately added to relevant parts of the text Flores temporum, see Bernouilli, p. 262. Each section is marked with the text Descriptio Papae Pii in a margin note at the beginning, and the text Hic Pius papa in the main text at the end.)

- **V** = Ottobon. lat. 1863, ff. 153r-154r.

(In this manuscript, the Piccolomini's whole text with an introductory note follows after Rambaldi's Liber Augustalis.)

Editions

Basel D IV 10

- Bernouilli, August: *Aeneas Sylvius' Fortsetzung des Liber Augustalis*. In: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 29 (1904) 262-265.¹

Ottobon. lat. 1863, ff. 153r-154r

- Künzle, Paul: *Enea Silvio Piccolominis Fortsetzung zum Liber Augustalis vom Benvenuto Rambaldi aus Imola und ein ähnlicher zeitgenössischer Aufholversuch*. In: Studi e ricerche

¹ http://www.digizeitschriften.de/dms/img/?PID=PPN345858530_0029|log16&physid=phys273#navi

nella Biblioteca e negli Archivi Vaticani in memoria del Cardinale Giovanni Mercati (1866-1957), a cura di L. Donato. ... 1959, pp. 166-279¹

2.5. Biographical sketches in other works

Apart from the DVI and the lives of the popes, Piccolomini inserted biographical sketches of eminent persons in a number of his works, the *Europa*, the *Commentarii*, the *Historia Australis*, the *Historia Bohemica*, the *Germania*, and even in his *Orations* and *Letters*.

These sketches are complete mini-lives or short descriptions of the person's character. An example is Piccolomini's engaging description of his Sienese mentor and friend, Mariano Sozzini, from a letter to Kaspar Schlick:

- *Mariano Sozzini from Siena, my compatriot, is a man of pleasant disposition and versed in many sciences. Nature gave him all except beauty. He is a small man, and he really ought to have been born in my family, which is called "the small men" [Piccoluomini]. He is eloquent and a specialist in both laws. He knows all of history, is an expert on poetry, and he writes poems both in Latin and Tuscan. He knows as much about philosophy as Plato, is the equal of Boëtius in geometry, and similar to Macrobius on numbers. He plays all musical instruments, knows agriculture like a Virgil and all about civil law. When he was young, he had the strength of an Entellus, was an excellent fighter, and could not be bested in running, jumping and rope-pulling. No mortal gets everything, but I have never known someone who lacked less. What more? Even the smallest things he has seen he paints as if he was an Apelles. When he writes his books, he makes very few errors, and his handwriting is clear. He sculpts like a Praxiteles. ... In others you will find arrogance and greed, but he is exceedingly generous. His house is always full of reputable men. He scorns no one, he cares for his students, comforts the sick, assists the poor, helps the widows, and fails no one in need. His face is always the same, as Socrates'. In adversity he shows courage. He is not puffed up by good fortune. He knows cunning, not to use it but to guard himself against it. He is beloved by his compatriots and well-liked by foreigners. He hates no one, he molests no one. When I was in Siena, I loved him most of all, and my love has not diminished now that we are separated. He is blessed with many gifts of nature but in this, especially, that he sincerely loves all who love him.*²

¹

<https://www-jstor-org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/stable/pdf/26206305.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A6e8bfb5b9e7911aa6f6ac66e211976d1>

² Letter of Piccolomini to Kaspar Schlick of ca. 3 July 1444 (Wo, I, 1, ep. 153, pp. 393-395).

Two sketches from the *Commentarii*, viz. on Everso d'Anguillara and Sigismondo Malatesta, show how Piccolomini/Pius could use the biographical format for a full-scale humanist invective against an enemy.¹

Some of these sketches are clearly revised versions of similar chapters in the DVI, or they incorporate materials from the DVI, which thus functioned as a sort of biographical information resource for his later historical writings.

In some cases, the text in DVI uses and expands passages in earlier letters of Piccolomini, viz. his description of Mariano Sozzini [sect. 18].

Many passages concerning individual persons are scattered around in Piccolomini's writings which, if brought together, would constitute or enrich a small biography. A particular case is Piccolomini's imperial employer, Friedrich III, whose life, activities and character are richly mentioned and commented upon throughout the oeuvre, especially the *Historia Austriacis*, which earlier sometimes passed under the title of *Historia Friedrici III*.

3. Piccolomini's description of persons

Piccolomini was a past master at describing persons, especially their character. Viti spoke of *la grande abilità di ritrattista e di descrittore di uomini che il Piccolomini vi dimostra, in continuità con tutta la sua piu ampia produzione letteraria, dove sempre egli volle studiare l'uomo, anche in perfetta aderenza ai canoni umanistici*.² And Ceserani wrote that the meeting with a personality became for Piccolomini *l'occasione non solo per fissarne umanisticamente il ritratto, e celebrarne la fama [di vir illustris]; ma anche per cercare, sotto le linee essenziali dl ritratto, i motivi di carattere, tanto in direzione psicologica, quanto in direzione storica, con un'attenzione vivissima al rapporto fra ambiente e carattere, costrizione e ambizione, fortuna e virtù*.³

Initially, the question may be posed if Piccolomini followed any particular model of biographical description. This is a matter for further scholarly research, so only a few remarks will be given here:

In the oration, "*Conversa in nos*", which he delivered as pope to the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy on 15 March 1459, he quoted Ambrose as saying that a complete laudation comprises

¹ See part V, sect. 2 and 10.

² Viti, p. 204.

³ Ceserano, p. 100, as quoted by Viti, p. 204.

family, character, office, actions and judgment.¹ A biographical sketch is not the same as a laudation, but it would appear that the basic elements are the same, and sometimes such a sketch indeed functions as a laudation, as in the cases of Margrave Albrecht III of Brandenburg and Pope Nicolaus V.²

In 1447, when Piccolomini was still working on the text of the DVI, Pier Candido Decembrio – as already mentioned - was busy writing his full-length biography of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, *the Vita Philippi Mariae Tertii Ligurum Ducis*, which he published in 1448. According to the modern editor of this work, Gary Janziti,

- *the literary model Decembrio chose for this operation was a highly appropriate one: Suetonius's Lives of the Caesars. ... As he made clear in an early letter to Carlo Zambecari (1428/29), he believed that ancient biographers such as Suetonius and Plutarch provided the best guides as to how one should go about writing the lives of outstanding contemporary figures. Consistent with this position, Decembrio issued a scathing assessment of Guarino Veronese's recently published oration (1428) in praise of the mercenary captain Carmagnola. Although Guarino had promised to deliver a biography of his subject, wrote Decembrio, he had really served up little more than a list of abstract virtues. Where, he asked, was the information on Carmagnola's lineage, his paternal and maternal ancestors, his manner of speaking and behaving in the private sphere? Where were the anecdotes that would give the reader an insight into the military leader's true character? These were the staples of biographical writing as exemplified by Suetonius and Plutarch ... That he continued to be particularly taken with Suetonius is proved by an oft-cited passage in his Zibaldone, where he praised the Roman author's style and genius and proclaimed him to be the supreme practitioner of the art of biography.*³

Piccolomini certainly knew Suetonius' biographies of the Caesars, which he cited in some of his works, and he also knew some of Decembrio's own works. To which extent he shared Decembrio's enthusiasm for Suetonius as a biographer is a question that merits further study. There can be no doubt, however, that he shared Suetonius' and Decembrio's use of anecdotes to illustrate a person's character, see below.

An analysis of the biographies in the DVI shows that the main elements of Piccolomini's biographies are:

- Family

¹ Oration "*Conversa in nos*", in COR, VII, 37, sect. 2.

² See part V, sect. 1 and 10.

³ Candido: *Lives*, p. xx

- Physical appearance
- Life
- Character
- Related personalities
- Piccolomini's personal experiences

An important literary device in the description both of life and character is the

- anecdote, including salient remarks.

In some cases, Piccolomini also uses the device of the

- fictive oration.

Piccolomini does not use this format consistently. Some of the biographies only contain a few of the biographical elements mentioned above. However, it is possible that Piccolomini intended, in the final version of the work, which was never published, to use the format more consistently across all the biographies.

3.1. Family

Family is described in terms of social status, geographical origins, and family relations.

3.1.1. Social status

In the cases of royalty and high nobility, the social status was a given, but for other persons, Piccolomini would carefully note whether it was noble or not, indicating the importance of such status at that time in general and for Piccolomini in particular, who never forgot that he himself descended from a noble but impoverished Sienese family.

Examples of noble status:

- *Giovanni de Tagliacozzo was from a noble house. (Johannes de Tagliacozis domi nobilis)*
[sect. 1]

- *Braccio da Montone was born from a noble family. (Braccius de Montone ... nobili loco natus [sect. 1].*
- *Niccolò Piccinino came from a reputable but poor Perugian family (nobles are often impoverished). (Nicolaus Piceninus Perusii natus haud obscuro loco, inopi tamen – ut saepe nobilitas paupertati subjacet) [sect. 15].*

Example of non-noble but respectable status:

- *Leonardo from Arezzo was born of a prominent family. (Leonardus Aretinus, domi non obscuro loco natus) [sect. 78].*

Examples of non-noble, non-respectable status:

- *Scaramuccia ... was of humble parentage. (Scaramucia namque, qui et Georgius dictus est, humili natus loco [sect. 23].*
- *Sforza was born in humble circumstances in the area of Cotignola, a village in Emilia close to the Rubicon. His parents were farmers. (Sfortia vili apud suos loco natus ... Parentes agriculatores fuerunt [sect. 25].*

As all the persons given a chapter in the DVI are prominent in one way or other, the indication of low birth indirectly becomes an indication of social mobility in Italian Renaissance society, most remarkable in the Sforza family, rising from humble circumstances and agriculture to celebrated condottieri, related by marriage to the Visconti Duke of Milan.

3.1.2. Geographical origins

After the family's social status, Piccolomini gives its geographical origins [*natio*], be it village, city or country.

Examples:

- *Niccolò the Sicilian was born in Catania. (Nicolaus Siculus ex Cathania natus) [sect. 5].*

- *Sforza was born in humble circumstances in the area of Cotignola, a village in Emilia close to the Rubicon. (Sfortia vili apud suos loco natus, Cotiniolam, quae villa est Emiliae vicina Rubiconti, patriam habuit) [sect. 25].*
- *Braccio da Montone was born ... in Perugia. (Braccius de Montone inter Perusinos nobili loco natus) [sect. 30].*

3.1.3. Family relations

Piccolomini sometimes gives the name of the person's father, but otherwise, information about parents, siblings, spouses, and children is mainly provided in the case of princes. Piccolomini has special focus on princely marriage relations since these represented important political alliances, the web of princely marriage relations forming a map of the political structure of Europe.

Example:

- *After his father died, Count Amédée of Savoy reigned for about 50 years with great success. He married the daughter of Duke Jean of Burgundy and had several sons and daughters with her. The oldest of the daughters married Duke Filippo of Milan, a second daughter married King Louis of Sicily. When he died, she stayed at home for a long time before she was married again, this time to Count Palatine Ludwig, though being related to him in the third degree. A third daughter married into the House of Bretagne. ... The next eldest son was Louis, who married the daughter of the King of Cyprus. [sect. 186-187].*

3.2. Physical appearance

Physical appearance is often mentioned and usually together with character, combining the physical and psychological aspects of the personality.

Physical appearance is described in terms of stature (height) and beauty/handsomeness. Such qualities would naturally enhance the status of a prince, but Piccolomini also appears to have had some fascination both with feminine beauty and masculine handsomeness.

Examples:

- *Count Niccolò Piccinino ... was of small stature, but though small, he was handsome [sect. 15].*

- *In the evening, we were joined by his very handsome brother, Borso* [sect. 53].
- *Her name is Barbara, and she is as beautiful as she is decorous* [sect. 54].
- *Sigismund was a man of distinguished stature ...* [sect. 132].
- *He [Albrecht II] was a man of large stature* [sect. 143].

It is noteworthy that in two cases where Piccolomini describes a beautiful woman, an empress and a duchess, he also notes a physical blemish. It may not be coincidental that in both cases, he apparently had some – possibly politically motivated bias – against the woman:

- *Barbara [of Cilly] was a beautiful woman, tall, white, but with some face blemishes. She ardently sought beauty* [sect. 235].
- *Her [Isabella of Portugal] husband [Philippe le Bon], admiring her intelligence rather than her beauty (her face was not beautiful but long) ...* [sect. 226].

Fatness is mentioned a couple of times, clearly as something that would detract from male handsomeness, e.g.,

- *In his youth, Ludwig was extremely fat and given to lust and pleasure, but when he married, he changed his ways, become another man, and proved to be quite decent* [sect. 42]
- *The James [James I] we are writing about was of small stature, fat* [sect. 235].

3.3. Character

Piccolomini was a master of lapidarian characterisation. In a few sentences, he was able to portray a personality quite convincingly. Often his characterisation is supported by a vivid anecdote or salient remark.

Examples of characterisation:

- Albrecht II: *He was a man of large stature, an enthusiastic hunter and eager to fight. He would rather act than talk. He was not a thinker but followed the advice of those men he considered to be good. His complexion was dark, and he had fierce eyes. He was an enemy of all evil men. When the imperial electors had sent ambassadors to him with a request not to make Kaspar Schlick his chancellor, he said, "If the electors entrust me with the Empire, then why would they not allow me to choose my own chancellor?"* [sect. 143].
- Alfonso V: *He is a man of small stature but great pride. He despises danger, is given to sensual pleasure, fickle in loyalty, lavish in spending, fond of brave men, never at peace, and very good at devising and spoiling plots* [sect. 211].
- Emperor Sigismund: *Sigismund was a man of distinguished stature, with shining eyes, a large forehead, pleasantly rosy cheeks, a long and plentiful beard, and a great mind. He was passionate but inconstant, clever in speech, fond of wine, ardent in love, guilty of a thousand adulteries, quick to anger, ready to forgive. He did not hoard money but spent prodigiously. He promised more than he kept and often dissimulated* [sect. 132].

3.4. Life

The description of a person's life comprises events and achievements, more or less in chronological order. It can be lengthy, as in the case of Emperor Sigismund but is often succinct as necessitated by the format of a short biography. The descriptions are peppered with anecdotes, which make for a lively, readable and engaging text. An example of a condensed biography is the life of Jakoba van Beiern, see below sect. 6.5.2.

3.5. Achievements (Gesta)

Especially in the case of princes, it was important to note their political and military achievements. In the major chapter on emperor Sigismund, these achievements are inextricably woven into the vita, whereas in other cases, they form a section of their own. An example of the last is the biography of Francesco Foscari:

- *These things were achieved during the reign of Francesco: Brescia was conquered, Bergamo taken, many towns in Ghiaradadda seized. Moreover, the river Adda was made the boundary between the Venetians and [the territories of] the Duke [of Milan]. Also, Ravenna was taken. In his reign, too, Francesco Spinola from Genoa was captured. ... During the reign of this Foscaro, the city of Padua, which had begun to conspire [against Venice], was secured and Marsilio killed. Also, Carmagnola was executed because of certain suspicions. An alliance was made between [Emperor] Sigismund and Venice against the Duke of Milan, and it was decided to remove him with joint forces. The Venetians were old enemies of the duke, and Sigismund claimed to have been deceived by him. Thus it was agreed that the duke should cede all lands taken [by the Venetians] beyond Adda to the Empire, whereas those taken on the side towards Venice would go to the Venetians. In that connection, Sigismund also gave the Venetians title to Padua, Brescia and Bergamo. ... However, Sigismund's death put an end to these dealings, and the Venetians defended themselves in other ways [sect. 63-64].*

3.6. Related personalities

In many of his biographies, Piccolomini gave a survey of personalities related to the personality described.

In the biographies of princes, they could be relatives or counsellors, whereas in other biographies, they could be friends or colleagues.

For examples of princely relatives, see the section on social status above.

Concerning counsellors, it is not a coincidence that Piccolomini, rapidly creating a career for himself as counsellor to the emperor, had some focus on princely counsellors and their relationship with their prince.

Concerning the dukes of Württemberg, he noted that

- *the two brothers value learned men and especially theologians, whose counsel they use in important matters* [sect. 267].

And in the chapter on Emperor Sigismund, he several times mentioned his counsellors. He was fond of them, listened to their advice, but mostly followed his own head:

- *Sigismund was very fond of Kaspar Schlick, Brunoro della Scala, Mihály Országh, Ban Matko. He followed their counsels but mostly his own* [sect. 134]

Sigismund's council was actually large and diverse, ensuring a comprehensive input to his major decisions:

- *When Wenzel died, the Kingdom of Bohemia came to Sigismund. In Hungary, there were great upheavals because of Turkish attacks. Sigismund then took counsel on what to do: should he go to Bohemia, or should he come to the assistance of the Hungarians? At that time, there were four groups of counsellors with Sigismund: the Italians, the Germans, the Hungarians and the Bohemians. The emperor wanted these groups to deliberate separately. The Bohemians and the Italians advised him to go to Bohemia before a rebellion should occur; afterwards, it would be easy to come to the aid of the Hungarians. If he first went to Hungary, it might go badly for him with the Turks, as had happened before, and then both the Bohemians and the Hungarians would despise him. The Germans and the Hungarians, however, advised him first to go to help the Hungarians, for nobody would push audacity to the point of wanting to deprive Sigismund of his [Bohemian] kingdom. Sigismund sided with the last group, with dire results* [sect. 119-120].

His personal relationship with a counsellor could even influence a major policy decision:

- *In that connection, Sigismund also gave the Venetians title to Padua, Brescia and Bergamo. He did not want to give them Verona and Vicenza since Brunoro della Scala, who had*

served him for many years as a counsellor, held the title of [imperial] vicar [of these cities] [sect. 64].

As for friends and colleagues, see the case of Leonardo Bruni mentioned above.

3.7. Piccolomini's personal experience

If Piccolomini had some direct relationship, acquaintance with or knowledge of a person, he would usually mention it, making the DVI quite a valuable source on Piccolomini's own life. Apart from the 31 instances where he directly mentions himself, there are also a number of instances where he relates events that he had experienced directly or must have been told of by direct participants who were close to him.

Sometimes it is only a brief mention of the relationship, be it an employment,

- *I was in the employment of this bishop [Bartolomeo Visconti] when he was in Basel and held in high regard because of the duke, and I went to Milan with him and later to Novara. I served him loyally for three years and later accompanied him on a ducal mission to Florence [sect. 9].*

... a student relationship,

- *At that time, also flourished Andrea [Biglia] from Milan, of the Augustinian Order, whose lectures I followed in Siena [sect. 83].*

... a friendship,

- *... he [Francesco Pizzolpasso] was recalled to Italy and appointed Bishop of Pavia, and later Archbishop of Milan, where he died after his return from Basel. He granted me the provostship of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Milan. Though we disagreed on church matters, he supporting Eugenius and I the council, he was so fond of me so much that he invited me to his table almost every day and ordered me to give a sermon to the synod on the Feast of Saint Ambrose (though I was not yet in holy orders), which I did, to the pleasure of the audience [sect. 108].*
- *When all the ambassadors of the princes left Basel, only he [Ludovico Pontano] remained, hoping to be appointed cardinal, but when a plague broke out, he died. On his deathbed, I exhorted him, in many words, to show patience when he said that he did not believe God*

would take his spirit while he was so young and could still profit the Church greatly. He is buried in the Carthusian monastery [sect. 14]

... or a peripheral connection, like a meeting:

- Tommaso Fregoso: *I visited him in his castle when I went to France as a companion of the Cardinal of Santa Croce* [sect. 104].
- Leonèllo d'Este: *When Emperor Friedrich sent me to Pope Eugenius in Rome, he also gave me some messages for Leonèllo. On my way back, I, therefore, decided to visit him and found him in a village called Porto, where there is a splendid castle. Outside the castle, there are also some elegant houses that Leonèllo's father, Niccolò, had built for pleasure. When Leonèllo heard that I had arrived, he ordered that I should be lodged in his father's house and served a sumptuous meal. Then, as I was still seated, he came out from the fortress and was looking at his boys playing ball, as if expecting me. When I joined him, he received me with gracious words. Then, I told him the emperor's messages that concerned matters of great importance, and we spoke together for two hours* [sect. 52].
- James I: *I was in these areas when I went on a mission to James [I] from the council and the pope in a matter concerning the freeing of a person who had been robbed, a matter in which I was successful* [sect. 233].

Some mentions are brief but deeply personal:

- Bernardino da Siena: *When he preached in Siena, I was so moved that I almost joined his order, but the entreaties of my friends kept me back, which may have been for the better, but I really do not know what was best for me* [sect. 89]. ... *He [Angelo da Siena] also claimed that a man was obliged to fulfil all his intentions to do good, and from this, he concluded that if someone wanted to join a religious order and afterwards regretted it, he could not get absolution unless he fulfilled his intention. I, therefore, went to see Bernardino in Rome and asked him for advice. He told me that he had never heard such a thing and comforted me* [sect. 100].

Other passages concerning himself are more extensive and describe important episodes or events in which Piccolomini was involved, sometimes being the only or one of few sources available on the matter.

One such episode is a plot against Pope Eugenius, prepared by Piccolomini's employer, the Bishop of Novara:

- *I was in the employment of this bishop [Bartolomeo Visconti] when he was in Basel and held in high regard because of the duke, and I went to Milan with him and later to Novara. I served him loyally for three years and later accompanied him on a ducal mission to Florence. There he was deceived by a reckless man, born to wickedness. Pretending to be an enemy of Eugenius because he had failed to reward him as he deserved, he said that he would organise a plot against the pope if only the bishop would help him. As the bishop considered the pope to be an enemy of his prince, he agreed to hear about the plan. The man said that many Florentines opposed the pope and the city government at the time. If Niccolò Piccinino, then at the baths of Siena, came towards Florence with a troop of men, the rumour would immediately make the citizens rise, expel their enemies, and take the pope prisoner. The man said much to substantiate this claim. In reality, he served Cosimo and his followers. Since the bishop wanted to keep the matter secret and did not speak of it with his people, he was deceived. Had he just consulted one of his people, he would not have been deceived in this way. However, pride allows no companion but claims all for itself. So, Bartolomeo was persuaded to write to Piccinino. His letter was intercepted and deciphered, for the Florentines are clever about wicked matters. Bartolomeo was thought to be guilty, and when he went to the palace, he was arrested and forced to confess his crime before the pope. When we heard what had happened, we scattered [as sheep whose] shepherd has been struck down. I first went to the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. There I made votive offerings and begged the Holy Virgin not to let me, an innocent, be taken. Having always been good to me, she also protected my innocence then. Antonio Bernieri from Parma, who later became Bishop of Lodi, joined me in this prayer. He fled to Cardinal Orsini, whereas I took myself to the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who engaged me as a secretary. While I was staying with him, Bartolomeo was entrusted to his custody. He summoned me and asked for forgiveness that he had told me nothing, for since I was a Tuscan, he had not wanted to involve me in a Tuscan matter. I then told the bishop, “I am hurt that you told me nothing, for if I had known about it, I believe that I would not have let you make this error. I am also glad that if anything is done to me, I will always be helped by my conscience, knowing that I suffer unjustly” [sect. 9-10].*

Another example concern measures connected with the Armagnac incursion into the Empire entwined with imperial negotiations 1443-1445 about ending German neutrality in the schism between pope and council. Piccolomini played an increasingly important role in these events as a negotiator, envoy, and drafter of important letters and documents:

- *In the meantime, the King of the Romans had written to the King of France about the savagery of the Swiss [the letter was written by Piccolomini], and how he intended to travel up to the Empire and avenge their injuries. In case he should decide to call on the*

Armagnacs, who were fighting in the [French] kingdom, he urged him to give his permission. It so happened that at the time there was a truce between the English and the French, and since the Armagnacs were laying waste to France, the king decided to send them away and thus to lighten this burden on his kingdom. ... In Nürnberg, much was reported on the savagery of the Armagnacs. ... Therefore, the emperor with the prince-electors decided to expel the dauphin. An army was mobilised quickly, and the imperial standard sent to Duke Ludwig of Bavaria and the Count Palatine. When the King of France heard it, he – without the King of the Romans' knowledge – negotiated with the archbishops of Trier and Cologne the dauphin's departure from Germany, after which the dauphin left. ... In the meantime, there were protracted negotiations on the ecclesiastical issue. The king and the prince-electors appointed representatives to examine the matter. The king was represented by Chiemsee, Thomas, Ulrich and me. Each prince-electors had two representatives, and each of the other princes one. We met every day but could not reach a conclusion, so in the end, the prince-electors met alone with the emperor, accompanied by Kaspar. ... Afterwards, the representatives [of the emperor and the princes] met again and devised several ways to gain peace. Then the king had a statement produced [presumably drafted by Piccolomini] to the effect that the state of neutrality should be prolonged for eight more months, and that a council should be indicted [to begin] in Konstanz at the end of that period. In the meantime, Eugenius – to whom I was sent by the king – and the Basileans – to whom Thomas Hasselbach went – would be asked to consent and indict a general council on peace in the Church [to be held] in Konstanz. The king's statement stipulated that if both parties agreed before 1 October, now eight months away, the council would be held there. If one party declined and only the other party was present, the King of the Romans with the prince-electors and the other German princes would declare the council to be there with the party that was present and obey it. If the Basileans came before that time, they would receive a safe-conduct and be considered and treated as they had been in Basel, and after the term had expired, they would be considered to represent the true council. However, neither Eugenius nor the council assented to these petitions. They were presented to Eugenius by me [in February 1445] ... [sect. 170-174].

Yet another example is the conclave that elected Felix V as the last schismatic pope in the history of the Church. Piccolomini participated in this conclave as a master of ceremonies:

- *About eight years later, when Eugenius had been deposed in Basel, and the schism reigned, Amédée was elected Roman Pontiff. The council fathers elected 32 priests, eight from each [conciliar] nation, who together with His Lordship of Arles would elect the new Supreme Pontiff. I also took part in this conclave but not as an elector since I had not yet received holy orders, but as a clerk of ceremonies. After the election, I was invited in and drew up the [notarial] instrument. I saw nothing there that was not decent and honest [sect. 191].*

Thus, the DVI comes through as a quite personal, even autobiographical document where the description of contemporary persons and events are directly linked to Piccolomini's own career and experiences.

4. Some observations on Piccolomini as a historian and a biographer

Piccolomini was fascinated by the historical genre, both past and contemporary history. In the introduction to *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentarii*, he wrote:

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.^{1 2}

4.1. Piccolomini as a historian

As is documented in the notes to the translation of the DVI below, Piccolomini's account of contemporary events to a large extent agrees with modern scholarship. Much of Piccolomini's material is known from and confirmed by other sources, but he also provides information only known through the DVI.

4.1.1. Sources

Historians of that age, of course, did not have access to comprehensive libraries with primary sources, secondary literature and reference works, not to mention the Internet with its enormous collection of texts and information. They had to work with a rather limited knowledge base, even though some like Piccolomini and Bartolomeo Facio had access to princely archives.

So what sources did Piccolomini use?

¹ Piccolomini: *De gestis*, Preface (Hay, p. 3).

² On Piccolomini as a writer of history, see e.g. the introductions to HA and HB, and Voigt, III, ch. 10-11.

4.1.1.1. *Direct experience*

During his career as a secretary and collaborator of eminent ecclesiastical personalities, as a secretary to antipope Felix X, as an imperial official and diplomat, as a cardinal and finally as a pope, Piccolomini acquired a comprehensive direct experience with political affairs of the highest importance. He drew systematically and intensively on this experience, as witnessed by the many instances in the DVI where he described significant events in which he was personally involved, sometimes mentioning this involvement and sometimes not.

A number of the important personalities in the DVI he had met personally, like Pope Eugenius IV, or seen at public functions, like Emperor Sigismund.

4.1.1.2. *Personal network*

Over the years, he developed an extensive network of friends and acquaintances with whom he was in frequent or intermittent contact, and who freely traded that precious commodity: information.

With some of them, he was able – at least for periods - to maintain face-to-face contact, like his friends at the Council of Basel, e.g. Cardinal Cesarini and the archbishops of Milan, Bartolomeo da la Capra and Francesco Pizzoplasso, and chancellors Schlick at the imperial court.

But otherwise, his information network functioned through a large correspondence with numerous friends and acquaintances like Johann Vront in Germany, Prokop von Rabenstein in Bohemia, Francesco Filelfo, Pietro da Noceto, and Giovanni Campisi in Italy and at the papal curia. But he also had correspondents in more remote countries like Adam Molins in England. With these correspondents, he continuously exchanged information, passing on to his correspondents news received at the Council of Basel, later at the imperial court, and later again at the Roman curia. In return, he received information from them on events in their countries, cities, and courts. Also, his official correspondence on behalf of the emperor would provide him with much and high-grade information on current political affairs.

4.1.1.3. *Written sources*

Apart from Piccolomini's public and private letters, the written resources he could dispose of in writing biographies on contemporary personalities would be meagre. In the imperial archives, he must have had access to records concerning the emperors and their activities. He may also have seen written accounts of the doings of kings and princes, like the *gesta* of Henry V, but he does not refer to them, and it is difficult to show that he has used them.

4.1.1.4. *The international rumour mill*

Piccolomini was part of an international information network that did not only pass factual news but also functioned as a gigantic rumour mill. Much rumour concerned events and activities that were only verified later, like news of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, which first reached the imperial court as a rumour and was discounted. Another example was the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy in Ulm, in preparation for the Diet of Regensburg in 1454. When rumour of his arrival reached the imperial legates in Regensburg, they first did not believe it because it appeared so unlikely.¹

Much information in the DVI derives from hearsay and rumour picked up by Piccolomini in conversations or by letter and included in the text as fact, though the matter in question was doubtful or erroneous.

An example:

- *... the Cardinal of England, named Henry, ... is reported to be very rich, and for a time, he governed the Kingdom of England. He has countless flocks of sheep, whose wool he sells, and he does not shy away from trading – and even of usurious lending – through straw men [sect. 234].*

According to Hariss, *during the parliament of 1439–40 Gloucester presented to the king a long and detailed indictment of Beaufort, reaching back over the length of his career and designed to destroy his reputation as a statesman and diplomat, and to convict him of corruption and fraud. The reaction of the king and the council, indeed of Beaufort himself, is unknown, for no answer was made and no action taken. Though ineffectual, Gloucester's attack revealed the weakness of Beaufort's position ... Henry Beaufort's wealth was notorious—indeed he was the wealthiest English prelate of the late middle ages. He was known as the Rich Cardinal. At the height of his career his fortune was probably not less than £50,000, and was at least half this at the time of his first major loans to Henry V. The source of his wealth remains as unclear as it was to his contemporaries, but the revenues of his see, the perquisites of office and influence, the export of wool, and his elder brother's legacy are all possible sources. His loans to the crown were not technically usurious ...* So, through the international rumour mill, Piccolomini picked up – and transmitted via the DVI - correct information about the cardinal's wealth, its origins and use by the cardinal but also the rumour of usury which was doubtful and unlikely.

He would also use rumourous information to describe persons against whom he had some bias (see below, sect. 4.1.2.6).

¹ CRDM, 4, sect. 32

4.1.2. Reliability

4.1.2.1. *Demonstrable correctness*

Generally, Piccolomini gives a fair description of personalities and an adequate account of events, and much of his information can, as said, be corroborated by modern researchers or confirmed by at least one contemporary source, i.e., Pier Candido Decembrio.

One example is Piccolomini's account of the affair of Jacopo Foscari, son of Doge Francesco Foscari (see sect. 67). Piccolomini's report on the sentence passed by the Council of Ten on Jacopo is pretty accurate, as confirmable by archival studies, and his information on Jacopo's escape to Trieste contains details quoted and circumstantially corroborated by a modern scholar (Romano, p. 195).

4.1.2.2. *Exclusive information*

There is also information for which no other source exists, and which may reasonably be accepted as correct. An example is Piccolomini's description of a private meeting of cardinals at the beginning of the Council of Basel:

- *When the Council of Basel had gathered and began to oppose Eugenius, Alfonso abandoned his legatine mission to Avignon and went to Basel, contriving much against the pope. At the time, nine cardinals, including several important ones, were in Basel. They decided to discuss the pontificate of Eugenius, for many people claimed that he had not been elected properly according to the canonical rules. When the discussion grew hot, Cardinal Branda of Piacenza, who had the character of a fox, wanted to hear the opinions of the cardinals concerning a successor [to Eugenius]. He himself wanted Eugenius to be replaced with Giuliano, and he feared Niccolò of Santa Croce. "Why," he said, "are we discussing the election of Eugenius? Either he has been elected improperly, and we must find a successor, or he has been elected properly and must be deposed because of his immoral life. All it comes down to is this: we must agree on a successor before we depose him so that we shall not afterwards disagree on the election [of the successor], making the last error worse than the first."¹ To this Alfonso said, "There is no need to search for a successor, for we already have one, Niccolò."² There is a true pope!" Several of the others agreed with him. But when Piacenza heard them exclude Giuliano, he prevented any further discussion of the election, and wanted, instead, to proceed with the crimes [of Eugenius]. But the others became angry*

¹ I.e., the election of Eugenius.

² Niccolò Albergati.

and went back to supporting Eugenius, thus opposing the endeavours of Giuliano [Sect. 260-261].

This passage throws light over the cardinals' opinion of Pope Eugenius as pope and shows that only two years into the pontificate, they were seriously contemplating a repeat performance of the Council of Konstanz' deposition of popes. It also confirms that influential cardinals, including Cardinal Cesarini, were at the time conciliarist, not papalist, and that Cardinal Cesarini himself may have nurtured papal ambitions.

4.1.2.3. *Factual errors*

Though much of Piccolomini's information is quite or approximately correct, there are a number of errors and problems in the text that weaken its reliability as a historical source.

A first problem is that Piccolomini was not always correctly and sufficiently informed about events described in the DVI, resulting in factual errors.

Only a few of numerous examples are given here:

- *Francesco Foscari was elected doge of Venice while he was on an embassy to Pope Johannes in Cremona [sect. 60].*

This information is manifestly incorrect since Foscari was in Venice at the time and participated directly and personally in the election.¹

- *Later again, the dauphin Louis, his [Charles VII] son, at the instigation of the Duke of Bourbon, deserted him and, desiring to govern while his father was still alive, he went on a military campaign and sought the rulership.² However, Charles gathered an army and subdued his son. The instigator was fined part of his domain and banished from court for life [sect. 183].*

This is incorrect. The duke made his submission to the king and was pardoned, not banished from the court.³

¹ Romano, pp. 39-45.

² The rebellion was called the Praguerie after an earlier rebellion in Prague. It lasted from February to July 1440. Its main instigator was Duke Charles I of Bourbon, who won over the dauphin, Louis, then 16 years old, by promising him to set his father aside and make him regent in his stead.

³ Kendall, p. 50.

- *In the final battle [Battle of Olmedo, 19 May 1445] however, Juan, the King of Castille, emerged as the victor, inflicting a major defeat upon the Aragonese. In that battle, the King of Navarra was wounded and died. What follows, we and others shall see if benevolent God lets us live [sect. 220].*

Incorrect information: it was not the King of Navarre who died, but his brother, Enrique (Grand Master of Santiago), who was wounded during the battle and died on 22 May 1445.

- *At that time, the ruler was Wilhelm, Duke of Austria, who had married the queen [Jadwiga], a daughter of King Charles of Hungary, and received the Kingdom of Poland as her dowry. But the Poles would rather have a pagan than a German king and summoned Wladyslaw, expelled Wilhelm, and gave the old king's [Wilhelm] queen to the new king [Wladyslaw]. But she declared that she was not his wife but his concubine and never laid with him of her own free will. Before she died, she did not bear him a child [sect. 236].*

This statement is erroneous: In 1388, Jadwiga was accused by a nobleman of having sexual relations with her former fiancé, not husband (and not ruler), Wilhelm, and made a solemn oath that she had only had sexual relations with her husband, Wladyslaw. Some weeks before she died, at the age of 26, she bore Wladyslaw a daughter who died four days before her.

A particular type of error is one of chronology. Events placed far away in time and place give rise to even gross errors:¹

- *In the meantime, Wenzel, King of the Romans, after a reign of about 14 years², was deposed as imperial ruler, having been judged idle and neglectful of the Empire. He was also criticised for raising Milan to a duchy without consulting the princes. He was replaced with Jobst, Margrave of Moravia, his cousin, who died after reigning for a few days only. Maybe the fates were angry with him for accepting so great a dignity against a kinsman. After Jobst, Sigismund was offered the Empire, but he did not wish to rise against a brother. Therefore Ruprecht, Duke of Bavaria, was made emperor, an outstanding man of great nobility. When he entered Italy to seek the crown in Milan and Rome, he was prevented from doing so by Galeazzo, who sided with Wenzel, and after a battle at Brescia he was forced to return to his home. Again Sigismund was invited [to become emperor], and since his brother now cared nothing about the Empire, he accepted the burden [sect. 115].*

Piccolomini has got the facts and the chronology wrong: Wenzel was deposed by the electors on 20 August 1400 on account of “futility, idleness, negligence, and ignobility.” The next day, Count Palatine Ruprecht III was elected King of the Romans. Ruprecht was never crowned emperor but

¹ Such errors are also to be found in the biographical works of Pier Candido Decembrio, e.g., Decembrio: *Lives*, p. 299, n. 29. With the limited information resources available, such errors must naturally be expected in Renaissance historical works and are not peculiar to Piccolomini.

² Elected as King of the Romans in 1376, he had actually been reigning for 24 years when he was deposed.

reigned as King of the Romans (Germany) until his death in 1410. Then, both Wenceslaus' cousin, Jobst of Moravia, and Sigismund were elected King of the Romans. Jobst died the next year, Wenzel renounced his rights as emperor, and Sigismund henceforth reigned as King of the Romans. In fairness, it must be mentioned that Piccolomini later got his imperial chronology right, in the section on Ruprecht III in his Lives of four emperors [sect. 401].

- *When the French defected from him [Pope Benedict XIII] and began to follow the Council of Pisa, Pedro sailed via Portovenere to Catalonia. Now only the Spanish remained with him. Having summoned them to a council Perpignan, he consulted them on what to do [sect. 257].*

Piccolomini has the chronology wrong: the French left Benedict's obedience before the Council of Pisa.

- *On his way back home, he [Erik VII] came to Prussia. There he heard that the rebellion against him was still going on. Summoning the Teutonic Knights, he said to them, "I have now returned from Jerusalem and have performed my devotions there. However, I have something even greater in mind. I no longer care for this world, I have no issue, and my wife has passed away [sect. 245].*

According to Piccolomini himself, Erik visited the Teutonic Knights on his way back from Jerusalem, which was in 1425, but his queen, Philippa died five years afterwards, in 1430.

Another particular type of error concerns princely names, which a high-ranking member of the imperial chancellery and a top diplomat might be supposed to know:

An example:

- *Maria, Duchess of Burgundy, daughter of the King of Portugal, was kept at home for a long time, unmarried. Duke Philippe of Burgundy was expected to ask for her hand [sect. 225].*

The name of the reigning duchess of Burgundy, to whom Piccolomini dedicated a whole chapter in his DVI, was not Maria but Isabella. Piccolomini had even met or seen her personally in the residence of Cardinal Albergati, at the Congress of Arras in 1435.

Another:

- *Alfonso [V], King of Aragon, succeeded his father, Martin [sect. 199].*

Alfonso's father was not Martin, but Ferdinand I of Aragon (Trastámara) (1380 -1416), King of Aragon from 1412 to his death.

4.1.2.4. *Inexactitudes*

Apart from direct errors, Piccolomini's text contains a good number of inexactitudes that affect its reliability.

Example:

- *Jakoba van Baiern - who had not had luck with kings and dukes – married under her station, taking the knight Frank van Borssele as her husband. Duke Philippe of Burgundy did not accept this. Invading Holland, he had Frank arrested and considered killing him for contracting such an important marriage against the will of the woman's relatives. But the woman pitied the man and only wanted to live tranquilly with him as her last husband. So to save him, she signed over all her dominions to the Duke of Burgundy and only kept a small property at sea, off which she could live. [sect. 250]*

It is true that Frank van Borssele was arrested by Duke Philippe, but his - temporary - fall from Philippe's grace was not due to the – not yet contracted – marriage with Jakoba but to other, political reasons. Only when he was restored to ducal favour and Jakoba had renounced her inherited lands, did Frank and Jakoba marry, with the duke's full approval.

4.1.2.5. *Omissions*

In his account of historical events and processes, Piccolomini sometimes omits to mention important elements which he either did not know of (like the strategic importance of the English longbow shooters at the Battle of Agincourt) or whose importance he failed to see.

Examples are:

- *... when he [Emperor Sigismund] went to Bohemia, the Bohemians, who were now in open rebellion and followed the Hussite heresy, did not want to receive him. He then managed to assemble a large army, for the prince-electors and all the German nobility were with him. The cavalry reportedly amounted to 70,000. He decided to lay siege to Prague, but when the princes wanted to move their war machines to the city, bomb it with stones, and attack it, Sigismund did not allow it. The reason was that the Bohemians had come to him in secret on the pretext of [negotiating] their surrender and said to him, "Why, we ask, do you destroy your city. Will it not profit you more if it is undamaged than if it is destroyed?" They urged*

him to send the princes away, for they would then very soon surrender the city, and thus they kept stringing him along, from day to day. When the princes realised it, they left him one after the other. Remaining, with only a few people, he expected to be received into the city, but [instead] he soon saw hostile troops come out against him. Losing many of his men, he barely managed to flee [sect. 120].

In his description of Sigismund's description of Prague, Piccolomini fails to mention his coronation as King of Bohemia in the castle of Prague, which was an important symbolic gesture, though it did not bring him the actual rule of Bohemia.

In his chapter on King Charles VII of France [ch. 25], Piccolomini fails to mention the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, by which the French largely freed themselves from papal domination in ecclesiastical and legal matters. The Pragmatic Sanction was a milestone in church development and was perceived as such by Piccolomini and his contemporaries. It is, therefore, remarkable that it is not mentioned in the DVI.

Another example:

- *Maria [Isabella], Duchess of Burgundy, daughter of the King of Portugal, was kept at home for a long time, unmarried. Duke Philippe of Burgundy was expected to ask for her hand. The matter had already been set in motion, and it was him that she wanted. Though the matter did not come about then, she did not cease to love Philippe. Her brothers, however, wanted her to marry and proposed many as husbands, but she wanted no one, saying that eventually Philippe would ask for her hand. She kept hoping for 12 years and was not disappointed, for since Philippe had not found anyone else he liked, he again asked for her hand, and the marriage was contracted¹ [sect. 225].*

Piccolomini fails to mention that the Duke of Burgundy was married to Michelle de Valois, daughter of the French king, from 1409-1422, and to Bonne d'Artois from 1424-1425. When Bonne died, unexpectedly, after a year's marriage, Isabelle was already 32 years old. She could not possibly have been pining after the duke for all those years.

And another example: In his comments on the relationship between Emperor Sigismund and King Erik VII of Denmark (ch. 36) and on the emperor favouring Erik to the detriment of the Empire, Piccolomini fails to mention the emperor's very important judgment in the conflict between Erik as Danish king and German parties concerning the North German duchies, Schleswig and Holstein. In his judgment, Sigismund again favoured Erik as Danish king to the detriment of German interests. The judgment did not solve the problem, however, and would indirectly lead to wars between Denmark and Germany in 1848 and 1864, with nefarious results for the Danish kingdom.

¹ 1430.

Some omissions of important facts may be due to a lack of perspective, understandable in a person so close to the events that the long term implications might elude him. An example is Piccolomini's description of the Duke of Milan's treatment of King Alfonso V when he had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Ponza in 1435:

- *Undaunted, he [King Alfonso V] decided to make another try at Italy. When it came to battle [at sea], Biagio, with a smaller fleet and fewer soldiers, pressed King Alfonso of Aragon, the King of Navarra, the infante Pedro with the Duke of Sessa, the Prince of Taranto and innumerable Aragonese, Sicilian and Calabrian barons together as in a fish trap and captured them in one go. They were [all] sent to Milan where they found unexpected kindness, for the duke took pity on the captured high nobles and sent them away without ransom, and he even made them gifts and helped them with money. Thus, Alfonso was able to return to the Kingdom of Puglia, where he exhausted and defeated René in many battles and finally drove him from the kingdom. [sect. 205].*

In this account, Piccolomini only focuses upon the duke's commiseration with the noble prisoners and completely fails to mention the alliance made between the duke and the king, leading to a new North-South political axis in Italian politics and a reversal of state alliances.

4.1.2.6. Bias

According to Piccolomini's 19th century biographer, Georg Voigt, the DVI is Piccolomini's *unbefangenes und parteiloses Werk*.¹ The present editor agrees with this assessment.

An example of an unbiased description is his text on Felix V. When Piccolomini wrote this text, he had joined the papalist camp, faithful to Pope Eugenius IV, and it might be expected that he would take the opportunity to describe him in rather negative terms. This he later did in other writings, but he did not do so in the DVI.

But though they are few, there are still there some elements of bias in the text:

Piccolomini's inveterate gallophobia transpires in the description of the Battle of Agincourt (though he may have picked up the details from written sources or hearsay), French arrogance providing the English with the just cause of war which they would otherwise have lacked, and French frivolity leading up to a major defeat:

¹ Voigt, I, 10, p. 174

- *However, the French gathered an immense army with all the nobility and attacked him unexpectedly. In his army, there were less than 10,000 soldiers, while the French had about 40,000 fighting men. The French were so confident in their own strength that they did not plan for fighting but for confining the enemy. So, they closed all avenues of flight, something the ancients forbade in order to prevent desperation from changing into courage. When Henry realised that he was surrounded and inferior in numbers to so many enemies, he sued for peace from the French, promising to abandon all his possessions in France and only requesting that he and his army could leave unharmed. He also promised to return the booty, to release the captives, and to be content with the Kingdom of England alone and never to attack France again. But the arrogant French rejected these conditions that would have given them the whole kingdom and permanent peace. They refused to grant peace unless King Henry and his army surrendered, and the French were free to decide whether the king should stay alive or be killed. The French spent the night feasting and dicing. They distributed the captives between them and even played games about who would have whom as a prisoner. But men plan, and God disposes. When the day came, the king, at length, encouraged his men to march out not to victory but to avenge their coming death, and thus he prepared them for battle. The French argued about who should lead the attack and finally placed the dukes and the counts in the first line. When the battle began, the French fought for glory and the English for survival. A terrible bloodbath took place, and soon the French were put to flight [sect. 213-215].*

An aristocratic and Sienese bias against Cosimo de' Medici and democracy transpires from a comment on Cosimo's domination of the popular vote in Florence:

- *Cosimo de' Medici from Florence entered commerce at an early age. He amassed a fortune and became so rich that no citizen in Italy was believed to be his equal. Having become rich, he dedicated himself to the state and became a great man. In this, he was helped by the popular vote, for he had won over the common people by many kind deeds and services. There were then two factions in Florence, one led by Cosimo and the other by Niccolò da Uzzano. ... Cosimo was followed by all the common people and the youth, eager for novelty. He helped many of his supporters financially. So, there were frequent conflicts in the senate, with Cosimo promoting one policy and Uzzano another. But whenever matters were submitted to a popular vote, Cosimo's policy prevailed. The better ones were defeated by the many [sect. 70].*

And the texts on women, appears to reveal some latent misogyny, see below sect. 6.5. In particular, the chapter on Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, which is partly pure fiction either invented by Piccolomini himself or taken over from the European rumour mill, shows a double bias against the Duke of Burgundy and against women rulers. The imperial court was hostile to the duke's designs

on imperial territories – and had been so since the time of Emperor Sigismund - and Piccolomini's fictitious account of the duke's neglect of government may be considered as reflecting imperial propaganda against the duke (whom Piccolomini would later come to admire). Also, the story of Isabella's political ambitions and domination of her husband is a complete exaggeration. Isabella and the duke had a good marital relationship, and the duke did give his wife a share in his rule that was unusual for the time, but he certainly did not let his wife rule in his place. The story reveals a bias against female rulers, which also comes to the fore in the biographies of Empress Barbara (ch. 32) and Jaqueline of Bavaria (ch. 37), and in the account of Empress Elizabeth (sect. 141-142).

4.1.2.7. *Condensation*

Piccolomini's account of complex chains of events is often condensed¹ to a degree that affects the adequacy of the account.

An example is the biography of Emperor Sigismund. Though it is the longest chapter in the book, and though Piccolomini gives a lively and interesting picture of the emperor and his reign, Sigismund's long life and extraordinarily complex career is, in Piccolomini's chosen format, described rather unevenly with some individual episodes taking up much space and the rest being described too summarily to give justice to Sigismund's complex career.

4.1.2.8. *Colourful fabulations*

Piccolomini, consummate raconteur, was not above giving life to his account by including colourful fabulations which he either freely invented himself or which he took over from some other source, even when his critical sense should have told him that this was really too farfetched and could not be correct.

Examples:

- King Henry V *forbade the English to sleep on feathers and ordered beds to be made of hard wool so that men's bodies would not grow soft. He also intended – after gaining the French kingdom – to destroy all vineyards and forbid his subjects the use of wine, saying that wine makes men weak, sluggish, and stupid.* [sect. 217]!

¹ Such biographic condensation was also sometimes used by Pier Candido Decembrio in his biography of Filippo Maria Visconti and was *in keeping with the principles of brevitatis typical of Suetonian biography* (See Ianziti in Decembrio: *Lives*, p. 276, n. 36).

Henry V may have had his foibles, but he was not stupid, and modern historians do not confirm this story.

The story of the Portuguese princess pining for years after the Duke of Burgundy has already been related.

In some instances, however, the details given by Piccolomini at first view appear to be fanciful, but research then shows that he is right on the spot or at least close to the truth:

An example:

- *Friedrich was a man of great sexual appetites and had affairs both with married women and married men* [sect. 243].

This claim that Duke Friedrich IV, lascivious prince, had bisexual affairs is shown by modern research to be at least plausible and was known to the duke's contemporaries.

4.1.2.9. Conclusion

On the one hand, many passages from modern historians and also from a contemporary of Piccolomini (Pier Candido Decembrio) show that he gives a largely and demonstrably adequate account of contemporary events. In some cases, modern historians consider that Piccolomini's DVI is the possibly most important historiographical source concerning a person described.¹

Even in the relatively few cases of clear bias, there is some kernel of truth.

On the other hand, there are so many errors of various kinds that the DVI, as a historical source, must be treated with a critical sense and the individual items of information scrutinised for verifiability or probability.

It should be mentioned that in some cases, factual errors in the first version of the text are not corrected in the later version, though Piccolomini would surely, in the meantime, have become aware of the error. An example is his erroneous report on the death of the King of Navarre, Juan of Aragon, at the Battle of Olmeda, see above. By the time Piccolomini wrote the later version, he must have known that the King of Navarre was still alive and well but failed to correct the

¹ Wagendorfer: *Herzog*, p. 242: ... *die wichtigste historiographische Quelle, die jedoch in der bisherigen Literatur zu Friedrich IV überraschenderweise kaum berücksichtigt worden ist – die Vita des Herzogs in "De viris illustribus" von Eneas Silvius Piccolominis.*

erroneous report of his death, probably intending to correct the information in the later versions of the DVI that he planned. So, a number of errors in the text would probably not have occurred in the final version had such a one been produced.

4.2. Piccolomini as a biographer

According to Erich Cochrane, Piccolomini's

... De Viris illustribus (1440-1450) , which he began when he was still at Basel, was really just an expanded and updated version of the similar biographies of Jerome and Petrarch, with the vital statistics, res gestae, and moral qualities of each personage listed in page-long entries ... (p. 43).

It is not quite clear what Cochrane meant with updated. The subject matter was evidently quite different, since Jerome and Petrarch had described persons from Antiquity and the Bible, whereas Piccolomini described persons from his own age, making it a work of contemporary biography.

At any rate, as a biographer, Piccolomini showed exquisite skill in delineating a personality and making it come alive to the reader through succinct characterisation (see above), anecdotes, (some) scandals, and salient remarks:

4.2.1. Anecdotes

In his biographies, Piccolomini relied on the use of anecdotes, in the Suetonian manner.¹

A famous example is the affair of sealing a bull at the Council of Basel, which Piccolomini had experienced personally, at very close range:

- *On that occasion, two mutually incompatible decrees were read, but only the decree of the majority was sealed with the bull [of the council]. Since the decree of the minority could not be sealed with a bull publicly, it was expedited under the seals of the [apostolic] legates and sent to the Greeks. When, later, a letter sent from Rome required this decree to be sealed with the leaden bull [of the council], Bartolomeo Battiferro, secretary of Giuliano, and Roberto Martelli of Florence, audacious youths and ready to commit any offence, bribed the sealer of documents, sealed the bull, and, with the knowledge of Giuliano, gave it to the Archbishop of Taranto. Then the decree was sent to Eugenius in Rome with some letters, but*

¹ Suetonius (Forester), Preface: "*La Harpe remarks of Suetonius:: '... His work is, in some sense, a collection of anecdotes ...'*" (Loeb Classical Library).

it was intercepted together with several other letters. Taranto and Giuliano were accused of having committed a crime. Bartolomeo saved himself by fleeing. Roberto, being a layperson, gave surety. Giuliano swore in the assembly that he had not ordered this deed. Taranto declared that he had not done it, but he approved of it and considered it legitimate. The twelve bishops appointed to investigate the matter ordered Taranto to not leave his home. Realising that the Fathers were angry with him and considering that large groups are prone to harsh judgments, he summoned the Margrave of Roeteln while the Fathers were meeting, mounted a horse, and left the city for Florence [sect. 1].

Another example concerns the Franciscan preacher Giacomo della Marca whose attempts to settle an uprising in Buda had a rather unfortunate outcome:

- *The Franciscan Giacomo della Marca, too, was a disciple of Bernardino. He preached the word of God to many peoples and was heard with great attention. When he came to Hungary, he had to speak through an interpreter since he did not know the language. Nonetheless, he gained a large audience and became very popular. Once in Buda, when he was preaching a sermon on the vanity of men and women, he had brought the head of a dead man with him to the pulpit, and when he had spoken for a long time about human vanity and in the end wanted to demonstrate to them that man is nothing, he [suddenly] showed them the head of the dead man and said: “Glory as much as you will, men. But to this beauty and charm, you must [some day] return!” And when there was an uprising in Buda, and the Hungarians rose against the Germans, and the whole city was in arms, he, carrying a crucifix, urged them to put an end to hate and have peace, out of reverence for the crucifix. The Hungarians, however, believing that it would make their fight more successful, seized both monk and crucifix and carried them along, as they pursued the Germans and made an immense slaughter [sect. 98].*

Giacomo may not have had much luck with his attempt of pacification, but the anecdote illustrates his personal piety and bravery.

A final example concerns a courageous mayor of Zürich and his death at the hands of the frenzied - but witty - Swiss in the Battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl (Old Zürich War), 22 July 1444:

- *In the meantime, there were many fights between the people of Zürich and the Swiss. The Swiss had the support of Bern and many other, as well as Basel, a recent ally. The Swiss besieged Zürich, and people were killed every day. Then the people of Zürich made a sortie and attacked the enemies, and a bloodbath ensued in which about 800 men fell on each side. The mayor of Zürich, a distinguished knight, fought furiously and personally killed 20 men. He could not be overpowered, so in the end, he was killed. The Swiss cut out his heart and*

put a cow tail in its place, with the words, "This you despised when alive. Now honour it in death!" Then they stuck a tailfeather of a peacock up his ass (the peacock being the heraldic animal of the Austrians), with the words, "This you loved [when alive]. Now shit on it in death!" The fury of the Swiss, who had won the battle, was so great that they made seats out of corpses, ate of them and roasted the flesh. This I have heard from men who took part in the battle [sect.169].

The cow's tail obviously represents the Swiss and the peacock feather their enemies, the Habsburgs, with whom Zürich sided against the Swiss.

4.2.2. Scandals

Some of the anecdotes concern scandals, again in the Suetonian vein.¹

The affair of the sealing of the bulls at the Councils of Basel has already been mentioned.

The affair between Niccolò d'Estes son, Ugo, and his young wife was one of the major scandals at the time:

- *He [Niccolò d'Este] was really a happy man, but fortune did not allow him to be always happy, for his son with a concubine, a handsome and gentle young man, fell madly in love with his wife, who seduced him. When the marquess heard it, he - more severely than wisely - ordered both his son and his wife to be beheaded, presenting a gruesome spectacle to his citizens. This matter disturbed his happiness [sect. 48].*

Another scandal, also involving the son of an elderly prince, causing him great sorrow, is the affair of Jacopo Foscari, son of the Venetian doge, Francesco Foscari:

- *His only son came under suspicion. When he heard the guards arrive - as one of his servants, who was party to his plans, had already been arrested and taken away to be tortured - he boarded a rapid ship with 40 oarsmen and much gold and fled to Trieste. His sentence, read in the senate, ordered him to go into exile in Neapolis Romaniae, never to leave that city, never to call himself 'son of the doge', to have no more than three servants, and to never precede a person older than himself. If he did that, his sons could receive their*

¹ Also used by Piccolomini's contemporary, Per Paolo Decembrio, in his biography of Filippo Maria Visconti: *The result is a rather odd combination of devotion and lurid court scandal. Such a mix ... had ... a worthy classical precedent in Suetonian biographies that had long been popular at the Visconti court and which Decembrio consequently adopted as his literary model.* (Decembrio: *Lives* (Ianziti), p. xi)

paternal inheritance; if not, they would get nothing. The judgment was made by the Eight Men, who are empowered to act without the knowledge of the doge. When Foscari heard it, he said, "I am sorry about the guilt of my son, but I am not sorry about the punishment." The mother was sent to the son to persuade him to go into exile but in vain. The father dissimulated, being probably sorry. He was always a fortunate man, but in the matter of his son, he was not [sect. 67].

Some of the scandals concern princely misalliances – with gruesome results!

One of these involved Albrecht III, Duke of Bavaria Munich, and the commoner Agnes Bernauer:

While his father was still alive, he fell in love with a low-born but extraordinarily beautiful woman, whom he even thought of marrying, so madly he loved her. Love can make you do anything! When she saw herself loved by the prince, she became presumptuous and did not deign to see her father or mother, and she no longer thought she could be their child, being treated as a wife by such a great prince. However, when Ernst saw his son completely infatuated with this low-born woman and rejecting marriage with any noblewoman, he sent Albrecht away and had the woman drowned in the Donau at Straubing. It is harsh to sentence someone to die so that another may live. But maybe it was her own crime of rejecting the parents that brought her to this [end] [sect. 263].

A second instance was the Duke of Gloucester's repudiation of his wife, Jakoba van Beiern, unfortunate in husbands, and his marriage with the commoner, Eleanor Cobham, see below sect. 6.5.5.

4.2.3. Salient remarks

Related to anecdotes are salient remarks made by the persons described and quoted by Piccolomini as expressing their personality.

An example is Emperor Sigismund's merry - and irreverently frank - remark to Pope Eugenius made during a conversation at his imperial coronation in Rome in 1433:

- *Holy Father, we are dissimilar in three ways and similar in other three: You sleep in the morning, I get up before dawn. You drink water, I drink wine. You flee women, I pursue them. But we are similar in this that you pour out the money of the Church, while I keep nothing for myself. You have bad hands, and I have bad feet. You destroy the Church, and I the Empire [sect. 133].*

The pope may not have appreciated the remark.

Another example is the comment of King Enrique III on the piety of his royal colleague, King Martin II of Aragon:

- *He once received some ambassadors from king Martin. When he asked them how his relative fared and if he governed well, they replied that King Martin ruled excellently and was beloved by all. People had high hopes for him since he heard three masses every day. Then King Enrique said, “Go and tell my relative that I do not have high hopes for him if he does that. For kings are not made to hear masses but to keep their subjects out of harm’s way and to maintain peace in the kingdom. One mass a year would not be too little if only he provides justice and judgment. It goes against his duty if hearing masses distracts him from administering justice” [sect. 221].*

Another example is the reply of Count Ludwig I of Württemberg to Emperor Sigismund when the emperor offered to make him a prince of the Empire:

- *“I will rather be a great count than a little prince” [sect. 267].*

Braccio da Montone, that fearful captain and enemy of religion, was apparently quite capable of mordant remarks:

- *Once a friend of his criticised him for saying that he wanted to bring Pope Martin to such dire straits that he would sing a mass for him for a silver coin. It was not decent, said the friend, to speak thus of the Supreme Pontiff. Braccio answered him, “You are a fool if you believe I said that, for why would I give a silver coin for one mass when I would not give even a small copper coin for a hundred?” [sect. 31].*

A final example is Archbishop della Capra’s remark to the young Piccolomini at the Council of Basel, expressing his distrust of opportunist cardinals in general and of Cardinal Cesarini (later Piccolomini’s admired mentor and friend) in particular:

- *In the end, this man will deceive us; I fear the red hats [sect. 106].*

5. Style

The style of the DVI is clearly different from Piccolomini's oratory. It is a vivid, sometimes colourful, description of events and persons, much in the anecdotal way of Suetonius, and almost entirely free of the elegant rhetorics of his orations and the textual embellishment with *exempla*, *sententiae* and quotations from classical literature.

Some elements of his style are humour, fictive orations, apophthegms and innuendo.

5.1. Humour

Sometimes, Piccolomini gives free rein to his sense of humour, as in the following passage (already related in another context):

- *He [King Henry V] forbade the English to sleep on feathers and ordered beds to be made of hard wool so that men's bodies would not grow soft. He also intended – after gaining the French kingdom – to destroy all vineyards and forbid his subjects the use of wine, saying that wine makes men weak, sluggish, and stupid. For that reason, I do not much regret his death, though he had great virtue, for I would rather miss him than wine. I admit, though, that if you drink as the English do, your mind will indeed grow dim [sect. 217]!*

The whole preposterous passage reeks of tavern humour – from a happy drinking session at the Congress of Arras?

Another instance is a humorous comment on an old man, Wilhelm von Stein, marrying a very young woman:

- *His wife was a noblewoman from Tyrol. When she died, he was an old man, but nonetheless, he married a young, 14-year-old girl of his own family. Thus he began a major war at a time when his weapons should be returned to Mars [sect. 254].*

In some cases, Piccolomini takes pleasure in quoting jokes by others. Emperor Sigismund's joke to Pope Eugenius has already been mentioned. Another one was made by Duke Friedrich IV to some fellow dukes when the emperor returned from his coronation travel to Rome:

- *“Ludwig, Heinrich and Friedrich, back to your desks, the master comes” [sect. 243].*

5.2. Fictive orations

A literary device dating back to classical historians is the fictive oration or lengthy direct utterance, included in the text as the author's imagined version of what a person would have said. The DVI contains several examples of such fictive orations or utterances. They clearly satisfy a literary propensity to write colourful, vivid, and engaging text but also function quite effectively to reveal his conception of the person.

Two examples will be given here.

One is Piccolomini's version of Henry V's address to his soldiers before the Battle of Agincourt. That Henry actually gave such an address is known from contemporary sources, but Piccolomini's text is fictive and gives him the opportunity to use the arrogant French rejection of Henry's offer to end his campaign as the motive to do battle in a just war, important in both classical and Christian theory of war:

- *“Now, soldiers and brothers, we are the victors. Since we have made honest and decent offers and been refused, we no longer have to fear that the Divine Piety, in whose hands is victory, will be against us. If we had begun the battle before now, I would have feared God's anger, for perhaps our raid against French lands has not been just. But now that we have offered to return all, just keeping our lives, and they only want us dead, will their insolence not displease the heavenly beings? So, take courage and prepare yourselves for battle in the morning. Do not fear their numbers, for God has the power to deliver the many into the hands of the few. No strength of soldiers can equal a just cause. Remember that you fight not because you want to but because it is necessary. You go to battle not for glory nor dominion but for survival and your lives. Only the sword can open our road to life: we must either win or die. But is it not more glorious to die in battle by the sword of a soldier than in one's home by the dagger of a spy? I would rather die in battle than in a city or in a prison. Nobody shall kill me with impunity. Here, here we must fall, where our sword can avenge us. Consider whom you will fight. Think of the chains and prisons. Only your swords will free you from them. Let all strive to not die before they have avenged their own death. Do not doubt that tomorrow Heaven will be open to all of us who die in battle since we are forced to fight in a just cause. Let us confess our sins to each other so that we shall be pure if we happen to die” [sect. 214].*

The other is Emperor Sigismund's address to the mother of his two young jailors, whose father he had allegedly killed. Here, Piccolomini undoubtedly enjoyed giving full rein to and showing off his talent for persuasion:

- *Then Sigismund demanded to speak to the mother of the youths whom he knew to be a wise woman and the young men's guide. When she came to speak with him, he said, "I have said much, woman, to your sons that I believe would be to their profit, but because of their [young] age, they do not know as much as you undoubtedly do. So, I shall say to you what I said to them. Then, afterwards, if my advice is advantageous to you, accept it. If not, do as you please. Here, I am in your hands and your sons'. If you wish to save me, you can. If you wish to kill me, you can do that, too. However, you have no cause for killing me unless you suspect me of having murdered your husband. But, woman, I swear by the heavenly beings, by the immaculate Faith, and by Jesus Christ, whom we worship as God, that I did not know of the plan to kill the noble barons and your husband with them. It was the queen, whose power was much greater than mine, who had it done, ill-advisedly. Thus, there is no reason to take revenge on me. But even if I had committed this sin, killing me would not be to your own advantage. You know that I am your king, and you have no lawful power over me. You know that I descend from a great family: my brother is the king of Bohemia, and he will not let my death go unavenged. You know that there must be a king in Hungary. Whoever takes over this kingdom will be suspicious of your sons since they would already have stained their hands with royal blood. No one who has killed a king is acceptable to other kings for they fear the [bad] example, and those who are hostile to kings are destroyed for the sake of all. So, if you dare to kill me, your sons will never have a place in the kingdom but will suffer infamy and poverty. Thus you see, best of women, what will happen if you have me killed. You know that my death cannot bring your dead husband back to you. If you let me go and pretend that I have fled, I shall easily regain the kingdom. When they hear that I am alive, many barons and communities will take weapons to support me, and since I shall also be taking Bohemians with me, there is no doubt that I shall regain the kingdom. When that happens, I shall consider myself to have received the kingdom from you and your sons, and I shall raise up your house and family and keep your sons with me as magnates. So, choose now what you want: will you pollute your house, make it infamous, and destroy it by killing me, or will you give it eternal glory and high status by saving me?" The woman was moved by Sigismund's words and pitied his royal blood. She was also affected by the prince's elegance, his handsomeness, and his whole demeanour, worthy of a ruler. So, she summoned her sons and persuaded them to let the king go [sect. 111-112].*

5.3. Apophthegms

Piccolomini's writings are replete with *sententiae* and apophthegms (aphorisms) from classical and other authors, but he was quite capable of formulating such himself and using them to underscore some point in his account:

Examples:

- *Since the bishop wanted to keep the matter secret and did not speak of it with his people, he was deceived. Had he just consulted one of his people, he would not have been deceived in this way. However, pride allows no companion but claims all for itself* [sect. 9].
- *He would have been happy all his life if the son's disaster and his wife's crime had not happened. However, this is the will of the fates. It is foolish to put all one's hope in sensual pleasure. The end of sensual pleasure is remorse* [sect. 49].
- *When Cosimo's plans failed, his popularity waned, for that is how it is: popularity follows fortune* [sect. 72].
- *Pedro was industrious and always sought to know what his adversaries were doing. He often kept learned men in Rom, who on the pretext of poverty served the cardinals and informed Pedro about all that happened in the City. But industriousness is worthless if not accompanied by fortune* [sect. 258].

5.4. Innuendo

Piccolomini also mastered the art of the innuendo when writing about sensitive subjects:

- *Wladyslaw was then given another consort who bore him children when he was already 100 years old. In this, he surpassed even Cato and Massinissa - unless he had a helper* [sect. 236].

A little later, though, he writes *that there is a rumour they were the sons of some knight, not of the king* [sect 238]. So much for discretion!

6. Some themes

6.1. The Empire

Through the biographies and other mentions of emperors in the DVI and the *Lives of four emperors*, Piccolomini described the development of the Holy Roman Empire during the first half (more or less) of the fifteenth century.

First came the dynasty of Luxembourg:

- *Originally, the family was from Luxembourg, descended from Emperor Heinrich VII, whose son Johann married the daughter and heir of the King of Bohemia, through whom he acquired that kingdom. He had the son Karl, from whom were born Wenzel and Sigismund. Wenzel, being the eldest son, succeeded his father in the Kingdom of Bohemia and was later elected King of the Romans, not without the sin of simony, however, since the electors were bought by Karl [sect. 109].*

Whether or not the term “simony”¹ can properly be applied to secular office, its use by Piccolomini in his remarks on the election of Wenzel IV (1361-1419), elected King of the Romans in 1376, is surely a slur on the legitimacy of the Luxembourg imperial dynasty and possibly reflects a Habsburg bias against that house.

Wenzel, of course, was no success as an emperor:

- *Wenzel was a man given to sensual pleasures. He avoided labours, loved wine, treasured money, and liked hunting. His subjects often rebelled against him. After losing the Empire, he also ruined the Kingdom of Bohemia. Once, he was captured by Sigismund and placed in custody with the Duke of Austria in Vienna but managed to flee. However, since Sigismund was younger and more clever, it was he who gained the favour of the people [sect. 116].*

In the end, he was deposed, without having managed to obtain the imperial coronation in Rome:

- *... Wenzel, King of the Romans, after a reign of about 14 years, was deposed as imperial ruler, having been judged idle and neglectful of the Empire. He was also criticised for raising Milan to a duchy without consulting the princes [sect. 115].*

He was succeeded by two princes, who did not fare much better as emperors, Jobst of Moravia and Ruprecht of Bavaria (see above, sect. 4.1.2.3.).

¹ Being the sin of buying an ecclesiastical office.

Emperor Sigismund did fare better.

He had serious problems maintaining his rule Hungary, though, at least in the beginning:

- *Sigismund married Maria, daughter of King Louis of Hungary, through whom he acquired the Kingdom of Hungary. He suffered much trouble in that kingdom for the Hungarians often rebelled since rebellion is their speciality [sect. 110].*

He also had great problems imposing himself as King of Bohemia, where his rule was only recognised shortly before his death (see above, sect. 4.1.2.5.).

He was not successful in his wars against the Turks, especially in the disastrous Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, which would terrify European rulers for generations to come:

- *... when a vast Turkish army laid waste to the Kingdom of Hungary, Sigismund decided to go against the Turks and meet them in battle. The Duke of Burgundy came to his aid, as did many nobles from France, Germany, England, and even Italy ... The Turkish spirits rose, and moving forward, they put the whole Christian army to flight. The Christians were massacred, many thousands killed, and many nobles were taken prisoner. ... Sigismund saved himself by flight. [sect. 114].*

But he did settle the calamitous Great Western Schism with three popes at a time, and in the process, he managed to put the Habsburgs in their place:

- *There was now a schism [in the Church], and Benedict held Spain, Gregory some Germans and Italians, and Johannes XXIII the rest of Christendom. Therefore, Sigismund decided to work for the peace of the Church. ... Sigismund went to Konstanz, the council began at the stipulated time, and Johannes arrived. When he realised that the Fathers felt he should abdicate for the peace of the Church, he fled and went to the lands of Duke Friedrich of Austria, whose loyalty he had bought. Thus Friedrich protected Johannes. This made Sigismund angry, and he sent armed forces against Friedrich. ... Terrified, Friedrich gave up his plans. When Johannes wanted to leave Breisach for France, he was captured and in the end deposed ... Gregory, however, abdicated the papacy of his own free will. Now, only Benedict remained [as pope], a disturbance to the peace of the Church, though only followed by the Spaniards. Sigismund left [Konstanz] to meet with him. ... When he came to Benedict in Perpignan, he spoke with him but was unable to persuade him to abdicate the papacy for the peace of the Church. But Sigismund also had talks with the Spanish kings, and in Narbonne they reached an agreement that the entire nation would abandon Benedict, that a new invitation would be issued in Konstanz, addressed to the whole nation, and that then the Spaniards would come to the council, all of which happened. Later, Martin was elected pope unanimously. And thus, thanks to the labour and diligence of Sigismund, the schism that had lasted for almost 40 years was ended and peace restored [sect. 117-118].*

He also managed to get crowned emperor in Rome, though with great difficulty, his progress through Italy being one of a destitute prince and not of a victorious ruler:

- *Having made - and cancelled - many agreements with Duke Filippo of Milan, Sigismund finally entered Italy, on Filippo's conditions, and he did not bring more people with him than Filippo accepted. He was crowned in Milan but, as agreed between them, never met with Filippo ... Sigismund arrived, unimpeded, in Lucca, but then the Duke of Milan stopped his monthly financial contributions, and the Florentines let Micheletto, of the Sforza family, attack his army in Tuscany. Thus, Sigismund was deprived of all support. Retreating would be shameful, and advancing would be risky. However, he chose the hard way: with his people in battle formation and against the will of Florentines, he crossed the Arno. When he arrived in Siena, the citizens received him as a father, honourably and cordially, and he met even greater courtesy than he had looked for. While there, he waged war continuously against the Florentines, and he even took part in the campaign personally. But when Filippo, without Sigismund, made a separate peace with the Venetians and the Florentines, Sigismund sought reconciliation with Eugenius. For this purpose, Kaspar was often sent [on missions to Rome], in which also the Archbishop of Trier took part. Sigismund stayed in Siena for almost a year, the Sieneese ensuring his and his whole household's upkeep. Afterwards, he went to Rome, where he was crowned emperor and promised Eugenius to recognise him as pope as long as he lived. [sect. 124-128]*

Initially, he promised to support the Council of Basel, but eventually, he allied himself with Pope Eugenius and effectively withdrew his support of the council:

- *In the meantime, the Council of Basel had begun. Although Eugenius had dissolved it, Sigismund ordered that the number of delegates be increased and instructed his prelates to attend. ... The council was greatly encouraged by a golden letter from Sigismund, promising his firm support. But Eugenius adamantly resisted them, relying on Venetian, Florentine, and his own forces. ... Afterwards, he [Sigismund] went to Rome where he was crowned emperor and promised Eugenius to recognise him as pope as long as he lived. Some people attributed this to inconstancy since he had previously promised to support the council. [sect. 125, 128].*

The dynasty of Luxembourg was followed by the dynasty of Habsburg:

Sigismund was succeeded by Albrecht II, his son-in-law of the House of Habsburg. Albrecht had greater military success in Bohemia than had Sigismund:

- *Albrecht grew up and married Elizabeth, daughter of King Sigismund. She was a very beautiful woman who lived with him most virtuously. After the Bohemians had turned to heresy and terrorised their neighbours with wars, he alone, with great strength, protected Moravia and Austria, and the damage he inflicted upon the Bohemians was not smaller than*

the damage he took from them. He was always in arms and, like the Bohemians, used wagon formations in battle. Making his soldiers undergo hard military training, Albrecht was the only one of all their neighbours whom the Bohemians feared, having been often defeated by him and put to flight [sect. 36].

A Habsburg, he managed to lift the dynastic heritage of Sigismund by reassembling the crowns of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia under one rule, even extending it with his Austrian dukedom:

- *When his father-in-law Sigismund died, the Hungarians soon called him to the kingship, and the Bohemians followed suit. Thus, in a very short time, he gained two large kingdoms. But when he came to Hungary for his coronation, a party of nobles claimed that they had not known about his election and did not want him as king. Albrecht met them on their arrival in Buda and pacified the angry nobles with a show of kindness and courtesy, after which he was crowned in perfect peace. In the meantime, the electors of the Empire, having heard about Sigismund's death, elected Albrecht as King of the Romans and sent their decree to him in Vienna [sect. 137].*

However, his rule of Hungary was not stable, and he was unsuccessful against the Turks, though this was mostly the fault of his Hungarian troops and to some extent his – Luxembourg – queen undermining his command:

- *When Albrecht had been for some time in Bohemia, he returned to Vienna and afterwards continued to Hungary. When he stayed in Buda, there was a popular uprising against the Germans. The Hungarians took to weapons, went on a rampage through the city, and killed the Germans they found on the spot. Then they went on to attack the merchants' houses. Great fear seized all the Germans. The king stayed in the castle, trembling with fear and rebuking the queen for having brought him to this. ... Afterwards, the Hungarians declared that it was necessary to fight the Turks who were tearing the whole kingdom apart. Albrecht offered to do it and call on the German and other Christian princes to more easily expel the enemies. However, the Hungarians said there was sufficient strength in Hungary, only order and leadership were lacking. But if the king himself went to war, there would be both order and leadership, and there would be no need to call in foreigners when their own people sufficed. This the Hungarians did because they feared that the Germans would grow too [strong] in their kingdom. The queen sided with them, being only too happy to be shown more honour than her husband. The Hungarians honoured her because she spoke their language and was the heir to the kingdom. They accepted Albrecht as her husband, but they did not like that he was a German and moreover did not speak Hungarian. The woman was clever and cunning. She had a man's mind in a woman's body, and she pushed her husband wherever she wanted to. Thus, she induced her husband to accept the Hungarians' advice [sect. 141].*

An army was gathered and, moving towards the battlefield, they came to a marshy and fetid area, where there was not enough wine and food. A public announcement was made forbidding all to touch arriving provisions without the queen's permission. There was no mention of the king. Then, when the enemies approached, the Hungarians fled in all directions, leaving the king with only a few men. He barely escaped, cursing his wife roundly. So great was the disorder that the Hungarians even approached the queen when she was lying in her bed [sect. 142].

Albrecht's greatest failure was, however, to die after less than two years on the throne. His untimely death put an end to his endeavours, preventing the consolidation of his power in Hungary and Bohemia and his imperial coronation in Rome:

- *While travelling back, he fell ill from the extraordinary heat and ate too many melons, which caused his death. Thus, he disappeared as quickly as he had risen [sect. 142].*

Albrecht was succeeded by his Habsburg cousin, Friedrich, who did not succeed to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. They fell to Albrecht's heir, Ladislaus the Posthumous. However, the Hungarians and Bohemians found other, temporary, solutions of government. But Friedrich was elected emperor, knowing from the beginning that he was playing the imperial game from a position of weakness, having only the limited resources of his Austrian lands at his disposition and entirely inadequate imperial revenues.

Piccolomini entered his court in 1442, a couple of years after his accession, and in the DVI he could only describe the first period of his reign, covering the period from 1339 to 1445.

The greater part of Piccolomini's factual account of the first bumpy years of Friedrich's reign describes his coronation and coronation progress, his conflicts with his brother, with the Tyroleans with the Hungarians and with Swiss, and his troubles with the Armagnacs. It also contains a detailed description of the convoluted process of negotiations with the German princes, the pope and the Council of Basel, to find a solution to the schism in the Church. It finishes before the settlement of this schism with German recognition of the Roman Papacy, and the Concordat of Vienna in 1448, which would be a triumph for Friedrich.

At one point, Piccolomini relates a reply from Pope Eugenius to Friedrich. In his reply, the pope denies Friedrich's petition for a new council:

- *From Eugenius, they could not obtain a [new] council but received a somewhat harsh answer. He said that he did not know how a council could be held with the king and prince-electors maintaining a neutrality unknown to the Christian Faith. He [already] had a*

council in Florence, and there they should come. He was willing to respond to the royal petition by expanding that council [sect. 154].

In his reply, the pope even refused to address Friedrich as king and only called him elect, because he had yet approved his imperial election, provoking a disillusioned reflection of Piccolomini on the diminished status of the Empire vis-à-vis the Papacy:

- *In his responses, Eugenius did not call Friedrich king but only elect. He said that he did so because he had not approved Friedrich's election. It was customary for the Kings of the Romans to inform the pope as soon as they had been elected, and for the pope to approve the election by a letter. So low has the Empire fallen after coming into the hands of the Germans – though Emperor Otto had full powers to make dispositions concerning the Apostolic See.*

In sum total, Piccolomini described the Empire as an embattled and weakened institution that had not really profited from its dynastic union with the Central European kingdoms. It had become dependent on the German prince-electors whose support Emperor Karl IV had had to buy. It was not able to rule its Italian part. And its status vis-à-vis the Papacy had diminished over the centuries, even if the emperor had been instrumental in restoring it after the Great Western Schism.

6.2. The Papacy

The Papacy is described through the actions of the popes, mentioned a large number of times in the DVI, and in the *Lives of four popes*, going back to the beginning of the Great Western Schism.

6.2.1. Popes

6.2.1.1. The Great Western Schism

The Great Western schism began in 1378 and created two lines of popes, the Roman and the Avignonese:

- *... after the death of Gregory XI from Limoges, who had brought the Apostolic See back to Rome from Avignon, the cardinals had chosen Urban VI from Naples to succeed him. However, the French cardinals left the curia, and [claiming that] Urban had not been elected legitimately but under duress, they elected the Cardinal of Genève Supreme Pontiff,*

who took the name of Clement VII. He was later succeeded in the pontificate by Pedro de Luna, under the name of Benedict XIII [sect. 300].

Attempts to reunite the Church having failed, the cardinals summoned a council in Pisa in 1409, but it failed, too, and even worsened the schism but creating a third line of popes, the Pisan:

- *As the Church was divided between Gregory and Benedict, the cardinals who wanted [Church] union endeavoured to arrange a meeting between them in Saona, a city in Liguria, to provide for the peace of the Church. When this attempt failed, the same cardinals gathered a council in Pisa, in Toscana, in which both Benedict and Gregory were deposed for the peace of the Church, because they had neglected their oath to abdicate from the papacy. Then Petrus of Candia was raised to the summit of the papacy. He took the name of Alexander. Gregory came to Siena and stayed there for a long time. Baldassare Cossa, who was also called Johannes XXIII, was from Naples. When Alexander died in Bologna, whose governor Baldassare had been, he was elected Supreme Pontiff [sect. 300-302].*

Finally, the emperor and the Europeans lost patience with the contending popes, and the emperor pressured Johannes XXIII to summon a council in Konstanz (1414-1418) to settle the schism and restore the Roman Papacy:

- *Thriving on war more than peace and unconcerned about religion and tranquillity, he [Johannes XXIII] strove in many ways to prevent a council for peace in the Church, to be held in Rome. However, he met with Emperor Sigismund in Lodi, a city in Lombardy, and made an agreement with him about holding a council in Konstanz. ... He himself went to Konstanz, having made an alliance with Duke Friedrich of Austria. However, when the council had assembled, he was publicly admonished to abdicate from the papacy for the peace of the Church. First, he assented, eager for praise, but then he refused, at the insistence of his own people, and in the end, he decided to retain the papacy, out of a desire for power. So he fled from Konstanz and went to Schaffhausen. Hearing that the Fathers who had remained in Konstanz proceeded against him, he went on to Breisach, intending to cross the Rhine and enter France. From there, he would continue to Italy, with the help of Duke Jean of Burgundy, who for his sake had kept a troop of mounted soldiers in the vicinity. But Emperor Sigismund wanted church union and feared that his flight would be the cause of a major conflagration. He, therefore, passed judgment on Duke Friedrich of Austria for having helped Johannes and had Johannes arrested in Breisach. Afterwards, the synod proceeded against him, passed a declaration of deposition, and sentenced him to imprisonment for life [sect. 302-303].*

6.2.1.2. *The restoration of the Roman Papacy*

The pope elected by the council, Martin V, managed to achieve an amazing restoration of the Papacy. However, his crusade against the Hussites in 1431 failed, and he was unable to prevent the holding of the Council of Basel:

- *Oddone Colonna, later called Martin V, was born from nobility, but as a cardinal he lived in such poverty that he could only participate in the Council of Konstanz because his sister Paola, ruler of Piombino, paid the costs for him. So, when, after the abdication of Gregory and the deposition of Johannes and Benedict, the Fathers were considering whom to make pope, and 23 cardinals and 30 men from five nations were gathered in conclave, nobody thought that the lot would fall on him, as he was eliminated by poverty. But the Lord has the power to raise up the humble and cast down the proud, and he made it so that the 53 Fathers could only agree on him who was then elected. He stayed in Konstanz until the next year. After the council had ended and the next one been indicted, to be held in Pavia after five years, he went to Genève. ... Then he travelled via Pavia, Mantua, and Ferrara to Florence, where he stayed for some time, partly pleased by the city's charm, partly forced by necessity, for the Patrimony of the Church was occupied by tyrants. There Johannes came to him, as said above, as well as the tyrant Braccio, who had occupied Perugia. Johannes he appointed a cardinal, but with Braccio he could not come to an acceptable agreement. At that time, three tyrants, low born but risen high by force of arms, had divided the Patrimony of the Church between them, Braccio, Sforza and Tartaglia. Martin made an agreement with Sforza and made him Captain of the Church. He helped Martin return to Rome and made the road safe for travellers. Afterwards, Martin managed to separate Tartaglia from Braccio and hired him as a captain, but in the end, he had Tartaglia executed because he discovered that he had been disloyal and gave cause for grave suspicion. And when Braccio was besieging Aquila and threatened to come towards the City, Martin - through his captains - attacked and took him, and when he died of a wound, he ordered him to be buried in the fields as an excommunicate. Martin's good fortune was so great that he, who at his return to Italy had not even the smallest town in his power, after Braccio's death recovered the whole Patrimony. Also, Duke Filippo of Milan restored to him Forlì and Imola, cities belonging to the Church, which he had taken with arms from the hands of tyrants. He restored the basilicas of Saints Peter and Paul, threatened by ruin, rebuilt a bridge over the Tiber, adorned the City with many buildings, and was the arbiter of peace between all the princes and city states of Italy. Because of the plague, he transferred the council from Pavia to Siena. However, he did not allow it to come to an end but, on various pretexts, dissolved it and indicted another council to be held after seven years in Basel, a city in Germany. When the time of its opening approached, he appointed Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, whom he had sent as a legate against the Hussites, president of the council. Towards the end of his life, his good fortune was overshadowed by the rebellion of Bologna, which he was unable to overcome by arms. He was pope for almost 14 years. His election was surprising, his government successful, and his death holy [sect. 304-306].*

Despite serious troubles with the Council of Basel and Italian opponents, his successor, Pope Eugenius IV, was able to obtain four major triumphs for the newly restored Roman Papacy: he effectively defeated the endeavours of the rump council in Basel and its schismatic pope, Felix V; at his council in Florence, he achieved a (short-lived) reunion with the orthodox churches; he held on to the Church state in spite of attacks from the Duke of Milan and various condottieri, determined to carve out independent principalities for themselves; and he crowned an emperor, Sigismund, in Rome:

- Gabriele Condulmer, who is now called Pope Eugenius, was born in Venice, but his ancestors are said to have come from Naples.. As a cardinal, Gabriele performed two legatine missions, one in Piceno and one in Bologna. ... He was recalled from the last one unexpectedly since the Duke of Milan mistrusted him because of his closeness to the Florentines and his Venetian origins. So, he returned to Rome, and after the death of Martin, he was elected to the see of the supreme pontificate. The beginning of his pontificate was tumultuous. He fell seriously ill, shedding skin and growing new skin like a reptile. He waged war against the Prince of Salerno, a nephew of Martin, with the governor of Vico, and with many other tyrants. The Council of Basel had barely begun when he tried to dissolve it and transfer it to Bologna. But when the Fathers did not agree, he experienced many setbacks and failures, for the council obstructed him in various ways, and he, just as much, obstructed the council. In the meantime, Sigismund had arrived in Siena, planning to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown. After a serious disagreement, they were reconciled, and Eugenius crowned him in the Basilica of Saint Peter. Eugenius promised Sigismund to confirm the Council of Basel, whereas Sigismund promised Eugenius that he would not allow the council to act against him. Thus it happened: when Sigismund returned to Basel, he obtained the cessation of the council's legal procedures against Eugenius. Soon, however, Eugenius suffered another misfortune, for when the Romans plotted against him and claimed their liberty, he was taken and put in jail. But being guarded carelessly, he managed to flee on the Tiber and reached Florence where he was received honourably, and later continued to Bologna. But this was not the end of his troubles! The Basileans much desired to bring the Greeks back to church union, but they could not agree on a venue, wanting the Greeks to come to Savoy or Avignon, whereas the Greeks themselves only wanted to go to some place in Italy. The council fathers were divided: some wanted Avignon or Savoy for the council, others wanted Florence or another location in Italy acceptable to the Greeks. Eugenius agreed with the last party and indicted a council to be held in Ferrara. He managed to persuade the Greeks to come to him in Ferrara, and later took them with him to Florence, where he effected their union with the Latin Church [sect. 309-310].*

Piccolomini's account of the Papacy in the *Lives of four popes*, supported by a great number of passages scattered around in the DVI, is one of an institution having survived a mortal peril in the form of the Great Western Schism and having now achieved an amazing revival in institutional, territorial, and political terms. This picture contrasts with that of the Holy Roman Empire, the other international (Western) institution at the time, embattled and weakened and certainly unable to live

up to the claims for political supremacy advanced by Piccolomini in his *De ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii* from 1446. In later works, Piccolomini would be able to analyse the reasons for the imperial decline¹ and also the fundamental loss of moral authority of the Papacy,² but in 1447 his views had not yet matured to this point.

6.2.2. Cardinals

In the late middle ages, the college of cardinals had become a very important organ of governing the Roman Church, almost on par with the pope himself, not the least due to the influence of the conciliarist movement towards greater democracy in the Church as well as the cardinals' ability and willingness to cause schisms in the Church by electing anti-popes. When raising a matter with the Apostolic see, princes often wrote parallelly to the pope and the cardinals.

The popes, however, retained the prerogative of appointing the cardinals. The councils of Konstanz and Basel endeavoured to limit the pope's freedom of action in this matter, and so did the cardinals assembled in conclave through mutually binding agreements. Still, once a pope was elected, he possessed the plenitude of power to disregard such limitations, and his control of emoluments, privileges, and appointments gave him a powerful tool to control the cardinals, which able popes knew quite well how to use.³ Rival popes each appointed a college of cardinals, and when schisms were settled, the "winning" pope would often reappoint their cardinals.

- *Being a clever man, he [Baldassare Cossa, formerly Johannes XXIII] managed to flee on the way, though he was in chains, but then he came, on his own will, to Martin, staying in Florence. Kneeling before him, he asked to be forgiven his escape and finally renounced the papacy – if he had still any right to it. This show of humilty gained him to be appointed cardinal again [sect. 303].*
- *Alfonso, Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio, came from the noble Spanish family of the Carillos. As we said above, he first received the insignia [of the cardinalate] from Pedro [Benedict XIII] and later from Martin [V]. He lived in Rome in grand state, and for a time, he ruled Bologna, sternly. [sect. 259].*

¹ E.g., in the Report on a Diplomatic Mission to the Diet of Regensburg, 1454 (*Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta*) (CRDM, 4)

² E.g., his papal oration to the cardinals, the "*Sextus agitur annus*" of 1463, the year before he died (COR, X, 75).

³ Pius II's two promotions of cardinals are excellent examples.

In the DVI and the *Lives of Four Popes*, the ability of the cardinals to elect rival popes is mentioned in connection the Great Western Schism and in the meeting of cardinals at the Council of Basel, both described above.

But under normal conditions, the cardinals were the pope's closest advisers, eminent envoys (legates) to the European powers, representatives at councils, and papally appointed co-leaders of armies and crusades:

Some examples:

- *Giovanni de Tagliacozzo ... received the church of Taranto. ... he was later appointed a cardinal and sent with an army to Puglia to oppose the campaign of the King of Aragon. ... Later, he was sent as an [apostolic] legate to Hungary to arrange a peace in the kingdom [sect. 1-2].*
- *... the Lord Cardinal of Santa Croce, ... had business with the duke and was to proceed to Arras to negotiate a peace between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy [sect. 11].*

The status of papal nephew would later develop into a veritable organ of papal government. In the DVI, this development is foreshadowed in the chapters on two nephews of Pope Eugenius IV, Francesco Condulmer and Pietro Barbo. Though both were nephews, the first was apparently the one designated as the papal nephew:

- *Francesco Condulmer, called [dictus] the papal nephew, was created cardinal at a very young age and appointed Chancellor [sect. 3].*
- *[Pietro Barbo,] a nephew of Eugenius through his sister, was appointed cardinal at a very young age [sect. 4].*

6.3. The Council

In the DVI and the *Lives of four popes*, Piccolomini mentions four councils: the Council of Pisa, the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418), The Council of Pavia-Siena (1424) and the Council of Basel (1431-1437) with its schismatic continuation lasting for another 11 years (1438 to 1449).

6.3.1. Council of Pisa

Concerning the Council of Pisa (1409), Piccolomini simply says:

- [DVI] ... *the cardinals seceded from both [popes] and summoned a council in Pisa, where both popes were deposed, and Alexander elected as the new pope* [sect. 256].
- [Lives of four popes] *When this attempt failed, the same cardinals gathered a council in Pisa, in Toscana, in which both Benedict and Gregory were deposed for the peace of the Church, because they had neglected their oath to abdicate from the papacy. Then Petrus of Candia was raised to the summit of the Papacy. He took the name of Alexander* [sect. 301].

This council is not recognised as ecumenical by the Catholic Church, and its results were repudiated by the Council of Konstanz. At the time, however, it was recognised by most European powers, and it was Pope Johannes XXIII, Alexander's successor, who, at emperor Sigismund's instigation, summoned the legitimate (!) Council of Konstanz.

6.3.2. Council of Konstanz

As mentioned above, this council (1414-1418) ended the Great Western Schism and restored the Roman papacy. By 1447, Piccolomini had moved from the conciliarist to the papalist party, which is presumably why he refrained from mentioning the council's decree "*Haec sancta*",¹ proclaiming the council's superiority over the pope in certain cases.

6.3.3. Council of Pavia-Siena

As he was obliged to by the Council of Konstanz' decree "*Frequens*", Pope Martin V indicted a council in Pavia, later transferred to Siena (1424). However, fearing that his opponents and especially King Alfonso V of Aragon, would use the council to oppose the newly restored Papacy, he quickly dissolved it – and got away with it, see above.

¹ COD (1972), pp. 409-410.

6.3.4. Council of Basel

In his Basel period, Piccolomini was staunchly conciliarist and anti-papalist, but by 1444 his positions had been reversed (as mentioned above), and he was now firmly entrenched in the papalist camp and - with the imperial chancellor Kaspar Schlick - one of the main promoters of German recognition of the Roman Papacy. Piccolomini may have drafted some of the texts in the DVI while still in Basel and an adherent of conciliarism, which may explain why he speaks so neutrally about the council.

Piccolomini writes very little about the – few – church reforms enacted by the council, maybe because these did not fit in with the biographical format of the DVI.

Instead, he focuses on the conflict between the council (1432-1438)(1439-1449) and Pope Eugenius in Rome, with prelates defending and opposing the pope.

Among the prelates supporting the pope was Archbishop Tagliacozzo:

- *He was appointed Bishop of Taranto. When he was sent to the Council of Basel, he defended Eugenius' cause to the greatest of his ability, excelling in eloquence and discernment [sect. 1].*

The conflict was largely fomented by external political power plays like the Lombard wars involving the Duke of Milan and his condottieri, and the war in the Kingdom of Naples, involving the royal houses of France and Aragon. When princely and papal interests coincided in these conflicts, the princes – through their prelates in Basel - defended the pope at the council, and when they did not, the princely prelates opposed him.

It has already been mentioned how Emperor Sigismund first pledged his undying support to the council and then ditched it in favour of an alliance with the pope, ensuring him the imperial coronation. Also, Emperor Friedrich III, as seen above, was involved in the conflict between pope and council, even proposing a third council to settle matters. He undoubtedly wanted peace in the Church, but in this whole matter he also, and ably, defended the interests of the Empire and of the House of Habsburg.

Another example is King Alfonso V of Aragon, who sent his prelates to Basel sometimes to defend the pope, sometimes to attack him, depending on the state of his relationship with the papacy, and causing some trouble of conscience among his prelates. Such was the case of Archbishop Tedeschi, who had even previously represented the pope at the council :

- *Niccolò [Tedeschi] the Sicilian ... went to Rome, where he was appointed cameral auditor and sent to Basel together with Taranto to defend the cause of Eugenius, though in his previous lectures he had argued and asserted that the Roman Pontiff is subject to the council. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Rome and from there went to the King of Aragon, who sent him back to the council together with Lodovico Pontano to fight against the cause of Eugenius. ... Later, during the conflict at the council concerning the choice of location, he supported the French and showed that their choice was made lawfully. But when it came to the deposition of Eugenius, he left the council, for thus the King of Aragon ordered his subjects. But soon, the king again grew angry with Eugenius and ordered his men to return to Basel and obey the council, which did not yet have Felix as pope. After the election of Felix, he was made a cardinal by him and returned to Basel, where he defended the council fiercely. He was sent to Frankfurt, and there he held great debates and was a major reason that the electors did not declare for Eugenius. But later, the King of Aragon became reconciled with Eugenius and recalled his prelates from the council. Niccolò, too, returned, preferring his bishopric to the Faith he had preached [so much] about. When he was required to resign from his cardinalate, he procrastinated, making various excuses and died before submitting himself in obedience to Eugenius. On his deathbed, he greatly lamented that, at the urging of his nephews, he had deserted the truth of the council [sect. 5-7].*

The Duke of Milan, on his part, was playing for Milanese expansion in the Papal State at the same time as fighting the expansion of Venice (sometimes allied with the pope) in Northern Italy. He managed to get some semblance of legitimation from the council for his campaigns in the Papal States by posing as the council's defender against the contumacious pope:

- *When the Venetians and the Florentines were weakened by many defeats, Filippo sent Francesco Sforza to the Piceno to hold that territory in the name of the Church and in his own, for he had a letter from the Council of Basel. Later he sent Piccinino to Tuscany, where he took Perugia and everywhere attacked the Patrimony of the Church. He would also have captured Eugenius in Rome if he had not been poorly guarded by the Romans and fled (they would have sent him to the Council of Basel). But he did take Rome [sect. 20].*

And, finally, Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy, who planned to become pope himself, manipulated the council's deposition of Eugenius and its papal election by sending his own prelates *en masse* to the council and ensuring that the electors were, in various ways, dependent on him:

- *... some claim that he [Amédée] had greatly manipulated the papal [election] and that the fathers had been corrupted with money. I was never able to learn the truth of that. There*

were, however, some indications of a rigged election since the same Amédée, although he had previously opposed the council, sent his prelates to [participate in the] the deposition of Eugenius, for without the Savoyard [bishops], there would not have been an adequate number of lord bishops. Also, the majority of the electors were dependent on him, for almost all the Italians or French were his direct subjects or obliged to him by favours [sect. 192].

Thus, though at this point (about 1447), Piccolomini did not criticise the council directly, as he would later do, he clearly did describe it as greatly affected by secular princely interests.

6.4. Humanism and learning

Humanism in the sense of a revival of the classical liberal arts and learning, was very much present in DVI.¹

Piccolomini's biography of Leonardo Bruni, archhumanist, is a veritable survey of Italian humanism at the time:

- *Leonardo from Arezzo was born of a prominent family. He studied Letters under Coluccio Pierio, at the time chancellor of Florence. Later he made further progress under Manuel Chrysoloras from Constantinople, who had come to Italy during the reign of Pope Johannes or Alexander and had introduced the old manner of writing and Ciceronian style. Coluccio actually retained some linguistic ineptitudes, and he was therefore surpassed by Leonardo, who in a certain letter rebuked him for his errors and urged him to abandon the uncouth linguistic practices of his time. For language and letters, too, are subject to change over the ages. After the early formation of the Latin language, elegant speaking and the pursuit of letters grew until the time of Cicero, when they reached maturity and could not grow any more, having now reached their apex. After that time, they continued for many years and still flourished under Jerome and Gregory but not without some deterioration, and later again, they disappeared completely. After that time, you do not find anybody who could write elegantly. Still later, Francesco Petrarca restored some splendour to letters, but it was Manuel who brought them fully back to light, followed by Leonardo.*

*Later, he became an apostolic secretary and was in Konstanz with Johannes and Martin. After Coluccio's death, the Florentines engaged him as chancellor. He wrote with exquisite elegance. Of the works of Aristotle, he translated the *Ethica*, the *Oeconomica* and the *Politica* into Latin since he did not approve of a previous translation. He also wrote a *Vita**

¹ For a more comprehensive review of humanist elements in the DVI, see Viti pp. 204-214.

Ciceronis on the basis of a number of authors, and he translated into Latin several of Plutarch's Vitae of illustrious men. He also translated Xenophon and Basil. He wrote a Primum Punicum bellum, based on various authors, and published the little work De laudibus Florentinae urbis. He wrote Isagogicon, Gesta Florentinorum, De temporibus Suis, De re militari, De Utilitate Disputationis, De Gestis Gothorum.

He had a very close friendship with Niccolò Niccoli from Florence. Later, however, they came to quarrel so violently that even the pope was unable to reconcile them though he very much wanted to. Then Leonardo published an invective against Niccolò. But Niccolò did not criticise others in writing, only in speaking, for though he was very learned and had great judgment - so much that he was considered an arbiter of learning, being both a Latin and a Greek - he never wrote or spoke Latin, for he doubted his own intellect and did not want to trust others' judgments. He spoke badly about all, approved nobody else's work, and did not commend anybody alive. Among the dead, he only accepted four: Plato, Virgil, Jerome, and Horace. When he died, he left books at a worth of 1,000 gold ducats.

At the time of Leonardo also the following flourished:

Ambrogio degli Angeli, master general of the Camaldolese, who translated many Greek works into Latin. He was sent as an orator by Eugenius to Basel, where he held a weighty and elegant oration. On the pope's command, he visited Sigismund in Hungary, and after his return, he died in peace.

Also flourished Guarino Veronese, who teaches rhetorics in Ferrara and has taught many pupils. He also translated Plutarch's De Alendis Liberis into Latin.

At that time, Poggio [Bracciolinini], too, enjoyed a great reputation. Although he did not know Greek, he spoke as well as anybody. At Konstanz, he was appointed apostolic secretary. There he wrote an elegant letter about the death of Jerome of Prague. He had a dispute with Guarino concerning Scipio and Julius, where he himself preferred Scipio while Guarino preferred Julius, and much was written on both sides. He also wrote an elegant treatise De Avaritia, though - as most men - he knew other's faults better than his own, not being reputed for generosity. He also wrote the De Infelicitate Principum and the De Nobilitate. Further, he wrote the Confabulationes, which fits his morals better than his reputation. In his old age, he married a very beautiful young girl, and when he was rebuked by his friends for undertaking the art of the wife [at a time of his life] when he should rather end it, he wrote a witty and elegant little work An seni sit uxor ducenda.

At that time, also flourished Andrea [Biglia] from Milan, of the Augustinian Order, whose lectures I followed in Siena and who wrote historical works, and Antonio da Rho of the Order of Minorites, who wrote a book on the elegance of the Latin language. There was also Bartolomeo from Montepulciano, whom Pope Martin engaged as a secretary and loved to

the extent that he made him his sole referendary and entrusted all kinds of business to him.

...

At that time, also the names of Giovanni Aurispa and Antonio [Beccadelli] Panormita were held in high regard.

But Aretino surpassed them all, for he was the one most similar to Cicero and had no equal in our age. He was somewhat slow in speaking, and if not forewarned, he could say nothing, and when he improvised in speaking, he appeared a complete fool. He could not write verses, for though he did have the technique, he did not have the natural gift [for poetry].

When he died, Carlo from Arezzo succeeded him in the Florentine chancellery. He is steeped in Latin and Greek letters. He writes elegant poetry and is an accomplished speaker. His first verses, which I have seen, are translated from Homer and relate the war between the mice and the ravens. Now that he has become a great man, he writes more serious things.

In Siena, at that time, the chancellor was Berto, son of Antonio, also an elegant man. But later the Sienese introduced a new practice, never used previously, of making the office of chancellor annual, so that it ends when the man has just begun to understand it. Later in Siena, Francesco Patrizi has emerged, who is reportedly a most learned man, for he knows both languages and teaches rhetorics [sect. 78-85].

Note Piccolomini's evident admiration for men who were proficient in both the classical languages, Greek and Latin, and could even translate Greek works into Latin. It is also clear that eloquence is a much prized humanist quality.

In his biography of Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice, Piccolomini included a survey of men of letters in Venice, as he would usually do in his description of cities:

- *The most important of the Venetian men of letters is Francesco Barbaro, who knows Latin and Greek. The Venetians do not attach great importance to civil law, for they use customs and municipal law, though they often, in cases of doubt, consult the jurists. Thus, Venetians who study mostly dedicate themselves to the arts, medicine or rhetorics. Those who aim at ecclesiastical office study canon law. The Venetians have a university in Padua, with many eminent men, like Raffaele Fulgioso and Raffaele Cumano, who wrote much on civil law and are buried there. Also, Paolo di Castro lectured there and is buried there now. And Ugo from Siena, prince of doctors, and Jacopo from Forlì, also an eminent medical man, lie there, and so does Paolo from Venice, who wrote much on logic; Antonio from Cornusano, famous among doctors; and Prodocimo, who suffered from both a humpback and struma, but still taught law so well that he equalled all. Afterwards, his wife married Antonio*

Roselli, who now has the chair [of law]. He was my teacher in Siena when I studied civil law under him, and he is now of venerable age. He wrote a book De Monarchia that he has not yet published. Also Giovan Francesco di Capodilista and Jacopo from Puteo, outstanding jurists, flourished in Padua as well as many other famous men from our own time who are buried there. But it is not strange at all that these learned men are buried in that city since Titus Livius, who was from Padua himself, lies there, the most eloquent Father of Roman History. Also, Pietro from Abano died there, greatest of necromancers.

Some princes and prelates were noted for their love of liberal studies and learning:

- *[Cardinal Tagliacozzo] loves learning, and therefore he has always held Giovanni Campisi, who drafts his letters, in the highest regard [sect. 2].*
- *Niccolò [d'Este] loved the liberal studies and favoured intellectuals [sect. 50].*
- *Marquess Leonèllo d'Este, son of Niccolò, whom he succeeded, may not have been of perfect lineage, but he is certainly of perfect virtue. Tutors by Guarino, he is an accomplished writer of poems and letters [sect. 51].*
- *Lucido [Gonzaga] was promised to the Church but is not yet minded to become an ecclesiastic. He writes elegant letters and learned poems, his teacher having been Vittorino [da Feltre] [sect. 59].*
- *Cosimo de' Medici has built admirable temples. In Florence he built, from the foundations and in three years only, the Monastery of San Marco, where 70 monks of Saint Dominic live, comprising a splendid and large oratory with marble columns, halls, refectories, gardens, dormitories with single cells, and a splendid library full of Latin and Greek books [sect. 76].*
- *Archbishop Bartolomeo della Capra was a most learned man but more inclined to poetry than the other disciplines, always having Virgil before him and making elegant poetry. He also wrote exquisite prose and excelled in the epistolary genre. He was tall, had a sonorous voice, and carried himself with an aura of authority [sect 107].*

In Piccolomini's gallery of persons, the first prize for an all-round humanist culture was carried by his admired and beloved friend and mentor Mariano Sozzini:

- *Mariano Sozzini from Siena excelled both in civil and pontifical law. He wrote on the decretals and on fate and published many volumes that are recommended today. He was*

eloquent, made elegant poems, wrote exquisite prose, painted and had beautiful handwriting. In his youth, he played ball, threw stones and knew how to fight. He was proficient in music and letters, danced and generally knew all that a free man should know. He could not sing, however. He knew geometry, arithmetic and astrology. He was also well-versed in political matters [sect. 101].

6.5. Women

The DVI is about illustrious men, but three of the 43 chapters are actually about illustrious women, Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, Duchess Jakoba of Bavaria and Empress Barbara of Cilly. Three other women are mentioned in other chapters, Empress Elisabeth of Hungary and two women involved in princely misalliances, Agnes Bernauer and Eleanor Cobham.

6.5.1. Duchess Isabella of Portugal

Piccolomini had these words to describe her function as effective co-ruler of Burgundy:

- *... soon she began to nourish ambitions of ruling. Taking advantage of her husband's indulgence, she began to decide everything, govern cities, raise armies, tax provinces, and govern everything as she wished and pleased to. It was easy for her to do since her husband, admiring her intelligence rather than her beauty (her face was not beautiful but long), entrusted all affairs to her. Thus she administered everything together with the chancellor, while her husband occupied himself with hunting and games and cared little about governing. The woman favoured the English – as the Portuguese do – and kept fanning her husband's hate of the English. This she could not do for long, however, since it was decided to make peace with the French king. When the Duke of Burgundy camped before Calais with 60,000 soldiers, and the Duke of Gloucester had come to aid the city, the woman – being with her husband in the camp – forbade an attack [on the city]. For this reason, 6,000 Flemish in the camp said that they were kept there to no purpose by their unwilling lord and left. The duke saw that he was threatened by the English and retired, too. The English marched out of the city, laid waste to regions in Flanders, and burnt many fields. For this the duchess was blamed, but she retained her power, and her husband's love for her kept growing. She bore him a son whom they are now raising, in the hope that he will have a great domain. Now, news has reached us that the peoples of Holland and Zeeland have become restive because of the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the duchess. Therefore, Phillippe, fearing a rebellion, has deprived his wife of her powers to govern and administer,*

and begun to rule by himself. But he has made provision for his wife to live as befits her rank [sect. 226-228].

As seen, this picture of a ruling princess is rather negative and does not agree with historical fact nor modern historians' view of Isabella of Portugal as an excellent administrator and diplomat.

6.5.2. Duchess Jakoba of Bavaria

- *Jakoba, Duchess of Holland, was unfortunate in four marriages. ... She first married the Dauphin of France but had only a short time with him since he died early. At her father's death, she became the ruler of the duchy. Afterwards, she married the Duke of Brabant. The couple had to obtain a papal dispensation for they were related in the third degree. However, she did not have luck with this marriage, either, since the Roman Pontiff, when better informed, revoked the dispensation as granted under false pretences and ordered the marriage to be dissolved. Then she married the Duke of Gloucester, but he repented the marriage when he fell in love with an outstandingly beautiful woman from a knightly family. So he repudiated Jakoba and married the other woman. ... In the meantime, Johann, the Bishop of Liège who had never been inclined towards the priesthood, married [Elizabeth] Duchess of Holland and Luxembourg. Revealing what he had planned long before, he came to Holland, expelled his niece Jakoba, and took over the government. When he died, she – who had not had luck with kings and dukes – married under her station, taking the knight Frank van Borssele as her husband. Duke Philippe of Burgundy did not accept this. Invading Holland, he had Frank arrested and considered killing him for contracting such an important marriage against the will of the woman's relatives. But the woman pitied the man and only wanted to live tranquilly with him as her last husband. So to save her husband, she signed over all her dominions to the Duke of Burgundy and only kept a small property the sea, off which she could live. And thus, this unfortunate woman finished her days in the company of her husband [sect. 248-250].*

Jakoba's life was tumultuous and has often been described as scandalous. In contrast, Piccolomini appears to take a somewhat sympathetic view, his account being of an unfortunate woman, victim of powerful men.

6.5.3. Empress Barbara of Cilly

The Cilly family were deadly enemies of the Habsburgs, and Piccolomini, as somewhat of a Habsburg propagandist, in his various writings, tends to speak negatively of Barbara of Cilly. In the DVI, he had this to say:

- *Empress Barbara was a daughter of the Count of Cilly and the second wife of Emperor Sigismund. He married her after the death of Maria, through whom he received the Kingdom Hungary. Many thought it was monstrous since a king who married a countess married beneath his station. Moreover, at that time, the counts of Cilly were neither powerful nor illustrious, as they are now, for they were considered to be subject to the House of Austria. But Sigismund, who at the time was not very fond of the House of Austria, separated these counts from Austria and made them free and illustrious princes. This matter became the beginning and reason for many conflicts. Barbara was a beautiful woman, tall, white, but with some face blemishes. She ardently sought beauty. Thus two very beautiful spouses were united. But since Sigismund often fell in love with other women, she, too, began to love others, for a cheating husband makes a cheating wife. She bore Sigismund a daughter, Elizabeth, about whom we shall have more to say later [sect. 229-230].*

This very brief account is not negative, except possibly for Barbara's infidelity, which Piccolomini remarkably excuses with her husband's.

6.5.4. Empress Elisabeth of Hungary

Barbara's daughter with Emperor Sigismund, wife of Albrecht V, however, fared worse under Piccolomini's pen, see above sect. 6.1. (Albrecht II). In Piccolomini's view, she was a faithful wife but domineering and less than loyal, siding with her Hungarian subjects against her German husband.

6.5.5. Agnes Bernauer and Eleanor Cobham

These two women were involved in two of that century's most scandalous affairs.

They were both mistresses of dukes who, in one case, presumably and, in the other case, certainly married their lover.

The case of Agnes Bernauer has been related above (sect. 4.2.2.). Nothing much is known about her, and the story of her rejecting her parents is a most probably a fabrication. Its invention or use by Piccolomini may be the expression of a snobbish rejection of noble misalliances, and it certainly is not intended to reflect well on the poor woman.

A somewhat similar case is that of Eleanor Cobham:

- *Then she [Jakoba of Bavaria] married the Duke of Gloucester, but he repented of the marriage when he fell in love with an outstandingly beautiful woman [Eleanor Cobham] from a knightly family. So he repudiated Jakoba and married the other woman. But she, having attained ducal rank though coming from a knightly family, plotted to kill the King of*

England with poison so that when he was removed, her husband would gain the kingdom and she receive the crown. But she was caught and punished with death. [sect. 249].

Again the unfortunate misalliance, again a woman led astray by status and, in this case, ambition, and again the pitiful end by death.

Altogether, women do not fare well in the DVI. It is probably due to Piccolomini sharing a cultural, misogynistic view of women as unfit for rule and a snobbish rejection of noble misalliances.

6.6. Sexuality

In his youth, Piccolomini had a very liberal attitude towards sexuality.¹ His views darkened somewhat around 1446-1447 when he finally had become ordained and was in line for a bishopric. In the DVI, however, his mentions of sexuality are free and uninhibited by the person's exalted status.

He seems to accept princes' sexual license and marital infidelity as a fact of life, as the following examples show:

- *Niccolò d'Este kept his subjects in such justice and peace that he was loved by all, even though he took their daughters and wives as concubines. He was a fat man, happy, witty, given to pleasure. From his own mouth it was heard that he would indulge in every sensual pleasure he knew of if only he could. He had many concubines, who bore him several children. The peasants and the city people did not take it badly when he abducted their daughters, knowing that a son born from them might become the ruler [sect. 48].*
- *Emperor Sigismund was passionate but inconstant, clever in speech, fond of wine, ardent in love, guilty of a thousand adulteries [sect. 132].*
- *Erik VII led a life of dissipation, flouted justice, ravished young as well as married women, and sank into idleness [sect. 246].*

Even Empress Barbara of Cilly's alleged marital infidelity was, as already seen, excused by Piccolomini with her husband's.

The young wife of Niccolò d'Este, Parisina Malatesta, fared much worse when she had an affair with her husband's young son:

¹ See COR, I, sect. 6.7.3.

- *He was really a happy man, but fortune did not allow him to be always happy for his son with a concubine, a handsome and gentle young man, fell madly in love with his wife, who seduced him. When the marquess heard it, he - more severely than wisely - ordered both his son and his wife to be beheaded, presenting a gruesome spectacle to his citizens [sect. 48].*

Piccolomini considers this punishment to be extreme, and this view may be coloured by a conception that old men taking young wives are somehow acting against the natural order of things, as he appears to be saying in the cases of Poggio Braccioloni and Wilhelm von Stein:

- *Poggio Bracciolini, in his old age, ... married a very beautiful young girl, and when he was rebuked by his friends for undertaking the art of the wife [at a time of his life] when he should rather end it, he wrote a witty and elegant little work *An seni sit uxor ducenda* [sect. 82].*
- *Wilhelm von Stein's wife was a noblewoman from Tyrol. When she died, he was an old man, but nonetheless he married a young, 14-year-old, girl of his own family. Thus he began a major war at a time when his weapons should be returned to Mars [sect. 254].*

Though in his works Piccolomini relatively often touches upon sexual matters, he very rarely mentions homosexuality, and when he does, it is as part of a list of vices, in the humanist vituperative manner. Nonetheless, he mentions – without batting a literary eyelid – the bisexuality of Friedrich IV:

- *Friedrich [IV] was a man of great sexual appetites and had affairs both with married women and married men, but mostly with maidservants. [sect. 243].*

Pier Candido Decembrio – writing at the same time as Piccolomini - was equally frank in the draft of his biography of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti when he mentioned his homosexual relations with his young courtiers, but advised by Marquess Leonello d'Este of Ferrara he toned the passage down in the final version.¹

6.7. Violence

¹ Decembrio, pp. 250 ff.

The society revealed in the pages of the DVI was a violent one, permeated by with wars, civil disorders, treasons and plots, executions, murders.

The wars (international):

- Wars against the Turks
- The Lombard wars (Milan-Venice-Florence etc., 1423-1454)
- The Hundred Years War (England-France, 1337-1453)
- The Hungarian succession conflict (Hungary-Poland, 1440)
- Wars in the Papal States (under Eugenius IV)
- Poland – Prussian Order (1419)
- Sigismund – Friedrich IV (Habsburg)
- Friedrich III – Albrecht VI
- Castille - Aragon
- Scotland - England

The civil disturbances and rebellions were:

- Hungary (1401, 1439)
- Bohemia (against Wenzel IV and Sigismund)
- Austria (1442)
- Bologna
- Genoa
- France
- Florence
- Castile
- Denmark
- Rome

The executions:

- Angelo Tartaglia
- Antonio Guinigi
- Baldassare Aufidio
- Parisina Malatesta
- Ugo Aldobrandini d'Este
- Giliolo (Ferrara)
- Marsiglio da Carrara
- Carmagnola
- Austrian nobleman

The murders:

- Gabriele Maria Visconti
- Giovanni Maria Visconti
- Ottobuoni de' Terzi
- Paolo Guinigi
- Antonio Bentivoglio
- Annibale Bentivoglio
- Battista Canetoli
- James II

Treasons and plots:

- Visconti plot against Pope Eugenius
- Este plot against Ottobuono de' Terzi
- Bolognese plot against Francesco Sforza

The themes mentioned above are, of course, only some of the interesting themes which Piccolomini treats across the individual biographies.

7. Date of the DVI

The various chapters of the DVI were probably not written or finished at the same time. They may have begun as notes on persons written by Piccolomini in the course of his career, and already at the Council of Basel.¹ Eventually, he combined the notes into one text, which he would later revise and expand. It is not known how many versions the text went through before the Vat. lat. 3887.

The text in Vat. lat. 3887 was written by Piccolomini himself over a short period, and it appears to have been copied from a previous draft. No later versions are known. In the text, Piccolomini refers to a number of events known to have taken place in 1446, and Pope Eugenius IV and Duke Filippo Maria Visconti are described as being alive at the time of writing, e.g.,

- *Cosimo has always attached great importance to friendship with Venice. He has been an enemy of the Duke of Milan and scorned the Sieneese, among whom he has endeavoured to sow many conflicts. He supports the cause of Eugenius* [sect. 77].

¹ VO, I, p. 324: *Die biographische Collectaneen ... entstanden im Laufe der Jahre*; Cochrane, p. 43: *... the DVI ... which he began when he was still at Basel*. Wagendorfer: *Herzog*, p. 243: *... Piccolomini arbeitete spätestens seit 1444 an einer derartigen Biographienreihe "De viris illustribus"*

Eugenius died in March 1447 and Visconti in August the same year, but the deaths were not recorded in their biographies. Therefore, it may reasonably be assumed that the main text of the DVI was composed before Piccolomini left on his mission to Rome (during which Eugenius would die) on 16 November 1446, since he would not have had the leisure to write such a text while travelling or during the negotiations in Rome.

So, the Vat. lat. 3887 was most likely written not later than autumn 1447. Since the text is clearly a draft intended for further revision and amplification, Piccolomini would certainly, in later versions, have brought the previously written biographies up to date.

8. Text of the DVI

8.1. Manuscripts

The DVI is contained in two extant manuscripts:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**

Vat. lat. 3887, ff. 39r-89r (V)¹

Vellum. 1447. Autograph. Continuous writing. Apart from the DVI, the ms., at the end, contains some letter drafts and notes of Piccolomini.

Vat. lat. 5603, ff. 36r-88v (X)²

Paper. 17th c. One hand. Continuous writing. A number of blank spaces where the copyist could no read the original. Contains some of the marginal notes of the Vat. lat. 3887 from which it may have been copied directly. No other texts in ms.

The 3887 is an autograph of Piccolomini written in the summer of 1447 (see above), and most likely copied from an earlier text, also written out by Piccolomini, whereas the 5603 is a 17th century copy of no particular interest in terms of the transmission of the text, though in several places it is quite useful for the collation of the 3887.

The Vat. lat. 5603 appears to be a copy of the 3887 to the point of reproducing author's instructions in the margin, but it has some variants from the 3887 in common with the Mansi edition. These are

¹ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3887

² https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5603

mostly such as are evident corrections of errors in the 3887, so they may not be related Mansi's version after all. Van Heck did not doubt that it was a direct copy of the 3887.

A third manuscript, from Venice,¹ contained a version of the DVI which was published by Mansi in his edition of Pius II's orations. This manuscript was apparently of bad quality,² and it could therefore not have been written by Piccolomini himself, who in his earlier days had a neat handwriting which a consummate specialist like Mansi could easily read. Still, it is of great interest in terms of the development of the text since it clearly represents another version than the version in the 3887.

The question is: how are the two versions, the version in 3887 and the Venetian version published by Mansi, related, or more precisely: which of the two versions is an early version and which is a later revised version?³

Three facts are relevant to this issue:

Firstly, a comparison of the two versions shows that 3887 contains three important chapters (on emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II, and Friedrich III) and a number of interesting passages not found in the version published by Mansi. Examples of such interesting passages are:

- *Fuit vir paucorum verborum blaesusque, iusti et aequi cupidus. Quemcumque virtute praeditum scivit, mirum in modum amavit. Quod promisit, ratum fuit. Rusticis favit militesque spolia committentes poena gravi multavit. Filios moriens duos reliquit: Franciscum sibi dissimilem et Gaddum similem, sed nimis puerum, quibus commisit moriens, ut ab Filippo suisque obsequiis numquam recederent [sect. 24].*

(He was a man of few words and spoke indistinctly. He was intent on justice and fairness. If he knew a man to have courage and strength, he loved him wondrously. He kept his promises. He favoured farmers and severely punished soldiers who took spoils [from them]. At his death, he left two sons: Francesco who did not resemble him, and Oddo who did - but too boyish. On his deathbed, he asked them never to leave the service of Filippo and his family.)

¹ See Mansi: *Orationes*, III, p. 142.

² Mansi: *Orationes*, III, p. 213: *Cum ex apographo foede deformato opusculum istud acceperim, si quid minus exactum hic inveneris, veniam facilis indulgeas, rogo.*

³ Strangely, van Heck does not comment on the Venetian manuscript nor on this issue, except stating that the Mansi edition is different from the 3887 (DVI (Heck), pp. v-vi).

- *Hic Tartalia postea ad Sfortiam defecit. Exin Martini stipendia suscepit, a quo proditionis reus judicatus capite truncatus est. Sed dum ad supplicium duceretur, “Heu,” inquit, “indignam forti militi mortem subibo. Quod si scissem, numquam me capi sivilissem.” Hic autem Carolus vir magni animi fuit multaque bella confecerat. Qui etsi captus esset, adveniēti Braccio numquam assurgere voluit aut caput detegere, sed se captivum fassus animum tamen incaptum dicebat. Hic post centum milibus redemptus domi obiit [sect. 33].*

(This Tartaglia later defected to Sforza. Still later, he took employment with Martin, who sentenced him for treason and had him decapitated. When he was led to his execution, he said, “Alas! I shall suffer a death unworthy of a strong soldier. Had I known it, I would not have let myself be taken.” As for Carlo, he was a proud man who had fought in many wars. Though a prisoner, he would never rise when Braccio entered nor bare his head, but said that though he himself was a captive, his spirit was not. He was ransomed for 100,000 [ducats] and died at home.)

- *Sub hoc igitur Pippus Spanus Florentinus, qui jussu Caesaris Sigismundi Hungaros in Forum Julii duxerat et usque Paduam profectus erat magno terrore Venetis incusso, placatus est. Ajunt enim quidam matrem sibi scripsisse, ne contra patriam tam ferox veniret, ne illi, quae se genuerat, decus auferret. Quidam dicunt flascones auro plenos sibi fuisse transmissos, quod non est vero simile, nam major dominus futurus erat vincendo quam retrocedendo. Hungari tamen infesti alienigenis libenter detrahunt. Hic Pippus ex parvo statu per Sigismundum usque adeo exaltatus erat, ut saepe diceret Sigismundus: “Si Pippus vellet, extra regnum me pelleret.” Hic post in regno pacifice mortuus est. Sed nemo suorum sibi successit, periitque simul et ipse et sui omnes [sect. 61].*

(During his reign, Pippo Spano from Florence, at the command of Emperor Sigismund, led a Hungarian army to Cividale del Friuli and, to the great terror of the Venetians, had advanced towards Padua before being pacified. Some claim that his mother had written to him not to turn savagely against his fatherland, which would dishonour her who had born him. Others claim that he had been sent glass jars full of money, but this is not likely since a victory would have made him a greater lord than defeat - but the Hungarians dislike foreigners and gladly malign them. Sigismund had raised this Pippo from low conditions to such exalted status that he often said, “If Pippo wanted to, he could drive me from the kingdom.” Later Pippo died peacefully in the kingdom. He left no family, he and his people disappeared at the same time.)

- *[Leonardo Bruni], qui etiam in quibusdam epistolis ad eum scribens suorum eum erratorum admonet suadetque, ut squalorem illum sui temporis deserat. Patiuntur nempe et litterae*

mutationem, nam aliae sunt uno, aliae alio tempore. Ab ipsis etenim linguae Latinae repertoribus ornatus dicendi et studia litterarum continuo creverunt usque ad tempora Ciceronis, ubi vero plenitudinem acceperunt nec amplius crescere potuerunt, cum jam essent in culmine. Manserunt igitur postea per plures annos et usque ad Jeronimum atque Gregorium viguerunt, non tamen absque minutione, exin perierunt funditus. Nec enim post illa tempora, qui ornate scripserit, reperitur. Post Franciscus Petrarcha aliquantulum splendoris litteris dedit, sed Emanuel majorem attulit lucem, quem secutus est Leonardus.

(Leonardo, who in a certain letter rebuked him [Coluccio Salutato] for his errors and urged him to abandon the uncouth linguistic practices of his time. For language and letters, too, are subject to change over the ages. After the early formation of the Latin language, elegant speaking and the pursuit of letters grew until the time of Cicero, when they reached maturity and could not grow any more, having now reached their apex. After that time, they continued for many years and still flourished under Jerome and Gregory but not without some deterioration, and later again, they disappeared completely. After that time, you do not find anybody who could write elegantly. Still later, Francesco Petrarca restored some splendour to letters, but it was Manuel who brought them fully back to light, followed by Leonardo.) [sect. 78].

Since it is unlikely that Piccolomini would omit three of the most important persons, the emperors, and a great number of interesting passages in a later version, this would point to Mansi being the earlier text, later expanded by Piccolomini in the 3887.

Secondly, the first biography in Mansi is the one on Tagliacozzo, with no mention of the missing half of the biography on Cardinal Correr which precedes it in 3887. This may be due to an editorial decision of the writer of the Venetian manuscript used by Mansi to exclude the mutilated section on a cardinal he was not able to identify.

Thirdly, the 3887 contains a number of passages or words differing from the text in Mansi, which were crossed out by Piccolomini and replaced with text identical to the text in Mansi.¹ This might point to the Mansi text being the later one, copied from Piccolomini's corrected text in 3887. In some cases, such corrections may be due to Piccolomini correcting an error made by himself in copying an earlier version,

On the basis of the present, scanty evidence, a firm conclusion on this issue is hardly possible, and the problem of the anteriority of the Mansi (Venetian) version vs the version in 3887 may only be solved if other manuscripts containing the DVI are found – which is not very likely. Because of the

¹ Indicated in the apparatus as “~~xxx~~ seq. V”.

important chapters and passages present in 3887 and missing in Mansi, the present editor tends to consider the Mansi version as the earlier one and the 3887 as the later one.

8.2. Editions

The DVI has been published three times, the first time by Mansi in 1759. It had remained unknown to scholars and the public until then since there was apparently almost no, if any, manuscript dissemination of the text:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // III, pp. 142-213.
[On the basis of the Venetian manuscript, now lost. Without sections on three emperors]
- Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus: *De viris illustribus*. Stuttgart, 1842.
[Reproduces Mansi, but adds sections on two emperors from the Vat. lat. 3887, reproduced from Palacky]
- Eneae Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II *De viris illustribus*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 1991
[van Heck apparently used the text in Mansi¹ as his working text and corrected it on the basis of his collation of the Vat. lat. 3887, missing a number of divergent readings in the 3887.²]

No translation of the text has been published previously.

8.3. Present edition

8.3.1. Text

The edition is based on the two Vatican manuscripts and the Mansi edition, with the Vat. lat. 3887 as the lead manuscript. The Vat. lat. 5603 was only collated for the purpose of verifying the reading of difficult words in the 3887.³

Pagination 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 Or possibly the Stuttgart edition.

² These are the variants in the critical apparatus with the sigla “HE, MA” only.

³ And usefully so, since some readings in Heck’s edition could be verified and corrected on the basis of the reading in 5603. Thus the present editor does not concur with Heck’s judgement that the 5603 *ad textum constituendum nullius pretii habendum est* (p. xi).

8.3.2. Orthography, punctuation, and capitalisation

In accordance with the principles followed in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library*, “*spelling,¹ punctuation and capitalization have been modernized throughout.*”^{2 3}

The main manuscript containing the DVI, the Vat. lat. 3887, was transcribed by Piccolomini himself. Readers particularly interested in Piccolomini’s orthography are referred to the digital version of the manuscript, which is freely available from the BAV Digital on the web, to van Heck’s edition, and to the study of Piccolomini’s orthography by Martin Wagendorfer.⁴

The characteristic features of the orthography in the Vat. lat. 3887 are the following:

Aspiration (haetas; Blancaha)

Deaspiration (incoare; Anibal)

Duplication of consonants (coppula)

Deduplication of consonants (opidum; sica)

a for ae (vicine)

ci for ti (spacium)

cu for quu (secuntur)

e for ae (Bavarie)

e for oe (pena; cepit)

i for j (jam)

-od for -ot (aliquod)

pt for bt (optinere)

ti for ci (suspitio)

-d for -t (capud; inquid)

v for u (vubi)

Piccolomini is not consistent in the use of proper names.

¹ Following modern lexicographical practice. As for orthographical variants, see below.

² COM (Meserve, I, p. 379)

³ 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.*

⁴ Wagendorfer: *Zur*.

8.3.3. Presentation

The Latin text and English translation are juxtaposed on opposing pages.

The divisioning into numbered sections is the editor's own. The divisioning serves three purposes: readability, referencing, and indexing.

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

8.3.4. Critical apparatus

Since the manuscript Vat. lat. 2887 was transcribed by Piccolomini himself from one or more earlier texts, his errors of spelling and transcription have been noted in the apparatus.¹ Such errors were ignored, however, in the collation of the other manuscript, the Vat. lat. 5603 and the text edited by Mansi.

Corrections and marginalia in the collated texts have only been indicated in the apparatus when clearly made by Piccolomini himself.

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.

¹ Piccolomini was quite aware that he made errors when penning a text, cf. his remark to Cardinal Olesnicki in letter of April 1443: *Librarius, qui transcripsit, non erat valde peritus, itaque plura vitia possunt in ea esse, quam ego posuerim* (*The scribe who copied my letter was not very skilled, and therefore it may contain more errors than I myself made in writing it*) WO, I, 1, ep. 48, p. 146; CPL, II, ep. 47).

The abbreviation *seq.* (sequitur) is used to indicate syllables or words crossed over by Piccolomini – for the purpose of assessing whether Piccolomini was simply correcting his own transcription or still reworking his text as he wrote it out. Most cases are clearly just corrections, but some are doubtful.

Variant proper names are only given very selectively.

Heck's corrections of Piccolomini's grammar are not followed in the main text but indicated in the critical apparatus

Words, passages and sections included in the Vat. lat. 3887 but absent in Mansi's edition are marked in cursive in the main text.

8.3.5. Translation

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

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 and stilted 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*).

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 mostly translated as “of great spirit”.
- *Orator*: usually as ambassador.
- *Tantus/quantus*: Often it has been found unnecessary and burdensome to directly translate tantus/quantus.
- *Videri*: The same applies to the term *videri* which is often seen with a meaning close to “to be”.
- *Imperator / Caesar*: Translated as “emperor” even when they refer to a King of the Romans (Germany) not yet having been crowned emperor in Rome. Such a translation of “Caesar” is warranted by Piccolomini’s own practice, e.g. *tum apud Sigismundum, tum Albertum, tum Fridericum Caesares crevit ([he]became so important to emperors Sigismund, Albrecht, and Friedrich)* [Sect. 254], where “caesares” designates one crowned emperor and two uncrowned – since Friedrich was first crowned later.¹

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

Names of persons have been retained in the original language² (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”

¹ Cf. the practice of Stieber (p. 114).

² 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 have been developing over the years. See the remarks of Sean Ward in *Sophia of Hanover: Memoirs (1630-1680)*. Ed. and transl. by Sean Ward. Toronto, 2013

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.

Texts from the Bible are quoted from the Douai-Reims edition, sometimes in a form slightly modified to fit Piccolomini's 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!

In the notes to the translation are included a number of quotations from present-day scholarly works for the purpose of assessing the reliability of Piccolomini's account.

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² [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-d-este_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-d-este_(Dizionario-Biografico))

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¹ [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Pedro_de_Luna](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Pedro_de_Luna)

² [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Friedrich_IV._\(Herzog_von_%C3%96sterreich-Tirol,_Steiermark,_K%C3%A4rnten_und_Krain\)](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Friedrich_IV._(Herzog_von_%C3%96sterreich-Tirol,_Steiermark,_K%C3%A4rnten_und_Krain))

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² <http://www.dejiny.sk/mikro/Slde/jiskra.htm>

³ [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-nicoletti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-nicoletti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

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³ Or: *De Europa*

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¹ https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/attendolo-muzio-detto-sforza_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

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 - *Oration "Si ea quae justa"* (1438, Basel).⁵
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¹ Available in print from Scholars' Press and digitally in HAL Archives

² <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-0068315125>

³ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00857755>

⁴ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00927272>

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² <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01348450>

³ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01345032>

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⁵ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01171612>

⁶ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01180301>

⁷ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01201849>

⁸ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01216299>

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¹⁰ <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01240577>

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10. Sigla and abbreviations

V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 3887

X = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 5603

¹ https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-correr_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

² [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-berardi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-berardi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

HE = Eneae Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II *De viris illustribus*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 1991

MA = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // III, pp. 144-213

COD = *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*. Ed. J. Alberigo *et al.* 1969.

CRDM = *Collected reports on diplomatic missions, 1447-1455, of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*.

COM = *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*.

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

CPL = *Collected private letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg Vols. 1 ff. 2021. [In preparation].

DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

DGCB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*.

DRGB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*.

DVI = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *De Viris Illustribus*.

EU = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Europa*.

HA = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacalis*.

HB = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Historia Bohemica*.

NBCG = Note biografiche di Capitani di Guerra e di Condottieri di Ventura operanti in Italia nel 1330 - 1550.

RE = *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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF *DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS*

[Antonius Corarius]

[0] {39r} ... nec reverti voluit eo unde profugerat. Is igitur demum reconciliatus Eugenio numquam tamen pristinam gratiam recuperavit. Paduae postea mortuus est anno domini MCCCCXLIII. In electione votum non dedit Eugenio, sed cardinali sanctae crucis.

0. Antonio Correr, Cardinal

[0] {39r} ... and he^{1 2} did not want to return to that place he had previously fled from. Though, in the end, he became reconciled with Eugenius, he never regained the favour he had enjoyed formerly. Later, in the year of the Lord 1444,³ he died in Padua.⁴ In the [papal] election, he did not vote for Eugenius but for the Cardinal of Santa Croce.^{5 6 7}

¹ Antonio Correr (1369 – January 1445): Nephew of Pope Gregory XII. Cousin of Pope Eugenius IV, with whom he had a close friendship when they were young men, see sect. 330-331.

² For a general biography, see Uginet.

³ According to the DBI, Antonio Correr died on 19 January 1445. The discrepancy may be due to differing calendar practices.

⁴ In the Monastery of San Giovanni Battista.

⁵ The conflict between Antonio Correr and his cousin, Pope Eugenius IV, began when Correr did not vote for his cousin in the papal election of 1431. It grew deeper when Correr adhered to the Council of Basel, which the pope had tried to dissolve, and on his own initiative went to Basel and became incorporated into the council in April 1433. In October 1434, he rejoined the papal court, then residing in Florence, and the two cousins somehow patched up their relationship without being fully reconciled.

⁶ Date: This text was written after January 1445, when Correr died.

⁷ Piccolomini's sources: The young Piccolomini must have seen Correr at the Council of Basel 1433-1434 and may even have become acquainted with him. Otherwise, mutual acquaintances.

1. Johannes de Tagliacozis

[1] {39r} Johannes de Tagliacozis¹ domi nobilis et animo magno, medicinae artis peritus philosophiaeque, Tarentinam ecclesiam suscepit. Missus ad concilium Eugenii causam² quoad, potuit, tutatus est, nam et oratione et consilio pollebat. Cum secundo Basileam venisset, jamque instaret tempus, quo patres concilii locum alium nominare debebant, in quo cum Graecis convenirent, conatus est vota patrum in Italiam trahere. Contra Gallici nitebantur. Res eo deducta est, ut divisi patres duplicem electionem locorum facerent, nam pars Avinionem cum Sabaudia atque Basilea, pars Florentiam et Utinum³ vel alium in Italia locum, qui infra⁴ tempus debitum, quae quae necessaria erant, praepararet, elegit. In his fuerunt legati apostolici et plerique praestantes viri haud ultra quinquaginta. In illis⁵ fuerunt Gallici Lombardique et Cathelani vulgusque totum⁶ ad numerum trecentorum. Lecta ergo sunt duo decreta invicem repugnantia, sed bullatum est majoris partis decretum. Minoris partis bullari⁷ publice non potuit, sed sub sigillis legatorum expeditum est Graecisque missum. Post cum e⁸ Roma litterae missae hoc decretum sub plumbo deposcerent, Bartholomaeus Battiferrus, Juliani secretarius, et Robertus Martellus Florentinus, audaces juvenes et in omne scelus prompti, corrupto plumbatore decretum hoc bullant Tarentinoque praesuli offerunt non sine scito⁹ Juliani.

¹ Tagliacozis MA

² *seq. ~~tuta~~* V

³ Utinam MA

⁴ intra V

⁵ his MA

⁶ totus MA

⁷ *seq. ~~non potuit~~* V

⁸ a MA

⁹ scitu MA

1. Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo, Cardinal

[1] Giovanni de Tagliacozzo^{1 2} came from a noble house. He was a man of great spirit and most knowledgeable in medicine and philosophy. He was appointed Bishop of Taranto. When he was sent to the Council of Basel,^{3 4} he defended Eugenius' cause to the greatest of his ability,⁵ excelling in eloquence⁶ and discernment. He came to Basel a second time⁷ when the Fathers were preparing to select another venue for the council to meet with the Greeks. Giovanni endeavoured to make the Fathers vote for Italy, but the French were opposing it.⁸ Eventually, the divided Fathers made a double election of location, one group opting for Avignon with Savoy and Basel and the other for Florence and Udine or some other place in Italy, where the necessary preparations could be made in time. In the last group were the apostolic legates and many eminent men, almost 50 in all. In the first group were the French, the Lombards,⁹ the Catalans,¹⁰ and the common members, about 300 in all. On that occasion, two mutually incompatible decrees were read,¹¹ but only the decree of the majority was sealed with the bull [of the council]. Since the decree of the minority could not be sealed publically, with the council's bull, it was expedited under the seals of the [apostolic] legates and sent to the Greeks. When, later, a letter sent from Rome¹² required this decree to be sealed with the leaden bull [of the council], Bartolomeo Battiferro, secretary of

¹ Giovanni Berardi de Tagliacozzo (ca. 1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto 1421, cardinal 1439. Belonged to the Orsini clan. Had a decisive role in the conclave of 1447, opposing the election of the Colonna candidate and promoting the election of Nicolaus V (CRDM, I, sect. 50). Piccolomini quite probably knew him personally from the period in Basel.

² For a general biography, see Walter.

³ Council of Basel 1431-1438. Continued afterwards as a schismatic council.

⁴ Stieber, p. 15: *The Archbishop of Taranto arrived at Basel on 14 August and delivered his first speech there on 23 August 1432.*

⁵ Stieber, pp. 20-21: *For almost the entire period ... during which Eugenius ... acknowledged the Council of Basel as a legitimate general council, it was the Archbishop of Taranto who served as his most trusted and energetic representative at Basel; p. 37: Berardi ... had been one of the most determined defenders of Eugenius at the council ever since August 1432.* See also Stieber, p. 39.

