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Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Vol. 2: 1442-1443 (nos. 34-110).

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**Collected Personal Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.
Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.**

Vol. 2: 1442-1443 (nos. 34-110)

Preliminary edition

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Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's personal letters from the period 1442-1443, altogether 76 letters. These two years were the first years of Piccolomini's employment in the imperial chancery. The correspondence shows how Piccolomini rapidly gained the trust of his employers, Emperor Friedrich III and his chancellor, Kaspar Schlick and how he became involved with important affairs at the time.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papst Pius II; Papa Pio II; Church schism 1438 ff.; Freising succession conflict 1443 ff.; Emperor Frederick II (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich II (Habsburg); Kaspar Schlick.

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Note to the reader

In the final edition of the present text, the notes to the translation will be expanded, especially with reference to relevant scholarly works, and possibly the manuscript base for the edition will be broadened.

MCS

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

On 5 November 1439, the rump council in Basel elected Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy as pope Felix V. The new (anti-) pope shortly afterwards took the highly experienced and recommended conciliar official, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, into his employment as a papal secretary. This employment lasted for a little more than two years. Though Piccolomini presumably kept up his correspondence, no letters from this period are extant. From other sources, however, it may be surmised that his papal employment turned out to be a disappointment. Felix did not have an engaging personality, and, more importantly, his pontificate did not gain general acceptance. In personal terms, it may have been even worse for Piccolomini that he did not get the emoluments and benefices that a papal secretary might reasonably expect. So after two years, he was quite ready for a change. As chance would have it, Felix, in the summer of 1442, sent him as a member of an embassy to a German diet in Frankfurt, where he came in contact with high-ranking members of the court of the newly elected Emperor Friedrich III. An offer to join the court as a member of the imperial chancery ensued, which Piccolomini accepted after having obtained Felix' permission. So, at the end of November 1442, Piccolomini left Basel in the emperor's train and embarked on a new phase in his career. His 73 letters from November 1442 to the end of 1443 tell the story of his first year at the imperial court. The first months were quite tough, and he felt alone and even ostracised by colleagues in the chancery. But he soon overcame these difficulties and became a trusted collaborator of the new imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, who – by chance – was a friend of his family in Siena.

During this year, Piccolomini was involved in two highly important affairs.

One was the development of the imperial policy with regard to the schism in the Church. Piccolomini may have given up on the rump council in Basel and the antipope but had yet to join the cause of the Roman pope, Eugenius IV. So the German neutrality suited him well, and it fell to him to draft the letters to the European kings and princes with the emperor's proposal to hold a third council¹ to settle the schism in the Church. The kings and princes, however, almost all replied to the emperor that they supported Pope Eugenius in Rome and did not see the need for another council. This would be quite an eye-opener for Piccolomini and made him realise that the cause of the rump council in Basel and the antipope was probably lost and that there would not be a third council to settle the church schism. Instead, a congress of kings and princes might provide a solution. As he wrote on 21 December 1443 to Bishop Silvester Pflieger, *"I have recently read copies of the kings' letters to our emperor on the ecclesiastical situation, and I have seen that all abhor the schism which now troubles the Christian people. I was especially impressed by the judgment of the king of France, which, I saw, concurs with yours. For I remember that once when we were discussing how to bring peace to the Church, you said that "If I were in the emperor's place, I would ask all the princes to send ambassadors to someplace with full powers to settle the affairs of the Church, for if the princes did so, the people and the clergy would follow"* (Letter 106: 1).

The second important affair was the appointment of a new bishop of Freising (in Bavaria) to succeed Nicodemo della Scala, a one-time employer of Piccolomini. Pope Eugenius had promised Chancellor Schlick a bishopric for his brother Heinrich in return for the chancellor's support at the imperial court, so when the bishop of Freising died in August 1443, the chancellor immediately began a campaign, at

¹ The two other councils being the rump council in Basel and Pope Eugenius' council, now in Rome.

the imperial court, in Rome, in Basel and in Bavaria, to have his brother appointed to that diocese. Pope Eugenius soon made the appointment, but the official letters of appointment were late in coming, which made the emperor hesitate, especially since a rival candidate, Johann Grünwalder of the Bavarian ducal family, soon managed to be elected bishop by the cathedral chapter in Freising and take possession of the see. Since the chancellor had entrusted this affair to Piccolomini, the new imperial secretary wrote the chancellor's letters on the matter and quickly became a key person in handling the chancellor's interests. Piccolomini not only wrote the chancellor's letters but even intervened personally with key persons like Cardinal Aleman, leader of the rump council in Basel, to whom he wrote, in October 1443, that if the council confirmed the election of the chancellor's brother's rival to the see of Freising, it would lose the chancellor's support: "*I recommend the affair of His Magnificence the Chancellor to your care so that this man, the right eye and the powerful hand of the king, will strongly support the council, especially now when the Diet of Nürnberg approaches. If the king does not go there in person as expected, he will – as he has written to all the kings – send his [representatives with a] full mandate. A decision will be made there either to hold another council or to make a declaration [for one of the parties]. Therefore, as I have written to you in another letter, beware of confirming the Freising election since that would greatly harm your own party*" (Letter 85: 3).

Having joined the imperial chancery and gained direct access to the chancellor and the court officials, and – increasingly – to the emperor himself, Piccolomini set about to systematically develop his epistolary network. He initiated a correspondence with important prelates and officials in Rome, Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Hungary, Poland, England, Portugal - and Germany, of course. This epistolary network served as the basis of two other networks: a network of information and a network of influence.

As for the network of information, information was then, as now, a precious commodity, but in that age, it was slow, scarce and unreliable. As an official centrally placed at the imperial court, Piccolomini had privileged access to information which could be communicated to his correspondents in the form of news, in return for other information from them. Piccolomini thus established himself as a veritable hub of information. That this information service was appreciated even by highly placed persons is seen in a letter to Piccolomini from the (then) Cardinal Juan de Segovia¹ of 15 April 1443: "*Some days ago, I read three letters from you to us and to our beloved Giovanni Peregallo. As all your letters, they were most welcome and useful to the cause we both wish to succeed. Therefore, we highly commend your diligence and virtue and thank you from the heart: you have been mindful of us, as always, and you are not distracted from writing by distance or any other occupations or labours but always endeavour to relate to us what may profit the cause we are working for*" (Letter 49: 1). And in a letter to the Polish Cardinal Olesnicky of April 1443 (Letter 70:1), Piccolomini wrote that "*Jacobus also said Your Paternity would eagerly receive such news I could send him. I shall obey gladly and send you worthwhile news from these regions, briefly, though, so as not to cause boredom to the reader or excessive labour to the writer*" (Letter 47: 2).

As for the network of influence, Piccolomini unabashedly used his epistolary network to gain contact with people, many of them court officials like himself, who would be able to exercise influence to provide mutual services. On 13 October 1443, a friend of Piccolomini, Niccolò Arcimboldi, who had advanced to become an important official at the court of the duke of Milan, congratulated him with his appointment as an imperial secretary and continued: "*I certainly rejoice in your promotion as if you had been born of the same parent as I, for I have loved you as a brother ever since we lived together in Florence and our friendship and mutual sympathy grew with our daily intercourse and honourable*

¹ At the court of antipope Felix V.

activities. You may, therefore, quite confidently use my services whenever you consider that it will advance or maintain your interests and honour, just as you would yourself do towards a brother and close friend.” (Letter 83: 1).

Apart from important public affairs, the letters also touch on a number of Piccolomini’s private circumstances and concerns.

One such was his provostship in Milan. During Piccolomini’s years in Basel, Archbishop Pizzolopasso of Milan had procured for him the provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan. When Piccolomini later fell ill with the plague, a rumour of his death reached Milan, and another contender for the benefice quickly stepped in and gained possession. Afterwards, Piccolomini initiated a veritable campaign to be reinstated in the provostship, but all his attempts were in vain, for in the meantime, the duke of Milan had allied himself with Pope Eugenius in Rome, and Piccolomini’s conciliarist past still clung to him and made him *persona non grata* in the papalist camp. So even if his friends at the Milanese court were willing to help him, it was a hopeless cause. At one point, in June 1443, Piccolomini even wrote to the duke personally: *“If I were dead, as my adversaries have told Your Highness, I could not be writing this letter – unless the dead, too, write letters! But thanks to God, I am still breathing and alive, being secretary to our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, in which position I can do much to further Your Highness’s honour (though less to further your interests). I do not know if my adversary can do the same. I have always acted as a herald of your fame, and in the Council of Basel almost all Christendom heard me praising you. Now people claim that I am dead, but even if I were dead, I would be more alive than my rival and better able to act for Your Highness’ honour than he, alive. Therefore, whether you pursue justice or expedience, my position ought to be the better one since I both have a shiningly just cause and can be of greater profit to you. I beg of Your Clemency to consider these things and order my Church of San Lorenzo restored to me so that I shall be bound to work – hands and feet – for your honour and state, just as my heart desires to”* (Letter 66: 1). If the letter ever reached the duke, he may have appreciated the humour, but nonetheless Piccolomini did not regain his provostship.

Another was his interest in humanist studies, excellently expressed in his letter (5 December 1443) of advice to the young Duke Siegmund of Austra. In the beginning of the letter, speaking of the use you in the singular or the plural form in address, Piccolomini gave this short description of the development of humanist eloquence: *“When Francesco Petrarca abandoned the uncouth style of his time and began to imitate the old eloquence, many others began to speak in such a fashion that the purer age of old found voice once again. Later, Manuel Chrysoloras came over from Greece. He was a highly lettered man and is buried in Konstanz. His ancestors were Romans, but after the translation of the Empire to Byzantium, now called Constantinople, they followed Constantine the Great. By now, the Italians were tired of their coarse and degraded way of speaking, but they only had the light brought by Francesco. Chrysoloras led them to the true eloquence so that today Italian eloquence matches that which prevailed at the time of Octavian - just read Leonardo of Arezzo, Guarino of Verona, Poggio of Firenze, Aurispa of Sicily, Antonio of Vicenza, and others who are alive today and flourish in Italy and in whom the river of Tullian eloquence and the milkwhite stream of Titus Livius flow forth in splendour* (Letter 98: 1).

Later in the same letter, Piccolomini prescribes a syllabus of classical studies, and he ends the letter with yet another plea to Siegmund to pursue humanist studies: *“Besides these, you should - as I have already said - regularly devote time to letters, which may season your other qualities and put them into relief. If – as I hope – you become properly imbued with letters, you will, when you take up government, not only be the equal of other princes, nay, you will be a mirror of princes, and all your neighbours*

will make you the moderator and arbiter of their conflicts. And just as the queen of Sheba and other orientals flocked to witness Solomon's wisdom, the whole of the West and the North will come in infinite numbers to witness the fame of your wisdom. Like Josiah, the other son of Amon, you shall govern your people wisely and not stray from the path, neither to the right nor the left. So, act, excellent prince and noble adolescent, while there is time, and do devote yourself to letters, learning and study" (Letter 98: 39).

Since Piccolomini's sexuality was to have a determining influence on his later decision to pursue the ecclesiastical career that would bring him to Saint Peter's throne, it is worth mentioning here a letter that shows his conception of sexuality at this stage of his life. It was a letter of 20 September 1443 describing a one-night love affair in Konstanz and asking his father to raise the illegitimate son who was the result of the affair. In the letter, he told him that "*maybe you say you are sorry about my offence, that I sired a son in sin. [If so,] I do not know what you think of me. Surely, you did not beget a son of stone or iron, being of flesh yourself. You know what cock you were yourself, and I am neither a castrate nor frigid. Nor am I a hypocrite preferring to be, rather than merely to seem, virtuous. I frankly confess my error, for I am not holier than David nor wiser than Solomon. This sin is ancient, and I do not know of anybody who is free of it. It is a plague most common – if, indeed, it is a plague to use nature's gifts: I really do not see why coitus should be condemned so strongly when it is nature - which does nothing wrong - that has instilled this desire in all living beings for the continuation of the human race" (Letter 77: 2).*

2. Manuscripts

Manuscripts collated directly for the present edition are marked with the siglum Manuscripts for which the collation of Wolkan and van Heck is used are marked with an *.

- **Berlin / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBPK)**
Ms. Lat. qu. 212 *
- **Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
Chis. J.VI.208a.^{1 2} (**V2a**)
Chis. J.VI.208b. (**V2b**)³
Chis. J.VIII.287.^{4 5}(**V3**)
Urb. Lat. 402.⁶ (**V4**)

¹ 1447. Paper. HE, p. 7; WO, 1: 1, p. xiv.

² https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.I.VI.208

³ The distinction between V2a and V2b is made for the purpose of e-

stablishing the history of the text, V2a being the original of version of the text (from 1447), and V2b being the revised version (revision by Piccolomini himself) (ca. 1457).

⁴ Ca. 1460. Paper.

⁵

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.I.VIII.287

⁶ Ca. 1460. Vellum. Copy executed for the duke of Urbino.

- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana (BRB)**
407, f. 261r *
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)**
clm 70.¹ (M3)
clm 5311 (M4)
clm 12725.² (M1)
clm 14134.³ (M2)
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XXIII, F 112.⁴ (L) *
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¹ 14. October 1460. Paper.

² 1443-1446. Paper. HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. ix-xiv.

³ 1448. Paper.

⁴ (prev. Lobkowitz, 462). Ca. 1445. Paper HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. viii..

⁵

https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ugucione-contrari_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

⁶

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² <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/>

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¹
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²
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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II.

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¹
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² Freely available in HAL Archives:
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³ Freely available in HAL Archives:
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¹ See Raponi.
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4. Sigla and abbreviations

L = Praha / Národní knihovna České republiky / XXIII, F 112

M1 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 12725

M2 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 14134

M3 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

V2a = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.208. *Before corrections*.

V2b = Idem. *With corrections*.

V3 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.287.

V4 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 402.

Libraries

BRB = Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana

ÖNB : Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

SBPK : Berlin / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Abbreviations

CAR = Eneas Silvius Piccolomineus (postea Pius II): *Carmina*. Edid. Adrian van Heck. 1994.

¹
<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia>

ia/agostino-dati_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

COD = *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo. 1952.

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

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

CRDM = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Collected Reports of Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455*. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

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

DIA = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Libellus Dialogorum*. A cura di Simona Iaria. 2015. (Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici; 12).

DLE = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Liberorum Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. by C.W. Kallendorf. 2002, pp. 126-259.

DRGB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. [1450]

DV = digital version.

DVI = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Viris Illustribus and other biographical Writings*. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

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

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

HE = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium seculare*. Complectens De duobus amantibus, De naturis equorum, De curialium miseriis. Cur. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007. (Studi e testi, 439).

ME = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Briefe. Dichtungen*. Übers. Max Mells. 1966.

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

RE = Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). Edit. Th. M. Izbicki. Washington, 2006.

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SC = Scanned image.

VO = Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols. 1856-1863.

WI = Widmer, Berthe (ed.): *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II. Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*. 1960.

WO = Wolkan, Rudolf: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. 3 Bd. Wien, 1909-1918. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, II. Abteilung, 61, 62, 67, 68).

* As collated by Wolkan / Heck.

** Lead manuscript.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

34. Letter from Goro Lolli (November 1442 (?), Siena).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 113v-114r¹; M3, ff. 224r-224v²; V2, ff. 110-111³; V3, f. 54r⁴ **; V4, f. 46r.

Editions: HE, 35, p. 110; WO, 1: 1, 35, pp. 110-111; (both based on V2).

{54r} Gregorius Lollius⁵ Senensis salutem plurimam dicit Aeneae Silvio⁶, patrueli suo.

[1] Jeronimi vetus admodum sententia est probatissima litterarum inter ceteras hanc esse utilitatem, ut absentes praesentes faciant, praeclare quidem. Nam⁷ absentes⁸ his loquimur, videmus transmarinos animique nostri cogitatio sine voce, notarum picturis atque lineamentis enuntiatur, quo certe utilius quidquam⁹ aut humano generi antiquius non facile investigari posset. Verum cum hujusmodi vicissim perfrui possimus utilitate, ut alterutrius fortunae conscii laetaremur, altero tantum¹⁰ satis habes te scilicet virum¹¹ hujus praerogativae participem. Est id quidem mihi carum sed multo carius, si alternas mutuasque exaraverimus, ut et tuas dum¹² legerem, te alloquerer tuisque pictas notulas digitis paternis oculis offerrem, qui te tantopere observant, ut filium tam mitem¹³ et patrem decet. De his hactenus. Nannes Tedeschinus¹⁴ tuus cetera coram explicabit totiusque cognationis tuae fortunas atque progressus. Parentes tui meique te domi cupiunt.

Vale. Ex¹⁵ Senis.

¹ SC, 236-237

² SC, 452-453.

³ DV, ff. 60r-60v.

⁴ DV, f. 54r.

⁵ de Baroncellis V2, M2, M3

⁶ poete *add.* V2a, M2, M3; ~~poete~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ ad *add.* WO

⁸ absentibus M2

⁹ quidquid V4

¹⁰ *omit.* V4

¹¹ unum V4

¹² atque V2a, M2, M3

¹³ *em.* WO; tam mitem : tamen V2-V4, M2, M3; *corr. ex* atque V2b;

¹⁴ Tedeschi WO

¹⁵ etc. M2; datum M3

34. Letter from Goro Lolli¹ (November 1442 (?))², Siena)

Context: No letters of Piccolomini are extant between his letter to Juan Segovia of 13 August 1440 and autumn 1442. During that period, he had served as the secretary of the council's antipope, Felix V, who resided in Basel until November 1442. In the summer of 1442, Piccolomini was part of a Basilean embassy to the imperial diet of Frankfurt, interrupted by the coronation of the new emperor, Friedrich III, in Aachen on 17 June. Piccolomini impressed some influential members of the imperial court, leading to his coronation as poet laureate on 27. July and to his appointment to the imperial chancery. He left Basel in the emperor's train on 12 November 1442.

Subject: Goro Lolli, Piccolomini's cousin, asks him to write letters to his family in Siena.

Goro Lolli³ from Siena sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, his cousin.

[1] An old and very true statement by Jerome⁴ says that one of the functions of letters is to make those who are absent present.⁵ This is very well said, for by letters we speak with those who are absent, we see those who are beyond the sea, and we express our thoughts without speaking but in drawn signs. It is not easy to find anything more useful or convenient for the human race. Letters enable us to enjoy this mutual benefit and rejoice in the knowledge of each other's fortunes. Indeed, you have a partner who writes to you, as I am quite happy to.⁶ But it would make me even happier if we actually exchanged letters, so that, reading yours, I could converse with you and show the letters drawn by your hands to your father's eyes that watch you so keenly, as befits such a gentle and pious son and his father. No more of this. Your Nannes Todeschini⁷ will explain it all directly to you and relate the fortunes and progress of your whole family. My parents⁸ and yours⁹ wish you were home.

Farewell. From Siena.

¹ The early version of the letter has Gregorio de' Baroncelli, one of Piccolomini's cousins (cf. DVI, 102), as the writer of the letter. In a later version, corrected by Piccolomini himself, the writer is given as another of Piccolomini's cousins, Gregorio (Goro) Lolli. The mention of Baroncelli was possibly an error of memory made by Piccolomini when the letter was first included in a collection of his letters but later corrected.

² Wolkan tentatively dates the letter to November 1442.

³ Goro Lolli [Gregorio Loli] (1415-1478): Piccolomini's cousin, son of his father's stepsister, Bartolomea de' Tolomei, and her husband, Niccolò Lolli. Close relative and friend of Piccolomini. See Pellegrini.

⁴ Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 342-42): Church father.

⁵ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 29: 1: *Epistolare officium est de re familiari, aut de re quotidiana conver-*

satione aliquid scribere, et quomodo absentes inter se praesentes fieri dum mutuo quid aut velint ut gestum sit nuntiant. MPL, 22: col. 435-436.

⁶ The translation of this passage is very free!

⁷ Nannes [Giovanni?] Todeschini: Piccolomini's brother-in-law, husband of his sister, Laudomia, and father of Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, later Pope Pius III.

⁸ Niccolò and Bartolomea Lolli

⁹ Silvio Piccolomini and Vittoria Forteguerra.

35. Letter from Agostino Dati (13 November 1442 (?), no place).

Manuscript: SBPK / (Königl. Bibl.) Lat. Qu., 212, f. 1r. *

Editions: HE, 36, pp. 110-111; WO, 1: 1, 36, pp. 111-112; (both based on the BKB ms.)

Augustinus Datus Aeneae Silvio viro bono et amico optimo salutem plurimam dicit et se reddit commendatum.

[1] Tuas suavissimas litteras, mi Aenea, libens suscepi, quibus familiariter agens ostendis nostrum ad amorem nihil addi posse. Laetor tuam in me benevolentiam esse eam, quam optimi viri virtus observandorum amicorum gratia prae se ferre consuevit, quo fit, ut facile intelligatur te mihi amantiorem esse neminem. Nimirum equidem, nam quas ad me litteras dederas¹, abundabant *sapientiae studio*, quae est *philosophia*. Pergraviter dicendo multoque dissertissimae mihi visae sunt. Itaque mihi non modo gaudio fuere, verum etiam me summa congratulatione affecerunt, cum tuum in me et magnum et perpetuum amorem praetulerunt, tum exquisitam doctrinam tuam, ut magnae etiam virtutis viro hujuscemodi litterae scriptae essent non indignae. Quare, si quid a te oraverim, longis petitionibus mihi opus fore non existimo impetratuque facilia esse omnia quam maxime confido, sicque admodum singularis et amicus et fautor meae morem gerens voluntati studium et² operam tuam mihi praestabis.

[2] Operae pretium est, si quam animo rem complectimur quamque consequi conabimur, ei studeamus eiusceque³ rei majorem rationem habeamus, ut si cui animus est in eloquentia, labore haud secus eam consequetur atque majores nostri studio et exercitatione. Neque illud ab re, ut ne parum quidem studii adhibere debeat incumbens arti dicendi. Nempe Tullium nostrum, quem omnis eloquentiae patrem - licet stulti obstrepant - dicere ausim, scribentem *sine sapientia eloquentiam* perniciosam hominibus esse praeclare meministi, tametsi ego ipse itidem dementiae ducam, *rectissimis omissis atque honestissimis studiis rationis et officii consumere operam in exercitatione dicendi*. Sed et profecto moderata hominibus eloquentia conduxit plurimum, cuius rei testes sunt permulti, imprimis Marcus Cicero. *Magna, ait, est admiratio copiose sapienterque dicentis, quem, qui audiunt, intelligere etiam et sapere plus quam ceteros arbitrantur.*

¹ dederis WO

² omit. WO

³ enisceque WO

35. Letter from Agostino Dati (13 November 1442 (?))¹, no place).

Context: The young humanist, Agostino Dati, replies to a (non-extant) letter from Piccolomini. The year is unknown.

Subject: On the importance of eloquence with wisdom.

Agostino Dati² sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, a good man and an excellent friend, and recommends himself to him.

[1] Your delightful letter, my dear Enea, I received with joy since it shows that nothing can be added to our loving sentiments.³ I rejoice that your friendly feelings towards me are those which the virtue of a good man usually manifests towards his friends, and thus it is easily understood why I love no one better than you. And no wonder since the letter you sent me is imbued with that *love of wisdom* which is *philosophy*⁴ and speaks - I thought - with considerable gravity and eloquence. Therefore it filled me not only with joy but also with happiness since it showed your great and lasting love for me as well as your exquisite learning. Indeed, it is a letter that might have been written by a man of the highest virtue. Therefore, I believe that if I ask something of you, I shall not need to make a lengthy request, and I trust that I shall easily obtain all, for as my very special friend and patron, you will grant my wishes and lend me your efforts and labour.

[2] If we set our mind on something and strive to obtain it, we should work eagerly for it and make it a high priority. So, if we wish for eloquence, we shall not have it without hard work, dedication and practice, as did our forefathers, and quite rightly so, for he who is drawn to the art of speaking must show sufficient commitment. Indeed, you well remember that our Tullius,⁵ whom I should dare to call the father of all eloquence (though fools contest it), wrote that *eloquence without wisdom*⁶ is harmful to men. So, I would consider it the height of folly to *neglect the study of philosophy and moral conduct, which is the highest and most honourable of pursuits and devotes his whole energy to the practice of oratory*.⁷ But that a restrained⁸ eloquence has greatly benefited men is witnessed by many, and first of all by Marcus Cicero, who says that *the eloquent and judicious speaker is received with high admiration, and his hearers think him understanding and wise beyond all others*.⁹

¹ On the date of the letter, see WO, 1: 1, p. 111.

² Dati, Agostino (1420-1478): Siennese humanist. See Viti: *Dati*.

³ I.e., because it is perfect.

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 2: 2, 5.

⁵ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman, orator, and writer.

⁶ Cicero: *De inventione*, 1: 1.

⁷ Cicero: *De inventione*, 1:1.

⁸ "moderata"

⁹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 2: 14, 48.

[3] Quo fit haud injuria existimare eos esse extremae dementiae homines, qui cum *sapientiam, rerum moderatricem*, negligent, studentes eloquentiae condemnant, quodque ipsi non modo non contendunt adipisci, verum cujus prorsus indociles sunt, in aliis nefario ausu ut vitia reprehendunt¹. Et cur ita, nisi, ut omnium, qui² sub caelo sunt, videantur ignavissimi³. Rursusque cum quem vel dicere vel scribere aliqua perspexerint⁴, ...⁵ sed ut irrita et false conflata negant omnia. Sed quid plura de eorum referam ineptiis, qui praeclaram sententiam Ciceronis ignorant, *non parum cognovisse sed in parum cognito diu perseverasse turpe est*, quoniam *alterum communi hominum infirmitati* attribuitur, *alterum uniuscujusque vitio est* convinctum. Quare, ut rem inceptam sequar, te summopere oratum velim, ut me a vulgari errore eripiens de epistolari arte aliqua velis conscribere, quo te dignius mihi gratius utiliusque nihil facere potes.

Vale igitur, mi jucundissime Enea, meis optatis perpetuo. Ad idus Novembris.

¹ *em.* HE; respondent WO

² *que* WO

³ ignarissimi WO

⁴ aliqua perspexerint : perspexerint

aliqua WO

⁵ *lacuna*

[3] Therefore, it is right to consider men to be totally foolish if they neglect *wisdom, the guide of [human] affairs*,¹ and condemn the students of eloquence, though they themselves not only do not strive to obtain it but are completely incapable of learning it, and therefore recklessly condemn the others. And doing so they appear as the most worthless of all under Heaven. Again, when they see someone saying or writing something ... they reject everything as invalid or false. But what shall I say about the foolishness of those who ignore Cicero's commendable view that *disgrace lies not in imperfect knowledge but in foolish and obstinate continuance in a state of imperfect knowledge; for ignorance is attributed to the infirmity common to the human race, but obstinacy to a man's own fault*.² Therefore - to continue where I began - I beg of you to liberate me from the error of vulgar men and write something to me about the art of writing letters. You can do nothing more worthy, welcome and useful for me.

Farewell, dearest Enea, I always wish you were here.³ 13 November.

¹ Cicero: *De inventione*, 1: 4, 5.

² Cicero: *De inventione*, 2: 3, 9.

³ Very free translation!

36. Letter to Antonio Todeschini (November 1442, Basel).

Manuscripts: L, f. 23r *; M1, ff. 41r-41v; M2, f. 28r-28v¹; M3, ff. 182r-182v²; V2, ff. 1-3³; V3, ff. 5v-7r⁴ **; V4, ff. 6v-7v.

Editions: HE, 37, pp. 110-111 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 37, pp. 112-114 (based on V2).

{5v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ nepoti suo Antonio salutem plurimam dicit⁶.

[1] Retulit mihi Nannes⁷, pater tuus, te dum puer adhuc esses⁸, miro litterarum amore⁹ fuisse incensum¹⁰. Postquam vero *ex*¹¹ *ephebis*^{12 13} *excessisti*¹⁴, neminem esse, qui tibi amplius, ut studeas, queat persuadere, quae res non mira tantum mihi¹⁵, sed stupenda fuit. Ceteri enim pueritiam simul et stultiam¹⁶ deponunt, virilem togam et prudentiam induentes. Tu contra, sapiens puer, stultus vir cupis videri et barbam quasi umbraculum virtutis recipis. Doleo certe tui causa nec, quid de {6r} te futurum sit, scio. Jubet Cicero noster, ut quilibet in adolescentia viam eligat et genus vitae, quo uti debeat. Idem Hercules factitavit, nam cum per quietem duae sibi mulieres supra humanam formam venustae apparent, et altera sibi voluptatem, laborem altera promitteret, hanc secutus est sciens, quia post labores¹⁷ praemium certaminis datur, nec *coronatur* – ut inquit apostolus – *nisi qui legitime certaverit*.

¹ SC, 62-63.

² SC, 370-371.

³ DV, ff. 6r-7r.

⁴ DV, ff. 8v-10r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ plurimam dicit *omit.* M1-M3

⁷ *omit.* M3

⁸ fores M1-M3, V2

⁹ litterarum amore : amore litterarum L

¹⁰ accensum L

¹¹ *omit.* M2, M3

¹² phebis M2

¹³ a juventute *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁴ excessise M2

¹⁵ *omit.* L

¹⁶ simul et stultiam : et stultitiam simul M2

¹⁷ laborem M2

36. Letter to Antonio Todeschini (November 1452, Basel¹).

Context: Antonio Todeschini was a nephew of Piccolomini through his sister, Laudomia Piccolomini, married to Nanni Todeschini. He became a favourite nephew of Piccolomini, who, as pope, married him to an illegitimate daughter of King Ferrante of Naples. In 1461, the king created him Duke of Amalfi, the first in a line which lasted into the 17th century. He was apparently not given to studies. This letter may be a fictive letter on the subject of youth, matching the following letter to his uncle, on the subject of old age, paraphrased after a letter on the same subject by Poggio Bracciolini.

Subject: Piccolomini admonishes his young nephew to abandon his pleasurable pursuits and take up serious studies.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Antonio,² his nephew.

[1] Your father, Nanni, has told me that as a child you were filled with an amazing love of letters but that, after you have *left the ephebes*,^{3 4} no one can persuade you to continue your studies. I am surprised, nay, astonished to hear this. Others abandon childhood and foolishness together and put on the *toga virilis*⁵ and maturity. You who were a wise child wish to be a foolish man and use the beard to overshadow virtue. I am pained on your behalf and know not what will become of you. Our Cicero prescribes that in adolescence every man should choose his way and the kind of life he would live. This is what Hercules did when two supernaturally beautiful women appeared to him in a dream, one promising him pleasure and the other labour. He chose to follow the one promising labour,⁶ knowing that labours shall be rewarded and that – as the apostle says – *only those are crowned who have striven lawfully*.⁷

¹ Date: From the letter it appears that Antonio would be around 18-20 years old (now a man, having left the ephebes, put on on the toga virilis, and sporting a beard). As he was born in 1435, the letter cannot very well date from 1442, as Wolkan and van Heck conjectured, but would rather be from around 1450/1452, years when Piccolo-

mini travelled extensively in Italy and had ample opportunity to meet in person with the boy's father, Nanni.

² Antonio Piccolomini (1435-1492: Son of Piccolomini's sister, Laudomia, and Nanni Todeschini. He had an extraordinary career, due to his uncle, Pope Pius II. See De Blasi.

³ The Roman version of "ephebos", designating a male adolescent between 16 to 20 years.

⁴ Terentius: *Andria*, Prol., 51: *postquam excessit ex ephebis*.

⁵ The white toga of manhood assumed by Roman boys at the age of 15.

⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 32, 118.

⁷ 2. Timothy, 2: 5.

[2] Tu vero – ut audio – vagari vis semper nec aliquod genus vitae saltem honestum amplecti¹. Litteras, quas puer amasti, jam vir odio habes. Pudet me tui causa. Nescio enim, quid esse possis absque litteris nisi *asinus bipes*. Quid enim homo est absque doctrina quantumvis dives, quantumvis potens? Quid inter hominem illitteratum et marmoream statuam interest? Non dux, non rex, non imperator alicujus pretii est litterarum ignarus. Videmus nostri saeculi principes, quoniam rudes sunt et nedum latinum, sed maternum quoddammodo ignorantes sermonem, quanto despectui sunt, quomodo negliguntur, quomodo vituperantur. Quod si quis eorum oboedientiam in subditis habet, non amor sed *metus* id facit, qui – ut Cicero ait – *non est diuturnus magister officii*. At ubi metus abest, mox deseruntur², interdum etiam neci³ dantur.

[3] Quid ergo tu, miser, studia despicias litterarum, qui pauper⁴ es, qui nisi per magnam virtutem evadere in virum clarum non {6v} potes⁵. Quid facis, obsecro, quid speras? Rerisne semper juventutis florem tibi durare? An nescis, quia tamquam *flos agri* juvenus est, qui mane nitet, vespere vero arescit? Nihil est velocius tempore, nihil quod magis fugiat: volat semper irremeabile tempus. Tu tibi pulcher videris, dum aetas robusta, dum juvenus florida viret. Non cogitas instare⁶ senectutem. Non vides, quia dies quaelibet⁷ ⁸ aliquid detrahit formae tuae⁹. Aliqua forsitan¹⁰ formosa puella tuo capta nitore te cepit teque quasi catenis ligatum retinet. Tu ejus delicias sequeris, beatumque¹¹ te putas, dum in amplexus venis illius. Sed longe deceptus es, nam dum formam istius miraris, formosiore¹² deseris adolescentem.

[4] Non enim Lucifer aut Hesperus tam pulcher est quam sapientia, quae studiis acquiritur litterarum, unde et dicere Plato solebat, quod si videri ejus forma posset, *mirabiles sui amores excitaret*. Tu tamen haec omnia deseruisti, ut tuus genitor dixit. Vicit te – ut opinor – impetus juventutis. Sed¹³ cogita, mi Antoni, quia non semper juvenes sumus. Redi, obsecro, in viam et¹⁴ *teipsum tibi vindica*¹⁵. Linque ineptias juventutis et virum te esse memento¹⁶. Omnia haec praetereunt, quibus modo laetaris: aetas¹⁷, valetudo, forma, deliciae, voluptates. Sola nos, si semel recepta fuerit, usque ad mortem sapientia comitatur et post mortem vitam aliam beatissimam praebet. Hanc {7r}igitur, rogo, mi Antoni, ut omnibus aliis rebus¹⁸ post tergum¹⁹ positis, adipisci studeas, quod tunc demum facies, si philosophiae dederis operam et, quod assidua lectione didiceris, in²⁰ opus deduxeris. Ad quam rem jam tempus est, ut te accingas²¹, nec, cum hodie possis bene vivere, cras dicas incipiam.

Vale²² ²³.

¹ studes *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~studes~~ *seq.* V2b

² verbo sed *add.* M3

³ non M3

⁴ puer V4

⁵ potens M2

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ quilibet V4

⁸ dies quaelibet : quilibet dies M3

⁹ detrahit formae tuae : formae tuae detrahit V4

¹⁰ forsitan M3

¹¹ beatum V4

¹² formosior est M3

¹³ virum te esse memento *add.* M2

¹⁴ cogita mi ... et *omit.* M2

¹⁵ recupera *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁶ et virum ... memento *omit.* M2

¹⁷ et *add.* V4

¹⁸ aliis rebus : rebus aliis M1-M3, WO

¹⁹ post tergum : postergas M3

²⁰ non V4

²¹ prepares *glossa interlin.* M1

²² feliciter *add.* M3

²³ etc. *add.* M2, M3

[2] But I hear you will always flit around and not embrace a decent way of life. Now that you are a man, you hate the letters you loved as a child. I am ashamed of you and know not what you may become without letters except *an ass on two legs*.¹ For what is a man, however rich, however powerful, without any kind of learning. What is the difference between an illiterate man and a marble statue? A duke, a king, an emperor is worthless if he does not know his letters. In our time, we see how princes are despised, ignored, and reviled if they do not know Latin, not to speak of their own native language. If such princes have the obedience of their subjects, it is not because of love but because of *fear*, which – as Cicero says – *is short-lived as the counsellor of duty*.² But if there is no fear, they are soon deserted and sometimes killed.

[3] Why do you foolishly shun letters, you are poor and can only become a great man through determined efforts? What – I ask – are you doing, what are you hoping for? Do you think that the flower of youth will stay with you? Or do you not know that youth is like the *flower of the field*³ that shines in the morning but withers in the evening. Nothing passes more swiftly than time; nothing is more fleeting. You think you are handsome while of robust age and flourishing youth. You do not think of looming old age. You do not see that each passing day takes a little away from your handsomeness. Maybe you have been captivated by a beautiful girl who was taken in by your fairness and now keep you as in chains. You will pursue her delights and think yourself happy when you embrace her.⁴ But you are completely deceived, for while you admire her beauty, you desert an even more beautiful young woman.⁵

[4] For not even Lucifer⁶ and Hesperus⁷ are as beautiful as Wisdom, which is acquired through the study of letters, wherefore Plato used to say that if its beauty *could be seen with the physical eye, it would awaken to marvellous love of it*.⁸ But you have foregone all of this, your father says. I believe the impetuosity of youth has taken possession of you. But consider, my dear Antonio, that we shall not always be young. Turn back to the road and *set yourself free for your own sake*.⁹ Abandon the foolishness of youth and know you are a man. All that now delights you will pass away: youth, health, beauty and pleasures. Only wisdom, once embraced, will be with us to our death, and after death it offers us a most happy life. So, my dear Antonio, I ask you to leave all else behind and strive to acquire wisdom. You will do so if you give yourself to philosophy and put into action what you have learnt through assiduous study. It is high time to begin now: do not put off until tomorrow the good¹⁰ life you can live today.

Farewell.

¹ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 9: 92.

² Cicero: *Philippicae*, 2: 90

³ Isaiah, 40: 6

⁴ From the amorous exploits of his own youth, Piccolomini knew very well of what he was speaking. His nephew may even have read Picco-

lomini's erotic novel, *De Duobus Amantibus*, from 1444.

⁵ I.e., Wisdom.

⁶ In Roman mythology, the shining son of Aurora (the Dawn). In Christian theology, a name of the Devil, evil but beautiful.

⁷ In Greek mythology, the Evening Star (Planet of Venus).

⁸ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 5, 15. (Plato: Phaedra, 250D).

⁹ Seneca: *Epistolae*, 1: 1: *vindica te tibi*.

¹⁰ I.e., virtuous and studious.

37. Letter to Giovanni Tolomei (No date, no place).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 13v-14r *; M1, ff. 41v-42r; M2, ff. 28v-29r¹; M3, ff. 183v-184r²; V2, ff. 7-8³; V3, ff. 7r-8r⁴ **;
V4, ff. 7v-9r.

Editions: HE, 38, pp. 113-114 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 38, pp. 114-116 (based on M1, V2).

Translation: RE, 20, pp. 131-132.

{7r} Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit⁵ Johanni Ptolomeo, patruo suo.⁶

[1] Elegisti – ut audio – senectuti {8r} tuae convenientissimam vitam, hortulis quidem⁷ rigandis et rei rusticae studes. Res est te digna, et senio tuo dulce hoc otium est, honestum negotium, modesta voluptas. Jam non armis aptus es, gravis galea esset, molesta lorica⁸, intolerabile⁹ scutum. Rursus quoque in **rerum civilium** versari **fluctibus**¹⁰, carere somno, cibum non sumere in tempore mortifera¹¹ res est senibus. At rusticatio **vitam quietam, liberam, honestam et frugalitati**¹² convenientem praebet. Nec tu primus ex sapientibus viris in **hoc vivendi genus** ex rebus publicis convolasti. Nulla voluptas major **Horatio**¹³ fuit quam rure sese recipere, quo cum venisset, vix illinc¹⁴ poterat Octaviani Caesaris et totius mundi domini jussibus avocari¹⁵. **Cum vero in urbe foret**, miro desiderio **rusis** assidue tenebatur. Hinc **ad Maecenatem scribens**, “*O rus,*” inquit, “*quando ego te aspiciam*¹⁶?” Perlege epistolas Senecae: quid illic magis quam agrorum cultus {7v} collaudatur¹⁷? Plantavit ille platanos sua manu, piscinas fodit, aquas deduxit, nullibi libentius quam in agris erat. Quid in *Catone Majore* Cicero scribit? **Quas utilitates ex agricultura percipi** ostendit, quam **uberrimos quaestus, quantam illic voluptatem** consistere, quantam **mentis quietem, quantam curarum remissionem, quantam naturalem oblectationem**? Hoc genus vitae **solum naturae hominum usuique praecipue est accomodatum**¹⁸, **quod omnia ad victum cultumque nostrum spectantia nobis suppeditat.**

¹ SC, 64-65.

² SC, 372-373,

³ DV, ff. 10r-11r.

⁴ DV, ff. 10r-11r.

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ *Titulus:* omit. L; De agricultura. Eneas Johanni Ptolomeo patruo suo M1; Epistola de agricultura. Eneas Silvius salutem plurimam

dicit Johanni Ptolomeo patruo suo M2

⁷ quidam V4

⁸ lancea M3

⁹ intolerabileque HE, WO

¹⁰ *Words and passages in bold types are quotations from Poggio Bracciolini's letter on agriculture, see supplement to the present letter.*

¹¹ mortifica V4

¹² utilitati *glossa interlin.* M1; fragilitati M3

¹³ philosopho *add. interlin.* M2

¹⁴ illius M3

¹⁵ evocari M1, M3; evocari *add. interlin.* M2

¹⁶ inspiciam M2, M3

¹⁷ commendatur L

¹⁸ accomodum M3

37. Letter to Giovanni Tolomei (No date,¹ no place).

Context: Praise of agriculture and the delights of rural life was a well-known theme in classical literature, which Poggio Bracciolini took up in a letter to Cosimo de' Medici of 11 November 1442.² In this letter - addressed in the later versions to his uncle, Giovanni Tolomei - Piccolomini borrowed freely from Bracciolini's letter³ but also added various elements. He would also treat this theme in his oration "Non est apud me dubium" in 1445.⁴ This letter of advice to an old man, his uncle, forms a pair with the preceding letter of advice to a young man, his nephew. They are probably literary exercises in the format of letters addressed fictively to an uncle and a nephew.

Subject: Piccolomini praises rural life as taken up by his uncle in his old age.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Tolomei, his uncle.⁵

[1] I hear you have chosen a way of life most suitable for your old age and are occupied with rural activities and watering gardens. This befits you, for such leisure activity cheers your old age and is an honest and gratifying occupation. You are no longer fit for the army, the helmet would be too heavy, the armour burdensome, and the shield unwieldy. Also, to be agitated by civic affairs, to lack sleep and not eat on time are highly dangerous for old men. But country life is a tranquil, free, honest and frugal way of life. You are not the first wise man to have fled from public affairs to this kind of life. No pleasure was sweeter to Horace than going to the countryside, and, when he had come there, even Octavian Caesar,⁶ lord of the whole world, could barely make him return. When he was⁷ in the City, he was all the time longing to be in the country. Therefore, he wrote to Maecenas,⁸ "O rural home, when shall I behold you?"⁹ And read Seneca's letters¹⁰: what does he praise more than life in the country? There he planted plane trees¹¹ with his own hands, dug ponds, channelled water, and would rather be in the fields than anywhere else. And what does Cicero write in *Cato Major*?¹² Did he not show the usefulness of agriculture, its rich profits and great delights, peace of mind, relief from worries, and natural enjoyment? This kind of life is supremely suitable for human nature and activity, providing everything we need to subsist and even to live comfortably.

¹ If the letter of Bracciolini, used by Piccolomini, is dated [11 November] 1442, as indicated by its editor, Piccolomini's letter to his uncle cannot have been written the same year since it would take considerably more than a month for a copy of Bracciolini's letter to reach Piccolomini in Austria.

² Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 2: pp. 408-411.

³ Bracciolini's letter is added as a supplement, and Piccolomini's

loans are indicated in bold types in both letters.

⁴ In COR, 3: 6, sect. 65-70.

⁵ Giovanni Tolomei: Uncle of Piccolomini, whose family had for generations intermarried with the Tolomei. Giovanni Tolomei had fought under Muzio Attendolo Sforza, see DVI, sect. 28.

⁶ Gajus Julius Octavianus Caesar AKA Augustus (31 BCE – 14 CE): Roman statesman, first emperor.

⁷ NB: example of "foret" with past tense meaning. Uncorrected in later versions.

⁸ Maecenas, Gajus Cilnius (70-8 BCE): Roman politician.

⁹ Horatius: *Satirae*, 2: 6, 60.

¹⁰ *Epistolae morales* or *Epistolae ad Lucilium*.

¹¹ Cf. Seneca: *Epistolae morales*, 12: 2.

¹² Cicero: *De Senectute*, 15: 51 ff.

[2] Sapis equidem¹, qui hanc vitam² delegeris³, **a tempestatibus civilis insaniae** remotissimam. Hinc potes {8v} **tamquam ex altissima specula** nos curialibus negotiis implicitos, quasi **nafragantes, despiciere**. Hic potes tibi soli vacare, te colere, te frui. **Diocletianus**, cui orbis parebat, **depositis imperii fascibus in villa Salonae agriculturae studiis** sese tradidit. Fecisset⁴ idem⁵ Augustus – ut quidam scribunt – nisi timuisset insidias. **Cyrus, Persarum rex, gloriari plurimum solitus erat**, cum venientibus ad se **hortum** ostenderet⁶ **suis manibus consitum⁷ et arbores in ordinem positas**. Sed – ne mortalia⁸ tantum exempla⁹ sequamur – Deus ipse¹⁰, cum hominem primo¹¹ creasset, ubinam illum posuit nisi in hortis deliciarum, et illum, cum illinc¹² expulit, quonam – obsecro – nisi in agros misit? Facis ergo, mi Johannes¹³, quod te decet, quodque ego, si potero, aliquando faciam, nam **degentem rure** hominem **commendo, curam laudo rerum rusticarum, conserendi** {8r} **plantandique solertiam probo**.

[3] Moneo tamen, ut **labor levis¹⁴** sit, **qui corpus** non atterat¹⁵, sed exercitio quodam **corroboret¹⁶**. Ibi **modeste vives, integritatem vitae** servabis. Non ibi **curiositas supervacua** et anxia te tenebit **sollicitudo**, ut, **quidquid ubique** geratur, pernoscas. **Non somnum** tibi adimere poterunt **curae, invidiae, pestilentia¹⁷**, et **edaci** carebis **livore**. Nulli **fraudi** locus erit, nulli **scelerum officinae** patebit accessus, sed **dulcis securitas, quies tranquilla, otium frugi, vita¹⁸ officio plena**, urbanis **honoribus** atque divitiis **omnibus** anteferenda te habebit. Sequere igitur ut coepisti et agrum simul et¹⁹ teipsum ita excultum redde, ut cum egredi e vita oporteat, ad hortos²⁰ illos pervenias, {9r} quibus nec pluvia nocet nec aestus.

Vale²¹.

¹ quidem L

² *omit.* M3

³ eligis M3

⁴ fecit V4

⁵ hoc idem L

⁶ plurimum solitus ... ostenderet : solitus erat hortum L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* solitus erat hortum V2b

⁷ consertum L, M1, M2, V2a; constitutum M3; *corr. ex.* conser-tum V2b

⁸ mortalium M2

⁹ tantum exempla : exempla tantum L

¹⁰ autem M2

¹¹ primum L

¹² illum cum illinc : illinc cum illum L

¹³ Francisce L, M1

¹⁴ lenis V2, V3

¹⁵ consumat glossa interlin. M1; atterit M2

¹⁶ corroborat M2

¹⁷ invidiae pestilentia : pestilentie invidie M3

¹⁸ ita V4

¹⁹ ob M2

²⁰ ad hortos : adortus M2

²¹ etc. *add.* M2, M3

[2] Indeed, you are wise to have chosen this life, far away from the furious storms of city life. In the country, you can, as from a tall watchtower, see us city people being tossed about like men shipwrecked by the affairs of the courts. There, you are free to take care of yourself alone and be happy. Diocletian,¹ who had been master of the world, abandoned the supreme power and dedicated himself to agriculture in his villa at Salona.² Some writers claim that Augustus would have done the same had he not feared plots. Cyrus,³ King of the Persians, when showing his garden to visitors, boasted that he had planted it with his own hands and *placed the trees in orderly rows*.⁴ But – so as not to follow only human examples – when God first created man, where did he put him but in the garden of delights,⁵ and when he expelled him, where did he send him – I ask – but to the fields?⁶ My dear Giovanni,⁷ you are doing what you should and what I myself shall do sometime if only I can, for I commend the man who lives in the country, I praise rural occupations, and I approve of the skill to sow and plant.

[3] I only urge that the labour be easy and not wear down the body but strengthen it by moderate exercise. There you will live a simple, wholesome life. You will not be seized by futile curiosity or an anxious need to know all that happens everywhere. You will not be kept sleepless by worries or jealousy or plague, and you will be free of *greedy envy*.⁸ There will be no deceit and no entry to the workshop of crime, and you will put sweet safety, tranquil quiet, fruitful leisure and a kind life above urban offices and all riches. So, continue the course you have chosen and cultivate your field and yourself so that when you must leave this life, you will come to those gardens that are never disturbed by rain or heat.

Farewell.

¹ Diocletianus, Gajus Aurelius Valerius (ca. 244-311): Roman emperor from 284 to his abdication in 305.

² Administrative capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Diocletian's palace was situated in present-day Split, close to Salona.

³ Cyrus II the Great (ca. 600 – 530 BCE): Founder of the Achaemenid Empire, the first Persian Empire.

⁴ Cicero: *De senectute*, 17: 59.

⁵ Paradise. Genesis, 2: 9.

⁶ Genesis, 3: 23.

⁷ The earliest versions of the letter have “Francisce” instead of “Jo-

hanne”, possibly indicating that Giovanni Tolomei was not the first intended recipient of this letter.

⁸ Ovidius: *Remedia amoris*, 389: *livor edax*.

Supplement

*Letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Cosimo de' Medici on the pleasures of country life (11 November 1442)*¹.

Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Cosmo de Medicis, ornatissimo atque optimo viro. Si umquam mihi antea rei rusticae cura, et vita ei exercitio dedita jucunda visa est, ac suavis, nunc his paucis diebus, quibus in solo natali vixi procul a Curiae molestiis constitutus, jucundissimam ac suavissimam judicavi, dulcis otii, honesti negotii, et modestae voluptatis plenam. Cognovi enim **hoc vivendi genus**, quod multi praeclari viri posthabitis **rerum civilium fluctibus** elegerunt esse maxime expetendum; cum in eo **vitam quietam, liberam, honestam, frugalitati** conjunctam agere valeamus. Ut non miror **Horatii Flacci ruris** videndi, **cum in urbe esset**, cupiditatem; qui scribens ad **Maecenatem**, “**O rus,**” inquit, “**quando ego te aspiciam? Vel quando licebit nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis ducere sollicitae jucunde obliviae vitae?**” Et certe si qua virtuti et litteris vacandi via est, hanc profecto esse constat remotam a vitiis, et honestati propinquam. Neque vero eam existimo tantum a doctissimis quidem viris rei rusticae scriptoribus laudatam, quantum dignitas ejus, et merita erga humanum genus postulare videntur. Nam ut omittam **quas utilitates ex agricultura percipimus**; ut non recenseam **quaestus uberrimos**, quos largitur; **quanta voluptas et quies mentis, quanta curarum remissio, quanta naturalis oblectatio**, quanta virtus in ejus vitae ratione versatur. Haec est **sola naturae hominum, usuique praecipue accomodata, quae omnia ad victum cultumque nostrum spectantia suppeditat nobis**, ac subministrat. Haec est quae semota a **tempestatibus civilis insaniae**, tanquam ex quadam **specula** caeteros veluti **nafragantes despicit**, et contemnit; haec procul a malis vitiorum exemplis, relictis fori et contentionum jurgiis, sibi soli vacat et bonae menti; haec spreis supervacaneis cupiditatibus, contempta inani ambitione, neque superflua cupit, neque abutitur quaesitis: haec populari aura et vulgi honoribus nihil pensis honesto fruitur ocio, et animi tranquillitate, quae rarissime assequuntur, qui urbana tractant, et vulgi plausum quaerunt; haec est vere philosophandi dux, in qua et rerum secreta rimari licet, et bonos mores facile amplecti: haec bonis, haec sapientibus, haec doctis viris, haec regibus, atque imperatoribus digna exercitatio. **Cyrus Persarum rex** ille, a Xenophonte celebratus, **gloriari solitus est hortum suis manibus consertum, et arbores in ordinem positas. Diocletianus depositis imperii insignibus in villa Salone agriculturae detinebatur studio**, ut haec sola res veram quietem, et a curis superfluis vacationem largiri hominibus videatur. Hanc vitam cum multi egregie laudarint, Cicero noster in oratione pro Roscio, omnium laudes meo iudicio superare videtur, qui eam parsimoniam, diligentiae, justitiae esse magistram tradit, maximeque disjunctam a cupiditate, et officio conjunctam. Quae laus haud scio, an in aliam vitam recte possit conferri. Plures excellentes doctrina viri, ut philosophandi studio, et bonarum artium pervestigat[i]o[n]i facilius penitusque possent vacare, relictis urbibus se rus in vitam privatam contulerunt; ubi dies suos summa in quiete et honesto otio transegere. Multos vero civitatum gubernaculis inherentes civilis tempestas ad scopulos allisit. Marcus Tullius civilem vitam privatae anteponit, laudatque eos, qui ad gubernandam rempublicam accesserunt. At ipsi, et Demostheni multisque aliis eloquentissimis viris satius fuisset nullas reipublicae partes attigisse. Quamvis tali eloquentia Cicero in tanta imperii magnitudine, in tanta amplitudine honorum facile suam sententiam tueri potest, cum ea quemvis egregium ingenio hominem queant incendere, et erigere ad laudis et gloriae appetitionem. Multum enim pollet in civitatibus vis dicendi, et ingenii laus; sed multi sudores, labores plurimi, vita anxia proposita est ejusmodi viris, et varii fortunae casus. Ego autem, cui senescenti quies et ocium cordi est, **degentem rure commendo**, et

¹ From Bracciolini: *Opera*, 3: 8, ep. 34, pp. 257-261.

*eum praesertim qui a cura rei rusticae ad litteras, tanquam in arcem animi, posset confugere. Neque ego nunc rusticana, aut fodiendi aut arandi, aut plantandi, proprio sudore opera subeunda nobis censeo. Non enim sum Serranus, aut Cincinnatus, qui ab aratro ad senatum accersebantur. Non sum Scipio ille superior Africanus, quem Literni exultantem agrum suis manibus coluisse Seneca scribit. Manus enim meae aptiores sunt, quam operae rusticanae, sed commendo vitam quietem, qua rure vivitur, **curam laudo rerum rusticarum, conserendi, plantandique solertiam; laborem levem, qui corpus paulum exerceat ac corroboret, probo; victus modestiam, integritatem vitae, remissionem animi, quae est vera ratio philosophandi. Non enim illic degentem rerum urbanarum strepitus, et sollicitudo anxia premit; non curiositas supervacua noscendi mentem sollicitat; non quicquid ubique terrarum agitur indagamus; non curis superfluis abrumpitur somnus; non pestilens invidia, non livor edax fraudem proximo machinatur: non scelerum officinae, quae errant urbibus, ad mala facinora impellunt; non sexcenta alia, quae civilis et occupata vita nequit effugere, sed dulcis ac segura quies, vita frugi, et ocium officio plenum, omnibus honoribus ac dignitatibus praeferendum. Hanc vitam fidentius apud te extollo, quem scio saepius rus tanquam in portum ex civili inundatione confugere, delectarique admodum cultura villae, ac studio tum plantandarum, tum conserendarum arborum detineri, digno sane docto, liberoque homine exercitio: hortarer te ad eam vivendi normam, si aut res tua, aut tempora paterentur. Attamen si frequenter hos, quibus necessario implicaris, civiles tumultus lenieris jucunditate atque amoenitate ruris, et te in libertatem animi, quod etiam legendo ociosus acquires, quandoque vindicaris, cognosces vivere aliquando te tibi, et tempus id tuum esse, quod, aut in remissionem curarum ruri colendo impenderis, aut contuleris ad studia litterarum, quae est maxima omnium, et honesta voluptas, ac prae ceteris appetenda. Vale. Florentiae die XI. Novembris.**¹*

¹ Note in Opera-ed.: Anni 1442.

38. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (21-29 November 1442, Konstanz).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 36v¹; M3, f. 224r²; V2, f. 109-110³; V3, f. 50v-51r^{4**}; V4, ff. 45v-46r.

Editions: HE, 39, p. 115; WO, 1: 1, 39, pp. 116-117; (both based on V2)

{50v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit Nicolao Amidano, canonico Mantuano et amando fratri.

[1] Parum tecum negotii habui, Nicolae amantissime, dum Basileae fui, sed nec plus habuisse voluerim, namque si modicae consuetudinis causa tantum molestiae fero te privatus, quid tandem facerem, si *salis* – ut ajunt – *modicum* tecum consumpsissem. Mirum in modum gravis est mihi absentia tua atque id eo longe gravior, quia inter exteros sum meos modos meumque⁶ vivendi morem penitus abhorrentes. Sed statui omnia ferre, dum sperem mihi bene esse. Ut tamen facilius tolerare possim, obsecro, ne tibi calamus plumbeus sit neve papyrus aurea, quam dissipare formides⁷. Multa sunt, quae mihi in dies⁸ potes scribere, valetudinem tuam Perigallique, novitates illuc passim defluentes, et quid in concilio quidve in curia fiat. Et si desint cetera, Andreae nova cupiditas⁹ saltem materiam potest dare, de qua numquam tantum scribes, quantum audiam libenter. Effice igitur, quod cupio. Me autem an scripturum¹⁰ tibi existimes¹¹ vel ex eo potes intelligeres, quia prior do litteras. {51r} Nec plura modo. Nos Ulmam pergimus, deinde Inspruccam, post Carinthiam petaturi. Incertum est, an Nurembergam venturi simus. Jam vela ventis solvi et in¹² intimum mare devolvor, dietim¹³ a te ceterisque meis caris remotior.

Vale, ex Constantia¹⁴.

¹ SC, 80.

² SC, 452.

³ DV, ff. 60r-60v.

⁴ DV, ff. 53v-54r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ me ibique M3

⁷ formidas M3

⁸ in dies : dietim V2, M1-M3,

⁹ Andreae nova cupiditas : Glycerium M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Glycerium V2b

¹⁰ scriptum V4

¹¹ extimes M1-M3, V2; *corr. ex* extimes V3

¹² *omit.* V3, V4

¹³ in dies : dietim M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ Ex Constantia : etc. M2

38. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (21-29 November 1442, Konstanz).

Context: Having joined the court of Friedrich III as a royal secretary and member of the imperial chancery, Piccolomini entered a new phase of his life and career when, in November 1442, he left Basel in the train of the king, moving slowly towards his homelands in Austria.

Subject: In a drive to develop his net of contacts and informants, Piccolomini invites Niccolò Amidano, an acquaintance from the Basel period, to become one of his correspondents.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Niccolò Amidano, canon of Mantua and beloved brother.

[1] My dear Niccolò,¹ when I was in Basel, our relationship was not a close one. However, I would not want it to have been closer, for being deprived now of your companionship, however limited, causes me such pain that I do not know what I would do if we had – as they say – *taken salt together*.² Your absence pains me terribly and so much the more because I am now among strangers who greatly dislike my ways and manners. But I have decided to bear with it all as I hope it will turn out well for me. But, to lighten the burden, I beg you: do not let your pen be leaden and your paper golden since then you would fear wasting them. There are many things you could write to me from day to day: yours and Peregallo's³ health, news continually reaching you there in Basel, and what happens in the council⁴ and the curia.⁵ And if such news is lacking, there is always the subject of Andreas'⁶ new passion about whom you can never write as much as I should gladly hear. So please fulfil my wish! You will know that I shall write you back because I am now writing to you first. No more of that!

Presently, we are travelling in the direction of Ulm⁷ and shall continue to Kärnten via Innsbruck. It is not yet decided whether we shall be going to Nürnberg. I have now set sail⁸ and am moving into the high sea. Each day takes me further from you and the others dear to me.

Farewell. From Konstanz.

¹ Amidano, Niccolò (-1454): Papal official. Canon of Mantua. Bishop of Piacenza, 1448-1453. Archbishop of Milan from 1453 to his death next year. Friend of Piccolomini.

² Terentius: *Andria*, 108.

³ Peregallo, Giovanni: Official at the Council of Basel. Later secretary of Felix V. Friend of Piccolomini, who in later mentions of

his own sexual affairs, would substitute Peregallo's name for himself.

⁴ The rump council of Basel, continuing after its dissolution in 1348 by the Roman pope, despite not being recognised by the European nations.

⁵ I.e., the curia of antipope Felix V.

⁶ The original text of the letter had Glycerium, a girlfriend of Picco-

lomini, probably his lover and possibly a prostitute. She is only mentioned in Piccolomini's correspondence with Amidano.

⁷ Apparently, the emperor did not go to Ulm.

⁸ "solvi": a misnomer, cf. HE, p. 114. Vela dare = to set sail. Ancoram solvere = to anchor. Elsewhere, Piccolomini got it right, e.g. DVI, sect. 45.

39. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (5 December 1442, Feldkirch).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 37r-37v¹; M3, ff. 226v-227r²; V2, ff. 118-120³; V3, f. 55v-57r⁴ **; V4, ff. 50r-51v.

Editions: HE, 40, pp. 115-117; WO, 1: 1, 40, pp. 117-119; (both based on V2)

Translations: RE, 21, pp. 133-135.

{55v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit domino Guniforto, utriusque juris doctori ducalique secretario, amico praecipuo.

[1] Ea sublevatio status tui, vir amplissime, quam nuper Mediolanensem principem fecisse intellexi, tanto mihi jucundior fuit, quanto illam video tuis virtutibus tuisque studiis magis {56r} convenientem. Namque – sicut mihi videtur – neque ducalis cancellaria aptiorem rectorem habere poterat nec tibi palaestra convenientior dari, quamquam non dubitem plus illam ex te habituram ornamenti quam te ex illa suscepturum honoris. Verum in hac tua exaltatione rogo, ne idem facias, quod ex humano ingenio plerique faciunt, omnes post se despicientes, cum ipsi sublimati sunt. Serva mihi - oro – aliquem locum in amicitia tua, ubi me ponas. Non postulo in primis aut in secundis, sed saltem in ultimis, namque, si cetera desunt, quae amicitiam conflare inter nos debeant, illud⁶ sufficere potest⁷, officiorum scilicet professio⁸ eadem, quia et ego Caesaris nostri Friderici secretarius sum, quamvis longe indignus.

¹ SC, 81-82.

² SC, 457-458.

³ DV, ff. 64v-65v.

⁴ DV, ff. 58v-60r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ id M2

⁷ debet M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* debet V2b

⁸ possessio M3

39. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (5 December 1442, Feldkirch¹).

- Context:* In 1436, Piccolomini had been granted the provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan, only to lose it when, three years later, he was rumoured to have died of the plague in Basel, though reasons of church policy also affected the case. In vain, he had tried to become reinstated, and when he was appointed to the influential post of secretary to Friedrich III, he began a veritable campaign to regain the provostship.
- Subject:* Piccolomini requests the aid of Guiniforte Barzizza, newly appointed secretary to the Duke of Milan, to regain his provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan, intimating to Guiniforte that as secretary to Friedrich, he might be of valuable assistance to Guiniforte himself.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Guiniforte,² doctor in both laws, ducal secretary and special friend.

[1] Honourable sir, I have heard of your recent promotion by the prince of Milan.³ I was much pleased to hear it, seeing how greatly it suits your qualifications. I believe that the ducal chancery could not get a more qualified principal, nor could you find a more appropriate field [in which to exercise your talents]. However, I do not doubt that the prestige the chancery derives from this appointment will be greater than the honour you acquire from it. But I ask that in this advancement, you do not imitate those whom human nature leads to despising those they leave behind as they move up in the world. Please keep a place for me among your friends. I do not demand to be among the first or the second but just one of the last. If other reasons for forging a friendship between us were lacking, then this, at least, should suffice that we perform the same office since I am now a secretary to our Emperor Friedrich,⁴ though far from worthy.

¹ Dated by WO on the basis of the following letter.

² Guiniforte Barzizza (1406-1463): Italian humanist and secretary to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti until the duke's death in 1447. Piccolomini's letter appears to indicate that his appointment as secretary was recent ("nuper").

³ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁴ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II later related how he came to be employed by the emperor: *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, 1: 10-11 (Meserve, 1: pp. 45-47)).

[2] Haec tamen res facit, ut benevolentiam tuam obtinere non desperem, sed quasi jam illam nactus sim, statui amicorum more absque praefationibus, quod mihi necessarium sit, tibi aperire tuumque consilium et auxilium exposcere. Vacavit alias in Basiliensi concilio praepositura ecclesiae Sancti Laurentii Mediolanensis. Eam mihi sancta synodus, quam tunc omnes recognoscebant, illico contulit. Princeps Mediolanensis alium ex domo Landrianorum eligi curavit¹ et dari ei possessionem. Eugenius cuidam Leonardo Vercellensi de illa providit. Veni ergo mox Mediolanum favoreque amicorum et ex gratia principis, excluso qui jam erat² intrusus, possessionem obtinui, solutis³ tamen ita, ut fiebat, Todeschino {56v} quinquaginta aureis, moxque jussu ducali Basileam repetii. Ab hinc triennium pestis magna concilium invasit. Dux suos revocavit. Ego, quia bonum officium ibi⁴ habebam, recedere non potui. Morbum incidi subitoque orta fama est me mortem obiisse. Scitum est id Mediolani. Leonardus, cui Eugenius providerat, sublatum me de medio gaudens, possessionem praepositurae postulat obtinetque. Ego postmodum convalescens et audiens me spoliatum, scribo litteras ad amicos, facio fidem me⁵ vivum esse, peto restitui. Sed quia Basileae eram, numquam obtinere potui credoque⁶ numquam fuisse principi rem expositam.

¹ fecit M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* fecit V2b
² *omit.* V4

³ soluet V4
⁴ bonum officium ibi : ibi bonum officium M3

⁵ ut V4
⁶ credo V4

[2] For this reason, I hope to obtain your goodwill, and I have decided – as if I had already acquired it – to tell you, without preliminaries, as friends do, what I need and ask for your advice and help. When ¹ a vacancy in the provostship of the church of San Lorenzo in Milan was referred to the Council of Basel, the Holy Synod, which was then recognised by all, immediately conferred it upon me. However, the prince of Milan had someone from the House of the Landriani elected and given possession, whereas [Pope] Eugenius gave it to Leonardo of Vercelli.² I immediately went to Milan, and with the help of my friends and the favour of the prince, the man who had already intruded himself [into the office] was turned out, and I obtained possession, having paid – as needful – 50 golden ducats to Todeschini.³ Soon afterwards, the duke bade me return to Basel. Three years later,⁴ a terrible plague hit the council, and the duke recalled his [prelates]. Having a good position there, I could not leave. I fell sick, and soon a rumour arose that I had died. This was heard in Milan. Then Leonardo, who had been granted the benefice by Eugenius, rejoicing that I had been eliminated, demanded possession of the provostship and obtained it. Later, I regained my health, and when I heard that I had been deprived [of my benefice], I wrote to my friends proving that I was still alive and demanded to be restored to my office. But since I was in Basel,⁵ I was unable to obtain it, and I believe that the affair was never even reported to the prince.

¹ Piccolomini had been granted the provostship by the Archbishop of Milan, then in Basel, on 22 March 1436.

² Leonardo della Serrata (1400-1487): Italian humanist. Cameraarius of Pope Eugenius.

³ Not identified.

⁴ July 1439.

⁵ Meaning that Piccolomini belonged to the conciliarist party and the obedience to its antipope, Felix V, and not the the obedience of Pope Eugenius, whom the Duke of

Milan now recognised. Appointments by the council were, therefore, no longer accepted in Milan.

[3] Qua re, cum tu eo in loco sis, quo te cupio et gaudeo, rogo et obsecro, ut aperire ista principi velis supplicareque, ut ecclesiam meam mihi restitui mandet¹. Et si adversarius dicit se jus habere, non fugio² Mediolanensem archiepiscopum, virum sanctissimum, aut Novariensem pontificem³, integerrimum patrem, causae iudicem⁴ dummodo, quod juris est, ante omnia restituar in statum pristinum. Jam autem non potest dici, quia de oboedientia alia sum, quia regi⁵ servio, qui est omnino indifferens. Plura scriberem, si mihi cum homine minus perito res esset. Tibi autem omne parum sufficit, me jam habes. Orassem⁶ regem, ut scriberet⁷, nisi rem parvam putarem. Si tamen ita consulis, neque aliter fieri potest, non unas sed centum habebo litteras. Tu – obsecro – mihi quid speres et⁸ quid facto sit opus, rescribe et juva, ut {57r} potes, sciens quia neque ingratum promovebis amicum.

Vale et me sic frueri⁹, ut strenuo militi¹⁰ ac doctore eximio¹¹ Jacobo de Castroromano uteris, tanto tamen minus quanto et scio et possum minus, et tanto plus, quanto plura mihi quam illi licent. Iterum vale. Ex Feltkirchen.^{12 13}

¹ faciat M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* faciat V2b;

² iudicem *add.* M2, M3, V2a; causae iudicem *add. supra-lin.* V2b

³ episcopum M2

⁴ *omit.* V2a, M2, M3

⁵ quia regi : regi enim V4

⁶ fecissem M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* fecissem V2b

⁷ ut scriberet : scribere M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* scribere V2b

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ favere M3

¹⁰ milite V3, V4

¹¹ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ seq. V2b

¹² etc. *add.* M2, V2

¹³ Ex Feltkirchen : datum Vienna M3

[3] Therefore, since you now have the position I wish for you and am glad you have, I beg you to inform the prince [of this matter] and ask him to order my church to be given back to me. If my adversary claims that he has the right to it, I shall not refuse to have the archbishop of Milan,¹ a most holy man, or the bishop of Novara,² a man of great integrity, as the judge of the case, as long as – above all – I am restored to my previous state, as justice demands. It can no longer be said that I belong to another obedience, for I am now in the service of the king,³ who is completely neutral.⁴ I would write more if I had to do with a man of lesser experience. But what I have written should be enough for you; you now know about my case. I would have asked the king to write if I did not consider the matter to be [too] small. But if you advise it and it is necessary, I shall write not one but hundred letters. I beg you to let me know what you think about the prospects of the matter and what is needful, and to help me as much as you are able to, knowing that you will not be assisting an ungrateful friend.

Farewell. It would please me if you would accept as a friend the bold knight and distinguished doctor, Jacopo de Castroromano,⁵ who in his own area knows and is more capable than I - but otherwise, of course, he does not have my possibilities of action.⁶ Again, farewell. From Feldkirch.

¹ Francesco Pizzolpasso.

² Bartolomeo Visconti.

³ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (Styria). Elected emperor in 1440 and crowned in Rome in 1452.

⁴ In 1438, the German princes had issued a declaration of neutrality between the Council of Basel and

Pope Eugenius IV, to which the emperors Albrecht II and Friedrich III adhered.

⁵ Jacopo Giovanni de Castroromano [Castelbarco]: Physician of the emperor and one of the two high-ranking Italians at the imperial court (Heinig: *Kaiser*, 1: 296).

⁶ The meaning of the Latin passage is somewhat unclear. The trans-

lator proposes that it should be taken as a recommendation of Jacopo, a great specialist in his own area, but with an addition that Piccolomini's position in the imperial chancery gives him the possibility to be of greater service to Guiniforte.

40. Letter to Francesco Pizzolpasso (5 December 1442, Feldkirch).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 43r-43v; M2, ff. 36v-37r¹; M3, ff. 226r-226v²; V2, ff. 111-113³; V3, ff. 51v-52v⁴ **; V4, ff. 46r-47r.

Editions: HE, 41, pp. 117-119; WO, 1: 1, 41, pp. 119-120; (both based on M1 and V2)

Translations: RE, 22, pp. 135-137.

{51v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Francisco de Piciolpassis, archipraesuli Mediolanensi, Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Si cui umquam libenter scripsi, amplitudini quidem tuae⁷ scripsi⁸ libentissime, dum essem Basileae. Nam te domini⁹ et patris habebam loco memineramque¹⁰ plurium tuorum in me meritorum, quae sane¹¹ mente mea numquam excident. At cum viderem te¹² litteris meis non respondere, arbitratus sum - id¹³ quod erat - te scilicet¹⁴ offensum Basiliensibus rebus nauseamque inde capere. Destiti igitur diuque silui, tum ne tibi imprudens displicerem, tum quod grave erat tot litteras responso indignas mittere. Sed quamvis scribere omiserim¹⁵, amare¹⁶ non destiti¹⁷, cupiens semper in eum gradum res restitui, ex quo vicissitudines litterarum currere¹⁸ possent. Idque nunc arbitror evenisse, quando me neque quaerentem neque somniantem quidem Caesar noster, Fridericus Augustus, in suum secretarium accersivit, cui jam servio in statu graduque minime inhonorato, quo ex loco scribenti mihi non arbitror te responsonem negaturum.

[2] Namque, si recte intelligo, idem est Caesaris¹⁹ quod tuum desiderium, nulli ex contententibus magis favens quam alteri. Cupit enim unire²⁰ et reintegrare laceratam ecclesiam atque ad id operam dat, et²¹ spero confore²², ut voti compos existat. Et licet his diebus Basileae fuerit, et quae tuam dignitatem {52r} arbitror audisse fecerit²³, nihil tamen in hanc magis quam in illam pendet partem, et id ipsum Florentiae fecisset, si tam²⁴ illic fuisset propinquus, secutusque est Sigismundi exemplum et sequetur in hac re unionis ecclesiae usque ad calcem. Tu ergo, pater optime, scribe mihi²⁵ aliquando, cum unus ex indifferentibus²⁶ factus sim²⁷, nec²⁸ quid animi habeam quaerito, dum verba et opera mea a voluntate principis mei non discordent²⁹ ³⁰. Repetamus igitur veterem consuetudinem emancipatumque filium jam readopta et, ut solebas³¹, utere pro tuo. Ego iterum ad patrem et dominum redeo quasi ex postliminio.

¹ SC, 80-81.

² SC, 456-457.

³ DV, ff. 61r-62r.

⁴ DV, ff. 54v-55v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *Titulus:* domino Francisco, archipraesuli Mediolanensi. Reverendissime pater et domine mi praestantissime M1; reverendissime pater et domine mi praestantissime HE, WO

⁷ WO use 2nd pers. plural in address.

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ dominum WO

¹⁰ meminereque M3

¹¹ certe *glossa interlin.* M1

¹² paternitatem vestram WO

¹³ videlicet *add.* M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ omiseram M1

¹⁶ tamen *add.* WO

¹⁷ omisi M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex.*

omisi V2b

¹⁸ curare M3

¹⁹ cesari WO

²⁰ vivere M3

²¹ *omit.* V4

²² conforme M3

²³ et quae tuam ... fecerit *omit.* M2

²⁴ tamen HE, WO

²⁵ *omit.* M2

²⁶ differentibus M2, M3, V2-V4

²⁷ sum V4

²⁸ ne M1, M3

²⁹ discordant M3

³⁰ ad cuius intentionem captivare ingenium volo meum *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ad cuius intentionem captivare ingenium volo meum~~ *seq.* V2b

³¹ sobolas M3

40. Letter to Francesco Pizzolpasso (5 December 1442, Feldkirch).

Context: During his stay in Basel, Piccolomini had as a friend and benefactor Archbishop Pizzolpasso of Milan. Later, in 1438, the Duke of Milan withdrew his prelates from the council, and the archbishop, moreover, sided with the papalist party, while Piccolomini sided with the conciliarist. For this reason, Pizzolpasso broke off the contact. But when Piccolomini joined the court of the emperor who, with the German nation, was neutral in the church conflict, he saw a possibility of restoring his relationship with the archbishop.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Pizzolpasso that he has joined the emperor's court and proposes that they resume their relationship and epistolary contact.

Enea sends many greetings to the father in Christ, His Lordship Francesco Pizzolpasso, Archbishop of Milan.

[1] If ever I wrote with pleasure to anyone, it was in Basel where I was happy to write to Your Excellency. For you were both a lord and father to me, and I remembered your many merits towards me that I shall never forget. But when I saw that you did not answer my letters, I realised that you were, in fact, offended and revolted by the events in Basel. So I ceased to write and have remained silent for a long time so as not to displease you, and also because it was frustrating to send so many letters [apparently] unworthy of a reply. But though I ceased to write, I did not cease to love you, and I always wanted our relationship to be restored so that we would again exchange letters. I think the opportunity has now arisen since I have been engaged as a secretary by our August Emperor Friedrich, without my requesting or even dreaming about it! So, I am now serving him in an honourable position, from which I write to you, hoping that you will not deny me an answer.

[2] For – if I understand the matter correctly – the emperor's wishes are the same as yours, and he does not favour one of the contendants¹ more than the other. He desires and strives to reunite and restore the fractured Church, and I hope it will happen as he wishes. And though he was recently in Basel² and did what I believe Your Excellency has heard,³ it does not mean that he prefers one party to the other. He would have done the same in Florence⁴ if he had been as near to it [as he was to Basel]. He has followed the example of Sigismund in the matter of Church union, and he will continue to follow it to the end. But you, Best Father, write to me so sometimes since I have now joined the neutrals, and do not ask for my personal opinion since my words and acts will not deviate from the prince's policy⁵. So, let us resume our old relationship: adopt the abandoned son again and treat him as your own. And I return to my father⁶ and lord as *ex postliminio*.⁷

¹ Pope Eugenius IV vs the Council of Basel with its antipope, Felix V.

² 13-18 September 1442.

³ On his coronation progress, the emperor visited Basel from 11 to 16 November 1442. In his *De viris Illustribus* wrote about the visit: *On his return trip, he yielded to the insistent invitations of the citizens of Basel and entered their city, but*

he did not want to go to the [council's] meeting place nor to address the council fathers. He did, however, visit Felix privately and honoured him not as a pope but as a Father of [venerable] age and a priest (DVI, sect. 158).

⁴ Where Pope Eugenius was residing at the time.

⁵ "voluntas"

⁶ Like the biblical prodigal son.

⁷ A reference to the legal term of *jus postliminii*, in civil law, the right of postliminy, i.e. the right or claim of a person to be restored to the possession of a thing or to a former condition, to be considered as though he had never been deprived of it. Piccolomini also used the term in his *Report on a Diplomatic Mission to Milan 1447* (CRDM, 2, sect. 14).

[3] Deinde, si vides me poetam subscriptum, non mirere¹, quoniam talem me² Caesar esse voluit. Et si archipresbyter Papiensis et Isidorus de Rosato³ totaque illa nebulonum turba jurisconsulti nomen sibi⁴ arrogat auroque cingitur, cur ego poetae titulum verebor assumere? *Libet* et mihi inter alios *insanire*, quamquam et⁵ haec dignitas majoris ad studium vigilantiae causa erit.

[4] Nicolaus filius⁶ tuus, frater meus, libellum quendam meum non limatum neque, ut oportebat, revisum secum ad tuum examen detulit neque remisit umquam. Opto illius custos sit fidus neque edat rem imperfectam. Novum enim opus – ut scis – jubet Horatius *in nonum premi*⁷ annum.

[5] Vir maturus⁸ et sensu et aetate, Mapheus de Muggiano, si quando ad te venit, meo nomine salvus esto⁹. Id quoque de candido dixerim eloquentiae fluvio, Guiniforti¹⁰, ducali secretario apprime {52v} merito, cui super re meae praepositurae scribo. Rogo, ut me aliquando commissum facias, quam provinciam si¹¹ Nicolao delegaveris, spero, libenter assumet¹².

Vale optime, mei memor. Ex Felchirea Lepontiorum, nonis Decembribus^{13 14 15 16}.

¹ mireris HE; miremini WO

² talem me : me talem M2

³ Rosate M1, M2

⁴ nomen sibi : sibi nomen M1

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ omit. M1-M3, V2a; add. *supralin.* V2b

⁷ promi *corr. ex* premi V2; promi V3, V4

⁸ maturius V2

⁹ sit M1

¹⁰ omit. M1

¹¹ omit. WO

¹² faciet M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* faciet V2b

¹³ Felchirea Lepontiorum, nonis decembribus : *etc.* M2; ex Constantia M3, *corr. ex* Constantia V2b;

¹⁴ 1442 *add.* WO

¹⁵ Decembris V3, V4

¹⁶ Ex Felchirea ... Decembribus : *omit.* M1; *etc.* M2

[3] Do not be surprised when you see that I sign¹ as a ‘poet’, for that is what Caesar wanted me to be. And if the archpriest of Pavia and Isidoro da Rosate² and all that crowd of rascals usurp the name of ‘jurist’ and wear golden belts,³ why should I not take the title of ‘poet’? So, I too may be *bent on folly*,⁴ though this honour will be a reason for exercising greater vigilance.

[4] Niccolò,⁵ your son and my brother, took a book⁶ of mine with him for you to review, but he has not returned it. However, the book was neither polished nor revised, as it should have been, so I wish him to keep it loyally and not publish an unfinished work. As you know, Horace bids that a new work be *kept back till the ninth year*.⁷

[5] If Maffeo of Muggiano,⁸ mature of reason and age, should sometime come to you, please greet him from me, as also Guiniforte,⁹ that shining river of eloquence, the duke’s well-deserved secretary, to whom I write concerning my provostship.¹⁰ Also, I ask you to let me represent you here [when needful],¹¹ but if you give this charge to Niccolò, I hope that he will accept it with pleasure.

Farewell, best of men, and do remember me. From Feldkirch in the Lepontii, 5 December [1442].

¹ In the later version of the letter, Piccolomini deleted the word ‘poeta’, thus rendering this whole passage meaningless!

² Isidoro da Rosate: envoy of the Duke of Milan at the council of Basel. On 5 November 1436, at the council’s discussions for a new venue, he presented the case for Pavia so ineptly that the council fathers bade him be silent (see *Concilium Basiliense: Die Protokolle*, p. 319 and 320). He thereby provided Piccolomini with an opportunity to take over the defence of the duke’s city ... and to shine! Piccolomini wrote disparagingly about him in his *Commentarii*, 1: 8; in his *De Viris Illustribus* from

1445-1446, sect. 6; and in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius* from 1450 (WO, 2: p. 191). Also the Archpriest of Pavia (according to RE (p. 136), he was Johannes de Comitibus, a member and official of the Council of Basel) spoke for Pavia, in the General Congregation of 7 November (see *Concilium Basiliense: Die Protokolle*, p. 323)

³ Apparently an emblem of the law profession. This passage is sometimes used to demonstrate Piccolomini’s aversion to the law profession.

⁴ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 2: 36

⁵ Unidentified member of Pizzolpasso’s household. Also referred to in Pizzolpasso’s letter to Picco-

lomini of 6 February 1443 (letter nr. 45). In RE, he is identified as Niccolò Arcimboldi, without documentation (RE, p. 136).

⁶ The *Libellus Dialogorum* of 1440, defending a conciliarist viewpoint.

⁷ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 388: *nonumque prematur in annum*.

⁸ Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458): Italian poet.

⁹ Guiniforte Barzizza, see the preceding letter.

¹⁰ The provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan, see the preceding letter.

¹¹ Probably, the meaning is to represent the archbishop’s interests at the imperial court.

41. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (23 December 1442, Innsbruck).

Manuscripts: L, f. 8v *; M1, f. 192r **.

Editions: HE, 42, pp. 119-120 (based on L and M1); WO, 1: 1, 42, p. 121 (based on M1).

{192r} Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem dicit magnifico et praestantissimo militi, domino Gaspari Slik, imperiali cancellario apprime merito.

[1] Hunc, quem modo ex Florentia facis reditum, muneribus alii, cenis alii – ut moris est – honorabunt. Ego, etsi facere utrumque tam vellem, quam par esset, neque tamen istius neque illius sum potens, cui nihil omnino est praeter carmina. Poetae tamen suas in his delicias ac divitias collocarunt easque tanto mundanis opibus digniores putarunt, quanto praeclarius est perpetuum quam mortale et brevi casurum decus. Ex his, si libare aliqua dignaris, edam tibi in honorem tuum pauca¹, quae nudiustertius scripsi carmina, multa vero posthac, si meis te versibus videro non adversum. Sed cur ego suasionibus agam tecum, cum nemo aspernetur versus, nisi qui famae contemptor est suae, quique nihil omnino in vita dignum praeconio fecit.

[2] Tu vero ita vixisti, ut nihil magis quam bonum nomen videreris venari, ad quam rem maxime valent poetarum studia, quae, qui amant, etiam morientes mori non possunt. Age igitur, vir doctissime, *laeta fronte* has studiorum meorum primitias legito, et boni consulens me tuum semper habeto non socium vel amicum – id enim neque peto neque mihi arrogo – sed mancipium fidum et diligentem, cujus libelli et voluptati tibi nonnumquam et honori perpetuo esse possint.

Vale, neque moleste feras, quod me videas epistolae caput esse, quia non superbus exinde videri debeo, sed amator vetusti ritus et observator diligens². Iterum vale. Ex Inspruka, 10. Kalendis Januarii³ 1442.⁴

¹ omit. L

² observator diligens : diligens observator L

³ Januarias L

⁴ Here follows the poem *Omnibus est animis*, which Piccolomini later

included in his *Cinthia*, a collection of poems.

41. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (23 December 1442, Innsbruck).

Context: Having recently joined the imperial chancery, Piccolomini endeavoured to develop a good relationship with the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, who would soon return from a mission to Pope Eugenius IV in Florence.

Subject: Piccolomini proposes his services as a poet to the chancellor, offering to contribute to his glory and fame by writing poems in his praise, as many humanists did for their noble patrons.

Enea Silvio, the poet, sends greetings to the magnificent and eminent knight, Lord Kaspar Schlick, most meritorious imperial chancellor.

[1] Following custom, some will celebrate your return from Florence with gifts, others with dinner parties. Though I should like to do either – as would be fitting - I am unable to since I have nothing but poems. But poets put their pleasures and wealth in poems and consider them more worthwhile than worldly riches. Indeed, an immortal honour is more glorious than a mortal one, soon to perish. If you approve of these few poems I wrote some days ago, I shall publish them in your honour. And I will write many more in the future if I see that you like them.¹ But why am I trying to persuade you when nobody scorns poems except those who are indifferent to their own reputation or have done nothing praiseworthy at all in their life.

[2] But you have lived as if you seek nothing more than a good reputation. The efforts of poets contribute greatly to such a reputation. Indeed, lovers of poems cannot die even when they die. So, most learned man, read these first fruits of my efforts *with joyful mien*,² and you will do well if you keep me always not as an associate or friend – for that I neither presume nor seek to be – but as your loyal and diligent servant, whose little writings might sometimes please you and always honour you.

Farewell, and do not be offended that I put my own name at the beginning of this letter.³ It is not because I am proud, but because I am a lover and keen observer of the old ways.⁴ Again farewell. From Innsbruck, 23 December 1442.⁵

¹ As there is no evidence of more poems to Kaspar Schlick, he may have appreciated other of Piccolomini's qualities more than his poetical talent (*quod sequitur carmen, solum traditum est*, HE, p. 120).

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 862: *sed frons laeta parum*.

³ Piccolomini here refers to the classical salutation that mentions the writer first and the addressee second. In later letters to the chancellor, Piccolomini would put the

chancellor's name first. On this issue, see letter 135: 1.

⁴ For a comment on this passage, see Heck: *Amator*, p. 123

⁵ Here follows the poem *Omnibus est animis*, that Piccolomini later included in his *Cinthia*, a collection of poems.

42. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (December 1442, Innsbruck).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 81v **; M3, f. 413.

Editions: HE, 43, p. 123-124 (based on M2); WO, 1: 1, 43, pp. 124-125 (based on M1, M3).

Aeneas Silvius¹, imperialis² secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit magnifico viro³ domino Gaspari Schlick, imperialis aulae cancellario.

[1] *Diversa* hominum studia sunt, quibus et se principibus insinuant et vitam agunt. Quosdam *juvat* in stadio currere et *Olympicum* colligere *pulverem ac fervidis*⁴ rotis curruum palmam nancisci nobilem. Qui semel et in theatro clamore vulgi sublatus, quia⁵ vel luctando vel hasta feriendo vicit⁶ aemulum, haud perduci potest, aliam ut vitam sumat. Attalus, rex Pergamenorum, qui Romanum populum sibi fecit haeredem⁷, de agricultura diligenter scripsit. Si quis eum secutus multum frumenti *condidit horreo* ac semel gavisus est *findere sarculo patrios agros, numquam dimoveri* potest nec persuaderi, ut *nauta* fiat et *trabe Cyprica Myrtoum secet* pelagus.

[2] Verum, cum adversi aliquid suo in⁸ studio quisquam perpessus est, mox alterius vitam laudat nec tamen accipit illam. *Mercator*, postquam *luctantes* ventos⁹ in medio mari expertus est et instantem procellam timet, *otium laudat et oppidi rura sui* venturumque se in patriam nusquam se exiturum dejurat¹⁰. At ubi cessavit tempestas, *mox quassas reficit*¹¹ *naves et indocilis pauperiem pati* rursus se mari credit. Sunt, qui diem totam¹² bibendo absumunt¹³ et *nunc membra* sternunt *sub viridi arbuto, nunc* ad fluentem *leniter aquam caput* collocant. Quosdam castra *juvant* et *tubae sonitus permixtus lituo* sive cornu recurvo ac *bella detestabilia matribus*. *Venator*, cujus fideles catuli¹⁴ cervam viderunt, aut cujus *teretes plagas validus aper*, ut est apud *Marsos, rupit*, nocte tota *sub Jove frigido*, quem nos aerem dicere possumus, *manet immemor domus et tenerae conjugis*.

¹ poeta *add.* WO

² imperialisque WO

³ *omit.* WO

⁴ ferendis M3; favidis WO

⁵ qui HE, WO

⁶ vici M2; uinci M3

⁷ humilem M2, M3

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ ventus M2, M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ recipit M3

¹² totum M3

¹³ assumunt WO

¹⁴ catula M2

42. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (1442, Innsbruck¹).

Context: As letter 41.

Subject: A paraphrase on Horace's poem "Maecenas, atavis edite regibus", on men's different occupations and pursuits.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to His Magnificence, Kaspar Schlick, Chancellor of the imperial court.

[1] Men follow *different*² pursuits in their lives and their endeavours to obtain a prince's favour. Some enjoy to run in the stadium, to *raise Olympic dust*, and to win the noble palm *with their chariots' scorching wheels*.³ The man who has once been raised to Heaven by the common people's acclamations in the theatre because he has defeated his rival by fighting or throwing spears can barely be brought to take up another life. King Attalus⁴ of Pergamon, who made the Roman people his heir, wrote lovingly about agriculture. Anyone who, following his example, has *stored* much grain *in his barn* and once enjoyed *tilling his father's fields with a hoe* can *never be tempted away* or persuaded to become a *sailor* and *cleave the sea of Myrto in a Cyprian bark*.⁵

[2] But if someone experiences some misfortune in his pursuit, he is quick to praise the life of another man, though he does not take it up. When *the trader* meets the *stormy* winds in the high sea and fears the threatening gale, *he praises the easy life on a farm near his home city* and swears that when he comes home to his country, he will never leave again. But when the storm is over, *he quickly repairs his shattered ships* and, *unable to bear with poverty*,⁶ again commits himself to the sea. Some spend the whole day drinking, sometimes stretching their members under the leafy strawberry tree, and sometimes resting *their heads at the gently flowing stream*.⁷ *Others enjoy camp life and the braying of horns and trumpets* or cornetts and *wars* *abhorred by mothers*.⁸ *The huntsman, whose faithful hounds have sighted the deer* or *whose finespun nets have been broken by a strong boar*, like those *in Marsica*, *stays out* the whole night beneath *freezing Jupiter*, whom we can call the sky, *forgetting* his house and *young wife*.⁹

¹ See Wolkan's argumentation for the date, WO, 1: 1, p. 124.

² Horatius: *Carmina*, 1: 1, 3-5.

³ Horatius: *Carmina*, 1.1.2-5.

⁴ Attalos III (ca. 170-133 BCE): King of Pergamon. He left his

kingdom to the Roman republic. Reputed to have been more interested in medicine, botany and gardening than in governing.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 25-28.

[3] Quid singula referam? *Me* nihil magis delectat quam hedera, quod est praemium *doctarum frontium*. *Me gelidum nemus* oblectat, *cum musis* esse, non cum *populo* placet mihi. Exhibeat mihi *tibias Euterpe*¹, quam bene delectantem interpretamur, et organum suum in modum lyrae compositum, quod *Barbyton* appellant, *Polymnia* mihi tradat, quae vel multae laudis vel multae memoriae dicitur musa. Non erit in posteris meum nomen obscurum, et potissime, si tu mihi, Gaspar, favebis, vitae *praesidium et dulce decus meum*.

Vale.²

¹ Eutrope M2, M3

² Etc. *add.* M2

[3] But why mention them all? As for me, nothing delights me *more than the laurel crown, reward of poetic brows*.¹ I enjoy *the cool grove* and will rather *be with the muses* than *with the people*. Let only *Euterpe*² (which we may translate as rejoicing) play her pipe for me, and let *Polyhymnia*³ tune her instrument, formed as a lyre, called *barbiton* (we may call her the muse of great praise or memory).⁴ My name shall not be unknown to posterity, especially if I am favoured by you, Kaspar, *protection and ornament*⁵ of my life.

Farewell.

¹ Such as had been awarded to Piccolomini by Friedrich III on 27 July 1442.

² Euterpe: In Greek mythology, the muse of music.

³ Polyhymnia: In Greek mythology, the muse of poetry etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29-34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

43. Letter from Gaspare Caccia de Fara (1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 59r **; M2, f. 113v¹; M3, f. 219r².

Editions: HE, 44, p. 124 (based on M1); WO, 1: 1, 44, p. 126 (based on M1-3).

Gaspar Novariensis salutem plurimam dicit³ Aeneae Silvio poetae praeceptorique suo.⁴

[1] Nemo umquam hominum fuit, qui bonum habens statum meliorem adipisci nequiverit, etsi fortassis interdum perdifficile videatur. Nimirum, uti Terentiana probat sententia: *nihil tam difficile est, quin quaerendo investigari possit*. Ideo, tametsi non sit mihi, quid de statu meo fortunae imputem, tamen de ampliori semper ac digniori statu considerans nequeo non *desiderare desiderio* magno valde, mihi illud evenire, quod et pueriles et abunde usque impraesentiarum aetates meae optarunt. Verum quid⁵ id est praeterquam in⁶ Tullianis et Virgilianis artibus insudare, in quibus totum fere⁷ vitae meae tempus expendi. Nunc igitur, Aenea, mi pater et domine, in manu tua est me desiderii mei potentem efficere. Si nolis⁸, te rei et personae consulere arbitror, neque umquam quidem⁹ in aliam partem accipiam. Si id autem effeceris, tibi me ex nunc totum dedico neque ullam mihi ipsi¹⁰ partem reservo, et tunc¹¹ Terentianum¹² dictum illud concinam: *et quis me vivit hodie fortunatior?* Tua igitur est, Aenea mi¹³ suavissime, quid hac in re facturus sis eligere, utrum meo desiderio annuas et me tuum penitus efficias. Age, ut lubet, unum non displicet, ceterum summe perplacet aliud. Nolim tamen te dumtaxat voluntati meae¹⁴ obtemperatum, quin tibi, quod¹⁵ ex usu sit, consideres malum, neque ullum pro re mea tibi incommodum paterer¹⁶ accidere. Id solum expeto, uti tibi mihi que reor id quidem usum afferat¹⁷. Tu itidem cupias rogo.

Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

¹ SC, 236.

² SC, 442.

³ domino *add.* M2

⁴ *Titulus:* Gaspart Novariensis ad dominum Eneam M1; Gaspar Novariensis Enee Silvio poete imperiali secretario salutem plurimam dicit M3

⁵ quid verum HE; et quid verum WO

⁶ et M2, M3

⁷ vere M3

⁸ nobis M3

⁹ quidam M3

¹⁰ ullam mihi ipsi : mihi ipsi ullam M3

¹¹ et tue M2; tueque M3

¹² *em.* HE, WO; Terentiane M1, M2, M3

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ me M3

¹⁵ quid HE, WO

¹⁶ pateret M3

¹⁷ aufert M3

43. Letter from Gaspare Caccia de Fara (1443,¹ Basel).

Context: Having been appointed secretary to the emperor, Piccolomini had acquired some influence that his friends and connections were eager to use.

Subject: Gaspare asks Piccolomini to use his influence to get him some honourable employment, presumably at the imperial court.

Gaspare from Novara² sends many greetings to the poet Enea Silvio, his teacher.

[1] No man ever had such fortunate circumstances that he did not try to improve them though it may sometimes seem rather difficult. As the sentence of Terence shows, undoubtedly, *there's nothing so hard to find that it can't be tracked down if you look for it.*³ I am not dissatisfied with my present status, but when I think of a better and more honourable one, I cannot help *to desire with very great desire*⁴ for that to happen, which I have always wanted since my childhood and until now. But what is that except to toil in the arts of Tullius⁵ and Virgil,⁶ in which I have spent almost all my life. So now, Enea, my father and lord, it is in your hands to make my wish come true. If you will not, I believe it must be because you take into consideration both the matter and the person, and never shall I think differently. But if you do, I give myself wholly to you from now on and do not reserve any part for myself. And I shall sing that verse of Terence: *Is there anyone alive today more fortunate than me?*⁷ So, my dearest Enea, it is now up to you to decide what to do in this matter, whether you will fulfil my wish and make me totally yours. Do as you please: one thing⁸ would not displease me, but the others would please me greatly. But I do not want you to fulfil my wish without considering any problems it might cause for you, and I do not want you to do something onerous for my sake. I only desire what is advantageous for both you and me. I ask you to do the same.

Farewell, and love me as always.

¹ Wolkan, 1: 1, p. 126: *Die Datierung des unbedeutenden und ziemlich unklaren Briefes ist schwer ...*

² Gaspare Caccia: Nephew of Stefano Caccia. Later, secretary to Bishop Bartolommeo Visconti.

³ Terentius: *Heautontimorumenos*, 675.

⁴ Luke, 22: 15.

⁵ Cicero, i.e. oratory.

⁶ Vergil, i.e. poetry.

⁷ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 1031

⁸ A refusal, presumably.

44. Letter from Giuliano Cesarini (1 May 1443, Buda).

Manuscripts: L, f. 13r *; M2, f. 27r^d; M3, ff. 181v-182r²; V2, f. 1³; V3, ff. 5r-5v⁴ **; V4, ff. 6r-6v.
Editions: HE, 45, pp. 124-125; WO, 1: 1, 45, p. 127; (both based on L, V2).

{6r} Julianus cardinalis Sancti Angeli, apostolicae sedis legatus, doctissimo viro domino Aeneae Silvio Senensi, amico carissimo, serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secretario, salutem plurimam dicit⁵.

[1] Amantissime Aenea. Gaudeo te esse apud serenissimum dominum⁶ regem⁷ in loco honorabili et te digno, licet - ut animi⁸ mei affectum fatear - mallet te in Italia⁹ in loco etiam tuae virtuti correspondenti¹⁰. Congratulor cancellariae imperiali, quae talem virum sortita est, cujus ingenio non parum floreat. Jam locus ille latinam redolebit facundiam. Ego te propediem videbo et amplexabor simulque redarguam, quae jussisti me sub conditione salutari. Si scires, quantum te semper dilexi et diligo, quantumque tuis afficior virtutibus¹¹, profecto omisisses conditionem illam. Et¹² cum per officium, cui praees, ad me commode {6v} venire non poteris, scripsisses saltem¹³ litteras more tuo¹⁴ suavissimas. Sed ignosco modestiae tuae, et quidquid facis ipse mecum in meliorem accipio partem. Sed deinceps¹⁵ velim te mecum confidentius agere et non oblivisci ejus, quae inter nos semper fuit, benevolentiae atque amicitiae.

¹ SV, 60.

² SC, 369.

³ DV, f. 1r.

⁴ DV, ff. 8r-8v.

⁵ *Titulus:* Julianus cardinalis Sancti Angeli, apostolicae sedis legatus, doctissimo viro domino Enee Silvio de Senis amico carissimo regis Romanorum secretario salutem dicit **M2**; doctissimo viro domino Enee Silvio de Senis amico carissimo regis Romanorum se-

cretario salutem dicit Julianus **M3**; doctissimo viro domino Enee Silvio de Senis amico carissimo serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secretario **V2**; Julianus cardinalis Sancti Angeli, apostolicae sedis legatus, doctissimo viro domino Enee Silvio Senensi amico carissimo serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secretario salutem plurimam dicit **V3**

⁶ *omit.* WO

⁷ Romanorum *add.* L

⁸ amici V4

⁹ fore *add.* M2; esse *add.* WO

¹⁰ tuae virtuti correspondenti: tua virtute digno L, M2, M3, V2

¹¹ nutibus M3

¹² *omit.* WO

¹³ saltem M2

¹⁴ litteras more tuo : more tuo litteras M2

¹⁵ sed deinceps *omit.* M3

44. Letter from Giuliano Cesarini (1 May 1443¹, Buda).²

- Context:* Using his new platform as imperial secretary and his position at an imperial court maintaining neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel, Piccolomini endeavoured to renew his contacts with prelates with whom he had been on friendly terms during the Council of Basel, and who had in the meantime joined the papal party against the conciliar party. One of the most important ones was Cardinal Cesarini.³
- Subject:* The cardinal replies to a (now lost) letter from Piccolomini with a request to resume their friendship and relationship, which the cardinal is quite willing to. The cardinal announces his intention to come to Vienna to meet with the emperor.

Julianus, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Legate of the Apostolic See,⁴ sends many greetings to his most learned and dear friend, Enea Silvio from Siena, secretary to the Most Serene Lord King of the Romans.

[1] My very dear Enea. I am happy [to hear] that you are now with the Most Serene Lord King,⁵ in an honourable position, worthy of you – though, in my heart, I should prefer you to be in Italy in a position also worthy of your abilities.⁶ I congratulate the imperial chancery for having secured such a man whose talents will make it flourish. Now this chancery will exude eloquence! I shall soon see and embrace you – and refute your statement about a certain condition. If you knew how much I have always loved you and still do and how impressed I am with your abilities, you would undoubtedly have omitted this condition.⁷ And since the office you are now charged with prevented you from coming to me, you should have written your customary delightful letters. But I acknowledge your modesty and accept whatever you do. But in the future, I should like you to act more confidently toward me and not forget the affection and friendship that has always been between us.