⁶ Walter: *il 23 Agosto [1432], il B. tenne davanti all'assemblea generale un lungo e dotto discorso (Mansi, XXIX, coll. 482-492), nella cui prima parte parlò a lungo delle "suprema potestas" e "jurisdictio apostolica", esponendo poi le ragioni che avevano indotto il papa a decidere il trasferimento del concilio ... e concludendo con l'invito di accondiscendere al desiderio del pontefice di trasferire il concilio in una città italiana.*

⁷ Stieber, p. 36: *Berardi arrived at Basel in April 1437.* In his letter to Pietro da Noceto of 21 May 1437, Piccolomini wrote about the cardinal: *Tarentinus archiepiscopus affuit, missus etiam ipse a domino nostro propter loci electionem, homo, ut eloquentie non vulgaris, sic animi constantis atque intrepidi* (WO, I, 1, nr. 24, p. 62; CPL, I, 24).

⁸ See the introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Audivi*" (1436) (COR, II, 1).

⁹ From the Duchy of Milan.

¹⁰ The envoys of King Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples.

¹¹ Piccolomini gave a lengthy description of the event in his letter to Pietro da Noceto of 21 May 1437 (WO, I, 1, nr. 24, pp. 58-76; CPL, I, 24).. About Tagliacozzo, on that day, he wrote: *Stabat Tarentinus sua in sede, non intrepidus modo, sed immobilis, tanquam non virorum sed puerorum illum esse tumultum existimaret, sive quod magno esset et admirando fretus, sive quod jure suo maxime confideret objuracionesque et minas quoddammodo inferentes patientia magis vicit quam contentione* (ibid., p. 67).

¹² It is unclear why the letter would have been sent from Rome since the pope was then residing in Bologna, where he had arrived on 22 April 1436. He stayed there until 24 January 1438 (Gill, p. 82, 103).

Giuliano,¹ and Roberto Martelli² of Florence, audacious youths and ready to commit any offence, bribed the sealer of documents,³ sealed the bull, and, with the knowledge of Giuliano, gave it to the Archbishop of Taranto.

[1] Mittitur cum litteris Romam ad Eugenium decretum, deimpediturque⁴ cum pluribus litteris. Tum reus criminis Tarentinus Julianusque arguitur. Bartholomaeus salutem fuga recipit⁵. Robertus nam laicus vades dat⁶. Jurat in contione Julianus nihil se tale mandasse. Tarentinus se non fecisse ait, factum tamen {39v} placere sibi justumque⁷ fore. Leguntur XII episcopi, qui rem cognoscant, Tarentinoque mandatur, ne domum exeat. Ipse, ubi exasperatos contra se patrum animos sentit, et quam dura sint judicia multitudinis, meditatur⁸, advocato marchione de Roptolim⁹, dum patres contionem habent, equo consenso urbem egreditur ac¹⁰ Florentiam pergit.

[2] Ibi post in cardinalem assumptus est et cum exercitu in Apuliam missus regis Aragonum conatibus¹¹ restitutus. Post in Hungariam legatus est regno de pace provisurus¹², ubi Elizabeth reginae favens Polonorum parti suspectus est habitus. Exinde Romam reversus mortuo post Juliano summi poenitentiariatus officium est assecutus. Amator studiorum est ac propterea Johannem Campisium¹³ philosophum magno semper in honore tenuit, qui ejus litteras conscribit¹⁴.

¹ Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426. Papal legate and president of the Council of Basel.

² Roberto Martelli, manager of the Medici office in Basel from 1433-1438.

³ "bullator".

⁴ deprehenditurque X, HE

⁵ recepit X

⁶ vades dat : dat vades X

⁷ jussumque MA

⁸ meditatus MA

⁹ Roptelim HE

¹⁰ ad MA

¹¹ conatu MA

¹² promissurus MA

¹³ Campistrum X; Campistam MA

¹⁴ conscribat MA

[1] Then the decree was sent to Eugenius in Rome¹ with a letter, but it was intercepted with several other letters. Taranto and Giuliano were accused of having committed a crime. Bartolomeo saved himself by flight. Roberto, being a layperson, gave surety. Giuliano swore in the assembly that he had not ordered this deed. Taranto declared that he had not done it but approved of it and considered it legitimate. Twelve bishops were appointed to investigate the matter and ordered Taranto to not leave his home. Realising that the Fathers were incensed at him and considering how large groups are prone to harsh judgments, he summoned the Margrave of Roeteln² while the Fathers were at a meeting, mounted a horse, and left the city for Florence.

[2] There, he was later appointed a cardinal³ and sent with an army to Puglia to oppose the campaign of the King of Aragon.^{4 5} Later again,⁶ he was sent as an [apostolic] legate to Hungary⁷ Hungary⁷ to arrange a peace in the kingdom,⁸ but as he favoured [the cause of] queen Elizabeth,⁹ he came to be suspected by the party favouring the Polish. Having returned to Rome, he was appointed Grand Penitentiary¹⁰ after the death of Giuliano.¹¹ He loves learning and, therefore, has always held the philosopher Giovanni Campisi,¹² who drafts his letters, in the highest regard.^{13 14 15}

¹ This is presumably another lapsus: at the time, Pope Eugenius was still residing in Bologna.

² Margrave Wilhelm von Hachberg-Sausenberg (1406-1482): In 1436 Emperor Sigismund appointed him protector of the Council of Basel.

³ He was appointed cardinal on 18 December 1439, before his return from Hungary and arrival in Florence on 26 March 1440.

⁴ 1441. See sect. 206.

⁵ Alfonso V (Aragon) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416, Count of Barcelona. King of Naples from 1442 to his death.

⁶ Piccolomini fails to mention Berardi's mission to Germany 1438-1439, whether he considered it unimportant or had forgotten or not known about it.

⁷ 1439.

⁸ A peace between Hungary and Poland, but also to influence the Hungarian court to side with the pope in his conflict with the council (Walter).

⁹ Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg) (1409-1442): Daughter of Emperor Sigismund. Wife of Albrecht II.

¹⁰ 1444. In a letter to the cardinal of 16/30 September 1445, Piccolomini congratulated him to this appointment and sent him various news (WO, I, 1, ep. 186, pp. 545-546).

¹¹ Giuliano Cesarini died in the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

¹² Giovanni Campisi (d. 1475): Bishop of Piacenza from 1453 to his death. A close friend of Piccolomini.

¹³ Campisi functioned as a channel for Piccolomini to the cardinal, and through the cardinal to the curia. In a letter of 20 November 1444 he wrote: *Precor te, ut reverendissimo patri domino Tarentino me facias commendatum, quem propter suas praestantissimas virtutes tam diligo quam Scipionem, Kathonem, Fabricium et illos priscos solemus diligere, in quibus emicuisse singularissimas dotes legimus* (WO, I, 1, ep. 164, p. 451). And in another letter to Campisi, of 6 March 1446: *Tu hec reverendissimo domino nostro communi, cardinali Tarentino, communicata facito, ut per eum non solum sacri collegii aures, sed ipsius quoque sanctissimi summique sacerdotis adire presentiam queant.* (WO, I, 2, ep. 4, p. 24).

¹⁴ Date: This text was written/revised after Berardi's appointment as Grand Penitentiary in 1445 and before 16 November 1446 when Piccolomini left Austria on a diplomatic visit to Rome, during which Pope Eugenius died and Pope Nicolaus was elected. As Tagliacozzo played a decisive role in the conclave electing Nicolaus (see supplement), this would surely have been mentioned in his biography if it had been written or revised after Piccolomini's return from Rome.

¹⁵ Piccolomini's source: Personal acquaintance and oral information from friends and acquaintances.

Supplement

Report on a Mission to Rome, 1447¹ / On the conclave of 1447

Cum intrarent cardinales conclave, communis opinio fuit Prosperum de Columna summum pontificium adipisci ... Dum scrutinium papatus fieret, favebant huic Aquilegiensis et Morinensis cardinales et alii quamplures. Vicecancellarius et Tarentinus alium quemvis quam hunc malebant.

...

Ventum est die lunae ad scrutinium secundum. Quamplurimi extra collegium voces habuere. Archiepiscopus Beneventanus Florentinusque nominati sunt, correctorem quoque et Nicolaum Cusanum nonnulli vocabant. Sed superavit omnes cardinalis de Columna, qui etiam hac die decem votis flagitatus est. Bononiensem solum tribus expetitur ferunt. Morinensis vero, ubi Prosperum apostolatui proximum vidit, "Quid," inquit, "reverendissimi patres, terimus tempus? Nihil ecclesiae periculosius est cunctatione nostra. Urbs anceps est, rex Aragonum muris imminet, Amadeus de Sabaudia nobis insidiatur, comitem Franciscum hostem habemus, hic multa incommoda ferimus. Quin pontificem citius eligimus. Ecce angelum Dei cardinalem de Columna, mansuetum agnum. Quin hunc papam assumimus? Decem habet vota, duo absunt. Quin consurgitis vocemque huic affertis? Acta res est: si unus accedit, non deerit alter." Stabant omnes immobiles. Tum Bononiensis, ne longior mora ecclesiae noceret, assurgens, cardinali Columnensi accedere voluit. At Tarentinus veritus, quod erat futurum, si ille accessisset, "Siste," inquit, "paulisper Bononiensis. Caecum est festinantis consilium. Grandem rem agimus. Nihil tarde fit, quod bene fit. Pervestigemus rem altius. Non qui villae uni praesit, sed qui totum regat orbem, qui caelum claudat et aperiat, qui liget et solvat, et alium in terris Deum electuri sumus. Nunc examine, nunc consilio est opus. Parum vidit, qui cito vidit." Tum Aquilegiensis: "Omnia, quae dicis, Tarentine, eo tendunt, ne pontificatum Columnensis habeat. Si tua ex sententia pontifex fiat, non incusabis celeritatem. Non consultantis, sed nolentis est diutina deliberatio. Dic, obsecro, quem vis papam?" Tunc ille "Bononiensem," inquit, "vellem eumque nomino." "Placet et mihi," Aquilegiensis respondit. Accedit Morinensis, accedunt alii. Repente ad XI voces pervenitur. Exinde cardinalis sancti Sixti: "Et ego te," inquit, "Thoma, pontificem facio, nam et vigiliam hodie beati Thomae facimus." Mox alii omnes factum probaverunt. Ille, postquam diutius incassum se excusavit imperfectumque suum testatus est, cardinalium precibus acquievit induensque pontificalia nomen sibi Nicolai V. ob reverentiam magistri sui, sanctissimi patris Nicolai cardinalis sanctae crucis, adoptavit.

¹ COR, 1, sect. 48-50.

Supplement

Report on a Mission to Rome, 1447 / On the conclave of 1447

When the cardinals entered the conclave, the common opinion was that Prospero Colonna would become Supreme Pontiff. ... During the first ballot for the papacy, the Cardinal of Aquileia and the Cardinal of Th rouanne and several others favoured him, but the Vicechancellor and the Cardinal of Taranto wanted anyone but him. ...

On Monday, they proceeded to the second ballot. Many from outside the college were nominated, like 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 Th rouanne 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, Am d e of Savoy is plotting against us, Count Francesco¹ 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, a second one will not be fail to do the same." But they stayed immobile. Then the Cardinal of Bologna, lest further delay should harm the Church, stood up and would accede to Cardinal Colonna. 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 only take a quick look." 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 Th rouanne acceded, and so did others. Quickly they reached 11 votes. Then the Cardinal of San Sisto got up before the others and said: "And I, Thomas, make you pope, for today we celebrate the vigil of Saint Thomas. Rapidly all the others approved what had been done. For a long time, Bologna excused himself, declaring that he was not

¹ Francesco Sforza

perfect, but all in vain, 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.

2. Franciscus Condulmarus

[3] [Franciscus Condulmarus] nepos papae dictus est et admodum¹ juvenis cardinalis² creatus sibi³ cancellariatus⁴ officium advenit. Post cum Hungari instante Juliano Teucros, qui in Graecia morabantur, aggredi vellent magnumque confecissent exercitum, is cum classe in Hellespontum missus est prohibitus, ne Teucer magnus Amarat⁵ ex Asia posset⁶ in Europam copias transportare⁷. Omerat⁸ autem suis laturus opem⁹ cum magno exercitu trajecit, sive quod alio in loco improvise legato transivit, sive quod magnas gentes parva classis impedire non potuit. Is adhuc ex Graecia non rediit.

3. Petrus Barbo

[4] [Petrus Barbo] nepos Eugenii¹⁰ ex sorore admodum juvenis in cardinalem assumptus est. Scit uti curiae moribus, sermone blandus est. Convivia opipara¹¹ struit¹². Advenas saepe invitat. Corpore magnus est. Cardinali de Columna admodum familiaris.

¹ postmodum MA

² juvenis cardinalis : cardinalis juvenis MA

³ solumque MA

⁴ cancellarium MA

⁵ Omarat *et passim* X; Omerat HE, MA

⁶ possit MA

⁷ copias transportare : transfretare MA

⁸ *Sic!*

⁹ ~~una~~-seq. V; una *add.* MA

¹⁰ ~~adm~~ seq. V

¹¹ opipera V, X

¹² servit MA

2. Francesco Condulmer, Cardinal

[3] Francesco Condulmer^{1 2 3} was called the papal nephew.⁴ He was created cardinal at a very young age and appointed Chancellor. When later the Hungarians, at the urging of Giuliano⁵, wanted to attack the Turks⁶ in Greece and had mobilised a great army, Francesco was sent with a fleet to the Hellespont to prevent the Grand Turk, Murad,⁷ from transporting troops from Asia to Europe. However, coming to the assistance of his people [in Greece],⁸ Murad did cross over with a large army, whether he did so at a place unforeseen by the legate,⁹ or because the legate's small fleet could not keep back that many men. He has not yet returned from Greece.^{10 11 12}

3. Pietro Barbo, Cardinal

[4] [Pietro Barbo,^{13 14}] a nephew of Eugenius¹⁵ through his sister¹⁶, was appointed cardinal at a very young age.¹⁷ He is well versed in the ways of the curia and is affable in his conversation. He organises sumptuous banquets and often invites visitors. He is a large man, and very close to Cardinal Colonna.^{18 19 1}

¹ Francesco Condulmer (ca. 1390-1453): Cardinal 1431. Chancellor 1445.

² For a general biography, see Olivieri.

³ Piccolomini became personally acquainted with Condulmer at the latest during his mission to Rome in January-March 1447.

⁴ At that time, it was customary for the pope to appoint one or more nephews as cardinals. The position of the cardinal nephew was quite honourable, and later it would become almost an instrument of papal government (Cotta-Schönberg: *Cardinal*).

⁵ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini was sent as papal legate to Hungary in 1443, and there he persuaded the Polish/Hungarian king, Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon), to break the truce with the Turks that he had himself arranged.

⁶ Note that Piccolomini here uses the terms Teuceri to designate the Turks, a practice he discontinued around 1447, when he switched to Turchi..

⁷ Murad II (1404-1451): Sultan of the Turks. Murad had abdicated after the Peace of Szeged but was recalled by his son, Mehmed II, to conduct the war against the Hungarians, whom he defeated in the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

⁸ In Greece.

⁹ Condulmer.

¹⁰ Condulmer returned to Rome on 15 February 1446.

¹¹ Date: The text was written after Cesarini's mission to Hungary in 1443 and before Condulmer's return to Rome in February 1446. Piccolomini would have heard of it at the latest in summer 1446, when he visited Rome.

¹² Piccolomini's source: Information from friends and acquaintances.

¹³ Pietro Barbo (1417-1471): Cardinal 1440. Pope from 1464 to his death under the name of Paul II. Pius II's immediate successor.

¹⁴ For a general biography, see Modigliani.

¹⁵ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁶ Polixena Condulmer Barbo.

¹⁷ 1440, at the age of 23.

¹⁸ Prospero Colonna (1410-1463): Appointed cardinal by his uncle, Pope Martin V, in 1423 (only published in 1430).

¹⁹ Date: Presumably written before the death of Eugenius IV in 1447.

¹ Piccolomini's source: Personal knowledge and oral information from friends and acquaintances. Piccolomini may have met Condulmer during his visits to Rome in 1445 and 1446.

4. Nicolaus Siculus

[5] Nicolaus Siculus¹ ex Cathania natus monasticum habitum sumpsit. Post juri pontificio dedit operam doctusque plurimum evadens Parmae, Senis ac² Bononiae legit, nec in abbatem assumptus lecturam amisit. Senis ad X annos canones legit; stipendium ei octingentorum aureorum in anno fuit. Post Romam veniens auditor {40r} camerae factus est missusque cum Tarentino Basileam Eugenii partes tutatus est, quamvis antea legens Romanum pontificem subesse concilio disputaverit asseruitque. Nec diu post Romam reversus ad regem Aragonum se contulit, qui³ eum cum⁴ Ludovico⁵ Pontano⁶ ad concilium remisit Eugenii partes impugnaturum.⁷

[6] Dum illic est, ingens argentum lucratus est ex patrociniis vel – ut melius dicam – ex consiliis. Plures causas injustas promovit, nam Isidorum de Rosate non parva pecunia corruptus in Pergamensem episcopum promovit, indoctum hominem et, quod pejus est, vitiis multis coopertum ignobilemque. Marcum quoque Mediolanensem imperitum, quamvis doctorem, et omnino⁸ ineptum, Alexandriae praefecit episcopum ex commissione concilii. De quibus, cum relationem faceret, non aliter locutus est quam si⁹ beatum Paulum vel¹⁰ Augustinum esset promoturus. Exinde non parum notae suscepit.

¹ Secundus MA

² et X

³ *corr. ex cum V*

⁴ *omit. X*

⁵ Ludameo MA

⁶ Pancano MA

⁷ impugnaturo MA

⁸ omnium X, MA

⁹ quam si : quasi X

¹⁰ aut MA

4. Niccolò Tedeschi, Archbishop of Palermo

[5] Niccolò from Sicily^{1 2} was born in Catania and took the monastic habit.³ Afterwards, he studied pontifical law.⁴ Having become very learned [in this discipline], he lectured in Parma,⁵ Siena⁶ and Bologna,⁷ and when he was appointed abbot,⁸ he continued teaching. He taught canon law for ten years in Siena with an annual salary of 800 gold ducats. Later he went to Rome, where he was appointed cameral auditor⁹ and sent to Basel¹⁰ together with Taranto¹¹ to defend the cause of Eugenius,¹² though in previous lectures, he had argued and asserted that the Roman Pontiff is subject to the council.¹³ Shortly afterwards,¹⁴ he returned to Rome. From there went to the King of Aragon,¹⁵ who sent him back to the council¹⁶ together with Lodovico Pontano¹⁷ to fight against the cause of Eugenius.¹⁸

[6] While there, he amassed a considerable fortune from his patronage – or better – his recommendations. He defended several unjust causes. Thus, having been bribed with a significant sum, he nominated Isidoro de Rosate¹⁹ as Bishop of Bergamo, a person without learning and, what is worse, a dishonourable man of many vices. As a commissioner of the council he also made Marco, a Milanese²⁰ - completely unqualified though he was a doctor - bishop of Alessandria.²¹ Reporting to the council on these two men, he spoke as if he was nominating a Saint Paul or Augustine, for which reason he incurred much blame.²²

¹ Niccolò Tedeschi (1386-1445): Archbishop of Palermo 1435 to his death. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440.

² For a general biography, see Condorelli.

³ He entered the Benedictine Order in 1400.

⁴ He studied Canon Law in Bologna from 1405 under Francesco Zabarella.

⁵ 1412-1418.

⁶ 1418-1430. Piccolomini himself studied at the University in Siena in the 1420s and may have known (of) Niccolò then

⁷ 1431-1432.

⁸ In 1425 he became abbot of the monastery at Maniace near Messina.

⁹ I.e. auditor of the curial tribunal, the Rota.

¹⁰ 1433.

¹¹ Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo, see ch. 1.

¹² Condorelli: *A Basilea, in un discorso tenuto nel marzo del 1433, Tedeschi sottolineò le prerogative del papa sul concilio al fine di convincere i padri conciliari ad accogliere le richieste di Eugenio.*

¹³ At that time, Piccolomini was also in Basel.

¹⁴ Summer 1433.

¹⁵ King Alfonso V, see ch. 27, who made him a counsellor and Archbishop of Palermo (1434).

¹⁶ 1436.

¹⁷ Lodovico Pontano, see ch. 6.

¹⁸ On Tedeschi's interventions at the council, see Piccolomini's *De Gestis* (Hay), passim.

¹⁹ Isidoro da Rosate, opponent and bête-noire of Piccolomini's at the Council of Basel.

²⁰ Marco Marinoni: Bishop of Alessandria 1443-1457.

²¹ 1441.

²² The appointment of Marco Marinoni was made at the Council of Basel in 1438. Together with other doubtful episcopal appointments, it caused the Committee of Twelve, of which Piccolomini was a member, to present a proposal for stringent new procedures in the matter of episcopal appointments. In his oration to the council on the matter, the "*Si ea quae justa*", Piccolomini said: *Contrary to the blatherings of the critics, The Twelve were not ignorant of the old law*

[7] Post autem, cum divisio decreti de electione loci ¹ in concilio esset, Gallicis adhaesit electionemque jure factam ostendit. Cum vero ad Eugenii depositionem ventum est, ex concilio recessit. Sic enim rex Aragonum subditis suis praecepit. Jam enim rex Aragonum irritatus adversus Eugenium redire suos Basileam jussit oboedireque concilio, etsi Felicem non haberent² in papam.³ Post assumptionem⁴ autem Felicis cardinalis ab eo creatus Basileam rediit acerque pugnator pro concilio fuit missusque Francfordiam disputationes magnas⁵ habuit magnaue causa fuit, ne tunc electores pro Eugenio se declararent. Exin⁶ autem, cum rex Aragonum Eugenio conciliatus praelatos dominiorum suorum ex concilio revocasset, is quoque recessit, nec enim tanti fidem, quam praedicaverat, quanti ecclesiam fecit. Dum tamen⁷ resignare cardinalatum rogatur⁸, variis dilationibus⁹ se excusat et ante mortuus est, quam Eugenii sese oboedientiae subjiceret, multumque questus est moriens, quod nepotum suasu veritatem concilii reliquisset.

concerning witnesses, but it is sitting there in old books, mute and without speech, and nobody pays any attention to it. They saw that bishops are appointed without witnesses being examined other than those whom the candidate himself produced. Some candidates have actually been shown to be so pure and unblemished that only miracles were lacking for them to be saints. I do not know whether in conscience you really thought thus about these men. But I think that the misery of the Church has come to a point where we see ridiculous rather than true pastors. It pains me to report that before the Universal Church our pastors are appointed with laughter and jokes when our eyes should be filled with tears. (COR, II, 4, sect. 13).

¹ *supralin.* V

² haberet X

³ jam enim ... papam *in marg.* V

⁴ absumptionem V

⁵ disputationes magnas : magnas disputationes MA

⁶ exinde X

⁷ dum tamen : cum autem MA

⁸ cogatur MA

⁹ dilationis V

[7] Later, during the conflict at the council concerning the choice of location,¹ he supported the French and showed that their choice was made lawfully. But when it came to the deposition of Eugenius,² he left the council, for thus the King of Aragon ordered his subjects. But soon, the king again grew angry with Eugenius and ordered his men to return to Basel and obey the council, though they were not to accept Felix³ as pope.⁴ After the election of Felix, he was made a cardinal by him⁵ and returned to Basel, where he defended the council fiercely. He was sent to Frankfurt,⁶ and there he held great debates and was a major reason that the electors⁷ did not declare for Eugenius. But later, the King of Aragon became reconciled with Eugenius⁸ and recalled his [prelates] from the council. Niccolò, too, returned, preferring his bishopric to the Faith he had preached [so much] about.⁹ When he was required to resign from his cardinalate, he procrastinated with various excuses and died before submitting himself in obedience to Eugenius.¹⁰ On his deathbed,¹¹ he greatly lamented that, at the urging of his nephews, he had deserted the truth of the council.^{12 13}

¹ The papalist party wanted the council to move to a city in Italy, and the conciliarist party preferably to Avignon. See Piccolomini's oration "*Audivi*" (1436) (COR, II, 1).

² 25 June 1439.

³ Amédée VIII (Savoy), see ch. 26.

⁴ Tedeschi left Basel and returned to Sicily before the deposition of Eugenius IV on 25 June 1439.

⁵ 12 November 1440.

⁶ The Imperial Diet of Frankfurt 1442. Piccolomini also attended this diet on behalf of the council and was introduced to the imperial court, to which he soon transferred as a secretary in the imperial chancellery.

⁷ The German prince-electors.

⁸ 1443.

⁹ In a letter of May 1445 to Leonhard Laiming, Piccolomini commented on Tedeschi's last years in Palermo: *Panormitanus apud ecclesiam suam cum tedio vitam exruit*. (WO, I, 1, ep. 168, p. 492).

¹⁰ See sect. 195, 209.

¹¹ 24 February 1445.

¹² Date: Written after the death of Niccolò Tedeschi in February 1445.

¹³ Piccolomini's source: Information derived directly from personal acquaintance with Tedeschi and oral information from mutual friends and acquaintances. Piccolomini knew Tedeschi from the years when they were both in Basel and from the conciliar embassy to Frankfurt in 1442, of which they were both part.

5. Bartholomaeus de Vicecomitibus

[8] Bartholomaeus de Vicecomitibus episcopus Novariensis, Scaramuciae frater, juvenis ad episcopatum assumptus est non sua tantum virtute quasi¹ germani favore. Scaramucia namque, qui et Georgius dictus est, humili natus loco, puer admodum Gabrieli Vicecomiti servivit, quo apud Januam capite truncato ad Johannem Vicecomitem, Mediolani ducem, puer se contulit, cum eo quoque, dum is percuteretur, fuit ejusque occisioni plenius interfuit repertusque est lacrimans supra cadaver. Ac sic postea Filippo servire coepit melioribus auspiciis, a quo² ditatus est {40v} in³ tantumque dilectus, ut in numero quoque Vicecomitum reciperetur, et frater suus Bartholomaeus episcopus fieret.

[9] Huic⁴ episcopo ego quoque servivi, dum is esset Basileae magnique nominis haberetur propter ducem, et cum eo Mediolanum ivi⁵ ac post Novariam. Fideliter sibi tribus annis⁶ famulatus sum. Postea eum⁷ in legatione ducali Florentiam missum secutus⁸ sum. Ibi⁹ vir perditus, in malignitatem malignitatem natus, eum delusit. Fingens enim se Eugenii inimicum, quod is sibi non digna praemia retribuere, ait se magna in papam moliturum, si modo episcopus sibi assisteret. Episcopus, qui papam suo¹⁰ principi inimicum putabat, audire rem¹¹ voluit. Is inquit admodum plures esse Florentinos, qui papae inimicarentur et regimini, quod tunc erat. Quod si Nicolaus Piceninus¹², qui erat in Balneis Senensibus, cum aliqua manu¹³ Florentiae appropinquaret, cives in rumorem¹⁴ mox surgerent expellerentque suos inimicos et papam captivarent,

¹ quantum *em.* HE; quam MA

² a quo : et que X

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ hinc X

⁵ quatuor X

⁶ sibi tribus annis : tribus annis sibi MA

⁷ cum X; dum MA

⁸ status X

⁹ ubi MA

¹⁰ sive X

¹¹ non X; eum MA

¹² Picolominus X

¹³ navi MA

¹⁴ numerum MA

5. Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara

[8] Bartolomeo Visconti,^{1 2} Bishop of Novara, brother of Scaramuccia, was made a bishop at a young age,³ less because of his own qualities than because of the favour his brother enjoyed [at court]. Scaramuccia, otherwise called Giorgio,⁴ was of humble parentage,⁵ and as a small boy served⁶ Gabriele Maria Visconti.⁷ When Gabriele was beheaded in Genoa,⁸ the boy took himself to Giovanni Visconti, Duke of Milan,⁹ and was with him when he was struck down. Being present at the murder, he was found crying over the body. Then, under better omens, he began to serve Filippo,¹⁰ who made him a rich man and loved him so much that he made him a Visconti¹¹ and his brother a bishop.

[9] I was in the employment of this bishop when he was in Basel¹² and held in high regard because of the duke, and I went to Milan with him and later to Novara. I served him loyally for three years,¹³ and towards the end I accompanied him on a ducal mission to Florence.¹⁴ There he was deceived by a reckless man, born to wickedness.¹⁵ Pretending to be an enemy of Eugenius because he had failed to reward him as he deserved, he said that he would organise a plot against the pope if only the bishop would help him. As the bishop considered the pope an enemy of his prince, he agreed to hear

¹ Bartolomeo Visconti [Aicardi] (1402-1457): Bishop of Novara from 1429 to his death. Employer and friend of Piccolomini

² For a general biography, see Martini.

³ At the age of 27.

⁴ Giorgio Visconti Aicardi [Scaramuccia] (-1457). In his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, Decembrio wrote about Scaramuccia: ... *the person he liked best to lean on in this way was one of his valets, Scaramuccia by name. This Scaramuccia was notorious for having served in his boyhood under Filippo's brother Giovanni Maria. Filippo then made him his personal attendant and constant companion at meals.* (Ch. 53, p. 101)

⁵ The Visconti Aicardi were a noble family from Milan. The founder of the family was Domenico Aicardi (-1431), who in 1415 was granted the privilege of using the Visconti name and arms by Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁶ As a page.

⁷ Gabriele Maria Visconti (1385-1408): Illegitimate son of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan.

⁸ Milan was part of an Italian alliance opposing the French interests in Italy. The French governor of Genoa, Boucicaut (Jean II Le Maingre) lured Gabriele into a trap and had him beheaded in 1408.

⁹ Giovanni Maria Visconti (1388-1412): Duke of Milan from 1402 to his death.

¹⁰ Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death.

¹¹ Cf. the note above concerning the Visconti Aicardi family.

¹² COM, I, 3 (Meserve, I, p. 13): ... *when Nicodemo left Basel, he [Piccolomini] served Bartolomeo Visconti, the bishop of Novara. Both men put him in charge of composing and signing their letters. ... With Bartolomeo he returned to Italy and stayed for a while at the court of Duke Filippo of Milan, whom Bartolomeo served.*

¹³ After leaving the service of Cardinal Capranica, Piccolomini, at the latest in September 1432, entered the service of Bishop della Scala of Freising, whom he accompanied to a Fürstentag in Frankfurt (4 October 1432). He remained in della Scala's service until the bishop left Basel at the end of January 1433. Therefore, Piccolomini cannot have entered the service of Bartolomeo Visconti before February 1433. As the plot against the pope was discovered in June 1435, when Piccolomini became a secretary of Cardinal Albergati, he was in the service of Visconti from February 1433 to June 1435, i.e. not three years but two years and four months.

¹⁴ It would appear that Piccolomini was still in the bishop's service during his mission to Florence.

¹⁵ A certain Riccio, see Voigt, I, p. 80.

the plan. The man said that many Florentines opposed the pope and the city government¹ at the time. If Niccolò Piccinino,² then at the baths of Siena, moved towards Florence with a troop of men, men, the rumour would immediately make the citizens rise, expel their enemies and take the pope prisoner.

[9] multaque dixit ad *hujus*³ rei confirmationem. Submissus is erat per Cosmum⁴ et sequaces. Episcopus, dum vult secretum esse nullique suorum communicare, magis decipitur, nam si ex suis aliquem consulisset, non *sic*⁵ deceptus fuisset. Sed animi magnitudo non patitur comitem: sola sibi sibi omnia arrogat. Persuasus ergo est Picenino scribere, eiusque litterae interceptae sunt et, quamvis sub notis obscuris essent, intellectae tamen sunt, ut Florentinorum est in malum astutia. Criminis reus habetur⁶ et coram papa fateri crimen coactus est, nam dum palatium petit⁷, retentus est.

[10] Nos, qui audivimus factum, percusso pastore dispersi sumus. Meum iter prius ad Beatam Mariam, quam Gratiarum vocant, fuit. Ibi vota peregrini supplicavique beatae Virgini, ne me innocentem rapi sineret, quae ut benigna in me semper fuit, innocentiam meam tutata est. Erat in eadem supplicatione mecum⁸ Antonius Bernerius Parmensis, qui postea Laudensis⁹ episcopus factus est. Is ad cardinalem de Ursinis confugit. Ego ad cardinalem sanctae crucis me recepi, qui et me in secretarium accepit. Apud quem dum moror, venit episcopus Novariensis sibi commendatus meque accersit petitque veniam, quod mihi nihil communicasset, nam me Tuscum noluerat¹⁰ in re Tusca consulere.¹¹ “Doleo,” inquam episcopo, “te nihil mihi¹² communicasse, nam si quid scissem, extimo, quod non sic te aberrare sivilissem¹³. Laetor insuper, nam si quid contra me fiat¹⁴, adjuvabit me semper conscientia, dum me scivero¹⁵ indigna pati.”

[11] Post inde paucos dies liberatus episcopus est Mediolanumque ivit cum domino cardinali sanctae crucis, qui non nihil negotii habebat {41r} cum duce ac ire Atrebatum ad tractandam pacem

¹ The city government at the time was dominated by the Medici party.

² Niccolò Piccinino (1386-1444): Perugian condottiere.

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ Cosimum MA

⁵ *omit.* MA

⁶ factus est MA

⁷ peteret X

⁸ *seq.* ~~Be~~ V

⁹ Savonensis MA

¹⁰ uoluerat X

¹¹ *seq.* ~~cum ego gratias ag~~ V

¹² nihil mihi : mihi nihil MA

¹³ sinissem X

¹⁴ fiet X

¹⁵ me scivero : nescivero MA

inter regem Franciae et ducem Borgundiae debebat, quem ego secutus sum et jussu ejus ivi in Scotiam.

[9] The man said much to substantiate his claim. In reality, he served Cosimo¹ and his followers. Since the bishop wanted to keep the matter secret and did not speak of it with his own people, he was deceived. Had he just consulted one of them, he would not have been deceived in this way.² However, pride allows no companion but claims all for itself. So, Bartolomeo was persuaded to write to Piccinino. His letter was intercepted and deciphered, for the Florentines are clever about wicked matters. Bartolomeo was put under accusation, and when he went to the palace, he was arrested and forced to confess his crime before the pope.

[10] When we³ heard what had happened, we scattered [as sheep whose] shepherd has been struck down. I first went to the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie,⁴ where I made votive offerings and begged the Holy Virgin not to let me, an innocent, be taken. Having always been good to me, she also protected my innocence then. Antonio Bernieri⁵ from Parma, who later became Bishop of Lodi, Lodi, joined me in this prayer. He sought refuge with Cardinal Orsini,⁶ whereas I took myself to the the Cardinal of Santa Croce,⁷ who engaged me as a secretary. While I was staying with him, Bartolomeo was entrusted to his custody. Summoning me, he asked for forgiveness that he had told me nothing, for since I was a Tuscan, he had not wanted to involve me in a Tuscan matter. I answered the bishop, “I am sorry that you told me nothing, for if I had known about it, I believe that I would not have let you make this error. I am also glad that if anything [untoward] happens to me, I will always be supported by my own conscience, knowing that I suffer unjustly.”⁸

[11] A few days later, the bishop was released and went to Milan together with the Lord Cardinal of Santa Croce, who had business with the duke and was to proceed to Arras⁹ to negotiate a peace between the King of France¹⁰ and the Duke of Burgundy.¹¹ I accompanied the cardinal and [afterwards] went to Scotland on his command.

¹ Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464): Florentine banker and statesman. Founder of the Medici dynasty.

² Piccolomini fails to mention that he was Visconti's envoy to Niccolò Piccinino, see COM, I, 4 (Meserve, I, p. 15): *From there [Florence] he went to discuss some important business with Niccolò Piccinino, the most celebrated general of the age, who was taking the waters at Siena.* It is uncertain to what extent Piccolomini was aware of the plot (see Voigt, I, pp. 80-83).

³ The bishop's household.

⁴ Church in Florence.

⁵ Antonio Bernieri (- 456): Bishop of Lodi in Milanese territory from 1435 to his death.

⁶ Giordano Orsini (-1438): Appointed cardinal in 1405.

⁷ Niccolò Albergati (1373-1445): Appointed cardinal in 1426.

⁸ Piccolomini mentioned this episode in the *Commentarii*, where he acknowledged his mission to Piccinino without mentioning its purpose: *Some time after this Aeneas went with Bartolomeo to Pope Eugenius, who was then holding court at Florence. From there he went to discuss some important business with Niccolò Piccinino, the most celebrated general of that age, who was taking the waters at Siena. ... When he returned to Florence he found that Bartolomeo had been accused of grave offenses before Eugenius and was on trial for his life. Aeneas therefore took refuge with Niccolò, the cardinal of Santa Croce, a most eminent member of the college, who appointed him his secretary and rescued Bartolomeo from Eugenius* (COM, I, 4 (Meserve, I, p. 15).

⁹ Congress of Arras, Summer 1435. The cardinal was to help reconcile the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy and induce the duke to abandon his alliance with the English.

¹⁰ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death.

¹¹ Philippe III [le Bon] (Valois) (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death.

[12] Sed cum revertissem, nolui esse apud Eugenium in Bononia, ne mihi imputaret facta Novariensis. Fui ergo Basileae diu interfuique omnibus, quae acta sunt contra Eugenium. Post¹ in secretarium receptus sum a Felice, novo papa creato, apud quem, dum cardinales crearentur, operam dedi, quod is quoque Novariensis fieret cardinalis, idque factum est. Sed postea mutatis rebus, cum Felicem omnes relinquerent nec ejus papatum amplecti vellent, ego ad Caesarem Fridericum me recepi, nec enim volui statim de parte ad partem transire. Novariensis vero episcopus cardinalatum renuntiavit non sine spe novi cardinalatus ab Eugenio obtinendi, quae spes adhuc eum tenet.

¹ postea MA

[12] When I returned, I did not want to join Eugenius in Bologna¹, [fearing] that he might blame me for the actions of Novara.² So, I stayed long in Basel and took part in all [the council's] actions against Eugenius.³ Later, I was engaged as a secretary by Felix⁴, newly elected pope. When he proceeded to appoint cardinals, I worked successfully for Novara's appointment as a cardinal. However, when things later changed, and all abandoned Felix and rejected his papacy, I took myself to Emperor Friedrich,⁵ not wanting to pass directly from one party to the other.⁶ Novara renounced his cardinalate in the hope of being re-appointed by Eugenius, but he is still hoping.^{7 8}

¹ As a member of Cardinal Albergati's household.

² COM, I, 7 (Meserve, I, p. 31): ... *at Bologna he [Piccolomini] learned that Eugenius could not abide anyone who had been on the side of the Council of Basel and that any mention of the Bishop of Novara might do him harm.*

³ Piccolomini freely admitted his actions against Eugenius, see his oration to that pope himself, the "*Prius sanctissime praesul*" (1445) (COR, III, 7).

⁴ Felix V.

⁵ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (Styria). Elected emperor in 1440 and crowned in Rome in 1452.

⁶ I.e. from the conciliarist to the papalist. However, when he joined the imperial court, he was still a convinced conciliarist at heart, see his letter to Hartung von Kappel of April 1443 (WO, I, 1, ep. 47, pp. 132-144. CPL, II, ep. 46).

⁷ Date: Written after January 1442, when Piccolomini took service with the emperor, and before the death of Eugenius IV in February 1447 (since Visconti still hoped to be re-appointed a cardinal by this pope).

⁸ Piccolomini's source: Information derived from close personal acquaintance with Visconti, whose secretary Piccolomini was for more than two years, whom he accompanied on a ducal mission to Vienna in 1438 (see COM, I, 9), and whose appointment as cardinal by Felix V he assured. The continued cordial relations between Piccolomini and Visconti after the debacle in Florence are attested by a letter of 19 October 1443 to Visconti, where P. says: *Magna et innumerabilia sunt beneficia, quae a vobis recepi, nec ego illis condignam possem vicem rependere, etiam si mille annorum mihi vita donaretur* (WO, I, 1, ep. 88, p. 206).

6. Ludovicus Pontanus

[13] Ludovicus Pontanus, medici filius, Perusii studuit tantaeque memoriae fuit, ut arte magica, non natura uti putaretur. Santius illi pater fuit, qui etiam suspectus erat hujus artis. Major in eo scientia quam prudentia fuit, nam et pueri eum¹ in agilibus² delusissent. Si quis obtinere aliquid volebat ex³ eo, quamprimum adulari coepisset, voti compos fiebat. Magnum hujus nomen propter peritiam juris utriusque fuit, nam scientia haec memoria magis quam ingenio constat. Ex quo fit, ut stultus etiam possit esse juris peritus. Istius memoria capacissima fuit: quicquid legit, memoriae⁴ tenuit.

¹ cum X, MA

² aliquibus MA

³ ab MA

⁴ memoriter HE

6. Lodovico Pontano, Protonotary

[13] Lodovico Pontano^{1 2} was the son of a physician. He studied in Perugia.³ His memory was so great that people thought he used magic rather than nature. His father, Sante, was also suspected of using magical arts. Lodovico's learning was greater than his wisdom, for in worldly affairs even children could have fooled him.⁴ If anyone wanted to obtain something from Lodovico, he would get it the moment he began to compliment him. He enjoyed an excellent reputation for his profound knowledge of both laws,⁵ for this science is based more on memory than intelligence. Therefore, even a stupid man can be a specialist in law. At any rate, Lodovico's memory was phenomenal⁶: he remembered all he had read.

¹ Ludovico Pontano [Romano] (1409-1439): Celebrated Italian jurist.

² For a general biography, see Woelki.

³ Pontano studied first in Perugia, and later in Bologna with Giovanni da Imola (see ch. 19).

⁴ "in agilibus".

⁵ Canon Law and Roman Law.

⁶ In his letter to Pietro da Noceto of 21 May 1437, Piccolomini wrote about Pontano: *Ludovicus quoque, Romanus protonotarius, juris consultorum memori-osissimus* (WO, I, 1, ep. 24, p. 65; CPL, I, 23).

[14] Conductus est Florentiae ad lecturam, post defecit, ob quam rem tamquam proditor depictus¹ est per pedes suspensus meritoque infamis reputatus. Exinde vocatus Romam ob singularem peritiam juris protonotarius creatus est. Sed cum altiora quaerit et non obtinet, ad regem Aragonum se recipit et ab eo cum Panormitano in legationem mittitur ad concilium, ubi multa egregie disputavit visusque est hominibus divinus potius quam humanus homo. Missus est per concilium ad ducem Borgundiae, archiepiscopum Coloniensem pluresque alios, ubi quotiens² locutus est, omnes in stuporem adduxit. Sed in reditu captus est vixque relaxatus per ducem Bavariae. Uni solum Panormitano invidit, quem sibi vel similem vel proximum iudicavit. Cum omnes ex Basilea oratores principum recederent, is solum mansit spe cardinalatus habendi, sed peste superveniente mortuus est, quem ego in agone constitutum multis verbis ad patientiam hortatus sum, cum is diceret non se credere Deum tam juveni sibi³ spiritum tracturum⁴, qui multum adhuc ecclesiae prodesse posset. Apud Cartusiam sepultus est.

¹ dejectus MA

² quoties MA

³ tam juveni sibi : sibi tam juveni MA

⁴ erecturum X

[14] He was engaged as a lecturer in Florence¹ but left [before time] and was, therefore, painted as a traitor, hanging from his feet, and justly reputed as infamous.² Then he was called to Rome, where he was made a protonotary because of his outstanding knowledge of law. However, when he applied for a higher position and did not get it, he moved on to the King of Aragon,³ who sent him and Panormitano⁴ as legates to the Council [of Basel].⁵ ⁶ There, he proved a marvellous debater and and was considered almost a divine rather than a human being.⁷ The council sent him on a mission to the Duke of Burgundy,⁸ the Archbishop of Cologne,⁹ and several others.¹⁰ ¹¹ When he spoke, he he truly astonished people. On his travel back, he was taken prisoner¹² but released through the intervention of the Duke of Bavaria.¹³ The only man he envied was Panormitano, whom he considered as equal or close to himself.¹⁴ When all the ambassadors of the princes left Basel, only he remained, hoping to be appointed cardinal,¹⁵ but when a plague broke out, he died.¹⁶ On his deathbed, I exhorted him, in many words, to show patience, but he said he did not believe God would take his spirit while he was so young and could still profit the Church greatly. He is buried in the Carthusian monastery.¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹ ²

¹ Pontano taught in Florence from 1428-1431.

² Having been summoned by the pope in 1431, Pontano broke his contract with Florence and left for Rome.

³ Pontano left Rome in 1434 and went to Siena, where he taught for two years before taking himself to Naples and King Alfonso V.

⁴ Niccolò Tedeschi.

⁵ 1436.

⁶ In his first letter of retraction to the rector of Cologne University, of 13 August 1447, Piccolomini wrote about the importance these two men had for his own conciliarist views at the time: *Frangebant me ipsa Panormitani Ludovicique nomina, qui duo luminaria juris maxima censebantur* (WO, II, ep. 19, p. 56).

⁷ On Pontano's interventions at the council, see Piccolomini's *De Gestis* (Hay), passim.

⁸ Duke Philippe III of Burgundy.

⁹ Dietrich II von Mörs (ca. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death.

¹⁰ The University of Louvain.

¹¹ Piccolomini fails to mention Pontano's mission to Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy to solicit his support for the council, which next year elected him pope.

¹² By Count Stefan von Simmern-Zweibrücken in the Palatinate.

¹³ Ludwig VII (1368-1447): Duke of Bayern-Ingolstadt from 1413 to his death.

¹⁴ On the jealousy between the two men, Piccolomini wrote in his DRBG (1450): *Panormitanus et Ludovicus Pontanus advenerant jussu Aragonum regis missi, qui Gallicas partes tuebantur. Erant enim viri doctissimi, sed plus litterarum quam pensi habentes, infensi inter se magnis simultatibus extuabant. Magne inter eos de precessione contentio fuit. Alter, quia archiepiscopus esset, alter quia notarius apostolicae sedis vocaretur, precedere malebat* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 193).

¹⁵ By the pope to be elected by the Council, Felix V.

¹⁶ 10 July 1439.

¹⁷ Basler Kartäuserkloster (today Bürgerliches Waisenhaus). Piccolomini wrote three epitaphs for Pontano, see Piccolomini: *Carmina*, pp. 84-86.

¹⁸ In his DGCB, Piccolomini wrote about Pontano: ... *Lodovico the Roman protonotary rose, a man versed in the whole range of human law, whose memory was so good that he was not considered as yielding precedence to any of the ancients ... For he remembered everything he had ever read or heard, and had not forgotten anything he had himself seen. Unlike other legal experts he did not merely quote the first words of laws in debate but, as though he were reading the book, would recall the [whole] text from memory. He was a man worthy not only of Rome but of heaven, one to whom no mortal seemed comparable. He was marked out to be an object not of admiration but of astonishment to all peoples if, as seemed fair, the length of his life had been doubled. Yet fortune had a grudge against Italy and did not permit further distinction to such an ornament of all learning. It sent upon him a pestilential disease, and carried him off when he had barely passed his thirtieth year. It did not allow him to be ill for more than thirty-six hours, and it seemed to be not so much the passing as the theft of a human life. For who would have thought that a man so young and*

7. Nicolaus Piceninus³

[15] Nicolaus Piceninus Perusii⁴ natus haud obscuro loco, inopi tamen – ut saepe nobilitas paupertati subjacet – vir fuit parvae staturae, sed quantulus fuit, pulcher erat. In militiam profectus diu inter gregarios milites fuit. Tirocinium suum sub Braccio peregit, qui viri virtute cognita hominem erexit. Ac⁵ dum Aquilam urbem Braccius obsideret jamque procinctus ecclesiae contra se veniret, placuit Braccio certamen ingredi Piceninumque cum parva manu ad custodiam urbis reliquit, ne, dum proelium esset, oppidani egredientes a tergo sese invaderent. Sed Piceninus audiens victoriam Braccii et⁶ conturbatos hostes, clamantibus suis inexpertes se praedarum esse, dum portam observant, custodiam reliquit, quae res magna pars ruinae Braccii fuit. Hoc unum Picenino imputatum fuit, sed militibus potius⁷ quam sibi ascribi⁸ debuit, nam ipse coactus erat.

[16] Sed mortuo in hoc proelio Braccio, is postea cum ejus filio comite Gaddo ad Florentinos se recepit rectorque pueri fuit, quamvis titulus capitaneatus comitis esset ob reverentiam patris. Bellum tunc cum Filippo duce Florentini gerebant. Itaque per Vallem Lamoni dum Gaddus puer Piceninusque (qui locus est in alpihus Apennini) Florentinorum nomine Faventiam peterent, incolarum superventu – nam feroces illic rustici sunt – conturbatus est exercitus, nobilisque puer occisus. Piceninus captus in potestate Antonii Guidonis et Nestoris⁹, qui tunc Faventiam tenebant, devenit. Sed plus ejus captivitas Florentinis profuit, quam si victoriam obtinuisset¹⁰, nam, dum est in carcere, docet fratres¹¹ Faventinos utilius esse Florentinorum quam ducis parti favere. Ducem¹² in remotis esse ait, Florentinos vicinos fore. Ducem unica febre moriturum esse aut veneno aut alio

strong would breathe his last in so short a time? His death was a greater calamity than the death of any king, since in a kingdom an heir succeeds the king, but no heir in letters survives a man so learned. At a time when he was well qualified to be made a cardinal, he was buried in the Charterhouse (DGCB (Hay), pp. 102-103).

¹ Date: After the death of Pontano on 10 July 1439.

² Piccolomini's source: Information derived from close personal acquaintance and friendship during their common years in Basel, 1436-1439. Their close friendship is attested by Piccolomini himself in his DGCB (Hay, p. 197): *whom he dearly loved*. And when, in 1445, he addressed Pope Eugenius for the first time, he excused his conciliarist stance at the Council of Basel with a reference to three luminaries of the time: *I followed the lead of Giuliano [Cesarini], cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Niccolò [Tedeschi], archbishop of Palermo, and Lodovico Pontano, a notary of your own see* (COM, I, 13 (Meserve, I, p. 55).

³ *add. in marg. V*: Qui vulneratus est sagitta sicut Eneas ecce viro stridens alis allapsa sagitta est incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta, quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne, attulerit; pressa est insignis gloria facti nec sese Enee jactavit vulnere quisquam (Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2, 319-323) [This quotation refers to Piccinino's wounding with an arrow, see sect. 19]; omit. MA

⁴ Perusiis MA

⁵ *corr. ex ad V*; at MA

⁶ ut MA

⁷ *omit. V, X*

⁸ adscribi MA

⁹ hesteris MA

¹⁰ obtinuissent MA

¹¹ cives MA

¹² ducemque MA

quovis¹ casu, civitatem immortalem fore, quae, si ad tempus jaceat, deficiente tamen duce ulturam esse injuriam.

¹ alio quovis : quovis alio MA

7. Niccolò Piccinino, Mercenary captain

[15] Niccolò Piccinino^{1 2} came from a reputable but poor Perugian family³ (nobles are often impoverished).⁴ He was of small stature, but though small, he was handsome. He joined the military⁵ and remained for a long time among the common soldiery.⁶ He did his training under Braccio,⁷ who recognised his worth and saw to his advancement. When Braccio was besieging the city of Aquila⁸ and saw the Church's army advancing against him, he decided to join battle and left Piccinino with a small troop of soldiers to guard the city to prevent the townspeople from coming out during the battle and attacking him from the rear. However, when Piccinino heard that Braccio was winning and the enemies were beaten, his men shouted that if they stayed to guard the gate, they could not take booty. So he left the guard duty, which was a major reason for Braccio's defeat.⁹ This is the only thing for which Piccinino is blamed, but it must be ascribed to the soldiers rather than himself since they forced him.

[16] Braccio died in this battle,¹⁰ and afterwards, Piccinino went over to Florence together with Braccio's son, Count Oddo,¹¹ as governor of the boy¹² though the title of the captaincy was Count Oddo's out of respect for his father. At that time, the Florentines were waging war against Duke Filippo. When, in service to Florence,¹³ the boy Oddo and Piccinino were making for Faenza through Val Lamone, a place in the Apennine Mountains, the inhabitants rushed forth (these country people are ferocious), routed the army, and killed the boy. Piccinino was captured and became the prisoner of Guido Antonio¹⁴ and Nestor,¹⁵ who at that time ruled Faenza. However, his captivity proved to be more profitable to Florence than if he had won for, while in prison, he showed the Faentian brothers that it would be better for them to support the Florentine party than the ducal.¹⁶ He told them that the duke was far away, while the Florentines were close. The duke could die from a single fever or by poison or for some other reason, while the city was immortal,

¹ Niccolò Piccinino (ca. 1386-1444): Italian condottiere.

² For a general biography, see Ferente. See also NBCG.

³ "haud obscuro loco".

⁴ Like Piccolomini's own family.

⁵ At the age of 12.

⁶ He was first recruited by Bartolomeo Sestio, one of Braccio's captains, and later directly by Braccio da Montone.

⁷ Braccio da Montone [Andrea Fortebraccio] (1368-1424): Condottiere from Perugia.

⁸ 1424.

⁹ See sect. 38.

¹⁰ 1424. See sect. 39-40.

¹¹ Oddo Fortebraccio (1410-1425): Italian condottiere. Count of Arcevia and Montone.

¹² Oddo was 15 years old at the time.

¹³ 1425.

¹⁴ Guido Antonio Manfredi (1407-1448): Lord of Faenza.

¹⁵ Not identified. Could Piccolomini be meaning Astorgio, brother of Guido Antonio?

¹⁶ The Duke of Milan.

and though at present it was the weaker party, it would avenge the injury when the duke grew weak again.

[16] Tum¹ ducem parva stipendia suis militibus dare, Florentinos ubertim pecunias tradere; se ductores belli {42r} futuros, si ad Florentinos deficiant, qui omnes praestent et² nobilitate et potentia. Apud ducem³ plures fore, qui eis non sint cessuri, meliusque⁴ esse cum Florentinis primum locum tenere quam cum duce tertium aut sextum. Ac sic juvenes in suam sententiam traxit⁵ traxit⁵ adeo, ut qui victores essent, jam victi viderentur. Sic saepe plus lingua quam gladius confert.

[17] Hac re magnum esse Picenini nomen coepit, tumque⁶ Filippus hominem apud se habere magno magno studio quaesivit nec deceptus est, nam more Italico milites ad tempus serviunt, quo finito liberi sunt possuntque cui velint alteri servire, etiam hostibus. Non enim propter causam, sed propter pecuniam serviunt. Finito igitur tempore conducturae suae Nicolaus ad ducem defecit magnoque honore susceptus est, crevitque laus hominis, cum victis apud Magalenum ducalibus exercitibus is solum hostibus diu restitit magnaue virtutis suae ostendit experimenta.

[18] Cum nomen ejus clarum esset jam ubique, jamque dux exercitus creatus esset, Franciscus Sfortia invidere homini coepit aegreque tulit novum hominem sibi praeferri. Hinc inimicitiae modo occultae, modo apertae inter eos esse coeperunt. Is⁷ Venetorum⁸ exercitus⁹ in pluribus locis nunc prostravit, nunc fugavit¹⁰: in Valle Tellina Georgium Cornarium devicit, classem Padanam immissis terrestribus militibus cepit. Apud Imolam Florentinorum et Venetorum copias ingentes perturbavit VIIque¹¹ duces exercitus in potestatem recepit. Florentinos, qui Lucam obsidione cinxerant et viginti *atque eo amplius*¹² hominum milia cum infinitis machinis illic¹³ habebant, in campo prostravit, quamvis sibi multo minores essent copiae, Lucamque diu obsessam liberavit. Januenses, qui se tutissimos suis in montibus reputant, cum advenis prostravit et usque ad moenia urbis per vias inaccessas et asperrimas alpes depulsis incolis duxit exercitum recuperassetque tunc Januam, quae jam rebellaverat, nisi qui arcem tenebant¹⁴ jam se dedidissent¹⁵.

¹ *omit.* X [blank space]; et tunc MA

² ex MA

³ duces V, X

⁴ melius propterea MA

⁵ transit V

⁶ tuncque MA

⁷ ~~eum~~ *seq.* V

⁸ ~~et ducalibus~~ *seq.* V; et ducalibus *add.* MA

⁹ ~~in propinquo forent sagitta percussus est in Pado prostravit apud~~ *seq.* V

¹⁰ ~~apud~~ *seq.* V

¹¹ denique MA

¹² *atque eo amplius omit.* MA

¹³ illuc MA

¹⁴ tenebat V

¹⁵ *omit.* X [blank space]; dedissent MA

[16] Also, the duke paid his soldiers meagerly, while the Florentines paid handsomely. If the Faentians defected to the Florentines, they would become the leaders in the war, for they excelled all others in nobility and power, whereas with the duke, there were many who would not defer to them. It would be better to have the first place in Florence than the third or the sixth place with the duke. Thus, he persuaded the young men so that they, who had won, were now won over. And thus, the tongue often achieves more than the sword.¹

[17] This greatly enhanced Piccinino's status. Filippo² made intense efforts to engage him in his service and was not disappointed. In Italy, it is the custom of soldiers to have their services engaged for a specified period, and when it is finished, they are free to serve others as they will, even former enemies.³ For they do not serve a cause but money. So, when his contract expired, Niccolò passed over⁴ to the duke and was received with great honour. His reputation grew even greater when the ducal armies were defeated at Maclodio,⁵ and he alone resisted the enemies for a long time, giving great proofs of his courage and strength.

[18] When he had become famous everywhere and promoted to supreme commander of [the duke's] armies, Francesco Sforza became jealous of him, taking it badly that a new man was preferred to him. Thus began their enmity, sometimes hidden, sometimes open. In many places, Piccinino destroyed or put to flight the Venetian armies. In Valtellina, he defeated Giorgio Cornaro, and, sending in his land troops, he seized the Paduan fleet. At Imola, he defeated immense Florentine and Venetian armies and captured seven captains. On the battlefield, he defeated the Florentines, who were besieging Lucca with 20,000 men or more and countless war machines, though his own troops were fewer in number. He liberated Lucca after a long siege.⁶ The Genoese, who believe themselves to be completely safe in their mountains, he destroyed together with their supporters. By inaccessible roads and precipitous mountains, where he defeated the inhabitants, he led the army right up to walls of the city and would have recovered Genoa that had rebelled if the men holding the fortress had not already surrendered.⁷

¹ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote: *Braccio was survived by a son Oddo, who had fled to the Florentines at his father's death and was in their pay; but since he was too young to command an army, Niccolò Piccinino, who had been his father's comrade in arms, was commanding his troops. Oddo was sent to meet Filippo's captains in the Val di Lamone, where he was routed and killed by the peasants of the neighbourhood. Niccolò was made prisoner and taken to Faenza, where he persuaded the prince of that state to aid the Florentine cause. He himself however soon went over to Filippo* (COM, III, 15 (Gragg, p. 219)).

² Duke of Milan.

³ Piccolomini also commented on this issue in his Report on a Diplomatic Mission to Rome, 1447: *In Italy, it is not shameful for war leaders to serve now one party, now another. The contracts of service are limited in time, and when they end, the soldiers can side with whom they will. When captains are hired, the contracts and treatises contain many articles. You cannot accuse someone of treason if they have kept their contract* (CRDM, 1, sect. 33).

⁴ From Florence.

⁵ Battle of Maclodio, 12 October 1427. The Milanese army was defeated by Venetian troops under the command of Carmagnola.

⁶ December 1430.

⁷ To the city.

[19] Is, cum esset in campo vicinus¹ exercitui Venetorum apud Adduam², {42v} sagittita fortuito casu missa in magnum ducis Mediolani³ damnum nervum colli hujus percussit, ex qua re vir alias intrepidus et infatigabilis, qui semper in negotio erat, media parte perditus est, nam latus sinistrum ex toto perdidit nec umquam postea illius lateris potens fuit. Is, postquam duci servire coepit, numquam variavit inconcussaue fide servivit⁴ suo principi⁵, tum quod⁶ beneficia plurima hinc recepit, dux exercitus et marchio de peregrino creatus, tum quod Florentini eum quasi⁷ proditorem in palatio suo depinxerant, quae injuria eum asperiore faciebat, sed Florentini postea metu concussi picturam deleverunt.

[20] Cum exinde multis cladibus tam⁸ Veneti quam Florentini debilitati essent, misit Filippus Franciscum Sfortiam in agrum Picenum, ut terram illam nomine ecclesiae suoque teneret, nam Basiliensis concilii litteras habuit. Post Piceninum in Tusciam misit, qui recepto Perusio patrimonium ecclesiae undique perturbavit cepissetque Eugenium in Roma, nisi jam ipse male custoditus a Romanis fugisset. Volebant namque et ipsum ad Basiliense concilium mittere. Cepit tamen Romam.

[21] Pulchre⁹ tunc res¹⁰ Filippi erant *ordinatae*¹¹, nam et Piceninus ex una parte patrimonio ecclesiae recepto Florentiam venturus erat, et Franciscus *ex alia Piceno invaso*. Sed Franciscus¹² sibi quam alteri melius¹³ cupiens Marchiam suo nomine possidere coepit marchionatumque sibi ab Eugenio impetravit pace promissa et¹⁴ capitaneatu. Ob quam rem postea magnae inter Piceninum et Franciscum dissensiones¹⁵ fuere, vixque per ducem prohiberi potuerunt, ne manus consererent, cum saepe structis aciebus invicem minarentur¹⁶. Sed vocatus est postea in Lombardiam Piceninus. Comes autem Franciscus apertus Filippi inimicus ad Venetos defecit, *jamque licuit alterum alteri inimicari*.^{17 18}

¹ ~~hosti~~ seq. V

² Abdua MA

³ Milani MA

⁴ ~~ho~~ seq. V

⁵ ~~atque tunc~~ seq. V

⁶ quia MA

⁷ tamquam MA

⁸ tum MA

⁹ pulchrae MA

¹⁰ tunc res : res tunc MA

¹¹ ~~omit.~~ MA

¹² ex alia ... Franciscus ~~omit.~~ MA

¹³ quam alteri melius : melius quam alteri MA

¹⁴ ~~vexill~~ seq. V

¹⁵ discussiones MA

¹⁶ minarentur MA

¹⁷ jamque licuit ... inimicari ~~omit.~~ MA

¹⁸ ~~sepe~~ seq. V

[19] When, on a campaign, he was close to the Venetian army at Adda, an arrow shot into the blue hit a nerve in his neck which, to the great damn of the Duke of Milan, caused this otherwise intrepid and indefatigable man, always active, to lose control of half of his body, for he completely lost the use of his left side and never regained his strength on that side. After he began to serve the duke, he never again changed sides but served his prince with unshaken loyalty because he received many benefits from him, being made general and Marquess of Pellegrino. Moreover, the Florentines had painted him as a traitor in the palace, an insult which just hardened him against them – though the Florentines later took fear and destroyed the painting.

[20] When the Venetians and the Florentines were weakened by many defeats,¹ Filippo sent Francesco Sforza to the Piceno to hold that territory in the Church's and his own name, for he had a letter from the Council of Basel.² Later he sent Piccinino to Tuscany, where he took Perugia and everywhere attacked the Patrimony of the Church.^{3 4} He would also have captured Eugenius in Rome if he had not been poorly guarded by the Romans and fled⁵ (they would have sent him to the Council of Basel). But he did take Rome.

[21] At this point, things were going well for Filippo, for having taken the Patrimony of the Church Piccinino, would march against Florence from one side, and Francesco, having invaded Piceno, would come from the other. But Francesco, more ambitious on his own behalf than on another's, took possession of the Marche in his own name and obtained the government of Marche from Eugenius, with a promise of peace and the Captaincy.⁶ For this reason, serious conflicts later arose between Piccinino and Francesco, and the duke could barely prevent them from direct battle, as they often made threatening military manoeuvres against each other.^{7 8} Later, Piccinino was called

¹ A peace was made between Milan, Venice, and Florence in Ferrara on 1 April 1433.

² The duke, an enemy of the Venetian pope who favoured Venice, supported the council whose antipapal stance and actions greatly weakened the pope. The duke had obtained a letter from the council of 21 August 1431 requiring him to protect its supporters, thus legitimizing his seizure of Church lands in the name of the council, which would further weaken the Roman Papacy (Gill, p. 55).

³ Roughly the Tuscan part of the Papal State.

⁴ In his DRBG (1450), Piccolomini wrote: ... *cum Philippus dux Mediolani Franciscum Sfortiam vicecomitem adversus Eugenium misisset et paulo post Nicolaum Piceninum cum exercitu – litteras nanque conciliares ad id receperat – et patrimonium ecclesie sibi vendicantes absque adversario undequaque discurrerent ...* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 193).

⁵ 4 June 1434.

⁶ The prestigious position of Captain of the Church.

⁷ In his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote: *Between Francesco and Niccolò there was not only a strong rivalry over military glory, in which each claimed supremacy, but also intense animosity stemming from old differences between Braccio and Sforza, the latter being Francesco's father, the former Niccolò's teacher and commander. And so they waged war with each other not just as public but as private enemies and could not be induced to serve under one and the same leader (Europa, 249 (Brown, p. 278)).*

⁸ In his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, Decembrio wrote about the enmity of Sforza and Piccinino: *The battles between these two men might well have brought Italian affairs to a pretty pass, had it not been for the prudent arbitration exercised by Filippo Maria Visconti.* (Ch. 22, p. 193).

back to Lombardy, whereas Francesco became the open enemy of Filippo and defected to the Venetians, and then they were free to fight each other.¹

[22] Post exules Florentinorum Piceninum in Tusciam traxerunt, qui cum exercitu ad V. lapidem et ad tertium venit, Florentiam ingressus per vallem Lamoni, ubi alias {43r} conflictus fuerat. Jam enim Faventini² ad ducem redierant, nam is ipse Piceninus eos in bello apud Imolam³ ceperat. In Tuscia ergo jam Burgum Sancti Sepulchri in potestatem obtinuit, tantaque trepidatio Florentiae fuit, ut papa, qui illuc confugerat, iterum se capi timeret ac de fuga cogitaret. Collegerunt tamen Florentini exercitum militesque ecclesiae ad se vocarunt⁴, sic enim mandavit Eugenius. Cum ergo in in propinquo utraque essent⁵ acies, Franciscus Piceninus, Nicolai filius, avidus pugnae, contra patris patris praeceptum⁶ cum lecta militum parte pontem quendam praeteriit ac hostes invasit trans pontem⁷. Ubi cum periclitaretur, dum pater auxilium filio praebet, et ipse⁸ discrimen incidit. Amissa Amissa namque majori parte suorum militum vix ipse cum filio evadere potuit. Quae res magnam gloriam Picenini obfuscavit. Plures tunc Florentini capti caput amiserunt; aliorum bona, qui his favebant, confiscata sunt.

[23] Is quoque Piceninus tractatu cum Veronensibus habito⁹ Veronam intravit, sed cum ducales copiae non subsequerentur, diffidens ipse civibus, cum Franciscus jam cum exercitu adesset, mox effugit¹⁰ et, quia debilis erat nec¹¹ equitare poterat, cervicibus hominum ad magnum spatium {45v} portatus est. Hic Orlandum Palesinum omnibus¹² dominiis spoliavit, hic Bononiam cepit suoque nomine tenuit, post cum Felice, qui jam papatum acceperat, contra Eugenium concordiam quaerens, cum illum¹³ avarum invenisset, cum Eugenio concordavit rursusque in agro Piceno contra Franciscum Sfortiam fuit magnisque eum dominiis spoliavit. Ad extremum vocatus Mediolanum, cum jam pax cum Venetis foret, mortem obiit ibique honorifice sepultus est.

¹ 1439.

² Florentini MA

³ Molam MA

⁴ vocaverunt MA

⁵ esset MA

⁶ patris praeceptum : praeceptum patris MA

⁷ ponte V

⁸ in *add.* MA

⁹ habitis V

¹⁰ aufugit MA

¹¹ non X

¹² arte X

¹³ eum MA

[22] Later again, Florentine exiles requested Piccinino to come to Tuscany, and, with his army, he came as far as the fifth and then the third milestone.¹ He entered the Florentine territory through Val Val Lamone, where he had fought once.² By now, the Faentians had returned to the duke for Piccinino himself had captured them at Imola.³ In Tuscany, he took Borgo San Sepolcro, and the fear in Florence was so great that the pope who taken refuge there was afraid he would be captured again and was planning to flee. But the Florentines gathered an army and summoned the soldiers of the Church, as ordered by Eugenius. When the two forces were close,⁴ Francesco Piccinino⁵, the son of Niccolò, eager to fight, against his father's orders passed a bridge with a select group of soldiers and attacked the soldiers on the other side.⁶ However, when the situation became perilous for him, the father came to his son's assistance and himself fell into danger. He lost most of his soldiers and had a narrow escape with his son. This event darkened the great glory of Piccinino. On that occasion, many Florentines were taken and lost their head, and their supporters had their properties confiscated.

[23] Later, after negotiations with the Veronese, Piccinino entered Verona, but when the ducal forces did not show up and he distrusted the citizens, he fled, as Francesco was approaching with his army.⁷ Since Piccinino was weak and could not ride, he was carried for a long distance on the shoulders of his men. He deprived Orlando Pallavicini⁸ of all his domains⁹ and took Bologna, holding it in his own name. When Felix assumed the papacy,¹⁰ Piccinino sought an alliance with him against Eugenius but, finding him stingy, he came to an agreement with Eugenius instead and returned to Piceno. There he fought against Francesco Sforza and took large territories from him.¹¹ In the end, when peace had been made with Venice,¹² he was recalled to Milan,¹³ where he died¹⁴ and was given an honourable burial.¹

¹ 1439-1440.

² Cf. COM, I, 28 (Meserve, I, p. 315): ... *he [Cosimo de' Medici] subdued his opponents and regained his old power, driving Rodolfo and Palla and many other citizens into exile. They never returned, though Rodolfo [Peruzzi] enlisted the services of Niccolò Piccinino against his country and raided and plundered the territory of Mugello.*

³ Battle of Imola, 28 August 1434. The Milanese army under the command of Piccinino defeated the papal troops.

⁴ The Battle of Anghiari, 29 June 1440. At this battle, the Milanese army under the command of Piccinino was defeated by a coalition of papal, Florentine and Venetian troops.

⁵ Francesco Piccinino (1407-1449): Italian condottiere.

⁶ Such a story is also told of Braccio's associate Tartaglia.

⁷ See sect. 57.

⁸ Orlando I Pallavicini [Rolando] (1393-1457): Lombard lord. Lost and regained his lands several times during the Lombard wars.

⁹ September 1442.

¹⁰ 1439.

¹¹ Spring 1442. In a letter to Piccolomini of 19 September 1443, Mariano Sozzini wrote: *Noveris clarissimum regem Aragonum et victoriosissimum capitaneum Nicolaum Piceninum pro sanctissimo domino nostro Eugenio totam Marchiam ac patrimonium recuperasse ...* (WO, I, 1, ep. 77, p. 188).

¹² The Wars of Lombardy were ended by the Peace of Cremona of 20 November 1441.

¹³ 1443.

¹⁴ 15 October 1444. Already on 28 November 1444, about six weeks afterwards, Piccolomini wrote to Giacomo de Castro Romano about Piccinino and his death: ... *tu doles virum illustrem Nicolaum Piceninum decessisse de vita. Ego sui causa maxime gaudeo. Nam cum viderem illum scientia rei militaris et armorum gloria omnibus, qui nostra etate*

[24] *Fuit vir paucorum verborum blaesusque, justus et aequus cupidus. Quemcumque virtute praeditum scivit, mirum in modum amavit. Quod promisit, ratum fuit. Rusticis favit militesque spolia committentes poena gravi multavit. Filios moriens duos reliquit: Franciscum sibi dissimilem et Gaddum similem, sed nimis puerum, quibus commisit moriens, ut ab Filippo suisque obsequiis numquam recederent.*²

Supplement

From De Europa (1458), sect. 250 (Heck, p. 257)

Nicolaus ex corporis breuitate Picinini nomen accepit. Sed quanto mediocritate statura eius inferior, tanto animi magnitudo superior. Pauca ei uerba fuerunt eaque parum compta, sed quae multarum ac magnarum rerum sententiam comprehenderent. In milites suos indulgens, in amicos liberalis, in hostes durus et asper, dimicandi cupidus, quietis impatiens, gloriae avidus et in periculis obeundis promptus ac securus, proelium ex occasione protinus sumpsit, hostem celeritate preuenit, excursionem fatigauit, leuis armature equite magis quam pedite utebatur. Fortes et asperos milites amavit. Hostium numero deterreri non potuit. Quibus rebus cum plurimos et in Gallia Cisalpina et in reliqua Italia triumphos ex hoste duxisset, haud dubie rerum gestarum magnitudine et gloria magistro suo Brachio euasit.

[24] He was a man of few words and spoke indistinctly³. He was intent on justice and fairness. If he knew a man to have courage and strength, he loved him wondrously. He kept his promises. He favoured farmers and severely punished soldiers who took spoils [from them]. At his death, he left

fuerunt, prestitisse, cum scirem, ipsum semper constantem ac fidelissimum fuisse, timebam semper, ut varie et mutabiles sunt res mundane, ne qua res intercideret, quae vel gloriae vel bonitati suae detraheret. Cupiebam semper illum diem venire, quo tantus homo dici beatus posset, quod ante obitum, ut Ovidio placet, de nullo dici potest. ... Congaudeo igitur et admodum tanto viro congratulor, qui vitam suam cum laude finivit. Cui et nunc epitaphium ederem, nisi quod nunc librum de viris illustribus eui nostri compono, in quo et ipsum suo loco sepeliam et tumulum meliorem diuturnioremque faciam quam dux Mediolani construxisse sibi dicatur (WO, I, 1, ep. 165, p. 452).

¹ Piccinino was buried in a tomb in the Cathedral of Milan.

² fuit vir ... recederent omit. MA

³ "blaesus"

two sons: Francesco who did not resemble him, and Oddo^{1 2} who did - but too boyish³. On his deathbed, he asked them never to leave the service of Filippo and his family.^{4 5}

Supplement

From De Europa (1458), sect. 250 (Brown, p. 257)

Piccinino gained the name of Piccinino from his short stature, but to whatever extent his height fell below the mean, the greatness of his mind surpassed it. He was a man of few words - unpolished ones at that, but which grasped the essence of many important matters. He was indulgent towards his soldiers, harsh and pitiless towards the enemy, fond of fighting, impatient of inactivity, avid for glory, quick to respond, and calm in facing dangers. He resorted to battle as soon as opportunity offered, forestalled the enemy with his speed, and wore him out with sudden charges, using light-armed cavalry more than infantry. He loved brave and aggressive soldiers and could not be deterred by the number of his foes. After celebrating many triumphs over the enemy through these means, both in the north and in the rest of Italy, he succeeded beyond question in surpassing his teacher Braccio in the magnitude and glory of his achievements.⁶

¹ Error for Jacopo. The lapsus may have been due to Piccolomini thinking of Oddo, the son of Braccio da Montone.

² Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiere. Later a dangerous opponent of Pius II.

³ "nimis puer"

⁴ Date: Written after the death of Niccolò Piccinino in October 1444, and before the death of Eugenius IV in March 1447.

⁵ Piccolomini's source: Information derived from acquaintances and friends. Piccolomini had a meeting with Piccinino in 1435 and thus knew him personally.

⁶ For another short biographical sketch of Piccinino, see COM, II, 18.

8. Sfortia¹

[25] {43v} Sfortia vili apud suos loco natus, Cotiniolam², quae villa est Emiliae vicina Rubiconi³, patriam habuit.⁴ Parentes agricultores fuerunt. Ipse mulionis officium secutus est, juvenis namque robulustus⁵ domi manere nescivit. In exercitibus ore⁶ rusticanus homo, sed lingua manumque promptus, cum saepe ex vili statu magnos fieri homines videret, coepit et⁷ ipse praedari belloque se committere, cumque virtus sua laudaretur, audaugens animum⁸ plura belli egregia facinora commisit, relictisque mulis equestrem militiam nactus est brevique, *ut fit, quando fortuna viri obsequitur*⁹, in magnum virum evasit ductareque¹⁰ cohortes coepit.

[26] Apud Nicolaum Estensem marchionem armigeris praefuit quo tempore, dum essent inter Ottonem, qui tunc Parmam Regiumque¹¹ tenebat, et marchionem simultates, vocatus est Otto ad colloquium, vir magnus et inter arma tenentes, nisi hoc unum gessisset, prudentissimus. Is fidens Sfortiae ad colloquium inermis venit cumque castra marchionis intrasset salutassetque Sfortiam, illius gladio percussus est et occisus, ditatusque *est*¹² Sfortia nefandis spoliis militiamque¹³ suam funestavit.

[27] Is postea in regno Apuliae multa egregia belli facinora operatus est pluresque sibi urbes¹⁴ subiecit, quas et filius postea diu tenuit, donec rex Aragonum eum spoliavit. Exinde patrimonii ecclesiae partem sibi usurpavit, sed veniente in Italiam Martino dux ejus exercitus fuit contraque Braccium plures congressus habuit.

[28] Audivi ego ex patruo meo Johanne Tholomeo, qui sub eo militavit, tanta eum eloquentia fuisse vulgari¹⁵ tantamque fidem apud suos commilitones habuisse, ut, cum diebus quindecim cum toto exercitu lateret essetque in nemore et aspera hiems nives sparsisset audisse eum¹⁶ milites murmurare *ac famem frigumque queri, tum*¹⁷ ipsum¹ per exercitum equitasse claraque voce dixisse:

¹ Sfortie parentes in *marg.* V [in Piccolomini's own handwriting]

² ~~Cotiniola~~ *seq.* V; Cotimolam MA

³ quae villa ... Rubiconi *seq. in summo folii* V; *omit.* X

⁴ quae villa est ... habuit : patriam habuit, quae villa est Aemiliae MA

⁵ robustus X, HE, MA

⁶ *dub.* V; erat X

⁷ tunc HE, MA

⁸ nimium X

⁹ *ut fit* ... obsequitur *omit.* MA

¹⁰ ductarique MA

¹¹ *supralin.* V

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ militiam MA

¹⁴ ~~civitates~~ *seq.* V

¹⁵ *omit.* X

¹⁶ audisse eum : audissetque MA

¹⁷ *ac famem* ... tum *omit.* MA

“Boni animi estote, socii! Tolerate *parumper*²! Tanta nobis paratur praeda, ut omnes hujus nemoris frondes aureae sint futurae.” Credidisse sibi fere omnes libentique animo perseverasse, nec enim mentiri ducem arbitrabantur.

8. Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Mercenary captain

[25] Sforza^{3 4} was born in humble circumstances in the area of Cotignola, a village in Emilia close to the Rubicon. His parents were farmers. He became a muleteer,⁵ for he was a strong lad and could not remain at home.⁶ In the armies, he spoke like a farmer, but he had a quick tongue and a ready hand. When he saw that men of low status often became great, he began to take plunder and engage in military exploits. Since his courage and strength were praised, his ambitions grew, and he did many remarkable feats of war. So, eventually, he left the mules and was promoted to the cavalry.⁷ In a short time, he became a great man – as happens when fortune serves valour - and began to lead troops

[26] At the time⁸ of the armed conflicts between Niccolò d’Este⁹ and Otto¹⁰, then ruler of Parma and Reggio, Sforza commanded Niccolò’s troops. Otto was a great man and a most prudent captain – except in this one instance: trusting Sforza, he came unarmed to a meeting. Having entered the marquess’ camp and greeted Sforza, he was stabbed and killed with Sforza’s sword.¹¹ Sforza grew rich on the spoils and polluted his military career with murder.

[27] Later, he came to the Kingdom of Puglia¹² and did marvellous feats of war, conquering many cities that his son,¹³ too, later held for a long time until the King of Aragon¹⁴ took them away from him. Then he seized a part of the Patrimony of the Church, but when Martin¹⁵ came to Italy, Sforza became captain of his army and often met Braccio in battle.

¹ ipse X

² *omit.* MA

³ Muzio Attendolo [Jacopo or Giacomo Attendolo AKA Sforza] (1369-1424): Italian condottiere. Father of Francesco Sforza.

⁴ For a general biography, see Pieri. See also NBCG.

⁵ It is doubtful that Sforza was ever a muleteer. He probably joined a military band directly from his home.

⁶ He joined the military at the age of 13.

⁷ In the company of San Giorgio belonging to the condottiere Alberico da Barbiano, who began to call him by the name of Sforza.

⁸ 1409.

⁹ Niccolò III d’Este (1383-1441): Marquess of Ferrara.

¹⁰ Ottobuono de’ Terzi (ca. 1360-1409): Italian condottiere who eventually became the ruler of Parma and Reggio Emilia (among others). See sect. 47.

¹¹ 29 May 1409.

¹² The Kingdom of Naples, in the service of Queen Giovanna II.

¹³ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiere. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450).

¹⁴ 23 years old.

¹⁵ Alfonso V (Aragon).

¹⁵ Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1368-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death.

[28] I heard from my uncle, Giovanni Tolomei, who fought under him, that he spoke well (in the vernacular) and was highly trusted by his fellow soldiers. Once, when the whole army had been staying in a forest for 15 days in heavy snow during a hard winter, he heard the soldiers muttering between them and complaining about hunger and cold. He then rode through the army and shouted, "Be brave, comrades! Have patience a little longer! We are going to get so much booty that all the leaves in this forest will be golden!" Almost all the soldiers believed him and continued gladly, trusting their leader not to lie.

[29] Is postea insecuturus Braccium, cum eum¹ in regno Apuliae² trans flumen quoddam tenere exercitum³ sciret, flumen tranare⁴ voluit cumque mango quidam ex dilectis in flumine periclitaretur, periclitaretur, dum {44r} puerum adjuvare vult, ne submergatur, et ipse aquarum voraginibus absorptus est, cujus corpus nusquam⁵ inveniri potuit, quamvis cura filii magna fuerit, multique illud⁶ piscati fuerint, ut sepulturae traderetur⁷.

Supplement

From Pius II: Commentarii, III, 15

... Franciscus Mediolanensium dux ... Sfortias Attendolus pater ejus fuit, apud villam cui Cotiniola nomen est in Emilia tenui censu et modicis parentibus ortus. Qui paterna rura relinquens in militiam profectus ad Brolium Brandolinum Foroliuiensem, egregium sui temporis copiarum ducem, se contulit. At cum equis armisque careret sordida mulionis arte prima stipendia meruit; et paulo post inter calones receptus, cum egregiam in quodam certamine nauasset operam, equestri militia ornatus est. Erat prestanti corpore vir, militari facundia preditus, manu promptus, presenti animo atque ingenio versatili; qui cum excelleret inter equites etatis sue multaque rei militaris insignia edidisset facinora, Brolio mortuo non paucis copiis profectus est. Prima eius incrementa apud marchionem estensem fuerunt, cum Ottonem Parmensem, clarum in armis ducem, dolo captum apud Riueriam interfecisset, de qua re celebre carmen extat quod in hanc usque diem uulgo cantatur. Militauit et in regno Sicilie sub regina Iohanna aduersus Alfonsum regem, Troiamque et alias nonnullas ciuitates in Apulia possedit. Martino quoque pontifici maximo stipendia fecit vexillifer Ecclesie declaratus. Sed dum Braccium Perusinum, romani pontificis ac regine Iohanne hostem persequitur in flumine, quod Piscariam uocant, periclitanti puero opem ferens summersus est; cadauer eius nusquam repertum.

¹ enim X

² Aquiliae MA

³ tenere exercitum : exercitum tenere X

⁴ transire MA

⁵ nunquam MA

⁶ aliud X

⁷ mandaretur MA

[29] Later, pursuing Braccio, whom he knew was keeping his army across a river in the Kingdom of Puglia, he wanted to cross the river. When one of his favourite pages fell into it,¹ he wanted to rescue the boy from drowning but was himself swallowed up by the whirling river. His body was never retrieved, though his son did much to find it, and many were searching for it in the river so that it could be buried.^{2 3}

Supplement

From Pius II: Commentarii, III, 15 (Gragg, pp. 217-218)

... Francesco, Duke of Milan .. His father, Sforza Attendolo, was born in the village of Cotignola in Emilia of poor and humble parents. He soon left their farm to become a soldier and joined Broglio Brandolino of Forlì, a distinguished captain of that time. Since however he had neither horses nor arms, he served his first campaign in the mean capacity of mule driver. Before long he was made a squire and having done valiant service in battle was rewarded by being enrolled among the cavalry. He was a man of splendid physique with such eloquence as befits a soldier. He was quick to act and had great presence of mind as well as a versatile genius. Since he was conspicuous among the horsemen of the time and had performed many feats of military prowess, at Broglio's death he was put in command of a considerable army. His first advancement was under the Marquis of Este, when he had murdered Ottobone of Parma, a celebrated captain whom he had captured by a trick near Rubiera. There is a famous song about that which is still popular. He also served Queen Johanna in the Kingdom of Sicily against King Alfonso and took Troia and several other towns in Apulia. He was in the service of Pope Martin too and was named Gonfaloniere of the Church. But when he was pursuing Braccio of Perugia, the enemy of the pope and of Queen Johanna, he was drowned in the Pescara river while trying to save a child. His body was never found.

¹ The Pescara river.

² Date: The latest event mentioned in the text is Sforza's death in 1424.

³ Piccolomini's sources: Information derived from acquaintances and friends and possibly written accounts of Sforza's life.

9. Braccius de Montone

[30] Braccius de Montone inter Perusinos nobili loco natus militiam cum tribus equis incoepit crevitque brevi tempore. Fuit vir facundus, honesta facie, sinistri lateris impotens, crudelis, nihil religionis sapiens, mundanae¹ prudentiae magnus, animo maximo². *Commentaria*³ Caesaris et Alexandri Historias clarorumque veterum gesta sibi continuo legi curabat saepeque ejus in ore sermo is fuit: “An hodie quoque alius Caesar fieri potest?” Clero infestus fuit, nihil post obitum esse ratus. Temperans tamen erat vini cibique nec luxuriae sese dedit, sed omnis ejus voluptas in armis fuit et, ut de se rumor esset, optabat, nec ad se plus pertinere putabat, utrum bonum an malum de se diceretur, *dummodo diceretur*.⁴

[31] Is tria necessaria esse dicebat Florentinis bellum gerentibus, “Aurum, aurum atque aurum,” quod postea in proverbium venit. *Arguit eum aliquando unus ex amicis, quod is dixisset Martinum papam eo miseriarum velle deducere, ut missam sibi pro argenteo decantaret. Nec enim honestum fore, dicebat amicus, sic de maximo pontifice loqui. Ad quem Braccius “Stultus es,” inquit, “si haec me reris dixisse. Nam quo ego pacto argenteum pro missa dederim, qui nec pro centum missis⁵ minimum aes⁶ conferrem⁷?”*

¹ humanae MA

² maximus MA

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ dummodo diceretur *omit.* MA

⁵ pro centum missis *supralin.* V

⁶ preberem *seq.* V

⁷ arguit eum ... conferrem *omit.* MA

9. Braccio da Montone, Mercenary captain

[30] Braccio da Montone^{1 2} was born from a noble family in Perugia. He began his military career with only three horses but grew great in a short time. He was a well-spoken man, handsome of face, weak on his left side,³ cruel, indifferent to religion,⁴ clever in worldly matters, and very proud. He frequently had Caesar's⁵ *Commentaries*,⁶ the *History of Alexander*^{7 8} and the deeds of famous men from Antiquity read to him, and he often asked, "Can there be another Caesar today?" He was an enemy of the clergy, believing that there is nothing after death. However, he was temperate in eating and drinking wine and did not care for luxury. All his pleasure was in warfare. He wanted people to talk about him, not caring whether they said good or bad things as long as they talked about him.

[31] He told the Florentines that three things were necessary to those waging war, "Money, money, and money," which later became a proverb.⁹ Once a friend of his criticised him for saying that he wanted to bring Pope Martin to such dire straits that he would sing a mass for him for a silver coin. It was not decent, said the friend, to speak thus of the Supreme Pontiff. Braccio answered him, "You are a fool if you believe I said that, for why should I give a silver coin for one mass when I would not give even a small copper coin for a hundred?"¹⁰

¹ Braccio da Montone [Andrea Fortebracci] (1368-1424): Celebrated Italian condottiere.

² For a general biography, see Pasquali, and Falaschi. See also NBCG.

³ The consequence of a head wound he suffered at the age of 18.

⁴ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote: *He was pleasant and charming in address but so cruel when he ordered a man to be tortured and racked with the most excruciating punishments and he delighted in hurling poor wretches from high towers. At Spoleto he had the messenger who brought him a hostile letter flung headlong from a high bridge. In Assisi he hurled three men from the lofty tower in the marketplace. In the convent of Minorites he had the testicles of eighteen monks who had opposed him beaten to a pulp on an anvil. At Viterbo he ordered a captive to be plunged into the boiling spring called Pelacanus and when, to the amazement of all, he came out safe and they begged that Braccio would pardon one who had been saved by divine aid, he said, "Well, plunge him in again. If he comes out this time, he shall go free." The prisoner did not appear again.* There are numerous instances of his ferocity, but it would take too long to rehearse them. He did not believe in heaven or hell. (COM, II, 18 (Gragg, p. 143))

⁵ Julius Caesar, Gajus (100-44 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁶ *Commentarii de Bello Gallico; Commentarii de Bello Civili.*

⁷ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of Macedonia.

⁸ Possibly Quintus Curtius: *Historiae de Alexandri Magni.*

⁹ Piccolomini quoted it again in his oration "*Moses vir Dei*" of 24 April 1452: *But maybe someone will quote Braccio, an enemy of the Church, but otherwise a man of understanding, who used to say: The three things most necessary for war are: money, money, and money* (sect. 21).

¹⁰ Pastor, I, p. 238: *Braccio von Montone, der bereits gedroht hatte er werde den Papst zwingen, die Messe für einen Bajocco zu lesen.*

[32] Postquam is auctus est, Tartaliam, virum robustum¹ reique militaris peritissimum, sibi socium ascivit ac cum eo contra patriam venit Perusium sui juris facturus, cujus jam plura sibi² oppida vendicaverat³. Perusini in armis eum expectavere Carolumque Malatestam, virum illustrem magnique animi, belli ducem habuere. Fuerunt exercitus admodum vicini nec procul erant a fluvio Tiberis. Aestus ingens affligebat homines. Petiverunt itaque Perusini duarum horarum indutias, ut fluenta praeterire⁴ possent sibi⁵ et equis⁶ bibere. Nec renuit Braccius, quamvis sibi non esset opus fluvio, qui per castra sua undique vasa aquarum cum zucchero habuit. Sed dum Perusini bibunt ordinesque rumpunt, Tartalia “Quid agimus”, inquit, “Bracci? Jamjam bonum est invadere⁷ hostes, dum⁸ inordinati sunt.” Cumque Braccius dixisset “Indutias habemus”, “Quis,” respondit Tartalia, “duas horas mensurabit?”. Ac sic in bellum itum est⁹, victique Perusini sunt¹⁰, et Carolus captus.

[33] *Hic Tartalia postea ad Sfortiam defecit. Exin Martini stipendia suscepit, a quo proditionis¹¹ reus judicatus capite truncatus est. Sed dum ad supplicium duceretur, “Heu,” inquit, “indignam forti militi mortem subibo. Quod si scissem, numquam me capi sivilsem¹².” {44v} Hic autem Carolus vir magni animi fuit multaque bella confecerat. Qui etsi captus esset, adveniendi Braccio numquam assurgere voluit aut caput detegere, sed se captivum¹³ fassus animum tamen incaptum dicebat. Hic post centum milibus redemptus domi obiit.¹⁴*

¹ fortissimum MA

² plura sibi : sibi plura MA

³ vindic... et passim MA

⁴ petere X

⁵ seque MA

⁶ equos MA

⁷ intrudere X

⁸ ~~sine~~ seq. V

⁹ supralin. V

¹⁰ Perusini sunt : sunt Perusini MA

¹¹ hic Tartalia ... proditionis omit. X

¹² sinissem X

¹³ ~~anim~~ seq. V

¹⁴ hic Tartalia ... obiit add. in marg. V; hic autem Carolus ... obiit add. in marg. X; omit. MA

[32] After he had become a great man, he took Tartaglia,¹ a strong man and an experienced warrior, warrior, as a partner and, together with him, entered his fatherland to make Perugia his own, having already taken several cities in Perugian territory.² The Perugians awaited him in arms with Carlo Malatesta,³ an illustrious and proud man, as their commander. The two armies were very close to each other and not far from the Tiber river. A dreadful heat tormented the men. The Perugians, therefore, requested a two-hour truce to go down to the river and let men and horses drink. Braccio assented, though he did not need the river, having placed jars with sugared water throughout the camp. However, when the Perugians had broken their marching order and were drinking, Tartaglia said, “What are we doing, Braccio? We should attack the enemies now that they are in disorder.” When Braccio replied, “But we have a truce”, Tartaglia said, “Who will bother about two hours?” and thus they began to fight: the Perugians were defeated, and Carlo was taken prisoner.⁴

[33] This Tartaglia later defected to Sforza.⁵ Still later,⁶ he took employment with Martin,⁷ who sentenced him for treason and had him decapitated.⁸ When he was led to his execution, he said, “Alas! I shall suffer a death unworthy of a strong soldier. Had I known it, I would not have let myself be taken.” As for Carlo, he was a proud man who had fought in many wars. Though a prisoner, he would never rise when Braccio entered nor bare his head, but said that though he himself was a captive, his spirit was not. He was ransomed for 100,000 [ducats]⁹ and died at home.^{10 11}

¹ Angelo Tartaglia [Angelo Broglio da Lavello] (-1421): Italian condottiere.

² 1409.

³ Carlo Malatesta (1368-1429): Lord of Rimini and other cities. Condottiere.

⁴ The Battle of Sant’Egidio, 12 July 1416.

⁵ Muzio Attendolo Sforza.

⁶ 1418.

⁷ Pope Martin V.

⁸ He was arrested by Muzio Attendolo Sforza, tortured and decapitated in Aversa, Naples, in 1421.

⁹ He returned to Rimini on 11 April 1417.

¹⁰ 13 years later.

¹¹ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote: *When Braccio Montone was investing the Perugians in the effort to restore the nobles in opposition to the Raspanti and harrying the surrounding country, Carlo was sent to engage him but he was beaten and taken prisoner near the Tiber. After he fell into Braccio’s hands he never rose when his enemy came in nor bent his head in answer to his greeting, as holding himself superior to his conqueror and carrying a free soul in a captive body. He was ransomed for a large sum in gold* (COM, X, 13 (Gragg, pp. 658-659).

[34] Exinde mox civitatis Perusinae dominus Braccius receptus est. Duae in ea urbe partes sunt, alii Nobiles, alii Raspantes appellantur, *jamque multis saeculis inimici inter se fuerunt, ut numquam partes hae simul in urbe fuerint. Tunc autem Nobiles exulabant, quos Braccius expulsis Raspantibus introduxit, et adhuc ibi sunt. Raspantes*¹ per varias Italiae civitates exulant. Post haec Braccius Tudertum, Civitatem Castellanam pluresque alias urbes ecclesiae sui juris fecit, *dicens indignum esse tantum dominium subesse sacerdotibus, quos solis decimis contentari debere dicebat, quamvis vir sine religione nec decimas eis dedisset.*²

[35] Sic nomen ejus grande factum est, timerique *ubique*³ coepit. Florentini XX milia, Senenses VI milia, Lucani IV milia sibi in annos dabant, ne eos offenderet. Nec sic fidelis Lucano domino fuit, namque⁴ cum Florentinorum litteris accepisset tyrannum⁵ illum extra Lucam esse morarique in Petra Sancta, repente die noctuque iter fecit priusque in agro Lucano visus est quam venturus audiretur, quamvis plurium dierum iter cum exercitu facturum⁶ esset, cepissetque tunc Lucam, nisi Jacobus, Marci filius, civis Senensis⁷, per celerem nuntium Lucanum dominum⁸ de adventu Braccii Braccii praemonuisset. Qui vix⁹ duabus horis ante Lucam intravit, quam Braccius veniret. Asportavit¹⁰ tamen Braccius magnam praedam pluresque captivos adduxit¹¹. *Tyrannus, qui tunc Lucam tenebat, ex vili gradu arripuerat dominatum. Post cum fratrem timeret, cum eum de adulterio convicisset, neci dedit. Post longum tempus, cum Florentini eum obsedissent, sive fictum fuit sive verum, prodicionis contra ducem Mediolani, qui Franciscum Sfortiam sibi in auxilium miserat, accusatus per Antonium Petruccium, equitem Senensem, captus est et in Lombardiam ductus in carcere mortuus est.*¹²

[36] Post haec Filippus, Mediolanensium tyrannus, audita hominis fama praeponere suis eum¹³ exercitibus voluit, quinque milia *equitum sub stipendio sibi tenere et annis singulis centum milia*¹⁴ ultra stipendium dare. Sed homo cordatus sibi militare voluit, nec enim desparabat Italiae¹⁵ sibi regnum vindicare.

¹ jamque multis ... Raspantes : hos Braccius expulit et MA

² dicens indignum ... dedisset *omit.* MA

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ nam MA

⁵ Florentinorum litteris ... tyrannum : accepisset ex Florentinorum litteris Braccius MA

⁶ factururus V

⁷ civis Senensis : omnes Senenses MA

⁸ *omit.* HE

⁹ mox MA

¹⁰ apportavit MA

¹¹ advexit MA

¹² tyrannus qui ... est *add. in marg.* V, X; *omit.* MA

¹³ suis eum : eum suis MA

¹⁴ equitum sub ... milia *omit.* MA

¹⁵ Italicum MA

[34] Soon after, Braccio was received into Perugia as its lord.¹ In that city, there are two factions, one called the *Nobili* and the other the *Raspanti*. They have been enemies for centuries, and never do the two factions live in the city simultaneously.² At that time, the Nobili were in exile, but Braccio expelled the Raspanti and recalled the Nobili who are still there, while the Raspanti are in exile in various cities throughout Italy. After these events, Braccio took Todi, Civit  Castellana, and several other cities, saying that it was unworthy for such a great dominion to be subject to the priests, who ought to be satisfied with tithes alone – said by a man without religion who had never given them a dime!

[35] Thus, his reputation increased vastly, and he began to be feared everywhere. The Florentines paid him 20,000 per year, the Sienese 6,000, and the Lucchese 4,000 for not waging war against them. But he betrayed the lord of Lucca,³ for when he was informed by a letter from the Florentines that the tyrant⁴ of that city was away from Lucca, staying in Pietrasanta, he travelled rapidly, by day and night, and *was seen* in Lucchese territory before *they had heard of his arrival*, even though the march with his army took several days. He would have taken Lucca then if a certain Sienese, Jacopo, son of Marco, had not sent a rapid messenger to warn the lord of Lucca of Braccio’s arrival. The messenger entered Lucca barely two hours before Braccio arrived. However, Braccio brought an enormous booty home with and many captives. The tyrant then ruling Lucca had risen from a low station⁵ before he seized power. Later he began to fear his brother and had him convicted of adultery.⁶ After a long time had passed, the Florentines besieged him,⁷ and when a Sienese knight, Antonio Petrucci,⁸ accused him – falsely or truly - of treason against the Duke of Milan⁹, who had sent Francesco Sforza to his assistance,¹⁰ he was arrested¹¹ and brought to a prison in Lombardy¹² where he died.^{13 14}

¹ 1 July 1416.

² When one faction came to power, the other was exiled until its next return.

³ With whom he had made an agreement in June 1418.

⁴ Paolo Guinigi (1376-1432): Appointed ruler in 1400.

⁵ He actually came from an important political family in Lucca.

⁶ Piccolomini is presumably referring to Antonio Guinigi, who had killed their elder brother, Lazzaro, head of the family.

⁷ In 1429, Firenze attacked Lucca because of its alliance with the Duke of Milan.

⁸ The chancellor of Paolo Guinigi.

⁹ Filippo Maria Visconti.

¹⁰ July 1431.

¹¹ 15 August 1431.

¹² Pavia.

¹³ Paolo was deposed after a rebellion in Lucca, prosecuted, convicted, and sent to prison in Pavia, to die in 1432.

¹⁴ Ippolito: *Quando infine Paolo Guinigi, signore du Lucca, chiese aiuto al Visconti contro i Fiorentini, il duca milanese, che aveva interesse ad alimentare la confusione nella regione per staccare Firenze dai Veneziani, senza per  esporsi direttamente, mand  Francesco in Toscana dopo averlo formalmente licenziato nel tentativo di nascondere le proprie responsabilit . L’intervento di Francesco, nel luglio 1430, riusc  a salvare Lucca dall’attacco fiorentino. Subito dopo, con una delle sue abituali acrobazie politiche, si accord  con Antonio Petrucci, cancelliere dei Guinigi, per scacciare questi ultimi dal potere: ci  avvenne la notte del 15 agosto, con la partecipazione di Francesco che arrest  Ladislao Guinigi, figlio di Paolo.*

[36] Later, Filippo, the tyrant¹ of Milan, having heard about Braccio's fame, desired to make him commander of his armies, with payment for 5,000 mounted soldiers and a personal salary of more than 100,000 a year. But this ambitious man wanted to fight for his own cause only, hoping to win all of Italy as a kingdom for himself.

[37] Plura sibi adversus ecclesiam bella fuere minabaturque² papam expellere velle, simulque et regno Neapolitano et ecclesiae patrimonio inhiabat, et quia urbs Aquila clavis regni videbatur, hanc summa vi nisus³ est expugnare, XIIIque⁴ mensibus tam hieme quam aestate obsidionem illic tenuit. tenuit. Sed Martinus timens, ne capta urbe Romam veniret Braccius, uti minabatur, exercitum collegit statuitque opem obsessae civitati ferre. Braccius alacer adventum hostium expectabat et structis aciebus in plano morabatur. Copiae ecclesiae per montem veniebant nec descendere nisi paulatim poterant, miseratque Braccius pedites eisque praeceperat, ut, cum nuntius⁵ veniret, iter praerumperent descendentibus. Facile namque pauci pedites multorum equitum iter poterant impedire. Intendebat enim Braccius, postquam {45r} media pars hostium transivisset⁶, iter pracludere et cum his, qui transissent, bellum aggredi eosque prosternere. Nec dubius erat omnes captos esse, qui sic descenderent⁷. Rursusque Piceninum ad custodiam urbis collocaverat, ne se cives irrumpentes a tergo⁸ invaderent. Cum ergo sat hostium⁹ descendisse putavit, nuntios ad pedites misit, qui pertubari¹⁰ viam praeciperent¹¹. Sed fuerunt hostes hujus quoque rei praemoniti insidiasque inter Braccium et pedites habuerunt, quae nullum nuntium transire permiserunt, et sic non moventes se pedites, quia mandatum non habebant, universos hostes descendere permiserunt.

[38] Quod cum Braccius vidisset, etsi doluit, minime tamen animo fractus, hortatus pro tempore suos bellum aggressusque tanta¹² vi pugnavit, ut quinque¹³ hostium acies perturbaret semperque robustior appareret. Milites¹⁴ autem, qui ad custodiam urbis erant, ubi¹⁵ hostes perturbatos vident, aegre ferentes se praeda privari, relicta custodia in campum currunt. Sed erant adhuc multae¹⁶

¹ It is not certain why Piccolomini here calls the ruler of Milan a tyrant (tyrant being used by him either of a ruler not recognised by the legitimate authority, or a ferocious prince). Otherwise, he calls him the Duke of Milan.

² minitabaturque MA

³ conatus MA

⁴ XIII MA

⁵ omit. X [blank space]

⁶ ~~his iter~~ seq. V

⁷ descenderant MA

⁸ irrumpentes a tergo : a tergo irrumpentes MA

⁹ sat hostium : sic hostem MA

¹⁰ perturbare MA

¹¹ inciperent MA

¹² tantaque V

¹³ quamprimum MA

¹⁴ omit. X [blank space]; illi MA

¹⁵ ut MA

¹⁶ adhuc multae : multae adhuc MA

hostium acies integrae, quae de novo¹ certamen inchoarunt. Tum et populus Aquilanus, qui magnus est et ferox, urbem² armatus exivit ac sic duplici malo³ circumventus Braccius a tergo et a fronte, licet suos plurimum hortaretur, disturbatus est omnisque suus exercitus infractus.

¹ de novo : denuo MA

² urbe MA

³ modo MA

[37] He conducted several wars against the Church and threatened to expel the pope, desiring to conquer both the Kingdom of Naples and the Patrimony of the Church.¹ Since the city of Aquila appeared to be the key to the Kingdom,² he endeavoured with all his might to conquer it, besieging it for 14 months, both in winter and in summer.³ However, Martin,⁴ fearing that he would continue to Rome after taking Aquila, gathered an army and ordered it to march to assist the beleaguered city.⁵ Braccio eagerly waited for the arrival of the enemies and stayed in the plain,⁶ with his troops drawn up in battle order. The troops of the Church crossed the mountain range and could only come down from the mountains a few at the time. Therefore, Braccio sent footsoldiers forward, ordering them to break their descent when his messenger arrived. Indeed, a few footsoldiers could easily prevent the descent of many mounted soldiers. It was Braccio's intention to bar their road when half of the enemies had come down and to fight and destroy those who had come down. He would undoubtedly catch all those who had descended. Moreover, he made Piccinino guard the city [gate] so that the inhabitants would not break out and attack him from the rear. When he thought that enough enemies had come down, he sent messengers to the footsoldiers ordering them to bar the road. But the enemies had been forewarned and placed men in ambush between Braccio and his footsoldiers. They let no messengers pass through, and since the foot soldiers did not receive an order, they did not move but let all the enemies descend.

[38] When Braccio saw it, he was, of course, annoyed but not dejected. Encouraging his men, he went into battle with such force that he destroyed five hostile ranks and appeared to be gaining the upper hand. However, when the soldiers guarding the city [gate] saw that the enemies were being beaten, they could not bear to not be taking plunder, so they left their guard duty and ran onto the battlefield⁷. However, many enemy ranks were still intact, and they began to fight again. Then, the Aquilan people, great and ferocious, erupted from the city in arms, and thus Braccio was fighting the enemies both in front and in the rear, and although he strongly encouraged his men to fight on, he was beaten, and his whole army defeated.

¹ Piccolomini: *Germania*, III, 32: *Martinus quintus, cum redisset Romam, vix aliquid possedit: Braccius cuncta occupaverat.*

² Because of its strategic location in the Abruzzo.

³ Francesco Pizzolpasso, later Archbishop of Milan and friend of Piccolomini in Basel, was one of the pope's representatives in the papal army and was undoubtedly a direct source of Piccolomini's concerning these events, see sect. 108.

⁴ Pope Martin V.

⁵ In his oration "*Audivi*" of 15 November 1436, Piccolomini said: *When Braccio, that terrible enemy of the Church, had invaded many towns and cities belonging to the Roman See and occupied many of its provinces, he laid siege to the splendid city of Aquila. His intention was to capture that city and then move the war and the siege to Rome* (COR, II, 1, sect. 69). And later, as Pius II, he said in the oration "*Responsuri*" of 11 December 1459: *Braccio da Perugia had attacked and besieged Aquila, an important city in the Abruzzi. If he conquered it, he would undoubtedly take over the whole kingdom, so great was his authority among the captains of war. But Martin collected an army and spending large funds he mobilised great forces* (COR, IX, 52, sect. 25)

⁶ Between the city and the surrounding mountains.

⁷ See sect. 15.

[39] Quod ille videns fugam arripuit, sed insecuti sunt eum duo Perusini ex Raspantibus, familiares Ludovici de Michelozis¹, qui eum norant nuncque ab una parte, nunc ab altera fugientem feriebant. Quibus ille, “Heu, miseri, quid agitis?” inquit, “Pauperes estis. Sinite me abire. Ite² mecum. Magnos vos faciam, nam etsi hic conflictus sum, non tamen res mea ubique periit. *Scitis nomen meum magnum esse multasque urbes mihi oboedire.*³ Si liber sum, magnus sum. Servate me et vos.” Sed frustra locutus homo est, nam immortale⁴ odium erat. Vulneratum igitur in gula Braccium capiunt et et in castra reducunt. Ad quem cum omnes hostium duces venissent et hominem honorarent solarenturque et multa quererent, numquam locutus est verbum⁵, sive quod non poterat, sive quod magnus animus post conflictum loqui non dignabatur.

¹ Ruchelozis X

² venite X, MA

³ scitis nomen ... oboedire *omit.* MA

⁴ nam immortale : immortale enim MA

⁵ est verbum : contra exercitum MA

[39] Seeing this, he fled but was pursued by two Perugians of the Raspanti faction,¹ companions of Ludovico de' Michelotti.² They knew him and struck at him from both sides as he was fleeing. "What are you doing, you fools," he shouted to them, "you are poor. Let me leave. Come with me. I shall make you great, for though I am beaten here, I am not beaten elsewhere. You know how important I am and that many cities obey me. As long as I am free, I am great. Save me and save yourselves." But he spoke in vain, for their hate was undying. They wounded Braccio in the neck, seized his person, and brought him back to the camp. All the enemy leaders visited him and showed their respect with words of comfort and regret, but he never said a word, whether he was unable to or whether this proud spirit did not deign to speak after his defeat.

¹ I.e. belonging to the party that Braccio had expelled from Perugia,

² Lodovico Michelotti (-1440): Italian condottiere,

[40] Vixit {45v} ad tertiam diem mortuusque in excommunicatione, portatus Romam apud¹ sanctum Laurentium extra muros in loco profano sepultus est. Sed eum postea instante Nicolao de Fortebracciis², qui fuit ei proximus et vir potens in armis, pontifex Eugenius absolvit defossumque in ecclesia Perusina cum magno honore sepeliri mandavit, quamvis ejus cadaver sive ossa, dum Perusium portarentur, ingens grando cum tempestate secuta fuerit, quae universos agros ac vineas excussit³. *Hic Nicolaus terribilis ecclesiae hostis fuit, qui aliquando sibi serviret. Crudelis erat ac pro levi causa suos armigeros propria manu occidebat. Is prius Nicolaus de la Stella dicebatur ductorque Florentinorum fuit contra Lucanos, sed non profecit. Dum inimicus ecclesiae est, ex improviso circumventus⁴ ab hostibus certamen inivit, in quo, dum ferocius quam consultius proeliatur, gladio confossus interiit.*⁵

¹ ~~ex seq.~~ V

² Forte Braccius MA

³ concussit MA

⁴ *corr. ex circumventibus* V

⁵ hic Nicolaus ... interiit *add. in marg.* V, X; *omit.* MA

[40] He lived three days more. Since he had died¹ excommunicate,² his body was brought to the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mure in Rome and buried in unconsecrated earth. Later,³ however, 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.^{4 5} When his body (or bones) was carried to Perugia, it was followed by a great storm that devastated all fields and vineyards. This Niccolò⁶ was a terrible enemy of the Church though he he had served it previously.⁷ He was cruel and killed his soldiers with his own hand for even the slightest of reasons. Formerly, he was called Niccolò della Stella and commanded the Florentine troops against the Lucchese but without success.⁸ Later, while he fought against the Church,⁹ he was suddenly surrounded by enemies and began a fight, in which he was killed by sword while fighting more ferociously than wisely.^{10 11 12 13}

¹ 5 June 1424,

² Braccio had been excommunicated by the pope as an enemy of the Church,

³ Eight years later, in 1432.

⁴ The Church of San Francesco al Prato.

⁵ In his Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447, Piccolomini wrote on this burial – without comment: *When Braccio da Montone was lying dead and excommunicated in the field, he absolved him and let him have a Christian burial* (CRDM, 1, sect. 39).

⁶ Niccolò Fortebraccio [Niccolò della Stella] (1389-1435): Italian condottiere. Nephew of Braccio da Montone.

⁷ 1431.

⁸ 1430.

⁹ In 1432, he invaded the Papal States together with troops of the Duke of Milan, commanded by Niccolò Piccinino.

¹⁰ 23 August 1435.

¹¹ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about this event: *Its [Perugia's] greatest soldier was Braccio Montone, of noble birth but an enemy of the Church, who usurped the power of his own city and then subjugated many other Umbrian cities. Finally, when he had besieged Aquila for fourteen months, he was defeated in battle by the army of Pope Martin, taken prisoner, and executed ... Braccio's body was taken to Rome and given burial with beasts, though later Eugenius, who did not escape some abuse on that account, had it dug up, removed to Perugia, and placed in the church there. ... He was a foe of the Church and of religion and thoroughly underserving of the Church's burial rites.* (COM, II, 18 (Gragg, pp. 142-143). *At that time Braccio of Perugia had seized his native city of Assisi and had taken Todi and many other states from the Church of Rome. He was besieging Aquila, the capital of the Abruzzi, with a large army and was said to be on the point of taking that city and marching upon Rome. In fear of this Pope Martin hired troops and decided to send aid to the besieged town. Francesco [Sforza] though scarcely twenty-four years old, was made captain of the forces. In his first pitched battle the issue was long in doubt, but finally when Braccio saw that his men were giving way, he slipped out of the fighting and tried to save himself by flight. He was however recognized by his fellow-citizens, who having been banished from their country were fighting for the Church, and was dragged back and brought before the victorious Francesco in his camp. He died of a wound received while he was fleeing. His body was taken to Rome, as we have said, and buried with beasts in a field near San Lorenzo Outside the Walls, but shortly afterwards, with Eugenius's permission it was disinterred and removed to his native city* (COM, III, 15 (Gragg, pp. 218-219).

¹² Date: the date of the last event referred to in this chapter is the death of Niccolò Fortebraccio on 23 August 1435.

¹³ Piccolomini's source: Information derived from acquaintances and friends and possibly written accounts of Braccio's life.

Supplement

From Piccolomini's De Rebus Gestis Basiliae Commentarius (1450) (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 167)

Varia illi [Martino V.] et perdura cum Braccio Perusino bella fuerunt, quem denique apud Aquilam Brutiorum urbem forti prelio, non suo majori quam totius cleri fortunio superavit captivumque duxit. Erat autem Braccius facundus homo, ex humili fortuna in magnum ducem evaserat. Perusium, Assisium, Spoletum, Tudertum pluresque cum in regno Apulie tum in patrimonio divi Petri civitates armis occupaverat: ingenio perspicax, animo saevus et insatiabilis: de vita futura nihil sensit, infensissimus clero totiusque hostis religionis. Humanum fundere sanguinem haud gravius quam ferinum putavit, militaris disciplinae peritissimus. Cogitatus illi erat, victo apud Aquilam Martino, urbem invadere ac totius Italiae dominatum consequi; sed avertit Deus hanc pestem. Occisus namque gladio Braccius diu insepultus jacuit et tandem cum asinis meruit sepulturam, quamvis post aliquot exinde annos, nescio quam religiose, ossa ejus exhumata sacratioque cemeterio tradita fuerint. Qui male viventi, pessime morienti, tumulus frustra religiosus accessit.

Supplement

From Piccolomini's De Rebus Gestis Basiliae Commentarius (1450)

Various and savage wars were fought with Braccio from Perugia, whom in the end he [Pope Martin] defeated and captured in a violent battle at Aquila in the Abruzzi, to the great fortune of himself and even more of the Church. Braccio was an eloquent man, who became great though born in humble circumstances. He conquered Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Todi, and many other cities both in the Kingdom of Puglia and in the Patrimony of Saint Peter. He was a man of keen intelligence and savage and insatiable temperament. He thought nothing of the future life and was an implacable enemy of the clergy and all religion. For him shedding the blood of men was no more serious than that of wild beasts. His intention was to defeat Martin at Aquila and afterwards to attack the City and become lord of all of Italy. But God averted this plague for Braccio was killed by the sword, and for some time his body laid unburied and was afterwards, deservedly, buried with the asses. After some years, however, his bones were dug up and brought to a consecrated cemetery – I really do not know how respectful of religion that was! In vain was a religious burial given to this man who lived a bad life, and had a worse death.

10. Franciscus Sfortia

[41] Franciscus Sfortia, prioris Sfortiae filius, mortuo patre admodum juvenis, Filippi ducis Mediolanensis adjutus pecunia milites convocavit atque¹ positurus cum eis rationem libros mutui² afferri jussit, in quibus omnes fere milites aes magnum patri debebant, dixitque³ illis: “Commilitones, mei patris mortem scitis. Illi plura debebatis, sed ego haeres sum, et quod patri debuistis, jam mihi deberetis. Sed libero ego vos omnes aere omnique vinculo, quo patri tenebamini. Estote igitur liberi, ut, cuicumque servire velitis, sit vestrum. Si mecum continuare vultis, libenti animo vos recipiam, nec verebor meum corpus vobis committere, qui paternum custodivistis⁴, sed fortunam meam omnem vobis credam vosque uti duces sequar, qui longam militiam sub patre cum honore degistis⁵.” Quo sermone simul et beneficio libertatis allecti milites nullum se alium passuros imperatorem clamant quam eum, cujus patris se militiae cingulis ornarint. Factus est ergo communi omnium voce⁶ dux exercitus novaque⁷ militiae sacramenta recepit.

[42] Exinde Martino papae Franciscus servivit missusque contra Braccium victoriam apud Aquilam obtinuit⁸ tenuitque patris dominia, quae in regno habuit, Beneventum, Troiam, Manfredoniam pluraque oppida, usquequo rex Alfonsus regno potitus eum privavit.

¹ et quia MA

² matri MA

³ dixit MA

⁴ custodistis MA

⁵ duxistis MA

⁶ uice X

⁷ novaeque MA

⁸ ~~post a Filippo vocatus seq.~~ V

10. Francesco Sforza, Mercenary captain

[41] Francesco Sforza^{1 2} is the son of the first Sforza.³ He was very young when his father died.^{4 5} With the aid of money from Duke Filippo of Milan, he summoned the soldiers and, intending to settle the accounts with them, ordered the loan ledgers to be brought forth. According to these, almost all the soldiers owed his father much money. He then spoke to the soldiers, “Comrades! You know that my father is dead. You owed him a lot of money, and since I am his heir, you now owe me what you owed him. However, I release you from all of the debt and obligations you owed my father. So, be free now and serve whomever you wish. If you will continue with me, I accept you gladly and will not fear entrusting my life to you who protected my father’s, and I shall commit my fortune to you and follow you as leaders since you served under my father honourably and for a long time.” This speech⁶ and the kind deed of granting them their freedom won over the soldiers. They shouted back that they would accept no other captain than him whose father’s sash had been their ornament. So, he was made their captain unanimously and received the new oaths of the soldiers.

[42] Afterwards, Francesco served Pope Martin⁷ and was sent against Braccio, whom he defeated at at Aquila.⁸ He held the lands which he father had in the Kingdom⁹ (Benevento, Troia, Manfredonia, Manfredonia, and many other towns) until King Alfonso conquered the Kingdom and took them from him.¹⁰

¹ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiere. Son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450).

² For a general biography, see Ippolito. See also NBCG.

³ See ch. 8.

⁴ 23 years old.

⁵ 1424.

⁶ Note the emphasis of Piccolomini, accomplished humanist orator, on Sforza’s speech as an instrument of persuasion. The speech is presumably fictive but might be based on fact.

⁷ 1424-1425.

⁸ 1424. See sect. 36-40.

⁹ The Kingdom of Naples.

¹⁰ 1440.

[43] Post haec¹ Franciscus in Lombardiam se recepit, ubi eum Philippus dux magnifice honoravit titulumque domus suae Vicecomitum et² arma tradidit. Filiam quoque unicam, nomine Blancam quamvis illegitimam in matrimonium {46r} promisit, qua spe saepe eum frustratus est. Hujus plura in Lombardia fuerunt³ clara belli facinora. Contra ducem Sabaudiae Filippi tulit insignia Sabaudiensesque fugavit. Marchionem Montisferrati, qui cum Venetis sapiebat, dominio expulit multisque in locis gloria rei militaris enituit. Itaque par contentio inter ipsum Nicolaumque⁴ Piceninum erat. Quamvis enim dux militiae Nicolaus esset, non tamen inferiorem se Franciscus putabat, qui gener principis habebatur. *Sed*⁵⁶ vetus odium, quod inter Sfortiam Bracciumque fuit, nondum erat extinctum. Hinc vocati sunt Bracciani, hinc Sfortiani.⁷ Franciscus istis⁸, Nicolaus illis⁹ illis⁹ praefuit, cujus locum Franciscus Piceninus subivit¹⁰. Dilectius tamen in Longobardia¹¹ *nomen*¹² Francisci fuit quam Nicolai, nam hic Tuscus, ille *ex*¹³ Romandiola semilombardus habebatur. Tum vero spes succesionis favorem populi Francisco conciliabat.

¹ ~~Filipp~~ *seq.* V

² Vicecomitum et : et Vicecomitum MA

³ in Lombardia fuerunt : fuerunt in Lombardia MA

⁴ et Nicolaum MA

⁵ *omit.* MA *

⁶ ~~erat~~ *seq.* V

⁷ Bracciani hinc Sfortiani : Sfortiani hinc Bracciani MA

⁸ illis MA

⁹ istis MA

¹⁰ subiit MA

¹¹ Lombardia X, MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ *omit.* MA

[43] Then,¹ Francesco went to Lombardy, where he was received magnificently by Duke Filippo, who granted him the title and arms of his House.² The duke also promised him his illegitimate but only daughter,^{3 4} Bianca, in marriage although his hopes [of marriage] were often frustrated. Many were his glorious feats of war in Lombardy. He carried Filippo's standards against the Duke of Savoy⁵ and routed the Savoyards. The Marquess of Montferrat,⁶ who had an understanding with the Venetians, he expelled from his lands⁷ and excelled in military glory in many places. Thus, the rivalry between him and Niccolò Piccinino was on even terms.⁸ Though Niccolò was the supreme commander, Francesco did not consider himself to be of inferior rank since he was considered the duke's son-in-law. But the old hatred between Sforza⁹ and Braccio had not yet been extinguished.¹⁰ One troop was called the Bracceschi and the other the Sfortians. Francesco, having succeeded Sforza, led the Sfortians, while Piccinino, succeeded by [his son] Francesco Piccinino, led the Bracceschi. In Lombardy, however, Francesco was more popular than Niccolò since he was from Romagna and thus a semilombard, whereas Niccolò was from Tuscany. Moreover, Francesco's expectation of the succession¹¹ gained him the people's favour.

¹ Summer 1425.

² Ippolito: *Per rafforzare il legame con Francesco il duca gli promise in moglie la figlia naturale (poi legittimata) Bianca Maria, che allora aveva soltanto sei anni; non solo, dopo averlo dichiarato proprio figlio adottivo, e avergli così concesso il cognome Visconti, gli concesse i feudi di Castellazzo, Bosco e Frugarolo.*

³ 1432.

⁴ Bianca Maria Visconti (1423-1468): The duke's only child and heir, 10 years old when promised to Sforza. She was legitimated by the pope.

⁵ Amédée VIII (Savoy) (1383-1451): Count of Savoy 1391, elevated to duke by the emperor 1416. Elected antipope under the name of Felix V by the rump council in Basel 1439.

⁶ Giangiacomo Paleologo (1395-1445): Marquess of Monferrat from 1418 to his death.

⁷ August 1432.

⁸ Sect. 21.

⁹ Muzio Attendolo Sforza.

¹⁰ Piccolomini: *Europa*, 249 (Brown, p. 278): *Between Francesco and Niccolò there was not only a strong rivalry over military glory, in which each claimed supremacy, but also intense animosity stemming from old differences between Braccio and Sforza, the latter being Francesco's father, the former Niccolò's teacher and commander. And so they waged war with each other not just as public but as private enemies and could not be induced to serve under one and the same leader.*

¹¹ Through his marriage with the duke's daughter and only child, Bianca, Sforza was expected to inherit the ducal dignity.

[44] Post haec, cum Franciscus in Marchiam¹ contra Eugenium mitteretur, ut provinciam nomine concilii suscipere, is eam² sibi vendicavit, nec enim ex duce bene contentus recesserat. Dixerat quoque, si oculum perdidisset Mediolani, pro eo non rediret. Multae inter ipsum discordiae et Nicolaum fuere, numquam tamen bellare totis viribus *contigit, nam commissarii ducales impediabant. Concordatus post Franciscus cum Eugenio Marchiam suscepit in titulum,*³ totisque viribus insecutus est ducem ac Venetis et Florentinis adhaesit, ex quibus ingentem auri summam quotannis recepit. Vexillifer quoque ecclesiae creatus est. Post et omnium Venetorum imperator creatus⁴ in bello contra Filippum eminere⁵ non est aspernatus. Itaque revocatus est ex⁶ Tuscia Piceninus magnaepque copiae utrimque paratae sunt vastatique agri ubique.

¹ Marchia MA

² causam MA

³ contigit nam ... titulum *omit.* MA

⁴ imperator creatus : creatus imperator X

⁵ imminere MA

⁶ a MA

[44] Later, Francesco was sent to the Marche,¹ against Eugenius, to take this province in the name of the Council,² but he claimed it for himself since he was rather dissatisfied when he left the duke. He said that even if he had lost an eye in Milan, he would not return to get it. There were many conflicts between him and Niccolò,³ but it never came to open war, for the ducal commissioners prevented it. Later again, Francesco was reconciled with Eugenius and was granted formal possession⁴ of the Marche. He, then, with all his might opposed the duke and allied himself with the Venetians and the Florentines, from whom he received an immense yearly sum.⁵ He was also created *Gonfalonere* of the Church. Later he was made commander of all the Venetian [forces] and did not hesitate to play a prominent role in their war against Filippo. Therefore Piccinino was recalled⁶ from Tuscany; large troops were mobilised on both sides, and fields were burnt everywhere.

¹ By the Duke of Milan. 1433-1435. The idea of seizing part of the Papal States in order to put pressure upon the pope, may have originated with the Emperor Sigismund, see Hoensch, p. 383: ... *[Sigismund] liess den Konzilsvätern sogar den Vorschlag unterbreiten, ihm [Eugenius] zur Erhöhung des Drucks das Mandat zur teilweise Besetzung des Kirchenstaates zu übertragen.*

² As part of his fight against the pope, the Duke of Milan sided with the Council of Basel and claimed to take parts of the Church State in the name of the council, as he had been authorised to in a letter from the council of 21 August 1432. In his letter to the rector of Cologne University of 13 August 1447, Piccolomini wrote: *Transeo, quod Eugenium dilapidatorem bonorum ecclesiae suae dixerint, cum ipsi datis litteris agrum Picenum Francisco Sfortiae Vicecomiti et Nicolao de Fortebracis patrimonium beati Petri consumendum, vastandum diripiendumque commiserint* (WO, II, ep. 19, p. 61). And in his DRBG (1450) he said: ... *cum Philippus dux Mediolani Franciscum Sfortiam Vicecomitem adversus Eugenium misisset et paulo post Nicolaum Piceninum cum exercitu – litteras namque conciliares ad id receperat – et patrimonium ecclesiae sibi vendicantes absque adversario undequaque discurrerent* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 186).

³ Niccolò Piccinino.

⁴ As Papal Vicar.

⁵ 1436-1440

⁶ By the Duke of Milan.

[45] Ad extremum quasi¹ suspicionem {46v} Venetis incussurus dux Mediolani, dum bella parant, de pace tractat ac Franciscum comitem omnium arbitrum differentiarum eligit². Fortasse non putavit Venetos accepturos filiamque suam secreto³, quae jam matura esset, dare sibi promisit et pro dote urbem Cremonensem. Sed Veneti perspecta⁴ Francisci erga se fide simulque Florentini et Januenses Januenses arbitrium acceptarunt, quod non sine damno ducis factum est, cum is magna domini parte multatus fuerit. Franciscus uxorem recepit et Cremonam in potestatem⁵, ubi solemnes cum Blanca nuptias celebravit⁶, tuncque a principibus Italiae coepit illustris⁷ vocari, tamquam non sua virtus, sed⁸ conjugis origo eum illustraret. Post in Marchiam se recepit, ubi a rege Aragonum infestatus interdum succubuit, interdum vicit. Fratrem denique in Aesculo⁹, qui¹⁰ rebellavit, amisit cum pluribus militibus. Adhuc tamen potentior¹¹ est in Marchia. Vir enim consilii potens, corpore pulcher, in equo splendidus¹², tardus ad iram,¹³ in re qualibet maturus. Quia¹⁴ quicquid habet, militum est, parum sibi retinet, militiam splendidam habet.¹⁵

¹ cum MA

² elegit MA

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ pro suspecta X

⁵ in potestatem : item MA

⁶ ~~post a seq.~~ V

⁷ illustrius MA

⁸ *omit.* V, X

⁹ Esulb MA

¹⁰ quae X

¹¹ potentia MA

¹² ~~is a haud~~ seq. V

¹³ potestate X

¹⁴ *omit.* X

¹⁵ vir enim ... habet *omit.* MA

[45] In the end, to quell the suspicions of the Venetians preparing for war, the Duke of Milan began to negotiate a peace and chose Count Francesco as the arbiter of all their disagreements, possibly thinking that the Venetians would not accept this offer. However, he also secretly promised [Sforza] his daughter, who had now reached marriageable age, with the city of Cremona as her dowry.¹ But trusting Francesco's loyalty towards them, the Venetians, together with the Florentines and the Genoese, accepted him as the arbiter,² to the great loss of the duke, who was fined a considerable part of his dominion.³ Francesco received his wife and became lord of Cremona, where he celebrated his solemn nuptials with Bianca⁴. At that time, the princes of Italy began to address him as Illustrious,⁵ as if he was made illustrious not by his own qualities but by his wife's origins. Afterwards, he went to the Marche where he fought with the King of Aragon,⁶ sometimes victorious, sometimes the loser. In the end, he lost a brother, with many soldiers, at the city of Ascoli, which rebelled against him, but he still has great power in the Marche.⁷ He is clever and handsome, a brilliant rider, slow to anger, and prepared for everything. All he has, he gives to his soldiers, keeping little back, and therefore he has a splendid army.⁸

¹ Romano, p. 169: *Visconti's emissary arrived with a very generous offer: the duke would give Sforza the hand of his daughter Bianca in marriage and the city of Cremona as her dowry.*

² Romano, p. 169: *It was he [Sforza] who had to all intents and purposes orchestrated the peace ... it was at Sforza's camp at Cavriana, and very much as a result of Sforza's initiative, that a peace was finally agreed.*

³ Pace di Cremona, 20 November 1441.

⁴ 29 October 1441.

⁵ Form of address to princes.

⁶ Alfonso V.

⁷ This passage points to the period before Spring 1446 when Sforza only had one city, Iesi, left in the Marche. He departed from Iesi in July 1447, going to Milan where his father-in-law, Duke Filippo Maria, would die on 13 August.

⁸ In his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote: *Francesco ... had a handsome physique, a far taller than average height, a large chest, and cheerful eyes. His baldness lent him a venerable air and he possessed a flowing eloquence, a sharp intellect, and a spirit that thirsted for great things. He was a skilled administrator, tireless in performing labors, perceptive and shrewd in noting future opportunities, ingenious and wily in deceiving enemies, and wary and prescient in foreseeing and evading trickery and anticipating the stratagems of his foes. He rarely clashed with the enemy except by design and more often destroyed them through siege than open battle. He held the infantry in high regard and wished his soldiers to be decked in silver and gold. In executing plans he was swift and resolute, and in performing every activity he was extraordinarily well equipped with presence of mind, endurance, experience, skill, and good sense. Through these qualities, he quickly became so great that, of all the generals, only he could challenge Niccolò [Piccinino] for military preeminence. Because they seemed equal in knowledge of warfare and prestige, it was uncertain for a long time which of the two should be ranked above the other. However, this debate was settled once and for all by the rout of Niccolò's army a little while later [Battle of Monteloro, 8 November 1443], together with Francesco's long run of victories and the entrusting to him of the fortunes of Milan, with its overflowing prosperity (Brown, p. 279).*

[46] Is, cum esset in agro Bononiensi, insidias passus est, nam Baldassar Aufidius¹, qui tunc Bononiae praeses erat ac militiam regebat summi pontificis, capere eum dolo voluit Nicolaumque Piceninum in subsidium advocavit. Sed non annuit Piceninus Franciscumque praemonuit. Itaque incidit Aufidius, homo nequam, in laqueum quem fecerat captusque in Butrio² in carcere Firmano necatus est magnisque suppliciis affectus. Verum quia de Baldassare fecimus mentionem, non ab³ re est unum ejus sceleratissimum factum referre. Antonius de Bentivoliis, eques et juris interpres, domo nobilis ac princeps patriae⁴, per⁵ factionem diu extra Bononiam, {47r} annis circiter quatuordecim⁶ [vixit]⁷, nam quamdiu Martinus rexit numquam intrare patriam potuit, sed in curia cum stipendiis tenebatur. Ut vero Bononia ad Eugenium rediit, et ipse domum repetiit. Convenire⁸ igitur cives, visere⁹ eum domi, *congratulari reduci, hortari ut maneat*,¹⁰ mittere munera, sequi eum quocumque iret. Tum Baldassar veritus, ne *hic*¹¹ sibi urbem subjiceret¹², *ut sunt Bononienses dominandi cupidi et quamvis hinc se jactent stulti*,¹³ hominem ad se vocat in praetorium quasi consilium initurus secum. Venit homo atque, ut ante capellam fuit, in palatio arreptus a satellitibus per scalas tractus est nec permissus loqui vel¹⁴ unum verbum. Absque confessione, absque communiione, sine ullo spatio poenitentiae intra palatium¹⁵ circa limen portae truncatus est vixque dicere potuit “Adjuva me, Dei genitrix.” Hoc factum adeo civibus displicuit, ut tantus vir nobilis, *potens*,¹⁶ doctus, praecipua bonitate praeditus, non confessus neque¹⁷ condemnatus, sic necaretur, ut paulo post civitas ipsa Eugenio rebellaverit Piceninoque se tradiderit, quo tempore et Hannibal, filius Antonii illegitimus, urbem intravit multasque caedes fecit ac postea cum Baptista de Cannetulo excluso Picenino urbem rexit. Sed nec ipse diu vixit, nam postea Baptista eum occidi fecit, et tunc pars de Bentivoliis insurgens Baptistam ipsum interemit pluresque suorum neci dedit combussitque¹⁸ domos¹⁹. Et sic nunc civitas stat, quamvis ex²⁰ more suo non diu mansura credatur.

¹ Ausidius MA

² Butrino MA

³ abs MA

⁴ Patinae X

⁵ pro V, HE

⁶ ~~post~~ seq. V

⁷ *emen.*

⁸ convenere MA

⁹ invisere MA

¹⁰ congratulari reduci ... maneat *omit.* MA

¹¹ *omit.* MA

¹² urbem subjiceret : subjiceret urbem MA

¹³ ut sunt ... stulti *omit.* MA

¹⁴ ad MA

¹⁵ ~~intra~~ seq. V

¹⁶ *omit.* MA

¹⁷ nec MA

¹⁸ combussit MA

¹⁹ domus V

²⁰ de MA

[46] When he was staying in Bolognese territory, Baldassare Offida¹ plotted against him. At that time, Offida was *podestà* in Bologna and commanded the Supreme Pontiff's army. Intending to capture Sforza by deceit, he called Niccolò Piccinino to his aid. Piccinino, however, refused and warned Francesco. Thus Offida, a wicked man, fell into his own trap. He was captured in Butrio and later tortured and killed in a prison in Fermo. Since we have mentioned Baldassare, it is relevant to relate his most criminal act. Antonio da Bentivoglio,² a knight and jurist from a noble House and a prince of his country, was forced by factional strife to live for a long time (fourteen years) away from Bologna, for while Martin lived, he could not return to his country but was kept at the curia and given a stipend. However, when Bologna returned to Eugenius, Antonio returned to Bologna.³ The citizens flocked to him, visited him at home, congratulated him at his return, urged him to stay, sent gifts, and followed him wherever he went. Fearing that he would gain control of the city – since the Bolognese lust for power and even foolishly boast of it - Baldassare⁴ invited the man to the town hall as if wanting to take counsel with him. Bentivoglio came, and then, in front of the palace chapel, he was seized by the guards, dragged up the stairs, and not allowed to speak at all. He was killed at the entrance to the palace without confession, without communion, without time for penitence, barely having time to say, “Help me, Mother of God.” The killing of a noble, powerful, learned, and extremely good man, without confession or judgment, incensed the citizens so greatly that shortly afterwards the city rebelled against Eugenius and gave itself to Piccinino. At that time, Annibale,⁵ the illegitimate son of Antonio, came to the city,⁶ had many killed, expelled Piccinino, and afterwards ruled the city together with Battista Canetoli.⁷ But he did not live long, either, for Battista had him killed,⁸ and then the Bentivogli party rebelled and, in turn, killed Battista with many of his people and burnt their houses. This is the present state of the city, but - as is their custom - it will not last for long.^{9 10}

¹ Baldassare de Baroncelli da Offida (ca. 1380-1436): Italian condottiere.

² Antonio Galeazzo (ca. 1385-1435): Condottiere. Lord of Bologna.

³ 1435.

⁴ Actually, on behalf of the papal governor of Bologna, Daniele Scoti, who feared that Bentivoglio would make Bologna rebel against the pope.

⁵ Annibale I Bentivoglio (1415-1445): Member of the Bentivoglio family and ruler of Bologna from 1443 to his death.

⁶ 1438.

⁷ Battista Canetoli [Canneschi] (-1445): Head of the powerful Bolognese Canneschi clan, rivals of the Bentivogli.

⁸ 24 June 1445.

⁹ Date: This text must have been written after the death of Annibale Bentivoglio on 24 June 1445 and before the death of the Duke of Milan in 1447. Since Piccolomini does not mention the accession of Sante Bentivoglio in Bologna in November 1446, the text may have been written before that date.

¹⁰ Piccolomini's source: Information derived from Piccolomini's friends and acquaintances. He met Francesco personally in 1449, but after the completion of the present text in 1445/1446

11. Nicolaus Extensis

[47] Nicolaus, marchio Extensis¹, patri, quamvis illegitimus esset, successit. Ferrariam, Mutinam Regiumque tenuit. Ottonem Parmensem, virum magnificum et in armis potentem, per ministrum Sfortiae interfecit ejusque sibi dominia usurpavit. Vir magni consilii fuit. {47v} Cum inter Filippum duces Mediolani et Venetos perpetuae lites essent et immortalia odia, is, quamvis esset medius suaque dominia cum Venetis et duce confinarent, ita tamen se habuit, ut non isti vel illi amicus, sed mediator crederetur. Immo et saepe arbiter inter utramque partem fuit. Nam et quotiens de pace tractaretur, plerumque apud Ferrariam transigeretur², et oratores haberentur³. Ex quo factum est, ut, ut, quamvis tota Gallia Padana, quae nunc Lombardia dicitur, bellis flagraret, sola Ferraria et adjacentes partes subditae pace fruerentur. Quicumque enim transitum voluit, admissus est, si sine damno transiret. Veneti, qui diu terram Polesini tenuerant, eam sibi restituerunt.

¹ Esten... *et passim* MA

² transigebatur *em.* HE

³ habebantur *em.* HE

11. Niccolò III d'Este, Marquess of Ferrara

[47] Marquess Niccolò d'Este^{1 2} succeeded his father, though illegitimate.^{3 4} He ruled Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. He had Otto of Parma,⁵ magnificent and mighty in arms, killed by one of Sforza's⁶ attendants and seized his domains.⁷ He was a clever man. Between Duke Filippo of Milan and the Venetians there were perpetual conflicts and immortal enmity, but though he was in the middle of it and his domains had frontiers in common with both the Venetians and the duke, he managed to be considered not only their friend but even their mediator.⁸ Many times he was the arbiter between the two parties, and often negotiations between them would take place in Ferrara, and ambassadors would be sent there. Thus, though all of Gallia Padana, now called Lombardy, was burning with war, only Ferrara and its subject territories had peace. He allowed all to pass through⁹ [his lands] if they would do no damage in passing. The Venetians gave the territory of Polesine back to him even though they had held it for a long time.¹⁰

¹ Niccolò III d'Este (ca. 1383-1441): Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1393 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Ippolito.

³ He had been legitimated the pope Boniface IX in 1391.

⁴ Alberto V d'Este (1347-1393): Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1388 to his death.

⁵ Ottobuono de' Terzi, see sect. 26.

⁶ Muzio Attendolo Sforza.

⁷ Ippolito: ... nel 1403 Reggio e Parma erano venute a trovarsi sotto il dominio di Ottobuono Terzi, protetto dai Veneziani e temibile rivale del signore estense. ... Una nuova intesa contro Ottobuono Terzi, nel 1409, diede infine i frutti sperati, perché l'E., attirato il rivale in un tranello – un incontro presso il castello di Ribiera per trattare un accordo di pace -, lo fece assassinare da Muzio Attendolo Sforza. Poco dopo l'E. conquistava Reggio e Parma.

⁸ Ippolito: Da allora [1420] in poi l'E. cercò di mantenersi equidistante dai due stati più forti [Milan and Venice], tentando semmai di mediare tra le differenti posizioni, con cui garantendo l'integrità del proprio dominio. ... In quello stesso anno [1431] riuscì a mantenersi neutrale nelle ripresa del conflitto tra Filippo Maria Visconti e Venezia; l'8 apr. 1433 portò anzi a compimento una nuova opera di mediazione favorendo l'accordo che venne in quel giorno siglato dai contendenti ancora in Ferrara. Qualche mese dopo il duca milanese gli dava mandato di sovrintendere alla corretta applicazione della pace ferrarese.

⁹ Presumably with troops.

¹⁰ Ippolito: Nel 1438, ancora, la Repubblica veneta, per prevenire un possibile avvicinamento degli Este ai Visconti ... restituì liberamente al marchese quel Polesine di Rovigo che tante altre volte ... Ferrara aveva inutilmente tentato di riconquistare.

[48] *Tanta in justitia et pace subditos suos tenuit, ut, quamvis filias et uxores eorum ad concubinatum sibi assumeret, tamen ab omnibus amaretur.*¹ Fuit vir pinguis, laetus, facetus,² voluptati deditus. *Ex ore ejus auditum est nullam voluptatem se scire, qua non uteretur, si posset.*³ Concubinas habuit *admodum*⁴ multas, ex quibus plurimos liberos⁵ suscepit. *Rustici et cives non aegre tulerunt filias suas ab eo rapi, cum scirent possibile esse filium qui ex ea nasceretur, regnare.*⁶ Uxores legitimas duas habuit, ex ultima etiam prolem suscepit, sed non sibi in regno substituit. Fuit admodum felix, sed non sivit⁷ fortuna eum semper esse felicem, nam filius, quem⁸ ex concubina susceperat, admodum pulcher *et moratus*⁹, primam ejus uxorem adulavit¹⁰ ac ex illius provocatu cognovit. Quod cum marchio comperisset, usus magis rigido quam sapienti consilio, et¹¹ filium et conjugem truncari capite jussit durumque sibi et suis civibus spectaculum praebuit, quae res cursum suae felicitatis interrupit.

[49] Is postea Leonellum fratrem illius in dominio sibi substituit {48v} quamvis illegitimum, et quamvis proles legitima esset. Quod cum Giliolius¹², vir potens apud eum, improbaret, neci datus est. Marchio ipse Nicolaus Mediolanum vocatus gubernationem nomine ducis suscepit ibique mortuus est, *in omni vita*¹³ *felix, si filii calamitas et conjugis crimen non intervenisset*¹⁴. *Sed sic fata volunt. Fatuus praeterea est, qui suam spem in voluptate collocat; finis enim voluptatis poenitudo est.*¹⁵ Is moriens successionem Leonelli filii adamavit.¹⁶

¹ tanta in ... amaretur *omit.* MA

² *omit.* MA

³ ex ore ... posset *omit.* MA

⁴ *omit.* MA

⁵ plurimos liberos : liberos plurimos MA

⁶ rustici et ... regnare *omit.* MA

⁷ sinit MA

⁸ quae V

⁹ et moratus *omit.* MA

¹⁰ *emen.* HE; adaulavit V, X; adamavit MA

¹¹ eo MA

¹² Filiolus MA

¹³ ~~beatus~~ *seq.* V

¹⁴ *omit.* X [blank space]

¹⁵ in omni ... est *omit.* MA

¹⁶ [sic!]

[48] He kept his subjects in such justice and peace that he was loved by all, even though he took their daughters and wives as concubines. He was a fat man, happy, witty, given to pleasure. From his own mouth it was heard that he would indulge in every sensual pleasure he knew of if only he could. He had many concubines, who bore him several children.¹ The peasants and the city people did not take it badly when he abducted their daughters, knowing that a son born from them might become the ruler. He had two legitimate wives,² and from the last one he had a son though he did not make him his successor. He was really a happy man, but fortune did not allow him to be always happy, for his son³ with a concubine⁴, a handsome and gentle young man, fell madly in love with his wife, who seduced him. When the marquess heard it, he – with greater severity than wisdom – ordered both his son and his wife to be beheaded, presenting a gruesome spectacle to his citizens. This matter disturbed his happiness.^{5 6 7 8}

[49] Later, he appointed Ugo's brother,⁹ Leonello, to succeed him, though he was illegitimate,¹⁰ and even though there was legitimate offspring.¹¹ Giliolo, one of his influential courtiers, rebuked him for it and was executed. Marquess Niccolò himself was appointed to govern Milan in the name of the duke and died there.¹² He would have been happy all his life if the son's disaster and his wife's crime had not happened. However, this is the will of the fates. It is foolish to put all one's

¹ Ippolito: *Quanto alla sua dedizione ai "piaceri" basti ricordare come egli, nel corso della sua vita, si adoperò per riconoscere – almeno – ventidue figli generati al di fuori del matrimonio.*

² Niccolò married three times: (1) Gigliola da Carrara (1379-1416): Married in 1396, died of the plague; (2) Parisina Malatesta (1404-1425): Married 1418. Condemned to beheading because of an affair with her stepson; (3) Ricciarda da Saluzzo (1410-1474), from whom Ercole, future Duke of Modena, was born. Married 1429. Apparently, Piccolomini was unaware of the first marriage since he only mentions Parisina (lover of his son) and (indirectly) Ricciarda, mother of Niccolò's legitimate offspring.

³ Ugo Aldobrandino d'Este (1405-1425): Designated heir of Niccolò.

⁴ Stella de' Tolomei: a relative of Piccolomini.

⁵ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about the affair: *In our own time, the prince of this people was Niccolò, born outside marriage, a man of great intelligence, but given to sensual pleasure. People would have thought him happy if he had not discovered that his wife and son had an affair, wherefore he had them killed by the sword. This was indeed God's just revenge: The man, who so often defiled others' marriage, got a son, who defiled his own. Niccolò had several children, some born in wedlock, others outside. The legitimate ones were excluded by their father's judgment* (COM, II, 39 (Meserve, I, 361))

⁶ Ippolito: *... la scoperta di un'intesa amorosa tra Parisina e suo figlio Ugo, agli inizi del maggio 1425, generò una tragedia le cui conseguenze si sarebbero sempre ripercosse sul suo animo. Rinchiusi i due amanti nelle carceri del castello, egli promosse contro di loro un ordinario processo che ne sentenziò la morte. Il 21 maggio la sentenza veniva eseguita.*

⁷ See also supplement, and HA, 2/3rd version (Wagendorfer, p. 657).

⁸ The huge impact of this scandal is witnessed by Decembrio who wrote, in his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, ch. 15: *While many important events worth remembering are recorded as having happened in that same year, the death of the young nobleman Ugo d'Este seems especially to have stirred the hearts to the core: having dared to defile the paternal marriage bed, the young man was put to death, together with his stepmother, by his own father, Niccolò d'Este.* (Ianziti, Ch. 15, p. 177).

⁹ A brother of Ugo d'Este, another son of Stella.

¹⁰ He was legitimated by Pope Martin V in 1429.

¹¹ Ercole and Sigismondo d'Este.

¹² Ippolito: *... il duca milanese ... nominò ... l'E. suo governatore generale, consegnandogli la gestione dei possessi.* But Niccolò died a month afterwards coming to Milan.

hope in sensual pleasure, for the end of sensual pleasure is remorse. On his deathbed, Niccolò confirmed¹ the succession of his son Leonèllo.

[50] Hic vir² litterarum studia plurimum amavit³ favitque ingeniis. Hugonem namque Senensem, qui fuit omnium medicorum suae aetatis princeps, quo nemo in cathedra melius legit nec in cameris jocundius⁴ aegros visitavit, cum magna stipe⁵ ad se vocavit pluraque sibi tradidit et possessiones et domos *ac ipsum et familiam ditavit*⁶. Is quoque⁷ Guarnerium Veronensem Graece ac Latine peritissimum oratorem, ut suos instrueret filios, ad se accersivit ditatumque in magno honore habuit. Nec Johannem Aurispam⁸ Siculum utriusque linguae peritum neglexit, sed eum Meliaduci filio protonotario magistrum tradidit ac possessionibus et beneficiis ditavit, qui hodie secretarius est apostolicus.

¹ ”adamavit”.

² hic vir *omit.* MA

³ adamavit MA

⁴ jucund... *et passim* MA

⁵ *omit.* X [blank space]

⁶ ac ipsum ... ditavit *omit.* MA

⁷ ~~Gaspar~~ *seq.* V

⁸ Laurispam V, X, EX,

[50] Niccolò loved the liberal studies¹ and favoured intellectuals.² With a large salary he enticed to his court Ugo from Siena,³ first among the medical men of his age. Nobody gave better lectures than he nor was happier to visit sick people in their homes. Niccolò was very generous towards him and enriched him and his family with properties and houses.⁴ Niccolò also summoned Guarino Veronese,⁵ a most accomplished speaker in Latin and Greek, to teach his sons, enriching and greatly honouring him.⁶ And he did not neglect Giovanni Aurispa from Sicily,⁷ a specialist in both languages,⁸ making him the teacher of his son Meliaduse,⁹ protonotary, and enriching him with properties and favours.¹⁰ Aurispa is now an apostolic secretary.^{11 12 13 14}

¹ “litterarum studia”. Cf. Ippolito: *E. non divenne propriamente un principe umanista, e la sua cultura rimase ad un livello, secondo i canoni correnti, assai superficiale.*

² In a letter of 4 May 1435 to Leonello d’Este, Bracciolini wrote about Niccolò d’Este, his father: *Et si verum fateri volumus, excepto praestantissimo principe parente tuo, qui complures doctissimos homines ad se conquisivit, nullos, vel paucos dominos in Italia reperies ... qui vel sint liberali aliqua disciplina imbuti, vel eos, in quibus illa vigent, aliquo honore dignentur* (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 169).

³ Ugo Bènci (ca. 1360-1439): Siennese physician and philosopher, university professor, physician of princes. Bènci was married to Ladia, a sister of Mariano Sozzini, see Nardi: *Mariano*, p. 3, n. 11.

⁴ On Niccolò and Bènci, Piccolomini wrote in his *De Europa: While Pope Eugenius was holding a council with the Greeks at Ferrara, Ugo da Siena, who at the time was considered the leading doctor, invited to his home all the Greek scholars of philosophy who were thought to have been assembled there. When he had served them with a rich and sumptuous banquet, and the meal had ended, and the dishes and tables had been cleared away, he gently lured them step by step into a debate. When Marquis Niccolò appeared and many excellent philosophers attending the synod had arrived, he brought up for discussion all the topics of philosophy about which Plato and Aristotle seem to argue in their works and hold widely differing opinions. He himself, he said, would defend whichever side the Greeks opposed, whether they supported Plato or Aristotle. The Greeks agreed to the competition, and the debate went on for many hours. Finally, when Ugo, the host of the banquet, had defeated one after another of the Greek philosophers with his eloquent arguments and forced them into silence, it became clear that the Latins, who had long ago surpassed Greece in the arts of war and military glory, were in our time also outstripping them in literature and every branch of learning* (Brown, pp, 235-236).

⁵ Guarino Veronese (1374-1460): Italian humanist.

⁶ Piccolomini: *Europa: Guarino da Verona, the father and instructor of virtually all who in our time have acquired a knowledge of Greek literature – an admirable old man deserving of every honor, who had devoted his whole life to reading, teaching, and writing – found there the sole refuge of his old age and one indeed that was honorable and worthy of his activities and virtues* (Brown, p. 236).

⁷ Giovanni Aurispa [Picionerio] (1376-1459): Italian humanist.

⁸ Latin and Greek.

⁹ Meliaduse d’Este (1406-1452): Natural son of Niccolò d’Este.

¹⁰ Piccolomini: *Europa: However, the House of Este was always a friend to learned men. In our time, it not only attracted the aforementioned Ugo with its generous endowments but honoured many men in the sphere of civil law and more in the other disciplines. In the field of oratory it numbered among its household Giovanni Aurispa of Sicily, an expert in Greek and Latin studies, well-known for his poetry and prose, and made him rich and prosperous* (Brown, p. 236).

¹¹ Aurispa was appointed papal secretary in 1438.

¹² There are two important omissions in Piccolomini’s biography of Niccolò d’Este: the emperor’s visit in 1431 when he appointed Niccolò imperial vicar, and the Reunion Council with the Greeks – with the presence of the pope and the Greek emperor – which began in Ferrara in January 1438 and continued there until it was transferred to Florence in January 1439.

¹³ Date: This text was written after 1441 (death of Niccolò d’Este) and before 1450 (death of Leonello d’Este)

¹⁴ Piccolomini’s source: Information derived from acquaintances and friends and official letters between Ferrara and the imperial court.

Supplement

From Historia Austrialis, 1. Version (Knödler, pp. 198-199)

Neque enim principes illius domus Extensis in bellis Italiae se miscent, vicinis amici sunt mediosque inter litigantes se prebent. Ubi pacem possunt procurare, non negligunt. Sic enim maiores eorum instituere, maxime Nicolaus, qui fuit Leonelli Borsiique pater. Hic enim ex Venetis et duci Mediolani et Florentinis acceptus fuit. Quocumque se contulit, bene visus fuit vir liberalis et sapiens, voluptati tamen inservivit. Nam preter coniugem multas concubinas habuit multique ei filii nati sunt atque aliquando ex nobilibus feminis, aliquando ex plebeis. Nulli tamen vim intulit, ex pacto ad se illas accersivit earumque parentes et amicos ditavit. Dilectus erat apud suos et apud omnes felix ac nimium felix, nisi eum funestus casus non labefactasset, quem hic preterire non possum. Fuerunt ex concubina nobili filii tres, forma prestantes et moribus. Sed primus Hugo nomine candidior celsiorque aliis conjugem Nicolai, quam ex domo Malatestarum habuit, cum sepe alloqueretur, amore sauciam reddidit. Quae id sibi quod viro licere putavit. Allexit igitur adolescentem incautum blanditiaque tenere et imbecilli etati facile ab imperito impetravit, quod neque periti solent negare. Fuerunt igitur simul amoresque miscuerunt male sanos. Neque tegere furorem potuere: nam quod sepius repetitur, ut palam fiat, necesse est; licet aliquando semel iterumque impune peccare, sepe non licet. Id facinus non latuit patrem, pessima nescioque lingua retexit scelus. Ille impatiens impotensque sui nullis flexus precibus veluti furens penas adulterantium quesivit ambosque publice ex sublimi loco cervicem gladio iussit offerre. Sic scelestam mulierem, infelix adolescens amantes periere. Patri posthac rarum fuit verum gaudium, qui et aliorum et suo iudicio seivius in filium adolescentem vindicasse putabatur. Sed fuit hoc premium voluptatum: neque ipse conjugem, neque conjunx sibi fidem servavit. Fragilior etas punita est, potens peccator impune abiit, sed punivit iudicante Deo se ipsum, qui sanguinem suum effundere coactus est. Is postea, dum Mediolanum gubernat, mortuus est in senectute bona, Ferrarienses ei sane liberi statuam equestrem in foro erexerunt. Leonellus mitis ei successit musicae amans et pacis tenax.

From Historia Austrialis, 1. Version

The princes of the House of Este do not get mixed up in the wars of Italy. They are friends with their neighbours and offer themselves as mediators between fighting parties. Where they can gain peace, they do. Thus their forefathers taught them, and especially Niccolò, the father of Leonèllo and Borso. He was accepted both by the Venetians and the Florentines. Wherever he went, he was liked as a generous and wise man. However, he was a slave to sensual pleasure, having – besides his wife – many concubines and many sons born of them, both noble and plebeian. But he forced nobody: he invited them to join him of their accord, and he enriched their parents and friends. He was beloved among his own and would have been happy, nay, more than happy if he had not been hit by a calamity that I can not pass over. With a noble concubine he had three sons, most handsome and well-behaved. The oldest one, Ugo, was more innocent and noble than the other. He often spoke with Niccolò' wife, of the House of Malatesta, who became infatuated with him. Believing that what was allowed her husband was also allowed her, she seduced the incautious youth and by delicate charms obtained from this inexperienced boy of tender age what experienced men do not refuse. So they met and gave in to mad love. They could not hide their passion, for what is often repeated, must of necessity become known. You may sin once or twice with impunity, but not repeatedly. The outrage did not remain hidden to the father, some evil tongue revealed the crime. Out of his mind, he lost all control of himself, and like a madman he would not be swayed by prayers but demanded that the adulterers be punished and ordered that both should publicly offer their neck to the sword, on a raised platform. Thus perished this criminal woman and the unfortunate young boy. Afterwards, the father never knew real happiness, as he himself and others thought that his revenge against the son had been too savage. But this was the reward of his pleasures: he was unfaithful to his wife, and his wife was unfaithful to him. Fragile age was punished, but the powerful sinner went unpunished. However, he was judged by God and punished himself, forced to shed his own blood. He died later while governing Milan, having aged well. His sons in Ferrara raised an equestrian statue in the great square. He was succeeded by mild Leonèllo, a lover of music and persistent in peace.

12. Leonellus Extensis

[51] Leonellus Marchio Extensis, Nicolai filius, quamvis non¹ integer genere, integerrimus tamen virtute patri successit, qui sub Guarino edoctus et carmen facere et epistolam scribere optime novit. Filiam Johannis marchionis Mantuae duxit uxorem, qua mortua illegitimam regis Aragonum filiam² filiam² suscepit. Haec, cum ad eum venisset, per Venetias transitum habuit, et in Realto propter populi magnitudinem plures submersi sunt, nam latera pontis ceciderunt. Is patriam suam in magna pace gubernat, qui, etsi {48v} non reputatur patri aequaliter liberalis³, tamen aequè prudens est et magis castus, conjuge namque contentus est, admodum diligitur.

¹ *omit. V [NB: significant error of Piccolomini in copying the text from previous version]*

² Regis Aragonum filiam : fialiam regis Aragonum X

³ qui *add. MA*

12. Leonèllo d'Este, Marquess of Ferrara

[51] Marquess Leonèllo d'Este,^{1 2 3} son of Niccolò, whom he succeeded, may not be of perfect lineage,⁴ but he is certainly of perfect virtue. Tutored by Guarino,⁵ he is an accomplished writer of poems and letters.^{6 7} He married⁸ the daughter⁹ of Marquess Giovanni of Mantua.¹⁰ After she died, died, he married the illegitimate daughter¹¹ of the King of Aragon.¹² When, on her travel [to Ferrara], she passed through Venice, many people drowned at the Rialto because the lateral parts¹³ of the bridge broke down under the weight of the many onlookers. He governs his country in great peace, and though he does not equal his father's reputation for generosity, he is just as wise and certainly more chaste, being content with his wife and loving her dearly.¹⁴

¹ Leonèllo d'Este [Lionello] (1407-1450): One of the three illegitimate sons of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei, relatives of the Piccolomini family. He was legitimated by Pope Martin V. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1441 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Brunelli; Pardi.

³ In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote: *He made Leonello, born of a Sieneſe concubine, his ſucceſſor. Leonello married a daughter, alſo illegitimate, of King Alfonſo. Previouſly he had married another wife from the Houſe of Gonzaga* (COM, II, 39 (Meserve, I, 361)).

⁴ Being born illegitimate. In his *Historia Auſtrialis*, Piccolomini remarked on the ſeries of Eſte princes of illegitimate birth: ... *Marchionatus Extenſis longa maiorum ſerie ab illegitimis heredibus poſſeſſus preſcriptuſque videbatur* (HA, 1st version (Knödler, pp. 196-197)). The emperor, Friedrich III, did not approve of ſuch practices: *Nam eſi Borsium ſumma virtute peditum quovis honore dignum exiſtimabat, indignum tamen putabat iniuſto matrimonio natum Nicolai patris et Leonelli fratris eum preferre legitimis, qui extabant, liberis vicaratumque in ducatum erigere* (HA, 2/3rd version (Wagendorfer, p. 654))

⁵ Guarino Veroneſe.

⁶ Brunelli: *Fu quindi aſſegnato all'E., come precettore, il celebre pedagogo e umanista Guarino Guarini da Verona, che coſtituì, dal momento del ſuo arrivo a Ferrara (dicembre 1429), una guida culturale aſſai influente, ſotto la quale l'E. acquiſi conoſcenze grammaticali, retoriche, ſtoriche, filoſofiche, morali.* Leonèllo gave ſpeeches of welcome in Latin to Emperor Sigismund and Pope Eugenius IV.

⁷ In a letter of 5 December 1443 to Duke Siegmund of Auſtria, Piccolomini wrote: *Leonellus, marchio Extenſis, tam eleanter ſcribit, ut nichil inter ejuſ et Ciceroniſ litteraſ putes diſtare* (WO, I, 1, ep. 222, p. 227).

⁸ 1434.

⁹ Margherita Gonzaga (-1439).

¹⁰ Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga (1395-1444): Ruler of Mantua from 1407 to his death. Granted the title of Marquess by Emperor Sigismund in 1433. Condottiere.

¹¹ Maria d'Aragona: Married 1444.

¹² Alfonſo V. This marriage ſealed a de facto alliance between Ferrara and Naples, as teſtified in a letter from Piccolomini of ca. 20 Auguſt 1443 to Cardinal Ceſarini, telling him that as a future ſon-in-law of King Alfonſo, Leonèllo would not let Venetian forceſ paſſ through hiſ territory: *Marchio Ferrarienſis, quoniam filiam regiſ Aragonum deſponſatam habet, armigeroſ Venetorum per ſuum territorium tranſire prohibuit, que reſ eum valde ſuſpectum reddit* (WO, I, 2, ep. 70, p. 175).

¹³ "latera".

¹⁴ In hiſ *Historia Auſtrialis*, Piccolomini wrote about Leonèllo: *Leonellus, mitiſ princepſ, ei ſucceſſit muſicæ perituſ, paciſ tenax, litterarum cultor, epiſtolam ſcribere carmenque facere doctuſ, cui due uxoreſ fuere, prima Johanniſ Franciſci marchioniſ Mantue filia, ſecunda regiſ Aragonum ex concubina nata. Ex prima liberoſ tulit, ſecunda ſteriliſ obiit* (HA, 2/3rd version (Wagendorfer, p. 657)).

[52] Cum Fridericus Caesar¹ me Romam ad pontificem Eugenium misisset, mandata mihi ad hunc² hunc² dedit. Ideo meo in reditu eum³ visere decrevi, quem comperi in villa, cui Portus est nomen. Arx ibi est admodum insignis. Sunt et extra arcem domus egregiae, quas Nicolaus pater ad voluptatem paraverat. Is ubi me adesse sensit, iussit in domo paterna me recipi atque parari prandium, quod sumptuose fecit. Post, dum adhuc consederem, exivit hic arcem puerosque suos pila ludentes contemplabatur, quasi me expectans, ad quem cum venirem, suavibus verbis receptus⁴ sum. Communicata sunt illic inter nos, quae Caesar mandaverat, nam res magni erant ponderis, et sic ad horas duas collocuti sumus.

[53] In sero venit frater ejus admodum pulcher, Borsius nomine, quem Ferrarienses quasi deum colunt. Hic forma plusquam dici potest pulchra est, facetus et modestus, liberalitate⁵ insignis, robustus corpore, nulla in eo menda est. Multa mihi is retulit Caesari communicanda plurimumque ob reverentiam Caesaris me honoravit. Revertebatur is tunc a rege Argonum, cum quo mensibus sex fuerat. Post ego iter arripiens in Alamaniam redii.

¹ Fridericus Caesar : Caesar Fridericus MA

² ad hunc : adhuc V [NB: error of Piccolomini in copying the text from previous version]

³ ipsum MA

⁴ exceptus MA

⁵ em. HE; liberalitatem V, MA; liberalis X

[52] When Emperor Friedrich sent me to Pope Eugenius in Rome,¹ he also gave me some messages for Leonèllo.² I, therefore, decided to visit him on my way back and found him in a village called Porto, where there is a splendid castle. Outside the castle, there are also some elegant houses that Leonèllo's father, Niccolò, had built for pleasure. When Leonèllo heard that I had arrived, he ordered that I should be lodged in his father's house and served a sumptuous meal. Then, as I was still seated, he came out from the fortress and was looking at his boys playing ball, as if expecting me. When I joined him, he received me with gracious words. Then, I told him the emperor's messages that concerned matters of great importance, and we spoke together for two hours.

[53] In the evening, we were joined by his very handsome brother, Borso,³ whom the Ferrarese worship like a god. He is good-looking beyond words, witty and modest, splendidly generous, strong of body, and without faults. He told me much, destined for the emperor's ears, and honoured me out of respect for him. Borso had just returned from the King of Aragon, with whom he had stayed for six months.⁴ Afterwards, I resumed my travel and returned to Germany.^{5 6}

¹ Piccolomini must be referring to his first mission to Eugenius in 1445, since he mentions Borso's recent return from Naples, which happened in April 1445 (see sect. 52). Piccolomini had left Rome on 1 April 1445 (Voigt, II, p. 343).

² These messages probably concerned the rights and obligations of the margraves of Ferrara as imperial vicars (e.g. taxation, chancellery), which Leonèllo had apparently negotiated with chancellors Kaspar Schlick, and in which Piccolomini had himself been involved to the point of writing the chancellor's letter(s) to Leonèllo (see WO, I, 1, ep. 44, pp. 82 ff.)

³ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Illegitimate son of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena, 1450. Created Duke of Modena by Emperor Friedrich III in 1452 (with Piccolomini's help) and Duke of Ferrara by Pope Paul II in 1471. Pope Pius was sorely disappointed with him and greatly revised his assessment of Borso's character, see letter of Pius II to Borso d'Este of 5 June 1463 (Pius II: *Orationes*, III, pp. 120-141).

⁴ Borso returned from Naples in April 1445.

⁵ Date: The text was written by Piccolomini after Borso d'Este's return from Naples in April 1445 and before Leonèllo's death in 1450.

⁶ Piccolomini's source: Personal acquaintance, information derived from colleagues and friends and such information that he had as a secretary in the imperial chancellery.

13. Johannes Franciscus de Gonzaga

[54] Johannes Franciscus^{1 2} de Gonzaga patri in dominio Mantuae successit. In bellis, quae Veneti adversum³ Filippum Mediolanensium ducem gessere, cum Venetis plerumque sensit ductorque fuit exercitus, quod⁴, dum egit, semper sibi⁵ bene successit. Filiam unam Leonello Extensi in matrimonium copulavit, quae mortua est⁶. Altera, quam pulcherrimam ajunt et in litteris peritam, religionem⁷ post patris obitum ingressa est. {49r} Filio seniori uxorem ex domo Brandeburgensi⁸ dedit, sororem ejus marchionis Friderici⁹, qui nunc est elector imperii, Barbaram nomine *non minus*¹⁰ moribus quam¹¹ forma laudabilem.

[55] Is, cum Sigismundus *ex*¹² Roma rediret Mantuamque transiret, magnos illi honores impendit, ob quam rem Sigismundus ei marchionatus contulit dignitatem urbique Mantuanae universalis studii *vel scholae*¹³ privilegia concessit, quod tum Albertus, tum¹⁴ Fridericus¹⁵ Caesar postea confirmavit¹⁶.

[56] Post haec Ludovicus, primogenitus ejus, relicta domi uxore ad ducem Mediolanensem defecit, quae res adeo patrem exasperavit, ut eum mox emancipaverit poenamque capitalem fecerit, si quis eum in ejus dominiis filium suum appellaret. Sigismundo quoque scripsit, ut eum successione marchionatus privaret. Timebat enim, ne suo jussu filius abiisse crederetur, Venetique propterea minus sibi crederent. Sed Sigismundus nihil horum fecit, quamvis tunc Filippo *duci*¹⁷ esset indignatus. Ludovicus autem magno honore Mediolani suscipitur atque inter alios belli ductores magno loco habetur.

¹ corr. ex *Antonius V **

² ~~ma~~ *seq. V*

³ adversus MA

⁴ quem MA

⁵ ei MA

⁶ quae mortua est *supralin. V*

⁷ ~~ing~~ *seq. V*

⁸ Brandeburgha MA

⁹ Federici MA

¹⁰ non minus *omit. MA*

¹¹ et MA

¹² *omit. MA*

¹³ vel scholae *omit. MA*

¹⁴ ~~ludo~~ *seq. V*

¹⁵ Ferdinandus MA

¹⁶ confirmarunt MA

¹⁷ *omit. MA*

13. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua

[54] Gianfrancesco Gonzaga^{1 2 3} succeeded his father⁴ in the lordship of Mantua. In the wars of Filippo, Duke of Milan, against the Venetians, he mostly sided with the Venetians and commanded their armies, always with success. One daughter⁵ he married to Leonello d'Este, but she died.⁶ The other,⁷ said to be very beautiful and well versed in letters, became a nun⁸ after her father's death.⁹ His eldest son¹⁰ he married to a wife from the House of Brandenburg, a sister¹¹ of Margrave Friedrich,¹² now an imperial elector. Her name is Barbara,¹³ and she is as beautiful as she is decorous.

[55] When Sigismund passed through Mantua on his travel back from Rome,¹⁴ he was received with the highest honours, wherefore he bestowed the title of Marquess upon Gianfrancesco and granted the City of Mantua the privileges of a university,¹⁵ later confirmed by both Albrecht¹⁶ and Emperor Friedrich.¹⁷

[56] Later Ludovico, his firstborn son, left his wife at home and defected to the Duke of Milan. This provoked his father so much that he immediately cut him off and declared it a capital crime in his domains to call him his son. He also wrote to Sigismund asking him to deprive him of the succession to the marquisate, for he feared that people would believe his son had left on his command and that therefore the Venetians would lose confidence in him. But Sigismund did not do as asked, though at the time he was hostile to Duke Filippo. Ludovico, however, was received with great honours in Milan and ranked high among the captains.

¹ Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga (1395-1444): Ruler of Mantua from 1407 to his death. Obtained the title of Marquess from Emperor Sigismund in 1433. Condottiere.

² For a general biography, see Amadé. See also NBCG.

³ Piccolomini had not met Gonzaga personally but had been in charge of the correspondence between him and the imperial court, see letters of May and July 1443 from the imperial chancellor to the marquess (WO, I, 2, epp. III, XXIV and LVIII, pp. 5-7, 44-45).

⁴ Francesco I Gonzaga (1366-1407): Condottiere. Capitano del Popolo in Mantua.

⁵ Margherita Gonzaga (1418-1439): Marchioness of Ferrara, 1435.

⁶ 1439.

⁷ Cecilia Gonzaga (1426-1451).

⁸ 1445. In the Convent of Santa Lucia, Mantua.

⁹ 1442.

¹⁰ Ludovico III Gonzaga (1412-1478): Marquess of Mantua from 1444 to his death

¹¹ Not a sister, but a niece.

¹² Friedrich II of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471): Margrave of Brandenburg and German Prince Elector from 1440 to 1470.

¹³ Barbara of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) (1422-1481): Daughter of Johann, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Marchioness of Mantua, 1433.

¹⁴ After his imperial coronation in 1433.

¹⁵ "universalis studium vel schola".

¹⁶ Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1438.

¹⁷ Emperor Friedrich III.

[57] Fit suspectus marchio Venetis. Ob quam rem et ipse postea *reconciliatus filio*¹ duci se junxit et et in campis contra Venetos militavit. Spes fuit ex hoc marchionis motu Venetos comprimi secuturumque Ferrariensem marchionem - sed is² ut pacem habuerat cum Venetis, observavit - promissaque Verona erat Mantuano, si caperetur. Quae res non parum duci nocuit, nam Veronenses inviti dominatum Mantuanorum³ ferebant. Veneti autem magna vi restiterunt, ipsique Mantuano Pischeriam oppidum abstulerunt et nonnulla alia fortalitia, quae numquam recuperare potuerunt Mantuani.

[58] {49v} Juvit autem Venetos in hoc bello constantia Brixianorum, qui sex mensibus obsidione cincti, quamvis penuriam rerum haberent, quamvis⁴ muri ex magna parte ruissent *machinisque dietim urgerentur, quamvis agri undique vastarentur*⁵, numquam tamen de deditioe verbum fecere. Erant enim Guelfi, *qui civitatem custodiebant*,⁶ nec Gibellinum ducem⁷ amabant⁸, cujus etiam dominatum tyrannicum arbitrabantur. Itaque necesse fuit dissolvere obsidionem. In pace, quae post acta est, jussus est marchio Lignanum oppidum, quod a Venetis eripuerat, restituere, sed quae perdiderat, recuperare non potuit. Itaque poenituit eum consilii sui⁹ morbumque post incidit, qui eum per plures annos extenuavit¹⁰. Tandem, ut Christianum decet¹¹, sacramentis¹² ecclesiae recessit¹³ testamentoque facto vitam expuit¹⁴, quatuor filiis superstitibus.

[59] Sed Ludovicum marchionem sibi substituit, qui hodie cum multa sapientia regit, amicus tamen ducis Mediolanensis infensusque Venetis, quem et Fridericus Caesar in marchionatu¹⁵ confirmavit. Secundo genitus Carolus de Gonzaga, vir corpore pulcher et animo magnus, in armis nutritus multumque peritia rei militaris praestans, qui hodie sub Filippo duce non parvum exercitum ducit. Lucidus ecclesiae promissus erat, sed nondum ejus propositi est. Is epistolam ornate scribit et carmen erudite facit, cui magister fuit Victorinus, graecae ac latinae linguae peritissimus.¹⁶

¹ reconciliatus filio *add. in marg.* V, X; *omit.* MA

² *corr. ex his* V

³ Mantuanum MA

⁴ et MA

⁵ *machinisque dietim ... vastarentur omit.* MA

⁶ *qui civitatem custodiebant omit.* MA

⁷ *omit.* X; dominum MA

⁸ volebant MA

⁹ *in add.* MA

¹⁰ contaminavit MA

¹¹ Christianum decet : decet Christianum MA

¹² sacramenta X, MA

¹³ recepit X, MA

¹⁴ expiravit X; exuit MA

¹⁵ marchionem MA

¹⁶ secundo genitus ... peritissimus *omit.* MA

[57] When the marquess [later] became suspect to the Venetians, he reconciled himself with his son and fought the Venetians in the battlefields.¹ It was hoped that the marquess' move would lead to trouble for the Venetians and that the Marquess of Ferrara² would follow suit, but he kept the peace he had with the Venetians). Also, the duke had promised Verona to the Mantuan in case it was taken, but this harmed the duke to no small extent since the Veronese did not accept Mantuan rule.³ The Venetians put up a fierce resistance and took the town of Pescheria from the Mantuan as well as several other fortresses, which the Mantuans were never able to regain.

[58] The Venetians were helped by the fact that the people of Brescia stayed loyal in the war. Although they were besieged for six months and lacked everything, a large part of the wall had fallen, they were subjected to daily bombardments, and their fields were burnt, they never spoke about surrender, for those who controlled the city were Guelphs and detested the Duke of Milan, who was a Ghibelline,⁴ and they considered his rule tyrannical. Therefore, it became necessary to end the siege. In the following peace,⁵ the marquess was ordered to return Legnano to the Venetians, which he had taken from them, whereas he could not get back those cities that he himself had lost. So, he came to regret his designs and afterwards fell victim to an illness that debilitated him for several years⁶. Finally, he died, having, as a good Christian, received the sacraments of the Church and made his testament. He left four sons.

[59] He was succeeded as marquess by Ludovico, who rules today with great wisdom, a friend of the Duke of Milan and an enemy to the Venetians. He was confirmed in the marquisate by Emperor Friedrich.⁷ The secondborn son is Carlo Gonzaga,⁸ a handsome and proud man, raised in the army and well versed in military matters. Today, he leads a large army under Duke Filippo. Lucido⁹ was promised to the Church but is not yet minded to become an ecclesiastic. He writes elegant letters

¹ Romano, p. 140: *His [Filippo Maria Visconti's] entry into the Mantovano [1438] was facilitated by Venice's former commander Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, who announced in July that he intended to join the Milanese side. ... According to his pact with Visconti, Gonzaga would receive Verona and Vicenza once they were taken from Venice.*

² Leonello d'Este.

³ Romano, pp. 156-157: *... on the 17th [November 1439], when the citadel of Verona was betrayed to Piccinino and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga. Mantuan sympathizers rushed about crying "Gonzaga", but Sforza and Gattamelata hurried to the city and managed to retake it within two days. According to Dolfín, the Veronese assisted the Venetian forces, crying "Marco, Marco", since they did not wish to pass under the tutelage of Gonzaga, as the agreement with Visconti for the division of the captured territory stipulated.*

⁴ Traditionally, in medieval Italy, the Ghibellines sided with the Empire, and the Guelphs with the Papacy, though in time, these political denominations came to cover other, local political alignments.

⁵ The Peace of Cremona, of 20 November 1441.

⁶ In a letter to the marquess of 24 October 1443, from the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, written by Piccolomini, the chancellor expresses his regrets at the marquess' illness (WO, I, 2, ep. lviii, pp. 106-108).

⁷ As a member of the imperial chancery and specialist in Italian affairs, Piccolomini himself may have written the letter of confirmation.

⁸ Carlo Gonzaga (1415-1456): Condottiere.

⁹ Giovan Lucido Gonzaga (Gianlucido) (1421-1448): Apostolic protonotary.

and learned poems, having been taught by Vittorino,¹ an eminent specialist in the Greek and Latin languages.^{2 3}

14. Franciscus Foscari

[60] {50r} Franciscus Foscari⁴, dum⁵ apud Johannem papam in Cremona legationis munus obiret, in in duces Venetiarum electus est. Sub quo magni motus in tota Italia fuerunt, ipseque⁶ populus Venetus plurima bella gessit, nunc adversus Sigismundum Caesarem, nunc contra⁷ Filippum ducem ducem Mediolani, nunc contra Januenses. Is Venetos mari contentos parumque terrae fidentes adhortatus⁸ est bella terrestria gerere⁹, cumque senes dissentirent, juventutis consilia¹⁰ juvit¹¹ hisque hisque adhaesit.

[61] *Sub hoc igitur Pippus Spanus Florentinus, qui jussu Caesaris Sigismundi Hungaros in Forum Julii duxerat et usque Paduam profectus erat magno terrore Venetis incusso, placatus est. Ajunt enim quidam matrem sibi scripsisse, ne contra patriam tam ferox veniret, ne illi, quae se genuerat, decus auferret. Quidam dicunt flascones auro plenos sibi fuisse transmissos, quod non est vero simile, nam major dominus futurus erat vincendo quam retrocedendo. Hungari tamen infesti alienigenis libenter detrahunt. Hic Pippus ex parvo statu per Sigismundum usque adeo exaltatus erat, ut saepe diceret Sigismundus: "Si Pippus vellet, extra regnum me pelleret." Hic post in regno pacifice mortuus est. Sed nemo suorum sibi successit, periitque simul et ipse et sui omnes.*

¹ Vittorino da Feltre (ca. 1373-1448): Italian humanist and educator.

² Date: the last event mentioned in the text is the death of the marquess, on 24 September 1444. The text was written before the death of Filippo Maria Visconti (sect. 59: *he leads a large army under Duke Filippo*).

³ Piccolomini's sources: Information derived from friends and acquaintances, as well as the correspondence between the marquess and the imperial court

⁴ ~~dux~~ seq. V

⁵ cum MA

⁶ ipsique HE

⁷ adversus MA

⁸ hortatus X

⁹ terrestria gerere : gerere terrestria MA

¹⁰ concilia V, HE; consilia X, MA

¹¹ innuit X

14. Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice

[60] Francesco Foscari^{1 2} was elected doge of Venice while he was on an embassy to Pope Johannes³ in Cremona.⁴ During his reign, the whole of Italy suffered great upheavals, and the people of Venice conducted several wars, against Emperor Sigismund, against Duke Filippo of Milan,⁵ and against the Genoese.⁶ Foscari urged the Venetians, who were content with the sea⁷ and and distrusted the land, to go to war on the mainland, and when the older men disagreed, he supported the designs of the younger men and favoured them.⁸

[61] During his reign, Pippo Spano from Florence,⁹ at the command of Emperor Sigismund, led a Hungarian army to Cividale del Friuli and, to the great terror of the Venetians, advanced towards Padua before being pacified.¹⁰ Some claim that his mother had written to him to not turn savagely against his fatherland, which would dishonour her who had born him. Others claim that he had been sent glass jars full of money, but this is not likely since a victory would have made him a greater lord than defeat - but the Hungarians dislike foreigners and gladly malign them. Sigismund had raised this Pippo from low conditions to such exalted status that he often said, "If Pippo wanted to, he could drive me from the kingdom."¹¹ Later Pippo died peacefully in that kingdom.^{12 13} He left no family; he and his people disappeared at the same time.

¹ Francesco Foscari (1373-1457): Doge of Venice from 1423 to a few days before his death. He was a driving force in the Venetian political and territorial reorientation towards the mainland (*terra ferma*). Piccolomini wrote an epitaph for Foscari, whom he evidently admired, see Piccolomini: *Carmina*, p. 137

² For a general biography, see Romano.

³ Johannes XXIII [Baldassare Cossa] (ca. 1370-1419): Pope of the Pisan line from 1410 until he was deposed by the Council of Konstanz in 1415, at the ending of the Great Western Schism.

⁴ According to Romano, pp. 39-45, Foscari was in Venice during the election in which he participated directly and personally

⁵ The Lombard Wars: A series of four military conflicts between Milan and Venice from 1423 to 1454, the outcome of which determined the future political landscape of Italy. For a useful survey, see *Guerre di Lombardia*.

⁶ Commercial rivals of the Venetians in the Mediterranean.

⁷ I.e. their Mediterranean empire.

⁸ Romano, p. 33: *The debates of the period likely reflected generational differences in outlook: those of Doge Mocenigo's age ... remembered all too well the dangers that lay on the mainland, whereas younger men like Foscari, ... were much less wary of terraferma entanglements.*

⁹ Pippo Spano [Filippo Buondelmonti degli Scolari] (1369-1426): Florentine condottiere, who made a brilliant career in Hungary, in the service of Emperor Sigismund.

¹⁰ "placatus est".

¹¹ Hoensch, p. 67: *Ab 1397 gewann der Florentiner Filippo Scolari, der in Ungarn Pipo Ozorai genannt wurde, dank seiner ökonomischen und militärischen Fähigkeiten steigender Einfluss auf den Monarchen.* See also Hoensch, pp. 121-122.

¹² Hungary.

¹³ The conditions of his death are dubious, one account claiming he was imprisoned for some failed mission and tortured to death, and another that he died of an attack of gout.

[62] *Hoc igitur retrocedente remansit Ludovicus dux de Deck, qui fuit patriarcha Aquilegiensis, vir magnus corpore et animo maximus, sed non multi consilii. Hunc ego Basileae novi, cum Venetos in causam traxisset. Cum eo quoque ex Vienna Austriae usque Basileam iter feci {50v} fuique in loco suae originis, ubi sepulti sunt maiores ejus, nomen loco Nulant¹. Hic cum esset Basileae, excommunicari Venetos fecit et, licet Veneti octo milia sibi in annos offerrent, numquam acquiescere voluit. Mortuus est postea illic ex peste, quamvis esset grandaevus, sepultusque est apud Cartusiam. Et quamvis in herba quadam confideret, qua plurimos liberaverat, sed seipsum curare non potuit. Hunc Veneti, quia Pippo Spano Sigismundique² copiis transitum dederat, ex Foro Julii ejecerunt totamque illam terram occuparunt, ubi plures sunt civitates ad ecclesiam Aquilegiensem pertinentes, quas usque in hanc diem Veneti in potestate habent.³*

[63] *Sub Francisco haec acta sunt: sub hoc quoque⁴ Brixia capta est, Bergamum quoque receptum multaue in⁵ Glara⁶ Adduae⁷ oppida capta, constitutusque limes inter ipsos et ducem Addua fluvius. fluvius. Sub hoc Ravenna recepta est. Sub hoc Franciscus Spinola⁸ Januensis, vir magni animi, qui classem magnam contra Venetos armarat⁹, captus est. Hic Spinola diu fidelis duci fuit, sed cum rex Aragonum in mari victus captusque¹⁰ et Mediolanum¹¹ ductus libertati donatus esset, indignatus hostem suae urbis, qui captus esset, dimitti, cum ab eo Sardinia, Corsica ac Sicilia recipi potuisset¹², simulque¹³ intolerabile jugum Opizini¹⁴ de Alzate¹⁵, qui tunc Januam regebat, concives suos ad rebellionem duxit nec umquam¹⁶ post Janua ad ducem venit. *Sed neque is magnus factus est, sed continuo decrescens ipse quoque apud Januenses suspectus factione civium¹⁷ depulsus est rursusque ducis Mediolanensis auxilium imploravit. Ab sic obiit minor quam vixerat.¹⁸**

¹ Milant X

² Sigismundoque HE

³ sub hoc igitur Spanus ... potestate habent *omit.* MA

⁴ haec acta ... quoque *omit.* MA

⁵ ~~valle~~ *seq.* V

⁶ Valle Polana MA

⁷ Abd... *et passim* MA

⁸ Spinul... *et passim* MA

⁹ armaret MA

¹⁰ coeptusque MA

¹¹ Mediolani MA

¹² potuissent HE

¹³ sibique X

¹⁴ Opizani HE

¹⁵ Abate MA

¹⁶ numquam V, MA

¹⁷ *omit.* X [blank space]

¹⁸ sed neque ... vixerat *omit.* MA

[62] When Pippo retreated, Duke Ludwig von Teck¹ remained. He was the Patriarch of Aquileia, a large man, very proud, but not very clever. I knew him in Basel² when he began a lawsuit against Venice.³ I also travelled with him from Vienna in Austria⁴ to Basel and stayed at his ancestral home, where his ancestors are buried, at a place called Nulant.⁵ While in Basel, he caused the Venetians to be excommunicated, and though they offered him 8,000 a year, he would never agree.⁶ Later, in Basel, he died as an old man of the plague and was buried at the Carthusian monastery.⁷ He trusted in some herb with which he had healed several other people, but he could not heal himself. Because he had given passage to Pippo Spano and the troops of Sigismund, the Venetians expelled him from Cividale del Friuli⁸ and occupied the whole territory with many cities belonging to the Church of Aquileia, which they have kept in their power to this day.

[63] These things were achieved during the reign of Francesco: Brescia was conquered, Bergamo was taken, and many towns in Ghiaradadda were seized. Moreover, the river Adda was made the boundary between the Venetians and [the territories of] the Duke [of Milan].⁹ Also, Ravenna was taken. In his reign, too, Francesco Spinola¹⁰ from Genoa was captured. Spinola was a man of great spirit¹¹, who had mobilised a large fleet against the Venetians.¹² For a long time, he was a faithful servant of the duke, but when the King of Aragon¹³ was defeated and captured at sea,¹⁴ brought to Milan and there given his freedom,¹⁵ Spinola became incensed that a captured enemy of his city was freed, when they could have had Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily from him. At the same time, the intolerable oppression of Opicino d'Alciati,¹⁶ who then ruled Genoa, led his fellow citizens to rebellion,¹⁷ and Genoa never again returned to the duke. This did not, however, make Spinola a

¹ Ludwig von Teck (-1439): From a Swabian noble family. Patriarch of Aquileia from 1418 to his death.

² At the Council of Basel, in which the patriarch participated from 1433. The council supported him in his conflict with Venice but to no effect.

³ Romano, p. 124: *At the Council of Basel, di Teck levelled the charge that Venice had usurped church lands.*

⁴ The patriarch went there on behalf of the Council of Basel to salute the newly elected emperor, Albrecht II. Piccolomini went there, too, accompanying his former employer and friend, Bartolomeo Visconti, ambassador of Milan, for whom he wrote an address to Albrecht, the oration "*Quid est*" (1438), see COR, II, 2.

⁵ Burg Teck, at Owen, ca 25 km. Southeast of Stuttgart. The name Nulant has not been identified.

⁶ Romano, p. 124: *... di Teck remained incaltrant, rebuffing Venetian attempts at a compromise.*

⁷ Piccolomini himself wrote his epitaph.

⁸ 1418.

⁹ Romano, p. 124: *In August 1435 Venice and the emperor were eventually able to reach an agreement for a league against Visconti designed to last for 10 years ... The captured territories were to be divided ... Venice would receive lands on the eastern shore of the Adda; the emperor those on the Western shore. ... The emperor promised to invest Venice in the person of Foscari with all the lands that it currently held, except Vicenza and Verona. ... The actual investiture, which did not take place until August 16 1437, naturally emphasized the feudal aspects of the vicariate.*

¹⁰ Francesco Spinola (-1442): Genoese supporter of the Viscontis of Milan, after 1435 their enemy.

¹¹ "vir magni animi".

¹² 1431.

¹³ Alfonso V.

¹⁴ At the sea battle of Ponza, 1435.

¹⁵ As part of a political realignment in Italy, Milan allied itself with Naples against Venice and Florence.

¹⁶ Opicino Alciati (-1436): Italian condottiere. Killed during a Genoese uprising against the rulership of the Duke of Milan.

¹⁷ 1436.

great man. His fortunes gradually declined, and in the end, he became suspect to the Genoese, was exiled, and again begged the Duke of Milan for help. Thus, he died as a smaller man than he had been in life.

[64] {51r} Sub hoc Foscaro urbs Patavina, quae conspirare coeperat, tutata est, ac captus Marsilius¹ Marsilius¹ neci datus. Sub hoc Carminiola² propter suspicionem interemptus. Sub hoc facta concordia³ est inter Sigismundum et Venetos, factaque est confoederatio contra ducem Mediolani, conclusumque est communibus⁴ viribus illum depellere, nam Veneti antiqui illius hostes erant, Sigismundus deceptum se ab eo conquerebatur. Itaque pacta erant, ut, quicquid ultra Adduam reciperetur, imperio cederet, quicquid citra invaderetur, Venetis. *Deditque tunc Sigismundus titulum Venetis de Padua, Brixia⁵ et Bergamo. Veronam ac Vicentiam dare noluit propter Brunorium de la Scala, suum consiliarium, qui sibi ad multos annos serviverat titulumque vicariatus habebat. Sed mors Sigismundi interrupit has practicas⁶, et aliis viis Veneti se defenderunt. Non tamen ex hoc foedere Venetorum commendatus est Sigismundus. Veneti tamen litteras investiturae receperunt ex Gaspare Slik cancellario, cui adhuc quatuor milia debent, quae cum ego petivissem nuper in eorum senatu - sic enim mihi Gaspar commiserat - risum magis quam pecuniam reportavi.⁷*

¹ captus Marsilius : Marsilius captus MA

² omit. X [blank space]

³ facta concordia : concordia facta MA

⁴ omnibus MA

⁵ Brissia V

⁶ practicas V, X

⁷ deditque tunc ... reportavi omit. MA

[64] During the reign of this Foscari, the city of Padua, which had begun to conspire [against Venice], was secured and Marsilio¹ captured and killed.² Also Carmagnola³ was executed⁴ because because of certain suspicions.⁵ An alliance was made between [Emperor] Sigismund and Venice against the Duke of Milan, and it was decided to remove him with joint forces. The Venetians were old enemies of the duke, and Sigismund claimed to have been deceived by him. Thus it was agreed that the duke should cede all lands taken [by the Venetians] beyond Adda to the Empire,⁶ whereas those taken on the side towards Venice would go to the Venetians. In that connection, Sigismund also gave the Venetians title to Padua, Brescia, and Bergamo. He did not want to give them Verona and Vicenza since Brunoro della Scala,⁷ who had served him for many years as a counsellor, held the title of [imperial] vicar [of these cities]. However, Sigismund's death⁸ put an end to these dealings, and the Venetians defended themselves in other ways. The pact did not make Sigismund a friend⁹ of the Venetians, but they did receive the letters of investiture from Chancellor Kaspar Schlick,¹⁰ for which they still owe him 4,000. When I was recently in their senate, I requested the payment of this sum, as Kaspar had asked me to, but all I got was a smile and no money!¹¹

¹ Marsilio da Carrara (ca. 1390-1435): Son of Francesco Novello, lord of Padua. The Carrara family were ousted as lords of Padua by the Venetians in 1405.

² Romano, p. 128: ... *in the spring of that year [1435], the Ten uncovered a serious plot to betray the city of Padua, the most important of Venice's mainland possessions, and restore it to Carrara family rule. Foscari's response to the conspiracy shows him at his most forceful, but it also indicates just how precarious Venice's hold on the terraferma remained.*

³ Carmagnola [Francesco Bussone] (ca. 1385-1432): Italian condottiere. In his oration "*Audivi*" from 1436, Piccolomini had said about Carmagnola: *Some men, like horses, grow more snappish the more they are indulged. Francesco Carmagnola fought under this prince [the Duke of Milan], who loaded him with riches and honours. He then fled to the duke's enemies [The Venetians] and several times inflicted severe defeats on his former master. When Carmagnola died in enemy country, the duke received his daughters, arranged excellent marriages for them, and restored all his property to the widow* (COR, II, 1, sect. 77).

⁴ On 5 May 1432.

⁵ Carmagnola was suspected of ambitions of creating his own dominion and of collusion with the Duke of Milan.

⁶ The Holy Roman Empire.

⁷ Brunoro della Scala [Scaligeri] (-1434): Scion of the della Scala family, once rulers of Verona.

⁸ 1437.

⁹ "commendatus".

¹⁰ Kaspar Schlick (ca. 1396-1449): Chancellor of emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II, and Friedrich III. Superior, mentor, and friend of Piccolomini, see his oration "*Si putarem*" (1444), COR, II, pp. 337-434.

¹¹ The chancellor's salary partly came from fees for legal documents issued by the chancery, wherefore the Venetian fee for the imperial letters of investiture was owed to the chancellor personally. Piccolomini related this episode also in his *Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447: We, too, had an audience with the Venetian senate. We explained the situation between you and the Hungarians, endeavouring to make evident your innocence and the abuses of the Hungarians. ... When we mentioned the chancellor 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 [i.e. the chancery documents], and though we objected, we could not achieve anything* (CRDM, 1, sect. 3). This passage must have been written after Piccolomini's visit to Venice in late November or early December 1446.

[65] *Is quoque Franciscus Alexandrum, Tridentinum episcopum, qui postea apud Basileam patriarcha Aquilegiensis creatus est et in cardinalem assumptus, cum is duci Mediolanensium favisset gentesque Gattamelatae, ductoris Venetorum, in suo territorio prostravisset, miro modo compescuit¹ pluraque sibi oppida abstulit et castella et maxime ripam, quae est super lacum Gardae, {51v} quam et hodie Veneti tenent. Is Alexander ex regio sanguine natus erat duxque Maxoviae matrisque Friderici Caesaris frater, ob quam causam Fridericus ecclesiam ad se recepit, ne ulterius Veneti nocerent, vocavitque Alexandrum Viennam, ubi et praeposituram sibi dedit, ubi ex nimia potatione morbum contrahens, dum plus mulierculae cuidam quam medicis credit, vitam amisit. Franciscus autem Foscari ulterius impugnare Tridentinam ecclesiam noluit.^{2 3}*

[66] *Is⁴ cum aliquando⁵ sua consilia non reciperentur, birretum, quod est ducale insigne⁶, deposuit deposuit refutavitque ducatum, sed cives haud facile putantes se talem ducem reperturos, ut resumeret principatum hortati sunt et coegerunt eum.*

¹ *em.* HE; conspescuit V [obvious ESP error of transcription]

² uoluit X

³ is quoque ... noluit *omit.* MA

⁴ Foscarus *add.* MA

⁵ aliqua HE, MA

⁶ insignium MA

[65] Alexander,¹ Bishop of Trento, who was later - in Basel² - appointed Patriarch of Aquileia and made a cardinal, supported the Duke of Milan and, in his own territory, defeated the people of the Venetian captain Gattamelata.³ Later, Francesco defeated him astonishingly and captured several towns and castles and, most importantly, a coastal region at Lago di Garda, which the Venetians have kept to this day. This Alexander was born of royal blood, being a Duke of Mazovia, and brother of Emperor Friedrich's mother⁴. Therefore Friedrich took the church [of Trento] under his protection so that the Venetians would not harm it further and called Alexander to him in Vienna, where he gave him a provostship.⁵ In Vienna, he fell ill from drinking too much and died, trusting some woman more than his physicians.⁶ However, Francesco Foscari did not want to further harass the Church of Trento.

[66] When, at one point, his proposals were not accepted, Francesco removed the ceremonial hat⁷ that is the symbol of the doge and refused to continue as doge. But the citizens, thinking that it would be very difficult to find another doge like him, exhorted and forced him to resume the dogeship.⁸

¹ Alexander of Mazovia (1400-1444): Bishop of Trento 1424, later appointed a cardinal (1440) by antipope Felix V and Patriarch of Aquileia.

² At the Council of Basel.

³ Gattamelata [Erasmus of Narni] (1370-1443): Italian condottiere.

⁴ Cymburgis of Mazovia (ca. 1397-1427): Married Ernest of Austria in 1412.

⁵ Of the Cathedral of Saint Stephen.

⁶ In a letter to Giovanni Peregallo of 4 June 1444, Piccolomini wrote about Alexander's death: *Obiit ille 4. Nonas junii hora post meridiem quarta. Nullas extorsiones passus est, nullos cruciatus, sed tamquam dormiturus animam exalavit. Viderat medicus mortem instare suasitque testamentum fieri, sic et amici astantes. Ille, vos me deficere censetis, inquit, at ego robustus sum nec in me quicquam sentio deficere. Nec post hec verba mediam vixit horam. Ejus corpus per alteram diem servatum est ostensumque omnibus. Tertia vero luce apud sanctum Stephanum et ad dextram altaris dextri sepultus est* (WO, I, 1, ep. 146, pp. 334-335). See also Piccolomini's letter to Cardinal Juan de Segovia of 6 June 1444 (WO, I, 1, ep. 147, p. 336).

⁷ Corno ducale, the ceremonial crown and symbol of the doge of Venice.

⁸ Romano, pp. 115-116: *On 26 June [1433] he [Foscari] announced to his six ducal councillors that he intended to renounce the dogeship. Morosini gives a fairly full account of the reasons Foscari gave for his decision. Looking back over the ten years of his reign, Foscari saw little of which to be proud. The city was suffering from dearth and penury; and the many years of war had produced little profit and heavy taxes. ... What is more likely is that Foscari was driven to resign by personal attacks on him and by the increasingly bitter struggles within the innermost circles of power. ... But the ducal councilors thwarted his plan. According to his ducal promissione, Foscari could resign only if all six councillors were in agreement; yet they were not, and so the resignation was not accepted. Foscari also tried to abdicate in June 1442, again unsuccessfully (Romano, p. 175). It is not certain if Piccolomini is referring specifically to one of the two attempts, or in that case, which one, but it is possibly the latest he would likely know of.*

[67] Hujus filius, *quem unicum habet*¹, in suspicionem adductus, cum venire ad se satellites audivit (nam et unus ex servis ejus, suorum consiliorum² particeps, jam ad supplicium arreptus erat) onerata onerata navicula admodum veloci³ cum quadraginta remigibus⁴ multoque auro Tergestum aufugit. Sententia contra eum in senatu lecta est illum relegationem apud Neapolim Romaniae observare debere, numquam urbem excedere, numquam se ducis filium dicere⁵, tribus famulis contentum esse, esse, nullum se natu majorem praecedere. Id si fecerit, filios ejus bona avita recipere posse, sin autem, privatos omni⁶ esse haereditate. Lata est sententia per octo viros, qui id potestatis⁷ habent⁸ inscio duce. Quam cum Foscarus audisset, “Culpam,” inquit, “filii mei doleo, poenam non doleo.” Missa mater {52r} ad filium uti⁹ relegationem suaderet, obtinere non potuit. Pater tamen se¹⁰ dissimulavit, sed credibile est eum dolere. Vir fuit enim semper fortunatus, nunc autem in filio infelix est.

¹ quem unicum habet *omit.* MA

² suorum consiliorum : consiliorum suorum MA

³ veli V; *omit.* X [blank space] [obvious ESP error of transcription]

⁴ menugibus X

⁵ ~~numquam plus quam tre~~ *seq.* V

⁶ omnes MA

⁷ partis MA

⁸ haberent MA

⁹ ut MA

¹⁰ *em.*; sed V; *omit.* MA

[67] His only son¹ came under suspicion.² When he heard the guards arrive - one of his servants, who was party to his plans, had already been arrested and taken away to be tortured - he boarded a rapid ship with 40 oarsmen and fled to Trieste with much gold. His sentence, read in the senate, ordered him to go into exile in Nauplion,³ to never leave that city, to never call himself 'son of the doge', to have no more than three servants, and to never precede a person older than himself. If he did that, his sons could receive their paternal inheritance; if not, they would get nothing. The judgment was made by the Eight Men,⁴ who are empowered to act without the knowledge of the doge. When Foscari heard it, he said, "I am sorry about the guilt of my son, but I am not sorry about the punishment." The mother⁵ was sent to the son to persuade him to go into exile but in vain. The father was probably sorry but dissimulated.^{6 7} He was always a fortunate man, but in the matter of his son, he was not.⁸

¹ Jacopo Foscari (bef. 1416-1457): Only surviving son of Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice. Died in exile.

² In February 1445, Jacopo Foscari was tried by the Ten on charges of bribery and corruption and condemned to banishment in Nauplion, see Romano, p. 179, 195: ... *on account of his demerits, the plaintiff Jacopo Foscari, son of the lord doge, is perpetually banished from the city of Venice and districts and from all lands and places belonging to the commune of the Venetians, whether on the terra ferma or overseas, except for Nauplion in Romania ... The Ten further ruled that once in Nauplion, Jacopo could retain no more than three male servants ... as a private citizen.* He managed to avoid going to Nauplion, and in November he was allowed to reside in Treviso. In a letter of May 1445 to Leonhard Laiming, Piccolomini says that Jacopo Foscari was accused of revealing state secrets to the Duke of Milan (*De filio ducis Venetiarum non ambigo vestram reverendissimam paternitatem aliquid audisse, qui Venetias fugiens Tergestum venit. Fama est, eum rei publicae consilia Mediolanensium duci revelasse ac propterea laesae majestatis crimine dampnatus est* (WO, I, 1, ep. 168, p. 492).

³ Nauplion, a city in the Venetian possessions on the Peloponnese.

⁴ Rather the Council of Ten, a Venetian government body responsible for state security.

⁵ Marina Nani.

⁶ The affair was possibly politically motivated, mounted by opponents of the doge. He later managed to have the judgment revoked, though some years afterwards (1450, 1455), new trials were initiated, leading to the final exile of Jacopo Foscari to Crete.

⁷ Romano spoke of *the personal heartbreak which even today guarantees his fame.* However, *there is no specific record of how Foscari reacted to his son's condemnation* (Romano, p. 196).

⁸ Note the parallel with Niccolò d'Este, see sect. 48.

[68] Non magni commodi est ducatus Venetiarum, sed maximae servitutis: est enim organum civitatis. Itaque eum¹ dicere, proponere, *et*² respondere omnibus oportet, quod hic vir miro modo bene facit³, *ex improviso*⁴ namque semper et ornate et prudenter respondet. Est autem⁵ plenus dierum⁶. Numquam domum exire potest nisi praefinitis quibusdam diebus. Habet suum stipendium, stipendium, quod tamen non est magnum. *In senatu*⁷ *sententia sua pro duabus computatur*.⁸ Convivia certa per annum facit, ubi praestantiores cives advocantur et, si qui sunt, oratores principum aut communitatum magnarum. Magnus vir apud eum est Andreas Donato, quem⁹ Veneti saepe in legationibus fatigant. Illum enim Sigismundus militem creavit, apud quem saepe fuit.

¹ enim MA

² *omit.* MA

³ fecit HE

⁴ *ex improviso omit.* MA

⁵ enim MA

⁶ dictorum MA

⁷ ~~vox~~ *seq.* V

⁸ *in senatu ... computatur omit.* MA

⁹ quod MA

[68] The dogeship does not confer great privilege upon its incumbent but, on the contrary, great servitude since it is the organ of government of the city.¹ Thus it is the doge's function to speak, to propose and to answer all, which this man does marvellously, for when he makes his answers, he always improvises,² elegantly and wisely.³ ⁴ But now he is an old man. He can never go out except except on certain predetermined days. He has a salary but not a great one. In the senate, his vote counts for two. He gives certain banquets during the year, where the prominent citizens are invited as well as those ambassadors of princes and major republics⁵ who are there. He greatly estimates Andrea Donato,⁶ a man often charged by the Venetians with ambassadorial missions. Donato was often sent to Sigismund, who knighted him.⁷

¹ I.e., of a more or less democratically organized city, and not the splendid position of a ruling prince.

² There may, in the Renaissance, have been some admiration for the gift of improvisation, but Piccolomini generally did not favour it. In his *De Liberos Educatione* (1450) he wrote: *Unpremeditated speeches of men (to say nothing of boys) are full of shallowness and carelessness, while thoughtful preparation prevents digression.* (Kallendorf, p. 175). See COR, I, sect. 3.1.1. See also present text, sect. 82.

³ As Piccolomini had already told the emperor, in his *Pentalogus* from 1443, he attached much importance to the ability of a prince to speak publicly on his own behalf: *Nam etsi dici hec omnia per alium possint, plus tamen momenti habet oratio principis maioremque venustatem.* (Schingnitz, p. 66-68). See COR, I, sect. 1.1.2.

⁴ Romano, p. 8: *Antonio Morosini ... wrote in 1430 that as doge Foscari responded to ambassadors from Genoa in "bon Latin" and on another occasion to an embassy from Florence with eloquence and "sweetness" of speech; others commented on his eloquence as well.*

⁵ Like Florence.

⁶ Andrea Donato: Venetian ruler of Crete 1445-1447. Son-in-law of Doge Jacopo Foscari. Recalled from his post as Doge of Candia and sentenced for receiving money from Sforza. See Piccolomini: *Report of an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447* (CRDM, 4, sect. 34).

⁷ Romano, pp. 114-115: *As a reward, the emperor rewarded Andrea Donato, Venice's representative to him, with a knighthood [1433].*

[69] Inter litteratos apud Venetos primatum obtinet Franciscus Barbaro, qui Latinam et Graecam linguam novit. Veneti jus civile parvi faciunt, nam consuetudinibus ac¹ municipali jure utuntur, quamvis nonnumquam, ubi res dubia est, jureconsultos² interrogent³. Hinc, si qui sunt in studiis Veneti, plerumque aut artibus aut medicinae aut oratoriae student. Quidam jus canonicum sequuntur, qui beneficia quaerunt. Habent autem scholas generales in⁴ Padua, ubi plurimos praestantes viros habuere, sicut Raphaellem Fulgosum⁵ et Raphaellem Cumanum⁶, qui multa in jure civili scripserunt ibique sepulti sunt. Paulus quoque de Castro⁷ illic⁸ legit {52v} et modo jacet. Legit ibi Hugo Senensis, medicorum princeps. Jacobus de Forlivio, medicus maximus, ibique jacet. Jacet ibi Paulus de Venetiis, qui plurima in logica⁹ scripsit; Antonius de Cornusano, qui inter medicos claruit; Prodocimus¹⁰, qui, gibbosus strumosusque¹¹ vir, tantum juris didicit, ut omnibus esset aequalis, cujus post uxorem Antonius de Rosellis accepit, qui modo ibidem tenet cathedram, qui praeceptor meus Senis fuit, nam sub eo jus civile audivi. Is nunc senex est *magnoque aevo plenus*¹². Opus edidit De Monarchia, quod adhuc non publicavit. Ibi quoque *est*¹³ Johannes Franciscus de Capitibus Listae, ibi Jacobus de Puteo, singulares juris interpretes, multique alii clarissimi viri illic nostris temporibus floruerunt, qui *jam*¹⁴ ibi sepulti sunt. *Sed non est mirum in illa civitate hos viros eruditos*¹⁵ *jacere, cum illic et*¹⁶ *Livius Patavinus dormiat, qui fuit eloquentissimus Romanae pater historiae*¹⁷. Petrus quoque de Abano illic¹⁸ obiit, qui fuit maximus inter nigromantas¹⁹.

¹ et X, MA

² jurisconsultos MA

³ interroget V, X [obvious error of copying]

⁴ *omit.* MA

⁵ Fulgosium HE

⁶ Cunianum MA

⁷ Casino MA

⁸ illuc MA

⁹ loica V [obvious error of copying]

¹⁰ Prosdicimus MA

¹¹ struncatusque MA

¹² *magnoque aevo plenus omit.* MA

¹³ *omit.* MA

¹⁴ *omit.* MA

¹⁵ in illa civitate hos viros eruditos : hos uiros eruditos in illa ciuitate X

¹⁶ T. HE

¹⁷ sed non ... historiae *omit.* MA

¹⁸ illuc MA

¹⁹ magnanimites X; nigromantes MA

[69] The most important of the Venetian men of letters is Francesco Barbaro,¹ who knows Latin and Greek. The Venetians do not attach great importance to civil law² for they use customs and municipal law, though they often, in cases of doubt, consult the jurists. Thus, Venetians who study, mostly dedicate themselves to the arts, medicine or rhetorics. Those who aim at ecclesiastical office study canon law. The Venetians have a university in Padua,³ with many eminent men, like Raffaele Fulgioso⁴ and Raffaele Cumano,⁵ who wrote much on civil law and are buried there. Also Paolo di Castro⁶ lectured there⁷ and is buried there now. And Ugo from Siena,⁸ prince of doctors, and Jacopo Jacopo from Forlì,⁹ also an eminent medical man, lie¹⁰ there, and so does Paolo from Venice,¹¹ who wrote much on logic;¹² Antonio from Cornusano,¹³ famous among medical men; and Prodocimo,¹⁴ who suffered from both a humpback and struma but still taught law so well that he equalled all. Afterwards his wife married Antonio Roselli,¹⁵ who now has the chair [of law]. He was my teacher in Siena when I studied civil law, and he is now of venerable age. He wrote a book *De Monarchia*, that he has not yet published. Also Giovan Francesco di Capodilista¹⁶ and Jacopo from Puteo,¹⁷ outstanding jurists, flourished in Padua as well as many other famous men from our own time, who are buried there. But it is not surprising that these learned men are buried in that city since Titus Livius¹⁸ who himself was from Padua lies there, the most eloquent Father of Roman History. Also Pietro from Abano¹⁹ died there, greatest of necromancers.^{20 21}

¹ Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454): Venetian humanist and politician. In his oration “*Nisi satis exploratum*” (1444) (COR, III, 8, sect. 7) at the University of Vienna, Piccolomini quoted his translation of Plutarch’s *Life of Aristides*.

² I.e. Roman law.

³ University of Padua. Established in 1222, originally as a school of law.

⁴ Raffaele Fulgioso (1367-1427): Italian jurist and academic.

⁵ Raffaele Raimondi [Il Cumano] (1357-1427): Italian jurist and academic.

⁶ Paolo di Castro (ca. 1362-1441): Italian jurist and academic.

⁷ 1429-1441.

⁸ Ugo Benci. See sect. 49.

⁹ Jacopo della Torre [Giacomo] [da Forlì] (1364-1414): Italian medical man and philosopher.

¹⁰ ”jacet”: is buried.

¹¹ Paolo Nicoletti [da Venezia] (ca. 1368-ca.1428): Italian philosopher, theologian, and humanist.

¹² He wrote a book entitled *Logica Magna*.

¹³ Not identified.

¹⁴ Prodocimo Conti [Prodocimo] (bef. 1370 - ca. 1438): Italian jurist and academic.

¹⁵ Antonio Roselli (1380-1466): Italian jurist and academic. Among his works is the *De Monarchia sive Tractatus de potestate Imperatoris et Papae*, which may have inspired the political conceptions of Piccolomini, who followed his lectures during the relatively short period he studied civil law at the University of Siena. A manuscript with his notes from some of Roselli’s lectures is in the Vatican Library.

¹⁶ Giovan Francesco (di) Capodilista (ca. 1380-1459): Italian jurist and diplomat.

¹⁷ Giacomo dal Pozzo [Puteus] (-1464): Italian jurist and academic.

¹⁸ Titus Livius (64/59 BCE-12/17 CE): Roman historian.

¹⁹ Pietro d’Abano (ca. 1257-1316): Italian philosopher, astrologer and professor of medicine. Reputed to be a magician and necromancer. Denounced to the Inquisition but died before the end of his trial.

²⁰ Date: the final version of this text was written in the summer of 1447, after Piccolomini’s return to the imperial court from his mission to Rome January-April, during which he visited Venice and had the audience with the senate referred to in the text. It was written before news of the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (13 August 1447), not referred to in the text, reached the imperial court around the first of September 1447.

²¹ Piccolomini’s source: Information derived from friends and acquaintances, personal experiences, and official correspondence of the imperial chancellery. Possibly also written accounts.

Supplement

From Europa, sect. 192 (Heck, pp. 203-205)

Franciscus, dux gentis, qui annos quinque et triginta summa cum laude civitatem rexerat, Filippo, Mediolanensium duci Brixiam Bergamumque ademerat, copias ejus pluribus in locis fuderat, Franciscum Carminiolam, clarum ducem copiarum de proditione suspectum securi percusserat, Marsilium Carrariam, cujus majores diu Patavium per tyrannidem tenuissent, dum paternam haereditatem vindicare conatur, interceptum necaverat, pacem cum Turcis non tam honestam quam necessariam fecerat imperiumque Venetum terra marique longe ampliaverat, gubernationi tandem cedere compulsus est, tamquam prae senio reipublicae videretur inutilis. Ille veluti contumelia affectus ingratae patriae aspectum non ferens eamque vitam recusans, quam careret imperio, e publico palatio in privatam domum se recepit, ubi, cum principatum suis civibus reddidisset, aegram quoque confestim animam naturae restituit. Cujus casum tamquam praevидisset Baptista Prasius, Cremonensis astronomus, pluribus antea mensibus praedixerat. Erat autem Franciscus, cum moreretur, non longe ab anno suae vitae nonagesimo, venerabilis senex, praecipua corporis majestate decorus, memor omnium, quae post infantiam aut vidisset aut audisset, facundia copiosa et ingenio prompto ac dexterrimo, et qui moderari frena senatus optime nosset. Ejus pater in Aegypto negotiatus, cum prophetam regionis illius quempiam de futuris interrogaret, responsum ab illo accepit filium sibi esse, qui aliquando suae civitatis principatum assequeretur.

Supplement

From Europa, sect. 192

Francesco, the doge of this people, ruled the city with the highest praise for 35 years. He seized Brescia and Bergamo from Duke Filippo of Milan and defeated his troops in many places. He had the famous captain Francesco Carmignola beheaded on suspicion of treason. He ordered Marsilio Carrara, whose forefathers had long ruled Padua as tyrants, arrested and killed because he tried to regain his paternal inheritance. He concluded a peace with the Turks that was less honourable than necessary. He greatly extended the Venetian empire on land and at sea. But in the end, he was forced from to step down from government, being judged unfit for ruling the state because of old age. He was deeply wounded and, not caring to confront his ungrateful country and refusing a life without power, he left the public palace and withdrew to his private home. Having returned the rulership to his fellow-citizens, he very soon after gave his exhausted soul back to nature. His fall had been foreseen by Battista Piasio, an astronomer from Cremona, several months before. However, when Francesco died, he was almost 90 years old, a venerable old man. He had a majestic appearance. He remembered everything he had seen and heard since childhood. He had prolific eloquence and a quick and versatile intelligence, and he knew how to handle the senate. His father was once on a business trip to Egypt, and there he asked a soothsayer from that country about the future. He was told that he had a son who would once become the prince of his city.

15. Cosmus de Medicis

[70] Cosmus de Medicis Florentinus ab adolescentia mercaturae traditus maximas opes comparavit in tantumque ditatus est, ut nemo¹ tota Italia par sibi civis crederetur. Ubi auctus est, rei publicae se tradidit adjutusque suffragiis popularibus – nam plebem multis sibi beneficiis allegerat – in magnum virum evasit. Duae tunc factiones inter Florentinos fuere: alterius princeps Cosmus, alterius Nicolaus de Uzano fuit. Cum Nicolao² Pallas Strotius, Raynaldus de Albitiis omnesque urbis primores sentiebant, nam et consilia Nicolai {53r} omnia pacis erant, *et ad tranquillum civitatis statum subditos juste regendos dicens, cum vicinis amnestiam³ observandam, nec turbendam aquam rebatur, dum perspicua esset⁴*. Cosmum plebs omnis sequebatur et cupida novitatis juvenus. Is quoque pecunia plures juverat, qui ejus latus stipabant. Sedulo⁵ igitur in senatu senatu contentiones fuere, cum aliud Cosmus, aliud Uzanus censeret⁶. Ubi tamen suffragia petita sunt, Cosmi sententia obtinebat. *Vincebantur enim a pluribus meliores.*⁷

[71] Hinc Cosmus decerni adversus Lucanos bellum extorsit, quod cum absque causa moveri videretur, placuit sub *tegmento sine⁸* figmento gerere. Nicolaum namque de Stella Perusinum, quem quem magno stipendio nutriebant, remissum fingunt esseque liberum hominem, nulli obligatum, ac sic eum in agrum Lucanum misere, cui cum prospere cederet, manifeste adhaeserunt obsidionemque ante urbem Lucanum posuerunt. Hinc⁹ origo novi belli¹⁰ cum duce Mediolanensi fuit, nam cum tyrannus Lucanus auxilium Filippi postulasset, missus est Franciscus Sfortia, qui obsidionem Florentinorum sola sui adventus fama dissolvit, ac postea, cum tyranno Mediolanum ducto rursus Florentini obsidionem ante Lucam¹¹ haberent, Piceninus cum exercitu venit, qui illos confligit magnaue clade Florentinos affecit.

¹ in *add.* X, MA

² quo MA

³ amnestiam HE

⁴ et ad tranquillum ... esset *omit.* MA

⁵ sedulae MA

⁶ sentiret MA

⁷ vincebantur enim ... meliores *omit.* MA

⁸ tegmento sine *omit.* MA

⁹ hic HE

¹⁰ ~~ad~~ *seq.* V

¹¹ obsidionem ante Lucam : apud Lucam obsidionem MA

15. Cosimo de' Medici, Banker

[70] Cosimo de' Medici^{1 2} from Florence entered commerce at an early age.³ He amassed a fortune⁴ and became so rich that no citizen in Italy was believed to be his equal. Having become rich, he dedicated himself to the state and became a great man. In this, he was helped by the popular vote, for he had won over the common people by many kind deeds and services. There were then two factions in Florence, one led by Cosimo and the other by Niccolò da Uzzano.⁵ Niccolò was supported by Palla Strozzi,⁶ Rinaldo degli Albizzi⁷ and all the prominent citizens, for Niccolò's policies aimed at peace. He said that to ensure the tranquil state of the city, subjects must be ruled justly, friendly relations⁸ must be kept with the neighbouring states, and clear water should not be stirred up. Cosimo was followed by all the common people and the youth, eager for novelty.^{9 10} He helped many of his supporters financially. Thus, there were frequent conflicts in the senate, with Cosimo promoting one policy and Uzzano another.¹¹ But whenever matters were submitted to a popular vote, Cosimo's policy prevailed. The better ones were defeated by the many.¹²

[71] Then, Cosimo forced through a decision to make war on Lucca.¹³ As there was no apparent cause for this move, it was decided to proceed undercover and without trumped-up reasons. So, under the pretence that Niccolò Stella¹⁴ from Perugia, whom they were paying a large salary, was released from his service to them and was acting independently, being in service to no one, they sent him into Lucchese territory. Only when he had success, they began to support him openly and laid siege to Lucca.¹⁵ This started a new war with the Duke of Milan, for when the tyrant of Lucca¹⁶

¹ Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici [Cosimo the Elder] (1389-1464): Florentine banker and politician. Founder of the Medici dynasty.

² For a general biography, see Gutkind.

³ Piccolomini either lacked a vocabulary for banking and finance as a distinct form of business, or he did not recognize it is as such.

⁴ Building on the fortune inherited from his father.

⁵ Niccolò da Uzzano (1359-1431): Florentine politician and Gonfaloniere of Justice. Leader of the oligarchic party from 1417, after the death of Maso degli Albizzi. Niccolò's party is often referred to as the oligarchy (e.g. Gutkind, p. 64).

⁶ Palla di Onofrio Strozzi (1372-1462): Florentine banker, politician, and philosopher.

⁷ Rinaldo degli Albizzi (1370-1442): Florentine noble.

⁸ "amnestia".

⁹ Or "political change".

¹⁰ Like Francesco Foscari in Venice, see sect. 60.

¹¹ Until Uzzano's death in 1431. Afterwards, Cosimo's main opponents were Palla Strozzi and Rinaldo degli Albizzi.

¹² This is a political statement expressing Piccolomini's aristocratic contempt of democracy.

¹³ 1429. *For a long time ... Florence had coveted the silk town of Lucca and its rich territory stretching up to the mountains and down to a broad sea coast. Cosimo as a young man had already argued the use of gaining control of this territory and had striven to put his belief into effect. ... It seems that Rinaldo [one of the oligarchs], too, had zealously pursued this end from the beginning* (Gutkind, p. 68).

¹⁴ Niccolò Fortebraccio [Stella], see sect. 40.

¹⁵ Gutkind, p. 68: *The condottiere Niccolò Fortebraccio ... was secretly engaged to attack the territory of Lucca without any formal declaration of war. This took place, and the consigli of 1429, confronted with this fait accompli, decided by a big majority to undertake the campaign against Lucca in Fortebraccio's support.*

¹⁶ Paolo Guinigi, see sect. 35.

asked Filippo for help, he sent Francesco Sforza to Lucca, who ended the siege just by the rumour of his approach. Afterwards, when the tyrant had been taken to Milan, the Florentines again besieged Lucca, but then Piccinino arrived with his army, attacked the Florentines, and inflicted a major defeat upon them.¹

[72] Cum ergo consilia Cosmi malum successum haberent, favor ejus diminutus est.² *Sic enim fit: ubi fortuna est, illic et favor hominum se inclinat.*³ Resurgentes igitur⁴ Nicolaitae Cosmum quasi populi seductorem⁵ urbe pellunt⁶ et apud Venetos relegant, ubi diu exilium toleravit. Sed *quia*⁷ plurimae in diversis partibus ejus nomine mercaturae fiebant, facile se manu tenuit⁸.

[73] Interim jam mortuo Nicolao cum Eugenius⁹ pontifex Romam¹⁰ fugiens Florentiam venisset, solutis confinibus Cosmus occultis itineribus clam¹¹ urbem intravit factionemque suam {53v} jussit in armis esse. Nec alia pars¹² deses fuit, sed armis arreptis¹³ audito Cosmi adventu pugnare decrevit. Cum ergo hinc atque inde in armis populus esset credereturque subcubiturus Cosmus, Johannes Vitellescus, Alexandrinus patriarcha¹⁴, ex palatio apostolico in urbem descendit jubetque omnes ab armis discedere¹⁵. Vocat partes¹⁶ ad summum pontificem, illum namque rem compositurum ajebat. *Florentini, ut sunt inermes audaciores quam armati – nec enim soliti sunt gladios nudos videre, nam mercatura potissimum vivunt – omnia prius experiri verbis quam armis volunt.*¹⁷ Ponuntur igitur arma iturque ad pontificem. Sed interim Cosmani, *ut erant instructi*¹⁸, tela resumunt¹⁹ *armatique per urbem discurrentes*²⁰ palatium invadunt. Quod ubi adversarii senserunt, dolos agnoscentes²¹ captos²² se vident atque, ut possunt, fuga salutem quaerunt. Sic Cosmus rursum¹ civitatis gubernacula recuperavit, tuncque² non cum sociis, sed unus ex integro³ regnum tenuit.

¹ 2 December 1430 (Third Lombard war).

² et *add.* MA

³ sic enim ... inclinat *omit.* MA

⁴ *omit.* MA

⁵ ex *add.* MA

⁶ expellunt MA

⁷ *suprascr.* V; *omit.* MA

⁸ manu tenuit : mantenuit MA

⁹ Gregorius MA

¹⁰ Roma MA

¹¹ ~~venit Flo~~ *seq.* V

¹² alia pars : pars alia MA

¹³ arrectis V, X

¹⁴ ~~in~~ *seq.* V

¹⁵ disc/tere V; desistere X

¹⁶ patrem V, X

¹⁷ Florentini ut ... volunt *omit.* MA

¹⁸ ut erant instructi *omit.* MA

¹⁹ et *add.* MA

²⁰ *armatique per ... discurrentes* *omit.* MA

²¹ cognoscentes MA

²² coeptos MA

[74] Mox enim, ut regimine potitus est, alios proscripsit, alios relegavit, qui contra se senserant, ex quibus plerique in exilio mortui sunt, ut de Raynaldo Albitio ferunt. Pallas senex eques⁴ cum filio Patavii relegatus philosophiae sese⁵ tradidit *seniumque suum et amarum exilium suavibus philosophiae monitionibus consolatur, quamvis dietim spem restitutionis accipiat.*⁶

¹ rursus MA

² tunc MA

³ unus ex integro : solus MA

⁴ aequae MA

⁵ se MA

⁶ seniumque suum accipiat *omit.* MA

[72] When Cosimo's plans failed, his popularity waned: indeed, popularity follows fortune! The Nicolaitans rose up again¹ and expelled Cosimo as a demagogue,² banishing him to Venice,³ where he stayed as an exile for a long time.⁴ But as much business was conducted in his name in various places, he maintained himself easily.⁵

[73] After Niccolò da Uzzano had died, Pope Eugenius fled from Rome and came to Florence.⁶ Then, Cosimo left his confinement and returned secretly to Florence,⁷ where he ordered his faction to take to weapons. But the other party was not passive, either: when they heard that Cosimo had returned, they decided to fight and took to weapons, too. Both factions were now armed, and it looked as if Cosimo would be defeated. But then Giovanni Vitelleschi,⁸ Patriarch of Alexandria, came from the apostolic palace⁹ and went into the city, where he ordered all to disarm, summoning the parties to the Supreme Pontiff, who, he said, would settle matters. Since the Florentines are more courageous unarmed than armed (not being used to see naked swords, they live mostly of trade¹⁰), they will try anything before fighting with arms. So, they disarmed and went to the pope. But in the meantime, the Cosmians¹¹ – as instructed to – again took up their weapons, ran armed through the city and attacked the palace.¹² When their adversaries became aware of it, they knew that they had been outwitted and saw themselves taken prisoners.¹³ Therefore, all who could sought safety by flight. Thus, Cosimo regained the reins of the city government and no longer ruled with allies but alone.¹⁴

[74] As soon as Cosimo had taken over the government, he proscribed or banished those who had opposed him. Many of these have now died in exile, as is said about Rinaldo degli Albizzi.¹⁵ The old knight Palla Strozzi was banished to Padua together with his son, and there he has taken up

¹ Niccolò da Uzzano had died in 1431, but his political faction was apparently still named after him.

² Cosimo was banished by the oligarchical party not for his stance on Lucca but as an important political opponent (cf. Gutkind, pp.70-87)

³ 1433. Cosimo was condemned to 10 years exile in Padua, in Venetian territory.

⁴ For one year.

⁵ Gutkind, p. 87: *Cosimo ... had neither been put out of the way for ever, nor, as Rinaldo had at least expected, ... was he in any way damaged financially. ... Cosimo ... had, apparently for some time past, been able to take the necessary steps to secure the most important portions of his operating and ready funds, especially his deposits, by making them over to branch establishments or trustworthy friends.*

⁶ 1434.

⁷ The decree of banishment had been formally lifted before Cosimo's return.

⁸ Giovanni Maria Vitelleschi (1396-1440): Condottiere, cardinal, Archbishop of Florence (1435-1437), Patriarch of Alexandria.

⁹ The Monastery of Santa Maria Novella.

¹⁰ Not a compliment in Piccolomini's vocabulary.

¹¹ The supporters of Cosimo.

¹² The palace of the city government.

¹³ The papal intervention happened more or less as described by Piccolomini, but it took place before – and was instrumental in – Cosimo's recall from exile (Gutkind, pp. 100-103).

¹⁴ Though Cosimo was effectively the master of Florence, he very much ruled through an alliance with other powerful families, like the Soderini and the Pitti.

¹⁵ 1442.

philosophy, and comforts his old age and bitter exile with the sweet admonitions of philosophy, though all the time he hopes to be reinstated.¹

¹ As a Florentine citizen and magnate.

[75] Sed Cosmus quamquam¹ dominus civitatis existat, ita tamen se gerit, ut privatus videatur, et esse potius quam videri vult. Nec enim magnum famulatum habet, sed unico servo contentus per urbem incedit, locum senioribus tradit, equitibus cedit, doctores anteponit. Ad consilium raro non vocatus accedit. {54r} Cum eo venit, priores² censere sinit. Ubi ad se ventum est, quasi nihil de re sciverit³, ita loquitur, donec calefactus sententiam suam multis suasionibus aperit. *Munera publica sibi nequaquam usurpat, sed, ut potest, a sese amovet. Nec enim temporales illos, qui vel ad menses vel ad annum ubi longiores sunt, sed perpetuos quaerit honores. Sic enim agit, ut quasi nolle videatur, omnia tamen ex suo consilio fiant, nam et qui priores dicuntur et qui vexilliferi et qui praesides urbium rectoresque oppidorum omnes ex sua ordinatione creantur.*⁴ Is praeterea, cum civitas pecunia indiget, proprio aere succurrit sibi propterea hypothecari redditus urbis⁵ vult, qui magna ex parte sunt sui. *Pecuniae quoque montis ad eum magna ex parte pertinent.*⁶ Cives admodum multi sibi obnoxii sunt, qui, etsi non rogentur⁷, quae tamen Cosmo placeant⁸ promovere⁹ nituntur, singuli enim eum quasi dominum venerantur. *Atque*¹⁰ his artibus pluribus annis Florentiam rexit¹¹. Multi tamen in eum oculi erecti sunt ejusque vel necem vel exilium expectant.

[76] Hic egregias aedes aedificavit, quales nec Caesarem *habere*¹² dedeceret¹³. Multa in rure aedificia construxit altaque palatia. Templata quoque erexit miri operis. In Florentia claustrum Sancti Marci, ubi LXX monachi Sancti Dominici commorantur, infra triennium a fundamentis ex integro confecit, ubi oratorium honestum ambitus magni¹⁴ columnis marmoreis¹⁵ fulciti¹⁶, *aulae, refectoria, hortus*¹⁷, *dormitoria per distinctas cellas*¹⁸, bibliotheca mirabilis Latinis et Graecis libris referta. *Non tamen, quamvis adeo magnificatus, mercaturam neglexit, sed continuo magis per homines sibi fideles exercuit. Favet hic vir etiam litteris et praesertim oratoriis*¹⁹. Huic Philelphus, qui oratoriam Florentiae legit, {54r} infensus fuit, nam parti adversae favebat, quae res eum ex urbe praecipitavit.

¹ *se seq.* V

² primores MA

³ sciret MA

⁴ munera publica ... creantur *omit.* MA

⁵ redditus urbis : urbis redditus MA

⁶ pecuniae quoque ... pertinent *omit.* MA

⁷ negentur X

⁸ placent MA

⁹ promere MA

¹⁰ *omit.* MA

¹¹ venit MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ dedecerent MA

¹⁴ magnis MA

¹⁵ columnis marmoreis : marmoreis columnis MA

¹⁶ et *add.* MA

¹⁷ *omit.* X [blank space]

¹⁸ aulae refectoria ... cellas *omit.* MA

¹⁹ non tamen ... oratoriis *omit.* MA

[75] Although Cosimo is effectively lord of the city, he behaves as if he was only a private citizen, and he prefers to be great than to appear so. He does not have many servants, and when he is about town, he is only accompanied by a single servant. He lets older men, knights, and doctors precede him. He rarely comes uninvited to the council,¹ and when he does come, he lets the priors² state their views first. When it becomes his turn, he speaks as if he knows nothing of the matter, but eventually he softens and lets himself be persuaded to state his opinion. He never takes public offices but keeps away from them as far as possible. He does not seek honours that last only for months or even for more than a year but only those that are permanent. He acts as if he does not want anything, but still things are done as he wishes, for priors, standard-bearers,³ governors of cities, and town administrators are all appointed on his advice. Moreover, when the city needs money, he provides it from his own treasury and lets the city's incomes be pledged to him so that a large part of them are effectively his. Also, the money in the *Monte*⁴ mostly belongs to him. Many citizens are greatly indebted to him, and though they are not asked to, they endeavour to further Cosimo's cause, and all honour him as their lord. In this way, he has ruled Florence for several years. But many are observing him closely, hoping for his death or exile.

[76] He has raised magnificent buildings that an emperor would not be ashamed of. He has also constructed buildings and lofty palaces in the countryside. Moreover, he has built admirable temples. In Florence, he raised, from the foundations⁵ and in three years only, the Monastery of San San Marco, where 70 monks of Saint Dominic live, comprising a splendid and large oratory with marble columns, halls, refectories, gardens, dormitories with single cells, and a splendid library full of Latin and Greek books. Despite his eminent position, he has not neglected his business⁶ but mostly done it through men loyal to him.⁷ He is also a patron of letters and especially rhetorics. Filelfo,⁸ who taught rhetorics in Florence, was hostile to him, favouring the opposing party, which led to his precipitous departure from the city.⁹

¹ The council meetings of the city government.

² The nine men forming the city government.

³ A highly prestigious city office.

⁴ The public debt system.

⁵ On the site of a former monastery.

⁶ Banking.

⁷ Piccolomini had known such one, Roberto Martelli, in his years in Basel in the 1430s.

⁸ Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481): Italian humanist. He taught at the University in Florence from 1429-1434. Having supported the anti-Medici faction, he had to leave Firenze when Cosimo was recalled from exile. Piccolomini probably followed some of his lectures during a stay in Florence, and later stayed in epistolary contact with him during his own years in Basel. Letters from that period from Filelfo to Piccolomini are extant.

⁹ See Filelfo's letter of 28 March 1439 to Piccolomini in which he informs him of a murder attempt against him, probably perpetrated by Medici agents: *Qui fuerit sicarius notum est, a quibus autem conductus - etsi nihil habetur - infamia tamen in Medices repit et Cosmum, quoniam non solum ejus factio mihi semper adversaretur, sed etiam Laurentius frater ejus multa adversus me ageret* (WO, I, 1, ep. 30, p. 97; CPL, I, ep. 29). On Filelfo's unfortunate meddling in Florentine politics, see Gutkind, pp. 73-75.

[77] Is Cosmus Venetorum amicitiam semper fecit maximi, ducem Mediolanensem odio habuit, Senenses contempsit plurimasque¹ inter eos serere discordias studuit. Eugenii² partem tuetur, imperio³ se subditum dicit verbo, negat opere. Ejus tempore Lucani in amicitiam Florentinorum reducti sunt, Bononienses in foedus accepti, cum Filippo duce pax facta. Franciscus Sfortia in amicum receptus cum stipendio. Cerpellonus, qui ductor Florentinorum erat, cum injuriatus uni ex prioribus fuisset, ex altissimis fenestris praecipitatus est moxque trunctatus capite. Nicolaus Piceninus conflictus, exercitus ducalis prostratus. Sigismundo Caesari negatus versus Romam transitus, quamvis eis invitis transiverit. *Burgum Sancti Sepulchri ditioni Florentinae subjectum. Tyranni de Poppi⁴⁵ expulsi eorumque dominia recepta⁶*. Cum Senensibus, qui publico bello admodum multa oppida atque castella vi ceperant, pax facta receptaque, quae perdita erant. *Angelus de Morosinis Senensis, eques ac pirata maris, ob debita captus Florentiae in carceremque conjectus tamen postea libertati dimissus, cum fideijussoribus esset. Classem regis⁷ Tunisii recepit veniensque Pisas ingentem praedam fecit pluresque captivos adduxit⁸*. Cum Januensibus⁹ colligatio colligatio facta est.

¹ plurimaeque V

² Eugenius MA

³ imperii MA

⁴ Pappi HE

⁵ de Poppo : depositi et X

⁶ Burgum sancti ... recepta *omit.* MA

⁷ Mauri *seq.* V

⁸ Angelus de ... adduxit *omit.* MA [NB: continuous main text, not addition in marg.]

⁹ Januensique MA

[77] Cosimo has always attached great importance to friendship with Venice. He has been an enemy of the Duke of Milan and scorned the Sieneſe, among whom he has endeavoured to ſow many conflicts. He ſupports the cauſe of Eugenius¹ and claims to be a ſubject of the Empire,² although he he does not act like one. In his time, Lucca returned to its friendship with Florence, the Bologneſe were accepted as alliance partners, peace was made with Duke Filippo, and Francesco Sforza was received in friendship and given a ſalary. When Cerpellono,³ a captain of the Florentines, hurt one of the priors, he was thrown out of one of the higheſt windows and then beheaded. Niccoló Piccinino was met in battle, and the duke's army defeated. Emperor Sigismund was denied free paſſage⁴ on his way to Rome,⁵ but he paſſed through anyway, againſt their will. Borgo San Sepolcro came under Florentine rule.⁶ The tyrants of Pappi were expelled and their domains taken over. Peace was made with the Sieneſe, who had captured many towns and caſtles, and what had they had loſt was returned to them. Angelo dei Morosini from Siena, knight and pirate, was arreſted in Florence becauſe of a debt and thrown into priſon but later releaſed becauſe he had guarantors.⁷ He took the fleet of the King of Tunisia and, coming to Piſa, he brought much booty and many priſoners with him. And an alliance was made with Genoa.^{8 9}

¹ The uſe of the preſent teſe ſhows that Eugenius was ſtill alive at the time this paſſage was written.

² The Holy Roman Empire, which ſtill held nominal ſuzerainty over northern Italy.

³ Not identified.

⁴ 1431.

⁵ To be crowned emperor.

⁶ 1441.

⁷ July 1447, i.e., after Eugenius' death and the election of his ſucceſſor, Nicolaus V. Piccolomini's mentor and friend, Marino Sozzini, and his couſin, Goro Lolli, were involved in this affair and may very well have informed Piccolomini of it in letters and during his viſits to Siena in 1445 and 1446 and eſpecially in April 1447 on his return trip from Rome to Vienna. See Nardi: *Mariano*, p. 64: *Per un lungo periodo, tra il 1443 ed il 1447, egli [Sozzini] fu coinvolto in una complessa vicenda che oppose il commune di Siena ad alcuni mercanti fiorentini, creditori di un personaggio dai contorni piuttosto oscuri, Angelo Morosini, mercenario che era stato al servizio dei Senesi. Dopo avere garantito di versare al comune di Siena la somma necessaria per ottenere la liberazione del Morosini, che per i suoi debiti giaceva nelle prigioni di Firenze, Mariano difese, in sequito, con molta abilità gli interessi suoi e quelli dei propri concittadini che si erano impegnati come fideiussori ... L'intera vicenda si concluse con una transazione discussa per conto dei Senesi dai dottori Gregorio Loli ...*

⁸ Date: Finished in 1447 when Morosini was arreſted in Florence, and Pope Eugenius died.

⁹ Piccolomini's ſources: Direct experiences and acquaintances, common acquaintances, common knowledge, and the international rumour mill.

Supplement

1) From Europa (1458), sect. 212 (Heck, p. 220)

Inter Florentinos omnes, qui nostra etate floruerunt, Cosmus cognomine Medicus et prudentia et auctoritate eminuit. Is princeps urbis habitus senatum, quo uoluit, impulit, ciuitati leges ex arbitrio dixit, inopes ciues quamplurimos ditauit, matrimonia constitutis ex argento suo dotibus multa coniunxit, uillas magnificentissimas exedificauit, in ecclesias ditissima dona contulit, monasterium Sancti Marci, et amplum et nitidum, a fundamentis erexit. Parrochie sue templum, cum sibi parum placeret, prorsus diruit. Exin structuram admirandi operis ex lapide fesulano suscitauit. Edes suas quamuis ornatissimas erexisset, amplius tamen meditatatus opus, palatium et altum et ingens ex quadratis lapidibus insigni urbis adeo pulchrum, adeo amplum construxit, ut ei alterum equari tota ciuitate non possit.

Supplement

1) From Europa (1458), sect. 212 (Brown, p. 248)

Among all the Florentines who flourished in my time, Cosimo de' Medici was pre-eminent in wisdom and prestige. Regarded as the city's leader, he steered the senate in whatever direction he pleased, legislated for the city at his own discretion, enriched a great many impoverished citizens, arranged many marriages with dowries supplied from his own money, built sumptuous villas, made valuable donations to churches, and erected the large and gleaming monastery of San Marco from its foundations upward. Displeased by the church of his own parish, he demolished it and raised in its place a building of superb workmanship made from the stone of Fiesole. Although he had erected for himself a most elegant mansion, he planned a more impressive structure and, at a prominent location in the city, built a tall and massive palace of dressed stone, so beautiful and spacious that it beggars comparison with any other in all of Florence.

2) *From Commentarii (1462), II, 27-28 (HE, I, pp. 149-151)*

Prestantissimi ciues uisi sunt etate nostra Pallas Strozius, Nicolaus Vzanus et Rudolfus Peruzius. Pallis opibus cunctos superauit, Nicolaus prudentia, Rudolfus armis. Aduersus hos factionem excitauit Cosmas Medices, propter quam rem urbe pulsus Vzano iam uita functo exilium aliquandiu tulit; deinde sub Eugenio pontifice maximo Florentie sedente studio partium ab exilio rediit et tumultuante ciuitate deterritis qui sibi aduersabantur, suum locum recuperauit. Rudolfum et Pallantem pluresque alios ciues iurbe pepulit, qui postea numquam rediere, quamuis Rudolfus Nicolaum Picininum aduersus patriam alliciens mugellanum agrum ingressus uastauerit; nam postea in exilio decessit. Pallas equo animo fortunam aduersam ferens Pataui usque ad extremum senectutem philosophiam sectatus est ibique obiit iam ferme nonagenarius, quem sui ciues eiecissent indignus.

Cosmae deinde sublatis emulis pro suo arbitrio rempublicam administrauit easque opes accumulauit, quales uix Cresum possedisse putauerim: edificauit in urbe palatium rege dignum, ecclesias alias instaurauit, alias a fundamentis erexit, monasterium sancti Marci miro construxit opere, in quo bibliothecam grecis ac latinis uoluminibus refersit, uillas magnifice adornauit. Uidebatur iam preclaris operibus inuidiam superasse, sed populi excellentem uirtutem omnes oderunt. Inuenti sunt qui tyrannidem Cosme ferendam negarent eiusque conatibus multis modis obuiam irent et quidem probra in eum iacerent. Estimatio bonorum que quisque possideret per idem tempus faciunda fuit: cathastum Florentini uocant – Senenses libram – per quam magistratus facultates ciuium non ignorantes ex equo possint inter subiectos onera partiri. Suadebat cathastum innouari Cosmas, inimici aduersabantur. Ob quam rem parliamentum fieri placuit; quod dum cogeretur armati undique collecti iussu Cosme forum circundedere manifestumque imminere periculum ostenderunt his, qui consilium eius damnarent. Decretum est cathastum armorum metu et ciues, qui prius contradicebant, alii relegati sunt, alii ere mulctati. Post hec nihil Cosme negatum: is belli pacisque iudex et legum moderator; non tam ciuis quam patrie dominus haberi; consilium de republica domui sue agitari; magistratum hi gerere, quos ipse designasset; nihil sibi ad regnum nisi nomen et pompa deesse. Ob quam rem, cum rogasset aliquando Pius pontifex episcopum ortanum quid sibi de Florentia videretur indignumque diceret tam pulchram feminam uiro carere, respondit ille: “Viro, non maecho caret,” ac si diceret tyrannum, non regem habet, designans Cosmam, qui tanquam urbis dominus non legitimus duro plebem seruitio premeret. Egrotabat ille cum Pius Florentie fuit, seu – quod plerique putauerunt – ne pontificem accederet, egroti faciem induit.

2) From *Commentarii*, II, 27-28 (*Meserve*, I, pp. 315-319)

It is commonly held that the most distinguished Florentines of modern times were Palla Strozzi, Niccolò Uzzano and Rodolfo Peruzzi. Palla surpassed all others in wealth, Niccolò in wisdom, Rodolfo in military skill. Cosimo de' Medici stirred up a faction against these men and as a result was banished from the city. Uzzano was already dead and Cosimo remained in exile for some time. Then, as Pope Eugenius was holding court in Florence and various parties were contending with one another, Cosimo returned from exile. With the city in uproar, he subdued his opponents and regained his old power, driving Rodolfo and Palla and many others into exile. They never returned, though Rodolfo enlisted the services of Niccolò Piccinino against his country and raided and plundered the territory of Mugello; afterwards, however, he died in exile. Palla endured adversity cheerfully and devoted his old age to the study of philosophy at Padua, where he died at nearly ninety, a man who had not deserved the banishment imposed on him by his compatriots.

*After thus disposing of his rivals, Cosimo proceeded to govern the state as he saw fit, amassing a fortune such as even Croesus could scarcely have owned. The palace he built for himself in Florence was fit for a king; he restored a number of churches and erected others; he established the splendid monastery of San Marco and stocked its library with Greek and Latin manuscripts; he decorated his villas in magnificent style. By these noble works, it seemed that he had almost triumphed over envy, but the people will ever despise an outstanding character. There were some who claimed that Cosimo's tyranny was intolerable and tried various means to thwart his projects; some even hurled abuse at him. At this point, it came time to assess the property of every citizen. The Florentines call this process *catasto*, the *Sienese libra*. It allows the magistrates to determine the resources of the citizenry and thus apportion levies fairly among them. Cosimo was in favor of a new *catasto*; his opponents were against it. Therefore it was decided to call a general meeting of the city. As the people were assembling, a group of armed men gathered from all quarters at Cosimo's command; they surrounded the piazza and made it clear that anyone who objected to Cosimo's plans did so at his peril. The *catasto* was approved under threat of violence; some of the citizens who had opposed it were banished and others were fined. After this Cosimo was refused nothing. In matters of war and peace his decisions were final and his word was regarded as law, not so much a citizen as the master of his city. Government meetings were held at his house; his candidates were elected to public office; he enjoyed every semblance of royal power except a title and a court. It was for this reason that, when Pius asked the bishop of Orte what he thought about Florence and he replied it was a pity so beautiful a woman had no husband, the pope said, "Yes, but she has a lover," meaning that she had a tyrant instead of a king. Pius was referring to Cosimo who, as an illegitimate lord, kept the city and its people in cruel servitude. During Pius's stay in Florence, Cosimo was ill or rather (as many believed) he pretended to be ill, so that he would not have to wait on the pope.*

Maiores Cosme ex Mugello in urbem uenerunt. Iohannes, qui pater eius fuit, in clientelam Medicorum receptus familie quoque nomen assumpsit ingentesque opes liberis suis Cosme et Laurentio reliquit. Cosmas supra quam credibile sit eas ampliavit per omnem Europam negotiatus et ad Egyptum usque mercimoniis intentus. Fuit hic egregio corpore, statura plus quam mediocri, aspectu et alloquio placidus. Littere in eo plures quam mercatores assequi soleant, grecarum non prorsus ignaro; ingenium ei perspicax et ad omnia promptum que ageret. Animus neque ignauus neque fortis; laborem et inedia facile pertulit et noctes crebro insomnes duxit. Nihil ignorauit eorum que in Italia gererentur, quippe quod eius consilio magna pars urbium et regulorum duceretur. Nec eum res exterae latuerunt, cui ex orbe fere toto mercatores socii responderent et que apud eos fierent crebris epistolis indicarent. Ad extremum podagra laborauit; cuius antequam mira uita excederet successores filios ac nepotes uidit. Annum agebat Florentiam transeunte pontifice supra septuagesimum. ...

Commentarii, IV, 7 (HE, I, pp. 248-249)

Cosmas vero, qui proficiscentem in Galliam pontificem adire contempserat, redeuntem haudquaquam neglexit. Nocte multa ad eum uenit, et inter loquendum admirari uisus est de Ferdinandi causa aduersus Gallos recepto. Pontifex haud ferendum fuisse ait regem a se constitutum armis eieci neque id Italice libertati conducere ... Laudauit Cosmas pontificis animum uerumque fassus est popularem multitudinem nihil honesti facere nisi cogat utilitas aut metus. Petiitque aliqua non sine modestia et nepotem inter cardinales assumi, si dignus uideretur. Postremo cum iam abiturus pontificis pedes osculari uellet nec moueri posset podagra impeditus, iocabundus “Duo” inquit “Florentini cum ex agro redirent, Papus Lopusque, atque in foro inuicem occurrissent et alter alteri manum osculumque porrigerent essentque ambo pinguissimi, tanta utrinque, ut ita dicam, uentrositas obiecta est ut se nullo pacto nisi uentribus ipsis contingere possent. Quod illis sagina uetuit, hoc nobis podagra negat.” Pontifex ridens eum dimisit...

Cosimo's ancestors came to Florence from the Mugello. His father Giovanni became a client of the Medici and took the name of the family. He left an enormous fortune to his sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, which grew incredibly in Cosimo's hands. His business interests ranged over all of Europe and he traded as far as Egypt. He was of fine physique and more than average height; his countenance and speech were mild; he was more cultured than merchants usually are and had some knowledge of Greek; his mind was keen and alert to everything going on around him; his spirit was neither cowardly nor rash; he easily endured toil and hunger and often went whole nights without sleep. Nothing happened in Italy without his knowledge; indeed it was his advice that guided the policy of many cities and princes. Nor were foreign events a secret to him, for his business contacts all over the world sent him a constant stream of letters which kept him abreast of affairs in their states. Toward the end of his life he suffered from gout, a disease which he lived to see his sons and grandsons inherit. When the pope passed through Florence he was more than seventy years old.

Commentarii, IV, 7 (Gragg, p. 300)

Cosimo, who had been too indifferent to wait on the Pope when he was on his way into Gaul, by no means slighted him on his return. He came to him late at night and in the course of their conversation expressed surprise that he was committed to a war with the French for the sake of Ferrante. The Pope replied that it was intolerable that a king whom he had himself confirmed should be ejected by force of arms; nor would this make for the freedom of Italy ... Cosimo applauded the Pope's spirit and admitted he was right, but he declared that the populace would act honourably only when forced by self-interest or fear. With some diffidence he asked a number of favors, among them that his grandson, if he appeared worthy, might be made cardinal. Finally, when on taking his leave he tried to kiss the pope's foot, but because he was crippled with gout, was unable to bend, he laughed and said, "Two Florentines named Papo and Lupo returning from the country met in the piazza and offered each other their hands and a kiss. But they were both very fat and there was such corporosity (if I may use that word) on both side that they could only touch their stomachs. Gout now denies me what corpulence refused them." The Pope laughingly dismissed him ...

16. Leonardus Aretinus

[78] Leonardus Aretinus, *domi*¹ non obscuro loco natus, litteras² sub Coluccio Pierio, qui tunc Florentinorum cancellarius erat, edidicit. Postea sub Manuele³ Chrisolora Constantinopolitano, qui sub Johanne papa seu Alexandro⁴ Italiam intraverat priscumque modum scribendi ac Ciceronianum morem induxerat, magis profecit. Nam Coluccius ineptias quasdam sui saeculi {55r} retinebat. Itaque superatus est a Leonardo, *qui etiam in quibusdam epistolis ad eum scribens suorum eum erratorum admonet suadetque, ut squalorem illum sui temporis deserat. Patiuntur nempe et litterae mutationem, nam aliae sunt uno, aliae alio tempore. Ab ipsis etenim linguae Latinae repertoribus ornatus dicendi et studia litterarum continuo creverunt usque ad tempora Ciceronis, ubi vero*⁵ *plenitudinem acceperunt nec amplius crescere potuerunt, cum jam essent in culmine. Manserunt igitur postea per plures annos et usque ad Jeronimum atque Gregorium viguerunt, non tamen absque minutione, exin perierunt funditus. Nec enim post illa tempora, qui ornate scripserit, reperitur. Post Franciscus Petrarca*⁶ *aliquantulum splendoris litteris dedit, sed Emanuel majorem attulit lucem, quem secutus est Leonardus.*⁷

¹ *omit.* MA

² ~~ora~~ *seq.* V; litteris MA

³ Emmanuele MA

⁴ papa seu Alexandro : seu Alexandro papa MA

⁵ uere HE

⁶ Patriarcha X

⁷ qui etiam ... Leonardus *omit.* MA

16. Leonardo Bruni, Chancellor of Florence

[78] Leonardo^{1 2} from Arezzo was born of a prominent family.³ He studied letters under Coluccio Pierio,⁴ at the time chancellor of Florence.⁵ Later he made further progress under Manuel Chrysoloras from Constantinople,⁶ who had come to Italy⁷ during the reign of Pope Johannes⁸ or Alexander^{9 10} and introduced the old manner of writing and Ciceronian style. Coluccio actually retained some linguistic ineptitudes of his time,¹¹ and he was therefore surpassed by Leonardo, who in a certain letter rebuked him for his errors and urged him to abandon the uncouth linguistic practices of his time.¹² For language and style are subject to change over the ages. After the early formation of the Latin language, elegant speaking and the pursuit of letters grew until the time of Cicero,¹³ when they reached maturity and could not grow any more, having now reached their apex. After that time, they continued for many years and still flourished under Jerome¹⁴ and Gregory¹⁵ but not without some deterioration, and later again they disappeared completely. After that time, you do not find anybody who could write elegantly. Still later, Francesco Petrarca¹⁶ restored some splendour to letters, but it was Manuel who brought them fully back to light, followed by Leonardo.

¹ Leonardo Bruni [Aretino] (ca. 1370-1444): Italian humanist, historian, and politician. Chancellor of Florence from 1427 to his death. Piccolomini was quite an admirer of Bruni, whom he may have met in Florence on a study tour during his university years.

² For a general biography of Bruni, see Vasoli.

³ In Arezzo. Vasoli: ... *padre Francesco doveva godere di un discreto stato di fortuna e partecipare alla vita pubblica.*

⁴ Coluccio de' Salutati, Lino (1331-1406): Son of Piero. Italian humanist. Chancellor of Florence 1374-1406.

⁵ Vasoli: *Certo, il B. godè ... dell'affettuosa amicizia del ... Coluccio Salutati ..., il maestro et il guida di alcuni giovani intelletuali.*

⁶ Manuel Chrysoloras [Emmanuel] (ca. 1355-1415): Came to Italy in 1397, invited from Constantinople to Florence by Coluccio Salutati to teach grammar and literature. Later he went on to other universities and travelled extensively. Very important for the reintroduction of classical literature and the rise of Italian humanism. Vasoli: *Tra i discepoli del dotto bizantino fu anche il B., il quale non esitò ad abbandonare lo studio del diritto per dedicarsi interamente alle "litterae antiquae".* 25 years later, at the University of Siena, Piccolomini would follow the same path from law to literature. This similiarity may have contributed to make Bruni a humanist model for Piccolomini.

⁷ 1397.

⁸ Johannes XXIII.

⁹ Alexander V [Petrus Philargus of Candia] (ca. 1339-1410): Pope (Pisan line) from 1409-1410.

¹⁰ Piccolomini's information is incorrect. Manuel Chrysoloras arrived in Italy 12 years before Alexander became pope.

¹¹ I.e., non-classical style, vocabulary and expressions.

¹² I.e., medieval Latin.

¹³ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman, author, and philosopher.

¹⁴ Hieronimus Sophronius, Eusebius (347-420): Christian author. Church Father. Saint.

¹⁵ Gregorius I (ca. 540-604): Pope from 590 to his death. Saint.

¹⁶ Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374): Italian scholar, author, and poet. One of the early founding fathers of Renaissance humanism.

[79] Hic post in apostolicum secretarium receptus¹ est ac cum² Johanne et Martino Constantiae fuit. fuit. Deinde mortuo Coluccio Florentini eum in³ cancellarium receperunt. Scripsit hic admodum ornate. Ex operibus Aristotelis Ethicam, Economicam et Politicam traduxit in Latinum, nec enim priorem probat⁴ translationem. Vitam Ciceronis ex pluribus auctoribus⁵ conscripsit, ex Plutarcho virorum illustrium plures vitas in Latinum vertit. Zenofontem⁶ quoque traduxit ac Basilium. Primum Punicum bellum ex diversis auctoribus confecit. De laudibus Florentinae urbis opusculum⁷ opusculum⁷ edidit. Scripsit Esagogas, scripsit gesta Florentinorum, scripsit de temporibus suis, de re militari, de utilitate disputationis, de gestis Gothorum.

¹ creatus MA

² ~~Martin~~ seq. V

³ ~~seer~~ seq. V

⁴ priorem probat : probat priorem MA

⁵ auth... *et passim* MA

⁶ Xeonofontem MA

⁷ opusculum *super* tractatulum V; tractatulum MA

[79] Later, he became an apostolic secretary¹ and was in Konstanz² with Johannes³ and Martin.⁴ After Coluccio's death, the Florentines engaged him as their chancellor.⁵ He wrote with exquisite elegance. Of the works of Aristotle,⁶ he translated the *Ethica*,⁷ the *Oeconomica*⁸ and the *Politica* into Latin since he did not approve of the translation of the first one. He also wrote a *Vita Ciceronis*⁹ on the basis of a number of authors, and he translated into Latin several of Plutarch's¹⁰ *Vitae* of illustrious men. He also translated Xenophon¹¹ and Basil.¹² He wrote a *Primum Punicum bellum*¹³, based on various authors, and published the little work *De laudibus Florentinae urbis*. He wrote *Isagogicon*,¹⁴ *Gesta Florentinorum*,¹⁵ *De temporibus Suis*,¹⁶ *De re militari*,¹⁷ *De Utilitate Disputationis*, *De Gestis Gothorum*.¹⁸

¹ 1405-1410 and 1411-1415.

² Council of Konstanz 1414-1418.

³ Johannes XXIII (Pisan line).

⁴ Martinus V.

⁵ 1410-1411 and 1427 to his death in 1444.

⁶ Aristotle (384 - 322 BCE): Greek philosopher and polymath.

⁷ *Ethica Nichomachaea*, 1416-1417.

⁸ Ps.Aristotle: *Libri Oeconomici*, 1420-1421.

⁹ 1415.

¹⁰ Plutarch (46 - after 119 CE): Greek philosopher, and essayist. Among others, he wrote the *Parallel lives*. Piccolomini knew his work and may have had access to Bruni's translations.

¹¹ Xenophon (ca. 430-454 BCE): Athenian historian, philosopher, and soldier. Bruni translated his *Hiero*.

¹² Basil of Caesarea [Basil the Great] (330-379): Bishop of Caesarea. Influential Greek theologian. Bruni did a translation of his *Pros tous neous (Ad Adolescentes)*, from which Piccolomini quoted freely in his oration "*Si quis*" on the Feast of Saint Ambrose (1438)(COR, II, 2), and in his work *De puerorum educatione* (1450).

¹³ *Commentarius de Primo Bello Punico*, based on Polybius, 1421.

¹⁴ *Isagogicon Moralis Disciplinae*.

¹⁵ *Historiae Florentini Populi*, 1415-1444.

¹⁶ *Commentarius de Rerum suo Tempore Gestarum*, 1440-1441.

¹⁷ Or *De Militia*, 1421, quoted by Piccolomini in his oration "*Audivi*" (1436).

¹⁸ *De Bello Italico Adversus Gothos*, 1422.

[80] Cum Nicolao Nicolo Florentino singulari usus est amicitia. Postea tam¹ magnae {55v} inter eos contentiones exarserunt, ut nec summi pontificis opera, qui id maxime optabat, reconciliari potuerint. Hinc² invectivam in Nicolaum Leonardus edidit. Nicolaus autem non scribendo, sed loquendo carpebat illum. Is enim, quamvis doctissimus esset magnique iudicii ita, ut inter omnes arbiter de scientia³ reciperetur essetque Latinus et Graecus, numquam tamen vel scripsit vel locutus est Latine. Diffidebat⁴ enim ingenio suo, nec se aliorum iudiciis committere volebat, cum ipse in omnes esset⁵ maledicus nec cuiusquam opus probaret, nullum enim viventem commendavit, ex mortuis solum quattuor: Platonem, Virgilium⁶, Jeronimum et Horatium. In libris autem circiter milia aureorum moriens reliquit.

¹ *supralin.* V

² huic X

³ ~~loqueretur~~ *seq.* V

⁴ diffiderat MA

⁵ in omnes esset : esset in omnes MA

⁶ ~~Lactantium~~ *seq.* V

[80] He had a very close friendship with Niccolò Niccoli¹ from Florence. Later, however, they came to quarrel so violently that even the pope² was unable to reconcile them though he very much wanted to. Then Leonardo published an invective³ against Niccolò.^{4 5 6} But Niccolò did not criticize others in writing, only in speaking, for though he was very learned and had great judgment - so much that he was considered an arbiter of learning, being both a Latin and a Greek - he never wrote or spoke Latin, for he doubted his own intellect and did not want to trust others' judgments. He spoke badly about all, approved nobody else's work, and did not commend anybody alive. Among the dead, he only accepted four: Plato, Virgil, Jerome, and Horace. When he died, he left books as at worth of 1,000 gold ducats.

¹ Niccolò de' Niccoli (1367-1437): Italian Renaissance humanist and book collector.

² Pope Martin V.

³ *In nebulonem maledicum*. 1424. The invective was a Renaissance literary genre in which the author freely abuses an opponent, often a literary opponent.

⁴ Feuds between humanists were quite frequent. Other such famous feuds were the feud between Lorenzo Valla and Poggio Bracciolini (see letter from Francesco Filelfo to Bracciolini and Valla of 7 March 1453 (Valla: *Correspondence* (Cook), ep. 51A, pp. 266-273)), between Beccadelli and da Rho, and between Filelfo and Poggio. On Francesco Barbaro's role in the reconciliation of Bruni and Niccoli, see letters of Bracciolini to Bruni of September and October 1426 (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, pp. 61-63, 72-75).

⁵ Vasoli: *Negli anni tra il '21' e il '24 il B. fu anche coinvolto in una incresciosa e aspra polemica con il vecchio amico Niccoli, suscitata a quanto sembra da reciproche gelosie per motivi piuttosto futili. Di questo litigio resta traccia, oltre che nel suo epistolario e in quelli del Traversari e di Poggio, nell'Invectiva in nebulonem maledicum e nel Carmen (databile al 1424 circa) del B., che presentano un fosco ritratto del carattere, delle abitudini e della vita privata del Niccoli. Il contrasto tra i due amici fu infine sanato dall'intervento di F. Barbaro che, nel '26, durante un suo soggiorno fiorentino, riuscì a farli incontrare e a pacificarli.*

⁶ On their reconciliation, see letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Niccoli of 23 October 1426: *Dixit mihi Bartholomaeus de Bardis ... te redisse in gratiam cum Leonardo Aretino ... Nosti enim quam sepe, quam diligenter, quam multis verbis tecum egerim de hac reconciliatione ... Leonardum autem et verbis coram et litteris absens hortatus sum, ut oblitterata memoria preteritorum antiquum erga te animum representaret* (Bracciolini: *Lettere*, I, ep. 66, p. 173)

[81] Cum Leonardo floruerunt Ambrosius de Angelis, qui fuit Camaldulensium¹ magister generalis, qui et ipse plurima ex Graecis operibus in Latinum vertit, qui Basileam missus orator ab² Eugenio gravem et luculentam orationem habuit, qui Sigismundum ex jussu apostolico in Hungaria visitavit ac postea reversus in pace mortuus est. Floruit et Guarrinus³ Veronensis, qui apud Ferrariam oratoriam docet pluresque discipulos erudivit⁴, qui et Plutarchum De Alendis Liberis Latinum fecit.

¹ § seq. V

² adb V

³ Guarin... *et passim* MA

⁴ pluresque discipulos erudivit *omit.* MA

[81] At the time of Leonardo also the following flourished¹:

Ambrogio degli Angeli², master general of the Camaldolese,³ who translated many Greek works into Latin. He was sent as an orator by Eugenius to Basel,⁴ where he held a weighty and elegant oration.⁵ On the pope's command, he visited Sigismund in Hungary,⁶ and after his return, he died in peace.

Also flourished Guarino Veronese, who teaches rhetorics in Ferrara and has had many pupils. He also translated Plutarch's *De Alendis Liberis* into Latin.⁷

¹ Humanists.

² Ambrogio Traversari (1368-1439): Italian humanist and theologian. General of the Camaldolese Order. Piccolomini probably met him during his visits to the Council of Basel. When in 1437 Traversari wrote a letter to emperor Sigismund, exhorting him to support Pope Eugenius against the Council of Basel, Piccolomini wrote another letter to the emperor, exhorting him to support the council against the pope (WO, I, 1, ep. 25, pp. 76-79; CPL, I, ep. 25).

³ From 1431.

⁴ The Council of Basel, 1431-1438.

⁵ 26 August 1435. In the oration, Traversari appealed to the Fathers to maintain peace in the Church and not create another schism.

⁶ Traversari addressed the imperial court and the imperial council in December 1435 and January 1436.

⁷ Or *De Liberis Educandis*. Quoted by Piccolomini in his oration "*Audivi*" (1436).

[82] Hoc etiam¹ tempore² magnus est habitus Poggius, qui licet³ Graecae linguae⁴ ignarus fuerit, nulli tamen in dicendo fuit inferior. Hic apud Constantiam in secretarium receptus est apostolicum, ubi et de morte Jeronimi Bohemi elegantem scripsit epistolam. Cum Guarrino de Scipione et Julio contendit, cumque ipse Scipionem praeponeret⁵, ille autem Julium, pluraque⁶ utrimque scripta sunt. {56r} Scripsit De Avaritia elegantem tractatum, quamvis ipse more hominum, qui aliena potius quam sua pernoscunt⁷ vitia, nequaquam liberalis putetur⁸. Scripsit de infelicitate principum, de Nobilitate. *Scripsit*⁹ et confabulationes¹⁰, quae suis moribus potius quam famae conveniunt. Is cum jam senex uxorem adolescentulam¹¹ admodum pulchram duxisset atque ab amicis increparetur, *qui tunc artem uxoriam inciperet, quando desinendum*¹², opusculum non infacetum¹³ neque inornatum^{14 15}, an seni sit uxor ducenda composuit.

¹ in X

² etiam tempore : tempore etiam MA

³ ~~Latini~~ seq. V [obvious error of copying]

⁴ Graecae linguae : lingua MA

⁵ exponeret MA

⁶ plura MA

⁷ praenoscut MA

⁸ esset MA

⁹ *omit.* MA

¹⁰ confabulatione MA

¹¹ uxorem adolescentulam : adolescentulam uxorem MA

¹² qui tunc ... desinendum *omit.* MA

¹³ non infacetum : facetum X

¹⁴ inordinatum MA

¹⁵ neque inornatum : ornatum X

[82] At that time, Poggio,¹ too, enjoyed a great reputation. Although he did not know Greek,² he spoke as well as anybody. In Konstanz,³ he was appointed apostolic secretary.⁴ There he wrote an elegant essay about the death of Jerome of Prague.⁵ He had a dispute with Guarino concerning Scipio⁶ and Julius,⁷ where he himself preferred Scipio while Guarino preferred Julius,⁸ and much was written on both sides.⁹ He also wrote an elegant treatise *De Avaritia*,¹⁰ though - as most men - he knew other's faults better than his own, not being reputed for generosity. He also wrote the *De Infelicitate Principum*¹¹ and the *De Nobilitate*.¹² Further, he wrote the *Confabulationes*,¹³ that fits his morals better than his reputation. In his old age,¹⁴ he married a very beautiful young girl,¹⁵ and when he was rebuked by his friends for undertaking the art of the wife [at a time of his life] when he should rather end it, he wrote a witty and elegant little work *An seni sit uxor ducenda*.^{16 17}

¹ Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Francesco (1380-1459): Florentine humanist, papal secretary, and author. Piccolomini probably met him during one or more of his missions to the papal court in 1445, 1446, 1447, 1450 and 1452. In a letter to Piccolomini of 4 November 1457, Bracciolini referred to "*tuae antiquae erga me benevolentiae*" (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), III, p. 459.)

² This appears to be incorrect. Poggio had sufficient knowledge of Greek to make some translations of Greek works.

³ The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418.

⁴ Poggio joined the papal curia in 1403, as an abbreviator and afterwards rose in the curial ranks. In 1410, he was appointed apostolic secretary by Johannes XXIII. When Johannes was deposed by the Council of Konstanz in 1415, Poggio lost his position as secretary. In 1418, he went to England to try his fortunes there but was disappointed and returned to Italy in 1423, where he regained his post as papal secretary, which he kept until 1453, when he returned to Florence as chancellor of the republic.

⁵ Jerome of Prague (1379-1416): Bohemian theologian and philosopher. Follower of Jan Hus, and like him burned as a heretic at the Council of Konstanz. Poggio wrote a moving and rather sympathetic description of his death in a letter to Leonardo Bruni of 30 May 1416 (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, pp. 157-163. In the HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 252), Piccolomini wrote about the letter: *Poggio Florentinus, etatis nostre nobilis scriptor, de morte Hieronymi ad Nicolaum Nicoli, concivem suum, elegantem scripsit epistolam, quamvis paululum sua consuetudine in mores cleri invectus videatur.*

⁶ Scipio Africanus, Publius Cornelius [the Elder] (ca. 235-183 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Victorious in the Second Punic War and defeated Hannibal.

⁷ Julius Caesar, Gajus (100-44 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Founder of the Julian line of Roman emperors.

⁸ The subject of a standing humanist debate about legitimate rulership and tyranny.

⁹ Poggio wrote the *De praestantia Caesaris et Scipionis*, a letter/treatise, addressed to Scipione Mainenti, in which he defended the republican model represented by Publius Cornelius Scipio.

¹⁰ 1425-1428. Quoted by Piccolomini in his oration "*Si quis*" on the Feast of Saint Ambrose (1438) (COR, II, 2).

¹¹ 1440. It may have been a source of inspiration for Piccolomini's own *De miseria curialium*.

¹² 1440.

¹³ The *Facetiae* (1438-1452), a collection of humorous and sometimes immoral anecdotes. Piccolomini's comment seems, like his comment on the *De Avaritia*, to reflect a slightly negative perception of Poggio.

¹⁴ He was 57 years old.

¹⁵ Vaggia Buondelmonti.

¹⁶ 1436. The text was a in the form of a dialogue.

¹⁷ In this short biography, Piccolomini fails to mention Poggio's very important finds of manuscripts with classical texts, his invention of humanist round handwriting, and his stay in England for 4-5 years.

[83] Hoc tempore etiam Andreas Mediolanensis ex ordine Augustinensium, quem Senis audivi, historiarum scriptor, floruit, tumque et Antonius Raudensis ex ordine minorum, qui librum de elegantia Latini sermonis composuit. Tum et Bartholomaeus de Monte Politiano¹, quem Martinus papa in secretarium recepit atque adeo dilexit, ut unicum eum referendarium habuerit illique soli omnia crederet. *Huic cum aliquando importunus quidam supplicasset causam suam expediri nec desisteret rogare, “Quid agis?” inquit, “Malum caput habes.” Tum ille: “Et tu malos pedes.” Erat enim claudus Bartholomaeus. Nec iratus scommate mox homini causam absolutam dedit.*² Tum³ quoque Johannis Laurispae⁴ nomen et Antonii Panormitae magnum est habitum.

[84] Sed omnes⁵ *scribendo*⁶ superavit Aretinus, *nam simillimus Ciceroni fuit, nec aetas nostra parem invenit*⁷. In dicendo tardiusculus erat, et nisi praemonitus nihil dicere potuisset. Ubi namque⁸ namque⁸ ex tempore locutus est, quasi amens videbatur. *In carmine quoque nihil potuit, nam etsi artem habuit, venam tamen naturae non habuit*⁹.

[85] Huic mortuo in cancellaria Florentinorum Carolus Aretinus successit. {56v} Latinis ac Graecis litteris madidus est, carmen elegans facit nec minor est in oratione soluta. Hujus primi versus, quos viderim, fuerunt ex Homero traducti, qui bellum murium¹⁰ ac¹¹ ranarum referunt, sed *jam*¹² vir grandior factus maturiora conscribit. Apud Senenses hoc tempore cancellarius fuit Bertus, Antonii filius, vir etiam elegans. Sed postea novum morem invenerunt Senenses et, quod nusquam est, officium cancellariatus annum fecere¹³, ut tunc cesset, cum coeptum erat cognosci.¹⁴ Post apud Senenses crevit Franciscus Patritius, quem admodum peritum dicunt, nam linguam utramque novit et oratorias artes¹⁵ edocet.

¹ Montepolitiano MA

² huic cum ... dedit *omit.* MA

³ tunc X

⁴ Lairis MA

⁵ ~~loquendo~~ *seq. V; omit.* MA [obvious error of transcription in V]

⁶ *omit.* MA

⁷ nam simillimus ... invenit *omit.* MA

⁸ vero MA

⁹ in carmine ... habuit *omit.* MA

¹⁰ murum V

¹¹ et MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ facere X

¹⁴ agnosci MA

¹⁵ oratorias artes : oratoriam MA

[83] At that time, also flourished Andrea from Milan,¹ of the Augustinian Order, whose lectures I followed in Siena and who wrote historical works², and Antonio da Rho³ of the Order of Minorites, Minorites, who wrote a book on the elegance of the Latin language.⁴ There was also Bartolomeo from Montepulciano,⁵ whom Pope Martin engaged as a secretary and loved to the extent that he made him his sole referendary and entrusted all kinds of business to him. When once an importunate person asked him to expedite his case and became very insistent, Bartolomeo said, “What are you doing? You have a bad head.” Then, the man answered, “And you have bad feet,” for Bartholomew hobbled. He did not, however, grow angry at this taunt but quickly finished the man’s case.

At that time, also the names of Giovanni Aurispa and Antonio Panormita⁶ were held in high regard.

[84] But Aretino⁷ surpassed them all, for he was the one most similar to Cicero and had no equal in our age. He was somewhat slow in speaking, and if not forewarned he could say nothing, and when he improvised a speech, he appeared a complete fool.⁸ He could not write verses, for though he did have the technique, he did not have the natural gift [for poetry].

[85] When he died, Carlo from Arezzo⁹ succeeded him in the Florentine chancellery. He is steeped in Latin and Greek letters. He writes elegant poetry and is an accomplished speaker. His first verses, which I have seen, are translated from Homer¹⁰ and relate the war between the mice and the ravens.¹¹ Now that he has become a great man, he writes more serious things.

At that time, the chancellor in Siena was Berto,¹² son of Antonio, also an elegant man. But later the Sienese introduced a new practice, never used previously, of making the office of chancellor annual, so that it ends when the man has just begun to understand it. Later in Siena, Francesco

¹ Andrea Biglia (ca. 1395-1443): Italian humanist and historian. Augustinian friar. Piccolomini followed his lectures in Siena 1431-1432 and used material on the origins of the Turks from one of his works for his oration “*Audivi*” (1436) (COR, I, 1).

² E.g., *Historia Rerum Mediolanensium* (1402-1435).

³ Antonio da Rho (ca. 1390 - ca. 1450): Italian humanist. Franciscan Minorite friar.

⁴ *De imitatione eloquentiae*.

⁵ Bartolomeo Aragazzi (ca. 1385-1429): Italian humanist. Apostolic secretary of Pope Martin V.

⁶ Antonio Beccadelli [Panormita] (1394-1471): Italian humanist. Official of King Alfonso V. Acquaintance and friend of Piccolomini, possibly already from their university days in Siena. Note that Piccolomini does not mention Beccadelli’s work *Hermaphrodita*, which caused quite a scandal when it appeared in 1425, nor his coronation as poet by Emperor Sigismund in 1432.

⁷ Leonardo Bruni.

⁸ On improvisation, see also sect. 67, and COR, I, 3.1.1.

⁹ Carlo Marsuppini [Aretinus] (1398-1453): Italian humanist. Chancellor of Florence, 1444-1453.

¹⁰ Homer: Greek poet. Author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

¹¹ *Batracomiomachia* (1429): In Antiquity attributed to Homer.

¹² Berto Ildebrandini [Ildebrandi]: Sometime chancellor of Siena. Leonardo Bruni dedicated his *De recta interpretatione* to him. See also letter of Poggio Bracciolini to Berto Ildebrandini of March 1440, in Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, pp. 363-365).

Patrizi¹ has emerged, reportedly to be a most learned man, for he knows both languages² and teaches rhetorics.^{3 4}

16. Bernardinus Senensis

[86] Bernardinus Senensis nobilibus ortus natalibus eloquentiae studiis adolescentiam⁵ suam ac juri pontificio tradidit *nec caruit vitiis, quae illa fert aetas*.⁶ Post⁷ spiritu Dei tactus⁸ mundo renuntiavit renuntiavit erogatisque bonis suis erga pauperes religionem ingressus est ac ordinem divi Francisci sub rigida observatione professus.

[87] Ubi cum aliquandiu corpus suum macerasset, ne gratiam sermonis, quam sibi Deus tradiderat, incassum teneret, praedicationis verbi Dei officium assumpsit diuque in Lombardia partibus coram populis praedicavit multosque homines a malis operibus abstraxit *et ad frugem vitae melioris adduxit*⁹. Nam et in Mediolano et in Papia, in Bononia, in Verzellis, in Padua, in Verona, in Venetiis, in Trivisio¹⁰ tamquam propheta auditus est. Erat enim in dicendo facetus¹¹ mirisque modis homines *nunc*¹² ad lacrimas, *nunc ad risum*¹³ trahebat, *flectebatque mentes hominum, quocumque volebat*¹⁴. Vitia sic exterminabat, ut quoslibet in eorum horrorem adduceret. Virtutes vero {57r} sic commendavit, ut earum amorem quibuslibet¹⁵ induceret¹⁶, et quoniam vita ejus sancta erat sine omni¹⁷ macula, qui vivebat in paupertate, nudis pedibus ambulans, unica tunica ex lana¹⁸ contentus, qui perseverabat in jejuniis et orationibus, miro modo populos alliciebat *fidemque ejus faciebat oratio. Praecipuam enim mores faciunt fidem, nam probis viris et magis et facilius de omnibus simpliciter credimus*¹⁹. Hic et feminas deponere ornamenta capitis, coronas, sarta, crines alienos, et

¹ Francesco Patrizi (1413-1492): Sienese humanist. Friend of Pius II who appointed him Bishop of Gaeta, 1463.

² Latin and Greek.

³ Date: Finished after 1444 when Marsuppini became chancellor of Florence.

⁴ Piccolomini's sources: Direct experiences and acquaintances, common acquaintances, common knowledge, and hearsay.

⁵ *juventutem* MA

⁶ *nec caruit ... aetas omit.* MA

⁷ *et post* MA

⁸ *tractus* HE; *plenus* MA

⁹ *et ad frugem ... adduxit omit.* MA

¹⁰ *Tarvisio* MA

¹¹ *facundus* MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ *nunc ad risum omit.* MA

¹⁴ *flectebatque ... volebat omit.* MA

¹⁵ *omit.* MA [blank space]

¹⁶ *earum amorem ... induceret : ad earum amorem quemlibet adduceret* MA

¹⁷ *animi* HE, MA

¹⁸ *plana* X

¹⁹ *fidemque ... credimus omit.* MA

homines fugere¹ aleam ludosque malos in tantum trahebat, ut omnia hujusmodi sibi afferri et in publico comburi juberet².

¹ [docebat] *em.* HE

² faceret V, MA; juberet *suprascr.* V

16. Bernardino da Siena, Preacher

[86] Bernardino da Siena^{1 2} was born from a noble family. He dedicated his youth to the study of rhetorics and pontifical law,³ and he was not without the faults typical of that age. Later, inspired by the Holy Spirit, he renounced the world, distributed his possessions to the poor and became a monk,⁴ joining the Observantist branch of the Order of Saint Francis.⁵

[87] For a time, he emaciated his body, but then he undertook the office of preaching God's word so that the gift of preaching bestowed upon him by God would not go to waste. For a long time, he preached in the regions of Lombardy, drawing many people away from their wicked deeds and bringing them to the fruits of a better life. In Milan, Pavia, Bologna, Vercelli, Padua, Verona, Venice, and Treviso, he was heard like a prophet. He was well-spoken and astonishingly skilful in bringing people now to tears, now to laughter, and in bending the minds of men wherever he wanted to. He denounced vice so that he brought people to loathe it and commended virtue so that he brought them to love it. His own life was holy and without any blemish, and he lived in poverty, walking barefoot, content with just one woollen garment, continuously fasting and praying. Thus, he inspired people wondrously, and they grew to trust his sermons. Actual behaviour [rather than words] inspires special trust, for we simply believe honest men more and more easily in all matters. He made women give up their head dressings, their circlets, their wreaths, their locks of false hair, and men their dice and base games, and he even demanded that all such be brought to him and burnt in public.

¹ Bernardino da Siena [degli Albizzeschi] (1380-1444): Sienese theologian. Franciscan monk and popular preacher. Piccolomini had met Bernardino as a young man and much admired him, often mentioning him in his writings: In 1453, he wrote about him: *Quibus in locis ejus memoriam non celebrem facere sum annixus?* (WO, III, p. 284). Piccolomini/Pius was quite proud of Bernardino as a Sienese saint, as shown when he mentioned him in his oration "Catherinam Senensem" at the canonisation of Catherine of Siena, in 1461: *In our time, two Sienese have been inscribed in the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is a rare distinction, indeed, and otherwise unheard of in our age. Bernardino, who came from a noble family in Siena, was entered into the catalogue of the Holy Confessors of Christ by Our predecessor, Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus V. You yourselves have not only heard from others about his excellent virtues and admirable works, but you have seen them yourselves for he was renowned in your own time and filled the world with his teaching* (COR, IX, 62, sect. 16). An in his oration "Vetus majorum" (1459), he said, *Many of you knew Bernardino¹ whose sermons were heard by great crowds as if he was the Apostle Paul himself or an angel sent from Heaven.* (COR, VII, 31, sect. 5). Piccolomini heard Bernardino's sermons in Siena and probably also in Rome, where he visited him personally.

² For a general work on Bernardino of Siena and his preaching, see Mormando.

³ Canon law. Bernardino studied at the University of Siena.

⁴ At the age of 22 years.

⁵ The Franciscan Order was founded in 1209 by Saint Francis of Assisi. The Observantist branch observed Saint Francis' strict rule of poverty.

[88] Is quoque in tabella pictum nomen Jesus deferebat hominibusque adorandum ostendebat multumque suadebat ante hostia domorum hoc nomen depingi, ob quam rem accusatus est coram Martino pontifice¹, sed minime convictus, nam quaecumque is dicebat, et vera erant et sancta. Quia tamen hanc novitatem nonnulli male recipiebant, jussus est hoc nomen ne amplius² populis adorandum offerret, ne plus illi quam sacramento eucharistiae impenderetur³ honoris, quod tamen ipse minime asserebat.