¹ Date in V2-V4 confirmed by Genzsch.

² For comments on this letter, see VO, 2, p. 299.

³ Another was Archbishop Pizzolpasso, see letter 40.

⁴ In March 1442, Cesarini was sent as a papal legate to Hungary to

settle the conflict of succession to the throne and pacify the kingdom. Later, on 1 January 1443, Pope Eugenius indicted a crusade against the Turks and charged Cesarini with its organisation.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ Cesarini is probably referring to some position at the papal curia.

⁷ In his letter to the cardinal, Piccolomini had apparently made some modest statement which the cardinal now tells him was unnecessary given their past friendship.

[2] Familiarem hunc meum, ut celeriter expediatur, adjuva. Cupio permaxime mox esse apud Caesarem, ut aliquid pro quiete hujus regni possim efficere, quo melius faciliusque expeditio militaris¹ contra Turcos², fidei catholicae saevissimos hostes, instituta parari possit. Ad haec enim duo sanctissima opera juxta legationis apostolicae mihi injunctae officium³ totus anhelo ac⁴ ferveo, quemadmodum in rebus Bohemicis olim me fervere conspexisti.

Vale feliciter. Ex Buda. Kal. Maii 1443.^{5 6}

¹ *omit.* WO

² Teucros M2

³ legationis ... officum : legationem apostolicam michi iniuncti officii L

⁴ et M2

⁵ Kal. ... Maii : Julianus, cardinalis Sancti Angeli, apostolicae sedis legatus V2

⁶ Ex Buda ... 1443 : etc. M2, M3

[2] Please assist my servant so that he will be sent back quickly. I wish to visit the emperor as soon as possible to achieve some peace and tranquillity for this realm.¹ ² Thus, the military expedition against the Turks, ferocious enemies of the Catholic faith, that has already been decided, can be organised more speedily. For I am wholly committed to the two sacred tasks,³ I am charged with in the mission entrusted to me as an apostolic legate, just as you saw how dedicated I was in the Bohemian matter.⁴

Farewell and be happy. From Buda, 1 May 1443.

¹ Cesarini came to Vienna shortly afterwards (15 May 1443) and eventually achieved a truce between Friedrich III (on behalf of the Habsburg claimant to the Hungarian throne, his ward Ladislaus the Posthumous) and the Polish-Hungarian claimant, Wladyslaw III. This truce would make it possible for the Hungarians to mount the crusade against the Turks.

² In his DVI, sect. 161, Piccolomini wrote about this visit which took place in May-June 1443: *Later, ambassadors arrived from Hungary together with the [papal] legate, Guliano. They came on behalf of King Wladyslaw of Poland, who claimed to be [also] King of Hungary. The ambassadors were the Bishop of Vac and the Dean of*

Krakow, Mikolaj Lasocky, 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, 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 established since now there was a conflict between powerful parties. However, the king's [Wladyslaw III] ambassadors showed that they held the party supporting Ladislaus of little account.

³ Pacifying the kingdom of Hungary and mobilising a crusade against the Turks, the fatal crusade

which in 1444 would lead to the Battle of Varna where the cardinal himself – with the Polish-Hungarian king, Wladyslaw III – was killed.

⁴ After a failed crusade against the Bohemian Hussites in 1431, Cesarini had, as president of the Council of Basel, overseen negotiations with the Hussites leading to a peaceful solution, the Compacts of Prague. In an oration to the council fathers, the “*Audivi*” of 16 November 1436, Piccolomini referred to this achievement, directly addressing the cardinal: *Now, I beseech you, benevolent Father and Cardinal of Santa Sabina ... you will always be praised for bringing back the Hussites* (COR, 2: 1, 82).

45. Letter from Francesco Pizzolpasso (4 February 1443, Milan).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 43v-45r; M2, ff. 111r-112r^d; M3, ff. 224v-226r²; V2, ff. 113-117³; V3, ff. 52v-55v⁴ **; V4, ff. 47r-50r.

Editions: HE, 46, pp. 125-129; WO, 1: 1, 46, pp. 128-132; (both based on M1 and V2).

Franciscus⁵ de Picciolpassis, Dei gratia sanctae Mediolanensis ecclesiae praesul⁶, ornatissimo viro domino⁷ Eneae Silvio, poetae laureato, salutem plurimam dicit.⁸

[1] {52v} Ingenti voluptate et gaudio, eloquentissime Enea mi, in Christi caritate dilectissime, affecit me epistola tua, data in Feltkirchen⁹ nonis decembris¹⁰, mihi reddita idibus ejusdem¹¹, cum recensione veterum¹² inter nos mutuarumque¹³ scriptionum, tum ipsa serie contentorum, cumque¹⁴ pro lepore stili, serie ac facultate dicendi et existimatione¹⁵, quam de te facimus, proque cordiali erga te amore nostro tua scripta semper legerim non minus avide quam libenter, etiam ubi fortasse non quandoque responderim, hic maxime nunc quandoquidem intelligam, operante divina gratia, eo te loci evectum¹⁶, ubi sicut virtute conscendisti, ita poteris ipsa virtutis via proficere plurimum ad rei publicae ecclesiasticae¹⁷ pacem gloriosissimoque principi non modo tuo, verum¹⁸ et universorum, ac plurimis tibi¹⁹ ipsi et²⁰ honori tuo conferre non modicum. Ad quae, quoniam te {53r} novimus tuumque ingenium desideriumque²¹, non te supervacuo exhortamur ac²² pro istac²³ translatione tua et animi dispositione congratulamur. Iterum atque iterum collaetamur tibi, cui concessum est ex loco et officii dignitate, ut te²⁴ valeas demonstrare sicque dabis operam fideliter et prudenter, spero, expeto²⁵ et expecto.

¹ SV, 231-233.

² SC, 453-456.

³ DV, 62r-64v.

⁴ DV, 55v-58v.

⁵ *Oratio hic illic claudicat* HE

⁶ archipresul M3

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ *Titulus:* Epistola archiepiscopi Mediolanensis M1

⁹ n. M1

¹⁰ nonis decembris *omit.* M2

¹¹ idibus ejusdem *omit.* M2

¹² seu pro more *add.* M1; pro more *add.* V2, V3, V4

¹³ mutuarum M1

¹⁴ tumque M1-M3

¹⁵ extimatione WO

¹⁶ sublimatum *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁷ ecclesiasticeque WO

¹⁸ rerum M2

¹⁹ et *add.* M2

²⁰ *omit.* V4

²¹ desiderium M1-M3

²² at V4

²³ ista M3

²⁴ *omit.* WO

²⁵ *omit.* M1

45. Letter from Francesco Pizzolpasso (4 February 1443, Milan).

Content: As letter 40.

Subject: The archbishop compliments Piccolomini on his new position at the imperial court, praises the emperor, and expresses his hopes that he will bring peace to the Church. He also gives concrete advice in the matter of Piccolomini's lost provostship of San Lorenzo, and communicates some news from Italy.

Francesco Pizzolpasso, by the grace of God Archbishop of the holy Church of Milan, sends many greetings to the most distinguished Enea Silvio, Poet Laureate.

[1] My fair-spoken Enea, beloved in Christ, your letter - dated from Feltkirch on the 5th of December and received by me on the 13th of the same month¹ - gave me immense pleasure both because of your mention of our former correspondence and because of its contents. I always read your letters gladly, nay avidly (even if I do not always answer them) because of your elegance, seriousness, and eloquence, my great estimation of you and our mutual affection. And this I shall do even more now when I hear that, with God's grace, you have moved to a position where, as you have advanced in virtue, you may now continue on that virtuous road to greatly profit the peace of the ecclesiastical community and assist your most glorious prince, indeed the prince of all men,² but most of all yourself and your own honour. Since we know you, your intelligence and your desires, we are not exhorting you in vain, and we congratulate you on your transferral there³ and to your [present] state of mind.⁴ Again and again, we rejoice that you have been given a position and an honourable office from which to show your qualities and to labour loyally and wisely, as I hope, desire and expect.

¹ Letter nr. 40.

² The emperor.

³ From the court of Antipope Felix V to the imperial court.

⁴ Piccolomini's acceptance of the emperor's neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel

and his abandonment of conciliarism.

[2] Animo enim recte disposito et diligenter ad bona vadenti omnia prospere cedunt. Justa namque desideria divina semper pietas comitatur. Age itaque et persevera feliciter, ut¹ magno coepisti² principio. Exerce te ad *pietatem*, quae secundum apostolum *ad omnia utilis promissionem habet vitae, quae nunc est et futurae*, unde assequeris lauream veram, scilicet *coronam justitiae* et aeternitatis. Dices et³ cum apostolo ipso ad Festum: *Non insanio, optime Feste, sed veritatis et sobrietatis verba eloquor*, ad quae maximum incitamentum tibi est, homini Christiano et litterato, corona laurea, quam assumpsisti vel accepisti⁴.

[3] Ego vero deinceps crebriores expecto litteras tuas, rerum indices⁵ tuique successus, neque tardus ero in reddendo meas, modo intelligam ad te posse deferri. Nunc enim ad fortunam scribo ideoque tardius quam debueram⁶. Non⁷ facile enim producuntur incerta, et fortassis etiam multo serius⁸ ad te⁹ pervenient, licet variis viis et multiplicatis litteris enitatur, ut¹⁰ vel saltem hujusmodi rescriptionum¹¹ nostrarum quidquam¹² reddatur quandoque tibi. Nam sicut ambiguitas frustrandi {53v} laboris reddit hominem pigriorem, ita per diligentiam superetur necesse fit¹³.

[4] Et quidem libenter¹⁴ scribo et scriptitabo intelligens et considerans¹⁵ cum¹⁶ ex epistola tua tum ex aliis conditionem, dotes¹⁷ tam naturae¹⁸ quam virtutis¹⁹, et sanctissimam augustissimamque intentionem Caesaris nostri praesentis, qui velut quoddam novum sidus emicuit, hac tempestate necessarium, ut speremus, velut Augustus illi²⁰ suo saeculo pacem reddidit et fundavit, sic iste²¹ suo. Ego quidem ita mihi suadeo non incerta spei ratione. Est enim, ut in primis audio, princeps ipse catholicus²² et pius, *aetate florida*, quam sapientia²³, gravitas et vitae integritas comitantur²⁴. *Cani enim sunt sensus hominis et aetas senectutis, vita immaculata*. Corpore strenuus vegetusque ac robustus, aptus et patiens ad labores, fortis constansque²⁵ animi²⁶, sobrietatis cultor praecipuus. Cum, ut scribitur²⁷ in²⁸ sapientia²⁹, *sobrietatem enim docet³⁰ prudentiam et justitiam et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus³¹*. Attende quia praemittit sobrietatem, quae huic principi maxime insita est, ceteraeque subnexae virtutes. Et Cato inquebat³² non legisse se neque³³ vidisse hominem *sobrium* invadentem *republicam* praeter Gaium *Caesarem*. Audio et hunc nostrum principem observantissimum ac parcissimum ita esse temporis et utilem locatorem, ut ne quidem punctum terat, quod potissime parat sobrietas, estque maxime sapientis. Nihil enim pretiosius tempore, {54r} quod nec auro nec ulla potentia redimi potest elapsum solusque sapiens eo scit uti et³⁴ in suam redigere potestatem et efficere quaeque³⁵ magna etiam atque etiam, cum vulgo seu indoctis otiosus apparet.

¹ in V4
² cepi M2
³ ut M2
⁴ vel accepisti *omit.* M3
⁵ iudices M1, V2; *corr. ex* iudices V3
⁶ deberem M3
⁷ *omit.* M1
⁸ *omit.* M2
⁹ perveniunt aliter *add.* M2
¹⁰ nec M3
¹¹ descriptionum V4
¹² quequam M3

¹³ sit M1, M3; est HE, WO
¹⁴ libenter M1
¹⁵ consideraris V4
¹⁶ tum M2, M3
¹⁷ duces M3
¹⁸ natura M1-M3, V2
¹⁹ virtute M1-M3, V2
²⁰ *omit.* V4 [blank space]
²¹ istum V3
²² *omit.* M3
²³ sapientie M2, M3
²⁴ comitatur M2, M3
²⁵ constantisque V4

²⁶ animo WO
²⁷ dicat M1
²⁸ *omit.* M3
²⁹ in sapientia : sapientie M2
³⁰ docere V3, V4; *docere corr. ex* docet V2b
³¹ et *add.* M1; hominis V4
³² se *add.* M3
³³ se neque : non M1
³⁴ *omit.* M2
³⁵ quecumque WO

[2] Since divine mercy always follows just desires, all turns out well for the man of upright character, who strives diligently for that which is good. Therefore, do felicitously pursue the course you have begun so excellently. Cultivate *piety* which, according to the apostle¹, *is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.*² Say as did that apostle to Festus: *I am not mad, most excellent Festus, but I speak words of truth and soberness.*³ As a Christian man of letters, you are prompted to do this by the laurel crown you have put on or received.

[3] But in the future, I shall expect more frequent letters from you, informing me about your affairs and progress, and I shall not be late in answering them now that I know my letters can reach you. When I write now, [delivery] is a matter of luck, and that is why I have written later than I ought to. Indeed, it is difficult to do something when the outcome is in doubt. My letters may also reach you very late despite my efforts, for I send duplicates by various means of transportation so that at least some of them should arrive safely. Fear of failure makes a man lazy, but it must be overcome by diligence.

[4] I now write gladly and shall be doing so in the future since from your letter and from others, I understand our present emperor's situation, the gifts he has been given by nature or acquired by virtue, and his holy and exalted intentions. He has shone forth as a new star, so necessary to this age, and he will, we hope, like another Augustus,⁴ who gave solid peace to his age, give peace to ours. I am convinced of this, for – as I have heard above all – he is a Catholic and pious prince, of flourishing age paired with wisdom, gravity, and integrity of life. *For the understanding of a man is grey hairs. And a spotless life is old age.*⁵ He is strong of body, vigorous, robust, enduring in labour, strenuous, constant and exceptionally dedicated to temperance. As written in the book of Wisdom, *she [justice] teacheth temperance, and prudence, and justice, and fortitude, which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in life.*⁶ Note that temperance is mentioned first, a virtue inborn to this prince, while the others follow. Cato⁷ said that Gajus Caesar⁸ was the only *temperate man* endeavouring to destroy *the republic* he had seen or read about.⁹ I also hear that our prince is most careful and sparing in his use of time and spends it so effectively that he does not waste a single moment. This is due to temperance and is the mark of a wise man. For nothing is more precious than time: when it has passed, neither money nor power can bring it back. Only the wise man knows how to use it [well], master it, and continuously do great things, while to the common people and the fools, he appears to be at leisure.

¹ The apostle Paul.

² 1. Timothy, 4: 8.

³ Acts, 26: 25.

⁴ Gajus Julius Caesar Octavianus = Augustus (63 BCE – 19 CE): Roman statesman. First emperor.

⁵ Wisdom, 4: 8-9.

⁶ Wisdom, 8: 7: *Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes: sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et justitiam, et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus.*

⁷ Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger) (95-46 BCE): Roman

senator. Known for his intransigence, not the least in his opposition to Julius Caesar.

⁸ Julius Caesar, Gajus.

⁹ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Julius Caesar*, 53.

[5] Est praeterea liberalis juxta exigentiam rerum et temporum¹, et consequenter promissorum suorum cum² in re dapsili, tum in ceteris observantissimus et utilis dispensator, quod utrumque requiritur praecipue in principe. Nam *bene facta male locata*, Cicerone probante, *male facta arbitratur* Ennius. Quid est³ enim violare, praedari⁴, oneribus⁵ intolerabilibus⁶ subditos contorquere⁷, quo deinde effusione splendeas, spargas et dissipas, nisi ut⁸ - *glorieris in malis*, et Roboam, filii et regis successoris Salomonis, more⁹ - pares ipse¹⁰ tibi ruinam? *Mendax vero omnis*¹¹, cum improbetur – *ut scribitur* – execrabilior multo princeps. Justi et magnanimi¹² principis est verbum tenere suum – ut scriptum est: verbum regis, verbum veritatis – subditos regere, confovere ac tueri velut bonus paterfamilias vectigaliaque eo ordine dispensare, ne¹³ cogatur injicere manus in aliena - quod semper evitavit Trajanus, Caesar ille augustissimus atque piissimus - gratisque saevire in proprios, ut false¹⁴ gloriosus apud alienos efficiatur in malis¹⁵ seseque simul condemnet¹⁶ Deo et mundo, magis inglorius et impotens ad omnia factus.

[6] Impossibile namque est – ut inquit Aristoteles in *Ethicis* - aut certe non facile praeclara ab eo agi, cui desunt facultates, {54v} nec dubium, quin magno sint adjumento divitiae in gerendis gravibus ei, qui liberaliter et probe sciverit uti suisque locis et temporibus provide dispensare, quinimmo secus ab omni conatu et gloria inchoatorum cogetur cum ignominia resilire. Quod siquidem prudens et magnanimus noster Caesar evitabit ut pestem. Tam proprio consilio quam suorum, quibus – ut audio – communitur et ecclesiasticorum et saecularium excellentium, insignium et¹⁷ litteratorum, quos veneratur et lateri congregat suo juxta morem Caesarem¹⁸ et piorum¹⁹ principum praedecessorum suorum, ne sibi objiciatur evangelicum illud: *ecce homo, qui coepit aedificare et non potuit consumere*, cum sit ipse providentissimus atque²⁰ ordinatissimus²¹ in vita et in omnibus gestis suis.

[7] Quae cum ita sint, suavissime mi Enea, Caesarque ipse opibus abundet²² potentiaque, numero hominum et copia gentium, aetasque, prudentia et magnanimitas convenient, quae praecipua sunt ad res arduas capessendas, conditioque temporum et plurima se offerant, quae suffragentur, non dubito, si voluerit²³, dummodo²⁴ duret superstes juxta dies naturae, futurum in potestate²⁵ sua, ut pacem det ecclesiae et componat non modo principatus et omnem populum Christianum, sed et universum orbem ad unicam veram fidem Christianam et sanctam deducat ecclesiam ad altissimi Dei *gloriam et honorem* sublimationemque throni sui cum laude {55r} perpetua et aeterna salute, quod, ut diebus nostris conspiciere valeamus, pietas divina concedat. Sicque culmen suae majestatis exhortare nomine meo, et me nimium²⁶ commendatum fac suae clementiae, devotissimum quidem servulum virtutum suarum et efficiae²⁷ tantae tamque²⁸ sanctae spei avidissimum expectatorem.

¹ temporis WO

² tum M1; *omit.* M2, V4

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ praeclari V4

⁵ honoribus V4

⁶ intolerabilibus V4

⁷ torquere V4

⁸ *omit.* V2-V4

⁹ *omit.* M1

¹⁰ ipsi V4

¹¹ *omit.* M3

¹² magnatum et M2, M3; magnatum et V2-V4

¹³ nec V4

¹⁴ facile HE, WO

¹⁵ in malis : animalis V4

¹⁶ contempnet M2

¹⁷ insignium et : insigniumque M2

¹⁸ caesarum WO

¹⁹ priorum WO

²⁰ et M3

²¹ ornatissimus M2

²² abundat M3

²³ praevio semper Deo, sine quo nihil est omne, quidquid temptamus *add.* M1, M2, M3

²⁴ modo M1, M2, M3; *corr. ex* praevio V2

²⁵ *omit.* M2

²⁶ minimum HE, WO

²⁷ effice V2-V4

²⁸ tamquam WO

[5] Moreover, he is generous when conditions and times demand it, and he fulfils his promises conscientiously both in important and unimportant matters, extending his favours with circumspection. Both of these qualities¹ are particularly needful in a prince. For Ennius believes - and Cicero agrees - that *good deeds misplaced are evil deeds*.² To violate and rob one's subjects and torment them with intolerable burdens and afterwards spend and waste [the ill-gained money] on dazzling splendour is the same as *to glory in malice*³ and - like Roboam, King Solomon's son and successor - prepare your own ruin. It is written that *every man who lies*⁴ is to be censured, but a prince who lies is much worse. A just and magnanimous prince keeps his word, as it is written⁵: the word of a king is a word of truth. He rules his subjects, cherishes and protects them like a good father⁶ and spends the taxes [collected] in such a way that he does not have to seize others' possessions (as Trajan⁷ always avoided, a most exalted and pious emperor) nor to rage without reason⁸ against his own so as to gain spurious glory among strangers by wicked deeds and condemn himself before God and the world, having become completely dishonourable and powerless.

[6] As Aristotle says in his *Ethics*,⁹ for someone who does not have the means, it is impossible or at least difficult to perform magnificent deeds. And to him who knows how to use his wealth generously and appropriately and spend it as required by the conditions and times, wealth is very useful in important affairs so that he is not forced to abandon all his enterprises and shamefully give up the glory of his endeavours. Our prudent and magnanimous emperor will avoid [such failures] like the pest. Let him consider both his own counsel and that of his ecclesiastical and lay counsellors, excellent, distinguished and learned men, whom - as I hear - he honours and gathers around him in the imperial fashion of the pious princes, his predecessors. Thus, he - most prudent and conscientious in his life and all his deeds - will not be met with the rebuke in the gospel: *This man began to build and was not able to finish*.¹⁰

[7] My dearest Enea, the emperor is rich, has great power and many men and peoples. To these come his age, prudence and magnanimity, all most necessary for arduous undertakings. Finally, the conditions of the times and many other things are in his favour. Therefore, I do not doubt that if he so wishes, he will - if he lives a whole life - be able to give peace to the Church and to reconcile not only the princes and all the Christian people but also bring the entire world to the one, true Christian faith and holy Church - to the *glory and honour*¹¹ of God and the exaltation of his own throne, with eternal praise and abiding prosperity. May merciful God grant us to see this in our time. Please exhort, on my behalf, His Highness to pursue this course and recommend me warmly to His Clemency as a servant most devoted to his virtues, one who has great expectations of his excellent abilities and holy hope.

¹ To be generous and to keep one's promises.

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 2: 18, 62, quoting Ennius, 409.

³ Psalms, 51: 3

⁴ HE: *nescio ubi!* Cf. Romans, 3: 4: *Omnis homo mendax, sicut scriptum est.*

⁵ HE: *nescio ubi!*

⁶ "paterfamilias" father and master of a household.

⁷ Trajanus, Marcus Ulpius (53-117): Roman emperor from 98 to his death.

⁸ "gratis"

⁹ Aristoteles: *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1120a.

¹⁰ Luke, 14: 30.

¹¹ Romans, 2: 10.

[8] Praeterea de re tua cum sincerissimo ac doctissimo domino Guniforto, nostro secretario ducali, verbum habuit Nicolaus¹ tuus nosterque², conveniens eum domi, qui subsequenter nobiscum fuit³, agitavimusque, qua⁴ esset incedendum pro honesti tui desiderii⁵ complemento, qui ita se promptum ut in re propria offert. Verum denique arbitramur simulque arbitrati sumus, ut litteras caesareas⁶, quas ei proponis⁷, impetres⁸ ad illustrissimum principem nostrum, nec tua manu⁹ confectas nec scriptione nostratum, et mittere studeas ad manus ipsius¹⁰ Guniforti, quibus commodius materiam ingrediatur, meque vel Niolaum commonefacito, cum litteras ipsas dederis¹¹, quo¹² sollicitatione non desit nec¹³ diligentia. Ea enim est, qua adempta, perrara impetrari¹⁴ queunt.¹⁵ Librum demum tuum *Dialogorum* habuimus et penes nos conservamus.

[9] De rebus Italiae accipe, quae ad praesens sic se habent. Romanus pontifex non obstantibus publicis edictis seu enuntiationibus conscriptis de translatione ad urbem Romam¹⁶, quae¹⁷ debuit esse septima januarii proxime lapsi, etiam Florentiae {56r} sedet, nec motui suo simile videtur quidquam. Rex Aragonum victor in regno Neapolitani copias congregat, tam equites¹⁸ quam pedestres¹⁹, longo – ut dicitur – numero viginti milium equitum et peditum in copia. Idem et hic illustrissimus princeps noster. Etiam post victoriam percusserunt invicem foedus seu potius renovarunt²⁰, et manet.²¹ Veneti juxta consueta magistri militiae, reliqui ut prius tam juxta Insubrium (seu per Longobardiam) quam per Picenum et Tusciam. Duo tamen militiae principes absunt ut²² diu ex patria ista, ad invicem concertantes seu male concordēs apud Picenum et patriam Perusinam. Proximo vero deteguntur ea, quae producere consuevit. Dum apud nos interim bella cessant et patria ista, Italiae flos, respirat, civitas tua quiescit. Reverendissimus²³ cardinalis Placentinus vel mortem obiit aut²⁴ prope, febribus et aetate decrepita correptus, apud Castellionem suum desideratum. Immo heri, ut ordinatum Christianum decet, *obdormivit in domino*.

Vale felix in domino, amantissime in Christo fili. Datum²⁵ Mediolani 4. Februarii anno²⁶ 1443.^{27 28}

¹ *omit.* M2

² noster M1, M2, V2; *omit.* M3

³ facit M3

⁴ quod V4

⁵ desiderio M2

⁶ caesaris WO

⁷ proponas M2

⁸ impetras M3

⁹ *omit.* M1-M3, V2, V4; *add. in marg.* V3

¹⁰ domini *add.* M1, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b;

¹¹ direxeris M1-M3, V2

¹² *ex add.* M1-M3, V2

¹³ ac M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ interpretari M1

¹⁵ quo ex ... queunt *marked as corrupt passages* HE

¹⁶ Romanam V3, V4

¹⁷ *omit.* V4

¹⁸ equitum M2

¹⁹ pedites V4

²⁰ reuocarunt V4

²¹ manent HE, WO

²² *omit.* M3; jam HE, WO

²³ dominus *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁴ vel HE, WO

²⁵ *omit.* M3, V2-V4

²⁶ *omit.* M3, V4

²⁷ XLIII M1, M3, V2

²⁸ Datum Mediolani ... 1443 *omit.* M2

[8] Concerning the business you wrote about,¹ yours and our Niccolò² had words with the most sincere and learned Guiniforte,³ our ducal secretary, during a meeting at his home. Later, Guiniforte visited us to discuss how to fulfil your honourable desire, and he declares that he will take care of this matter as were it his own. In the end, we agreed that the letter you intend to procure from the emperor should be addressed to our most illustrious prince and not be written by you yourself nor carry your signature. You should send it directly to Guiniforte, which will make it easier for him to proceed with the matter. Also, when you send the letter, you should inform me or Niccolò to ensure that it is treated with the care and diligence without which it is very difficult succeed.

We have received your book of *Dialogues*⁴ and keep it with us.

[9] Now, hear how matters stand in Italy. Despite public edicts and written declarations concerning the Roman Pontiff's move to Rome, which was supposed to happen on 7 January, he is still residing in Florence, and there are no signs of his departure.⁵

The King of Aragon has been victorious in the Kingdom of Naples and is now gathering an army, more than 20,000 cavalry and infantry. Our most illustrious prince, too, is mobilising. After [the king's] victory,⁶ they made a pact or rather renewed the pact between them, and it is holding firm. The Venetians retain the usual number of captains, and the status quo is maintained in Lombardy, Piceno and Toscana. However, two captains⁷ have been absent from this country for a considerable time, being either in open conflict or disagreement in Piceno or the territory of Perugia. We shall soon see the usual outcome of this. While wars are ending here, this country,⁸ the flower of Italy, breathes again, and your own city⁹ is at peace.

The most reverend Cardinal of Piacenza¹⁰ has either died or is close to death in his beloved city of Castiglione, worn down by fever and decrepit old age. – Yesterday, *he fell asleep in the Lord*¹¹ in the manner of a proper Christian.

Farewell and rejoice in the Lord, beloved son in Christ. Given in Milan, 4 February in the year 1443.

¹ To regain the lost provostship of San Lorenzo, see letters 39-40.

² A close collaborator of Pizzolpasso and a friend of Piccolomini.

³ Guiniforte Barzizza.

⁴ Piccolomini's *Libellus Dialogorum* on the Council of Basel and the authority of ecumenical councils (1440).

⁵ Pope Eugenius finally left Florence on 7 March and, after an ex-

tended stay in Siena, reached Rome on 24 September. During the pope's stay in Siena, his representative, Cardinal Scarampo, negotiated a peace treaty between the pope and Alfonso V, the Peace of Terracina, signed on 14 June 1443.

⁶ After finally defeating his rival, René d'Anjou, Alfonso entered Naples in triumph on 26 February

1443, three weeks after Pizzolpasso's letter was written.

⁷ Niccolò Piccinino and Francesco Sforza. On their rivalry and conflicts, see the respective chapters in Piccolomini's DVI.

⁸ Lombardy.

⁹ Siena.

¹⁰ Cardinal Branda Castiglione.

¹¹ Acts, 7: 59.

46. Letter to Hartung von Kappel (April 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: ÖNB / 5104, ff. 109 sqq. *

Editions: HE, 47, pp. 129-140; WO, 1: 1, 47, pp. 132-144; (both based on the ÖNB ms).

46. Letter to Hartung von Kappel (April 1443, Vienna)^{1 2}

- Context:* Having joined the court of an emperor who was neutral in the conflict between Pope Eugenius in Rome and the rump council in Basel with its schismatic pope Felix V, Piccolomini felt obliged to defend the neutralist cause. Personally, however, he had not yet abandoned his conciliarist belief in the superiority of a council over the pope.
- Subject:* The conciliarist thesis of the council's supreme authority is confronted with the papalist thesis of the pope's supreme authority. The conflict between these two theses is, at the same time, a conflict between a democratic versus a monarchic conception of church government.³

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¹ This letter was not included in the collection of Piccolomini's *Epistolae Saeculares*. The reason may be Piccolomini no longer held the conciliarist views expressed by him in the letter and that they were incompatible with his position then. More surprising is it

that the letter was that the letter was not included in the collections of Piccolomini-letters maintained by his colleagues in the chancery, Wenzel von Bochow (L) and Ludwig Scheitler (M1). The reason for this may be that the letter was not considered as a letter as

such but as a literary work of another type.

² For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 193 ff.

³ The Latin text contains a number of errors, presumably due to the less qualified scribe used by Piccolomini, see letter 47, sect. 3.

Domino¹ insigni et singulari virtute praedito, domino Artungo jurisque doctori Aeneas poeta salutem dicit.

[1] In aula Caesaris, cum nuper otiosi essemus, sermonem - ita ut fit – de rebus diversis conseruimus erasque tu mihi jucundus, et ego tibi – ut puto – non eram gravis. Sed advenit tertius, cujus nomen taceo, ne homini parum utili aut honorem aut dedecus meis afferam scriptis. Ille, ut primum affuit, quietam et laetam confabulationem in garrulam ac maestam quamvis de rebus seriis disputationem convertit, nunc neutralitatem seu animorum suspensionem, qua Germania utitur, haeticam dictitans, nunc Romani pontificis auctoritatem super generale concilium quibusdam in rebus extollens. Ego, qui una in parte damnari, cui servio et cujus panem comedo, regem audiebam, et in alia rem mihi dubiam proponi videbam de auctoritate papae supra concilium, ad primum dicebam neutralitatem posse defendi, si eum in finem fieret, ut paci ecclesiae commodius consuleretur, eamque esse mentem regis interpretabar. Ad secundum vero conclusionem emisi omnino contrariam dicens in omni re, de qua papa conciliumque contenderent, praeponendam fore sententiam concilii, existimans te atque illum modeste responsurum et amicum inter nos disputationis oriri certamen. *Haec est enim, ut in Tusculanis Cicero ait, vetus et Socratica ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi, nam ita facillime, quid verisimillimum esset, inveniri posse Socrates arbitrabatur.*

¹ omit. WO

Enea, poet, sends greetings to the excellent and eminently capable Hartung,¹ doctor *utriusque juris*.²

1. Introduction

[1] Recently, during a break from our work in the imperial court, we had – as happens – a conversation about various matters that we both enjoyed! But then we were joined by a third person, whose name I omit so as not to write something shameful or disoblging about a less than useful person. As soon as he arrived, he turned our calm and pleasant conversation into a garrulous and bitter dispute about serious matters: first, he claimed that the neutrality or suspension of minds practised by Germany is heretical, and then he extolled the Roman Pontiff’s authority over a general council in certain matters. Thus, on the one hand, I heard the king whom I serve and whose bread I eat³ being criticised, and on the other, I saw a dubious proposition being made concerning the pope’s authority over the council. Against the first, I said that neutrality was defensible if it aimed at easing measures to restore peace to the Church, which I considered to be the king’s intention. Against the second, I stated a completely contrary opinion, saying that in all matters of disagreement between pope and council, the council’s position must be preferred. I thought that you and he would answer mildly to this and that we would have an amicable discussion on the matter. For, as Cicero says in his *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *this is the old Socratic method of arguing against your adversary’s position; for Socrates thought that in this way the probable truth was most easily discovered*.⁴

¹ Hartung Molitoris von Kappel (bef. 1420 – after 1476): Doctor *utriusque juris*. Official at the court of Friedrich III. See Heinig, 1: pp. 111-119.

² ”*utriusque juris*”: both laws, i.e. church law and civil law.

³ See Stolf: *Il letterato*, p. 16.

⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1: 4, 8. Piccolomini had also used this passage from Cicero in his oration “*Audivi*” (1436) to the council fathers in Basel (COR, 2: 1, 89). Possibly, he thought that the

Socratic method consisted in amicable discussion, without being aware of the specific nature of Socrates’ maieutic method (teaching by questions and answers).

[2] At¹ tertius ille mox ad injurias prorupit, tantumque verborum cecidit ab ejus ore, ut consultum putaverim ad modum Ulixis Sirenarum cantus formidantis aures incerare, quod quidem fecissem, nisi et te cum eo perdere timuissem, cujus sermonem dulcius audiebam quam illius fugiebam. Sed evenit, nescio quomodo, ut et² tu etiam modestiae terminos excederes, nam et haereticam propositionem meam dicebas et audire me nolebas, si quando testibus juris canonici non esse standum contra sacram scripturam asseverassem et, cum fidei nostrae principia evangelica³ debuisses existimare, decretales epistolas videbaris praefere. Qua ex re factum est, ut absque conclusione secederemus ab invicem, et cum ego sperassem aliquid discere et fieri tua prudentia doctior, incertior, quam prius eram, inde recessi. Reversus autem domum multa mecum de tuis dictis contuli, et hinc quidem rationes meam sententiam firmabant, inde tua auctoritas, quam non parvifacio, elidebat. Haesi ergo pluribus diebus incertus, quid agerem, tene iterum alloquerer an tacerem penitus, quorum alterum te fugere videbam, alterum putabam inutile. Nam cum de fide agitur, non debemus esse negligentes, immo et juxta apostolum *parati* esse debemus unicuique *poscenti rationem reddere de ea, quae nobis est, fide*. Erat autem mihi molestum, quod me tenere sententiam haereticam dixisses, nam etsi ita esset, mutare illam nolebam. Tutissimus enim, ut Cicero ait, *portus est periclitantibus mutatio consilii*; at variare sine ratione stultissimum est.

¹ ac WO

² ac WO

³ evangelia WO

[2] But the third person immediately began to spew forth insults, and so many words fell from his mouth that I considered putting wax in my ears like Ulysses fearing the chant of the sirens,¹ and I would have done so, had I not feared to lose you with him, for I would rather hear your pleasant conversation than flee him. But then it happened, I know not why, that you, too, exceeded the limits of propriety and claimed that I was talking heresy and did not want to hear me when I said that passages from canon law may not be used against Holy Scripture and that you, who ought to respect the basic evangelical principles of our Faith, appeared to prefer the decretal letters.² Thus, we separated without reaching a conclusion, and I, who had hoped to learn something from your wisdom, left more uncertain than I had been at first. But when I came back to my lodgings, I pondered what you had said to me: on one side, arguments supported my own position, but on the other, your authority, which I greatly respect, destroyed it. For several days, I wondered what to do: should I speak with you again or remain silent. The first appeared to avoid you, the second to be wrong, for in matters of Faith, we must not be negligent. Instead, we should, according to the Apostle, *be ready always to satisfy every one that asketh us a reason of that hope which is in us.*³ I was wounded that you said I held a heretical position, but even so, I was unwilling to change it. Cicero says that the safest *port for those in danger is a change of policy*,⁴ but to change one's position for no reason whatsoever is the height of foolishness.

¹ Piccolomini had already used the theme of Ulysses stopping his ears to not hear the song of the sirens in his oration "*Si quis*" (1438) to the council fathers in Basel (COR, 2: 2, 25). The passage derives from Homer: *Odyssey*, 12.166-200. However, the story's point was that the sailors' ears were filled with wax, whereas Odysseus himself was bound to the mast without having his ears filled so that he could hear the sirens without being able to give in to their irresistible calls. The faulty version of Odys-

seus' actions goes back to Basil: *Pros tous neous (Ad adolescentes)*, 4: 1 (known to Piccolomini): *Cum vero in improborum hominum mentionem incidunt, fugienda est illorum imitatio, auresque claudendae, non secus atque ipsi ferunt Ulyxem ad Sirenum cantus.*

² Piccolomini may here refer to the texts in the *Decretum Gratiani* traditionally used to affirm papal supremacy, e.g. the spurious *Decretales Isidori*. Later, when he joined the papalist camp, Piccolomini would use these very texts

(besides biblical arguments) to justify the pope's supremacy, see his orations "*Si putarem*" (1445) and "*Sentio*" (1452) (COR, 2: 5 and 4: 20).

³ 1. Peter, 3: 15: *parati semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem de ea, quae in vobis est, spe (being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you).*

⁴ Cicero: *Philippica*, 12: 7: *Optimus est portus paenitentium mutatio consilii.*

[3] Sed inveni tandem aliam viam, qua ex te possem verum excerpere. Si modo tu velis absque contentione, scribereque tibi statui rationes meas, quibus motus sum, ut conclusionem superiorem emitterem, sperans te mihi rescripturum aut confutaturum aut approbaturum, quae praescripserim, eamque ob causam hanc ad te nunc epistolam do, ut videas, tunc an ego insaniam, ut Terentii verbis utamur. Quod¹ si dignatus fueris respondere et meas rationes eliseris, acquiescam tuis doctrinis teque non solum sequar, sed utrisque amplectar brachiis. Si vero tacueris et calami laborem refugeris, scribam universitati Viennensi, in qua plurimi literatissimi viri sunt, quorum iudicium sciscitabor. Minime enim in hoc dubio esse volo, cum dubius in fide infidelis dicatur, et res ista fidem concernat, qui nihil nobis majori curae esse debet. *Justus* enim, ut scriptum est, *ex fide vivit*. Unum tamen, antequam scribam, protestationis loco esse volo, ut nihil me dicere vel tu putes, vel alius quisquam credat, ea intentione, ut ad praesens schisma respiciam, neque eo loco sum, ut loqui me de contentionibus modo vigentibus deceat. Sed quaestio nostra omni tempore oriri potest, etiam cum unita esset ecclesia, ideo cognoscenda est. Nam et, ut Cicero in *Officiis* ait, *propria est hominis veri inquisitio atque investigatio*. Sed audi jam tandem, quod volo, et vide, an leviter motus fuerim, cum dixi papam in omni re inferiorem esse concilio. Scribo tibi nunc rationes meas, ut quas noluit audire, nunc legas, earumque primam hanc suscipe.

¹ quam WO

[3] In the end, I found another way to learn the truth you may possess. If you agree to proceed without an acrimonious dispute, I have decided to write you the reasons that led me to my previous statement, hoping that you will write back to confute or approve what I had written. Therefore, I am sending you the present letter so you may see whether it is *I who am insane* or you - to use Terence's¹ words.² If you deign to answer me and destroy my arguments, I shall accept your views and not only follow you but embrace you with both arms. But if you remain silent and flee the labour of the pen, I shall write to the University of Vienna, where there are many very learned men whose opinion I shall solicit. I do not want to be in doubt concerning this matter since one who is in doubt concerning the Faith may be said to be without Faith, and this matter concerns the Faith, which must be our greatest concern. For, as it is written, *the just man liveth by Faith*.³ But before I write, it want to make it clearly understood by you and all others that what I shall say does not concern the present schism, for I am not in a position to speak about the conflicts now prevailing. But our question might arise at any time, also when the Church is united, and therefore it should be addressed. For, as Cicero says in his *De Officiis*, *the search after truth and its eager pursuit are peculiar to man*.⁴ But hear now what I want [to say] and see whether I had good reasons for stating that in all matters, the pope is subject to the council. I now write my arguments so that you may read what you did not want to hear. This is the first one:

¹ Terentius Afer, Publius [Terence] (ca. 195/185 – ca. 159? BCE): Roman playwright.

² Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 3: 5, 8.

³ Romans, 1: 17.

⁴ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 4, 13.

[4] Illius sententia in rebus omnibus est praeferenda, qui omnibus melius discernit et auctoritate potitur majori. Quae duo in conciliis generalibus invenies, in Romanis pontificibus non invenies, quod mox probo. Papa unus est, concilium multorum est peritorum congregatio, unde plus vident oculi quam oculus, et omnes omnia sciunt, nemo omnia, nimiumque arrogans est, qui se melius discernere putat omnibus aliis et tunc maxime fatuus est, cum se putat sapientissimum. Quod adeo verum est, ut non solum unius sed nec plurium sententia adversus plurimorum valeat, cum semper in senatibus atque conventibus et in omni re publica majoris partis iudicium obtinuerit. Unde et in concilio Carthaginiensi vigesimo definitum legimus plurimorum sententiam sacerdotum obtinere debere nec his¹ contrarium est, quod de Paphnutio dicitur, qui volenti Nicaeno concilio legem de auferendis sacerdotum nuptiis promulgare contradixit legemque impedivit. Nam ea non fuit sententia Paphnutii, sed totius concilii rationibus Paphnutii acquiescentis. Nec concilium prius absolute deliberaverat, sed inter deliberandum erat, et hoc moris in conciliis est, ut quod ab uno dictum sit tamquam ab omnibus dictum recipiatur, sicut in Chalcedonensis synodi gestis invenimus. Sed non est in re clara amplius immorandum.

¹ iis WO

2. Conciliarist thesis: the council has supreme authority

2.1. Argument: Majority and authority must prevail

[4] These two, [majority and authority], you will find in the general councils and not in the Roman pontiffs, which we shall prove now.

2.1.1. Majority

The pope is only one, whereas the council is an assembly of many learned men. More eyes see more than one eye, and all together know everything, whereas no single person knows all. It is an insufferable arrogance to believe oneself to know anything better than all others, and the height of folly is to believe oneself to be wiser than all. This is so true that the majority view is worth more than the view of one and even the view of many. Thus, in the senates and other assemblies and in every republic, the view of the majority always prevailed.¹ For example, we read that the 20th synod of Carthage decreed that the view of the majority of priests must prevail. This is not contradicted by what is said about Pafnutius² at the Council of Nicaea³: when the council wanted to abolish marriage for priests, Pafnutius opposed this measure and prevented the law from being passed. However, this was not the view of Pafnutius alone but that of the whole council, which yielded to his arguments. For the council had not finished its deliberations but was in the middle of them.⁴ And this is the custom of councils that what is said by one may be accepted as said by all, as we find it in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon.⁵ But there is no reason to dwell on something that is evident.

¹ In his *Libellus Dialogorum* from 1440, Piccolomini had Stefano de Caccia declare: *Concilii autem semper apud maiorem partem esse potestatem invenies idque in ceteris universitatibus perspectum est* (DIA, 6: 36 (p. 43). In the dialogue, this statement is afterwards refuted by Nikolaus von Kues.

² Paphnutius of Thebes [the Confessor] (fl. 4th century): disciple of Abbot Antonius and bishop of a city in the Upper Thebaid in the early fourth century. He is accounted by some as a prominent member of the First Council of Nicaea.

³ First Council of Nicaea (325): Summoned by Emperor Constantine the Great.

⁴ See Rufinus: *Historia ecclesiastica* (a translation from Eusebius), 10: 1, 4 [HE].

⁵ Council of Chalcedon (451): Summoned by Emperor Marcian.

[5] Illud fortasse videtur magis dubium, quod de auctoritate praemissum est, sed neque illi contra deest probatio. Nemo negat in certis causis pontificem ita subesse concilio, ut deponi possit, concilium vero posse per papam damnari nulla lex permittit. In concilio praeterea Constantiensi Martinus papa approbante synodo errores Johannis Wicleff condemnavit, inter quos ille unus erat: *non est de necessitate salutis Romanam ecclesiam supremam inter alias credere*, quem errorem litterae Martini sic limitant: *error, si per Romanam ecclesiam universalis intelligatur aut concilium generale aut pro quanto negetur primatus summi pontificis supra alias ecclesias particulares*. Quae verba mihi quidem, nescio an itidem aliis, majorem potestatem esse conciliorum quam summorum pontificum ostendunt. Siquidem universalis ecclesia et concilium aequiparantur, papae vero primatus super particulares tantummodo videtur ecclesias esse dimissus.

[6] Cum ergo et providentia major et potestas amplior in conciliis quam in summis pontificibus inveniatur, quis non videt in omni negotio praeferendam esse conciliorum sententiam? Cum nulla lex afferatur, quae istum vel illum casum papae reservet invito concilio, cur non illud potius beati Leonis edictum amplectitur: ut *qui se scit aliquibus esse praepositum, non moleste ferat aliquem sibi esse praelatum*? Quod non ideo dico, ut hominem sibi aliquem praeferat singularem, sed ut synodorum universalium judiciis se subjiciat, ut oboedientiam, quam exigit, ipse dependat. Nec enim sine causa Simon Petrus dictus est, qui, ut Rabano placet, *oboediens* interpretatur. Unde et ipse Petrus in epistola, *non tamquam dominans in clero*, inquit, *sed forma factus gregis*. Utinam omnes ad commune bonum tenderemus, et quod in rem publicam vergeret, id tantum amplecteremur, nec aut blandiri aliis studeremus aut blandientibus aures praestaremus.

2.1.2. Authority

[5] What I said first, about authority, may seem more doubtful, but this statement, too, can be proved. Nobody denies that in certain cases, the pope is subject to the council in such a way that he can be deposed by it, whereas no law allows the pope to condemn the council. Moreover, in the Council of Konstanz,¹ Pope Martin,² with the council's approval, condemned the errors of John Wycliff³. Among the errors was the following: *It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman Church has supremacy over the other churches*. This error is specified in Martin's letter: *it is an error to identify the Roman Church with the Universal Church or the general council and to deny the Supreme Pontiff's authority over the local churches*.⁴ Martin's statement (and possibly others that I am unaware of) proves to me that the power of the councils is greater than the pope's. If the Universal Church is considered to be on the same level as the council, the pope is only left with primacy over the local churches.

2.1.3. Conclusion

[6] So, since the wisdom and the power of the councils are greater than the supreme pontiff's, who does not understand that in all matters the judgment of the councils carries greater weight [than the popes']? And since no law reserves this or that cause to the pope against the will of the council, then why not accept the saying of Saint Leo⁵ that *a man who knows that he has been set above others should not take it badly that others have been set above himself*?⁶ With this I mean that the pope should submit not to another man but to the judgments of the universal synods and show them the obedience they require. As Rabanus⁷ thinks, Simon is called Peter because that name means "the obedient one."⁸ This is why, in his letter, Peter says, *Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock*.⁹ I wish that we would all strive for the common good and only accept that which profits the whole community and not seek to flatter others or lend ears to flatterers.

¹ Council of Konstanz (1414-1418): Summoned by Pope Johannes XXIII and Emperor Sigismund. Ended the Great Western Schism and organised the election of Cardinal Colonna as pope Martin V.

² Martinus V [Odo Colonna] (1368-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. Restored the Roman papacy after the end of the Great Western Schism.

³ John Wycliff (ca. 1320-1384): English philosopher and theologian.

an. Challenged traditional church teachings and became a precursor of Hussitism and Protestantism.

⁴ COD, p. 389.

⁵ Leo I (400-461): Pope from 440 to his death.

⁶ Decretum Gratiani, D.23.6., *Letter of Pope Leo I to Anastas. Thessal.* Quotation used by Piccolomini in other texts, e.g. the oration "*Si putarem*" (1443) (COR, 5: 5, sect. 22).

⁷ Hrabanus Maurus (776-856): Abbot in Fulda, Archbishop of Mainz. Theologian and prolific author.

⁸ Hrabanus Maurus: *Commentarii in Matthaicum*, 3: 10, 1: *Simon autem obediens interpretatur* (MPL, 107, 888). This passage was also used by Piccolomini in his DGCB (Hay, p. 56).

⁹ 1. Peter, 5, 3: *Neque ut dominantes in cleris, sed forma facti gregis ex animo*. Also quoted in DIA, 10: 3 (p. 77)

[7] Sed sunt quidam,¹ qui, ut se summis pontificibus insinuent, ei omnia subesse dicant ipsamque universalem ecclesiam, et dispersam per orbem et synodaliter congregatam, judicare debere, induuntque hujusmodi homines, ut Basilius dicit, *polypi* faciem, qui ad speciem subjecti soli *colorem* mutat. Quo fit, ut ipsi gravissime peccent mendacia confingendo et, sicut Terentius ait, *homines* sibi auscultantes *ex stultis insanos* faciant, quod vitium maxime principantibus inest, laudes suas et potestatis suae amplitudinem percupide audientibus facileque credentibus, si Juvenali credimus. Quid est enim, ait ille, *quod credere de se non possit cum laudatur diis aequa potestas?* Sed digressus sum, nescio quomodo, in hos sermones, qui etsi fratres sint disputationis nostrae, nimis tamen in longum nos ducunt. Redeo rursus ad institutum.

[8] In Constantinopolitano concilio scriptum est: *porro, si synodus universalis fuerit congregata et facta fuerit de sancta Romana ecclesiae quaevis ambiguitas et controversia, oportet venerabiliter et cum convenienti reverentia de proposita quaestione sciscitari et solutionem accipere. Moxque subjicitur: non autem audacter sententiam dicere contra senioris Romae summos pontifices.* Quae concilii auctoritas dilucide manifestat non in ista vel illa, sed in qualibet controversia universalem synodum, dum id reverenter et non audacter faciat, posse de summis pontificibus judicare. Quod ad meam propositionem quam pertineat, tu ipse inferas. Ad hoc etiam evangelicus textus quam maxime facit, cum Christi verbo beatus Petrus ad ecclesiam remissus fuerit tamquam ad superiorem atque ultimum tribunal. Quod si fuisset Petrus supra ecclesiam, nequaquam fas erat majorem recurrere ad minorem.

¹ quidam HE

2.2. Papalist counterclaim

[7] However, to gain favour with the supreme pontiffs, some people claim that all things are subject to the pope and that it is his office to judge the Universal Church, both spread across the Earth and gathered in a council.