[89] Is cum Senis praedicaret, me intantum commovit, ut paululum abfuerit, quin et ego religionem suam ingrederer, sed amicorum preces me retraxerunt⁴, quod pro meliori recipio. Nescimus enim quid nobis magis⁵ expediat.

[90] Hujus vestes *mulierculae totque simpliciores*⁶ homines, cum⁷ transiret, tamquam sanctas tangebant. Cum Senis in foro praedicaret, ingens turbo pluviam magnam minaretur⁸ vellentque omnes recedere, qui sub divo⁹ erant timebantque pluviam. “State,” inquit, “viri!”, et genibus flexis adoravit Deum jussitque in virtute Jesu nubem abire, quo facto solutis absque pluvia nubibus prior serenitas rediit.

[91] Is postmodum {57v} Romae praedicavit, sed primo contemnebatur ab his, qui non audiverant eum, cumque nonnulli causa irrisionis potius quam devotionis¹⁰ eum accederent, mutata opinione numquam ejus sermonem deserebant. Ex quo factum est, ut tota eum Roma audiret cardinalesque ac papa ejus sermoni interessent magnusque et mirabilis apud omnes haberetur.

¹ coram Martino pontifice : apud Martinum pontificem MA

² hoc nomen ne amplius : ne amplius hoc nomen MA

³ eucharistiae impenderetur : eucharistico defereretur MA

⁴ retinuerunt X

⁵ nobis magis : magis nobis MA

⁶ mulierculae totque simpliciores *omit.* MA

⁷ dum MA

⁸ pluviam magnam minaretur : minaretur pluviam magnam MA

⁹ dio MA

¹⁰ ad *add.* MA

[88] He also brought with him a painted picture of the name of Christ and exhibited it for public veneration, urging people to have this name painted on the doors of their homes.¹ For this reason, accusations were made against him to Pope Martin,² but he was not condemned, for all he said was holy and true.^{3 4} Nevertheless, since some people did not accept this novelty, he was ordered to no longer present the picture to the people for adoration so that they would not venerate it more than the sacrament of the eucharist – something which he had certainly not intended.

[89] Once, when he preached in Siena,⁵ I was so moved⁶ that I almost joined his order but was kept kept back by the entreaties of my friends. That was possibly to my own good, but I really do not know what would have been the best.

[90] When he passed by, many little women and simple-minded men would touch his clothes as if they were holy. Once, when he was preaching in the *piazza* of Siena, a great storm threatened with much rain, and all wanted to leave, being in the open and fearing the rain. But then he shouted: “Stay, people!”, and, adoring God on bended knees, he, in the name of Christ, ordered the cloud to go away, which happened: the clouds dissolved without any rain, and the previous calm heaven returned.⁷

[91] Later, he preached in Rome. At first, he was snubbed by those who had not heard him, but then many who had come not to hear him but to ridicule him changed their minds and did not leave while he was preaching.⁸ Thus he was heard by all in Rome. Even the cardinals and the pope attended his sermons, and all held him to be a great and wonderful man.

¹ Bernardino was instrumental in the rise of the devotion to the name of Christ. Thanks to him the Christogram IHS came into general use, also by Piccolomini in some of his autograph manuscripts. In his *Commentarii*, Pius would later mention that at the Battle of Belgrade in 1456, Giovanni Capistrano showed Bernardino’s picture of the Christogram to the Christian crusaders, encouraging them by frequently shouting *Jesus, Jesus (... ostentans divi Bernardini Senensis imaginem atque altissima voce salvatoris invocans nomen ‘Jesus, Jesus’ saepius intonans pugnare cruce signatos admonet* (HE, II, p. 746).

² One of the critics of Bernardino’s devotion to the name of Christ was Andrea Biglia, who wrote a tract against him. Another was Poggio Bracciolini, see his letter to Francesco Barbaro of 18 December 1429 (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 92).

³ The process before the Inquisition took place in 1426. Bernardino was exonerated, and afterwards, the pope, who was much taken with him, asked him to preach in Rome.

⁴ Pastor, I, pp. 246-247: *Im Jahre 1426 kam Bernardino wiederum nach Rom, um sich vor dem Papst, bei dem man ihn der Ketzerei angeklagt hatte, zu rechtfertigen. Die Sache, um die es handelte, war folgende: Wenn Bernardino in eine Stadt einzog, so liess er eine Standarte vor sich hertragen, auf der das Monogramm des süssen Namens Jesu (IHS), von zwölf Sonnestrahlen umgeben und einem Kreuze gekrönt, abgebildet war. ... Aus der Untersuchung, die der Papst anstellen liess, ging der Heilige glänzend gerechtfertigt hervor. Martin erteilte ihm jetzt die Erlaubnis, allenthalben zu predigen, die Verehrung des Namens Jesu in der früheren Weise zu verbreiten und auch die Standarte aufzustellen. Damit aber Bernardinos Unschuld gerade in Rom, wo man ihn verleumdet, recht zutage trete, hielt der Papst persönlich mit seiner gesamten Geistlichkeit eine feierliche Prozession, bei der der Name Jesu unter allseitigen Jubel verherrlicht wurde. Ausserdem befahl der Papst dem heiligen in St. Peter und dann auch in andern Kirchen in der Ewigen Stadt das Wort Gottes zu verkündigen.*

⁵ 1427.

⁶ Piccolomini was then 22 years old.

⁷ Piccolomini was probably in the audience.

⁸ Piccolomini may well have heard his sermons when he visited the saint in Rome, see sect. 100.

[92] Hic cancellos, qui erant ante domos civium, destrui¹ mandavit. Erat enim moris², ut qui hominem occidisset, dum in sua domo atque cancellis maneret, per rempublicam capi non posse, sed licere adversae parti illum vi³ expugnare. Itaque plura sic fiebant homicidia, quae Bernardinus prohibuit. Perusii quoque mos erat in annos singulos⁴ cives inter se lapidibus pugnare armatos corio⁵, in quo proelio quotannis plurimi interficiebantur⁶, sed et hoc Bernardinus vetuit.

[93] Cum inter eos praedicaret, *obtulit se diabolum eis⁷ ostensurum pluribusque diebus populum hac spe suspendit. Itaque veniebant omnes ad sermonem visuri diabolum. Post plures dies “Servabo”, inquit, “quod promissum est, et cum unum promiserim diabolum ostendere, multos ostendam. Respice invicem alter alterum, et sic videbitis diabolos, nam vos ipsi diaboli estis, qui opera diaboli facitis. Scriptum est enim: Ex operibus eorum cognoscetis eos.” Et sic eorum eis vitia exprobravit gravemque ex hinc sermonem habuit⁸.*

[94] Post haec mortuo Senensi episcopo vocatus est per civitatem Martinusque *sibi⁹* consentiebat, sed ipse nullo pacto episcopatum acceptare voluit dicens gratias esse diversas, aliis¹⁰ enim datam esse sermonis gratiam, aliis regendi. Similiter¹¹ et duos alios episcopatus recusavit.

[95] Ad extremum cum annis circiter quadraginta singulis fere diebus populis¹² praedicasset¹³, {58r} apud Aquilam urbem migravit ad dominum, ubi corpus ejus reconditum infinitis *hodie¹⁴* miraculis claret, et duo jam¹⁵ pro ejus canonizatione sunt obtenta¹⁶ apud¹⁷ Romanum pontificem consistoria. *Asinus, quem ipse aliquando fessus¹⁸ via solebat ascendere quique suos libros deferebat, cum Senas venisset, a mulieribus depilatus est, quae ob memoriam Bernardini aliquid de*

¹ *omit. V [blank space]*

² mos MA

³ illum vi : eum MA

⁴ annos singulos : annis singulis MA

⁵ ~~ubi~~ seq. V

⁶ interficiebant V

⁷ diabolum eis : eis diabolum X

⁸ obtulit se ... habuit *omit.* MA

⁹ *omit.* MA

¹⁰ alii V

¹¹ etiam *add.* MA

¹² singulis fere diebus populis : populis singulis fere diebus MA

¹³ *omit.* V, X

¹⁴ *omit.* MA

¹⁵ item HE, MA

¹⁶ obiecta HE, MA

¹⁷ ante MA

¹⁸ fessus fessus V; in *add.* X

*suo habere volebant*¹. Ocularia ejus Filippus, dux Mediolani², sibi transmitti curavit³, nam dolorem dolorem oculorum patiebatur.

[96] Fuit homo⁴ macerrimus, nam jejuniis se extenuavit⁵, sed semper jucundus et alacris⁶ erat, nec nec umquam facies ejus visa est tristis, nisi cum⁷ de aliquo crimine publico⁸ doleret. *Facetiis multis multis utebatur*⁹.

[92] He ordered the destruction of fences before citizens' houses. It was the custom that if someone had killed a man, he could not be arrested by the authorities so long as he remained in his own home, behind his own fences. His adversaries, however, were free to attack him with arms, and thus many were killed. But Bernardino forbade [this practice]. And in Perugia, it was the custom that once a year the citizens armed with leather slings fought each other with stones. Every year many were killed in this fight, so Bernardino forbade that practice, too.

[93] Once, during a sermon, he offered to show them the Devil. For several days he kept the people in suspense, and all came to his sermon to see the Devil. Then he told them, "I will now keep my promise and show you not just one devil but many. Look at each other, and then you will see devils, for you yourselves are devils since you do the works of the Devil. For it is written: *By their fruits you shall know them.*"¹⁰ Thus, he rebuked them for their vices and afterwards held a grave sermon.

[94] When the Bishop of Siena died,¹¹ he was elected bishop by the city, and Martin¹² assented, but in no way did he want to accept episcopal office, saying that there are diverse graces¹³: some have been given the grace of preaching, others the grace of ruling. In the same way, he refused two other bishoprics.¹⁴

[95] In the end, he died in Aquila,¹⁵ having preached to the people almost every day for about 40 years. His body is buried there and is famed for countless miracles.¹⁶ Already, two consistories on his canonisation have been held before the Roman Pontiff. Bernardo had a donkey, which he

¹ asinus quem ... volebant *omit.* MA

² Mediolanensis MA

³ sibi transmitti curavit : obtinuit MA

⁴ vir MA

⁵ extenuabat X

⁶ *em.*; alacris V, X; ilaris HE; hilaris MA

⁷ cum HE, MA

⁸ crimine publico : publico crimine MA

⁹ *facetiis multi utebatur omit.* MA

¹⁰ Matthew, 7, 16.

¹¹ 1426. The Bishop of Siena, Antonio Casini, had not died but was appointed cardinal.

¹² Pope Martin V.

¹³ 1. Corinthians, 12, 4.

¹⁴ Ferrara 1431 and Urbino 1435.

¹⁵ 20 May 1444.

¹⁶ Pope Pius II had certain troubles with Aquila and noted in his *Commentarii* that the city was *unworthy of San Bernardino's body (nec divi Bernardini corpore digna)*(COM, V, 29).

mounted when he became tired on the road, and which transported his books. Once, when he arrived in Siena, his hair was pulled out by women wanting a memory of Bernardo. Duke Filippo¹ of Milan had his eyeglasses sent to him since he suffered from pain in the eyes.

[96] Forever fasting, he was gaunt, but he was always glad and cheerful, and he never showed a sad face, except when he spoke about some public crime. He was fond of joking.

¹ Filippo Maria Visconti.

[97] Plures reliquit suarum virtutum imitatores¹, e quibus praecipuus fuit Albertus de Sarteano², qui, eloquentiam doctus sub Guarrino litterisque saecularibus apprime instructus, et ipse postea minor factus sub Bernardino eloquentiam Dei didicit praedicavitque populis cum magna gratia. Hunc³ et Eugenius pontifex maximus Jerosolimam⁴ misit, ut specularetur facta soldani, qui reversus et Aegypti et Indiae negotia, uti se haberent⁵, edocuit et, quomodo vinci possent, monstravit.

[98] Jacobus quoque de⁶ Marchia ordinis minorum hujus Bernardini discipulus fuit, qui multis gentibus verbum Dei annuntiavit attenteque auditus fuit. *Is Hungariam intravit, cumque linguam ignoraret, per interpretem turbas alloquebatur magnamque audientiam et gratiam apud omnes adeptus est. Is cum de vanitate mulierum atque virorum apud Budam sermonem haberet, caput mortui⁷ secum in pulpito habuit et, cum diu de vanitate humana dixisset, ut tandem nihil esse hominem ostenderet, caput mortui⁸ ostendit et inquit: "Gloriamini, quantum vultis, homines. Ut in hanc formam pulchritudinemque revertamini, necesse est." Cum seditio Budae foret, et Hungari contra Theutonicos surrexissent, totaque civitas in armis esset, crucifixum is secum attulit hortatusque est, {58v} ut dimissis odiis ob reverentiam crucifixi pacem haberent. Sed Hungari tamquam felicius pugnaturi et monachum et⁹ crucifixum extollentes insecuti sunt Theutonicos et ingentem caedem fecerunt¹⁰.*

[99] Tempore Bernardini clari praedicatores habiti sunt Antonius de Massa, qui Graecis et Latinis litteris eruditus erat, qui¹¹ generalis minorum magister¹² fuit ac post suae urbis episcopus interiit. *Hic cum de paupertate sermonem haberet taediaque paupertatis exponeret, "Nemo", inquit, "quod¹³ mala paupertas secum ferat dicere posset, nisi qui expertus est ut ego, qui diu frustra¹⁴ panis¹⁵ comedi. Sed nunc gratias Deo ago, qui me ad integrum panem reduxit." Interrogatus quoque an cardinalis fieri vellet, "Affer," inquit, "capellum tuncque tibi respondebo¹⁷."*

¹ suarum virtutum imitatores : virtutum suarum sectatores MA

² Sarthiano MA

³ hinc MA

⁴ eum *add.* MA

⁵ habebant MA

⁶ de *corr.* ex ex V; ex V, MA

⁷ Martini X

⁸ Martini X

⁹ *omit.* X

¹⁰ is Hungariam ... fecerunt *omit.* MA

¹¹ et MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ quot *em.* HE

¹⁴ *em.* HE; frustra V

¹⁵ diu frustra : frustra diu X

¹⁶ panem X

¹⁷ hic cum ... respondebo *omit.* MA

[97] He left several imitators of his virtues. Preeminent among them was Alberto de Sarteano,¹ who studied rhetorics under Guarino and became proficient in secular letters. Later, he, too, became a Minorite, studied sacred eloquence under Bernardino and became a very popular preacher. Pope Eugenius sent him to Jerusalem to explore the activities of the sultan. When he returned, he informed [the pope] about the situation in Egypt and India, showing how they might be conquered.

[98] The Franciscan Giacomo della Marca,² too, was a disciple of Bernardino. He preached the word of God to many peoples and was heard with great attention. When he came to Hungary, he had to speak through an interpreter since he did not know the language. Nonetheless, he gained a large audience and became very popular. Once in Buda, when he was preaching a sermon on the vanity of men and women, he had brought the head of a dead man with him to the pulpit, and when he had spoken for a long time about human vanity and in the end wanted to demonstrate to them that man is nothing, he [suddenly] showed them the head of the dead man and cried, “Glory as much as you will for now, men. But to this beauty and charm you must [some day] return!” And when there was an uprising in Buda, and the Hungarians rose against the Germans, and the whole city was in arms, he, carrying a crucifix, urged them to put an end to hate and have peace out of reverence for the crucifix. The Hungarians, however, believing that it would make their fight more successful, seized both monk and crucifix and, carrying them along with them, pursued the Germans and made an immense slaughter.^{3 4}

[99] In Bernardino’s time, there were other famous preachers, like Antonio da Massa.⁵ He was proficient in both Greek and Latin letters, became a Master General of the Minorites, and died as bishop of his city. Once he preached a sermon about poverty and, holding forth on the miseries of poverty, said, “Nobody can tell the evil poverty brings, unless he has experienced it himself like I who for a long time had to subsist on morsels of bread. Now I thank God for giving me back the

¹ Alberto Berdini [de Sarteano] (1385-1450): Franciscan friar. Associate of Bernardino da Siena. Apostolic delegate for the East (Ethiopia, India, Egypt, and Jerusalem).

² Giacomo della Marca [Domenico Gangala] (1393-1476): Franciscan friar. Popular preacher. Papal legate. Saint. Pius II invited him to participate in the Congress of Mantua, 1459. Later, a sermon by Giacomo gave rise to a conflict between Dominican and Franciscan friars about the blood of Christ. In his *Commentarii*, Pius II mentioned this sermon (COM, XI, 7), and gave extensive coverage of a debate on the issue, held in his presence in the Vatican.

³ Galamb, p. 213: ... *nel maggio del 1439, san Giacomo dimorò a Buda, dove tenò vanamente di calmare un tumulto scoppiati fra i borghesi. Casagrande: Nel maggio del 1439 era a Buda dove tentò vanamente di pacificare un contrasto sorto fra gli Ungharesi e i Tedeschi.*

⁴ In his *Europa* (1458), Piccolomini wrote about this episode: *At that time, Jacopo della Marca, a Minorite friar famous for his erudition and piety, was preaching the Gospel to the people of Buda. In order to quell the riot, he faced the armed and raging populace with an image of the crucified Savior in his hand and begged them humbly to refrain from slaughter, cease pillaging, and lay down their arms. Not in the least understanding his words (for the occasion did not call for an interpreter) and thinking that the leadership of Christ would benefit their undertaking, they raised Jacopo and his Crucifix aloft in their arms and rampaged through the city plundering one house after the other. However, the spoliation was reduced and the bloodshed mitigated to some extent by the presence of Jacopo, who now with pleas, now with tears, attempted to allay the frenzy of the inflamed mob* (Europa (Brown), pp. 55-56).

⁵ Antonio da Massa Marittima (-1435): Franciscan friar. Bishop of Massa from 1430 to his death.

whole bread.” Another time, when asked if he wanted to become a cardinal, he said: “Bring me the hat,¹ and I shall tell you.”

[100] Claruit tunc et Angelus de Senis, qui et ipse generalis minorum *magister*² fuit, multae eloquentiae magnaue doctrinae³ pater. Tunc etiam Gabriel de Spoletto, qui etiam post episcopus fuit, magnus verbi Dei praedicator *est habitus*. *Fuit autem et*⁴ theologus et philosophus praestans, sed impari cum Bernardino sanctitate, ob quam rem nec tantam audientiam habuit *et sibi clanculum inuidebat in sermonibusque detrahebat*. *Hic Senis disputationem publicam habuit, qua haereticum esse asseruit, si quis negaret Deum facta infecta reddere posse, atque ad omnia, quae in contrarium fiebant argumenta, dicebat id esse de potestate*⁵ *ordinata, se autem de absoluta loqui*⁶. Is etiam⁷ dicebat obligatum esse hominem adimplere, quaecumque bona facere voluisset⁸, *ac sic inferebat, si quis aliquando*⁹ *religionem intrare voluisset et postea poenituerit, absolvi non posse, nisi adimpleret, quod semel voluisset*¹⁰, quae res, cum me tangeret, nam et ego volui aliquando religionem intrare, Bernardinum usque Romam petii consuluique, qui id se negavit umquam comperisse bonamque mihi mentem¹¹ fecit.

¹ The cardinal’s hat.

² *omit.* MA

³ eloquentiae magnaue doctrinae : doctrinae magnaue eloquentiae MA

⁴ *est habitus ... et omit.* MA

⁵ The word in V may also be read as *parte*, which possibly gives a better meaning

⁶ *et sibi ... loqui omit.* MA

⁷ *omit.* MA

⁸ *facere voluisset : uoluisset facere* X

⁹ *aliquam* HE

¹⁰ *ac sic inferebat ... voluisset omit.* MA

¹¹ *mercedem* MA

[100] Also Angelo from Siena was famous then.¹ He, too, became Master General of the Minorites and a Father of great eloquence and learning. There was also Gabriele da Spoleto², who later became a bishop. He was held to be a great preacher of God's word and was an outstanding theologian and philosopher but unequal to Bernardino in holiness. Therefore, he did not have as great an audience and secretly envied Bernardino, whom he criticised in his sermons. Once, he held a public disputation in Siena in which he asserted that anyone who claimed that God could not undo done things was a heretic, and he answered all arguments to the contrary by saying that the other was talking about potentialities whereas he was talking of absolutes³. He also claimed that a man was obliged to fulfil all his intentions to do good, and from this he concluded that if someone wanted to join a religious order and afterwards regretted it, he could not get absolution unless he fulfilled his intention.⁴ This upset me since I had once wanted to join an order. I, therefore, went to see Bernardino in Rome and asked him for advice. He told me that he had never heard such a thing and put me at ease.^{5 6}

¹ Angelo Salvetti (ca. 1350-1423): Franciscan friar and general of the order.

² Gabriele da Spoleto: Not identified.

³ Potentialities = things that were possible; absolutes = things that had actually been done.

⁴ Piccolomini evidently heard Gabriele's lecture while a student at the University of Siena. He became so upset about Gabriele's claim that he went all the way to Rome to consult Bernardino of Siena on the matter, which must have been when Bernardino resided in Rome in 1426. See also sect. 89.

⁵ Date: Written after May 1444, when Bernardino died.

⁶ Piccolomini's sources: Personal acquaintance and experiences, mutual acquaintances, and common knowledge and hearsay.

Supplement

1) From Europa (Heck, p. 263-265)

Divus Bernardinus Senesis, postquam Italiam omnem Christi nomen praedicando peragrasset, mortalis vitae cursum peregit eoque in loco sepultus clarere miraculis affirmatur. Fuit autem Bernardino generosa inter Senenses origo, nec vera est assertio eorum, qui patriam illi Massam fuisse tradunt, quamvis pueritiae suae ibi nonnulla rudimenta peregerit, cum esset mater ejus Massana. Ceterum pater ac majores sui longa serie inter nobiles Senenses habiti sunt, ubi et ipse natus et majori ex parte educatus, cum adolevisset, juri pontificio ediscendo operam dedit. Sed cum sepultis parentibus fallaces hujus mundi blanditias et inania ejus esse promissa animadvertisset, distributa inter Christi pauperes substantia divi Francisci religionem ingressus, traditam sibi regulam exactissime observavit declinansque majores conventus eorum ductor ac magister effectus est, qui fratres observantes appellantur. Maximum autem ei studium in edocendis populis fuit, qui cum esset facundia copiosus et doctrina insignis, incredibili omnium attentione audiebatur et, quasi alter Paulus esset, vas electionis in admiratione ac reverentia habitus est. Tres eum populi sibi pontificem elegerunt: Urbinas, Ferrarienses, Senenses, sed non fuit ei consilium linguam, quae toti posset Italia consulere, unam intra urbem concludere.

Supplement

1) From Europa (Brown, pp. 287-288)

Saint Bernardino from Siena, having travelled through all of Italy, preaching the name of Christ, finished the course of his earthly life and was buried there [in Aquila], and is said to be famous for miracles. Bernardino came from a noble family in Siena, and it is not correct when some people say that his native city was Massa, though he spent some of his early childhood¹ there, his mother being from Massa.² His father and a long line of ancestors were counted as nobles in Siena, where he himself was born and received most of his upbringing. As a young man, he applied himself to the study of pontifical law. After he had buried his parents,³ he came to see that the delights of this world are delusory and its promises empty. So, he distributed his possessions among Christ's poor and joined the Order of Saint Francis. Strictly observing the rule given to him, he declined the large monasteries and became the leader and teacher of those who are called the Observant Friars. However, his greatest concern was teaching the people, and since he was a man of copious eloquence and remarkable learning, he was heard by all with incredible attention and, like another Paul, admired and revered as a vessel of election.⁴ Three cities⁵ elected him as bishop, Urbino, Ferrara, and Siena. However, he had not the slightest intention to confine to one city a tongue that could profit all of Italy.

¹ “rudimenta”: implying early training.

² Bernardino was actually born in Massa, where his father was the Sieneese governor. His mother was Nera, from a noble family in Massa, the Bindo degli Avveduti.

³ Actually, his mother died when he was three and his father when he was six, and afterwards he was brought up by an uncle.

⁴ Acts, 9, 15.

⁵ “populi”.

2) *From Historia Australis (Wagendorfer, II, pp. 434-437)*

Fuit autem Bernardinus apud Senam urbem Etruriae nobili loco natus, qui postquam litteras didicit ac pontificii juris aliquam peritiam habuit, patrimonio, quod non tenue a parentibus jam vita functis acceperat, inter Christi pauperes erogato abnegatus seculi pompas ad religionem divi Francisci sese recepit amatorque paupertatis eximius, cum ordinem illum labentem et ab institutione primeva longe remotum offendisset, reducere fratres in viam cum diu frustra conatus esset – neque enim indurati maiorum conventuum mores flecti poterant – vocatis ad se nonnullis, quos sanioris mentis invenit, seorsum habitare instituit hisque domos ab urbibus remotas ex elemosina struxit iubensque omnes, ut patris Francisci voluntas fuerat, nudis pedibus ambulare, vestes laneas sine lino habere, cibo vinoque uti modico, plumas omnis fugere, in sacco dormire, nihil de crastino esse sollicitos, proprii nihil tenere, pecuniam uti venenum malamque pestem fugere, victum elemosina querere, humiles esse, divinis officiis intentos, populis Christum et hunc crucifixum cum apostolo predicare. Quae omnia primus ipse implebat magistrumque non verbo solum, sed facto quoque discipulis se suis praebebat. Sobrius pater, castus, verbis factisque temperans in praedicatione vero sermonibusque popularibus adeo plebibus erat acceptus, ut alter Paulus crederetur. Quibus rebus brevi adeo religionem auxit, ut quingenta et amplius cenobia per Italiam sui ordinis a fundamentis erexerit atque impleverit fratribus, quibus observare Francisci regulam exactum studium est. Mos insuper Bernardino fuit inter predicandum nomen Iesu aureis litteris in tabella depictum, cum sermocinaretur, ad plebes ostendere multisque verbis atque clamoribus populorum animos in devotionem accendere cunctosque, ut genua flecterent magnisque vocibus salvatoris nomen invocarent, vehementi oratione monere. Cuius rei novitatem cum plerique improbarent, vocatus est vir sanctus ad Romanum pontificem Martinum quintum iussusque novum ritum relinquere, in qua re clarius hominis probitas puraeque mentis sinceritas emicuit. Nam etsi multis sese Bernardinus tueri rationibus posset, cedere tamen apostolicae iussioni maluit, ne praedicator humilitatis magistrum se superbiae comprobaret illi sedi resistens, cui ligandi atque solvendi creditas a Domino claves non ignorabat. Hunc in nomine Iesu curasse morbos et alia patravisse miracula non est ambiguum. Nos eum Senis in foro sexaginta diebus praedicantem audivimus. Cunque die quodam dominico maximus populus convenisset, contigit subito mutari aerem ac ex sereno turbidum fieri ingentesque minari pluvias iamque auditores omnes in fugam verti. Quod ille animadvertens manere universos iussit bonoque animo esse pluviam minime in eos casuram affirmans nudo capite preces ad coelum fudit. Quo facto dissipatis nubibus mox lucidus aer restitutus tranquillam audientiam praebuit. Quod etsi casu factum videri queat, orationi tamen sancti viri omnes attribuere. Hic postquam totam Italiam praedicando docendoque circuit, tandem apud Aquilam Prutiorum urbem terrenae vitae peracto cursu ad caelestem beatamque lucem migravit, ubi corpus ejus sepultum clarere miraculis affirmatur.

2) *From Historia Australis*

Bernardinus was born from a noble family in Toscana. Having learnt his letters and acquired some knowledge of pontifical law he distributed the considerable inheritance from his now deceased parents and joined the Order of Saint Francis. He was a firm believer in poverty, and when he saw his order in decline and far removed from the its original institute, he for a long time strove to bring his brothers back to the [proper] way. However, the members of the major convents could not change their way, so he had no success. He, therefore, gathered around him a few men of saner mind and made them live apart from the others. From alms he built houses for them away from cities and ordered them all, as Father Francis had wanted, to walk barefoot, to have clothes without linen, to use food and wine sparingly, to avoid all feathers and sleep on a sack, to not worry about tomorrow, to have no personal possessions, to flee money as poison and an evil plague, to beg for their livelihood, to be dedicated to the divine offices, and to preach Christ and the Crucified One with the apostle. He was the first to do all this and he became the teacher of his disciples not in word only but in deed. Being a wise father, chaste, moderate in words and deeds, he became so popular as a preacher to the common people that he was held to be another Paul. For these reasons he, in short time, made the order grow so much that he could build – from the ground - more than 500 convents for his order throughout Italy and fill them with friars determined to follow Francis' rule to the letter. Moreover, it was Bernardino's habit, while preaching to the people, to show the name of Jesus painted in golden letters and with many words and exclamations to inspire the people to devotion and by vigourous speech to invite them all to bend their knees and loudly invoke the name of the Saviour. When many criticised this as a new thing, the holy man was summoned by the Roman Pontiff, Martin V, and ordered to give up the new rite, in which affair the decency and integrity of his pure mind shone forth. For though Bernardino could have defended himself with many reasons, he would rather obey the apostolic command so that he who preached humility would not show himself to be a teacher of pride by resisting that See which he knew had been granted the keys to bind and loose by the Lord. There is no doubt that Bernardino cured illnesses and performed other miracles in the name of Jesus. In Siena we heard him preaching to the people for sixty days. One Sunday, while the a great crowd of people had gathered, suddenly the weather changed and the clear sky changed into a stormy one. A heavy downpour was threatening, and the listeners turned around to flee. When he saw it, he ordered all to stay and have no fear, claiming that it would not rain on them. Then with uncovered head he sent up prayers to Heaven. When he finished, the clouds scattered and the clear weather returned and calmed the audience. This might have happened by coincidence, but all attributed it to the prayer of the holy man. Having travelled through all of Italy preaching and teaching, he finally finished the course of his earthly life in Aquila d'Abruzzo and migrated to the heavenly and blessed light. His body is buried in that city and is famous for miracles happening there.

18. Marianus Sozinus

[101] {59r} Marianus¹ Sozinus Senensis in jure civili pontificioque admodum claruit. *Scrpsit autem super decretalibus*², scripsit de sortibus, *pluraque volumina edidit, quae hodie commendantur. Fuit eloquens*³, carmen fecit elegans, *prosam*⁴ scripsit ornate⁵, pinxit scripsitque manu propria admodum pulchre. Cum juvenis fuit, pila lusit, jaciebat lapidem⁶, luctari scivit, in musicis⁷ et litteris⁸ novit, saltavit, omnia scivit, quae hominem liberum scire fas est. Sed cantare ignoravit. Geometriam, arithmetica⁹ astrologiamque novit. Tum vero in agendis rebus peritissimus fuit, quae res apud suos cives eum suspectum reddidere. *Nec enim ex his erat, qui civitatem regerent, sed ex Duodecim, qui nihil officiorum illic*¹⁰ *habere possunt, ut est in civitatibus, quae partialitates habent*¹¹. Hunc Eugenius pontifex *maximus*¹² advocatum consistorialem creavit libenterque in Romana curia habuisset, sed cives eum non permisere.¹³

[102] Ejus tempore floruerunt¹⁴ apud Senenses in jure civili ac¹⁵ pontificio Petrus Pecius, quem ego praeceptorem habui; tum Petrus de Michaelibus, qui in regimine civitatis linguae beneficio magnum se fecit; tum Thomas Doccius¹⁶, multa memoria pollens; ac Bartholomaeus Burgensis, qui magno ingenio claruit¹⁷. Post crevere patruales mei, Jacobus Tholomaeus et Gregorius Baroncellus; ex extraneis¹⁸ Salustius Perusinus, quem¹⁹ audivi, et Benedictus Barsius, ac Rosellus Antonius, et Florianus²⁰ Bononiensis.

¹ Martinus MA

² scripsit autem ... decretalibus *omit.* MA

³ pluraque volumina ... eloquens *omit.* MA

⁴ prosa V, HE

⁵ ornata MA

⁶ jaciebat lapidem : lapidem jecit MA

⁷ musicicis V

⁸ musicis et litteris *omit.* X [blank space]

⁹ arismetricam V

¹⁰ officiorum illic : illic officiorum X

¹¹ nec enim ... habent *omit.* MA

¹² *omit.* MA

¹³ permisere MA

¹⁴ floruit MA

¹⁵ et X, MA

¹⁶ Deccius MA

¹⁷ qui magno ingenio claruit : vir magni ingenii MA

¹⁸ ex extraneis : extraneus MA

¹⁹ ego *add.* MA

²⁰ Flavianus MA

18. Mariano Sozzini, Professor

[101] Mariano Sozzini^{1 2 3} from Siena excelled both in civil and pontifical law. He wrote on the decretals⁴ and on fate⁵ and published many volumes that are recommended today. He was eloquent, eloquent, made elegant poems, wrote exquisite prose, painted and had beautiful handwriting. In his youth, he played ball, threw stones and knew how to fight. He was proficient in music and letters, danced and generally knew all that a free man should know. He could not sing, however.⁶ He knew geometry, arithmetic, and astrology. He was also well-versed in political matters⁷ which made him suspect to his fellow citizens, for he did not belong to the ruling party, but to The Twelve,⁸ who are forbidden to have any political office, as happens in cities with political factions⁹. Pope Eugenius made him a consistorial advocate and would have liked him to join the Roman Curia, but his fellow citizens would not allow it.

[102] At that time, [the following men] flourished in Siena: in civil and pontifical law Pietro Pecci¹⁰, whom I had as a teacher; Pietro de' Micheli,¹¹ who became a great man in the city government thanks to his eloquence; Tommaso Docci,¹² blessed with a splendid memory; and Bartolomeo Borghesi,¹³ famous for his great intellect. Later came my cousins, Jacopo Tolomei¹⁴ and Gregorio Baroncelli; and among the foreigners, Sallustio¹⁵ from Perugia, whose lectures I attended, and Benedetto Barzi,¹⁶ Antonio Roselli¹⁷ and Floriano¹ from Bologna.^{2 3}

¹ Mariano Sozzini [Socini] [Il Vecchio] (1401-1467): Siennese jurist and academic.

² For a general biography, see Nardi.

³ Close friend and correspondent of Piccolomini (see e.g. letters in WO, I, 1, e.g. letter from Sozzini to Piccolomini of 19 September 1443, ep. 101, pp. 187-188, where Sozzini mentions his growing family and his works *De Decretalibus* and *De sortibus*. Piccolomini answered this letter on 8 December 1443, ep. 101, pp. 238-239, writing, merrily, that he would not read the *De Decretalibus*, because it was too long: 24 vols. In 1443, Piccolomini wrote a poem to him (Piccolomini: *Carmina*, p. 101: *Quidquid tu tangis, subito, Mariane, fit aurum ...*), and he also dedicated his famous love story, *De dubous amantibus* to him. In 1444, he tried unsuccessfully to obtain a post for him at the University of Vienna.

⁴ Decretals: Collection of papal decrees and laws.

⁵ "de sortibus".

⁶ Piccolomini must surely have been thinking of Mariano Sozzini when in an academic lecture at the University of Vienna (the "*Aderat nuper*" of 25 November 1445) he said: *In the universities, many of those who teach music cannot sing even the shortest verse in the church (Plurimi sunt, qui in gymnasiis musicam docent, qui cantare vel minimum versiculum in ecclesiis ignorant.)* (COR, III, 9, sect. 5).

⁷ "res agendae".

⁸ A political faction in Siena that had formerly been in power.

⁹ "partialitates". Cf. Romano, p. 146: ... *a very dangerous path, one taken by many Italian cities before, namely the road to factionalism.*

¹⁰ Pietro Pecci: Italian jurist. Taught law at the University of Siena in the 1420s. The Pecci were a Siennese noble family.

¹¹ Pietro Micheli: Italian jurist. Taught law at the University of Siena in the 1420s. The Micheli were a Siennese noble family.

¹² Tommaso Docci (-1467): Siennese jurist. Taught law at the University of Siena in the 1420s. Teacher of Piccolomini.

¹³ Bartolomeo Borghesi: Italian jurist. Taught law at the University of Siena in the 1420 and 1430s.

¹⁴ Presumably Jacopo di Pietro Tolomei: Siennese jurist. Taught law at the University in Siena in the 1430s and 1440s.

¹⁵ Sallustio Buonguglielmi (ca. 1373-1461): Taught law at the University of Siena in the 1420s.

¹⁶ Benedetto Paoluccio de' Barzi (-1459): Perugian jurist. Taught law at the University in Siena until 1444.

¹⁷ Antonio Roselli, see sect. 68. Piccolomini also attended Roselli's lectures.

Supplement

From letter of Piccolomini to Kaspar Schlick of ca. 3 July 1444 (Wo, I, 1, ep. 153, pp. 393-395)

Marianus Sozinus Senensis, conterraneus meus, vir tum mitis ingenii tum litterarum multarum sciens ... Nihil ei praeter formam natura invidit. Homuncio est, nasci ex mea familia debuit, cui parvorum hominum est cognomen. Vir est eloquens, juris utriusque consultus. Historias omnes novit, poeticae peritus est, carmen facit et Latinum et Tuscum. Philosophiae tam sciens quam Plato, geometer quasi Boetius, in numeris Macrobio similis. Nullum instrumentum ignorat musicum, agriculturam quasi Vergilius novit, nihil civile ignotum viro. Dum juvenili adhuc stabant in corpore vires, alter Entellus erat, luctandi magister, non cursu, non saltu, non cestu poterat superari. ... Sed nemo sortitus est omnia inter mortales. Nullum adhuc novi, cui pauciora quam huic defuerint. Quid? Quae minutissima etiam didicit, quasi alter Appelles sic pingit. Nihil emandatius est, nihil lucidius quam sua manu scripti codices. Sculptit ut Praxiteles, nec medicinae ignarus est. Adde virtutes morales, quae alias regunt ducuntque. ... In aliis praeterea vel fastum vel avaritiam invenies, hic perliberalis est. Plena illi semper domus est honestis hospitibus. Nulli adversus est, pupillos tuetur, aegros solatur, pauperibus subvenit, viduas juvat, nulli indigenti deest. Vultus ejus quasi Socraticus semper est idem. In adversis fortem animum praebet. Nulla fortuna inflatur, versutias non ut exerceat sed ut caveat quaslibet novit. Civibus dilectus est, peregrinis amatus. Nulli odiosus est, nulli gravis. ... Eum namque, dum Senis essem, unice dilexi, nec diminutus est amor, quamvis separatus sit. Is quoque, cum esset ceteris naturae dotibus praeditus, tum hac maxime pollebat, ut nullius erga se sterilem esse amorem sineret.

¹ Floriano Sampieri [da San Pietro] (ca. 1389-1441): Bolognese jurist. Taught law in Bologna, and at the University in Siena 1423-1424.

² Date: Written after 1443, when Piccolomini mentioned the *De decretalibus* in a letter to Sozzini.

³ Piccolomini's sources: close personal friendship.

Supplement

From letter of Piccolomini to Kaspar Schlick of ca. 3 July 1444

Mariano Sozzini from Siena, my compatriot, is a man of pleasant disposition and versed in many sciences. Nature gave him all except beauty. He is a small man, and he really ought to have been born in my family, which is called “the small men” [Piccoluomini]. He is eloquent and a specialist in both laws. He knows all of history, is an expert on poetry, and he writes poems both in Latin and Tuscan. He knows as much about philosophy as Plato, is the equal of Boëtius in geometry, and similar to Macrobius on numbers. He plays all musical instruments, knows agriculture like a Virgil and all about civil law. When he was young, he had the strength of an Entellus, was an excellent fighter, and could not be bested in running, jumping and rope-pulling. No mortal gets everything, but I have never known someone who lacked less. What more? Even the smallest things he has seen he paints as if he was an Apelles. When he writes his books, he makes very few errors, and his handwriting is clear. He sculpts like a Praxiteles. ... In others you will find arrogance and greed, but he is exceedingly generous. His house is always full of reputable men. He scorns no one, he cares for his students, comforts the sick, assists the poor, helps the widows, and fails no one in need. His face is always the same, as Socrates'. In adversity he shows courage. He is not puffed up by good fortune. He knows cunning, not to use it, but to guard himself against it. He is beloved by his compatriots and well-liked by foreigners. He hates no one, he molests no one. When I was in Siena, I loved him most of all, and my love has not diminished now that we are separated. He is blessed with many gifts of nature but in this, especially, that he sincerely loves all who love him.¹

¹ Letter of Piccolomini to Kaspar Schlick of ca. 3 July 1444 (Wo, I, 1, ep. 153, pp. 393-395).

19. Johannes de Imola

[103] Johannes de Imola, juris utriusque doctor, diu Bononiae legit totumque corpus juris commentatus est. Fuit enim sui temporis lumen juris, sed in agilibus mundi ignarus. Hunc Imolae vidi in domo sua, cum Patavium irem nec vidisse voluissem. Minuit enim praesentia famam¹, nam homo is erat, qui in scriptis totus esset, atque² non mortuus est, cum libri ejus manserint, extra quos is³ nihil fuit. Ejus tempore Antonius de Butrio⁴, vir doctissimus, emicuit⁵, et Florianus⁶ ac⁷ Nicolaus de la Faba⁸, qui universitatem Bononiensem in splendore tenuerunt.

¹ fama V

² is *add.* MA

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ de Butrio : Butrius MA

⁵ *omit.* X [*blank space*]

⁶ Flavianus X, MA

⁷ et MA

⁸ Jaba MA

19. Giovanni da Imola, Professor

[103] Giovanni da Imola,^{1 2 3} doctor of both laws, lectured for a long time in Bologna, commenting on the whole of Corpus Juris. In his time, he was a light of the law but ignorant of worldly affairs.⁴ I visited him in his home when I went to Padua, but I wish I had not seen him: his presence lessened his fame, for he was a man totally immersed in his writings, and he does not die as long as his books remain, outside which he is nothing.⁵

In his time, Antonio da Budrio,⁶ a man of great learning, came to the fore, as did Floriano⁷ and Niccolò Fava,⁸ who ensured the splendour of the University of Bologna.^{9 10}

¹ Giovanni Nicoletti [da Imola] (ca. 1372-1436): Italian jurist. Taught in Pavia, Siena, and Bologna.

² For a general biography, see Padovani.

³ Piccolomini would have known of Giovanni da Imola from common acquaintances, who had probably provided him with letters of introduction, and he made a personal visit to him during a stay in Pavia, when he was still a student at the University of Siena.

⁴ "agilibus"

⁵ Voigt had this comment: *Solche Gelehrsamkeit flösste ihm keine Achtung ein, im Gegenteil fasste er damals jenen komischen Widerwillen gegen die Juristen, dem er später, so oft sich nur die Gelegenheit bot, in Schimpfreden Luft zu machen pflegte* (Voigt, I, p. 16). During his studies at the University of Siena, Piccolomini had acquired some grounding in law, among others from the law professor, Antonio Rosselli, whose teachings influenced Piccolomini's view of imperial power. Seven years later, in the – probably never held - oration "Sentio" (1452) (COR, IV, 20), he developed a comprehensive legal argumentation concerning the papal monitorium to the Austrian rebels against the emperor and concerning the inappropriate use of appeals in the legal system. Nonetheless, in the scholarly literature, Piccolomini has some reputation for having a strong prejudice against law and lawmen. This view is gainsaid by Kisch, partly on the basis of Piccolomini's statements on law in his oration "Nisi satis exploratum" (1445) (Kisch, pp.65-66). These statements, on the two branches of law, civil law and canon law, are indeed very positive: *I should have to say more about this, but since I have not yet begun to praise civil and pontifical law, I have been called to order by the task I have undertaken. To praise them adequately is so difficult that it surpasses and excels the eloquence of even the most learned of men. ... For who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines as they merit? Through them 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. ... Lactantius Firmianus, that most learned man, is the author [of the statement that] even primitive and uncultured men desire wisdom, since – by immortal God – our nature wants and craves nothing more than wisdom and religion. To the first of these [two] we are brought by civil law, and the second we are taught by pontifical or canon law. In this human life, no other discipline may be considered more noble, eminent and admirable than these two disciplines, and no other discipline should be better able to attract young men and enflame the souls of men than this discipline [whose subject] is the government of cities and the rule and government of the clergy* (COR, III, 8, sect. 12 and 14). However, given the circumstances in which Piccolomini delivered his academic lecture, it is uncertain to what extent these positive statements really reflect a personal, positive view of law as an academic discipline and of the law profession.

⁶ Antonio da Budrio (1338-1408): Bolognese jurist. Taught in Bologna

⁷ Floriano Sampieri, see sect. 106.

⁸ Niccolò Fava (-1439): Medical man and jurist. Taught in Bologna.

⁹ Date: besides the visit to Padua in the late 1420s, the only indication is the mention of Giovanni's death, which was in 1436, so the text was written after that year.

¹⁰ Piccolomini's sources: personal acquaintance and information from common acquaintances.

20. Thomas Fulgosius

[104] {59v} Thomas Fulgosius diu Januae dux fuit. Postea subintrante Filippo duce Mediolani expulsus est diuque apud Sarezanam mansit, ubi domum habuit, semperque magni consilii vir¹ est habitus. Exin, cum civitas jugum ducis abjiceret, revocatus est iterumque dux creatus, sed nec diu sic mansit. Orta namque² seditione civili captus est et in carcerem coniectus, ubi adhuc marcescit, quamvis homo nonagenarius sit, cui melius fuerat³ in pace vivere apud Sarezanam in arce nobili et optima quam in turbine dominari. Hunc ego *in castro suo*⁴ vidi, cum secutus cardinalem Sanctae Crucis in Galliam ibam. Erat autem homo grandaevus, longus, macer, sermone gratus multamque prudentiam prae se ferens. Huic surrogatus est Raphael Adurnus, qui me praesente Papias studuit, vir litterarum multarum *et*⁵ prudentiae singularis.

¹ magni consilii vir : vir magni consilii MA

² enim MA

³ erat MA

⁴ in castro suo *omit.* MA

⁵ scientie non *seq.* V

20. Tommaso Fregoso, Doge of Genoa

[104] Tommaso Fregoso^{1 2} was the doge of Genoa for a long time.³ When Duke Filippo of Milan attacked Genoa,⁴ he was expelled⁵ and stayed for a long time in Sarzana, where he had his home. He was always reputed to be a very clever man. Later, when the city had thrown off the duke's yoke,⁶ he was recalled and made doge again.⁷ But that did not last long,⁸ for during a civil rebellion he was arrested and thrown into a prison⁹ where he is still languishing,¹⁰ though he is now now a man in his 90s.¹¹ It had been better for him to live peacefully in his magnificent and splendid castle in Sarzana than to be a lord in tumultuous times. I visited him in his castle when I went to France as a companion of the Cardinal of Santa Croce.^{12 13} Tommaso was an old man, tall, thin, pleasant in conversation, and manifesting great wisdom.¹⁴ He was replaced by Raffaele Adorno,¹⁵

¹¹ Tommaso Fregoso [Campofregoso] (bef. 1370-1453): doge of Genoa for two periods: 1415-1421, 1436-1442 (with a very short break in 1437).

² For a general biography, see Amelotti

³ His first dogeship from 1415-1421.

⁴ 2 November 1421.

⁵ 23 November 1421: Fregoso himself offered to step down to avoid further hostilities with the Duke of Milan. The abdication was accepted, and Fregoso was granted the lordship of Sarzana.

⁶ Romano, p. 132: ... following a major naval victory at Ponza in August [1435] in which Alfonso [V] was captured, Visconti infuriated the Genoese by releasing the prisoners. The Genoese rose in revolt against Milan [December 1436].

⁷ 4 April 1436.

⁸ His second dogeship actually lasted about six years, from 1436-1442, with a very brief interlude in 1437, when his brother Battista managed to replace him as doge for a day.

⁹ January 1443.

¹⁰ He was released from prison when his nephew Giano became doge in January 1447.

¹¹ He was actually in his 70s.

¹² Cardinal Niccolò Albergati.

¹³ Spring 1435. After Bartolomeo Visconti's failed plot (see sect. 9), Piccolomini had taken refuge with the cardinal, becoming one of his secretaries. He accompanied him in his travel from Florence to Arras, passing Sarzana (to see Tommaso Fregoso), Milan (to see the Duke of Milan), and Ripaille (to see the Duke of Savoy) and Basel (the Council of Basel).

¹⁴ In his Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447, Piccolomini wrote about Tommaso Fregoso: *The Adorno family governed Genova, and the Fregoso family was exiled. Their leader, Tommaso Fregoso, the second doge [from that family], languished in prison. The Fregosi were seeking to return to their fatherland, and having roused 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, though it is an imperial city which would favour the Empire if only the Empire cared about it. So, there was an uprising in the city, the doge – of the House of Adorno – was deposed, a new consulate was established, and the Fregosi were admitted into the city. Tommaso was released from prison and elected doge by unanimous consent. But he showed restraint and refused the dogeship, preferring his nephew of flourishing age to himself, worn down by old age. We may call that man happy who does not accept high office but refuses it. He was doge twice, and he was expelled twice. In the end, he was not forced to abdicate from the dogeship, but himself abdicated from it* (CRDM, 1, sect. 32).

¹⁵ Raffaele Adorno (1375-1458): Doctor in both laws (utriusque juris). Doge of Genoa 1443-1447. These events took place in December 1442 and January 1443 and were reported by Piccolomini in a letter to Cardinal Cesarini of ca. 20 August 1443: ... *Janua ... Thomam Fulgosium ducem suum de tribunali in carcerem traxerat eique Raphaelem Adurnum suffecerat, sed hec paululum antiquiora sunt.* (WO, I, 1, ep. 71, p. 174). And in a letter to Prokop von Rabstein of 26 June 1444. He wrote: *Ille Thomas Fulgosius est, qui ex ducali solio tractus, in carceris jacet pedore.* (WO, I, 1, ep. 151, p. 352).

who devoted himself to study in Pavia when I visited there, a most cultured man and very wise.^{1 2 3}

Supplement

From Europa (HE, p. 190)

In ea [Genua] cum, excluso Filippo Mediolanensium duce ejusque praetore Opizine Olzate necato, auctore Francisco Spinula octo libertatis capitanei creati essent, eisque paulo post sublata libertate exactis Isnardus Guarco ducatum accepisset, annos supra septuaginta natus, auctore Thoma Fregoso, qui et ipse olim ante Filippi dominium ducali honore functus erat, cum homo grandaevus ad gubernationem inutilis videretur, vix septem diebus regnare permissus est Thoma ejus honorem surripiente, quem, cum quatuor gubernasset annis, germanus ejus Baptista ad sexdecim circiter horas regno expulit, nam Thomas resumptis viribus confestim fratrem palatio deturbavit, tribus annis postea et nonnullis mensibus urbem regens, donec auctore Joanne Antonio Flisco iterum civitas libertatem asseruit, delectis octo capitaneis priori ex more rem publicam administraturis, qui Thomam Fregosum in carcerem conjecerunt, cum jam ter patriae suae ducem gessisset. Horum principes fuere Ioannes Antonius, quem praenominavimus, miles equestris ordinis, et Raphael Adurnus, juris interpres.

Supplement

From Europa

When this city [Genoa] had brought Duke Filippo of Milan's lordship to an end, and his governor Opicino Alciati had been killed, eight Captains of Liberty were appointed on the proposal of Francesco Spinola. Shortly afterwards, however, that freedom was abolished and the captains removed, and at the instigation of Tommaso Fregoso, Isnardo Guarco became doge, a man of more than 70 years of age. Tommaso had held the office before Filippo's lordship. Since Guarco appeared too old to govern effectively, he was allowed to reign for barely seven days, after which Tommaso seized his office. When Tommaso had governed for four years, his brother Battista

¹ Piccolomini's memory possibly fails him here. He must have visited Pavia in the late 1420s, at a time when Raffaele was in his 50s and had important civic responsibilities in Genoa. If Piccolomini is correct, it throws light on Adorno's activities during the Milanese occupation of Genoa 1424-1436. Could there have been a momentary confusion with Raffaele Fulgosio (Fregoso), see sect. 69?

² Date: This text must have been written after Adorno's accession in January 1443 and before Fregoso's liberation from imprisonment in January 1447.

³ Source: Common knowledge, information available at the imperial court, and some personal acquaintance. The facts of Fregoso's life reported by Piccolomini were public knowledge. He did visit Fregoso as a junior member of Cardinal Albergati's party during the cardinal's travel to Basel/Arras in 1435

supplanted him as doge, but only lasted for about 16 hours, since Tommaso regained his force and soon had him expelled from the palace. After that, he reigned for three years and some months until Gianantonio Fieschio caused the city to reclaim its liberty and elect, in the former manner, eight captains to administer the state. They threw Tommaso into prison after he had been the doge of his country three times. Their leaders were the aforementioned Giovan Antonio, a soldier of knightly rank, and Raffaele Adorno, a jurist.

21. Bartholomaeus de la Capra

[105] Bartholomaeus de la Capra Cremonensis apud Innocentium septimum¹ papam² secretarius fuit et *admodum dilectus*³. Post Mediolanensium archiepiscopus⁴ creatus est, sed quia unus ex Vicecomitibus in eam se ecclesiam intruserat, possessionem habere non potuit. Is mortuo pontifice maximo ad Sigismundum Caesarem se recepit in ejusque⁵ consilio clarus fuit, cujus servitiis Caesar saepe⁶ usus est eumque legatum ad componendam inter Prutenos ac⁷ Polonos pacem transmisit⁸. Is Constantiae acerrimus pugnator contra cardinales fuit minoribusque praelatis adhaerebat, quae res eum perturbavit, ne unquam in collegium reciperetur.

¹ *corr. ex nonum V*

² apud Innocentium VII : apostolicus MA

³ admodum dilectus *omit.* MA

⁴ Mediolanensium archiepiscopus : archiepiscopus Mediolanensis MA

⁵ in ejusque : inque ejus MA

⁶ Caesar saepe : saepe Caesar MA

⁷ et X, MA

⁸ misit MA

21. Bartolomeo della Capra, Archbishop of Milan

[105] Bartolomeo della Capra^{1 2 3} served as a secretary⁴ to Pope Innocent VII,^{5 6} who was very fond of him. Later he was appointed Archbishop of Milan,⁷ but since one of the Visconti⁸ had intruded himself into this Church, he could not get actual possession. When the Supreme Pontiff died, Bartolomeo took himself to Emperor Sigismund and became a prominent member of his council. The emperor often used his services and sent him as a legate to make peace between the Prussians⁹ and the Poles.¹⁰ In Konstanz, he was in vehement opposition to the cardinals and sided with the minor prelates, for which reason he was never appointed to the college [of cardinals].¹¹

¹ Bartolomeo de la Capra (ca. 1365-1433): Secretary and referendary to Innocent VII, Gregory XII, and Alexander V. Bishop of Cremona, 1405. Archbishop of Milan from 1414 to his death. Prominent counsellor and diplomat of both the Duke of Milan and Emperor Sigismund.

² For a general biography, see Girgensohn.

³ In the year and a half that Bartolomeo de la Capra was in Basel, Piccolomini became close friends with him (“*who loved me like a son*”). Undoubtedly, he was also an important informant to Piccolomini on events at the courts of Emperor Sigismund, Duke Filippo of Milan, Pope Martin V and the councils of Konstanz and Basel.

⁴ From 1404.

⁵ Innocentius VII [Cosimo de’ Migliorati] (ca. 1366-1406): Pope (Roman line) from 1404 to his death.

⁶ And to several other popes.

⁷ 1411.

⁸ Giovanni II Visconti.

⁹ The German Order.

¹⁰ Girgensohn: *Il buon accordo con Sigismondo, instauratosi nel corso del concilio, aprì al C. un nuovo campo d’azione per il quale l’attività politica e diplomatica svolta in precedenza dovette qualificarlo agli occhi del re. Questi lo nominò suo consigliere e lo tenne presso di sé anche dopo la conclusione del concilio. ... Sigismondo lo incaricò di indurre l’Ordine teutonico a concludere la pace con la Polonia ... [1419].*

¹¹ His opposition to the cardinals and the Italian party appears to have cost him the red hat. Girgensohn: *... il C. si qualificò come una delle personalità più eminenti [of the Council of Konstanz]; ma, a detta dei contemporanei, con il suo atteggiamento nei confronti dei cardinali si giocò la chance di essere mai elevato alla porpora.*

[106] Obtinuit tamen ecclesiam suam excluso Vicecomite in consiliumque ducis receptus est infaustumque illud matrimonium cum relicta Fazini Canis composuit, unde Filippus pecuniam habuit, et illa mortem tulit. Post missus est Romam petiturus Martini neptem in matrimonium ducis, sed non erat animus Filippi¹, ut², quae diceret, faceret, quod cum Martinus³ {60r} magnopere⁴ indignatus Filippo fuit et, nisi infensus Florentinis fuisset, magno eum damno affecisset. Bartholomaeus quoque, cum animadvertisset se missum verba dare, admodum doluit. [*cont.*]

¹ Philippo MA

² ea *add.* MA

³ intellexisset *add.* HE; Martino MA

⁴ displicuisset *add.* MA

[106] Eventually, the Visconti¹ [claimant] was dismissed,² and Bartolomeo gained possession of his church, becoming a member of the duke's council.³ It was he who arranged the duke's unfortunate marriage with Facino Cane's⁴ widow,⁵ from which the duke gained a fortune,⁷ and she her death.⁸ Later,⁹ he was sent to Rome to request Martin¹⁰ to give his niece¹¹ in marriage to the duke, but, in fact, the duke had no intention to do as he said.¹² When Martin realised it, he became very angry with Filippo, and if he had not [at the same time] been involved in a conflict with the Florentines, he would have caused the duke great damage. When Bartolomeo became aware that he had been sent to just offer words, he was greatly embarrassed. [cont.]

¹ Giovanni II Visconti, appointed to the See of Milan by Gregory XII in 1405, without ever managing to get possession.

² As an appointee to the See of Milan.

³ The Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti. Girgensohn: ... *numerosi documento ... attestano la sua presenza alla corte di Filippo Maria, e quanto pare come uno dei suoi più stretti consiglieri.*

⁴ Facino Cane (1360-1412): Italian condottiere. Effectively controlled the Duchy of Milan from 1404 to his death.

⁵ Beatrice Lascaris di Tenda (ca. 1372-1418): Italian noblewoman. Wife of Facino Cane (1403) and of Filippo Maria Visconti (1412).

⁶ Girgensohn: *Riuscì a guadagnarsi la piena fiducia di Facino Cane, il quale ... lo incaricò di eseguire le sue ultime volontà, affidando alle sue cure soprattutto la vedova Beatrice e il giovane duca Filippo Maria Visconti, il matrimonio successivo dei quali pare sia stato opera propria del Capra.*

⁷ The vast inheritance after Facino Cane: castles, treasure and soldiers.

⁸ She was accused of adultery and beheaded in 1418. In his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, Decembrio wrote about the marriage: *Then when his [Filippo Maria Visconti] brother had been murdered, and he was in dire need and even feared for his own life, his friends persuaded him to marry Beatrice, the widow of Facino Cane. The man advocating this scheme was the archbishop of Milan, Bartolomeo della Capra. The idea was that such a marriage would provide Filippo with both an army and the immediate possession of the cities that had once been under Facinos control.*

⁹ 1422.

¹⁰ Pope Martinus V.

¹¹ Catelina Colonna.

¹² Girgensohn: *Il 7 luglio [1422] [Visconti] conferì al C. ... ed a altri ambasciatori i pieni poteri di trattare con il papa ... l'eventuale matrimonio del duca con la nipote di Martino V.. Catelina Colonna. ... questi progetti non andarono in porto.*

[106 cont.] Reversus autem Mediolanum gubernationem Januae suscepit diuque rexit honorifice. Post transeunte Sigismundo Mediolanum vocatus est atque in ecclesia sancti Ambrosii Caesarem coronavit. Missus exinde¹ Basileam adversus Eugenium plura machinatus est nec unquam Juliano cardinali credere voluit, “Hic,” inquit, “tandem nos decipiet, rubros namque pileos timeo.” Tandem morte praeventus illic in ecclesia cathedrali sepultus est.

[107] Fuit autem vir admodum doctus, sed poeticae magis datus quam aliis scientiis, semper enim Virgilium ante se habuit elegantesque versus fecit. Scripsit tamen et prosam ornatam maximeque in epistolari genere floruit. Vir fuit proceri corporis, voce sonora, in ipsa facie auctoritatem² prae se ferens.

¹ deinde MA

² audaciam MA

[106 cont.] However, he returned to Milan and was appointed governor of Genoa, which he ruled for a long time¹ and honourably. Later, when Sigismund passed through,² he was called to Milan, where he crowned the emperor³ in the Church of Saint Ambrose.⁴ Later again, he was sent to Basel,⁵ where he devised many things against Eugenius,⁶ and he would never trust Cardinal Giuliano,⁷ saying, “In the end, this man will deceive us; I fear the red hats.”⁸ Finally, he died¹⁰ and was buried in the cathedral of Basel.¹¹

[107] He was a most learned man but more inclined to poetry than the other disciplines,¹² always having Virgil before him and making elegant poetry.¹³ He also wrote exquisite prose and excelled in

¹ 1428-1431.

² On his coronation voyage to Rome, 1431-1432.

³ With the Iron Crown of Lombardy.

⁴ 25 November 1431.

⁵ The Council of Basel, 1431-1438. He arrived in Basel on 15 April 1432. Girgensohn: *Cominciò subito a dispiegare una laboriosa attività, favorito dalla stima della quale godeva per la sua lunga esperienza nelle questioni di politica ecclesiastica, l'abilità diplomatica e la cultura retorica.*

⁶ For political reasons, the Duke of Milan in that period sided with the council against the pope.

⁷ Giuliano Cesarini.

⁸ The cardinals.

⁹ Della Capra's distrust of Cardinal Cesarini is also mentioned in Piccolomini's DRBG (1450): *Julianus ... resumere presidentiam rogatus haud difficilis fuit; quod Bartholomeo pontifici Mediolanensi permolestum et odiosissimum videbatur, ut, qui sub ejus presulatu nihil fieri posse dicebat, quod magnificum gloriosumque foret. Non enim virtuosum esse Julianum sed virtutis simulatorem predicabat.* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 175)

¹⁰ 30 September 1433. He was in Basel at the same time as Piccolomini, who became a close friend. His presence in Basel is attested by Piccolomini in a letter to Siena of 1 November 1432: *Est inprimis numerus prelatorum magnus egregiusque: ... archiepiscopus Lugdonensis ac Mediolanensis.* (WO, I, 1, ep. 8, p. 13). He is also mentioned in Piccolomini's DRBG (1450): *... advenerat ... Bartholomeus quoque Mediolanensis antistes cum plerisque suffraganeis* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 172). His close friendship with Piccolomini is mentioned in a letter of 5 May 1453 from Piccolomini to a successor of della Capra, Niccolò Amidano: *Novi ego Bartholomeum de la Capra, concivem tuum, doctum et clarum poetam, dum illi ecclesie prefuit, qui me loco filii dilexit* (WO, III, 1, ep. 82, p. 153).

¹¹ The Cathedral of Basel, where the general meetings of the council took place. In his oration “*Audivi*” (1436) to the council fathers, Piccolomini had said about him: *An Archbishop of Milan who - like so many others - lies buried in this temple once said very justly on this subject: “Let us do,” he said, “what is worthy of ourselves and of justice. And whatever follows we shall bear with equanimity”. I ask you: do not reject his words even if he is dead. Do what you think is worthy of this assembly* (COR, I, 1, sect. 50).

¹² Della Capra's love and knowledge of poetry is illustrated by an episode at the Council of Basel, related by Piccolomini in his DRBG (1450): *At that time, Giovanni of Prato, a most fluent man who was bearing Eugenius's letters of dissolution to England, was captured near Basel and kept in prison for forty days. Bartolomeo, archbishop of Milan, finally had mercy on him. When he already had granted him liberty, the archbishop said to him, “Giovanni, why do you involve yourself in these affairs, which are not honest, to the peril of many?” Then Giovanni said, “Do you not know the saying of the poet, outstanding prelate, ‘Dare something near the apex of Gyara and worthy of prison, if you wish to become anything; honesty is praised and neglected’” (Juvenal, 1.73-74). “I know these verses,” Bartolomeo said, “and others of the same poet, ‘Believe it the worst impiety to prefer life to shame, to lose a cause in order to live life’” (Juvenal, 8.83-84). Then Bartolomeo cited other verses, “Many commit the same crimes with a different fate: this one carries a cross as a price of his crime; that, a crown” (Juvenal, 13.102-104). [Della Capra replied, that] “our people will nail you to a cross unless you have me as protector. Depart, and beware of committing crimes similar to this in the future.” The archbishop suggested that it is better to bear poverty with praise than to possess riches with infamy, and he sent the man he had freed away (RE, p. 339).*

¹³ Girgensohn: *Molto di più invece sappiamo della sua partecipazione al movimento umanistico: in esso egli svolse un ruolo piuttosto di mecenate chi di uomo di lettere, anche se si interessò attivamente della ricerca dei classici, alcuni dei quali ritrovò per primo.*

the epistolary genre. He was tall, had a sonorous voice, and carried himself with an aura of authority.¹

[108] Huic defuncto Franciscus de Picciolpassis Bononiensis surrogatus est per Eugenium, vir multarum litterarum et continui² studii, vitae modestae graviumque morum. Hic legatus Martini in eo bello fuit, quo Braccius occisus est apud Aquilam. Post episcopatum Aquensem in extremis Galliae finibus sortitus est, ubi quamvis extraneus plurimum tamen dilectus fuit. Sed revocatus in Italiam Ticinensem³ ecclesiam adeptus est, ac deinde Mediolanensem, in qua rediens de Basilea mortuus est. Hic praeposituram Sancti Laurentii *majoris*⁴ Mediolanensis⁵ mihi contulit et, quamvis quamvis in rebus ecclesiae diversa sentiremus⁶, nam ipse Eugenio favebat, ego magis concilio, ita tamen me dilexit, ut singulis fere diebus in suam me mensam vocaret jussitque tandem, ut in celebritate divi Ambrosii sermonem in synodo haberem, quamvis nondum sacris essem⁷ ordinibus⁸ ordinibus⁸ initiatus, quod feci non sine auditorum gratia.

¹ Della Capra was a friend of Poggio Bracciolini who, in 1431 sent him a copy of his *De Avaritia* (cf. letter of Bracciolini to della Capra of 12 January 1431 (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 110). Piccolomini knew and used the *De Avaritia* in later texts (e.g. the oration “*Si quis me roget*” from 1438), and may have borrowed or copied della Capra’s copy.

² assidui MA

³ Tranensem X

⁴ *supralin.* V; *omit.* MA

⁵ moriens *add.* HE

⁶ sentirem MA

⁷ sacris essem : essem sacris X

⁸ essem ordinibus : ordinibus essem MA

[108] When he died, Eugenius appointed Francesco Pizzolpasso¹ from Bologna in his place. He was a man of great culture, always studying, with a simple lifestyle and grave manners. He was a legate of Martin in the war in which Braccio was killed at Aquila.² Later, he was made Bishop of Dax³ in a remote region of France, where he became much loved though a foreigner. Then he was recalled to Italy and appointed Bishop of Pavia⁴ and later Archbishop of Milan,⁵ where he died after his return from Basel. He granted me the provostship of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Milan. Though we disagreed in church matters - he supporting Eugenius and I the council - he was so fond of me that he invited me to his table almost every day and ordered me to give a sermon to the synod on the Feast of Saint Ambrose (though I was not yet in holy orders), which I did, to the pleasure of the audience.^{6 7 8}

¹ Francesco Pizzolpasso [Piccolpasso] (ca. 1375-1443): Archbishop of Milan from 1435 to his death. Mentor and friend of Piccolomini, whom he gave access to his rich library. In a letter of October 1438 to Pizzolpasso, Piccolomini thanked him for his kindness: *Caritate enim erga me vestrae haut facile dixerim, quam multa experimenta transierint.* (WO, I, 1, ep. 29, p. 95; CPL, I, ep. 28). That the two men were close is attested in another letter, of 5 December 1442, from Piccolomini to Pizzolpasso: *... dum essem Basilee. Nam vos dominum et patris habebam loco memineramque plurimum vestrorum in me meritorum, que sane mente mea nunquam excident* (WO, I, 1, ep. 41, p. 119; CPL, I, ep. 40).

² 1424. See sect. 37. Pizzolpasso was undoubtedly one of Piccolomini's informants on the Battle of Aquila.

³ 1423-1427.

⁴ 1427-1435.

⁵ 1435-1443.

⁶ Oration "*Si quis me roget*" (1438), in COR, II, 2.

⁷ Date: The latest event mentioned is the death of Pizzolpasso in February 1443, which is the terminus post quem.

⁸ Piccolomini's source: Close personal acquaintance.

22. Sigismundus Caesar¹

[109] Sigismundus Caesar, Caroli quarti Romanorum imperatoris filius, Senis conceptus fuit, in Bohemia vero natus, nam et pater ejus {60v} rex Bohemorum fuit. Origo istorum ex Luzeburgo fuit ab Henrico VII imperatore descendens, cujus filius Johannes filiam regis Bohemiae haeredem accepit uxorem, per quam et regno potitus est. Hic filium habuit Carolum, ex quo natus est² Vinceslaus³ et Sigismundus. Vinceslaus senior patri successit in regno Bohemiae ac⁴ Romanorum rex creatus est, non tamen sine labe simoniae corruptis electoribus a Carolo.

¹ *The chapter on Emperor Sigismund was not included in the text published by Mansi [MA]*

² *Sig seq. V*

³ *Jacobus et seq. V*

⁴ *post seq. V*

22. Sigismund, Emperor¹

[109] Emperor Sigismund,^{2 3} son of Karl IV,⁴ Emperor of the Romans, was conceived in Siena⁵ but born in Bohemia since his father⁶ was also King of the Bohemians. Originally, the family was from Luxembourg, descended from Emperor Heinrich VII,⁷ whose son Johann married the daughter⁸ and heir of the King of Bohemia,⁹ through whom he acquired that kingdom. Johann had the son Karl, from whom were born Wenzel¹⁰ and Sigismund. As the eldest, Wenzel succeeded his father in the Kingdom of Bohemia and was elected King of the Romans, but not without the sin of simony¹¹ since the electors were bought by Karl.

¹ See also Part IV. Lives of Four Emperors, sect. 402

² Sigismund (Luxembourg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia (1387), King of the Romans (Germany) (1411), King of Bohemia (1419), King of Italy (1431), crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Eugenius IV in Rome (1433).

³ For a general biography, see Hoensch.

⁴ Karl IV (Luxembourg) (1316-1378): King of Bohemia (1346). King of the Romans. Crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome (1455).

⁵ Naturally a source of pride to a Sieneese author!

⁶ Johann (Luxemborg) (1296-1346): King of Bohemia (1310).

⁷ Heinrich VII (Luxembourg) (ca. 1278-1313): King of the Romans (Germany) (1308), crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome (1312).

⁸ Elizabeth of Bohemia (1292-1330): Bohemian princess. Wife of Johann of Luxembourg. Mother of Karl IV.

⁹ Wenzel II (Premyslid) (1271-1305): King of Bohemia (1278). King of Poland (1300).

¹⁰ Wenzel IV (Luxembourg) (1361-1419): King of Bohemia (1363). King of the Romans (1376), but later deposed (1400).

¹¹ Simony usually designates the selling of ecclesiastical offices, not secular offices.

[110] Sigismundus autem Mariam, Ludovici regis Hungariae filiam, in matrimonium sibi collocavit, propter quam et regnum Hungariae suscepit. Plurima tamen in eo passus est rebellantibus saepius Hungaris, quorum propria mutatio est. Conspiraverunt autem semel Hungari manusque in Sigismundum injicere cogitarunt, venientesque in aulam regiam scelus admittere statuerunt. Quod cum Sigismundus animadvertisset, arrepta sica¹ in locum aulae eminentiorem ascendit versusque in barones rutilantibus ac minacibus oculis “Animadverti,” inquit, “Hungari, vos huc me captum venisse, sed videbo ego, quis vestrum tam audax, tam temerarius tamque sceleratus erit, ut in regem suum manus injiciat, simulque hanc sicam in ventrem ejus² recondam, ne impunitus regiam majestatem laeserit. Eccum me! Cur non apprehenditis? Liga me, quisquis es audax? Accipe regem tuum! Nec te homines nec³ superi⁴ impunitum relinquent!” Exterritus itaque omnes constantia Sigismundi ac magnanimitas. Itaque singuli excusare se coeperunt, ne talia de se crederentur, quos Sigismundus paulatim exire jussit suaeque custodiae magis cavet. Exinde, cum de conspiratoribus instructus esset, exiens⁵ [in]⁶ campos barones omnes adesse jussit⁷ vocansque singulos ad tentorium suum seorsum, triginta ex majoribus unum post alium capite truncavit, occidissetque plures, nisi sanguis fluens⁸ occisionis⁹ indicium extra tentorium fecisset, quo admoniti admoniti alii ire noluerunt quamvis vocati.

¹ sicca... *et passim* V

² *omit.* X

³ ~~Deus~~ *seq.* V

⁴ Deus insuper X

⁵ exientes X

⁶ in *add.* HE

⁷ ~~mittens~~ *seq.* V

⁸ *omit.* X

⁹ occasionis X

[110] Sigismund married Maria,¹ daughter of King Louis of Hungary,² through whom he acquired the Kingdom of Hungary. He suffered much trouble in that kingdom for the Hungarians often rebelled, since rebellion is their speciality. Once the Hungarians conspired and, plotting to lay hands on Sigismund, they came into the royal hall determined to commit the crime. When Sigismund became aware of it, he seized a dagger and ascending a dais in the hall he turned towards the barons and cried, with flaming and threatening eyes, "I know, Hungarians, that you have come here to seize my person, but I shall see whom of you is so audacious, so foolhardy, and so criminal as to lay hands on his king, and I shall thrust this dagger into his stomach so that he will not harm the royal majesty unpunished. See, here I am! Why do you not seize me? Tie me up, if you dare to! Take your king! Neither men nor the heavenly beings will leave you unpunished!"³ Sigismund's firmness and pride frightened them all. Each of them began to make excuses, [claiming] that such things should not be believed about them. Sigismund ordered them to leave in small groups, and afterwards he was more careful concerning his security. Later, when he had received information about the conspirators, he went to the countryside and ordered all the barons to come. Then he invited them separately into his tent and beheaded the 30 most prominent ones, one after the other, and he would have killed more if the blood streaming from the tent had not betrayed the killing. Thus warned, the rest did not want to enter the tent when summoned.⁴

¹ Mary (1371-1395): Daughter of Louis I of Hungary. Queen of Hungary. Married Sigismund in 1385.

² Louis I (Anjou) (1326-1382): King of Hungary and Croatia (1342). King of Poland (1370).

³ Piccolomini may, vaguely, be referring to a dramatic episode on 28 April 1401 when a group of magnates severely criticized Sigismund for his government, and Sigismund answered them proudly: *Entgegen den Erwartungen der Magnaten liess sich der "in alerkostlichsten Kleidern" gewandete und nur mit einem Dolch bewaffnet Sigismund jedoch nicht einschüchtern. "Ich bin euer Konink", soll er gesagt haben, "mordet er mich, dat blift nummer ungerochen, dat solt ihr winden."* (Hoensch, p. 103).

⁴ Piccolomini's source for this story is not known. It is probably based on a folktale which Piccolomini had heard of, see Hoensch, p. 492: *Die von Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini erwähnte, vom ungarischen Chronisten Thuróczy als historische Tatsache in das Jahr 1393 verlegte Begebenheit, wonach Sigismund unter Wortbruch und aus purer Rachsucht eine Gruppe von 32 gefangenen Aufstandsteilnehmern mit István Kont von Hédervar an der Spitze in Ofen enthaupten liess, ist zwar auch als Volkssage tradiert.* The story was used by János Thuróczy in his *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (see also Thuróczy (Mantello), pp. 13, 50-51). Thuróczy (ca. 1435 -ca. 1485) wrote after Piccolomini. He could not have known this story from the *De Viris Illustribus*, which was never published. He may have known Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, but this work only contains a few lines on the episode, and Thuróczy's story is much more substantive.

[111] {61r} Postea vero, cum jam regina mortem obiisset, seditio facta est in regno, Sigismundusque a baronibus captus duobus adolescentibus sive juvenibus, quorum pater sub tentorio occisus fuerat, traditur. Nec enim dubium alicui erat, quin¹ juvenes in ultionem paternae mortis diversis cruciatibus regem occiderent. At Sigismundus², ubi se captum videt et³ in manibus hostium acerborum, ad preces recurrit multisque verbis juvenes adhortatur, ut sese liberent, sed illi paternae necis memores vindictae cupidiores fuerunt quam veniae, nec ullum precibus locum dabant. Tum Sigismundus matrem juvenum in sermonem poscit, quam et feminam prudentem et juvenum reatricem sciebat. Illa ad colloquium veniente “Ego,” inquit, “mulier, plura tuis filiis dixi, quae statui eorum conducere possent, sed ipsi per aetatem non tantum sapiunt, quantum te scire non ambigo. Dicam itaque tibi, quod⁴ eis dixi. Post, si visum fuerit utile, consilium meum accipito, sin vero, ut libet, facito. Ego hic in manu tua sum et tuorum natorum. Si vultis me servare, potestis, sin occidere, id quoque potestis. Ad occisionem autem meam nulla vos causa urgere potest, nisi quia suspicamini me tui mariti occisorem fore. Verum ego, mulier, per superos juro, per fidem intemeratam et per illum, quem colimus, Deum, Jesum Christum, ignarum me illius consilii fuisse, quo nobiles barones cum viro tuo necati sunt. Regina enim, cujus longe major quam mea potestas fuit, malo usa concilio id egit. Itaque nihil est, quod ob hanc causam in me ulcisci debeat.

¹ *em.*; qui V, X

² ~~vocatis ad~~ *seq.* V

³ *omit.* X

⁴ quid X

[111] Later,¹ after the queen had died,² a rebellion arose in the kingdom. Sigismund was taken prisoner by the barons³ and given in custody to two adolescents or young men whose father had been killed in the tent.⁴ There was no doubt that the youths would avenge their father's death by torturing the king to death. When Sigismund saw that he was a prisoner in the hands of bitter enemies, he began to appeal to the young men and exhort them, in many words, to free him. But they remembered the killing of their father and were more intent on revenge than mercy, so they remained deaf to his prayers. Then Sigismund demanded to speak to the mother of the youths whom he knew to be an intelligent woman and the young men's guide. When she came to speak with him, he said,⁵ "I have said much, woman, to your sons that I believe would be to their profit, but because of their [young] age, they do not know as much as you undoubtedly do. So, I shall say to you what I said to them. Then, afterwards, if my advice is advantageous to you, accept it. If not, do as you please. Here I am in your hands and your sons'. If you wish to save me, you can. If you wish to kill me, you can do that, too. However, you have no cause for killing me unless you suspect me of having murdered your husband. But, woman, I swear by the heavenly beings, by the immaculate Faith and by Jesus Christ, whom we worship as God, that I did not know of the plan to kill the noble barons and your husband with them."⁶ It was the queen, whose power was much greater than mine, who had it done, ill-advisedly. Thus, there is no reason to take revenge on me.

¹ Piccolomini probably refers to the Hungarian magnate rebellion against Sigismund in 1401 that almost cost him his crown.

² 1395.

³ In April 1401. He was reinstated in his royal functions and rights on 29 October 1401.

⁴ It is not certain which imprisonment Piccolomini is referring to, and indeed he seems to have been hazy about the chronology of Sigismund's early life. In 1401, Sigismund was imprisoned for 18 weeks in the castle of Siklos, under the guardianship of Nikolaus Garai, the Palatine, and his brother. Their father, also called Nikolaus and also a Palatine, had been beheaded in 1387, but not by Sigismund. The versions of the story contained in Piccolomini's *Europa* from 1456 and the *In Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Memorabilibus Commentarius* from 1456 (see Supplement) explicitly mention the Garai brothers and show that Piccolomini had, in the meantime, become better informed about the whole matter. The last-mentioned source also contains a revised version of Sigismund's address to the mother.

⁵ This is, of course, a "fictive oration."

⁶ Since Piccolomini had just related that it was Sigismund himself who killed the barons in the tent, he is here describing how Sigismund committed blatant perjury.

[112] Verum si id peccassem, non tamen vobis utile est me occidere. Scitis¹ enim, quia rex vester sum, nec ullam in me ex jure potestatem habetis. Scitis, quia magno genere ortus sum, quodque regnum Bohemiae germanus meus tenet, qui mortem meam non relinquet inultam. Scitis, quia necessarium est regem esse in Hungaria: quicumque hoc regnum adeptus fuerit, filios tuos suspectos habebit, {61v} qui jam sanguine regio manus suas maculaverint. Nemo acceptus est regibus, qui regem aliquando interemit. Timet enim quilibet exemplum, et pro communi causa exterminantur, qui regibus infensi fuere. Numquam ergo, si me occidere praesumpseritis, locum in regno tui habebunt filii, sed tum infamiam, tum egestatem patientur. Itaque vides, optima mulier, si me morti dederis, quid sequatur. Illud autem scis, quia virum tuum mortuum reddere tibi mors mea non potest. At si me² dimiseris finxerisque fugisse, ego de facili regnum recuperabo. Plures enim adhuc et barones et communitates sunt, quae me vivum audientes in meum favorem arma capient. Tum et Bohemos mecum ducam nec dubium est, quin regnum evestigio recuperem. Quod cum fiet, reputabo et a te et a tuis filiis regnum habere, tuamque domum ac³ familiam magnificabo et potiores filios tuos apud me⁴ habebo. Elige ergo nunc, quid horum velis: an me occiso domum tuam funestare⁵ infamemque reddere⁶ et exterminare⁷, an me servato perpetuam gloriam consequi et amplitudinem status.” Moverunt feminam verba Sigismundi simulque commiserata est regio sanguini. Aspiciebat quoque principem elegantissimum, toto corpore pulcherrimum, cujus ipsa facies digna imperio videbatur. Vocatis ergo filiis suadet regem dimitti.

[113] Ille evadens ad comitem Ciliae se recepit, cujus filiam in matrimonium duxit, nomine Barbaram, elegantissimi corporis. Post vocatu quorundam baronum et potentia sua regnum recuperavit palatiumque apud Budam amplissimum per antecessores inchoatum in magna construxit.

¹ *em.*; scitis V

² ~~re~~ *seq.* V

³ et X

⁴ filios tuos apud me : apud me filios tuos X

⁵ funestari X

⁶ reddi X

⁷ exterminari X

[112] But even if I had committed this sin, killing me would not be to your own advantage. You know that I am your king, and you have no lawful power over me. You know that I descend from a great family¹: my brother is the king of Bohemia,² and he will not let my death go unavenged. You know that there must be a king in Hungary. Whoever takes over this kingdom will be suspicious of your sons since they would already have stained their hands with royal blood. No one who has killed a king is acceptable to other kings for they fear the [bad] example, and those who are hostile to kings are destroyed for the common good. So, if you dare to kill me, your sons will never have a place in the kingdom but will suffer infamy and poverty. Thus you see, best of women, what will happen if you have me killed. You know that my death cannot bring your dead husband back to you. If you let me go and pretend that I have fled, I shall easily regain the kingdom. When they hear that I am alive, many barons and cities will take weapons to support me, and since I shall also bring Bohemians with me, I shall no doubt regain the kingdom. When that happens, I will consider myself to have received the kingdom from you and your sons, and I shall raise up your house and family and make your sons powerful men. So, choose now what you want: will you pollute your house, make it infamous, and destroy it by killing me, or will you give it eternal glory and high status by saving me?" The woman was moved by Sigismund's words and pitied his royal blood. She was also affected by the prince's great elegance and handsomeness and his whole demeanour, worthy of a ruler. So, she summoned her sons and persuaded them to let the king go.^{3 4}

[113] Thus, he escaped and went to the Count of Cilly,⁵ whose daughter he married.⁶ Her name was Barbara;⁷ she was a very elegant woman. Later, he regained his kingdom at the invitation of some barons and thanks to his own strength. He rebuilt Buda Castle, begun by his predecessors,⁸ on a grand scale.

¹ The House of Luxembourg.

² Wenzel IV.

³ In his *Historia Bohemica*, Piccolomini wrote about this episode: *Duos et triginta regulos securi percussit. Tumultu populari captus ac vidue, cuius virum occiderat, in custodiam traditus beneficio lingue libertatem adeptus regnum armis recuperavit* (HB, II, 198-199 (Hejnic, p. 214).)

⁴ This story bears a remarkable similarity to the story of Piccinino's capture by two young noble brothers of Faenza (see sect. 16) and Braccio da Montone's capture by two young Perugian nobles belonging to the Raspanti faction (see sect.39).

⁵ Hermann II von Cilly [Celje] (ca. 1360-1435): Count of Cilly. Supporter and father-in-law of Emperor Sigismund.

⁶ Hoensch, p. 106: *Eine dynastische Verbindung mit diesem einflussreichen und wohlhabenden Geschlecht konnte nicht nur dazu beitragen, Sigismund aus seiner Gefangenschaft zu befreien, sondern sie bot für den sich ja in steten Geldverlegenheit befindlicher Monarchen auch längerfristig im Hinblick auf eine ins Auge gefasste aktivere Österreich- und Adriapolitik vorteilhafte Perspektiven. ... Das Kalkül ging auf: Nicht zuletzt der Fürsprache seines künftigen Schwagers Garai hatte Sigismund Anfang September 1401 seine Freilassung zu danken.*

⁷ Barbara von Cilly (1392-1451): Married Emperor Sigismund in 1405. See ch. 32.

⁸ Buda Castle was first completed in 1265.

[114] Exinde cum Turcorum ingens manus regnum Hungariae continuo vastaret, statuit congregari bellumque gerere, cui in auxilium dux Borgundiae venit multique ex Galliis¹ et Alamania² nobiles, Anglici quoque, ex Italia etiam, nam comes Bertoldus ex domo Ursina non parvam³ suae virtutis in eo bello experientiam {62r} monstravit. Cum jam in propinquo acies essent longeque splendidior validiorque Christianorum quam Turcorum videretur exercitus, orta contentio est, quinam priores ex Christianis bellum aggredierentur, nam modo Galli, modo Teutonici, modo Hungari primatum volebant. Reputant enim sibi honori primam in bello aciem obtinere. Datus tandem Gallis est prior locus non quod gens nobilior esset, sed quod principem praestantiorum habebant alios, nec enim alius ibi erat major duce Borgundiae nisi rex ipse Sigismundus, qui suo in regno voluit exterum honorare. Placuisse tamen sibi non honori, sed utilitati consulere Hungarosque praemittere, qui mores Turcorum melius nossent. Sed gestus est Gallis mos, qui procedentes in proelium, cum hostes intra palos conclusos comperissent nec equos intra pellere possent, desilientes ex equis pedibus proeliari coeperunt. Calor ingens fuit, pulvisque altissimus elevatus est. Itaque non acies aciem videre poterat. Post Gallos autem Hungari sequentes, cum equos Gallorum vacuos fugientesque viderent, rati Gallos jam victos prostratosque esse, nam ignari consilii eorum erant, et ipsi terga verterunt. Interim Galli nullis adjuti Hungaris a multitudine Teucrorum facile superantur. Crescit animus Teucris atque ulterius procedentes in fugam vertunt omnem Christianorum exercitum. Magna strages data est Christianis multa que milia occisa, captique multi nobiles, nam et Johannes dux Borgundorum hostiles manus incidit, qui redemptus est postea multo auro. In eo proelio et Bastardus Sabaudiae captus testibus privatus est. Sigismundus autem fuga salutem quaesivit.

¹ Gallia X

² Germania X

³ pronam X

[114] Later,¹ when a vast Turkish army laid waste to the Kingdom of Hungary, Sigismund decided to go against the Turks and meet them in battle. The Duke of Burgundy² came to his aid, as did many nobles from France, Germany, England, and even Italy, for in this war Bertoldo of the House of Orsini gave ample proof of his valour.³ When the two armies confronted each other, the Christian army appeared much more splendid and stronger than the Turkish army. Then, a dispute arose about whom of the Christians should attack first, for both the French, the Germans, and the Hungarians claimed the front ranks in battle, all of them believing that the honour of holding the first place belonged to them. In the end, the first place was given to the French not because this people was nobler, but because their prince ranked higher than the others. For nobody was greater than the Duke of Burgundy except King Sigismund himself, and since he was in his own kingdom, he wanted to honour the foreign guest. However, it would have been better if he had been more concerned about advantage than honour and sent the Hungarians first into battle, for they knew better how the Turks fought. At any rate, Sigismund yielded to the French. Going into battle, they saw that the enemies had surrounded themselves with rows of sharpened stakes, and they were unable to force their horses inside. So they jumped from their horses and began to fight on foot. The heat was immense, and clouds of dust rose in the air, preventing the ranks of fighters from seeing each other. The Hungarians, coming after the French, did not know what these were doing, so when they saw the horses of the French running back riderless, they thought that the French had already been defeated and destroyed, and so they fled. In the meantime, the French, with no help from the Hungarians, were easily defeated by the many Teucrians.⁴ The Teucrian spirits rose, and moving forward, they put the whole Christian army to flight. The Christians were massacred, many thousands killed, and many nobles were taken prisoner. Duke Jean of Burgundy also fell into the hands of the enemies and was later ransomed at a great price. In this battle, the Bastard of Savoy,⁵ too, was captured - and castrated.⁶ Sigismund saved himself by flight.^{7 8}

¹ The battle of Nicopolis did not take place later, but before, in 1396.

² Jean sans Peur (Valois) (1391-1419): Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to his death.

³ Bertoldo Orsini: Not identified.

⁴ 1447 is the last year in which Piccolomini used the term Teucer (Trojan) for the Turks, later switching completely to Turcus.

⁵ Humbert de Savoie (1377-1443): Grand Batard de Savoie. Illegitimate son of Amédée VII and half-brother of Amédée VIII. Taken prisoner by the Turks in 1396, he was only released in 1402

⁶ The story of his castration is not mentioned by modern scholarship (see Cognasso, I, p. 31, 58). It is possibly based on a rumour caused by the fact the Humbert never married and that he had no issue.

⁷ Piccolomini's short description of the battle appears, in substance, to agree with modern historians' views (e.g. Hoensch, pp. 83-86, Tuchmann, pp. 558-563).

⁸ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about the Battle of Nicopolis: *Sigismund ... was defeated and routed in a battle with the Turks, though aid had come to him from all Europe. They say the French were to blame for the disaster. After having claimed the front ranks in battle as the due of their nobility, when they engaged the enemy they dismounted and fought on foot without having told the Hungarians of their plan. The freed horses galloped to the rear and when the Hungarians saw them riderless they thought the entire French and English force had been massacred (for the cloud of dust they raised obstructed the view) and panicstricken they fled ignobly. While the French, thus abandoned by their comrades were fighting furiously they were surrounded by the enemy who killed most of them and took the rest captive. Among the prisoners were Jean, Duke of Burgundy, ... and the illegitimate brother of Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, whom the Turks castrated. Both were ransomed. Sigismund fled to the seacoast and sailed to Constantinople, whence he returned home safe but inglorious.* (COM, XII, 16 (Gragg, pp. 796-797)).

[115] Dum haec aguntur Vnceslaus Romanorum rex, cum imperasset annis¹ circiter XIII, privatus imperio - nam deses iudicatus est neglectorque imperii, imputatumque sibi est absque principum consilio Mediolanensem ducem creasset - illique substitutus est {62v} Judocus marchio Moraviae, patruelis ejus, qui cum imperasset diebus paucis mortem obiit. Forsitan fata aegre tulerunt eum acceptasse adversus consanguineum tantam dignitatem. Post Judocum Sigismundo demandabatur imperium, sed noluit frater contra fratrem surgere. Creatus est igitur imperator Ropertus, dux Bavarorum, vir praestans animi ac nobilitate clarus, qui dum Italiam intrans coronam Mediolani Romaeque² petiturus per Galeazium, qui partis³ Vnceslai erat, prohibitus est et apud Brixiam conflictus redire ad propria coactus est. Post hunc iterum Sigismundus vocatus est et, cum jam frater de imperio non curaret, onus accepit.

[116] Vnceslaus autem fuit homo deditus voluptati, laborum fugax, vini cupidus, thesauri amator, venationis secutor, adversus quem subditi saepe rebellarunt. Nam postquam imperium amisit, etiam Bohemiae regnum pessumdavit. Captus semel per Sigismundum in custodiam datus est duci Austriae apud Viennam, sed aufugit tamen. Sigismundus autem solertior juniorque favorem populi concitavit.

¹ *em.* HE; omnibus V, X

² Romamque X

³ *em.* HE; partem V, X

[115] In the meantime, Wenzel,¹ King of the Romans, after a reign of about 14 years², was deposed as imperial ruler,³ having been judged idle and neglectful of the Empire. He was also criticised for raising Milan to a duchy⁴ without consulting the princes. He was replaced with Jobst, Margrave of Moravia,⁵ his cousin, but he died after reigning for a few days only. Maybe the fates were angry with him for accepting so great a dignity against a kinsman. After Jobst, Sigismund was offered the Empire, but he did not wish to rise against a brother. Therefore Ruprecht,⁶ Duke of Bavaria, was made emperor, an outstanding man of great nobility. When he entered Italy to seek the crown in Milan and Rome, he was prevented from doing so by Galeazzo,⁷ who sided with Wenzel, and after a battle at Brescia,⁸ he was forced to return to his home.⁹ Again Sigismund was invited [to become emperor],¹⁰ and since his brother no longer cared about the Empire, he accepted the burden.¹¹

[116] Wenzel was a man given to sensual pleasures. He avoided labours, loved wine, treasured money, and liked hunting. His subjects often rebelled against him. After losing the Empire, he also ruined the Kingdom of Bohemia. Once, he was captured by Sigismund¹² and placed in custody with the Duke of Austria¹³ in Vienna but managed to flee.^{14 15} However, since Sigismund was younger and more clever, it was he who gained the favour of the people.

¹ Wenzel IV.

² Elected as King of the Romans in 1376, he had actually been reigning for 24 years when he was deposed.

³ 1400.

⁴ 1395.

⁵ Jobst (Luxembourg) (ca. 1354-1411): Margrave of Moravia (1375). Elector of Brandenburg (1388). King of the Romans 1410-1411.

⁶ Ruprecht III (Wittelsbach) (1352-1410): Count Palatine, 1398. King of the Romans, 1400-1410.

⁷ Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1391-1402): Lord of Milan, 1385. Made duke by Wenzel in 1395.

⁸ Battle of Brescia, 21 October 1402.

⁹ See Part IV. Lives of Four Emperors, sect. 401

¹⁰ After Ruprecht's death, eight years after his return to Germany in 1402.

¹¹ Piccolomini has got the facts and the chronology wrong: Wenzel was deposed by the electors on 20 August 1400 on account of "futility, idleness, negligence, and ignobility." The next day, Count Palatine Ruprecht III was elected King of the Romans. Ruprecht was never crowned emperor but reigned as King of the Romans (Germany) until his death in 1410. Then, both Wenceslaus' cousin, Jobst of Moravia, and Sigismund were elected King of the Romans. Jobst died the next year, Wenzel renounced his rights as emperor, after which Sigismund reigned as King of the Romans. See Hoensch, pp. 101-102.

¹² 1402.

¹³ Wilhelm (Habsburg) (ca. 1370-1406): Duke of Austria (1386) of the Leopoldian line.

¹⁴ 1403.

¹⁵ In the HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 218), Piccolomini wrote about Wenzel: ... *quia Venceslaus desidia corruptus, presenti rerum statu contentus neque preterita corrigere neque futura ordinare curavit. Fuit enim Venceslaus longe patri absimilis, voluptatum sequax ac labores fugiens vinique prorsus quam regni curiosior.*

[117] Cum jam schisma foret, et Benedictus Hispanias teneret, Gregorius quosdam Teutonicos Italiosque¹ haberet, reliquum Johannes XXIII. obtineret Christianitatis, placuit Sigismundo pro pace ecclesiae laborare. Pergens igitur in Italiam ad Johannem cum eo in Lauda fuit obtinuitque apud Constantiam provinciae Maguntinae, quae insignis urbs est supra lacum Brigantium in agro Retico, concilium indici, missaeque sunt convocationis litterae ad annum. Post ipse Constantiam venit, et in tempore concilium coepit, Johannesque advenit, sed cum mentes patrum intelligeret, quia pro pace ecclesiae cedendum esset, fugam fecit atque in terris Friderici ducis Austriae se recepit, nam fidem ejus {63r} mercatus fuerat. Tuebatur itaque Johannem Fridericus. Ob quam rem irritatus Sigismundus adversus Fridericum arma tulit. Advocatis Suicensibus, ut quae raperent, sua essent, concessit, civitatibusque, quae vellent, ad imperium redire relicta domo Austriae permisit. Ob quam rem plura oppida alienata sunt illi domui usque in hanc diem. Itaque territus Fridericus revocavit propositum. Johannes autem cum ex Brisaco in Gallias transire vellet, captus est ac demum pontificio privatus et in carcerem² conjectus, de quo³ sub Martino liberatus est, ut supra diximus. Gregorius autem sponte resignavit papatum.

¹ Italicosque HE

² *em.* HE; carcere V

³ ~~Martino~~-*seq.* V

[117] There was now a schism [in the Church],¹ and Benedict² held Spain, Gregory³ some Germans and Italians, and Johannes XXIII⁴ the rest of Christendom. Therefore, Sigismund decided to work for the peace of the Church. Going to Italy, he met with Johannes in Lodi⁵ and obtained from him the convocation of a council, to be held in Konstanz, in the region of Mainz. Konstanz is a famous city above the lake of Breisach, in Rhaetian territory. Letters of convocation were sent out with a time limit of one year.⁶ Then Sigismund went to Konstanz,⁷ the council began at the stipulated time,⁸ and Johannes arrived. When he realised that the Fathers felt he should abdicate for the peace of the Church, he fled⁹ and went to the lands of Duke Friedrich of Austria,¹⁰ whose loyalty he had bought. Thus Friedrich protected Johannes.¹¹ This made Sigismund angry, and he sent armed forces against Friedrich. Summoning the Swiss, he granted them what they could take and allowed their cities to withdraw from the House of Austria and return to the Empire if they wanted to. Thus, several towns were lost to that House and remain so to this day.¹² Terrified, Friedrich gave up his plans. When Johannes wanted to leave Breisach for France, he was captured and in the end

¹ The Great Western Schism from 1378 to 1417, with two popes from 1378 to 1410 (Roman line, Avignonese line), and three popes from 1410 to 1417 (Roman line, Avignonese line and Pisan line), see sect. 300-305.

² Benedictus XIII [Pedro de Luna] (1328-1423): Elected pope by the cardinals in Avignon, 1396. Deposed at the Council of Konstanz 1417.

³ Gregorius XII [Angelo Corraro] (ca. 1326-1417): Elected pope by the cardinals in Rome, 1406. Forced to resign by the Council of Konstanz 1415. See sect. 300.

⁴ Johannes XXIII [Baldassare Cossa] (ca. 1370-1419): Elected pope by the cardinals in Pisa, 1410. Forced to resign by the Council of Konstanz 1415. See sect. 302.

⁵ Hoensch, p. 174: *Bei einer Zusammenkunft mit Johann XXIII., die seit dem 25. November 1413 in Lodi stattfand, hatte Sigismund aber noch schwierige Überzeugungsarbeit zu leisten, um nach einer alle Zuhörer ergreifende Rede den zögernde Papst auf die von seinen Bevollmächtigten eingegangenen Verpflichtungen festzu-legen.*

⁶ After previous negotiations with the papal representatives, the emperor had, on 30 October 1413, announced the opening of an ecumenical council on 1 November 1414. Johannes XXIII issued the papal convocation bull on 9 December 1413 (Hoensch, p. 174).

⁷ He arrived in Konstanz on Christmas Eve.

⁸ 16 November 1414.

⁹ March 1415.

¹⁰ Friedrich IV (Habsburg) (1382-1439): Duke of Austria, 1402.

¹¹ Hoensch, p. 199: *Papst Johann hatte inzwischen mit Herzog Friedrich IV von Tirol ... Kontakt aufgenommen und Fluchtmöglichkeiten ventiliert. Ein von Friedrich IV. am 20. März vor den Toren der Stadt veranstaltetes Turnier bot Johannes die Glegenheit, als Reitknecht verkleidet Konstanz zu verlasen und mit Hilfe des Herzogs im österreichischen Schaffhausen Zuflucht zu finden.*

¹² Hoensch, p. 267: *Nach dem Angebot des Herzogs, sich persönlich vor dem Konzil zu rechtfertigen, wurde nach einer ersten Begegnung zwischem dem König und Friedrich IV. in Meersburg am 26 April 1418 ... der Streit beigelegt. Gegen die Entrichtung von 50.000 Gulden bestätigte Sigismund die früheren Privilegien und Reichslehen des Habsburgers und vermittelte einen Kompromiss, der zwar die Eidgenossen om Besitz ihrer Eroberungen beliess, Friedrich aber das Recht zugestand, seine ehemaligen Herrschaften im Elsass, Breisgau, Schwaben und oberen Rheintal von den zeitweiligen Inhabern auszulösen. Sigismund tat indess wenig, um dem in grosser Geldnot steckender Herzog den Rückerwerb zu erleichtern, der sich mit dem Verlust des habsburgischen Hausbesitzes im Aargau nicht abfinden wollte.*

deposed¹ and thrown into a prison from which he was freed under Martin, as We have said above.² Gregory, however, abdicated the papacy of his own free will.³

[118] Restabat itaque solus Benedictus, qui pacem turbabat⁴, quem soli sequebantur Hispanici. Ad hunc igitur profectus est Sigismundus et inter eundum⁵ apud Camberiacum Amedeum, Sabaudiae comitem, erexit in ducem, venitque ad Benedictum in Perpiniano, quem allocutus flectere non potuit, ut papatum pro pace ecclesiae resignaret. Sed allocutus est reges Hispaniarum, in Narbonaque cum natione Hispanica concordatum est, ut tota natio a Benedicto recederet fieretque nova invocatio nomine nationis in Constantia, et tunc venirent Hispani ad concilium. Ac sic factum est. Unde postea Martinus concorditer electus est. Et sic labore atque industria Sigismundi schisma, quod annis circiter quadraginta duraverat⁶, extinctum est paxque facta. Hoc etiam tempore perrexit in Galliam et Angliam Sigismundus pacemque inter duos reges composuit, quamvis parvo tempore durarit.

¹ Hoensch, p. 200: *Während Sigismund entschlossen militärisch gegen seinen alten Widersacher Friedrich IV. vorging und ihn in einem Reichskrieg innerhalb wenigen Wochen zur Unterwerfung zwang, wurde Johannes XXIII. am 20. Mai in Radolfszell gefangengenommen, nach Konstanz verbracht und vor dem Konzilsgericht unter Anklage gestellt... Das einseitige, nicht immer korrekte Verfahren kam bereits am 29. Mai mit der Absetzung des Papstes zum Abschluss.*

² NB: This passage must refer to the lost part of the manuscript containing, among others, the biographies of Johannes XXIII and Martin V, see sect. 302-306. It thus corroborates the view that the collection of papal Vitae (see part III) was intended to be integrated into the DVI.

³ 4 July 1415. Hoensch: *Auf der 14. Öffentlichen Sitzung der Generalkongregation, am 4. Juli, der Sigismund in vollem Ornat und umgeben von den die Reichsinsignien tragenden Fürsten präsidiert, wurde das Konzil von den Prokuratoren Gregors neu einberufen und autorisiert ... worauf ... Malatesta die Zessionserklärung abgab.*

⁴ em. HE; turbabant V, X

⁵ intereundum HE

⁶ Sigi seq. V

[118] Now, only Benedict remained [as pope], a disturbance to the peace of the Church, though he was only followed by the Spaniards. Sigismund left [Konstanz] to meet with him.¹ On the way, in Chambéry, he raised Amédée, Count of Savoy, to the dukedom.² When he came to Benedict in Perpignan, he spoke with him but was unable to persuade him to abdicate the papacy for the peace of the Church.³ But Sigismund also had talks with the Spanish kings, and in Narbonne they reached an agreement that the entire nation would abandon Benedict, that a new invitation would be issued in Konstanz, addressed to the whole nation, and that then the Spaniards would come to the council, all of which happened.⁴ Later, Martin was elected pope unanimously.⁵ And thus, thanks to the labour and diligence of Sigismund, the schism that had lasted for almost 40 years was ended and peace restored. At this time, Sigismund also visited France⁶ and England,⁷ where he made peace between the two kings,⁸ though it only lasted for a short time.⁹

¹ Hoensch, p. 201: *Sigismund stand allerdings noch die schwierige Aufgabe bevor, den starrköpfigen Benedikt XIII. zum Rücktritt zu bewegen.*

² 19 February 1416, on his way back from Narbonne. Sigismund was sympathetic to the House of Savoy because of his friendship with Amédée's half-brother, Humbert, Grand Batard de Savoie, and he would also have appreciated Amédée's rich gifts, the fees of ca. 6,000 florins for diplomas etc, and the count's military support in various ventures. But the deep political motive for this gesture was much more important: by making Savoy a dukedom under the Holy Roman Empire, Sigismund wanted to subtract Savoy from the French sphere of influence, see Cognasso, p. I, 215.

³ Hoensch, p. 223: *... der 77 Jahre alte Papst wies alle Vorschläge, durch seine Abdankung den Weg zur Kircheneinheit freizumachen, schroff zurück.*

⁴ Hoensch, p. 224: *Am 13. Dezember [1415] wurde dann in Narbonne ein Übereinkommen unterzeichnet in dessen 12 Artikeln die Voraussetzungen für die Anerkennung des Konzils und die Teilnahme der Spanier ebenso präzise geregelt wurde wie das gegen Benedikt einzuleitende Absetzungsverfahren und die uneingeschränkte Mitwirkung seiner Kardinäle an der erst danach durchzuführende Wahl eines neuen Papstes.*

⁵ 11 November 1417.

⁶ Sigismund arrived in Paris on 1 March 1416.

⁷ Sigismund entered London on 7 May 1416.

⁸ Charles VII. Henry V (Lancaster) (1386-1422): King of England from 1413 to his death.

⁹ Piccolomini here refers to Sigismund's proposals for a truce between England and France, accepted by Henry V but ultimately (13 August 1416) rejected by the French court (Hoensch, pp. 231-232).

[119] Exinde, cum jam Vincenslaus interisset ad eumque regnum Bohemiae pertineret, in Hungaria vero magni motus essent propter Turcos insultantes, consilium cepit, quid agendum: an Bohemia esset adeunda an succurrendum Hungaris. Quattuor tunc consiliariorum genera apud Sigismundum fuere: {63v} Italicorum, Teutonicorum, Hungarorum, Bohemorum, quos seorsum deliberare Caesar voluit. Bohemi et Itali petendam Bohemiam priusquam novitas ulla oriretur, post facile succurri posse Hungaris censebant. Nam si prius Hungariam peteret, posset sibi adversus Turcos, ut prius, sinistre succedere, et tunc Bohemi eum contemnerent et Hungari. Teutonici autem Hungarique consularunt prius Hungariae succurrendum, nam nemo eo temeritatis pergeret, ut regnum suum vellet Sigismundo remove.

[120] His adhaesit Sigismundus, sed sinistre evenit, nam etsi Hungariae succurrerit et admodum ultra removerit Turcos, Bohemis tamen, qui jam seditionem fecerant Hussitarumque sequebantur haeresim, Sigismundum ad se¹ venientem recipere noluerunt. Ob quam rem exercitum maximum congregavit, nam electores omnes totaque nobilitas Alamaniae cum eo fuit. Ajunt enim numerum equitantium circiter LXX milia fuisse², obsidionemque ante Pragam statuit. Sed cum principes admovere³ urbi machinas vellent lapidesque jacere et insultum facere, noluit Sigismundus. Veniebant enim ad eum secreto Bohemi sub specie prodicionis suorum dicebantque sibi, “Quid tu, obsecramus, tuam urbem destruis? An non melior erit tibi integra quam diruta?”, suadebantque, ut principes dimitteret, nam civitatem sibi evestigio traderent eumque sic dietim in verbis tenebant, quod animadvertentes principes paulatim ab eo recesserunt. Ipse autem cum paucis relictus, cum speraret se intromitti, mox hostium cuneos contra se exire vidit vixque amissis pluribus evadere potuit. Theodorus tunc de Valleperga cum eo fuit, eques insignis, qui vim Bohemorum mirifice repressit spatiumque fugae praebuit Sigismundo.

¹ ~~re~~ seq. V

² ~~sed~~-seq. V

³ amovere X

[119] When Wenzel died,¹ the Kingdom of Bohemia came to Sigismund. In Hungary, there were great disturbances due to Turkish attacks. Sigismund then took counsel on what to do: should he go to Bohemia, or should he come to the assistance of the Hungarians? At that time, there were four groups of counsellors with Sigismund: the Italians, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Bohemians. The emperor wanted these groups to deliberate separately. The Bohemians and the Italians advised him to go to Bohemia before a rebellion should occur; afterwards, it would be easy to come to the aid of the Hungarians. But if he first went to Hungary, it might go badly for him with the Turks, as had happened before,² and then both the Bohemians and the Hungarians would scorn him. The Germans and the Hungarians, however, advised him to first go to help the Hungarians, for nobody would be so audacious as to want to deprive Sigismund of his [Bohemian] kingdom.

[120] Sigismund sided with the last group, with dire results, however. Coming to the aid of the Hungarians, he pushed the Turks far back, but when he went to Bohemia, the Bohemians, who were now in open rebellion and followed the Hussite heresy, did not want to receive him. He then managed to assemble a large army, for the prince-electors and all the German nobility were with him. The cavalry reportedly amounted to 70,000. He decided to lay siege to Prague,³ but when the princes wanted to move their war machines to the city, bomb it with stones, and attack it, Sigismund did not allow it.⁴ The reason was that the Bohemians had come to him in secret on the pretext of [negotiating] their surrender and said to him, “Why, pray, do you destroy your city. Will it not profit you more if it is undamaged rather than destroyed?”⁵ They urged him to send the princes away, for they would then very soon surrender the city, and thus they kept stringing him along from day to day. When the princes became aware of it, they left him one after the other. Remaining, with only a few people, he expected to be received into the city, but [instead] he soon saw hostile troops come out against him. Losing many of his men, he barely managed to flee. At the time, Theodor Valleperga⁶ was with him, a distinguished knight who admirably resisted the Bohemian force, allowing Sigismund to flee.⁷

¹ 16 August 1419.

² At the Battle of Nicopolis in 1496.

³ End of May 1420.

⁴ Hoensch, p. 291: *Sigismund, der mit den Reservern auf den linken Moldau-Ufer geblieben war, hatte danach den beabsichtigten Sturm auf die Altstadt aus unerfindlichen Gründen abgesagt.*

⁵ Hoensch, pp. 292-293: *... erreichte er [Sigismund] Ende Mai die Hauptstadt, deren Bürger ihm die Kapitulation für ein Amnestieversprechen und die Zusicherung der Kelchfreiheit anboten; in Überschätzung seiner militärischen Stärke stellte Sigismund aber so harte Übergabeforderungen, dass die Prager ... lieber dem Glück der Waffen vertrauen wollten und das ganze Land zur Hilfeleistung aufriefen.*

⁶ Not identified. In a note, Heck gives the name of Wolfsburg (Valleperga = Wolfsburg).

⁷ It is not clear precisely which event Piccolomini is referring to, but he fails to mention Sigismund's coronation as King of Bohemia. In his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, pp. 296-301), Piccolomini gives a lengthy description of the siege of Prague without mentioning the duplicitous negotiating strategy of the Bohemians. He does, however, mention the coronation. Afterwards, Sigismund was forced to leave Bohemia and return to Hungary, see Hoensch, pp. 294-295: *Ohne Truppen und ohne das notwendige Geld, um neue Söldner anzuwerben, sowie ohne nenneswerten Rückhalt beim Adel und in der Bevölkerung, blieb ihm keine andere Wahl, als sich Mitte März ins mährische Znaim abzusetzen und nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in Brünn Mitte Mai nach Ungarn zurückzukehren. Trotz alle Bemühungen hatte er Böhmen nicht unterwerfen können.*

[121] {64r} Post haec iterum in Hungaria passus est diversos motus Sigismundus. Regnum quoque Poloniae administravit. Cum rege Angliae magnas amicitias habuit. Exin¹ cum Poloni sibi essent infesti, Vitoldum magnum, ducem Lituaniae, sibi conciliavit, quem etiam in suis dominiis visitavit obtulitque sibi coronam. Nam Lituaniam, cum esset amplissima patria, in regnum erigere volebat, ut a jugo Polonorum reduceret, jamque invitis Polonis Vitoldus cum Lituaniis rem aggredebatur, sed ante mortuus est, quam res perfeci possit. Cum apud eum Sigismundus foret, omni die nova munera recepit.

[122] Idem Sigismundus cum rege minoris Persiae foedus habuit, ut Omerat, Turcorum imperatorem, Europa expelleret. Plures quoque in ejus curia et Graecos et Turcos habuit, ut qui magni fuit animi.

¹ exinde X

[121] Later, back in Hungary, Sigismund suffered various uprisings. He also administered the Kingdom of Poland.¹ He had a close friendship with the King of England.² Later again, at a time when the Poles were his enemies, he became reconciled with Vytautas,³ Grand Duke of Lithuania, whom he visited in his domains, bringing him a crown. For, since Lithuania was a large country, he wanted to raise it to a kingdom to free them from the Polish yoke.⁴ Against Polish opposition, Vytautas was negotiating this matter with his Lithuanians but died before it could be achieved.⁵ While Sigismund was with him, he received new gifts every day.

[122] Sigismund had a pact with the King of Persia Minor⁶ [stipulating] that he would expel Murad,⁷ leader⁸ of the Turks, from Europe.⁹ ¹⁰ Being a broad-minded [ruler], he also had Greeks and Turks¹¹ at his court.

¹ As future son-in-law of King Louis I of Hungary, Sigismund endeavoured, in 1481-1482, to become ruler of Poland (dominus regni Poloniae), but the death of Louis in 1482 effectively ended this project. See Hoensch, pp. 50: *Danach von seinen Anhängern fallengelassen, sah sich ... Sigismund gezwungen, den "unsinnigen Plan" eines Doppelkönigtums aufzugeben und fast fluchtartig nach Ungarn zurückzukehren*. Sigismund never administered the Polish kingdom.

² Henry V, who made Sigismund a Knight of the Garter, 1415.

³ Vytautas (ca. 1350-1430): Grand Duke of Lithuania.

⁴ Actually, Vytautas himself had been one of the architects of the Union of Horodlo with Poland in 1413. According to the act of union, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was to retain a separate Grand Duke and its own parliament.

⁵ In January 1429, at the Congress of Lutsk, Sigismund proposed that Vytautas be crowned King of Lithuania. This resulted in a crisis between Vytautas, King Władysław and Polish nobles. The envoys transporting documents supporting Vytautas coronation and proposing an alliance between Lithuania, Hungary, and the Teutonic Order were stopped at the Polish-Lithuanian border in the autumn of 1430. When Vytautas died, the whole affair ended

⁶ It is not clear which region Piccolomini designates as Persia Minor.

⁷ Murad II.

⁸ "imperator".

⁹ Mályusz, p. 103: *... im Jahre 1419, suchte Gereci in Sigismunds Auftrag Quara Yuluk, den Herrscher von Mesopotamien, auf ... Seine Aufgabe, den Fürsten zum Angriff des Sultans Mohamed I. [Mehmed I] zu bewegen, erfüllte Gereci mit Erfolg. Er erreichte sogar, dass auch der Sohn von Timur-i-Läng, Sah Ruh, Herrscher Persiens und den tschagataischen Tataren, am Unternehmen teilnahm. Der Angriff wehrte den Feldzug des Sultans gegen Ungarn ab.*

¹⁰ On Sigismund's contacts with Eastern potential enemies of the Turkish sultan, see Hoensch, p. 140: *Nach 1412 hat Sigismund mehrmals versucht, Verbindungen zu den Herrschern der im Rücken des Osmanischen Reiches liegenden Mächte anzuknüpfen, um Verbündete im Kampf gegen die Türken zu finden, aber auch um dem Orienthandel der verfeindeten Republik Venedig zu schaden.*

¹¹ Mályusz, p. 103: *Gereci kehrte im Jahre 1408 aus der Gefangenschaft mit einem Türken zurück nach Hause, der in Ungarn das Christentum annahm. ... Er wurde Josef der Türke (Josa Turcus) genannt und diente Sigismund in enger Freundschaft.*

[123] Rursus quoque, cum Martinus papa expeditionem fieri contra Hussitas mandaret, Sigismundus Noremburgam venit, nam res illa per Brandam inchoata, per Julianum finiri debebat. Dedit itaque rebus ordinem Sigismundus et, cum interesse non posset, nam petere Italiam decreverat, Fridericum, marchionem Brandeburgensem, expeditioni praefecit malis tamen auspiciis, ut alibi diximus.

[124] Ipse autem Sigismundus multis conventionibus cum Filippo, duce Mediolani, factis et infectis tandem ex arbitrio Filippi intravit Italiam, nec plures duxit gentes, quam ille voluit, coronatusque Mediolani est. Sed numquam Filippus eum visitavit, sic enim convenerant. Stabat enim Filippus in Abbiate Piceninoque Mediolani administrationem commiserat. Gibellini¹ suspecti habebantur, ne Sigismundo adhaerent ob imperium, Guelfique regimen tenebant. Sed illi tamen noctu ad Gasparem Slik Brunoriumque veniebant multisque modis dare se Mediolanum regi offerebant, nam de tyranno male contenti erant. Sed numquam Sigismundus acquiescere voluit, ne quid² proditionis sibi ascriberetur, cum dux ejus fidem secutus fuisset.

¹ *em.* HE; Gibelli V, X

² qui X

[123] When Pope Martin ordered a crusade¹ against the Hussites,² Sigismund came to Nürnberg.³ This crusade had been begun by Branda⁴ and was to be brought to its conclusion by Giuliano.^{5 6} Sigismund made the necessary arrangements, and, unable to participate in person since he had decided to go to Italy,⁷ he appointed Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg⁸ leader of the expedition,⁹ under ill omens, however, as we have said elsewhere.¹⁰

[124] Having made - and cancelled - many agreements with Duke Filippo of Milan,¹¹ Sigismund finally entered Italy,¹² on Filippo's conditions, and he did not bring more people with him than Filippo accepted.¹³ He was crowned in Milan¹⁴ but, as agreed between them, never met with Filippo, who stayed in Abbiate,¹⁵ having entrusted the administration of Milan to Piccinino. In Milan, the Guelf party¹⁶ was in power, and the Ghibelline party¹⁷ was suspected of siding with Sigismund because of the Empire. In fact, one night, the Ghibellines came to Kaspar Schlick and Brunoro¹⁸ and presented many ideas for delivering Milan to the king since they were unhappy with

¹ "expeditio".

² Pope Martin V issued his crusade bull against the Hussites in March 1420.

³ 1431. The crusade summoned by the pope comprised a series of military engagements during the 1420s, in which the crusaders were most often defeated by the Hussites.

⁴ Branda da Castiglione (1350-1443): Cardinal, appointed 1411 by antipope Johannes XXIII.

⁵ Giuliano Cesarini. In his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 356), Piccolomini wrote: *Martinus quoque, pontifex maximus, Julianum, cardinalem Sancti Angeli, litteris ac moribus excellentem, cum ea legatione in Theutonium mittit, ut Bohemis bellum inferat ...*

⁶ The crusade ended when the Hussites definitively defeated the crusade troops in the Battle of Taus, 1431.

⁷ For his coronation in Rome. Hoensch, p. 370: *Schon in früger Jugend was Sigismund bemüht gewesen, dem imposanten Vater Karl IV. nachzueifern. Eines Tages selbst nach Italien zu ziehen und in Rom vom Papst zum Kaiser gekrönt zu werden, blieb auch als Erwachsener das erstrebenswerte Ziel seines politische Handels*

⁸ Friedrich I (Hohenzollern) (1371-1440): Margrave of Brandenburg, 1397, and prince-elect, 1415.

⁹ Hoensch, p. 368: *Am 12. Juni nach Nürnberg zurückgekehrt, bestellte Sigismund den Markgrafen Friedrich I. von Brandenburg mit ausgedehnten Vollmachten zum Oberbefehlshaber des Hussitenfeldzuges ... Ohne seine frühere Zusage der persönlichen Teilnahme einzulösen, verabschiedete Sigismund am 7. Juli [1431] einen grossen Heerbann aus Nürnberg, der sich in Weiden mit weiteren Truppen vereinigte und am 1. August die Grenze nach Böhmen überschritt.*

¹⁰ The Hussite defeat of the crusaders in 1431 is actually not mentioned by Piccolomini elsewhere in the extant text of the DVI. However, he would certainly have mentioned it in a chapter on Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, which is either lost, or which he planned to include in a revised version of the text.

¹¹ Piccolomini may be referring to Sigismund's planned and cancelled attempts in 1422, 1427, and 1428 to travel to Rome to be crowned, cancellations which frustrated both the Duke of Milan and the pope, see Hoensch, p. 370.

¹² 2 November 1431.

¹³ Sigismund only brought with him his household and a contingent of Hungarian troops, see Hoensch, pp. 372-373.

¹⁴ On 25 November 1431, Sigismund was crowned King of Italy, with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. The coronation was performed by Archbishop Bartolommeo della Capra, a former trusted counsellor and diplomat of Sigismund, see sect. 109-110.

¹⁵ According to Hoensch (p. 376), the emperor was rather disappointed at the duke's absence. Hoensch: *Zu seiner [Sigismunds] Enttäuschung hatte freilich Filippo Maria zuvor die Stadt verlassen und sich in sein Schloss Abbiate Grasso zurückgezogen.*

¹⁶ Traditional enemies of the Empire.

¹⁷ Traditional supporters of the Empire.

¹⁸ Kaspar Schlick and Brunoro della Scala, counsellors of Sigismund, see sect. 134.

the tyrant.¹ However, Sigismund did not assent as he did not wish to be accused of betraying the duke who had been loyal to him.

¹ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

[125] Interim coepit apud Basileam concilium, quod augeri Sigismundus mandavit, {64v} quamvis Eugenius illud dissolvisset, jussitque praelatos accedere, et Filippus quoque suos praelatos destinavit, nam ambo tunc inimici erant summi pontificis, qui Venetis ac Florentinis favere videbatur, statuerantque coronam imperialem ab Eugenio non petere, sed extorquere, nam et armorum viribus infestabant eum et scriptis concilii, multumque animi concilio praestiterunt aureae litterae Sigismundi, quibus invariabilem concilio promisit oboedientiam. Sed Eugenius Venetorum ac Florentinorum et suis fretus viribus admodum restitit.

[126] Venit autem Sigismundus usque Lucam absque impedimento. Sed postquam illic fuit dux Mediolani, qui menstrua dabat stipendia, cessavit, ejus quoque exercitus in Tuscia per Florentinos Michelectum Sfortianum conflictus fuit.¹ Itaque destitutus omni auxilio Sigismundus videbatur, nec enim retrocedere decorum erat nec ultra procedere tutum. Aggressus tamen res arduas structis aciebus Arnun invitis Florentinis transivit. Magno autem auxilio sibi fuit comes Antonius² Pisanus, quem ipse in Hungaria comitem fecerat.

¹ *Textus corruptus?*

² Aularius X

[125] In the meantime, the Council of Basel had begun.¹ Although Eugenius had dissolved it,² Sigismund ordered that the number of delegates be increased and instructed his prelates to attend. Filippo sent his prelates, too, for at that time they were both enemies of the Supreme Pontiff, because he appeared to favour the Venetians and the Florentines. Having decided not to seek but to wrench the imperial crown from Eugenius, they harassed him both with armed men and conciliar writs. The council was greatly encouraged by a golden letter³ from Sigismund, promising his firm support.⁴ But Eugenius adamantly resisted them, relying on Venetian, Florentine, and his own forces.

[126] Sigismund arrived unimpeded in Lucca,⁵ but then the Duke of Milan stopped his monthly financial contributions,^{6 7} and the Florentines let Micheletto (of the Sforza family)⁸ attack his army in Tuscany. Thus, Sigismund was deprived of all support. Retreating would be shameful and advancing risky. However, he chose the hard way: with his people in battle formation and against the will of the Florentines, he crossed the Arno.⁹ In this venture, he had great help from Count Antonio from Pisa¹⁰, whom he himself, back in Hungary, had made a count.

¹ The council was seated on 14 December 1431.

² By the papal bull *Quoniam alto* of 18 December 1431.

³ A letter sealed with the emperor's golden seal. In his *De rebus Basiliae gestis* from 1450 Piccolomini wrote, three years later: *[Sigismundus] litteras ... sub aurea bulla Basileas dirigit, quibus patres boni esse animi perseverareque jubet, contestatus se, dum viveret, eorum parti fautorum porrecturumque manum* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 177).

⁴ Hoensch, p. 379: *Gleichzeitig beschwor er die Konzilsväter und ihrem Präsidenten, sich nicht einschüchtern zu lassen und mit ihrer Reformtätigkeit fortzufahren, für die er ihnen seinen uneingeschränkten Beistand in Aussicht stellte. Mit dem eigenen Pathos versprach er, bis an sein Lebensende unentwegt auf der Seite des Konzils auszuharren.*

⁵ Sigismund stayed in Lucca from 3 June to 4 July 1432 (Hoensch, p. 628).

⁶ On 5 February 1431, the imperial counsellor, Brunoro della Scala, had obtained a promise from the Duke of Milan to pay 5,000 ducats a month as subsidies to the emperor's travel (Hoensch, p. 373). Hoensch refers to later difficulties with this contribution: *... die Auseinandersetzungen mit Filippo Maria über die Höhe und Dauer der Subsidienzahlungen für die inzwischen auf über 1000 Personen angewachsene Begleitung Sigismunds ...* (Hoensch, p. 380).

⁷ In his DRBG (1450), Piccolomini wrote: *Dum hec in concilio geruntur, Sigismundus Cesar ex Parma Lucam profectus octo auri millia, quae singulis mensibus ex Philippi ducis camera recipere solitus erat, amisit. Philippus enim ex conventis tamdiu se teneri Sigismundo dicebat, quamdiu in ejus territorio foret; Lucam vero extra territorium esse. Atque hinc inter Sigismundum et Philippum conflatum est odium* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 176).

⁸ Micheletto Attendolo (ca. 1390-1451?): Italian condottiere.

⁹ See sect. 76.

¹⁰ Antonio da Pisa [da Pontedera] (-1436): Condottiere. Palatine count. In his DRBG (1450), Piccolomini wrote: *Difficillimum erat ex Luca Senas transire, Florentinis omnes aditus obsidentibus. Sed aperuit iter comes Antonius Pisanus, singularis audaciae vir contemptorque mortis, qui sumptis armis regalis exercitus ductor fuit illesumque Cesarem Senas perduxit, quamvis et ipsi Florentini nec viribus nec artibus adversus iratum et adversantem dominum uti voluerint. Antonium postea Johannes Vitelleschus Alexandrinus patriarcha laqueo suspendit, cum patrimonium ecclesiae diversis incursionibus infestaret. Fuit autem Antonius rei militaris peritissimus, robusto corpore, seculari scientia multumque eloquentia valens, ut mirabile videretur, in armis nutrito tantam vigere peritiam. Nullus illi labor gravis, sitia ac famis patientissimus, libidinis impatiens erat. Hugonem ego Senensem, sui temporis medicorum principem affirmantem saepius audivi, ad Antonium Ticini cum vocatus esset febribus laborantem, usque adeo se robustam illius invenisse naturam, ut quamvis aegrotus singulis diebus mulieri commisceretur, extenuari tamen non posset, eique salutiferum esse, quod alteri mortiferum extitisset* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 176).

[127] Venit igitur Senas, ubi a civibus tamquam pater et honorifice et¹ amantissime receptus plus humanitatis invenit, quam cuperet. Ibi continua bella cum Florentinis habuit exivitque ipse² ad expugnationem castrorum. Verum cum Philippus absque Sigismundo pacem cum Venetis Florentinisque fecisset, et ipse Sigismundus cum Eugenio concordavit, ad quam rem saepe Gaspar missus est, Treverensis quoque antistes interfuit. Stetit autem per annum fere Senis ac cum tota familia per Senenses sustentatus est.

[128] Post Romam ivit ibique in Caesarem coronatus est promisitque Eugenio eum, quoad viveret, pro papa recognoscere, quam rem quidam inconstantiae ascripserunt, cum antea³ concilio assistentiam promisisset. Exinde per Perusium, Romandiolam Ferrariamque venit Mantuam, summus jam ducis inimicus. Ibi vicarium civitatis in marchionem erexit.

¹ ac X

² se *add.* V, X

³ ante HE

[127] When he arrived in Siena,¹ the citizens received him as a father, honourably and cordially, and he met even greater kindness than he had looked for.^{2 3} While there, he waged war continuously against the Florentines, and he even took part in the campaign personally. But when Filippo, without Sigismund, made a separate peace with the Venetians and the Florentines,⁴ Sigismund sought reconciliation with Eugenius. For this purpose, Kaspar⁵ was often sent [on missions to Rome], in which also the Archbishop of Trier⁶ took part.⁷ Sigismund stayed in Siena for almost a year, the Sieneſe ensuring his and his whole household's upkeep.

[128] Afterwards, he went to Rome,⁸ where he was crowned emperor⁹ and promised Eugenius to recognise him as pope as long as he lived. Some people attributed this to inconstancy¹⁰ since he had previously promised to support the council.¹¹ Afterwards, he went to Mantua via Perugia,¹² Romagna, and Ferrara,¹³ now as a bitter enemy of the duke.¹⁴ In Mantua,¹⁵ he raised the vicar¹⁶ of the city¹⁷ to the margravate.

¹ 12 July 1432.

² In his DRBG (1450), Piccolomini wrote: *At Sigismundus, ut Senas applicuit, magnificentissime exceptus honoratusque est. Cumque ducis Mediolani pecunie deficerent, non defecit Senensis populi liberalitas, sed illum mensibus undecim comitatumque suum ubertim pavit nec dedignatus est pauperis et ab omnibus repulsi domini subvenire necessitatibus* (WO, II, ep. 44, pp. 176-177).

³ Piccolomini had made the emperor's stay in Siena the setting of his *De Duobus Amantibus* from 1444, with Chancellor Schlick as one of the two lovers.

⁴ Since the Hungarian troops promised by the emperor to the duke in his war against Venice did not materialise, the duke understandably would not continue his subsidies to the emperor's stay in Italy, needing the money for the war. In January 1433, it came to a break between the emperor and the duke, whereafter the duke felt free to make peace, on 26 April 1433, with Florence and Venice (2nd Peace of Ferrara). (Hoensch, pp. 386-387).

⁵ Kaspar Schlick.

⁶ Raban von Helmstatt (1362-1439): Archbishop of Trier from 1430 to his abdication in 1439.

⁷ The treaty between the pope and the emperor, in which the emperor recognised Eugenius as pope, was signed on 4 April in Rome and opened the way for Sigismund's coronation (Hoensch, p. 391).

⁸ Sigismund arrived in Rome on 21 May 1433.

⁹ 31 May 1433. The coronation was described by Poggio Bracciolini in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli of 4 June 1433 (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), I, ep. 44, pp. 119-125).

¹⁰ The treaty of 4 April was severely criticised in Basel (Hoensch, p. 391). This criticism may appear unfair in view of the emperor's stubborn insistence on reconciliation between pope and council before going to Rome for his coronation (Hoensch, pp. 382-383).

¹¹ See sect. 129.

¹² 25 August 1433.

¹³ 9 September 1433.

¹⁴ The Duke of Milan.

¹⁵ 29 September 1433.

¹⁶ The imperial vicar.

¹⁷ Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga.

[129] {65r} Exinde cum in Basilea adversus Eugenium procederetur instaretque citationis tempus, seu terminus depositionis, die noctuque, quamvis aegrotus esset, Caesar vehi se fecit ac praeter omnium opinionem in ipsa die termini Basileam venit convocatisque patribus indutias octo dierum Eugenio impetravit, et iterum octo, et octo rursus, post autem menses tres, in quibus obtinuit Eugenium adhaerere concilio. Ipse autem postea recessit. Habuit tamen singulares controversias cum Filippo¹: eum hostem imperii appellavit. Similiter et Filippum Borgundum diffidavit.

[130] Venetis autem reconciliatus est Paduamque illis, Brixiam et Bergamum in feudum dedit foedusque percussit contra ducem Mediolani ea lege condita, ut imperii limes Addua foret, ut, quae citra raperentur, Venetis, quae ultra versus Mediolanum imperio cederent. Statuerat enim Sigismundus Filippi ducis arrogantiam compescere pacemque cum Venetis in ejus odium fecerat. Sed mors ejus consilia dissolvit, namque cum Bohemian jam intrasset ex beneficio concilii recepta Praga et paupere regno, dum in Moraviam venisset, apud Snoimam² morbo³ affectus vitam exhalavit.

¹ *corr. ex Sigismundo V*

² *omit. X [blank space]*

³ *per add. V, X*

[129] Later, those in Basel proceeded against Eugenius: the citation [of the pope] was about to expire, and the term for his deposition approached. The emperor, though ill, had himself transported by wagon by day and night, and to the surprise of all he arrived in Basel¹ on the very day the citation expired. Having summoned the Fathers to a meeting, he gained an eight-day extension for Eugenius, then another eight and then eight again and afterwards² three months, during which time he managed to get Eugenius to adhere to the council.³ Afterwards, he left. But he still had a bitter controversy with Filippo, whom he named an enemy of the Empire.⁴ He was also on bad terms with Philippe of Burgundy.

[130] However, he became reconciled with the Venetians and gave them Padua, Brescia, and Bergamo as a feudal possession [from the Empire]. He also made a treaty with them stipulating that the river Adda would be the border of the Empire: the territories that were taken [from Milan by the Venetians] on the side towards Venice would go to Venice, and those taken on the side towards Milan would go to the Empire.⁵ For, Sigismund had decided to tame Duke Filippo's arrogance and had made peace with the Venetians out of hate for the duke. But the emperor's death⁶ put an end to these plans. Having gained Prague and the impoverished country, thanks to the council,⁷ he entered Bohemia and came to Znojmo in Moravia, where he fell sick and expired.

¹ 11 October 1433.

² The conciliar decree concerning a 90-day extension was passed on 7 November 1433.

³ Hoensch, p. 407: *Wider Erwarten ratifizierte Eugenius IV. schon am 15. Dezember die vom Kaiser und der Kirchenversammlung vorbereiteten Erklärungen wohl weil er sich dadurch eine rasche Beendigung der Angriffe der Condottieri des Herzogs von Mailand, der als Vikar des Konzils zu handeln vorgab, auf den Kirchenstaat versprach.*

⁴ Hoensch, p. 415: *Der Kaiser, der seinen langjährigen Bundesgenossen Filippo Maria mit wachsendem Hass verfolgte*

...

⁵ The treaty between the emperor and Venice was signed on 3 August 1435, stipulating among others that the Venetians would keep the "imperial" territories they had taken from Milan on the terra ferma, except Verona and Vicenza, pending an agreement between Venice and Brunoro della Scala (Hoensch, p. 416-417), see sect. 63.

⁶ 9 December 1437.

⁷ Piccolomini here refers to the settlement with the Bohemian Hussites negotiated by the council, but he fails to mention the emperor's personal and very important contribution to this settlement.

[131] Hic etiam aliquando contra Venetos irritatus prohibere statuerat, ne ullae species sive aromata Venetorum in Germaniam¹ transirent. Quia tamen Teutonici carere aromatibus non poterant, ordinaverat duas esse vias aromatibus, nam Rhenum et Alamaniam superiorem per Januenses fulciri voluerat, Austriam vero, Hungariam, Bohemiam per Danubium fulciri mandaverat, mercatoresque omnes Teutonicos, qui Venetiis erant transferri Januam decreverat. Sed Filippus, Mediolani dux, rem impedivit, non quod Venetis consuleret, sed quod Teutonicos Januae stantes suspectos haberet, ne traderent urbem imperatori, pauperemque potius habere civitatem voluit quam divitem perdere.

[132] Fuit autem Sigismundus egregiae staturae, illustribus oculis, fronte spatiosa, genis² ad gratiam rubescentibus, barba prolixa et copiosa, vasto animo, multivolus, inconstans tamen, sermone facetus, vini cupidus, in venerem ardens³, mille adulteriis crimosus, pronus ad iram, facilis ad veniam, nullius thesauri custos, prodigus dispensator. Plura promisit quam servavit, finxit multa.

[133] Hic, cum Romae apud Eugenium esset, “Tria sunt,” inquit, “beatissime pater, in quibus⁴ discordamus, et rursus, {65v} in quibus concordamus, tria: tu mane dormis, ego ante diem surgo. Tu aquam bibis, ego vinum. Tu mulieres fugis, ego sequor. Sed concordamus in his, quia tu large dispensas thesauros ecclesiae, ego nihil mihi retineo. Tu malas manus habes, ego malos pedes. Tu destruis ecclesiam, ego imperium.”⁵

¹ Alamaniam *suprascr.* V

² *omit. X [blank space]*

³ *omit. X [blank space]*

⁴ *concorda seq. V*

⁵ Dic de illo fatuo, qui dixit electoribus: bonum est, ut rex a vobis [avolas X] procul sit uosque iura teneatis imperii, cum eum uellent deponere *add. in marg. V, X [Such notes show that the version in the Vat. lat. 3887 was not meant by Piccolomini to be the final one.]*

[131] Once, when he was angry with the Venetians, he decided that no spices nor fragrances could pass from Venice to Germany. But since the Germans cannot live without their fragrances, he decided the these should follow one of two routes: the Rhine and Upper Germany would be supplied through Genoa, whereas Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia would be supplied via the Danube. He also commanded all the German merchants in Venice to move to Genoa.¹ But Duke Filippo of Milan prevented the execution of this measure not because he cared for the Venetians, but because he feared that if there were Germans in Genoa, they would hand over the city to the emperor: he would rather possess a poor city than loose a rich one.²

[132] Sigismund was a man of distinguished stature, with shining eyes, a large forehead, pleasantly rosy cheeks, a long and plentiful beard, and a great mind. He was passionate but inconstant, clever in speech, fond of wine, ardent in love, guilty of a thousand adulteries, quick to anger and ready to forgive. He did not hoard money but spent prodigiously. He promised more than he kept, and often dissimulated.³

[133] When he visited Eugenius in Rome,⁴ he told him, “Holy Father, we are dissimilar in three ways and similar in other three: You sleep in the morning, I get up before dawn. You drink water, I drink wine. You flee women, I pursue them. But we are similar in this that you pour out the money of the Church, while I keep nothing for myself. You have bad hands, and I have bad feet. You destroy the Church, and I the Empire.”

¹ Hoensch, p. 338: *Auch erneuerte er das Handelsverbot mit der Signoria und befahl ab Lichtmess 1427 den Warenaustausch ausschliesslich über und mit Genua vorzunehmen*. On Sigismund’s trade boycott of Venice, see also Hoensch, pp. 167, 169 and 266. For another trade boycott, see sect. 210.

² Duke Filippo Visconti was lord of Genoa from 1421 to 1436.

³ In his *In Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Memorabilibus Commentarius*, Piccolomini wrote: *Sigismundi Caesaris proverbium fuit ignarum esse regnandi qui simulare nesciret* (OO, p. 473).

⁴ May 1433.

[134] Huic cum miles quidam Bavarus ingentem pecuniam mutuasset molestusque esset repetendo, ab ipso Caesare in faciem percussus est. Sed mox recognovit erratum suum Caesar jussitque homini argentum numerari. Hic Ludovicum, Bavariae ducem, in magna pecunia multavit, similiter et Henricum Bavariae, qui apud Constantiam vulneravit Ludovicum. Fridericum quoque Austriae ducem solvere pecunias coegit et damna sibi multa intulit, ob quam rem, cum is ex Italia reverteretur, in vestibus suorum nobilium hunc versum Fridericus inscribi mandavit: “Ludovice, Henrice, Friderice ad pulpitem, quia magister venit.” Carissimi ei fuerunt Gaspar Slik, Brunorius de la Scala, Orsatius Michael, Matico banus, atque horum consilio ducebatur, sed magis proprio.

[134] When a Bavarian knight, who had lent him a large sum of money, kept importuning him for repayment, the emperor slapped him in the face. But quickly recognising his error, he ordered the sum to be repaid.¹ He fined Duke Ludwig of Bavaria² a large sum, and similarly Heinrich of Bavaria³, who had wounded Ludwig in Konstanz.⁴ He also forced Duke Friedrich of Austria⁵ to pay money and inflicted many losses upon him⁶. Therefore, when Sigismund returned from Italy, Friedrich ordered this verse to be sewn onto the clothes of his nobles: “Ludwig, Heinrich, Friedrich, back to the lectern, the master returns.” Sigismund was very fond of Kaspar Schlick, Brunoro della Scala, Mihály Országh,⁷ Ban Matko.⁸ He followed their counsels, but mostly his own.^{9 10}

¹ Piccolomini also mentioned this episode in his *In Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Memorabilibus Commentarius* (OO, p. 473). On Sigismund’s temper, see Hoensch, p. 465: *Ein einfacher Arbeitgeber und Vorgesetzter dürfte Sigismund freilich nicht gewesen sein, denn sonst wären in den zeitgenössischen Schilderungen seiner Person nicht so häufig die weniger positiven Eigenschaften: aufbrausend, ungeduldig, launisch, unpünktlich, unausgeglichen und unbeherrscht erwähnt worden.*

² Ludwig VII (Wittelsbach) (ca. 1368-1447): Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt from 1413 to 1443. Count Palatine.

³ Heinrich XVI (Wittelsbach) (1386-1450): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1393 to his death.

⁴ See Brandmüller II, p. 330: *Unterdessen ereignete sich ein blutiges Verbrechen, das das Ganze Konzil erschütterte: Herzog Heinrich von Bayern überfiel am hellen Tag auf offener Strasse seinen Vetter, den Pfalzgrafen Ludwig, mit gezogenen Schwert in der offenbaren Absicht ihn zu töten. Immerhin verwundete er ihn schwer mit drei Schwertstreichen, ehe er, offenbar über sein eigenes Tun erschrocken, Hals über Kopf aus der Stadt floh. Sigismund, zu Tränen bewegt, setzte ihm in eigener Person nach, um ihn gefangen zu nehmen.*

⁵ Friedrich IV (Habsburg) (1382-1439): Duke of Austria 1402. Ruler of Further Austria and Tyrol 1406. Protected Johannes XXIII after his flight from the Council of Konstanz in 1415 and was heavily fined.

⁶ I.e. territorial losses, see Hoensch, pp. 214-221.

⁷ Mihály Országh von Gut (-1484): Courtier. Member of the Dragon Order. Palatine. Lord treasurer.

⁸ Tallóci, Mátko (-1445): Banus of Dalmatia and Croatia (1436-1445).

⁹ Date: The last event mentioned in this chapter is Sigismund’s death in December 1437.

¹⁰ Piccolomini’s sources: Piccolomini did not have a direct acquaintance with Sigismund but must have seen him at a distance during ceremonial functions and processions when the emperor was in Basel. He knew, however, a number of men who had been close to the emperor (Nicodemo della Scala, Bartolomeo de la Capra, Kaspar Schlick) and undoubtedly obtained much information about the emperor from them. Also, his friends in Milan, Siena and Rome would have informed him of Sigismund’s coronation voyage to Rome, including the emperor’s delightful joke to the pope.

Supplement

1. From Europa / Hungary (Heck, pp. 30, 33)

[1] *In Hungaria, quam Danubius interlabitur, tempestate nostra Sigismundus, Caroli IV, Romanorum imperatoris, filius, natione Bohemus, origine Theutonicus, varia fortuna annos supra quinquaginta regnavit, princeps singulari prudentia, magnitudine animi, beneficentia et liberalitate insignis. corporis quoque majestate ac decore illustris, ceterum bello prorsus infelix, quem non Turci dumtaxat, sed Bohemi quoque saepe acie fuderunt. uxor ei prima fuit Maria, Ludovici regis filia, cum qua regnum accepit. illius causa duos et triginta regulos in Hungaria primarios, qui aliquando rebellassent, gladio percussit, ob quam rem et ipse paulo post regina fati functa in vincula coniectus est mulierique vidue, cuius virum interfecerat, in custodiam traditus, donec regni proceres supplicium decernerent. sed non defuit capto in extremis rebus providentia. qui ut erat facundia potens, mulieri longe melius esse ostendit regium sanguinem conseruare quam fundere. dimissus ab ea Barbaram, Hermanni comitis Cilie filiam, duxit uxorem, nec diu postea comparatis auxiliis regnum uendicauit, de proditoribus supplicium sumpsit. mulieris uidue filios et honoribus et opibus inter primos regni proceres cumulauit, quorum adhuc alterius uiuit filius, Ladislaus Garius, comes regni palatinus.*

[2] *Multa huius Sigismundi egregia facinora memorie prodita sunt; inter que illud preclarissimum, quod ecclesiam catholicam, in tris partes diuisam, coacto apud Constantiam generali concilio ad unitatem redegit, Italiam, Galliam, Hispaniam, Angliam eius rei causa peragrans. Vitoldo, Lituaniae duci, ut se regem appellaret, missa corona indulsit; prius tamen ille uita decessit quam solemnia coronationis expleret. Prussiam, quam rex Polonie Fratribus beate Marie Theutonicorum armis ademerat, restitui iussit. Cum Venetis duce Pipone Florentino grauius bella gessit. Venceslaum, Bohemiae regem, germanum suum, quod regno inutilis esset, coniecit in uincula, quamuis negligenter custoditum magno rei publice malo quidam Bohemi e carceribus surripuerint. Coronam imperii ab Eugenio IV pontifice maximo Rome accepit. Bohemia post multas calamitates uix tandem potitus est. Marchiam Brandenburgensem Frederico burgraffio norimbergensi dono dedit. Filiam Elizabeth, ex Barbara natam, Alberto duci Austrie in matrimonium copulauit illique demum apud Znoymam, Morauie ciuitatem, moriens regna, quibus prefuerat, ultima uoluntate reliquit. Ossa eius in Varadino iacent.*

Supplement

1. From Europe / Hungary

[1] In our time, Hungary, which is divided by the Donau, was ruled for more than 50 years by Sigismund, son of the Roman Emperor, Karl IV. He was of the Bohemian nation but of German origin. He reigned, with mixed fortune, for more than 50 years, a prince distinguished by rare intelligence, magnanimity, beneficence and liberality. He was a handsome man with a majestic appearance. He was, however, utterly unsuccessful in war and often defeated in battle not only by the Turks but also by the Bohemians. His first wife was Mary through whom he received the kingship. For the sake of that kingship, he killed with a sword 32 eminent princes, who had rebelled against him earlier. For that reason, he was, after the queen's death, cast into chains and placed in the custody of the widow of a man he had killed, until the nobles of the kingdom could decide upon his punishment. But even in extremity, the prisoner's wits did not fail him. Being most eloquent, he was able to persuade the woman that it would be better to save the royal blood than to shed it. When she had released him [from custody], he married Barbara, daughter of Hermann, Count of Cilly, and shortly afterwards he raised troops, reclaimed the kingdom, and punished the traitors. Raising the sons of the widow to the highest level of nobility in the kingdom, he heaped honours and wealth upon them. One of the two is still alive, Ladislav Garai, count palatine of the realm.

[2] Many remarkable deeds of Sigismund's are worthy of memory. The most splendid among them is that, having gathered a general council in Konstanz, he restored the unity of the Catholic Church, at the time divided into three parts. In that cause, he travelled through Italy, France, Spain, and England. He sent a crown to Duke Vitautas of Lithuania, allowing him the title of king. However, Vitautas died before the coronation could be celebrated. Prussia, which the King of Poland had taken with arms from the Order of Holy Mary of the Germans, he ordered to be given back. With Pipo of Florence as commander, he waged bitter wars with Venice. He imprisoned his brother Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, because he was unfit for government. Later, to the great detriment of the state, some Bohemians liberated Wenceslaus from the prison, where he was guarded negligently. Sigismund received the imperial crown from Pope Eugenius IV in Rome. After many misfortunes, he finally took possession of Bohemia. He gave the Margravate of Brandenburg to Friedrich, Burgrave of Nürnberg. He gave Elizabeth, his daughter with Barbara, in marriage to Duke Albrecht of Austria. In the end, he died in Znojmo in Moravia. On his death-bed, he bequeathed the kingdoms he had ruled to Albrecht. His bones lie in Varád.

2. From In Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Memorabilibus Commentarius (I, 44)

Captum ab Hungaris Sigismundum duo adolescentes cognomento Garii, quorum pater ab eo neci traditus fuisset, custodiendum accepere, donec omni conspiratorum iudicio in eum animadverteretur, quos cum ille, ut se dimitterent, frustra pertentasset, vidua eorum matre ad se vocata, "Scio," inquit, "mulier, viri tui mortem tibi acerbissimum fuisse, teque mihi tamquam auctori ejus infensam. Verum ego per superos juro, invitus tanti viri exitio assensus sum. Regina eum atque alios accusavit, condescenderunt regni proceres, atque in reos mortis sententiam tulere. Ignarus ego factionum vestrarum, novus ad regnum veneram. Quod regulorum major pars decrevisset, id mihi exequi necessarium erat. Esto tamen, virum tuum sciens volensque neci dederim cruciandum, tunc propterea natorum tuorum aut aliorum iracundiae me objicies? Et quis obsecro vel te vel illos fratres sequetur? Non desunt mihi fratres et amici, qui meum sanguinem ulciscantur, neque Hungaria rege diutius carebit. Exempla reges timent, nemo apud eos acceptus est, qui manus suas regio sanguine cruentaverit. Quod si me missum feceris ex filiabus Hermanni comitis Ciliae necessarii tui uxorem ducam, fratris ac soceri adjutus opibus regiam demum potestatem vindicabo, filios tuos in primis caros habebo, efficiamque, ut omnis posteritas tua hoc factum sibi fructuosum sentiat. Hoc ego cum liberis tuis egi, sed non capit aetas, quantum necesse est. Te, quae plus sapis, et illis et tibi consulere oportet." Persuasa mulier regem dimisit. Is Barbara Ciliensi in matrimonium suscepta brevi post tempore debellatrix rebellibus victor regnum obtinuit, promissoque satisfaciens Garios juvenes super regulos extulit. Ex his ortus est Ladislaus de Gara (quem Banum appellant) inter primores Hungariae proceres opibus et autoritate praepollens.

3. From In Libros Antonii Panormitae Poetae de Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Memorabilibus Commentarius (I, 44)

When Sigismund was captured by the Hungarians, he was given into the custody of two adolescents of the Garai family, sons of a man who had been given him to be killed, until the conspirators could reach a common agreement on his judgment. Having tried in vain to persuade them to release him, he summoned their mother, the widow, and said to her , “I know, woman, that your husband’s death was a great sorrow for you and that you are angry with me as its author. But I swear by the heavenly beings that I only reluctantly assented to the death of this great man. The queen accused him and others, the nobles of the realm assented and condemned them to death. I did not know about their factions, having only recently arrived in the kingdom. I simply had to carry out the decision of the majority of the princes. But even if I had handed you husband over to the executioner knowingly and willingly, should you for that reason subject me to the anger of your sons and other men’s? Who, I ask, would follow you or your sons? I do not lack brothers and friends to avenge my blood, and Hungary will not be without a king for long. Kings fear such examples, they accept nobody who has stained his hands with royal blood. If you release me, I shall marry one the daughters of Count Hermann of Cilly, your relative, and with the help of my brother-in-law and father-in-law I shall regain the royal power. Then, I shall hold your sons dear above all and make it so that all your posterity will see that this deed of yours was profitable for them. I have spoken about this with your sons, but they are too young to understand the necessity. You, who are wiser, must do what is to their and your own advantage.” Thus persuaded, the woman released him. Then, having married Barbara von Cilly, he soon defeated the rebels. After he had victoriously regained the kingdom, he fulfilled his promises and raised the Garai youths above the princes. From them descend Ladislas Garai, whom they call The Ban, distinguished among the Hungarian nobles by his wealth and authority.

23. Albertus, dux Austriae¹

[135] Albertus, dux Austriae, Alberti filius, mortuo patre sub tutela Vilhelmi, Austriae ducis, patruelis sui, ac deinde sub regimine Leopoldi, etiam Austriae ducis, permansit, nam puer erat. Cum vero jam pubertatis annos attigisset repetereturque a subditis, Leopoldus eum diligentius custodiebat nec facilis ad restituendum erat, ob quam rem non parvae discordiae ortae sunt. Demum vero dominus de Valse antiquior sub specie venationis Albertum secum accepit ducensque ipsum Viennam de manibus tutoris extraxit, ac sic juvenis dominationem accepit ususque plurimum est consilio ejus, qui se liberaverat.

[136] Crevit autem Albertus, ac Elizabeth, filiam Sigismundi regis, in uxorem accepit, feminam admodum pulchram, quae secum cum magna pudicitia vixit. Exinde, cum Bohemi haeresim induissent vicinosque omnes bellis terruissent, solus hic Moraviam et Austriam potenti brachio tutatus est, nec minora damna Bohemis intulit quam ab eis perceperat. Erat enim sedulo in armis currusque Bohemorum more in aciem educebat {66r} assiduisque laboribus militem suum ad exercitium² rei militaris induraverat. Itaque unum ex omnibus vicinis Albertum, Austriae ducem, Bohemi timuerunt, nam et saepe prostrati ab eo et saepe fugati sunt.

¹ *The chapter on Albrecht II, King of the Romans (Germany), was not included in the text published by Mansi [MA]*

² *em. HE; exercitum V, X*

23. Albrecht II, Emperor¹

[135] Albrecht,^{2 3} Duke of Austria, was still a boy when his father, Albrecht,⁴ died.⁵ For a long time, he was in the wardship of his uncle Wilhelm,⁶ Duke of Austria, and later⁷ of Leopold,⁸ also Duke of Austria.⁹ When he attained puberty and his subjects asked for him, Leopold put him under stricter guard and resisted his release, which gave rise to a serious conflict. In the end, the senior Lord of Walsee¹⁰ freed him from the hands of his guardian when, under the pretext of a hunt, he took Albrecht with him and brought him to Vienna. Thus the youth took up his rule, relying heavily on the advice of the man who had liberated him.

[136] Albrecht grew up and married Elizabeth,¹¹ daughter of King Sigismund. She was a very beautiful woman, who lived with him most virtuously.¹² After the Bohemians had turned to heresy¹³ and terrorised all their neighbours with wars, he alone, with great strength, protected Moravia¹⁴ and Austria, and the damage he inflicted upon the Bohemians was not less than the damage he took from them. He was always in arms and, like the Bohemians, used wagon formations in battle. Making his soldiers undergo hard military training, Albrecht was the only one of all their neighbours whom the Bohemians feared, having been often defeated by him and put to flight.¹⁵

¹ See also Part IV. Lives of Four Emperors, sect. 403.

² Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line) as Albrecht V (1404). King of Hungary and Croatia (1437). Elected King of the Romans (Germany) in 1438.

³ For a general biography, see Quirin.

⁴ Albrecht IV (Habsburg) (1377-1404): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line). Ruled Lower Austria and most of Upper Austria

⁵ He was seven years old.

⁶ Wilhelm (Habsburg) (ca. 1370-1406): Duke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruled Kärnten, Steiermark, Krain, Tyrol and Further Austria from 1396 to his death.

⁷ 1406.

⁸ Leopold IV (Habsburg) (1371-1411): Duke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruled Further Austria.

⁹ Piccolomini fails to mention that also Duke Ernest of Austria at some point acted as guardian of Albrecht.

¹⁰ Reinprecht II von Walsee (ca. 1345-1422): Hauptmann ob der Enns (1379-1422). One of Albrecht's governors and later his Hofmeister. In 1411, he managed to bring Leopold's wardship over Albrecht to an end.

¹¹ Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409-1442): Daughter of Emperor Sigismund and Empress Barbara von Cilly. Wife of Albrecht II. Mother of Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹² Unlike her mother, Empress Barbara – according to Piccolomini, see below.

¹³ Hussitism.

¹⁴ Sigismund appointed Albrecht Margrave of Moravia in 1423. In his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 323), Piccolomini wrote: *Per idem tempus Sigismundus imperator Alberto, duci Austrie, genero suo, Moraviam, ne defensore careret, dono dedit.*

¹⁵ Albrecht defeated Bohemian armies in 1423 at Kremsier and in 1431 at Waidhofen.

[137] Cum denique Sigismundus socer interiisset, mox Hungari eum in regem vocavere, similiter quoque et Bohemi. Itaque parvo tempore duo haec sibi maxima regna obvenerunt. Sed cum in Hungariam perrexisset coronarique deberet, fuerunt complures nobiles, qui se nihil de sua electione scivisse contenderent, nec eum in regem volebant, quibus Budam venientibus is obviam exivit iratosque nobilium animos tanta humanitatis exhibitione pacavit coronatusque est cum omni pace. Interim et electores imperii audita Sigismundi morte eundem Albertum in regem Romanorum elegerunt miseruntque sibi decretum usque Viennam.

[138] Quo tempore et ego illuc veneram cum Novariensi antistite, qui ducis Mediolani legatus erat et me in societatem¹ ex Basilea vocaverat. Hic multa consilia fuerunt an recipi imperium deberet, nam Hungari contrariari videbantur nec enim bene provideri et imperio et regno suo per unam personam rebantur. Sed vicit alia pars, quae acceptationem suadebat.

¹ secretum X

[137] When his father-in-law Sigismund died,¹ the Hungarians soon called him to the kingship,² and the Bohemians followed suit.³ Thus, in a very short time, he gained two large kingdoms. But when he came to Hungary for his coronation, a party of nobles claimed that they had not known about his election and did not want him as their king. Albrecht met them on their arrival in Buda and pacified the angry nobles with a show of kindness and courtesy,⁴ after which he was crowned in perfect peace. In the meantime, the electors of the Empire, having heard about Sigismund's death, elected Albrecht as King of the Romans⁵ and sent their decree to him in Vienna.

[138] At that time, I came to Vienna with the Bishop of Novara.⁶ He had been sent by the Duke of Milan as his ambassador [to Albrecht] and invited me to travel with him from Basel. In Vienna, there were intense consultations on whether to accept the emperorship. The Hungarians were against it, considering that the same person could not adequately administer both the Empire and the Kingdom. The opposing party argued for acceptance and won.⁷

¹ 9 December 1437.

² The Hungarian estates elected Albrecht king on 18 December 1437.

³ The catholic party under the leadership of Ulrich von Rosenberg nominated Albrecht king on 30 December 1437, against the opposition of the Hussite party.

⁴ "humanitate"

⁵ 19 March 1438

⁶ Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁷ See introduction to the oration "*Quid est*" (1438), which Piccolomini wrote for Bartolomeo Visconti, and in which he argued for acceptance of the election (COR, III, 3). In his *Commentarii* (1462), Pius wrote about the event: *Meanwhile, Emperor Sigismund died. Albert was elected in his place. Duke Filippo of Milan despatched his legate Bartolomeo, bishop of Novara, who on arriving at Basel managed to persuade Aeneas to go with him to Austria. Albert had not yet accepted the crown on account of the opposition of the Hungarians, who claimed that he had ascended the throne of Hungary on the understanding that he would not accept the Empire even if it were offered to him. Feeling unsure what to do, Albert decided to consult the envoys of the various princes who were present. During the time allowed for deliberations, Aeneas gave Bartolomeo a written statement outlining why Albert should accept the crown and suggesting how the Hungarians could be induced to consent. When Bartolomeo read it out in the council, he was publicly thanked and Albert proclaimed himself emperor, with the Hungarians not only consenting, but actually urging him to do so.* In his *Historia Bohemica* (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 440), Piccolomini wrote: *At illi [Albrecht] acceptare Imperium iniussu baronum Hungarie haud quaquam licebat. Id enim eis promiserat, cum se regem accepere. Vocati primores regni negabant ex usu esse Hungarie regi Theutonicis ceterisque gentibus imperare. Dum Sigismundus Romane rei consulturus Italia Germaniam ceterasque provincias peragrat, Hungariam Thurcorum direptioni patuisse. Multa in utramque partem dicta. Postremo victi precibus Friderici, ducis Austrie tunc adolescentis, assensum dedere.*

[139] Exinde rex Poloniae molestus esse coepit Alberto favereque Hussitis. Tunc enim catholici Bohemi Alberto omnes oboediebant, haeretici autem resistebant. Venit itaque in Bohemiam Albertus cum magno exercitu, nam LXX vel eo amplius milia equitum secum habuit, coronatusque est Praegae. Post cum Hussitae ac Poloni dicerent regem in urbe morari nec exire in campos, diffidavit rex Polonos obtulitque eis campum ante Tabor, ubi et castra posuit, mansitque pluribus diebus, ut si collatis signis hostes pugnare vellent, copiam haberent. Sed illi numquam in aciem sese explicuerunt. Stabant autem ante Tabor, ut in omni necessitate se possent in urbem recipere, nec ad bellum, sed ad furta egrediebantur. Exinde cum impossibilis expugnatio civitatis videretur, dissoluta est obsidio incensaque castra, nam satisfecisse jam iudicabatur detractiōni Polonorum, qui aiebant {66v} regem in campum exire non audere, sed¹ quod magis eis imputari poterat.

¹ *omit.* HE

[139] Then the King of Poland¹ began to make trouble for Albrecht and support the Hussites.² At the time, all Bohemian Catholics followed Albrecht, whereas the heretics opposed him. Entering Bohemia with a large army (70,000 or more cavalry), Albrecht was crowned in Prague.³ Afterwards, the Hussites and the Poles claimed that the king remained in the city [because he was afraid] to come out to do battle. The king, in a challenge to the Poles, offered them a battle before Tabor, where he made his camp and stayed for several days, thus allowing them the opportunity to fight a pitched battle. However, they did not come but remained right outside Tabor so that they could retreat into the city if pressed. They only left Tabor to go plundering, not to do battle. Storming the city appeared unfeasible, so Albrecht lifted the siege and burnt his camp, considering that he had given satisfaction to the challenge of the Poles, who claimed that the king did not dare to come out to battle when, in fact, it was they themselves who were afraid.⁴

¹ Wladyslaw II (Jagiellon) (1352/1362–1434): King of Poland, from 1384 together with his wife, and after her death in 1399 alone. Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1377.

² Quirin, p. 154: *Nach der Flucht seiner Schwiegermutter Barbara von Cilly, die er geächtet hatte, zu Ladislaus von Polen, verband sich dessen Bruder Kasimir als Gegenkönig gegen A. mit dessen hussitischen Widersachern. Es kam zu Krieg in Schlesien. A. hat sich in Böhmen schliesslich ebensowenig durchsetzen können wie in Ungarn, wo seinen Plänen, besonders zur Türkenabwehr, das Mistrauen der Stände, vor allem gegen das deutsche Element, fühlbar entgegentrat.*

³ 29 June 1438. Not strong enough to vanquish the Hussites, he afterwards had to leave the country.

⁴ In his *Historia Bohemica* (Hejnic/Udolph, pp. 446-453), Piccolomini gave a rather different account of the military conflict between Albrecht and the Poles, and their pitched battle before Tabor.

[140] Primus inter eos erat Tazsco, vir prudens ac magnanimus, sed malae conscientiae, qui, etsi se non participare in erroribus Hussitarum¹ diceret, ut tamen magnus esset, tueri potius hereticos voluit quam cum catholicis sentire; quippe infidelium princeps esse malebat quam inter fideles mediocris. Sciebat autem se primum inter haereticos esse, inter Christianos plures esse, qui se superarent. Idem ergo multis bellis particularibus Albertum lacessivit, multis incendiis Bohemiam affecit, et forsitan, si is solus voluisset, totum regnum pacem habuisset. Is quoque ad Fridericum Caesarem venit, quem Viennae vidi, virum pinguem, calvum, staturae parvae², loquacem, laetum. Sed cum alii in concordia essent cum³ Friderico, solus iste dissensit reversusque Pragam, ut erat eloquens, plebem a devotione Friderici regis avertit. Sed postea peste absumptus est haereticorum damno non parvo.

¹ Uxitarum V

² pronae X

³ ~~Filippo~~ seq. V

[140] First among them¹ was Ptáček.² He was a clever and proud man, but not with a pure conscience. He claimed not to share the Hussites' erroneous opinions, but in order to be an important man, he would rather protect the heretics than support the Catholics. Indeed, he preferred to be great among unbelievers than insignificant among believers. He knew that he was first among the heretics, whereas among the Christians there were many who surpassed him. Therefore, he attacked Albrecht in many wars and inflicted much damage upon Bohemia. If he had wanted to, perhaps the whole kingdom would have been at peace. He came to Emperor Friedrich in Vienna,^{3 4} where I saw him, a fat man, bald, of small stature, talkative, and cheerful.⁵ All others came to agreement with Friedrich, but only this man disagreed and returned to Prague, where, since he was eloquent, he managed to turn the people away from King Friedrich. Later, he died of the plague, which was a grave loss to the heretics.

¹ Albrecht's opponents in Bohemia.

² Hynce Ptáček of Pirkstein (ca. 1400-1444): Bohemian noble. Moderate Hussite leader. His party preferred a Polish king to Albrecht II. See Heymann: *George*, pp. 20-25.

³ In his *Historia Bohemica* from 1458 (Hejnic, pp. 468-470), Piccolomi gave this account of Ptáček's visit: *Bohemi ... legatos ad cesarem mittunt petentes tutorio nomine uti regnum accipiant. Is in Belgiam iturum se dicit corone suscipiende gratia: cum redierit, de re ipsa transacturum. Reversum potentissimi ex Bohemia proceres adeunt, inter quos Ptasco, cum esset Alberti filio infensus, seorsum Fridericum alloquitur, regem ut se ipsum faciat, hortatur. Facile id futurum, si tutelam pupilli reiciat. Nam cum ceteri desint, Bohemi suoapte ingenio regnum sibi oblaturus, cui ex foedere tamquam seniori Austrie principi debeatur. Negavit Fridericus orphani, cuius tutelam gereret, hereditatem sibi se quoquo pacto invasurum. Nec tamen Bohemiam tutorio nomine administrare voluit, que sine profusione magna pecuniarum retineri non poterat.*

⁴ Holtz, pp. 25-26: *Wenngleich Friedrich zu Beginn seiner Königsherrschaft nur im Herzogtum Österreich für Ladislaus die Vormundschaft ausübte, war er von Anfang an bemüht, die Rechte seines Mündels auch in den Ländern der böhmischen Krone zu verteidigen. ... In Friedrichs Politik zur Sicherung von Ladislaus' Erbsprüchen in Böhmen lassen sich drei Grundlinien ausmachen. Er versuchte erstens, der Wahl eines anderen Königs durch die böhmischen Stände entgegenzuwirken. ... Friedrich III. verzichtete zweitens darauf, selbst König von Böhmen zu werden. ... Drittens weigerte sich Friedrich trotz der immer wieder erhobenen diesbezüglichen Forderung der böhmischen Stände, Ladislaus nach Böhmen auszuliefern oder mit seinem Mündel zusammen nach Prag zu kommen und dort die Vormundschaft auszuüben. ... Die Verhandlungen Friedrichs III. mit den böhmischen Ständen fanden durch den Austausch von Delegationen statt, die am königlichen Hof beziehungsweise in Böhmen über die offenen Fragen berieten.*

⁵ The visit to Vienna must have taken place after 1442, when Piccolomini joined the emperor's service, and before Ptáček's death in August 1444. Piccolomini appears to have seen or met him personally and perhaps even to have had conversations with him (with the aid of an interpreter).

[141] Albertus autem, cum aliquandiu in Bohemia fuisset, reversus Viennam in Hungariam repedavit. Ubi cum esset, Budae ingens clamor populi subortus est contra Teutonicos. Arreptis namque armis Hungari per civitatem crassabantur, atque ubi Teutonicos reperiebant, illico trucidabant. Tum et domus mercatorum expugnabant. Itaque fuit ingens timor omnibus Teutonicis. Rex in arce se tenebat trepidum ac cum regina contendebat¹, quae sic eum duxisset. Barones quoque Hungari non satis fidebant populo. Itaque per plures horas caedes rapinaeque factae sunt pluresque Teutonici occisi. Sed Ladislaus banus, magnus in Hungaria baro reginaeque conjunctus sanguine, ascendens equum per urbem ivit multisque precibus furorem populi mitigavit, nam pietate gravis ac meritis apud eos censebatur. Exinde dicunt Hungari Teucris esse resistendum, qui totum regnum dilaniant. Albertus facturum se offert vocaturumque {67r} principes Alamaniae aliosque Christianos, ut facilius expelli possent inimici. Dicunt Hungari satis esse virium in Hungaria, sed solum ordinem et caput deesse. Quod si rex eat in bellum, et ordo et caput erit, nec vocandos esse extraneos, ubi domestici per se satis possunt. Hoc autem faciebant, quia timebant in eorum regno nimis crescere Teutonicos. His quoque regina consentiebat, nam plurimum laetabatur, cum plus honoris sibi quam viro impendi videret. Hungari enim eam honorabant, quia et linguam sciebat et haeres regni fuerat. Albertum autem propterea susceperant, quia vir esset, nec amabant Theutonicum, praesertim Hungari sermonis nescium. Illa insuper mulier callida fuit et astuta et in corpore femineo virilem gestabat animum maritumque suum, quaque volebat, trahebat. Induxit ergo virum, ut consiliis Hungarorum acquiesceret.

[142] Paratur exercitus iturque in campum. Recipiuntur loca palustria foetidaque. Ibi nec vini nec ciborum copia fuit. Mandatum publice est, ut advenientibus victualibus nemo ausus esset tangere, nisi regina prius mandasset. De rege nulla mentio erat. Exinde, cum essent hostes in propinquo, diffugerunt Hungari Albertumque regem cum paucis dimiserunt, qui vix evasit multa uxori improperans. Tanta inordinatio ibi fuit, ut etiam ad lectum reginae jacentis Hungari irent. Ipse Albertus indignatus animo reverti Viennam statuerat ac congregato exercitu Hungarorum ulcisci perfidiam, sed contracto ex insueto calore morbo, et quia nimis mellones voraverat, inter redeundum obiit, atque, ut cito creverat, cito defecit.

¹ concedebat X

[141] After his stay in Bohemia, Albrecht returned to Vienna and afterwards continued to Hungary. When he stayed in Buda, there was a popular uprising against the Germans. The Hungarians took to weapons, went on a rampage through the city, and killed the Germans they found on the spot.¹ Then they went on to attack the merchants' houses. Great anxiety seized all the Germans. The king stayed in the castle, trembling with fear and rebuking the queen for having brought him to this. The Hungarian barons did not feel safe with the people. Thus they went on for several hours, plundering and murdering many Germans.² But Ban Ladislav,³ a great baron in Hungary and related to the queen by marriage,⁴ mounted his horse and rode through the city, and with many entreaties he managed to soften the people's fury, for he was popular with them because of his respect for and merits towards them. Afterwards, the Hungarians declared that it was necessary to fight the Turks who were tearing the whole kingdom apart. Albrecht offered to do it and call on the German and other Christian princes, to more easily expel the enemies. However, the Hungarians said there was sufficient strength in Hungary; only order and leadership were lacking. But if the king himself went to war, there would be both order and leadership, and there would be no need to call in foreigners when their own people sufficed. This the Hungarians did because they feared that the Germans would grow too [strong] in their kingdom. The queen sided with them, being only too happy to be shown more honour than her husband. The Hungarians honoured her because she spoke their language and was the heir to the kingdom. They accepted Albrecht as her husband, but they did not like that he was a German and moreover did not speak Hungarian. The woman was clever and cunning. She had a man's mind in a woman's body,⁵ and she pushed her husband wherever she wanted to. Thus, she induced her husband to accept the Hungarians' advice.

[142] An army was gathered and, moving towards the battlefield, they came to a marshy and fetid area, where there was not enough wine and food. A public announcement was made forbidding all to touch arriving provisions without the queen's permission. There was no mention of the king. Then, when the enemies approached, the Hungarians fled in all directions, leaving the king with only a few men. He barely escaped, cursing his wife roundly. So great was the disorder that the Hungarians approached the queen even when she was lying in her bed. Very upset, Albrecht decided to return to Vienna to gather an army and avenge the Hungarians' betrayal. While

¹ May 1439.

² This is the same uprising as described in sect. 98, where Giacono della Marca tried to intervene.

³ Ladislav Garai (-1459): Ban of Macsó 1431-1441 and 1445-1447. Palatine of Hungary 1447-1458.

⁴ Ladislav was the queen's cousin, his mother being Anna von Cilly, sister of Empress Barbara of Cilly, the queen's mother.

⁵ In his *Europa* (1458), Piccolomini wrote about Queen Margaret I of Denmark, battling against the neighbour king of Sweden, that *she had donned the spirit of a man* (Brown, sect. 166, p. 168), echoing Cicero: *De officiis*, I, 61: *Vos enim juvenes geritis muliebrem, illa virgo viri*. On Piccolomini's conception of women, see COR, I, sect. 6.7.1.

travelling, he fell ill from the extraordinary heat and ate too many melons, which caused his death.¹ Thus, he disappeared as quickly as he had risen.²

[143] Fuit vir magnae staturae, venationis cupidus, in armis promptus. Facere quam dicere malebat, non ipse per se multum cernens, sed acquiescens consiliis eorum, quos bonos existimavit, nigra facie oculisque terribilibus, malorum omnium hostis. Ad hunc, cum electores imperii ambasiatores mississent rogarentque, ne Gaspar Slik in cancellarium reciperet, “Si mihi imperium credunt electores,” inquit, “cur³ non ferunt, ut cancellarium mihi deligam?”

¹ 29 October 1439.

² HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 458): ... *dimisso exercitu Budam rediit. Sed insolito ferventis Augusti calore vexatus, dum peponibus nimium oblectatur, ventris solutionem incidit. Sentiens periculum moriturus in patria Viennam repetere statuit. Iter ingressus, cum iam Strigonium preterisset, in Villa, quae Longa dicitur, condito testamento sexto Kalendas Novembris decessit.*

³ eum X

[143] He was a man of large stature, an enthusiastic hunter, and eager to fight. He would rather act than talk. He was not a thinker but followed the advice of those men he considered to be good. His complexion was dark, and he had fierce eyes. He was an enemy of all evil men.¹ When the imperial electors had sent ambassadors to him with a request not to make Kaspar Schlick his chancellor, he said, “If the electors entrust me with the Empire, then why would they not allow me to choose my own chancellor?”^{2 3}

¹ HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 458): *Princeps liberalitate ac fortitudine clarus et qui ceteris rebus longe religionis studium anteposuit.*

² Date: the “terminus post quem” is the death of Albert on 29 October 1439.

³ Piccolomini’s sources: Piccolomini did not know Albrecht II personally but probably saw him at a distance in Vienna in 1438 and may have been present at an audience for the ambassador of Milan, whom he accompanied. A likely informant of his on Albrecht would have been Albrecht’s chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, mentor and friend of Piccolomini. He would also have had access to other informants and records at the imperial court.

Supplement

From Europa / Hungaria (Heck, pp. 37-39)

[4] *Albertus apud Albam Regalem cum conjugē coronatus Bohemiae quoque diadema suscepit, cuius felicitatem admirati Germaniae principes et ipsi suum sanguinem extollere decreverunt Romanum ei committentes imperium. Id Alberto suscipere non licebat, nisi primores Hungariae indulgerent, quibus haud ex usu videbatur suum regem Teutonibus imperare, atque ob eam causam iurejurando Albertum obligaverant, ne suo injussu imperium acceptaret. Vocati tamen ad regem, qui tum Viennae fuit, victi precibus praebuere consensum. Ille imperio auctus in Hungariam rediit adversus Turcos, qui tunc Rasciam invaserant, arma moturus. Sed dum Bude moram facit (ea est regum sedes), iudex civitatis, natione Teutonicus, Hungarum quempiam ob delictum fluvio demersit. Id Hungari molestissime tulerunt, quibus Teutonicum nomen exosum est. Excitatur evestigio tumultus. Hungari arma capessunt, obvios Teutones passim trucidant. Fit fuga in arcem, qua rex se continebat. Diripiuntur negotiatorum domus, quorum pars major Teutonica fuit. ... Sedato tumultu Georgius Palocius, Strigoniensis ecclesiae pontifex, moritur, apud quem preciosa regni suppellex in custodia fuit. Rex Strigonium petit et regina cum eo. Aperiuntur arche, in quibus thesaurus observabatur, coram regina et selectis regni baronibus. Illa clam subtracta corona, quam sacram appellant, fidelique anui tradita archas claudit et obsignat.*

[5] *Albertus paulo post ad Ticiam usque fluvium proficiscitur ibique castrametatus maiores copias expectat, cum quibus Turcos inuadere possit Synderouiam obsidentes. Prius tamen expugnatum est oppidum quam auxilia venirent. Ipse Budam reuersus, cum dissyntheria laboraret, Viennam repetere statuit siue moriturus inter suos, siue quod aerem, in quo fuerat enutritus, conferre aliquid ad sanitatem sperabat. Sed in itinere magis ac magis morbo affectus relicta uxore pregnantē obsignatoque testamento in Villa, que longa dicitur, VI Kal. Nouembris e uita decessit, religiosus princeps et qui liberalitate simul iustitiaque prestaret. Fuit quoque in bellis audax et manu promptus: Morauos ac Bohemos armis subegit, Polonos late vagantes intra regnum suum coercuit, magna de se Christianae rei publicae promittere uidebatur nec minora populi de sua uirtute conceperant. Pulcherrime spei satisfieri breuitas uite non siuit: repente occidit que breui ad summum potentia creuerat; neque enim biennio toto imperauit. Statura eius procera fuit, neruosum et ualidum corpus, facies terrificā, more gentis erasa barba, superius labrum intonsum, uestem haud splendidam baltheus auro grauis cinxit nec unquam lateri defuite ensis. Corpus eius in Alba reconditum est.*

Supplement

From Europa / Hungary

[1] Albrecht was crowned with his wife in Székesfehérvár, and afterwards he also received the crown of Bohemia. Admiring his fortune, the German princes decided to also glorify his family by committing the Roman Empire to him. Albrecht, however, was not free to receive it unless allowed to by the Hungarian magnates. They did not consider it suitable for their king to also rule the Germans, and therefore they had obliged Albrecht under oath not to accept the imperial government without their approval. But when they were summoned to the king, then staying in Vienna, they were impressed by his pleas and gave their assent. Having gained the Empire, he returned to Hungary, intending to go to war against the Turks, who had invaded Serbia. But while he was staying in Buda, seat of their kings, the judge of that city, German by nation, sentenced a Hungarian to be drowned in the river for some crime. The Hungarians, who hate the German name, took this extremely badly and immediately rose up in rebellion. Taking to weapons, they killed all the Germans they met on their way. The Germans fled to the fortress where the king stayed in safety. The Hungarians plundered the houses of the merchants, of whom most were Germans. When the uprising had been quelled, Georg Palocz, archbishop of Esztergom, died. The treasure of the kingdom was in his custody. The king went to Esztergom, accompanied by the queen. The coffers in which the treasure was kept were opened in the queen's presence and select barons of the realm. Then, secretly, she had the so-called holy crown removed and entrusted to an loyal old woman, and then closed and sealed the coffers. ...

[5] Shortly afterwards, he continued to the river Tisza, where he made his camp, awaiting reinforcements for his attack on the Turks besieging Smederovo. But they conquered the city before help could arrive, so Albrecht returned to Buda. Suffering from dysentery, he decided to go back to Vienna, whether he wanted to die among his own, or hoped to get better in the air, in which he was raised. But on the way, his illness grew worse. Leaving a pregnant wife and having made his testament, he died in a village called Neszmély on 27 October. He was a pious prince, excelling in liberality and justice. In war, he was bold and aggressive. He subjugated the Moravians and the Bohemians by arms and forced the Poles, marauding far and wide, back into their own kingdom. He gave hope that he would do great things for the Christian commonwealth, and the people did not expect less of his valour. But his life was too short to fulfil this beautiful hope; his power, which had grown great in a short time, soon failed. Indeed, he reigned for less than two years. He was tall of stature, and his body strong and muscular. His face was intimidating, and he was shaven after the custom of his people, only having a moustache. His clothes were ordinary, but he wore a belt heavy with gold, and his sword never left his side. His body is buried in Székesfehérvár.

24. Fridericus Dux Austriae¹

[144] {67v} Fridericus, dux Austriae, Ernesti filius ex matre polonica, quae dux Mazoviae² fuit, mortuo patre sub tutela Friderici, senioris Austriae ducis, cum Alberto fratre et Anna sorore fuit. Hunc, cum aliquando Sigismundus Caesar vidisset apud Albertum generum gravitatemque morum et singularem, quae in eo prae lucebat, modestiam contemplatus esset, “Nimirum”, inquit, “nisi meus hic successor sit.”

[145] Is, ut juveniles³ attigit annos, miro amore incensus est visendi Jerosolimam sacrumque Christi sepulchrum visitandi, necdum enim XXII. impleverat annum. Armata igitur apud Tergestum triremi lecta fida⁴ societate Jerosolimam navigavit, ubi sub forma servi sacra quaevis loca visitavit militiamque meruit ac mira navigandi celeritate atque fortuna usus est.

[146] Exinde reversus, cum paulo post⁵ Fridericus, qui tutor ejus fuerat⁶, obiisset, profectus cum fratre in Athesim tutelam et ipse Sigismundi ducis, Friderici senioris filii suscepit, quem secum in Austriam adduxit. Post haec mortuo jam Alberto, cum regina in Hungaria dominaretur Elizabet, Albertus frater puerum Ladislaum, quem Albertus senior in ventre uxoris reliquit, ad Fridericum deduxit ac sic ejus quoque tutelam Fridericus accepit omniaque dominia Austriae domus tamquam senior in potestatem recepit.

¹ *The chapter on Emperor Friedrich was not included in the text published by Mansi [MA]*

² Saxoniae X

³ *corr. ex viriles V*

⁴ fidei X

⁵ *omit. X*

⁶ ~~inter~~ *seq. V*

24. Friedrich III, Emperor¹

[144] Friedrich, Duke of Austria,^{2 3 4} was the son of Ernst⁵ and a Polish mother, duchess of Mazovia.⁶ When his father died, he came under the guardianship of Friedrich,⁷ senior Duke of Austria, together with his brother Albrecht⁸ and his sister Anna⁹. Once Emperor Sigismund saw him with his son-in-law Albrecht.¹⁰ Observing his serious manners and unique self-discipline, Sigismund said, “No doubt, this is a successor of mine.”

[145] As a young man, still in his twenty-second year,¹¹ he was seized by desire to see Jerusalem and visit Christ’s holy tomb. He equipped a trireme in Trieste and, with a select group of trusted companions, sailed to Jerusalem where, disguised as a servant, he visited the holy places, earned his knighthood, and enjoyed astonishing sailing speed and luck.

[146] Shortly after his return, his guardian Friedrich¹² died. Together with his brother, Friedrich then went to Tyrol where he took up the guardianship of Duke Siegmund¹³ (son of the senior Friedrich),¹⁴ whom he brought back with him to Austria. When Albrecht¹⁵ died¹⁶ and Queen Elizabeth still ruled in Hungary,¹⁷ Friedrich’s brother Albrecht brought their posthumous son Ladislaus¹⁸ to Friedrich who became his guardian, too. Thus Friedrich ruled all the domains of the House of Austria as the senior [prince of that House].¹⁹

¹ See Part IV. Lives of Four Emperors, sect. 404

² Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of the Inner Austrian duchies of Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain. Elected emperor in 1440 and crowned in Rome in 1452.

³ For a general biography, see Koller.

⁴ As a rising counsellor and diplomat of the emperor, Piccolomini got to know Friedrich very well and was an eyewitness to many of the most important events of the first part of his rule (until 1455).

⁵ Ernst I (Habsburg) (1377-1424): Duke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of the Inner Austrian duchies of Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain.

⁶ Cymburgis of Mazovia (1394/1397-1429): Duchess of Mazovia and Austria. Married Ernst in 1412.

⁷ Friedrich IV (Habsburg).

⁸ Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke, later Archduke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of the duchy of Inner Austria (from 1457 the Archduchy of Austria).

⁹ Anna von Österreich (-1429).

¹⁰ Albrecht II.

¹¹ 1436.

¹² Friedrich IV.

¹³ Siegmund (Habsburg) (1427-1496): Duke, later Archduke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of Further Austria and Tyrol.

¹⁴ Friedrich IV.

¹⁵ Albrecht II.

¹⁶ 1439.

¹⁷ For a couple of years after Albrecht’s death, Elizabeth effectively ruled Hungary.

¹⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line). King of Hungary, King of Bohemia.

¹⁹ Either in his own right or as guardian of the Habsburg princes.

[147] Post haec et ipse in Romanorum regem electus est, nam neque potentior tota Germania princeps nec prudentior in illa aetate putabatur. Is tamen, cum esset Viennae militesque, qui et Alberto et Elizabeth serviverant, pecuniam peterent nec impetrare possent ac propterea patriae minarentur, convenientes Australes seditionem fecerunt¹ atque in armis surgentes vi petunt ex rege, quod antea precibus impetrare non potuerant. Itaque magnum auri pondus tradere oportuit, si liber fieri Fridericus voluit, quae res animum regis plurimum ab Australibus alienavit et a Viennensibus², Viennensibus², qui et ipsi nobilem quandam cum salvo conducto regio decapitarunt.

[148] Exinde ortae sunt inter Friedericum regem et fratrem ejus Albertum graves discordiae, ut sunt nonnulli malivoli, qui etiam fratrum sanguinem disjungere nituntur. Discordiarum hujusmodi habiti sunt praecipui auctores Petrus Cotra³, episcopus⁴ Zagrabiensis⁵, {68r} et Corradus Zeler, praepositus Viennensis, quorum alter Friderici, alter Alberti cancellarius erat. Alberto duci adhaesit⁶ adhaesit⁶ Ulricus, comes Ciliae. Itaque tum in Stiria, tum in Carniola grande exarsit bellum. Non tamen propterea retentus est Fridericus, quin ad imperium proficisceretur Aquensemque coronam susciperet. Disposuit namque duces, qui fratri ac⁷ comiti Ciliae resisterent tuerenturque patriam, et ipse cum magna nobilium multitudine iter ad imperium suscepit. Ladislaum, regem Hungariae pupillum, et Sigismundum ducem apud Grez interim custodiri, nutririque mandavit. Itaque fuit regis animus ingens, ut quamvis bello gravi teneretur, non tamen ire ad imperium neglexerit.

¹ seditionem fecerunt : fecerunt seditionem X

² a Viennensibus : Avinionensibus X

³ contra X

⁴ episcopum X

⁵ *em.*; Zagabriensis V; Zagabiensem X

⁶ ~~Frid~~-*seq.* V

⁷ et X

[147] Afterwards,¹ he, too,² was elected King of the Romans since no German prince at that time was considered more powerful or prudent than him. When he was staying in Vienna, the soldiers who had served Albrecht and Elizabeth demanded money and, when they did not get it, threatened [to plunder] the country.³ Then the Austrians united in rebellion. Rising up in arms, they demanded with force what they had been unable to get with requests. To be freed [of this burden], Friedrich had to give the soldiers a great sum of money.⁴ This made him angry at the Austrians and the Viennese, who had even beheaded a nobleman although he had a safe-conduct from the king.⁵

[148] Later, a serious conflict arose between King Friedrich and his brother Albrecht.⁶ There are many wicked men who endeavour to cause strife between brothers. In this case, the instigators of the conflict were Peter Kottler,⁷ Bishop of Zagreb, and Konrad Zeidler,⁸ provost in Vienna, one the the chancellor of Friedrich, the other the chancellor of Albrecht.⁹ Count Ulrich of Cilly¹⁰ supported Albrecht. Thus, a great war flamed up in Steiermark and in Krain. This, however, did not prevent Friedrich from leaving for the Empire to receive the crown in Aachen.¹¹ He appointed captains to resist his brother and the Count of Cilly and then left for the Empire, with a large company of nobles. He had ordered the orphan King of Hungary¹² and Duke Siegmund to be kept and raised at Graz. By coming to the Empire though he was involved in a bitter war,¹³ the king showed his great force of character.¹⁴

¹ 1440.

² Like his cousin, Albrecht II.

³ Koller, p. 63: *An diesen Kleinkriegen beteiligten sich auch slawische Kampfverbände, die von König Albrecht angeworben worden waren, aber noch nicht ihren Sold erhalten hatten ... Sie blieben daher in deren Nähe, in Österreich wo sie dem Fehderecht entsprechend ihren Ansprüchen mit Gewalt Nachdruck verliehen.*

⁴ Koller, p. 63: *Da nun auch die Adligen Österreichs energische Massnahmen gegen die plündernden Truppen und überdies Entschädigungen für ihre Dienste unter König Albrecht II verlangten, musste sich Friedrich den Forderungen stellen, denen sich noch die Gräfen von Cilly anschlossen, die als Führer der Unzufriedenen auftraten.*

⁵ Koller, p. 63: *Seine eigenhändigen Notizen zu diesem Geschehen bezeugen tiefe, aber nicht unverständliche Verärgerung über den Adel Österreichs, der sich verständnislos und eigennützig bewiesen hatte.*

⁶ Albrecht VI.

⁷ Peter Kottler: First chancellor of Albrecht VI. In 1440 he was nominated as Bishop of Zagreb (Agram) by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, but apparently was never formally appointed to this see.

⁸ Konrad Zeidler (-1442): First chancellor of Friedrich III.

⁹ Here, Piccolomini, desiring not to take sides in the conflict, uses the traditional device of blaming the princes' counsellors to exonerate the princes themselves. The drivers of the conflict were the division of the Habsburg inheritance between the two brothers, Kings Ladislaus' wardship, the unpaid salaries of Albrecht's soldiers and the ensuing depredations of Austrian territory, and strife between Friedrich and the Cilly family.

¹⁰ Ulrich II von Cilly (1406-1456): Count of Cilly. Cousin of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg), and uncle of her son King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹¹ The crown of the German-Roman King.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹³ This statement appears to be less than correct. Though there had indeed been conflicts concerning Ladislaus' status, Albrecht VI's Habsburg inheritance, and the money due to Albrecht II's soldiers, they had been settled by agreements of July and August 1440 (Koller, pp. 58-64), and even if they flamed up again in later years, Friedrich could leave for his coronation in relative tranquility, see Koller, p. 64: *Er war zufrieden, wenigstens in Österreich tragbare Lösungen gefunden zu haben, und so konnte er sich endlich seiner Krönungsreise nach Aachen widmen ...*

¹⁴ "animus".

[149] Eo tempore jam schisma ortum erat in ecclesia. Concilium namque Basiliense Eugenium papam summo pontificio¹ sese dixerat abdicasse et Amedeum Sabaudiae ducem substituisse vocasseque Felicem. Rursus quoque Eugenius dissolvisse se Basiliense concilium patresque, qui ibidem remansissent², schismaticos et haereticos declarasse. Itaque, cum venisset Francfordiam Fridericus Caesar, aderant utriusque partis legationes petebantque Caesarem ad se quisque trahere.

¹ ~~abdicaverat~~ *seq. V*

² *remansisset V*

[149] At that time a schism had arisen in the Church. On the one hand, the Council of Basel claimed that it had deposed Pope Eugenius from the papacy¹ and replaced him with Duke Amédée of Savoy under the name of Felix.² On the other hand, Eugenius [asserted] that he had dissolved the Council of Basel³ and declared the Fathers remaining there as schismatics and heretics.⁴ When Emperor Friedrich came to Frankfurt,⁵ missions from both parties were present, each endeavouring to draw the emperor to their own side.⁶

¹ 25 June 1439.

² 5 November 1439.

³ In the papal bull *Doctoris gentium* of 18 September 1437, Eugenius IV announced the transfer of the Council in Basel to Ferrara to deal with the union with the Oriental Church (Stieber, p. 38). In a solemn declaration of 8 January 1438, Cardinal Albergati, as papal legate and president of the union council meeting in Ferrara and on behalf of Pope Eugenius, stated as follows: *Nos Nicolaus, apostolicae sedis legatus, pronunciamus pro sanctissimo domino nostro papa Eugenio IV in hac sacra synodo de Basilea ad civitatem translata, iamque legitime congregata, praesidere, et hodie, videlicet octava die mensis ianuarii, continuationem ipsius translatae synodi factam esse, a dictaque die in antea continuandam esse et continuari debere ad omnia, ad quae Basiliensis synodus congregata fuerit, etiam pro ycumenico concilio, in quo de unione occidentalis et orientalis ecclesiae agatur et auctore domino perficiatur* (COD, pp. 513-514).

⁴ In the papal bull *Exposcit debitum* of 15 February 1438, Eugenius excommunicated those who continued to meet in Basel: *Quapropter .. omnes et singulos Basilee, sub pretensi concilii nomine, quod verius conventiculum dici debet, contra translationem et declarationem predictas convenientes ac tam scandalo-losa et nepharia presumentes, penas excommunicatio-nis, privationis dignitatum, beneficiorum et officiorum inhabilitacionis ad futura ... incidisse decernimus et declaramus* (COD, p. 519).

⁵ Reichstag in Frankfurt, May-August 1442.

⁶ See DRGB (WO, II, ep. 44, pp. 201-204).

[150] Ego quoque tum Francfordiam cum Basiliensibus veni, nam Felicis secretarius eram. Ubi per episcopum Chimensem, virum doctissimum, in notitiam Caesaris sum deductus rogatusque, an sibi servire vellem in officio secretariatus. Dixi me sub alterius obsequio degere nec illo inscio de me aliquid posse promittere, sed petiturum a Felice licentiam, quam si obtinerem, libenter ad Caesarem me transferrem. Licentiam autem postmodum Basileae obtinui atque illic regis curiam intravi, in qua jam annis tribus servio, et utinam mihi faustum felixque sit.

[150] As a secretary of Felix¹, I came to Frankfurt with the Basileans. The Bishop of Chiemsee,² a man of great learning, brought me to the emperor's notice.³ When asked if I would serve him as a secretary, I said that being under obligation to another, I could not promise anything without his knowledge, But I would ask permission from Felix, and if I got it, I would gladly pass over to the emperor. Later, in Basel, I obtained the permission⁴ and joined the king's court,⁵ where I have now now served for three years.⁶ May it bring me luck, happiness and prosperity!

¹ The council's anti-pope.

² Silvester Pflieger (-1453): Bishop of Chiemsee 1438- 1453. Used as a diplomatic envoy by Fredrich III.

³ Here, Piccolomini fails to mention that the emperor, following medieval imperial tradition, crowned him as poet-laureate (Voigt, I, pp. 268-269).

⁴ In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote: *When Felix sent an embassy to Frederick, he ordered Aeneas to accompany the ambassadors; and thus Aeneas, who had frequent conversations with Frederick's counsellors, became friendly with a learned and influential man, Sylvester, Bishop of Chiemsee. Aeneas also met and came to know well Archbishop Jacob of Trier ... These two introduced Aeneas to the emperor's favor: he was awarded the laurel crown and the privileges due to poets, and the emperor invited him to enter his service and remain at his court. Aeneas replied that although no one had a better right to his service (since he had been born an imperial subject), nevertheless he was still Felix' secretary and it seemed improper to leave him for a new master without obtaining permission first. He said he would go back to Basel to ask Felix for his consent, and if he could obtain it he would gladly come to the imperial court. The emperor, who was just going to Basel himself, found this answer acceptable. When Aeneas returned to Felix, however, he was unable to obtain his release on his own. In the end, his friends intervened and Felix reluctantly set him free. Aeneas met Frederick at Basel (where the emperor had stopped on his way back from Burgundy) and was appointed his secretary and a protonotary at the imperial chancery. At Brixen he swore an oath of allegiance to the emperor (COM, I, 10-11 (Meserve, I, pp. 45-47). See also DRGB (WO, II, ep. 44, pp. 204).*

⁵ He made his oath to the emperor in Brixen at the beginning of January 1443 (Voigt, I, p. 272).

⁶ Piccolomini entered the emperor's service at the end of 1442 / beginning of 1443, so this text would then have been written in 1446.

[151] Caesar, postquam audivit legationes, captans consilium quid agendum esset, invenit electores divisos, nam quinque ex eis petebant regem statim se pro Eugenio declarare. Coloniensis non aperiebat consilium suum, sed dicebat videri sibi prius {68v} in Aquis recipiendam esse coronam, nam, si antequam coronetur, partem unam amplectatur, ab alia mox reputabitur haereticus negabiturque Caesar, quia factus in schismate sit. At prius recepta corona ab ambabus partibus reputabitur imperator et cum majori poterit se auctoritate declarare, subditi quoque libentius ejus sequentur declarationem. In coronationem quoque, quae fieret post, possent evenire impedimenta¹, quae pars laesa praepararet. Ac nunc, cum quilibet bene speret, nemo impediet coronationem. Velleque se, dixit, cum omnia potentia suo Caesarem ducere ad coronam. Placuit Caesari Coloniensis consilium.

[152] Dimisit itaque interea Chiemensem et Augustensem episcopos cum Thoma Asselbach, doctore theologo, ceterique electores alios dimiserunt, qui partes ambas seorsum audirent. Ibi ergo Nicolaus Panormitanus pluribus diebus concilii Basiliensis atque Felicis nisus² est tueri jus scripsitque tunc grandem tractatum de auctoritate ecclesiae. Tum quoque et Nicolaus Cusanus et Johannes de Carvaial, viri docti, partes Eugenii tribus diebus tueri studuerunt. Sed Johannes de Carvaial ivit ad coronationem, et Nicolaus remansit. Similiter et Arelatensis ivit cum rege dimissis Panormitano et Sancti Calixti³.

¹ ~~nam~~ seq. V

² uisus X

³ post hec seq. V

[151] When the emperor had heard the envoys,¹ he took counsel on what to do. The electors were divided. Five urged him to immediately declare himself for Eugenius. [However,] the Archbishop of Cologne² did not reveal his opinion but said that he thought this should wait until after the coronation in Aachen: if the emperor declared himself for one of the two parties before his coronation, then the other party would immediately consider him as a heretic and deny that he could become emperor, being a schismatic. If he was crowned before [his declaration], both parties would accept him as emperor. Then he could make his declaration with greater authority, and his subjects would more readily accept it. If the coronation was performed after [the declaration], the injured party would possibly try to prevent it.³ But now, when all could hope for the best, nobody would prevent the coronation. The archbishop added that he would now do all in his power to lead the emperor to his coronation.^{4 5} The emperor accepted the advice of Cologne.⁶

[152] The emperor then delegated the bishops of Chiemsee⁷ and Augsburg⁸ and Thomas Hasselbach,⁹ doctor of theology - and the prince-electors delegated others - to hear the two parties separately. So, for several days, Niccolò Panormitano¹⁰ endeavoured to defend the rights of the Council of Basel and Felix¹¹ and then wrote his great treatise on authority in the Church.¹² Then Nikolaus von Kues¹³ and Juan de Carvajal,¹⁴ both learned men, for three days defended Eugenius. Afterwards, Juan de Carvajal went to the coronation, while Nikolaus stayed [in Frankfurt]. Also the Cardinal of Arles¹⁵ went with the king,¹⁶ leaving Panormitano and the Cardinal of San Calisto¹ [in Frankfurt].

¹ Of the pope and of the council.

² Dietrich II von Mörs.

³ The justness of this view was confirmed when the Bishop of Liège excluded Cardinal Aleman from the coronation ceremonies on the ground that he was an excommunicate, being a leading member of the rump council in Basel, see next section.

⁴ “coronam”.

⁵ Traditionally, the Archbishop of Cologne was the prelate who crowned the emperor as German-Roman King.

⁶ DRGB (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 203): *Ibi coram rege ambe partes et jus suum commendabant et alteram partem damnabant. Illi veritatem se tueri dicebant, isti se soli justitie inniti ajebant. Nihil inter se pacifice loqui poterant; odia asperrima inter utrosque fuerunt. Inter principes Alamanie diversi favores erant; alii Basiliensibus, alii Eugenio favebant. Aderant et oratores regis Anglie et regis Castelle, qui partes Eugenii magnopere fovebant. Optassent plurimi, antequam rex coronaretur, res ecclesiasticas dirigi, rex vero prius coronam optabat accipere obtinuitque sententia ejus. Quod si animi sui sententiam prius patefecisset, forsitan in acceptione corone difficultas fuisset, cum voluntates principum essent diverse.*

⁷ Silvester Pflieger.

⁸ Peter von Schaumberg (1368-1469): Bishop of Augsburg 1424 to his death. Cardinal.

⁹ Thomas Ebendorfer [von Hasselbach] (1388-1464): Austrian university professor (Vienna), theologian and historian.

¹⁰ Niccolò Tedeschi, see ch. 4.

¹¹ Antipope Felix V, see ch. 26.

¹² Piccolomini, presumably, refers to Tedeschi's *Tractatus de Concilio Basiliensi*, in which he upheld the doctrine of the council's superiority over the pope.

¹³ Nikolaus von Kues (1401-1464): German scholar, theologian, philosopher, mathematician. Appointed cardinal by Nicolaus V in 1448. Friend of Piccolomini

¹⁴ Juan de Carvajal (ca. 1400-1469): Cardinal 1446. Friend of Piccolomini.

¹⁵ Louis Aleman (ca. 1390-1450): Archbishop of Arles from 1423 to his death. Appointed cardinal by Martin V in 1426. Beatified 1527.

¹⁶ Friedrich III left Frankfurt on 6 June 1442 and arrived in Aachen on 15 June.

¹ Juan de Segovia (ca. 1395-1458): Spanish ecclesiastic. Official and chronicler of the Council of Basel. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440. Colleague and friend of Piccolomini.

[153] Ivit itaque Caesar ad coronam, in cuius comitatu XVII principes fuerunt, equites autem ultra viginti milia, armatusque urbem intrans cum magna pace coronatus est, quamvis Arelatensis, qui ceremoniis intererat, jussus fuerit abire, nec enim Leodiensis episcopus, qui ibidem ordinarius est, passus est hominem, quem reputabat excommunicatum, interesse divinis.

[154] In reditu vero per Thomam Asselbach facta est Caesari atque electoribus relatio de his, quae dicta fuerant in factis ecclesiae et schismatis. Resque tam dubia reddita est, ut non sit visum Caesari declarationem fieri absque concilio. Concluserunt itaque principes inter se mittendos oratores ad Eugenium et ad Basileam, qui hortentur partes ambas ad concilii congregationem, mittendum quoque ad reges et principes, {69r} ut et ipsi quoque consentiant concilium haberi pro unione ecclesiae, idque infra anni spatium fieri debere. Quod si¹ partes non consentirent, nihilominus rex tamquam advocatus ecclesiae cum assistentia principum electorum concilium convocare deberet.

¹ principes seq. V

[153] So, the king left for his coronation. In his company were 17 princes and more than 20,000 knights. He entered the city armed and was crowned in great peace and tranquillity.¹ However, the Cardinal of Arles, who had joined the ceremonies, was ordered to leave by the Bishop of Liège,² the ordinary of the city,³ who did not allow a man he considered a schismatic to participate in the religious ceremonies.⁴

[154] When the king and the prince-electors returned [to Frankfurt],⁵ Thomas Hasselbach reported to them what had been said⁶ on the Church and the schism. By now the whole matter had become rather confused, so the king felt that a declaration should not be made without a [new] council. The princes, therefore, decided to send ambassadors to Eugenius and to Basel to exhort both parties to hold a [new] council.⁷ They also decided to send [messages] to the [other] kings and princes to obtain their consent to a [new] council for the union of the Church, to be held within a year. If the parties [mentioned] did not consent, it would fall to the king, in his capacity as champion of the Church and with the assistance of the prince-electors, to summon such a council.

¹ 17 June 1442.

² Jean de Heinsberg (1396-1459): Bishop of Liège from 1419 to his abdication in 1455.

³ The city of Aachen did not have its own bishop but belonged to the diocese of Liège, whose bishop had the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the city.

⁴ DRGB (WO, II, ep 44, p. 203): *Perrexit igitur Fridericus et omnes eum principes secuti sunt, relictis doctoribus et nonnullis prelatibus, qui medio tempore Basilienses audirent. Arelatensis tamen secutus est regem, sed coronationi interesse non potuit, a Leodiensi pontifice exclusus, in cujus dioecesi est Aquensis civitas. Is enim excommunicatum judicabat secumque sentiebat Treverensis, qui eo tempore magnopere Eugenio favebat.*

⁵ The king returned to Frankfurt on 7 July 1442.

⁶ By the papal and conciliar envoys, see sect. 152.

⁷ See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 1-65.

[155] Missi ergo sunt Basileam episcopus Chimensis, Johannes Naiper¹ et Thomas Asselbach, qui apud Basilienses obtinuerunt non uti postulatum erat, sed concilium velle se pro pace et unione ecclesiae ad unum² locum aptum transferre. Ad Eugenium missi sunt Gaspar Slik, qui tum primum in cancellarium imperialem receptus erat, et Ulricus Sonnebergius, secretarius regius, cum pluribus aliis ex parte electorum, sicut etiam ad Basileam electores miserant. Sed ab Eugenio non potuit obtineri concilii congregatio, sed data est responsio aliquantulum dura. Ait enim nescire se, quo pacto cum rege et electoribus posset celebrare concilium neutralitatem quandam servantibus, quam Christi fides ignorat. Sed habere se Florentiae concilium et illuc eundum esse. Velle tamen illud plenius congregare respondereque regiae petitioni. Nec in suis responsis Eugenius vocavit regem Fridericum, sed solum electum. Hoc autem dicebat se ideo facere, quia non fuisset per eum approbatus. Moris enim esse, ut reges Romanorum quam primum electi essent significarent id papae, et papa tunc per suas litteras electionem approbaret. Sic periit imperium, postquam in manu Theutonicorum fuit, cum tamen Octo imperator plenam potestatem habuerit ordinandi apostolicam sedem.

¹ Nayperg HE

² ad unum *omit. X [blank space]*

[155] They sent the Bishop of Chiemsee,¹ Johann Neitperg,² and Thomas Hasselbach to Basel. The Basileans did not agree to their demands but promised, for the sake of peace and union, to transfer their council to another suitable place.³ To Eugenius,⁴ the king sent Kaspar Schlick, just appointed imperial chancellor,⁵ and Ulrich Sonnenberger,⁶ royal secretary, with several others from the prince-electors, as they had also sent [representatives] to Basel. From Eugenius they could not obtain a [new] council but received an uncompromising answer. He said that he did not know how a council could be held with the king and prince-electors maintaining a neutrality⁷ unknown to the Christian Faith.⁸ He [already] had a council in Florence, and there they should come. He was willing to respond to the royal petition by expanding that council. In his responses, Eugenius did not call Friedrich king but only elect. He said that he did so because he had not approved Friedrich's election.⁹ It was customary for the Kings of the Romans to inform the pope as soon as they had been elected, and for the pope to approve the election by a letter.¹⁰ So low has the Empire fallen after coming into the hands of the Germans – though Emperor Otto¹¹ had full powers to make dispositions concerning the Apostolic See.¹²

¹ Silvester Pflieger.

² Johann von Neitperg [Johann / Neidberg] (- ca. 1459): Styrian counsellor of Friedrich III (Heinig, p. 253).

³ RTA, 17, 1, p. 4: *Dementsprechend erklärt das Konzil [am 6. Oktober 1442] zu dem Antrag des Königs und der Kurfürsten, dass es sich zur Verlegung aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit an einen anderen selbstgewählten, aber dem König genehmen Ort bereit finden wolle, wenn ihm gewisse näherbezeichnete Sicherheiten (freies Geleit, persönliche Anwesenheit des Königs, Anerkennung des Konzils) dabei gewährleistet würden.*

⁴ At the Reunion Council in Florence.

⁵ Kaspar Schlick had also been the imperial chancellor of emperors Sigismund and Albrecht II.

⁶ Ulrich Sonnenberger (-1469): Imperial counsellor. Bishop of Gurk 1453.

⁷ In 1438, the prince-electors had declared their neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius and the Council in Basel. Albrecht II and Friedrich had, somewhat vaguely, adhered to their declaration.

⁸ "*quam Christi fides ignorat.*" Direct quotation from the papal reply of December 1442 (RTA, 17, 1, p. 64), indicating that Piccolomini, as a secretary in the imperial chancery, had seen the papal letter.

⁹ This explanation is not in the papal reply of December 1442 (RTA, 17, 1, pp. 61-65).

¹⁰ RTA, 17, 1, p. 10: *Die nach einigem Drängen der Gesandten am 8. Dezember [1442] erteilte Antwort lässt in ihrer äusseren Formlosigkeit, in der herausfordern-den Bezeichnung des König als "electus" und in ihrer gegenüber den "neutralen" kurfürstlichen Antrags-stellern sehr ironischen, gegen die Baseler und ihre Anhänger aber ungemein ausfälligen Sprache die Überraschung und den ganzen Unwillen des Papstes über den Antrag unverhüllt zu Tage treten, Die Antwort ... drückt ... die Verwunderung des Papstes darüber aus, dass die Berufung eines anderen Konzils verlangt werde; sie sieht darin einen zweifel am Bestehen des Florentiner Konzils, das als Unionskonzil seine Berechtigung bewiesen habe und deshalb zur kirchlichen Befriedung und Reformation geeigneter sei als ein neues Konzil. Trotzdem will der Papst als Entgegenkommen gegen König und Kurfürsten das bestehende Konzil in den Lateran verlegen und dort über eine Vergrösserung, über den Teilnehmerkreis und eine neue Geschäftsordnung beraten lassen.*

¹¹ Otto I (Sachsen) (912-973): German-Roman King 936. Crowned emperor 962.

¹² Here, Piccolomini regrets the diminished status of the emperor vis-à-vis the pope.

[155] Haec responsa debebant in Norimberga ad festum purificationis referri in praesentia regis et electorum, ut ibi plenius deliberaretur. Interim scriptum est et principibus omnibus magnis ac communitatibus in Christianitate, quas litteras ego composui, nam jam unus eram ex neutralibus. Reges tamen cum sentirent cum Eugenio et ejus litteris essent instructi, negaverunt se in aliquo concilio consentire, quod ipse Eugenius non indiceret.

[156] {69v} Fridericus autem ex Francfordia recedens per Maguntiam, Vormaciam, Spiram Argentinamque ascendit partesque suas Alsacie¹ visitavit, cumque venisset prope Basileam, intrare urbem noluit, ne partem inter contententes de papatu se facere videretur. Sed transeunte eo extra civitatem ad duos jactus balistae inter Sancta Elisabeth et civitatem universus populus sibi obviam exivit. Tum et cardinales et praelati omnes excepto Felice eum in campis exceperunt et ad longam votam associarunt.

¹ Elsacie HE

[155] The pope's responses were referred to [a diet] in Nürnberg at the Feast of Purification¹ to be more fully discussed there in the presence of the king and the electors. In the meantime, letters were written to all the great kings and communities² in Christendom – which letters I myself wrote, being now one of the neutrals.³ The kings, however, siding with Eugenius and having been advised by his letters, refused to consent to a new council not summoned by Eugenius.⁴

[156] Friedrich left Frankfurt⁵ and, passing through Mainz,⁶ Worms,⁷ Speyer,⁸ and Strassbourg,⁹ he went to visit his [family's] home lands¹⁰ in Alsace. Approaching Basel, he did not want to enter the town lest he be seen as supporting one of the rivals for the papacy.¹¹ But when he was passing by, the whole population came out of the city to meet him in a place about two throws of a spear, between Saint Elizabeth and the city. Also the cardinals and all the prelates, except Felix, welcomed him in the meadows and wished him long life.

¹ 2 February 1443.

² I.e., cities.

³ E.g., letters to Charles VII of France of 1 June 1443 and to Siena of 24 June 1443 (WO, I, 2, epp. XIV and XVI, pp. 21-24, 27-29). This would have been one of the first important tasks of Piccolomini as a member of the imperial chancery.

⁴ RTA, 17, 1, p. 1: *Das Ausland lässt ein stetig zunehmendes Abriicken vom Konzilsgedanken erkennen. Solche von seiten der Kurie sehr wohl beachtete Wandlung wird nicht zuletzt die ausnehmenr scharfe Sprache veranlasst haben, die damals Eugen gegen den eben erst gekrönten deutschen König angenommen hat. Sichtbare Erfolge bei andern Königen der Christenheit ... erlauben ihm damals ein so festes Auftreten.*

⁵ 18 August 1442.

⁶ 19 August 1442.

⁷ 20 August 1442.

⁸ 22 August 1442.

⁹ 24-28 August 1442.

¹⁰ "partes". See Koller, p. 84: *besuchte nur kurz die Bischofsstädte Mainz, Worms und Speyer, bevorzugte im Süden als Quartiere die traditionelle Stützpunkte der Habsburger, Breisach, Freiburg (Breusgau), Ensis-heim, Mühlhausen, Rheinfelden, Laufenberg und Walds-hut. ... So konnte der König anschliessend in die im Jahre 1415 verloren gegangenen österreichischen Besitzungen durchreiten*

¹¹ Neutrality.

[157] Ipse exinde Rinfeldiam ac post Thuregum profectus est, ubi Thuricenses relictis pristinis odiis, quae adversus Austriae domum habebant, Suicensium foedera reliquerunt ac cum domo Austriae foedus percusserunt, ex quo post caedes admodum multas perpessi sunt. Rex autem per terras Suicensium Bernam venit atque exinde Sabaudiam Gebennasque visitavit, ac exinde Borgundiam et Bisuntium, in quibus locis mirifice honoratus est. Tumque in reditu magnis civium precibus rogatus Basileam intravit, sed neque congregationis locum adire voluit nec alloqui concilium. Felicem autem privatim visitavit, quem non ut papam veneratus est, sed quasi patrem propter aetatem et sacerdotium.

[158] Exinde per Constantiam in Athesim venit, et tunc ego curiam ejus intravi. Ibi oratores Mantuani principis atque Ferrariensis investituram petiverunt. Obtinuit Mantuanus, Ferrariensis vero repulsam habuit, nam pater ejus solum erat investitus ad vitam. Tum quoque Albertus dux Bavariae sub vexillis investituram obtinuit.

[157] Afterwards, he went to Rheinfelden,¹ and then to Zürich² where the people put their former enmity against the House of Austria behind them, abandoned their pacts with the Swiss, and made a pact with the House of Austria,³ which would later cause them great losses. The king then, passing through Swiss lands, went to Bern⁴ and from there to Savoy, where he visited Genève,⁵ and from there to Bourgogne and Besancon⁶ that showed him amazingly great honour. On his return trip, he yielded to the insistent invitations of the citizens of Basel and entered their city,⁷ but he did not want to go to the [council's] meeting place⁸ nor address the council fathers.⁹ He did, however, visit Felix privately and honoured him not as a pope but as a Father of [venerable] age and a priest.¹⁰

[158] Then he went via Konstanz¹¹ to Tyrol,¹² where I [formally] joined his court.¹³ There, ambassadors from the princes of Mantua¹⁴ and Ferrara¹⁵ requested the investiture. Mantua obtained it, but Ferrara was refused since his father had only been invested for life. Also Duke Albrecht of Bavaria¹⁶ received the investiture there, under the banners.¹⁷

¹ 14-17 September 1442.

² 19-29 September 1442.

³ Koller, p. 84: *Jetzt wurde ... das Bündnis mit dieser Bürgergemeinde bekräftigt.*

⁴ 6-8 October 1442. Koller, p. 85: *In den ersten Tagen des Oktobers besuchte er Solothurn und Bern, die Stadt, die 1415 den Angriff gegen die Österreicher getragen hatte.*

⁵ 23-27 October 1442.

⁶ 31 October - 8 November 1442. Besancon was a free city under the Empire, coveted by and eventually falling under the French crown. The emperor's visit was a manifestation of imperial sovereignty.

⁷ 11-16 November 1442.

⁸ The cathedral of Basel.

⁹ Friedrich observed the neutrality between the council of Basel with its antipope, Felix V, and Pope Eugenius.

¹⁰ Piccolomini fails to mention their discussion of plans for a marriage between the king and the pope's daughter.

¹¹ 20-28 November 1442. The emperor stayed in Feldkirch from 1-6 December, from where Piccolomini wrote to the Archbishop of Milan, "... me ... Cesar noster Fredericus augustus in suum secretarium accersivit, cui jam servio ...". This passage documents that Piccolomini was with the emperor's court on his travel back to Vienna, and that his description of the voyage was made on the basis of personal observation and – presumably – notes taken on the way. This generally applies to his description of Friedrich's actions and movements from that time onwards. Except for his absences on diplomatic missions and a stay in Trieste in 1448, after he became its bishop, he finally left the imperial court in 1455, when he returned to Italy. In the beginning, he was only an observer of the emperor's political activities, but later, becoming a trusted counsellor and diplomat, he increasingly shared in their formulation and execution.

¹² "Athesis". Friedrich III stayed in Brixen from 10 to 15 January 1443.

¹³ January 1443. In a letter to Giovanni Campisi of April 1443, Piccolomini wrote: *Vocatus enim per regiam maiestatem fui in secretariatumque receptus et quod mihi grauissimo est oneri, laureato poete titulis adornatus, quod nomen licet mihi longe sit impar, non tamen a rege datum debuit refutari. Apud hunc igitur principem me reperies, ad quem, cum in hac tempestate ecclesie accersirer, tanquam in tutissimum portum libenter me contuli, ut procul ab huiusmodi prelatorum dissensionibus agam uitam et me ipso fruar* (WO, I, 1, ep. 55, pp. 153-154).

¹⁴ Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga.

¹⁵ Leonèllo d'Este.

¹⁶ Albrecht III (Wittelsbach) (1401-1460): Duke of Bavaria-Munich from 1438 to his death.

¹⁷ Piccolomini must have attended the ceremony and noted the display of banners.

[159] Exhinc missi sunt oratores ad Norembergam, qui in festo purificationis referrent, quae inventa apud partes fuissent, ivitque Chimensis et Gaspar Slik, sed in Noremberga voluissent regem interesse. Ideo nihil conclusum est, sed rursus dilata res per plures dietas. Rex autem per Salburgam descendit ibique archiepiscopo et duci Henrico principatus insignia dedit.

[160] Venitque tandem prope Viennam, ubi dux Albertus praeter suorum consilia (nec enim fratri reconciliatus erat) obviam fratri processit, et ambo se per manus ducentes praeter spem omnium Viennam intrarunt tota obviam et virorum et mulierum multitudine exeunte. Post dictum est Alberto, ut ad Novam Civitatem veniret, nam ibi res sua transigeretur. Dum rex in imperio fuerat, duces ejus feliciter rem gesserant, ac propterea mitior¹ erat Albertus, simul et coronatum praeter spem et opinionem hominum fratrem venerabatur. {70r} Conclusa est autem in Nova Civitate pax. Pecunia quaedam tunc et quotannis danda fuit. Quae tenebat oppida, teneret Albertus; alia, quae in potestate regis essent, quotiens illuc iret Albertus, aperta sibi essent ut domino, sed mutare praesidia non posset aut rectores.

¹ *omit. X [blank space]*

[159] Later, ambassadors were sent to Nürnberg,¹ where, on the Feast of the Purification, they were to report [to the diet] on the results of the missions to the [two] parties.² The Bishop of Chiemsee³ and Kaspar Schlick went there but would have preferred for the king to participate [in the diet] personally. Therefore,⁴ nothing was decided, and the matter was postponed to the next diet and the next one again.⁵ But the king went down via Salzburg,⁶ where he bestowed the insignia of princely rank upon the archbishop⁷ and Duke Heinrich.^{8 9}

[160] When he was nearing Vienna,¹⁰ Duke Albrecht¹¹ against the advice of his counsellors - for the two brothers had not yet been reconciled - came to meet his brother. Against the expectations of all, they entered Vienna together, holding each other by the hand. A great throng of men and women came out to meet them. Afterwards, Albrecht was asked to come to Neustadt,¹² where his affairs would be settled. During the king's sojourn in the Empire, his captains had managed matters well, which had softened Albrecht who, unexpectedly, showed honour to his brother as a crowned [king]. In Neustadt, a peace was made.¹³ A certain sum was given to Albrecht then, and afterwards he would receive a yearly sum. Albrecht would keep the towns he was holding at the time. The other towns, in the king's power, he could go to as often as he liked. They would be open to him as their lord,¹⁴ but he could not change their garrisons nor their appointed leaders.^{15 16}

¹ Diet of Nürnberg, February 1443. RTA, 17, 1, pp. 66-112.

² The pope and the council.

³ Silvester Pflieger.

⁴ Because of the king's absence.

⁵ The diet was held in Nürnberg in February 1443. Stieber, p. 252: *When Frederick failed to come to the diet as he had promised, the electors and the other princes also stayed away and the small group of representatives who had come contented themselves with asking the emperor to persist in his efforts for a new council.*

⁶ 29-30 January 1443.

⁷ Friedrich IV Truchsess von Emmerberg (-1452): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1441 to his death.

⁸ Heinrich XVI (Wittelsbach) (1386-1450): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1393 to his death.

⁹ I.e., the insignia of their positions in the Empire as prince-archbishop and duke respectively.

¹⁰ Friedrich III stayed in Vienna 7-9 February 1443.

¹¹ Albrecht VI (Habsburg).

¹² Wiener Neustadt, where Friedrich arrived on 9 February.

¹³ According to the settlement of 30 March 1443, hostilities between the brothers would cease, prisoners would be released, the previous division of government between the brothers would continue, Albrecht received a number of castles, a lump sum of 6,000 Hungarian gold ducats, and two fifths of the yearly incomes from Steiermark, Kärnten, and Krain (Langmaier, p. 71).

¹⁴ See Langmaier, p. 71: *Gravierend war dass Albrecht dem Bruder alle Burgen offen halten sollte. Albrecht verpflichtete sich, den Gegnern Friedrichs keinen Unterschlupf zu gewähren. Dafür konnte er sich in dessen Städten ungehindert aufhalten.*

¹⁵ In a letter to Cardinal Olesnicki (Krakow) of April 1443, Piccolomini wrote about these events: *Narrationis caput reditus regis dabit, qui ex Reni partibus februario mense in Austriam remeauit. Eius aduentum omnes accolae admirati sunt; nec enim arbitrabantur fieri posse, ut regium diadema tam facile consequeretur, sed admiratio hec reuerentiam peperit. more enim humano accidit, ut illos magis ueneremur, quorum opera demiramur. Haud aliter nunc actum est. Albertus dux Austriae, quamquam diu infensus fratri suo regi fuisset bellumque secum aperte gessisset, ut eum audiuit adesse, ad sextum, ut Romani dicebant, lapidem obuiam processit unaque secum Viennam ingressus est urbem. Paucis post diebus iterum regem adiens, cum in Nouaciuitate foret, resectis omnibus controuersiis, in fraternum receptus est societatem* (WO, I, 1, ep. 48, pp. 145-146; CPL, II, ep. 47).

¹⁶ In his letter of April 14.

[161] Post haec venerunt oratores ex Hungaria Julianusque legatus ex parte Wladislai regis Poloniae, qui se regem Hungariae dicebat, episcopus Vacciensis et Nicolaus Placoschi, decanus Cracoviensis, homo fastu plenus. Hi petebant Romanorum regem, ut auxilia Hungaris praeberet contra Turcos euntibus, utque comes Ciliae dimitteretur illaesus ac Ladislaus banus ex captivitate, qui esset baro Hungariae. Ad haec responsum est placere regi, quod Turci, quocumque fieri posset modo, castigarentur, sed videri sibi, ut prius pax universalis in regno fieret, cum essent partes potentissimae invicem dissonantes. Oratores autem regis ostendebant se parvifacere eam partem, quae Ladislao oboediret. De comite Ciliae responsum est illum esse Austriae subditum scireque regem, quonam pacto cum ipso acturus esset. De Ladislao, quia tantum offendisset, ut merito sic puniendus esset. Nec mediatio Juliani legati quicquam tunc operari potuit ulterius¹. Interim venerunt Hungari ex parte oboedientiae Ladislai, ad quos rex obviam ivit usque Hainburgam, nam illic conducta fuerat cum eis dieta, et illuc venit archiepiscopus Strigoniensis cum magna societate, qui postmodum Viennam conducti sunt ibique cum eis agitatum de modis tractandi et gubernandi partem, quae Ladislao oboediebat. Et tunc Ladislaus banus, qui captivus erat, dimissus est cum quibusdam conditionibus.

¹ *omit. X [blank space]*

[161] Later, ambassadors arrived from Hungary together with the [papal] legate, Guliano.¹ They came on behalf of King Wladyslaw of Poland,² who claimed to be [also] King of Hungary. The ambassadors were the Bishop of Vac³ and the Dean of Krakow, Mikolaj Lasocky,⁴ an arrogant man. They asked the King of the Romans to help the Hungarians, who were going to fight the Turks, to let Count Ulrich of Cilly leave unharmed, and to release Ban Ladislaus,⁵ a baron from Hungary, from captivity. They were told that the king wanted the Turks to be punished in any way possible, but he believed that first a general peace in the kingdom must be established⁶ since now there was a conflict between powerful parties.^{7 8} However, the king's⁹ ambassadors showed that they held the party supporting Ladislaus¹⁰ of little account. Concerning the Count of Cilly, they were told that he was a subject of Austria and that the king¹¹ knew quite well what to do with him. Concerning [Ban] Ladislaus,¹² he had offended so gravely that he merited punishment. The mediation of the legate, Giuliani, could accomplish nothing further at the time. In the meantime, there also came Hungarians from the party of Ladislaus.¹³ Friedrich went to meet them at a conference in Krainburg,¹⁴ where also the Archbishop of Esztergom¹⁵ came, with a large company. Later they were brought to Vienna, where it was discussed how to treat and govern the party supporting Ladislaus.¹⁶ Ban Ladislaus, who had been taken prisoner, was released, on certain conditions.

¹ Giuliano Cesarini. The cardinal told Piccolomini about his impending visit in a letter of February 1443 (WO, I, 1, ep. 45, pp. 127-128; CPL, II, ep. 44).

² Wladislaw III (Jagiellon).

³ Peter Agmandi (-1450): Bishop of Vac 1440-1450.

⁴ Mikolaj Lasocki (ca. 1380-1450): Dean of Krakow.

⁵ Not identified.

⁶ The Kingdom of Hungary.

⁷ The party supporting the Polish King Wladyslaw (Jagiellon) and the party supporting the Habsburg (boy) King Ladislaus.

⁸ HA, 1st version (Wagendorfer, I, p. 14): *Quibus [Hungaris] auxilia petentibus a cesare negata sunt, quia suspecta semper Hungarorum fides cesari fuit.*

⁹ The Polish King Wladislaw.

¹⁰ The Habsburg boy king.

¹¹ Friedrich III.

¹² Ban Ladislaus.

¹³ The Habsburg boy king.

¹⁴ 21 January 1444.

¹⁵ Dénes Szécsi (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom from 1440 to his death.

¹⁶ The Habsburg boy king.

[162] Tum quoque et Bohemi venerunt Viennam cum magna multitudine, inter quos praecipue fuerunt Ulricus de Rosis, Mainardus de Nova Domo et Giskra¹, conclusumque cum eis fuit, sicut alias Albertus cum eis concluderat. Sed Giskra contradixit remque apud Bohemos in reditu sic turbavit, ut usque nunc pendeat. Post haec et comes Ciliae ad voluntatem regis concordatus est, tum et Leonardus {70v} Pataviensis et Nicodemus Frisingensis sub vexillis investiti sunt.

[163] Post haec cum iterum instaret tempus dietae in Noremburga tenendae super factis ecclesiae, missi sunt Chimensis et Gaspar ac Thomas Asselbach cum plena potestate, ut concluderent in rebus ecclesiae, sive declaratio facienda esset, sive aliud quid ulterius deliberandum, excusarentque regem, quod personaliter non accessisset propter res Hungaricas. Sed oratores ipsi cum aliis convenientes non potuerunt de declaratione fienda concordare visumque est in tanta re necessariam esse praesentiam Caesaris ac principum. Scriptum est ergo regi, ut illuc ire vellet diemque sibi eligeret. Quod si Caesar cito iret, oratores eum expectarent vocarentque electores. Sed rex, qui tunc in Carinthia fuit, scripsit se non posse ante festum ascensionis dominicae ascendere, ad quam diem certam promittebat ascensionem suam, quam tamen usque ad assumptionem beatae virginis protelavit.

¹ Gistko W

[162] Also a large company of Bohemians came to Vienna. First among them were Ulrich von Rosenberg,¹ Meinhard von Neuhaus² and Jiskra.^{3 4} The same agreement was made with them which Albrecht had made. But Jiskra opposed it, and after their return, he caused an upheaval in Bohemia which has not ended yet. Later, also the Count of Cilly⁵ submitted to the king, and Leonard of Passau⁶ and Nicodemo of Freising⁷ received their investiture⁸ under the banners.

[163] Later, when the time approached for the next diet in Nürnberg⁹ to deal with matters of the Church, Chiemsee,¹⁰ Kaspar and Thomas Hasselbach were sent with full powers to reach a decision on the ecclesiastical affairs, whether to make a declaration¹¹ or to discuss the matter further. They were also to excuse the king for not coming in person since he had been prevented by the Hungarian troubles. The ambassadors met with the others but could not reach an agreement concerning the declaration. It was evident that such an important matter required the presence of the king and the princes. Therefore, they wrote and asked the king to come there on a day chosen by him. If he came quickly, the ambassadors would wait for him and ask the prince-electors to come, too. The king, then in Kärnten, wrote back that he could not come before the Feast of the Lord's Ascension, but he made a firm promise to arrive on that day – however, he [later] postponed it to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.^{12 13}

¹ Ulrich II von Rosenberg [Oldřich II. z Rožmberka] (1403-1462): Bohemian noble. Leader of the Catholic party.

² Meinhard von Neuhaus [Menhart z Hradce] (1398-1449): Bohemian noble. Leader of the Hussite party.

³ Johann Jiskra von Brandeis [Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and mercenary captain. Possibly a lapsus for Ptáček, see sect. 140.

⁴ The Bohemian visit to Friedrich took place in May 1443 in Vienna.

⁵ Ulrich von Cilly.

⁶ Leonhard von Laiming (1381-1461): Bishop of Passau from 1420 to his death.

⁷ Nicodemo della Scala (ca. 1390-1443): Bishop of Freising from 1423 to his death.

⁸ With the secular rights (regalia) of their dioceses.

⁹ Diet of Nürnberg, November 1443 to January 1444. See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 113-224.

¹⁰ Silvester Pflieger.

¹¹ I.e., a declaration of obedience to either Pope Eugenius or Antipope Felix. In the meantime, three prince-electors, Archbishop Sierck of Trier, Archbishop Mörs of Cologne, and Duke Friedrich II of Saxony had decided to support Felix, while King Friedrich, under the influence of Kaspar Schlick, was beginning to move towards a recognition of Eugenius (Stieber, ch. 8).

¹² 15 August 1443.

¹³ Stieber, p. 265: *Frederick III had originally announced that he would attend this diet in person, but when he could not come to Nuremberg, many other princes and the representatives of the cities also stayed away. As a result, the diet, which began only on 26 November 1443, was unable to take any action and adjourned itself inconclusively on 22 January 1444.*

[164] Interea et Athesini Sigismundum ducem repetebant, jam enim dicebant puerum annos transcendisse pubertatis et eo aetatis venisse, ut per se regere posset, simulque tempus adesse, quo rex promisisset eum restituere atque se inscripsisset. Rex autem interim cum Sigismundo novas inscriptiones fecerat, per quas adhuc sex annis puerum et ejus dominia regeret. Tunc¹ enim IIII et XX. annum attingeret ac per se ipsum bene regeret, sicque voluit remanere. Athesini autem dicebant illas novas inscriptiones a puero parum sapienti factas non valere, simulque dicebant eum non liberum. Rex replicabat: “Si stultus est puer, minime sibi dominium committi debet, meque uti majorem domus Austriae regere convenit. Si prudens est, valent procul dubio, quae ab eo facta sunt. Nec ego illi vim ullam facio, nam liberior mecum est, quam esset vobiscum.” Illi autem indignati reversi sunt in Athesim, moxque secuta rebellio est exclusisque officiales regis et novus regendi modus inventus. Inter alia vero statuerunt, ut veniente ad eos Sigismundo consilarii sibi jurati per patriam darentur, cum quibus deberet regere et, si vellet restituere terram Cesari, posset illorum fretus consilio. {71r} Missi sunt exhinc oratores in Athesim, sed minime intromissi sunt. Tractatum cum eis est in limitibus, sed nihil inventum est, quod regi placeret. Post quoque Johannes Nayperg et comes Ciliae alios tractatus inierunt, sed cum ubique libertati domus Austriae praejudicari videretur, nihil conclusum est.

[165] Rex tunc per Stiriam, Carinthiam Carniolamque ibat nova fidelitatis juramenta recipiens, cumque Labacum venisset, Pancratium militem, Guilelmum Taz secretarium et me misit, qui juramenta Tergestinatorum nomine suo reciperemus, idque peregrinus tantoque favore recepti fuimus, ut et ipse post rex illuc se reciperet festa carnisprivii celebraturus.

¹ tum X

[164] In the meantime, the Tyroleans asked for Duke Siegmund,¹ saying that the boy had now passed the years of puberty and had reached an age when he could rule by himself. Moreover, it was the time the king had promised in writing to send him to Tyrol. However, in the meantime, the king had made a new written agreement with Siegmund that he would govern the boy and his dominions for six more years. By then, Siegmund would have reached the age of 24 and be able to rule well by himself, but for now, he wanted to remain where he was. The Tyroleans countered that the new written agreements had been made with an immature² boy who was not free. The king answered, “If the boy is immature,³ then he should not be entrusted with the rulership, and I as senior [prince] of the House of Austria should govern. But if he is mature,⁴ then his acts are undoubtedly valid. I have not forced him, and, in fact, he is in greater freedom with me than he would be with you.” Angry they returned to Tyrol, and soon a rebellion followed: the royal officials were expelled, and a new form of government established.⁵ Among others, they decided that when Siegmund came to them, he would be given counsellors from the region sworn to him and with whom he should govern. If he wanted to transfer lands to the king, he could [only] do it on their advice. Envoys were sent to Tyrol but were not admitted. So, the negotiations took place at the frontier, but no [solution] acceptable to the king was found. Later, also Johann Neitperg and the Count of Cilly undertook to negotiate, but since the freedom of the House of Austria would be infringed upon in all areas [discussed], no agreement could be made.

[165] Then the king went to Steiermark, Kärnten, and Krain to receive new oaths of fidelity. When he arrived in Laibach,⁶ he sent the knight Pankraz,⁷ the secretary Wilhelm Tacz,⁸ and me to receive the oaths of the people of Trieste in his name. This we did and were received so favourably that the king himself came there to celebrate the festive days before Lent.⁹

¹ Siegmund

² “parum sapiens”.

³ “stultus”.

⁴ “prudens”.

⁵ Koller, p. 93: *Die Mehrheit des Adels ... forderte nur energischer die Freigabe Siegmunds und rief am 3. November 1443 zu Meran auf einem Landtag gegen den Habsburger zum Widerstand auf, der nicht zu brechen war.*

⁶ 25 January - 20 February 1444.

⁷ Pankraz von Holitz: Bohemian mercenary captain. Identified by HE as identical with the Pankraz in sect. 272-274

⁸ Wilhelm Tatz (- bef. 1476): Protonotary in the imperial chancellery.

⁹ End of February 1444.

[166] Interim Athesini tota Athesi expugnata Tridentum invadunt, quod tunc regio nomine tenebatur. Urbi in auxilium venit Galeazius, comes de Archo. Civitas divisa erat, nam pars Athesinis favebat, pars regi. Dum rex deliberat auxilium mittere, illi dietim acrius impugnant civitatem. Ad extremum cives inimicae factionis re cum hostibus composita arma sumunt Athesinosque intromittunt. Milites, qui tunc erant in civitate, in arcem se recipiunt, sed et Johannes Comitaw, qui arcem tenebat, Bohemus, arcem prodidit auroque vendidit. Milites tamen regios absque¹ pretio dimitti² curavit, ac sic Athesis tota in potestate inimicorum fuit. Multi postea et in Austria et in Noremburga tractatus habiti sunt, sed nihil umquam conclusum est, et adhuc res pendet.

[167] Priusquam haec agerentur, cum Polonus et Hungari omnino bellum contra Turcos gerere vellent, per medium Juliani biennales induciae conclusae sunt inter regem nostrum et Hungaros. Ob quam rem, cum ex Carniola redisset Cesar jamque ad eum Jacobus archiepiscopus Treverensis venisset, tum ut sciret in rebus ecclesiae, quid agendum, tum ut concordiam, quae praticata³ erat inter ducem Borgundiae et Saxoniae, rex confirmaret,⁴ quod tamen fieri non potuit, sed ad Noremburga res est dilata.

[168] Compositis in Austria rebus Cesar {71v} praeter opinionem omnium Norembergam perrexit, quem cum omni multitudine Leonardus Pataviensis primo in Ebersper, id est monte aprorum, et post in Patavia honorifice suscepit pavitque omnem ejus exercitum abundanter. Inter alia vero, quod mirum erat, cum essent in Augusto calores maximi, glaciem⁵ ex hieme servatam⁶ poculis infudit. Regem autem in Norembergam secuti sunt dux Albertus, Sigismundus, comites de Scaunberg duo, comes alius, dominus de Valse, et comes Ciliae Ulricus paulo post tempore.

¹ ~~damno~~ seq. V

² em. HE; dimisi V

³ praeticata V; praticata X; praetractata HE

⁴ *Constructio claudicat* HE

⁵ glacie X

⁶ inervatam X

[166] In the meantime, the Tyroleans had conquered all of Tyrol and attacked Trento, held in the king's name.¹ Count Galeazzo of Arco² came to its assistance. The city was divided between a party supporting the Tyroleans and a party supporting the king. While the king was considering sending help, the Tyroleans intensified their attacks on the city.³ In the end, citizens of the faction hostile [to the king] made a deal with the enemies, took to weapons, and admitted the Tyroleans. The soldiers in the city took refuge in the fortress, but Johann von Komotau,⁴ a Bohemian, who held it, betrayed and sold it [to the rebels]. The king's soldiers were sent away without money being demanded for their release, and thus the whole of Tyrol came into the power of the enemies. Later, many negotiations took place in Austria and Nürnberg but without success, and the matter is still unresolved.⁵

[167] Before these events, the Pole⁶ and the Hungarians, though spoiling to fight the Turks, had - with Giuliano⁷ as a mediator - concluded a two-year truce with our king and the Hungarians. After the king's return from Krain,⁸ Archbishop Jakob of Trier⁹ visited him to know what to do in the ecclesiastic affairs and to get the king's confirmation of a previously negotiated agreement between the dukes of Burgundy¹⁰ and Saxony.¹¹ As this was not possible then, the matter was referred to the diet in Nürnberg.¹²

[168] Having arranged affairs in Austria, the king, to the surprise of all, left for Nürnberg.¹³ He and his numerous company were received honourably by Leonhard of Passau,¹⁴ first in Ebersberg (the Mountain of Boars) and afterwards in Passau,¹⁵ where Leonhard amply fed his whole troop. Remarkably, since it was a sweltering August, he served cups of water cooled with ice from last winter. On his travel to Nürnberg, the king was followed by Duke Albrecht,¹⁶ Siegmund,¹⁷ two

¹ The prince-bishop of Trento was Alexander of Mazovia (Mazowiecki), the emperor's uncle. At the time, he was staying in Vienna, see sect. 65.

² Galeazzo d'Arco: Italian noble of the d'Arco family, of Tridentine origins.

³ In a letter to Francesco Bossio of 16 January 1444, Piccolomini wrote: *Venerunt Athesini ad tria hominum milia et agros vastare Tridentinos ceperunt, non tamen absque cruore injuriati sunt. Ceciderunt ex Athesinis complures captique et vulnerati nonnulli dicuntur. Rex auxilium Tridentinis mittit spesque habetur nefarios emulorum conatus non transituros absque pena ...* (WO, I, 1, ep. 120, p. 288).

⁴ Johann von Komotau (Chomutov): Unidentified.

⁵ Date: As Duke Siegmund was released from the king's wardship in March 1446, the text must have been written before that time.

⁶ Wladyslaw III.

⁷ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁸ 21 March 1444.

⁹ Archbishop Jakob von Sierck.

¹⁰ Philippe III.

¹¹ Friedrich II (1412-1464): Duke of Saxony from 1428 to his death.

¹² Reichstag of Nürnberg, 1 August to 11 October 1444. See RTA 17, 1, pp. 225-622.

¹³ Ca. 8 July 1444.

¹⁴ Bishop Leonhard Laiming.

¹⁵ 19-22 July 1444.

¹⁶ Albrecht VI.

¹⁷ Siegmund of Tyrol.

counts of Schaunberg,¹ another count, the Lord of Walsee,² and – a little later – Count Ulrich of Cilly.³

¹ One of them probably Johann II von Schaunberg, Hofmeister of Friedrich III.

² Reinprecht II Walsee.

³ Ulrich von Cilly.

[169] Dum haec agebantur, interim multa proelia inter Suicenses et Turicenses fuerant, sed Suicensibus adhaerebant Bernenses pluresque alii et Basilienses, qui noviter cum eis foedus percusserant. Tenebatur itaque obsidio ante civitatem diutiusque nova fiebant homicidia. Sed¹ Turicenses exeuntes aggressi sunt inimicos tantaque strages data est, ut ex utraque parte circiter viri octingenti ceciderint. Tum et burgimagister Turegi, miles egregius, furens in armis manu sua viginti viros interemit. Ad extremum et ipse occidi potuit, capi non potuit. Hujus cadaver Suicenses aperientes cor ejus dimiserunt vaccinamque caudam intromittentes, “Venerare²,” inquit “mortue, quod vivus sprevisi.” In anum vero pavonis caudam mittentes (nam arma sunt Australium). “Ecce,” inquit, “quod amasti. Jam stercoriza super.” Ibi tum furor tantus erat Suicensibus, qui campum obtinuerunt, ut sedilia ex cadaveribus facerent ac ex illis comederent carnesque assarent, sicut ab his didici, qui interfuerunt. Non tamen obtinere urbem Suicenses potuerunt, nam marchio de Rotolim in auxilium venit.

¹ Bern seq. V

² vereare X

[169] In the meantime, there were many fights between the people of Zürich and the Swiss.¹ The Swiss had the support of Bern and many others, including Basel, a recent ally. They besieged Zürich, and people were killed every day. When the people of Zürich made a sortie and attacked the enemies, a bloodbath ensued in which about 800 men fell on each side.² The mayor of Zürich,³ a distinguished knight, fought furiously and personally killed 20 men. As he could not be overpowered, he was killed in the end. The Swiss cut out his heart and put a cow's tail in its place with the words, "This you despised when alive. Now honour it in death!" Then they stuck the tailfeather of a peacock up his ass (the peacock is the heraldic animal of the Austrians) with the words, "This you loved [when alive]. Now shit on it in death!"⁴ ⁵ The fury of the Swiss, who had won the battle, was so great that they made seats out of corpses, ate of them, and roasted their flesh. This I have heard from men who took part in the battle. The Swiss, however, could not capture the city, for the Margrave of Roeteln,⁶ came to its assistance.

¹ The Old Zürich War, 1440-1446.

² The Battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl (Old Zürich War), 22 July 1444. For a description of the battle, see Piccolomini's letter to Johann Gers of 22 September 1444 (WO, I, 1, ep. 157, pp. 436-437).

³ Rudolf Stüssi (-1443): Mayor of Zürich. Knighted by Emperor Sigismund at his coronation in Rome 1434. When he was killed in battle, his body was desecrated by the furious Swiss.

⁴ The cow's tail evidently symbolized the cattle farming Swiss themselves, and the peacock their adversary Austria.

⁵ Koller, p. 95: *In diesen zunächst wenig bedeutsamen Scharmützeln steigerte sich der Hass beider Parteien in ungewöhnlicher Ausmass und entlud sich dann im Juli 1443 bei St. Jakob an der Sihl in einem erbitternten Kampf. Die undisziplinierten Verbände der Züricher unterlagen, deren Bürgermeister Rudolf Stüssi fiel, seine Leiche wurde geschändet.* See also Niederstätter: *Der alte*, pp. 197 ff. Piccolomini's version of the desecration of the mayor's body may be a – quite witty – invention.

⁶ Margrave Wilhelm von Hachberg-Sausenberg.

[170] Interim scripserat rex Romanorum regi Franciae de crudelitate Suicensium et quomodo intendebat ascendere ad imperium remque istam ulcisci. Quare, si contingeret vocari Armeniacos, qui in regno ejus militabant, hortabatur, ut in eo casu licentiam ejus impertiretur. Tum forte indutiae fuerunt inter Anglicos et Gallicos et, quia Armeniaci Galliam {72r} vastabant, placuit eos emittere, ut regnum alleviaretur. Itaque venit dalphinus dixitque se a rege vocatum, et nunc dicebat partem illam Galliae, quae Rheno propinquat, sui juris esse, nunc nobilibus contra rusticos auxiliari velle, captoque oppido Montis Beligardi in Elsatiam descendit, ubi omnia ferro et igne vastavit bellumque cum Suicensibus habuit, de quo suo loco dicemus, misitque oratores ad Norembergam ad regem petens stationes, ubi hiemare possit, stipendia quoque tum et Sigismundum relaxari. Responsio commissa est duci Alberto, qui jam illas in partes missus erat, ut ex arbitrio suo ageret. Mandaverat quoque rex, ne Armeniaci reciperentur, sed nobiles patriae in odium Suicensium eos intromiserunt poenamque dederunt, nam et uxoribus et castris spoliati sunt.

[170] In the meantime, the King of the Romans had written to the King of France¹ about the savagery of the Swiss, and how he intended to travel up to the Empire and avenge their injuries. In case he should decide to call on the Armagnacs, who were fighting in the [French] kingdom, he urged him to give his permission.² It so happened that at the time there was a truce between the English and the French, and since the Armagnacs were laying waste to France, the king decided to send them away and thus lighten this burden on his kingdom.³ Therefore, the dauphin came [with the Armagnac bands], claiming that he had been invited by King Friedrich. Now he declared that the part of France close to the Rhine belonged to him, now that he wanted to help the nobles against the peasants.⁴ Having captured the town of Mömpelgard,⁵ he came down to Alsace, where he laid waste to all with sword and fire and fought the Swiss, as we shall relate later. He also sent ambassadors to Nürnberg, requiring the king to provide winter quarters, pay their salaries, and release Siegmund.⁶ It was left to Albrecht to answer their demands since he had previously been sent to those regions to act as he saw fit.⁷ The king had also demanded that the Armagnacs should

¹ King Charles VII.

² The letter, of 22 August 1443 (WO, I, 2, ep. xxxvi, pp. 66-68), and a supporting letter of Duke Siegmund of 21 August 1443 (WO, I, 2, ep. xxxv, pp. 65-66) were both written by Piccolomini. Apparently, they were meant to mobilise opinion against the Swiss, and the employment of the Armagnacs was only mentioned as a possibility. However, the initiative backfired because the French eagerly seized the opportunity to rid France of the Armagnacs at the Empire's cost, sending them off under the command of the dauphin, with dire consequences for the Empire. The letter to the king described the Swiss savagery, and in the end, concerning the Armagnacs, it said: *Ea propter, cum nos intendamus ad superiores Almanie partes ascendere omnemque operam impertiri, ut cum fidelibus imperii principibus rebellionem Suicensium cum auxilio Dei compescamus, quia fortasse contingeret, ut societatem illam Armeniacorum in vestris dominiis militantem sub convenientibus pactis ad nostra subsidia devocemus, jam ex nunc serenitatem vestram efficimus exoratum, ut in tali casu gratam eisdem Armeniacis licentiam et liberum transitum, si opus fuerit, impertiri velit. Per hunc enim modum et nobis et genero vestro, illustri patrueli nostro duci Sigismundo, magno praesidio eritis et ad restinguendum incendium, quod cum dampno non modico omnium regum crescere possit, desiderium nostrum plurimum adjuvabitis* (WO, I, ii, p. 68). On the king's letter, see Koller, p. 97: *Es enthielt keine klaren Wünsche und brauchbare Vorschläge, sondern charakterisierte die Schweizer – so werden sie genannt – als Angreifer und Rechtsbrecher. Es ging in erster Linie darum, sie als Feinde bestehender und anerkannter Ordnungen anzuprangern. Das Schriftstück war folglich seinem Inhalt nach eher ein offener Brief, dessen Inhalt nach dem Kanzleivermerk von Kaspar Schlick vorgeschlagen war, dessen Text aber von Aeneas Silvius entworfen war. Das Schreiben war offensichtlich, ungeachtet des deutlich genannten Empfängers, an das gesamte Abendland gerichtet.*

³ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, pp. 13-14: *Le but que se proposait Charles VII, en cédant aux sollicitations de Frederic III, n'étaient pas seulement entretenir ... les anciennes alliances et les relations d'amitié de la Couronne avec les ducs d'Autriche. Il voulait surtout, suivant une énergique et fort juste expression [du président Fauchet] "oster le mauvais sang qui si longtemps avoit altéré le corps de son royaume." ... Les contemporains les mieux informés ne se méprirent pas sur le véritable dessein du roi.*

⁴ In his letter to Johann Gers of 22 September 1444, Piccolomini wrote about Louis' declarations: *... dalphinus ... famam undique sui adventus publicavit, sed non uno modo apud omnes. Apud aliquos nanque se in auxilium nobilitatis venisse predicabat, tanquam illa in Germania per communitates esset oppressa. Apud alios vero vocatum se ait per Romanum regem contra Suicenses, nonnullis autem, se velle vindicare jura domus Francie asseverabat, que usque ad Rhenum protendi dicebat* (WO, I, 1, ep. 157, p. 435).

⁵ 17 April 1444.

⁶ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 36: *Les ambassadeurs [du dauphin] devaient réclamer une solution immédiate: il fallait, pour épargner à la contrée et aux pays voisins des désordres sans cela inévitables, que l'armée put prendre ses quartiers d'hiver. Les ambassadeurs devaient en outre rappeler au roi des Romains la promesse fait par lui de mettre en liberté son pupille le duc Sigismund ...*

⁷ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 39: *Relativement au logement des troupes, Frédéric se bornait à dire que son frère le duc Albert allait se rendre en Alsace, muni de pleins pouvoirs, et qu'une fois sur les lieux il donnerait la provision*

not be received, but out of hate for the Swiss, the nobles of that area let them in, paying a heavy price since the Armagnacs took their wives and castles.

[171] Cumque plurima de Armeniacorum crudelitate in Noremburga narrarentur jamque constaret regem Franciae quicquid imperii esset ultra Renum vindicare velle, nam dalphinus Argentinensibus et Basiliensibus minabatur multaue promittebat, si ab imperio recederent, et rex ipse obtenta civitate Tullensi, quae est imperii, ac Verdunensi Metensem expugnabat, decrevit imperator cum electoribus armis dalphinum expellere, moxque conscriptus exercitus est, vexillumque imperii Ludovico duci Bavariae ac comiti Palatino missum. Quod ubi rex Franciae sensit, per medium archiepiscopi Treverensis et Coloniensis inscio rege Romanorum tractatum est, ut dalphinus ex Alania recederet, quod factum est. Sed multos in exitu amisit, quia regis Romanorum auctoritate non erat pax firmata.

demandée; en ce qui concernait le duc Sigismond, Albert était chargé de tout arranger à la satisfaction du Roi et du Dauphin.

[171] In Nürnberg,¹ much was reported on the savagery of the Armagnacs.² Moreover, it was now clear that the King of France wanted to claim the territories of the Empire beyond the Rhine.³ Indeed, the dauphin threatened Strasbourg and Basel but at the same time promised them much if they would secede from the Empire. Also, King Charles had taken the city of Toul - belonging to the Empire - and Verdun and was attacking Metz.⁴ Therefore, the emperor with the prince-electors decided to expel the dauphin. An army was mobilised quickly, and the imperial standard sent to Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine.^{5 6} When the King of France heard it, he - without the the knowledge of the King of the Romans⁷ - negotiated with the archbishops of Trier⁷ and Cologne⁸ Cologne⁸ the dauphin's departure from Germany, which then happened. However, the dauphin lost many men during the retreat⁹ since the peace had not been confirmed by authority of the King of the the Romans.

¹ Diet of Nürnberg 1 August to 11 October 1444. RTA, 17, 1, pp. 225-622.

² Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 33: *Arrivé le 1 août à Nuremberg ... il [le roi des Romains] fut assailli de plaintes au sujet de l'invasion des écorcheurs.*

³ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 35: *... le jeune Louis répondit qu'il était venu en allié et non en ennemi, ajoutant fièrement que son intention était de recouvrer certaines terres anciennement soumises au royaume de France, et qui s'étaient volontairement et frauduleusement soustraites à son obéissance ...*

⁴ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 62: *Frédéric III avait été fort emu en voyant le roi [de France] s'établir en Lorraine, occuper Épinal, et menacer Metz, Toul et Verdun. A sa cour, et dans toute la région, on disait ouvertement que Charles VII avait l'intention de revendiquer les anciens droits de la couronne de France sur la limite du Rhin; et il faut reconnaître que l'attitude du roi et son langage même aussi bien que l'attitude et le langage du Dauphin – étaient de nature à accréditer une telle supposition.*

⁵ Ludwig IV (1424-1449): Count Palatine from 1436-1449.

⁶ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 40: *Au moment même ou le duc Albert partait pour l'Alsace, le comte Palatin fut investi du commandement, et rendez-vous fut donné à Strassbourg, pour le 16 octobre, aux contingents des villes impériales.*

⁷ Jakob von Sierck. The Archbishop of Trier independently negotiated a treaty with the King of France (signed in Trier on 13 February 1445) concern-ing the departure of the French from Alsace. The archbishop also mediated an alliance between the French king and several German princes.

⁸ Dietrich II von Mörs.

⁹ E.g., in a battle at Illkirch on 8 January 1445, where the Armagnacs were defeated by the Count Palatine, and at St. Kreuz im Lebertal on 13 March, where the rear troops of the dauphin were attacked by the Germans.

[172] Interim de rebus ecclesiae diu tractatum est, rexque suos et electores suos ad examinandam rem deputarunt. Ex parte regis Chimensis, Thomas, Ulricus et ego fuimus. Elector quilibet duos habuit, aliorum principum quilibet unum. Cumque dietim conventus fieret, nihil conclusum, ad extremum ipsi per se soli electores cum Caesare fuerunt et Gaspar cum rege. Tum Coloniensis carthusiensem quendam introduxit, qui plorans dixit per conscientiam suam nec Eugenium se papam tenere, nec aliam fidem habere nisi concilii Basiliensis. {72v} Tandem ventum est, ut quivis votum suum diceret, rogatusque est rex prior dicere. Is ait nullam se meliorem viam scire ad pacandam¹ ecclesiam quam Eugenio oboedire uti papae, cum quo esset tota Christianitas, nec curandum esse de paucis, qui Felicem sequerentur; nam hi aut se humiliarent aut exterminarentur. Hunc secutus est Maguntinus archiepiscopus et marchio Brandeburgensis. Coloniensis vero, Treverensis et dux Saxoniae aiebant non esse deserendum Basiliense concilium, nam veritatem foveret, nec multitudinem sequendam esse sed justitiam. Qui ex parte Palatini erant, nam ipse aberat ob rem Armeniacorum, dicebant nihil in discordia² se posse facere, sed in concordia omnia posse. Iterum ergo deputati convenientes plures modos ad pacem excogitarunt.

[173] Tum rex cedula quandam componi fecit, per quam volebat iterum³ continuari neutralitatem ad VIII menses, in fineque temporis indici concilium in Constantia. Itaque interim rogarentur per oratores Eugenius, ad quem ego missus fui per regem, et Basilienses, ad quos ivit Thomas Asselbach, ut consentirent et indicerent in Constantia concilium generale pro pace ecclesiae.⁴ Cedula autem regis habebat: si ad Kalendas Octobris, quae tunc in octavum mensem distabant, ambae partes concurrerent, ibi concilium celebrandum esse. Quod si altera refutante parte una tantum adesset, cum ea, quae adesset, rex Romanorum cum electoribus ceterisque Germaniae principibus concilium ibi esse fateretur et oboediret. Quod si Basilienses ante id tempus advenirent, salvum conductum haberent et reputarentur sicut in Basilea. Post lapsum autem termini verum concilium repraesentare putarentur.

¹ parandam X

² nihil in discordia : in discordia nihil X

³ interim X

⁴ ~~sed quod si una pars~~ seq. V

[172] In the meantime, there were protracted negotiations on the ecclesiastical issue.¹ The king and the prince-electors appointed representatives to examine the matter. The king was represented by Chiemsee,² Thomas,³ Ulrich⁴ and me. Each prince-elector had two representatives, and each of the other princes one. We met every day but could not reach a conclusion, so in the end the prince-electors met alone with the emperor, accompanied by Kaspar.⁵ Then Cologne⁶ brought in a Carthusian monk, who tearfully said that in conscience he could not accept Eugenius as pope but only had faith in the Council of Basel.⁷ Then came the moment when each one had to state his position. The king was asked to speak first. He said that he knew of no better way to have peace in the Church than to recognise Eugenius as pope: all of Christendom supported him, and there was no need to be concerned about the few people following Felix for they would either submit or be destroyed. The king was seconded by the Archbishop of Mainz⁸ and the Margrave of Brandenburg.⁹ Brandenburg.⁹ But Cologne, Trier,¹⁰ and the Duke of Saxony¹¹ said that the Council in Basel should not be abandoned for it favoured Truth, and that they should not follow the multitude but justice. The representatives of the Count Palatine,¹² who was absent on the business of the Armagnacs, said that nothing could be done if they disagreed, but all could be done if they agreed. Afterwards, the representatives [of the emperor and the princes] met again and devised several ways to gain peace.

[173] Then the king had a statement produced¹³ to the effect that the state of neutrality should be prolonged for eight more months, and that a council should be indicted [to begin] in Konstanz at the end of that period. In the meantime, Eugenius – to whom I was sent by the king – and the Basileans – to whom Thomas Hasselbach went – would be asked to consent and indict a general council on peace in the Church [to be held] in Konstanz. The king's statement stipulated that if both parties agreed before 1 October, now eight months away, the council would be held there. If one party declined and only the other party was present, the King of the Romans with the prince-electors and

¹ RTA, 17, 1, pp. 328-409.

² Silvester Pflieger.

³ Thomas Hasselbach.

⁴ Ulrich Sonnenberger.

⁵ Kaspar Schlick.

⁶ Dietrich II von Mörs.

⁷ Piccolomini's contempt of tears and crying in formal procedures is shown in his oration "*Si putarem*", written in the same year (1444) for Kaspar Schlick, which began with an address to the king: ... *if I thought that you put tears and crying above justice, I would now beat my breast with my fists and scratch my face with crooked nails; I would be crying and sobbing; and, prostrate before you, I would be wailing and sighing in order to make you look favourably upon the cause of my brother. But I know your integrity, your steadfastness, your seriousness and your piety. I know that you prefer nothing to justice, truth, and reason. Therefore, omitting the tears that become women more than men, I shall defend the cause of my absent brother not with tears, but with truth.*

⁸ Dietrich Schenk von Erbach (-1459): Archbishop of Mainz from 1434 to his death.

⁹ Friedrich II.

¹⁰ Archbishop Jakob Sierck.

¹¹ Friedrich II (1412-1464): Duke of Saxony and prince-electoral from 1428 to his death.

¹² Ludwig IV.

¹³ Final version of 8 October 1444, see RTA, 17, 1, pp. 405-408. Piccolomini was most probably involved in the drafting of these texts, and his summary in the DVI is quite to the point.

the other German princes would declare the council to be there, with the party that was present, and obey it. If the Basileans came before that time, they would receive a safe-conduct and be considered and treated as they had been in Basel, and after the term had expired, they would be considered to represent the true council.¹

[174] Verum nec Eugenius per me rogatus, nec concilium, cui Thomas supplicavit, petitionibus his annuit², nam neque Treverensis et Coloniensis ac dux Saxoniae id in Norimberga susceperunt. Meo autem iudicio malo usi sunt consilio³ Basilienses, nam si petitioni regiae annuissent, jam victores essent. Sed forsitan Deo non placebat, quia fata aliter ordinant. Ex his ergo missi sunt oratores ad Norembergam, ut referrent, quae acta essent cum partibus, Chimensisque eo profectus est. Duae tunc dietae statutae sunt: una per regem in Mergaten, altera per electores in Francfordia. Et in Mergaten convenerunt, qui regi adhaerebant. Postea deliberati iverunt Francfordiam terrueruntque⁴ illos, {73r} qui ad aliam intentionem convenerant. Tandem cum multa hinc inde dicta essent, cumque diceretur generale concilium haberi non posse, quia nec partes nec principes consentirent, conclusum est ad annum teneri in Noremberga nationale concilium, in quo conveniant omnes praelati Germaniae, et videant finaliter, quid in hac re sit agendum. Sed neque hoc Caesari placuit existimanti id, quod erat, nam ad concilium tale non venissent, qui sunt de oboedientia Eugenii, quia non intrarent concilium sua auctoritate non congregatum. Qui vero concilii partem tenerent, eo venirent, et sic nihil posset obtineri, nisi quod Basiliensibus placuisset. Ob quam [rem]⁵ disturbata est haec deliberatio, ac cum aliis tractatibus missus est Chimensis ad electores, qui adhuc pendent.

[175] Interim autem dux Albertus, qui missus erat per regem in Sueviam, viriliter contra Suicenses pugnavit eosque ex obsidione Rapesuillensi removit ac ex obsidione Lafbergensi disturbavit ac ex Sechingen. Sed ex Rinfeldia, cum oppidani rebellassent, amovere nequivit, cum ipsi machinis ingentibus arcem, quae erat in medio Rheni super ingenti saxo, expugnarent. Tum quoque dux Sabaudiae Ludovicus, quamvis per regem monitus, ne se Suicensibus conjungeret, diffidato Alberto copias suas contra eum misit. Erat enim Bernensibus confoederatus, qui sibi contra Armeniacos validum auxilium miserant. Hic adhuc a rege feudum non receperat.

¹ Cf. Piccolomini's private letter to Adam Molins in London (WO, I, 1, ep. 58, pp. 156-157) and public correspondence for the emperor (WO, I, 2, epp. xvii-xx, pp. 30-37).

² annuunt HE

³ concilio X

⁴ tenueruntque X

⁵ em. HE

[174] However, neither Eugenius¹ nor the council² assented to these petitions. They were presented to Eugenius by me³ and to the council by Thomas since, in Nürnberg, the archbishops of Trier and Cologne and the Duke of Saxony had declined to undertake these missions. In my own opinion, the Basileans acted inadvisedly: had they assented to the royal petition, they would have been victorious by now. But since fate ordained otherwise, it may not have pleased God. So, they⁴ sent envoys to Nürnberg to relate what had been done in relation to the [two] parties, and Chiemsee went there, too. Then the king decided to hold a meeting in Mergentheim, and the prince-electors another one in Frankfurt.⁵ The king's supporters met in Mergentheim.^{6 7} After their discussions, they went to Frankfurt and put fear into those who had assembled with the other agenda.⁸ Much was said on both sides, and it was maintained that a general council could not be held because neither the [two] parties nor the princes⁹ would assent. Therefore, it was decided to hold a national council in Nürnberg within a year, where all the prelates of Germany would assemble to devise a final solution to this whole matter.¹⁰ The emperor disagreed, however, since he believed that Eugenius' supporters would not come to a council that had not assembled on that pope's authority. Only the supporters of the council would come, and thus nothing could be achieved that displeased the Basileans.¹¹ Thus the whole discussion ended in confusion. Chiemsee was sent to the prince-electors with other proposals, and the matter is still pending.

[175] In the meantime, Duke Albrecht, whom the king had sent to Swabia, fought vigorously against the Swiss and broke their sieges of Rapperswill, Laufenburg, and Seckingen. But he could not drive them away from Rheinfelden, for the citizens had rebelled and attacked the fortress, on a giant cliff in the Rhine, with big war machines. Also, Duke Louis of Savoy,¹² defying Albrecht, sent troops against him though the king had warned him not to join the Swiss. The duke was allied with Bern that had helped him with a strong force against the Armagnacs. He had not yet received his territory as a feudal possession from the king.

¹ February 1445. See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 660-670.

² October-November 1444. See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 649-670.

³ Piccolomini was in Rome in February 1445, to present the emperor's proposals to the pope, see his oration "*Prius sanctissime praesul*" (COR, III, 7).

⁴ The archbishops and the duke, presumably.

⁵ Kurfürstlicher Tag in Frankfurt, 8 December 1444.

⁶ Fürsten- und Städtetag in Mergentheim, 30 December 1444 to 2 January 1445. See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 683-689.

⁷ Stieber does not mention this meeting, see pp. 269-270.

⁸ The diet in Frankfurt took place between 24 June and 8 July 1445. See RTA, 17, 1, pp. 766-786.

⁹ The European rulers. For the refusal of the Duke of Burgundy, see RTA, 17, 1, pp. 342-351.

¹⁰ Though the sequence of events is not quite the same in Stieber's and Piccolomini's accounts, the basic elements are in both: requiring the two parties to agree to a new general council, and in case of refusal, to hold a national, German council to settle the ecclesiastical problems once and for all. See Stieber, p. 274. In an undated letter to Giovanni Campisi, Piccolomini wrote about the decision: *Dieta Francfordiensis hunc finem sortita est preter spem voluntatemque regiam: conclusum est dietam aliam esse habendam seu concilium nacionis ad dominicam invocavit in Noremburga ibique videndum esse de modis seu habendi concilii generalis seu declaracionis faciende.* (WO, I, 1, ep. 185, p. 543).

¹¹ Stieber, p. 274: *It was apparent to all that if such a national council were to be held, it would severely limit the emperor's freedom of action at a time when he was ready to explore a settlement with Eugenius.*

¹² Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death. Son of Amédée VIII AKA Antipope Felix V

[176] Post reditum ex Norimberga rex aestate sequenti contra Gunzenses¹ castra movit, qui ruptis indutiis patriam infestabant. Erant autem in Hungaria. Hos rex brevi tempore cum pluribus circumvicinis castellis obsedit, expugnavit, cepit, timueruntque Hungari, ne rex cum exercitu Budam pergeret, atque idcirco missis atque remissis nuntiis statuerunt ad majestatem² regiam venire venire Viennam veneruntque archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, episcopus Vesprimiensis, Nicolaus vaivoda Transilvanus, Ladislaus banus, Emericus de Marcellis, Giskra³ pluresque alii nobiles viri, quorum petitio fuit, ut puer Ladislaus ad Albam Regalem denuo coronandus daretur. Sed cum hoc non videretur tutum, numquam potuit haberi concordia infectaque re Hungari recesserunt. Nec adhuc, quem velint regem habere, concordarunt inter se, et sic res se habet.

[177] {73v} Hic sororem suam majorem duci Saxoniae electori maritavit, cujus fratri dedit filiam regis Alberti. Germanam autem suam minorem per Gasparem Slik, Johannem de Naiperg et Johannem magistrum camerae, cum diu domi tenuisset, Carolo marchionis Badensis filio in matrimonio conjunxit.

[178] Hic transmutatis religiosi ordinis praedicatorum Novae Civitatis monasterium illic fecit Bernarditarum. Hic instituit, cum sacramentum per civitatem portaretur, quatuor clericos cum vexillis et velis associare sacerdotem, quibus ex publico salarium daretur.

¹ Burgenses X

² *omit.* HE

³ *omit.* X [blank space]

[176] The summer after his return from Nürnberg, the king brought an army against the people of Güns, who had broken the truce and were harassing his lands. But they were in Hungary. In short order, the king besieged, stormed, and took Güns and the neighbouring castles.¹ The Hungarians feared that he would proceed with his army to Buda, and therefore, after an exchange of envoys, they decided to come to His Royal Majesty in Vienna. Those who came were the Archbishop of Esztergom,² the Bishop of Veszprém,³ Vaivode Nikolaus of Transylvania,⁴ Ban Ladislaus,⁵ Emerich Marczal,⁶ Jiskra⁷ and many other noblemen. They presented a petition that Ladislaus⁸ be given to them to be finally be crowned in Székesfehérvár. But that did not appear to be safe, so no agreement was reached, and the Hungarians had to return with the matter unresolved. They have not yet been able to agree between them on whom they would have as their king, and this is where things stand at present.

[177] Friedrich married his elder sister⁹ to the Duke of Saxony, prince-elect, ¹⁰ and the daughter of of King Albrecht¹¹ to the duke's brother¹². Having kept his younger sister¹³ at home for a long time, he married her to Karl,¹⁴ son of the Margrave of Baden,¹⁵ with Kaspar Schlick, Johann von Neitperg, and Johann the Chamberlain¹⁶ as procurators.

[178] In a monastery of Wiener Neustadt, he replaced the monks of the Order of Preachers¹⁷ with Bernardine¹⁸ monks. He also established a new practice that when the sacrament was carried through the city, the priest should be accompanied by four clerics with banners and veils, to be paid from public funds.^{19 20}

¹ 19-28 July 1445. Friedrich III was back in Vienna on 11 August 1445.

² Dénes Szécsi.

³ Mathias de Gatalowetz (-1458): Bishop of Veszprém 1440 to his death. Chancellor of Hungary.

⁴ Nikolaus Ujlaky [Újlaky Miklós] (1410-1477): Ban of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia etc.

⁵ Ladislaus Garai [Garai László] (ca. 1410-1459): Ban of Macsó. Later Palatine of Hungary.

⁶ Emerich Marczali [Marczal]: Hungarian noble.

⁷ Jan Jiskra of Brandeis.

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁹ Margaretha von Österreich (1416-1486): Sister of Emperor Friedrich III. Married Duke Friedrich II of Sachsen 3 June 1431.

¹⁰ Friedrich II.

¹¹ Anna von Österreich (1432-1462): Daughter of Albrecht II. Married to Wilhelm von Sachsen on 2 June 1446.

¹² Wilhelm III von Sachsen (1425-1482): Landgrave of Thuringia from 1445 to his death.

¹³ Katharina von Österreich (1420/1424- 493): Sister of Emperor Friedrich III. Married Margrave Karl von Baden in Pforzheim 13 or 15 July 1447.

¹⁴ Karl I von Baden (1427-1475): Margrave of Baden 1453-1475.

¹⁵ Jakob I von Baden (1407-1453) Margrave of Baden 1431-1453.

¹⁶ Hans [Johann] Ungnad (-1461): *Kammermeister* and councilor of Friedrich III

¹⁷ Dominicans.

¹⁸ Cistercians.

¹⁹ Date: The first version of this text must have been written after the end of the Diet in Frankfurt in July 1445 and before February 1446 when news of the pope's deposition of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne reached the imperial court. A later version, including the princely marriages in 1447, was written after July 1447. The ecclesiastical events of 1446 and 1447 were not included.

²⁰ Piccolomini's sources. Personal experiences, informants at the imperial court, and documents in the imperial archives.

Supplement

The writings of Piccolomini/Pius are replete with information on Friedrich III,¹ far too extensive to be reproduced here. Only two extracts are given, one to supplement the DVI for the years 1445-1452, and another to give Piccolomini's assessment of the emperor's character (as of 1452).

1) From Piccolomini's oration "Sentio" against the Austrian rebels (December 1452).²

Nunc quantum dedecus quantamque ignominiam ab his Austria susceperit referemus, qui Caesari obumbrare gloriam ingenti, insolita et inaudita contumacia praesumpserunt. Idque palam fiet, si prius quantum splendoris et famae suo generi, suae familiae et Austriali terrae Fridericus attulerit, ante oculos omnium posuerimus. Quod neque longis neque taediosis, ut spero, verbis efficiam. Meo iudicio neque parum honoris neque parvum nomen Austrialibus superioribus gestis suis Fridericus attribuit, qui duodeviginti natus annos, adeptus paternam haereditatem, nullius magisterio subjectus, non, ut assolet, imberbis juvenis, tandem custode relicto gaudere canibus et equis et aprici gramine campi, sed Jerusalem petere ac dominicam visere sepulturam et terram, ubi steterunt pedes ejus, qui nos a morte redemit, exosculari decrevit. Reversus in patriam subditorum paci consuluit, infantem pupillum, orphanum Ladislaum, Hungarico discrimini subripuit.

Communi voto in imperatorem electus, quamvis duo de Romano pontificatu contenderent, ab utroque tamen rex Romanorum appellatus est. Apparatu magnifico in superiorem atque inferiorem Alamaniam profectus, Francfordiae cum electoribus convenit. In Aquisgrano summo favore principum civitatumque applausu coronatus Basileam petiit, Burgundiam intravit, Sabaudiam invisit. Repetita domo Gunzenses, qui Austriam Styriamque vexabant bello delevit. Ad unionem inde conversus ecclesiae neutralitatem, qua natio Germanica non sine animarum periculo utebatur, alto consilio substulit, unde secutam unionem nullus ambigit. Nam qui apud Basilienses papatum arripuerat Amedeus, spem Germanicam ubi amisit, mox Nicolao papae quinto manus dedit, ex ejus arbitrio leges pacis amplexus.

¹ And especially the *Historia Austrialis*, sometimes called the *Historia Friederici III*.

² COR, IV, 20

Supplement

1) From Piccolomini's oration "Sentio" against the Austrian rebels (December 1452).

Let us now talk about the great shame and ignominy that have befallen the Austrians who with immense, extraordinary and unheard of contumacy have dared to cast a shadow over the emperor's glory. This will become quite evident if we start by describing how greatly Friedrich has contributed to the splendour and fame of his house, his family and the land of Austria. It will not be lengthy or tedious. I consider that by his past deeds Friedrich has given great honour and glory to the Austrians. When he reached the age of 18, he came into possession of his paternal inheritance. Though no longer subject to any master, he did not - as usually happens - like a beardless youth freed at last from his tutor, find joy in horses and hounds and the grass of the sunny Campus, but decided to go to Jerusalem to visit the tomb of Our Lord and kiss the earth trodden by the one who saved us from death. Returning to his country, he negotiated a peaceful settlement for his subjects, and saved the orphaned infant, Ladislaus, from danger in Hungary.

He was then elected emperor, unanimously, and although at that time two men were contending for the papacy, they both named him King of the Romans. In magnificent state he went to Upper and Lower Germany and met with the [prince] electors in Frankfurt. In Aachen he was crowned with the full support of princes and cities alike. He then went to Basel, entered Burgundy, and visited Savoy. When he came home, he defeated the people of Günz who had been warring against Austria and Steiermark. Then, turning to the matter of the unity of Church, he very wisely ended the state of Neutrality of the German nation, so perilous to the souls [of its people]. This is undoubtedly what led to the reunion of the Church, for when Amadeus, who had usurped the papacy in Basel, lost hope of Germany, he soon reconciled himself with Nicolaus V and accepted the conditions of peace offered by him.

Ex hinc quamvis Italia duas in partes scissa saevis divisionibus quateretur, sic eo profectus est, ut nulli parti suspectus haberetur, sed honores utrimque maximos reportavit, certantibus Italis utra pars novellum Caesarem magnificentius admitteret. Libet hic paululum immorari, ut intelligant, non Austriales tantum, sed omnes Theutones, quos genti suaeque nationi titulos Fridericus acquisiverit. Exceptus est in Italia Caesaris adventus ab omnibus principibus, civitatibus, populis incredibili honore atque amore. Nihil relinquebatur, quod ad ornatum portarum, itinerum locorumque omnium, qua Caesar transiturus erat, excogitari posset. Multitudo patrum cum liberis et omni familia obviam procedebat. Sacrificia pro salute sua ubique fiebant. Tricliniis stratis omnia fora, templa tectaue domorum occupabant, ut vel expectatissimi triumphi laetitia percipi posset. Ad placandum magnificandumque suum principem opulentiores magnificentia, tenuiores cupiditate certabant. In hoc transitu Caesareo et coronatione Romae celebrata, nihil est solitae sollemnitatis omissum, sed accesserunt multa, quae rem amplius atque amplius illustrarunt. Quietus ac pacificus transitus ex tanta multitudine diversorum populorum, gentium, nationum, neque rixa neque morbo quispiam desideratus est. Sumptus omnibus in locis publicitus et ubertim ministrati.

Apud Ferrariam totius Lombardiae conventus Caesari cum muneribus occurrit. Princeps illius urbis in reditu dux Mutinae Regiique creatus, quod bene factum, bene locatum omnis Italia dixit. Bononienses, qui neque se sibi credunt, Friderici fidem secuti sunt. Florentia, quae ceteris imperatoribus portas clausit, huic omnia patefecit, ubi et legati apostolici, magni et excellentes viri, germanus papae, Bononiensis et Sancti Angeli cardinales obviam facti. Apud urbem Senam ex ultimis Hispaniarum finibus longa et periculosa navigatione adducta sponsa regia et pulcherrima virgo, Leonora, ex vetusta Portugalliae domo.

Later, though Italy was divided between two parties and torn asunder by its internal conflicts, the emperor proceeded in such a manner that none of the parties feared him, and he received great honours from both sides. Indeed, the Italians vied with each other in giving the most magnificent welcome to the new emperor. It is appropriate to dwell on this point so that not only the Austrians, but all Germans may appreciate the great titles that Friedrich acquired on behalf of his people and nation. In Italy all princes, cities and peoples received the emperor with incredible honour and love. Everything was done to embellish all gates, routes and places through which the emperor was to pass. Everywhere a multitude of fathers with their sons and all their family came to greet him. Everywhere masses were celebrated for his welfare. Banquet halls were erected on all squares, and people flocked to the temples and massed on the roofs in order to enjoy his much-awaited triumphal entry. Wealthy people competed in pleasing and praising their prince with magnificence and the less wealthy with enthusiasm. During this imperial progress and the coronation in Rome, none of the usual solemn rites was omitted, and many were even added that gave greater splendour to the event. The progress was peaceful and tranquil, and though many different peoples and nations were represented, nobody lost their lives through fights or disease. Everywhere expenses were covered by the local authorities - and generously so.

In Ferrara, all of Lombardy met the Emperor, bringing gifts. On his way back [to Austria], the emperor made the prince of this city Duke of Modena and Reggio, to the universal applause of all Italy. The Bolognese, who do not even trust themselves, had faith in Friedrich. Florence formerly closed its gates to other emperors, but to him they laid everything open. Here, he was met by the apostolic legates, the Cardinal of Bologna, brother of the pope, and the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, [two] great and excellent men. To Siena had been brought, after a long and perilous sea voyage from the farthest regions of Spain, the royal bride and beautiful maid, Leonora, of the ancient House of Portugal.

Apud Romam, ut omittam cives, nobiles, senatores, principes, praelatos occurrentes, collegium cardinalium ad primum lapidem extra ordinem Caesari obviam datum. Ingressus sequenti die magnificentissimus Nicolao pontifice maximo cum cardinalibus et clero apud basilicam Sancti Petri expectante, cujus beatissimos pedes Caesar in honorem piscatoris et salvatoris Christi reverentiam exosculatus est. Coronatio Romana in decimam diem suspensa. Corona Longobardorum in capella principis apostolorum, cum Mediolani pestis vigeret, biduo ante Romanam suscepta. Sponsalia sacro maximi sacerdotis ore benedicta. Coronatio augustalis eo die revolutis annis peracta, quo Nicolaus ipse pontifex papale diadema susceperat. Augustus simul et Augusta coronati, et quamvis ornamenta essent Caesari ditiora et ornatiora, ea tamen die magni Caroli pallio, tunica, ense, pomo, corona ex sacrario Norimbergensi receptis et Romam delatis, quasi plus majestatis veteribus quam novis esset ornatibus, usus est Fridericus. Comitatus Caesaris et nobilissimus et splendidissimus: hinc Ladislao patrueli rege, inde Alberto, Germano duce, throno Caesaris assistentibus. Legationes ex tota Italia. Milites admodum multi cum principes tum magni nobiles in ponte percussi. Sollemnitatis in noctem producta.

Exacta festivitate, petita Neapolis, visus Alfonsus, rex Aragonum et Siciliae, imperatricis avunculus, nostri decus splendor et aevi, apud quem recepti honores, non sunt qui verbis referri queant. Ut vicit oculos varietas, sic superat magnitudo sermonem. Quid plura? Remensus iter Venetias more triumphantis intravit, ubi nullus ante visus fuerat imperator, nisi fugitivus aliquis, et Fridericus primus pacem ab Alexandro, papa Senensi, petens, et filius bello captus. At Friderico nostro et conjugii tantus honor a Venetis exhibitus est quantus antea nulli. Haec, nisi fallor, et ingentia, et rara, et singulari et laudabili nota digna sunt, ac non solum Friderico et suo sanguini atque Austriali nomini, sed omnibus Alamanis honorem maximum excellentemque gloriam pepererunt.

Outside Rome, at the first milestone, the emperor – as a very special gesture - was met by the College of Cardinals, not to mention a crowd of citizens, nobles, senators, princes and prelates. The next day he made a magnificent entry: the Supreme Pontiff, Nicolaus, awaited him at the Basilica of Saint Peter together with the cardinals and the clergy, and the emperor kissed [the pope's] holy feet in honour of the Fisherman and in veneration of Christ Our Saviour. The Roman coronation was adjourned to the tenth day. The crown of Lombardy he received two days before, in the Chapel of the Prince of the Apostles – because of an outbreak of the plague in Milan. The High Priest personally blessed the marriage. The imperial coronation took place on the same day as the papal coronation of Nicolaus years before. The emperor and the empress were crowned together. Though the emperor possesses richer and more splendid ornaments, on that day he used the pallium, tunic, sword, apple and crown of Charlemagne, brought to Rome from the treasury in Nürnberg, as if the old ornaments had greater majesty than the new. The party of the emperor was most noble and impressive: on one side his cousin, King Ladislaus, and on the other his brother, Duke Albrecht, assisted at the throne of the emperor. There were delegations from all of Italy. A great number of princes and grand nobles were knighted on the Ponte Sant'Angelo. The festivities continued into the night.

After these festivities, they went to Naples to visit the empress' uncle, King Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily, ornament and splendour of our age, who received them with indescribable honours: the splendour overcame the eyes, just as the greatness surpassed speech. What more can I say? On the way back [to Austria], the emperor entered Venice in triumph. No other emperor had been seen there before except as a fugitive, or when Friedrich I went to sue for peace from the Sieneese pope, Alexander, after the capture of his son. But to our Friedrich and his wife the Venetians showed greater honour than they had shown to anybody else before.

Unless I am mistaken, all these events are immensely important, extraordinary and worthy of singular note and praise. They gave great honour and surpassing glory not only to Friedrich, his family, and the name of Austria, but also to Germany as a whole.¹

¹ For another short portrait of Friedrich III by Piccolomini, see his oration “*Quamvis grandes materias*” of 10 December 1450, sect. 20-24 (COR, IV, 14).