2.2.1. Piccolomini's refutation

As Basil¹ says, such people behave like the octopus that changes colour to match the background.² Thus, they sin gravely by inventing lies and, as Terence says, *turn fools who listen to them into madmen*.³ This fault is found especially in those who rule us when they eagerly hear and easily believe those who praise them and tell them how great their power is - if we believe Juvenal.⁴ For what *can't godlike power not believe of itself when praised?*⁵ ⁶ But here I digress: it is relevant to our discussion but leads us too far away [from its substance]. So, I now return to my plan.⁷

[8] In the [acts of] the Council of Constantinople⁸ it is written: *Further, if the universal synod has assembled and any doubt and dispute have arisen about the holy Roman Church, an inquiry must be made, reverently and with proper respect about the point at issue, and the solution be accepted, yet - it is added - without boldly delivering an opinion against the older chief pontiffs of Rome.*⁹ ¹⁰ This authoritative conciliar statement clearly shows that the universal synod¹¹ can make judgments concerning the supreme pontiffs not just in certain specific controversies but in all, provided it is done reverently and non rashly. You yourself will see how this applies to my proposition. Especially important in this context is the passage in the Gospel where Christ referred Saint Peter to the Church as if to a higher and supreme tribunal.¹² If Peter had been above the Church, it would not have been right to refer the superior to an inferior instance.

¹ Basileios of Caesarea [the Great] (330-379): Bishop of Caesarea. Church father.

² Basil: *Sermo XVIII. De invidia et malevolentia*: (Lat. transl.) *Verum neque polypi praeterierim dolum ac versutias, qui qualicumque tandem saxo adhaeserit, illius induit colorem* (MPG, 32, col. 1343).

³ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 254.

⁴ Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (late first and early second cent. CE): Roman poet

⁵ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 4: 70-71.

⁶ This is a claim that the popes' ideas of their own supremacy and power have been fostered by their flatterers.

⁷ Cf. DIA, 5: 82 (p. 50): *Sed longius forsan, quam ratio disputandi exigeret, sum digressus. Revertamur ad institutum*. Cf. Cicero: *De oratore*, 2: 113: *ad institutum revertar meum*.

⁸ 4th Council of Constantinople, 869-870.

⁹ Canon 21: *Porro si synodus universalis fuerit congregata, et facta fuerit etiam de sancta Romanorum*

ecclesia quaevis ambiguitas et controversia, oportet venerabiliter et cum convenienti reverentia de proposita quaestione sciscitari, et solutionem accipere, aut proficere, aut profectum facere, non tamen audacter sententiam dicere contra summos senioris Romae pontifices (COD, p. 182).

¹⁰ Also quoted in DGCB (Hay), p. 78-801); DIA, 12: 13 (p. 97).

¹¹ I.e. the ecumenical council.

¹² Cf. DGCB (Hay), p. 56.

[9] Sed visne digitis tangere veritatem meae propositionis? Audi argumentationem hanc: omnis potestas intra ecclesiam, sicut apostolus asserit, *non in destructionem, sed in aedificationem* tantummodo se extendit. Papa autem intra ecclesiam potestatem habet, et aedificatio idem est quod reformatio, at in reformatione ecclesiae tam in capite quam in membris oboedire concilio papa tenetur, ut Constantiae diffinitum est. Ergo in omni re, ubi potestas papae vendicat locum, superius est concilium. Quodsi neque hoc te movet, subjungo et aliud argumentum, mea quidem opinione nervosius ceteris. Petrus apostolus, cum claves regni caelorum accepit, in persona recepit ecclesiae, sicut Augustino *De agone Christiano* videtur, dum ait: *huic enim ecclesiae claves regni caelorum datae sunt, cum Petro datae sunt*. Qua ex re vicarium illum ecclesiae constat fuisse. Vicarius vero, sicut notissimum est, semper domino cedit, nec vicariis contra dominos ulla jurisdictio suffragatur. Quod ergo de Petro ad ecclesiam, idem de suis successoribus erga generalia concilia dici potest. Papa enim Petrum repraesentat, concilium vero ecclesiam. Quod si ita est, probatum jam est, quod diximus: in omni re, de qua concilium papaque dissentirent¹, superius esse synodale iudicium.

[10] Sed respondendum impraesentiarum superest, quae in adversum rationibus adducuntur. Parum est enim sua probare, nisi, quae videntur contraria, destruantur. Quod facientes a mendacio cavebimus, quod, ut *Aristoteles* ait, per se improbum est ac vituperatione dignum, verum autem probum ac laudabile, quod inquirere totis debemus affectibus. Recipiam ea, quae videntur robustiora firmioraque argumenta, hisque pro mei parvitate ingenioli solutiones praebebo. Quae si validae erunt, non tibi, ut arbitror, erunt molestae, cum nihil hic aliud quam animae quaeramus utilitatem, cuius curam, si saperemus², et dignitati et amplitudini majorum et corporis viribus et formae et magnitudini et honoribus universis et ipsi imperio et omni, quod est in hac vita excellens, praeponeremus. Quodsi ridiculum fuerit, quod dixero, tuum erit officium errores ostendere et *erranti comiti viam monstrare*, quod qui facit, ut Ennius inquit, *quasi de suo lumine lumen accendit*. Id quod teste Lactantio non solum erga volentes, sed etiam circa invitos fieri debet, quando id, quod bonum est, nesciunt. Sed jam alterius partis objecta discutiamus.

¹ *em.*; dissentiret cod.

² superemus WO

[9] But if you wish to assess the truth of my assertion, then heed this argument: as the apostle declares, all *power* in the Church may only be used for *edification, and not for destruction*.¹ But [firstly,] in the Church, it is the pope who has the power, and [secondly,] edification is the same as reform, but in the [matter of the] reform of the Church both in the head and in the members the pope is obliged to obey the council, as defined in Konstans.^{2 3} So, in all matters where the pope's power intervenes, the council is actually superior [to the pope]. If this does not convince you, I add another argument, which, in my opinion, is more compelling than the others. When the Apostle Peter received *the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven*,⁴ he received them on behalf of the Church, as Augustine maintains in his *De Agone Christiano*, saying that *the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven were given to the Church when they were given to Peter*.⁵ Thus it is clear that Peter is the vicar of the Church.⁶ But it is well-known that a vicar always yields to his lord and has no jurisdiction over him. What is said about Peter's relationship with the Church also holds true about his successors' relationship with the general councils, for the pope represents Peter and the council the Church. If this is so, what we said is proven: in all matters in which the council and the pope disagree, the council's judgment is supreme.

3. Papalist thesis: the pope has supreme authority

[10] Now we must answer the counterarguments, for it is not enough to prove one's own theses if the contrary theses are not disproven. In doing so, we must avoid any *falsehood*, that, as Aristotle says, *is in itself bad and reprehensible, while the truth is a fine and praiseworthy thing*⁷ and must be pursued by all means. I shall [only] use such arguments as appear to be solid and firm and offer them [to you] rather than the solutions construed by my own puny intellect. If they are valid, they will not disturb you since we are only seeking what profits the soul. Indeed, the care of the soul is more important than the dignity and greatness of our ancestors, physical strength and beauty, and all honours, and even the Empire itself, and all that is fine in this life. If what I say is laughable, it will be your duty to show how they are erroneous and point the *companion who has lost his way* to the [right] way. As Ennius says, *a person, who does that, lights the lamp of another by his*.⁸ And according to Lactance⁹ this is what we should do not only towards those who want it but also towards those who do not, when they do not know what is good.¹⁰ But let us now discuss the objections of the other party.¹¹

¹ 2. Corinthians, 13: 10.

² The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418.

³ In the decree "*Haec sancta*", see below.

⁴ Matthew, 16: 19

⁵ Augustine: *De Agone Christiano*. 30 (32). MPL, 40: col. 308. Also quoted by Piccolomini in his

DGCB (Hay, p. 66) and DIA, 8: 14-15 (p. 63).

⁶ Viz. not the Vicar of Christ or God.

⁷ Aristoteles: *Ethika Nichom.*, 4: 7 (1127a)(Treddington, pp. 164-165).

⁸ Ennius (Vahlen, 388), quoted in Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 16, 51: *quod*

ab Ennio positum ... "Homo qui erranti comiter monstrat viam, quasi lumen de super lumine accendat, facit ...".

⁹ Lactantius [Lucius Caecilius Firmianus] (ca. 250 – ca. 325): Christian author.

¹⁰ Reference not identified.

¹¹ The papalists.

[11] Dicere solitus tu es, tuique similes multi id faciunt: concilium Constantiense tria dumtaxat expressit, in quibus vellet papam subesse concilio, ergo in aliis non id voluit. Nam inclusio unius exclusio est alterius, et quia tria petiit, plura non voluit. Haec argumentatio valida videtur plerisque, mihi vero non sic. Nam etsi aliquando valet apud legistas, apud theologos non valet semper. Evangelistarum unus gallum, quo Petrus admonitus est negationis, *bis cantasse* memorat. Quodsi idcirco ulterior cantus excludatur, quia de duabus vicibus ille solum expressit, falsus erit alius evangelista, qui *tertium* cantum subjunxit, quod pias aures nimis offenderet. Cum ergo Constantiense concilium tria illa, quae scimus, expresserit nec clausulam ullam restringentem adjunxerit, ut esset “tantummodo” vel “dumtaxat” aut cetera istius modi, nequaquam restringere auctoritatem debemus conciliorum et interpretationem absonam recipere, quae aliis auctoritatibus obviet, et per quam ridiculum illud emergat, ut nunc superius nunc inferius sit concilium.

3.1. The pope is subject to the council only in three specific cases

3.1.1. Argument

[11] You usually say – and many like you do the same – that the Council of Konstanz mentioned only three cases in which the pope was subject to the council,¹ and therefore, it did not want to him to be subject in others. For including one thing means excluding another, and since the council wanted three cases, it did not want any more.

3.1.2. Piccolomini's refutation

This argument appears valid to many, but not to me. For though it is sometimes acceptable to lawmen, it is not always acceptable to theologians. One of the evangelists who mentions the cock admonishing Peter about his denial said that it *crowed twice*.² If the fact that he said the cock crowed twice means that it did not crow again, then the other evangelist who added a third crowing³ is in error, which would greatly offend the ears of pious men. Since the Council of Konstanz defined the three cases we know without any restrictive clause like “only” or “just” or something similar, we should not restrict the authority of the councils and accept a different interpretation, which goes against other authorities and leads to the ridiculous [conclusion] that the council is sometimes superior and sometimes inferior [to the pope].

¹ Faith, Schism, Reform.

² Mark, 14: 71-72: *But he began to curse and to swear, saying; I know not this man of whom you speak. And immediately the cock crew again. And Peter remembered the word that Jesus had said unto him:*

Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt thrice deny me

³ Matthew, 26: 34, 74-75: *Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee, that in this night before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice / Then he began to curse and to*

swear that he knew not the man. And immediately the cock crew. And Peter remembered the word of Jesus which he had said: Before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice. And going forth, he wept bitterly. See also Luke, 22: 61.

[12] Verum quid nos de tribus – obsecro - disputamus, cum ex his unum tantum satis fuisset exprimere, reformationem videlicet ecclesiae, extra quam, ut paulo ante dixi, nulla potestas Romani pontificis aut etiam conciliorum extenditur? Scio autem, quid tu tacite cogites eoque venio: si adeo late reformationem interpretemur, dicis, frustra de aliis duobus subjungitur, nam et illa intra reformationem continebantur. At vide - te obsecro – textum legis. Particularia primo scribuntur, post generale subjungitur. Nam cum dixisset synodus *papam et quemlibet alium oboedire teneri* decretis cujuslibet concilii generalis *in iis, que pertinent ad fidem extirpationemque schismatis*, videns quia longum erat singula numerare, mox *generale verbum reformationis* adjecit, ut omnia complecteretur, quod oratorium est et secundum artem praemissis particularibus subnectere generalia. Vitium autem fuisset, si contrarius ordo fuisset servatus, sicut de illo Cicero in rhetoricis dicit, qui sic partitus fuit: *ostendam propter cupiditatem et audaciam et avaritiam adversariorum omnia incommoda ad rempublicam pervenisse*. Nam is non intellexit in partitione, exposito generali, partem se generis admiscuisse, cum genus omnium libidinum sit cupiditas, cujus generis sine dubio pars est avaritia. Synodus vero et recte et pulchre generalissimum nomen particularibus postposuit.

[12] But – I ask – why do we discuss the three [cases], when it would be enough to just mention one of them, viz. the reform of the Church, beyond which the Roman Pontiff - and even the councils – has no power? I know that you are now silently thinking (and I am coming to that): if we interpret the reformation in such a broad sense, you say, then it is superfluous to add the two others, for they are then contained in the reformation. But – I ask you – read the text [of the decree].¹ First, it mentions [two] particular cases,² and then it adds the general.³ Having said that the pope and all others are bound to obey the decrees of any council in matters of Faith and elimination of schisms, it saw that it would take too long to list all the specific cases and therefore added the “general reform” as comprising everything. It is a normal oratorical device to first mention the particular cases and then state the general. It would have been incorrect to follow another order, as Cicero says in his rhetorics: *One who divided his speech as follows: “I shall show that through the covetousness, audacity and avarice of my opponents all disasters have come upon the state” was not aware that in his partition he mentioned a genus and then combined it with a species of that genus. For covetousness or desire certainly is the genus of all appetites, and of this genus avarice is without doubt a species.*⁴ But the synod correctly and elegantly⁵ placed the most general term⁶ after the particulars.⁷

¹ In the decree *Haec Sancta* of 6 April 1415: *Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam militantem repraesentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cuiuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis, ac generalem reformationem dictae ecclesiae dei in capite et in membris* (COD, p. 409). (And, firstly, it declares that as [a synod] legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, forming a general council, and representing the militant Catholic Church, it has its power

directly from Christ. All men, of whatever condition or office, even be it the papal, are obliged to obey **it in matters concerning the Faith and the elimination of the aforesaid schism, and the general reformation of the aforesaid Church of God both in the head and in the members.**) Piccolomini had quoted this passage in his DIA, 8: 20 (p. 65)

² Faith, Schism.

³ General reform. Piccolomini’s argumentation that Faith and Schism are particulars (species) whereas reform is general (genus) is a specious interpretation of “generale”, which applies to the reform without making it include the two others.

⁴ Cicero: *De inventione*, 1: 23, 32. Cicero continues that *You should therefore be on your guard lest after mentioning a genus you mention a species of it in the same partition as if it were different and dissimilar.* This passage is used by Piccolomini to claim that in proper rhetorics, genus should always be listed after the species included in that genus, but that is not an appropriate use of Cicero’s passage, and, moreover, Piccolomini has not proven that reform is a genus, while the other two are species of that genus.

⁵ I.e. according to oratorical norms, as Piccolomini claims

⁶ The genus: Reform.

⁷ The species: Faith and schism.

[13] Ac tu hanc interpretationem non esse sumendam putas, quae canonibus jam scriptis adversetur, adducisque verba Symmachi, Anacleti et Bonifatii, ex quibus constat ejectionem summorum pontificum sibi dominum reservasse *et neminem posse judicare primam sedem et nulli mortalium illius culpas licere reprehendere*.¹ Ad quam rem possem respondere, quod hi textus nullatenus intelligendi sunt praejudicium facere conciliis generalibus aut scripturae sacrae, sed sufficit mihi, quod glossator vester super verbis Bonifatii dicit, qui non solum de fidei errore posse puniri papam affirmat, sed etiam de omni alio crimine, per quod universalem scandalisaret ecclesiam. Quod dictum sententiam meam firmat, cum in re qualibet, si nolit papa concilio oboedire, per inoboedientiae crimen universalem scandalizet et conturbet ecclesiam. Nam – sicut infra dicetur – generale concilium universalem repraesentat ecclesiam, nec vereor dicere ipsum esse ecclesiam.

¹ Decretum Gratiani, D.40.6. (Friedberg, 1: p. 146: *Hujus culpas istic redarguere presumit mortali-*

um nullus, quia cunctos ipse iudicaturus a nemine est iudicandus ...

Piccolomini had quoted this passage in his DIA, 8: 20 (p. 65).

[13] But you do not consider this interpretation to be acceptable since it goes against the canons.¹ [In your defence,] you bring forward the statements² of Symmachus,³ Anacletus,⁴ and Bonifatius,⁵ making it clear that the removal of Supreme Pontiffs has been reserved by the Lord for himself,⁶ that *nobody may judge the First See*, and that *no mortal has the right to criticise its faults*.⁷ To this, I could answer that those texts should not be understood as prejudicing the general councils or Holy Scripture, but it is enough for me [to point out] what your own glossator⁸ says about the words of Bonifatius who declares that the pope may be punished not only for errors of Faith but also for any other crime by which he may have scandalised the Church. This passage confirms my view since if the pope will not obey the council in any given matter, his crime of disobedience will scandalise and perturb the Universal Church. For – as will be said below – the general council represents the Universal Church, and I do not fear to say that it is actually the Church itself.

¹ Canon law.

² Piccolomini may be referring to Decretum Gratiani, D.40.1. (Friedberg, 1: p. 145).

³ Symmachus (d. 514): Pope from 498 to his death.

⁴ Anacletus (d. 92): Pope from 80 to his death.

⁵ Bonifatius (d. 422): Pope from 418 to his death.

⁶ Decretum Gratiani, D.79.11. (Friedberg, 1: p. 279): *Ejectionem*

summorum pontificum sibi reservavit dominus. (Anacletus ad episcopos Italiae). Piccolomini had quoted this passage in his DIA, 8: 20 (p. 65). This passage was also used by Nikolaus von Kues in his *Concordantia Catholica*, 2: 19, 205.

⁷ Decretum Gratiani, D.40.6. (Friedberg, I, p. 146): *Hujus culpas istic redarguere presumit mortalium nullus, quia cunctos ipse iudicaturus a nemine est iudicandus ...*

(Ex gestis Bonifacii martiris). Piccolomini had quoted this passage in his DIA, 8: 20 (p. 65). This passage was also used by Nikolaus von Kues in his *Concordantia Catholica*, 2: 13, 145.

⁸ "glossator": commentator. After the publication of the first and second version of the Decretum around 1140/1150, a number of juridical specialists wrote commentaries (glosses) on the text.

[14] Quaeris fortasse, an in collationibus beneficiorum minutisque rebus concilium papae praesit? Ego quidem dixi, in omni re. Concilium tamen universale ad haec minima¹ non intendet, nisi causa urgeat. Quodsi intenderit, praeventioni locus erit; quodsi concurrant, factum concilii praevalebit tamquam superioris, ut probatum est. Sunt tamen nonnulli, qui vetustas legentes historias reperientesque papam Leonem Ephesinam quandam synodum condemnasse et ejus gesta reprobasse, Romanos pontifices supra generalia concilia extollunt, unde illud Macrobiani impletur, ut, *cui plus licet, quam par est, plus velit, quam liceat*. Papae namque id verum existimantes esse, plurima voluerunt illicita. Sed nihil est, quod de synodo dicitur Ephesina. Minime enim generale concilium fuit, cum et absque apostolicae sedis auctoritate convenerit, et per violentiam urgentibus armatis extiterit celebrata, sicut in gestis legimus synodi Calcedonensis. De qua etiam illud animadvertendum est, quod cum Leo papa synodum illum damnasset, expectatum tamen est universalis concilii iudicium scilicet Calcedonensis synodi. Nequaquam igitur valet, quod de Ephesina opponitur synodo. Nos enim de veris atque legitimis universalibus synodis loquimur, quas posse per Romanos pontifices reprehendi nulla scriptura decantat, licet dissolutis conciliis possint Romani papae decreta patrum interpretari et juxta temporis condiciones mutare, dummodo id servent, quod Damasus papa de se atque aliis dixit in hunc modum: *idcirco norma sanctorum canonum, qui sunt spiritu Dei et totius mundi reverentia consecrati, fideliter est a nobis scienda et diligenter tractanda, ne quo modo sanctorum statuta absque inevitabili necessitate, quod absit, transgrediamur*.

¹ minime WO

[14] Maybe you ask if the pope is subject to the council in the bestowal of benefices and in small matters. I did say “in all matters”, but a universal council will not occupy itself with such matters unless for urgent cause. If it does take up such matters, it will be in order to prevent something undesirable; and if they agree, the council’s decision will prevail since it is the superior instance, as already proven. There are some, however, who have read the old histories and found that Pope Leo condemned a Synod of Ephesus¹ and censured its decrees. Therefore, they claim that the Roman pontiffs are superior to the general councils, thus fulfilling Macrobius’² maxim that *he who is allowed more than is right wants more than is allowed*.³ Indeed, the popes, believing their claim to be true, have wanted many illicit things. But what is said about the Synod of Ephesus is of no consequence. For that synod was not a general council since it was not summoned on the authority of the Apostolic See and, moreover, was held under threat from armed men, as we read in the acts of the Synod of Chalcedon.⁴ Concerning that synod it must be noted that when Pope Leo had condemned the Synod of Ephesus, they waited for the judgment of a universal council, viz. the Synod of Chalcedon. So, what was said against the Synod of Ephesus, is irrelevant. Indeed, we are speaking about true and legitimate universal synods, which no scripture declares may be reproved by the Roman pontiffs. But when councils end, the Roman popes can interpret the fathers’ decrees⁵ and change them according to the needs of the times, but only as long as they respect Pope Damasus’⁶ declaration about himself and others: *we must know and faithfully follow the guidance of the holy canons, consecrated by the Spirit of God and by their reverent acceptance in the whole world so that we do not, in any way, break the statutes of the saintly men – what God forbid - except in case of absolute necessity*.^{7 8}

¹ The so-called robber council of Ephesus (449), not to be confused with the ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431).

² Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (fl. C. 400): Roman author.

³ Publilius Syrus, 145: *cui plus licet, quam par est, plus velit, quam licet*. Cited by Macrobius, 2: 7, 11.

⁴ Council of Chalcedon (451): Fourth ecumenical council of the Christian Church.

⁵ Not the dogmatic decrees, but the disciplinary decrees.

⁶ Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from 366 to his death.

⁷ Decretum Gratiani, C.25.1.5. (Friedberg, 1008): *Violatores canonum voluntarie graviter a sanctis patribus judicantur et a sancto spiritu (instinctu cujus ac dono dictati sunt) damnantur, quoniam blasphemare spiritum sanctum non incongrue videntur qui*

contra eosdem sacros canones non necessitate compulsi, sed libenter, ut premissum est, aliquid aut proterve agunt aut loqui presumunt aut facere volentibus sponte consentiunt. (From the Decretals of Pseudo-Isidorus).

⁸ Also quoted by Piccolomini in his DGCB (p. 58).

[15] Ad refugium aliud, quod solet afferri, nunc descendo, ut et id¹, si possum, tibi adimam. Non solum enim, ut *Aristoteli* placet, verum dicere oportet, sed etiam causam falsi. Nam id ad fidem faciendam pertinet, et quando ratio conspicitur, propter quam videbatur verum, quod non est verum, facit ut vero magis credatur. Est igitur tua sententia, ut id demum dici concilium debeat generale, ubi summi pontificis interveniat auctoritas, illudque ex verbis Isidori Hispalensis per Gratianum in *Decretorum* libro receptis affirmas, quae huiusmodi sunt: *synodorum vero congregandarum auctoritas apostolicae sedi privata commissa est potestate, nec ullam synodum ratam esse legimus, quae ejus non fuerit auctoritate congregata vel fulta*. Hoc canonica testatur auctoritas, hoc historia ecclesiastica, hoc sancti patres confirmant. Sit hoc ita, nolo hic pugnare, quamvis et regula ista exceptionem patiatur.

¹ istud WO

3.2. Only councils legitimated by papal authority are valid

3.2.1. Argument

[15] Now I turn to another argument in which they usually take refuge. If possible, I shall deprive you of it. For, as Aristotle believes, one should not only say what is true but also the reason why something else is false.¹ This causes trust to grow, and when it is seen why something false appeared to be true, it inspires greater belief. Your thesis is that a council can only be called general if it is [legitimated] by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff. You claim this view is supported by the following passage from Isidore of Spain included by Gratian² in the Book of Decrees: *The power to gather synods belongs exclusively to the Apostolic See, and we read that no synod is legitimate if it is not gathered or supported by its authority.*³ This [belief, you claim,] is supported by canonical authority⁴ and ecclesiastical history and confirmed by the holy fathers.⁵ Let us assume that this is so – this is not where I want to fight, though that rule has exceptions.⁶

¹ Cf. Aristoteles: *Ethika Nicomacheia*, 7: 15 (1154a) (Tredington, pp. 255-256).

² Gratianus (d. bef. 1159): Italian monk and jurist. Author of the *Decretum Gratiani*.

³ *Decretum Gratiani*, D.17.1 (Friedberg, col. 50). (Decretals of ps.Isidore).

⁴ Canon law.

⁵ The Fathers of the Church.

⁶ The early councils were summoned by the emperors.

[16] Ego, quorsum tendat haec tua sententia, non plane intelligo, nisi idcirco talia dicas, ut venire illud in usum nequeat, quod papa a concilio discrepet. Nam cum ipse in concilio sit, a seipso discreparet, quod fieri non potest. At ego non solum discrepare a concilio papam censeo posse, sed hominem a seipso saepius dissentire. Est autem in homine - ut Aristoteles ait - ratio atque cupiditas, et cupiditas quidem rationi oboedire debet; at id non semper fit. Pravi namque - secundum eundem philosophum - secum ipsi dissident et alia cupiunt, alia nolunt, cumque nihil habeant, quod amari mereatur, nullo amore erga seipsos afficiuntur. Cum ergo a seipso malus discrepet, cur id fieri tu posse negabis, ut a concilio papa dissentiat, si fuerit malus? Sed dicis fortasse de bono te disputare pontifice, non de malo. Ego vero de malo loquor, minimum quippe de bono. *Iusto* enim – ut apostolus ait – *non ponitur lex*. Namque si justus fuerit papa, numquam id committet, ut concilium sibi reddat infestum, sed beatum Gregorium imitabitur, qui *cunctas se* - inquit - *personas respuere, quas sacra concilia respuerent*. Nec Constantiense concilium, cum declarationem illam, quam praemisimus, fecit, ligare justos voluit, sed injustos, existimavitque synodus illa futurum aliquem papam, qui a concilio dissentiret, quae in constitutione hujusmodi quam habens quibusdam tenendum putavit.¹ Quodsi casus nullus - ut tu reris - emergere possit, per quem papa a concilio dissideat, nequaquam opus fuerat constitutionem promulgasse *futurum*. Sed vidit plus illa synodus, quam nos videmus, ideoque illi acquiescamus sciamusque evenire posse, ut a concilio papa dissentiat, quod non solum contingere potest, ubi malus est papa, sed etiam ubi bonus. Incidunt enim – ut Cicero de amicitia dicit – nonnumquam contentiones de republica, in quibus amicus ab amico honeste potest dissentire, scilicet in rebus admodum dubiis, quod si quando inter papam conciliumque evenerit, cum nolint entia male disponi, iudicio concilii stabitur peccabitque tandem papa, si postquam suam dixerit opinionem, synodali sententiae contumaciter restiterit.

¹ quae in constitutione ... putavit
textus corruptus HE, WO

3.2.2. *Piccolomini's refutation*

[16] I do not quite understand the purport of your argument unless it means that it is impossible for the pope to be in conflict with a council, for since he himself is an [integral] part of the council, he would then be in conflict with himself which is impossible.¹ But I believe that not only can a pope be in conflict with a council but that everyone is often in conflict with himself. For – as Aristotle maintains – in a man there is both reason and desire, and though desire ought to obey reason, this is not always the case.² For – according to the same philosopher – bad men are in conflict with themselves, desiring some things and not others. And since they have nothing worthy of being loved, they even feel no love towards themselves. If a bad man can be in conflict with himself, then why do you deny that a pope can be in conflict with a council if he is bad? Maybe you say that you are discussing a good pope, not a bad one. But I am speaking of a bad pope, certainly not about a good one. For – as the Apostle says – *the law is not made for a just man*.³ A pope who is a just man will never cause a council to become his enemy but imitate Saint Gregory,⁴ who says that *he rejects all those persons whom the holy councils reject*.⁵ And when the Council of Konstanz made the abovementioned declaration, it did not want to bind the just men, but the unjust. The synod considered that a future pope might be in conflict with a council ...⁶ Even if – as you believe – no pope would ever come into conflict with a council, it was nonetheless necessary to issue the decree *Futurum*. The council saw more than we do, and therefore we should comply with it and know that it might happen that a pope would be in conflict with a council. This might happen not only in the case of a bad pope but also in the case of a good one. For – as Cicero says concerning friendship – sometimes conflicts arise about the state, in which friends may honestly disagree, especially in very dubious matters.⁷ So, if a conflict arises between a pope and a council, despite both parties having the best intentions, the council's judgment must stand, and the pope will be in error if, having stated his own opinion, he stubbornly resists the synod's judgment.

¹ This specious argument appears not to have actually been made by Hartung von Kappel but to have been invented by Piccolomini.

² Cf. Aristoteles: *Ethika Nicomacheia* 1: 13 (1103a) (Treddington, pp. 91-92).

³ 1. Timothy, 1: 9

⁴ Gregorius I (ca. 540-604): Pope from 590 to his death.

⁵ Gregorius I: *Epistolae*, 1: 9, 25. (Ad Johannem episcopum Constantinopolitanum et ceteros patriarchas): *Cunctas vero personas, quas praefata veneranda concilia*

respuunt, respuo. (MPL, 70: col. 478B / sect. 155)

⁶ *Corrupt text.*

⁷ Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 21: 77: *sin autem ... , ut fieri solet, facta erit ... reipublicae partibus dissensio intercesserit, loquor enim jam ... de communibus amicitiiis ...*

[17] Rursus instat quidam unum esse debere in ecclesia principem, qui ad exemplum imperatoris omnia iudicet, omnia regat, omnia disponat dominusque super omnes sit. Sed iis evangelium adversatur, cum scriptum sit: *reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic, sed qui major est vestrum sit tamquam minister*. Quod vero de capite dicitur, id videtur nonnullis inextricabilis nodus. Dicunt enim, qui papae tuentur partes: papa ecclesiae atque concilii [dominus¹] et verus Jesu Christi vicarius est in tantumque progredi audent, ut eum sponsum ecclesiae astruant, quod mihi valde absurdum videtur, cum Paulus dicat *Christum ecclesiae caput esse et sponsum*, quod, si verum sit, quod illi ajunt, monstruosa erit ecclesia duo capita duosque habens sponso. Rectius itaque diceretur Romanum papam ecclesiae capitis atque sponsi vicarium esse. Nullus enim vicarius sponsae domini dicitur sponsus. Cum de ecclesia loquor, universalem intelligo. Nec enim me fugit Romanae ecclesiae sponsum esse summum pontificem, sicut et pontifices ceteri suarum ecclesiarum sponsi dicuntur, nec video, quomodo sponsus ecclesiae Catholicae papa esse possit, cujus ipse est filius, dicente papa Clemente: *pater noster sine dubio Deus est, qui nos creavit, mater Romana ecclesia, quae nos in baptismo spiritualiter regeneravit*.

[18] Jam vero de concilii capite disputemus. Concilium quippe universalem ecclesiam repraesentat, de generali, inquam, quod, qui non credit, haereticus debet censi, sicut ex bulla Martini papae, sacro approbante concilio edita, constat, ubi mandatur interrogari suspectos de haeresi, an credant quodlibet generale concilium universalem ecclesiam repraesentare, ut, si id negent, haeretici reputentur. Quodsi dixerim concilium generale universalem fore ecclesiam, forsitan non errarem, cum vetera concilia maximeque Nicaenum, quos excommunicabant, per Catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam fuisse illos excommunicatos dicerent. Rursus quoque nomen ecclesiae tunc videtur impletum, cum concilium universale habet ecclesia, namque convocationem significat. Apostoli etiam atque discipuli, cum convenissent, ab universa ecclesia factum praedicabant, quod ipsi congregati statuissent, sicut ex actis constat apostolorum.

¹ *em. [it does not give meaning that the pope would be the vicar of the Church and the council]*

3.3. There can only be one head in the Church, the pope

3.3.1. Argument

[17] Now, some will insist that there should only be one leader in the Church, who – like an emperor¹ – judges all, rules all, administers all, and is the lord of all.

3.3.2. Piccolomini's refutation

But they are opposed by the Gospel, saying that *the kings of the Gentiles lord it over them. It shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister.*² To many³, what is said about the head seems an insoluble knot, for those who support the pope claim that the pope is [the lord] of the Church and the council and the true Vicar of Christ, and they even dare to claim that the pope is the spouse of Church. This seems quite absurd to me, for Paul says that *Christ is the head and spouse of the Church.*⁴ If what the others say is true, the Church would be a monster with two heads and two spouses. It would be more correct to say that the Roman pope is the head of the Church and the vicar of its spouse, for no vicar can be called the spouse of the Lord's spouse, [the Church]. When I talk about the Church, I mean the Universal Church, for I am quite aware that the Supreme Pontiff is the spouse of the Roman Church, just like the other bishops are called the spouses of their individual churches. But I do not see how the pope can be the spouse of the Catholic⁵ Church, whose son he is, as stated by Pope Clement⁶: *Our Father is surely God who created us, whereas our mother is the Roman Church who gave us spiritual rebirth in baptism.*⁷

[18] But let us now discuss the council as head [the Church]. The council represents the Universal Church in a general way, I say. He who does not believe this must be considered a heretic, as stated in Pope Martin's bull, issued with the approbation of the holy council. In this bull, it is prescribed that people suspected of heresy should be asked if they believe that a general council represents the Universal Church: if they deny it, they must be considered heretics.⁸ If I say that the general council is⁹ the Universal Church, I may not be in error since the old councils, in particular the Council of Nicaea, declared that those they excommunicated were excommunicated by the Catholic and Apostolic Church.¹⁰ Moreover, the very name of "church" takes its full meaning when the Church holds a universal council, for it actually means "convocation." Therefore, when the apostles and disciples met, they declared that the decisions of their assembly were made by the Universal Church, as is seen in the Acts of the Apostles.¹¹

¹ In the secular sphere.

² Matthew, 20: 25-26: *principes gentium dominantur eorum ... non ita erit inter vos, sed quicumque voluerit inter vos major fieri, sit vester minister.*

³ Among them Piccolomini.

⁴ Ephesians, 5: 23-24: *quoniam vir caput est mulieris, sicut Christus caput est Ecclesiae: ipse, salvator corporis ejus. Sed sicut Ecclesia subjecta est Christo, ita et mulieres viris suis in omnibus. (Because the*

husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the church. He is the saviour of his body. Therefore as the church is subject to Christ, so also let the wives be to their husbands in all things). Note that Paul does not directly call Christ the spouse of the Church.

⁵ I.e. universal.

⁶ Error for Anacletus.

⁷ Decretum Gratiani, C.12.2.6. (Friedberg, col. 688)

⁸ I have not been able to retrieve this bull /MCS

⁹ NB: Example of "fore" in the present tense.

¹⁰ The First Council of Nicaea used the formula: *... hos anathematizat catholica et apostolica ecclesia* (COD, p. 5).

¹¹ Acts, 15: 28: *For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us ...*

[19] Cum igitur concilium congregatum est, papa interesse per se aut suos debet primumque locum tenere et quasi organum synodi loqui, proponere, respondere eoque modo caput esse concilii, non violentiam aliquam ingerendo nec absque aliis patribus aut majori parti synodi diffiniendo. Quodsi plus velit atque a concilio suos apocrisarios retrahat seque separet, non tamen propterea desinit esse concilium, sicut per recessum Johannis Constantiae declaratum extitit. Concilium enim ecclesia est vel ecclesiam repraesentat, papa vero unus est filiorum ecclesiae, propter recessum vero unius filii mater ecclesia esse non desinit. Verum, si tibi dura videtur oratio, quovis recedente capite concilium [non¹] expirare, quoniam sine capite corpus non viveret, ego² quoque respondere possum papam a concilio, quod est corpus, recedentem similiter expirare, quia nec sine corpore caput respirat. Sed argumenta haec aliena sunt a nostro instituto. Non enim de eo capite loquimur, quod humores quoslibet et vitales spiritus corpori subministrat, sed de quodam ministeriali capite, quod et amoveri potest et mutari, sicut et tuus Bonifatius propter errorem fidei profitetur. Ecclesiae vero atque concilii verum caput Christus est, qui recedente papa cum ecclesia manet ipse dicente: *ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi ego sum in medio eorum*. Nec illud huic rei obstat, quod vos dicitis ex adverso, Romanum pontificem verum³ Dei vicarium esse, nam et alii omnes episcopi veri Dei vicarii sunt - sicut Hieronymus beatissimus *de gradibus testatur ecclesiasticis* - et tamen deponi possunt.

[20] Quod autem papa per universam orbem et super omnes episcopos jurisdictionem habeat, nescio an dicam, unde id sit, ne forsitan nimis male interpreteris. Dicam tamen, quod apud alios reperio non vulgares autores. Habent episcopi limitatas dioceses, papa nullis angustiis restringitur. Unde hoc? Tu forsitan a Deo dices, quod ei sit dictum "*quodcumque ligaveris*" etc. Id quoque Bernardus ad Eugenium sentire videtur, quo fit, ut magis dubitem hic loqui, ne fortasse errem. Sed ego hujus rei periculum ad me non recipio, nec asserere, sed referre volo, quod invenio. Anacleti verba haec sunt in libris Isidori de conciliis posita: *ceteri vero apostoli cum eodem, scilicet Petro, pari consortio honorem et potestatem acceperunt ipsumque principem eorum esse voluerunt*.

¹ *em.*

² quovis recedente ... ego *omit.*
WO

³ *em.*; veri HE, WO [*the sense of the text is that the pope is the true*

vicar of God – not the vicar of the true God]

[19] When the council has assembled, the pope should take the first place either in person or through his [legates], and – as an organ of the synod – speak, propose, answer and thus function as the head of the council without exerting violence or making decrees without the other Fathers or the majority of the synod. If he wants to do more [than the council wants] and withdraws his legates or separates himself from the council, the council does not, therefore, cease to be, as it was declared in Konstanz when Johannes¹ left it.² For the council either is or represents the [whole] church, whereas the pope is a son of the Church. The Church does not cease to be a mother because one son leaves it. You may not accept that the council does not expire when its head leaves since a body cannot live without its head. My answer is that if the pope leaves the council, he, too, expires, for neither can a head breathe without its body. But these arguments are foreign to my purpose, for I am not talking about a head that provides fluids and vital airs to the body, but a head in an administrative sense, a head that can be removed and changed, e.g. in the case of a doctrinal error, as your Boniface says.³ Christ is the true head of Church and council, and even if the pope leaves it, Christ remains with the church, saying that *where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*.⁴ When you object that the Roman Pontiff is the true vicar of God, it is not a valid argument, for all the other bishops, too, are true vicars of God, as Jerome⁵ witnesses in his *De Gradibus Ecclesiasticis*,⁶ but still they may be deposed.

[20] As for [the claim] that the pope has jurisdiction in the whole world and over all bishops, I am uncertain whether to ask how that may be, for you may take it in the wrong way. But what I shall say, I have from important authors. The bishops have limited dioceses, but the pope knows no restrictions. From where does that come? Maybe you say: from God, for it was said to [Peter] that “*whatever you shall bind*” etc.⁷ Bernard⁸ appears to say the same to Eugenius,⁹ ¹⁰ which is why I hesitate to say anything on this matter lest I perhaps err. So I will not take the risk of stating anything myself but will only quote what I find. These are the words of Anacletus quoted in the books of Isidore on the councils: *the other apostles, in equal fellowship with him (Peter), received the same honour and power but wanted him to be their leader*.¹¹ ¹²

¹ On 20 March 1415, Johannes XXIII fled from the Council of Konstanz, fearing it would depose him from the papacy.

² After the pope’s flight, the council, on 26 March 1415, passed a decree, *Ad honorem*, saying, among others: *quod per recessum domini nostri papae de hoc loco Constantiensi, vel etiam per recessum aliorum prelatorum, seu aliquorum quocumque, non est dissolutum hoc sacrum concilium, sed remanet in sua integritate et auctoritate, etiam si quae ordinationes*

factae esset in contrarium, vel fierent in futurum (COD, p. 407).

³ Decretum Gratiani, D.40.6 (Friedberg, col. 146): *Huius culpas istic redarguere presumit mortali-um nullus, quia cunctos ipse iudicaturus a nemine est iudicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide deuius*.

⁴ Matthew, 18: 12.

⁵ Ps.-Jerome, not Jerome himself.

⁶ Ps.-Jeronimus: *De Gradibus Ecclesiasticis*, 7 (MPL, 30: col. 158-162). Ps.-Jerome certainly exalts the episcopal office (*per omnia similis Deo est*, col. 159), but he does not directly call bi-shops the

vicars of God. Pic-colomini had also used Ps.-Jerome in his oration to the council “*Si ea quae justa*” (1438). COR: 2: 4.

⁷ Matthew, 16: 19.

⁸ Bernard de Clairvaux (ca. 1080-1153): Abbot of Clairvaux. Saint. Theologian.

⁹ Eugenius III (ca. 1080-1153): Pope from 1145 to his death.

¹⁰ Bernard de Clairvaux: *De consideratione*, e.g. 4: 3, 7.

¹¹ “princeps”: or prince.

¹² Decretum Gratiani, D.21.2. (Friedberg, col. 69-70). (Decretals of ps.-Isidore.)

[21] Ex quibus dictis apparet superioritatem Petri ab hominibus processisse, cum alii pares antea sibi forent apostoli eisque dictum fuisset: *quaecumque ligaveritis* etc. Sed nolo hic pedem figere, nam et ipse Christus dixit: *tu vocaberis Cephas*, id est¹ caput. Utcumque est illud, non videtur absonum, quod per ecclesiam papa corrigi possit, sicut episcopi per papam corriguntur. Nam id non est validum argumentum: “Vicarius Christi est, ergo non potest corripri,” quoniam – sicut dixi – episcopi etiam Christi vicarii sunt et sponsi ecclesiarum suarum, ipsius autem universalis Christus est sponsus. Unde et in Evaristi papae decretis legitur – ut refert Isidorus: *Scimus namque, sicut a patribus accepimus, Christum esse caput, cujus nos membra sumus. Ipse enim est sponsus, ecclesia sponsa, cujus filii nos sumus. Sacerdotes vero vice Christi legatione funguntur, et sicut ei sua est conjuncta sponsa, id est ecclesia, sic episcopis junguntur ecclesiae, unicuique pro portione sua.* Quae auctoritas et haec, quae modo dixi, et quae supra tetigi pluribus in locis, confirmat.

[22] Superest jam ultimum, quod adversus conciliorum defensores nonnulli [afferunt]². “Graviter vos,” inquiunt illi, “duas plenarias penitus potestates [ponitis]³, quod est absurdum.⁴ Nam et posse omnia Romanum pontificem et concilium asseveratis.” Nos tamen nequaquam hoc dicimus, sed nostra sententia est, ut sedente concilio plenitudo illic potestatis existat, ut quidquid agat, id teneat papa, vero invito concilio nihil efficere possit. Quodsi concilium dissolutum sit, plenitudo potestatis et exercitium ad papam revertatur, cum nemo jam supra eum sit, nisi ecclesia universalis, quae nihil statuit, nisi conveniat, conciliumque faciat. At si ridere de aliqua opinione possumus, illa est procul dubio deridenda, quae certis in casibus concilium papae et rursus in aliis papam concilio praefert, ac si Deus duas in terris potestates creasset et unam in hoc, aliam in illo voluisset proferri, cum tamen solummodo semel inveniatur Christum dedisse potestatem ecclesiae, cum ait: *Accipite spiritum sanctum* et quae sequuntur. Nam quod Petro dixit: *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum*, de futuro fuit, quod tunc adimpletum est, cum dedit spiritum sanctum dominus.

¹ id est : scilicet WO

² *em.* HE

³ *em.* HE

⁴ *Textus corruptus* WO

[21] The above-mentioned statements make it clear that Peter’s preeminence came from men since the other apostles had previously been his equals and Jesus had said to them, [too], “*Whatever you bind*” etc. But I will not go deeper into this, for Christ himself told [Peter] that “*Thou shall be called Cephas,*” which means “head”.¹ In any case, it is reasonable that the pope may be corrected by the Church, just as the bishops are corrected by the pope. [You may object that] “the pope is the Vicar of Christ, therefore he cannot be corrected,” but that is not a valid argument since – as I have said – also the bishops are vicars of Christ and spouses of their [local] churches, whereas Christ is the spouse of the Universal Church. Thus we read in the decrees of Pope Evaristus² – as quoted by Isidore – that *we know, as we have heard from our fathers, that Christ is the head and we the members. For he is the bridegroom and the Church his spouse, whose sons we are. As for the priests, they represent Christ, and just as his spouse, the Church, is conjoined with him, thus the bishops are conjoined with the churches allotted to them.*³ This authoritative statement confirms both what I am saying now and what I have mentioned in many places above.

3.4. There cannot be two supreme powers in the Church

3.4.1. Argument

[22] It only remains to deal with the last argument made by some against the defenders of the councils, saying that “you declare that both the Roman Pontiff and the council have unlimited power, but this grave claim is manifestly absurd, for this means that both the Roman Pontiff and the Council have absolute power.”

3.4.2. Piccomini’s refutation

However, this is not what we say. Our view is that while the council is sitting, it has the plenitude of power, and whatever it does is binding upon the pope, who can do nothing against the council’s will. But when the council ends, the plenitude of power and its exercise revert to the pope, for then nobody is above him except the Universal Church, which only acts when assembled in a council. If we must laugh at an opinion, it must undoubtedly be that the pope is subject to the council in some cases, while in others the council is subject to the pope, as if God had created two powers on Earth, one being sometimes subject to the other and vice versa. For we find that Christ only once gave power to the Church, when he said, “*Receive ye the Holy Ghost*”⁴ etc. For when he told Peter, “*I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,*”⁵ he was speaking about a future event, which occurred when the Lord gave [the disciples] the Holy Spirit.⁶

¹ John, 1: 42. Cf. Matthew, 16: 18. Petra means rock, not head.

² Evaristus (d. ca. 107): Pope from ca 99 to his death.

³ *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, p. 79.

⁴ John, 20: 22.

⁵ Matthew, 16: 19.

⁶ John, 20: 22.

[23] Sed faciamus jam finem, et cum certitudinem habeamus nonnullis in casibus papam subesse concilio, nec legem aliquam habeamus, quae aperte aliquem casum reservet, in quo debeat papae concilium oboedire, minime illos damnemus, qui rebus in omnibus concilii generalis praeferunt auctoritatem. Dixi, quod mihi visum est, non doctrinae tradendae causa, sed suscipiendae, ut a te atque ab aliis doctoribus edocerer maximeque a theologis, quorum haec est disputatio familiaris. Ego nihil pertinaciter assero, sed cupio verum scire fierique ab uniuscujusque prudentia doctior, et quippe inter mediocres homines esse volo, cum tria sint hominum genera, sicut Hesiodus poeta dicit, namque *optimum illum* esse ait, *qui per se* ipsum, quae agenda sunt, conspicit; sequenti autem gradu, qui aliorum consilia *sequitur*; qui vero ad neutrum horum aptus est, eum penitus esse *inutilem*. Quae verba adeo veteribus placuerunt, ut Aristoteles in *Ethicis*, Livius de secundo Punico bello, Basilius in libro, quem *ad discipulos* scripsit, eadem referant. Quo fit, ut mihi, si desit perspicacia illa videndi, quod rectum est, illud etiam velim deesse, ut aliorum monitis non acquiescam.

Vale.

4. Conclusion: the council has supreme authority in all matters

[23] But let us end now. Since we are certain that in some cases the pope is subject to the council and we have no other law clearly specifying a case in which the council must obey the pope, we agree with those who believe that the council has supreme authority in all matters. I have now said what I think, not to spread teaching but to receive it. For I would be instructed by you and others, and especially by theologians, who are familiar with this discussion. As for myself, I do not state my views out of stubbornness but desire to know the truth and learn from another's wisdom. Indeed, I wish to belong to the men in the middle, for according to the poet Hesiod¹ there are three kinds of men: the best kind consists of those who by themselves perceive what to do; the second kind consists of those who follow others' advice; and [the third kind] consists of those who belong to neither the first nor the second and are good for nothing.² These words found such acceptance with the ancients that they were quoted by Aristotle in his *Ethics*,³ by Livy⁴ in his book on the second Punic war,⁵ and by Basil in his book written *To the young men*.⁶ Therefore, if I should lack the ability to see by myself what is right, I hope that at least I have the ability to heed the advice of others.

Farewell.

¹ Hesiodos (between 750-650 BCE): Greek poet.

² Hesiodos: *Erga*, 293-297: *The man who thinks of everything by himself, considering what will be better, later and in the end – this man is the best of all. That man is*

fine too, the one who is persuaded by someone who speaks well. But whoever neither thinks by himself nor pays heed to what someone else says and lays it to his heart – that man is good for nothing.

³ Aristoteles: *Ethika Nicomacheia*, 1095B (Treddington, p. 67).

⁴ Livius, Titus (65/59 BCE – 12/17 CE): Roman historian.

⁵ Livius, 2: 29, 8.

⁶ Basileios: *Ad adolescentes*, 1: 4 (Naldini, p. 83). Piccolomini would have known this text in the translation made by Leonardo Bruni.

47. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (April 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 6r ff. *, M1, ff. 42r-42v; M2, f. 37v¹; M3, ff. 228r-228v²; V2, ff. 124-126³; V3, ff. 61v-63r⁴ **;
V4, ff. 53r-54r.

Editions: HE, 48, pp. 140-141 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 48, pp. 144-146 (based on M1 and V2).

{58v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri⁵, Sbigneo⁶ cardinali Cracoviensi Aeneas⁷ Silvius⁸ salutem plurimam dicit⁹.

[1] Epistolam meam¹⁰, quam {59r} ex Frankfordia tibi¹¹ transmisi, libenter audio *in tuis*¹² *oculis gratiam invenisse*, si tamen ita est, ut spectatus miles¹³ Jacobus Chiaves¹⁴, Ordinis Sancti Johannis Jerosolymitani, apostolicus nuntius¹⁵, mihi retulit, qui non solum placuisse litteras meas, sed et me jam¹⁶ inter familiares tuos admodum caros esse confirmavit annumeratum, quod magni muneris recepi loco multumque illinc laetatus sum. Mea namque¹⁷ sententia est, ut nihil inter mortales felicius sit quam praeclarorum hominum familiaritate potiri ab hisque diligi et observari. Quod cum mihi intelligam apud te¹⁸ contigisse, gaudeo mecum persaepe et, quasi thesaurum magnum invenerim¹⁹, voluptate fruor ingenti. Nec ab re hac utor²⁰ comparatione, nam qui thesaurum invenit, nisi potens²¹ sit illum custodire, saepe defraudatur et aut²² principis rapaces manus aut acutos furum unguis semper timet. Itidem²³ mihi accidit. Quo namque²⁴ pacto tuam servare benevolentiam possim²⁵, non plane video. Conciliatrix enim benevolentiae virtus est et custos nec²⁶ absque hac potest ullum amicitiae vinculum esse perpetuum. At haec in me aut nulla est aut minima. Quid igitur²⁷ faciam, ut tua erga me voluntas maneat? Qua via in hac gratia perseverabo? Quo nodo²⁸ haec caritas alligabitur? Peritura est brevi, ut video, haec mea voluptas, si ad me tantum respicio. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 82-83.

² SC, 460-461.

³ DV, ff. 67v-68v.

⁴ DV, ff. 58v-60r.

⁵ domino *add.* M2

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ *omit.* WO

⁸ poeta *add.* M2

⁹ Titulus : *omit.* L; dominus Aeneas Sbigneo cardinali Cracoviensi M1

¹⁰ reveren-~~dissime~~ pater et domine colendissime *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissime pater et domine colendissime~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ paternitati vestrae M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* paternitati vestrae V2b

¹² V2a, M1-M3 use 2nd pers. plural *in address*

¹³ dominus *add.* M1

¹⁴ *omit.* M2

¹⁵ Ordinis Sancti ... nuntius *omit.* M1

¹⁶ *omit.* M2

¹⁷ mea namque : ea namque mea M1

¹⁸ paternitatem vestram reverendissimam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* paternitatem vestram reverendissimam V2b

¹⁹ receperim V2, M2, M3; repere-
rim M1; *corr. ex* receperim V3

²⁰ utar M3

²¹ invenit nisi potens : nisi potens
invenit M2

²² et aut : ut est V4

²³ id idem M2; modo *add.* M1

²⁴ quo namque : quonam M2

²⁵ possum M2

²⁶ neque WO

²⁷ ergo M2

²⁸ quo nodo : quomodo M3, V4

47. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (April 1443, Vienna).

Context: Using his new platform as secretary to the emperor, Piccolomini systematically endeavoured to expand his net of contacts and informants, especially with persons of high rank. Having written to Cardinal Olesnicki of Krakow, he had received a positive reply, to which he answered with a letter opening a channel of information from the imperial court to the Polish cardinal.

Subject: Protestations of humility combined with compliments to the cardinal, followed by political news from the Empire and Austria, viz. the return of Friedrich III to Austria after his coronation voyage and progress.

{58v} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Zbigniew, Cardinal of Krakow.¹

[1] I hear with pleasure that the letter I sent you from Frankfurt² has *found favour in your sight*.³ This is, at least, what has been reported to me by the distinguished knight, Jacobus Chiaves⁴ of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem,⁵ apostolic envoy. According to him, not only has my letter been received favourably, but I may also now number myself as one of your close friends. I consider this a great gift, and it makes me very happy, for, in my opinion, there is no greater happiness than to acquire the friendship of eminent men and to be loved and respected by them. Hearing that this is now the case with you, I rejoice greatly and feel such immense pleasure as if I had found a great treasure. This comparison⁶ is entirely appropriate, for unless he who finds a treasure has the power to keep it, he is often robbed of it and has to always fear the rapacious hands of the prince and the sharp nails of thieves. Indeed, I do not see how I can keep your friendship, for it is *virtue that induces* and preserves *friendship*,⁷ and without virtue there can be no permanent bond of friendship. But in me, there is no or only small virtue. So what shall I do to ensure that your [kindly] disposition towards me continues? How shall I remain in your favour? How can I bind your love to me? As I see it, my happiness will fade shortly if I only consider myself. [*cont.*]

¹ Olesnicki, Zbigniew (1389-1455): Bishop of Krakow (1423) and cardinal (1449). In his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote about him: *Zbigniew presided over this city [Krakow], a bishop notable for his literary erudition and charming personality. I received many letters*

from him [not extant], composed with plentiful wit and Roman refinement. In recognition of his singular merits, the Roman Church sent him a cardinal's hat (EUR, 86, p. 139).

² This letter is not extant.

³ Genesis, 18: 3.

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ Knights Hospitallers.

⁶ Of having found a great treasure.

⁷ Cicero: *De amicitia*, 38: *conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit (belief in your virtue induced the friendship)*.

[cont.] At si tuam¹ paternitatem intuear, spes est mansurum diu et solidum ac {59v} firmum esse huiusmodi gaudium². Benignitas enim tua, quae me amare, ut audio³, accepit⁴, mansura⁵ est, quamdiu vixeris. Faxit⁶ autem⁷ Deus, ut longissimo ac Nestoris aevo fruaris. Ego vero curabo eundem me semper exhibere, qualis eram, dum haec orta benevolentia est, et, si⁸ quid potero amplius praestare, non subterfugiam.

[2] Asseruit autem idem Jacobus avidam esse tuam⁹ paternitatem, ut quas nossem novitates sibi rescriberem. Parebo libens, et quaecumque emergerint noviter his in¹⁰ partibus scriptu¹¹ digna, epistolari claudam¹² brevitate, ne vel legenti taedium vel rescribenti¹³ laborem nimium pariat¹⁴. Narrationis caput reditus regis dabit, qui ex Rheni partibus februario mense in Austriam remeavit. Ejus adventum omnes accolae admirati sunt, nec enim arbitrabantur fieri posse, ut regium diadema tam facile consequeretur. Sed admiratio haec reverentiam peperit. More enim humano accidit, ut illos magis veneremur¹⁵, quorum opera demiramur. Haud aliter nunc actum est. Albertus, dux Austriae, 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. Paucis post diebus iterum regem adiens, cum in Novacivitate foret¹⁶, resectis omnibus controversiis in fraternam receptus est societatem¹⁷.

[3] Haec sunt, quae mihi de novo scribenda {60v} occurrunt omissis nugis et aliis levibus rebus, de quibus in vulgo semper est rumor. Afferret¹⁸ ¹⁹ Jacobus epistolam quandam ex meis, quas his diebus edidi. Eam rogo, ut²⁰ videas iudicesque, quoniam cum timore de rebus fidei scribo. Librarius, qui transcripsit, non erat valde peritus, itaque plura vitia possunt in ea esse, quam ego posuerim.²¹

Vale. Ex Vienna²².

¹ vestram reverendissimam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestram reverendissimam V2b

² odium V4

³ amare ut audio : ut audio amare M1

⁴ accepit V4

⁵ mensura V4

⁶ faciat *glossa interlin.* M1

⁷ enim M3

⁸ *omit.* M2

⁹ vestram reverendissimam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestram reverendissimam V2b

¹⁰ *omit.* L

¹¹ scriptum M2

¹² claudem M3

¹³ scribenti M2, M3

¹⁴ pariant L; parat M3; pareat WO

¹⁵ vereamur L, M1

¹⁶ esset V4

¹⁷ etc. *add.* WO

¹⁸ affert M2

¹⁹ dominus *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁰ *omit.* L

²¹ ideo velit vestra reverendissima paternitas reprehensiones mihi praestandas cum eodem dividere meque semper habere carum et in memoria *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ideo velit vestra reve rendissima paternitas reprehensiones mihi praestandas cum eo dem dividere meque semper habere carum et in memoria~~ *seq.* V2b

²² Vale. Ex Vienna : *omit.* M1; datum. vale etc. M2; *corr. ex* datum Wienae V2b; datum Wienae V2a, M3

[cont.] But if I also consider Your Paternity, I may hope this joy will be long-lived, solid and firm. For the affection that made you begin to love me will remain as long as you live. May God give that you live as long as Nestor.¹ As for myself, I shall endeavour to always show myself as I was when this affection was born, and if I can do more, I shall not shun it.

[2] Jacobus also said Your Paternity would eagerly receive such news I could send him. I shall obey gladly and send you worthwhile news from these regions, briefly, though, so as not to cause boredom to the reader or excessive labour to the writer.

I begin with the arrival of the king, who returned to Austria from the Rhineland in February.² All the inhabitants were astonished at his arrival, for they had not thought it possible that the royal crown could be obtained so easily. But their astonishment bred awe, as happens with us humans who revere those men more whose achievements we admire. And thus, it has happened now. Duke Albrecht³ of Austria long been an enemy of his brother, the king, and waged open war against him. But when he heard that his brother was coming, he went as far as the sixth stone⁴ – as the Romans say – [to welcome him there] and entered the city of Vienna together with him. After some days, he again came to the king, now in Neustadt,⁵ and when all their conflicts had been settled, their fraternal relations were restored.⁶

[3] These are the news I can write to you know, excepting such frivolous and trifling matters the common people are always gossiping about. Jacobus will bring you a letter of mine which I have published some days ago.⁷ I ask you to read it and give me your judgment since I only write about matters of Faith with some trepidation. The scribe⁸ who copied it was not very skilled, and therefore it may contain more errors than I would have made myself.⁹

Farewell. From Vienna.

¹ Nestor: (Myth.) Greek king who became very old. Cf. Martialis: *Epigrammata*, 2: 64, 3.

² 3 February 1443.

³ Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke (later Archduke) of Austria.

⁴ The sixth milestone from the city. Meeting an arriving personage outside the city was a sign of honour, and the further away from the city, the greater the honour.

⁵ NB: example of “foret” in the past sense.

⁶ In the DVI, Piccolomini wrote about this event: *When he was nearing Vienna, Duke Albrecht 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, 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. 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, but he could not change their garrisons nor their appointed leaders (DVI, sect. 160).

⁷ The letter to Hartung von Kappel of April 1433 on the council's supremacy over the pope (letter 46).

⁸ “librarius”.

⁹ See the emendations and indications of corrupt text in letter 46. Note that Piccolomini recognises that he, too, would have made errors in copying – as indeed all copyists did.

48. Letter from Lorenzo Valla (5 April 1443, Napoli).¹

Manuscript: M4, f. 228v.

Editions: HE, 49, p. 142; WO, 1: 1, 49, pp. 146-147; Valla: *Correspondence (Cook)*, 20, p. 137 (all based on clm 5311).

Translation: Valla: *Correspondence (Cook)*, 20, p. 137.

{228v} Laurentius Vallensis Aeneae Silvio poete salutem.

[1] Tua epistola tuaque epigrammata non dico mihi - quid enim mihi tuum non jucundum est - sed plurimis jucunda visa sunt. Itaque tibi gratulor, qui nec negotia ob otium nec otium ob negotia intermittis, ut nesciam uter felicior sit, an Caesar te, tanto poeta atque oratore, an tu tanto principe. Equidem hactenus non habui, cui meas litteras ad te darem. Nunc autem nactus occasionem optimam tamen brevitate temporis impediatur ac festinanter exarare haec pauca compellor, jamjam profecturo nobili viro Francisco Vicecomite, qui ea, quae epistolae desunt, supplebit. Hoc tantum² dico, mi Aenea: 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, ut nunc nihil mirer, si te omnipotens ac maximus princeps amat. Sed quid ego tibi? Qui longitudine temporis uti nescivi, angustia temporis punior.

Vale igitur, mi Aenea, et quae tecum noster Franciscus communicaturus est tua fide ac probitate considerato. Res magna est nec digna, quae litteris committatur. Iterum vale. Nonis Aprilis. Neapoli.

¹ The Latin text and the English translation (slightly revised) are reproduced from Valla: *Corre-*

spondence (Cook), ep. 20, pp. 136-137.

² tamen HE, WO

48. Letter from Lorenzo Valla (5 April 1443, Napoli).

Context: When he had become an imperial secretary, Piccolomini endeavoured to develop his contacts with the humanists in Italy. Having already met and formed a friendship with Valla, probably in Pavia in 1430, he sent him a letter with some of his epigrams.

Subject: Valla thanks Piccolomini for his letter and epigrams and sends his compliments.

Lorenzo Valla to the poet Enea Silvio, greetings.

[1] Your epistle and epigrams delighted not only me – when have I failed to enjoy anything of yours? – but many others as well. And so I congratulate you since you do not allow business to interrupt leisure or leisure business. I cannot say which of you is more fortunate: the emperor¹ in having such a fine poet and orator, or you in so great an emperor. As for me, until now, I did not have anyone to whom I could entrust my letters to you. Now that this excellent opportunity presents itself, lack of time constrains me and forces me to write only these few lines. The noble Francesco Visconti² is preparing to set out at this very moment, and he will tell you what I could not write. I will say only this, my dear Enea: as soon as I saw and heard you,³ I was overcome with love for your humanity, your literary skill, and your talent, a love which has only grown greater with time. I have always cherished and admired you so much that I am not surprised you have won the love of an exalted and all-powerful prince. But why am I telling you this when after failing to make use of long periods of time, I am now being punished with lack of it?

Farewell then, my Enea, and ponder faithfully and honestly what our friend Francesco will tell you. It is a serious matter, not suitable to be committed to writing. Farewell once more. 5 April, Napoli.

¹ Friedrich III.

² Possibly, a relative of the duke of Milan, leaving Napoli to travel to

the imperial court on some diplomatic errand.

³ Pavia 1431 or Milan 1432, see Iaria: *Tra Basilea*, p. 24.

49. Letter from Juan de Segovia (15 April 1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 114r¹; M3, ff. 227r-227v²; V2, ff. 121-122³; V3, ff. 57r-57v⁴ **; V4, ff. 51v-52r.
Editions: HE, 50, pp. 142-143; WO, 1: 1, 50, pp. 147-148 (both based on V2).

{57r} Johannes de Segovia⁵, cardinalis sancti Calixti, Aeneae Silvio⁶, viro clarissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Trinas superioribus diebus cum⁷ ad nos tum ad dilectum nostrum⁸ Johannem Peregallum vidimus litteras tuas, quae nobis, prout semper consueverunt scripta tua, gratissimae fuerunt et⁹ rei, quam dirigi feliciter uterque nostrum¹⁰ exoptat, non parum proficuae¹¹. Quapropter¹² diligentiam atque virtutem tuam summopere commendantes, praecordiales agimus tibi gratias, qui semper, ut consuevisti, memor es nostri¹³, nec¹⁴ distantia locorum aut ullis occupationibus seu laboribus a scribendo retrahere¹⁵, sed assidue intimare procuras, quod ad rem conducere possit, qua de nunc agitur. Unde clarissimum de illa, quam in te esse numquam dubitavimus, fide capimus experimentum rogamusque, ut quemadmodum coepisti, ita in posterum agere pergas¹⁶, neque te retrahat ab assumpto opere multitudo immensa laborum, quos subire dietim et pati te oportet, quoniam ad hoc omnes nati¹⁷ sumus, et {57v} eorum praecipue virtus extollitur, qui pectore firmo persistunt.

[2] Sed ne inter maximas occupationes tuas nos hic esse otiosos existimes, mittimus cum praesentibus glosam Aurelianensem,¹⁸ quae communi proverbio contradicit textui ad responsionem Eugenii¹⁹, datam regiis oratoribus atque aliis, per nos editam, quae iudicio nostro non modicum ad rem facit et per quam aemulis respondere partesque nostras tueri ac alias, prout expediens fuerit, te iuvare poteris, publicando et communicando eam, sicut videbitur. Alia hic occurrentia pronunc reticenda censemus, cum nudiusquartus ex mediis, ut ita loquamur, rebus ad te accesserit reverendissimus²⁰ cardinalis Aquilegiensis, per illas partes legatus de latere, et cum eo plures de his omnibus informatissimi, ex quibus intelligere poteris, quid apud nos agatur, quidve de rebus sperandum sit.

Vale feliciter in domino. Ex Basilea, die 15. mensis Aprilis anno 1443²¹.

¹ SC, 237.

² SC, 458-459

³ DV, ff. 66r-66v

⁴ DV, ff. 60r-60v

⁵ Sogovia V3; Sogonia V4

⁶ poete *add.* M2, V2; poete laureato *add.* M3

⁷ tum M2, M3

⁸ magistrum *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~magistrum~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ quasi *add.* M3

¹⁰ noster WO

¹¹ parum proficuae : proficuae parum V4

¹² qua propter V4

¹³ mei M2

¹⁴ nulla M3

¹⁵ retrahentes M3

¹⁶ peragas M3

¹⁷ omnes nati : nati omnes M3

¹⁸ *textus corruptus?; est quae destruit textum* HE

¹⁹ Gabrielis M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Gabrielis V2b

²⁰ dominus *add.* M2, V2a; ~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

²¹ Ex Basilea ... 1443 : ex Basilea die 15. Aprilis 1443 V4; *omit.* M2; ex Basilea 15. Aprilis 43 M3; ex Basilea die 15. Aprilis 1443 WO

49. Letter from Juan de Segovia (15 April 1443, Basel).

Context: To cultivate his relationship with important members of the Council of Basel, Piccolomini had written to Cardinal Juan de Segovia (and apparently to his former colleague Giovanni Peregallo). With the letter, he had quite probably sent a copy of his letter to Hartung von Kappel on the council's superiority over the pope (letter 46)- as he had also done to cardinal Olescnicky (letter 47). Juan had himself written several works on the same theme.

Subject: Juan thanks Piccolomini for the letter and sends a work of his own.

{60r} Juan de Segovia,¹ cardinal of San Calisto,² sends many greetings to the distinguished Enea Silvio.

[1] Some days ago, I read three letters from you to us and to our beloved Giovanni Peregallo.³ As all your letters, they were most welcome and useful to the cause we both wish to succeed. Therefore, we highly commend your diligence and virtue and thank you from the heart: you have been mindful of us, as always, and you are not distracted from writing by distance or any other occupations or labours but always endeavour to relate to us what may profit the cause we are working for.⁴ We now see a brilliant example of your loyalty that we never questioned and we ask you to continue as you have begun and not be distracted from your undertaking by the many labours you have to perform and suffer daily, for to such we are all born, and the virtue of those who persist with a firm heart is to be praised above all.

[2] But lest you among your great occupations, you believe us to be idle here, we send you, with the present letter, a⁵ treatise⁶ written by us that, in simple language, refutes Eugenius' memorandum⁷ sent to the royal ambassadors and others. We believe it significantly helps our cause and may be used to answer our opponents⁸ and defend our views. You may make use of it and publish and communicate it as you see fit. We shall not mention other occurrences here since, four days, ago the Most Reverend Cardinal of Aquileia⁹ departed for Vienna,¹⁰ as a legate *de latere*¹¹ to those regions, and together with him several most knowledgeable men from whom you may learn what happens here and what we may hope for.

Farewell in the Lord. From Basel, 15 April 1443.

¹ Juan de Segovia (ca. 1395 - 1458): Castilian prelate and theologian. Chronicler of the council. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

² Juan de Segovia had been made a cardinal by antipope Felix V on 12 October 1440.

³ Giovanni Peregallo.

⁴ The cause of the (rump) council of Basel and antipope Felix V against the Roman pope, Eugenius V, and, in a broader sense, the cause of conciliarism against papalism.

⁵ The Latin text adds "Aureliensem", i.e. from Orleáns or

Orleanese, which does not appear to make sense in the present context and may be a corruption of the text.

⁶ The text is possibly the *De justificatione sacri Basiliensis concilii et sententiae ipsius contra Gabrielem olim Eugenium latae et in justificatione ipsius Gabrielis et sibi adhaerentium et a sacro concilio se qualitercumque abstracthentium* (WO, 1: 1, p. 148).

⁷ Possibly one of Juan's works on the superiority of the council over the pope.

⁸ "aemuli": the papalists.

⁹ Alexander of Mazovia (1400-1444): Duke of Mazovia. Bishop of Trento. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V on 12 October 1440, patriarch of Aquileia, and apostolic legate (of antipope Felix V) to Hungary, Poland, and Austria.

¹⁰ "ad te"

¹¹ Legatus de latere: a papal legate of the highest degree. In this case, the cardinal would be sent as the legate of the council's antipope, Felix V.

50. Letter from Ricardo de Valencia (21 April 1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: L, 41v *; M1, f. 51r; M2, f. 113v^l; M3, f. 223v²; V2, ff. 107-108³; V3, ff. 50r-50v⁴ **; V4, ff. 45r-45v.
Editions: HE, 51, pp. 143-144 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 51, pp. 148-149 (based on M1, V2).

{50r} Richardus de Valentia, scriptor apostolicus, Aeneae Silvio, amico optimo, salutem plurimam dicit.^{5 6}

[1] Tanta est vis amoris in te mei⁷, ut iterum ad te scribere cogar⁸, quod tamen perlibenter facio, quamquam tu ad me numquam scripseris, vel meis litteris propulsatus vel tuae nutu motus, postquam et honore⁹ et dignitate et¹⁰ emolumentis amplius es decoratus, quibus non equidem¹¹ invideo, sed congratulor potius felicitati tuae. Precor enim, si aliquando per otium licet, saltem “Mi Ricarde, valeo, te quoque valere cupio¹²,” tua manu ad me scribas¹³ ne inter nos probari videatur, quod nostra in patria vulgatum est: *remotus ab*¹⁴ *oculis*, *remotus a*¹⁵ *corde*. Reverendissimus¹⁶ patriarcha Aquilegiensis, qui me suum commensalem et secretarium fecit, hinc brevi est recessurus ad serenitatem¹⁷ Romanorum¹⁸ regis¹⁹ recta via primo ac deinde in regnum Poloniae et Hungariae profecturus functurusque ibidem legatione sua, requiritque²⁰ me, aut una secum abeam, aut pro quibusdam ejus negotiis Mediolanum accedam. Quam profectionem²¹ accipiam²², nondum {50v} decretum est. Cum dominatione sua eo libentius irem, ut in tuum complexum veniam. Attamen, ubivis gentium fuero, tibi penitus deditus sum²³.

Ex Basilea, die 21. Aprilis²⁴.

¹ SC, 236.

² SC, 451.

³ DV, ff. 59r-59v

⁴ DV, ff. 53r-53v

⁵ *Titulus: omit.* L; Richardus de Valentia scriptor apostolicus, Aeneae Silvio M1; Richardus de Valentia scriptor apostolicus Aeneae Silvio poetae laureato amicoque optimo salutem plurimam dicit M2, M3, V2a; Richardus de Valentia scriptor apostolicus Aeneae Silvio poetae laureato amicoque optimo salutem plu-

rimam dicit V2b; Richardus Valentinus scriptor apostolicus Aeneae Silvio amico optimo salutem plurimam dicit V3, V4

⁶ venerabilis et insignis vir ac major honorande *add.* M1

⁷ meique V2

⁸ cogor M3

⁹ et honore *omit.* L

¹⁰ *omit.* L, M1

¹¹ non equidem : equidem non L

¹² saltem mi ... cupio *omit.* WO

¹³ conscribas M1, M2, V2a; scribe M3; *corr. ex* conscribas V2b

¹⁴ remotus ab : longum de M1

¹⁵ remotus a : longum de M1-

¹⁶ dominus *add.* M1, M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ serenissimum M2

¹⁸ Romani M1; Romanum M2

¹⁹ regem M2

²⁰ requirit enim M1, M2, V2a;

requirit enim M3; *corr. ex*

requirit enim V2b

²¹ profectior est M3

²² arripiam WO

²³ vale *add.* M1-M3

²⁴ Ex Basilea ... Aprilis: *omit.* M1, M2; Ex Basilea M3

50. Letter from Ricardo de Valencia (21 April 1443, Basel).

Context: As a newly appointed imperial secretary, Piccolomini had risen in status and become quite interesting to his former colleagues in Basel.

Subject: Ricardo asks Piccolomini to write and informs him of Alexander of Mazovia's imminent departure on his legatine mission to Austria, Hungary and Poland.

Ricardo de Valencia,¹ Apostolic writer, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, his excellent friend.

[1] So great is the force of my love towards you that I must write once again to you, which I do gladly, though you have not written to me – either incited by my letters or of your own will – after you have been distinguished so richly with honour, office² and emoluments.³ I truly do not envy you but rather congratulate you on your good fortune. I do ask that if you should find time, you just write to me in your own hand: “My Ricardo, I am well, and I hope you are well, too,” lest we seem to prove the truth of a proverb common in my own country, “*Far from the eyes, far from the heart.*” The Most Reverend Patriarch of Aquileia⁴ has made me table-fellow⁵ and secretary. As a legate, he will shortly depart from here and travel first to His Serene [Highness], the King of the Romans,⁶ and then to the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary. He requires me to either accompany him there or go to Milan on his business. It has not yet been decided where I shall be going, but I should gladly accompany His Lordship since it would allow me to embrace you once more. But, wherever I shall be, I will always be your devoted [friend].

From Basel, 21 April [1443].

¹ Ricardo de Valencia: at the time, Ricardo was apparently living in Basel and had become the secretary of Alexander of Mazovia, the emperor's uncle, Patriarch of Aquileia and cardinal appointed by antipope Felix V. He had obviously been a colleague and friend of Piccolomini in his Basel period. It

is uncertain whether he held the title of “apostolicus scriptor” from Pope Eugenius IV or antipope Felix V.

² “dignitas”

³ Ricardo refers to Piccolomini's appointment as an imperial secretary.

⁴ Alexander of Mazovia, see letter 49: 2

⁵ Member of a lord's household, sharing the lord's table. (Du Cange: *convictor, qui ex Principis aut alterius familia et mensa est*).

⁶ Friedrich III.

51. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (May 1443?, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 17r *; M1, f. 51r; M2, f. 30v¹; M3, f. 87r²; V2, ff. 11-12³; V3, ff. 13r-13v⁴ **; V4, ff. 13r-14r.
Editions: HE, 52, p. 144 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 53, pp. 149-150 (based on V2).

{13r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ reverendo⁶ in Christo patri domino Leonardo episcopo Pataviensi⁷ salutem plurimam dicit.⁸

[1] Quod me tuo⁹ conspectui non saepius offero quodque tuas aedes non visito, nec superbiae nec negligentiae mihi ascribas¹⁰, quam alteram abhominor, alteram semper fugi. Rursus quoque nec occupationibus impediatur meis, cui multum est otii. Quid igitur est, quod¹¹ me retrahit? Dicam, si scire vis. Nimum magni domini locum tenes, non convenit mihi cum tanta dignitate. Veniunt principes¹², barones, milites¹³. Illis patet janua tua. Nil mea toga inter tot aureas vestes momenti habet. Pudet me illis admissis ante ostium expectare. Et fateor justum esse illos praeferrere. Quid {13v} ergo superest? Nihilne tecum communicabo? Non sic agam, sed quod voce dicturus eram¹⁴, scriptis exprimam. Audio te¹⁵ abfuturum esse idque brevi.¹⁶ Unum dumtaxat ex te¹⁷ expeto¹⁸, ut si quid sit in absentia tua, quod mea cura possit absolvi, nec mihi nec meis laboribus ignoscas, sed ut mancipio tuo¹⁹ me utaris. Hoc²⁰ dicturus eram, cum hodie ad te²¹ venirem²² cumque intransibus aliis retrocederem. Sed non minus est scriptum quam dictum: cum illud²³ fugiat, hoc maneat; illud negari, hoc perpetuo possit probari.²⁴ Suscipe igitur²⁵ chirographum hoc quasi meae erga te fidei vadem²⁶. Et sicuti²⁷ scribo²⁸, ita de mea mente meoque animo confide, quia et sum et esse volo perpetuo tuus.

Vale optime. Ex Vienna.²⁹

¹ SC, 68

² SC, 380

³ DV, ff. 11r-11v

⁴ DV, ff. 16r-16v

⁵ poeta *add.* V2a, M2, M3; ~~poeta~~ seq. V2b

⁶ reverendissimo HE, WO

⁷ episcopo Pataviensi : Pataviensi episcopo M2

⁸ Titulus : *omit.* L, M1

⁹ M1, HE, WO use 2nd person plural in address.

¹⁰ ascribas : debes ascribere V2a, M1-M3; *corr. ex* debes ascribere V2b

¹¹ quid M2

¹² comites *add.* WO

¹³ equites V3, V4

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ *omit.* V2a, M1-M3; *add. superlin.* V2b

¹⁶ brevi paternitatem reverendissimam M2, M3, V2a; breviter paternitatem vestram reverendissimam HE, WO; ~~paternitatem vestram~~ seq. V2b

¹⁷ illa M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* illa V2b

¹⁸ expecto V4

¹⁹ suo V4

²⁰ hec M3

²¹ ad te *omit.* V4

²² veniam M3

²³ id M2

²⁴ audio te ... probari *omit.* L, M1

²⁵ ergo V4

²⁶ pignus *glossa interlin.* M1; vadam M2

²⁷ ego *add.* M3

²⁸ scribam M2

²⁹ Vale ... Vienna : valete optime M1; valete etc. M2; vale optime. Datum ex Grecz M3

51. Letter to Leonhard von Laiming (May 1443?, Vienna).

Context: As a low-ranking courtier, Piccolomini had to seek the patronage of important, high-ranking persons, in this case, the Prince-Bishop of Passau.

Subject: Piccolomini explains his embarrassment at associating directly with the bishop and his high-ranking guests but offers his services to the bishop.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to his father in Christ, Lord Leonhard¹, Bishop of Passau.

[1] I do not come often into your presence nor visit your palace, but this you should not ascribe to arrogance or indifference on my part, for the one I abhor and the other I have always fled. Neither am I prevented by [many] occupations, for, I, actually, have much spare time. So what is it that keeps me away? If you wish to know, I shall tell you. Your position is that of a grand lord, and it is unsuitable for me to associate with such a high rank. Princes, barons and knights come [to visit you]. Your door is open to them. My coat seems poor among so many golden garments. I am ashamed to wait before your gates when they have been admitted. And I admit it is quite reasonable that they should come first. So what to do? Shall I have no communicate directly with you? No, but what I would have said to you directly, I shall tell you instead in writing. I hear that you will be leaving shortly, and I only ask that if there is any service I can perform for you in your absence, please do not spare me nor my labours, but use me as your servant. This is what I was going to say when I came to you today, but left when the others entered. But the written word is not less than the spoken: when the spoken word flies away, the written word stays. The spoken word may be denied, but the written word can always be proven. So, receive this letter as surety of my loyalty towards you. And do believe what I write about my intentions and disposition, for I am and wish always to be yours.

Farewell, best of men. From Vienna.

¹ Laiming, Leonhard von (1381-1451): Prince-bishop of Passau from 1424 to his death.

52. Letter from Gaspare Caccia (ca. May 1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 113r-113v¹; M3, ff. 183v-184r²; V2, ff. 5-6³; V3, ff. 9r-9v⁴ **; V4, ff. 9v-10r.

Editions: HE, 53, pp. 145-146; WO, 1: 1, 53, pp. 150-151 (both based on V2).

{9v} Caspar Novariensis salutem plurimam dicit Aeneae Silvio⁵ praeceptor⁶ suo.

[1] Nihil litteris meis praeterquam singularem quandam dilectionem, quam in te habeo, significare studeo. Intelligisti tamen profecto – ut opinor – jamdudum me tibi⁷ illam habere, tametsi nullo effectu judicarem. Sed quid res mea atque conditio usque hanc in diem effici passa fuit, ut effectu⁸ ipso voluntatem meam patefacere? Solum hoc mihi de te praemissum⁹ fuit, ut ad te numquam venirem, quin doctior abirem¹⁰. Idcirco te accedere saepius summopere conabar, et id mihi operae pretium fuit¹¹ tuoque frui consilio usque oblectatus sum et me – ut ita dixerim – te magistro versificatorem putem.¹² Nec quidem recessum tuum videre mihi facile fuit, qui tam et consilio et re ipsa proderas¹³. Nempe ut praesens mentis meae suavium eras, ita¹⁴ absens tristitia¹⁵ factus es¹⁶ atque – ut Comici nostri verbis utar¹⁷: *Haud verum est, quod vulgo dici solet: diem adimere aegritudinem homini*¹⁸. Nam mihi quotidie non *de filio* - ut ipse ait - sed de te magistro ac patre integrascit dolor. Unum tamen est, quod mentem meam lenit, tui videlicet status augmentum, quod incommodo meo interdum aequiparo, et in¹⁹ ipso meae mentis arcano tibi stationem facio, mecumque taliter manducas {10r} et bibis.

¹ SC, 65-66.

² SC, 373-374

³ DV, ff. 8r-8v

⁴ DV, ff. 12r-12v

⁵ poetae *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poetae~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ preceptorique M2, M3, V2a; preceptorique *seq.* V2b

⁷ inter M2

⁸ judicarem sed ... effectu *omit.* M3

⁹ permissum M2, V4; promissum HE, WO

¹⁰ venirem quin ... abirem : abirem quin doctior fierem M2

¹¹ ut ad ... fuit *omit.* V4

¹² putem V3, V4

¹³ proderis M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. interlin.* V2b

¹⁵ ipsius *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~ipsius~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ est V4

¹⁷ fruar V2a; fruor utar M2; *corr. ex fruar* V2b

¹⁸ hominum WO

¹⁹ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. interlin.* V2b

52. Letter from Gaspare Caccia (ca. May 1443, Basel).

Context: In Basel, Piccolomini had apparently had the young Gaspare Caccia under his wings and taught him poetry.

Subject: Gaspare tells Piccolomini of his great affection for him and informs him that he has written an eclogue featuring Piccolomini, Martin Le Franc, and his uncle, Stefano Caccia. He finally asks Piccolomini to assist him in finding a job (as he did in letter 43).

Gaspare from Novara sends many greetings to his teacher, Enea Silvio.

[1] The only purpose of the present letter is to tell you of the great affection I have for you – and have had for a long time, as I believe you know. Until now, I may not have been able to show it in practice, given my means and conditions. I only took for granted that when I visited you, I would always have learnt something when I left. Therefore, I strove to see you often, which was quite worth it: I was happy to receive your advice and consider myself to have become a verse-maker under your guidance. Therefore, it was hard to see you leave, who had profited me so much in advice and deeds. Your presence made me happy, and now your absence makes me sad. To use the words of our Comicus,¹ “*It’s not true what is commonly said, that time heals mens’ sorrows.*”² For every day I feel pain – not because of “my son”,³ as he⁴ said - but because of you, my teacher and father. Only one thing comforts me: your promotion, which I sometimes compare with my own meagre circumstances. I have placed you in the inner chamber of my mind, and thus you are with me when you eat and drink.

¹ Comicus = Writer of comedies = Terence

² Terentius: *Heauton timoroumenos*, 421-422: *illud falsumst quod*

volgo audio dici, diem adimere aegritudinem hominibus.

³ Clinia.

⁴ I.e., the father Menedemus in Terence’s comedy.

[2] Et quoniam¹ de tuis versibus, quos in dies suaviores facis, nullus ad me venit, expedit me quandoque, quos feceris, fingere, et inde tamquam tu ipse eos feceris, illis gaudere. Novissime autem unam – et² illam voco eclogam – feci, in qua Martinum Gallum Felicianum, consecretarium tuum, tecum altercantem³, merito quidem introduxi. Illum quippe post te in magistrum meum assumpseram⁴, illoque pauculos dies potitus sum, qui⁵ confestim cum Felice nostro ab hac urbe decessit. Stephanum deinde avunculum meum altercationis vestrae iudicem statui, et id duas ob causas factum est. Primum equidem, ut nec ipse arbitraretur memoriam ejus apud me prorsus periisse sive vilem⁶ effectam esse, altera vero, ut illos versiculos non tamquam a vobis⁷, sed [a] discipulo vestro⁸ editos ipse corrigeret, priusquam in alienas partes divulgarentur. Habes nunc omnem usque a principio causam, quare haec condita sit⁹ in hunc modum.

Vale – ut opto – et me ama, ut soles, atque age, ut non diu responsum expectem. Si quid tibi, quod rei meae convenire iudices, evenerit, mei¹⁰ memineris, quaeso.¹¹ Cupio quidem tecum esse. Iterum vale. Ex Basilea¹².

¹ quum WO

² ego *add.* M2, M3

³ altricantem WO

⁴ decreveram me habiturum V2a, M2, M3; *corr. ex* decreveram me habiturum V2b

⁵ sed V2a, M2, M3; *corr. ex* sed V2b

⁶ velim V4

⁷ te M2

⁸ tuo M2

⁹ sunt WO

¹⁰ me WO

¹¹ *itidem et Caesaris medico, (co)italico nostro, quem verbo meo salvere jubeas, velim supplico add.*

M2, M3, V2a; ~~itidem et Caesaris medico, (co)italico nostro, quem verbo meo salvere jubeas, velim supplico seq.~~ V2b

¹² *ex Basilea omit.* M2

[2] Since I receive none of the delightful verses you produce daily, I sometimes resort to making poems myself as you would write them and take pleasure in them. And quite recently, I have written one – I call it an eclogue¹ - in which I had introduced Martin Le Franc,² your Felician³ fellow secretary, as your dialogue partner. I had taken him as my teacher after you, but it only lasted a short while since he soon had to leave this city with our Felix.⁴ So, I made my uncle Stefano⁵ the arbiter of your dispute,⁶ and that for two reasons: first, so that he would not think that I had forgotten him entirely or disliked him; second, so that he would correct the verses as not made by you but by your pupil before they were sent to others. Now you know the whole reason why I did it this way.

Farewell – as I hope – and love me as always. Do not make me wait long for your reply. If you come across something that might be interesting for me,⁷ then please remember me! I wish to be with you. Again farewell. From Basel.

¹ Eclogue: short pastoral poem, usually in dialogue.

² Martin Le Franc: Secretary of antipope Felix V. See LD (Iaria), pp. lxxix-lxxx.

³ I.e., of antipope Felix V.

⁴ Felix' departure from Basel for Lausanne (never to return) happened on 17 November 1442. It is

mentioned in Piccolomini's DVI, sect. 196: *When he lost hope of extending his obedience, he returned to Savoy, promising that he would return soon, but he has not done so until now* [ca. 1447].

⁵ Stefano Caccia de Fara: Member of the Council of Basel. Friend of Piccolomini.

⁶ In his *Libellus Dialogorum* from 1440, Piccolomini had featured himself, Martin Le Franc, Stefano Caccia, and Nikolaus von Kues.

⁷ Presumably, a job opening.

53. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (May? 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 23r *; M1, 110r-110v; M2, ff. 39r-39v¹; M3, ff. 231r-231v²; V2, ff. 136-137³; V3, ff. 63r-64v⁴ **;
V4, ff. 56v-57v.

Editions: HE, 54, pp. 146-147 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 54, pp. 152-153 (based on M1 and V2).

Translations: RE, 24, p. 150.

{63r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ ⁶ Johanni Peregallo, scriptori apostolico, salutem plurimam dicit⁷.

[1] Rem longe majorem, quam possim praestare quotidiano convicio⁸ ex me petis, brevem tibi ut bene vivendi praeceptionem conscribam. Temptatio ista, non consultatio est. Quid⁹ enim fieri potest, ut meis monitis tu indigeas, qui studiosus philosophiae semper fuisti, cui, si aliquid deest, praesto assunt¹⁰ divini atque humani juris doctores, qui Basileam quasi Athenas ornatam reddunt. {63v} Illos consulere et facilius erat et utilius. In Austria vero dementis est quaerere Romam aut Platonem apud Hungariam vestigare¹¹. Non tamen propterea tibi non respondebo. Tanta est enim tuorum erga me magnitudo meritorum, ut non solum petitionibus tuis, quas serio, sed etiam, quas joco facis, temptationibus parere obnoxium me existimem. Satisfaciam igitur breviter petitiunculae tuae nec philosophorum more praecepta dabo, sed ut patresfamilias cum filiis solent, agam tecum.

[2] Norma est brevissima¹², quam si servaveris, recta in coelum via transibis. Nescio, si umquam ingressus es mare. Illic si umquam fuisti, scio te, cum procellis inflari pelagus et navigium impeti contrariis ventis cernebas, multa Deo vovisse. Si ergo vis fieri salvus recteque vivere, quae promisisti¹³, dum tempestas in mari fuit, ea servato. Quod si fretum numquam ascendisti carceremque aliquando pertulisti, cura, ut egressus talis sis, qualem te futurum, si exires, spondebas in carcere. At si neque hoc neque illud expertus es, remedium tertium superest¹⁴: non dubito, quin aliquando aegrotus fueris. Quis enim est, qui trigesimum annum absque gravi aliqua valetudine attigerit? Multae pestes humano imminenti corpori, minimaque res est, quae nos vel tollit e vita, vel morbis¹⁵ taeterrimis¹⁶ afficit¹⁷. Memento ergo¹⁸, mi Johannes, cum lectulo resupiens jaceres, cum renes arderent, cum {64r} *ilia rumparentur*, cum fauces arescerent, cum te sitis incenderet, dolor pulsaret, satietas cibi¹⁹ offenderet, quid²⁰ tecum ipse diceres, quid Deo promitteres, si tibi sanitas restitueretur. Certus sum, quia de modo vivendi saepius cogitasti et vitia dimittere, virtutes vero amplecti spondidisti. Nunc igitur²¹, quoniam divino munere sospes es, stude, ut impleas, quae promisisti aegrotus.

¹ SC, 85-86

² SC, 466-467

³ DV, ff. 73v-74r

⁴ DV, ff. 66r-67r

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~
seq. V2b

⁶ ~~s.p.d.~~ *seq.* M2

⁷ plurimam dicit *omit.* M1

⁸ constitutio V4

⁹ qui M1-M3, V2-V4

¹⁰ sunt L

¹¹ investigare V4

¹² succineta M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex*

succineta V2b

¹³ promouisti V4

¹⁴ remedium tertium superest *omit.*

V4

¹⁵ moribus M3

¹⁶ deterrimis M3

¹⁷ afficiat HE

¹⁸ igitur M2

¹⁹ tibi V4

²⁰ quod V4

²¹ autem L

53. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (May? 1443, Vienna).

Context: Maintaining relations with his connections in Basel, Piccolomini kept up a correspondence with several of these.

Subject: At the request of Peregallo, Piccolomini gives advice for a virtuous life.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Peregallo,¹ apostolic secretary.

[1] You ask me for something which is surely not mundane: to write you a short rule for living virtuously.² This is not a consultation but a challenge,³ for how could you possibly need advice from me when you have always been a student of philosophy? Moreover, if you need [advice], you are surrounded by the doctors of divine and human law, who adorn Basel as if it were another Athens and whom it would be easier and more useful to consult. Indeed, it is madness to seek Rome in Austria or Plato in Hungary.⁴ ⁵ Nonetheless, I shall answer you, for your great merits towards me oblige me to answer your challenges, both those you make in earnest and those you make in jest. So, I shall answer your "small" request. But I shall not give precepts like philosophers do but speak with you as family fathers do with their sons.

[2] The rule [I give you] is a very short one. If you keep it, you will go directly to Heaven. I do not know if you have ever been on the high sea, but if you have, I know that when you saw the sea starting to swell and the ship being tossed by contrary winds, you made fervent vows to God.⁶ Now, if you want to be saved and live virtuously, then keep the promises you made on the stormy sea. If you have never mounted a ship but have been in prison, then strive to be such as you promised to be in the future if you got out. If you have tried neither sea nor prison, there is a third remedy. I do no doubt that you have been ill at some time, for nobody has attained the age of 30 without suffering some serious illness. Many plagues threaten the body, and even the smallest thing may take our life or make us terribly ill.⁷ So, remember, my dear Giovanni, what you told yourself and what you promised God to be healed when you were laying in bed, when the kidneys were burning, *your sides were bursting*,⁸ your throat was dry, your thirsted terribly, you hurt, and [the smell of] food nauseated you. I am sure that you have often thought about living virtuously and promised to abandon vice and embrace virtue. Now that God has given you to be safe and sound, strive to fulfil the promises you made when ill.

¹ Peregallo, Giovanni: Official at the Council of Basel. Later secretary of Felix V. Friend of Piccolomini, who in later versions of his own sexual affairs, would substitute Peregallo's name for himself.

² "bene vivendi"

³ "temptatio"

⁴ I.e., classical philosophy.

⁵ Concerning this scornful judgment on classical learning in Austria and Hungary, see comment in Franceschini, p. 251: *frase ... dedegnosa ... nei riguardi dell' ignoranza ultramontana ...*

⁶ Piccolomini himself had direct experience with sea storms during his travel from Populonia to Genova in 1432 and to Scotland in 1435 (COM, I, 3, 5).

⁷ Piccolomini returned to this theme in the great oration "*Cum bellum hodie*" he held at the Congress of Mantua in 1459: *Insignificant things destroy a man. Little insects plague us, and sometimes we die of the bite of a small snake or scorpion* (COR, 8: 45, 204).

⁸ Cf. Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 7: 26.

[3] Haec regula est bene vivendi brevis et certa, hanc servato. Sed accipe etiam aliam¹ ² breviorē. Si vis recte agere vitam, nihil facias, quod Deum videre non putes, nihil secreto exoptes, quod praesente populo optare non audeas, Juvenalisque nostri memineris, qui ait, optandum est, ut sit *mens sana in corpore sano*. Cetera ex aliis quaere. Ego, quod³ brevius dicere possem, non habui.

Vale et me, quando id reciprocum est, ama. Ex Vienna, idibus Septembribus 1443.⁴

¹ *omit.* WO

² brevis et ... aliam *omit.* V4

³ quid M2

⁴ Ex Vienna ... 1443 : *omit.* M1;
etc. M2; idibus ... 1443 *omit.* M3

[3] This is my short rule for living virtuously. Keep it! But here is another one, even shorter. If you want to live virtuously, do nothing you would not want God to see, and desire nothing in secret that you would not have in public. Finally, remember our Juvenal, who says that we should wish for *a sound mind in a sound body*.¹ Other precepts you must request from other people, for I have nothing more that I can say briefly.

Farewell, and love me as I love you. From Vienna. 16 September 1443.²

¹ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 10: 356.

² Wolkan considered that this date must be false, for on that date Piccolomini was in Graz. He did not cite a source for this view, but it is presumably based on the

itinerary of Friedrich III, according to) which Friedrich on this date was in Graz (Hejnic, 3: p. 1355). On the one hand, Piccolomini may not have accompanied the king on his travel to Graz; on the other

hand, the date 16 September was added in a later version of the collection of letters and may not be correct.

54. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (Mid April 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 18r *; M1, f. 39r; M2, f. 38r¹; M3, f. 229v;² V2, ff. 129-131³; V3, ff. 60r-60v⁴ **; V4, ff. 54r-54v.

Editions: HE, 55, pp. 147-148 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 55, pp. 153-154; (based on M1 and V2).

Translations: ME, 12, pp. 68-69; RE, 24, pp. 150-151.

{60r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ Johanni Campisio salutem plurimam dicit⁶.

[1] Ex litteris pluribus⁷ reverendissimi⁸ cardinalis sancti angeli ad regiam majestatem directis percepi te fore apud ipsum reverendissimum patrem, nam et tua manu scriptae erant et tuam dicendi suavitatem redolebant. Id quoque et postmodum vir suavis et tui⁹ amantissimus Nicolaus Tifernas¹⁰ confirmavit, quae res mihi maximae voluptati fuit, speranti te propediem visere¹¹, deosculari atque amplecti, quodque dulcissimum inter nos esse solebat, officium instaurare¹² ac de medicina nonnihil conferre, cujus te arbitror plures in dies¹³ lectiones audire, cum ubique medicorum sit copia. Expecto itaque te¹⁴, mi Campisi, magna cum desiderii anxietate¹⁵, et quamvis te pluribus annis privatus fuerim¹⁶ et absque te vivere didicerim, nunc tamen nescio, quid factum sit, ut, postquam te venturum¹⁷ sensi, miseram mihi existimem vitam, dum¹⁸ tuus differtur {60v} adventus. Quapropter, si me amas, ut soles, cura, ut quam primum¹⁹ venias. Ego te veteri ex amore observo coloque, nec propter silentium, quod inter nos diutinum fuit, amori meo detractum est aliquid. Servavi namque legem inter nos dictam, ut amicitiam nostram, quam animorum conformitas et morum similitudo conflaverat, litterarum omissio non aboleret²⁰. Quod ita a me factum est, ut putem, auctam potius quam diminutam esse benevolentiam meam nec aliter de tua opinor caritate, qui amicitiam non more puerulorum variandam existimare solebas, sed philosophorum legibus immutabilem.

[2] Quod autem in his²¹ partibus esse me audis, nolo, ut admireris. Vocatus enim a rege²² in secretariumque receptus fui²³ quodque²⁴ mihi gravissimo est oneri²⁵, laureati poetae nomen accepi²⁶, quod²⁷ licet mihi longe sit impar, non tamen a rege datum debuit refutari²⁸. Apud hunc²⁹ igitur principem me reperies, ad quem, cum in hac tempestate ecclesiae accersirer, tamquam in tutissimum portum libenter me contuli, ut procul ab hujusmodi praelatorum dissensionibus agam vitam et me ipso fruam.

Vale. Ex Vienna³⁰.

¹ SC, 83.

² SC, 463.

³ DV, ff. 70r-71r

⁴ DV, ff. 63r-63v

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3

⁶ plurimam dicit *omit.* L, M1

⁷ plurimis V4

⁸ domini *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a;

domini seq. V2b

⁹ tuus M3

¹⁰ de civitate castelli L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~de civitate castelli~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ videre M2, M3

¹² innovare *add. interlin.* M1

¹³ dietim L, M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ desiderii anxietate : animi alacritate et gaudio L, M1-M3, V2; iocunditate *add. interlin.* M1

¹⁶ fui M2

¹⁷ futurum M2

¹⁸ cum M3

¹⁹ ut quamprimum : utraque primum M2, V2a (?)

²⁰ obvisceretur *add. interlin.* M1

²¹ in his : his in L, M1, HE, WO

²² a rege : per regiam majestatem fui L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* per regiam majestatem fui V2b

²³ *omit.* L, M1-M3, V2a; *add. interlin.* V2b

²⁴ et quod L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* et quod V2b

²⁵ honori V4

²⁶ nomen accepi : titulis adornatus quod L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* titulis adornatus quod V2b

²⁷ nomen *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a

²⁸ revocari M3

²⁹ *omit.* M3

³⁰ Ex Vienna : *omit.* M1; etc. M2; optime M3

54. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (Mid April 1443,¹ Vienna).

Context: Campisio was an old friend of Piccolomini from the Basel period, but they had apparently lost contact. In the meantime, Campisio had become secretary to Cardinal Cesarini, papal legate to Hungary, whom he would accompany to a meeting with the emperor.

Subject: Piccolomini assures Campisio of his friendship and his longing to see him again.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio.²

[1] From several letters sent by the Most Reverend Cardinal of Sant'Angelo to His Royal Majesty³ I understand that you are⁴ now with the Most Reverend Father, for the letters were written in your hand and in your delightful style. Afterwards, it was confirmed by that lovely man, Niccolò Tifernate,⁵ who is very fond of you, which caused me great joy. I hope to see, kiss, and embrace you very soon, renew our sweet friendship and discuss medicine – on which subject I trust you have heard lectures daily since there is a surfeit of physicians everywhere. So, my dear Campisio, I am expecting you eagerly! I have been deprived of your [company] for several years and learnt to live without you, but now (I know not why) that I heard you will be coming, my life has become unbearable while I wait for your arrival. Therefore, if you love me as you used to, strive to come as soon as possible. I have retained my old affection for you, I hold you in high regard and cherish you, and the long silence between us has not diminished my love. I have kept our agreement that the absence of letters would not destroy our friendship, built on the harmony of our souls and the similarity of our characters. Therefore, I believe my affection for you has grown stronger, not weaker, and I think the same about your affection for me since you used to consider that friendship should not change after the manner of little boys but be unchangeable according to the laws of philosophers.

[2] Do not be surprised when you hear that I am in these regions. I have been summoned by the king and engaged as his secretary. And – what weighs heavily upon me – I have also received the title of poet, which I could not refuse as it was given by the king though I am quite unworthy of it. So, now you will find me with this prince. Summoned by him, in this stormy period for the Church, I have come here gladly as to a safe haven, to live for myself, apart from the conflicts of prelates.

Farewell. From Vienna.

¹ Date after Genzsch.