2) From Europa, sect. 82 (Heck, pp. 107-108)

Multa sunt in hoc cesare, quae laudare possis: corpus egregium et species imperatore digna; animus sedatus ac tranquillus; ingenium perspicax; memoria tenacior; religionis ardens zelus; ingens cupiditas pacis et otii; singularem virtutem in quovis homine diligit dignamque premio ducit. Edificat splendide, ortos tamen ac gemmas plus equo admiratur et amat. Et in rebus gerendis tardior ac remissior est. Tenacem plerique accusaverunt et ad rem nimis attentum. Id fecere proximi antecessores Sigismundus atque Albertus cesares, quorum prodigalitati cuiusuis comparata liberalitas uideri auaritia potest. Ceterum Freidericus nec sua profundit nec aliena diripit uerbis factisque temperans.

2) From Europa, sect. 82 (Brown, p. 134)

There are many things in this statesman [Frederick] which deserve praise: a fine physique and an appearance worthy of an emperor; a calm and unruffled mind, a perceptive intelligence, an even more tenacious memory, burning religious zeal, a strong desire for peace and tranquility. He values every person's particular virtue and deems it worthy of reward. He puts up magnificent buildings, though his admiration and passion for gardens and gemstones is excessive. And in the conduct of affairs, he is rather slow and easy-going. Many have accused him of being niggardly and too careful with money. This is due to his immediate predecessors, the emperors Sigismund and Albert, whose prodigality makes everyone else's generosity look like greed. But Frederick neither squanders his own nor steals the possessions of others, showing equal respect in his words and actions.

25. Karolus VII

[179] Karolus¹ VII., rex Franciae, mortuo patre admodum puer remansit. Itaque nonnulli eum minime regis filium, sed suppositum arbitrabantur. Tum quoque lis inter Borgundos et² Armeniacos orta est commissumque³ est grave bellum. Parisius rex per Armeniacos et⁴ Aurelianenses asportatus est. Borgundi occisa ingenti civium ac⁵ nobilium multitudine civitatem obtinuerunt. Post, cum proditoris Johannes dux Borgundiae accusaretur, magnumque bellum inter Armeniacos esset et Borgundos, fuerunt, qui suaderent rem posse componi, si dux Borgundiae ad colloquium regis veniret. Tractata res est, venitque Johannes dux cum salvo conductu sub publica fide cum litteris regiis securitatis, cumque in conspectu ejus esset ac ex more genuflecteret domino suo, per praepositum⁶ Parisiensem securi percussus est necique datus. Praepositus autem sive jussus sive injussus⁷ in praemium⁸ quaedam castella in provincia recepit.

[180] Ea res majus incendium excitavit, namque Borgundi ob vindictam domini Anglicis adhaeserunt regemque Henricum V. ex Anglia vocantes Galliam universam flammae ferroque subjecerunt. Rex enim⁹ Henricus magno bello Gallicos vicit, de quo suo loco dicemus. Post Parisius Parisius Aurelianum ac quamplurimas civitates armis obtinuit.

¹ Kar.. *aut* Car... V [inconsistently]

² ac HE

³ *em.* HE; commixumque V; *omit.* X [blank space]

⁴ ac HE

⁵ et X

⁶ praeposterum MA

⁷ autem sive jussus sive injussus : sive jussus sive injussus autem MA; *omit.* X [blank space]

⁸ prima MA

⁹ autem MA

25. Charles VII, King of France

[179] Charles VII,^{1 2 3} King of France, was only a young boy⁴ when his father⁵ died, and, therefore, therefore, many thought he was not the king's son but a changeling. Then a conflict between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs⁶ arose, and a fierce war ensued. The king was brought out of Paris by the Armagnacs and the supporters of Orléans.⁷ Killing an immense number of citizens and nobles, the Burgundians took over the city. Later, Duke Jean of Burgundy⁸ was accused of treason, and the Burgundians and the Armagnacs fought bitterly. Some people argued that the conflict could be settled if the Duke of Burgundy would come to a meeting with the king⁹. An agreement was reached, and Duke Jean arrived, with a public safe-conduct and royal letters of security.¹⁰ When he came into the king's presence and made the customary genuflection before his lord, the provost of Paris¹¹ put his sword through him and killed him. Whether or not he had been ordered to do so, he received some castles in the province as his reward.

[180] The murder led to a major conflagration, for in revenge of their lord, the Burgundians sided with the English, and, inviting King Henry V¹² from England, they subjected all to fire and sword. King Henry defeated the French in a great battle,¹³ which we shall say more about later. After Paris, he also conquered Orléans and many other cities.

¹ Charles VII (1403-1461): Excluded from the succession to the throne by the Treaty of Troyes, 1420. After his father's death in 1422, Charles proclaimed himself King of France (in Bourges). Crowned king in 1429 (in Reims).

² For a general biography, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, Contamine.

³ Piccolomini did not have a personal acquaintance with Charles or his court, but he would have become familiar with the political situation in France when he attended the Congres d'Arras in 1435 as a secretary of Cardinal Albercati. Later, as an imperial secretary, he handled the emperor's correspondence with the king, and he had access to the court's information on developments in France.

⁴ When Charles was born, his father was 35 years old. When the father died in 1422, Charles VII was not a very young boy but a young man of 19 years. Rumours of his illegitimacy were spread by the Burgundian party to weaken his claim on the French crown.

⁵ Charles VI (1368-1422): King of France from 1380 to his death. Periodically unable to govern because of recurring bouts of madness.

⁶ The Burgundians were the party supporting the dukes of Burgundy, and the Armagnacs were the party supporting the House of Orléans and later King Charles VII. The civil war between the two parties, lasting from 1407 to 1435, began when the Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans Peur, had his rival, Duke Louis I of Orléans, murdered in Paris in 1407. It intensified in 1419 when a courtier of Charles VII killed Jean Sans Peur.

⁷ 29 May 1418.

⁸ Jean sans Peur (1371-1419): Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to his death.

⁹ At that time, Charles was only a crown prince, his father being still alive.

¹⁰ 10 September 1419.

¹¹ Tanneguy du Chastel (1369-1449): Leading adviser of Charles VII. One of the murderers of Duke Jean sans Peur.

¹² Henry V (1386-1422): King of England from 1413 to his death. See ch. 28.

¹³ The Battle of Agincourt (Azincourt) did not follow the murder of Jean sans Peur but predated it, having taken place on 25 October 1415, four years before Duke Jean's assassination.

[181] Sed mortuo Henrico puella quaedam in partibus Lothoringiae¹ surrexit veniensque ad regem Karolum, qui adhuc dalphinus² appellabatur, praedicans futura multa que signa faciens tandem dux exercitus creata est apparuitque in armis virago et nunc Borgundos, nunc Anglicos magnis stragibus confecit, nam quocumque iret, victoria sequebatur eratque terrori omnibus hostibus. {74r} Hujus auxilio Karolus plures civitates obtinuit magnasque provincias recuperavit venitque usque ad Sanctum Dyonisium prope Parisius, unde oleum recepit, quo reges Franciae inunguntur, quod de caelo per angelum delirant portatum, ac eo inunctus Karolus coronatus est multasque de hostibus victorias reportavit. Sed puella postmodum insidiis capta per Anglicos, cum superstitiosa reperiretur, apud Rhotomagum combusta est et, cum alia vidisset futura, hoc unum praevidere nequivit.

[182] Karolus autem post ducem Borgundiae Filippum filium ejus, qui occisus fuerat, reconciliavit sibi, nam apud Atrebatum pax facta est per Nicolaum cardinalem sanctae crucis, cum quo tunc ego fui secretarius³ gerens officium. Tunc et Parisius recuperavit pluresque alias urbes destitutis Anglicis Borgundorum auxilio. Duci⁴ autem Borgundiae, quae de regno Franciae tenebat, confirmata sunt.

[183] Post haec Ludovicus dalphinus, ejus filius, auctore duce Borbonii ab eo defecit coepitque velle pro vivente⁵ patre regnare fuitque in campis dominatumque quaerebat. Sed Carolus collecto exercitu filium compescuit auctoremque domini parte mulctatum extra curiam degere, dum viveret, mandavit. Hoc autem ideo evenerat, quia, cum antea regimen Franciae in manu esset ducis Borbonii, postea reverso ex captivitate Aurelianensi, qui sapientissimus dicebatur, timens regimen perdere filium a patre separavit, sed male sibi successit.

¹ Lotharingiae MA

² delphin... *et passim* MA

³ secretarius MA

⁴ duce MA

⁵ pro vivente : pervivente MA

[181] After Henry's death,¹ a maid appeared in the region of Lorraine.² She came to King Charles,³ still called the Dauphin, predicting future events and showing many wondrous signs. Finally, she was appointed commander of the army and went about armed, as a war-maiden. She inflicted great defeats upon the Burgundians and the English: wherever she went, victory followed, and she was the terror of all enemies. With her help, Charles gained many cities and recovered great provinces. Coming to Saint Denis near Paris, he received the oil used to anoint the kings of France – they deliriously claim that it was brought from Heaven by an angel! Charles was anointed with it and crowned,⁴ and later had many victories over the enemies. The maid, however, was ambushed and caught by the English,⁵ who burnt her in Rouen on an accusation of superstition.⁶ Other things she had foreseen, but this one thing she could not.

[182] Later, Charles became reconciled with Duke Philippe of Burgundy,⁷ son of the duke who had been killed, for at Arras a peace was made⁸ by Niccolò,⁹ Cardinal of Santa Croce, whose secretary I was at the time. Then Charles regained Paris and many other cities, which he took from the English with the help of the Burgundians. Moreover, he confirmed the Duke of Burgundy's own right to those territories he held from the Kingdom of France.^{10 11}

[183] Later again, the dauphin Louis,¹² his son, at the instigation of the Duke of Bourbon,¹³ deserted him and, desiring to govern while his father was still alive, he went on a military campaign and sought the rulership.¹⁴ However, Charles gathered an army and subdued his son. The instigator was fined part of his domain and banished from court for life.¹⁵ The reason for this plot was the

¹ 1422.

² Jeanne d'Arc (ca. 1412-1431): Born in Domrémy. Appearing at Charles court, she persuaded him of her honesty and divine mission to save France, and he appointed her an army leader. In short order, she conquered many cities and territories for him and eventually led him to be crowned in Reims.

³ 25 February 1429, in Chinon.

⁴ 17 July 1429, in Reims.

⁵ 23 May 1430, at Compiègne

⁶ 30 May 1431, in Rouen.

⁷ Duke Philippe III.

⁸ 21 September 1435.

⁹ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati. He contributed greatly to the negotiations in Arras, but Piccolomini somewhat exaggerates his importance.

¹⁰ In the Treaty of Arras, the King of France recognised Philippe as sovereign of Burgundy and exempted him from rendering homage to the French king.

¹¹ In this sequence of events, Piccolomini fails to mention the very important Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, issued by Charles VII in 1438, by which he much reduced papal authority over the Church in France. See Pius II's orations "*Responsuri*" of 11 December 1459 (COR, IX, 52, sect. 60-63) and "*Per me reges regnant*" of 16 March 1462 (COR, X, 65).

¹² Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death.

¹³ Charles I (Bourbon) (1401-1456): Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne from 1434 to his death.

¹⁴ The rebellion was called the Praguerie after an earlier rebellion in Prague. It lasted from February to July 1440. Its main instigator was Duke Charles I of Bourbon, who won over the dauphin, Louis, then 16 years old, by promising him to set his father aside and make him regent in his stead.

¹⁵ This is incorrect. The duke made his submission to the king and was pardoned - not banished from the court. See Kendall, p. 50: *Next day, following Mass, the Dauphin and the Duke appeared before the King and his council. They humbly begged him to extend his pardon to the three lords whom he had sent away. Charles refused, but said that those*

following: Bourbon had previously held power in France,¹ but after the return from captivity of [the Duke of] Orléans,² reputed to be a highly intelligent man, he feared losing his power and therefore endeavoured to separate the son from the father, which turned out badly for him.³

[184] Hic rex admodum religiosus dicitur. Dalphino, filio suo, filiam Jacobi regis Scotorum absque dote copulavit, nam Scoti semper suarum⁴ fuerant partium⁵. Hic et nepoti papae Felicis filiam in matrimonium dedit accepitque auri centum milia. Aliam filiam Sigismundo, duci Austriae, spopondit, sed adhuc non est matrimonium consummatum.

[185] Per Felicem rogatus, quamvis consanguineus sit, numquam sibi adhaerere voluit. Cum rege Renato venit in Lothoringiam invasitque terras imperii subjecitque sibi Tullum ac⁶ Verdunum et Spinale voluitque Metenses sibi subjicere, sed minime valuit. {74v} Cum Anglicis tradita filia regis Renati in matrimonium regi Angliae sub spe pacis perpetuae indutias fecit, quae jam finitae dicuntur nulla pace secuta.

lords might return to their homes. ... Charles then addressed himself to the Duke of Bourbon, who readily swore an oath to obey and serve the king forever.

¹ He was not regent but Grand Chambrier du Royaume, one of the great officers of the crown.

² Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465): Duke of Orléans from 1407 to his death. After the French defeat at Agincourt, he was a prisoner of war in England from 1415 to 1440.

³ Du Fresne de Beaucourt and Kendall document the youth of Louis XI as that of a rebellious, plotting intrigue-maker, see Fresne de Beaucourt, V, 193-; VI, 29, 65, 70-; and Kendall, ch. 1-7.

⁴ *omit.* MA

⁵ partem MA

⁶ et X

[184] The king is reputed to be a most religious man. To his son, the dauphin, he gave the daughter¹ of James,² King of the Scots, in marriage without a dowry, the Scots having always supported him. He also gave his daughter³ in marriage to a grandson⁴ of Pope Felix, for which he received 100,000 gold ducats. Another daughter⁵ he betrothed to Siegmund, Duke of Austria, but the marriage has not been consummated yet.

[185] Felix,⁶ a relative of his, asked Charles to take his side, but he never wanted to. He went with King René⁷ to Lorraine and invaded the territories of the Empire. Conquering Toul, Verdun and Épinal, he also wanted to take Metz⁸ but was unable to. Hoping for a permanent peace with the English, he gave a daughter⁹ of King René in marriage to the King of England¹⁰ and made a truce,¹¹ which is reported to have now expired though it has not been followed by a peace.^{12 13}

¹ Margaret Stuart (1424-1445): Princess of Scotland. Married the dauphin Louis in 1436. She died on 16 August 1445, which is not mentioned by Piccolomini, so presumably, the text was written not long afterwards.

² James I (1394-1437): King of Scotland from 1406 to his death.

³ Yolande de France (1434-1478): Daughter of Charles VII. Married Amédée IX of Savoy in 1452.

⁴ Amédée IX (Savoy) (1435-1472): Duke of Savoy from 1465 to his death.

⁵ Radegonde of Valois (1428-1445): Daughter of Charles VII. Betrothed to Duke Siegmund of Tyrol on 22 April 1430. Died on 19 March 1445, before the marriage could take place. Since Piccolomini does not mention her death, this text must have been written in a first version not long after that date.

⁶ Antipope Felix V AKA Amédée VII of Savoy.

⁷ René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Anjou and Count of Provence from 1434 to his death. King of Naples from 1435 to 1442, after which he retained the title of King of Naples. Brother in law of Charles VII.

⁸ See sect. 171.

⁹ Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482): Betrothed to King Henry VI of England on 24 May 1444. The marriage took place in London on 23 April 1445. It is unclear if Piccolomini is referring to the betrothal or the wedding, but at any rate, the text cannot have been written long after before the betrothal on 24 May 1444

¹⁰ The betrothal took place in Tours on 24 May 1444 and the wedding in England (Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire) on 23 April 1445.

¹¹ The betrothal contract contained the promise of a 23-month truce between France and England.

¹² Date: this text must have been written after the betrothal of Margaret of Anjou with the King of England on 24 May 1444, and before the death of Radegonde of Valois, betrothed to Siegmund of Tyrol, in March 1445.

¹³ Piccolomini's sources: informants and records at the imperial court, personal experiences from travels to Arras and Scotland, the international rumour mill.

26. Amedeus VIII

[186] Amedeus¹, Sabaudiae comes, mortuo patre cum maxima felicitate annis circiter quinquaginta rexit.^{2 3} Is addidit patrimonio suo plura dominia, ob quam causam per Sigismundum apud Chamberiacum⁴ in ducem creatus est. In eo bello, quod Anglici cum Gallis diu gesserunt, nec regi Franciae nec Borgundis, quamvis rogatus, adhaesit, sed suos in libertate dimisit, ut cui vellent cum stipendio servirent, qui tamen magis Anglicis adhaerebant, et sic postea nulla pars eum secuta est. Cum Bernensibus foedus perpetuum percussit civemque se fieri illius urbis passus est. Coepit et cum Venetis sentire adversus ducem Mediolani, nam muneribus vincebatur, ob quam causam Philippus dux multis implicatus bellis redimere hoc voluit filiamque ejus Mariam ultro data civitate Vercellensi⁵ in matrimonium duxit. Marchioni Montisferrati plura⁶ eripuit oppida, cum is per ducem ducem Mediolani invaderetur, dicens ea se tenere in custodiam, sed non restituit illo pacificato cum duce. Ab Armeniacis suas terras invadentibus saepe se pecunia redemit.

¹ ~~dux~~ seq. V

² vixit MA

³ Origo ejus ex Saxonis *add. in marg.* V, X

⁴ Chanteriacum MA

⁵ Bruxelles MA

⁶ multa MA

26. Amédée VIII, Duke of Savoy (Antipope Felix V)

[186] After his father¹ died, Count Amédée of Savoy^{2 3 4} reigned for about 50 years and with great success. He added several territories to his paternal domains,⁵ wherefore Sigismund⁶ made him a duke when he passed through Chambéry.⁷ In the long war between the English and the French⁸, he sided neither with the King of France⁹ nor with the Burgundians, though both parties made overtures to him. Instead, he let his subjects freely choose whom they would serve, for a salary (they mostly sided with the English). Therefore, no party followed him later.¹⁰ He made a perpetual alliance with Bern and accepted being made a citizen of that city. Won over by gifts, he began to side with the Venetians against the Duke of Milan,¹¹ but Duke Filippo, being engaged in many wars, wanted to remedy this and therefore gave him the city of Vercelli and married his daughter, Marie.¹² When the Marquess of Montferrat¹³ was attacked by the Duke of Milan, Amédée seized several towns from the marquess, claiming that he did so to keep them safe, but when peace had been made between the marquess and the duke, he did not return them.¹⁴ When the Armagnacs attacked, he often bought them off with money.

¹ Amédée VII (Savoie) (1360-1391): Count of Savoy from 1383 to his death.

² Amédée VIII (Savoie) (1383-1451): Count, later Duke of Savoy. Elected antipope under the name of Felix V by the rump council in Basel in 1439.

³ For a general biography, see Cognasso.

⁴ Piccolomini first met Amédée in his “hermitage” in 1435 and later came to know him very well as his secretary in 1440 and 1441, see sect. 150.

⁵ The county of Geneva (without the city) in 1401. Later, in 1418, Piemonte returned to the state of Savoy, and in 1419 the city of Nice.

⁶ Emperor Sigismund.

⁷ In 1416. This gesture was also motivated by the count’s support of Sigismund in his efforts to restore church unity. See sect. 188.

⁸ The Hundred Years War.

⁹ Kings Charles VI and Charles VII.

¹⁰ Meaning that his neutrality cost him the support of the powers when in 1439 the rump council in Basel elected him pope.

¹¹ During the First Lombard War, see Romano, p. 69: ... *in April [1426] Amedeo, Duke of Savoy, agreed to league with Venice, thereby creating problems for Visconti on his Western front ...*

¹² Marie de Savoie (1411-1469): Married Filippo Maria Visconti in 1428.

¹³ Giangiacomo Paleologo (1395-1445): Marquess of Montferrat from 1418 to his death.

¹⁴ In 1432, the Marquess of Montferrat accepted the suzerainty of the Duke of Savoy in order to regain territories lost in war to the Duke of Milan.

[187] Uxorem duxit filiam Johannis ducis Borgundiae, ex qua plures habuit filios ac¹ filias. Ex filiabus majorem habuit Filippus, dux Mediolani. Alteram habuit Ludovicus, rex Siciliae, quo mortuo diu domi mansit, donec Ludovico, comiti Palatino, renupsit, sibi in tertio gradu conjuncto. Alteram in domo Britanniae² maritalavit. Primogenitus ejus masculus, dum in Italia laetus nimis exultat, contracto morbo interiit. Ludovicus postea ei proximabat, cui filiam regis Cypri conjunxit. Philippus autem, comes Gebennarum³, ejus filius, adolescens decessit, graveque senectuti paternae⁴ paternae⁴ vulnus intulit⁵.

[188] {75r} Is, cum jam instaret Basiliense concilium, in loco amoeno supra lacum Lemannum, ubi parcum ferarum habuit ingentemque silvam muro cinctam, egregium edificium struxit⁶ fossa muroque cinxit ad resistendum, ac sub titulo sancti Mauriti templum erexit collegiumque canonicorum fundavit. Tum et septem militibus veteranis, qui jam pompis mundi renuntiarent ac sub habitu eremitaе vivere vellent, mansiones struxit victumque paravit vestivitque eos griseis vestibus ad modum eremitarum. Sed ne mundum omnino relinquerent, sub specie bona cruces aureas in pectore, quod erat diaboli potius quam Dei signum, deferre voluit ac bacillis sese sustinere⁷. Inter quos et et ipse sibi primum locum elegit decanumque se vocavit, quamvis tantum septem forent.

¹ et X

² Britanica MA

³ Gebennensis MA

⁴ senectuti paternae : paternae senectuti MA

⁵ inflixit MA

⁶ et *add.* HE

⁷ ~~ad~~ *seq.* V

[187] He married the daughter¹ of Duke Jean of Burgundy^{2 3} and had several sons and daughters with her.⁴ The oldest of his daughters⁵ married Duke Filippo of Milan, a second daughter⁶ King Louis of Sicily.⁷ When he died, she stayed at home for a long time before she was married again, this time to Count Palatine Ludwig,⁸ though being related to him in the third degree. A third daughter⁹ married into the House of Bretagne.^{10 11} His firstborn son¹² died from an illness contracted while he was feasting excessively in Italy.¹³ The next eldest son was Louis,¹⁴ who married the daughter¹⁵ of the King of Cyprus.¹⁶ His son Philippe,¹⁷ Count of Geneva, died young, which caused great sorrow to the old man.

[188] In a charming location above the Lac Leman, he had a park with wildlife and a large forest surrounded by a wall. Some time¹⁸ after the Council of Basel had begun,¹⁹ he raised a splendid building²⁰ there and surrounded it with a moat and a wall for protection. He also built a temple dedicated to Saint Mauritius²¹ and founded a college of canons. Then he built houses for seven military veterans,²² who had renounced the pomp of the world and desired to live as hermits. He provided their living and clothed them in grey habits like hermits. But so that they would not completely leave the world, he made them wear golden pectorals. It may have been as a sign of piety, but golden pectorals are really a sign of the devil rather than of God.²³ He also made them use croziers. He chose the first place among them for himself with the title of dean, though they were only seven.²⁴

¹ Marie de Bourgogne (1386-1422): Daughter of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy. Married Amédée VIII in 1393.

² This is an error. Marie was not the daughter of Jean sans Peur, but his sister, being the daughter of Philippe le Hardi.

³ Philippe II (Valois) (1342-1404): Duke of Burgundy from 1463 to his death.

⁴ They had five sons and four daughters.

⁵ Marie de Savoie (1411-1469): Married Filippo Maria Visconti in 1427.

⁶ Marguerite (II) de Savoie (1420-1479): Married Louis III d'Anjou in 1432. Widowed, she was remarried on 18 October 1445, to Count Palatine Ludwig IV (Wittels-bach).

⁷ Louis III d'Anjou (1403-1434): Count of Anjou. Titular King of Naples.

⁸ Ludwig IV.

⁹ Bonne de Savoie (1415-1430): Daughter of Amédée VIII. Betrothed to Francois I de Bretagne in 1424 but died just before the wedding.

¹⁰ Francois I (1414-1450): Duke of Bretagne from 1422 to his death.

¹¹ On Amédée's dynastic marriage strategy, see Cognasso, I, pp. 63 ff.

¹² Amédée (1412-1431): Died at the aged of 19.

¹³ He was not, at the time, feasting but conducting a military expedition in Northern Italy when he died, possibly of typhus, possibly of dysentery (Cognasso, I, p. 63).

¹⁴ Louis I.

¹⁵ Anne de Lusignan (1418-1462): Daughter of King Janus of Cyprus. Married Louis I in 1433.

¹⁶ Janus de Lusignan (1375-1432): King of Cyprus from 1398 to his death.

¹⁷ Philippe de Savoie (1417-1444): Count of Geneva. Died unmarried.

¹⁸ 1434.

¹⁹ 1431.

²⁰ Chateau de Ripaille.

²¹ Saint Mauritius: Leader of the Roman Theban legion in the third century. Martyr and saint.

²² He himself was one of the seven.

²³ Piccolomini evidently considered pectorals made of gold as a luxury incompatible with the abnegation and poverty of religious life.

²⁴ The community was called L'Ordre de Saint-Maurice. Amédée withdrew to the hermitage in 1434.

[189] Hunc prius ego barbatum in eo loco vidi, cui Ripallia est nomen quasi Riparia, cum cardinalem Sanctae Crucis in Gallias sequerer, nam nos per lacum ad se vocavit eratque jam tum rumor papatus cupidine eum ad eremum sese recepisse. At is quamquam titulum haberet eremitaе, non tamen dominatum neque regimen dimisit, sed in eremo, quaecumque gerenda erant, administrabat. Solum sub eo habitu excusator videbatur, si non omnibus communem¹, ut antea, se praebebat. Nam priusquam eremum adiret, tam parvos quam magnos justitiam implorantes audivit, clausus autem difficiliorem ad sese aditum praebuit.

[190] Ibi cum fuissem, Petrus Noxetanus, consecrarius meus, in pariete quodam² nulli alteri quam quam mihi visus Ciceronis illam sententiam³ carbone notavit: *Totius autem injustitiae nulla capitalior est quam eorum, qui, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.*

[191] Post annos circiter octo, cum in Basilea depositus esset Eugenius, jamque schisma esset, is in Romanum pontificem⁴ electus est. Facto namque conclavi patres concilii XXXII sacerdotes elegerunt, ex qualibet natione⁵ VIII, qui cum domino Arelatensi summum pontificem eligerent. Hoc Hoc conclave et ego intravi non quasi elector, nec enim adhuc sacris eram⁶ initiatus ordinibus⁷, sed sed quasi ceremoniarum clericus intravi⁸ ac facta electione rogatus fui instrumentumque confeci. Ibi Ibi ego⁹ nihil umquam¹⁰ nisi honestatem¹¹ vidi. Octo diebus in conclavi¹² fuimus, ubi de¹³ mane divinum officium sollemniter celebrabatur distinctique per cellulas sacerdotes, {75v} quae sorte fuerant distributae, a medio noctis¹⁴ usque in¹⁵ mane orabant. Post missas, quas omnes celebrabant, exin¹⁶ ad electionem procedebant, ubi ego non intereram. Facto scrutinio prandium erat paratum, quod per foramen quoddam apportabatur. Exinde dulces suavesque et¹⁷ admodum utiles disputationes¹⁸ habebantur, ut inter viros doctos consuevit, totaque dies honestis sermonibus aut lectionibus agitabatur. Ibi¹⁹ electus fuit Amedeus in papam vocatusque est Felix. Nihil ego vidi, quod non liceret.

¹ omit. X [blank space]

² quadam MA

³ illam sententiam : sententiam illam MA

⁴ Romanum pontificem : pontificem Romanum MA

⁵ ~~duos~~ seq. V

⁶ erat V, X

⁷ omit. MA

⁸ omit. MA

⁹ ergo MA

¹⁰ omit. MA

¹¹ honestum MA

¹² conclave MA

¹³ ubi de : valde MA

¹⁴ medio noctis : media nocte MA

¹⁵ ad MA

¹⁶ omit. MA

¹⁷ omit. MA

¹⁸ utiles disputationes : disputationes utilesque MA

¹⁹ ubi X, MA

[189] The first time I saw him, he had a long beard. It was in a place called Ripaille (like Riparia¹), and I was accompanying the Cardinal of Santa Croce on his way to France when Amédée invited us to cross the lake and visit him there. Already at that time, there was a rumour that he had entered the hermitage out of ambition for the papacy. But though he was called a hermit, he had not relinquished power and government but administered the current affairs from the hermitage.² Because of his state as hermit, it seemed excusable that he did not make himself available to all as he had done formerly. Before he became a hermit, he received both small and great seeking justice, but the eremitical isolation made access to him more difficult.

[190] During our stay, Pietro da Noceto,³ my fellow secretary, with a piece of carbon wrote this sentence of Cicero on a wall (I was the only one who saw it): *Of all forms of injustice, none is more flagrant than that of the hypocrite who, at the very moment when he is most false, makes it his business to appear virtuous.*⁴

[191] About eight years later, when Eugenius had been deposed in Basel and the schism reigned, Amédée was elected Roman Pontiff.⁵ The council fathers chose 32 priests, eight from each [conciliar] nation, who together with His Lordship of Arles⁶ would elect the new Supreme Pontiff.⁷ Pontiff.⁷ I also took part in this conclave but not as an elector, since I had not yet received Holy Orders, but as a clerk of ceremonies. After the election, I was invited in and drew up the [notarial] instrument.⁸ I saw nothing there that was not decent and honest. We were in the conclave for eight days. In the morning, the divine office was celebrated solemnly. The priests stayed in their separate cells, allotted to them by chance, and prayed from midnight until morning. After the masses, which all celebrated [individually], they proceeded to the election, in which I did not participate. After the ballot, lunch was ready, having been brought in through an opening. Then, friendly, pleasant and most fruitful discussions took place,⁹ as happens between learned men, and the whole day was spent

¹ Riparius = belonging to river banks.

² His son, Louis I, was appointed regent of Savoy in 1434, but Amédée retained the real power until his election as antipope.

³ Pietro da Noceto (1397-1467): At the time, secretary of Cardinal Albergati, whose majordomo was Tommaso Parentucelli, later Pope Nicolaus V, whom Pietro served as secretarius secretus. Pietro was a close friend of Piccolomini.

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.13.41.

⁵ Amédée was elected pope on 5 November 1439. On the election, see sect. 149.

⁶ Cardinal Louis Aleman.

⁷ On the electors, see Piccolomini's letter to Archbishop Pizzolpasso of 29 October 1439 (WO, I, 1, ep. 31, pp. 101-103; CPL, I, ep. 30).

⁸ The formal document attesting the election. It probably formed the basis for the conciliar decree of 17 November 1439, the *Deus patrum nostrorum*, which also gave a description of the conclave. See Guichenon, I, pp. 314-316.

⁹ In his *De Rebus Basileae Gestis Commentarius* from 1450, Piccolomini had this commentary: *Electis igitur octo viris ex qualibet natione, triginta duos cum Arelatensi cardinali in conclave miserunt, sive simulata sive vera contentio fuit, per octo dies dilata est electio* (WO, II, ep. 44, p. 200).

spent in worthy sermons and readings. There Amédée was elected pope under the name of Felix.¹ I saw nothing improper at all.²

[192] Quidam tamen affectasse eum papatum magnopere contendebant patresque fuisse pecunia corruptos, quod numquam ego scire quivi. Indicium tamen affectati papatus fuit, quod idem Amedeus, cum antea concilio adversaretur, ad ipsam Eugenii depositionem praelatos suos transmisit. Nec enim dominorum³ episcoporum numerus⁴ affuisset, nisi Sabaudienses advenissent. Tum et in electione major pars suorum subditorum fuit, Itali namque et Gallici fere omnes aut sui erant subditi aut beneficiis sibi obligati. Ipse quoque, antequam eligeretur, scripsit aliquibus principibus se in papam eligi posse, petiitque consilium, an⁵ acceptaret papatum ad se venientem. Inter quos Philippus, dux Mediolani, sibi plurimum consuluit oboedientiamque in eventu obtulit, quamvis postea minime servavit, cum pecuniam, quam petebat, non obtineret.

[193] Postquam igitur electus est Amedeus, missi sunt ad eum omnes oratores, cum quibus et ego profectus sum. Sed cum essemus in via, significavit Amedeus se nolle papatum acceptare, nisi et provisio fieret, per quam posset se in papatu substinere. Nam etsi vellet cum persona⁶ sua⁷ servire ecclesiae, filiorum tamen bona nolebat dissipare, quae res admodum turbavit mentes legatorum. Profecti tamen post multas deliberationes fictas⁸, nam antea⁹ conclusum erat, quid agendum. Felix papatum acceptavit apud Ripalliam moxque postea Tononium venit, ubi et barbam deposuit et officiales elegit, meque tunc in secretarium accepit, quamvis Gallicis non sint multum accepti Italici.

¹ 5 November 1439.

² On the election of Felix V, see Piccolomini's letters 31-34, in WO, I, 1 (CPL, I, ep. 30-33).

³ aliorum *dub.* V; duorum X

⁴ ullus MA

⁵ *corr. ex* antequam V

⁶ omit. X [*blank space*]; iustitia HE, MA

⁷ suae MA

⁸ factas X, MA

⁹ ante MA

[192] However, some claim that he had greatly manipulated his own election as pope and that the fathers had been corrupted with money. I was never able to learn the truth of that. There were, however, some indications of a rigged election since the same Amédée, although he had previously opposed the council, sent his prelates to [participate in the] the deposition of Eugenius, for without the Savoyard [bishops], there would not have been an adequate number of lord bishops.¹ Also, the majority of the electors were dependent on him, for almost all the Italians or French were his direct subjects or obliged to him by favours. Moreover, before his election he wrote to several princes that he might be elected pope, asking them for their advice on whether to accept the papacy if offered. Among the princes was Duke Filippo of Milan, who very much encouraged him [to accept] and promised him obedience if he was elected, although later he did not keep his promise because he did not get the money he demanded.

[193] After Améée had been elected, an embassy² was sent to him, which I joined. While we were on the road, Amédée informed us that he would only accept the papacy if provision was made for his maintenance in the papacy. For although he was ready to serve the Church with his own person, he was not willing to spend the property of his sons.³ This somewhat disturbed the legates,⁴ but they they did continue their travel, after much, contrived, discussion (for it had previously been decided what to do). Felix accepted the papacy in Ripaille and soon went to Thonon, where he had his beard cut off and selected his officials. He also engaged me as his secretary though the French do not much like Italians.⁵

¹ By then, almost all cardinals and many bishops had left the council. Consisting, now, mostly of non-prelates (university men, theologians, and even laymen), the legitimacy of the council and its deposition of the reigning pope and impending election of a new pope was diminished by the lack of bishops, a lack which the Duke of Savoy remedied by sending a number of his own bishops.

² Voigt, I, 10, p. 175: *Um den Herzog seine Erwählung durch eine feierliche Gesandtschaft kund zu tun, ernannte das Concil am 3. Dec. [1439] ... 25 Gesandte, 7 Bischöfe, 3 Aebte, 14 Doctoren. Enea Silvio war auch darunter, er zählte wohl zu den Doctoren.*

³ In his *De Rebus Basileae Gestis Commentarius* from 1450, Piccolomini wrote: *Ille difficile principio sese ostendebat, grave pondus refugere videbatur. Sed avaritia paulum more fecit. Ajebat enim: Vos decreta edidistis, ubi annate auferuntur pape. De quo igitur papa vivet? An ego patrimonium meum consumam filiosque exheredabo vestri causa? Oportuit igitur promittere provisionem, que post facta est, ut omnium, que vacarent, beneficiorum parvorum magnorumque denarius quintus anni primi apostolico daretur* (WO, II, p. 200).

⁴ One of the reasons for the choice of the Duke of Savoy as pope was his excellent financial circumstances. Felix' unwillingness to use the duchy's financial resources to support his own papacy and the council was, therefore, unpleasant news. Cf. Voigt, I, 10, p. 182: *Schon als man dem Papste die Tiara anbot, hatte sich's gezeigt, das man sich in der Meinung verrechnet, er werde seine Schätze freigebig in die Kirche, d.h. in das Concil ausfliessen lassen.*

⁵ Note that here Piccolomini considers the House of Savoy as French.

[194] Post aliquot¹ dies cardinales creavit: primum Ludovicum de Varambone, secundum Bartholomaeum Novariensem, tertium Carillum² de Hispania, quartum Valramum³ Trajectensem, ex quibus nemo acceptavit {76r} nisi⁴ de Varambone. Novariensis quoque, cujus promotionis ego auctor fui, clam acceptavit, sed postea in Romana curia resignavit apud Eugenium.⁵ Tum quoque resignato ducato Ludovicum primogenitum in ducem Sabaudiae creavit et Philippum secundogenitum comitem Gebennarum.⁶

[195] Exin Lausaniem venit, ubi aliquibus⁷ mensibus moratus multisque concilii precibus rogatus tandem cum magno apparatu sequente comite Gebennarum⁸ Basileam venit ibique adveniente ejus fililo, duce, cum insigni⁹ nobilique comitiva¹⁰ unis vestibus induta¹¹ coronatus est concurrentibus undique populis. Nec multo post obtenta licentia creandi cardinales ultra numerum decreti concilii et praeter qualitates decreti ex Francia creavit plures, qui non acceptarunt^{12 13}. Qui acceptarunt, Gebennensis episcopus archiepiscopusque Tarantasiensis, nam hi subditi ejus erant. Ex Almania solus Johannes Grunengualder¹⁴ acceptavit. Ex Italia solus creatus est Panormitanus,¹⁵ qui etiam¹⁶ acceptavit. Ex Hispania, qui creati sunt, omnes acceptarunt: Georgius Vicensis, Octo Dertusensis et Johannes de Sagobia.

¹ aliquos MA

² Camillum X, MA

³ Valvanum MA

⁴ Ludovicus *add.* MA

⁵ ~~Post hec Felix Lausaniem perrexit ubi per seq.~~ V

⁶ Gebennensem MA

⁷ aliquo [*sic!*] V; aliquot *em.* HE [NB: aliquibus X, MA]

⁸ Gebennensi MA

⁹ designe X

¹⁰ comitatu MA

¹¹ unis vestibus induta *omit.* MA

¹² acceptaverunt MA

¹³ episcopum Nanatensem Johannem nomine sine litteris sed prudentem *add. in marg.* V, X

¹⁴ Gravembergensis MA

¹⁵ immo et Tridentinus et Aquilegiensis *add. in marg.* V, X

¹⁶ et HE, MA

[194] After some days,¹ he appointed cardinals. The first one was Louis de Varambon,² the second Bartolomeo of Novara,³ the third Carillo from Spain,⁴ and the fourth Walram from Utrecht.⁵ Of the the four, only de Varambon accepted. Novara (whose promotion was obtained by me) only accepted in secret, and later, he resigned while at Eugenius' Roman Curia.⁶ Then Amédée abdicated as duke⁷ and appointed his eldest son, Louis,⁸ Duke of Savoy and his second-eldest, Philippe,⁹ Count Count of Geneva.

[195] Later he came to Lausanne, where he stayed for some months. Then, at the repeated requests of the council, he finally went to Basel in great pomp, accompanied by the Count of Geneva.¹⁰ His son, the duke,¹¹ came, too, with a distinguished following of nobles, all dressed identically. There he was crowned¹² [during a ceremony for which] people gathered from everywhere. Shortly afterwards, he received permission¹³ to exceed the number and qualities of cardinals decreed by the council.¹⁴ ¹⁵ He appointed several from France who did not accept. Those who accepted were the Bishop of Geneva¹⁶ and the Archbishop of Tarentaise,¹⁷ both being his own subjects. From Germany, only Johann Grünwalder¹⁸ accepted.¹⁹ From Italy, only Panormitano²⁰ was appointed,

¹ 12 April 1440.

² Louis de la Palud [de Varambon] (1370/1380): Benedictine monk, later abbot. Bishop of Lausanne, 1431. Bishop of Avignon, 1433. Bishop of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, 1441. Appointed cardinal by Felix V and by Nicolaus V in 1449.

³ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁴ Alfonso Carillo de Acuna (1410-1482): Bishop of Siguenza, 1436. Archbishop of Toledo, 1446. Appointed cardinal by Felix V.

⁵ Walram von Mörs (ca. 1393-1456): Elected Bishop of Utrecht 1434, but never able to take possession. Elected Bishop of Münster, 1450, which started the *Münsterische Stiftsfehde*.

⁶ See sect. 12.

⁷ 6 January 1440.

⁸ Louis I.

⁹ Philippe de Savoie.

¹⁰ Philippe de Savoie.

¹¹ Louis I (Savoie).

¹² 24 July 1440. In a letter to Juan de Segovia of 13 August 1440, Piccolomini gave a detailed description of the coronation ceremony (WO, I, 1, ep. 34, pp. 105-110. CPL, I, ep. 33).

¹³ From the council.

¹⁴ Decree "*Quoniam salus populi*" of 26 March 1436 limiting the number of cardinals to 24, see COD, pp. 501-504.

¹⁵ Piccolomini does not mention the appointment of Alexander von Mazowien (on 2 October 1440).

¹⁶ Francois de Metz [Meez] (-1444): Bishop of Geneva from 1426 to his death.

¹⁷ Jean d'Arces (ca. 1370-1454): Archbishop of Tarentaise from 1438 to his death.

¹⁸ Johann Grünwalder (1393-1452): Illegitimate son of Duke Johann II of Bavaria-Munich. Prince-bishop of Freising from 1443/1448 to his death. Uncle of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria-Munich.

¹⁹ In his oration "*Si putarem*", written some years before (1444), Piccolomini had denounced Grünwalder's opportunism in accepting the cardinalate from Felix: *When in Mainz he was requested, in the name of Neutrality, to put away his cardinal's hat, he answered: "I would rather die than give up this symbol of my office, for this purple colour signifies that I should not hesitate to shed my blood for the Faith." Now, under no pressure whatsoever, he has put away the hat, and his arms are no longer surmounted by a [cardinal's] hat but by a [bishop's] mitre. He has done this either because he believes that a cardinal's office is inferior to that of a bishop, or because he wants to demonstrate that he now adheres to Neutrality so that he may obtain episcopal office. I do believe that he would even declare obedience to Eugenius if he thought that he could get the Church [of Freising] in that way, for he does not bend himself to the Faith, but he bends the Faith to himself.* (COR, I, 5, sect. 12).

²⁰ Archbishop Niccolò Tedeschi. See sect. 7, 209.

who also accepted the appointment. All those appointed from Spain accepted: Jorge¹ from Vich, Otto² from Tortona, and Juan de Segovia.

[196] Cumque diu Basileae fuisset, nullus ad ejus oboedientiam princeps venit nisi Albertus, dux Bavariae, per Johannem Grunengualder³ inductus, quae res illum cardinalem fecit. Post cum Fridericus esset in Francfordia, magnam legationem ad eum misit, nec profecit. Rursus quoque cum eo in Basilea locutus, cum parum spei haberet in oboedientia, rursus in Sabaudiam rediit ac promissa celeri reversione adhuc non venit. Frater illi uterinus⁴ est, quem numquam vidit, comes Armeniaci, qui et ipse numquam fratri oboedire voluit. Filiam suam Ludovico Palatino, ut diximus, quamvis tradiderit, nihil tamen oboedientiae lucratus est.

¹ Jorge de Ornos : Bishop of Vich 1423-1445.

² Ot de Montcada i de Luna (1390-1473): Bishop of Tortosa 1415 to his death.

³ Gravembergensem MA

⁴ ultimus MA

[196] He stayed in Basel for a long time, but the only prince to join his obedience¹ was Albrecht,² Duke of Bavaria, at the persuasion of Johann Grünwalder, which gained him the cardinalate. Later, when Friedrich³ was in Frankfurt,⁴ he sent an important embassy to him⁵ but without success. He also spoke with Friedrich in Basel.⁶ When he lost hope of extending his obedience, he returned to Savoy,⁷ promising that he would return soon, but he has not done so until now. Through his mother⁸ he has a brother, the Count of Armagnac,⁹ whom he has never seen and who never wanted to join his brother's obedience.¹⁰ As already said, he married a daughter¹¹ to Count Palatine Ludwig¹² but without gaining his obedience.

¹ Obedience: a) the recognition of a pope and subsequent obedience; b) those who recognize the pope. During papal schisms, each pope has his own obedience. Antipope Felix V was only recognized by Savoy and Munich.

² Albrecht III.

³ Emperor Friedrich III.

⁴ Summer 1442.

⁵ Sect. 149-154.

⁶ Sect. 156.

⁷ Felix' departure from Basel is mentioned in a letter by Gaspare Caccia to Piccolomini of May 1443 (WO, I, 1, ep. 53, p. 146; CPL, 52, sect. 2).

⁸ Bonne de Berry (ca. 1362-1435): Her first marriage, to Amédée VII of Savoy, 1377-1391, resulted in two daughters and a son, Amédée VIII. Her second marriage, to Bernard VII of Armagnac, in 1393, resulted in five daughters and 2 sons, one of them being Jean IV of Armagnac.

⁹ Count Jean IV d'Armagnac (1396-1450): Count of Armagnac from 1418 to his death.

¹⁰ The French had early opted for the pope in Rome against Felix, but moreover, Savoy's close relations with the Burgundians generally strained their relations with Burgundy's enemies, the Armagnacs, even in spite of the marital connection through Bonne de Berry. See Cognasso, I, p. 48: *Tante amicizie, tante parentele dalla parte di Borgogna dovevano naturalmente rendere meno cordiali le relazioni di Amedeo VIII con i congiunti d'Armagnac.*

¹¹ Marguerite de Savoie.

¹² Ludwig IV.

[197] Cum rege Aragonum magnos tractatus habuit, qui Romam capere promittebat ipsumque Felicem illuc salvum deducere, sed numquam permissus¹ est {76v} a Gallicis cum rege Aragonum concordare, qui inimicus esset regis Renati, quamvis rex Renatus ipsi Felici adversaretur. Cum duce Mediolani et Nicolao Picenino magni tractatus habiti sunt. Ad extremum obtulit Felix Nicolao Picenino CL milia ducatorum, ut² ipse serviret sibi cum equitibus IX milibus et tribus milibus peditum, resque proxima conclusioni fuit promittebatque Piceninus ipsum Eugenium in Florentia capere, quamvis ad id non se obligaret, quod satis erat verisimile, si vexilla Felicis cum tali potentia in Italia fuissent erecta, nam Felicis magnum erat nomen tum potentiae, tum sapientiae. Eugenius autem odio habebatur, ut fit, nam homines in patria odio sunt, in longinquis amori. Sed cum ad haec opus esset mitti legatos Mediolanum, Johannes de Gralea camerarius, qui ad Piceninum iret³, sexaginta solum milia Rhenensium florenorum promisit se daturum⁴, quae res adeo Piceninum irritavit, ut statim postea cum Eugenio concordaverit ejusque capitaneus effectus fuerit. Similiter et rex Aragonum, ubi se trahi per verba perpendit, Eugenio se reconciliavit Cathelanosque suos ex Basiliensi⁵ concilio revocavit, qui omnes fuerunt oboedientes ac plus plebes quam fidem fecerunt, praeter Vicensem, quem postea privatum ecclesia nimiae constantiae poenituit.

¹ permissum MA

² et V, X

³ ivit X; venit MA

⁴ promisit se daturum : se dare promisit MA

⁵ omit. MA

[197] He had serious negotiations with the King of Aragon,¹ who promised to take Rome and bring Felix there safely.² However, the French would not allow Felix to make an agreement with the King of Aragon since this king was an enemy of King René,³ despite René himself being an enemy of Felix.⁴ He also had intense negotiations with the Duke of Milan⁵ and Niccolò Piccinino.⁶ In the end, end, Felix offered Piccinino 150,000 ducats to serve him with 9,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry. The matter was almost concluded, and Piccinino promised (though without obliging himself) to take Eugenius prisoner in Florence. It would likely have come to pass if Felix' banners had been raised in Italy with such a great force behind them, for he enjoyed a great reputation as a powerful and clever man. Eugenius, on the other side, was hated, for men are commonly hated in their own country, whereas men who are far way are loved. But when it became necessary to send envoys to Milan, the treasurer Johannes de Grolea⁷ went to meet with Piccinino and only promised to give him 60,000 Rhenish florins. This upset Piccinino so much that soon after he made an agreement with Eugenius and was appointed his captain. Similarly, when the King of Aragon realised that he had been strung along with words, he reconciled himself with Eugenius⁸ and recalled his Catalans from the Council of Basel.⁹ They obeyed him, caring more about their people¹⁰ than Faith. The only only exception was the Bishop of Vich,¹¹ who would afterwards regret losing his church out of too great loyalty.^{12 13}

¹ Alfonso V (Aragon).

² See sect. 209.

³ René d'Anjou.

⁴ The French René d'Anjou (brother-in-law of King Charles VII) had been defeated by King Alfonso V in the fight for the Kingdom of Naples. Later, the French would support René's attempts to regain the kingdom.

⁵ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁶ Gill, p. 148: *The Duke of Milan had been in touch with antipope Felix, his father-in-law, ever since his election. He had offered to capture the Papal States for him, at a price; the bargain was about to be made, and Piccinino had been nominated Grand Standard Bearer of the Church by Felix, when Visconti seems to have been attacked by a fit of jealousy of Sforza, his son-in-law. René d'Anjou had appealed to the latter for help and help was going to be given, for Alfonso had seized some of Sforza's Neapolitan possessions. Alfonso in alarm urged Visconti to restrain his son-in-law, and Visconti in his turn insinuated to Eugenius that it was time he took steps to recover the March of Ancona ... Sforza was moving towards Naples when Piccinino, now Grand Standard Bearer of the Church by the appointment of Eugenius ... entered Bologna in the name of the Church ...*

⁷ Johannes de Grolea: Vicecamerarius apostolicus (of Felix V). Lord of Neyrac (?).

⁸ In the treaty of Terracina of 14 June 1443, Pope Eugenius recognized Alfonso of King of Naples and Sicily. Alphonso promised the pope help against the Turks and troops to reconquer the Marche from Francesco Sforza (Gill, p. 150). In a letter to Cardinal Cesarini of ca. 20 August 1443, Piccolomini wrote: *Eugenium esse Senis non ignoratis. Is cum rege Aragonum et duce Mediolano ac Nicolao Picenino et cum tota factione illa fedus percussit, cujus rei vigore revocaturus est rex suos ex Basiliensi concilio praelatos ...* (WO, I, 1, ep. 71, pp. 174-175).

⁹ See sect. 7.

¹⁰ I.e. their bishoprics.

¹¹ Jorge de Ornos.

¹² To the Council of Basel and Felix.

¹³ Undoubtedly, Piccolomini was deeply involved in these affairs and appears to be frustrated that the parsimony of Felix (or his officials on his behalf) made the negotiations fail, thus missing an obvious chance to unseat the rival pope. Piccolomini's account is an example of eyewitness testimony to an important contemporary political process.

[198] Sic Felix hodie cum solis Sabaudiensibus, Suicensibus et aliquibus Bavaris papatum tenet. Mira Dei ultio, nam cum is aliquando¹ tamquam in specula aliorum principum intueretur calamitates nullique auxilium, quamvis rogatus, ferret, in eum statum devenit, ut jam omnium principum auxilio indiget,² et nemo sibi succurrat³. Accusatus est autem nimiae tenacitatis, vir tamen magnae prudentiae est. Is mirum dictu⁴ in senio suo linguam sic flexit, ut Latine ornate loqueretur, qui, dum juvenis fuit, patrio solum sermone utebatur.

¹ aliqua MA

² indigeat HE, MA

³ succurrat HE, MA

⁴ *omit.* MA

[198] Thus, Felix today maintains his papacy only with the support of the Savoyards, the Swiss, and some Bavarians. God's revenge is amazing: earlier Felix saw the misfortunes of other princes from above and never helped, though asked to. Now that he needs the help of all the princes, nobody comes to his aid. He is accused of avarice, but he really is a clever man. Remarkably, in his old age he has learnt to speak excellent Latin, though in his youth he only spoke his fathers' language.^{1 2 3 4}

¹ French.

² In his *Commentarii*, VII, 8, Pius II included a lengthy description of Amédée/Felix V, with a more negative view of his papacy. Concerning the development of these biographies, see Izbicki: *The Missing*, p. 312: *Aeneas's final judgment of Amadeus is stated in Book VII of the Commentaries. At the beginning of the excursus on Savoy, the duke is described as seeming wise and fortunate, but only by comparison to his foolish and unfortunate neighbors. At the end, Amadeus is dismissed as becoming a fool in his old age. The author may have intended to make his own decision to abandon this "monkey man" look wiser by describing the failed campaign of Felix to win acceptance as a descent into folly. Placed where it is, far from the account of Aeneas's own Basel years, this excursus seems all the more self-serving for being inserted where it serves no larger purpose in the narrative. Although the worst comments are placed in the mouths of others, Aeneas abandoned the more tempered judgment of the De viris illustribus for criticism that makes more of Amadeus's looks than of his failed pontificate and the disappointed hopes of the leaders of the Council of Basel.*

³ Date: This text was written between 18 October 1445 (marriage of Ludwig IV, Count Palatine, with Marguerite de Savoie) and March 1447 (death of Eugenius IV and election of Nicolaus V).

⁴ Piccolomini's sources: Personal experiences at the Council of Basel and as Felix' secretary and information derived from the imperial court.

27. Alfonsus Rex Aragonum

[199] Alfonsus, rex Aragonum, patri Martino successit. Multa tamen perpessus est, priusquam regni gubernacula ex integro susciperet, nam Castellani infensi ei¹ fuerunt. Cum pluribus bellis feliciter gestis tandem regno potitus est.

[200] Is Petrum de Luna, postquam summo pontificio dejectus est a concilio Constantiensi, per plures annos tamquam pontificem maximum coluit, ob quam rem terraemotus, {77r} qui ejus in regno validissimi fuerunt nonnullasque urbes funditus diruerunt, in ultionem ex Dei ordinatione crediti sunt contigisse, nec enim verum pontificem Martinum venerabatur. Hic ergo post haec Martino papae conciliatus est.

[201] Vir magni animi, quo suo tempore nemo saevio² fortunam expertus est, quam tamen ipse mira constantia in³ favorem sui convertit⁴. Pluribus expeditionibus infeliciter usus est. Ante Bonifacium, quod est Corsicae oppidum portumque habet insignem atque famosum, cum tota fere insula sibi oboediret, hoc autem Janiensium imperia susciperet, diu⁵ obsidionem habuit portumque validissimis catenis clausit, ne Januensium naves in auxilium venire possent intrarentque⁶ portum. Sed⁷ Januenses armata classi inter alias naves unam⁸ ingentem habuerunt, quam ferrata prora in portum direxerunt, expectatoque venti felici et in puppim feriente extensis velis tanto impetu in portum lapsi sunt, ut catenas omnes ingentiaque ferramenta dirumpentes portum intrarint, auxilium suis⁹ dederint, hostes profligaverint ac majorem insulae partem in potestatem redegerint¹⁰.

¹ infensi ei : ei infensi MA

² senio²rem X

³ ad MA

⁴ comittitit MA

⁵ dum MA

⁶ introirentque MA

⁷ omit. MA

⁸ omit. X

⁹ corr. ex suis auxilium V; suis auxilium X, MA

¹⁰ redigerent MA

27. Alfonso V, King of Aragón and Naples

[199] Alfonso, King of Aragón,^{1 2 3} succeeded⁴ his father, Martin.⁵ Due to Castilian opposition,⁶ he suffered many reverses before he gained complete control of the government, but having fought several wars, he ultimately obtained the kingship.⁷

[200] When Pedro de Luna⁸ had been deposed by the Council of Konstanz,⁹ Alfonso continued for several years to honour him as pope¹⁰ and did not honour the true pope, Martin.¹¹ Therefore, people believe that the strong earthquakes which occurred in his kingdom and destroyed several cities had been caused in revenge by God.¹² Afterwards, he made his peace with Martin.

[201] He was a man of great spirit. Nobody in his time experienced a more hostile fortune, but, with amazing perseverance, he managed to turn it into his favour. He conducted several unsuccessful military campaigns.

Almost the whole island of Corsica obeyed him, except the town of Bonifacio (with its excellent and infamous harbour) that preferred the lordship of Genoa. So, he besieged the town for a long time and closed the harbour with strong chains to prevent the Genoese ships from entering it and bringing aid to the city. However, the Genoese armed a fleet. Among their ships there was a very large one with an iron-clad bow that they turned towards the harbour. Then they waited for a favourable wind, and when it came and hit the ship, they unfurled the sails and sailed into the harbour under such power that they broke all the chains and the iron fixtures. Thus, they were able to relieve their supporters, rout the enemies, and bring most of the island into their power.¹³

¹ Alfonso V (Aragón) (1396-1458): King of Aragón from 1416, Count of Barcelona. King of Naples from 1442 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Ryder.

³ When he wrote the DVI, Piccolomini did not yet have a personal acquaintance with Alfonso, but while at the Council of Basel, he was well informed of the king's policies, he had been involved in Felix V's negotiations with the king, and as a member of the imperial chancellery, he had handled the correspondence between Friedrich III and the king.

⁴ 1416.

⁵ Error: Alfonso's father was not Martin, but Ferdinand I of Aragón (Trastámara) (1380-1416): King of Aragón from 1412 to his death.

⁶ The Castilian troubles were actually caused by Alfonso and his brother interfering with the government of the king of Castile, their cousin Juan II, see sect. 218.

⁷ On Alfonso's career before the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, see Piccolomini's *Europa*, sect. 275.

⁸ Antipope Benedict XIII.

⁹ 1417.

¹⁰ Pedro de Luna died in 1423.

¹¹ Martin V, who supported the Anjou candidate for the crown of Naples against the candidacy of Alfonso.

¹² In punishment of the king not recognizing God's true Vicar on Earth.

¹³ Ryder, pp. 84-85: *On the advice of his captains, Alfonso had constructed a barrier of heavy beams across the mouth of the harbour. In front of it lay another obstacle: a line of ships lashed together with gangplanks so that men-at-arms might pass freely from one to another. Artillery and archers on both shores added their fire-power to this formidable array which appeared for a time to have deterred the Genoese. Alerted to the Aragonese dispositions by a message carried by a swimmer under cover of night, for some days they cruised up and down just out of gunshot. One of their ships none the less succeeded in getting supplies into Bonifacio up a hazardous, unguarded cliff face. Heartened by that success and knowing that time was running out, they struck at sunrise on Sunday, 29 December. Three of their vessels*

[202] Is quoque mortuo Ladislao, rege Apuliae, cum soror Johanna regnum teneret, invitatus a quibusdam regni baronibus ex Sicilia in Italiam transivit, nam et jus propter Siciliam habere se putabat, in tantumque regnum vexavit, ut pro pace regni coacta fuerit eum regina in filium adoptare. Tum ergo et Neapolim intravit et¹ arcem in potestatem recepit. Sed cum Cathelani illic immanitate quadam uterentur ac praeter morem patriae dominari vellent maritasque suis viris eriperent ac stupris et adulteriis civitatem complerent, civitatis odium Neapolitanae contraxit. Itaque clam tractatum est Januenses cum classe transmitti, quos Filippus Mediolanensium dux armare fecit, missoque Guidone Torello comite, viro magnifico et rei militaris experto, bellum in Neapoli coeptum est ac terra marique pugnatum, coactusque est Alfonsus turpiter fugere, tumque regno toto spoliatus.

[203] Is demum apud Barchinonam² classem novam armare volens cives hortatus est in eam rem auxilia ferre, quae tenebantur. Illi paratos se dicebant, quae³ majestas regia juberet, adimplere, scire tamen se velle, quo eundum⁴ esset cum classe aut quid gerendum. Tum rex: “Nemini,” inquit, “dico⁵, quae⁶ sum⁷ facturus, nec fratri quidem.” Tum illi: “At nostri est privilegii scire. Quod si toti senatui non vis aperire, id {77v} saltem uni ex nobis, cui volueris, dicito⁸, qui secretum teneat, ne contra privilegia nostra facere videamur.” “Placet.” inquit rex, accersitoque uno, “Huic,” ait, “dicam.” Cives “Satis facis,” ajunt. Ille vocato ad partem viro, quem amare videbatur⁹, “Dicam”, inquit, “tibi, si vis, quae¹⁰ sum¹¹ facturus. Sed ne postea cuiquam¹² pandas, caput tibi a cervice recidi jubebo.” Tum ille: “Non sum tam avidus secreti tui, ut mortem propterea malim. Dicito hoc alteri cum hac conditione.” Tum rex: “Aut audias hoc pacto necessum¹³ est, aut¹⁴, cum nihil sciveris, scire tamen te referas, nisi mortem vis.” Ille parere obtulit se ac dimissus est ...

sailing before a brisk onshore wind smashed straight through the Aragonese barrier and entered the harbour to the frantic cheers of the besieged.

¹ in X

² Barchinonum MA

³ quod MA

⁴ eumdum MA

⁵ dicto MA

⁶ quid MA

⁷ sim HE, MA

⁸ dicto MA

⁹ *corr. ex dicebatur* V

¹⁰ quid MA

¹¹ sim HE, MA

¹² cuique MA

¹³ necesse X; necessarium MA

¹⁴ *te seq.* V

[202] When King Ladislas¹ of Puglia died, his sister Giovanna² became the ruler. At the invitation of some of the barons of the kingdom, Alfonso crossed over from Sicily to Italy, considering that he had the right³ because of Sicily. He caused such disruption in the kingdom that the queen was forced to adopt him as her son to have peace. Then he entered Naples⁴ and took over the fortress.⁵ But the Catalans behaved cruelly and wanted to dominate the country excessively. Taking wives from their husbands with violence, they filled the city with debauchery and adultery and thus incurred the wrath of the city of Naples. The Neapolitans then had secret negotiations concerning the dispatch of a Genoese fleet, armed by Duke Filippo of Milan. Then Count Guido Torelli⁶ was sent, a stately man and a military expert, who began a war in Naples, fought on land and at sea. Alfonso was deprived of the whole kingdom and forced to flee in shame.⁷

[203] Later, he wanted to arm a new fleet from Barcelona and exhorted the citizens to grant him the obligatory aid. They answered that they were willing to fulfil His Royal Majesty's requirements but wanted to know where he would take the fleet and what he would do with it. The king replied, "I will tell no one what I intend to do, not even a brother." They said, "But we have a right⁸ to know it. If you do not want to reveal it to the whole senate, then tell it to one of us only so that we do not appear to break our own privileges." "Agreed," the king said, and summoning one of them, whom he liked, he said, "I will tell it to this man." The citizens answered, "That is fine." Then he took the man aside and said to him, "If you wish, I shall tell you what I intend to do. But to prevent you from telling it to anybody else, I shall then order your beheading." The man replied, "I am not so eager to know your secret that I will die for it. Tell it to somebody else, on the same condition." Then the king said, "You must either hear my secret on this condition or pretend to know it unless you wish to die." The other said he would obey and was sent away.⁹

¹ Ladislas (Anjou-Durazzo) (1377-1414): King of Naples from 1386 to his death.

² Giovanna II (Anjou-Durazzo) (1371-1435): Queen of Naples from 1414 to her death.

³ To the Kingdom of Naples, formerly part of the Kingdom of Sicily.

⁴ 8 July 1421.

⁵ Castel Nuovo.

⁶ Guido Torelli (1379-1449): Italian condottiero. In his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, Decembrio wrote about him: *Other commanders too served under his banners. Two of these should be mentioned: Sicco Montagnana and Guido Torelli, the one more useful for his counsel, the other in battle* (ch. 29; p. 43); and: *In his privy council there were excellent men such as Guarnerio Castiglioni and Guido Torelli* (ch. 64, p. 129).

⁷ 1 October 1423.

⁸ "privilegium", i.e. a right granted by princely privilege to know the purposes of their financial grants to the king.

⁹ Neither Facio (bk. 4) nor Ryder (ch. 4), Alfonso's Renaissance and modern biographer, respectively, relates such an episode, which Piccolomini must have imagined or obtained from some other source.

[204] ... classisque ingens armata, quam rex in Africam duxit sperans ignominiam Italicae fugae Libica victoria abolere. Cumque imparatos barbaros adorsus esset, magnas clades intulit regi Tunis ingentemque praedam recepit. Sed Afri, ut sunt versipelles, fingunt se timere admodum velleque regi parere, tractantque de conditionibus pacis. Interim vero exercitum colligunt Alfonsumque tam¹ imparatum adoriuntur, sicut eos ipse prius invaserat. Tum et praedam² amisit et ultro magnam cladem ipse suscepit, multisque militibus amissis vix ipse evasit. Sic enim fortuna hominem infestavit.

¹ *omit.* MA

² *fidem* MA

[204] The king now armed an immense fleet and brought it to Africa, hoping to erase the shame of his flight from Italy with a victory in Africa.¹ Attacking the barbarians without warning, he inflicted a severe defeat on the King of Tunisia² and took an immense booty. The devious Africans pretended to be very afraid and wanting to submit to King Alfonso. While negotiating the conditions of peace, they gathered an army and suddenly attacked Alfonso, who was just as unprepared as they were when he first attacked them.³ He lost the great booty and suffered a major defeat, losing many soldiers and barely escaping himself.⁴ Thus fortune harassed him.⁵

¹ "Lybica".

² Abd-al-Aziz II (Hafsid dynasty) (-1434): Caliph of Tunisia, Western Libya and Eastern Algeria (Ifriqiya) 1394-1434.

³ Facio, pp. 82, 88: (p. 82) *Finito bello in Hispania, Alphonsus ut aliquid insigne pro Christiana religione ederet adversus Afros bellum gerere instituit. Itaque Barcinonem profectus, sex et viginti trirremium classem comparavit hisque onerarias novem adjecit, quae commeatus et bellica opera veherent, omnibus diligenter provisus Caralim insignem in Sardinia coloniam, ut inde sumpto commeatu Africam peteret, primum profectus est. (p. 88) Cumque populationibus et incendiis vastare insulam statuisset, interea pacis mentio a Bopherio orta est, eaque Punica fraude tractata: factisque aliquot dierum indutiis copiae in pontem reductae sunt. Redimere se velle grande pecunia pacem simulabat ne insulam vastaret. Sed cum in conditionibus dandis et accipiendis tempus teritur, commeatus classi deesse coepit, quod tempus de industria Bopherius expectabat, ut inopia commeatum compulsus rex abscederet. Pluresque etiam in insulam ab eo interim furtim transmissi, ut jam oppugnatio omnis vana atque irrita videretur. Quibus necessitatibus adductus Alphonsus soluta inde classe in Siciliam rediit, paucosque dies Messanae commoratus, agitare animo coepit, quoniam modo Neapolitanum regnum, quod amiserat, recuperare posset.* Note that Facio does not mention a Tunisian counterattack on Alfonso's army, but has Alfonso leaving because of a lack of supplies.

⁴ Alfonso's fleet attacks on Tunisia took place in September/October 1424.

⁵ Ryder, p. 122: *The Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1415 had kindled Iberian dreams of rich pickings in North Africa. Tunisian lands presented a special lure to Alfonso's subjects because of their proximity to Sicily and their fabled wealth founded upon the trans-Saharan gold trade. Among the conditions put forward for negotiations with the ruler of Tunis in 1423, Alfonso had inserted a request for a very large loan, asserting that 'Abd-al-Aziz was "one of the richest monarchs in the world".' Since those negotiations had foundered on the thorny question of repatriating Christian and Muslim captives, God and Mammon both beckoned towards the realm of Tunis where the Catalans anticipated a booty comparable to that seized by their fortunate predecessors in Naples and Marseilles. Early in September they came upon their first target, the island of Djerba, but found it already on the alert. So they turned instead on its northern neighbour Kerkenna which they overran with ease on 19 September. The small island offered little in the way of material plunder; instead they had to content themselves with rounding up more than 3,000 of its inhabitants—which is to say almost the whole population—and carrying them away into captivity. It was, in effect, a slave raid, similar to those which the Portuguese at that time directed against the Atlantic coasts of North Africa. A parting demonstration against the city of Tunis itself yielded some further return in propitiatory gifts and a few freed Christians. By the time the fleet returned to the Sicilian port of Siracusa in mid-October, its commanders could safely plead the onset of winter as good reason for attempting nothing more that year. Although Alfonso expressed satisfaction with Pedro's conduct, he had to acknowledge that nowhere—in Corsica, Genoa, or Naples—had his expedition achieved any of its prime goals. All it had done was enrich a few men and enrage the Emir of Tunis.*

[205] Sed non propterea animo prostratus rursus tentare Italiam¹ statuit regemque Renatum, jam in regno susceptum, bello aggreditur multisque eum cladibus afficit. Deficiunt principes a Renato Alfonsoque sequuntur, civitates vero cum Renato perseverant fidemque inconcussam tenent. Tum² Alfonsus ingenti classe adducta fratres suos cum viribus³ regni Aragonum et⁴ principes Siciliae atque Apuliae et Calabriae cum omni gente Caietam obsidere statuit, ut portum aliquem securum tutumque haberet. Caetani autem magnis viribus resistunt, sed ad extremum, cum terra marique premerentur, auxilium Filippi ducis Mediolani exposcunt. Tum Filippus classem Januensium armatam cum Blasio de Azareto transmisit, qui, ubi ad proelium venit, classe minori⁵ paucioribusque militibus Alfonso, regem Aragonum, regemque Navarrae et infantem Petrum cum duce Suessae, principe Taranti⁶ ac infinita baronum tam Aragonensium quam Siculorum et Calabrorum {78r} tamquam pisces in lagenam missos unico congressu captivavit.⁷ Qui Mediolanum missi insperatam gratiam invenerunt, nam dux ille compassus tantae nobilitatis capturae omnes absque pretio dimisit⁸ ac ultro muneribus⁹ donavit et pecuniis juvit. Ob quam rem iterum¹⁰ Alfonsus in regnum Apuliae reversus est multisque proeliis fatigatum victumque Renatum ex regno fugavit.

¹ itaque MA

² dum MA

³ *omit.* V [blank space]

⁴ *omit.* X

⁵ majori MA

⁶ Tarenti HE

⁷ captivarunt MA

⁸ *omit.* MA

⁹ *omit.* MA

¹⁰ interim X

[205] Undaunted, he decided to make another try at Italy.¹ Going to war against René,² who had already been recognised as king, he defeated him in many battles. The princes deserted René and began to follow Alfonso, but the cities continued to support René with unshaken loyalty. When a large fleet had been brought over with Alfonso's brothers³ and men from the Kingdom of Aragon and princes from Sicily, Puglia, and Calabria with their people, he decided to besiege Gaeta with all his men, to obtain a protected and secure harbour.⁴ The Gaetans put up a fierce defence, but in the end, pressed from land and sea, they asked Duke Filippo of Milan for help. Filippo armed and sent a Genoese fleet [under the command of] Biagio Assereto.⁵ When it came to battle [at sea], Biagio, with a smaller fleet and fewer soldiers, pressed King Alfonso of Aragon, the King of Navarra,⁶ the infante Pedro⁷ with the Duke of Sessa,⁸ the Prince of Taranto⁹ and innumerable Aragonese, Sicilian Sicilian and Calabrian barons together as in a fish trap and captured them in one go.¹⁰ They were [all] sent to Milan,¹¹ where they found unexpected kindness, for the duke took pity on the captured high nobles and sent them away without ransom, and he even made them gifts and helped them with money.¹² Thus, Alfonso was able to return to the Kingdom of Puglia, where he exhausted and defeated René in many battles and finally drove him from the kingdom.¹³

¹ In his *Europa*, sect. 261-271, Piccolomini gives a comprehensive description on Alfonso's conquest of the Kingdom of Naples.

² King René d'Anjou.

³ Juan II (Aragón) (1398-1464): King of Navarra from 1425, of Aragón from 1458 to his death; Enrique de Trastámara (1400-1445).

⁴ The siege of Gaeta began on 7 May 1435.

⁵ Biagio Assereto (ca. 1383-1456): Italian admiral at the service of Genoa

⁶ Juan II (Aragón).

⁷ Pedro d'Aragóna (1406-1438): Duke of Noto.

⁸ Marino Marzano (1420-1494): Prince of Rossano, Duke of Sessa.

⁹ Orsini del Balzo, Giovanni Antonio (1401-1463): Prince of Taranto.

¹⁰ Sea battle of Ponza, early August 1435.

¹¹ They arrived in Milan of 15 September 1435.

¹² Piccolomini fails to mention the very important alliance between the Duke of Milan and Alfonso, concluded on 8 October 1435, which completely changed the political conditions of Italy. In his *Vita Philippa Mariae III. Ligurum Ducis*, Decembrio wrote about this event: *King Alfonso too, defeated in a naval battle near Gaeta, ended up a prisoner in Milan, along with his brothers. Filippo treated Alfonso – surrounded as he was by the leading men of his kingdom, all afflicted by the same catastrophe – with such respect and kindness that they could complain of nothing, unless it were that they they were not in their homeland. Filippo even tried hard to get the Kingdom of Naples to submit to Alfonso's rule ... (ch. 31, pp. 45-47).*

¹³ July 1442.

[206] Sed postea cum Eugenio bellum habuit, qui Johannem de Vitelleschis, patriarcham Alexandrinum, cum exercitu adversus eum misit. Cum quo Alfonsus diu varia victoria bellum gessit nec multum abfuit, quin per insidias ab ipso patriarcha caperetur, qui ruptis indutiis eum ex insperato aggressus est atque magnum ei damnum intulit. Denique quoque et Tarentinus cardinalis in regnum cum exercitu profectus est civitatibus auxilium praebens¹, quae Alfonsum non recipiebant.

¹ ferens MA

[206] Later, it came to war with Eugenius,¹ who sent Giovanni Vitelleschi,² Patriarch of Alexandria, against him with an army. Alfonso fought him for a long time,³ with various fortune, and was almost caught in an ambush by the patriarch,⁴ who, breaking a truce, attacked him unexpectedly and defeated him badly.⁵ Later, also the Cardinal of Taranto⁶ came to the Kingdom with an army, bringing help to the cities that had not recognised Alfonso.⁷

¹ In February 1436, Eugenius invested René d'Anjou with the Kingdom of Naples, which caused Alfonso to go to war against him.

² Giovanni Vitelleschi (1396-1440): Cardinal 1437. Leader of papal armies.

³ 1436-1437.

⁴ 24 December 1437.

⁵ Ryder, p. 225: *As through the autumn [1437] the patriarch exhausted his money and supplies, the danger seemingly ebbed. By December so straitened were his means that he signed a two-month truce. Confident now that he had nothing to fear from Vitelleschi or Caldora's diminished squadrons, Alfonso embarked on another winter campaign around Naples. Christmas Day 1437 found him still in the field, encamped at Giugliano only four miles outside the city as he prepared to spend the day in customary feasting. While he attended mass, spits were turning and the tables spread. Into the midst of these festivities galloped a frantic messenger shouting that the combined forces of Vitelleschi and Caldora were only four miles away. Alfonso is said to have laughed incredulously at this and further alarms until the enemy was sighted barely a mile away. Panic spread, some rushing to arm, others to flee. Most, Alfonso among them, managed to escape to safety behind the walls of Capua twenty miles away... Indignation frothed over in the Aragonese camp at this flagrant breach of faith. Soldiers hanged the patriarch head down in effigy and roared bawdy songs at his expense; the chancery poured its bitterest rhetoric upon this 'son of Satan', not omitting to emphasize that by his treachery he had incurred a penalty of 100,000 florins. Yet all this display could not disguise a mortifying reverse and the disarray of an army which it took weeks to re-equip and reassemble.*

⁶ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi Tagliacozzo.

⁷ Walter: *Due mesi dopo, il 20 Maggio 1440, Eugenio nominò il Berardi legato a latere per trattare la pace fra Renato d'Angiò e Alfonso V d'Aragona, da più di cinque anni in lotta per l'eredità del Regno di Sicilia. La curia aveva favorito fino ad allora la candidatura dell'Angiò, cossiché Alfonso aveva assunto negli ultimi tempi un atteggiamento sempre più ostile verso Roma, impedendo persino al legatol'ingresso nel Regno. Il B., il 7 dicembre, con un potente esercito al comando del conte di Tagliacozzo, Antonio Orsini, si mise in marcia verso il Regno. Alfonso V gli venne incontro con le sue truppe, minacciando di invadere lo Stato della Chiesa. Ma contro ogni previsione il re d'Aragona concluse col B. un accordo, che secondo il giudizio dei Diurnali del duca di Monteleone segnò il "principio della perdenza del stato de Rè Renato" (Rer. Italic. Script., 2. Ed., XXI, s. , p. 173). Stipulato l'accordo con Alfonso, il B. ritirò le sue truppe dal Regno e tornò à Firenze il 23 dic. 1441. See sect. 2.*

[207] Sed Alfonsus ubi se potentio-rem in regno perspexit, animum in Neapolim intendit, ut hanc urbem regni caput invaderet. Castra igitur propius admovit. Exhinc per cloacam urbis quidam intrantes domum mulieris¹ cuiusdam intrarunt, quae² mox capta est et observata, ne quid diceret. Ii postea noctu portam urbis invadunt datoque signo exercitum regis accersunt³. Fit clamor in civitate coeptusque⁴ tumultus, sed improvisi cives ab praevisis regis militibus facile vincuntur. Ac sic urbs capitur. Sed nec incendia ulla nec magnae praedae fiunt. Rex autem tunc noluit intrare, sed vocatis ad se omnibus regni baronibus ac nobilibus diem dixit, qua intrare urbem vellet.

¹ ~~quandam~~ *seq.* V

² ~~pre~~ *seq.* V

³ accerserunt MA

⁴ certusque V, HE; cecusque X

[207] But when Alfonso saw that he had gained the upper hand throughout the Kingdom, he decided to conquer its capital, Naples, and moved his army there.¹ Through a sewer, some of his soldiers managed to enter the house of some woman whom they took captive and put under guard so that she could not tell anybody.² The next night, they gained possession of the city gate and gave the signal to the royal army to enter. Uproar and confusion arose in the city, and the unprepared citizens were quickly overcome by the king's prepared soldiers. And thus the city was taken.³ However, there were no burnings nor much looting.⁴ The king did not want to enter immediately but summoned the Kingdom's barons and nobles and told them on what day he would make his entry.

¹ November 1441.

² Ryder, p. 245: *A stratagem suggested itself when in April two stonemasons, refugees from the city, revealed a means of entrance through the tunnels that supplied water to Naples. ... The defenders, aware of the danger, attempted to block the tunnels with three walls and an iron grating; in addition they placed a special watch on all well-heads. Accounts of what happened next are confused. Somehow the Aragonese managed to break down the walls and bribe some of those responsible for guarding the system. A band of Aragonese sympathizers lurked, it must be remembered, within the city. ... On Friday, 1 June Alfonso judged that all was ready. ... That night two hundred men lowered themselves into the tunnel and crept along under the city wall. All accounts agree that forty of them climbed up through a well-shaft into a house close by the gate of Santa Sofia. Ciccarella, the owner of the house, later received handsome rewards for her services which were presumably prearranged. ... This tumult around the Santa Sofia gate, and the earlier cries of panic at the discovery of enemy within the walls, caused the Genoese garrison at the nearby San Gennaro gate to abandon their post for fear of being taken in the rear. Treachery then came into the open. Nuns from a convent adjoining the wall by San Gennaro threw ropes down to the assailants; a swarm of men struggled to break open the gate. Within minutes five hundred Aragonese led by Pedro de Cardona had scrambled over the walls and were pouring through the streets towards Santa Sofia where René fought on against mounting odds. Behind them through the San Gennaro gate streamed the cavalry. Seeing the Aragonese bearing down upon him from that quarter and none coming to his aid, René cried out, 'Were I certain of death I should not care, but I fear being taken prisoner.' With a few loyal followers he galloped to safety in Castelnuovo, leaving Naples to the victorious Aragonese.*

³ 2 June 1442.

⁴ Ryder, p. 246: *Throughout the assault Alfonso had remained outside the walls directing operations. There he remained for another four hours while his men carried out the sack he had promised them under two conditions: no blood was to be shed and no women violated. Only when the allotted time had expired did he make his own entry into a city which had received him in triumph twenty-one years before. At first not a single Neapolitan was to be seen, but as he rode through the streets, inflicting summary punishment on any soldiers found disobeying orders against further looting, citizens began to come out of the churches and other hiding-places.*

[207 cont.] Tum omnes Neapolitani studio, quo possint¹, quisque majori² student regem honorifice suscipere. Ipse autem ab urbe miliario praemittit armatos, qui³ custodiam habeant. Tum omnes principes ac barones ire pedibus jubet longumque ordinem ante se binos ducere. Ipse autem parvum equum ascendens filium pone⁴ se ducit. Ut urbem ingressus est, currus ei aureus in modum triumphantis adducitur. Ipse ascendit et in alta sella residet. Ibi pueri vestiti in modum mulierum sunt virtutesque repraesentant canuntque ante eum dicuntque, “His poteris⁵, Alfonse, imperium obtinere.” Ac sic per urbem triumphans ductus est⁶.

¹ possunt HE; possent MA

² moveri MA

³ quia X

⁴ penes MA

⁵ potes MA

⁶ omit. MA

[207 cont.] Then all the Neapolitans rivalled with each other in preparing an honourable and festive welcome for the king. Staying about one mile from the city, he sent soldiers ahead as guards. Then he ordered the princes and the barons to go on foot in a long procession before him, two by two. He himself mounted a small horse, keeping his son¹ right behind him. As he entered the city, a golden triumphal chariot was brought forward. He stepped up in it and sat down on a raised seat. Then boys dressed as women and representing the virtues came before him, singing, “With these², Alfonso, you will gain an empire.” And thus he was led in triumph through the city.³

¹ Ferrante I (Aragón) (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death.

² Virtues.

³ 26 February 1443. Ryder, pp. 248-250: *He celebrated his triumph in the style of the Roman Caesars when he returned to Naples in February 1443. ... Three days he waited in a monastery in the suburbs while Naples completed its preparations ... There at the breach he presented himself on the morning of 26 February ... Before him stood a gilded triumphal carriage, drawn by four richly caparisoned white horses and covered by a canopy, also of gold brocade, borne by twenty-four of the leading citizens. Dismounting from his horse, he distributed honours among the nobility. ... It had been planned to have the nobles walk in front of the carriage until at the last moment the Prince of Taranto objected, maintaining that it ill behoved him, the chief architect of victory, to go on foot in the company of some who had been vanquished. As a compromise it was agreed that all nobles should walk behind the carriage, the prince in the front rank next to Ferdinando. Contingents of the military companies that had taken part in the conquest brought up the rear of the procession. Through the breach in the wall they entered the market-place where the Florentine and Catalan communities had organized allegorical tableaux. On one float the figure of Fortune, long locks over her forehead and the rest of her head bald, sat on a large golden globe which a child in the guise of an angel strove to raise aloft. Behind rode seven virtues each carrying a symbol: Hope, a crown; Faith, a chalice; Charity, a naked child; Fortitude, a marble column; Temperance, goblets of wine mixed with water; Prudence, a mirror in one hand and a serpent in the other; at the rear Justice, raised on a high saddle carrying sword and scales.*

[208] {78v} Is¹ et Januenses adeo compescuit, ut ad se ultro venientes dominum eum vocarent ac sibi in annos singulos pelvim auream² in signum ditionis exhiberent. Hinc ortae simultates sunt cum duce Mediolani, nam cum dux propter libertatem regi donatam Januam amisisset, non videbatur honestum³ illam urbem per Alfonsum recipi. Hinc ligae factae sunt etc.

[209] Alfonsus praeterea⁴ cum Felice multa⁵ tentavit ac cum Basiliensi concilio, sed cum nihil obtineret, Eugenio reconciliatus est. Et⁶ cum praelatos dominiorum⁷ suorum apud Basileam haberet, haberet, eos revocavit jussitque omnes ad oboedientiam Eugenii pervenire. Cavit tamen, ut quaecumque impetrata⁸ in Basiliensi concilio et judicata etiam⁹ post Eugenii dissolutionem rata manerent, ne sui praelati et subditi frustra mandatis ejus oboedivissent. Sed cardinalatum nulli favit.

¹ sed MA

² pelvim auream : palium aureum X

³ honestam MA

⁴ postea MA

⁵ cum Felice multa : multa cum Felice X

⁶ sed MA

⁷ dominorum MA

⁸ imperata MA

⁹ et MA

[208] He subdued the Genoese to the point that when coming to him, they addressed him as lord, and every year they gave him a golden bowl in a sign of submission. This caused strife with the Duke of Milan since the duke had lost Genoa¹ because he had given the king his freedom² and therefore did not consider it fair that Alfonso should have that city. Therefore alliances were made etc.³

[209] Alfonso had many dealings with Felix and the Council of Basel, but having obtained nothing, he was reconciled with Eugenius.⁴ He recalled those prelates from his dominions whom he had in Basel and ordered them all to join the obedience of Eugenius.⁵ He took care, however, that all that had been obtained and decided by the Council of Basel – even after it had been dissolved by Eugenius - remained in force so that his prelates and subjects would not have obeyed his own orders in vain. But he did not want any [of his subjects] to retain the cardinalate.⁶

¹ 27 December 1435.

² After the Battle of Ponza.

³ An indication that the present text was a draft text to be completed later.

⁴ See sect. 197.

⁵ Ryder, p. 255: *Possession of the kingdom made it possible to readdress his [Alfonso's] other great concerns from a new point of vantage. Foremost among these stood the question of his relationship with the papacy which had been constantly bedevilled by the problem of the Neapolitan succession. The Aragonese triumph in the teeth of opposition from Eugenius IV gave Alfonso not only an immense advantage in resolving the juridical issue, but a position overshadowing the papal states. The old enemy had become Rome's most powerful neighbour, controlling the whole length of its southern frontier, his armies camped barely fifty miles from Rome itself. Eugenius, still in his Florentine exile, had no choice but to come to terms or risk seeing his states handed over to his conciliar rival Felix. First he had to steal from Florence to Siena in order to free his hands for so spectacular a diplomatic somersault. Once there, he deputed Ludovico Scarampo, Cardinal of Aquileia, a warrior cleric of Vitelleschi stamp but a good friend of Piccinino and well disposed towards Alfonso, to go as legate to Naples and arrange everything. The king met him at Terracina in June 1443 with an impressive display of cordiality and military power; a thousand archers and spingardiers (so quickly had hand-guns become a regular weapon) escorted them as they rode together under a pallium into the city to begin four days of bargaining. By the end Alfonso had scored another notable victory in his long-running battle with the papacy. He had won the investiture of Naples for himself, Ferdinando (whom the pope was to legitimize), and their heirs; possession of Benevento and Terracina for life, and promotion of two loyal bishops, Arnau Roger de Pallars and Alfonso Borja, to the college of cardinals. In return he promised to withdraw his delegates from the Council of Basle and end all dealings with Felix.*

⁶ Granted by Felix, see sect. 7, 195.

[210] Ipsi¹ autem Eugenio adversus comitem Franciscum auxilia promisit, quae etiam² post praebuit multumque terrarum, quod ecclesia perdiderat, recuperavit tradiditque Romano pontifici. Postea cum Eugenio quoque dissentire coepit, nam cum promissa coronatio et infeudatio regni sibi esset, plura quoque volebat, quae non videbantur Eugenio concedenda. Jussitque mox, ne quid victualiorum³ Romam deferretur, quasi⁴ sic papam ad suum nutum conduceret, nam cara erant omnia Romae. Sed ea lex plus sibi quam papae nocuit, cum subditi ejus, quae vendituri fuissent reservando amiserint. Unde et post concordia facta est innovataque pacis capitula. Is filiam suam illegitimam marchioni Ferrariae Leonello⁵ copulavit.

[211] Vir brevi corpore, animi immensurati, periculorum contemptor, luxuriae deditus, fide varius, pecuniae largus distributor, magnanimis⁶ viris affectus, numquam quiescens, doli vitiator ac structor.

¹ ipse X

² et MA

³ victualium X; victuariorum MA

⁴ quod MA

⁵ Itanello MA

⁶ magnanimus X

[210] He promised help to Eugenius against Count Francesco¹ and actually provided it, regaining many territories lost by the Church and restoring them to the Roman Pontiff.² Later, he had a new conflict with Eugenius: having been promised the coronation and the enfeoffment with the kingdom, he wanted even more, which Eugenius would not grant. Then Alfonso ordered an embargo on victuals for Rome, intending by this means to bend Eugenius to his will, for everything became expensive in Rome. But this measure hurt himself more than the pope since his subjects lost on what they had stored for later sales.³ So, concord was restored, and the articles of peace renewed.⁴ He married his illegitimate daughter⁵ to Marquess Leonello of Ferrara.⁶

[211] He is a man of small stature but great pride. He despises danger, is given to sexual pleasures, fickle in loyalty, lavish in spending, sympathetic towards brave men, never at peace, and very good at devising and spoiling plots.^{7 8}

¹ Francesco Sforza.

² Ryder, p. 256: *Having dealt with the kingdom, Alfonso and Scarampo, joined by Piccinino representing Filippo Maria, turned their attention to the papal states and agreed that Francesco Sforza should be driven from the March of Ancona on the pretext that he held the vicariate there against the will of the pope. In reality Alfonso was insisting on the removal of a hostile neighbour and ensuring his own preponderance in the states of the church. By July he had ready between nine and ten thousand men and a fleet of eight galleys in the Adriatic. ... Within a fortnight Sforza and his ally Sigismondo Malatesta had been chased out of the March, leaving behind only a few garrisoned towns to fend for themselves.*

³ An example of trade boycott as an instrument of international politics. For another such boycott, Sigismund's against Venice, see sect. 131.

⁴ Ryder, p. 256: *An avalanche of demands for benefices, appointments, privileges, and a subsidy of 200,000 florins testified to the pope's dependent status. Eugenius complained bitterly to all who would listen, among them Borso d'Este, brother of the Marquis of Ferrara. Passing through Rome on his way to Naples in April 1444, he was told how the king demanded things that Eugenius could not in good conscience allow, such as the promotion of unworthy ecclesiastics, how he would fight over benefices of minimal value, and how he supported Piccinino's unwelcome presence. ... by the spring of 1445 Filippo Maria was once more at odds with Sforza and eager to co-operate in another expulsion. Again Eugenius had to submit to being rescued by this formidable combination, and it was at this juncture that Alfonso wrung from him the final concessions over the terms of investiture.*

⁵ Maria d'Aragóna.

⁶ 1444.

⁷ Date: The text was written after 1444 (Borso d'Estes mission to Naples and Maria d'Aragóna's marriage to Leonello d'Este) and the death of Eugenius IV in 1447.

⁸ Source: Written and oral information from friends and colleagues, imperial correspondence, and possibly other written sources.

Supplement

From “Europa” (1458), sect. 272-273 (Heck, pp. 272-274)

Fuit autem Alfonsus, cum Fridericus imperator ad eum venit, annos circiter octo et quinquaginta natus, corpore gracili, uultu pallido, sed aspectu laeto, naso aquilino et illustribus oculis, crine nigro et iam albicante ad aures usque protenso, statura mediocri, cibi potusque temperans nec uino usus nisi aqua multa perdomito. Litteris per omnem etatem operam dedit, grammaticae apprime peritus, quamvis latine perraro loqueretur. Historias omnis coluit nec poetas aut oratores ignorauit. Dialecticos nodos facile soluit. Nihil ei abditum in philosophia. Arcana theologiae perscrutatus, omnia de praescientia Dei, de libero hominis arbitrio, de incarnatione Verbi, de sacramento altaris, de trinitate, de difficillimis questionibus percontanti et presto et sapienter occurrit. In responsionibus dandis, quamuis breuis et circumcisis, numquam tamen diminutus. Sermone blandus tersusque. Summa ei cura, ne quispiam ab se tristis abiret. Ingratas petitiones differre maluit quam negare. Faut religioni, rem diuinam diligenter curauit. Sacerdotalia indumenta et altaris ornamenta ea parauit, quibus comparari alia nulla queant. Sacram ac domesticam suppellectilem auream et argenteam et admirabilem et incredibilem composuit. Margaritas, uniones, adamantes ceterosque lapides preciosos toto orbe quesitos coemit. Sacelli, in quo sacris interfuit, et aularum, quas incoluit, parietes diuitibus atque aureis pannis ornauit. Uestiuit seipsum nitide magis quam precise, serico raro usus aut ostro paludamento. Venationi magnam vite sue partem consecrauit. In bello seuerus et asper, in pace clemens et mansuetus. Pepercit facile his, qui contra se arma tulerant. Humanum sanguinem inuitus fudit. Scelera tamen odit nec impune subditos delinquere passus est. Regnum, quod multis antea seculis spelunca latronum fuerat, adeo pacatum securumque reddidit, ut quacumque iter habeas, nullus predonum metus adsit. Legatis omnibus ad se uenientibus sumptus opipare prebuit. Apostolicis, qui cardinales essent, obuiam extra urbem profectus quasi patres honorauit. Naues insolite magnitudinis fecit et quas, qui procul inspiciat, sublimes esse arces per mare uadentes arbitretur. Edificauit pluribus in locis, sed in Neapoli supra quem dici possit splendide ac magnifice. Arcem regiam, cui Nouo Castro fuit nomen, a fundamentis eiectam iterum erexit, tum opere mirabilem inexpugnabilemque, tum sumptu magnificentissimam, turribus orbiculari forma ex lapide quadrato mirifica structura atque artificio, murique crassitudine inaudita, et ingenti arcu triumphali ex marmore candidissimo excitatis. Reformauit et arcem Sancti Saluatoris in mari, ex Ouo nuncupatum, cuius inexpugnabilis situs ad usum magnificentissime regie redactus est. Ampliauit et urbis portum obiecta in profundo maris altissima mole crassissimo muro, turribus munita. Salubritatem urbi exsiccatis paludibus dedit.

From “Europa” (1458), sect. 272-273 (Brown, pp. 303-305)

When Emperor Frederick visited him, Alfonso was about fifty-eight years old. He had a slender build, a face that was pale but cheerful in expression, a hooked nose, shining eyes, and black but now graying hair. He was average in height, ate and drank moderately, and only used wine if it was highly diluted with water. He applied himself to literary studies throughout his life and was especially skilled in grammar, though he very rarely spoke Latin. He was devoted to all historical works, but did not ignore poets and orators. He solved logical problems with ease and demonstrated familiarity with all areas of philosophy. He had studied all the mysteries of theology, and to anyone who questioned him about the foreknowledge of God, the free will of man, the incarnation of the Word, the sacrament of the altar, the Trinity, and other perplexing questions he gave a prompt and sagacious answer. In making replies, though pithy and concise, he was never shallow. His way of speaking was pleasant and polished. His chief concern was that no one should depart from him unhappy. He preferred to postpone rather than reject unwelcome petitions. He supported religion and scrupulously attended to divine affairs. The priestly vestments and altar ornaments which he provided are beyond compare. He collected sacred and domestic furnishings of gold and silver that inspired wonder and amazement. He purchased pearls of different sorts and sizes, diamonds and other precious stones from all over the world. He decorated the walls of the chapel where he attended mass and those of the halls in which he lived with rich golden cloths. He dressed himself elegantly rather than expensively, and rarely used silk or a purple cloak. A great part of his life he devoted to hunting. In war he was stern and ruthless, in peace merciful and mild. He readily spared those who had taken up arms against him and was reluctant to shed human blood. However, he abhorred crime and did not permit his subjects to commit offenses with impunity. The kingdom, which for many previous generations had been a lair of brigands, he made so peaceful and secure that wherever one travels there is no fear of robbers. He lavishly entertained all ambassadors who visited him and went outside the city to meet cardinals sent as papal legates, whom he honored like fathers. He constructed ships of extraordinary size, such that someone seeing them from afar might think that they were tall castles moving through the sea. He erected buildings in many places but in Naples with a splendor and magnificence beyond description. He demolished from its foundations the royal citadel called Castelnuovo and rebuilt it. It is not only awe-inspiring and impregnable in construction but resplendent in opulence, with its circular towers of dressed stone, crafted with amazing skill, its walls of unprecedented thickness, and its huge triumphal arch of the whitest marble. He also repaired the castle of San Salvator in the sea, named Castel dell'Ovo, whose impregnable size was converted to the function of a luxurious palace. He also enlarged the city's harbor by raising a tall jetty in the depths of the sea, complete with a massive wall and defensive towers. By draining the marshes, he brought health to the city.

28. Henricus V, rex Angliae

[212] Henricus V., rex Angliae, magni vir animi, in Galliis plurima bella gessit: Rothomagum vi expugnavit, Parisius¹ obtinuit magnamque partem regni Franciae in potestatem habuit, coronamque suscepit, regemque se Franciae et Angliae dixit, ducem Borgundiae Filippum in vassallum tamquam rex² Franciae recepit, qui etiam sibi iuravit.

[213] Hunc tamen Gallici coacto ingenti exercitu ac tota nobilitate in unum collecta ex improvise eum aggressi sunt, in cujus castris vix X milia militum fuere, Gallici autem circiter³ quadraginta milia pugnatorum habuere. Itaque adeo viribus suis fidebant, ut non quomodo pugnarent, sed quo pacto hostem detinerent, ne fugeret, cogitarent. Clauserunt⁴ igitur sibi omnes vias⁵ fugae, quod tamen veteres prohibent, ne desperatio in virtutem convertatur⁶. Ubi vero Henricus⁷ clausus est imparemque {79r} tot hostibus se agnovit, pacem a Gallis petit⁸: quae sunt in Francia dimissurum se omnia pollicetur solumque se cum exercitu incolumi dimitti postulat. Praedam reddere, captivos dimittere soloque se Angliae regno contentari promittit, nec deinceps umquam Galliam infestare. Sed Francigenarum superbia spretis conditionibus istis, quibus et regnum integrum habere poterant et pacem perpetuam, negant se pacem daturus,⁹ nisi ultro rex Henricus se suumque exercitum dedat potestasque sit in manu Francigenarum salvumne regem velint an interemptum. Quo responso irritatus Henricus commilitones vocat oblationemque suam et¹⁰ hostium responsionem exponit. Post adjicit:

¹ Parisios MA

² Borgundiae Filippum ... rex *omit.* MA

³ virum MA

⁴ clauserant MA

⁵ via V, X; omnes vias : omnem viam MA

⁶ commutaretur MA

⁷ ~~qui~~ seq. V

⁸ petiit MA

⁹ *constructio claudicat*

¹⁰ ac HE

28. Henry V, King of England

[212] Henry V,^{1 2 3} King of England, was a man of great spirit. He conducted several wars in France, conquered Rouen,⁴ seized Paris, had most of France in his power, took the crown, styled himself King of France and England, and - as King of France - accepted Duke Philippe of Burgundy as a vassal and received his oath.

[213] However, the French gathered an immense army with all the nobility and attacked him unexpectedly. He had less than 10,000 soldiers⁵ in his army, while the French had about 40,000 fighting men.^{6 7} The French were so confident in their own strength that they did not plan for fighting but for confining the enemy. So, they closed all avenues of flight, something the ancients forbade in order to prevent desperation from changing into courage. When Henry realised that he was surrounded and [his army] inferior in numbers to so many enemies, he sued the French for peace, promising to abandon all his possessions in France and only requesting that he and his army could leave unharmed. He also promised to return the booty, to release the captives, and to be content with the Kingdom of England alone and never to attack France again. But the arrogant French rejected these conditions that would have given them the whole kingdom and permanent peace. They refused to grant peace unless King Henry and his army surrendered and the French were free to decide whether the king should stay alive or be killed.⁸ Angered at this response, Henry Henry summoned his fellow soldiers and told them about his offer and the enemies' response. Then he added:

¹ Henry V (1386-1422): King of England from 1413 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Mortimer.

³ Piccolomini had no direct acquaintance with Henry V. He would have become informed about recent English and French history when he attended the Congress of Arras in 1415, as secretary of Cardinal Albergati. He also had English friends to keep him informed of developments in England (see letters to Adam Molins (e.g. WO, I, 1, ep. 58, pp. 167-157; CPL, II, 57).

⁴ January 1419.

⁵ Not far from Curry's estimate: *Henry could still have had 8,680 soldiers with him* (Curry: *Agincourt*, p. 25).

⁶ Curry suggests *a total of around 12,000 for the French at Agincourt* (Curry: *Agincourt*, p. 31). In conclusion: *The French outnumbered the English at Agincourt, but not hugely so. The French may only have been one-third as large again as the English – c. 12,000 against c. 9,000. The real contrast between the armies was their composition* (Curry: *1415*, ch. 8).

⁷ Piccolomini failed to perceive the strategic importance of the English contingent of archers, cf. Curry: *Agincourt*, pp. 25-27.

⁸ Hutchison, pp. 120-121: *Surveying the coming battlefield, Henry saw the hopelessness of his own position and strength and the banners and overwhelming forces of his foes – he was prepared to make terms. According to French chroniclers and at least one reliable English chronicler – but 'the chaplain' does not mention the incident – Henry sent over to the French such prisoners as he had taken on the march from Harfleur, and offered to restore all he had captured and repay all the damage he had done, if only he could be granted free passage to his city of Calais.* [The two English sources cited by Hutchison are the *Gesta*, 34-5, and *Elmham*, 63].

[214] “Jam, milites fratresque mei, victores sumus, namque¹, cum honesta obtulerimus repulsique simus, nihil verendum est divinam pietatem, in cujus manu est victoria, nobis adesse. Quod si proelium antea coepissemus, timuissem, ne Deus iratus ex re aliqua nobis infestus fuisset: forsitan enim minus juste Gallicos violavimus agros. Sed nunc, cum restituere omnia voluerimus solamque vitam vobis mihi que reservare, illique² nihil velint nisi nos³ mortuos, quis non arbitretur hanc insolentiam displicere numinibus? Sitis ergo boni animi vosque crastina luce ad bellum parate, nec terreamini multitudine, quia potens est Deus etiam multos in manus dare⁴ pauciorum⁵. Nullum robur militum tanti faciendum est⁶, quanti justam habere causam. Memineritis praeterea vos non voluntate, sed⁷ necessitate pugnare: non modo pro gloria, non pro regno, sed pro salute vitae vestra certandum est. Nulla⁸ via est nobis ad vitam, nisi quam fecerit ferrum: aut vincendum est⁹ aut aut moriendum. At quam gloriosius est in bello militis¹⁰ quam in domo spiculatoris¹¹ gladio cadere? Equidem in acie potius cadere volo quam in urbe aut in carcere, nec me quisquam impune occidet, Hic, hic, cadendum¹² est, ubi gladius noster ulcisci nos potest. Ponite ante oculos, cum quibus pugnaturi estis. Cogitate vincula et carceres: ex his nemo vos liberabit nisi gladius vester. Caveant quisque¹³ vestrum, ne prius moriantur quamulti fuerint mortem, nec vobis dubium sit omnibus, qui ex nobis cras morientur¹⁴ in acie, coelum esse apertum, quia pro justa pugnamus causa coacti. Confitemini alterutrum¹⁵ peccata vestra, ut, si mori nos contingat, mundi simus.” Ac sic omnes invicem confessi sunt terramque loco sacramenti comederunt.

¹ nobisque MA

² utique MA

³ vos MA

⁴ in manus dare : dare in manus MA

⁵ paucorum MA

⁶ est *omit.* MA

⁷ vel MA

⁸ *corr. ex una* V

⁹ *omit.* X

¹⁰ milites X; tamquam milites MA

¹¹ speculatoris X

¹² cavendum X

¹³ quique X

¹⁴ morietur HE, MA

¹⁵ alterutrus V

[214] “Now, soldiers and brothers, we are the victors. Since we have made honest and decent offers and been refused, we no longer have to fear that the Divine Piety, in whose hands is victory, will be against us. If we had begun the battle before now, I would have feared God’s anger, for perhaps our raid against French lands has not been just. But now that we have offered to return all, just keeping our lives, and they only want us dead, will their insolence not displease the heavenly beings? So, take courage and prepare yourselves for battle in the morning. Do not fear their numbers, for God has the power to deliver the many into the hands of the few.¹ No strength of soldiers can equal a just just cause.² Remember that you fight not because you want to but because it is necessary. You go to battle not for glory nor dominion but for survival and your lives. Only the sword can open our road to life: we must either win or die. But is it not more glorious to die in battle by the sword of a soldier than in one’s home by the dagger of a spy? I would rather die in a battle than in a city or in a prison. Nobody shall kill me with impunity. Here, here we must fall, where our sword can avenge us. Consider whom you will fight. Think of the chains and prisons. Only your swords will free you from them. Let all strive to not die before they have avenged their own death. Do not doubt that, tomorrow, Heaven will be open to all of us who die in battle since we are forced to fight in a just cause. Let us confess our sins to each other so that we shall be pure if we happen to die.”³ And thus all made a confession to each other⁴ and ate earth in place of the sacrament.⁵

¹ That victory belonged to God who might easily let a small army defeat a large one was a well-known theme of the age, and Piccolomini would return to it several times in his crusade orations of 1454-1455 and 1459.

² Henry believed in the justice of his cause not because he had offered terms to the English, but because he maintained that the French had unjustly seized lands that belonged to the English crown (the Aquitanian inheritance). In his letter to King Charles VI before the campaign that would lead to the Battle of Agincourt, Henry wrote that he *had done everything in his power to procure peace between the two realms ... but he did not lack the courage to fight to the death for justice. His just rights and inheritances had been seized from him by violence and withheld for too long: it was his duty to recover them. Since he could not obtain justice by peaceable means, he would have to resort to force of arms* (Barker, p. 7).

³ Henry appears to have harangued his soldiers both on the day before the battle, the 24th, and on the 25th right before the English attack, and according to some sources, he even gave an oration. Curry: *1415*, ch. 7: *The English chroniclers and the Religieux imply that Henry made an oration. The longest version is provided in the Pseudo-Elmham, especially in relation to the king’s emphasis that God was on his side.* Concerning the oration he made on the 25th, Curry observes that any oration he made must have been addressed to the commanders since he could not make himself heard by all the soldiers, and it would have been short (Curry: *1415*, ch. 10). The oration reported by Piccolomini is a fictive oration, as he liked to write them (See COR, I, sect. 2.7), here an oration of a general to his soldiers before a battle, in the style of classical historians and medieval authors. In his *Commentarii*, Piccolomini wrote another version of the same oration (see Supplement). Note here the focus on the concept of the just war, based on Henry’s offer to abandon his French possessions. Henry’s oration in the play by Shakespeare - who could have known neither his *De Viris Illustribus* nor his *Commentarii* - does not resemble Piccolomini’s.

⁴ Curry: *1415*, ch. 7: *There are other reasons why the king should require silence in his camp. It encouraged prayerfulness, and it is likely that confessions continued to be heard through the night in preparation for the conflict of the next day, since men would not want to die unshriven.*

⁵ Barker, p. 289: *With the words of his priests ringing in his ears, the king gave the order for the army to prepare to advance. Every man, regardless of rank, now knelt at his command, kissed the ground and took a morsel of the earth from beneath his feet and placed it in his mouth. This extraordinary ritual was conducted with all the solemnity of a genuine Church sacrament.*

[215] Gallici vero per noctem luxui dediti aleam exercebant, tuncque inter se captivos distribuebant atque in ludo ponebant, {79v} cujus isti illique forent captivi. Sed aliter homines cogitant, aliter disponit Deus. Redeunte die rex suis multa oratione firmatis, ut non ad victoriam, sed ad vindictam secuturae mortis proficiscerentur, copiam pugnandi facit. Galli inter se contententes, quinam primi bellum ineant, in prima tandem acie duces comitesque collocant. Coepto proelio, cum isti¹ pro gloria, illi pro salute pugnarent, facta est miserrima caedes moxque in fugam² vertuntur Galli. Instant Anglici, hos trucidant, hos capiunt³. In hoc bello Antonius, dux Barbantiae, dum suos cedere videt, noluit vitam praeferre pudori, sed inter confertissimos⁴ dilapsus⁵ hostes occisus est. Ad extremum victoria Anglorum est, cum usque ad noctem nunc pugnando, nunc insequendo capiendoque hostes strages protracta esset⁶. Reversus in castra rex comperit captivos in duplo esse plures quam victores timensque, ne per noctem insidiae fierent, reservatis quibusdam praestantioribus, inter quos dux Aurelianensis fuit, captivos omnes occidi jussit, pluresque tunc interiire, quam in bello ceciderant.

¹ ipsi MA

² fuga MA

³ hos capiunt : ac capiuntur MA

⁴ consertissimos MA

⁵ delapsus MA

⁶ est MA

[215] The French spent the night feasting and dicing.¹ They distributed the captives between them and dined about who would get whom as a prisoner.² But men plan, and God disposes. When the day came, the king at length encouraged his men to march out not to victory but to avenge their coming death, and thus he prepared them for battle. The French argued about who should lead the attack and finally placed the dukes and the counts in the first line.³ When the battle⁴ began, the French fought for glory, and the English for survival. A terrible bloodbath took place, and soon the French were put to flight.⁵ The English pressed forward, killing some and capturing others. When, during the battle, Duke Antoine of Brabant⁶ saw his people retire, he did not want to put life above shame but rushed into the throng of enemies and was killed. In the end, the English won and continued the massacre until night, fighting, pursuing, and capturing [the French]. When he returned to the camp, the king saw that the prisoners were more than double the number of victors. Fearing an attack during the night, he ordered all prisoners to be killed except some high-ranking men, including the Duke of Orléans.⁷ More men were killed than fell during the battle.⁸

¹ Barker, p. 267: *The two armies were so close that they [the English] could hear the voices of the French as they prepared their own camps for the night, 'each one of them calling out, as usual, for his fellows, servants, and comrade.'* When some of the English took this as a signal that they could do the same, Henry moved swiftly to stamp out such indiscipline, ordering that silence should be kept throughout the whole army ... The imposition of absolute silence was not simply an act of brutal repression, but was intended to make it more difficult for the enemy to carry out any surprise raids during the night. ... The English could not indulge in any camaraderie to keep up their spirits and, obliged to speak in whispers themselves, became acutely aware of the cheerful noises emanating from the French camp, in which there was no shortage of food and wine.

² It was reported by Henry's chaplain that the French *thought themselves so sure of us that that night they cast dice for our king and his nobles* (Barker, p. 267).

³ Barker, p. 276: *After much argument and many expressions of bad feeling, with every leader of consequence insisting that it was his right to lead the vanguard, they came to a conclusion that was fair but foolish. They would all take their places in the front line.*

⁴ Battle of Agincourt, 25 October 1415.

⁵ Though Piccolomini was aware of the importance of the stakes used by the Turks at the Battle of Nicopolis as a defence against cavalry attacks (see sect. 114 above), he does not mention their deployment by the English at Agincourt and may not have been aware of it (see Curry: *Agincourt*, p. 27-28).

⁶ Antoine de Brabant (1384-1415): Duke of Brabant from 1405.

⁷ Charles (1394-1465): Duke of Orleans from 1407 to his death. Captured by the English at the Battle of Agincourt, 1415, and released from captivity after 25 years.

⁸ Curry: *Agincourt*, pp. 34-25: *The English had every intention of keeping the prisoners alive until the point they feared the battle was going to restart. The English army had been stood down from its positions and would have removed some of its armour and put its weapons aside. A further French attack would place the English in a very vulnerable position to which they could not respond quickly. Henry could not afford to have his men distracted by their prisoners. The latter might attack their captors, with fists if not weapons, if they thought rescue was at hand. Therefore they had to be killed.*

[216] Hinc origo victoriarum Henrici fuit, hinc nomen ejus crevit, hinc territi Gallici nusquam comparere¹ ausi sunt, ubi ejus vexilla viderunt. At is postea morbo contracto² vitam finit, qui si aliquandiu vixisset, omnium fert opinio regnum Franciae in ejus potestatem venisset³, nec ipse hoc contentus⁴ - ut est ambitus humanus - ampliora quaesivisset.

[217] Hic apud Anglicos omnes plumas, in quibus dormiebatur, prohibuit⁵ lectosque⁶ lana dura fieri fieri decrevit, ne corpora hominum mollescerent. Hujus quoque⁷ mens erat accepto Franciae regno omnes vineas amputare vinique usum suis subditis interdicere, nam fieri homines vino languidos, inertes insensatosque dicebat. Quo fit, ut morti suae, quamvis magnae virtutis fuerit, minus condoleam. Libentius enim ipso quam vino careo, quamvis fateor, si quis eo modo bibat, ut mos est Anglicis, vinum hebetare hominis ingenium.

¹ nusquam comparere : comparere numquam MA

² contractus V, X

³ venisse X

⁴ contemptus V, X

⁵ ~~ne~~ seq. V

⁶ lectaque X; levosque MA

⁷ hujus quoque : hujusque MA

[216] This was the beginning of Henry's victories and the rise of his reputation.¹ Afterwards, the French were so afraid of him that they never dared to appear where they saw his banners. Later, he died of an illness.² It is commonly believed that if he had lived longer, he would have gained all of France and, not content with that, have striven for even greater things – such is human ambition!

[217] He forbade the English to sleep on feathers and ordered beds to be made of hard wool so that men's bodies would not grow soft. He also intended – after gaining the French kingdom – to destroy all vineyards and forbid his subjects the use of wine, saying that wine makes men weak, sluggish and foolish. I do not much regret his death, though he had great virtue, for I would rather miss him than wine. I admit, though, that if you drink as the English do, your mind will indeed grow dim!^{3 4 5 6}

¹ Piccolomini fails to directly mention the Treaty of Troyes, 21 May 1420, by which Henry V was made regent of France and heir to the French crown, and would wed the daughter of the King of France.

² 31 August 1422. Reason for death believed to be dysentery.

³ A joke!

⁴ The source of this passage is not known. At any, rate it is patently untrue, as shown by the many mentions in contemporary sources to Henry arranging the provision of wine to his court and army (Mortimer, *passim*). See especially Mortimer, p. 236: *Wine remained a high priority in the royal household, even when the household goods were being pawned, Henry seems to have had no personal interest in ale. And kings did not drink milk or water.* Piccolomini's assertion may have had its origin in some anti-English (tavern!) jokes which Piccolomini could have heard at the Conference of Arras in 1435 or otherwise. He may even have been drinking with Frenchmen at that time ... When pope, he repeated the claim in his *Commentarii*, except his own joke, inappropriate for a pope (COM, VI, 9).

⁵ Date: The last event mentioned in this text is Henry's death in 1422.

⁶ Piccolomini's sources: information obtained via the imperial court; personal experiences from the Congress of Arras, 1435, and his subsequent travel to Scotland and England; and presumably written sources like the Vita of Henry and others, though further study would be needed to determine which.

Supplement

From Commentarii (HE, I, pp. 374-376, 379)

Magnus hic vir fuit animo et ingenio excellenti, qui regno Angliae a patre per parricidium quaesito Francorum etiam coronam adjungere curavit, cujus propositum et Francia bellis fessa et odia procerum adjuvabant. Rupta igitur Riccardi pace classe admodum magna comparata regem se Franciae et Angliae vocitans in Nortmanniam descendit occupatisque nonnullis oppidis et vastitate agrorum facta in Piccardiam penetravit, sperans Burgundiae ducem, qui ceteris Francis esset infensus, in sua castra venturum atque junctis cum eo viribus facile hostes superatum iri. Continuit se domi Burgundus neque adeo suo se regi respondit inimicum esse, ut Anglicis Franciam vastantibus adjungi comes posset, quamvis regni et regis hostis declaratus esset.

Interea Johannes, dux Aurelianensis, ejus qui fuerat interfectus filius, coactis in unum Francorum viribus exercitum ferme sexaginta milium pugnatorum contraxit atque obviam hosti perrexit meditantiue fugam et per compendia viarum in Angliam properanti stulto consilio iter praeclusit. Recte admonent qui fugientibus hostibus argenteum pontem sternendum ajunt. Numquam fugiendo vincitur; saepe aditum fugae non patuisse profuit, cum desperatio virtutem exacuit, ut est illud poeticum: una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

Henricus ubi se undique clausum animadvertit, caduceatorem ad Francos mittit qui omnia de Galliis occupata restituat, sibi suisque redium in Angliam impetret. Quem cum Franci superbia elati vacuum remisissent accersitis ordinum ductoribus, "Compertum," inquit, "habeo, milites, in bello plurimum valere justitiam nec tam ope humana quam Dei brachio parari victoriam. Nos cupidi gloriae et opum avidi regnum alienum per injuriam invasimus. Non tulit divina pietas iniquum propositum nosque propemodum in hostium manus dedit. Circumventi undique sumus nec victoriae adversus tantum exercitum nec spes fugae relicta est. Illud me reficit ac sublevat quod ab initio dixi: ex justitia pendere victoriam, fautoremque piae causae Deum esse. Resumite omnes animum et gaudete mecum. Adest nobis divina gratia, quae injustam causam nostram reddidit justam. Misimus ad Francos pacem orantes; reddere ablata promisimus; tantum nos incolumes abire sinerent. Nolunt pacem, corpora nostra ad caedem petunt, sanguinem nostrum sitiunt. Major est eorum arrogantia quam nostra fuit. Superat eorum iniquitas nostram; superbissime responderunt; at superbis resistit Deus. Ibi erit victoria ubi minor est culpa. Cras proelium expectate. Quantum quisque animi ac virium habet, tantum in pugna repraesentet. Verum non tam vestris ex manibus quam Dei dextera salutem sperate. Quae ut nobis secunda sit, alter alteri peccata confiteamur et eucharistiae loco, cujus copiam non habemus, terram sumentes humili corde divinam misericordiam imploremus."

Supplement

From Commentarii (Gragg, pp. 429-435)

... Henry, a great man of distinguished courage and ability. To the kingdom of England, which his father had got by murder, he desired to add the crown of France. This project was favored by the fact that France was exhausted by wars and by the feuds of the nobles. Therefore Henry broke the peace Richard had made, equipped a great fleet, and descended on Normandy, styling himself King of France and England. After occupying several towns and laying waste the country, he invaded Picardy, hoping that the Duke of Burgundy, who was at odds with all the other French, would come over to his camp and that their combined forces would easily overcome the enemy. Burgundy however kept at home and replied that his personal enmity toward the King of France was not so bitter that he could join the English in ravaging France, even though he had been declared an enemy of the kingdom and of the King. Meantime John, Duke of Orléans, son of the murdered Duke, by uniting all the French forces raised an army of some 60,000 fighting men and marched against the enemy. When his adversary was planning flight and was making haste by short cuts back to England, Orléans misguidedly blocked his road. It is a true saying that one ought to pave a bridge with silver for a retreating foe. Never is victory won by flight. Often the impossibility of flight has been an advantage, since desperation whets courage, as we read in the famous line: The one safety of the conquered is to hope for no safety.

When Henry saw he was completely surrounded, he sent a herald to the French to offer to restore all that he had taken from France and to obtain safe return to England for himself and his army. When the French, elated with victory, sent him back empty-handed, Henry summoned his officers and said: "I have learned, comrades, that in war justice is supremely powerful and that victory is won not so much by the aid of men as by the arm of the Lord. In our eagerness for glory and our greed of gold we unjustly invaded another's kingdom. Divine Goodness could not tolerate our wicked purpose and has almost surrendered us into the enemy's hands. We are surrounded on all sides and no hope of escape is left us. But I am heartened by what I said at the beginning, that victory depends on justice and that God is on the side of the righteous cause. Do you all take heart and rejoice with me. Divine Grace is with us; it has made our unjust cause just. We sent heralds to the French asking for peace. We promised to restore what we had taken provided they would allow us to depart unharmed. They do not want peace; they want our persons to slay; they thirst for our blood; their insolence is greater than ours; their injustice surpasses ours; their reply was the extreme of arrogance. But God resists the proud. Victory will be where there is least guilt. Tomorrow expect a battle and let every man show on the field his utmost courage and strength. But do not place your hope of salvation in your own hands so much as in the hands of God. That He may be with us let us confess our sins to one another and taking up earth in place of the eucharist which we have not means of obtaining, let us humbly implore the Divine Mercy."

Atque his dictis fecit ipse primus quod alios hortabatur; exemplum regis multitudo secuta. Nec illa nocte aliud quam de salute animarum in castris Anglorum cogitatum est. Omnes tamquam morituri sequentis diei proelium expectabant, at inultum se casurum nemo speravit. Longe alia nox aliaeque vigiliae in Francorum castris fuere: laetari omnes, bibere, gloriari, pernox alea in manibus esse, numquam tubae, numquam cornua cessere, proceres alter alterum invitare. Inter vina et epulas captivos Anglorum partiri deque his tamquam de pecunia jactis ludere talis ac sortiri.

Cum illuxisset, structis hinc atque illinc aciebus, primi qui pugnam inciperent nobiliores delecti proceres atque, ut est in Gallis consuetudo, dignioribus primae mandatae acies. Sed non tam facile vibratur lancea quam talus jacitur nec tam levi manu cursus equorum regitur quam feminarum ducitur chorea. Indurati pluribus bellis Anglici et assueta malo juvenus non magno negotio delicatam Gallorum nobilitatem rejiciunt, et ruptis hostium ordinibus in medias turmas conglobati feruntur atque obvios quosque prosternunt. Franci ubi primos cedere animadverterunt, neque consilio neque auxilio suis fuere, simul spe perdita fugam omnes foedam fecere. Victor Anglicus usque ad noctem insecutus hostem cedendo capiendoque fessus cum rediisset in castra, longe plures captivos quam capientes invenit veritusque nocturna pericula servatis nobilioribus omnem plebem et ignota capita jussit interfici; hostile factum et inhumanum: non tam cruentum proelium quam victoria fuit. In hac pugna Antonius dux Brabantiae cecidit et Eduardus Barrensiis cum duobus fratribus, et proceres ac nobiles multi periire. Duces Aurelianensis, Borbonii et Alenconiae et comites ac barones complures captivi in Angliam ducti sunt, de quibus Henricus apud suos magnifice triumphavit. ...

Henricus Anglicus his cognitis tempus idoneum nactus ad occupandam Franciam, cum defunctis natu majoribus regii sanguinis juniores atrocibus inter se odiis concertarent, rex mente excidisset et plurimi in Anglia proceres capti detinerentur, iterum classe parata in Nortmanniam descendit expositisque in terra copiis non pauca ejus regionis oppida occupavit. Quod intelligentes dalphini gubernatores ... non aliam salvandi regni viam inveniri posse putaverunt quam Burgundo reconciliari. ... Atque arrepta bipenni magnanimum ducem dalphini pedes osculantem interfecit.

With these words he himself did first what he had enjoined upon the rest. The army followed the example of their king. That night no one in the English camp thought of anything but the salvation of their souls. All looked forward to the battle next day as to their deaths, but no one meant to die unavenged. In the French camp the watches of the night were very different. Everyone was rejoicing, drinking, boasting; dice were in their hands all night; trumpets and horns never ceased blowing; the nobles drank one another's health; over their wine and feasting they divided up the English captives; they threw dice for them as for wagers and drew lots.

When day dawned and both armies were drawn up, the most exalted nobles were chosen to begin the battle and (as is the French custom) the front lines were put under the command of those of highest rank. But it is not so easy to brandish a lance as to throw a die and it takes a stronger hand to guide a horse than lead a dance of women. The English youth, toughened in many wars and used to hardships had little difficulty in repulsing the effeminate nobility of France. Breaking through the enemy's lines they charged in solid formation into the very midst of their army, mowing all down in their path. When the French saw their front ranks giving way, they gave their men neither help nor counsel, but all abandoned hope and joined in a shameful rout. The victorious English pursued the enemy till nightfall. When they returned to their camp weary of surrenders and captures, they found that the prisoners far outnumbered their captors and fearing danger in the night, they ordered all the common soldiers and unknown persons to be killed, sparing only the noblest. It was a vengeful and inhuman deed; the battle was less bloody than the victory. In this engagement there fell Antoine, Duke of Brabant, Edouard, Duke of Bar, and his two brothers, and many lords and nobles. The Dukes of Orléans, Bourbon, and Alençon and many counts and barons were taken captive to England where Henry celebrated a splendid triumph over them before his people. ...

When Henry of England heard of these things, he saw that it was his opportunity to seize France. The older members of the royal house were dead and the younger were at bitter enmity with one another; the king had lost his mind; large numbers of the nobles were held prisoner in England. He again equipped a fleet and descending upon Normandy disembarked his troops and seized a considerable number of towns in that region. When they heard this, the guardians of the dauphin (he was the King's only son whose rescue from captivity in Paris we have related above) thought that the only way to save the kingdom was to be reconciled with Burgundy ... And seizing a battle axe he [the Provost of Paris] killed the gallant Duke as he was in the act of kissing the Dauphin's feet.

Quod scelus non tam triste Francis quam laetum Anglicis fuit. Henricus ubi occisum tantum principem audivit, "Haec," inquit, "Burgundi nex mea est vita. Hoc mihi nuntium Franciae regnum affert et alteram capiti meo coronam imponit," missisque legatis ad Philippum ... "Doleo", inquit, "patrem tuum tam crudeliter occisum esse, generosum et fortem principem, in cuius sanguine non Gallia modo, sed omnis Christiana religio laesa est. Tu si vir fueris et Johannis filius, haudquaquam paternam mortem inultam sines. Abunde tibi ad vindictam suppetunt facultates; quod si tuis armis non satis confidis, assunt mea. Ego tecum in tuo genitore sum laesus; unus enim sanguis sumus. Tecum pariter ulciscar. Nec tu sanguinis tui dalphinum putato; nam quo pacto rex demens et impotens eum genuerit? Abusa viri morbo regina hoc monstrum ex alieno concepit, a quo tuus genitor obruncatus est."

Placere Philippo Anglici mandata nec mora foedus cum eo percussit, pace cum fatuo rege his legibus composita: filiam ejus Catherinam ante dementiam natam Henricus uxorem ducat regnumque vivo rege gubernet, mortuo Franciae coronam ferat; dalphinus tamquam ex adulterio genitus et perduellis exhaeres esto.

Ab eo tempore Anglicus, qui se jam pridem Franciae atque Angliae regem nominaverat, mutato titulo pro rege Franciae regni gubernator et haeres appellatus est, cui non solum Parisini ac Burgundi et Nortmanni, sed omnes ferme citra Lygerim habitantes paruerunt; et in Aquitania Burdegala cum pluribus oppida ejus imperium secuta est. Quibus peractis profluvio ventris, ut ajunt, extinctus est in Occidentali Monasterio apud Lundonias cum patribus suis conditus est, vir certe clarus et inter reges sui temporis facile princeps: Anglia ei obsequentissima fuit, Scotiae regem captivum habuit, Francos multis magnisque proeliis fudit eorumque regem in gubernationem accepit, subjectis populis jus incorruptum dixit, plumeos lectos Anglicis interdixit. Ferunt animum ei fuisse, si regnum Franciae totum obtinuisset, vini usum auferre omnisque vineas aratro vertere, nihil tam enervare hominum vires quam plumas et vina putanti.

This crime caused less sorrow to the French than joy to the English. When Henry heard that so great a prince had been killed, he said, "The death of Burgundy means life for me. This news brings me the throne of France and sets a second crown on my head." He despatched envoys to Philip, John's only son, who was still a lad, with this message, "I grieve that your father has been so cruelly murdered. He was a noble and brave prince in whose death not only France but all Christendom has suffered. If you show yourself a man and John's son, you will not allow your father's murder to go unavenged. You have abundant means for vengeance, but if you have not enough confidence in your own arms, here are mine. Together with you I have been injured in the person of your father (for we are of one blood) and with you I will avenge him. Do not think that the Dauphin is of your blood; for how could a mad and impotent king have begotten him? The Queen took advantage of her husband's malady and conceived by another this monster who slew your father.

Philip was pleased with the King of England's message. He at once made an agreement with him and peace was arranged with the mad King on the following terms: Henry was to marry Charles' daughter Katherine, who was born before the King's madness; he was to be regent during the king's life and at his death was to receive the crown of France; the Dauphin was to be disinherited as being a bastard and public enemy.

From that time Henry, who had long been styling himself King of France and England, changed his title and instead of King of France was called Regent and Heir to the Kingdom. Not only Paris, Burgundy, and Normandy but also all the people north of the Loire were subject to him and in Aquitaine Bordeaux as well as numerous towns acknowledged his sovereignty. No sooner was this arranged than Henry died – of dysentery they say. He was buried beside his father in Westminster Abbey in London.

He was certainly an illustrious man and easily foremost among the sovereigns of his time. He had England's complete obedience; the King of Scots was his prisoner; he defeated the French in many great battles and became regent for their king; he governed subject peoples justly; he forbade the English to have featherbeds. They say he intended, if he obtained sovereignty over all France, to abolish the use of wine and plough up all the vineyards; for he thought nothing weakened men so much as feathers and wine.

29. Johannes, rex Castellae

[218] Johannes, rex Castellae ac Legionis, in ejus regni exordio plurima cum Aragonensibus bella gessit, namque cum Alfonsus et fratres ejus ex Castilla sint, jus sibi tenendi regendique patriam arbitrabantur, donec rex Johannes aetatem haberet. Milites autem baronesque Castellae in contrarium nitebantur, nec enim regno suo dominari Aragonenses¹ volebant. Hinc bella quamplurima fuerunt multaeque caedes, dum Castellani modo vincunt, modo succumbunt.

¹ dominari Aragonenses : Aragonenses dominari X

29. Juan II, King of Castile

[218] Juan,^{1 2} King of Castille and León, in the beginning of his reign, waged many wars with the Aragonese, for Alfonso and his brothers, coming from Castille, thought that they should rightfully hold and rule the country until Juan reached his majority.³ However, they were opposed by knights⁴ and barons of Castille who did not want the Aragonese to dominate their country. Thus, many wars and killings ensued; sometimes the Castilians were victorious, sometimes they were defeated.⁵

¹ Juan II (Trastámara) (1405-1454): King of Castile and León from 1406 to his death. He attained his majority in 1419 but assumed the government already at his mother's death in 1418.

² For a general biography, see Porras Arboledas.

³ Juan I, King of Castile 1379-1390, had two sons, Enrique II (King of Castile, 1390-1406) and Fernando (of Antequera), Prince of Castile. When Juan II became king after his father's death in 1406, his uncle Fernando became his regent and remained so (as co-regent - through delegates - with Enrique's mother) until 1416, though he himself became King of Aragon as Fernando I in 1412. Fernando I had the sons Alfonso V, Juan (King of Navarra through marriage from 1425, from 1458 King Juan II of Aragon), and Enrique (Grand Master of the Order of Santiago). After the death of Juan II's mother, Catherine of Lancaster, in 1418, the princes of Aragon obtained a marriage between him and their sister Maria. They obtained their subsequent position and great influence in Castile thanks to this marriage and not as guardians of Juan II, who had already assumed the government and some months afterwards attained his majority. See also sect. 199.

⁴ "milites"

⁵ Piccolomini's account of the wars and conflicts in Castile suffers from a garbled chronology

[219] Ad extremum tamen rex Johannes obtinuit virtute potissimum et industria Alvari de Luna, qui postea apud eum primum locum tenuit. Tum et Henricus, magister Sancti Jacobi, {80r} ex¹ Castilla depulsus est omniaque castra amisit. Multa hic cum Saracenis, qui regnum Granatae obtinent et undique suis provinciis aucti² sunt, bella gessit saepiusque trophaea ex hoste reduxit nunc per se, nunc per suos duces. Exinde cum barones regni³ unum esse Alvarum, qui cuncta regeret, cui rex crederet, qui pacem bellumque faceret, quique rex videretur potius quam consiliarius [intellexissent]⁴, invidere coeperunt vocatisque in regnum Aragonensibus regem invadunt atque obsidione cingunt⁵ primogenitumque ejus ab eo separant. Pauci cum rege manent. Tum sepulchrum Alvari, quod erat in ecclesia Toletana, ingenti et pretioso opere constructum metalloque perfectum diruunt pissidesque⁶ inde faciunt, unde lapides in hostes jaciant. Cogitur itaque rex Alvarum dimittere atque a⁷ latere suo separare, qui in quandam arcem munitissimam se conferens furori cessit, ac sic regimen terrae in manibus Johannis, regis Navarrae, fuit ac fratris ejus, magistri sancti Jacobi. Rex autem Castellae solum coronam nudumque regis nomen habuit.

¹ de MA

² eructi X

³ *em.*; regnum V; regem MA

⁴ *em.* HE

⁵ vocatisque in ... cingunt *omit.* MA

⁶ pixidesque MA [pyxides]

⁷ *omit.* MA

[219] In the end, King Juan gained the upper hand, primarily thanks to the courage and energy of Alvaro de Luna, who afterwards held the first place at his [court]. Then Enrique, Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, was expelled from Castille and lost all his castles.¹ Juan waged many wars against the Saracens, who possess the kingdom of Granada and have expanded on all sides into the king's territories. Juan brought many trophies back from the enemy, either by himself or through his captains. Later,² the barons of the kingdom began to envy Alvaro as the one man in the kingdom who ruled everything, whom the king trusted, who decided on peace and war, and who appeared to be a king rather than a counsellor. They invited the Aragonese³ back into the kingdom, attacked and besieged the king, and removed his firstborn son.⁴ Only a few stayed with the king. Then they destroyed Alvaro's tomb in the church of Toledo, a grand and costly monument made of [precious] metals, using them to make boxes⁵ from where to throw stones at enemies. The king was forced to dismiss Alvaro and send him away. He evaded the furor by taking refuge in a very strong fortress. Thus the government came into the hands of Juan, King of Navarra, and his brother, the Grand Master of Santiago,⁶ the king of Castille retaining the crown and the title of king only.

¹ 1420.

² 1427.

³ Juan, King of Navarre; Enrique, Grand Master of Santiago.

⁴ Enrique IV (1425-1474): King of Castile from 1454 to his death.

⁵ Meaning unclear.

⁶ Princes of Aragon.

[220] Hinc rursus cum rex novos¹ tractatus haberet cum Alvaro velletque rursus administrare, per barones detentus est juramentoque adactus, ne certam provinciam exiret, custodiaeque circa eum habebantur. Intra limites autem² monasterium³ fuit, quod Johannes, cardinalis sancti Petri, habuit in commendam. Hic cardinalis regem invitat secum ut prandeat. Advenit rex. Post prandium in hortum itur, solusque cum rege cardinalis interrogat, an captus sit, et quae juramenta praestiterit. Affatur totum rex. Tum ille subditorum juramentis non teneri regem dicit suadetque fugam et subsidia pollicetur, affueruntque⁴ mox equites, quos Alvarus misit. Tum rex custodiam exivit vocatis ad se nobilibus, qui manserant in fide. Ex consilio Alvari rursus in dominium venit Alvarumque majorem⁵ fecit, unde rursus bella cum Aragonensibus orta sunt et pluribus regni baronibus, qui Alvaro invidabant. Sed ultimo proelio Johannes, rex Castellae, victor evadens magnam caedem in Aragonenses dedit. In quo proelio vulneratus rex Navarrae mortuus est. Quid sequatur, jam videbunt alii et nos, si Dei ex benignitate vixerimus.

¹ *omit. X [blank space]*

² ~~eustod~~ *seq. V*

³ *monasterii MA*

⁴ *afferuntque MA*

⁵ *minorem MA*

[220] Later he resumed dealings with Alvaro and wanted to rule again but was detained by the barons, forced to swear he would not leave a certain province, and put under guard. In that province, there was a monastery which Juan, Cardinal of San Pietro,¹ had *in commendam*.² The cardinal invited the king to lunch, and the king came. After lunch, they went for a walk in the garden, and when he was alone with the king, the cardinal asked if he was a prisoner and what oaths he had made. The king told him all. Then the cardinal said to him that a king is not bound by his oaths to subjects and urged him to flee, promising to assist him. Soon knights sent by Alvaro arrived. Then the king left custody³ and summoned those nobles who had remained loyal.⁴ Counselling by Alvaro, he returned to power and made Alvaro a great man again. This caused new wars with the Aragonese and several barons of the kingdom, who were jealous of Alvaro.⁵ In the final battle, however, Juan, King of Castile, emerged as the victor, inflicting a major defeat upon the Aragonese. In that battle,⁶ the King of Navarra was wounded and died.⁷ What follows, we and others shall see if merciful God lets us live.

¹ Juan de Cervantes y Bocanegra (1382-1453): Appointed cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426. He was at the Council of Basel from 1433-1439 as a representative of Juan II of Castile. Here he knew Piccolomini, whose employer he also was for a period, and may have told him about the episode of the king's liberation from imprisonment and also informed him more generally about Castilian matters. He appears to have had an abbey (Calatrava) *in commendam*, not very far from Talavera, where the king stayed, but the circumstances of this episode are uncertain.

² *In commendam*: The expression *in commendam* was originally applied to the provisional occupation of an ecclesiastical benefice, which was temporarily without an actual occupant, in contrast to the conferral of a title, *in titulum*, which was applied to the regular and unconditional occupation of a benefice. Granting a benefice *in commendam* became most common with monasteries, and the commendatory abbot drew a portion of the revenue of the monastery but without fulfilling the duties of the abbot or even residing at the monastery.

³ 1428.

⁴ Piccolomini seems to have misplaced this episode in time. He is here, presumably, referring to Juan's imprisonment by Enrique of Aragon (Grand Master of Santiago), in 1420, in Talavera from where he escaped on 29 November 1420, with the help of Alvaro de Luna. If the episode did, indeed, take place in 1429, Juan Cervantes was apparently a commendatory abbot but not yet a cardinal. See Álvarez Palenzuela (p. 46 ff.), who does not mention the role of Juan Cervantes.

⁵ The civil war in Castile, 1437-1455, leading to the defeat of the Castilian opposition to Juan II, supported by the Aragonese princes.

⁶ Battle of Olmedo, 19 May 1445.

⁷ Juan II of Navarra and Aragon. However, it was not Juan who died, but his brother, Enrique (Grand Master of Santiago), who was wounded during the battle and died on 22 May 1445. Piccolomini got it right in his *Europa*, written about five years later (see supplement).

[221] Hujus avus¹, rex Henricus, cum ad eum oratores regis Martini venissent, interrogassetque, quidnam suus consanguineus ageret et an bene regnum², {80v} et illi respondissent mirum³ in modum bene regere⁴ et ab omnibus diligere⁵ regem Martinum optimamque de ipso spem esse, nam diebus singulis tres missas audiret, “Ite,” inquit, “dicite consanguineo meo nihil me de ipso bene sperare, si sic facit. Reges enim non missarum audiendarum causa creantur, sed ut injurias a subditis propulsent regnique pacem custodiant. Nec parum fuerit unam in anno missam audire regem, si justitiam ac iudicium fecerit, nam propter missarum auditionem abduci ab administratione justitiae contra officium est.”

¹ *omit. X [blank space]*

² regnum HE, MA

³ rarum X

⁴ agere MA

⁵ et ab omnibus *omit. X [blank space]*

[221] King Enrique,¹ ancestor² of Juan II of Castile, once received some ambassadors from king Martin.³ When he asked them how his relative⁴ fared and if he governed well, they replied that King Martin ruled excellently and was beloved by all. People had high hopes for him since he heard three masses every day. Then King Enrique said, “Go and tell my relative that I do not have high hopes for him if he does that, for kings are not created to hear masses but to keep their subjects out of harm’s way and maintain peace in the kingdom. One mass a year would be enough if only he provides justice and judgement. It goes against his duty if hearing masses distracts him from administering justice.”^{5 6}

¹ Enrique III (Trastámara) (1379-1406): King of Castile from 1390 to his death

² Enrique III was the father of Juan II of Castile.

³ Martin (1356-1410): King of Aragon from 1396 and of Sicily from 1409 to his death. With him, the House of Barcelona became extinct, and Martin was succeeded as King of Aragon by Ferdinand II (Antequera).

⁴ King Martin.

⁵ Date: This text must have been written after June 1445, the earliest time news of the Battle of Olmedo could have reached the imperial court in Austria.

⁶ Piccolomini’s sources: Piccolomini was not personally acquainted with Juan II but was apparently informed about him and Spanish affairs by his employer, Cardinal Juan Cervantes, and probably also by other acquaintances and friends at the Council of Basel, among them Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo.

Supplement

From Europa (Heck, pp. 187-188)

In Castella prenobili ac late dominante regno, cuius reges Gothorum sanguine creti nunquam genus variarunt, Aluarus de Luna natione Aragonensis nobili genere, quamvis extra matrimonium natus, cum olim Ioanni regi adeo se insinuisset, ut unus omnium regni regisque potens uideretur Ioannemque, Nauarre regem, et Henricum, magistrum Militie sancti Iacobi, potentia sua opprimere ac regnum gubernare conatos armis deturbasset, postea tamen aduersante sibi regina redeuntibus illis et regem in potestatem suam recipientibus e curia pulsus, in possessionibus aliquamdiu priuatus uixit, felix, si concessio frui ocio nouisset. Sed nulla est regno deiectis quies. Dum ergo sublimem locum, de quo rursus maiori cum ruina precipitetur, uendicare conatur, regi clam suadet, uti per speciem uenationis in saltus sibi propinquos egrediatur; se cum potenti manu futurum obuiam. Nec dubium, quin regni optimates libertatem regi asserant. Non fuit difficilis persuasio. Rex cum paucis egressus parum custoditus (nam Aluari iam pene nomen extinctum erat) ubi ad insidiarum locum peruenit, mox clamore edito Aluarus inter lectos exultans milites liberum regem saluere dixit eumque secum abduxit. Qua re uulgata confestim mira inclinatio regni facta est et iterum ad Aluarum regni gubernatio deuoluta; nec diu post eisdem Ioanne atque Henrico atrox prelium commissum est, in quo plures utrinque cecidere; uictoria penes Aluarum fuit. Henricus non multis post diebus ex uulnere manus, quod in ea pugna receperat, mortem obiit. Magistratum eius Aluarus obtinuit et aliquamdiu postea regis pater et regni moderator est habitus. Ad extremum tamen potenti inuidie succubuit; nam cum nobilem quempiam iussu regis ingrata sibi quedam renuntiantem e fenestra sue domus precipitari iussisset, mox captus est et in medio foro capitali sententia dampnatus est. Non tamen ut ignauus occubuit, sed numeratis suis in regem regnumque meritis non lacrimans aut eiulans, sed alacri uultu et quasi ad epulas inuitatus ceruicem gladio prebuit, uir alti spiritus, non minus domi quam belli clarus et cui magna semper in mente sederint. Ioannes deinde aliquot annis per se regnum administravit.

Supplement

From Europa (Brown, pp. 213-214)

In Castile, a renowned kingdom with far-flung dominions, whose kings spring from the blood of the Goths and have never varied their stock, Álvaro de Luna, an Aragonese by race and a man of noble birth, though born out of wedlock, once wormed his way so deeply into the favor of King Juan that he alone seemed to wield power over the kingdom and the king. When King Juan of Navarre and Enrique, master of the Military Order of Santiago, tried to impose their own power and govern the kingdom, Álvaro forcibly drove them off. Later, however, when the queen turned against him, they returned and gained control over the king, Álvaro was expelled from the court and lived for some time as a private individual on his estates - a fortunate man, if only he had known how to enjoy the leisure afforded him! But there is no peace for those deposed from power. And so, in an attempt to win back his lofty position, from which he would be hurled again with even greater ruin, he secretly persuaded the king to come out to the woodlands near his home on the pretext of hunting. He said that he would come with a powerful force and that beyond doubt the nobles of the kingdom would assert the king's freedom. It was not hard to persuade him. The king went out with a few men, inadequately guarded because the name of Álvaro had almost been forgotten, and came to the place of ambush, where Álvaro, raising a shout and exulting in the midst of his picked soldiers, hailed the king as a free man and took him away with him. As soon as news of this spread abroad, an amazing turnabout of power took place, and for a second time the government of the kingdom devolved upon Álvaro. Not long after this, a terrible battle was fought with the same Juan and Enrique, in which many perished on both sides, and victory fell to Álvaro. Enrique died a few days later as a result of a wound in the hand which he had received in the battle. Álvaro took over his mastership [of Santiago] and for some time afterward was looked upon as the father of the king and the governor of the kingdom. In the end, however, he fell victim to strong resentment. For when he ordered a certain nobleman to be thrown from the window of his house for bringing him a displeasing message under orders of the king, he was arrested and condemned to death in the center of the marketplace. However, he did not die like a coward. After enumerating his meritorious services to the king and the realm, he offered his neck to the sword neither weeping nor wailing, but with an eager expression, as if he had been invited to a banquet - a man of proud spirit, famous in peace no less than in war, whose mind was always fixed on some great design. For some years, Juan then governed the kingdom by himself.

30. Eberardus, Rex Portugalliae

[222] Eberardus, Rex Portugalliae, multis proeliis adversus Castellanos feliciter commissis - nam inter vicinos odia raro desunt - regnum suum in pace firmavit. Exin classem magnam instruens simulat se in Holandiam¹ profecturum quasdamque illic ulturum injurias, ac dum² navibus armatis juvenus congregata est et classi imposita, jubet³ vela dari, cumque dextrorsum eundum significaret⁴, ad laevam praecipit navigia duci atque in Africam proficiscitur urbemque Saracenorum, Ceptam⁵ nomine, magnam atque opulentam, ex improvise aggreditur ingressusque vi vi caedem magnam intulit potiturque praeter opinionem omnium victoria ingenti. Quidam ajunt eum in Holandia classem struxisse atque illinc adductam quasi ad aliud opus in Portugalliam detulisse in Africam. Illud certum est eum Ceptam obtinuisse ac caesis fugatisve cultoribus primis novos incolas imposuisse⁶, nam et hodie quoque Portugallenses in potestate urbem habent magnoque stipendio custodiunt.

[223] Fuit hic rex in omnibus magnificentissimus, animo vastus, et amans justitiam. Hic filium admodum parvum moriens reliquit, Johannem nomine, qui hodie rex est indolis egregiae, sed sub tutoria⁷ potestate, nam infans Petrus, patruus ejus, dux Coimbrae⁸, eum impuberem gubernat filiamque suam illi copulavit in matrimonio, quamvis admodum conjuncti sint⁹.

¹ Oland... *et passim* HE

² demum MA

³ jussit MA

⁴ significarent MA

⁵ Ceutam *et passim* MA

⁶ ac caesis ... imposuisse *omit.* MA

⁷ tentoria X

⁸ Conimbriae MA

⁹ sunt MA

30. Duarte, King of Portugal

[222] Duarte,¹ King of Portugal, fought many battles successfully against the Castilians – for hate is rarely lacking between neighbours – but afterwards kept his kingdom at peace.² Later he equipped a great fleet under the pretence of going to Holland to avenge some wrongs. Having armed the ships, he gathered the youth, brought them onto the fleet, and ordered the sails to be hoisted. Instead of signalling the fleet to turn right, however, he ordered it to turn left and sailed to Africa, where he made a surprise attack on Ceuta, a large and opulent Saracen city.³ He attacked and entered it, killing a lot of the defenders, and conquered it - to the surprise of all. It was a great victory. Some claim that he had the fleet built in Holland and brought to Portugal under the pretence of some enterprise there, after which he directed it to Africa. What is certain is that he conquered Ceuta and that when the previous inhabitants had been killed or put to flight, he brought new people to live there. The city is still in the hands of the Portuguese, who keep it at great costs.⁴

[223] This king was magnificent in every way, of a vast mind, and loving justice. When he died, he left a son named Joao, only a small child.⁵ He is king today, of excellent character, but still under guardianship, for his uncle, the Infante Pedro, Duke of Coimbra,⁶ governs him during his minority⁷ and has given him his own daughter⁸ in marriage, though they are very closely related.

¹ Duarte (1391-1438): King of Portugal from 1433 to his death on 9 September 1438.

² Here, Piccolomini confuses Duarte with his father, Joao I, who defeated Castile in a war of succession, preserving his country's independence and establishing the House of Avis as rulers of Portugal.

³ Again, it was not Duarte, but his father, King Joao I, who conquered Ceuta, 21 August 1415. Duarte participated in the campaign together with his brothers.

⁴ Ceuta did become a drain on Portuguese resources.

⁵ Error for Afonso, i.e., Afonso V (1432-1481): King of Portugal from 1438 to his death, from 1439 to 1448 under the guardianship of his uncle, the Infante Pedro, Duke of Coimbra: He was only one year old when his father died.

⁶ Pedro (1392-1449): Prince of Portugal. Duke of Coimbra. Regent of Portugal 1439 to 1448

⁷ The minority ended at Afonso's majority, 9 June 1448.

⁸ Isabel de Coimbra (1432-1455): Engaged to King Afonso V in 1445, married on 6 May 1447.

[224] Is Petrus juventutis suae tempore multam orbis partem peragravit¹ veniensque ad Sigismundum Caesarem in Hungaria diu cum eo fuit ac in pluribus bellis contra Turchos multa exhibuit virtutis suae experimenta, cui pro stipendio viginti milia auri pondo quotannis dabantur. Exin quoque propter egregia ejus facinora propterque alia, quae facturum se promittebat, marchionatus {81r} Trivisanus concessus est. Sed postea cum promissa non adimpleret, rursus Sigismundus marchionatum ipsum Venetis concessit, sed Fridericus demum iterum Petro infanti marchionatum tradidit, cum oratores ejus usque in Austriam venissent. Hujus soror in matrimonium tradita est Philippo, duci Borgundiae, mulier alti animi magnique cordis, de qua suo dicemus loco².

¹ migravit MA

² dicemus loco : loco dicemus MA

[224] In his youth, Pedro travelled through a large part of the world.¹ Coming to Emperor Sigismund in Hungary, he stayed for a long time with him.² He gave proof of his valour in many battles with the Turks.³ He received a yearly stipend of 20,000 pounds of gold. Later, in reward of his remarkable deeds and what he promised to do, he was granted the Marchionate of Treviso,⁴ but when he did not fulfil his promises, Sigismund ceded the Marchionate to the Venetians. Later, Friedrich restored it to Pedro when his ambassadors came to Austria.⁵ ⁶ He gave his sister⁷ in marriage to Philippe, Duke of Burgundy.⁸ ⁹ She is a woman of great spirit and of character, about whom we shall talk later.¹⁰ ¹¹

¹ From 1418 to 1428, Pedro was away from Portugal on travels through Europe.

² Pedro left Sigismund's service in 1424.

³ Hoensch, p. 342: *Sigismund begab sich Ende Oktobers 1426 selbst nach Siebenbürgen, um die Operationen zu leiten, und erlebte noch die letzte, verlustreiche Schlacht mit, die sein langjähriger Weggefährte und Vertraute, Pipo Ozorai (27 Dezember 1426), auf dem rechten Donauufer bei Orschowa gegen die Türken austrug und bei der ein portugiesisches Kontingent von 800 Rittern unter dem Befehl des Prinzen Pedro fast völlig aufgerieben wurde.*

⁴ 1418, see Heinig, I, p. 642, n. 321.

⁵ In December 1444, representatives of Pedro at Emperor Friedrich's court obtained the confirmation of Emperor Sigismund's grant of the Marchionate of Treviso to Pedro, see Heinig, I, p. 642 and 778. Piccolomini himself wrote the emperor's letter of confirmation to Pedro (WO, I, 2, ep. xxxix, pp. 76-77). When Piccolomini was sent on his first imperial mission to Pope Eugenius IV (Rome, February 1445), Chancellor Kaspar Schlick charged him with the task of obtaining, at the Medici Bank in Florence, the chancery fee for the documents of enfeoffment which Pedro had deposited with the bank (Heinig, I, p. 642, n. 321).

⁶ In his *Europa* (Brown, pp. 215-216), Piccolomini wrote about Pedro: *In Portugal, Pedro, titled the Infante (for that is what the king's sons are called before they reign), a ruler of great repute, who had traveled through almost all of Europe giving proofs of his virtue, governed the realm for some time in the capacity of guardian – to the highest acclaim. Just as faithfully, he restored it to Afonso, his nephew on his brother's side, who was also his son-in-law. Finally, however, quarrels arose on both sides, and, as their hatred grew, it ended in warfare. Pedro was pierced by a random arrow and perished – a man of great achievements, who had once served under Emperor Sigismund and won for himself no small glory in fighting the Turks.*

⁷ Isabella de Portugal (1397-1471): Married Duke Philippe of Burgundy 1430.

⁸ Philippe III, Duke of Burgundy.

⁹ 1430.

¹⁰ Date: This text was written before the end of Pedro's regency on 9 June 1448 and after the engagement of King Afonso V (Portugal) to Isabel de Portugal in 1445.

¹¹ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini was not personally acquainted with Duarte, and his knowledge of Portuguese affairs is scanty and erroneous. His information on Infante Pedro is probably derived from sources at the imperial court, especially Chancellor Kaspar Schlick, and from the imperial correspondence with Pedro.

31. Isabella, Dux Borgundiae

[225] Maria¹, dux Borgundiae, filia regis Portugalliae, diu domi absque viro servata est, namque cum spes fuisset ducem Borgundiae Filippum eam petere jamque coepta res esset, animum mulier in illum deiecit; cumque res non sortiretur effectum, non tamen destitit amare Filippum. At² fratres eam nuptui tradere cupientes³, multos ei maritos nominavere. Illa nullum voluit, dicens adhuc futurum esse, quod Filippus eam repeteret. Sic⁴ annis duodecim in spe mansit nec frustrata est, nam cum Filippus aliam non invenisset sibi gratam, rursus hanc petiit contractumque est matrimonium.

[226] Haec mox animum ad dominandum erexit abusaque mariti indulgentia cuncta per se disponere coepit, regere urbes, exercitum indicere⁵, provinciis imponere tributa ac omnia ex ejus arbitrio libidineque gubernare. Quod ei facilius erat, nam vir ejus prudentiam magis quam formam miratus, nec enim pulchra facie fuit, sed oblonga, cuncta sibi commisit. Singula igitur haec mulier cum cancellario administrabat, vir autem venationi jocisque deditus parum de regimine curabat.

¹ *Hic errat Piccolomineus. Lege Isabellam*

² ~~pater~~ seq. V

³ omit. V

⁴ omit. X

⁵ indicere MA

31. Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy

[225] Maria,^{1 2} Duchess of Burgundy,³ daughter of the King of Portugal,⁴ was kept unmarried at home for a long time. Duke Philippe of Burgundy⁵ was expected to ask for her hand. The matter had already been set in motion, and it was him that she wanted. Though it did not come about then, she did not cease to love Philippe.⁶ Her brothers, however, wanted her to marry and proposed many many suitors, but she wanted no one else, saying that Philippe would eventually ask for her hand. She kept hoping for 12 years and was not disappointed, for since Philippe had not found anyone else he liked,⁷ he again asked for her hand, and the marriage was contracted.⁸

[226] But soon, she began to nourish ambitions of ruling. Taking advantage of her husband's indulgence, she began to decide everything, rule cities, raise armies, tax provinces, and govern everything as she wished and pleased to. It was easy for her to do since her husband, admiring her intelligence⁹ rather than her beauty (her face was not beautiful but long), entrusted all affairs to her.¹⁰ Thus she administered everything together with the chancellor,¹¹ while her husband occupied himself with hunting and games and cared little about governing.¹²

¹ Error for Isabella.

² For a general biography, see Lacerda.

³ Isabel [Isabella] de Portugal (1397-1471): Married Duke Philippe of Burgundy 1430.

⁴ Joao I (1357-1433): King of Portugal from 1385 to his death.

⁵ Philippe III. Piccolomini's version is fictitious: In 1415, there were negotiations about a marriage between Isabella and King Henry V of England. The negotiations failed, and only 13 years, afterwards Phillippe sent ambassadors to ask for Isabella in marriage.

⁶ Primarily King Duarte and the regent, Infante Pedro.

⁷ Piccolomini fails to mention that the Duke of Burgundy was married to Michelle de Valois, daughter of the French king, from 1409-1422, and to Bonne d'Artois from 1424-1425. When Bonne died after a year's marriage, Isabelle was already 32 years old. She could not possibly have been pining after the duke for all those years, so Piccolomini's story is a literary fabrication.

⁸ 1430.

⁹ "prudencia"

¹⁰ *Sommé: Les délégations: En donnant à Isabelle de Portugal "plain pover et auctorité de gouverner", Philippe le Bon avait suivi l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs qui avaient su en leur temps faire confiance à divers membres de la famille princière. Mais en ne donnant à cette délégation aucune limitation, ce qui est exceptionnel, il reconnaissait implicitement la place éminente tenue par la duchesse dans le gouvernement de la principauté. Entre les deux époux s'était rapidement instaurée une collaboration fructueuse, Isabelle excellant en particulier dans les domaines de la diplomatie et de l'administration. La délégation de pouvoir de 1441 s'inscrit donc dans cette pratique permanente du pouvoir, elle en était l'aboutissement logique.*

¹¹ Nicolas Rolin (1376-1462): Chancellor of Philippe III from 1422, remaining so for 40 ears.

¹² This image of Philippe as a lazy ruler contrasts greatly with Piccolomini's later biographical sketches of him.

[227] Mulier autem¹ Anglicis affecta, ut sunt Portugallenses, virum in odio Gallicorum tenebat. Quod cum diu nequisset², nam pacem fieri³ cum rege Franciae placebat, jamque dux Borgundiae cum sexaginta milibus pugnatorum contra Calixium esset, jamque dux Clocestriae⁴ in ejus auxilium auxilium venisset urbis, femina in campo cum viro fuit, prohibensque insultum fieri suspecta habita est. Ob quam rem sex milia Frandensium, qui erant in campo, dicentes se frustra teneri invito⁵ domino recesserunt. Tuncque dux Borgundiae expositum⁶ {81v} se Anglicis videns ipse quoque recessit. Anglici autem exeuntes urbem vicina Frandriae loca vastarunt multumque agri incenderunt, quod ducissae imputatum est. Haec tamen in regimine mansit in dies viro dilectior, cui et filium peperit, quem modo in spem magnae ditionis nutriunt.

¹ ~~magis~~ *seq.* V

² nequisset MA

³ haberi MA

⁴ Clarestinae MA

⁵ inulto X

⁶ *omit.* V [omission at turning of page]

[227] The woman favoured the English¹ – as the Portuguese do – and kept fanning her husband’s hate of the French. This she could not do for long, however, since it was decided to make peace with the French king.² When the Duke of Burgundy camped before Calais with 60,000³ soldiers⁴ and the Duke of Gloucester⁵ had come to aid the city,⁶ the woman – being with her husband in the camp – forbade an attack [on the city] and, therefore, came under suspicion. For this reason, 6,000 Flemish in the camp said their unwilling lord kept them there to no purpose and left.⁷ The duke, seeing he was threatened by the English, also withdrew.⁸ The English marched out of the city, laid waste to neighbouring regions in Flanders, and burnt many fields,⁹ for which the duchess was blamed. But she retained her power, and her husband’s love for her kept growing. She bore him a son,¹⁰ whom they are now raising, in the hope that he will have a great dominion.

¹ Her mother was Philippa of Lancaster, granddaughter of King Edward III. Lacerda, pp. 28-29: *Elle s’est rangée de leur côté, non seulement parce que sa mère, Filippa de Lancastre, était anglaise, mais aussi parce que les combattants anglais avaient aidé son père, le roi Joao Ier, à triompher des Espagnols en Aljubarrota (1385).*

² Charles VII. The Peace of Arras, 1435. On the duchess at the Congress of Arras, see Sommée: *Les délégations: En avril 1435, les deux époux quittèrent la Bourgogne pacifiée avec leur fils Charles, né le 11 novembre 1433, pour rejoindre Arras où devait se tenir la conférence pour la paix. Officiellement la duchesse ne joua qu’un rôle de représentation au cours de ce congrès. Cependant elle dut aussi participer aux négociations comme le montrent ses entretiens privés avec le cardinal Albergati, médiateur envoyé par le pape.*

³ 40,000, see Bourassin, p. 225.

⁴ 1436-1437.

⁵ Humphrey (Lancaster) (1390-1447): Created Duke of Gloucester in 1414. Brother of Henry V.

⁶ Bourassin, p. 226: *Le duc de Gloucester débarquait à Calais avec une forte armée de secours.*

⁷ Bourassin, p. 225-226: *Quinze jours passèrent en bombardements et en escarmouches mais les Anglais de Calais étaient des hommes résolus et firent une sortie si bien préparée et si promptement menée qu’ils surprirent les Gantois qui, paisiblement, dormaient, mangeaient ou jouaient aux cartes, sans avoir pourvu à leur sécurité. Les malheureux furent massacrés “comme bétail”. Une rumeur sinistre parcourut alors le camps des Flamands: ils étaient trahis et vendus! “Aussi commencèrent-ils à déloger en faisant grand bruit: allons, retournons en notre pays”.*

⁸ Sommée: *Les délégations: A Arras l’objectif d’une paix générale n’avait pu être atteint. De plus Philippe le Bon se trouve maintenant en conflit avec Henri VI ; en 1436 il essaye en vain de reprendre Calais alors que le commerce indispensable à la prospérité de l’économie flamande est interrompu. Il est donc urgent de rétablir de bonnes relations entre les deux pays ; l’Angleterre souhaite de son côté reprendre les négociations avec la France.*

⁹ Bourassin, p. 226: *La Flandre ... connut à nouveau l’invasion. Gloucester ivre de vengeance, ravagea le plat pays de Cassel jusqu’à Ypres “dévastant et pillant tout sur son chemin”.*

¹⁰ Charles le Téméraire (1433-1477): Duke of Burgundy from 1467 to his death.

[228] Nunc¹ tamen fama allata est Holandinos Zelandinosque² propter gravia, quae ipsis ab duce muliere imponuntur onera, parum oboedientes esse, quos cum Filippus rebellare timeret, uxorem suam jam dominio et administratione qualibet privavit et ipse per se regere coepit. Conjugi autem provisionem fecit, ex qua vitam possit³ condignam ducere.

¹ *omit.* MA

² Relandinosque MA

³ posset MA

[228] Now, news has reached us that the peoples of Holland and Zeeland have become restive because of the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the duchess.¹ Therefore, Phillippe, fearing a rebellion, has deprived his wife of her powers to govern and administer and begun to rule by himself. But he has made provision for his wife to live as befits her rank.^{2 3 4 5}

¹ Sommé: *Les délégations: La duchesse eut encore à s'occuper des affaires de Hollande et de Luxembourg. La Hollande venait de terminer à son avantage une guerre contre la Hanse, mais la paix de Copenhague en septembre 1441 l'obligeait à des réparations envers plusieurs pays. Comme Amsterdam refusait de payer les dommages, Isabelle, le 9 mars 1442, la déclara ville rebelle et ordonna de confisquer les biens des habitants qui ne voudraient pas payer.*

² It is not clear what events Piccolomini is referring to here. The duchess did at some point retire from the ducal court, but that was around 1457, much too late for the present text, written not later than 1447.

³ This text shows Piccolomini's double bias against the Duke of Burgundy and against women rulers. The imperial court was hostile to the duke's designs on imperial territories – and had been so since the time of Emperor Sigismund, and Piccolomini's fictitious account of the duke's love of pleasure and neglect of government may be considered as reflecting imperial propaganda against the duke (whom Piccolomini would later come to admire). Also, the story of Isabella's political ambitions and domination of her husband is a complete exaggeration. Isabella and the duke had a good marital relationship, and the duke did give his wife a share in his rule that was unusual for the time, but he certainly did not let his wife rule in his place. Piccolomini's bias against female rulers also comes to the fore in the biographies of Empress Barbara (ch. 32) and Jaqueline of Bavaria, and in the account of Empress Elizabeth (sect. 141-142).

⁴ Date: The last events mentioned in the text appear to be the troubles in Holland in 1441-1442.

⁵ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini was not personally acquainted with Isabella, but he had quite probably seen her (and noted her long face) during her private negotiations with Cardinal Albergati at the Congress of Arras in 1435, which Piccolomini attended as a secretary of the cardinal. His impressions of the ducal couple may, to some extent, have been derived from rumours and exchanges at that congress. As for the later political developments, he would be well-informed as a member of the imperial chancellery and diplomacy.

32. Barbara Imperatrix

[229] Barbara¹ imperatrix, comitis Ciliae filia fuit uxorque secunda Sigismundi Caesaris, nam Maria mortua, ex qua regnum Hungariae habuerat, hanc sibi conjugio copulavit, quod pluribus visum est monstri simile. Nam regi nubere comitem impar videtur, nec tunc² Ciliae comites, ut modo sunt, potentes erant nec illustrati, nam sub domo Austriae censebantur. Sed Sigismundus, cum tunc parum affectus esset Australi domui, comites istos separavit ab Austria liberosque et illustres principes creavit. Quae res postea multarum discordiarum origo fomesque fuit³.

[230] Haec autem Barbara egregii mulier corporis fuit, procera, candida, sed maculis quibusdam⁴ facie⁵ fuit laesa. Multum ei studium fuit quaerendi decoris. Itaque duo pulcherrimi⁶ conjuges invicem convenerunt.⁷ Sed cum Sigismundus in plures mulieres arderet, ipsa quoque amare coepit alios. Infidus namque maritus infidam facit uxorem. Ex hac tamen Sigismundus Elizabeth filiam suscepit, de qua suo loco dicetur.

¹ *comi seq.* V

² *tum* MA

³ *fomesque fuit : et fomes* MA

⁴ *omit.* X

⁵ *faciem* V, X

⁶ *pulcherrimae* MA

⁷ *convenerant* MA

32. Barbara, Empress

[229] Empress Barbara,^{1 2} a daughter of the Count of Cilly,³ was the second wife of Emperor Sigismund.⁴ He married her after the death of Maria,⁵ through whom he received the Kingdom of Hungary. Many thought it was a monstrous thing since for a king to marry a countess was to marry beneath his station. Moreover, at that time the counts of Cilly were neither powerful nor illustrious, as they are now, for they were held to be subject to the House of Austria. But Sigismund, who at that time disliked the House of Austria, separated these counts from Austria and made them free and illustrious princes.⁶ This matter became the beginning and reason for many conflicts.⁷

[230] Barbara was a beautiful woman, tall, white, but with some face blemishes. She ardently sought beauty. Thus two very beautiful spouses were united. But since Sigismund often fell in love with other women, she, too, began to love others, for a cheating husband makes a cheating wife. She bore Sigismund a daughter, Elizabeth,⁸ about whom we shall have more to say later.⁹

¹ Barbara von Cilly (1392-1451): Married Emperor Sigismund in 1405.

² For a general biography, see Dvoráková.

³ Hermann II von Cilly.

⁴ They were married in 1405.

⁵ Maria (Anjou). Died in 1395, ten years before.

⁶ "Illustrious" being a princely title.

⁷ Between the counts of Cilly, especially Ulrich II von Cilly, and Emperor Friedrich, of the House of Austria. At the death of Ulrich, the line of Cilly became extinct, and the Cilly territories mostly reverted to the House of Austria.

⁸ Elizabeth of Hungary. Born 1409.

⁹ The DVI does not contain a separate chapter on Elizabeth of Hungary, but she is described in the biography of her husband, Albrecht II, see sect. 126, 141-142.

[231] Barbara post mortem Sigismundi ad Polonos cum ingenti auro argentoque proficisci voluit, sed intercepta spoliataque¹ est. Nunc quaedam castella possidet regni Bohemiae, quae reginae spectant, in quibus etsi non vitam imperatrice dignam, non tamen inopem ducit.

¹ spoliata MA

[231] After Sigismund's death, Barbara wanted to go to Poland, bringing with her an immense [treasure of] gold and silver, but on the way, she was held up and plundered.¹ Now she has some castles in the Kingdom of Bohemia that belong to the queen's estate. There she lives, not like an empress but not in poverty, either.^{2 3 4}

¹ After Sigismund's death, Barbara lost her Hungarian possessions. She was in exile in Poland from 1338 to 1441, supported by the Polish king. In 1441 she moved to Melnik in Bohemia, a fiefdom given to her by Sigismund. The rest of her life she spent in Bohemia.

² Barbara died in 1451 when Piccolomini was in Bohemia. In his account to Cardinal Carvajal on his mission to Bohemia, he commented: *In the meantime, Empress Barbara died. She had been the consort of Sigismund and the sister of Count Friedrich von Cilly. Her body was brought to Prague and buried in the castle. She was a spirited 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* (CRDM, 3, sect. 15). And in his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 496-497), Piccolomini wrote about her: *Apud Gretium Barbara imperatrix ea tempestate decedit. Inexhauste libidinis mulier, que inter concubinos eum publice agitans sepius viros petiit, quam peteretur, neque christiane neque alteri cuiquam religioni astricta, quippe que superos inferosque ullos esse negabat. Ferunt eam ancillas suas sepe orantes ieiunantesque increpasse, que corpus suum frustra macerarent fictumque celi numen placare verbis crederent. Vivendum suaviter, dum vita suppetit, fruendumque voluptatibus. Id tantum homini datum, cuius anima cum corpore simul extinguitur. Somniare, qui alteram sibi vitam promittunt. Congrua moribus sententia. ... Corpus Barbare, quamvis infidelis femine, Bohemi Pragam tulere peractoque funere in sepulchris regum condidere. Nec defuere sacerdotes, qui profanum cadaver ecclesiastico ritu sepelirent.*

³ Date: The last event mentioned is Barbara's move to Bohemia in 1441, which is the date *post quem*. The date *ante quem* is Barbara's death in 1451, unmentioned in the text.

⁴ Piccolomini was not personally acquainted with Barbara von Cilly, but he would have been amply informed about her through his colleagues at the imperial court, including Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

33. Jacobus I

[232] {82r} Jacobus, Scotorum rex, cum puer admodum navigaret, in manus Anglicorum incidit captusque regi Angliae Henrico traditus, nam perpetuae sunt inter Scotos Anglicosque inimicitiae, nam nec Scoti superare Anglicos queunt, qui multo sunt plures, nec Anglici subjicere sibi Scotiam possunt. Si enim parvum exercitum ducunt, obstantes inveniunt, si numerosum, in terra sterili nutrire¹ nequeunt. Fugiunt enim ad silvas montesque nec domus aut suppellectilia habent, quae timeant perdere, ut qui plerumque in terra dormiunt vivuntque de carnibus. Hinc praedari gaudent Scoti, timent Anglici, nec bellum adversus eos gerunt nisi pro defensione.

[233] Inter Scotiam Angliamque vasta terra deserta est, dum undique fiunt² rapinae. Parvum flumen disternat regna, sed tumescente mari navibus domandum est. Fui ego illis in locis³, dum ad hunc Jacobum legationem haberem concilii atque papae pro liberatione cujusdam spoliati, quod obtinui.

¹ munire MA

² fiant HE

³ illis in locis : illuc in locum MA

33. James I, King of Scotland

[232] James, King of the Scots,^{1 2 3} fell into the hands of the English as a young boy while sailing. He was taken prisoner and delivered to King Henry⁴ of England,⁵ for there is permanent enmity between the Scots and the English: the Scots cannot defeat the English, being too many, and the English cannot overcome Scotland. If they take a small army, they find men resisting them, and if they take a large army, they cannot sustain themselves in the barren countryside, while the Scots flee to the forests and mountains and do not have houses or furnishings they fear to lose – indeed, many sleep on the ground and live of meat. Therefore the Scots are happy to go looting, while the English fear them and only fight defensive wars against them.

[233] Between Scotland and England there is a large area that is deserted because they come from all sides to plunder. A small river⁶ separates the [two] kingdoms, which is navigable when the sea rises with the tide. I visited these areas when I went on a mission to James from the council and the pope⁷ in a matter concerning the freeing of a person who had been despoiled, a matter in which I was successful.⁸

¹ James I (1394-1437): King of Scotland 1406-1437.

² For a general biography, see Brown.

³ Piccolomini had a personal audience with James I in 1435 and had presumably been thoroughly briefed by Cardinal Albergati on him and his court before going on his delicate political mission to Scotland, see below.

⁴ Henry IV (1367-1413): King of England from 1399 to his death.

⁵ 1406. James was bound for France to seek protection from enemies at home. He was then 11 years old.

⁶ The river Tweed.

⁷ Piccolomini left Basel for Scotland in October 1435 and returned to Basel in Spring 1436.

⁸ In his *Europa* from 1458, Piccolomini mentioned his travel to Scotland, but not his mission to King James (*Europa* (Brown), p. 211). In his *Commentarii* from 1462, he wrote about the mission: ... *the Cardinal [Albergati] sent Aeneas to Scotland to restore a certain prelate to the king's favor. ... When he was at last admitted to the king's presence, he obtained all that he had come to ask. He was reimbursed for his traveling expenses and given fifty nobles ... (for) his return journey as well as two horses called trotters* (COM, I, 4 (Meserve, I, pp. 17, 21). In his biography of Pius II, based on first hand information from the pope himself, Campanus probably revealed the true reason for the mission: *Hinc [from Arras] Ulteriorem in Britanniam nunc Scotiam missus ad regem adversus citeriores Britannos, qui paci adversabantur, sollicitandum* (Zimolo, p. 10). Platina, Pius' other contemporary biographer, discreetly wrote: *Placuit deinde Nicholao [Albergati] mictere hominem ad res agendas aptissimum in ultimam Bricanniam, quae aetate nostra Scotia appellatur, ut de magnis rebus Aenea internuncio cum rege loqueretur* (Zimolo, p. 97). Voigt, Piccolomini's 19th century biographer, was sceptical about the reason Piccolomini/Pius himself gave for his travel, and wrote in his biography: *Ihr Zweck ist in ein ... Dunkel gehüllt ... Wenn Enea selbst angebt einen gewissen Prälaten dem König von Schottland zu versöhnen oder im Namen des Konzils und des Papstes die Befreiung irgend eines Beraubten und Eingekerkerten bewirken sollen, so war das ohne Zweifel nur der Deckmantel geheimer Absichten. Die Entrüstung über dem Abfall des Burgunders musste England zu heftigeren Feindseligkeiten reizen, König Karl sich um so mehr nach Hülfe umsehen, da die Burgunder zum Kriege gegen England nicht verpflichtet hatte. Er wünschte Heinrich VI im Norden seines Reiches Feinde zu erwecken, und dahin wohl ging der Plan des Cardinals, als er Enea zu Jacob von Schottland sandte, einen unbedeutender Secretair, um kein Aufsehen zu erregen* (Voigt, I, pp. 90-91).

[234] Is Jacobus per annos undecim in captivitate tentus est sperantibus Anglicis per medium ejus Scotiam humiliare. Quod cum non procederet, datur Jacobo¹ in uxorem neptis cardinalis Angliae, qui dictus est Henricus, quem ditissimum ajunt, nam et regnum Angliae aliquanto tempore gubernavit, et oves habet infinitas, ex quibus lanas vendit, nec mercaturas, etiam usurarias², per interpositas personas exercere veretur. Hujus ergo neptem, quam alii filiam dixerunt, in uxorem Jacobus duxit promisitque Anglicis perpetuam pacem, ac sic in regnum reversus est. Quo cum venisset, praecipuos regni barones feriri atque in foro truncari jussit³, quod ipsi regnum gubernantes gubernantes minus curiosi de sua liberatione fuissent. Non tamen tenere pacem valuit, nam cupidus rapinae inops populus inhiansque Anglicorum divitiis pacem mox rupit, missaque sunt saepe Gallicis auxilia ex Scotia contra Anglos.

¹ aatur Jacobo : data est illi MA

² etiam usurarias *omit.* MA

³ *em.* HE; *omit.* V, X, MA

[234] James was held captive for 11¹ years while the English were hoping to overcome Scotland through him. When they failed, they married James to a niece² of the Cardinal of England named Henry.^{3 4} He is reported to be very rich, and for a time he governed the Kingdom of England. He has countless flocks of sheep, whose wool he sells, and he does not shy away from trading – and even of usurious lending – through straw men.⁵ At any rate, James married his niece (some say his daughter),⁶ and, having promised the English perpetual peace, he returned to his kingdom.⁷ When he came back, he had several eminent barons of the realm arrested and beheaded in public⁸ because they had not shown enough zeal in the matter of his liberation while they governed the kingdom.⁹ However, James could not keep the peace with the English, for the impoverished people, eager for plunder and thirsting for English riches, soon broke the peace, and often troops were sent from Scotland to aid the French against the English.

¹ Actually 18 years. He was freed from English captivity in 1424.

² On 12 February 1424, he married Joan Beaufort, daughter of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and niece of Cardinal Henry Beaufort.

³ Henry Beaufort (ca. 1375-1447): Bishop of Lincoln from 1398 to 1404, and of Winchester from 1404 his death. Appointed cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426.

⁴ On his way to Scotland, Piccolomini was actually helped by Cardinal Beaufort, whom he had probably not met but seen at the Congress of Arras, 1435: *When Aeneas arrived at Calais ... he found himself at once an object of suspicion to the English. He was put into the custody of his host and forbidden either to carry on or to return until the cardinal of Winchester, on his way back from Arras came to his aid and ordered his release.* (COM, I, 2 (Meserve, I, pp. 17, 19)).

⁵ Harriss: *Beaufort: During the parliament of 1439–40 Gloucester presented to the king a long and detailed indictment of Beaufort, reaching back over the length of his career and designed to destroy his reputation as a statesman and diplomat, and to convict him of corruption and fraud. The reaction of the king and the council, indeed of Beaufort himself, is unknown, for no answer was made and no action taken. Though ineffectual, Gloucester's attack revealed the weakness of Beaufort's position ... Henry Beaufort's wealth was notorious—indeed he was the wealthiest English prelate of the late middle ages. He was known as the Rich Cardinal. At the height of his career his fortune was probably not less than £50,000, and was at least half this at the time of his first major loans to Henry V. The source of his wealth remains as unclear as it was to his contemporaries, but the revenues of his see, the perquisites of office and influence, the export of wool, and his elder brother's legacy are all possible sources. His loans to the crown were not technically usurious, the exact sum being repaid from national taxation through the exchequer, but he often held important crown jewels as security, and his right to some retained by the crown's default in 1424 troubled him in his final hours. Beaufort used his loans to protect his political position, to influence policy, to advance the careers of his brothers and nephews, and to maintain the dignity and lifestyle of a prince of the church.*

⁶ Piccolomini is presumably referring to Henry Beaufort's illegitimate daughter, Jane or Joan, but she married Edward Stradling, not King James (Harriss).

⁷ 5 April 1424.

⁸ E.g. the Albany Stewarts, see Brown.

⁹ They were punished not so much because of their passivity during the king's captivity but as political opponents of the king.

[235] Is, cum aliquot annis regnasset, ab uno ex suis cubiculariis, qui occisorum baronum proximus erat, dum nocte quadam secessum petit, gladio confossus est, relictoque puero Jacobo successore interiit, cum prius¹ filiam majorem dalphino regis Franciae, quae nunc mortua dicitur, conjunxisset in matrimonium. Regnum post ejus mortem per reginam et aliquos² barones ac praesertim comitem de Doglos gubernatur, nam Jacobus rex adhuc puer est. Fuit autem Jacobus,³ de quo scribimus, parvo corpore pinguique, oculis claris, sed torvis, iracundus ac vindictae cupidus.

¹ *omit.* MA

² aliquot V

³ rex adhuc ... Jacobus *omit.* MA

[235] When he had reigned for some years, a chamberlain one night killed him by the sword as he was going to the garderobe. The chamberlain had been close to one of the men James had executed.¹ At his death, he left a boy, also named James,² as his successor. Earlier, he had given his eldest daughter³ in marriage to the King of France. She is now reported to be dead. Since James' death, the kingdom is governed by the queen⁴ and some barons, especially the Duke of Douglas,⁵ during the king's minority. The James we are writing about was of small stature, fat, with shining but grim eyes, irascible and vindictive.^{6 7}

¹ Brown: *On the night of 20–21 February 1437 his [James I's] lodgings were attacked by a group of armed men, led by Robert Graham. The men were former servants of the Albany Stewarts. Their entry into the king's lodging was aided by Robert Stewart, Atholl's grandson, and was only one element of an attempt at a coup. Though James I initially eluded his attackers and put up a desperate fight when cornered, he was overpowered and killed before help could be summoned.*

² James II (1430-1460): King of Scotland from 1437 to his death.

³ Margaret Stewart (1424-1445): Married the Dauphin Louis (XI) in 1436. She died on 16 August 1445.

⁴ Joan Beaufort.

⁵ Archibald Douglas (ca. 1391-1439): Lieutenant General and Regent of Scotland during James II's minority.

⁶ Date: This text was written after August 1445, when Margaret Stewart died.

⁷ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini had a personal audience with James I in 1435 and had presumably been thoroughly briefed by Cardinal Albergati on him and his court before going on his delicate political mission to Scotland. Moreover, he would have picked up information while travelling.

34. Ladislaus, rex Poloniae

[236] {82v} Wladislaus, rex Poloniae, natione Tartarus, infidelis, nam gentilis erat, propter regnum habendum secta sua dimissa Christianum se fecit. Quid enim regni causa non faciunt homines? Tunc in regno erat Wilhelmus, dux Austriae, qui reginam filiam Caroli regis Hungariae in uxorem habuerat et regnum Poloniae in dotem receperat. Sed Poloni gentilem potius quam Theutonicum regem habere volentes Wladislaum vocant, Wilhelmum expellunt reginamque veteris regis conjugem novo regi tradunt. Sed illa concubinam se, non conjugem dicens numquam sponte illi¹ coniacuit nec ex eo prolem habuit mortuaque est. Exhinc alia sibi conjunx data est, ex qua jam centemnis² sobolem suscepit, Catonem in hoc et Maxenissam³ superans, nisi adiutorem habuerit.

¹ cum illo MA

² ~~uxorem~~ seq. V

³ omit. X [blank space]

34. Wladyslaw II, King of Poland

[236] Wladyslaw,¹ King of Poland, of the Tartar nation, was an infidel, being a pagan. However, to become king, he abandoned his faith and became a Christian.² What will people not do for the sake of kingship? At that time, Wilhelm, Duke of Austria,³ was in the kingdom. He had married the queen,⁴ a daughter of King Charles⁵ of Hungary,⁶ and received the Kingdom of Poland as her dowry. But the Poles would rather have a pagan than a German king and summoned Wladyslaw, expelled Wilhelm, and gave the old king's⁷ queen to the new king.⁸ She declared, however, that she she was his concubine and not his wife and that she never lay with him of her own free will. She did not bear him a child before she died.⁹ Wladyslaw was then given another consort,¹⁰ who bore him children when he was already 100 years old.¹¹ In this, he surpassed even Cato¹² and Massinissa¹³ - unless he had a helper!¹⁴

¹ Wladyslaw II (1352/1362-1434): King of Poland, from 1384 together with his wife, and after her death in 1399 alone. Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1377.

² 1386.

³ Wilhelm (Habsburg / Leopoldian line) (ca. 1370-1406): Duke of Austria. His childhood engagement to Jadwiga of Poland was dissolved by the Polish parliament in 1385.

⁴ Jadwiga [Hedwig] (Anjou) (ca. 1373-1399): Queen of Poland from 1384 to her death. The youngest daughter of Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland.

⁵ Error for Louis the Great.

⁶ Louis I the Great (Anjou) (1326-1382): King of Hungary from 1342 and of Poland 1370 to his death.

⁷ Wilhelm, who was not the king, and only the fiancé not the husband of Jadwiga.

⁸ Jadwiga was eleven years at the time.

⁹ These statements are erroneous: In 1388, Jadwiga was accused by a nobleman of having sexual relations with her former fiancé, Wilhelm, and made a solemn oath that she had only had sexual relations with her husband. Some weeks before she died, at the age of 26, she bore Wladyslaw a daughter, who died four days before herself.

¹⁰ In 1402, Wladyslaw married Anna von Cilly (ca. 1381-1416).

¹¹ Anna von Cilly only had a daughter. In his fourth marriage, with Sophia of Halshany, contracted in 1422, Wladyslaw finally had two sons, Wladyslaw (1424) and Kazimierz (1427). If Wladyslaw II was born in 1352, he was 68 years old when his son Wladyslaw III was born. If he was born in 1362, he was 58 years old. So, Piccolomini exaggerates ...

¹² Cato, Marcus Porcius [the Elder] [the Censor] (234 -149 BCE): Roman statesman. He was eighty years old when his youngest son was born.

¹³ Masinissa [Masensen] (ca. 238-148 BCE): (First) king of Numidia, ca. 202 to his death. He died at the age of 90, renowned for his physical vigour, leading troops until his death, and fathering 44 sons.

¹⁴ A joke!

[237] Bellum huic atrox cum Prutenis fuit, nam¹ circiter ducenta hominum milia in illo proelio fuere fuere veneratque in ejus auxilium Vitoldus, dux Lituaniae. Circumventi erant Poloni, dum inordinati essent. Sed Pruteni nolentes uti occasione mittunt haraldos, qui Polonos instruant de suo adventu parentque se in bellum, animosius² consilium magis quam prudens. Quis enim hostem jam diffidatum moneat³? Mittuntur⁴ quoque signa: regi chirothecae⁵, Vitoldo ensis⁶. Rex Poloniae territus, nam missam audiebat, nescit, quid respondeat. Sed Vitoldus “Accipio”, inquit⁷, “libens munera⁸ Prutenorum⁹, nam et hunc gladium paritulum mihi hodie victoriam spero.” Parantur¹⁰ igitur mox cohortes, committitur proelium. Jam Poloni in fugam versi erant magnaue caede sternebantur¹¹. Sed Vitoldus hortatus suos proelium instaurat redireque Polonos in proelium jubet tantumque viriliter instat, ut fugatis Polonis¹² suos victos victores fecerit. Obtruncati sunt in eo bello quadringenti¹³ milites Ordinis cum magistro¹⁴ et infiniti¹⁵ alii, moxque tota fere Pruscia excepto Castro Beatae Mariae in potestatem Polonorum venit. Sed Ulricus eos postea expulit, de quo suo loco dicemus.

[238] Is¹⁶ Wladislaus cum Sigismundo plures lites habuit. De regno Bohemiae¹⁷ saepius se intromisit, sed numquam obtinuit. Mortuus est duobus filiis relictis, Wladislao et Casimiro, quorum alter Poloniam, alter Lituaniam sortitus est. Rumor tamen est hos fuisse¹⁸ cujusdam militis filios, non regis.

¹ horum MA

² animosum MA

³ moveat X

⁴ mittunt MA

⁵ chirotecas MA

⁶ gladium his MA

⁷ inquit V

⁸ libens munera : munera libens X

⁹ libens munera Prutenorum : munera Prutenorum libens MA

¹⁰ paravit MA

¹¹ tenebantur MA

¹² Prutenis MA

¹³ quadringenti HE

¹⁴ cum magistro *omit.* MA

¹⁵ infracti MA

¹⁶ *omit.* MA

¹⁷ Bohemo MA

¹⁸ *corr. ex esse* V

[237] He fought a ferocious battle with the Prussians.¹ More than 200,000 men² took part in it, and Duke Vytautas of Lithuania³ came to his aid. The Poles fought disorderly and were surrounded. However, the Prussians did not wish to take advantage of this opportunity and sent heralds to the Poles, informing them of their arrival and advising them to prepare for battle. This counsel was more brave than prudent, for whoever gives advice to an enemy in trouble? They also sent notice to them in the form of a letter to the king and a sword to Vytautas.⁴ The Polish king, who was hearing mass, became terrified and knew not what to answer, but Vytautas said, "I gladly accept the Prussian gifts, for I hope that today this sword will bring me victory." The troops were drawn up, and the battle began. The Poles were soon put to flight and slaughtered, but Vytautas encouraged his own men [to fight on] and thus renewed the fight. Ordering the Poles to return to battle, he pressed on so vigorously that despite the flight of the Poles, he made his defeated men the victors.⁵ In that battle 400 knights of the Order were killed together with the Grand Master⁶ and an infinite number of other men. Soon almost all of Prussia, except Marienburg, fell into the power of the Poles, but Ulrich⁷ later expelled them, which we shall come back to.⁸

[238] Wladyslaw had several conflicts with Sigismund.⁹ He often intervened in Bohemian affairs but was never able to gain that kingdom.¹⁰ When he died,¹¹ he left two sons: Wladyslaw¹² and Kazimierz¹³, of whom one got Poland and the other Lithuania. There is a rumour they were the sons of some knight, not of the king.^{14 15 16}

¹ First Battle of Tannenberg, 15 July 1410.

² Present-day historians estimate the numbers as much lower.

³ Vytautas (ca. 1394-1430): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1392 to his death. Together with his cousin, Wladyslaw II (Jagiello), he created the Polish-Lithuanian union.

⁴ Actually, the Prussians sent two swords, one for the king and one for Vytautas. The swords were meant as an insult and provocation. Known as the Grundwald swords, they later became one of the national symbols of Poland.

⁵ This description of the battle does not fit the conceptions of modern historians, according to some of whom the Lithuanians effected a strategic retreat from the battle only to return later and rejoin the Poles who had been fighting on.

⁶ Ulrich von Jungingen (ca. 1360-1410): Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights from 1407 to his death.

⁷ It is uncertain which Ulrich Piccolomini is referring to. The Poles and the Lithuanians did occupy most of Prussia but were unable to hold it and retired after some months.

⁸ There is no further mention of this matter in the DVI.

⁹ See Hoensch.

¹⁰ See Hoensch.

¹¹ 1434.

¹² Wladyslaw III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 to his death.

¹³ Kazimierz IV (1427-1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death.

¹⁴ Piccolomini's source for this rumour is not known. He may have invented it himself, based on his erroneous conception of the king's age at the birth of his sons.

¹⁵ Date: The latest event mentioned in this text is the death of Wladyslaw III, which happened in 1434.

¹⁶ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini had no acquaintance with Wladyslaw. Presumably, he had his information about Polish affairs from colleagues at the Council of Basel and later at the imperial court and from the international rumour mill.

35. Fridericus, Dux Austriae

[239] {83r} Fridericus, dux Austriae, comitatum Tyrolensem sortitus est. Ibi¹, cum aliquandiu fuisset regeturque a terrae baronibus nec ullam in se potestatem haberet, affectus taedio novare res voluit. Prius tamen, quae mens esset populi, libuit percontari. Mutato igitur habitu saepe incognitus nunc tabernas, nunc rusticos adibat sciscitabaturque quasi alienus, quomodo terra gubernaretur, multaue nunc de ducibus, nunc de baronibus, nunc de principe interrogabat, cumque audisset laudari principem vituperarique barones, laetus quia favorem populi secum haberet audere aliquid voluit².

[240] Erat³ capitaneus patriae, qui gentes omnes habebat, nomine Henricus, qui fuit magnus duellator et accusatores suos, qui dicebant eum voluisse patriam prodere duci Ernesto, duellando vicit et occidit. Faciebat autem portari sibi feretrum cum candelis accensis. Sed is tandem veneno absumptus dicitur, cum duellum instaret cum fratre episcopi Brixinensis, et bona ejus confiscata. Nobiles de Volkssteuer⁴ extra patriam ademptis castris exclusit.^{5 6}

¹ ubi HE

² tum add. X

³ tum erat : nunc MA

⁴ Halfzteuer HE; Valtrituer MA

⁵ capitaneus ... exclusit *add. in marg.* V

⁶ nobiles de ... exclusit *omit.* X

35. Friedrich IV, Duke of Austria

[239] Friedrich, Duke of Austria,^{1 2} was assigned the County of Tyrol.³ When he had been there for some time and was ruled by the country's barons, having no power by himself, he grew tired of it and wanted to change things. First, however, he decided to probe the people's sentiments. So, he would often change his dress and visit taverns and farmers unrecognised. There, he inquired, as if a stranger, what they thought about the country's government and asked much about the dukes, the barons, and the prince.^{4 5} When he heard them praise the prince and criticise the barons, he was glad that he enjoyed the people's favour and decided to do something about his situation even if it was risky.⁶

[240] There was a *Landeshofmeister*⁷ named Heinrich, to whom all were subject.⁸ He was a great duellist, and in duels he defeated and killed men who claimed that he wanted to betray the country to Duke Ernest. He even had a coffin with lighted candles carried with him.⁹ But in the end, he died by poisoning when going to fight a duel with the brother of the Bishop of Brixen,¹⁰ and his properties were confiscated.¹¹ Friedrich also seized the castles of the noble Wolkensteiner¹² family and banished them from the country.¹³

¹ Friedrich IV (Habsburg) (1382-1439): Duke of Austria (1402), Count of Tyrol (1406).

² For a general biography, see Pfeifer.

³ 1406.

⁴ The prince, i.e., himself. This story belongs to the legend about Friedrich IV that soon grew up and was evidently known by Piccolomini. See Kompatscher, *Herzog*, p. 270: *Gibt es sagen, die schon zu Lebzeiten Friedrichs IV. entstanden sind? Ja, es gibt sie: Das zentrale Motiv der Fluchtsagen, nämlich dass der Herzog unerkannterweise unter das Volk begibt – die internationale Sagenforschung spricht dabei vom Motiv des verkleideten Herrschers, nach der Typologie von Stith Thompson Motiv K 1812 – taucht schon in zwei zeitgenössischen Quellen auf.*

⁵ In his *Commentarius in libros Antonii Panormitae*, Piccolomini wrote: *Fredericus senior dux Austriae imperatoris Friderici patruus saepe mutata veste solus inter agrestes conversatus est. Cum quibus accepta pecunia et arans et alia quaevis munia faciens ruris et de seipso et de purpuratis fuit confabulari consuevit. Interrogatus cur id ageret, neque enim de me, inquit, alio modo verum audire possum* (OO, 472-497).

⁶ Krone: *Nicht so schnell als man gewöhnlich anzunehmen beliebt, kam es zur Schaarung der Bürger und Bauern unter das Banner des Herzogs gegen die „Herrn vom Pfauenschwanz“, wie im Volksmunde der Adel hieß; aber F. wußte, daß in diesen Kreisen seine natürlichen Bundesgenossen zu finden seien.*

⁷ “capitaneus patriae”.

⁸ Heinrich VI. von Rottenburg (-1411): Landes-hochmeister of Tyrol. Leader of the Tyrolean nobility's opposition against Friedrich IV. The counts of Rottenburg were the most powerful family in Tyrol. Heinrich was a leader of the opposition of the nobles against Friedrich. The Tottenburger Feud (Rottenburger Fehde) led to his fall in 1410.

⁹ Presumably when he duelled. This story may be fictive or an exaggeration.

¹⁰ Ulrich of Vienna (-1417): Prince-bishop of Brixen from 1396 to his death.

¹¹ In 1410, he was imprisoned for high treason. Released the following year, he died some months afterwards. There is no evidence for the rumours of poisoning. Friedrich IV confiscated most of his lands.

¹² Probably.

¹³ Krone: *Dieser aber, dessen Stützpunkt und Waffenplatz seit 1417 Meran geblieben, saß wieder fest in seiner Herrschaft und sah den Wolkensteiner, durch den Verrath eines Weibes an Leib und Seele gebrochen, in seiner Gewalt. Er mußte ihn freilassen, denn Oswalds mächtiges Geschlecht erhob sich drohend, aber das Spiel hatte F. doch gewonnen. ... die letzten Hoffnungen des noch 1424 thätigen Oswalds von Wolkenstein schwinden; aus dem Lande entwichen, geräth er abermals in die Hände des Herzogs als Gefangener und muß (am 11. Mai 1427) Urphede schwören.*

[241] Tum¹ ² pomposus ibat magna subditorum stipante caterva. Interrogavit, quis ille esset. Dictum est. Tum dux: “Hic mihi dux videtur, ego quidem nullius pretii sum.” Suscepto igitur gladio quasi ensifer esset sequebatur magistrum curiae. Ille admonitus³ ducem sequi quasi familiarem, versus in eum, ”En,” inquit, “Fridericule, quando nam eris sapiens, qui sic me sequeris?” Tum ille: “Tum⁴,” inquit, “ero sapiens totus, cum tu ex toto stultus eris,” paucisque diebus post illum omni⁵ potestate nudavit, nec illum quisquam ex populo juvit. Exhinc nobilem quendam alium, qui eum ad tribunal Caesareum⁶ evocarat, omnibus castellis privavit, quamvis essent fortissima, et quaedam quatriennio expugnaverit. Cum Alexandro, Tridentino episcopo, plures lites habuit eumque terra expulit, post restituit.

[242] Is Fridericum Caesarem et fratrem ejus Albertum, nam ex fratre nepotes erant, sub tutela diu habuit eorumque terras rexit, sed finita tutela regnum juvenibus restituit ipseque in patriam se recepit. Hic cum Johanne papa pacta iniit, quae nec Caesari nec Constantiensi concilio placuerunt. Voluit enim⁷ illum in terris suis tute tenere, ob quam rem, cum Johannes ex Constantia fugiens Scafusium venisset, nec fieri aliquid contra eum posset, imperiale edictum contra se habuit pluresque civitates perdidit, quae et hodie sub imperio sunt. Ab hoc saepe Sigismundus Caesar pecunias extorsit.

¹ *omit.* MA

² magister curiae *seq.* V

³ admirans MA

⁴ tunc X, MA

⁵ *omit.* MA

⁶ Caesarem MA

⁷ cum X

[241] Once, he met a pompous person¹ walking along with a large suite of retainers. He asked who the man was, and they told him. Then the duke said, “This man looks like a duke to me, whereas I am a nobody.” Then he took a sword and carried it behind the master of the court² as if he was his swordbearer. When the man was told that the duke followed him as if a retainer, he turned to him and said, “Little Friedrich, why do you follow me this way? When will you be sensible.” Friedrich answered, “I shall be completely sensible when you are a complete fool.” Some days afterwards, Friedrich deprived him of all power, and the people did not help him.³ Another noble, who had sued him at the imperial court, he deprived of his castles though they were very strong and some took four years to conquer.⁴ He had several conflicts with Alexander, Bishop of Trento,⁵ and expelled him from the country though he later restored him [to his see].

[242] For a long time he had the guardianship over Emperor Friedrich and his brother Albrecht, nephews through his brother⁶, and ruled their lands. When the guardianship ended, he passed the lordship to the young men and returned to his own country.⁷ He made an alliance with Pope Johannes,⁸ which displeased both the emperor and the Council of Konstanz. Friedrich wanted to keep the pope safe in his own lands. Therefore, Johannes fled Konstanz to Schaffhausen. Since nothing could be done against him there, an imperial edict was passed against Friedrich, and he lost several cities that are still under the Empire. After that time, Emperor Sigismund often forced Friedrich to pay large sums of money.⁹

¹ Heinrich von Rottenburg, see Kompatscher: *Herzog*, p, 271.

² ”magistrum curiae”.

³ The colourful personality of Friedrich IV gave rise to a great many popular stories and legends, of which this may be one. See Kompatscher.

⁴ Piccolomini is possibly referring to the Starkenberger family, see Krone: *Auch das unbezwingliche Greifenstein bei Erlan, das gefürchtete Burgnest der Starkenberger, war endlich durch Capitulation in Friedrichs Hände gefallen.*

⁵ Bishop Alexander of Mazovia.

⁶ Duke Ernest.

⁷ 1424-1430.

⁸ October 1414.

⁹ Krone: *Nune findet sich Sigismund bewogen einzulenken und, obschon er noch am 7. Februar 1418 durch ein neues Fürstengericht die Acht gegen F. hatte erneuern lassen, sich zu Ausgleichsverhandlungen herbeizulassen, welche endlich den 12. Mai zum Frieden führen. Allerdings bleibt das an die Eidgenossen gediehene Besitztum der Habsburger in der Schweiz größtentheils ein unwiderbringlicher Verlust und es fehlt auch nicht an bedeutenden Geldopfern, welche F. bringen mußte.*

[243] Is cum Caesar ex Roma reverteretur, illud proverbium fecit: “Ludovice, Henrice, Frederice ad pulpitum, quia magister venit.” Is uxorem habuit ex domo Brunsvicensi, ex qua filium habuit, quem uxor vocari Sigismundum voluit, qui nunc dux est. Fuit homo luxuriae incontinens, matronis ac maritis se commiscuit alienis, sed ancillis magis. Pecunias amavit atque idcirco Venetis, qui aliquid dabant, numquam inimicari voluit.

[243] When the emperor returned from Rome, Friedrich coined this phrase, “Ludwig,¹ Heinrich² and Friedrich, back to your desks, the master comes.” He took a wife from the House of Braunschweig.³ She bore him a son whom she wanted to be named Siegmund, the present duke. Friedrich was a man of great sexual appetites and had affairs both with married women and married men⁴ but mostly with maidservants. He loved money, and therefore he never wanted to fight the Venetians since they assisted him financially.^{5 6 7}

¹ Ludwig VII (Wittelsbach)

² Heinrich XVI (Wittelbach)

³ Anna von Braunschweig-Göttingen (1390-1432): Daughter of Duke Friedrich I. Married Friedrich IV in 1410. Mother of their son Siegmund.

⁴ The fact behind this extraordinary assertion is probably the close friendship and even the Bruderbund and mutual inheritance pact between Friedrich IV and the nobleman Hans Wilhelm von Mülinen and a Stifterbild portraying them both, see Madersbacher.

⁵ When Friedrich died on 24 June 1439, he was actually quite rich.

⁶ Date: This text must have been written after 1439 when the duke died.

⁷ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini never met Friedrich IV but would have had ample information about him from the emperor and from colleagues at the imperial court which he joined three years after the duke's death.

36. Ericus ex domo Stetinensis

[244] Ericus ex domo Stetinensi¹, ex fratre matris Sigismundi generis filius, admodum juvenis Daciae atque Norvegiae² regnum adeptus est. Cumque aliquot annos rexisset, seditionem adversus se nasci sensit, volensque furori cedere Jerosolimam ire statuit venitque ad Sigismundum fratrem in Hungaria³ pluribusque diebus apud eum fuit honorifice receptus. Erat autem corpore pulchro⁴, capillis aureis, oculis grandioribus, facie rufa, cervice longa⁵ atque nivea. Vestibus utebatur privatis, nam lineo collari quamvis aureo ligamine gulam candidam claudebat⁶. Solus ipse e terra⁷ sine adjutorio non tactis strepis ascendeat equum mulieresque omnes et praesertim imperatricem in suum spectaculum cum amoris desiderio trahebat. Cum venisset Venetias admodum honoratus est ivitque Jerosolymam et rediit incolumis.

¹ Sectiensi MA

² Novergiae MA

³ Hungariam MA

⁴ pulcher X, MA

⁵ larga MA

⁶ candidam claudebat : claudebat candidam MA

⁷ e terra : cetera X

36. Erik VII, King of Denmark

[244] Erik^{1 2} belonged to the House of Stettin. He was the cousin of Sigismund,³ son of Erik's father's⁴ sister.^{5 6} Still very young, he acquired the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway.⁷ A few years into his reign, he heard that a rebellion against him was brewing. Preferring to evade the furious gale, he decided to travel to Jerusalem.⁸ First, he visited his cousin Sigismund in Hungary, where he was honourably received and stayed for several days.⁹ He was a handsome man with golden hair, large eyes, a glowing complexion and a long white neck. He dressed as a private man, covering his white neck with a linen scarf, fastened with a golden buckle. He could jump unassisted onto his horse without using the stirrups. All the women who saw him, and especially the empress, became infatuated with him. At his arrival in Venice,¹⁰ he was given a splendid welcome. From there he travelled on to Jerusalem and then returned safe and sound.¹¹

¹ Erik VII of Pomerania [Boguslaw] (1382-1459): King of Norway 1389-1442, of Denmark and Sweden 1396 until his deposition in 1439.

² For a general biography, see Barüske. See also Cotta-Schönberg: *To*.

³ Emperor Sigismund.

⁴ Wartislav VII (ca. 1365 - ca. 1396): Duke of Pomerania-Stolp.

⁵ Elizabeth of Pomerania (ca. 1347-1393): Empress. Married Emperor Karl IV on 21 May 1363. Gave birth to Sigismund in 1368.

⁶ "ex fratre [Wartislav VII] matris [Elizabeth of Pomerania] Sigismundi generis [?] filius [Erik VII]." The Latin text is unclear.

⁷ At the age of 7, in 1389, Erik was adopted by Margaret I, Queen of Denmark and Norway, from 1387 to her death in 1412. The same year he was declared King of Norway. At the age of 14, in 1396, he was declared King of Denmark and Sweden, with Queen Margaret as his regent. The Kalmar Union between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was declared in 1397 and Erik crowned king of the three realms. At the age of 18, in 1401, he was pronounced of age, but Margaret continued to be the effective ruler until her death.

⁸ It is not correct that there was a rebellion against Erik at the time of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1424. On the contrary, his realms were at peace. Piccolomini's source for his description would presumably have been his friend and mentor at the imperial chancery (1442-1448), Kaspar Schlick, who was at Sigismund's court when Erik visited.

⁹ February 1424.

¹⁰ 24 August 1424.

¹¹ Erik's pilgrimage lasted from 1423 to 1425.

[245] Cumque in Prusciam reversus adhuc seditiones vigere adversus se in regno sensisset, vocatis fratribus Theutonicis, “Ego,” inquit, “ex Jerosolima nunc redeo devotionemque meam¹ peregi. Sed major adhuc animo² instat. Jam mihi nulla saeculi voluptas est, nulla mihi soboles est, uxor mortua est, quid amplius restat, nisi ut Deo serviam? Quod si vos mihi habitum vestesque ordinis dederitis atque me quasi unum ex fratribus communi praebenda alueritis³, stat mihi mundo cedere. Daciam ego vobis, Norvegiam Gothiamque⁴ relinquo, ut sit religionis, nec enim mihi quisquam est necessariorum, quem regno dignum aestimem. Vos bene haec regna gubernabitis atque illorum hominum proterviam compescetis, nam mihi parum oboedientes sunt.” Ad haec⁵ Pruteni dicunt se non velle tantum principem vestire habitu, sed quamdiu apud eos manere voluerit, daturos se sibi victum et provisionem rege dignam, nam et alii apud eos principes fuerunt⁶ Vitoldumque ducem commemorant, offeruntque sibi in⁷ regnum compescendum auxilia.

¹ *omit.* X

² *anima* X

³ *adjuveritis* X

⁴ *Gothamque* MA

⁵ *hoc* MA

⁶ ~~sicut~~ *seq.* V

⁷ *ad* MA

[245] On his way back,¹ he came to Prussia. Hearing that the rebellion against him was still going on, he summoned the Teutonic Knights and said to them, “I have now returned from Jerusalem and have performed my devotions there. However, I have something even greater in mind. I no longer care for this world, I have no issue, and my wife² has passed away.³ What remains for me but to serve God? If you will clothe me in your habit and provide for me as one of the brethren, I will retire from the world. I shall give you Denmark and Norway and the lands of the Goths⁴ to become the property of the Order. I consider none of my relatives worthy to rule. You will govern these lands well and restrain the impudence of these unruly people, for me they have not obeyed.”⁵ The Prussians replied that they did not want to clothe such a magnificent prince in their habit, but as long as he wished to stay with them, they would provide him with victuals and other necessities, worthy of a king. Other princes had visited them, and they still remembered Duke Vytautas of Lithuania. They also offered him their help to subdue the kingdom.⁶

¹ Spring 1425.

² Philippa of England (1394-1430): Married Erik VII in 1406, when she was 12 years old. Regent during Erik’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

³ There is a chronological problem. According to Piccolomini, Erik visited the Teutonic Knights on his way back from Jerusalem, which was in 1425, but Philippa died five years afterwards, in 1430.

⁴ “Gothiam”, here presumably Sweden.

⁵ That Erik became highly frustrated with his kingship is correct, but it happened later, in 1436-1437, when he also sought the Order’s help against the rebels (Erslev, p. 391).

⁶ The story of Erik’s wanting to join the Teutonic Knights is not correct. Erik did visit the Grand Master in Marienburg and made an alliance with the Order (as a balance against Brandenburg), and at some point, the Order invited Erik to become a member (Erslev, 2, 1901, pp. 113, 391; Niitema, p. 149).

[246] Ille non contentus in regnum revertitur¹, ubi, cum luxuriose vixisset, cum justitiam negligeret, cum virgines ac maritas violaret, desidiaequae succumberet², rursus major seditio oritur, scribuntque principes et praelati atque communitates Sigismundo Caesari regnum Daciae³, quamvis ex sui magnitudine archiregnum dici possit - nam quattuor in se continet amplissima, {84r} fateri se tamen Romano imperio subjectos inquit, petuntque, uti Sigismundus⁴ regem eis tradat auctoritate auctoritate Romana, nam quem habent regem inutilem dicunt, regni pessumdatorem. Sed Sigismundum magis vinculum carnis quam imperii decus movit: postponere namque utilitatem imperii, quam cum justitia tueri poterat, voluit quam fratrem relinquere, quem non poterat honeste tueri. Misit igitur oratores in Daciam, cumque his fecit, uti principes magis timore quam amore Erico conciliarentur. Timebant enim⁵ Sigismundum, qui frater ejus erat et imperator.

¹ remittitur MA

² incumberet MA

³ dare MA

⁴ Sigismundum MA

⁵ autem MA

[246] Frustrated, he returned to his kingdom.¹ There he led a life of dissipation, flouted justice, ravished young as well as married women, and sank into idleness. Then another, even greater rebellion arose.² The princes, prelates, and cities wrote to Emperor Sigismund that although the Danish realm was great enough to be considered an archkingdom,³ encompassing four large [regions],⁴ they acknowledged that they were subject to the Holy Roman Empire and asked Sigismund to give them another King, in his capacity of Roman Emperor, because the one they had was useless and ruined the realm. However, Sigismund attached more importance to family ties than to the honour of the Empire. He would rather set aside the interests of the Empire, which he could protect with justice, than fail his cousin, whom he could not protect with decency.⁵ He, therefore, sent ambassadors to Denmark, and through them he managed to effect a reconciliation between the princes and Erik – more through fear than love, for they feared Sigismund, who was both Erik’s cousin and emperor.⁶

¹ 24 May 1425.

² This rebellion was not so much caused by Erik’s personal habitus as by his way of governing. It was politically motivated (Erslev, pp. 380 ff).

³ In the notarial record of the coronation of Erik’s successor, Denmark was designated as an archkingdom, the only time this has happened in history. Danish historians have sought various explanations for this term but have been unaware of Piccolomini’s use of the term, which probably reflected a political trend at the imperial court at the time, aiming to establish a Central European state composed of various kingdoms (Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, with Austria), at which they would eventually be successful (Cotta-Schönberg: *To*, p. 63). Also, Piccolomini designated Alfonso of Aragon as an archking: *The other I could better call an archking since he possesses kingdoms in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca* (see sect. 507).

⁴ The Kalmar Union, governed by the Danish king, comprised Denmark, Norway and Sweden. It is uncertain what Piccolomini meant with “four”. Possibly he thought that Gothia was distinct from Sweden.

⁵ The personal relationship between Sigismund and Erik was good, which probably influenced the emperor’s policies in matters involving Erik. His judgment of 1424 in the matter of Southern Jutland caused criticism as being favourable for Denmark but not in the interest of the Empire (Cotta-Schönberg: *To*, p. 63).

⁶ The magnates’ recourse to Sigismund is unknown to modern historians as is their declaration of belonging to the Holy Roman Empire (Cotta-Schönberg: *To*, p. 62).

[247] Sicque vivo Sigismundo Ericus regnavit, at¹ eo mortuo, cum vetusta vigerent odia, et Erici vitia non essent minora, rursus primates regni ad Albertum Caesarem mittunt novumque regem² petunt, cujus opera Christoforus dux³ Bavariae in regem Daciae assumptus est, Erico proximus sanguine. Sed nec sanguis nec ullum vinculum jura imperii tenet. Ericus igitur, ubi se omnibus videt exorsum⁴ ac timet impetum, furori cedens in Gothiam navigavit, ubi usque in hanc diem inglorius⁵ dies agit.

¹ et MA

² regnum MA

³ rex MA

⁴ exorsum MA

⁵ omit. X [blank space]

[247] Thus, Erik reigned for as long as Sigismund was alive. But when Sigismund died, and the old hatred was still running hot, and Erik's vices had not abated, the leaders of the realm again sent a message to Emperor Albrecht¹ requesting a new king.² The emperor arranged that Duke Christopher of Bavaria³ was made King of Denmark.⁴ He was a close relative of Erik, but neither family considerations nor any other ties restrict the rights of the Empire.⁵ Seeing that he was hated by all and fearing an attack, Erik yielded to the storm and sailed to Gotland,⁶ where he still lives, ingloriously.^{7 8}

¹ Albrecht II.

² The recourse of the Danish magnates to Emperor Albrecht is attested by an independent contemporary source though the text itself is unknown. As Denmark was then an electoral kingdom, the magnates probably requested the emperor's approval of a Duke of Bavaria being elected King of Denmark (Cotta-Schönberg: *To*, p. 64).

³ Christopher of Bavaria (Wittelsbach) (1416-1448): King of Denmark 1440-1448, of Sweden 1441-1448, and of Norway 1442-1448. Friend of Albrecht II.

⁴ 1440.

⁵ At the time, Piccolomini was a keen defender of the absolute rights of the Empire, as he had written about in his *De Ortu et Auctoritate Imperii Romani*, from about the same time as the DVI.

⁶ "Gothia".

⁷ Date: The last event mentioned by Piccolomini is the accession of Christopher as King of Denmark in 1440. It must have been written before Christopher's death on 6 January 1448, which would probably have been known at the imperial court in February.

⁸ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini was not personally acquainted with Erik, but would have been informed about him both at the Council of Basel, where Erik was represented, and from colleagues in the imperial chancellery, especially Chancellor Kaspar Schlick. Niitema wrote that Piccolomini's description of Erik was based on personal experience, as he "den Unionskönig wähen dessen Aufenthalt in Ungarn persönlich getroffen hatte" (Niitema, p. 84). This is erroneous since, at that time, Piccolomini was a very young university student in Siena.

37. Jacoba, Dux Hollandiae

[248] Jacoba, dux Hollandiae, fuit quatuor matrimoniis infelix. De qua¹, si loqui volumus, altius exordiendum est. Albertus ex domo Bavariae ducatum Hollandiae obtinuit, cui tres filiae fuerunt, unam habuere Borgundi, alteram Australes, tertiam ...². Hinc jus se in Hollandia Philippus³ habere praetendit. Fuerunt et filii duo eidem Alberto, Wilhelmus et Johannes⁴. Wilhelmo patrimonium cessit; Johannes in episcopum Leodiensem assumptus est. Sed hic, dum temporalia magis quam spiritualia curaret nec ad sacerdotium animum intenderet, sacros abhorrebat ordines ac sub dispensatione quadam laicus tenebat ecclesiam. Res erat enormis exempli, nec clero nec populo placebat. Ea de re pulsus civitate est, aliusque sibi per clerum et populum surrogatus episcopus. Ipse invocato fratris auxilio et Johannis, sororii sui, ducis Borgundiae, bellum indixit⁵, ac non longe a Leodio proelium atrox et {44v} miserabile commissum est, in quo⁶ novus electus occisus est, et circiter triginta millia Leodiensium cecidere. In qua re plus multitudo valuit Borgundorum et Hollandinorum quam justa Leodiensium causa. Ac sic Johannes episcopatum recuperavit⁷, cui aliquandiu⁸ praesedit indigne.

¹ de qua : digna MA

² blank space V, X; *Deest etiam in codice* MA

³ omit. X

⁴ Wilhelmus et Johannes : Johannes et Guilelmus X

⁵ induxit MA

⁶ in quo : itaque MA

⁷ recuderavit MA

⁸ aliquando MA

37. Jakoba van Beieren, Duchess of Holland

[248] Jakoba, Duchess of Holland,¹ was unfortunate in four marriages. If we wish to speak about her, we shall have to go back in time. Albrecht² of the House of Bavaria gained the Duchy of Holland. He had three daughters. One was given to the Burgundians,³ the second⁴ to the Austrians, Austrians, and the third⁵ [to King Wenceslaus]. For this reason, Philippe⁶ claimed the right to Holland.⁷ Albrecht had two sons, Wilhelm⁸ and Johann.⁹ He left his lands to Wilhelm, while Johann Johann was appointed Bishop of Liège. But Johann was more interested in temporal than spiritual matters. He never wanted the priesthood, abhorred holy orders, and obtained a dispensation to hold his church as a layman. This was unheard of and not accepted by the clergy and the laypeople. Therefore, he was expelled from the city, and the clergy and people elected another to replace him as bishop. Then he called for help from his brother¹⁰ and his brother-in-law, Duke Jean of Burgundy,¹¹ and went to war. Not far from Liège a ferocious and bitter battle was fought in which the newly elected bishop was killed, and about 30,000 men from Liège fell.¹² In this matter, the strength of the Burgundians and the Hollanders defeated the justice of the cause of Liège. Thus, Johann regained the bishopric which he had already held a long time, though unworthily.

¹ Jakoba van Beieren (1401-1436) (Wittelsbach): Countess of Hainaut.

² Albrecht I von Bayern-Straubing (Wittelsbach) (1336-1404): Regent of Holland from 1358 and Duke from 1388 to his death.

³ Margaretha von Bayern-Straubing (Wittelsbach) (1363-1424): On 12 April 1385, she married Jean sans Peur (Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to his death in 1419).

⁴ Johanna Sophia von Bayern Straubing (Wittelsbach) (ca. 1373-1410): Married Duke Albrecht IV of Austria on 13 June 1395.

⁵ Johanna von Bayern-Straubing (Wittelsbach) (ca. 1362-1386) : Married King Wenceslaus of Bohemia on 29 September 1370.

⁶ Philippe III of Burgundy.

⁷ Philippe was the grandson of Albrecht I von Bayern-Straubing through his mother, Margaretha von Bayern-Straubing.

⁸ Wilhelm II von Bayern-Straubing (Wittelsbach) (1365-1417): Duke of Holland and Zeeland (as Wilhelm VI).

⁹ Johan III von Bayern-Straubing (Wittelsbach) (1374-1425): Bishop-elect of Liège 1390-1418. Duke of Straubing-Holland 1418 to his death.

¹⁰ Wilhelm II.

¹¹ Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy.

¹² The Battle of Othée, 23 September 1408.

[249] Wilhelmus vero in Hollandiam rediit, cui filia fuit Jacoba, de qua sermo est. Haec dalphinum Franciae in virum recepit parumque¹ cum eo fuit, quem mors immatura abstulit. Sed ipsa, mortuo patre, ducatumque regens² ex dispensatione apostolica cum duce Barbantiae, qui tertio³ sibi gradu attinebat, matrimonium contraxit. Neque hic felix fuit, siquidem Romanus pontifex, aliter informatus, dispensationem revocavit quasi subreptitiam⁴ matrimoniumque separari mandavit⁵. Rursusque illa ducis Glocestriae⁶ matrimonium suscepit, qui poenitentia ductus, cum ex militaribus⁷ mulierem quandam forma praestantem diligeret, repudiata Jacoba illam duxit uxorem, quae non contenta ex militari gradu ducalem dignitatem recepisse, dum⁸ regi Angliae veneficia parat, ut eo sublato vir suum⁹ regnum adipiscatur ipsaque diadema recipiat, comprehensa est ac summo supplicio affecta.¹⁰

¹ parvumque MA

² reges MA

³ tunc MA

⁴ subreptivam MA

⁵ mandat MA

⁶ Glocestino MA

⁷ militantibus MA

⁸ *omit.* MA

⁹ suus MA

¹⁰ comprehensa est ... affecta *omit.* MA

[249] Wilhelm returned to Holland, where he had the daughter Jakoba, about whom we are speaking now. She first married¹ the Dauphin of France,² but had only a short time with him since he died early. At her father's death, she became the ruler of the duchy.³ Afterwards, she married the Duke of Brabant.⁴ As they were related in the third degree, the couple had to obtain a papal dispensation. However, she did not have luck with this marriage, either, since the Roman Pontiff,⁵ when better informed, revoked the dispensation as granted under false pretences and ordered the marriage to be dissolved.⁶ Then she married the Duke of Gloucester,⁷⁸ but he repented of the marriage⁹ when he fell in love with an outstandingly beautiful woman¹⁰ from a knightly family.¹¹ So he repudiated Jakoba and married the other woman.¹²¹³ But she, having attained ducal rank though coming from a knightly family, plotted to kill the King of England¹⁴ with poison so that when he was removed, her husband would gain the kingdom and she receive the crown. But she was caught and punished with death.¹⁵

¹ 6 August 141.

² Jean (Valois) (1398-1417): Duke of Nevers until 15 December 1415, when he became dauphin after the death of an elder brother.

³ This was quite controversial (and not recognised by Emperor Sigismund) as she was a female. Therefore, her inheritance would be contested by male relatives, especially her uncle Johann III who would normally have succeeded to his brother, Wilhelm II.

⁴ Jean IV (Valois) (1403-1427): Duke of Brabant from 1415 to his death. He married Jakoba van Beieren on 10 March 1418.

⁵ Martinus V.

⁶ 1422. The pope probably acted under pressure from Emperor Sigismund.

⁷ Humphrey (Lancaster) (1390-1447): Duke of Gloucester 1414.

⁸ The marriage took place in February of March 1423.

⁹ Humphrey and Jakoba were divorced in 1428.

¹⁰ Eleanor Cobham (ca. 1400-1452).

¹¹ "ex militaribus".

¹² 1418.

¹³ In his *Commentarii* from ca. 1462, Piccolomini told quite a different story: *About this time it happened that Jacqueline, the beautiful princess of Holland and Zeeland, who was married to John, Duke of Brabant, was talking to the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the king of England, and when, as is the way of her nation, the conversation easily turned on the subject of love, she said she was unhappy that she could not enjoy the fruits of marriage, since her husband was cold and impotent. Gloucester, who was unmarried and very handsome, said a woman was a fool who married a man who was not a man or, when she found out he was impotent, continued a union which could be no marriage; and he offered himself as her husband if she did not scorn the Duke of Gloucester, a king's brother, a man in the prime of his life and of such attractions as she could see for herself. The woman who desired to be a mother and to have a man for a husband, when she understood that such a bridegroom was being offered to her, did not refuse the match but went to him as soon as she could* (COM, IX, 13 (Gragg, pp. 585-586)). The facts of the matter is that Jacqueline married Jean IV of Brabant (at the time 14 years old) in 1417. Because of consanguinity, a papal dispensation was sought and granted by Martin V in December 1417 but revoked by the pope already the next month, January 1418. But in May 1419, the pope annulled his revocation of January 1419. In 1420 Jakoba left her husband, and in March 1421 she fled to England where she met Humphrey of Gloucester, the king's brother, whom she married in 1422. But on 9 January 1428 a papal verdict affirmed the validity of *Jacqueline's earlier marriage to John of Brabant* [now dead, leaving Jakoba a widow]. *To pursue his claims, Gloucester would have had to remarry her; instead, he used his freedom to marry his mistress, Eleanor Cobham* (Harris: *Humphrey*). Jakoba returned to Holland.

¹⁴ Henry VI.

¹⁵ At the trial in 1441, she claimed to be innocent of plotting against the king, claiming that she had only obtained potions to conceive a child. She avoided the death punishment (here Piccolomini is in error), but was banished for life, first to the Isle of Man and later to Anglesey.

[250] Interea Johannes Leodiensis episcopus, qui numquam sacerdotio inclinatus fuerat, matrimonium cum¹ ² duce³ Hollandiae ac Lucemburgensi comite contraxit, et, quod in animo dudum habuerat, patefecit veniensque in Hollandiam Jacobam neptem expulit regimenque accepit. Sed eo mortuo, cum illa reges ac duces experta nihil bonae fortunae reperit, ad viliora declinavit. Franconem de Borsel⁴ militem in virum recepit. Qud aegre ferens⁵ dux Borgundiae Filippus Hollandiam ingressus Franconem ipsum captivavit eratque animi⁶ neci hominem⁷ dare, qui tantum matrimonium invitae consanguineae feminae contraxisset. Sed miserta viri mulier, ut cum hoc saltem ultimo marito tranquillam ageret vitam, universa ejus dominia duci Borgundiae pro viri redemptione assignavit retenta sibi parva terra circa mare, ex qua viveret. Ac sic demum cum viro infortunata finivit diem⁸. Franco etiam⁹ hodie terram illam possidet.

¹ *omit.* MA

² *blank space* V, X; *Deest etiam in codice* MA

³ *corr. ex* duce MA

⁴ Borgel MA

⁵ ferens MA

⁶ animo MA

⁷ neci hominem : hominem neci X

⁸ finivit diem : fuerat dum MA

⁹ et MA

[250] In the meantime, Johann, the Bishop of Liège who had never been inclined towards the priesthood, married¹ [Elizabeth] Duchess of Holland and Countess of Luxembourg.² Revealing what he had planned long before, he came to Holland, expelled his niece Jakoba, and took over the government.³ When he died,⁴ she – who had not had luck with kings and dukes – married under her station, taking the knight Frank van Borssele⁵ as her husband.⁶ Duke Philippe of Burgundy did not accept this. Invading Holland, he had Frank arrested and considered killing him for contracting such an important marriage against the will of the woman's relatives.⁷ But the woman pitied the man and only wanted to live tranquilly with him as her last husband. So to save him, she signed over all her dominions to the Duke of Burgundy and only kept a small property at the sea,⁸ off which she could live.⁹ And thus, this unfortunate woman finished her days¹⁰ in the company of her husband. Frank is still in possession of this land.^{11 12}

¹ In 1418.

² Elisabeth von Görlitz (1390-1451): Elizabeth was not Duchess of Holland, and she was not Countess but Duchess of Luxembourg, from 1411 to 1443. Her first marriage was to Antoine of Brabant, who died at Agincourt in 1415. Her second marriage was to Johann III von Bayern-Straubing.

³ In 1419, he had become co-ruler of Holland and Hainaut with Jean IV, at the time still Jakoba's husband, later to become sole regent. Some years later (1421), Jakoba fled to England.

⁴ 6 January 1425.

⁵ Frank II van Borssele (ca. 1396-1470): A Zeelandic nobleman, Stadhouders of Holland and Zeeland, loyal supporter of Johann III (Jakoba's uncle) and Philippe III (Jakoba's cousin).

⁶ Legend has it that they married in 1432, but this is incorrect as their marriage first took place in 1434.

⁷ I.e. the duke himself.

⁸ Jakoba retained several estates, mostly in Zeeland.

⁹ The story of Frank van Borssele is a legend. His - temporary - fall from Philippe's grace was apparently not due to the not yet contracted marriage with Jakoba but to other, political reasons. Only when he was restored to ducal favour and Jakoba had renounced her inherited lands, did Frank and Jakoba marry - with the duke's approval. The marriage was happy but only lasted a couple of years, Jakoba dying in 1436. Frank remained a loyal servant to the duke and, in 1445, became a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

¹⁰ 8 October 1436.

¹¹ Date: the last event mentioned in the text is Jakoba's death in 1436, so the text must have been written after that date.

¹² Piccolomini's source: It is not known from where Piccolomini had his information on Jakoba van Baiern, but her life was a cause célèbre at the time, and the basic facts were probably generally known. Piccolomini appears to have picked up the legendary version of her last marriage.

38. Albertus, Dux Austriae

[251] {85r} Albertus, Dux Austriae, Friderici Caesaris germanus, cum fratre sub tutela Friderici ducis senioris fuit. Qua finita, cum germanus regimen accepisset, minime cum eo convenit, rara est enim inter dominantes concordia. Tamquam igitur profugus fratrem, adhuc ducem, fugiens ad Albertum patrum, regem Romanorum, in Hungariam venit obviusque sibi in itinere factus, nam ille ex Buda in Austriam aegrotus reverti festinabat, querelas exposuit nec adjutus est, illo paulo post mortuo. Fuit igitur cum regina Elizabet diu¹ contraque rebellantes Hungaros militavit. At postea fratre² in Romanorum regem electo et ad imperium procedente comiti Ciliae se conjunxit³ bellumque intulit fratri quasi patrimonium vindicaturus. Invasit quoque nonnulla castella, sed dum ante Labacum, quod est oppidum primum Carinthiae, castra teneret diuque urbem premeret, ad extremum tamen dimittere obsidionem compulsus est. Itaque varia fortuna pugnatum est⁴ nunc vincens, nunc succumbens.

¹ ~~ejusque partes iuvit~~ *seq. V* ,

² fratrem V

³ condixit MA

⁴ pugnavit *em.* HE

38. Albrecht VI, Duke of Austria

[251] Albrecht, Duke of Austria,^{1 2 3} brother of Emperor Friedrich, was, with his brother, under the guardianship of the elder Duke Friedrich.⁴ When the guardianship ended, and his brother had taken over the government [of the duchy], Albrecht had many conflicts with him^{5 6} - rare, indeed, is concord between the mighty! Like a refugee, he fled from his brother, still a duke, to his uncle Albrecht, King of the Romans.⁷ Entering Hungary, he went to meet Albrecht,⁸ who was ill and hastening his return from Buda to Austria. He told Albrecht his complaints but received no assistance, for Albrecht died right afterwards. Then he stayed for a time with Elizabeth,⁹ fighting against Hungarian rebels.¹⁰ When his brother was elected King of the Romans and left for the Empire, Albrecht joined up with the Count of Cilly^{11 12} and began to make war against his brother in order to gain his paternal inheritance. He seized several castles. He also besieged Laibaich,¹³ capital of Kärnten, and for a long time put pressure on that city, but in the end he had to abandon the siege.¹⁴ Thus he fought with varied fortune, sometimes winning, sometimes losing.

¹ Albrecht VI (Habsburg / Leopoldian line) (1418-1463): Duke, later Archduke of Austria. Ruler of duchy of Inner Austria (from 1457 the Archduchy of Austria).

² For a general biography, see Langmeier.

³ Piccolomini knew Albrecht personally and well.

⁴ Friedrich IV (Habsburg).

⁵ Langmeier, pp. 37-65.

⁶ Note how Piccolomini carefully avoids taking sides between the two princes, one his employer (Friedrich) and the other a potential patron (Albrecht).

⁷ Emperor Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁸ Such a meeting is not mentioned by Langmeier, pp. 39-42.

⁹ Elizabeth of Luxembourg, queen of Albrecht II.

¹⁰ Langmeier, p. 48: *Albrecht VI. hielt sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Königin auf, die seinen Schutz ebenso suchte wie den Ulrichs II.*

¹¹ Ulrich II of Cilly.

¹² Langmeier, p. 68: *Als Friedrich (III.) im Reich weilte, um sich krönen zu lassen, schloss Albrecht VI. mit Ulrich und Friedrich von Cilly ein Bündnis*

¹³ Ljubljana.

¹⁴ The failed siege of Laibach took place in July-August 1442.

[252] Post haec, cum Fridericus praeter opinionem coronatus¹ ex Aquisgrani² nuper reverteretur ac ac prope Viennam esset, Albertus contra suorum consilia fratri obviam inermis processit ac cum eo intravit Viennam, postque Novam Civitatem veniens cum fratre concordatus est illique uti consiliarius³ juravit stetitque pacificus. Nec diu post, cum intellexisset Petrum Cotram⁴ episcopum, episcopum, cancellarium suum, proditoris esse reum, illum cepit durisque⁵ carceribus mancipavit, in quibus adhuc sordescit, quamvis ipse servatis⁶ ossibus, quae sibi cum carnibus dabantur, affixisque⁷ intra rimas murorum turrim altam ascenderit ac exinde per frustra⁸ lintheaminum descendens, cum altitudo major esset quam speraret, casum dederit ac tibiam fregerit, cujus dolore clamore edito rursus interceptus arctius custoditur, stultus, qui juxta voluntatem principis noluit monachalem habitum suscipere potius quam in carcere macerari. Hujus castella simulatis ejus litteris dux ipse mox ad se recepit, quamvis sint ecclesiae Isagabriensis⁹.

¹ est *seq.* HE

² *superlin.* V

³ conciliato MA

⁴ contra MA

⁵ durisque MA

⁶ servatus MA

⁷ affixis MA

⁸ *em.* HE; frustra V

⁹ Igemburgiae MA

[252] Later, Friedrich, against general opinion,¹ was crowned in Aachen.² When he returned and approached Vienna, Albrecht, against the advice of his people, came unarmed to meet his brother and entered Vienna together with him.^{3 4} Then he went to Neustadt, came to an agreement with his brother, and was sworn in as a member of his council.^{5 6} Since then, he has kept the peace. Shortly afterwards, he learnt that Bishop Peter Kottler,⁷ his chancellor, was guilty of treason.^{8 9} He had him arrested and incarcerated under rigorous conditions. Kottler is still languishing there. Keeping the bones that came with his meat, he at one point used them to make some kind of ladder in a cleft in the walls. Mounting it, he climbed up a tall tower and then descended using a rope made of rags. Misjudging the distance, he fell down and broke a shinbone. Crying out from the pain, he was caught again and is now kept under stricter guard. He really is a fool because, disobeying his prince, he preferred the prison to the monk's habit. Using falsified letters, the prince soon took over his castles though they belong to the Church of Zagreb.

¹ The delay between Friedrich's election and coronation in Aachen was unusually long, and frustrating to the German princes.

² 17 June 1442.

³ See Piccolomini's letter to Cardinal Olesnicki of April 1443: *Albertus, dux Austrie, quamquam diu infensus fratri suo, regi, fuisset bellumque secum aperte gessisset, ut eum audivit adesse, ad sextum, ut Romani dicebant, lapidem obviam processit unaque secum Viennam ingressus est urbem* (WO, I, ep. 48, p. 145-146).

⁴ Langmeier, p. 71: *Als Friedrich im Februar 1443 in das Herzogtum Österreich zurückkehrte, bahnte sich ein Ausgleich zwischen den Kontrahenten an. Schon vor Wien kam es zu einer grossen, sorgfältig vorbereiteten Versöhnungsszene. Albrecht VI. holte den frisch gekrönten Bruder vor den Toren der Stadt ein, um mit ihm gemeinsam in die Hauptstat zum Stephansdom zu ziehen, der Hauptgrablege der Dynastie. Demonstrativ demütigte sich der jüngere Fürst vor dem Hausältesten, um den eigenen Haus den Frieden zu verschaffen.*

⁵ See Piccolomini's letter to Cardinal Olesnicki of April 1443: *Paucis post diebus iterum regem adiens, cum in Novacivitate foret, resectis omnibus controversiis, in fraternam receptus est societatem* (WO, I, ep. 48, p. 145-146).

⁶ Langmeier, p. 71: *Am 30. März [1443] wurde in Wiener Neustadt eine verbindliche Übereinkunft zwischen beiden Brüdern geschlossen.*

⁷ Peter Kottler: Dr. decr. Nominated Bishop of Zagreb 1441. Chancellor of Albrecht VI.

⁸ Langmaier, pp. 73-74: *Aus unbekannter Ursache hatte sich der Fürst dazu veranlasst gesehen, den eigenen Kanzler Peter Kottler, der von Elisabeth und ihm noch als Bischofskandidat von Agram (Zagreb) vorgesehen worden war ... wegen Aufruhrs und Treubruchs verhaften zu lassen. ... Albrecht muss sich mit dem Kanzler versöhnt haben, weil dieser später wieder in seinem Dienst erscheint.* The matter is possibly connected with events related above in sect. 148.

⁹ See also Piccolomini's letter of 1 January 1444 to Kaspar Schlick: *Albertus ... nescio ob quam causam Petrum Kottler suum cancellarium apprehendit et conjectum in vinculis compedibus ferreis alligavit. Nemo est qui speret ipsum liberandum. ... Sunt tamen plures, qui ducis Alberti factum probant et mihi quoque ita persuasum est. Nam princeps ille tum sapiens est tum mitis, nec absque magna causa in tantum virum injecisset manus, sed Kottler utilius fuerat plebem suam curare. Nunc queritur, quo pacto sibi illa auferatur et ajunt quidam irregularem esse hominem privandumque ecclesia, in qua vellet nunc, ut existimo, Petrus deo servire. Sed quia dum facultas fuit, voluntas defuit, nunc voluntatem facultas deserit* (WO, I, ep. 111, p. 267).

[253] {85r} Exinde,¹ cum Caesar Norimbergam peteret, nam ibi cum electoribus de rebus ecclesiae consulturus erat, secutus eum Albertus est et exinde missus cum exercitu in Sueviam et Elsatiam contra Suicenses, qui civitatem Turicensem imperialem, domui² Austriae confoederatam, et alias terras Austriae invadebant, quibus in locis plurima suae virtutis experimenta dedit. Rapesuillensibus, qui cincti erant³ obsidione fameque inextimabili premebantur, auxilium tulit victualiaque⁴ ubertim intulit, obsidionem removit. Sechingen quoque, oppidum obsidione cinctum liberavit pluraque hostibus damna intulit⁵. Adeo⁶ se diligere fecit, ut Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis, Johannes, marchio Badensis, comites de Wirtemberg totaque fere nobilitas Sueviae sibi in auxilium venirent. Adhuc⁷ etiam ibi est, cujus studio Anna, soror ejus, Carolo marchioni Badensi maritata est.

¹ Pone quomodo obedivit Felici, quomodo filiam ejus in uxorem speravit deceptusque fuit *add. in marg.* V

² domini X

³ cincti erant *omit.* MA

⁴ victualia MA

⁵ et *add.* MA

⁶ *corr. ex* in deo V; in deo X

⁷ aduch V; i duch X

[253] When¹ the emperor went to Nürnberg to consult with the prince-electors on church affairs,² Albrecht accompanied him. Afterwards, he was sent with an army to Schwaben and Elsass against the Swiss.³ They were attacking the imperial town of Zürich⁴ (which had an alliance with the House of Austria) and other, Austrian, lands. In this war, he gave many proofs of his valour. He brought help and many victuals to the people of Rapperswill, besieged and suffering terribly from hunger,⁵ and brought the siege to an end. He liberated Seckingen, another town under siege, and inflicted much damage on the enemies. He made himself so liked by Albrecht,⁶ Margrave of Brandenburg, Johann,⁷ Margrave of Baden,⁸ the Counts of Württemberg,⁹ and almost all the nobility of Schwaben that they came to his aid.¹⁰ He is still there. Through his efforts, his sister, Anna,^{11 12} wedded Karl, Margrave of Baden.^{13 14}

¹ In V, Piccolomini inserted a margin note saying: *Insert here how Albrecht made his obedience to Felix, and how he hoped to have his daughter as wife, and how he was disappointed. (Pone quomodo obedivit Felici, quomodo filiam ejus in uxorem speravit deceptusque fuit.)* Cf. Langmeier, p. 63: *Ausgerechnet dort schwor der Bruder des Königs dem Gegenpapst, Felix V, einen Eid "bis auf den Tod"*. The margin shows that the text in V was a draft text, to be revised.

² See above, sect. 168.

³ See above, sect. 170.

⁴ See above, sect. 169. Langmeier, p. 70: *Nach seiner Krönung schloss er [Friedrich III] ein Abkommen mit der Stadt Zürich gegen deren Rivalin Schwyz und deren Verbündete, um die ehemaligen Stammlande seines Hauses im Aargau zurückzugewinnen [1442].*

⁵ Langmeier, p. 116: *Die ... Schiffe waren mit jeweils wenigstens 200 Mann, 200 Büchsen, Nahrungsmitteln und zahlreiche Material für die eingeschlossenen in Rapperswill ausgestattet.*

⁶ Albrecht III (Hohenzollern) (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Elector of Brandenburg from 1461 to his death.

⁷ Error for Jakob.

⁸ Jakob I (Baden) (1407-1453): Margrave of Baden-Baden from 1431 to his death.

⁹ Ludwig I (Württemberg) (1412-1450): Count of Württemberg from 1442 and of Württemberg-Urach to his death;

Ulrich V (Württemberg) (1413-1480): Count of Württemberg from 1442 to his death.

¹⁰ Langmeier, p. 89: *Sowohl Friedrich (III.) als auch Albrecht VI. konnten mit der Hilfe zahlreicher Städte und schwäbischer Rittergeschlechter in Vorderösterreich und der heutigen Schweiz rechnen, die aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen eine Interesse daran hatten, der immer stärker werdenden Konföderation eidgenössisch verbundener Orte Einhalt zu geben.*

¹¹ Error for Katharina.

¹² Katharina von Österreich (Habsburg).

¹³ Karl I (Baden).

¹⁴ See above, sect. 177, where Piccolomini got Katharina's name right. The marriage took place on 13 or 15 July 1447.

[254] In ejus consilio magni fuerunt Johannes de Aich¹, qui post episcopus factus est, et Wilhelmus de Stayn, qui etiam regiae majestatis consiliarius est, nam in judiciis plurimum valet. Hunc sui, quoniam² minus bene ortus esset, nam ex concubina, quam post pater duxit³ uxorem, molendinaria,⁴ molendinaria,⁴ diu spreverunt⁵ aequae ferentes, ut de sua nobili domo⁶ se nominaret. Sed hic studio studio litterarum edoctus mundumque circuiens Sigismundo regi placere coepit, in tantumque tum apud Sigismundum, tum Albertum, tum Fridericum Caesares crevit, ut ultro rogaretur suae domus patrocinia suscipere, factusque est omnium primus, qui vix ultimus⁷ reputabatur, superavitque virtus virtus odium, quod nativitatis⁸ macula genuerat⁹. Huic nobilis uxor ex Athesi fuit, qua mortua jam senex puellam virginem ex domo sua recepit uxorem, annos¹⁰ natam XIII. tuncque grave bellum instaurare coepit, cum jam fuissent arma Marti reddenda. Huic etiam scripsi ego epistolam *De Natura et Cura Equorum* admodum longam, ut eam duci Alberto exponeret. Is quoque dux rogatum me fecit, sibi ut fabellas¹¹ Aesopi in prosam redigerem¹², nam metricas non plane intelligebat, cui parui libens.

¹ Stich MA

² cum MA

³ in *add.* MA

⁴ nam ex ... molendinaria *add. in marg.* V, X

⁵ ~~nee~~ *seq.* V

⁶ *omit.* X

⁷ vix ultimus : ultimus vir MA

⁸ novitatis MA

⁹ generat MA

¹⁰ annis MA

¹¹ fabulas X

¹² *em.* HE, MA; redigeret V, X

[254] Important men in his council were Johann von Eych,¹ who later became a bishop,² and Wilhelm von Stein,³ who is also a counsellor of His Royal Majesty since he gives splendid advice. Because he was of blemished birth (his mother, the daughter of a miller, was the concubine of his father though he later married her),⁴ his relatives for a long time spurned him and did not accept that that he used the name of their noble house. But he was brought up in the pursuit of letters, travelled the world, gained King Sigismund's favour, and became so important to emperors⁵ Sigismund,⁶ Albrecht,⁷ and Emperor Friedrich, that his relatives asked him to become the protector of his family. Thus, he who was considered the least of all became the first, and his qualities⁸ overcame the resentment which the blemish of birth had caused. His wife was a noblewoman from Tyrol. When she died, he was an old man, but nonetheless, he married a young, 14-year-old, girl of his own family. Thus he began a major war at a time when his weapons should be returned to Mars. To him I wrote a long letter on *The Nature and Care of Horses*,⁹ so that he could relay it to Duke Albrecht.^{10 11} The duke himself asked me to write a prose version of the Fables of Aesop since he did not easily understand the metrical version.¹² I obeyed him with pleasure.^{13 14 15}

¹ Johann von Eych (1404-1464): 1338-1341 in the service of Albrecht VI. Bishop of Eichstatt from 1445 to his death

² Piccolomini addressed his famous treatise *De Miseria Curialium* to Johann von Eych (WO, I, ep. 166, pp. 453-487).

³ Langmeier, p. 93: *Eine ebenfalls besonders hochstehende Persönlichkeit am Hof Albrechts VI.*

⁴ Langmeier, p. 122, n. 198: *Wilhelm war nicht ganz einwandfreier Herkunft, auch wenn sein Vater aus altem Ritteradel stammte.*

⁵ "Caesares": here clearly used in the sense of "emperors", since only Sigismund was crowned emperor, which Albrecht was not, and Friedrich had not yet been.

⁶ Emperor Sigismund.

⁷ Emperor-elect Albrecht II.

⁸ "virtus".

⁹ WO, I, ep. 154, pp. 395-424.

¹⁰ Langmeier, p. 123: *Der dem Herzog gewidmete Pferdetraktat sollte nicht nur die Dankbarkeit des Höflings ausdrücken. Er dient gleichzeitig dessen Empfehlung an den Bruder des Königs.*

¹¹ Piccolomini also addressed a famous letter of 1 June 1444 on poetry to Wilhelm von Stein (WO, I, 1, ep. 144, pp. 326-331).

¹² Langmeier, p. 122: *Aeneas muss die Gunst des Fürsten erlangt haben, da dieser ihn um eine Übertragung der Fabeln des Äsop in Prosa bat.*

¹³ On Piccolomini's relationship with Albrecht VI, see the excursus in Langmeier, pp. 121-125. In his *Europa*, Piccolomini gave this characteristic of the prince: *Hasty in his undertakings, eager for war and glory, contemptuous of danger, bold, tolerant of toil and quick in action and thought, he shares his money liberally amongst his friends. A pauper in the midst of wealth and rich in his poverty, he is greedy for fame more than anything else* (*Europa*, 22, 83 (Brown, p. 134)).

¹⁴ Date: The latest event mentioned in this text is the marriage between Karl I von Baden and Katherina von Österreich on 13 or 15 July 1447. However, Piccolomini may be referring to the earlier marriage agreement and not to the wedding itself. Piccolomini does not mention Peter Kottler's return to his position as Albrecht's chancellor, see Langmeier, p. 73-74.

¹⁵ Piccolomini's sources: direct acquaintance with the personalities mentioned and information available at the imperial court.

39. Petrus de Luna

[255] {86r} Petrus de Luna post mortem Clementis apud Avinionem in schismate, nam Gregorius apud Italiam colebatur, summi pontificatus cathedram arripuit Benedictusque vocatus est¹, vir magno ingenio praeditus multarumque litterarum peritiam habens, vitae castae² bonorumque morum, sed durae atque adamantinae cervicis, nec enim³ cujusquam nisi suum voluit sequi consilium.⁴ In ejus oboedientia fuerunt Galliae atque Hispaniae dempta Portugallia, quae Romanum Romanum papam sequebatur. Ob quam rem ferunt eum saepe dixisse: “Nihil est quod me magis dejiciat⁵ quam ultima pars litterarum aemuli mei, dum inquit ‘Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum’, nam hoc est, quod me territat⁶, inquit, et quod Christifideles attrahit.”

[256] Is cum Gregorio in tractatu⁷ fuit, ut ambo pro pace ecclesiae cederent, locusque cessionis Saona fuit. Itaque venit ipse Albengam, Gregorius vero⁸ Januam, sed numquam concordari potuerunt, ut Saonam simul venirent.⁹ Ob quam rem cardinales ab utrisque recesserunt Pisanumque convocavere concilium, ubi¹⁰ ambobus depositis¹¹ Alexander assumptus est.

¹ Benedictusque ... est *add. in marg.* V

² vitae castae : castae vitae MA

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ Scolaris mendicus noluit renuntiare papatum pro pretio oblato *add. in marg.* V

⁵ deprimat HE; decipiat MA

⁶ irritat MA

⁷ tracta V, X

⁸ ~~Consta~~ *seq.* V

⁹ Vide in libello tuo, Enea, origo concilii Constantiensis *add. in marg.* V

¹⁰ ~~de~~ *seq.* V

¹¹ depositus V, X

39. Pedro de Luna, Antipope Benedict XIII

[255] Pedro de Luna,^{1 2} after the death of Clement in Avignon³ and during the schism (for at that time, Gregory was honoured [as pope] in Italy⁴), seized the see of the supreme pontificate under the name of Benedict. He was a man of great intelligence, with a profound knowledge of letters, of chaste life and good morals,⁵ but with a stiff, nay adamant neck, for he would only follow his own mind. His obedience consisted of the French and the Spanish, except the Portuguese, who followed the Roman pope. Therefore, Benedict is reported to have often said: “Nothing depresses me more than the last part of the letters of my rival where he says ‘Given in Rome at Saint Peter’s.’ That frightens me, and it draws the Christian faithful to him.”

[256] He had negotiations with Gregory about their joint abdication for the sake of peace in the Church, and Saona was designated as the venue for the abdication. He himself came as far as Albenga and Gregory to Genoa, but then they were unable to agree on coming to Saona at the same time.⁶ Therefore the cardinals seceded from both and summoned a council in Pisa,⁷ where both popes were deposed,⁸ and Alexander⁹ elected as the new pope.¹⁰

¹ Pedro Martinez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor (1328-1423): Elected pope by the cardinals in Avignon in 1394 under the name of Benedict XIII.

² For a general biography, see Kirsch.

³ Clemens VII (Robert de Genève) (1342-1394): Pope of the Avignonese obedience from 1378 to his death.

⁴ Gregorius XII (Angelo Corraro) (ca. 1327-1417): Pope of the Roman obedience from 1406 to his abdication in 1415.

⁵ Kirsch: *The pope (Gregory XI) was attracted to him by his noble lineage, his austere life, and great learning, as well as by his untiring energy and great prudence.*

⁶ 1408.

⁷ The council began on 15 March 1409. It was attended by representatives of most European powers, and at the time, many considered it to be a legitimate council and its election of a new pope as a legitimate election (as would be the case five years afterwards with the Council of Konstanz).

⁸ 5 June 1409.

⁹ Alexander V.

¹⁰ Here Piccolomini adds a note to himself: *See in your book, Aeneas, the origin of the Council of Konstanz. (Vide in libello tuo, Enea, origo concilii Constantiensis).* It is not clear which book the note refers to. Piccolomini’s book *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis* from 1440 does not have a section specifically on the origin of the Council of Konstanz.

[257] Hic ergo per Veneris Portum¹ in Cathaloniam navigavit jam Gallis ab eo rebellantibus et Pisanum sequentibus concilium². Solae Hispaniae cum eo remanserunt, ex quibus concilium apud Perpinianum congregavit consuluitque, quid esset agendum. Tum³ concilium XVI viros doctiores elegit⁴, qui simul convenientes retulerunt Benedicto videri omnibus nihil esse salubrius quam pro pace ecclesiae ipsum resignare papatum. Tum ille: “Estisne,” inquit, “omnes hujus sententiae?”⁵ Cum et⁶ illi omnes uno excepto respondissent, replicavit: ”Plus ille⁷ unus scit quam vos omnes,” multisque rationibus coepit illius unius⁸ opinionem tueri nec de cessione voluit⁹ verbum audire. Ad Ad ultimum, cum Constantiense concilium congregatum esset, nec vellet hic ei aliquatenus consentire, Sigismundus Caesar ad eum venit multisque verbis cessionem nisus est persuadere. Sed cum apud eum adamante duriores nihil proficeret, cum regibus Hispaniae rem peregit suasitque detrahi sibi oboedientiam adhaerereque¹⁰ concilio. Ac sic ille cum solis Aragonensibus mansit, fuitque sed¹¹ privatus in Constantia ac tamquam haereticus condemnatus. Postremo etiam Aragonensibus amissis in insulam Pinisculae¹² cum thesauro suo se reduxit, ubi¹³ tamquam papa mori voluit successore sibi ordinato, qui postea cedens apud Majoricam in archiepiscopum {86v} ordinatus est. Elegit et¹⁴ hic in cardinalem Alfonsum, qui postea per Martinum electus est dictusque¹⁵ Sancti Eustachii.

[258] Magna hujus Petri industria fuit diligenterque semper, quid agerent adversarii, sciscitabatur. Tenuit saepe in Roma doctissimos viros, qui sub forma pauperum cardinalibus servientes, quidquid ageretur in Urbe, sibi significabant. Sed nihil prodest industria nisi fortuna comite.

¹ partim X
² et Pisanum ... concilium : Pisanumque concilium sequentibus MA
³ tunc MA
⁴ XVI viros ... elegit : elegit XVI viros doctiores MA
⁵ ~~omnes~~ seq. V; omit. X [blank space]
⁶ cum et : et cum MA
⁷ omit. MA
⁸ omit. MA
⁹ amplius add. MA
¹⁰ adherique V; adhiberique X
¹¹ deinde MA; omit. X [blank space]
¹² Puteouleam MA
¹³ ~~eum~~ seq. V
¹⁴ omit. MA
¹⁵ omit. X [blank space]

[257] When the French defected from him¹ and began to follow the Council of Pisa,² Pedro sailed via Portovenere to Catalonia. Now only the Spanish remained with him. Having summoned them to a council in Perpignan,³ he consulted them on what to do. The assembly elected 16⁴ learned men who met and then reported back to Benedict that they all found nothing more salutary than his abdication from the papacy for the sake of peace in the Church.⁵ Then he said, “Are you all of this opinion?” When all except one confirmed it, he answered, “This one man knows more than all of you,” and, with many reasons, he accepted the opinion of this man alone and would hear no more of abdication. In the end, when the Council of Konstanz had gathered⁶ and Benedict completely refused to comply with its decisions, Emperor Sigismund came to him and, with many words, endeavoured to persuade him to abdicate. But he proved harder than a diamond, and Sigismund, having no success with him, then took up the matter with the Spanish kings and persuaded them to withdraw their obedience [from Benedict] and adhere to the council. Thus, Benedict was left with the Aragonese alone. Later, in Konstanz, he was deprived of his office and condemned as a heretic. Finally, he lost the Aragonese, too, and withdrew - with his treasure - to the island of Peniscola,⁷ where he wanted to die as pope. He arranged the election of a successor,⁸ who later abdicated⁹ and was made archbishop of Majorca. Pedro also appointed Alfonso¹⁰ a cardinal, who was later reappointed by Martin with the title [church] of Sant’Eustachio.

[258] Pedro was industrious and always sought to know what his adversaries were doing. He often kept learned men in Rom, who, pretending poverty, took positions with the cardinals and informed Pedro about all that happened in the City. But industriousness is worthless if not accompanied by fortune.^{11 12}

¹ 1408.

² Piccolomini has the chronology wrong: the French left Benedict’s obedience before the Council of Pisa.

³ Council of Perpignan: Summoned by antipope Benedict XIII, it opened on 15 November 1408. Here too, the chronology is wrong: the Council of Perpignan began its work before the Council of Pisa.

⁴ First 60, later reduced to 30, later reduced to 10.

⁵ The committee of 10 recommended that the way of renunciation be not used, except as a last resort; that Benedict be prepared to resign, especially in the case that his opponents were to be deposed; and that Benedict should send envoys to Pisa and to the cardinals, with plenipotentiary powers to make arrangements for the peace of the Church. Afterwards, Benedict did send representatives to the Council of Pisa but without plenipotentiary powers, and nothing came of it, as Benedict wanted.

⁶ 1414.

⁷ Having resided in Perpignan since 1408, Benedict in 1417 moved to the Castle of Peniscola in Valencia. Peniscola is joined to the mainland by a narrow strip of land.

⁸ Gil Sánchez Munoz y Carbón (ca. 1369-1446): Antipope under the name of Clement VIII of the Avignonese line from 1423 to 1429 when Alfonso V recognised the Roman pope, Martin V. Then Sánchez Munoz abdicated and was appointed Bishop of Majorca.

⁹ 26 July 1429.

¹⁰ Alfonso Carillo de Albornoz (-1434): Appointed cardinal by antipope Benedict XIII in 1408 and reappointed as such with the title of Sant’Eustachio by Pope Martin V in 1420. He participated in the Council of Basel but died in 1433, having been, for a brief period, the council’s legate in Avignon.

¹¹ Date: The latest event mentioned in the text is the abdication of Gil Sánchez Munoz y Carbón in 1429.

¹² Piccolomini’s sources: Benedict was not known to Piccolomini personally, and Piccolomini’s account does not go further than what was publicly known. Otherwise, he disposed of information sources at the imperial court, including

40. Alfonsus Sancti Eustachii Cardinalis¹

[259] Alfonsus sancti Eustachii cardinalis nobili apud Hispanos loco natus ex familia Carillorum, ut diximus, per² Petrum primo ac post per Martinum insignia suscepit. Vixit Romae cum magno statu, Bononiam aliquandiu³ rigide gubernavit.⁴

[260] Congregato⁵ Basiliensi concilio adversus Eugenium illuc⁶ venit dimissa legatione, quam apud Avinionem habuerat, multaue contra papam molitus est. Cumque jam IX cardinales, et quidem potiores, essent in Basilea, placuit eis disputare de pontificatu Eugenii; erant namque plerique, qui eum minus canonice electum asserebant. Cumque disputatio vehemens esset, Branda cardinalis Placentinus vulpino ingenio sciscitaturus mentem⁷ cardinalium de successore ...

Kaspar Schlick, who was well informed about the doings of emperor Sigismund and had accompanied him on his travels.

¹ Carillas MA

² *omit.* X

³ aliquando MA

⁴ ~~in~~ *seq.* V

⁵ congregatio HE

⁶ illic MA

⁷ mentes MA

40. Alfonso Carillo, Cardinal

[259] Alfonso, Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio,¹ came from the noble Spanish family of the Carillos. As we said above, he first received the insignia [of the cardinalate] from Pedro² and later from Martin.³ He lived in Rome in grand state, and for a time he ruled Bologna, sternly.⁵

[260] When the Council of Basel had gathered and began to oppose Eugenius, Alfonso abandoned his legatine mission to Avignon⁶ and went to Basel,⁷ contriving much against the pope. At the time nine cardinals, including several important ones, were in Basel. They decided to discuss the papacy of Eugenius,⁸ for many people claimed that he had not been elected according to the canonical rules.⁹ When the discussion grew hot, Cardinal Branda of Piacenza,¹⁰ who had the character of a fox, wanted to hear the opinions of the cardinals concerning a successor [to Eugenius].¹¹

¹ Alfonso Carillo de Albornoz (-1434): Appointed cardinal by antipope Benedict XIII in 1408 and reappointed as such with the title of Sant'Eustachio by Pope Martin V in 1420. He participated in the Council of Basel but died in 1434, having been, for a brief period, the council's legate in Avignon.

² Benedictus XIII [Pedro de Luna] (Avignonese line).

³ Martinus V [Odo Colonna] (Roman line).

⁴ Note that Piccolomini uses the birth name for the antipope (Pedro) and the papal name for the legal pope (Martin). His use of papal names for the popes of the various obediences during the Great Western schism indicates that he considered them to have some legitimacy due to the doubts surrounding the papal function at the time. These doubts were ended when the Council of Konstanz deposed the three reigning popes and elected Martin V the new pope.

⁵ Gill, p. 33: *Alfonso Carillo, Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio, had been appointed apostolic legate in Bologna, after Condulmaro had arranged the treaty of 1420. Alfonso governed the city and its surrounding area wisely and firmly ... Gabriel Condulmaro was appointed in Carillo's place and arrived in Bologna on August 16, 1423.*

⁶ Gill, p. 45: *... the Fathers took it upon themselves to appoint [June 20 1433] Cardinal Carillo, who was then resident in Avignon, to supplant Condulmaro in the government [of Avignon]. Eugenius replied by nominating the efficient Cardinal Peter de Foix who by force of arms eventually drove Carillo out ... [8 July 8 1433].*

⁷ Carillo probably arrived in Basel in July or August 1433.

⁸ The meeting must have taken place after Carillo's arrival in Basel in the summer of 1433 and before the return of Emperor Sigismund on 11 October 1433. Most likely, it was held in September. At that time, Piccolomini was in the service of Nicodemo della Scala. He may have heard of the meeting from him or from friends, e.g., Cardinal Cesarini himself or other cardinals.

⁹ See below.

¹⁰ Branda da Castiglione (1350-1443): Appointed cardinal by Johannes XXIII on 6 June 1411. He had arrived at the council in May 1432.

¹¹ Eugenius had dissolved the council, in a papal bull "*Quoniam alto*" of 12 November / 18 December 1431. Bolstered by the determined opposition of the pope's own legate, Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, the council, *on February 15 [1432], in its second session, ... affirmed as its own the principle of superiority of council over pope that had been enunciated at Constance, and it declared that it could not be transferred or adjourned even by the pope ...* (Gill, p. 44). *... The situation was becoming serious for Eugenius ...* (Gill, p. 44). *Six alone out of twenty-one cardinals remained still faithful to Eugenius (ibid., p. 45).* Later Eugenius gave in to the council in the bull "*Dudum sacrum*" of 1 August 1433, but the council fathers remained angry and suspicious of the pope. It was in this situation that the cardinals at the council held the meeting reported by Piccolomini.

[260 cont] ... voluisset enim Julianum surrogari, timebatque Nicolaum sanctae crucis - “Quid ,” inquit, “super electione Eugenii disputamus? Aut male electus est, et successorem inquirere oportet, aut bene electus, et propter malam vitam deponendus est. Et idem facere convenit, quia insimul conveniamus¹ de successore, priusquam illum deponimus², ne postea simus in electione discordes, fiatque³ error novissimus⁴ pejor priore.” Ad haec Alfonsus, “Nihil opus est,” inquit, “successorem quaerere, quem jam habemus, nam⁵ Nicolaus est verus papa.” Hunc sic dicentem plures secuti sunt. Unde⁶ Placentinus, mox cum⁷ Julianum exclusum audivit⁸, impedivit amplius electionem discuti voluitque procedi per crimina, rursusque alii indignati, ad favorem Eugenii versi, Juliani conatus⁹ impedivere. Sic per inimicos defensus est Eugenius.

[261] Alfonsus paulo post adveniente Caesare Sigismundo diem obiit, dum fumum carbonum nescivit evitare, et apud Cartusiam sepultus est.

¹ convenimus MA

² deponamus HE, MA

³ et fiat MA

⁴ ~~priore~~ seq. V

⁵ omit. MA

⁶ verum MA

⁷ eum X

⁸ exclusum audivit omit. V, X

⁹ juliani conatus : conatus Juliani MA

[260 cont.] He himself wanted Eugenius to be replaced with Giuliano¹, and he feared Niccolò of Santa Croce. “Why,” he said, “are we discussing the election of Eugenius? Either he has been elected improperly,² and we must find a successor [because of the improper election], or he has been elected properly and must be deposed because of his immoral life.^{3 4} All it comes down to is this: we must agree on a successor before we depose him so that we shall not afterwards disagree on the election [of the successor], making the last error worse than the first.” To this Alfonso said, “There is no need to search for a successor, for we already have one, Niccolò.⁵ There is a true pope!” Several of the others agreed with him. But when Piacenza heard them exclude Giuliano, he prevented any further discussion of [Eugenius’ improper] election and wanted, instead, to proceed with [Eugenius’] crimes.⁶ But the others became angry and went back to supporting Eugenius, thus opposing the endeavours of Giuliano.⁷ Thus it came to be that Eugenius was defended by his adversaries.

[261] Shortly afterwards, when Emperor Sigismund had arrived in Basel,⁸ Alfonso died from coal fumes that he could not avoid.⁹ He was buried in the Carthusian monastery.^{1 2}

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini

² Castiglione is probably here referring to the affair of Cardinal Capranica. Capranica had been appointed cardinal by Pope Martin V (a Colonna) in 1423/1425 (?), but the appointment had been kept secret (*in petto*). At the conclave following Martin’s death, the cardinals did not allow him to participate in the conclave, presumably because he was a supporter of the Colonna clan, and they did not want him to be able to vote for another Colonna pope in the person of the cardinal-nephew, Prospero Colonna. Capranica arrived in Basel on 15 April 1432 (with Piccolomini as one of his secretaries) to appeal his case to the council. Gill, p. 45: *He gave an additional handle to the Fathers to use against the Pope, for he claimed that his exclusion from the conclave of 1431 invalidated Eugenius’ election, because Martin V had imposed the penalty of excommunication and loss of rights on any cardinal who did not recognise and allow his full participation in all the privileges of his rank.*

³ “malam vitam”. The last option had been preferred at the Council of Konstanz, when the Fathers drew up a list of the crimes and immoral life of Johannes XXIII (Pope of the Pisan line) as the basis for his deposition as pope. Cardinal Castiglione, who was at that council, too, had probably contributed to drawing up the list.

⁴ Thus, Castiglione sketched two different strategies for deposing Pope Eugenius: to invalidate his election or accuse him of immorality. The immorality argument might not be convincing since Eugenius was generally considered to have high personal morals (see Piccolomini’s oration “*Audivi*” to the council fathers of 16 November 1436, in which he mentioned Eugenius’ *holy life ... his piety, his clemency, his fairness, his sense of justice, and his goodness* [Sect. 34]). Therefore an accusation against the legitimacy of the election might be more apt. Still, it presented the difficulty that the crime of preventing Capranica from participating in the conclave would not have been Eugenius’ personal crime (since he was only one of the cardinals) but a crime involving the cardinals (as a group) who participated in the conclave, including the cardinals then in Basel.

⁵ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati.

⁶ Aiming at his deposition. This tactic postponed the discussion of the successor, making it possible for Cardinal Castiglione to work, in the meantime, for the candidacy of Cardinal Cesarini and against the candidacy of Cardinal Albergati.

⁷ Piccolomini here clearly states that Cardinal Cesarini himself was manoeuvring to become Eugenius’ successor. This was also rumoured at the papal court in 1432, see letter to Cesarini from Poggio Bracciolini of 31 December 1432: *Illud vero pre ceteris me excruciat quod a malivolis, ut puto, disseminatur in curia, te tantam curam istius concilii suscepisse, ut exinde papa fias, atque adeo mentibus nonnullorum hec opinio infixata est, ut avelli nequeat. Sunt qui hanc suspicionem rationibus augeant, sunt qui id longe a tua virtute abesse contemnant* (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 151).

⁸ After his imperial coronation in Rome, Sigismund arrived in Basel on 11 October 1433 and left again on 14 May 1434. Alfonso Carillo died on 14 March 1434

⁹ He died of carbon poisoning, presumably staying in a room with a bad chimney.

41. Albertus, Ernesti filius

[262] {87r} Albertus, Ernesti filius, post obitum patris ducatum in Bavaria suscepit. Hujus amita regina Bohemiae fuit, uxor Venceslai, quondam Romanorum regis, qui propter desidiam imperium³ amisit. Nutritus est hic Albertus in Bohemia sermonemque et mores gentis didicit.

[263] Vivente adhuc patre mulierem ignobilem, forma pulchram et super omnes insignem dilexit, quam etiam in uxorem cogitavit, tam perditae amavit eam. Quid enim non suadet⁴ amor? Illa, ubi se diligi a principe vidit, superbiens⁵ nec patrem⁶ nec matrem suam dignabatur intueri, nec enim se amplius⁷ ex illis natam credebat, dum tanti principis connubiis uteretur. Sed Ernestus, ubi filium deperire vilis mulieris amore perpendit et ab omni nobilium abhorrere matrimonio, misso extra patriam Alberto feminam apud Strobiam⁸ in Danubio submergi mandavit: dura prorsus sententia hominem occidere, ut homo vivat. Sed illam fortasse spreto parentum crimina sic vocabant⁹. Dolor ingens Alberto fuit, sed postea conjugem ex domo Brunsvicensium duxit, insignem forma feminam moribusque venustam, talem tamen, ut virum blandis¹⁰ alloquiis et arte muliebri devictum¹¹ regeret, ex qua sobolem procreavit.

[264] Is vir est in musicis peritus cantuque plurimum¹² oblectatur, sed nulla major ei voluptas est quam venatio. Lupis inimicus est. Mansiunculas in¹³ arboribus construit atque in modum stabularum¹⁴ ordinat. Ibi pronus cum sagittis delitescit adescatusque¹⁵ lupos¹⁶, ubi adesse multitudinem videt, tensis nervis¹⁷ bestias ferit ac sic hieme tota, dum nives sunt, horrescuntque frigora, suum tempus deducit. Domi tamen justitiam administrari praecipit nec vel¹⁸ minimo subdito injuriam patitur inferri¹⁹.

¹ Date: The last event mentioned in the text is the death of Carillo in 1434.

² Piccolomini's sources: Most likely, Piccolomini became personally acquainted with the cardinal or would know of him and his activities through common acquaintances and friends.

³ regnum MA

⁴ gaudet MA

⁵ superbius MA

⁶ patrum HE

⁷ enim se amplius : amplius enim se X

⁸ Straburgum MA

⁹ vocabant HE

¹⁰ blandulis MA

¹¹ muliebri devictum : devictum muliebri MA

¹² multum MA

¹³ mansiunculas in *omit.* X [blank space]

¹⁴ stabularum MA

¹⁵ adescatisque HE, MA

¹⁶ lupos HE, MA

¹⁷ arcubus MA

¹⁸ ulli MA

¹⁹ injuriam patitur inferri : inferri patitur injuriam X

41. Albrecht III, Duke of Bavaria-Munich

[262] Albrecht,^{1 2} son of Ernst,³ became duke in Bavaria upon his father's death. His aunt⁴ was the the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenzel,⁵ once King of the Romans, who lost the Empire because of sluggishness and apathy. Albrecht was brought up in Bohemia and learned the language and ways of that people.

[263] While his father was still alive, he fell in love with a low-born but extraordinarily beautiful woman,⁶ whom he even thought of marrying,⁷ being madly in love with her. Love can make you do do anything! When she saw herself loved by the prince, she became presumptuous and did not deign to see her father or mother, and she no longer thought she could be their child, being treated as a wife by such a great prince.⁸ However, when Ernst saw his son completely infatuated with this low-born woman and rejecting marriage with any noblewoman, he sent Albrecht away⁹ and had the the woman drowned in the Donau at Straubing.¹⁰ It is harsh to sentence someone to die so that another may live. But maybe it was her own crime of rejecting the parents that brought her to this [end]. Albrecht grieved terribly, but later he took a wife from the House of Braunschweig.¹¹ She was a beautiful woman with exquisite manners and knew how to rule a man with sweet words and womanly arts. Albrecht sired children from her.

[264] Albrecht loved music and greatly enjoyed singing, but his greatest pleasure was hunting. He is a veritable enemy of wolves. He has huts built in trees, furnished as a chamber. There he lies concealed, and when he has lured the wolves there with food and sees a number of them, he draws the bowstring and shoots the animals. Thus, he spends the whole winter, when there is snow and horrible cold. At home, he demands justice to be administered strictly, and he does not allow even the lowest of his subjects to be harmed.¹²

¹ Albrecht III (Wittelsbach) (1401-1460): Duke of Bavaria-Munich from 1438 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Mittermüller and Rall.

³ Ernst (Wittelsbach) (1373-1438): Duke of Bavaria-Munich from 1397 to his death.

⁴ Sophia Euphemia von Bayern (Wittelsbach) (1376-1428): Married King Wenzel of Bohemia in 1389.

⁵ Wenzel IV (Luxembourg).

⁶ Agnes Bernauer (ca. 1410-1435): Traditionally considered to be the daughter of an Augsburg barber-surgeon, Kaspar Bernauer, but this is not certain..

⁷ Albrecht probably did marry Agnes, in 1432, in a secret (morganatic) marriage.

⁸ This description of Agnes and the rejection of her parents is based on rumour, or it may be a literary fabrication by Piccolomini to somehow justify her death.

⁹ On a hunt in Landshut.

¹⁰ Ernest had her arraigned on charges of witchcraft and condemned to death by drowning, 12 October 1435. Note the similarity with the story of Eleanor Cobham, sect. 249.

¹¹ Anna von Braunschweig-Grubenhagen (1415-1474): Married Albrecht III von Bayern-München on 22 January 1437.

¹² See also a similar description of Albrecht in Piccolomini's *Europa*. 142 (Brown, p. 194).

[265] Ad hunc¹ Alberto, Romanorum rege, qui et Bohemiam tenuit, defuncto oratores Bohemiae cum quadringentis equitibus venerunt eumque regem suum petiverunt tum propter linguae peritiam, tum propter affinitatem, tum propter domus suae nobilitatem. Sed is magna usus moderatione regnum se, inquit, acceptare nolle, in quo jus alius haberet, nec se rursus haereticis imperare posse respondit. Credo etiam sibi magis quietem placuisse. Forsitan etiam² regnum exhaustum {87v} refutavit, quod si more primo dive³ fuisset, forsitan aliter respondisset.

¹ ad hunc : ad huc V; adhuc MA

² sibi magis ... etiam *omit.* MA

³ diu X; dives HE, MA

[265] After the death of Albrecht,¹ King of the Romans, who was also king of Bohemia, Bohemian ambassadors came to this Albrecht with 400 knights and offered him the kingship² because of his knowledge of their language, the family relationship, and the nobility of his house. But he, with great modesty, said that he would not accept a kingdom to which another had the rights.³ Moreover, he could not rule over heretics. Personally, I believe that he also preferred peace and quiet. And maybe he refused the kingdom because it was impoverished. Had it been rich - as in former times - he might have answered differently.⁴

¹ Albrecht II (Habsburg).

² 23 June 1440.

³ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Son of Albrecht II. Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia, King of Hungary.

⁴ In his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 464) wrote this account of the episode, including an intervention by Friedrich III: *Albertus, Baioarie dux, maiore procerum voto rex declaratur, qui apud Venceslaum quondam nutritus Bohemice lingue non ignarus erat. Mittuntur ad eum primores regni ... Fridericus ... missis ad Albertum Baiorarium nuntiis hortatur ne regnum sibi alienum usurpare presumat ... Albertus ea virtute atque animi moderatione usus est, que, postquam reges esse coepere, rarissima semper fuit. Nam venientibus ad se Bohemorum legatis amplum et nobile regnum offerentibus gratias egit, qui se unum ex omnibus elegissent, cui parere vellent, dignumque tanto imperio iudicassent. Multa se idcirco debere Bohemis atque id unquam beneficii oblivioni daturum. At cum regis Alberti soboles extet, indecorum esse cum alterius iniuria regnum querere. Paternam hereditatem nulli auferendam. Qui pupillos suo iure dispolient, diis atque hominibus invisos, poenas aliquando patrati scleris dare. Cognovisse se non vano rumore foedus antiquum inter Bohemos et Austriales extare, deficiente masculino sobole principem ne foris assumant. Fidem servari pulchrum. Ne cui temere noceatur, cavendum. Scelestam execrabilemque vocem illorum, qui regnandi cause ius violandum astruunt. Atque ita maiorem se spreto regno monstravit, et si verum fateri licet, clarissimum egit regem. Nam regnum apud eos est, qui spernunt, non qui cupiunt.*

[266] Cum propter ecclesiam Frisingensem lis inter Johannem Grunengualder, qui creatus¹ erat per Felicem cardinalis ac frater² illegitimus ducis Ernesti credebatur, et Henricum Slik³ esset^{4 5}, Johannem illum adeo juvit, ut non solum Gaspari Slik⁶, Henrici⁷ fratri, sed etiam Friderico, Romanorum regi, minaretur, compaternitatisque vinculum, quod cum eo⁸ habuit propter sanguinem, sanguinem, contempsit. Ad extremum vero Gaspari reconciliatus justitiam currere⁹ permisit. Hic etiam per eundem Johannem, qui tunc vicarius erat Frisingensis, unus et primus omnium contra protestationem principum Alamaniae oboedientiam publice Felici praestitit, eaque res Johannem ad cardinalatum provexit.

¹ jam *add.* MA
² *corr. ex* filius V
³ Slilz MA
⁴ essent V
⁵ contentio *add.* V, X
⁶ Slilz MA
⁷ Henrico MA
⁸ *em.*; Gaspere *codd.*
⁹ curre V

[266] In the conflict about the Church of Freising¹ between Johann Grünwalder² (who was made a cardinal by Felix³ and was thought to be the illegitimate son of Duke Ernest) and Heinrich Schlick,⁴ Schlick,⁴ he helped Johann. He even threatened not only Kaspar Schlick,⁵ Heinrich's brother, but also Friedrich,⁶ King of the Romans,⁷ despite their family relationship. In the end, he was reconciled with Kaspar and let justice run its course. Under the persuasion of this Johann, then vicar general of Freising,⁸ he was the first and only [German prince] to publicly declare obedience to Felix, despite the declaration [of neutrality] of the German princes.⁹ This is what earned Johann the cardinalate.^{10 11}

¹ The conflict opposed Johann Grünwalder and Heinrich Schlick. Eventually, Johann took possession of the diocese, while Heinrich was given a pension. See Piccolomini's oration "*Si putarem*" of 4 April 1444 (COR, I, 5).

² Johann Grünwalder (1393-1492): Illegitimate son of Johann II, Duke of Bavaria-Munich. Half-brother of Ernest, Duke of Bavaria Munich. Bishop of Freising. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

³ Antipope Felix V.

⁴ Heinrich Schlick (ca. 1400-1448): Appointed Bishop of Freising by the pope in 1443 but never gained actual possession of the diocese.

⁵ Kaspar Schlick (ca. 1390-1449): Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire under emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II, and Friedrich III.

⁶ Friedrich III (Habsburg).

⁷ Threatening letters were sent to the emperor by Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria-Munich, nephew of Grünwalder, and to some of the imperial courtiers. Piccolomini himself thought that such letters had been requested by the chancellor's enemies at court.

⁸ Albrecht III declared obedience to Felix V about 1440, by which time Grünwalder had taken possession of the Bishopric of Freising. However, in the official list of prince-bishops of Freising, Heinrich Schlick figures as such from 1443 to 1448 and Johann Grünwalder from 1448 to 1452.

⁹ Piccolomini refers to the Declaration of Neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel made by the German prince-electors on 17-18 March 1438.

¹⁰ Date: the last event referred to in this section is connected with the Freising succession conflict in 1443-1444.

¹¹ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini did not have a personal acquaintance with Albrecht but would be well informed about him as a secretary first of antipope Felix V, who made Albrecht's nephew a cardinal, and later as an imperial official and close collaborator of Chancellor Schlick, especially in connection with the Freising affair.

42. Ludovicus de Virtemberg

[267] Ludovicus in domo de Virtemberg cum fratre Ulrico¹ diu regnavit concordique more patriam gubernavit. Horum² pater saepe potuit illustrari princepsque fieri, cum Sigismundo Caesari multum servivisset eumque ad Hispanias sociasset.³ Sed respondit: “Malo comes magnus esse quam parvus princeps.” Ludovicus in juventute admodum enormis fuit, libidini ac voluptati deditus, sed ubi uxorem duxit, mores mutavit alterque vir effectus multa probitatis ostendit indicia. Hi fratres viros doctos et praesertim theologos diligunt, quorum consiliis in rebus magnis utuntur.⁴ Alberto duci Austriae contra Suicenses non modica auxilia praestiterunt.

[268] Domus horum antiqua est. Ex his unus fuit, qui vocatus Ratisponam ad Caesaris curiam vestem bipartitam fecit: mediam ex ostro, mediam ex lorica⁵ perfecit, cumque Caesar eum alloqueretur verbaque blanda daret, latus ostreum praeferebat, cum minae inferebantur, loricam⁶ opponebat, ac sic quasi inconstans videbatur idque sibi recedenti inter suos Caesar imputabat. Sed consilarii rem animadverterunt dixeruntque Caesari, “Comitis animum sicut res⁷ ostendit; nam ille post discessum, quia⁸ non bene visus fuerat, plures imperii civitates igne succendit.” Fuerunt plura bella inter domum de Virtemberg et civitates Sueviae semelque⁹ adeo afflicta domus fuit¹⁰, ut perditis omnibus solum unum castrum remanserit, cum quo tamen illi¹¹ dominia¹² omnia vendicarunt.

¹ Henrico X, MA; Ulricus *corr. ex.* Henrico V

² Henrici MA

³ comitatus fuisset MA

⁴ quorum consiliis ... utuntur *omit.* MA

⁵ lana MA; lanea X

⁶ loneam X; laneam MA

⁷ est *add.* MA

⁸ quod MA

⁹ semperque MA

¹⁰ domus fuit : fuit domus X

¹¹ *omit.* X

¹² demum MA

42. Ludwig, Count of Württemberg

[267] Ludwig of the House of Württemberg^{1 2} has reigned long together with his brother Ulrich,³ governing their country in harmony. Since their father⁴ had given great service to Emperor Sigismund and accompanied him to Spain,⁵ he could often have been given the title of Illustrious⁶ and made a prince, but he said, “I will rather be a great count than a little prince.” In his youth, Ludwig was extremely fat and given to lust and pleasure, but when he married, he changed his ways, became another man, and proved to be quite decent. The two brothers value learned men and especially theologians, whose counsel they use in important matters. They provided numerous troops to Duke Albrecht against the Swiss.⁷

[268] Their House is ancient. When one of them was summoned to the emperor’s court in Regensburg, he ordered a double coat to be made, one half made of purple cloth and the other of mail. When the emperor spoke pleasantly to him, he turned the purple side towards him, and when the emperor spoke threateningly, he turned the mail side towards him. Thus he appeared capricious, and when he had left, the emperor criticised him to his counsellors. But they had observed his behaviour and told the emperor, “The count showed his real intentions in this way, for since he was treated disagreeably, he burnt several imperial cities after he left.” There were many wars between the House of Württemberg and the cities of Swabia. Once the House was brought so low that they had lost all except one castle, but from that one castle they regained all their dominions.^{8 9}

¹ Ludwig I (Württemberg) (1412-1450): Ruling Count of Württemberg from 1426 and of Württemberg-Urach from 1442 to his death.

² For a general biography, see Deigendesch.

³ Ulrich V (Württemberg) (1413-1480): Co-ruling Count of Württemberg from 1433 to his death.

⁴ Eberhard IV (1388-1419): Count of Württemberg.

⁵ In 1416, Emperor Sigismund travelled to Perpignan, then under the Crown of Aragon, to meet with antipope Benedict XIII, to persuade him to abdicate, freeing the way for the Council of Konstanz to end the Great Western Schism.

⁶ On the title of Illustrious, see also sections 45 and 229.

⁷ 1444-1446 see sect. 253.

⁸ Date: The last event mentioned is Duke Albrecht VI’s campaign the Swiss in 1445-1446, to which the Württembergs contributed.

⁹ Piccolomini’s sources: Piccolomini may have known the Württemberg’s at the imperial court. Otherwise, his sources would have been common acquaintances at the court and official correspondence.

43. Johannes Giskra

[269] {88r} Johannes Giskra nobili loco apud Moravos natus relictis paternis¹ opibus² militiam secutus est ac nunc in Italia, nunc in longinquiribus provinciis armorum officio se exercens³, postquam etiam ultramarina loca perlustravit, Hungariam cum tribus tantum famulis ingressus est. Ubi cum⁴ modo⁵ Sigismundo Caesari, modo Alberto Romanorum regi serviens contra Turchos plura⁶ suae virtutis experimenta ostendens, in clarum virum evasit, atque cum prius sub aliis ducibus⁷ militaret, ipse postmodum dux exercitus factus est, namque cum defuncto Alberto ab regina conjuge Ladislaoque⁸ ejus puero Hungari deficerent Polonumque regem sequerentur⁹, hic solus ex omnibus ducibus, qui arma in Hungaria tenebant¹⁰, intrepido animo menteque stabili mansit in fide regisque Ladislai partes tutatus est, ex qua¹¹ praemium illud¹² meruit, ut omnium exercituum ejusdem regis dux crearetur, tum per reginam Elizabet, tum per Fridericum Caesarem, ipsius regis tutorem, sibi ac suo regimini quam multae trans Danubium civitates et ipsa aurifodinarum caput Cremitia committerentur.