² Giovanni Campisio [Campesi, Campisio] (d. 1474): Humanist, friend and correspondent of Piccolomini. In 1443, secretary to cardinal Cesarini, and later secretary to Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo. Bishop of Piacenza 1453 to his death. In his *De Viris Illustribus*, Piccolomini wrote of him: *He [Berardi] loves learning and, therefore, has always held the philosopher Giovanni Campisio, who drafts his letters, in the highest regard* (sect. 2).

³ The cardinal had corresponded with the emperor on a meeting about the situation in Hungary and the crusade against Turkey, which pope Eugenius had charged him with preparing, in fulfilment of a promise made in connection with the (shortlived) reunion of the Greek Church with the Latin Church at the Council of (Basel) Ferrara-Firenze (1439). The emperor had invited the cardinal, together with ambassadors of the Polish King Wladislaus III, pretender to the throne of Hungary, to negotiations in Vienna and after-

wards a conference in Hainburg/Pressburg in the last half of May 1443 to discuss this matter, cf. WO, 1: 2, letters i, iv, vi-vii, pp. 1-3, 7-15. Cf. also HA (1st vers., Knödler), p. 14: *Deinde venit cardinalis Viennam et legati regis Poloniae, sed infectis rebus abierunt*.

⁴ NB: "fore" with meaning in the present tense.

⁵ Niccolò Tifernate, humanist and mutual friend of Piccolomini and Campisio.

55. Letter from Niccolò Amidano (10 April 1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: M1, 42v *; M2, ff. 114r-114v¹; M3, ff. 227v-228r²; V2, ff. 123-124³; V3, ff. 58r-58v⁴ **; V4, 52v-53r.
Editions: HE, 56, pp. 148-149; WO, 1: 1, 56, pp. 154-155; (both based on M1 and V2).

{58r} Nicolaus Amidanus salutem plurimam dicit Aeneae Silvio, poetae praestanti et amico singulari⁵.

[1] Credo te vehementer admirari, Aenea dulcissime, quod postea quam istinc abiisti, litterarum mearum nihil susceperis, praesertim cum et ego antea⁶ pollicitus saepe fuerim me crebro ad te scripturum de his, quae apud nos in dies agerentur, et tu jam pridem unas ad me litteras dederis. Ego, quoniam reverendissimus⁷ cardinalis sancti Laurentii in Damaso ad serenissimos dominos Romanorum et Poloniae reges {58v} legatus per hanc sacram synodum destinatus crastino mane a nobis est recessurus et una secum Laurentius noster, cui praesentes commisi, jamque maxima pars noctis effluxit, non possum excusationes meas et silentii causas ad te scribere, praecipue cum multarum rerum plenus sim, quas⁸ per litteras⁹ communicare tecum libenter vellem. Sed quia prohibente angustia temporis id efficere ullo modo non possum, malo id modicum temporis, quod mihi superest, in aliis scribendis quam in excusatione mea consumere. Scio enim, quod tu, qui omnibus in rebus gravissimo semper iudicio usus es, silentium meum in bonam partem accipies. Quodsi forsitan et culpabilem et punitione aliqua me dignum¹⁰ iudicaveris, paratus jam et promptus sum correctionem tuam omnem subire, quam etsi asperrimam animo tuo forsitan concepturus sis, eam unica Peregalli¹¹ intercessione lenire¹² posse confido. Quare non est, quod severitatem tuam multum formidem, quandoquidem certissimus sum arma mihi parata esse, quibus superare te facillime possim. Accipe igitur ex multis haec pauca. Vale.

Ex Basilea, die 18. Maii anno 1443¹³.

¹ SV, 237-238

² SV, 459-460

³ DV, ff. 67r-67v

⁴ DV, ff. 61r-61v

⁵ *Titulus:* Nicolaus Amidanus de Cremona domino Enee M1

⁶ ante V4

⁷ dominus *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ si *add.* M1, M3

⁹ licet *add.* M1; liceret *add.* HE, WO

¹⁰ me dignum : dignum me M2

¹¹ Glycerii M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Glycerii V2b

¹² inire V4

¹³ Ex Basilea ... 1444 *omit.* M1, M2; die ... 1444 *omit.* M3

55. Letter from Niccolò Amidano (10 April 1443,¹ Basel).

Context: Piccolomini had written to Amidano asking him for news from the council (letter 38).

Subject: Amidano excuses himself for not writing and informs Piccolomini of the imminent departure of the conciliar legate, Alexander of Mazovia, to the emperor and King Wladyslaus III.

Niccolò Amidano sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, distinguished poet and close friend.

[1] My dear Enea, I presume you wonder why you have had no letters from me since you departed from here,² especially since I had often promised to write you frequently about matters happening here from day to day, and you have already sent a letter to me.³ Tomorrow morning, the Most Reverend Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso⁴ will leave on a legatine mission from this Holy Synod⁵ to their Most Serene Lords, the King of the Romans⁶ and the King of Poland,⁷ and he will be accompanied by our Lorenzo,⁸ to whom I entrust this letter. However, since most of the night has already passed, I cannot write my excuses and the reasons for my silence, especially since my [mind] is full of many things that I should like to inform you of by letter. But having too little time, I cannot do [as I wish], so I prefer to use the little time left to write other things than my excuses. I know that you are a most sensible man and will not be offended by my silence. If you judge that I am culpable and worthy of punishment, I am ready and prepared to undergo any correction you might impose upon me. However, I trust that even the harshest punishment you might conceive of will be eased by the intercession of Peregallo.⁹ Therefore, I shall not greatly fear your severity, for I am sure that I have weapons in my possession with which I can easily defeat you.¹⁰ Thus, accept these few things out of many. Farewell.

From Basel, 18 May 1443.

¹ Date after Genzsch.

² Basel.

³ See letter 38.

⁴ Alexander of Mazovia, appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V on 2 October 1440. On his legatine mission, see also letters 49: 1 and 50: 2.

⁵ The rump council in Basel. Note that the cardinal was appointed

legate by the council and not by the council's antipope.

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ Wladyslaw III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 to his death.

⁸ Lorenzo Rotella: Canon of Trento.

⁹ Changed from Glycerii in the early versions of the correspon-

dence. Since Glycerium was the fictive name (inspired by Terence's Andria) of a prostitute friend of Piccolomini, he did not want to have her mentioned in the later versions of the correspondence, published when he was high-ranking ecclesiastic.

¹⁰ The intervention of Glycerium!

56. Letter from Giuliano Cesarini (June 1443?, Budapest).

Manuscripts: L, f. 42r *; M1, 51r-51v; M2, ff. 112r-112v¹; M3, ff. 187r-187v²; V2, ff. 12³; V3, ff. 13v-14r⁴; V4, ff. 13v-14r **.

Editions: HE, 57, pp. 149 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 57, pp. 155-156; (based on M1 and V2)

{13v} Julianus cardinalis sancti angeli, apostolicae sedis legatus, doctissimo viro domino⁵ Aeneae Silvio de Senis, amico carissimo, serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secretario, salutem plurimam dicit⁶. Optime Aenea.

[1] Non minus juvit me videre epistolam tuam Etrusco⁷ sermone conscriptam, quam si latina fuisset, et cum rara saepe delectent, quia⁸ diu hujusmodi litteras non vidi, delectatus sum in eis non parum. Multum diligenter commissa mihi facis negotia magnifici⁹ cancellarii. Recte agis et debito tuo facis satis. Dignus enim est pro meritis suis, ut et tu et omnes alii res ejus cordi habeatis et eas totis promoveatis viribus. Quantum autem ad personam meam¹⁰ attinet, id minime necesse erat, cum enim eum ut fratrem diligam, negotia sua mea esse¹¹ existimo¹², et mea sponte sine hortatu cujuspian illa curare merito debeo. Quod si hujus regni negotia in meliori essent {14r} statu et major esset oboedientia erga illos, quibus servitur, plus ipsi¹³ cancellario facere possem. Et quia sibi super his plene scribo et tibi innotescunt omnia, non opus est ea¹⁴ repetam. Certum eum¹⁵ facito¹⁶, quod nihil est tam grande, quod pro ipso et ejus honore non facerem, non secus quam si meus germanus esset.

Valete¹⁷ feliciter. Datum Budae¹⁸.

¹ SC, 233-234

² SC, 380

³ DV, ff. 11v

⁴ DV, ff. 16v-17r

⁵ *omit.* HE, WO

⁶ *Titulus: omit.* M1, M3; Doctissimo viro domino Enee Silvio de Senis amico carissimo serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secreta-

rio Julianus cardinalis sancti angeli

salutem plurimam dicit M2

⁷ Ytalico *add.* interlin. M1

⁸ qui V4

⁹ domini *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ nostram M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex*

nostram V2b

¹¹ *omit.* M2, M3

¹² estimo M3

¹³ pro ipso domino M1-M3

¹⁴ ut *add.* M2

¹⁵ enim WO

¹⁶ facite M1

¹⁷ vale M2

¹⁸ datum Budae *omit.* M1-M3

56. Letter from Giuliano Cesarini (June 1443?, Budapest).

Context: Piccolomini had requested the cardinal's support of chancellor Kaspar Schlick in his affairs, quite possibly the appointment as bishop of the chancellor's brother, Heinrich.

Subject: The cardinal assures the chancellor of his support and, at the same time, appears to express some irritation that Piccolomini would act as their intermediary in this matter.

Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,¹ legate of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings to the most learned Enea Silvio from Siena, secretary to the Most Serene Lord King of the Romans. Excellent Enea.

[1] I was just as pleased at your letter written in the Etruscan² language as if it had been in Latin, for rare things often give pleasure, and since I had not for a long time seen such letters, I much enjoyed it. You entreat me to assist His Excellency the Chancellor³ in his affairs.⁴ That is well done and as it should be, for the chancellor deserves that you and all others have his affairs at heart and further them to their greatest ability. As for me, however, [this request] was unnecessary, for I already love him as a brother, consider his affairs as my own, and will support them of my own volition without being exhorted by others. If the state of this kingdom⁵ was better, and greater obedience shown its lords, I could do more for the chancellor, but since I am writing fully to him about this and all is known to you,⁶ I need not repeat myself here. Please assure him that I shall do all I can in his honour, just as if he were my own brother.

Farewell and be happy. Given in Buda.

¹ Note the use of the cardinal's title of Sant'Angelo, not of Santa Sabina.

² Meaning Italian?

³ Imperial chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Quite possibly the appointment of the chancellor's brother, Heinrich Schlick, as bishop.

⁵ Hungary, enmeshed in a conflict between the supporters of the Polish king Wladyslaw III and the boy-king Ladislaus the Posthu-

mous, and at the same time mobilising against the Turks.

⁶ As Cesarini was aware, Piccolomini handled the chancellor's correspondence with him and drafted the chancellor's letters, see, e.g., WO, 1: 2, ep. 4 and 21 (pp. 7-8, 36-37).

57. Letter to Adam Moleyns (18 July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, 43r; M2, ff. 33r-33v¹; M3, ff. 210r-210v²; V2, ff. 65-66³; V3, ff. 32r-33r⁴ **; V4, ff. 30r-30v.

Editions: HE, 58, pp. 150-151; WO, 1: 1, 58, pp. 156-157; (both based on M1 and V2)

Translations: RE, 25, pp. 151-152.

{32r} Aeneas Silvius⁵, salutem plurimam dicit domino Adae de Mulin Anglico, apostolicae sedis protonotario, patri et amico optimo^{6 7}.

[1] Quo in statu sit respublica Christianorum vides. Lacerata ecclesia est, nec in populo nec in clero pax est. Dolet super his invictissimus imperator noster et, ut advocatum decet ecclesiae, operam navere coepit, ut subortum schisma posset eradicari⁸. Ad hoc⁹ nullus aptior videtur¹⁰ modus quam generale cogi concilium. Hunc ipse amplexus est et super eo ceteris regibus ac principibus scribit. Inter alios vero praecipuam spem habet in serenissimo principe domino tuo meoque, rege Angliae¹¹, eumque rogat, ut secum ad uniendam¹² ecclesiam velit concurrere, sicut ex litteris ad eum missis perspicies.

[2] Quod ideo ad te scribo, ut, cum sis vir bonus et praelatus optimus, adjuvare¹³ domini nostri imperatoris {32v} propositum velis et pacem ecclesiae promovere. Ad quam rem hortarer te pluribus verbis, nisi zelus tuus ad commune bonum esset mihi perspectus. Scio namque voluntatem optimam tibi nequaquam deesse, sed nec potestas abest. Intellego enim ex omnibus, qui ad nos veniunt ab¹⁴ Anglia teque noscunt¹⁵, primum te virum esse aut primo¹⁶ proximum ex iis¹⁷, qui regiae serenitati sunt cari, quod cum¹⁸ propter privatam, qua tibi afficior, amicitiam, tum propter communem utilitatem tam mihi placet, quam tuis necessariis debet placere. Minime namque dubito, quin eo loco sublimatus sanctae matri ecclesiae multum prosis et nunc praesertim, cum via aperta est ad concilium pro pace Christiani populi celebrandum, quod si apud majestatem regiam – sicut spero – promoveris, summam laudem consequeris. Nec plura in hoc. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 73-74

² SC, 424-425

³ DV, ff. 38r-38v

⁴ DV, ff. 35r-35v

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; poeta *seq.* V2b

⁶ reverende pater et domine, mi colende *add.* M1

⁷ *Titulus:* domino Ade de Mulin anglico apostolicae sedis prothonotario M1

⁸ irradicari V4

⁹ ad hoc : adhuc M3

¹⁰ aptior videtur : videtur aptior M1

¹¹ et Franciae *add.* M1, M2, M3, V2a; ~~et Franciae~~ *seq.* V2b

¹² iuva(n)dam V3, V4

¹³ adiutare V4

¹⁴ ex M2, M3, V2a; *corr.* ex ex V2b

¹⁵ ab Anglia ... noscunt *omit.* M3

¹⁶ viro M3

¹⁷ his HE, WO

¹⁸ tum M2

57. Letter to Adam Moleyns (18 July 1443,¹ Vienna).

Context: At a diet in Mainz in 1441, the imperial electors had agreed to a proposal by the emperor's representatives for a new council to settle the schism between the Roman pope Eugenius IV, with his council, and the rump Council of Basel, with its antipope Felix V.² Though by the middle of 1443, the emperor and the imperial had begun to slowly move towards a recognition of Eugenius, the official imperial policy was still to hold a third council. In the summer of 1443, the imperial chancery sent letters to the European kings and princes – and among them the young king Henry VI – to ask for their support in this matter,³ an initiative that was doomed to fail.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Adam of the imperial initiative in the matter of the third council and asks him to support it before his king. He also informs him of his new position as imperial secretary and offers his services.⁴

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Adam de Moleyns⁵ from England, protonotary of the Apostolic See, Father and best of friends.

[1] You see the state of the Christian commonwealth. The Church is torn apart, and there is peace neither among laymen nor clerics. This saddens our Unvanquished Emperor, and as the Champion of the Church he has begun to work to end the schism. No other way to obtain this seems more suitable than to gather a general council. The emperor has opted for this way and is now writing about it to the other kings and princes. Among these, he places his particular hope in the Most Serene Prince, your lord and mine, the King of England⁶, and asks him to join him in working for church union, as you will see from the letter⁷ sent to him.

[2] I am writing to you, a good man and an excellent prelate, to invite you to support the plan of our Lord Emperor and work for peace in the Church. I would have used many words to exhort you had I not known about your zeal for the common good. I know you have never forgotten your excellent intentions and have the means to make them come true. Indeed, all who come to us from England and know you tell us you are first (or next to the first) among those dear to His Serene Majesty the King. This delights me – as much as it should delight all your friends – because of my private friendship with you but also because of the public good. I am sure that in your high position, you will work for the good of Holy Mother Church, especially now that the road is open to holding a council for the peace of the Christian people. If – as I hope – you support this [plan] before his Royal Majesty, you will obtain the highest praise. No more about this. [*cont.*]

¹ In the early versions of the text, the date was given only as 1443. In the later versions (V2-V4), the date is given as 18 July (14)43. This date may be somewhat late, since the letters on the third council to the European princes were sent from the imperial court in June.

² Stieber, p. 231

³ Stieber, p. 264: *Undeterred by his lack of success in the preceding year, the emperor wrote on 1 June 1443 to many kings and princes of Latin Christendom, asking them to*

attend another diet at Nuremberg on 11 November 1443 for the purpose of planning a new council, and solicited their views about such a project. For such letters, written by Piccolomini, see WO, 1: 2: epp. xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, pp. 21-24, 27-37.

⁴ For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 193.

⁵ Adam Moleyns (d. 1450): At the time, Dean of Salisbury clerk of the ruling council during the minority of Henry VI, and papal protono-

tary. Later, Lord Privy Seal (1444) and Bishop of Chichester (1445). He was in Frankfurt in 1441 (1442?), where he apparently met Piccolomini. On his murder in 1450, see Piccolomini's *Europa* (HE), 5949.

⁶ The earlier versions of the text have "King of England and France". As heir of his father, Henry V, Henry VI was crowned king of France in 1422.

⁷ Written by Piccolomini. Not extant.

[cont.] Tantum hortor, ut *ea pares, mediteris, cogites, quae esse in eo* praelato debent, qui scit *afflictam* ecclesiam et *oppressam miseris temporibus nostris ac perditis* hominum *moribus* et cupit, ut *in* *pristinam dignitatem et libertatem* vindicari possit.

[2] Ego apud Caesarem nostrum secretarii locum teneo, quod tibi ideo significatum facio, ut, si quid sit, quod me velis, Aenea tuo confidenter utare¹, qui cum etiam plus *contenderim*, quam possim, minus tamen faciam quam debeo. Quod te singulari numero compellarim, {33r} scio tibi non esse molestum, qui et Itolorum morem et omnium veterum non ignoras consuetudinem.

Vale, et nullatenus id committe, ut per latorem praesentium de regia intentione mihi non rescribas. Datum Viennae, die 18. Julii anno 1443^{2 3}.

¹ utere M3

² Datum ... 1443 *omit.* M1, M2;
datum Wiene anno etc. 43 M3

³ 43 V2

[cont.] I only exhort you to *prepare and train and plan as befits a prelate who knows that the Church¹, in these sad times, is afflicted and oppressed by evil manners and wishes that it be raised to her ancient dignity and freedom.*²

[2] As for myself, I now hold the post of secretary to our emperor. I inform you of this so that if there is anything you wish from me, you should not hesitate to use your Enea - but though I *exert myself*³ beyond my strength, I achieve less than I ought to! When I address you in the singular, I know that you will not take it badly since you know the ways of the Italians and the custom of the ancients.

Farewell, and please write back to me about the king's intentions through the bearer of the present letter. Given in Vienna, 18 July 1443.

¹ Note that Piccolomini substitutes the "Church" for Cicero's "republic".

² Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 2: 5,2.

³ An allusion to the passage from Cicero quoted in letter 15: 2.

58. Letter to a unknown cardinal (June 1443, Vienna).¹

Manuscripts: M1, 73r-73v

Editions: HE, 59, pp. 150-151; WO, 1: 1, 59, pp. 158-159; (both based on M1)

[1] Ut autem de novitatibus harum partium reverendissimam paternitatem vestram efficiam certiore, hanc cedulam meis litteris duxi addendam. Fuerunt hic nuper barones et magnates regni Bohemiae in ambassione ad serenissimum dominum nostrum Romanorum regem et post plures tractatus, qui cum eis sunt habiti, conclusum tandem est, ut iterum in hoc oppido Wiennensi dieta quaedam teneatur ad festum sancti Michaelis proxime futurum, ad quam in numero mille personarum aut plurium ipsi Bohemi venient, et quod pertractatum nunc est, tunc concludatur. Sunt enim jam res sic limatae et ita examinatae, ut nihil restet nisi conclusio, ad quam visum est majorem procerum ac baronum numerum ex illo regno convenire. Summa autem tractatum est, ut Bohemi ipsi majestati regiae tamquam tutori serenissimi regis Ladislai, eorum veri et naturalis domini, oboediant, majestasque regia ipsos protegat et gubernet, quae res multum faciet ad negotia regni Hungariae, ut ibidem etiam, qui verus est rex, dominetur.

¹ The first part of the letter is lost.

58. Letter to a cardinal (June 1443, Vienna).¹

Context: A cardinal² had written to the imperial court on unknown matters, and he had also taken it upon himself to recommend to King Friedrich the king's own nephew and ward, the boy-king Ladislaus.

Subject: In addition to the letter of reply to the cardinal, Piccolomini sends a note with political news, adding a gentle rebuke to the cardinal for presuming to recommend the king's nephew to the king, his own uncle and guardian.

[1] To inform Your Most Reverend Paternity about news from these regions, I have joined the present note to my letter. Recently, an embassy of Bohemian barons and magnates visited the Most Serene Lord King of the Romans.³ After much negotiation, it was decided to hold a diet here in Vienna on the Feast of Saint Michael,⁴ to which a thousand persons or more from Bohemia will come to formally conclude what has been negotiated now. Indeed, the matter has been scrutinised and polished to the extent that only the final decision is lacking. This requires the assembly of a large number of nobles and barons.⁵ The main point of the negotiated settlement is that the Bohemians shall obey His Royal Majesty as the guardian of the Most Serene King Ladislaus⁶, their true and natural lord, and that His Royal Majesty shall protect and govern them.⁷ This will greatly facilitate negotiations with the Hungarians so that they, too, will have their true king⁸ as their lord.

¹ The status of this text is uncertain. As Piccolomini writes in the beginning, it is a note with political news added to a letter written previously, from which it apparently got separated and which is now lost. The text contains two "etc." which might indicate that it is an unfinished draft text.

² Or a very high-ranking prelate.

³ May 1443. Meetings in Hainburg and Pozon, 31 May 1443.

⁴ 29 September 1443.

⁵ On the Bohemian visits to Friedrich III in 1443, see also DVI, sect. 140 and 162.

⁶ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hun-

gary. Cousin of the emperor, and his ward to 1452.

⁷ This solution did not materialise as the emperor later declined to rule Bohemia as the boy king's guardian, see HB (Hejnic/Rothe), pp. 470-473.

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

[2] Venerunt insuper ad regiam majestatem oratores regis Poloniae et cum eis reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus cardinalis Sancti Angeli ad tractandum super passagio contra Turcos faciendo multumque exhortati sunt majestatem regiam, ut juvare ipsum passagium velit simulque subsidia mittere. Ipse autem dominus noster rex occupatus pluribus aliis negotiis et praesertim Bohemiae et Moraviae ad id modo intendere non potest, sed quod fuit petitionis eorum secundum membrum, ut per majestatem regiam dicto passagio nullum praestetur impedimentum, libenter serenitas domini nostri admisit: non enim impedire, sed quantum posset, tantum conatum¹ promovere vellet. Commoniti tamen sunt Poloni, ne ipsi sint, qui passagium impediant, si partem regni Hungariae, praefato domino regi Ladislao oboedientem, vexaverint, quia cum praelati et barones illius partis auxilium domini nostri regis imploraverint, tamquam tutoris sui patruelis, non intendit sua majestas illos indefensos dimittere. Et cum hujusmodi responso oratores dicti regis Poloniae recesserunt.

[3] Reverendissimus autem dominus cardinalis adhuc est apud nos instans, ut aliquae treugae fieri possint inter dominum nostrum regem et Polonos etc., debetque huc venire reverendissimus dominus cardinalis Strigoniensis, et si pars domini regis Ladislai ad id conduci poterit, libenter regia majestas consentiet, quia plurimum cupit Teucros ex Hungariae regno depelli, quamquam Hungari ipsi, qui regi Poloniae oboediunt, digni sint non modica correptione, qui verum dominum relinquentes adulterum sequuntur.

[4] Verum, reverendissime pater, cum vestra paternitas reverendissima domino nostro regi patruelem suum dominum regem Ladislaum recommendet, non ab re est, ut itidem hinc fiat apud vos. Rex enim noster serenissimus patruelem suum non solum commendatum habet, set ita amat et observat, ut nihil sit, quod pro eo defendendo et in sua justitia manutenendo non velit facere etc. Numquam illud Hungariae regnum pacem habebit, nisi et justitia locum habeat, sine qua nil aliud regna sunt quam maxima latrocinia. Sed jam de his satis.

¹ *em.* HE, WO; tanto conatu cod.

[2] Also, ambassadors from the King of Poland¹ have come to His Royal Majesty. Together with them is the Most Reverend Father in Christ, the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo.² They are here to negotiate concerning the crusade against the Turks, and they greatly exhort His Royal Majesty to support the crusade³ and to send auxiliary troops.⁴ However, our Lord King is occupied with other matters, especially those of Bohemia and Moravia. Therefore, he cannot deal with the issue of [sending] auxiliary troops.⁵ But concerning the other part of their petition, i.e., that His Royal Majesty should in no way impede the crusade, our Most Serene Lord agreed gladly.⁶ He will not impede the crusade but further it as much as he can. However, he warned the Poles not to be the ones to impede the crusade by disturbing that part of the Kingdom of Hungary which follows Lord King Ladislaus.⁷ Indeed, the prelates and barons of that part have begged our Lord King for help in his capacity of his cousin's guardian, and His Majesty does not intend to leave them unprotected. With this answer, the ambassadors of the said King of Poland left.

[3] But the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal⁸ is still⁹ here urging us to accept a truce between our Lord King and the Poles etc.¹⁰ Also, the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal of Esztergom¹¹ should be arriving soon, and if the party supporting the Lord King Ladislaus¹² can be brought to accept it, His Royal Majesty will be happy to consent since he much desires that the Turks be expelled from the Kingdom of Hungary, though those Hungarians who obey the Polish king deserve a severe correction for deserting their true lord and following a false one.

[4] But, Most Reverend Father, since Your Most Reverend Paternity recommends his cousin, the Lord King Ladislaus, to our Lord King it is appropriate that he be also recommended to you. For our Most Serene King not only treats his nephew as recommended to him but loves him and cares for him so that he would leave nothing undone to protect him and his rights etc. The Kingdom of Hungary will never have peace unless it also has justice, without which kingdoms are nothing more than grand robberies. But enough about that.

¹ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

² Giuliano Cesarini, see letter 54: 1. Note how ESP again uses of the title Sant'Angelo instead of Santa Sabina. He would do the same in future letters.

³ The crusade against the Turks promised by Pope Eugenius IV to the Greek emperor in return for the reunion of the Greek Church with the Latin.

⁴ "subsidiā": or, just help or material assistance.

⁵ The emperor did not wish to provide troops or direct assistance to the Hungarians' crusade, cf. HA 1st version / Knödler), p. 14: *Quibus auxilia petentibus a Caesare negata sunt, quia suspecta semper Hungarorum fides Caesari fuit.*

⁶ Friedrich would only be too happy if his two enemies, the Turks and the Hungarians supporting the Polish king, would go to war against each other.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

⁸ Giuliano Cesarini.

⁹ Cesarini was back in Ofen, Hungary, by 28 June (Chmel: *Geschichte*, 2: p. 212).

¹⁰ A truce was finally arranged in May 1444.

¹¹ Szécsy, Dénes (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom from 1440 to his death. Cardinal, 1439.

¹² Including Cardinal Szécsy and captain Jan Jiskra.

[5] Hic est comes Ciliae concordiam cum serenissimo domino nostro rege tractaturus, qui heri venit cum maxima comitiva. Itaque dietim negotia domini nostri regis felicius procedunt, quae omnia ad vestram consolationem ut bono ejusdem regis amico communicata efficio.

Valete feliciter.

[5] The Count of Cilly¹ is here to negotiate a peaceful settlement with our Lord King. He arrived yesterday with a large following.² Thus, the affairs of our Lord King are proceeding smoothly, which I tell you to ease your mind as the king's good friend.

Farewell.

¹ Ulrich II von Cilly [Celje] (1406-1456): Count of Cilly. Cousin of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg) and uncle of her son King Ladislaus the Posthumous. He had sided with Duke Albrecht VI in his conflict with his brother, the emperor, that was settled in March 1443. The Cilly family were

long-standing opponents of the Habsburgs.

² The peace settlement with the counts of Cilly was signed on 16 August 1443 (Chmel: *Geschichte*, II, p. 225). In the HA (1st version) Piccolomini wrote about it: *Comites autem Ciliae in eas pactiones venit, ut principes imperii illi remanerent, sed morientes*

sine masculis heredibus ex lumbis suis provenientibus omnis eorum principatus ad Federicum suosque rediret heredes, quodque comites ipsi perpetuo obligati federe nullo unquam tempore aut Federicum aut heredes offenderent, et illi quidem fidem Federico iuramento prestiterunt (HA, 1: 12-13).

59. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (Summer 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, 40v; M2, f. 39v¹; M3, f. 231v²; V2, ff. 138-139³; V3, ff. 64r-65r⁴ **; V4, ff. 57v-58r.
Editions: HE, 60, pp. 152-153; WO, 1, 1, 60, pp. 159-160; (both based on M1 and V2).

Aeneas Silvius⁵, salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Campisio, philosopho praestanti et ornatissimo^{6 7}.

[1] Demiratus es, Johannes mi amantissime, versus cum meos legeres, mulierem “turpem” pro “deformi” positam esse, cum usurpatissimum apud omnes auctores peraeque sit, ut animi vitium⁸ potius quam corporis turpitude demonstret, sicut est illud⁹ Juvenalis: *filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem*, et alibi: *breve sit, quod turpiter audes*, {64v} et iterum: *nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent*, et horum exemplorum mille. Cicero quoque in Officiorum libris de “turpi¹⁰” sic loquitur ut de re, quae “honesto” opponitur. Honestatem autem non in corpore, sed in animo locavit, unde et ejus contrarium, quod est turpitude, animum intuetur.

¹ SC, 86-87

² SC, 467

³ DV, ff. 74v-75r

⁴ DV, ff. 67r-68r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~
seq. V2b

⁶ amantissimo HE, WO

⁷ *Titulus:* Dominus Aeneas Johanni
 Campisio philosopho praestanti
 M1

⁸ animi vitium : ad virum M2

⁹ id M2

¹⁰ turpe M2

59. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (Summer 1443,¹ Vienna).

Context: After a long pause, Piccolomini and Campisio had renewed their friendship and probably met during the visit of Cardinal Cesarini, Campisio's employer, to the imperial court in May-June 1443.² Campisio may have read or received Piccolomini's poems then.

Subject: Based on classical authorities, Piccolomini proves that, in classical literature, the concept "turpis" applies both to moral qualities and bodily defects.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, eminent and distinguished philosopher.

[1] Beloved Giovanni, when you read my verses,³ you wondered why I had written that the woman was "turpis"⁴ instead of "deformis",⁵ since the authors⁶ commonly use the word "turpis" in the sense of a moral defect rather than physical ugliness. This is seen in the passage from Juvenal: "*Filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem.*"⁷ And in another passage: "*Breve sit, quod turpiter audes.*"⁸ And again: "*Nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent,*"⁹ and there are a thousand other examples. Also, Cicero, in his *De Officiis*, spoke of "turpis" as something opposed to "honestus". He did not apply "honestas" to the body, but to the soul,¹⁰ and therefore its opposite, "turpitude" relates to the soul, too.

¹ Date given by Wolkan, against the date given in V2-V4, see WO, 1: 1, p. 160, n. 3.

² See letter 54. See also VO, 2: 3, pp. 297-298.

³ CAR, 62: 12: *Hesiodo meretrix, ebria, turpis, inops* (p. 102); 72: 7-8: *saepe fuit juvenis credita turpis anus* (p. 113).

⁴ "turpis": disgusting.

⁵ "deformis": homely

⁶ I.e. classical authors.

⁷ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 6: 241: *the vile (turpis) old woman produces a vile (turpis) daughter.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 8: 165: *Let your evil (turpiter) days be short.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7: 5: *while others felt no shame (turpe).*

¹⁰ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 45, 161: *... intelligi potest non solum id homines solere dubitare honestumne an turpe sit (it can be understood that people are often in doubt ...whether an action is morally right or wrong).*

[2] At ego nec ratione nec auctoritate careo. Licere mihi videtur, ut quemadmodum pro “pulchro” “honestum” ponitur, ita¹ “turpe” pro “deformi” recipiatur nonnumquam. Vergilius enim et corpore honesto inquit, quod Servius “*id est pulchro*” exponit. Rursus apud Ciceronem in hisdem² *Officiorum* libris, quid significet decorum scis. Juvenalis tamen id ad corpus retulit: “*tanti est quaerendi cura decoris.*” Quod si “decorum” ad corpus animumque perducimus, cur non est eadem³ de “turpi” licentia? Sed ne te multis morer⁴, auctoritatem subjicio: inter eximios poetas Ovidius non inferiori est loco, quem Lactantius *ingeniosum* vocat. Is in eo, qui de *Fastis* libro inscribitur, hos versus ponit: “*utque ferae⁵ videt turpes in paelice vultus, hujus in amplexus Jupiter*” inquit “*eat*”⁶. Loquitur autem de Calistone, quae in ursam conversa est, cujus “*vultus turpes*” dicens nihil aliud significare voluit quam “deformes”. Nec Virgilii nobis auctoritas abest, qui de apibus loquens in *Georgicis*, “*et pulvere turpes*”, dixit nec tunc animum⁷, sed corpusculum denotavit.⁸ Hos⁹ ego secutus sum¹⁰, quod si Aristotelis¹¹ inimicus¹² {65r} culparet, {65r} imitari potius vellem Nasonis atque Maronis doctam negligentiam quam illius obscuram diligentiam.

Vale. Ex Vienna¹³. 2. Kalendas Martias 1443. ¹⁴ ¹⁵

¹ et *add.* HE, WO

² iisdem HE, WO

³ est eadem : eadem est M1, HE, WO

⁴ moror *corr. ex* morer M1; detineam *glossa interlin.* M1; moror M2, M3

⁵ fore M2

⁶ eas M1, M2

⁷ animam WO

⁸ nec Vergilii ... denotavit *omit.*

M1

⁹ hunc M1; has M2

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ Artistotilis M1; Aristotiles M3

¹² amicus HE, WO

¹³ ex Vienna *omit.* M1

¹⁴ 2. Kalendas 1443 *omit.* M2, M3,

WO

¹⁵ 1443 *omit.* V2

[2] But I lack neither reason nor authorities. To me, it appears that just as “honestus” may be used for “pulcher” (beautiful), in the same way “turpis” is often found in the sense of “deformis” (ugly). Virgil¹ speaks of a “corpore honesto”² (fair of body), which Servius³ explains as “beautiful”. You also know what “decorum” means in Cicero’s *De Officiis*.⁴ However, Juvenal used this term about the body: “*Tanti est quaerendi cura decoris.*”⁵ If “decorum” can be used both about the body and the soul, why are we not free to do the same with “turpis”. But, lest to keep you in suspense, I add an authority: Ovid, whom Lactance calls an *intelligent*⁶ man, ranks highly among the most distinguished poets. In his book entitled *Fasti*, he has this verse: “*Utque ferae videt turpes in paelice vultus, hujus in amplexus Jupiter⁷ eat.*”⁸ She, [Juno⁹] is speaking about Kallisto,¹⁰ and when she mentions her *vultus turpes*, she simply means her ugly features. We also have the authority of Virgil. When, in the *Georgica*, he mentioned the *pulvere turpes*,¹¹ he was referring not to a soul but to their (small) body. I have followed these [authors], and even if Aristotle’s enemy¹² should find fault with them, I prefer to imitate their learned negligence than his obscure diligence. Farewell.

From Vienna, 28 February 1443.

¹ Vergilius Maro, Publius [Virgil, Vergil] (70-19 BCE): Roman poet.

² This expression is not found in Virgil, but he speaks of a comely head (*caput honestum*) (*Aeneis*, 10: 133) and a comely breast (*pectus honestum*) (*Aeneis*, 12: 155).

³ Servius Honoratus, Maurus (4th c.): Roman grammarian. Author of a commentary on Virgil.

⁴ Cicero: *De Officiis*, e.g. 1: 27, 96: *Decorum ... in omni honestate versatur ... quod consentaneum sit hominis excellentiae*

⁵ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 6: 501: *So important is the business of beautification.*

⁶ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 2: 1.

⁷ Jupiter [Jove]: (myth.) King of the gods = Zeus.

⁸ Ovidius: *Fasti*, 2: 179: *When in the leman she beheld the ugly features of the brute, quoth she, “Let Jupiter now court her embraces.”*

⁹ Juno: (myth.) Queen of the Gods = Hera.

¹⁰ Kallisto: (Greek myth.) Nymph or King Lycaon’s daughter, seduced by Zeus, transformed into a

bear by Hera, and in the end, set among the stars as Ursa Major.

¹¹ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 4: 96-97: *Namque aliae turpes horrent, ceu pulvere ab alto cum venit et sicco terram sput ore viator (For some are ugly and unsightly, as when from out of deep dust comes the parched wayfarer).*

¹² Joking reference to Campisio (HE), who was apparently against scholastic philosophy. HE and WO have “amicus” instead of “inimicus”, which would mean the opposite.

60. Letter to Gaspare Caccica de Fara (1 July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 24v *; M1, f. 45v; M2, f. 31r¹; M3, ff. 192v-193r²; V2, ff. 22-23³; V3, ff. 17v-18r⁴ **, V4, ff. 17r-17v.

Editions: HE, 61, pp. 153-154; WO, 1: 1, 61, pp. 161; (both based on M1 and V2)

{17v} Aeneas Silvius⁵, salutem plurimam⁶ dicit Gaspari Novariensi, adolescente primario.

[1] Recipio semper libenter⁷ tuas litteras, et, quia te amo, gaudeo, quod⁸ in dies limatior fias et doctior⁹. Expurgationem, quam de Martino¹⁰ fecisti, prono animo admitto et, ut scribis, ita esse confido. Et quamvis illum tibi¹¹ esse humaniorem vellem tuae utilitatis causa, laetor tamen opinionem de illo meam apud te re¹² comprobata esse¹³, cuius superbiam idcirco non¹⁴ ¹⁵ admiror, quia¹⁶ patrium¹⁷ vitium est. Mihi enim ut credas velim¹⁸ nullam esse gentem, quae istorum¹⁹ superet²⁰ ambitionem. Nostri²¹ praeterea inimici sunt nec umquam nostri sanguinis hominem diligunt. Nam cum sint ipsi pleni fastu *viderique* optimi velint potius *quam esse*²², Italos oderunt maxime, qui se²³ praecellunt. Et quia eos virtute nequeunt imitari, invidia prosequuntur, et quibus ipsi potissimum abundant vitiis, ea generi nostro ascribunt. Sed de his satis, quae non scribo, ut²⁴ publiques, nam haec scribere, quamvis vera sunt, plenum discriminis est²⁵.

[2] Alias loquemur liberius, nunc ista sepulta apud te sint, sufficiatque tibi soli scripsisse aut²⁶ cum Stephano, viro et²⁷ optimo²⁸ et doctissimo tantum, cui ut me commendes, peto. Te autem confidas mihi esse carissimum eamque fore meam intentionem, ut *eo animo inter nos* {18r} *simus*²⁹ *absentes, quo praesentes fuimus, quod de te*³⁰ *sperare, de me praestare possum*, ut Ciceronis utar verbis. Carmina habeo nulla nunc³¹ edenda, quia orationi solutae operam his diebus praestiti.

Vale et me reverendissimo domino³² cardinali nostro effice commendatum. Ex Vienna, kalendis julii 1443³³ ³⁴.

¹ SC, 69

² SC, 389-390

³ DV, ff. 16v-17r

⁴ DV, ff. 20v-21r

⁵ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *omit.* M1, M2

⁷ semper libenter : libenter semper V4

⁸ *omit.* L

⁹ limatior ... doctior : semper limatiorem doctioremque fieri L

¹⁰ Gallo M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex Gallo V2b

¹¹ illum tibi : tibi illum L

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ fore M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ non idcirco M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* non idcirco V2b

¹⁶ *omit.* M2

¹⁷ paternum M3

¹⁸ ut credas velim : velim ut credas V4

¹⁹ Gallorum M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* Gallorum V2b

²⁰ superat M3

²¹ hi M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* hi V2b

²² nam cum ... esse *omit.* L

²³ qui se : se qui M2

²⁴ *omit.* L

²⁵ nobis qui papam habemus Gallicum *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~nobis qui papam habemus Gallicum~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁶ *omit.* HE

²⁷ *omit.* M2

²⁸ optissimo M2

²⁹ inter nos simus : simus inter nos L

³⁰ semper *add.* M1-M3, V2

³¹ *omit.* HE

³² *omit.* V4

³³ *omit.* M1

³⁴ vale et ... 1442 *omit.* M2

60. Letter to Gaspare Caccica de Fara (1 July 1443, Vienna).

Context: Having spent May and June on the emperor's correspondence concerning a third council to settle the schism in the Church, and the approaching Diet of Nürnberg, Piccolomini had time to resume his private correspondence as seen from the following letters, the first being a letter to Gaspare Caccia. Gaspare had written to Piccolomini (letter 52) about an eclogue in which he had included Piccolomini and Martin Le Franc as his dialogue partner. Afterwards, he had removed Le Franc because he had left with Pope Felix V.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his satisfaction at the removal of Martin Le Franc and takes the opportunity to give free rein to his anti-French sentiments. In the later versions of the text, this criticism becomes somewhat more veiled, presumably because it would not be suitable and expedient for a high-ranking prelate, as Piccolomini had become, to be known as virulently anti-French.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the excellent young man, Gaspare from Novara.

[1] I always receive your letters with pleasure, and since I love you, I am happy to see you grow ever more polished and learned. I readily accept the removal of Martin² and trust that it is as you write. It would have been better for you if he had been more friendly, but still I am happy that you have now confirmed my opinion of him. I am not surprised at his arrogance, for that vice he has from his fathers. Trust me: no other people surpass them³ in arrogance. Moreover, they are our enemies and always different from men of our blood. Full of conceit, they would rather *appear to be* excellent *than actually be* it,⁴ and therefore they especially hate the Italians, who surpass them. And since they cannot equal us in virtue, they are envious and ascribe their own worst vices to us. But enough of that. I do not write this for you to publish, for writing it is quite risky though it is true.⁵

[2] In other circumstances, we shall speak more freely, but for now, let it stay buried with you and let it suffice that I have written it only to you and your uncle, Stefano,⁶ an excellent and most learned man, to whom I ask you to recommend me. Trust that you are most dear to me and that I fully intend that, though separated, *we shall feel towards one another as we have always felt when together. I hope you do, and can answer for myself,*⁷ in Cicero's words. I have no poems to publish now, for these days, I have been busy writing a prose text⁸.

Farewell and recommend me to our Most Reverend Lord Cardinal.⁹ From Vienna, 1 July 1443.

¹ On Piccolomini's gallophobia, see Gilli.

² Martin Le Franc.

³ The French.

⁴ Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 54: 6.

⁵ The earlier versions added: *nobis qui papam habemus Gallicum (for us, who have a French pope)*. This was omitted in the later versions for political reasons. Interestingly, at this time, Piccolomini still – to his friends in Basel – described

antipope Felix as “our” pope. Moreover, he apparently considered Savoy, the antipope's country, as belonging to the French sphere.

⁶ Stefano di Caccia.

⁷ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 241 (4: 15): *eo animo simus inter nos, quo semper fuimus; quod de te sperare, de me praestare possum.*

⁸ Heck indicates that this passage refers to Piccolomini's letter to Hartung von Kappel of April 1443 (letter 46) on the supremacy of the

council over the pope. Since three months had elapsed by then, it does not fit with the expression *his diebus (these days)*. Instead, Piccolomini may be referring to the letters he had been writing in June to the pope and to various kings, princes and communities concerning the need for a third council and invitations to a diet in Nürnberg (see letters in WO, 1: 2, pp. 20–24, 27).

⁹ It is not known to which cardinal Piccolomini is referring.

61. Letter to Francois de Fuxe (1 July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 10v *; M1, ff. 45r-45v; M2, ff. 34r-34v¹; M3, ff. 211v-212r²; V2, ff. 72-73³; V3, 36r-36v⁴ **; V4, ff. 33v-34r.

Editions: HE, 62, pp. 154-155 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 62, p. 162 (based on M1 and V2).

{36r} Aeneas Silvius⁵, salutem plurimam⁶ dicit⁷ Francisco de Fusce, theologo et oratori optimo.

[1] Antonium Luscum *Super orationes Ciceronis* quantum {36v} desideraverim, Basileae dum essem, intellexisti, quem etiam mea manu transcribere statueram, si otium⁸ fuisset. Sed obstitit⁹ repentinus meus¹⁰ recessus. Postea curavi, ut per alium mihi¹¹ rescriberetur. Id quoque negatum est, quia librarius nusquam apud¹² vos¹³ peritus inventus est, qui hoc opus recte absolvere posset¹⁴. Nuper vero scribit¹⁵ ad me Peregallus velle te meae aviditati satisfacere librumque mihi dono mittere, quam oblationem, si coram te forem¹⁶, non auderem suscipere¹⁷. Grave est enim homini pudenti¹⁸ ab his donari¹⁹, de quibus nihil se²⁰ meritum putet²¹. Verum quia *epistola*, ut Cicero dicit, *non erubescit*, absens acceptabo, quod renuissem praesens. Nec verebor a te per litteras recipere, quod maxime cupio et aliter habere non possum, nec timebo, ne²² sustinere tua vel innumerabilia in me beneficia possim. Et quia animi est ingenui, cui multum debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere, amplector libens tuum munus, quod apud me pignus erit²³ perpetuum amicitiae caritatisque nostrae. Tu, si ex me aliquid²⁴ volueris, quod possim praestare, numquam frustra postulabis²⁵. Nova, quae apud nos sunt, ex Peregallo cognosces, quem volo tibi omnia communicare.

Vale optime, et reverendissimo domino nostro communi ac magistro Andreae²⁶, si quando mei memor est, me totum dede. Ex Vienna, kalendis Juliis²⁷ 1443²⁸ 29 30.

¹ SC, 75-76.

² SC, 427-428.

³ DV, ff. 41v-42r.

⁴ DV, ff. 39r-39v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1, M2, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *omit.* M1-M3

⁷ magistro *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~magistro~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ Gasparis Novariensis *add.* M2

⁹ obstitit M3

¹⁰ repentinus meus : meus repentinus M2

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² ad V4

¹³ nos M1-M2

¹⁴ possit M2

¹⁵ scripsit M1, M2

¹⁶ essem V4

¹⁷ recipere L

¹⁸ prudenti M3

¹⁹ se *add.* L

²⁰ nihil se : se nihil M3

²¹ putat *corr.* ex putet M2; putat M3

²² me M3

²³ pignus erit : erit pignus L, M3

²⁴ habere *add.* M3

²⁵ nec rogare, sed significare dumtaxat habebis *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~nec rogare, sed significare dumtaxat habebis~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁶ de Malvende *add.* L

²⁷ kld. julii V3; kalendis juliis : kal. Julii V2

²⁸ 1443 *omit.* M1, M3

²⁹ et reverendissimo ... 1443 *omit.* M2

³⁰ 1440

61. Letter to Francois de Fuxe (1 July 1443, Vienna).

Context: Mastery of Ciceronian eloquence was a high priority for Italian humanists, including Piccolomini, and Antonio Loschi's book on 11 of Cicero's orations was a welcome aid for students striving to acquire it. During his last period in Basel, Piccolomini had been endeavouring, but in vain, to procure a copy of Loschi's treatise. Then, after his transfer to the imperial court, his friend Peregallo wrote to him from Basel¹ that Francois de Fuxe was willing to send him a copy as a gift.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his delighted thanks for Francois' offer.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Francois de Fuxe,² eminent theologian and excellent orator.

[1] You know how much, during my time in Basel, I desired to acquire Antonio Loschi's³ book *On Cicero's orations*. I had even decided to transcribe it personally if I had time but was prevented from doing so by my sudden departure from Basel.⁴ Afterwards, I tried to have somebody else transcribe it for me, but that failed, too, since I could not find a copyist with you⁵ [in Basel] sufficiently skilled for the task. However, recently, Peregallo⁶ wrote to me that you wish to fulfil my desire and send me the book as a gift. If I was standing before you, I would not dare to accept this offer, for it is difficult for a modest person to receive gifts from someone of whom he has deserved nothing. But – as Cicero says – *a letter has no blushes*.⁷ So, being absent, I shall accept a gift that I would have declined if I were present. I shall not be ashamed to receive from you by mail something I desire so fervently and cannot get in another way, and I shall not fear being unable to deal with your favours to me, even if they be innumerable. And since it is a noble soul to whom I would owe much and even want to owe very much, I happily accept your gift. For me, it will be a permanent token of our friendship and affection. If you should ever want something from me that I can provide, you will not ask in vain. The news from here you may hear from Peregallo, whom I ask to inform you of everything.

Farewell, and give my regards to our common Most Reverend Lord⁸ and Magister Andrea,⁹ if he remembers me. From Vienna, 1 July 1443.

¹ The letter is not extant.

² Francois de Fuxe: Abbot of A-bondance, Diocese of Genève. Canonist. Member of the Council of Basel. Guardian of the conclave that elected Felix V. See DGCB, pp. 220-221.

³ Antonio Loschi (1365-1441): Early Italian humanist. Author of

Inquisitio Artis in Oratationibus Ciceronis, 1395, which soon became a humanist classic.

⁴ Becoming appointed to the emperor's court in 1442.

⁵ Some of the manuscripts have "nos" (us at the imperial court) instead of "vos" (you at the council).

⁶ Giovanni Peregallo, friend of Piccolomini.

⁷ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 22 (5: 12).

⁸ A cardinal with whom Francois de Fuxe had taken service.

⁹ Andrea de Malvende: Theologian and fellow brother of Francois de Fuxe (HE).

62. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (early July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, 55v-56r; M2, ff. 29v-30r¹; M3, ff. 186r-187r²; V2, ff. 9-11³; V3, ff. 11v-13r⁴ **; V4, ff. 12v-13r.
Editions: HE, 63, pp. 155-157; WO, 1: 1, 63, pp. 163-165; (both based on M1 and V2).

{11v} Aeneas Silvius⁵, salutem plurimam⁶ dicit Nicolao Amidano jurisconsulto.

[1] Si numerum epistolarum ulto citroque missarum pensamus, nil est, quod tibi debeam, quippe quod meum post abitum et tu meis et ego tuis litteris unis dumtaxat visitati fuerimus invicem. Rursus vero si verba supputemus, teneor tibi multa rescribere sicut multa mihi significasti. Accedit huc, quod amicitia non est computatrix beneficiorum, ut quae non ad numerum vel qualitatem, sed ad affectum⁷ retribuit. {12r} Scribam ergo⁸ tibi sive obligatus sim⁹ sive solutus respondeboque tuis litteris quam potero breviter et succincte, ne vel tibi lecturo vel mihi scribenti sim molestus.