[270] Plura huic¹³ adversus rebelles Hungaros bella fuere, sed tam ei dextera coeli conjuncta fuit, ut saepe cum quingentis sexcentisque bellatoribus sex milia octoque milia hominum fugarit¹⁴. Innumerae illi insidiae structae fuerunt, quas tum viribus, tum prudentia vitavit, mira namque eum semper felicitas comitata est.

¹ patriis X

² ~~eum~~ seq. V

³ exercuit MA

⁴ cum *omit.* HE

⁵ ~~eum~~ seq. V

⁶ plurima MA

⁷ juribus MA

⁸ Ladislao MA

⁹ et *add.* MA

¹⁰ tenebat V

¹¹ quo MA

¹² illum V, X

¹³ hinc X

¹⁴ fugaret MA

43. Jan Jiskra, Mercenary captain

[269] Jan Jiskra^{1 2} was born of a noble family in Moravia. Turning his back on his family's wealth, wealth, he entered a military career. Fighting now in Italy, now in faraway regions, he even visited overseas places.³ Later, he came to Hungary - with just three servants. There, he served Emperor Sigismund and later Albrecht,⁴ King of the Romans, against the Turks, giving many proofs of his valour. He became famous, and, having fought previously under other commanders, he became a commander himself. When upon Albrecht's death⁵ the Hungarians defected from his wife, the queen,⁶ and Ladislaus,⁷ her son, and followed the King of Poland,⁸ he was the only captain in Hungary who stayed unshakeably and firmly loyal in support of King Ladislaus'⁹ cause. He was rewarded with the command of all the said king's troops. Also, Queen Elizabeth and Emperor Friedrich, the king's guardian, entrusted to him and his rule many cities on the other side of the Danube, including Kremnica, the main city of the gold mining area.

[270] He fought many battles with the Hungarian rebels. Heaven's right hand was always with him, and he often, with just 500 or 600 soldiers, put 6,000 or 8,000 men to flight.¹⁰ Many traps and ambushes were laid for him, but he escaped them with a mixture of strength, cleverness, and - always - amazing luck!

¹ Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and military commander.

² For a general biography, see Edler von Janko. See also Oslanský.

³ Oslanský: *He did not learn the military craft only on the soil of his native country, but probably also in Italy and possibly Poland. He is said to have served in sea battles on the side of the Venetians.*

⁴ Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁵ 1439.

⁶ Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

⁸ Wladyslaw III (Jagiello).

⁹ In a letter to Archbishop Dionys Szécsy of Gran, from the beginning of October 1445, pleading for Hungarian recognition of Ladislaus as King of Hungary, Piccolomini wrote, recommending Jiskra, ... *Giskram, qui ejus partes indefesso animo semper defendisti* (WO, I, 1, ep. 189, p. 557-558).

¹⁰ In a letter from Kaspar Schlick to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, from the beginning of July 1443, Piccolomini wrote ... *in visceribus regni Hungariae Giskra Bohemus, manu promptus et consilio potens baro, cum una legione strenuorum militum pro rege Ladislao continuas pugnas faciens, cui nemo adhuc resistere potuit* (WO, I, 2, ep. xxiv, p. 45). And in his *Germania*, from 1458 he would later write, *nec minor his Johannes Gischa Boemus, qui gubernatorem Hungariae Johannem Huniatem, fama clarum et magnis fultum copiis, sepe cum parva militum manu fudit* (Schmidt, II, 26, p. 64).

[271] Hic cum novam Austriae civitatem petivisset suum regem visurus Ladislaum ejusque in conspectu foret, ac tum pulchritudinem, tum gravitatem pueri contempleretur, lacrimari coepit et voce submissa “Heu! Quot,” inquit, “labores tui causa subivi! Quot adivi pericula! Quas sum passus insidias! Utinam eo¹ aetatis venias, in quo fideles qui tibi fuerint, possis intelligere. Me quidem semper habebis.” Aderat forte Johannes, sive gratia² regis camerae magister sive exquaestor, dixitque puero: “Hic tui exercitus tui ductor est, serenissime rex; quin³ tu illi stipem tradis?” Sex annorum erat puer, atque ut exquaestorem audivit, nec ipse marsupium haberet, arrepta⁴ ipsius quaestoris bursula sex aereos nummos recepit⁵ Giskraeque tradidit, quos ille⁶ filo suspensos aureo collo suo suspendit continuoque sic defert, ajens se in eo nosse puerum, si vixerit, liberalem⁷ futurum.

¹ et X; et *add.* MA

² sive gratia *omit.* MA

³ quam MA

⁴ arrepta MA

⁵ accepit X

⁶ ipse X

⁷ libertatem MA

[271] He came to Neustadt in Austria to see his king, Ladislaus.¹ When he entered his presence and saw the boy's beauty and dignity, he began to cry and sighed, "Alas! How much trouble I have had in your cause! How many dangers I have encountered! How many plots I have suffered! I hope you will reach an age when you may know who were loyal to you. I shall always be your man." By chance, Hans,² by the king's grace master of his chamber or treasurer, was present and said to the boy, "This man is the commander of your army, Most Serene King. Why not give him something as payment?" The boy was six years old. When he heard the treasurer and did not himself have a purse, he grabbed the treasurer's and took six coins which he gave to Jiskra. Jiskra hanged them on a golden neck chain that he still carries, saying that by this sign he knew the boy would be generous in the future if he lived.^{3 4}

¹ In 1446.

² Hans I Ungnad.

³ In a letter to Bishop Leonard Laiming of Passau, from 28 October 1445, Piccolomini had already given this description of Jiskra's meeting with Ladislaus: *Jam Giskra Bohemus, rerum omnium gnarus, antequam Cesar in campo foret, Novam Civitatem intraverat et quae facturi essent Hungari predixerat. Is presentiam regis Ladislai desideravit, ad quem cum venisset puerulumque conspexisset, collacrimatus est et, heu quantos inquit, pro te labores subii, quot adivi pericula, quantum sanguinis perdi. Sed tu hec per etatem non intelligis. Utinam tantum mihi vite detur, quod tu sensa eloqui possis et qui tibi cum fide serviverunt cognoscere. Nonnullaque munera puero contulit. Tum Johannes, magister camerae imperialis, qui tunc forte aderat, hic, inquit, serenissime princeps, diu tuas partes in Hungaria tutatus est. hic tuus dux, tuus tutor, tuus defensor tuusque rector est. Cur non sibi stipendium prebes? Ad hec puellus, divino quodam spiritu ductus, apertis oculis, qui juxta filacterias Johannis pendebant, sex nummos recepit Giskreque tradidit, quos ille filo aureo ad collum suspendit et usque in hanc diem ob memoriam puerilis liberalitatis secum defert* (WO, I, 1, ep. 192, p. 568).

⁴ In his HB (Hejnic/Udolph, p. 478-483) Piccolomini wrote about this episode: *Inter quos Georgius cognomine Giscra, armorum gloria clarus, qui partes eius unus ferme in Hungaria defenderat. ... Is ubi ad conspectum regis intromissus est apud Novam Civitatem, quo in loco tunc aderamus, astantibus plurimis illachrymans Ladislai manus exosculatus in hunc modum verba fecit: 'Video te tandem teneoque, mi rex. O si scires, que pericula propter te adivi, quibus me laboribus implicuit, quot adverso corpore vulnera excepi. En cicatrices testimonio sunt! Patri ego tibi que vitam devovi. Nulla vis est, nulla fortuna, que alienare animum a te meum possit. Officia mea sola tibi auferet mors. Sed tu hec per etatem non intelligis.' Et subridens: 'Quod ergo mihi premium fidei ac laboris erit? Quod das militi tuo stipendium?' Sextum tunc annum agebat Ladislaus, qui postquam Giscra finem dicendi fecit, oculos huc atque illuc circumvolvens loculos Iohannis, magistri camere, suspiciens ex filateria pendentes, qua ille nummos more Theutonico pauperibus erogandos asservabat, hanc tacitus arripuit. Eratque sex tantum – neque enim plura invenit – illinc deprompta Giscra dono dedit. Admirati omnes pueri factum et liberalem futurum iudicavere. Giscra innexos postmodum auro nummos e collo suspendit regie gratitudinis monumento.*

[272] Cum post haec Giskra in Hungariam se recepisset, {88v} fuerunt inter eum atque Pancratium de Sancto Nicolao plures discordiae tandemque reconciliati amicitias firmarunt, quibus durantibus¹ idem Pancratius fide rupta, nam parvi est fidelem apud Hungaros esse, castellum unum per insidias Giskrae furatus est. Hic Pancratius ex parvo non virtute, sed furtis atque rapinis in virum magnum crevit societatemque maximam cum Ursatio Michaele, quem Sigismundus Caesar ex luto sublimaverat in coelum, habuit. Sed ambo infideles haeredi Sigismundi fuerunt immemoresque beneficiorum. Ob quam² rem Ursatius magnum dominium³, quod habuit in Gunza⁴, cum latrociniis intenderet⁵, perdidit multumque humiliatus⁶. Hi ambo in partibus regis⁷ Poloniae fuerunt, Ladislao inimici. Pancratius oppidum Calexii ab praeside Gasparis⁸ Slilz, qui ibidem erat, parvo⁹ pretio emit emit ibique postea latrocinia fecit, ob quam rem suis quoque Polonis coepit molestus esse, vocatusque Budam captus est, atque, ut liberaretur, filium se dare obsidem promisit, fecitque ad se venire rusticum suo filio persimilem, quo suo loco dimisso recessit. Inde post paucos dies compertum est subpositum fuisse rusticum, quod Pancratius non negavit dicens licitum sibi fuisse decepisse illos, qui eum sub salvo conductu captivaverant. Rusticus autem dimissus fuit.

¹ quibus durantibus : quarum durantibus V; quarum MA

² ~~eum~~ seq. V

³ damnum MA

⁴ Gaza MA

⁵ intercederet MA

⁶ est *add.* HE, MA

⁷ regni MA

⁸ Gaspare MA

⁹ *omit.* MA

[272] Returning to Hungary, Jiskra had many conflicts with Pongrác from St. Nicholas.¹ In the end, they became reconciled and confirmed their friendship, but later Pongrác broke faith with Jiskra – Hungarians care little about loyalty – and stole a castle from Jiskra by deceit. This Pongrác became a great man through theft and robbery. He was very close to Mihály Orszhág,² whom Sigismund had raised from the gutter to the skies. But both were disloyal to Sigismund's heir³ and forgot his kind deeds towards them. Because Orszag engaged in robberies, he lost the large domain he owned in Gunz and was much humiliated. Both of them were partisans of the King of Poland⁴ and enemies of King Ladislaus.⁵ Pongrác bought the town of Kaloz cheaply from Kaspar Schlick's governor there and later went plundering in that area, thus causing trouble for his Poles. He was summoned to Buda and arrested. To be released, he promised his son as a hostage. He then had some peasant come to him who greatly resembled his son, handed him over in his place, and left. After some days, they discovered the substitution. Pongrác did not deny it but said that he had the right to deceive them since they had arrested him despite his safe-conduct. The peasant was sent away.

¹ Pongrác za Sv. Mikulás [Pankraz von Holitsch] [Halitsch] (-1461): Military commander from Moravia, like Jiskra. Piccolomini knew him personally, having, in 1443, been sent on a imperial mission with him to Trieste, cf. sect. 165. In his *Historia Austriales*, Piccolomini wrote about him: *Cesar, post mortem Filippi [Visconti, 1447], cum res Austriae turbarentur, nam Pancratius ex Hungaria frequentes in Austria rapinas exercebat, decrevit hominem corripere, quamvis sedem in alieno regno haberet. Collecto exercitu Vlricum Comitem Cilie ei prefecit, qui admotis opido, quod vocant Caloxum, machinis intra paucos dies et opidum in deditionem accepit et Pancratium ad pacem compulit suorum dominiorum parte multatum. Hic Pancratius ex parvo apud Sigismundum cesarem creverat. Post cuius mortem latrocinii intentus et Hungariam et Austriam infestavit, nulli amicus nullique fidus. Sed Ulricus eum correxit, quamvis adhuc fortunam ferat suis sceleribus inconvenientem* (HA, I, pp. 80-81).

² Mihály von Gut Orszhág (ca. 1410-1484): Hungarian noble. Influential court official under Emperor Sigismund.

³ Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁴ Wladyslaw III (Jagiello).

⁵ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

[273] Sed ut ad Giskram revertamur, hic, ubi audivit proditionem Pancratii, mox exercitum congregavit¹ hominum circiter novem milium. Sed cum egredi vellet, nihil aeris habebat, quo suos ex hospitibus liberaret magnaque arte a suis civibus aureos mille quingentos recuperavit. Quibus habitis admodum hilaris egressus in campos, “Nihil,” inquit, “deest armato exercitui; hi gladii nobis victum parant.” Cumque ad eum quamplures equites nobiles cum ex Moravia, tum ex Sclesia confluerent, vocatis omnibus, “Vos,” inquit, “spem habetis magna me vobis stipendia posse largiri; sic enim dignum esset. Sed mihi nihil est nisi ferrum et animus². Ego nunc adversus Pancratium proficiscor³, harum partium praedonem⁴ infidum, crudelem, avarum, qui non solum mihi, sed Alberto ejusque conjugii et filio ac ipsi postea regi Poloniae fidem datam violavit. Hunc⁵ me ulcisci oportet. Si annuntiant superi, quod par est, victoria potiri, {89r} causa namque potior nostra est⁶. Jam nedum stipendia, sed praemia quoque ex me referetis. Quod si aliquid sinistri evenerit, sunt adhuc agri paterni in Moravia, quos distrahi mandavi. Hinc vobis satisfaciam, nec quemquam⁷ vestrum inremuneratum abire a me sinam. Tantum forti animo estote latronemque istum, ut deprimamus, juvate⁸. Vos me et illum nostis. Quis non laetus in bellum eat, quod pro justitia contra infidelitatem sumitur.”

[274] Sic animis militum persuasis castellum Pancratii invadit obsidioneque cingit, ubi adhuc castra tenet; et quamvis sibi continuo dicatur venturos Hungaros cum exercitu, ipse tamen intrepidus perseverat. “Nec,” inquit, “timeo; si Hungari in decuplo majori numero supra⁹ me veniant, non cessabo, nec detrectabo certamen.” Nihil postea, quid secutum sit, scio. Faveat illi Deus.

[275] Giskra mediocris homo staturae est¹⁰, niger, hispidus, laetus, animo vasto, nihil pecuniarum cupidus, prodigalitati quam avaritiae proximior. Cum milites sui saepe stipem peterent, nec ipse pecuniam haberet, nam raro apud eum est, vestem exuit militique dedit. In domo vixit splendide ac fortasse luxuriose. Cum uxorem duxisset episcopi Agriensis, qui regi Polono favebat, neptem ac propterea suspicio mali oriretur, “Stulti sunt,” inquit, “qui non fidem meam secuturam uxorem, sed me ultro secuturum feminam rentur. Non ego tanti unam facio vulvam, ut fidem perdam. Sed hanc ideo duxi, ut episcopum Agriensem alloqui possem confidentius in measque partes trahere; nam me qui mutare retur, frustra laborat.” Agriensis autem, cum in bellum contra Turcos sequeretur regem Polonum, occisus est ac infidelitatis poenam, quam a¹¹ Christianis merebatur, ab infidelibus reportavit.

¹ comparavit MA *

² omit. X [blank space]

³ omit. X [blank space]

⁴ omit. X

⁵ hinc MA

⁶ omit. MA *

⁷ nec quemquam : neque quem MA *

⁸ jurate MA *

⁹ sint MA *

¹⁰ ~~fuit~~ seq. V

¹¹ corr. ex a V *

[273] To return to Jiskra, he, when he heard about Pankraz's betrayal, immediately gathered an army of about nine thousand men. But when he wanted to set out, he had no money to pay for his men's lodgings. With great skill, however, he managed to get 1,500 gold ducats out of his citizens. Then he went to the camp and happily shouted, "Our armed army lacks for nothing; these swords will give us victory." When many noble knights from Moravia and Silesia came to his camp, he summoned them all and told them, "You are hoping that I can give you large salaries, and that would indeed be fair. But I only have a sword and my courage. I now leave to meet Pongrác, a faithless robber from here, cruel and greedy, who has violated his oath not only to me but also to Albrecht¹ and his wife² and son,³ and later also to the King of Poland.⁴ That is the man I shall take revenge of. If the heavenly beings approve, as they should, we shall gain victory, for our cause is strongest. Then you shall have not only salaries but even rewards from me. If something unfortunate should happen, I still have my paternal lands in Moravia, which I have decided to part with. Thus I shall be able to pay you, and I will let no one leave without payment. Just be courageous and help me subdue this robber. You know me and him. Who does not go gladly to war for justice and against unfaithfulness?"

[274] Having persuaded the soldiers, he attacked and besieged Pongrác's castle. He is still camped there, and though people tell him all the time that the Hungarians are coming with an army, he perseveres intrepidly. "I am not afraid," he says. "If the Hungarians come with even ten times as many people as mine, I shall not yield, and I shall not refuse to give battle." I do not know what has happened later. May God favour him.⁵

[275] Jiskra was a man of medium height, dark, hairy, cheerful, very proud, not greedy for money, and closer to prodigality than avariciousness. Once, when his soldiers repeatedly asked for their salary, and he had no money – which he rarely has – he took off his coat and gave it to the soldiers. At home, he lived splendidly, maybe even extravagantly. When he married the niece of the Bishop of Eger,⁶ a partisan of the Polish king, he came under suspicion but said "They are fools who say that my wife will not respect my allegiances and that I shall follow the woman. I am not so enthralled by a cunt that I shall fail my oath. On the contrary, I have married her to be able to speak in confidence with the Bishop of Eger and draw him over to our party. Those who claim that I shall change are bothered without reason." But when Eger followed the Polish king going to war against

¹ Albrecht II (Habsburg).

² Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

³ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

⁴ Wladislaw III (Jagiello).

⁵ This personal pious wish is atypical of the DVI. Maybe it shows that the text has been taken from a letter of Piccolomini's.

⁶ Simon Rozgon [Rozgoni] (-1444): Bishop of Eger (Erlau).

the Turks, he was killed¹ and thus given the punishment he deserved not by Christians but by infidels.^{2 3}

¹ At the Battle of Varna, 1444.

² Date: The later events described in the text happened in 1444-1445.

³ Piccolomini's sources: Piccolomini probably became personally acquainted with Jiskra during his visit to the imperial court in 1446 and was, apparently, quite taken with him. Otherwise, he would know of him from common acquaintances and information available at the imperial court.

III. LIVES OF FOUR POPES

The text is from clm 14134, see Introduction, sect. 2.3.

1. Gregorius XII. (Angelus Corarius)

[300] {105v} Angelus Corarius, cui postea nomen Gregorius XII. fuit, mortuo Innocentio VII., qui Bonifacio nono successerat, summum pontificatum adeptus est. Hic Venetus fuit nobili apud suos loco progenitus. Schisma tunc in ecclesia vigeat, namque cum Gregorius XI. natione Lemovicensis¹, qui apostolicam sedem ex Avinione² Romam reducerat, naturae debitum exsolvisset³, atque Urbanus VI. natione Neapolitanus⁴ per cardinales surrogatus fuisset, Gallici, qui tunc in collegio erant, quia non jure sed vi sors in Urbanum cecidisset, ex curia recedentes cardinalem Gebennensem, qui Clemens VII. est appellatus, in summum pontificem elegerunt, cui postmodum Petrus de Luna, qui Benedictus XIII.⁵ nuncupatus est, in apostolatus administratione successit. Inter Gregorium ergo et Benedictum cum divisa esset ecclesia, per cardinales, qui unioni erant affecti, multum elaboratum est, ut ambo apud Saonam, Liguriae urbem, convenirent paci ecclesiae consulturi.

[301] Quod cum frustra temptatum esset, apud Pisas in Etruria per eosdem cardinales concilium est coactu, in quo tam Benedicto quam Gregorio depositis, quia jurantes pro pace ecclesiae velle papatum cedere jusjurandi religionem neglexerant, Petrus de {106r} Candia, qui vocatus est Alexander, in apostolatus specula est suffectus. Gregorius vero Senas venit ibique diu mansit. Postmodum apud Malatestas sese recepit, cum jam et Germania et Ladislaus, Apuliae rex, ab eo ac tota fere Italia defecisset. Exinde, cum synodus Constantiensis celebraretur, jamque universa illic ecclesia convenisset, Carolum Malatesta, virum praestantem, illuc destinavit ac per illum summo pontificio⁶ cessit, felicius multo, si tunc papatum resignasset, cum illum retinere posse credebatur. At hic, dum hominibus potius cedere vult quam Deo, cardinalis inglorius vitam finivit.

¹ Lemonicensis cod.

² Avione cod.

³ *em.*; exoluisset cod.

⁴ Neopol... *et pass.* Cod.

⁵ *em.*; XII. cod.

⁶ pontifico cod.

1. Pope Gregory XII (Angelo Correr)

[300] Angelo Correr, later called Gregory XII, became Supreme Pontiff after the death of Innocent VII, who followed after Boniface IX.¹ He was a Venetian, born from a noble family. At that time there was a schism in the Church: after the death of Gregory XI² from Limoges, who had brought the Apostolic See back to Rome from Avignon,³ the cardinals had chosen Urban VI⁴ from Naples to succeed him.⁵ However, the French members of the cardinals' college left the curia, and [claiming that] Urban had not been elected legitimately but under duress, they elected the Cardinal of Genève Supreme Pontiff,⁶ who took the name Clement VII. He was later succeeded in the pontificate by Pedro de Luna, under the name of Benedict XIII.⁷ As the Church was divided between Gregory and Benedict, the cardinals who wanted [Church] union endeavoured to arrange a meeting between them in Saona, a city in Liguria, to provide for the peace of the Church.

[301] When this attempt failed, the same cardinals gathered a council in Pisa,⁸ in Toscana, in which both Benedict and Gregory were deposed for the peace of the Church since they had neglected their oath to abdicate from the papacy. Then Petrus of Candia was raised to the summit of the papacy.⁹ He took the name of Alexander¹⁰. Gregory went to Siena and stayed there for a long time. Later, when both Germany, King Ladislaus,¹¹ King of Puglia, and almost all of Italy had defected from him, he took himself to the Malatestas¹². Later again, when the Council of Konstanz¹³ was held, and the whole Church had assembled in that city, he sent Carlo Malatesta, a distinguished man, to Konstanz to announce his abdication from the papacy.¹⁴ It would have been much better for him to resign from the papacy when he was thought to be able to keep it. But since he would rather obey men than God, he finished his life ingloriously as a cardinal.

¹ Bonifatius IX [Pietro Tomacelli] (ca. 1350-1404): Pope (Roman line) from 1389 to his death.

² Gregorius XI [Pierre Roger de Beaufort] (ca. 1329-1377): Seventh pope in Avignon.

³ 1377.

⁴ Urbanus VI [Bartolomeo Prignano] (ca. 1318-1389): Pope (Roman line) from 1378 to his death.

⁵ 8 April 1378.

⁶ 26 May 1378.

⁷ See set. 255-258.

⁸ 1409.

⁹ 26 June 1409.

¹⁰ Alexander V.

¹¹ Ladislaus of Durazzo / Naples.

¹² The Malatesta were the ruling family of Rimini and other territories and cities in Romagna.

¹³ 1414-1418.

¹⁴ 4 July 1415.

2. Johannes XXIII. (Baldassare Cossa)

[302] Baldassar Cossa, qui et Johannes XXIII. est appellatus, Neapolitanus natione fuit, mortuoque apud Bononiam¹ Alexandro, cui legatus ipse praeerat, ad summum pontificatum est assumptus. Is concilium pro pace ecclesiae Romae indictum multis modis conatus est impedire. Fuit enim vir belli quam pacis² cupidior nec religioni affectus nec otio. Cum Sigismundo tamen Caesare apud Laudem, Laudem, Insubriae urbem, convenit ac de celebrando Constantiensi concilio secum transegit. Interea mortuus est Ladislaus, rex Apuliae, qui et Romam et ecclesiae patrimonium occupaverat. Quo nuntio accepto, quamvis instaret Constantiensis concilii dicta dies, Romam tamen petere destinaverat³. Sed monitus per cardinales temporalia per legatos et spiritualia per propriam personam, quia digniora sunt, esse gerenda legatos misit, qui patrimonium ecclesiae vendicarent. Ipse personaliter Constantiam est profectus Friderico tamen, Austriae duce, partes suas conciliato. Postquam vero concilium coactum est, suasum sibi publice est, ut pro pace ecclesiae summo pontificio vellet cedere. Is nunc laudis cupidus annuebat, nunc suorum precibus motus renuebat victusque tandem cupiditate dominandi retinere pontificium decrevit. At⁴ ex Constantia fugiens, Schafhausiam petiit, ubi cum accepisset patres, qui Constantiae manserant, adversus eum⁵ procedere, Brisacum perrexit sperans exinde transmissio Rheno in Gallias proficisci ac Johannis, Burgundionum ducis, auxilio, qui ejus causa equitatum in propinquo habebat, Italiam petere.

[303] At Sigismundus imperator unioni ecclesiae intentus timens, ne fuga istius majoris incendii foret occasio, lata in Fridericum, Austriae ducem, sententia, qui eum juverat, Johannem ipsum apud Brisacum deprehendi fecit. Ac post synodus contra ipsum procedens depositionis sententiam tulit eumque in carceribus, quoad viveret, detinendi pronuntiat, diuque hic⁶ postea in quodam castello supra Rheni ripam per ducem Bavariae, Palatinum electorem, detentus est, donec Martinus papa, qui Constantiae fuit electus, eundem sibi transmitti mandat, ad quem, dum vincitur ducitur, ut erat versutus, aufugit suaque sponte ad Martinum tunc Florentiae manentem profectus est, cujus obvolutus genibus et veniam fugae petivit et pontificatus juri, si quod sibi competebat, denuo cessit, qua humilitate id promeruit, ut ad cardinalatus fastigium rursus assumptus est et Florentiae aliquandiu⁷ post vixerit et ibi mortuus in sacello divi Johannis Baptistae sepultus fuerit. Nec mihi ambiguum est, quin tanta ejus humilitas, si modo vera fuit, cetera ejus vitia, quamvis fuerint ingentia, penitus extinxerit et divinam sibi gratiam reconciliaverit.

¹ Bononium cod.

² *em.*; paucis cod.

³ *em. Märtil*; desinaverat cod.

⁴ ad cod.

⁵ *em. Märtil*; *omit.* cod.

⁶ his cod.

⁷ aliqua diu cod.

2. Pope Johannes XXIII (Baldassare Cossa)

[302] Baldassare Cossa, called Johannes XXIII, was from Naples. When Alexander died in Bologna, whose governor Baldassare had been, he was elected Supreme Pontiff.¹ Thriving on war more than peace and unconcerned about religion and tranquillity, he strove in many ways to prevent a council for peace in the Church, to be held in Rome. Meeting with Emperor Sigismund in Lodi,² a city in Lombardy, he made an agreement with him about holding a council in Konstanz. In the meantime, however, King Ladislaus of Puglia died.³ He had occupied Rome⁴ and the Patrimony of the Church, and when Johannes heard about his death, he decided to go to Rome though the date for the Council of Konstanz was approaching. But the cardinals advised him to leave the temporal affairs to legates and take care of the spiritual affairs himself, for those were the more worthy. Therefore he sent legates to reclaim the Patrimony of the Church while he himself went to Konstanz, having made an alliance with Duke Friedrich of Austria. However, when the council had assembled, he was publicly admonished to abdicate from the papacy for the peace of the Church. First, he assented, eager for praise, but then he refused, at the insistence of his own people, and in the end, he decided to retain the papacy out of a desire for power. So he fled from Konstanz⁵ and went to Schaffhausen. Hearing that the Fathers who had remained in Konstanz proceeded against him, he continued to Breisach, intending to cross the Rhine and enter France. From there he would move on to Italy, with the help of Duke Jean of Burgundy⁶, who for his sake had kept a troop of mounted soldiers in the vicinity.

[303] But Emperor Sigismund wanted Church union and feared that his flight would cause a major conflagration. He, therefore, sentenced Duke Friedrich of Austria for having helped Johannes and had Johannes arrested in Breisach.⁷ Afterwards, the synod proceeded against him, passed a declaration of deposition,⁸ and sentenced him to imprisonment for life. For some time, he was kept by the Palatine elector, Duke of Bavaria,⁹ in a castle on the shore of the Rhine, but then Pope Martin, who had been elected in Konstanz, ordered that he be sent to him. Being a clever man, he managed to flee on the way, though he was in chains, but then he came, on his own will, to Martin in Florence.¹⁰ Kneeling before him, he asked to be forgiven his escape and finally renounced the papacy – if he had still any right to it. This show of humility gained him to be appointed cardinal

¹ June 1409.

² 25 November 1413.

³ 6 August 1414.

⁴ 25 April 1408.

⁵ 20 March 1415.

⁶ Jean sans Peur.

⁷ 20 May 1415.

⁸ 29 May 1415.

⁹ Ludwig III (Wittelsbach) (1378-1436): Count Palatine of the Rhine from 1410 to his death.

¹⁰ This story is unknown to Pastor.

again,¹ and afterwards he lived in Florence for some time before he died² and was buried in the chapel of Saint John the Baptist. I do not doubt that it was his great humility – if only it was genuine – that overcame his vices, though they were great, and regained him the grace of God.³

3. Martinus V. (Otto de Columna)

[304] Otto de Columpna, cui postea Martinus quintus nomen fuit, quamvis nobili loco natus esset, tam pauper tamen in cardinalatus dignitate vixit, ut, nisi soror Paula, quae Plumbinum regebat, sumptus sibi subministrasset, interesse Constantiensi concilio non potuisset. Ac propterea, cum Johanne et Benedicto depositis post cessionem Gregorii quisnam summo pontificio praeficiendus esset, patres investigarent, jamque tres et viginti cardinales ac XXX viri ex nationibus quinque collecti in conclavi essent, nemo in istum, quoniam paupertas abjectum {106v} reddebat, casuram sortem opinabatur. Sed potens est dominus exaltare humiles et superbos dejicere, cujus munere factum est, ut tres et quinquaginta patres in hunc solum consonare potuerint, qui postquam electus est, in annum Constantiae perseveravit ac dissoluto concilio et alio ad quinquennium in Papia indicto Gebennam se transtulit, quo ibi manente grande incendium factum totaque mercatorum via concremata est. Exinde per Papiam ac Mantuam et Ferrariam venit Florentiam, ubi partim delectatus urbis amoenitate, partim necessitate coactus - patrimonium ecclesiae per tyrannos erat occupatum – aliquandiu mansit. Ibi ad eum Johannes, ut supra retulimus, venit et Braccius tyrannus, qui Perusium occupaverat. Sed illum in cardinalem assumpsit, cum isto non potuit, ut voluerat et par fuerat, convenire.

[305] Tres tunc tyranni ex vili natione viribus armorum elevati patrimonium ecclesiae inter se partiti erant, Braccius, Sfortia et Tartalia. Martinus Sfortiam sibi conciliavit ac ecclesiae capitaneum fecit cujus favore Romam repetiit viamque tutam peregrinantibus praebuit. Post Tartaliam a Braccio divisit et a stipendia conduxit, quem demum, sibi sive quod parum fidelem repererat, sive quod male suspicatus est in eo, securi percute jussit. Braccium quoque obsidentem Aquilam et ad urbem

¹ 23 June 1419.

² 22 December 1419.

³ Piccolomini may have read Leonardo Bruni's *De temporibus suis* from 1440-1441, with the following passage: *After his apprehension and abdication, John was kept in prison in Bavaria. Many people, however, felt some uneasiness about whether, since his abdication had been forced, it could be regarded as lawful. Furthermore, these doubts being current, the election of Martin was called in question, since it was not possible to appoint a new pope when the office in the Church was not vacant. Martin was uneasy about these developments and, lest the German princes should be deceived by this false reasoning and should take advantage of it and plot something against him, he arranged to free John and bring him back to Italy. So John was released from prison and came to Lombardy. Martin's intention was that John should be imprisoned permanently at Mantua but, before reaching Mantua, John learned of this plan, escaped and came to Liguria. There, being free and able to act independently, either led by his conscience or by a conviction that his cause was hopeless, he went of his own free will to Florence and, casting himself down at Martin's feet, and acknowledged him as the true and only pope. On his arrival, the whole city wept with remarkable compassion for a man who had fallen so disastrously from such an eminence. He himself also entered the city, looking doleful, and this increased the people's sympathy. Martin was at last moved in John's favour by the city's intercession. John was the first to be made a cardinal, but he survived barely a year* (Bruni: *Historiae* (Hankins), III, pp. 356-357).

venire minitantem¹ per suos duces invasit, conflixit, cepit et vulnere mortuum in campis tamquam excommunicatum sepeliri mandavit, tantaque hujus felicitas fuit, ut, qui rediens in Italia nullum oppidulum in potestate habebat, occiso Braccio totum patrimonium recuperarit. Huic Philippus, dux Mediolani, Forum Lunii² atque Imolam, quas urbes armorum potentia ex manibus tyrannorum receperat, cum essent ecclesiae, ultro restituit.

3. Pope Martin V (Oddone Colonna)

[304] Oddone Colonna,³ later called Martin V, was born from nobility, but as a cardinal he lived in such poverty that he could only participate in the Council of Konstanz because his sister Paola,⁴ ruler of Piombino, paid the costs for him.⁵ So, when, after the abdication of Gregory and the deposition of Johannes and Benedict, the Fathers were considering whom to make pope, and 23 cardinals and 30 men from five nations were gathered in conclave, nobody though the lot would fall on him, being eliminated by poverty. But the Lord has the power to raise up the humble and cast down the proud, and he made it so that the 53 Fathers could agree only on him, who was then elected.⁶ He stayed in Konstanz until the next year. After the council had ended⁷ and the next one indicted, to be held in Pavia after five years, he went to Genève. While he was staying there,⁸ a great fire broke out and destroyed the merchants' street. Then he travelled⁹ via Pavia,¹⁰ Mantua,¹¹ and Ferrara¹² to Florence, where he stayed for some time, partly pleased by the city's charm, partly forced by necessity, for the Patrimony of the Church was occupied by tyrants. There Johannes came to him, as said above, as well as the tyrant Braccio, who had occupied Perugia. Johannes he appointed a cardinal, but with Braccio he could not come to an acceptable agreement.

[305] At that time, three tyrants, lowborn but risen high by force of arms, had divided the Patrimony of the Church between them, Braccio, Sforza, and Tartaglia. Martin made an agreement with Sforza and made him Captain of the Church.¹³ He helped Martin return Rome¹⁴ and made the road safe for

¹ *em.* Märtil; munitatem cod.

² *em.*; Forum Lunii cod.

³ Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1368-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death.

⁴ Paola Colonna (ca. 1378-1450): Married Gherardo Appiani, Lord of Piombino, in 1396. After his death in 1405, she ruled Piombino as regent for her son.

⁵ Piccolomini's – unlikely - story of his poverty as a cardinal is unknown to Bianca and Pastor.

⁶ 11 November 1417.

⁷ 22 April 1418.

⁸ 11 July - 4 September 1418.

⁹ Piccolomini fails to mention his visit to Milan where he arrived on 18 October and consecrated the high altar of the cathedral.

¹⁰ 5 - 12 October 1418.

¹¹ 24 October 1418 - 6 February 1419.

¹² February 1419.

¹³ See sect. 27.

¹⁴ Martin V returned to Rome on 30 September 1420.

travellers.¹ Afterwards, Martin managed to separate Tartaglia from Braccio and hired him as a captain, but in the end, he had Tartaglia executed because he discovered that he had been disloyal and gave cause for grave suspicion.² And when Braccio was besieging Aquila and threatened to come towards the City [of Rome], Martin - through his captains – attacked and took him, and when he died of a wound,³ he ordered him to be buried in the fields as an excommunicate.⁴ Martin's good fortune was so great that he, who when he returned to Italy had not even the smallest town in his power, after Braccio's death recovered the whole Patrimony. Also, Duke Filippo of Milan restored to him Forlì⁵ and Imola,⁶ cities belonging to the Church, which he had taken with arms from the hands of tyrants.

[306] Hic basilicas beatorum Petri et Pauli ruinam minantes admodum reparavit, pontem super Tiberim restruxit, urbem quampluribus aedificiis adornavit pacisque arbiter inter omnes Italiae principes communitatesque fuit. Concilium ex Papia, cum pestis ibi coepisset, in Senam transtulit, quod tamen nec ibi passus est perfici, sed variis artibus dissolvi et aliud in septennium apud Basileam, urbem Germaniae, indici⁷ procuravit. Quod cum jam instaret, Juliano sancti angeli cardinali, quem contra Hussitas legatum destinaverat, facultatem in concilio praesidendi commisit. Hujus felicitatem adumbravit circa finem Bononiorum rebellio, quam nulla sibi potuit vi armorum subigere. Sedit in pontificio annis circiter XIII. Intravit mirifice, rexit utiliter, obiit sancte.

¹ Bianca: *il 6 marzo 1419, su ordine di Giovanna II, Muzio Attendolo sgomberò Roma, aprendo la strada al ritorno del papa in città.*

² 1421. See section 33.

³ 15 June 1424.

⁴ See sect. 37-40.

⁵ Visconti had taken Forlì in 1422 and restored it to the pope on 16 May 1426.

⁶ Romano, p. 132: *Feeling the stress of the forces aligned against him, Visconti reached a peace accord with the pope and restored Imola to him.*

⁷ *em. Märtil; induci cod.*

[306] He restored the basilicas of Saints Peter and Paul, threatened by ruin, rebuilt a bridge over the Tiber, adorned the City with many buildings, and was the arbiter of peace between all the princes and city-states of Italy. Because of the plague, he transferred the council from Pavia to Siena. However, he did not allow it to run its course but dissolved it¹ on various pretexts and indicted another council, to be held after seven years in Basel, a city in Germany. When the time of its opening approached,² he appointed Giuliano³, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, whom he had previously sent as a legate against the Hussites,⁴ as president of the council. Towards the end of his life, his good fortune was overshadowed by the rebellion of Bologna,⁵ which he was unable to overcome by arms. He was pope for almost 14 years. His election was surprising, his government successful, and his death holy.

¹ 26 February 1424.

² 14 December 1431.

³ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁴ The crusade against the Bohemian Hussites in 1431, where the crusade troops were soundly defeated by the Hussites.

⁵ 1428-1429. The rebellion ended with a compromise between the pope and the city of Bologna on the government of the city.

4. Eugenius IV. (Gabriel Condulmarius)

[307] Gabriel Condulmario, qui nunc Eugenius papa quartus appellatur, natione Venetus est, cujus majores ex Neapoli fuisse dicuntur. Hic parentibus conditis, cum esset admodum dives, adhuc adolescens Christi vocem secutus omnia, quae habebat, distraxit ac pauperibus dedit tollensque crucem suam cum Antonio Corario¹ religionem ingressus est diuque panem mendicavit, donec Angelus Corario, de quo supra retulimus, qui papa Gregorius dictus est, Antonium nepotem suum ad Romanam curiam evocavit. Nam cum Antonius absque socio religionem nollet relinquere – plurimum enim se ambo invicem obligabant, aliter diligebant – uterque vocatus est, et Antonius ecclesiae Bononiensi praefectus, Gabriel vero in Senensem episcopum est ordinatus. Simili quoque fortuna et ad cardinalatum ambo proveci sunt, tantaque inter eos animorum concordia, tantaque dilectio invocem fuit, ut ex convictu gemini vocarentur. Gabriel, dum cardinalis fuit, duplici legatione functus est in Piceno atque Bononia.

[308] Ex hac tamen ultima, cum propter familiaritatem Florentinorum et originem Venetam duci Mediolani suspectus esset, praeter opinionem amotus est Romamque rediit, {107r} ubi Martino mortuo summi pontificatus cathedram est adeptus, credo domino disponente, qui dicentibus discipulis, “Ecce reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te. Quid ergo erit nobis?”, “Centum pro uno,” inquit, “accipetis et vitam aeternam possidebitis.” Initia hujus apostolatus turbulenta fuere, nam gravi percussus infirmitate cutem in anguis modo renovavit, ac cum principe Salerni, qui Martini nepos fuit et plurima ecclesiae castra tenebat, ac cum praefecto Vici ac aliis pluribus tyrannis coactus est bellum gerere.

¹ *em.*; Condulmario cod.

4. Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer)

[307] Gabriele Condulmer,¹ who is now called Pope Eugenius,² was born in Venice, but his ancestors are said to have come from Naples. Having buried his parents, he was a wealthy young man but, following the voice of Christ, gave away all his possessions to the poor, and, carrying the cross of Christ,³ became a monk together with Antonio Correr and for a long time begged for his bread. Then the above-mentioned Angelo Correr, called Pope Gregory,⁴ summoned his nephew Antonio⁵ to the Roman curia, but Antonio would not leave his order without his companion – for they were very close and had great love for each other – and, therefore, both were called to Rome. Antonio was made Bishop of Bologna⁶ and Gabriele Bishop of Siena.⁷ The same good fortune advanced them both to the cardinalate.⁸ So great was their spiritual harmony and mutual love that they were called ‘the twins’ because of their closeness. As a cardinal, Gabriele performed two legatine missions, one in Piceno and one in Bologna.⁹

[308] He was recalled from the last one unexpectedly since the Duke of Milan mistrusted him because of his closeness to the Florentines and his Venetian origins. So, he returned to Rome, and when Martin died, he was elected to the see of the supreme pontificate.¹⁰ I am sure it was the Lord’s doing,¹¹ for when the disciples said to him, “*Behold we have left all things, and have followed thee: what therefore shall we have?*”, he said to them, “*you shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting.*”¹² The beginning of his pontificate was tumultuous. He fell seriously ill, shedding skin and growing new skin like a reptile.¹³ He was forced to wage war against the Prince of Salerno,¹⁴ a nephew of Martin who held many castles of the Church, with the governor of Vico, and with many other tyrants.

¹ Pope Eugenius IV.

² Written while Eugenius was alive, i.e. before March 1447.

³ Matth. 16, 24.

⁴ Pope Gregorius XII.

⁵ See DVI, sect. 0.

⁶ He was consecrated bishop on 26 February 1407.

⁷ 1407.

⁸ 12 May 1408.

⁹ 1417-1431.

¹⁰ 3 May 1431.

¹¹ The text was written or revised when Piccolomini had become reconciled with Eugenius, i.e. after 1444/1445.

¹² Matthew, 19, 27.

¹³ Gill, p. 42: *In the midst of all this fighting round Rome, Eugenius was stricken with apoplexy. For many months his life was in danger and, though he did not die, he was left with his right arm and eye paralysed for some time.* The curious symptoms reported by Piccolomini were either based on eye-witness accounts repeated to Piccolomini e.g. by cardinal friends in Basel, or malicious rumour-mongering by conciliar enemies of the pope. In a letter to Cardinal Cesarini of 2 November 1431, Poggio Bracciolini wrote: *curia tenuis est et exilis. Hoc et bello accidit et morbo pontificis nimium longo et multo magis quam expediat nobis; sed in diem meliuscule se habet* (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 132).

¹⁴ Antonio Colonna (-1472): Son of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, brother of Martin V; Giordano Colonna (-1424): Elder brother of Martin V. Prince of Salerno after his uncle, Giordano. Died in 1424.

[309] Tum quoque Basiliense concilium coepit, quod ipse in ejus fere initio dissolvit et Bononiam transferre conatus est. Sed cum patres concilii non assentirent, plurimas perpessus est adversitates, nam et ipse a concilio diversimodo infestabatur, et ipse econtra¹ non minus concilium infestabat. Sigismundus interea Senas venerat ac Romam petere suscepturus imperiales infulas disposuerat., quem Eugenius post magnam discordiam sibi conciliatum in basilica sancti Petri coronavit. Promisit tamen Eugenius Sigismundo Basiliense concilium confirmare, ac Eugenio rursus Sigismundus fidem praebuit, adversus eum ne quid attemptari per concilium permetteret, sicque Sigismundus Basileam reversus tandem operatus est, ut et processus concilii adversus² Eugenium cessarent.

[310] Mox alia est oppressus molestia, conspirantibus namque Romanis et libertatem sibi vendicantibus captus est et in carcere detentus. In quo dum negligentius custoditur, per Tiberim aufugit Florentiamque perrexit, ubi honorifice receptus est ac deinde Bononiam venit. Nec hic finis laborum est, nam cum ad Graecorum reductionem Basilienses essent intenti, nec de loco cum Graecis concordarent, quoniam ipsi vel in Sabaudiam vel in Avinionem trahere illos volebant, Graeci vero solum infra Italiam venire vellent, essentque patres in concilio divisi, et alii Avinionem atque Sabaudiam pro concilio nominassent, alii vero Florentiam vel alium in Italia locum, qui Graecis placeret, Eugenius cum his concordans concilium apud Ferrariam indixit tantumque apud Graecos egit, ut eos ad se Ferrariae manentem venire fecerit, quos exinde postmodum Florentiam secum conduxit et ibi ad unionem ecclesiae Latinae reduxit. Etc.

¹ *em.* Märtl; et contra cod.

² contra Märtl

[309] The Council of Basel had barely begun when he tried to dissolve it and transfer it to Bologna.¹ But when the Fathers did not agree, he experienced many setbacks and failures, for the council obstructed him in various ways, and he, just as much, obstructed the council. In the meantime, Sigismund had arrived in Siena,² intending to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown. After some serious disagreement, they were reconciled, and Eugenius crowned him in the Basilica of Saint Peter.³ Eugenius promised Sigismund to confirm the Council of Basel, whereas Sigismund promised Eugenius that he would not allow the council to act against him. So, when Sigismund returned to Basel,⁴ he obtained the cessation of the council's legal procedures against Eugenius⁵.

[310] Soon, however, Eugenius suffered another misfortune, for when the Romans plotted against him and claimed their liberty, he was taken and put in jail. But being guarded carelessly, he managed to flee on the Tiber⁶ and reached Florence, where he was received honourably, and later continued to Bologna. But this was not the end of his troubles. The Basileans much desired to bring the Greeks back to Church union, but they could not agree on a venue, wanting the Greeks to come to Savoy or Avignon, whereas the Greeks themselves only wanted to go to some place in Italy. The council fathers were divided: some wanted Avignon or Savoy for the council, others wanted Florence or another location in Italy acceptable to the Greeks.⁷ Eugenius agreed with the last party and indicted a council to be held in Ferrara. He managed to persuade the Greeks to come to him in Ferrara⁸ and later brought them with him to Florence, where he achieved their union with the Latin Church. Etc.⁹

¹ 18 December 1431.

² 8 July 1432.

³ 31 May 1433.

⁴ 11 October 1433.

⁵ See sect. 128-129.

⁶ 4 June 1434.

⁷ See introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Audivi*" (1436), in COR, II, 1. See also his letter to Piero da Noceto of 21 May 1437 (WO, I, 1, ep. 25; CPL, I, 25)

⁸ 27 January 1438.

⁹ The etc. refers to an (intended) continuation of the text.

Supplement

From Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447¹

Vix pontificem invenias, sub quo plura et adversa et secunda contigerint. Is concilium congregavit dissolvitque. Is bella quamplurima gessit, vicit atque succubuit. Sententiam depositionis sub nomine concilii adversus se perpessus est et 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 ignorantibus legem dedit. Adversus Turcas classem misit legatoque Juliano in Hussitas potestatem praebuit. Sigismundo Caesari prius bellum intulit, post diadema concessit. Archiepiscopos episcoposque dignitate privavit, nec cardinales nec electores imperii reliquit intactos. Sanctum Nicolaum de Tolentino canonizavit. Romae captus est, fugit, rediit. Marchiam perdidit recuperavitque. Braccium in agris jacentem excommunicatum mortuum absolvit sepulturaeque restituit. Penestre solo aequavit. Johannem Vitellescum sublimem fecit, post capi jussit, qui mortem in carcere obiit. Bononiam recuperavit, post amisit. Regi Aragonum infensus fuit, post regnum illi confirmavit. Venetorum prius amicus, exinde suspectus haberi coepit. Alti cordis fuit, sed nullum in eo majus vitium fuit, nisi quia sine mensura erat et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit aggressus est.

¹ CRDM, 1, sect. 39.

Supplement

From Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447

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 a 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 the power to deal with the Hussites. He first made war against Emperor Sigismund and then gave him the crown. He deprived archbishops and bishops of their office, and even cardinals and electors of the empire he did not leave untouched. He 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 and let him have a Christian burial. He razed Palestrina to the ground. He raised Giovanni Vitelleschi to high position and later had him arrested, to die in prison. He regained Bologna and afterwards lost it again. He fought the King of Aragon and later confirmed him as the ruler of the Kingdom [of Naples]. He was first a friend to Venice but later came to be suspect to them. He had a noble soul and no major vice, except that he did not know any measure and undertook not what he could but what he wanted to.

IV. LIVES OF FOUR EMPERORS

See Introduction, sect. 2.4.

The text is collated from

- **B** = Basel D IV 10 (formerly E III 10), ff. 100v-104v [original pagination] (lead manuscript)
- **V** = Ottobon. lat. 1863, ff. 153r-154r.

{153v} Notandum est quod subsequentes quatuor imperatores reverendus pater et dominus, dominus Aeneas, Senesis civitatis episcopus, ambasiator Frederici tertii imperatoris missus dare oboedientiam Calisto tertio, anno Christi 1456, apposuit, qui tandem ab eodem factus cardinalis et post mortem ejus electus in papam Pium secundum Romae 1458, XIX. Mensis Augusti.¹

1. Rupertus III.

[401] Rupertus² ex domo Bavariae prognatus, deposito ab electoribus imperii, quia rempublicam negligeret, Venceslao³, imperium suscepit. Sed dum coronam suscepturus Romam petere conatur⁴, ingressus Italiam cum exercitu a Johanne Galeazio, Mediolanensium⁵ duce, qui Venceslai partes fovebat⁶ et ab eo ducatus honore donatus, victus proelio in Germaniam redire compulsus est, ubi maerore tabescens non diu postea morbo correptus ingloriam⁷ vitam finivit, cum imperasset annis XII.

¹ notandum est ... Augusti **V**; Aeneas Silvius prius, postea vero Pius papa II. finita cronica Romanorum imperatorum et regum domini Benevenuti laureati poetae, cancellarii principis Baduani, consequenter describit subscriptis quatuor reges et imperatores stilo et verbis subsequentibus **B**

² Robertus *et passim* **B**; Rubertus *et passim* **V**

³ Venceslaus **V**

⁴ conatus **V**

⁵ Mediolanensi **B**

⁶ favebat **B**

⁷ in gloriam Künzle

{153v} Note that the [lives] of the following four emperors were added by the reverend father and lord, lord Enea, Bishop of the city of Siena, ambassador of Emperor Friedrich III, sent to present [the emperor's declaration of] obedience to Calixtus III in the year of Christ 1456. Later he was appointed cardinal by Calixtus, and after his death, he was elected pope as Pius II in Rome on 19 August 1458.

1. Emperor Ruprecht III¹

[401] Ruprecht, who descended from the House of Bavaria, became emperor when Wenzel was deposed by the imperial prince-electors for neglect of the state.² However, when Ruprecht attempted to go to Rome to receive the crown and had entered Italy with an army, he was defeated in battle by Duke Gian Galeazzo of Milan, who supported Wenzel and had been granted the ducal dignity by him. So, Ruprecht was forced to return to Germany. There, he wasted away in bitter grief and shortly afterwards fell ill and finished his inglorious life, having ruled for 12 years.

¹ See DVI, sect. 115. Here, Piccolomini got the chronology right (Ruprecht succeeded Wenzel directly) but did not mention the short interlude of Jobst of Moravia after Ruprecht's death.

² "rem publicam"

2. Sigismundus

[402] Sigismundus¹, Karoli² IV. filius, Venceslai germanus, rex Hungariae, mortuo Ruperto Romano³ suscepit imperium⁴. Pugnavit in Turcos {153v} haud feliciter. Ad Johannem papam XXIII. usque Laudam venit, ut Constantiense concilium congregaret. In Galliam, in Hispaniam, in Angliam pro pace ecclesiae iter fecit. Tris⁵ de summo pontificio contententes dignitate privari et Martinum quintum unicum Christi vicarium indubitatum assumi curavit. Cum haereticis in Bohemia plura bella infeliciter gessit. Vladislaum⁶, Poloniae regem, restituere fratribus Theutonicis Prusciam compulit, quam armis ademerat. Vitoldo, Lituaniae duci, coronam misit, sed ille, antequam nuntii ad se venirent, obierat. Marchionatum Brandeburgensem ad se devolutum Friderico, burgravio Nurembergensi, contulit. Argentinenses in episcopum rebellantes gravi pecuniae⁷ summa⁸ mulctavit. Dalphino Viennensi et duci Burgundiae frustra minatus est. Italiam secundo ingressus, cum Mediolanum venisset, Philippum ducem videre non potuit. Cum Luca Senas⁹ iter faceret, a Florentinis copiis¹⁰ molestias passus est. Senis XI mensibus mansit, liberalitate liberalitate civium sustentatus. Cum Alfonso, rege Aragonum, plura in Eugenium IV. temptavit. Denique reconciliatus papae ab eodem Eugenio coronatus est¹¹ in basilica sancti Petri, et Venetorum egressus est amicus, quorum¹² intrarat¹³ Italiam inimicus. Franciscum, Mantuae dominum, ad marchionatus honorem evexit¹⁴. In Basilea prohibuit patres, ne papae insultarent. Recuperavit Bohemiae regnum, et in Snoima, Moraviae oppido, sacro igne vexatus interiit, cum imperasset annis 27¹⁵. In Alba Regali apud Hungaros sepultus est.

¹ secundus *add.* B

² Caroli V

³ Romano B

⁴ imperio B

⁵ tribus B

⁶ Ladislaum V

⁷ pecunia B, V

⁸ *omit.* V

⁹ tenas B

¹⁰ copias B

¹¹ *omit.* B

¹² quamquam B

¹³ intraret B

¹⁴ trexit B

¹⁵ cum imperasset ... 27 *omit.* V

2. Emperor Sigismund¹

[402] Sigismund, son of Karl IV, brother of Wenzel, and King of Hungary, became Emperor of the Romans after the death of Ruprecht. He fought unsuccessfully against the Turks. He met with Johannes XXIII in Lodi to summon a Council at Konstanz. He travelled to France, Spain, and England for the sake of peace in the Church. He arranged for the deposition of three men contending about the supreme pontificate and the election of Martin V as the only and undoubted Vicar of Christ. He waged several unsuccessful wars against the heretics in Bohemia. He forced King Wladyslaw of Poland to return Prussia, conquered in war, to the German Order.² He sent a [royal] crown to Duke Vytautas of Lithuania, but Vytautas died before his envoys arrived. When the Margravate of Brandenburg devolved to him, he conferred it upon Burgrave Friedrich of Nürnberg. He fined the citizens of Strassbourg a large sum for having rebelled against their bishop. He threatened the Dauphin of Viennois and the Duke of Burgundy but in vain. Entering Italy a second time, he could not meet with Duke Filippo when he arrived in Milan. Travelling from Lucca to Siena, he was obstructed by Florentine troops. He remained in Siena for 11 months, entertained through the generosity of the citizens. Together with King Alfonso of Aragon, he plotted much against Eugenius IV, but in the end, he was reconciled with the pope and crowned by Eugenius in Saint Peter's Basilica. He came to Italy as an enemy of the Venetians and left as their friend. He raised Francesco, Lord of Mantua, to the dignity of margrave. In Basel, he forbade the Fathers to attack the pope. He regained the kingdom of Bohemia and died of anthrax in Znojmo, a city in Moravia, having ruled for 27 years. He is buried in Székesfehérvár in Hungary.

¹ See DVI, ch. 22.

² "fratribus Theutonicis"

3. Albertus II

[403] Albertus secundus¹, Austriae dux, Sigismundi gener, mira felicitate subito elevatus infra VI menses Hungariae ac² Bohemiae regna³, deinde imperium⁴ consecutus est⁵. Fugavit ex Hungaria Turcos, Hussitas in Bohemia coercuit, Polonosque⁶ inde abegit. Sed qua⁷ celeritate crevit, eadem et⁸ et⁸ defecit. Peponibus enim⁹ in Hungaria delectatus dissenteriam incidit, ex qua in¹⁰ II. imperii anno anno mortuus apud socerum sepultus est relicta uxore praegnante, ex qua Ladislaus, rex¹¹ Hungariae ac Bohemiae natus est, qui hoc anno apud Pragam non sine suspitione sumpti¹² veneni XVIII natus annos¹³ interiit.

¹ *omit.* V

² et B

³ ac *add.* B

⁴ deinde imperium : imperium deinde B

⁵ et *add.* B

⁶ Polonos B

⁷ quia felicitate seu B

⁸ *omit.* B

⁹ eum V

¹⁰ *omit.* B

¹¹ *omit.* V

¹² simplici B

¹³ anno B

3. Emperor Albrecht II¹

[403] Albrecht II, Duke of Austria, Sigismund's son-in-law, had the amazing fortune of gaining, within six months, the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia and the Empire. He drove the Turks from Hungary, subdued the Hussites in Bohemia and afterwards expelled the Poles. But then he disappeared, as quickly as he had risen. Having enjoyed some watermelons in Hungary, he fell ill with dysentery of which he died, in the second year of his rule. He was buried beside his father-in-law. He left a pregnant wife, from whom was born Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia. He died this year in Prague in his 18th year, not without suspicion of poisoning.²

¹ See DVI, ch. 23

² 23 November 1457

4. Fridericus III

[404] Fridericus III., et ipse Austriae dux, defuncto Alberto suscepit imperium. Ivit¹ Jerosolimam, priusquam imperaret. Cum germano Alberto [et²] comitibus³ Ciliae feliciter pugnavit. Imperator factus, cum Germanos neutralitate gaudentes et⁴ divisam ecclesiam reperisset, et nationem suam ecclesiae {154r} Romanae parere et conventiculum Basileae congregatum abire jussit, unde secuta est unio ecclesiae. Cum Hungaris bello gesto aliquot eorum castella armis obtinuit, ab eis quoque damno haud modico affectus est. Uxorem sibi ex Portugallia accivit⁵ Leonoram, regio sanguine et moribus inelytam honestis, quae secum Romae a Nicolao papa V. coronata⁶ est. Duxit in Italiam secum et Ladislaum, Hungariae ac Bohemiae regem, et⁷ magnam nobilitatem. Regem Aragonum apud Neapolim visitavit. Borsum, marchionem Estensem, Mutinae ac Regii ducem fecit. Pugnavit infeliciter cum Australibus tutelam regis ab eo repetentibus. Nunc quoque cum Alberto fratre et Sigismundo patruale de ducatu Austriae contendit.

¹ in B

² *em.*

³ et comite B

⁴ *omit.* V

⁵ *omit.* V

⁶ coronatus B

⁷ ac B

4. Emperor Friederich III¹

[404] Friedrich III, also a Duke of Austria, became emperor after Albrecht's death. Before taking up government, he went to Jerusalem. He fought successfully with his brother Albrecht and the counts of Cilly. When he became emperor, he found the Germans enjoying their neutrality and the Church divided. [Later,] he ordered his nation to obey the Roman Church and the puny assembly² in Basel to disband,³ which resulted in Church union. He waged war against the Hungarians and conquered some of their castles, but he also took considerable damage from them.⁴ He fetched his wife, Leonora, from Portugal, distinguished by her royal blood and excellent character. She was crowned together with him in Rome by Pope Nicolaus V.⁵ He brought with him to Italy both King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia and a great many nobles. He visited the King of Aragon in Naples. He made Marquess Borso d'Este Duke of Modena and Reggio. He fought unsuccessfully against the Austrians when they demanded the wardship over the king from him.⁶ Now he is fighting with his brother Albrecht and cousin Siegmund about the Duchy of Austria.

¹ See DVI, ch. 24.

² "conventiculum".

³ 1447.

⁴ 1445.

⁵ 1452.

⁶ 1452.

V. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES IN OTHER WORKS

1. Albrecht III von Brandenburg, Margrave

From Germania, II, 26 (Schmidt, p. 63)

[500] Quanta est Alberti, marchionis Brandeburgensis, gloria, sive fortitudinem hominis sive prudentiam exigit! Is ab ipsa pueritia in armis educatus pluribus interfuit bellis, quam alii fortasse legerint. Militavit in Polonia, Sclesia, Pruscia, in Bohemia, in Austria, in Hungaria. In omni ferme Germania nullus est angulus, quem non calcavit armatus. Duxit exercitus copiosos, prostravit ferocissimos hostes. Cum Norimbergensibus novem bella gessit, in octo victor, in uno victus, in quo proditione deceptus quamvis paene captus videretur, fortuitum tamen periculum subita superavit industria. In congressibus iniit pugnam, victor ultimus excessit de proelio. Ad singulare certamen saepius invitatus numquam non stravit hostem. In ludo, quo solo tecti clipeo acutis sese lanceis impetunt, septies et decies cucurrit semper victor. In oppugnationibus urbium saepe prius murum ascendit. Quibus ex rebus non injuria Theutonicus appellatur Achilles, nec profecto quemquam novimus, quem nostra sibi praeferat aetas ne dicamus aequet. Neque enim in hoc homine tantum militares artes et imperatoriae virtutes singulari quodam modo relucet, sed nobilitas generis, proceritas corporis, venustas faciei, facundia linguae et virium robur admirabilem efficit.

1. Albrecht III von Brandenburg, Margrave¹

From Germania, II, 26

[500] How great isn't the glory of Albrecht, margrave of Brandenburg, whether you consider his strength or prudence? From childhood, he was trained in the use of weapons, and he has participated in more wars than others have read about. He has fought in Poland, Silesia, Prussia, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary. In all of Germany, there is almost no area where he has not marched under arms. He has led large armies and defeated ferocious enemies. He has fought nine wars against the people of Nürnberg - the victor in eight and the loser in one, in which he was betrayed and almost caught by treason but was saved from the threatening danger by a sudden energetic effort. In battles, it was he who opened the fight and was the last to leave, as a victor. Often challenged to duels, he always defeated his enemy. He ran 17 times in tournaments, where they attack with sharp lances and are only protected by a shield, and was always victorious. When storming cities, he was often the first to climb the wall. Therefore, he is justly called the German Achilles,² and, indeed, we know of nobody whom this age could prefer to him or even consider as an equal. Military skills and talents of leadership shine forth in this man, but also his family's nobility, his physical stature, his handsomeness of face, his eloquence, and his strength make him admirable.³

¹ Piccolomini intended to include a chapter on Albrecht III of Brandenburg in his DVI, see Introduction, sect. 2.1.1.

² Indeed, Pius himself was the first to call Albrecht Achilles, and he had done so publicly at the imperial diet of Wiener Neustadt in 1455, in the oration "*In hoc florentissimo*": *And what shall I say about the German Achilles, so willing, so ready, so eager to protect the Church, both in Regensburg and in Frankfurt? You ask: Who is this Achilles? It is Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, that remarkable light of Germany, whom I designate as Achilles. I could have called him Hector – so greatly does he resemble that Trojan with regard to riding, battles, counsels and indomitable spirit – but I feared to belittle this unvanquished prince by giving him the name of a defeated hero. For we know that Hector was defeated in battle whereas the bravery of Margrave Albrecht has always given him victory even in the greatest and most perilous battles.* (COR, V, 22, sect. 4).

³ In his oration "*Si sacrosancto*" (March 1459) to the German ambassadors, Pius II said of Albrecht: *The second Albrecht is the brother of Margrave Friedrich. We better remain silent on his outstanding excellence so as to not to exceed the limits of a response. But this We shall not omit: he has fought more wars and obtained more victories over his enemies than anyone would believe credible. Therefore, when We had not yet attained high rank and lived in Germany, We heard him being called Achilles by men who were specialists in military matters* (COR, VII, 38, sect. 4).³ See also Pius II's oration to Albrecht, "*Advenisse te citius*" (December 1459) (COR, 9, 53, sect. 2).

2. Everso d'Anguillara, Count

From Commentarii, II, 13 (Heck, I, pp. 127-128)

[501] Hic, quoniam Euersi mentio incidit et sepe hujus hominis faciendus est sermo, pauca de ipso dicenda sunt, ut intelligant posterum cum quibus monstris Pio pontifici concertatio fuerit. Anguillaria uetus est oppidum quattuordecim milibus passuum ab Vrbe distans, lacui adiacens, qui propter anguillarum capturam oppido nomen dedit. Hoc sibi nobiles quidam ex Germania profecti uendicauerunt, qui successu temporis dominatu et opibus aucti comites tandem Anguillarie dicti sunt et Vrsinorum familie federibus et amicitia coniuncti. Horum domus nostra etate ad duos fratres redacta est, quorum alteri Dulcis fuit nomen, Euersus alteri. Dulcis, rei bellice apprime peritus, multis facinoribus nobilitatus, relictis duobus filiis excessit e vita; Euersus nepotum tutelam iniit, etsi predonis magis quam tutoris personam gessit, cui nihil dulcius fuit quam rapere. Assuetus in armis non minus consanguineis et amicis quam hostibus nocuit; romani pontificibus, quamuis dominis suis, semper infensus. Sui tenax, alieni cupidus. De religione, de deo nihil sentiens. Mundum casu regi et mortales animas dictitans, hominum eque ac iumentorum. Blasfemus ac crudelis, cui tam facile hominem occidere quam pecudem fuit. Ad captiuorum cruciatum quos oderat durissima et prius inaudita excogitauit tormenta. Subiectos predis ac furtis aluit, qui uellent in armis seruire; reliquos durissimo attriuit imperio, quos, sex dierum suorum agrorum cultura fatigatos unde soluto censu uiuerent, septima quaque die ut sibi laborarent coegit; que iccirco dominica diceretur, quia domino esset obnoxia; dominum autem seipsum esse aiebat. Uxores eorum et filias in palatium rapiens prostituebat, stupris et adulteriis cuncta permiscens. Neque incestus caruit infamia, tanquam pudicitie filiarum illuserit. Filios sepe numero euerberauit ac ferro impetiit. Ecclesiarum bona diripuit. In audaces timidus¹, fortis aduersus ignauos. Laboris et inedia patiens, cum fuit necessum; ubi quies data est, temulentus et uorax et uoluptatibus seruiens. Vrsinorum relicto federe Columnensibus iunctus est, cum de successione comitis Taliacozii cum illis non conueniret; diuque bellum inter Vrsinos et ipsum agitatum est euentu uario. Tandem indutie in annos triginta facte sunt. Nepotibus Anguillariam, que fuerat eorum hereditas, abstulit occasione recepta, quod Vrsinorum parti fauerent.

¹ timidus?

2. Everso d'Anguillara, Count

From Commentarii, II, 13 (Meserve, I, pp. 251-253)

[501] Here, as we have mentioned Everso and as we shall have cause to speak of him again in this work, it is necessary to say a little about him, so that later generations may understand with what monsters Pope Pius had to contend. Anguillara is an ancient town some fourteen miles from Rome. It overlooks a lake where people fish for eels, and it is from them that the town derives its name. Long ago, it was captured by a group of high-born German invaders; over time they grew rich and powerful and eventually were styled the counts of Anguillara. Ties of friendship and formal treaties bound them closely to the Orsini. In our day, the house was reduced to two brothers named Dulcio and Everso. Dulcio was a skilled commander, renowned for his many exploits; he died leaving two sons. Everso took responsibility for his nephew's welfare, but he acted more like a bandit than a guardian, for nothing gave him greater pleasure than plunder. A practised soldier, he made war on his kinsmen and friends as often as he attacked his foes. To the popes, though they were his lords, he was always hostile. He held his own possessions tenaciously and greedily craved those of others. He cared nothing for religion or God, and often maintained that the world was ruled by chance and the souls of men and beasts alike were not immortal. He was blasphemous and cruel and could kill a man as easily as he could a sheep. In order to prolong the agonies of captives he despised, he devised excruciating and unspeakable tortures. Those subjects of his who were willing to serve in his army he supported by plunder and theft; the rest he crushed under the most oppressive tyranny. Exhausted as they were from tilling their fields six days a week in order to pay their tribute and scrape together a living for themselves, he forced them to work for the seventh day for him; this was called *domenica* because it belonged to the Lord, and the lord, he said, was he. He raped their wives and daughters in his palace; he constantly indulged in adultery and fornication and was even accused of incest, as if the chastity of his own daughters meant nothing. He often flogged his sons and threatened them with his sword. He plundered the goods of the churches. Against brave men he was a coward; against cowards he was brave. When necessary he could endure hunger and toil, but in times of peace he was a gluttonous drunkard, a slave to appetite. He withdrew from his alliance with the Orsini and joined the Colonna because he could not agree with the former over who should succeed the count of Tagliacozzo. His war against the Orsini raged for a long time, with varying results until at last they made a truce for thirty years. He seized Anguillara from his nephews, although it was their rightful inheritance, on the grounds that they favored the Orsini.

3. Borso d'Este, Duke

From Pius II: Commentarii, II, 39 (Meserve, I, pp. 360, 361)

[502] Borsius egregio corpore fuit, statura plus quam mediocri, crine pulchro et aspecto grato; multiloquus auscultavit se ipsum dicentem, ut qui sibi magis quam auditoribus placeret. Multa in ejus ore blandimenta commixta mendaciis. Magnificus ac liberalis videri magis quam esse cupiebat, quamvis Federicum caesarem Romam euntem atque inde redeuntem magnis honoribus ac donis prosecutus fuerit, a quo Mutinae comitatum in ducatum erigi et se ducem creari, ut ante diximus, obtinuit. Uxorem numquam duxit, venationi magnam operam dedit. Statuam sibi viventi in foro erexit, quae sedens jus dicere videretur; adjecti sunt et tituli, quos palpans adulatio excogitavit; nihil enim Borsio laude fuit dulcius. Coemit lapillos pretiosos quamplurimos, et numquam non gemmis ornatus in publicum prodiit. Suppellectilem domus ditissimam cumulavit, argenteis et aureis vasis etiam ruri usu.

3. Borso d'Este, Duke

From Pius II: Commentarii, II, 39 (Meserve, I, pp. 362, 363)

[502] Borso was a handsome man, taller than most, with beautiful hair and an attractive face. A garrulous talker, he liked the sound of his own voice and he spoke to please himself not those who heard him. In his mouth, blandishments mingled with lies. He wanted to appear magnificent and generous – rather than genuinely to be so. Still, when Emperor Frederick passed through Ferrara, first on his way to Rome and then again on his return, Borso lavished him with honours and gifts and thereby persuaded him to raise Modena from a country to a duchy and make him duke, as we mentioned earlier. He never married; most of his energy went into hunting. In his lifetime, the citizens erected a statue in the piazza representing him seated and administering justice; the inscription dripped with flattery, for Borso loved nothing so much as praise. He bought as many precious stones as he could and never appeared in public without jewels. He furnished his household extravagantly, and even in the countryside he ate of gold and silver plates.¹

¹ See also the very negative letter, Pius II sent to Borso, censuring him for his passivity in the pope's crusade project (Pius II: *Orationes* (Mansi), III, pp. 120-141).

4. Calixtus III, Pope [Alfons de Borja]

From Europa [1458], sect. 240-244 (Heck, pp. 249-253)

[503] Calistus III ... beati Petri cathedram obtinuit, natione Hispanus, ex regno Valentie nobili genere natus, unus omnium, qui suo tempore scientiam iuris profiterentur, eminentissimus et qui consilium regis Alfonsi, in quo multis annis presederat, illiusque artes ac cautiones pre se ferret. Is ut primum pontificatus apicem adeptus est, mox animum ad delendam Turcorum et legem et gentem conuertit uotumque uouit ad eam rem sollemne. Misit in Galliam, in Germaniam, in Hungariam, in Orientem legatos primarios sancte romane ecclesie cardinales, e quibus nullus adhuc rediit. Alanum tamen cardinalem Sancte Praxedis, magno ingenio virum, et animo securi et potenti, propediem e Gallia reuersurum putant. Naualia, quod antea inauditum fuerat, Rome constituit; triremes quamplures ad ripam Tiberis in ciuitate Leonina parauit, armauit, in Turcos misit. Comitem Jacobum Picinimum Senensibus, ut dictum est, armis insultantem misso milite suo repressit. Regi Alfonso quaerenti ab eo, quo pacto inuicem uicturi essent, 'Regna sua' respondit 'ipse regat; mihi summi apostolatus relinquat.' Ueras eorum multis de rebus dissensiones magna pars Italie simulatas confictasque credit; qui fidem dedere contentioni alii Calistum, alii Alfonsum, alii utrumque accusauere, quorum alter regem, sub quo natus esset, alter summum sacerdotem, cui tamquam uicario Dei parendum est, ferre non posset. Bis cardinales a Calisto creati sunt: primo tres, ex quis duo nepotes eius fuere, quorum etsi fuit etas aliquanto minor quam tanta dignitas uideretur exposcere, doctrina tamen et circumspectio et morum suauitas id honoris haud iniuria consecuta censetur; tertius fuit Iacobus de Portugalia regio sanguine natus, in quo ea modestia, ea grauitas, id acumen ingenii, id studium litterarum, is amor uirtutis emicuit ut, quamuis iuuenis adhuc, tardius tamen opinione omnium ad eam dignitatem ascenderit. Secundo loco sex assumpti sunt haud profecto indigni, si me unum demas, tanto munere; meo tamen iudicio nulli dignius id honoris obuenit quam Ioanni episcopo Zamorensi, civilis sapientie cognitione sublimis, qui uno de quadraginta annis romanam secutus curiam per omnia ferme officia castus innoxiusque transierat. Cancellariam uero, que a tempore Nicolai uacauerat, Calistus nepoti suo Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano cardinali ac Marchie legato commisit. Germanum eius Petrum Borgiam, egregia spe atque indole iuuenem, ecclesie militie ducem prefecit; exin prefecturam Urbis ei commisit.

4. Calixtus III, Pope [Alfons de Borja]

From Europa [1458], sect. 240-244 (Brown, pp. 269-233)¹

[503] After him,² Calixtus III obtained the throne of St. Peter. He was Spanish in origin, born of a noble family in the kingdom of Valencia. He was the most eminent of all jurists in his time and had presided for many years over the council of King Alfonso, whose skills and circumspection he displayed in his own person. No sooner had he risen to the summit of the papacy than he turned his mind toward destroying the religion and race of the Turks, and he made solemn vow to that effect. He sent the leading cardinals of the Holy Roman Church as legates to France, Germany, Hungary, and the East, of whom none has yet returned. However, people think that Alain,³ cardinal of Santa Prassede, a very talented man with a confident and powerful mind, will return from France any day now. He built shipyards in Rome, a thing previously unheard of, and on the bank of the Tiber in the Leonine City he constructed and armed a great many galleys which he launched against the Turks. When Count Jacopo Piccinino attacked the Sieneese in force (as I have described) , the pope restrained him by sending his own troops. When King Alfonso asked how they were going to get along with one another, he replied, “Let Alfonso rule his own kingdom and leave to me the control of the supreme apostolate.” A large part of Italy believed that their genuine disagreements on many matters were feigned and fabricated; among those who thought their rivalry was real, some blamed Calixtus, some Alfonso, some both, inasmuch as one of them could not endure the king whose subject he had been by birth, the other the supreme pontiff to whom he owed obedience as the vicar of God. Calixtus twice created cardinals. On the first occasion he named three, of whom two were his nephews.⁴ Although they were somewhat younger than seemed appropriate for such rank, their learning, discretion, and attractive characters are held to have justified this honor. The third was Jaime of Portugal,⁵ a scion of royal blood, conspicuous for such modesty, such seriousness, such shrewd intelligence, such scholarly zeal, and such love of virtue that, although he was still a young man, everyone thought that he rose too slowly to that rank. On the second occasion, six cardinals were chosen, who were by no means unworthy of such high office – with the sole exception of me. However, in my opinion, no one deserved this honor more than Juan,⁶ bishop of Zamora, an eminent authority on civil law, who throughout thirty-nine years of attending the Roman Curia had remained pure and blameless in the performance of almost all its duties. Calixtus assigned the

¹ This text was written by Cardinal Piccolomini when Calixtus III was still alive and the cardinals appointed by him were Cardinal Piccolomini’s colleagues.

² Nicolaus V.

³ Cardinal Alain de Coëtquis.

⁴ Luis Juan del Milla and Rodrigo de Borja.

⁵ Cardinal Jaime de Portugal.

⁶ Cardinal Juan de Mella.

chancery, which had been vacant since the time of Nicholas, to his nephew Rodrigo, the cardinal of San Nicola in Carcere and legate of the Marches. He also placed the man's brother, Pedro de Borja, a young man of splendid promise and disposition, in command of the church's army; subsequently, he entrusted to him the prefecture of the city.

[504] Ludouico cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum, et ipsi quoque nepoti, legationem bononiensem demandauit. Vincentium natione Hispanum et Osmundum Anglicum miraculorum fama illustres inter sanctos redegit. Legatos in Scythiam, in Persidem, in Ethiopiam misit, qui christianos per Orientem in fide continerent et aduersus religionis hostes armarent. Scanderbechio in Albania multisque aliis per Greciam Turcorum bello laborantibus pecuniaria subsidia largitus est. Transfigurationis Dominice festum instituit et celebrari publice iussit. Assumptionem suam priusquam pontifex maximus eligeretur, pluribus annis predixit; cladem quoque, quam Turci apud Albam in Hungaria sustinuerunt, antequam fieret, uaticinatus est. Nunc quoque de futuris multa et magna promittit; que diuina pietas non abnuat uelim. Mortuo Ioanne comite Taliacotio, qui e prosapia Vrsinorum fuit, cum mascula ei soboles nulla esset, Vrsini hereditatem eius propinquitatis iure ad se traxerunt. Id egre tulit comes Euersus, cuius filio nupta esset unica Ioannis filia. Uentum est ad arma. Columnenses comiti Euerso auxilium prebuere. Deinde hortante pontifice Prosper cardinalis, Martini V Romani quondam sapientissimi et felicissimi pape nepos, eius gentis honoratissimus et litterarum studio late clarus, cognationem suam bello subtraxit. Inter Vrsinos et Euersum usque hodie impacate durant inimicitie. Latinus Sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli cardinalis, illustris Vrsinorum familie princeps, dexterrimo uir ingenio, iuris scientia et animo, qui alta curet, parua despiciat, insignis, ex Vrbe profectus ad oppida sua concessit, tamquam Rome non se satis tutum existimaret, siue comitis insidias ueritus, siue pontificis indignatione commotus; nec reuocatus in hanc usque diem reuerti uoluit. Calisto inter omnes cardinales duo ad hoc usque tempus imprimis auditi atque accepti fuerunt: Wilhelmus Rothomagensis, ameno ingenio et sanguinis origine clarus, ac Petrus Sancti Marci, Eugenii IV nepos, patricia apud Venetos gente natus et industria potens, siue quod eorum consiliis multum inesse crederet, siue quod alterum Francie regnum, alterum Venetorum rem publicam ducere posse arbitratus est. Simonem Romanum, philosophie studiis et arte medica excellentem, adeo dilexit, ut fratrem eius Jacobum episcopum feretranum, quamquam uirtute prestantem, sua potissimum consideratione rubeo galero donauerit. In audiendis legationibus priuatorumque hominum causis antecessorum suorum facilitatem longe superauit. Epistolas et regibus et amicis per se ipsum dictauit. In signandis supplicationibus libens et hilaris tempus absumpsit. De iure interrogatus percupide respondit; leges canonesque tam ei fuerunt in promptu quasi heri aut nudius tertius scolam iuris primum exiuisset; nihil enim memoria sua excidit, quod retinendum existimauit. Ceterum nulla facultas ei iuris cognitione potior uisa est, in qua ipse ita excelluit, ut suorum precessorum, qui sibi possit equari, uix unus aut alter inueniatur.

[504] To Luis,¹ cardinal of the Santi Quattro Coronati, who was one of his nephews, he assigned the legation of Bologna. Among the company of the saints, he enrolled Vincent² of Spain and Osmund³ of England, who were celebrated for their miracles. He sent legates to Scythia, Persia, and Ethiopia to keep Christians of the East within the faith and arm them against the enemies of religion. He paid subsidies to Skanderbeg in Albania and many others in Greece who were suffering from the war with the Turks. He instituted the festival of the Transfiguration of Our Lord and ordered it to be celebrated in public. He predicted his elevation several years before he was chosen pope and also prophesied the defeat which the Turks sustained at Belgrade in Hungary. Even now he promises many great things for the future, which I hope that the goodness of God will not deny. On the death of Count Giovanni of Tagliacozzo, who came from the stock of the Orsini, the Orsini claimed his inheritance by right of kinship, since he lacked male offspring. This vexed Count Everso⁴, whose son was married to Giovanni's only daughter, and a violent struggle ensued. The Colonnas lent their assistance to Count Everso. Then, at the urging of the pope, Cardinal Prospero,⁵ the nephew of Martin V – a most sagacious and successful pope in his time - who was the most respected man of that family and widely renowned for his scholarship withdrew his kinsfolk from the war. To this day, the unfriendly feelings between the Orsini and Everso remain unassuaged. Cardinal Latino⁶ of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the distinguished head of the Orsini family, a man of nimble intelligence, noted for his knowledge of the law and a mind that attended to profound matters and disdained the petty, departed from the City and retired to his own towns, as if he thought Rome too unsafe for him, either fearing the count's treachery or disturbed by the pope's anger; despite being recalled, he has refused to return to this very day. Among all the cardinals, two in particular have been heard and received by Calixtus up to now: Guillaume of Rouen,⁷ a man of pleasant nature and distinguished lineage, and Pietro of San Marco, the nephew of Eugenius IV, a scion of a noble Venetian family and a man of exceptional diligence. Either he believed there was much of value in their counsels or he thought that the former could guide the kingdom of France, the latter the republic of Venice. He held such esteem for Simone of Rome,⁸ who excelled in philosophical studies and the art of medicine, that he presented a cardinal's hat to his brother Giacomo,⁹ bishop of of Montefeltro – chiefly out of respect for Simone, though his brother was a man of outstanding virtue. In hearing embassies and the cases of private individuals, he far surpassed the ability of his predecessors. He dictated letters to kings and friend on his own and willingly and ¹⁰ cheerfully devoted time to signing petitions. When consulted about the law, he replied with alacrity; the laws

¹ Cardinal Juan de Mella.

² Saint Vicente Ferrer.

³ Saint Osmund.

⁴ Count Everso d'Anguillara.

⁵ Cardinal Prospero Colonna.

⁶ Cardinal Latino Orsini.

⁷ Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville.

⁸ Simone Tebaldi.

⁹ Cardinal Giacomo Tebaldi.

¹⁰ Cardinal Pietro Barbò

and canons he had at his fingertips, as if he had left law-school just yesterday or the day before; for nothing slipped from his memory that he thought worthy of retention. Moreover, no faculty seemed to him more important than knowledge of the law, in which he so excelled that scarcely one or two of his predecessors could be found to compare with him.

5. Eugenius IV, Pope [Gabriele Condulmer]

From Europa [1458], sect. 232-233 (Heck, pp. 234-235)

[505] Magnus profecto et clarus pontifex fuit Eugenius. Contempsit pecunias, virtutem apprime dilexit neque secundis rebus intumuit neque succubuit adversis, neque spes ei gaudium nec metus tristitiam auxit. Sedatus animus eundem semper eius uultum ostendit, sermonem breui eoque grauissimo usus est. Durus et asper in hostes, propitius in fide receptis. Ad hec proceritas corporis, oris decor et ueneranda in sene maiestas. Quibus fidem adhibuit, eis plus aliquanto credidit et maius imperium quam par fuerat commisit. Huius pater cum in Egypto negotiaretur cum patre Francisci Foscari, de quo iam mentio facta est, ab heremita, quem pariter adiit, non minus letum uaticinium quam ille accepit. Ille enim filium suum, quem habebat, futurum patrie principem, hic suum inter sacerdotes ad summum euasurum didicerat. Eugenio uero Gabrieli nomen in baptismo inditum fuit. Qui cum adoleuisset conditis parentibus euangelii non surdus auditor patrimonium, quod ab illis non tenue acceperat, inter Christi pauperes erogauit. Exin Antonio Corario comite, eiusdem feruoris adolescente, religionem intrauit, in qua summa cum laude uersatus tamdiu cum illo uixit, donec Angelus Corario, Gregorius XII appellatus, sedem Petri sortitus, (cum alter ab altero separari non posset) ambos ad se uocans senensi eum, boniensi Antonium prefecit ecclesie. Nec diu moratus utrumque cardinalatus honore dignatus est, in quo ambo claruerunt, sed hic summum pontificatum adeptus magis enituit. Qui, etsi oriente scismate in principio sui pontificatus usque ad obitum cum Basiliensibus contenderit, coronato tamen Sigismundo cesare, Grecorum et Armeniorum unione peracta, ciuitatibus ecclesie, quas amiserat, recuperatis, tyrannis per circuitum deletis, contumacia Romanorum edomita, uictor et inclitus hominem exiit.

5. Eugenius IV, Pope [Gabriele Condulmer]

From Europa [1458], sect. 232-233 (Brown, pp. 261-263)¹

[505] Eugenius was without doubt a great and distinguished pope. He scorned money and loved virtue above all. He was neither puffed up by success nor broken by adversity. Hope did not increase his joy, nor fear his sadness. His calm spirit displayed itself in his unchanging countenance. His speech was concise and all the weightier for being so. Though strict and severe in dealing with his enemies, he was kind to those whose loyalty he had regained. Added to this were a tall build, comely looks, and an august nobility in old age. On those who enjoyed his confidence he relied somewhat more, and conferred greater power than was fitting. When his father was doing business in Egypt, in company with the father of Francesco Foscari,² whom I have already mentioned, he received a prophecy no less auspicious than the one received by Foscari from the hermit whom they visited together. For one learned that his son would become the ruler of his country, the other that his son would rise to the supreme priesthood. Eugenius was baptized with the name of Gabriele. When he had grown up and his parents had been laid to rest, he heeded the message of the Gospel and dispersed the considerable fortune which he had inherited among the poor of Christ. Then, accompanied by Antonio Correr,³ a young man of equal fervor, he entered a religious order, where his conduct earned the highest praise. He lived there with Antonio until Angelo Correr, under the name of Gregory XII, obtained the See of Peter. Since the two men were inseparable, he sent for them both and appointed Gabriele bishop of Siena and Antonio bishop of Bologna. And, after a short interval, he honored them both with the cardinalate, in which they both shone. But Eugenius, after attaining the papacy, distinguished himself more. Although a schism emerged at the beginning of his papacy, and he struggled with the council of Basel until his death, he nevertheless crowned Sigismund as emperor, achieved union with the Greeks and the Armenians, recovered the cities of the church which had been lost, eliminated tyrants in the surrounding area, curbed the obstinacy of the Roman people, and departed from life in victory and renown.

¹ See also sect. 307-310.

² See DVI, ch. 14.

³ Cardinal Antonio Correr.

6. Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke

From Europa [1458], sect. 232-233 (Heck, pp. 234-235)

[506] Apud Insubres urbemque toto famosam orbe, Mediolanum, Philippus Maria dux gentis, qui Genuam ditioni suae quondam subegerat, Amedei Sabaudie ducis filiam matrimonio sibi coniunxerat. Alfonso potentissimum regem cum duobus fratribus, altero rege Nauarre, altero Militie compostellane magistro, multisque regulis nauali prelio uictum, captum et ad se usque deductum insolita usus liberalitate magnificentissime donatum libertati dimiserat. Sigismundum cesarem Roman petentem, cum Mediolani ageret, uisitare contempserat. Bononiam, Forliuuium, Imolam e manibus tyrannorum armis ereptas sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie restituerat. Atroce Suicensium gentem bello domuerat. De Florentinis ac Venetis per suos duces saepius triumphauerat totamque quondam Italiam tremefecerat. Iam recedente fortuna perdita Genua, Nicolao Picinino, in quo maxime fidebat, defuncto, exercitu suo ad Casale Maius iuxta flumen Padum duce Michele Cotiniola ab hostibus prelio fuso et castris exuto, magni numero equitum peditumque capto eo deductus erat, ut non modo Venetis sed omnibus per circuitum populis ac principibus contemptui esset, et Veneti quidem Abdua flumine transmissis in agro mediolanensi castrametati tantum ei terrorem incussere, ut de relinquendo imperio cogitauerit. Quesiuit ultra et citra montes auxilia regum. Sed quem fortunatum atque hostibus insultantem omnes honore ac fauore dignum existimauere, idem in calamitate constitutus ab omnibus tamquam odio dignus relictus est. Unus tamen omnium Alfonso, accepti beneficii memor, ad opem ferendam sese accinxit. Sed dum serius iter agit, interim Philippus primum ob aduersam ualitudinem oculis captus, deinde ex ipsa arce hostilium armorum fragore audito uehementer commotus uite tedio simul et languore mortem obiit ipso Alfonso herede instituto. Fuit autem Philippus ingenti corpore, in iuuentute macer, in senio pinguis, deformi facie ac terribili, instabilibus ac pregrandibus oculis, ingenio peracri et callido; in largiendo profusus, in parcendo facilis; in adeundo difficilis, at, ubi in colloquium uenisset, mitis ac placidus; cultus corporis ac munditiarum omnisque lenocinii negligens, uenandi cupidus, equorum studiosus, ceterum quietis impatiens atque imperitandi audax, in pace bellum, in bello pacem quesit, simulandi atque dissimulandi egregius artifex, in milites quam in ciues indulgentior. Raro in publicum prodiit, delatoribus facile credit. In suspiciones adeo pronus, ut sepe fidelissimos a se amicos leuissimis de causis alienauerit.

6. Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke

From Europa [1458], sect. 232-233 (Brown, pp. 219-222)

[506] Among the northern Italians and in the world-famous city of Milan, Duke Filippo Maria, who had once brought Genoa beneath his sway, married the daughter of Duke Amedeo of Savoy. Filippo defeated the mighty King Alfonso in a naval battle, together with his two brothers – one the king of Navarre, the other master of the military order of Compostela – and many others, lesser rulers. When Alfonso was taken prisoner and brought before him, Filippo, with extraordinary generosity, presented him with splendid gifts and gave him his freedom. Filippo did not deign to visit Emperor Sigismund when he was staying in Milan on his way to Rome. He delivered Bologna, Forlì and Imola from the hands of tyrants and restored them to the holy Church of Rome. He subdued in war the savage nation of the Swiss. He frequently triumphed over the Florentines and Venetians through the agency of his captains and once caused all of Italy to tremble. Then, as his fortunes waned, he lost Genoa, his highly trusted general Niccolò Piccinino died, and his army was routed and stripped of its camp by enemy forces led by Micheletto da Cotignola at Casalmaggiore near the Po river, where a large number of horsemen and foot soldiers were captured. All of which made him a figure of contempt not only to the Venetians but to all the communities and rulers surrounding him. Indeed after crossing the Adda river and encamping in the territory of Milan, the Venetians struck such terror into him that he thought of relinquishing power. He sought reinforcements from kings on both sides of the Alps, but the same man whom all thought worthy of honor and applause when he enjoyed good fortune and was trampling on his foes was abandoned by everyone in his hour of crisis, as if he deserved to be hated. Alfonso alone, remembering the kindness he had received from him, prepared to bring assistance. His expedition was too late, however, for in the meantime Filippo first lost his eyesight through poor health and then, after suffering the severe shock of hearing the crash of the enemy's artillery from his own citadel, he passed away, weary of life and exhausted, having named Alfonso his heir. A man of large physique, Filippo was lean in his youth, extremely fat in old age; he had an ugly and frightening face, eyes which were shifting and enormous, and an acute and clever mind. He was lavish in spending, lax in saving money; difficult to approach but, once he had entered into conversation, mild-mannered and agreeable; neglectful of grooming, elegance, and all personal embellishment; and passionate for hunting and devoted to horses. Impatient of repose and avid for the exercise of power, he looked for war in peacetime and for peace in war. He was a first-rate master of both simulation and dissimulation and more indulgent toward soldiers than civilians. So prone was he to suspicion that he often renounced his truest friends for the most trivial reason.

Pullis indutos vestibus egre ad se uenire permisit, sermonem de morte audiuit inuitus, tonitrua ac fulmina mirum in modum expauit, tabifica lue percussos ex urbibus migrare in agros iussit eorumque domos incendio tolli; qua cura innumerabilem illum Mediolani populum multis annis intactum quomodo ab ea peste seruauit. Huic, cum uita decessisset, funus nec tanto principe dignum nec suis maioribus ductum est, nec sepulchri decus additum. Populus cognita ducis morte in libertatem sese proclamauit duodecim uiris electis, qui rem publicam administrarent. Castrum Porte Iouis instar excellentissimae regie captum ac dirutum est, et testamentum Philippi dilaniatum.

He was reluctant to allow people dressed in mourning to approach him, unwilling to hear talk about death, and astonishingly fearful of thunder and lightning. He ordered those who were stricken with the wasting disease to move out of the cities into the countryside and their homes to be burned; through these precautions he kept the innumerable population of Milan largely untouched by that plague for many years. When he departed from this life, he received a funeral unworthy of so great a leader and his ancestors, and he was not honored with a tomb. When they learned of the duke's death, the people proclaimed themselves free and elected twelve men to govern the state. The castle of Porta Giovia, which resembled a magnificent palace, was seized and demolished, and Filippo's will was ripped to shreds.

7. Leonora of Portugal, Empress

From Piccolomini's oration "Quamvis grandes materias" of 10 December 1450, Naples¹

[507] Jam postremo loco quales quantaque sint personae contrahentes intuendum est praesentique contioni brevissime referandum. Neque enim de plebe sunt, neque de communi fortuna, sed de sublimi celsoque statu, quae contrahunt. Regius sanguis et imperatorius in conjugium venit. Attenuabitur rerum dignitas, si meis verbis personarum excellentiam conabor explicare. Longe melius eas ipsas audiemus de se suisque meritis disserentes. Fingamus igitur praesentes esse, qui nuptias celebraturi sunt: loquatur de se regia virgo, loquatur et Caesar, suasque dignitates enumerent. Dic tu, Leonora, quae nubis, quid dotis affers, quid expetibile tuum narras, quo pacto divo Caesari placuisti? Audire te cupimus. Non sine causa tantus te princeps adamavit: audite, proceres, audite, omnes: jam virgo loquitur. "Ego" - inquit Leonora - "ex alta Portugalliae domo sum nata, ex antiquissima regum stirpe, patre rege, regina matre. Clarissimum genus est meum, sive temporis vetustatem, sive majorum gesta requiris: infinitis jam saeculis sanguis meus regnat; invicti virtute progenitores fuere belli domique. Testis victoriarum est Hispania tota, in qua nullus est angulus, quem nostri majores armis non penetraverunt, sive dum barbaros insequuntur, sive dum Christianos domo propulsant injusta bella moventes. Recens est adhuc memoria classis illius, cum qua meus avus in Africam transiens felici magnoque proelio Saracenos exturbavit, urbem Ceptam expugnavit, ac nostris fidelibus coloniam deduxit, ubi adhuc invitis freudentibusque barbaris salutiferae crucis objecta sunt signa. Haec est paterna haereditas omni patrimonio praestantior, si *melius est*, ut inquit Sapiens, *nomen bonum, quam divitiae multae*. Fuerunt et genitori meo cum potentissimis Castellae atque Angliae regibus consanguinitatis strictissima vincula. Idem, ut erat fama potens, virtute potentior, amitam meam cordatissimam et sapientissimam principi famosissimo, Burgundiorum duci, in matrimonium collocavit. Sed accipe nunc maternam gloriam. Duo mihi ex matre sunt avunculi, reges ambo. Sed qui reges? Alter Navarrae praesidet, virtute ac nomine clarus. Alterum archiregem melius appellaverim, cum non solum apud Hispanos, sed apud Italos, Siculos, Sardos, Majoricos, Minoricos regna possideat. Praetereo vetustos domus Aragonum proceres in omne saeculum fama colendos. Unus nobis ad gloriam satis Alfonsus erit, cujus invicta virtus, insuperabilis constantia, novercantem sibi fortunam non solum vicit, sed amicam blandientemque reddidit.

¹ COR, V, 14, sect. 14-16

7. Leonora of Portugal, Empress

From Piccolomini's oration "Quamvis grandes materias" of 10 December 1450, Naples

[507] And now, in the last place, we shall see of what kind and how great are the personages contracting this marriage, as I shall briefly relate to the present assembly. The two people who enter this marriage are neither of the common people nor of common destiny. No, they are born to a high and exalted state. Royal and imperial blood will become united in this marriage. If I attempt to describe in my own words the excellence of these two persons, I shall not be able to do justice to their lofty status. It will be far better to hear themselves speak about their own and their family's merits. So let us imagine that the two betrothed are present: the royal maid will speak about herself and describe her exalted status, and so will the emperor. And first you, Leonora, now that you are getting married, tell us what gifts and desirable [qualities] you bring to this marriage and how you have pleased the emperor. We wish to hear you. Not without reason does this great prince love you. So listen, nobles, and hear, all of you, for now the maiden speaks. "I," Leonora says, "am born to the exalted House of Portugal, an ancient line of kings. My father was a king and my mother a queen, and my family was illustrious both if you consider its age and the deeds of our forefathers. My family has ruled for countless centuries, and my forebears were never defeated abroad or at home. The whole of Spain is witness to our victories for our forefathers have reached its every corner with their armies whether they pursued the barbarians or drove Christians waging unjust wars from their homes. Still the memory lives of the fleet with which my grandfather, crossing the sea to Africa, destroyed the Saracens in a great and victorious battle, took the city of Ceuta, and gave it as a colony to the Christians, where still today the banners of the life-giving crucifix stand in front of the hostile barbarians, gnashing their teeth. This is my paternal inheritance, a better one than all others, if, as the Wise One says, *a good name is better than great riches*. As for my father, he had the closest family ties with the mighty Kings of Castile and England. And as he was great in name, and even greater in virtue, he gave my prudent and wise aunt in marriage to that famous prince, the Duke of Burgundy. But hear now about the glory of my maternal line. I have two maternal uncles, both kings. But what kings? The one rules Navarra, famous for his virtue and name. The other I could better call an archking since he possesses kingdoms in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca. I pass over the noble scions of the ancient House of Aragon whose fame should be admired in every age. One man is enough for us to demonstrate the glory of this house: Alfonso whose unvanquished courage and undefeatable steadfastness not only overcame fickle fortune but made it smile at him and favour him.

[508] Quos portus, quas insulas, quas terras, quas maris oras hic non armatus, non victor adiit? Quae regio in terris Alfonsi nomen ignorat? Quis belli, quis pacis artes melius novit? Quis civibus, quis peregrinis dilectior est? Quis nostro saeculo praeter hunc unum favet ingeniis? Quis justior, quis liberalior, quis animo majori regnat? An solus hic ex principantibus est, qui neque secundis rebus intumescit, neque destituitur adversis? Verus fortunae domitor et nostri gloria saeculi, qui non minori perseverantia Neapolim cepit, quam Graeci duces Trojam expugnaverunt. Ostendi tibi dotem meam ex paterna maternaque domo non parvam gloriam. Quod si meam formam meosque mores nosse cupis, malim alios de me loqui. Qua sum tamen facie, qua statura, quibus lineamentis, oratores Caesarei, qui ante biennium me viderunt, non est putandum suo principi reticuisse: nisi placuissem, non essem prorogata. Ego inter matronas, modestia et auctoritate graves, sum nutrita, nec puto me ulla ex parte vel a majoribus degenerasse, vel magistris displicuisse. Quibus ex rebus, sicut mihi videtur, ad nuptias venio minime contemnenda, quae paternis maternisque titulis illustrata, pudicitiam, virginitatem, formam egregiam, probos mores cum ingenti gloria mecum affero nobilitatissimae domus.”

[508] Which harbours, which islands, which countries, which coasts has he not gone to, in arms and victorious? Where in the world is the name of Alfonso unknown? Who has greater knowledge of the arts of war and peace? Who is more beloved by his own subjects as well as by foreigners? Who in this century has greater intellect? Who is more just and generous, and who reigns more magnanimously? Isn't he the only prince who does not become arrogant in good times and depressed in bad times? Truly, he has tamed Fortune and is the glory of our time, he who conquered Naples with a tenacity that was just as great as that of the Greek leaders when they conquered Troy. I have now shown you the bridal gifts I bring with me from my paternal House and the great glory of my maternal House. If you wish to know about my appearance and character, I prefer others to speak about me. Surely, the imperial ambassadors, who saw me two years ago, will have reported back to their prince about my face, stature, and features. If I had not pleased them, they would not have proposed me. I have grown up among women of great modesty and authority, and I do not think that I am in any way inferior to my ancestors or that I have displeased my teachers. Therefore, I believe that I come to this marriage as a highly suitable [bride], distinguished by my paternal and maternal titles, and with my maiden chastity, my exquisite beauty, my good character, and the immense glory of my illustrious House."

8. Louis XI, King

From Pius II's oration "Per me reges regnant" of 17 March 1462, Rome.¹

Though this text is more in the nature of a laudation rather than a biographical sketch, it is included here because of its biographical elements.

[509] Gloriosa Ludovicorum fama et in omne tempus celebranda, quae in Ludovico nostro haudquaquam imminuta est, sed aucta potius, qui suorum progenitorum vestigiis inhaerens, talem sese conatur exhibere, quales fuere generis auctores Clodoveos, Pipinos, Carolos, Philippos imitatur, et Ludovicus nomine priores exprimit Ludovicos: septimus inter eos, qui clariores habentur, vera Francorum soboles, verus magni Caroli sanguis, verus Ludovicorum successor et haeres, qui nec frangitur adversis rebus, nec secundis intumescit. Nostis, quae fuerint hujus regis pueritiae rudimenta, litteras didicit, et moribus imbutus optimis religionis amantissimus fuit, vitiorum hostis, virtutis cultor. In adolescentia multa ei adversa fuerunt: accusatus ab improbis invitatus a patre recessit, quem sibi maligni et iniqui delatores infestum reddiderant, necesse fuit calumniatoribus cedere, bis bonus adolescens et in armis clarus et victoriis illustratus, patris conspectum fugere coactus est. Et quamvis multas urbes et multas provincias ex manu hostium recuperavit, et nomen excellens inter belli duces obtinuerit, plus tamen invidia potuit, quam sua virtus. Dulcem patris vultum maledica lingua sibi fecit amarum. Infortunatus eo tempore juvenis non solum patris curiam perdidit, sed Dalfinatu quoque ejectus est, qui more vetusto primogenitis est obnoxius. Exul igitur et extorris, sine imperio, sine dominio, sine terra, paucis comitatus amicis in Burgundiam migravit ad Philippi ducis, consanguinei sui, florentes opes, qui juvenem non ut exulem, sed ut dominum accepit et veneratus est, apud quem diu mansit, fuissetque proculdubio genitori reconciliatus, jam enim innocentiam filii pater noverat, nisi reditum timuissent, qui ejecerant.

¹ COR, IX, 65, sect. 14-15.

8. Louis XI, King

From Pius II's oration "Per me reges regnant" of 17 March 1462, Rome.

[509] Glorious and to be honoured forever is indeed the fame of the kings named Louis. In our own Louis it has not decreased but rather increased. Following in the footsteps of his ancestors, he shows himself to be the like of the kings named Clovis, Pepin, Charles, and Philippe, as well as his namesakes as king of France. He is the seventh outstanding king of those named Louis, true offspring of the Franks, true blood of Charlemagne, and true successor and heir to the kings named Louis. He is not broken by adversity nor gets puffed up by success. You know of his early childhood, how he learnt his letters, was given excellent manners, loved religion, shunned vice, and cultivated virtue. In his adolescence, he suffered many setbacks. Having been accused by wicked men, he unwillingly left his father, whom malicious and evil men had turned against him so that he was forced to leave the field to the slanderers. Twice, the good young man, distinguished both in war and victory, was forced to flee his father's presence. And though he recovered many cities and provinces from the hands of the enemies and gained an excellent reputation as captain of war, his strength and courage could not overcome jealousy. Evil tongues embittered his father's sweet face against him, and at that time the unfortunate young man not only lost his place at his father's court, but he was even expelled from the Dauphinée, which by ancient custom is due to the firstborn. Banished and exiled, without power, without dominion, without land, he went to Burgundy in the company of a few friends, [entrusting] himself to the flourishing fortune of his relative, Duke Philippe, who received and honoured the young man not as an exile, but as his lord. Louis stayed long with him, and he would undoubtedly have been reconciled with his father – who by now knew that his son was innocent – if those who had driven him away had not feared his return.¹

¹ See also COM, VI, 15-16.

[510] Sed ostendit in obitu pius pater non bene se pium filium eiecisse, qui moriens eum sibi successorem ordinavit. Ludovicus, dum extra gratiam patris ageret, nihil impium cogitavit, nihil durum, sed tamquam Dei iudicium patris arbitrium tulit, dicens: “Haec mihi accidunt, quia non servavi divinam legem, non audivi filium Dei, non parui evangelio, non fuit Dei sapientia mecum. Ac si Deus dederit, ut in regnum aliquando redeam, alium agam hominem; studebo Deo placere,” eique se saepius commendabat, ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli patrocinia implorabat. Erat sedulo in oratione, elemosynas, quas poterat, elargiebatur, et multa pro suo reditu vota vovit. *Exauditus est pro sua iustitia*: mortuo patre cum summa omnium quiete in paterno et avito regno receptus est, clamante populo: *benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*. Et sicut de Alcibiade apud Graecos traditur, non tam ignominiose abiit, quam gloriose reversus est. Sed audiamus, quid agat Ludovicus in paterno solio collocatus: an ludis et choreis indulget? An vino madet? An crapula dissolvitur? An marcet in voluptatibus? Rapinas meditatur? An sanguinem sitit? Nihil horum. Id tantum cogitat, quomodo Deo gratias agat. Reddit vota, quae vovit. Sacrificia offert divinitati, quae sunt acceptissima: iustitiam et innocentiam, pietatem. Expulit, ut fama est, lusores et blasphemos ex curia sua. Luxum non solum in rebus gravibus, sed etiam in vestimentis inhibuit. Ordinat inordinata, nullum tempus inutiliter expendit, audit supplices, et nulli sua jura negat.

[511] O beatum Franciae regnum, cui talis rex praesidet! O felix exilium, quod tale remisit praesidium! Et utinam, qui regnant omnes, aliquando fuissent miseri. Multum valet aliena vidisse praetoria, et alienum comedisse panem. Laudatur apud Homerum Ulixes, qui *multorum hominum mores vidit et urbes*. Nec noster David tam gloriosus fuisset, nisi praecessisset exilium et odium Saulis. Digna sunt Ludovici opera, quae ceteri reges imitentur. Hoc est regem esse, id est sapientiam Dei secum habere, et per illam regnare. Non est igitur, cur dubitemus Hebraeo Francorum genus et regnum praeferre, in quo tot clarissimi reges et imperatores floruerunt. Et nunc Ludovicus ei praeest, ingens virtutis specimen, et singularis documentum pietatis, qui ut¹ matri suae ecclesiae Romanae et populis Franciae pie consuleret², noxiam et perniciosam bestiam, quam vocavere pragmaticam, de regno suo eliminavit ac prorsus extinxit.

¹ qui ut : prout R

² consuleret *corr. ex.* consulerent H; consulerent L, T

[510] But when the pious father died, he showed that he had not done well in driving his pious son away, for, on his deathbed, he appointed him his successor. While Louis was in disgrace, he did not entertain impious or bitter thoughts but bore his father's decision as if it was a judgment of God, saying, "This is happening to me because I have not kept the Law of God, I have not heeded the Son of God, I have not obeyed the Gospel, and God's Wisdom was not with me. But if God grants me to someday return to the kingdom, I shall be another man and strive to please God." Often he commended himself to God and begged for the protection of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. He was assiduous in prayer, gave what alms he could, and made many vows for his return. He was heard for his justice: for when his father died, he was received back into the kingdom of his father and his forefathers in complete peace and quiet, while the people shouted: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. And as it is reported about Alcibiades in Greece, the glory of his return was greater than the shame of his departure. But let us hear how Louis is doing now that he sits on his father's throne: Does he revel in games and dancing? Does he indulge in wine and drunkenness? Does he grow soft with pleasures? Does he plot robbery? Does he thirst for blood? No, he does none of these. He only thinks of how to thank God. He fulfils his vows. He offers pleasing sacrifices to God in the form of justice, innocence, and piety. As rumour has it, he has driven gamesters and blasphemers from his court. And he has forbidden luxury not only in important areas but also in clothes. He brings order to disorder, spends all his time usefully, hears supplicants, and denies nobody their rights.

[511] Oh, happy Kingdom of France, which is governed by such a king! Oh, happy exile, which brought back such strength! May all rulers have tried to be miserable at some time. It is very important to have seen other palaces of government and to have eaten foreign bread. In Homer, Ulysses is praised as a man who has seen the ways and the cities of many men. And our David would not have had such glory if he had not first suffered exile and Saul's hate. The deeds of Louis are worthy of being imitated by other kings. This is to be a king; this is to have God's Wisdom as a companion and to rule through it. Thus, We should not hesitate to prefer the royal family and the realm of the Franks, where so many noble kings and emperors flourished, to that of the Hebrews. And now it is governed by Louis, a great example of virtue, an outstanding lesson in piety, for to piously help his mother, the Roman Church, and the peoples of France, he has completely destroyed that harmful and pernicious beast called the Pragmatic and cast it from his kingdom.

9. Ludwig IX, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut

*From Report on an Imperial Mission to the Diet of Regensburg 1454*¹

[512] Admonet hic me locus pauca de tanto duce scribere, quando is 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 domo Austria, Alberti Caesaris sororem, Ladislai, Hungariae ac Bohemiae regis amitam. Vivo patre sub custodia educatus est dura, neque scortari neque convivari potuit, exigue sumptum habuit, ad virtutem assiduis commonitionibus excitatus. Haud vanum patris laborem reddidit, 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 se praebuit. Provinciam expurgavit facinorosis hominibus, Judaeos exire fines jussit, vicinis pacem dedit, subditis jus dixit. Uxorem de Saxonia, Friderici Caesaris neptem, duxit. Cum lites in Caesarem Austriales non aequas movissent, arbitrum se concordiae dedit. Regi Ladislao, quantum potuit, opitulatus est. Franconica et Suevica bella pro virili sua sedavit. Albertum patrum, cum quo pater saepe contendit, inter primos sibi conciliavit. Annos jam - ut ajunt – natus est duo de triginta. Statura ei procerus est, robustum corpus, laeta facies, sermo jucundus, gestus principe dignus. Si litteras norit Latinas, nihil est amplius, quod in maximo principe desideres. Ejus mansio plerumque in Purchausia est. Id oppidum supra Salzam jacet. Novum est et munitissimum, arcemque habet amplissimam totaque Theutonia memorabilem, natura loci et murorum structura paene inexpugnabilem, cujus majorem turrim auri et argenti plenam magno thesauro praedicant.

¹ CRDM, 4, sect. 29

9. Ludwig IX, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut

From *Report on an Imperial Mission to the Diet of Regensburg 1454*¹

[512] 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 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 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 got reconciled with was his uncle Albrecht, 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 there is nothing more you could wish for in so great a prince. He mostly 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].

¹ See also Piccolomini's *Europa*, sect. 141 (Brown, p. 193).

10. Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini

From Pius II: Commentarii, II, 32 (Heck, I, pp. 154-155)

[513] Sigismundus ex Malatestarum nobili familia, uerum extra matrimonium natus, multa ui animi et corporis fuit, eloquentia militari et arte peditus. Nouit historias, philosophie non paruam peritiam habuit; quamcumque rem sectatus est, ad eam natus uidebatur. Sed mali mores plus apud eum ualuere: auaritie adeo sese dedit, ut non predari tantum, sed furari quoque non uereretur; libidinis ita inpatiens fuit, ut filiabus ac generis uim intulerit; adolescens sepe nupsit in feminam et sepe muliebria passus, sepe masculos effeminauit; nulla apud eum sancta fuere matromonia; uirgines sacras incestauit; iudeas uiolauit; pueros ac puellas qui ei non consensere aut neci dedit aut crudelibus modis euerberauit; mulieres, quarum filios a sacro fonte leuauit, complures adulterio polluit earumque uiros necauit; barbaros omnis crudelitate uicit: cruenta manus diris suppliciis sontes et insontes affecerunt; pauperes oppressit, diuitibus bonis diripuit; ne uiduis aut pupillis pepercit. Nemo sub eius imperio securus uixit: reos nunc opes, nunc uxores aut liberi forma prestantes fecere. Sacerdotes odio habuit; religionem contempsit; de uenturo seculo nihil credit et animas perire cum corpore existimauit. Edificauit tamen nobile templum Arimini in honorem diu Francisci, uerum ita gentilibus operibus impleuit, ut non tam christianorum quam infidelium demones adorantium templum esse uideretur. Atque in eo concubine sue tumulum erexit et artificio et lapide pulcherrimum, adiecto titulo gentili more in hunc modum: Diue Isotta sacrum. Duas uxores, quas duxerat ante Isotte contubernium, alteram post alteram seu ferro, seu ueneno extinxit; tertiam, que has precesserat, nondum cognitam accepta dote repudiauit. Feminam nobilem ex Germania Romam petentem in anno iubeleo non procul a Verona, cum esset forma egregia, ui respuit ac reluctantem uulneratam et cruore madentem reliquit. Rara in ore suo ueritas: simulandi ac dissimulandi egregius artifex. Perfidus atque periurus Alfonso Siciliae regi et eius filio Ferdinando, Francisco duci Mediolani, Venetis, Florentinis, Senensibus fidem abruptit; Ecclesie quoque Romane sepius illusit. Postremo, cum nemo esset in Italia, quem prodere posset, ad Francos abiit, qui odio Pii presulis eius secuti fidem non meliorem quam reliqui principes successum habuere. Rogatus aliquando a subditis, ut quieti tandem se traderet parceretque patrie, que sua causa sepe rapinis exposita fuisset, "Ite," inquit, "et bono animo estote: nunquam me uiuo pacem habebitis." Huiusmodi Sigismundus fuit, quietis impatiens, uoluptatum sequax, quamuis laboris patiens et belli cupidus, hominum qui unquam fuerunt quique futuri sunt pessimus, Italie dedecus et nostri infamia seculi.

10. Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini

From Pius II: Commentarii, II, 32 (Meserve, I, pp. 327-329)

Though being in the nature of an invective against an enemy, this sketch is included because of its biographical elements.

[513] Sigismondo, of the noble house of Malatesta, was a bastard. In both mind and body he was exceedingly powerful, gifted with eloquence and great military skill, a profound knowledge of history, and more than a passing knowledge of philosophy. Whatever he attempted he seemed born to do, but above all he prized sin. He was a slave to avarice, prepared not only to plunder but to steal, so unbridled in his lust that he violated both his daughters and his son-in-law. As a boy he often played the bride; later, he who had so often taken the woman's part used other men like whores. No marriage was sacred to him. He raped Christian nuns and Jewish ladies alike; boys and girls who resisted him he would either murder or torture in terrible ways. Often, if he stood godfather to a child, he would compel the mother to commit adultery, then have her husband killed. He surpassed every barbarian in cruelty; his bloody hands wreaked dire torments on innocent and guilty alike. He oppressed the poor and plundered the rich; neither widows nor orphans were spared. Under his tyranny no one was safe. A man blessed with wealth or a beautiful wife or handsome children could find himself facing a trumped-up criminal charge. He hated priests and despised religion, thought nothing of the world to come, and believed the soul died with the body. He did build a splendid church at Rimini dedicated to St. Francis, but he filled it so full of pagan works of art that it seemed less a Christian sanctuary than a temple where heathens might worship the devil. Inside he erected a magnificent marble tomb for his mistress. The craftsmanship was exquisite. The inscription ran, in pagan style, "Sacred to the deified Isotta." Before taking Isotta for his mistress he had two wives whom he killed in succession, using violence or poison. A third, whom he married before the other two, he divorced before ever having intercourse with her, though he kept her dowry. Once, not far from Verona, he met a noble lady on her way from Germany to Rome for the jubilee; he raped her (for she was very beautiful) and left her there in the road, wounded from her struggles and dripping with blood. Truth was seldom in his mouth. He was a past master of pretense and dissimulation, a perjurer and a cheat. He broke faith with King Alfonso of Sicily and his son Ferrante; with Francesco, duke of Milan; and with the Venetians, the Florentines and the Sienese. Repeatedly he deceived the Church of Rome. Finally, when there was no one left in Italy for him to betray, he went over to the French who, out of hatred for Pope Pius, pursued an alliance with him; but they fared no better than the other princes. Once, when asked by his subjects if he would not at last retire to a peaceful life and thereby give some relief to the country which he had so often subjected to war, he replied, "Be off, and don't lose your nerve! As long as I am alive, you'll never have peace!" Such was Sigismondo, a man with no tolerance for peace, a devotee of pleasure, patient of any hardship, eager for war, the worst of all men who have ever lived or ever will live, the shame of Italy, the disgrace of our age.¹

¹ Pius eventually excommunicated and defeated Sigismondo, see introduction to his oration "*Senatu intercedente*" of May 1463 (COR, X, 72).

11. Nicolaus V, Pope [Tommaso Parentucelli]

1) *From Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447*¹

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

¹ CRDM, 1, sect. 55

11. Nicolaus V, Pope [Tommaso Parentucelli]

1) *From Report on an Imperial Mission to Rome 1447*

[514] But the all-knowing Paraclete accepted and put the man in charge whom it knew all would love. God, the searcher of men's hearts, saw matchless humility in this father, and that is what He raised up. He saw singular justice, and that is what He rewarded. He saw outstanding kindness, and that is what He loved. He saw great wisdom, and that is what He chose. He saw immense magnanimity, and that is what He approved of. He saw profound knowledge, and that is what He set to rule the Church, His bride. He saw vigorous eloquence, and that is what He found necessary in a supreme pontiff. The new pope is not a specialist in one branch of knowledge, like some of ours, who pride themselves in one lesser-known discipline and despise all others. From childhood, he was imbued with the seven arts, the so-called liberal arts, so that they are all open [to him]. He knows all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians, too, for he was also initiated into the sacred arts. He has knowledge both of civil and pontifical law, and he is not ignorant of medicine. Whatever is hidden to him is beyond the knowledge of men. He has travelled through many provinces 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.¹

¹ See also HA, I, 44-47 and WO, II, 44, 223 ff.

2) *From Europa (1458) (Heck, sect. 234-239, pp. 237-247)*

[515] Nicolaus V natione Tuscus ex oppido Sarezana patre medico theologica doctrina illustris et omni ferme scientiarum genere insignis post Eugenium in Petri cathedra suffectus est, qui paucis ante mensibus cardinalatum ab eo, cum felicem apud Germanos legationem obisset, nec diu prius episcopatum bononiensem acceperat. Hic urbem multis et maximis edificiis exornauit. Cuius opera si compleri potuissent, nulli ueterum imperatorum magnificentie cessura uidebantur. Sed iacent adhuc edificia interrupta mineque murorum ingentes. Scisma, quod apud Sabaudienses adhuc in ecclesia uigebat, explosit, Amedeum papatui renuntiantem in gratiam recepit, cardinalatus honorem et in paterno dominio legationem reliquit. Cardinalibus aliquot ab eo creatis dignitatem dimisit. Romanos longa pace ditauit. Iobeleum feliciter gessit, nisi quod in ponte Sancti Angeli ex concursione populorum improuide facta ducentos circiter homines aut conculatos aut in flumine eiectos perisse constat. Bernardinum Senensem ordinis Minorum professorem, qui paulo ante obierat, in numerum sanctorum rettulit. Fridericum III imperatorem et Leonoram Augustam matrimonio iunxit ac de more inunctos coronauit, eorum familias abunde et multa cum lautitia pascens. Bis cardinales creauit ... Secundo sex creauit aut doctrina percelebres aut generis claritate insignes, inter quos et germanum suum Philippum Sancte Susanne cardinalem assumpsit, placidis moribus et incorrupte fidei uirum. Libros ex tota Graecia perquisitos ad se iussit afferri et in Latinam conuerti linguam curauit magna praemia translatoribus prebens. Acceptissimi ei fuerunt in transferendis operibus Georgius Trapezuntius, Laurentius Valla, Petrus Candidus December et Gregorius Castellanus, itemque Demetrius natione Grecus, qui soluta oratione utentes, cum pontificis aures mirifice oblectarent, nihil ex eo, quod peterent, non abstulerunt. In Homeri uero poemate, quod heroico carmine latinum fieri magnopere cupiebat, cum plurimi morem ei gererere conarentur, unus tantum inuentus est, qui acri eius iudicio satisfaceret, Oratius Romanus; qui scribatum apostolicum ea de re consecutus magnisque pollicitationibus illectus Iliadem aggressus nonnullos ex ea libros latinos fecit, dignos, quos nostra miraretur, prisca non improbasset etas. Nicolaus quoque Perottus Polybio e Grecis commode atque ornate ad nos traducto, Ioannes Tortellius Aretinus libro *De Orthographia* peritissime conscripto, Albertus Florentinus conditis *De Architectura* egregiis uoluminibus aliique pene innumerabiles noua cudentes opera eius pontificis gratiam meruere. Adeo enim ingenia excitauit fouitque Nicolaus, ut uix eum inueniri possit, in quo magis humanitatis et eloquentie ceterarumque bonarum artium studia quam suo floruerunt. Illud certe nemo negauerit tot ei a doctissimis uiris inscripta esse uolumina, quot neque suorum predecessorum neque imperatorum cuiuspian nomini dicata comperimus.

2) *From Europa (1458) (Brown, 234-239, pp. 237-247)*

[515] Nicholas V, a Tuscan from the town of Sarzana and the son of a doctor, a man famed for his theological erudition and distinguished in almost every branch of learning, was chosen to succeed Eugenius on the throne of Peter. A few months earlier, he had received a cardinalate from Eugenius after completing a successful mission as legate in Germany, and shortly before that, the bishopric of Bologna. Nicholas adorned Rome with many buildings on a grand scale. If his projects could have been completed, they would have rivalled in magnificence any erected by the ancient emperors. But the buildings and their mighty looming walls still lie unfinished. He eradicated the schism in the church, which was still flourishing among the people of Savoy, restored Amedeo to favor, when he renounced the papacy, and left him the rank of cardinal and the office of legate in his ancestral domain. He stripped of their rank several cardinals created by Amadeo. He blessed the Romans with a long peace. The year of the Jubilee which he held was a success, except that around two hundred people are agreed to have perished when a crowd of people suddenly converged on the Sant' Angelo Bridge and they were either trampled or thrown into the river. He raised Bernardino of Siena to sainthood, a brother in the Order of Friars Minor who had died shortly before. He joined Emperor Frederick III and Eleonora Augusta in marriage and anointed and crowned them in the traditional manner, entertaining their households with a sumptuous and elegant feast. He twice created cardinals. ... On the second occasion, he created six cardinals who were renowned for their erudition or noted for their family's distinction. Among them was his brother, Filippo, a man of gentle character and incorruptible integrity, whom he named Cardinal of Santa Susanna. He ordered books to be tracked down throughout Greece and brought to him, and he saw to it that they were rendered into Latin, offering large rewards to their translators. His favorite translators were George of Trebizond, Lorenzo Valla, Pier Candido Decembrio, and Gregorio of Castello, together with the Greek Demetrius. Their prose so marvellously beguiled the ears of the pope that they never failed to obtain from him whatever they requested. He keenly desired the poetry of Homer to be made into a Latin epic poem, and a great many tried to oblige him, but only one man succeeded in meeting his exacting standards. This was Orazio Romano who, having been appointed as a papal secretary for this purpose and enticed by large promises, took on the Iliad and translated several of its books into Latin; these deserve the admiration of our own age and would have escaped criticism even in Antiquity. Niccolò Perotti, too, with his agreeable and elegant translation of Polybius, Giovanni Tortelli of Arezzo, with his skillfully written book *On Orthography*, Alberti of Florence, with his excellent volumes *On Architecture*, and other authors almost beyond count earned the favor of this pope with their new compositions. For Nicholas so keenly stimulated and fostered gifted writers that it would be hard to find an age in which the study of the humanities, eloquence and all the other noble arts flourished more than in his. Certainly, no one would deny that more volumes were inscribed to him by leading scholars than we find dedicated to his predecessors or any of the emperors.

[516] Unum tamen e doctis ab eo neglectum miramur, Blondum Flauium Foroliuiensem, qui res a declinatione romani imperii usque ad etatem nostram toto orbe patratas mirabili ordine in duas digessit decadas. Romam describendo instaurauit, Italiam illustrauit, deinde Triumphantem Vrbem scribere adorsus omnem nobis uetustatem aperuit. Sed ita ferunt hominum mores: perraro quemquam extollit pontifex, quem precessor amauit. Ceterum Nicolaus et ueteribus et nouis codicibus ornatissimam bibliotecam instruxit, in qua circiter tria milia librorum uolumina condidit. Sacrarium apostolicum uasis aureis atque argenteis ac sacerdotalibus indumentis mirifice decorauit. Altaris ornamenta, aulea quoque ex auro contexta mirandi operis coemit. Suppellectilem toto palatio necessariam magnificentissime comparatam duplicauit triplicauitque. Legationibus, quas publice audiuit, ita respondit, ut dubium esset sapientiam eius an eloquentiam magis admirere. Si quos esse in urbe peregrinos existimatione dignos accepit, confestim eos missis xeniis honorauit. Nobiles domo sua extorres, qui ad se uenerant, benigne confouit. Pauperibus Christi largas elimosinas dedit, religiosis mendicantibus nihil ad necessitatem deesse sustinuit. In ecclesias Vrbis plurima dona contulit. In Patrimonio beati Petri plurimas ac munitissimas arces opportunis locis erexit.

[517] Huius tam admirabili, tam expetende pontificis vite non defuerunt insidiatores. Stephanus enim Romanus, familia Porcaria, tenui censu, eques, res novas sepe in Vrbe molitus ac propterea Bononie relegatus clam inde excedens magnis itineribus Romam rediit. Conuocatisque mox amicis mentem suam exposuit, turpe esse dictitans eam Vrbem, que totum sibi subiecerit orbem, nunc sacerdotum imperio subiacere; quos rectius feminas quam uiros quisque appellauerit. Uenisse se paratum patrie iugum excutere, rem factu facilem, si uiri fuerint. Nicolaum pontificem celebri Epiphaniarum die in ede beati Petri sacra facturum haud magno negotio comprehendi posse; populum libertatis amore, quam proclamari cum audierit, mox opem audentibus daturum. Ad colligandum autem presulem catenam auream secum attulit a se iampridem paratam, quem congregatis ostendit. Neque enim mox occidendum presulem ex usu esse dicebat, sed obseruandum, donec Arcem Sancti Angeli per eum recuperarent. Atque, ut erat homo facundus, facile in suam sententiam congregatos traxit atque eo facilius, quod inopes, ere alieno grauatos et ob patrata scelera iudicium formidantes ad se uocauerat, quibus nihil erat in pace sperandum. Sed presensit insidias Nicolaus missisque militibus comprehendi hominem iussit. Illi eum iam animo fractum et apud sororem in arca latentem inuenerunt.

[516] However, I am surprised that he neglected one scholar: Flavio Biondo of Forlì, who with astonishing organization, laid out the history of the world in two Decades, from the decline of the Roman Empire to our own era. He restored Rome in describing it; he illuminated Italy; and, when he undertook to write of the triumphant City, he revealed to us the whole of antiquity. But this is the way of the world: rarely does a pope praise anyone who was loved by his predecessor. However that may be, Nicholas built up a library richly stocked with ancient and modern manuscripts, in which he deposited around three thousand volumes. He wonderfully adorned the papal sacristy with vessels of gold and silver and priestly vestments. For the altar, he purchased ornaments and tapestries of amazing workmanship woven with gold. Throughout the palace, he provided the necessary furnishings on a most magnificent scale, doubling and tripling it in quantity. His responses to the embassies which he heard in public were of such quality that one hardly knew what to admire more: his wisdom or his eloquence. If he learned that any foreigners worthy of esteem were visiting the city, he immediately honored them by sending gifts of welcome. When nobles who had been banished from their own home came to him, he took generous care of them. To the poor of Christ, he gave liberal alms and saw to it that mendicant friars lacked nothing essential. He contributed numerous gifts to the churches of the city. In the Patrimony of St. Peter, he built a large number of well-fortified castles in strategic locations.

[517] Even so, there was no lack of conspirators against the life of this pope, a life so much to be admired and desired. Stefano of Rome, a knight of reduced means from the Porcari family, often fomented sedition in the City. For that he was banished to Bologna, but he left Bologna in secret and returned to Rome in rapid stages. He promptly convened his friends and explained his purpose, insisting that it was disgraceful for the city which had brought the whole world beneath its sway now to be subservient to the power of priests; one would more rightly call them women than men. He had come prepared to strike the yoke from his fatherland, which would be easy to accomplish if only they were men. Pope Nicholas could be apprehended without much trouble on the Festival of the Epiphany as he was about to celebrate mass in the Church of St. Peter. The people loved liberty and would quickly assist them in their venture when they heard of its proclamation. To bind the pope, he brought with him a golden chain which he had acquired some time ago and showed it to the gathering. For, he said, it was not in their interest to kill the pope immediately, but to guard him until they had recovered Castel Sant'Angelo through his help. Since he was an eloquent speaker, Stefano easily got the group to support his idea, and all the more easily because he had invited men who were impecunious, loaded with debt, and fearful of being tried for the crimes they had committed – men whom peace offered nothing to hope for. But Nicholas got wind of the plot and sent soldiers with orders to arrest the man. They found him in his sister's house, broken-spirited and hiding in a chest.

[518] Complices eius in domo, qua conuenerant, expugnati captique sunt; e quibus unus, Baptista Sciarra, manu promptus et animo intrepido per medias pontificis cohortes uiam gladio sibi aperiens effugit. Stefanus in Arce Sancto Angeli, alii in Capitolio suspensi uitam finire. Atque ita pontifex maximus ingenti periculo liberatus romanae sedis dignitatem imperiumque seruauit. Felix pontifex et omnium iudicio beatissimus, nisi eo sedente Turci, ut ante diximus, Constantinopolim expugnassent, christianorum desidia atque ignaue memoriale perpetuum. Accessit et aliud, quod non parum eius gloriam imminuit. Nam cum pacis Italiae, que tum uehementer ferro uastabatur et igne, ipse repertor et arbiter concordie partium uoto delectus esset, dum diem ex die in deliberationem ducit, suspectus esse Francisco Sfortie, iam Mediolanensium principi, ac Venetis cepit, tamquam eam sententiam promere nollet, que aliis pacem, Ecclesie bellum allatura uideretur. Ob quam rem intercedente Simonetto monacho, Ordinis heremitarum Sancti Augustini professore, obscuri antea nominis et prorsus ignoti, sed uite integritate probato, Veneti cum Francisco duce conuenientes inter se concordie leges dixere, prestituta die, intra quam bello socii pacem ratam haberent. Uisum est id omnibus monstri simile: humilem et incognitum monachum Italiam pacauisse. Sed recusante Alfonso pacem, que se inscio dicta erat, uanam esse Nicolaus, que de se habita fuerat, suspicionem ostendit misso ad Alfonsum legato Dominico Sancta Crucis cardinali, prudentia singulari et uite integritate conspicuo, qui cum Caietam, deinde Neapolim peruenisset, interuenientibus Venetorum et aliarum partium legatis differentiisque omnibus tamquam ex integro discussis Alfonso regi non solum pacem suasit, sed fedus in annos quinque et uiginti inter omnes Italiae potentatus percussit, cuius romanus pontifex et conseruator et iudex dictus est. Sed cum doloribus artheticis per omnem ferme pontificatum suum Nicolaus uehementer laborasset, in dies magis ac magis opprimeretur, nec iam amplius mortalem pollutumque comitatum candidior anima dignaretur, e uita decessit.

[518] His accomplices were attacked and captured in the house where they had met. One of them, Battista Sciarra, with boldness and a fearless spirit, cleared a path with his sword through the midst of the papal guards and escaped. Stefano met his end by hanging in Castel Sant'Angelo, the others on the Campidoglio. And so it was that the supreme pontiff was rescued from great danger and preserved the prestige and power of the Roman see. The pope was blessed with the greatest good fortune in everybody's judgment, except that, as I related previously, the sack of Constantinople by the Turks occurred during his reign – an everlasting memorial to the sloth and faint-heartedness of Christians. There was something else, too, which diminished his glory to no small extent. After being chosen unanimously by the various parties to initiate and arbitrate a peace settlement in Italy, which was then being ravaged by sword and flame, he dragged out the deliberations day after day and came to be suspected by Francesco Sforza, now lord of the Milanese, and by the Venetians of being unwilling to pronounce a decision that seemed to bring peace to others but war to the church. Thanks to the intervention of the monk Simonetto, a member of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, who was insignificant and completely unknown before this but a man of unimpeachable integrity, the Venetians met with Duke Francesco and negotiated the terms of an agreement, setting a deadline by which their allies in the war would ratify the peace. It seemed miraculous to everyone that a humble and unknown monk had brought peace to Italy. But when Alfonso rejected the peace, which had been declared without his knowledge, Nicholas revealed the emptiness of the suspicion he had incurred by sending Cardinal Domenico Capranica of Santa Croce, a man of singular wisdom and conspicuous probity, as a legate to Alfonso. When he reached Gaeta and then Naples, he was joined by emissaries sent by the Venetians and other parties. But, having suffered greatly from arthritic pains through almost his whole papacy, Nicholas grew more and more exhausted every day, and when his pure soul could no longer endure its unclean mortal companion, departed from this life.

12. Philippe III, Duke of Burgundy

From Report on a Mission to the Diet of Regensburg 1454¹

[519] Fuit autem Philippus corpore procero, grandioribus et illustribus oculis, naso adunco, quem vocant aquilinum, erecto pectore, gracilioribus tibiis, modesto intuitu, moribus benignis, gratissimo alloquio, cibo potuque temperatiori, 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 jocisque ad vesperam laxare animum, cenam denique ad multum noctis pertrahere, audire cantus, interesse choreis, rursusque consiliariis aures dare, ac postremo quieti se committere. Accepimus tamen ex his, qui secreti ejus habentur conscii, non dormire hominem ad meridiem, sed consurgere ante opinionem vulgi ac familiae aliquot horis idque temporis privatis actionibus suis elegisse. Nam cum sit alioquin suapte natura facilis neque ulli se neget, nisi hoc ordine vitam instituisset, nullum erat tempus, quod suum dicere potuisset.

¹ CRDM, 4, sect. 89. For a longer biography, see COM, IX, 10-21.

12. Philippe III, Duke of Burgundy

[519] 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. Then he dined until late at night, hearing songs and dancing. Again he met with his counsellors, and finally 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 manner and does not refuse to see anybody, he would not have time to call his own if he did not arrange his life in this way.

13. Kaspar Schlick, Imperial chancellor

From the Historia Bohemica (Hejnic/Udolph, pp.430-435)

[520] ... Inter quos Gaspar Slichius princeps fuit, matre Italica, ex comitibus Alti Collis agri Tarvisini, patre Theutonico natus ex familia Lazana provincie Franconie, ingenio dextro, facundia suavi, doctrine cultor, ad omnia genitus, quaecumque ageret. Quem usque adeo fortuna simul ac virtus extulit, ut, quod erat prius inauditum, trium cesarum successive regnantium cancellarie profuerit. Unus ex ducibus Sclesie filiam sibi in matrimonium tradere non recusavit. Sigismundus Egram illi et Cubitum et alia in Franconibus oppida dono dedit. Albertus in Hungaria, Calesium et Albam Ecclesiam, Fridericus in Austria Greczium. Versatile profecto ingenium et nature bonitas singularis, que inter tot imperatores, moribus prorsus dispares, pari gratia vivere potuit. Nos hujus amicitia in curia Friderici caesaris usi: Si quid profecimus, quod scimus quam tenue est, adiumento suo consecuti sumus. Episcopatum certe Tergestinum, unde reliquie dignitates provenere, ipse nobis primus committi curavit. Mortuus est Vienne ex apoplexia et apud Carmelitas cum conjuge sepultus.

13. Kaspar Schlick, Imperial Chancellor

[520] ... Their¹ leader was Kaspar Schlick, born of an Italian mother from the family of the counts of Collalto in the area of Treviso, and a German father from the Lazana family in the province of Franken. He was a man of keen intellect and pleasant speech. He supported learning and was naturally endowed for all he did. His fortune and abilities brought him so far that he became the head of the chancery under three emperors reigning in succession. One of the dukes of Silesia did not hesitate to give him his daughter as wife. Sigismund gave him Eger and Ellbogen and other places in Franken, while Albrecht gave him Skalice in Hungary and Weisskirchen, and Friedrich Graz in Austria. His versatile intellect and exceptional natural goodness made it possible for him to enjoy equal favour with three emperors of very different character. We had his friendship at Emperor Friedrich's court. Our achievements – which we know to be modest - have only been possible because of his help. He was the first to arrange that we should be made bishop of Trieste from which our other offices flowed. He died in Vienna of apoplexy and was buried with his wife at the Carmelites.

¹ A group of envoys.

14. Jan Zizka, Captain¹

From Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia, 1451²

[521] In exteriori civitatis porta duo fuerunt scuta: in altero pictura erat angeli calicem tenentis quasi communionem sub specie vini suaderet populo, in altero Zischa pictus fuit, homo senex et utroque lumine cassus. Hic olim dux Thaboritarum fuerat, et alterum oculum in pueritia perdiderat, alterum hostili sagitta confossus amisit. Ab hoc saepe victos fideles ajunt, saepe Christianorum caedes factas, complures civitates exustas, diruta monasteria, sacras aedes incensas, prostitutas virgines, sacerdotes occisos, quem Thaboritae non solum monoculum, sed caecum quoque secuti sunt ducem, neque absurde, nam tali populo, qui nihil divinitatis intelligit, nihil religionis tenet, nil aequi rectique videt, quis ducatum praebere debuit nisi caecus? Impletum est illud salvatoris in eis: *Si caecus caeco ducatum praebeat, ambo in foveam cadunt.* Hic dux, cum morti proximus esset, consultarentque Thaboritae, quem post se principem designaret, “Postquam,” inquit, “animus a me fugerit, excoriate corpus meum et carnes date volucribus; ex corio vero tympanum facite atque hoc in proelio ducem habete. Nam quovis locorum Theutones sonum ejus audierint, mox terga dabunt, Zischam in tympano formidantes.” Hic postquam obiit, Thaboritarum alii Procopium sibi ducem legerunt, alii in tantum illius memoriam dilexerunt, ut neminem dignum existimarent, qui tanto duci succederet, aspernatique principem orphanos sese vocabant, quasi patre carentes atque orbatos, ut qui caecitatem non vivam tantum sed mortuam quoque colendam censebant et ad inferos usque sequendam. Hunc autem veluti numen Thaborenses habent et, quamvis picturas omnes abhominentur, hujus tamen picturam religiose colunt et honorem, quem Christo negant, concedunt Zischae.

¹ Jan Zizka (ca. 1360-1424): Bohemian Hussite general, leader of the radical Taborite faction

² CRDM, 3, sect. 3-4

14. Jan Zizka, Captain

From Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia, 1451

[521] 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, and freedom is to believe whatever you will. On the exterior city gate hang two shields, 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, an old man, blind on both eyes.

[522] Hic olim dux Thaboritarum fuerat, et alterum oculum in pueritia perdidit, alterum hostili sagitta confossus amisit. Ab hoc saepe victos fideles ajunt, saepe Christianorum caedes factas, complures civitates exustas, diruta monasteria, sacras aedes incensas, prostitutas virgines, sacerdotes occisos, quem Thaboritae non solum monoculum, sed caecum quoque secuti sunt ducem, neque absurde, nam tali populo, qui nihil divinitatis intelligit, nihil religionis tenet, nil aequi rectique videt, quis ducatum praebere debuit nisi caecus? Impletum est illud salvatoris in eis: *Si caecus caeco ducatum praebeat, ambo in foveam cadunt*. Hic dux, cum morti proximus esset, consultarentque Thaboritae, quem post se principem designaret, “Postquam,” inquit, “animus a me fugerit, excoriate corpus meum et carnes date volucris; ex corio vero tympanum facite atque hoc in proelio ducem habete. Nam quovis locorum Theutones sonum ejus audierint, mox terga dabunt, Zischam in tympano formidantes.” Hic postquam obiit, Thaboritarum alii Procopium sibi ducem legerunt, alii in tantum illius memoriam dilexerunt, ut neminem dignum existimarent, qui tanto duci succederet, aspernatique principem orphanos sese vocabant, quasi patre carentes atque orbatos, ut qui caecitatem non vivam tantum sed mortuam quoque colendam censebant et ad inferos usque sequendam. Hunc autem veluti numen Thaborenses habent et, quamvis picturas omnes abhominentur, hujus tamen picturam religiose colunt et honorem, quem Christo negant, concedunt Zischae.

[522] This man was once the leader of the Taborites. One eye he lost as a child, the other when he was pierced by a hostile arrow. They tell 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, which understands nothing of the divine, has no religion, and sees nothing just and right. In them was fulfilled the saying of the Lord: if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the pit. 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." When he died, some of the Taborites chose Prokop as their leader, but the others loved his memory so much that they found nobody worthy to succeed so great a leader. Rejecting to have a leader, they called themselves The Orphans, as if lacking and being deprived of a father, believing that this blindness should be honoured not only alive but also dead, and followed into hell.¹ This man the Taborites consider as divine, and though they abhor all pictures, they worship his and show Zizka the honour they refuse to give Christ.

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¹ HB, I, pp. 340-343

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