[2] Congaudeo primum tibi, quod domum gravissimi et omnium doctissimi jurisconsulti¹⁰ cardinalis Panormitani intraveris ibique magistratum susceperis, nam id¹¹ tibi admodum proderit, qui ex illius uberantissimo¹² scientiarum fonte in dies¹³ potans¹⁴ doctior evades et mihi utilis eris, gratiam quam in sua¹⁵ paternitate reperi confirmans continuansque. Taceo quod sub ejus umbra ad magnas tibi dignitates patebit accessus. Reliquum est, {12v} te ut hortor¹⁶ ad perseverantiam, quam ita demum adipisceris, si multae patientiae te tradideris¹⁷, quod unicum remedium est contra invidiam valentissimum. Uterer majori cohortatione, si tua mihi virtus perspecta non esset, sed novi, quam sis adversus quoslibet fortunae impetus tuis dotibus et philosophiae institutis armatus. Quod vero ad archipresbyteratum electus fueris, id ita demum laudo, si abque desertione nostrarum partium potes eo pervenire, quod, nisi possis, melius est officio quam fide carere. Arbitror te sentire de¹⁸ auctoritate ecclesiae non quod multi, sed quod boni doctique sentiunt. Ita mihi, dum Basileae fui, de te concepta opinio est, et cum propter multas virtutes tuas, tum propter consortium fidei maxime te dilexi, itaque non puto episcopatum, ne dicam presbyteratum, posse te nobis auferre. Placet tamen, quod {12v} scripsisti, te viam invenisse, per quam et fidem possis et dignitatem tenere.

¹ SV, 66-67

² SV, 378-380

³ DV, 10r-11r

⁴ DV, 14v-16r

⁵ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~
seq. V2b

⁶ *omit.* M1, M3

⁷ effectum M1-M3, V2a, V4, WO;

corr. ex effectum V2b

⁸ ego M2

⁹ *omit.* V4

¹⁰ reverendissimi domini *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimi domini~~
seq. V2b

¹¹ et HE, WO

¹² exuberantissimo V4

¹³ dietim M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ potens M3

¹⁵ reverendissima *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissima~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ hortor M1, M3

¹⁷ traderis M1, M3

¹⁸ *omit.* M2

62. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (beg. July 1443, Vienna).

Context: This letter is apparently in reply to letter 55.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Amidano for his friendship. In the older versions of the letter (M1-M3), he also has a delightful passage on his prostitute lover in Basel, named Glycerium, in a tasteful reference to Terence. This passage was expurgated in the later versions since it would not do for a now high-ranking prelate to publish his former loving relationship with a prostitute. Finally, Piccolomini reports on the crusade activities of the Polish-Hungarian king, Wladyslaw III, and Cardinal Cesarini. In the older versions, he claims that both these men exploit the crusade, the king to gain favour with his Hungarian subjects, and the cardinal to promote the cause of Pope Eugenius. In the later versions, the passages on the Poles and the cardinal are toned down.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Niccolò Amidano, jurist.

[1] If we count the letters we have sent each other, I owe you nothing since after my departure,¹ each of us has only sent one.² But if we count the words, I must write many back to you since you sent me many to me. However, friendship does not count favours since it is not a matter of numbers and kinds but sentiments. Whether I am obliged to or not, I shall write to you, but I shall do so as briefly and concisely as possible lest I burden myself, the writer, or you, the reader.

[2] First, I rejoice with you that you have joined the household of the most distinguished and learned jurist of all, the Cardinal of Palermo,³ and have even taken up the post there as master [of his household]. This will profit you immensely, as you will drink and learn every day from that abundant source of learning,⁴ but it will also benefit me since it will make it possible for me to confirm and continue in the favour that I found with His Paternity. I pass over that under his wings, you will have access to great offices.⁵ It remains for me to exhort you to perseverance, which you shall acquire if you show much patience, the one most potent remedy against envy. I should have exhorted you more strongly if I were not fully aware of your virtue and knew how well you are armed with your talents and the precepts of philosophy against fortune's attacks. I also congratulate you on your election as archpriest, but only if you can obtain it without deserting our cause⁶ – for if you cannot, it is better to lack office than faith. Concerning the authority of the Church, I believe you think like the good and learned men do and not like the many. That is the opinion I formed about you when in Basel, becoming very fond of you both because of your many virtues and because of our fellowship in the faith. Therefore, I think that the episcopal dignity, not to say the priestly, cannot remove you from us.⁷ But I am happy that – as you wrote – you have found a way both to keep the faith and to hold an [ecclesiastical] office.

¹ From Basel.

² Letters 38 and 55.

³ Niccolò Tedeschi: Archbishop of Palermo. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V on 12 November 1440.

⁴ Tedeschi was considered one of the greatest jurists of his time.

⁵ Piccolomini's prophecy eventually came true: Amidano was appointed Bishop of Piacenza in 1448 and Archbishop of Milan in 1453.

⁶ Viz. the cause of the conciliarist party against the Roman pope, Eugenius IV. Note that Piccolomini still identifies himself with the conciliar party.

⁷ The party supporting the Council of Basel and its antipope Felix V.

[3] De tuo in me amore¹ nihil est, quod te scribere oporteat. Illum enim non solum vidi oculis, sed palpavi manibus, atque² hinc factum est, ut te germani diligam loco, quod mihi quam tibi est longe facilius. Ego enim fratribus careo, tu fulcitus es. Sed spero tuos meos esse. Nihil plus de amicitia dicam, ea enim non verba, sed facta cupit.

[4] [Only in the older versions of the text: M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO. Deleted in V2b]: Aliud est in litteris tuis³, quod ad me scriptum de Glycerio magnae voluptati fuit, dum amoris perseverantiam exprimis miramque fidem. Ea enim huiusmodi sunt, ut etiam si vera non sint, titillationem quandam prae se ferant et pathos excitent⁴. Ego tamen facile mihi talia persuadeo⁵ libentiusque bonam quam malam interpretor partem, nam quid prodest se ipsum affligere? Mea semper opinio⁶ fuit his in rebus, quae multum fellis parumque mellis habent, sapientissimi hominis esse, quod dulce est, excerpere, quod amarum foret lippis, oculis praeterire. Atque idcirco numquam quaesitum iri placuit, quod inventum molestiam afferret. Te quoque exoratum volo, ut serves hanc consuetudinem, placita⁷ dumtaxat scribens, acerba vero praetermittas, quibus obviare nequirem, et testari possem de Glycerio ista, quam tibi tuaeque fidei quasi animulam et corculum meum commendo. Si quando Stephani aut Francisci jurisconsultorum scenas ingressa fuerit, finge te id nescire et totum mihi claude. Nam etsi scio nihil ab inguine illorum esse tutum⁸, decipere tamen me ipsum volo et ignorantia potius delectabili quam scientia molesta frui.

[5] Ultimum est, quod de novitatibus tetigisti. Illae, etsi⁹ auditu gratae fuerint, non tamen facient, ut¹⁰ tibi gratias agam, quod est inter amicos absonum. Nihil enim amicus facere potest, quod non sit debitum atque idcirco expers gratiae. Rogo tamen ut saepe sic facias.

[6] Tu nunc¹¹ {13r} audi ex nobis, quid novi sit. Vladislaus, rex Poloniae, quamvis adolescens¹² Hungariam habet¹³ magnumque conatum belli adversus Turcos¹⁴, Christiani nominis perpetuos hostes, cogit¹⁵, inde favorem suarum partium quaerens¹⁶, sortitusque est ad rem hanc optimum instrumentum, cardinalem sancti angeli, virum et fama clarum et eloquentia potentem, qui sub colore passagii partes suas tueri studet. Sed¹⁷ ¹⁸ non consuevit hic homo fortunatus esse in bellis, sicut Bohemia ostendit. Deus tantum opus, non¹⁹ finem spectet²⁰ et Christianitati potius quam cupiditati hominum consulat²¹ ²². Reliqua ex Peregallo nostro quaere.

Reverendissimo domino communi²³ me dede et amicorum, quidquid habeo, meo nomine salvum dicito. Tu vale et amicitiae²⁴ nostrae tanto tenacior esto quanto sumus {13r} remotiores. Datum Wienae²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸.

¹ timore M

² et M3

³ litteris tuis : tuis litteris M1, M2

⁴ excitant M3

⁵ suadeo M2

⁶ optima M3

⁷ placida M2; placito M3

⁸ esse tutum : tutum esse M3

⁹ add. mihi M1

¹⁰ ne V4

¹¹ autem M2

¹² Vladislaus rex ... adolescens : Julianus in M1; Polonus M2, M3; corr. ex Polonus V2a

¹³ rediit M1

¹⁴ Teucros M1-M3, V2a; corr. ex Teucros V2b

¹⁵ fieri procurat M1-M3, V2a; corr. ex fieri procurat V2b

¹⁶ nam cum sciat horum regnum injuste possidere, favores hominum sub colore bonorum operum quaerit add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~nam eum sciat horum regnum injuste possidere, favores hominum sub colore bonorum operum quaerit~~ seq. V2b

¹⁷ omit. M3

¹⁸ Cardinalem sancti ... sed : regem Poloniae, qui et ipse aliena regna invadens bonam de se praestare cupit opinionem atque ita sub colore passagii alienum Gabriel pontificatum et iste regnum tenere cupit, harumque rerum minister est Julianus, de quo tamen dolere non debemus, quia M1

¹⁹ tantum opus non : enim non opus sed M1

²⁰ spectat M1

²¹ esse solet M3

²² et Christianitati ... consulat : itaque deficiet, ut spero, in salutari suo. Jamque certitudo est Venetos non esse daturos classem, quam ipse totiens contra Teucros affirmavit ituram, et sic fiet, ut qui speravit cum Hungaris alios reges allicere, illis ipsis Hungaris fiat infestus add. M1

²³ comiti WO

²⁴ amicae V4

²⁵ omit. M1

²⁶ etc. M2

²⁷ 43 add. HE

²⁸ datum Wienae : omit. M3

[3] There is nothing for me to write about your love for me, for I have seen it not only with my own eyes but even – so to say – touched it with my hands. That is why I love you like a brother, which is far easier for me than for you since I have no natural brothers, whereas you do. I hope they will be mine as well. I shall say no more about friendship since it requires action, not words.

[4] *What you wrote about Glycerium¹ made me quite happy since you stress the perseverance of her love and her remarkable faithfulness. They may not be true, of course, but still, they stir me up² and excite passion. I easily convince myself about them and will rather interpret [your remarks] in a good sense than in a bad sense, for why torture oneself? It has always been my sentiment that in such matters, with much bitterness³ and little sweetness, a wise man should take what is sweet and ignore what is bitter to the lips.⁴ Therefore, I have never sought what would be distressing to find. I ask you to keep your custom to only write pleasant news and leave out the bitter ones as I cannot do anything about them nor summon witnesses to her behaviour. Glycerium to witness. I recommend her to you and your faithfulness as my little soul and heart. If at any time she joins up with those jurists Stefano⁵ or Francesco⁶, please pretend you know nothing and conceal it from me. Though I know nothing is safe from their cocks, I would rather be deceived and prefer blessed ignorance to miserable knowledge.*

[5] Lastly, you wrote some news. Though they were welcome, they do not make me thank you, for that would be inappropriate between friends: all a friend does for another friend, he ought to do and therefore must not be thanked. But I do ask you to often send me news from there.

[6] Now, hear news from us. King Wladyslaw of Poland also rules Hungary, though quite young. He mobilises assiduously for war against the Turks, eternal enemies of the Christian name, and thus seeks to gain favour for his supporters. He has got an excellent helper in this matter, the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,⁷ a man of great fame and powerful eloquence, who also uses the crusade as a means to further his own party.⁸ But this man usually has no luck in war, as Bohemia shows.⁹ May God look at the intention, not the action, and help Christianity, not human greed. Ask for the rest from Peregallo¹⁰.

Recommend me to our common Most Reverend Lord,¹¹ and greet my friends from me. Farewell, and be as steadfast in your friendship as we are remote from each other. Given in Vienna.

¹ Prostitute lover and friend of Piccolomini from Basel.

² On "titillatio" in the sense of sexual stimulation, cf. letter from Cencio di Paolo de' Rustici to Poggio Bracciolini of 15 October 1438: *titillationes venereas quidem suavitatem quandam prae se ferentes* (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), II, p. 333).

³ Plautus: *Cistellaria*, 1: 1, 70: *amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus*.

⁴ Plautus: *Bacchides*, 4: 8, 72 [HE]

⁵ Stefano Caccia.

⁶ Francois de Fuxe.

⁷ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁸ The party supporting the Roman pope, Eugenius IV, who had promised the Greeks, threatened by the Turks, a crusade in return for their agreement in 1439 to the

(short-lived) reunion between the Greek and the Latin Church.

⁹ The crusade against the Bohemian Hussites in 1431, which ended in the defeat of the crusaders, led by Cesarini as the papal legate.

¹⁰ Giovanni Peregallo, to whom Piccolomini had written on 16 May (letter 53).

¹¹ Cardinal Niccolò Tedeschi, with whom Amidano had taken employment.

63. Letter to Uguccio dei Contrari (early July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 53r (L1), 58v (L2)¹; M1, f. 54v **.

Editions: HE, 64, pp. 157-158; WO, 1: 1, 64, pp. 165-166; (both based on L, M1).

{54v} Magnifice vir, amice carissime.²

[1] Licet negotia mea ita apud vestram magnificentiam recommendata esse putem, ut nulla commonitione sit opus, veniente tamen domino Laurentio de Rotella, canonico Tridentino, versus Mediolanum, qui nuntium suum remittere huc habet, non indignum putavi de re mea aliquid scribere, non ut commemorem³ ea, quae mente semper habetis, sed ne ego ipse mei oblitus videar aut negotium parvi facere, quo facio magni. Rogo itaque, magnifice vir, ut, si res⁴, de quibus noviter magnificentiae vestrae scripsi, non sunt terminatae, illum laborem mei causa velitis suscipere, ut dum est ibi dominus Laurentius praefatus, expeditionem suscipiant, quia per nuntium ejus de omnibus potero certiorari. Ego - ut alias dixi - spem omnem habeo in vestra magnificentia precorque, ut expectationem meam compleatis. Scriberem plura, nisi satis confiderem in magnificentia vestra.

[2] Ultimum est, ut negotia sanctae matris ecclesiae, super quibus serenissimus dominus noster⁵ rex illustri principi, domino duci, scribit, vestrae magnificentiae apud ipsum ducem promovenda commendem, ut hoc pestiferum schisma, quod nunc viget, nostris possit extirpari diebus, et pax inter populos Christianos reformari. Ad quam rem puto pro vestra singulari bonitate etiam non rogatus operam dedissetis.

[3] De novis harum partium scripsissem, sed ne darem taedium vestrae magnificentiae, quae multis per arduis rebus plerumque occupata est, stilum retraxi. Spectabili affini modo domino de Arcimboldis⁶ illa communicavi, ut dum sibi tempus videretur, illa etiam magnificentiae vestrae referret, cui facta mea iterum recomendo.

Datum.

¹ The text is given twice in Lobkowitz.

² Magnifico domino Uguiconi de Contrariis, gubernatori ducali etc., amico et majori honorando *add.* L

³ omit. M1

⁴ omit. M1

⁵ dominus noster : noster dominus

L

⁶ spectabili affini ... Arcimboldis
omit. M1

63. Letter to Ugucione Contrari¹ (Beg. July 1443, Vienna).

Context: In July, apart from writing to his friends, Piccolomini also had time to renew his campaign to be reinstated in his Milanese benefice, the provostship of San Lorenzo (see letter 39)

Subject: Piccolomini asks Ugucione Contrari, Milanese court official, to advance the matter of his benefice.

Your Magnificence, my dear friend.

[1] I believe my affair has been recommended to your Magnificence, and there is no need for a reminder. However, Lorenzo Rotella, canon of Trient, is now going to Milan. Since he brings a messenger with him whom he can send back here, I thought it worthwhile to write something about the affair, not to remind you of something that is surely always in your mind but to not appear as if I had forgotten it myself or thought it of low importance when I actually consider it highly important. So, in case the matter on which I recently² wrote to Your Magnificence is not yet finished, I ask you to take upon yourself the burden of my affair and have them expedite it while the aforesaid Lorenzo is there since then I can be informed about everything by the messenger. As I have said elsewhere, I place all my hope in Your Magnificence and I pray that you will fulfil my expectations. I would have written more if I did not have complete confidence in Your Magnificence.

[2] Further, our Most Serene Lord King³ has recently written to the Illustrious Prince, the Lord Duke,⁴ about the affairs of Holy Mother Church. I recommend that Your Magnificence advance them before the duke so that the pestiferous schism prevailing now can be extirpated in our time and peace between the Christian peoples restored. I believe that in your great goodness, you will - even unasked - already have given your assistance to this matter.

[3] I would have written about news from this region if I had not feared to tire Your Magnificence, occupied, as you are, with many arduous matters, so I rest my pen. But I have informed the Worshipful Lord Arcimboldi⁵ about them so that when there is time, he will communicate them to Your Magnificence. Again I recommend my affairs to you.

Given.

¹ Ugucione Contrari (1379-1448): Ferrarese statesman. Close collaborator of the Este marquesses. Much appreciated by the Venetians for his diplomatic skills. Gained particular favour with Duke Filippo Maria Visconti after 1441, when the duke wanted to improve his relations with the Venetians. In

a letter from Kaspar Schlick to Ugucione of 17 October 1443 (written by Piccolomini), he is addressed as “*ducatus Mediolani gubernator*” (WO, 1: 2, ep. 47, p. 104). This function is not mentioned by Tiziano Ascari in his article on Ugucione in the DBI. See also note in HE, p. 158.

² The letter is not extant.

³ Friedrich III.

⁴ Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁵ Arcimboldi, Niccolò (1404-1459): At the time, counsellor of the Duke of Milan. The letter is not extant.

64. Letter to Ricardo de Valencia (7 July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 25v *; M1, f. 46r; M2, f. 33v¹; M3, ff. 210v-211r²; V2, ff. 68-70³; V3, ff. 34r-35r⁴ **; V4, ff. 31v-32v.
Editions: HE, 65, pp. 158-159 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 65, pp. 167-168 (based on M1, V2).

{34r} Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius salutem plurimam⁷ dicit viro optimo et fratri suo amantissimo Richardo de Valentia, scriptori apostolico.

[1] Ex plurimis⁸ litteris, quas ad te mitto, unae saltem ita felices erunt, ut te conveniant. Nam quid est, mi Richarde, ut cum⁹ Mediolani te quaero, Basileae sis, cum rursus Basileae te¹⁰ peto, Mediolanum abisti? Credo more hominum te agere, qui ea, quae assunt, nihili curant, quae absunt, maxime¹¹, et nullibi minus esse volunt, quam ubi sunt. Italiam habens Germaniam cupis, in Germania vero Italiam¹², et sic fit, ut et tu numquam quiescas, et ego te meis litteris reperire nullibi¹³ possim. Sed faciet¹⁴ forsitan¹⁵ Deus te¹⁶ nunc capiam¹⁷, quando aliena negotia tuae curae commissa Mediolani te tenent. Id sperans hanc epistolam¹⁸ Laurentio de Rotella, utriusque nostrum amantissimo¹⁹, tibi obsignatam commisi duas ob causas, alteram, ut scias, non esse me²⁰ tui oblitum, cuius memoria mihi semper est jucundissima, alteram, ut in re meae praepositurae patronum te facerem.

¹ SC, 74

² SC, 425-426

³ DV, ff. 39v-40v

⁴ DV, ff. 37r-38r

⁵ poeta *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *em.*; imperialisque L, M1-M3, V2 (*sic!*), V3

⁷ *omit.* L, M1, M3

⁸ pluribus M2, V4

⁹ te *add.* M2

¹⁰ sis cum ... te *omit.* M2

¹¹ maximi L, M1, M3; *corr. ex*

maximi V2

¹² optas *add.* L, M1-M3

¹³ reperire nullibi : nullibi reperire

L

¹⁴ faciat M3

¹⁵ fortasse M3

¹⁶ *em.*; tui codd.

¹⁷ *em.*; copiam M1, M2, V2-V4;

cepiam M3

¹⁸ domino *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a;

~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁹ amicissimo V4

²⁰ non esse me : me non esse L

64. Letter to Ricardo de Valencia (7 July 1443, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini continues his campaign to be reinstated in his Milanese benefice.

Subject: Piccolomini comments, jokingly, on his friend's itinerary, assures him of his friendship, requests his aid to his cause in Milan, and demonstrates a remarkable insight into the function of princely secretaries.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the excellent man and beloved brother, Ricardo de Valencia, apostolic writer.

[1] Of the many letters I have sent you,¹ only one will have the luck to reach you. For why is it, my Ricardo, that when I seek you in Milan, you are in Basel, and when I then seek you in Basel, you have left for Milan again? It seems to me that you are acting like those men who dislike what they have and love what they have not. They want to be anywhere but where they actually are: when in Italy, you want Germany, and when in Germany, you want Italy. Thus you are never at rest, and my letters cannot reach you anywhere. But maybe God will now grant me to catch up with you while other people's affairs, entrusted to your care, are keeping you in Milan. So, hoping [to reach you there,] I have given this letter for you to Lorenzo Rotella,² beloved friend of both of us, for two reasons: first, so that you may know that I have not forgotten you and that I am always glad to think of you; second, so that I can make you a patron of the cause of my provostship.³

¹ No other Piccolomini letters to Ricardo are extant.

² Piccolomini also mentioned Rotella's mission to Milan in the pre-

vious letter to Ugucione Contrari (letter 63).

³ The reinstatement of Piccolomini in his Milanese benefice.

[2] {34v} Res est tibi nota, ideo illam¹ non repeto. Scribit pro me regia majestas nervoseque rogat², ut mihi ecclesia restituatur. Nescio, quantum proderunt regiae preces. Illud autem scio, nisi adjunctae fuerint, nihil agent. Litterae semel tantum loquuntur, aliquando etiam numquam, maxime in ducali curia, ubi epistolae, undecumque veniant, per secretarios aperiuntur, et si³ libet illis, duci ostenduntur, sin vero, aut cloacas incidunt aut tabernas aromatum, piper ac⁴ crocum⁵ ⁶ contecturae. Ideo mihi opus est auxilio tuo, ut litteras juves, quarum copiam⁷ tibi ostendet⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ Laurentius. Noti sunt tibi universi et¹¹ amici et inimici mei, illis utere, his resiste et fac, ut tui laboris sentiam fructum. Nisi scirem, quantum me ames¹², efficacius scriberem, sed nolo videri amicitiae nostrae¹³ diffidere, quam tanti facio¹⁴, ut te mihi Horestem et me tibi Pyladen¹⁵ arbitrer esse, nec Scipionis et¹⁶ Laelii aut Sicularum amicorum, quos alii Pythagoricos¹⁷ vocant, nostrae benevolentiae praeferam amicitias. Satis est tibi nosse, quod¹⁸ velim.

[3] In calce epistolae illud subjugendum est, ut alterum te Philippum meum meis verbis salvum dicas et Novariensi antistiti,¹⁹ me commendes²⁰ et causam meam. Studium meum in tuis obsequiis offerre jus nostrae dilectionis²¹ non fert, quia nec oblationes, nec preces amicitiae cancellos ingrediuntur. Quibus in rebus utilitati possim tibi²² esse, {35r} si scis et me non²³ uteris, tua est culpa, et meum esset detestabile vitium, nisi morem tuae voluntati gererem mihi notae.

Vale. Ex Vienna, nonis Octobris anno 1443.²⁴

¹ eam L

² nervoseque rogat *omit.* M3

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ aut M3

⁵ cinamona M1

⁶ ac crocum : aut cinaroma L

⁷ copias M3

⁸ ostendat M3

⁹ tibi ostendet : ostendet tibi L

¹⁰ dominus *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ *omit.* M3

¹² amas V4

¹³ vestrae L, M3

¹⁴ faciam WO

¹⁵ Piladem M3

¹⁶ aut L; nec V4

¹⁷ Py/ictagoricos L, M1, M2, V2;

Pitagoricas M3

¹⁸ quid M3

¹⁹ communi domino *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~communi domino~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁰ commendas M3

²¹ religionis V4

²² possim tibi : tibi possim L

²³ me non L

²⁴ ex Vienna ... 1443: ex Vienna nonis quintilibus M1; etc. M2; ex Vienna nonas Februarii 43 M3; ex Vienna nonis octobris 1443 V2

[2] The matter is well-known to you, so I shall not repeat it. His Royal Majesty¹ has written in my support and vigorously requested that my church² be restored to me.³ I do not know if the royal request has helped, but I do know that without support, it will achieve nothing. Letters only speak once and sometimes never, especially at the ducal court, where letters - wherever they come from - are opened by secretaries and only shown to the duke if the secretaries want to. If they do not, the letters are dropped into a sewer or lost in some tavern, covered in spices like pepper or safran. Therefore, I now need your help to advance this letter. Lorenzo will show you a copy. You know all my friends and enemies: use the first and oppose the second. Please, let me know the result of your efforts. If I did not know how much you love me, I would write in stronger terms, but I do not wish to appear to distrust our friendship, which means so much to me that I consider you my Orestes⁴ and me your Pylas⁵, and I prefer our friendship to those of Scipio⁶ and Laelius⁷ and the Sicilian friends, whom some call Pythagoreans⁸. It is enough for you to know what I wish.

[3] I finish this letter with a request for you to greet your other self, my Filippo,⁹ from me and recommend me and my cause to the Bishop of Novara.¹⁰ The law of our friendship forbids me to offer you my services, for a friendship has no room for offers or entreaties. If you know how I can be of use to you and do not ask it, it is your own fault, just as it would be a serious fault of mine if I knew of your wish and did not endeavour to fulfil it.

Farewell. From Vienna, 7 July 1443.

¹ King Friedrich III.

² San Lorenzo in Milan.

³³ Letter of Friedrich III to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti from the beginning of July 1443: *Nos ... dilectionem tuam per has litteras duximus exhortandum, ut preposituram prefatam ipsi Enee ... restitui facias nec patiaris, quod sibi in tuis dominiis violentia fiat* (WO, 1: 2, ep. xxii, p. 42).

⁴ Orestes: (myth.) son of Agamemnon, whom he avenged.

⁵ Pylas: friend of Orestes.

⁶ Scipio Africanus, Publius Cornelius (ca. 236-183 BCE): Roman general and statesman.

⁷ Laelius, Gajus [Major] (consul 190 BCE): Roman general and statesman. Friend of Scipio Africanus.

⁸ Pythagoreanism: Philosophical school based on the teachings of Pythagoras (6th c. BCE). One Pythagorean maxim was: *koinà tà philōn* (*All things in common among friends*).

⁹ Not identified.

¹⁰ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

65. Letter to Girolamo da Siena (7 July 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: L, f. 25r *; M1, f. 45v; M2, ff. 33v-34r¹; M3, f. 211r²; V2, ff. 70-71³; V3, 35r-35v⁴ **; V4, ff. 32v-33r.
Editions: HE, 66, p. 160 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 66, pp. 168-169 (based on M1, V2).

{35r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam⁶ dicit Jeronimo^{7 8}, concivi suo et amico percaro.^{9 10}

[1] Antiquae sunt apud me, Jeronime amantissime, litterae tuae, quibus hactenus non respondi, nam iturum¹¹ te in Apuliam¹² sensi. Nunc quia¹³ potes jam redisse, haec pauca ex me habe¹⁴. Nihil dubito, mi Jeronime, te fortunam omnem¹⁵ meam et honores, si quos habeo, semper oblectare. Scio enim, quia me amas, et amantis est amati prosperitatem suam ducere¹⁶. Itidem¹⁷ ego erga te facio. Quidquid boni de te audio - saepe autem¹⁸ audio¹⁹ - mirum in modum me laetificat. Quod²⁰ hortaris, studio litterarum ut sedulius incumbam, facio, quoad possum, dum otium suppeditatur, sed distrahunt me tum occupationes multae, tum curae diversae. Quod superest totum litteris dedo²¹, ne poetae titulum inaniter videar²² suscepisse. De patria, quod ais, memoriae²³ teneo, sed - mihi crede - omne solum forti patria est. Ego quidem malo extra patriam bene vivere quam in patria male, nec nos in terra, sed in caelo patriam oportet²⁴ inquirere²⁵. Socrates cum aliquando {35v} interrogatus fuisset, cujas²⁶ esset, *mundanum* se dixit. Nos si melius respondere velimus, caelestes dicemus esse, quia illinc originem ducimus et illuc, si bene vixerimus, revertemur. Sed nimium verba extendo.

[2] Unum restat, quod ex te volo. Causa meae praepositurae tibi notissima est. In illa scribit²⁷ regia majestas, sollicitator erit Laurentius de Rotella, quem optime nosti. Ei²⁸ precor, ut assis, et si forte idem praepeditus fuerit, rem totam²⁹ in te suscipias et ad calcem deducas. Pauca amico sufficiunt³⁰, sat est te nosse desiderium meum.³¹

Vale et viro doctissimo³² Christoforo Velate³³ me commenda, quem etiam, si occupationes sinunt, in causam meam accerse patronum. Ex Vienna. Ut supra^{34 35}.

¹ SC, 74-75

² SC, 426

³ DV, 40v-41r

⁴ DV, 38r-38v

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2

⁶ *omit.* M3

⁷ Hieronym... *et passim* V3

⁸ domino *add.* L, M2, M3, V2a;

~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ suo *add.* V4

¹⁰ *Titulus* : *omit.* L; Aeneas Silvius concivi suo Senensi M1

¹¹ litterae tuae ... iturum *omit.* V4

¹² Aquilam M3

¹³ *omit.* M2

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ *omit.* M2

¹⁶ amati prosperitatem ... dicere : amato semper prosperitatem suam dicere M3

¹⁷ idem V4

¹⁸ *omit.* M3

¹⁹ saepe autem audio *omit.* V4

²⁰ quid M3

²¹ tempus *add.* L, M1

²² inaniter videar : videor inaniter M3

²³ memoria *omit.* V4

²⁴ patriam oportet : oportet patriam V2

²⁵ quaerere M3

²⁶ unde M2; quis et unde WO

²⁷ pro me *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~pro me~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁸ et M3

²⁹ omnem L

³⁰ sufficient M3

³¹ desiderium meum : meum desiderium L, M1

³² domino *add.* M3

³³ N. M3; de Velate *add. in marg.* V2; *omit.* HE, WO

³⁴ ut supra : *omit.* M3; Aeneas poeta etc. tuusque totus L, M1

³⁵ et viro ... supra : etc. M2

65. Letter to Girolamo da Siena (7 July 1443, Vienna).

Context: As letter 64.

Subject: Piccolomini asks Girolamo to support his suit for the provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan.

{35r} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Girolamo,¹ his fellow citizen and very dear friend

[1] Dearest Girolamo, I received your letter² long ago but have not replied since I heard you would be going to Puglia. Now that you may have returned, I am sending you this short letter. I do not doubt, my Girolamo, that you rejoice in my fortune and whatever honourable offices I may have. For I know that you love me, and anybody who loves must always consider as his own the prosperity of the person he loves. I feel the same towards you. Whenever I hear you being praised - which happens often - I rejoice beyond measure. You encourage me to study literature sedulously, and so I do - as much as possible when time allows, but I am distracted by many tasks and various business. But what time is left I spend on literature lest I appear to have accepted the title of poet in vain. What you say about the fatherland, I keep at heart, but – believe me – for the strong, every place is the fatherland. I will rather live well outside the fatherland than badly in it. At any rate, we should not seek our fatherland on Earth but in Heaven. When Socrates was once asked from where he was, he replied that he was *of the world*.³ For us,⁴ a better reply would be that we are of Heaven since that is where we come from, and there we shall return if we live well and virtuously. But I am saying too much about this.

[2] There is one thing I should like from you. You know well the case of my provostship. His Royal Majesty writes [to the Duke of Milan] on this matter, and the solicitor will be Lorenzo Rotella,⁵ whom you know well. I ask you to assist him, and if he should somehow be prevented, then take over the whole matter and bring it to a conclusion. A friend needs only a few words, and it is enough that you know my wish.

Farewell, and recommend me to the most learned Cristoforo Velate,⁶ whom – if his activities allow it – you should take on as a patron of my cause. From Vienna. As above.⁷

¹ Girolamo da Siena: served as an envoy of the Duke of Milan (HE).

² Not extant.

³ “mundanus”: Socrates as quoted by Plutarch, *On Exile* in *Moralia*: “... the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or a Greek, but a “cosmian” (as one might say Rhodian or Corinthian), because he did not shun himself up with Sunium or Taenarus and the

Ceraunian mountains.” Cicero refers to this saying in *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5: 37, 108. Cf. also Burlaeus (Socrates). Piccolomini may have taken over the notion of world citizenship from Francesco Filelfo whose lectures he heard, as a young man, in Florence: ... in his early career Filelfo imagined himself a stoic “world citizen”, attached to no particular city and detached from political concerns

(Meserve: *Nestor*, p. 62, quoting Blanchard).

⁴ Christians.

⁵ See letters 63: 1 and 64: 1-2.

⁶ Cristoforo da Velate: Venetian diplomat. Piccolomini knew him from the Council at Basel, where he had represented Venice (see COR, 1: 15, 40).

⁷ See preceding letter: 7 July 1443.

66. Letter to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (ca. 7 July 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: L, 53v *; M1, f. 54v; M2, ff. 46v-47r¹; M3, ff. 254r-254v²; V2, ff. 241-242³ **.

Editions: HE, 67, p. 161 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 66, pp. 168-169 (based on M1, V2).

Translations: ME, 13, pp. 69-70; RE, 28, pp. 154-155; WI, pp. 191-193.

{241}⁴ Illustrissimo principi ac⁵ excellentissimo⁶ domino, domino Philippo Mariae Anglo, duci Mediolanensi, Papiae Angleriaeque comiti ac Januae etc. domino⁷, domino suo praecipuo⁸ Aeneas Silvius poeta imperialisque secretarius humillime sese commendatum facit.⁹

[1] Si essem mortuus, sicut de me adversarii mei tuam¹⁰ celsitudinem instruxerunt, minime has litteras modo scriberem, nisi et mortui etiam scribant. Ego tamen ex divino munere adhuc aura fruor sumque serenissimi domini nostri regis Romanorum secretarius, quo in loco si non commodo, honori certe¹¹ magno esse possum tuae sublimitati. Nescio an meus adversarius idem¹² possit efficere. Ego certe quasi praeco quidam semper fui¹³ tuae claritatis, meque fere tota¹⁴ Christianitas in Basiliensi concilio laudes tuas commemoranten audivit. Nunc mortuus fingor, qui etiam mortuus magis viverem quam vivus aemulus meus et plus mortuus quam ille vivens honori essem tuae sublimitati. Quo fit ut¹⁵, sive¹⁶ justitiam sive expedientiam sequaris, melior esse debeat¹⁷ conditio mea¹⁸, quia et jus habeo lucidum et prodesse magis possum. Quas res, supplico, ut tua clementia velit considerare mihi que ecclesiam meam Sancti Laurentii¹⁹ mandare restitui, ut obnoxius sim *manibus et pedibus* pro tuo honore et statu, sicut cor meum desiderat, laborare. Quod faciens non solum me emptum habebis²⁰, sed regi etiam nostro, qui pro me scribit, complacebis²¹. Ego, sive praeposituram habeam meam sive non, semper tuus ero, sed tanto magis, si habeam, quanto celsitudinem tuam et justiore et mihi videro²² benigniorem.

Datum in Novacivitate, 43²³.

¹ SC, 100-101

² SC, 512-513

³ DV, ff. 126r-126v

⁴ dimitte *in marg.* V2

⁵ et M2

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ Angleriaeque ... domino : etc. M2

⁸ Papiae ... praecipuo *omit.* M3

⁹ *Titulus:* illustrissime princeps et excellentissime domine, domine

mi singularissime post humilem recommendationem L, M1

¹⁰ L, M1 use 2. pers. plural in address

¹¹ certo M3

¹² id WO

¹³ vestrae sublimitati ... fui *omit.* M2

¹⁴ fere tota : tota fere L, M1-M3

¹⁵ *omit.* L, M1, M2

¹⁶ *omit.* M2

¹⁷ debet M2

¹⁸ conditio mea : mea conditio M3

¹⁹ Sancti Laurentii *omit.* M1; etc. *add.* M3

²⁰ habebis M2

²¹ complacebis M2

²² video M2

²³ in novacivitate 43 *omit.* M1, M3; etc. M2

66. Letter to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (ca. 7 July 1443, Vienna)¹.

Context: Piccolomini pursues his campaign for the restoration of his provostship of San Lorenzo.
Subject: Using his position as an imperial secretary, Piccolomini entreats the Duke of Milan to restore him to his provostship of San Lorenzo.

Enea Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, most humbly recommends himself to his distinguished lord, the Most Illustrious Prince and Eminent Lord, Lord Filippo Maria Angelo, Duke of Milan, Count of Pavia and Angleria,² and Lord of Genoa etc.

[1] If I were dead, as my adversaries have told Your Highness, I could not be writing this letter – unless the dead, too, write letters! But thanks to God, I am still breathing and alive, being secretary to our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, in which position I can do much to further Your Highness's honour (though less to further your interests). I do not know if my adversary can do the same. I have always acted as a herald of your fame, and in the Council of Basel almost all Christendom heard me praising you.³ Now people claim that I am dead, but even if I were dead, I would be more alive than my rival and better able to act for Your Highness' honour than he, alive. Therefore, whether you pursue justice or expedience, my position ought to be the better one since I both have a shiningly just cause and can be of greater profit to you. I beg of Your Clemency to consider these things and order my Church of San Lorenzo restored to me so that I shall be bound to work – *hands and feet*⁴ – for your honour and state, just as my heart desires to. If you do so, you shall not only have me as your own but will also please our king who has written on my behalf. Whether or not I regain my provostship, I shall always be your man, but much more if I do recover it and see Your Highness as just and benign towards me.

Given in Novacivitate, 43.

¹ This letter was excluded from the latest versions (V3, V4) of Piccolomini's collection of *Epistolarum saeculares*.

² Angheria = Como.

³ In his oration "*Audivi*" to the Council of Basel of 16 November 1436, Piccolomini had said, e.g., about the duke: *And whom can you trust more than this prince? You know his character and cannot possibly fear him. He does not like to pursue vendettas, to raise*

quarrels, or to repay insults. All such he has learnt, more than any other, to ignore. He could often have sought revenge, but he has always abhorred it. He has perfect self-control, curbs his anger, and is temperate in victory. And when noble, brilliant and courageous adversaries were lying prostrate and beaten before him, he – after Caesar's example - not only lifted them up again, but he even raised them above their former position.

Therefore, consider Pavia; go there! Recognise where your security and advantage lie. Avoid the risks not only to your possessions but also to your very persons. Go to him who always favoured you. Show your gratitude and remember his favours towards you (COR, 2: 1, 86).

⁴ Terentius: *Andria*, 161-162: *quem ego credo manibus pedibusque obnixae omnia facturum.*

67. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (10 July 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 45r; M2, f. 34r¹; M3, ff. 211r-211v²; V2, ff. 71-72³; V3, ff. 35v-36r⁴ **; V4, ff. 33r-33v.

Editions: HE, 68, p. 162 (based on M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 68, pp. 170-171 (based on M1, V2).

{35v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit⁶ Guiniforto, jurisconsulto ac⁷ domini ducis Mediolani secretario.^{8 9}

[1] Ex Lepontiis hac praeterita hieme super re praepositurae meae litteras ad te dedi, ut illustrissimo principi, duci Mediolani, pro me loquereris te rogans obsecransque. Nihil exinde responsi a te suscepi, quod non tibi, sed tuis occupationibus imputo. Scripsit autem mihi paucis ante diebus, quam moreretur, Mediolanensis antistes de tua erga me optima voluntate dixitque tuum esse consilium, ut Caesaris¹⁰ litteras ad ducem impetrarem. {36r} Factum est, ut ambo suasistis. Litteras defert vir urbanus et comis meique amantissimus¹¹ Laurentius de Rotella, concanonicus meus Tridentinus¹². Is te alloquetur et meam agitabit causam. Precor, illi consilio et auxilio ut sis utque re comprobes, quod epistolis de te mihi praefatus repromisit antistes. Habeo in te, quidquid spei habeo. Fiam voti compos, si me juveris. Sin deseras¹³, nil¹⁴ est, quod¹⁵ sperem. Scio mores curiae vestrae et aliarum: nemo aliquid obtinet nisi magnis fultus amicis. Ego, etsi justitiam prosequare, nisi te habeam, ad quem recurram, habeo neminem. Nec te, quo jure teneam, video, qui nullis mihi beneficiis obligaris. Sed confido in tua humanitate simulque studia et officia, quibus dediti sumus, paria fiduciam praebent ut opera, consilio, auctoritate et gratia tua amice utar. Ego, si quid intelligam aut ad voluptatem aut ad commodum aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, etiam non rogatus faciam, nec ad me umquam vel pro te vel pro tuis frustra scribes, si modo, quod petieris, in mea fuerit potestate.

Vale et spem meam imple. Ex Vienna, 6. idus julii 1443^{16 17 18}.

¹ SC, 75

² SC, 426-427

³ DV, ff. 41r-41v

⁴ DV, ff. 38v-39r

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ illustri/ssimi *add.* M2, M3, V2

⁸ *Titulus:* Domino Giuiniforto jurisconsulto ac domini ducis Mediolani secretario M1

⁹ eximie doctor virque magnifice *add.* M1

¹⁰ Caesareas M1-M3, V2

¹¹ dominus *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹² concanonicus meus Tridentinus *omit.* M2

¹³ deseres M3

¹⁴ nichil M2

¹⁵ quid M2

¹⁶ 6. Idus ... 1443 *omit.* M3

¹⁷ *omit.* M1, V2, V3

¹⁸ ex Vienna ... 1443 : etc. M2

67. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (10 July 1443, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini pursues his campaign for the restoration of his provostship of San Lorenzo.
Subject: Piccolomini uses his position as an imperial secretary to obtain Guiniforte's aid in the matter of his Milanese provostship

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Guiniforte, jurist and secretary to the Duke of Milan.

[1] Last winter, I sent you a letter¹ from the Lepontii² concerning my provostship, asking and entreating you to speak for me to the Most Illustrious Prince, the Duke of Milan. I never received an answer from you, which I attribute not to you personally but to your [many] occupations. However, a few days before he died, the Archbishop of Milan³ wrote to me about your excellent disposition towards me and said that you advised me to obtain a letter from the emperor to the duke. I have now done what both of you advised. The urbane and charming Lorenzo Rotella, a very close friend and my co-canon from Trient, is bringing you the letter. He will speak with you about my case. I pray that you advise and assist him and prove in actions what the archbishop promised about you, for all my hopes are placed in you. If you help me, I shall succeed. But if you fail me, I can hope for nothing. I know the ways of your court and others: nobody achieves anything unless supported by great friends. Though I am pursuing a just cause, you are the only one who can help me. I know I have no right to [your help], for you owe me no favour. But I trust in your kindness, and our common interests⁴ and offices⁵ make me confident that I may benefit – as between friends - from your efforts, advice and authority. On my part, if I see that I can do anything in matters pertaining to our pleasure, benefit or status, I shall do so even unasked, and never shall you write me in vain concerning yourself or yours if only I have the power to do as you request.

Farewell, and [please] fulfil my wish. From Vienna, 10 July 1443.

¹ Letter 39.

² Archbishop Francesco Pizzolpasso died in February 1443. See letter 45.

³ Alpine region, in casu, Feldkirch.

⁴ Humanist studies.

⁵ As secretaries to princes.

68. Letter from Adam Moleyns (August 1443 (?), London)

Manuscripts: M1, f. 58r; M2, ff. 114v-115r^l V2, ff. 148-149²; V3, f. 68r³ **; V4, f. 61r.

Editions: HE, 69, pp. 162-163 ; WO, 1: 1, 96, pp. 170-171; (both based on M1, V2).

{68r} Adam de Mulin, Anglicus, apostolicae sedis protonotarius, Aeneae Silvio, poetae, salutem plurimam dicit⁴. Amantissime socie.

[1] Modico nunc superiori tempore delatas ad me praesentium per latorem dulcissimas epistolas tuas libentissime⁵ recepi earumque exigentiam pro virili mea sum secutus, ita quod regia celsitudo⁶ impraesentiarum bene inclinata est habitoque advisamento sui magni consilii id plene spero fiet⁷, de quo animus tuus contentus erit. Aperui mentem meam latori hujus, cujus gravitas et industria plenam vendicant adhiberi⁸ sibi fidem, quam mei ex parte sibi quaeso dare velis et nomine meo ab eodem dignanter recipere bursam⁹ parvulam, quam tibi mittit de manu sua laboratam virgo nobilis, neptis mea. Optime mi Aenea, significare quaeso digneris mihi, Adae tuo, si quid in Anglia tibi gratum fiendum erit, et omnino accomoda mihi saepe epistolas tuas, quas potero ad tui memoriam in conspectu principum ostendere, quoniam tali auditorio dignae sunt. Rogo et iterum rogo mihi saepe scribe et

vale felix, optime et antique socie. Ex Lundoniis, 3. kal. Junii 1443.¹⁰

¹ SC, 238-239

² DV, ff. 79v-80r

³ DV, f. 71r

⁴ *Titulus: omit.* M1

⁵ libentissimeque M2

⁶ *corr. ex maiestas* M1

⁷ *per eandem add.* M1, M2, V2a;

~~per eandem~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ adhibere HE, WO

⁹ bursulam M2, V2-V4

¹⁰ *ex Lundoniis ... 1443 omit.* M1, M2, WO

68. Letter from Adam Moleyns (August 1443 (?), London)

Context: Earlier in the summer of 1443 (presumably in June), Piccolomini had written to Moleyns (letter 57) requesting his support at the English court for the emperor's initiative concerning a third council.

Subject: Moleyns informs Piccolomini that he has fulfilled his request and that King Henry VI, after consultations with his Great Council, supports the emperor's initiative.

Adam Moleyns, Englishman and protonotary of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, poet. My dear fellow.

[1] A short while ago, the bearer of the present letter brought me your delightful letter that I received with great joy. I have fulfilled your request to the best of my ability. Having obtained the advisement of his Great Council, His Royal Highness, at present, is positively inclined,¹ and I fully hope that he will act accordingly, which will make your heart content! I have spoken more fully about the whole matter with the bearer of this letter. His seriousness and dedication are such that they merit complete confidence, which I ask you to show him. I also ask you to graciously accept from him a little purse which my niece, a noble maid, has made with her own hand and sends to you.² Excellent Enea, I ask you to let me, your Adam, know if there is anything in England that you would like me to do for you, and please continue to write me letters that I can show to our princes since they are worthy of such an audience. So, I entreat you to write to me often.

Farewell, old and excellent companion. From London, 30 May³ 1443.⁴

¹ In the matter of the third council

² In 1440, Poggio Bracciolini, too, received a purse from an English correspondent, Richard Petworth: *Marsupium placuit uxori, quae ex eo tibi gratias agit (My wife was delighted by the purse and sends*

you her thanks) (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 2: p. 379).

³ Towards the project of a third council.

⁴ This date cannot be correct: Piccolomini's letter to Moleyns was probably sent in June 1443, when

the emperor's letters on the third council were sent to the European princes. Moleyns could probably not have answered before July.

69. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (beg. May 1443, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: L, 22v *; M1, f. 40r; M2, ff. 38v-39r¹; M3, ff. 230v-231r²; V2, ff. 134-135³; V3, ff. 62v-63r⁴ **; V4, 56r-56v.

Editions: HE, 70, p. 163-164 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 70, pp. 172-173 (based on M1, V2).

Translations: ME, 14, pp. 70-71.

{62v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit Petro Noxetano⁶, amico primario⁷.

[1] Mirabar dudum, quid rei esset, quod ad me nihil scriberes, sed haerentem⁸ me conjecturis atque ancipitem vir suavis et utriusque nostrum amantissimus, Nicolaus Tifernas⁹, ex dubio movit, qui te divitem factum retulit, quo audito¹⁰, “Atat”¹¹ inquam¹² subito, “hinc illa intermissio litterarum, hinc illa mei oblivio longissima.” More¹³ hominum evenit, ut ditiores effecti pauperiores¹⁴ negligant. Sed non est mihi molesta haec taciturnitas tua, quando ex causa tam utili provenit. Longe namque dulcius mihi est te locupletem esse tacendo quam scribendo inopem. Oro tamen, si facultates tuae otium aliquod praestant, mei ut memor aliquid aliquando scribas¹⁵. Nam etsi divitiae occupationes¹⁶ dant¹⁷ maximas tempusque¹⁸ auferant, papiri tamen copiam subministrant, cujus si quolibet mense paginam unam¹⁹ ad me²⁰ tinxeris, magnam gratiam feceris²¹ amico tuo et duplum recipies.

¹ SC, 84-85.

² SC, 465-466.

³ DV, ff. 72v-73r.

⁴ DV, 65v-66r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ de Noceto M2, M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex de Noceto* V2b

⁷ *Titulus: omit.* L; Dominus Eneas Petro de Noxeto. Ornatissime vir frater amantissime M1

⁸ dubitantem *glossa interlin.* M1

⁹ de civitate castelli L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex de civitate castelli* V2b

¹⁰ ut audivi M1

¹¹ at M2

¹² numquam M2

¹³ enim *add.* HE, WO

¹⁴ esse *add.* V3

¹⁵ aliquid aliquando scribas : sis M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex sis* V2

¹⁶ que *add.* M1, M3

¹⁷ dent WO

¹⁸ tempus M1

¹⁹ *omit.* WO

²⁰ unam ad me : ad me unam L

²¹ facies M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex facies* V2b

69. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (beg. May1443,¹ Wiener Neustadt)

Context: Pietro and Enea had been close friends in their youth when they were both members of Cardinal Albergati's household (1435-1436). Though Enea continued to love and admire Pietro, the latter's friendly sentiments seem to have cooled somewhat, and when he later obtained high office under Pope Nicolaus V, he appears not to have done much for Enea.

Subject: Enea rebukes Pietro for not writing to him.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, his close friend.

[1] For a long time, I had been wondering why you did not write to me, but as I was worrying and concerned, my doubts were removed by our common, cherished friend, Niccolò Tifernate, who told me that you have become rich. When I heard it, I said, "Aha, that is why he has not written; that is why he has long forgotten about me, for when men get rich, they neglect those who are poor." But your silence does not trouble me now that I know its profitable reason: I would much rather have you rich and silent than poor and writing. But I do ask that when your circumstances allow it, then remember me and write to me, for though wealth makes one extremely busy and costs much time, it does provide one with paper. If you sometimes write me a page, you shall make me very happy and receive the double in return.

¹ Or beginning of May. Date after Genzsch.

[2] Scriberem¹ tibi harum {63r} partium novitates, nisi Nicolaus instructus veniret omnium, quem libentius audies, quam meas litteras² leges. Accepi te vel patrem factum vel brevi futurum esse, quod mihi voluptati est, mirorque noluisse te hujus gaudii me fore participem, qui nihil significaveris tuo Aeneae.³ Deum oro, ut natum hunc diu⁴ vivere sinat, patris⁵ similem. Verum, ne omnino existimes te meis carpi sermonibus, illud etiam scire te⁶ volo, quia tuarum litterarum unas⁷ suscepi per oratores regios, qui Florentiae fuerunt, quas pro magno munere habui, tametsi plurium annorum parum sit una epistola compensare silentium.

Vale et me⁸ reverendissimo cardinali sanctae crucis⁹ ac viro singularis doctrinae, magistro Thomae,¹⁰ et ceteris amicis effice commendatum. Ex Novacivitate¹¹.

¹ scribentem V4

² meas litteras : litteras meas L

³ ego tamen, cum filiolum in Scotia suscepi, mox te reddidi certiore, sed ille jam e vita decessit (secessit L; discessit M2) *add.* L, M1- M3, V2a; ~~ego tamen, cum filiolum in Scotia suscepi, mox te reddidi~~

~~certiore, sed ille jam e vita decessit~~ *seq.* V2b

⁴ natum hunc diu : tuum L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* tuum V2b

⁵ patri L

⁶ scire te : te scire M3

⁷ unam M3

⁸ *omit.* V4

⁹ cardinali sanctae crucis : domino communi M1-M3, V2; *corr. ex* domino communi V2b

¹⁰ magistro Thomae *omit.* L

¹¹ ex Novacivitate : etc. M2; *omit.* M1, M3

[2] I would write about the news from here if Niccolò was not coming to you fully informed about everything. You will rather hear him than read a letter. I have heard that you have become a father or shall become one shortly. I am glad to hear it, but I wonder why you have not informed your Enea and shared this joy.¹ I pray to God that he will let your son live long and resemble his father. But lest you think this is all about recriminations, I wish you to know that I have received one letter from you through the royal ambassadors,² who were in Florence. This I much appreciated though one letter is small compensation for several years' silence.

Farewell, and please recommend me to the Cardinal of Santa Croce³ and that singularly learned man, Master Thomas,⁴ and our other friends. From Wiener Neustadt.

¹ Here, the early version of this text added: *When I had a little son in Scotland, I immediately informed you [the letter is not extant], but he died.* Piccolomini deleted this passage from the later version, presumably as unfitting for a prelate.

² Including Kaspar Schlick. The ambassadors had gone to Florence to negotiate various matters with Pope Eugenius IV.

³ Cardinal Albergati, to whose household Pietro belonged as had Piccolomini from 1435-1436.

⁴ Tommaso Parentucelli (1397-1455): Master of Cardinal Albergati's household. Bishop of Bologna (1447), cardinal (1446) and pope - as Nicolaus V - from 1447 to his death.

70. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (August 1443, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: L, 45v *; M1, ff. 53r-53v; M2, ff. 27v-28r¹; M3, ff. 187v-188r²; V2, ff. 13-14³; V3, ff. 14r-15r⁴ **; V4, ff. 14r-15r.

Editions: HE, 71, pp. 164-166; WO, 1: 1, 70, pp. 173-175; (both based on M1, V2).

{14r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Juliano, cardinali Sancti Angeli.⁶

[1] Non opus est, reverendissime pater et domine mi colendissime, multis impraesentiarum agere, quia, quod aliis litteris Etrusco sermone et mihi jam oblitterato scriptis optaveram, diligenti opera per te⁷ curatum est, sicut et majestati⁸ regiae et domino cancellario cum⁹ per te¹⁰ tum per serenissimum dominum regem Poloniae scriptum vidi. Solum¹¹ aliqua scitu digna tibi¹² modo referam. Scio namque, quod¹³ apud Hungaros non quemadmodum apud nos Italicae novitates decurrunt¹⁴, et tamen naturale est de patria velle percere sentire. Nec enim aut Alpes Juliae aut Danubius – sicut arbitror – amorem patriae ex tuo pectore ademerunt. Sed puto idem contingere tibi¹⁵ quod mihi, qui quanto longius a paternis recedo laribus, quanto¹⁶ diutius suavissimo Ausoniae¹⁷ 18 caelo privor, tanto magis desidero naturale solum videre ibique vivere et mori. Scribam¹⁹ igitur pauca de patria nostra²⁰ et magna et vera, si vera sunt, quae magni viri ad Caesaris nostri deducunt²¹ notitiam.

¹ SC, 62-63.

² SC, 380.

³ DV, 12r-12v.

⁴ DV, 17r-18r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M3

⁶ *Titulus* : *omit.* L, M1

⁷ vestram reverendissimam paternitatem L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestram reverendissimam paternitatem V2b

⁸ mandati M3

⁹ tum M3

¹⁰ L, M1-M3, V2a *use 2, pers. plural in address*

¹¹ sola V4

¹² vestrae reverendissimae paternitati L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestrae reverendissimae paternitati V2b

¹³ *omit.* L

¹⁴ sciuntur L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* sciuntur V2b

¹⁵ vestrae reverendissimae paternitati L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestrae reverendissimae paternitati V2b

¹⁶ quantoque WO

¹⁷ Italicae *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁸ suavissimo Ausoniae : Ausonie suavissimo L

¹⁹ scribo M2

²⁰ vestra M2

²¹ *omit.* V4

70. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (August 1443,¹ Wiener Neustadt)

- Context:* In a previous letter, written in Italian, Piccolomini had requested Cardinal Cesarini's assistance to Chancellor Schlick, quite possibly in the chancellor's endeavours to obtain a bishopric for his brother, Heinrich. The cardinal answered (letter 56) that he would assist the chancellor as much as possible in his present circumstances, meaning that since he was in Hungary, it was not easy for him to influence affairs at the papal court.
- Subject:* Piccolomini thanks the cardinal for his efforts for the chancellor and probably also for settling the Hungarian matters (succession to the crown and crusade against the Turks) and sends him news from Italy.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Most Reverend Father and My Worshipful Lord.

[1] At present, there is no need to do much since the requests² I made in the letter written in Italian³ (already assigned to oblivion), have been fulfilled through your diligent efforts, as I have seen in letters from both you and the King of Poland⁴ to His Royal Majesty⁵ and the Lord Chancellor.⁶ So, now I shall only send you some news you should know, for I am aware that news from Italy do not reach Hungary as easily as here. But it is natural to want to often hear news from one's country, and the Julian Alps⁷ or the Danube have not robbed you of the love of your country. I trust that the same happens to you as to me: the longer I travel from my fatherland and the more I am deprived of Italy's sweet sky, the more I desire to see the country of my birth and to live and die there. So, I shall write a few things about our country, both important and true (if what great men bring to our emperor's knowledge is true).

¹ Date after Genzsch.

² These requests probably concerned attacks by Hungarian bands against the Hungarian possessions of the chancellor, see letter from

the chancellor to Cardinal Cesarini of July 1443 (WO, 1: 2, epp. 21 (pp. 37-41), 25 (pp. 45-48), and 28 (pp. 55-58)).

³ See letter 56.

⁴ Wladyslaw III.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ Kaspar Schlick.

⁷ Julian Alps: a mountain range of the Southern Limestone Alps that stretch from northeastern Italy to Slovenia.

[2] Primum est Bononiam more suo, quae super Mercurio fundata est, motum fecisse Franciscumque¹ Picinum in vinculis coniecisse. Antea quoque {14v} soror illius, Janua², et sub eodem astro constructa, Thomam Fulgosium³, ducem suum de tribunali in carcerem traxerat eique Raphaellem Adurnum suffecerat. Sed haec paulum⁴ antiquiora sunt. Credo recentiora cupis⁵. Nec ista desunt, uberem semper materiam novitatis habet Italia. Eugenium Senis esse non ignoras. Is cum rege Aragonum et duce Mediolani ac Nicolao Picino et cum tota factione illa foedus percussit, cujus rei vigore revocaturus est rex suos ex Basiliensi concilio praelatos ea lege, ut in Eugeniense curia suis dignitatibus potiantur, quamvis antea Gallici minati fuerint⁶ ulterius se non praestatueros oboedientiam Eugenio, nisi aperto bello regem illum impeteret. Veneti quoque, Florentini, Januenses et Bononienses novam inter se confoederationem fecerunt, jamque Florentinorum et Venetorum copiae Bononiam ingressae sunt. Nec spes est illam posse per Picinum recuperari, tametsi adhuc ejus nomine arx defendatur. Marchio Ferrariensis, quoniam filiam regis Aragonum desponsatam habet, copias⁷ Venetorum per suum territorium transire prohibuit, quae res eum⁸ suspectum reddit⁹. Illae¹⁰ autem navigio Ravennam applicuerunt atque illinc¹¹ in Emiliam¹² profectae¹³ sunt Bononiamque ingressae¹⁴, circa quam soli Aloysius de Verme¹⁵ et dominus Faventiae castra metabantur. Sed Faventinus jam ad sua tutanda reversus est, ne se absente per Florentinos, qui ejus¹⁶ agros Faventinos populabantur, expugnari urbs posset¹⁷. Nicolaus Picinus {15r} circa Tuscanellam et comes Franciscus circa sanctum Severinum castra tenent, quasi sortiti sint¹⁸ provincias devastandas, eaque lex sit, ut iste unam, ille¹⁹ aliam exhauriat provinciam. [cont.]

¹ Franciscum V4

² Genua *passim* V4

³ Jugosum M3

⁴ paululum L, M1-M3, V2

⁵ cupitis nosse L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex cupitis nosse* V2b

⁶ fuerunt M2, M3

⁷ armigeros L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex armigeros* V2b

⁸ valde *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~valde~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ reddidit V4

¹⁰ illi L, M1-M3

¹¹ illuc M3

¹² Imolam M3

¹³ profecti L, M1-M3

¹⁴ ingressi L, M1-M3

¹⁵ Vermius V3; Verinius V4

¹⁶ *omit.* L, M1-M3: ei V4

¹⁷ antea quoque... posset *omit.* L

¹⁸ *omit.* M2, V4

¹⁹ iste M2

[2] First, Bologna – founded under Mercury¹ - has rebelled and thrown Francesco Piccinino² in chains.³ Before that, its sister, Genoa, built under the same star,⁴ dragged its doge, Tommaso Fregoso,⁵ from his high seat, imprisoned him, and replaced him with Raffaele Adorno.⁶ But these being somewhat older events, you will want to hear about the more recent. And such are certainly not wanting, for Italy always provides plenty of news. You know, of course, that Eugenius⁷ is in Siena.⁸ He has struck an agreement⁹ with the King of Aragon,¹⁰ the Duke of Milan,¹¹ Niccolò Piccinino,¹² and that whole party, by virtue of which the king will recall his prelates from the Council of Basel, on the condition that they keep their offices and titles in Eugenius' curia - all this despite the fact that the French had previously threatened not to declare obedience to Eugenius unless he wage open war against King Alfonso.¹³ The Venetians, the Florentines and the Bolognese have made a new alliance between them, and Florentine and Venetian troops have already entered Bologna. There is no hope of that city being retaken by Piccinino though the fortress is still defended in his name. The Marquess of Ferrara¹⁴ has married a daughter¹⁵ of the King of Aragon and has, therefore, forbidden the Venetian troops to pass through his territory, which makes him suspect. Instead, the Venetian troops sailed to Ravenna, marched into the region of Emilia, and entered Bologna. Only Luigi dal Verme¹⁶ and the Lord of Faenza¹⁷ were encamped around Bologna, but the Faentian has already returned to his own country lest the Florentines, who in his absence laid waste to his territory, would conquer the city. Niccolò Piccinino has made his camp at Toscanella, and Count Francesco¹⁸ has made his at San Severino, as if they had distributed the provinces to plunder between them so that one would waste one region, and the other one the other.¹⁹ [cont.]

¹ Star sign of Mercurius, a God known for his quick movements, and a metal known for its volatility.

² Francesco Piccinino, son of Niccolò Piccinino.

³ 6 June 1443.

⁴ I.e., being just as volatile as Bologna.

⁵ Tommaso Fregoso [Campofregoso] (bef. 1370-1453): doge of Genoa for two periods: 1415-1421, 1436-1442 (with a very short break in 1437). See DVI, ch. 20, which mentions this episode: *during a civil rebellion he was arrested and thrown into prison* (January 1443).

⁶ Raffaele Adorno (1375-1458): Doctor in both laws (*utriusque juris*). Doge of Genoa 1443-1447.

⁷ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁸ Pope Eugenius left Florence on 7 March 1443 and arrived in Siena on 11 March. He left Siena on 14 September 1443. Reportedly, his reason for leaving Florence was to be able to negotiate more freely

with King Alfonso, an enemy of Florence.

⁹ Peace of Terracina, 14 June 1443.

¹⁰ King Alfonso V

¹¹ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

¹² Niccolò Piccinino (ca. 1386-1444): Italian condottiero.

¹³ The war of succession to the crown of Naples opposed the French royal house in the person of René d'Anjou (Valois) and a Spanish royal house (Aragon) in the person of Alfonso V. The French put pressure on the pope to make him recognise and support the French pretendant to the throne of Naples.

¹⁴ Leonello d'Este [Lionello] (1407-1450): One of the three illegitimate sons of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei, a relative of the Piccolomini family. He was legitimated by Pope Martin V. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1441 to his death. See DVI, ch. 12.

¹⁵ Maria d'Aragona: They were married in 1444. The marriage sealed a de facto alliance between Ferrara and Naples.

¹⁶ Luigi [Ludovico] dal Verme (1449): Condottiero in the service of Milan. He was defeated in battle by the Bolognese, Venetian and Florentine troops on 14 August 1443, a defeat of which Piccolomini had not yet received news.

¹⁷ Guidantonio Manfredi (1407-1448): Lord of Faenza.

¹⁸ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiero. Son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450). See DVI, ch. 10.

¹⁹ Cf. DVI, sect. 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.*

[*cont.*] Et sic misera funditus Italia laceratur, quae unica solum causa facit, ut exilium, quod mihi ad tempus delegeram breve, diutius protraham, quoniam minus gravia sunt aliquantulum, quae audiuntur, quam quae videntur mala. Haec scripsi, ne scriberem nihil tuis humanissimis litteris provocatus, non ut exinde mentem perturbem tuam¹, quae in viro sapiente quietissima est, sed ut mihi potius² levamen aucupari³ narrando possem.

Valeat optime tua⁴ paternitas meque – ut facit – servorum suorum in numero semper⁵ habeat. Ex Nova Civitate.⁶

¹ perturbem tuam : vestram perturbem L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* vestram perturbem V2b
² mihi potius : potius mihi M2

³ occupari M2
⁴ reverendissima *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissima~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ *omit.* L
⁶ Ex Novacivitate *omit.* M1

[*cont.*] Thus Italy, completely miserable, is being scourged, which is the only reason I shall prolong my exile here though I had only wanted to make it brief¹ - for it is less troubling to hear about evils than to experience them personally. I have written this lest I fail to answer your most kind letter. My intention is not to upset your mind - which in a wise man is completely tranquil - but rather to find some relief in telling about it all.

May Your Paternity fare well and - as always - count me as one of your servants. From Wiener Neustadt.

¹ Piccolomini left Italy in 1432 partly because of a war involving both Florence and Siena.

71. Letter to Lupo Velasco (ca. 27 August 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 30v-31r¹; M3, ff. 191r-191v²; V2, ff. 18-19³; V3, ff. 15r-16r⁴ **; V4, ff. 15r-16r.

Editions: HE, 72, p. 166-167 (based on V2); WO, 1: 1, 71, pp. 175-177 (based on V2).

{15r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit⁶ Lupo Valasci Portugalensi⁷, legum doctori et fratri optimo.⁸

[1] Litteris tuis, quas Basileae suscepi, jam annus est, non potui tunc respondere, quia mox Caesarem sum secutus⁹ ab eo in secretarium receptus. Postea per quem scriberem nullus affuit tabellarius, sed revertitur nunc¹⁰ in Portugalliam¹¹ Blasius Alfonsi, in decretis baccalaureus, qui apud regiam majestatem infantis Petri, ducis Coimbrae, fuit orator. Is, si volet, hanc meam epistolam {15v} tibi reddet, sibi enim commissa est. Non tamen¹² nunc tangenda sunt, quae dudum scripsisti, illa enim omnia immutata sunt. Unum¹³ tamen¹⁴ volo scias me scilicet¹⁵ ¹⁶ solide tua gaudia¹⁷ gaudere magnamque mihi laetitiam¹⁸ attulisse nuntium¹⁹, quo te praesidem Olisbonensem significasti. Libuit enim id mihi vehementer, tum quod amico bene cupio, tum quod in te viro ex omni parte probato quaelibet dignitas optime sedet. Scio namque non te propter dignitatem, sed illam abs te illustrari laudoque ex hoc maxime regii²⁰ gubernatoris circumspeditionem, qui beneficia sua bene locare scit et ad rem publicam gubernandam viros advocat sapientiae studiosos. Utinam omnibus principibus idem animus esset, quia non sic omnes ignorantiae plenae forent provinciae, nec summi magistratus propter inscitiam officialium deturparentur²¹. Sed de hoc satis.

¹ SC, 68-69.

² SC, 386-387.

³ DV, ff. 14v-15r.

⁴ DV 18r-19r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2; poeta Senensis *add.* M3

⁶ domino *add.* V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ de Portugalia M2, M3

⁸ eximie doctor et amice carissime *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~eximie doctor et amice carissime~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ et *add.* M2

¹⁰ tunc M2

¹¹ in Portugalliam : ad dominum suum M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex ad dominum suum* V2b

¹² non tamen *omit.* V4

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.* *interlin.* V2b

¹⁴ tantum M2, M3; *omit.* V4

¹⁵ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.* *interlin.* V2b

¹⁶ me scilicet : si licet V4

¹⁷ tua gaudia : tuo gaudio M2

¹⁸ mihi laetitiam : laetitiam mihi M3

¹⁹ unicum V4

²⁰ regni M3

²¹ deturbarentur WO

71. Letter to Lupo Velasco (ca. 27 August 1443, Vienna)

Context: Velasco, apparently an old friend of Piccolomini from the Basel period, had sent a letter to Piccolomini in Autumn 1442. The letter is not extant.

Subject: Piccolomi compliments Velasco on his appointment as governor of Lisbon and assures him of his friendship. He also expresses his dismay at King Alfonso's reconciliation with Pope Eugenius and his abandonment of the Council of Basel, adding some commentaries on princely government that prefigure his later work *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani* from 1446.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Lupo Velasco from Portugal, doctor of law and best of brothers.

[1] Your letter reached me a year ago, in Basel, but I could not reply since shortly afterwards I left to follow the emperor,² having been engaged as his secretary. Later, there was no messenger with whom I could send a letter. But now, Blasius Alfonsi, bachelor in canon law and ambassador of Infante Pedro, Duke of Coimbra³ to His Royal Majesty,⁴ is returning to Portugal. If he wills, he will give you this letter that I have entrusted to him. I shall not comment here on the matters you wrote about so long ago, for everything has changed in the meantime. But I want you to know that I share your happiness and was overjoyed at your message that you have been appointed governor of Lisbon. This pleases me greatly both because I wish the best for a friend and also because you have proven yourself, in every way, to be entirely fit for high office. I know that you will lend even more honour to this office than it will lend to you,⁵ and I praise the prudence of the regent who well knows how to place his favours and calls men devoted to wisdom to govern the state.⁶ If all princes were thus minded, all provinces would not be so full of ignorance, and the high offices would not be tainted by the officials' lack of knowledge. But enough of this.

¹ For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 193, 198-199

² Piccolomini left Basel with the emperor's court in November 1442.

³ Pedro (1392-1449): Prince of Portugal. Duke of Coimbra. Regent of Portugal 1439 to 1448.

⁴ In August 1444, ambassadors of Pedro at Emperor Friedrich's court (Johannes Telecz and Blasius Alfonsi) obtained confirmation of

Emperor Sigismund's grant of the Marchionate of Treviso to Pedro, see Heinig, 1: p. 642 and 778. Piccolomini himself wrote the emperor's letter of confirmation to Pedro (WO, 1: 2, ep. xxxix, pp. 76-77). See also DVI, sect. 223-224.

⁵ A standard wish in letters of congratulation to friends having acquired high office, e.g. Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 3: p. 243: *Illud egregium erit, si conaberis, ut*

plus honoris ex tuis ornamentis accedat dignitati, qua fungeris, quam tibi ex dignitate.

⁶ Cf. Letter of 1446 from Bracciolini to Alfonso V, with comments on princely government: *Neminem enim eorum conspiciebam, qui vel daret operam sapientiae studiosos* ... (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 3: p.7).

[2] Concilii Basiliensis quis status sit, jam te arbitror audivisse¹. Rex, cujus meministi², more principum non regnum fidei, sed fidem regno servare vult, praelatosque³ suos ex Basilea jussit abire, in omnibus rebus praeclarus⁴, in hac mirabilis. Rursus Gallici, Veneti⁵ et Florentini, qui pontificem⁶ Eugenium quasi deum venerabantur⁷ excluso ex Apulia Renato rege fidem aliam induerunt. Mira rerum mutatio, ut⁸ qui antea⁹ favebant concilio, jam illud¹⁰ impugnent¹¹, et qui impugnabant, modo faveant¹² ei¹³. Lusus¹⁴ jam¹⁵ ecclesia est, qualem de pila fieri videmus, { 16r } dum huc atque illuc impellitur lusorum ictibus reperiens. Sed aspicit ista¹⁶ ex alto Deus, et quamvis raro in terris expendere homines digna supplicia cogat, nullum tamen in summo¹⁷ ejus iudicio malum impunitum relinquit. Liberum nobis arbitrium dedit, vivere nos ut libet sinit. *Laxas* dimisit mortalibus *habenae*. Rationem tamen¹⁸ rerum omnium, dum *judicabit orbem*, exacturus est, tuncque videbunt principes, an propter eos regna fuerint instituta, an ipsi propter regna creati¹⁹, qui suis omnia²⁰ servire libidinibus volunt. Spero tamen in hoc ecclesiae negotio per Caesarem nostrum et electores imperii bonos terminos inveniri, qui ad unionem et pacem ecclesiastici ordinis totis viribus operas²¹ navant. Et puto in proximo Nurembergensi conventu, qui ad festum sancti Martini indictus est, novum concilium convocari nominarique locum. Deus faxit, ut eventus habeat res ecclesiae salutares. Tu scis, ubi terrarum sum, et quantum potestatis in me habeas, non ignoras. Nisi me usus pro arbitrio fueris, non mandatarii sed mandantis culpa ascribendum erit.

Vale tam mei magis memor quam a me remotior. Ego pro veteri familiaritate te colo observeoque. Ex Novacivitate²².

¹ audisse WO

² cujus meministi : Aragonum qui M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Aragonum qui V2b

³ praelatos M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* praelatos V2b

⁴ princeps *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~princeps~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ *omit.* V3

⁶ suum *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~suum~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ venerantur WO

⁸ *omit.* WO

⁹ ante WO

¹⁰ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.* *interlin.* V2b

¹¹ impugnant M2, M3

¹² favent M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* favent V2b

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.*

interlin. V2b

¹⁴ ludus V4

¹⁵ lusus jam : jam lusus M2

¹⁶ illa WO

¹⁷ supremo M2, M3

¹⁸ *omit.* V4

¹⁹ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. in* *margin.* V2b

²⁰ omnino M2

²¹ operam WO

²² ex Novacivitate : etc. M2

[2] I believe you already know about the state of the Council of Basel. A king¹ whom you know wishes – in the manner of princes – to let the Faith serve his kingdom and not his kingdom serve the Faith, and he has ordered his prelates to leave Basel.² In all other matters, he is splendid, but in this he is surprising. And now that King René³ has been expelled from Puglia,⁴ the French, the Venetians and the Florentines who worshipped Eugenius almost as if he were God have changed their loyalties. The change is amazing: those who previously favoured the council now oppose it, and those who opposed it now favour it. They are playing with the Church that is being kicked back and forth as if in a ball game. But God sees what happens from on high, and though He rarely forces men to suffer the punishments they deserve on Earth, He leaves no wicked man go unpunished at the Last Judgment. He has given us free will and lets us live as we wish. He gave mortals *loose reins*.⁵ But when *He shall judge the world*,⁶ He will demand an account of everything. Then the princes, wishing that all be subject to their pleasure,⁷ will see whether the kingdoms were established for their sake or whether they themselves were created for the sake of the kingdoms.⁸ But I hope our emperor and the imperial electors will work with all their might for ecclesiastical unity and peace and bring this church matter to a happy conclusion. And I believe that at the coming Diet of Nürnberg,⁹ which will assemble on the Feast of Saint Martin,¹⁰ a new council¹¹ will be indicted and a location appointed. God give that the ecclesiastical affairs find a salutary outcome. You know where I am and how great power you have over me. If you do not use me as you wish, it will be the fault of the requestor, not the requestee.

Farewell, and remember me the more that I am far away. Because of our old friendship, I cherish and esteem you. From Wiener Neustadt.

¹ In the early versions of this text, Piccolomini directly named Alfonso V, but this reference was weakened in the later versions, presumably because it would be impolitic for Piccolomini, as a high-ranking prelate, to publish direct criticism of the king.

² DVI, sect. 7: *But later, the King of Aragon became reconciled with Eugenius and recalled his [prelates] from the council*; sect. 209: *Alfonso had many dealings with Felix and the Council of Basel, but having obtained nothing, he was reconciled with Eugenius. He recalled those prelates from his dominions whom he had in Basel and ordered them all to join the obedience of Eugenius. He took care, however, that all that had been obtained and decided by the Coun-*

cil 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.

³ 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.

⁴ Having been defeated by Alfonso V, René d'Anjou left the Kingdom of Naples in July 1442.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 163.

⁶ Psalms, 9: 9.

⁷ This is a common theme in humanist discourse of princes, cf. Bracciolini addressing Alfonso V in a letter of 1446: *Vere enim te*

regem et eo nomine dignum affirmant, cum id tibi sit propositum, ut non proprie sed communi vaces reipublicae utilitati ... (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 3: p. 8).

⁸ In his *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani* from 1446, Piccolomini would later write: *Atque hi sunt, qui postea nomen regis nomen obtinuerunt, quorum constituendorum causam publica dedit utilitas.* And in the same work, he warned the emperor *ne sine ratione aliquid agas, ne vel ad tuam voluptatem potius quam ad subditorum utilitatem regas imperium* (WO, 2: pp. 9 and 24).

⁹ DRGB: *An assembly was decreed for Nuremberg where the emperor and the princes would be present* (RE, p. 363).

¹⁰ 11 November.

¹¹ The third council.

72. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (end of August 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 27r-27v¹; M3, ff. 192r-192v²; V2, ff. 21-22³; V3, ff. 16v-17v⁴ **; V4, ff. 16r-17r.

Editions: HE, 73, pp. 167-168 (based on V2); WO, 1: 1, 73, pp. 177-179 (based on M3, V2).

{16v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit reverendissimo⁶ in Christo patri, domino Juliano, cardinali sancti angeli, apostolico sedis legato.⁷

[1] Non cogit me necessitas, sed amor scribere. Litteris namque tuis⁸, quas ex Buda 17. hujus⁹ mensis die¹⁰ ad me designasti, per magnificum cancellarium satisfactum est. Nihil enim ex me illae petebant, nisi ut creationem cujusdam palatini comitis promoverem. In hoc quid factum sit, et quid non factum¹¹, ex cancellario cognosces. Ego illud adjicio fecisse mihi verba super hac re Nicolaum Castellanum, cum hac transiret meque id sibi respondisse, quod nunc secutum est. Sic principes sunt fere¹² omnes: cum opinionem aliquam induerunt, magna opus est arte, ut sententiam mutant. Persuasum regi est inutilem fore hanc comitum¹³ creationem, nec omnino errat. Quis enim non vituperet¹⁴ usque ad mercatores sordidasque artes hoc decus egregium descendisse? Rex tamen, dum prohibere vult, quod fieri non debet, id etiam vetat, quod fuerat faciendum. Servandus est in omnibus rebus modus et, quam philosophi ponunt, *mediocritas* quaedam tenenda¹⁵. Sed hoc magnis auctoribus persuaderi debet. Mihi non plus fidei est quam pecuniae, idque tolero patienter, quando et me majores eodem haberi modo tractarique video. Sed de his finem facio, ne, dum loqui propono, videar oblocutus.

¹ SC, 61-62.

² SC, 388-389.

³ DV, ff. 16r-16v.

⁴ DV, ff. 19r-20v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M3

⁶ domino V4

⁷ reverendissime pater et domine colendissime post recommendationem *add.* M3; reverendissime pater et domine *add.* WO

⁸ M2, M3 use 2. pers. plural in *address.*

⁹ ipsius M2, M3

¹⁰ 17. ... die *omit.* M2

¹¹ *omit.* M2

¹² vere M3

¹³ comitatum M3

¹⁴ vituperat M3; vituperaret WO

¹⁵ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.* in *marg.* V2b

72. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (end of August¹ 1443, Vienna).

Context: Cardinal Cesarini had written to Chancellor Schlick and Piccolomini and also sent one of his agents, Niccolò Tifernate, to obtain the title of Palatine Count for an official of the Marquess of Ferrara.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the cardinal that the emperor – as a matter of principle – opposes the desired appointment, and that the counts of Cilly have been reconciled with the emperor.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant’Angelo, legate of the Apostolic See.

[1] It is not necessity but love that makes me write [to you],² for the letter you sent me from Buda on the 17th of this month³ has been answered by His Magnificence the Chancellor.⁴ In that letter you only asked me to promote the appointment a palatine count⁵. From the chancellor, you will hear what has and has not been done in the matter.⁶ I add that Niccolò di Castello⁷ raised the matter with me when he passed through and I told him what would happen. Most princes are this way: when they have reached an opinion, great skill is needed to change their minds. The king believes that the appointment of such counts is not useful, and he is by no means wrong, for who will not criticise the bestowal of this signal honour on merchants and men with sordid professions? But the king not only wishes to forbid what ought not to be done, he even forbids what ought to be done. In all things, we should observe the *golden mean*⁸ and the moderation that philosophers propose. Great men and movers⁹ should be persuaded of this. My personal opinion is that [in this regard¹⁰] money is more important than beliefs, and I can live with it, seeing that greater men than me feel the same and act accordingly.¹¹ But I stop here, so I shall not seem to babble when I wish to speak.

¹ The month must be August since the Bishop of Freising died during that month.

² In 1446, Poggio Bracciolini began a letter to Cardinal Beaufort with the words: *Cogit me ... singularis affectio ... ut ... ad te scribam* (Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), III, pp. 17).

³ The cardinal’s letter is not extant. Van Heck (HE, p. 168) appears to believe that the cardinal’s letter is the letter 56 above, but that is clearly impossible since that letter does not deal with the appointment of a count palatine. Moreover, it is undated, whereas Piccolomini explicitly states that the letter he replies to is dated the 17th [of August].

⁴ Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Palatine counts: a court title derived from earlier ages. Emperor Sigismund had distributed the title somewhat loosely in order to bolster the imperial finances, a practice that Friedrich III apparently wished to discontinue. The car-

dinal had requested the appointment for one Alberto de Bonacossi from Ferrara, who was in the service of Marquess Niccolò d’Este.

⁶ Letter from Chancellor Schlick to Cardinal Cesarini of 31 August (written by Piccolomini): *Tertio loco vestrarum litterarum poscebatis comitatum palatinum Alberto de Bonacossis Ferrariensi ex regio concedi munere. Summe preces vestro nomine serenitati regie facte sunt, sed nichil est, quod ab ea difficilius impetretur. Nemo adhuc dignitatem istam optinuit, nisi magne nobilitatis vir regique visus, et hi nondum quatuor fuere. Vult in hac re perfusam, ut opinor, Sigismundi Cesaris concessionem restricta et parca donatione compensare nec sane indigne. Namque si fateri volumus verum, nimis passim hec honesta et ampla dignitas reperitur concessa. Non tamen propterea desperandum amico vestro dixerim, nam si contigerit vestram reverendissimam paternitatem rursus esse apud hunc prin-*

cipem, non negabitur, ut existimo, persone vestre, quod litteris non est concessum. Idcirco rem hanc in aliud tempus differatis, quia non est, quod epistolis valeat impetrari aut per domesticos [e.g. Niccolò Tiferna-te] optineri (WO, 1: 2, ep. xxxvii, p. 71).

⁷ Niccolò Tifernate

⁸ “mediocritas”: cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 36, 130.

⁹ “auctores”

¹⁰ I.e., the appointment of palatine counts.

¹¹ Piccolomini is presumably referring to the money paid to the imperial treasury for the appointment as a count palatine. In that case, he seems to condone the “sale” of palatine titles for financial reasons. “Greater men than me”: possibly a reference to the chancellor who seems to have had more liberal opinions on the matter than Emperor Friedrich, dating from his experiences at Emperor Sigismund’s court.

[2] Novitates quoque vix ullae {17r} sunt, quae per me scribi debeant. Si quid erat, cancellarius praeoccupavit. Unum¹, quod ille praeteriit, ex me notum habebis. Comes enim Ciliae, qui diu et Viennae et hic fuit, petita errorum venia, gratiam regis meruit omninoque in concordiam rediit. Nec aliquid regia majestas ab eo voluit, quod non ex integro reportaverit. Senior comes nunc in Gretiam² venire debet regique se prosternere et omnia filii³ facta⁴ comprobare⁵. Debat rex citius illuc proficisci, sed plures eum occupationes detinuere. Nunc scio, si vera sunt, quae ipsius ab ore cadunt, iturum⁶ ipsum ante septendium, quia reverti eum Viennam ad res Bohemicas intra mensem oportet.

[3] De Cathelanis mutatis Gallicisque variatis⁷ nihil scribam, quia ex aliis confluere ad te nova non ambigo. Deus nobis unionem concedat. Qualiscumque ea fuerit tandem, quoniam si⁸ a Deo erit⁹, mala esse non poterit. Ex Italia miror nullam insignem per hos dies novitatem missam. Frisingensis episcopus, qui tuus amicus non vulgaris fuit, praeter opinatum omnium vita¹⁰ excessit. Rex successorem optat germanum¹¹ cancellarii. Res et¹² in capitulo et apud Eugenium et apud concilium diversimode¹³ ventilatur. Nec certum adhuc nec verisimile habeo, quis debeat voto potiri. Ego¹⁴ desideriis meis omnibus germano¹⁵ cancellarii maxime faveo. Det Deus illi, ut secunda sint universa.

Vale optime {17v} diuque meque, ut mea fert opinio, commendatum habe^{16 17}.

¹ ~~tamen~~ seq. V3

² Greziam V2

³ sibi M3

⁴ acta WO

⁵ approbare M3

⁶ iterum M2

⁷ varietatibus V4

⁸ omit. WO

⁹ fuerit M2, M3

¹⁰ vota M3

¹¹ esse domini add. M2, M3, V2a;

~~esse domini~~ seq. V2b

¹² est WO

¹³ per diversos M2, M3, V2a;

corr. ex per diversos V2b

¹⁴ ergo M3

¹⁵ domini add. M3

¹⁶ ut mea ... habe : commendatum habete/o ut mea fert opinio M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex commendatum habete ut mea fert opinio V2b

¹⁷ datum etc. add. M2; datum in Novacivitate add. WO; ~~datum in Novacivitate~~ seq. V2b

[2] There is barely any news for me to write, and what there is has been dealt with by the chancellor. However, one thing that he left out, you shall hear from me. The Count of Cilli¹ has long been in Vienna and here,² asking forgiveness for his errors. He has been restored to the king's favour, and there is now complete harmony between them.³ The count has done all His Royal Majesty wanted of him. The senior count⁴ will now come to Graz, prostrate himself before the king, and approve all his son's acts. The king would have gone to Graz earlier but was retained here by various affairs. If what he says comes true, I now know that he will go before seven days have passed since he must return to Vienna for the Bohemian matter.⁵

[3] I shall not be writing about the Catalan⁶ and French⁷ reversals⁸ since I am sure the news has reached you from others. May God grant us [church] union. Whatever form it takes, it cannot be wrong since it will come from God. I wonder why no significant news has reached us these days from Italy. To the surprise of all, the Bishop of Freising⁹ has died. The king wishes his successor to be the chancellor's brother.¹⁰ The matter is now being treated - in different ways - in the chapter,¹¹ at Eugenius' [court], and at the council.¹² I do not have certain or even probable information about who will succeed. For my own part, I support the chancellor's brother with all my strength.¹³ God give that everything may turn out well for him.

Farewell, and think well of me, as I believe you do.

¹ Ulrich II von Cilly, who, together with the emperor's own brother, Albrecht VI, had feuded against the emperor while he was away on his coronation voyage.

² Wiener Neustadt.

³ The peace settlement with the counts of Cilly was signed on 16 August 1443 (Chmel: *Geschichte*, II, p. 225). See letter 58: 5, and Langmeier, p. 72.

⁴ Hermann II von Cilly (ca. 1360-1435): Count of Cilly. Father of Barbara, Emperor Sigismund's wife.

⁵ A meeting between the emperor and a large delegation from Bohemia was to be held in Vienna on 29 September 1443, see letter 58: 1.

⁶ I.e. of King Alfonso V.

⁷ I.e. of King Charles VII.

⁸ See letter 71:2.

⁹ Nicodemo della Scala. Though his death may have happened suddenly, it was not unforeseen, and the chancellor had probably counted on it in his manoeuvres for providing his brother with an important bishopric.

¹⁰ Heinrich Schlick (ca. 1400-1448): Prince-bishop of Freising

1443-1448 but never managed to get possession of the see. Apparently an unremarkable churchman.

¹¹ The cathedral chapter of Freising.

¹² The rump council in Basel.

¹³ On this whole affair, see Piccolomini's oration "*Si putarem*" from 1445 (in COR, 2: 5), and a number of Piccolomini's private letters as well as official letters for the emperor and the chancellor from 1443 and 1444.

73. Letter to Alberigo Maletta (13 September 1443, Graz)

Manuscripts: L, f. 27r *; M1, f. 48r; M2, ff. 31r-31v¹; M3, ff. 198v-199r²; V2, ff. 28-29³; V3, ff. 22r-23r⁴ **; V4, ff. 21r-22r..

Editions: HE, 74, pp. 168-170; WO, 1: 1, 74, pp. 179-180; (both based on L, M1, V2).

Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit Alberico Malettæ Papiensi, comiti atque doctori oratori^{6 7 8}.

[1] Serenissimi regis Aragonum, cujus praeclaras virtutes non solum homines, sed ipsa⁹ facta loquuntur, epistolam quandam Caesari nostro illustrissimi¹⁰ marchionis tabellarius¹¹ reddidit, sicut et tu mihi futurum significasti. In ea titulus erat, qui Utriusque Siciliae mentionem efficiebat, quam rem satis sum demiratus. Legi namque satis multas historias, cosmographiam quoque perscrutatus sum nec umquam Siciliam reperi nisi unam, quae tum Sicania tum Trinacria dicta est, quam nonnulli ex veteribus conjunctam olim Italiae tradunt fuisse, sed impulsu continuo superi atque inferi maris disjectam esse terram, quae Regium Pelorumque conjungebat, moxque Scyllae atque Carybdis inter abrupta montium et immania¹² antra locum monstris fabulose datum. Quod vero ea Italiae portio, quae quondam Magna Graecia dicebatur, Siciliae nomen habuerit, nec legi umquam, nec audivi nisi nunc, quod mihi absurdum videtur. Nec satis causae¹³ mihi¹⁴ praebet, quod reges Siciliae, qui Neapolim tenuerunt, duo regna fecerint, alterum ultra Farum, alterum citra, nam hoc regnum Apuliae, illud Siciliae dicebatur, non utrumque Siciliae. Hoc a litteras regis, nunc ad tuas venio.

¹ SC, 69-70.

² SC 401-402.

³ DV, ff. 19v-20r.

⁴ DV, ff. 25r-26r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M3

⁶ *add.* in marg. V3; *omit.* M3, V2

⁷ *magnifice comes ac doctore eximie* *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~*magnifice comes ac doctore eximie*~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ *titulus omit.* L, M1

⁹ *et* M3

¹⁰ *domini add.* L, M1; *omit.* V4

¹¹ *caballarius* V2-V4 [*see following letter, sect. 1, where Piccolomini uses "tabellarius"*]

¹² *ut minima* M3

¹³ *omit.* M2

¹⁴ *causae mihi : mihi cause* L

73. Letter to Alberigo Maletta (13 September 1443, Graz).

- Context:* There had been a correspondence between the imperial and the Ferrarese courts on a number of issues, including the conversion of a cash payment of a yearly tax (for Modena, an imperial vicariate) into an annual gift-like offer of gold cloth and silver vessels.
- Subject:* Piccolomini comments on the expression “Two Sicilies”. He gently rebukes Maletta for not replying to his letter concerning the third council. And finally, he conveys the emperor’s acceptance of a conversion of the yearly tax payment. He – jokingly, as he claims – exhorts Maletta to procure him a Ferrarese prebend. Maletta would surely have understood the joke.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Alberigo Maletta¹ from Pavia, count and doctor.

[1] As you had informed me beforehand, a messenger from the Illustrious Marquess² has brought our emperor a letter from the Most Serene King of Aragon,³ whose excellent virtues are proclaimed not just by men, but by his very acts. The [king’s] titlature made mention of The Two Sicilies,⁴ which rather surprised me, for though I have read many historical works and also perused the *Cosmography*,⁵ I have only seen one Sicily, formerly called Sicania or Trinacria. Several ancient [authors] state that once Sicily was conjoined with Italy, but under the ceaseless onslaught of the Upper and the Lower Sea,⁷ the land joining Reggio⁸ and Peloro⁹ fell into the sea,¹⁰ and eventually – as the fables say – the ragged cliffs and horrid caves of Scylla and Charybdis became a place for monsters. But that the part of Italy once called Magna Graecia¹¹ should have carried the name of Sicily I have never read or heard before. It seems absurd to me, and I am not at all convinced by the [argument] that the kings of Sicily who also held Naples established two kingdoms [called of Sicily], one on the far side of Faro¹² and one on this side, for the first was called the Kingdom of Sicily and the second the Kingdom of Puglia. They were not called of The Two Sicilies. No more about the king’s letter, now I come to yours.

¹ Alberigo Maletta (ca. 1410-1466): Pavian jurist. From 1440, in the service of the marquesses of Ferrara.

² Leonello d’Este, Marquess of Ferrara.

³ Alfonso V. As father-in-law to Marquess Leonello d’Este, Alfonso in a letter to the emperor requested that the marquess be freed of imperial taxation on the territory of Modena, cf. the chancellor’s response to Alfonso of 16 September (WO, 1: 2, ep. xlvi, pp. 89-90) and his letter to the marquess of 17 September (ibid., ep. xlvii, pp. 90-91).

⁴ Before the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, King Charles I of Anjou had ruled the Kingdom of Sicily, comprising Southern Italy (Puglia) and the island of Sicily. After the War of the Sicilian Vespers (1282-

1302), the island of Sicily, known as the Kingdom of Sicily, came to the House of Aragon. Charles continued to rule the mainland area, also officially known as the Kingdom of Sicily. Thus, there were two kingdoms of Sicily, though the mainland kingdom was informally known as the Kingdom of Naples (or Puglia). When Alfonso V reunited the two kingdoms in 1442, he called it Regnum utriusque Siciliae (Kingdom of both Sicilies).

⁵ Probably Ptolemy’s *Cosmographia* (Geographia). Piccolomini would later also get to know the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister.

⁶ The classical sources consulted by Piccolomini would evidently not know of developments in the 13th/14th century. Piccolomini’s knowledge of classical history may have been excellent, but this exam-

ple shows that his knowledge of medieval history was inadequate.

⁷ The Upper and Lower Mediterranean Sea.

⁸ On the peninsular side of the Messina Strait.

⁹ On the Sicilian side of the Messina Strait.

¹⁰ This information Piccolomini may have from Justinus, 4: 1, 1: *Siciliam ferunt angustis quondam faucibus Italiae adhaesisse direptamque uelut a corpore maiore impetu superi maris, quod toto undarum onere illuc uehitur.*

¹¹ Magna Graecia: Roman name for the coastal areas of Southern Italy in the regions of Calabria, Puglia, Basilicata and Campania largely populated by Greek settlers.

¹² The North-Eastern point of Sicily.

[2] Scribis te velle mihi respondere duabus epistolis meis, quas diversis temporibus suscepisti. Perlegi omnia, quae scribis, nihil invenio, quod meis petitis respondeas. De rebus namque ecclesiae, quas tibi commendavi, nullum facis verbum, sed omnis sermo tuus in marchionis causa versatur. Plus amas – ut video¹ – tuum principem², quam putarem. Cum³ enim sua ingredieris negotia, nihil est, quod amplius recorderis, utinam sciret ille⁴ tuam fidelitatem, nam cum sit in omnes bonus, in te optimus esset. Suades mihi rem suam cordi habeam, non loqueris muto, sum tui similis: non minus quam tu cupio marchioni consultum esse cum propter multas ejus virtutes, quibus nostrum ornat saeculum, tum quia eum favere⁵ ingeniis et scio et gaudeo. Curam meam, studium et sollicitudinem universam apud cancellarium et apud regem adhibui. Si causam egissem meam, nec tam ardens fuisset, nec tam facundus⁶. Cancellarius non indignus stimulo, ipse sibi calcar erat. Quod novi habitum est, hoc est, ut mille aurei, qui venire quotannis in censum⁷ petebantur, in pannos aureos aut argentea vasa convertantur, ne sordida videatur pecuniarum praestatio. Nihil plus est, quod precibus sit concessum. Vos nunc consulite, quod in rem vestram sit. Ego non tanti facerem, quod mutari potest. Quod mea devotio illustrissimo domino marchioni sit nota, percarum est, si modo⁸ et sua erga me caritas extendatur. Cupit enim omnis dilectio redamari, quod tunc in me fieri sciam, cum mihi scripseris: “Gaude, Silvi, quia ex munificentia mei principis pingue nactus es⁹ beneficium.”

Vale et jocis ut jocis utere, seria, uti sunt, recipe. Dominum Danielelem, si quando ad te venit, aut si quando ei scribis, meis verbis salvum facito¹⁰. Ex Gretz, oppido Stiriae, idibus septembris 1443^{11 12}.

¹ ut video *omit.* M3

² tuum principem : principem tuum M3

³ ut video ... cum *omit.* V4

⁴ sciret ille: ille sciret L

⁵ favore M3

⁶ fecundus M3

⁷ sensum V4

⁸ nostra M3

⁹ est M2, M3

¹⁰ meis verbis ... facito : salvum facito meis verbis M2

¹¹ oppido Stiriae ...1443 : etc. M2

¹² tuus Aeneas secretarius imperialis *add.* M1; tuus Aeneas poeta secretarius imperialis *add.* M3

[2] You write that you wish to reply to two letters of mine¹ which you received at various times. I have read through your whole letter, but I find nothing in reply to my requests. You make no mention of the ecclesiastical matters that I recommended to you but only speak of the affairs of the marquess. You seem to love your prince even more than I had thought, for when you enter into his affairs, you forget about everything else!² I hope he knows about your loyalty, for being good towards all, he would then be even better towards you. You urge me to have his affairs at heart, and you do not speak on deaf ears, for in this I am like you: there is nothing I desire more than the marquess' prosperity both because of his many virtues that grace this age and because I know and am delighted that he favours intellectuals.³ I presented the matters⁴ to the chancellor⁵ and the king⁶ with all possible commitment, enthusiasm and solicitude, and I showed even greater ardour and eloquence than if I had argued my own cause. The chancellor did not need incitement, for he was his own spur. The news is that the 1,000 gold ducats requested as an annual tax may be converted into gold cloth and silver vessels to avoid the impression of a base monetary transaction.⁷ None of the other requests was granted. So, consider now what is to your advantage. Personally, I would not attach too much importance to something that may eventually be changed.⁸ I am very happy that my devotion is known to the Most Illustrious Lord Marquess if only he also extends his benevolence to me. For love will be loved in return, and I shall know this is so when you write to me: "Rejoice, Silvio, for my prince has generously obtained a fat prebend for you."

Farewell. Take my jokes for what they are worth, and accept the serious parts as they are. Greet Daniele⁹ from me when he visits you or you write to him. From Graz, a city in Steiermark, 13 September 1443.

¹ These letters are not extant.

² Here, Piccolomini is chastising Maletta with gentle irony.

³ I.e., by favouring humanist scholars.

⁴ Converting crass cash payment of a yearly tax to payment in the gift-like form of gold cloth and silver vessels.

⁵ Kaspar Schlick.

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ In a letter of 16 September 1443 from the chancellor to Alberico Maletta (written by Piccolomini), the chancellor said: *Ex quo*

marchio Ferrariensis non reputat sibi ad honorem annuam pecuniam dare, contenti sumus sibi complacere, ut summam mille florenorum auri in res alias convertat nobisque et successoribus nostris singulis annis in festo nativitatis domini nostri pannum aureum pro quingentis et vasa argentea pro aliis quingentis ducatis transmittat. Et iste erit census nobilis et respecto donationis ipsius valde exiguus. Et hoc est, quod ex sua majestate ad ultimum excerptum potui (WO, I: 2, ep. xlvi, p. 84).

⁸ *Ibid.*: *Quantum vero ad jura cancellarie et aliorum officialium pertinet, satis vobis alias scripsi ... Ea namque immutabilia sunt. ... Ita confidere debet illustrissimus marchio de domino nostro rege, quia in dies res melius maturantur. Nec dubito, quin tantum inter utrumque gratia crescat, quod hec omnia in melius convertantur, ad quas res promovendas ero ego indefessus sollicitator* (pp. 84-85).
⁹ *dominum Danielelem*, not identified.

74. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (mid September 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: BSB / clm 5311, f. 237r * **.

Editions: HE, 75, pp. 170-171; WO, 1: 1, 75, pp. 180-181 (both based on clm 5311).

{237r} Aeneas Silvius poeta spectabili ac eximio doctori Nicolao salutem dicit plurimam.

[1] Per tabellarium illustris domini marchionis Ferrariae vestras recepi litteras suavitatis et benevolentiae plenas, gavisusque sum valde bonam de me factam esse relationem ipsi marchioni per eximium dominum Albericum Malettam. Nam quamvis non ille sim, de quo dici tanta debeant, gratum tamen mihi est praefatum marchionem bene de me sentire, quia etsi facta mea parva sint, animus tamen maximus est, qui sibi servire vellet, nec aliud quam potestas deest. Quod vero nunc in re ipsius marchionis scribo ad longum eidem domino Alberico, qui - ut puto - vobis singula reserabit. Feci, quod potui, in ejus favorem nec exigendum est ab homine plus quam possit.

[2] Quod de meo statu gaudeatis, nihil ambigo, nam et idem mihi contigit de omni vestra prosperitate, quamvis ego semper pusillus fuerim et adhuc sim. Placuit audisse, quae dicitis de cara sorore laudoque pietatem vestram. Nam id est verum officium boni viri circa conjunctos sanguine humanitatem exercere quam maximam. Eam itaque non causa necessitatis, sed amore urgente iterum vobis atque iterum commendo.

74. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (mid September 1443, Graz).

Context: Arcimboldi had asked Piccolomini for his assistance to obtain a court position for the physician Francischino da Verona.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Arcimboldi that he cannot help him since it would be highly impolitic for him, as an Italian, to endeavour to introduce other Italians to the court, and also because a physician's responsibility for the emperor's person was fraught with risk, also to the person who had recommended him.

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to the eminent and distinguished doctor Niccolò.¹

[1] From the messenger of the Illustrious Lord Marquess of Ferrara² I have received your letter full of kindness and benevolence. I was glad to hear that the distinguished Alberico Maletta³ has made an excellent report about me to the marquess, for though I do not merit such praise, I am happy that the marquess has a good opinion about me. My achievements on his behalf may be unimportant,⁴ but I greatly wish to serve him – only the means are lacking. I have written a long letter on the marquess' matter to Alberico, who – I trust – will relate it all to you. I have done what I could for the marquess, and a man must not be required to do more than he can.

[2] I do not doubt that you are happy about my [new] status,⁵ as I, too, am glad to see you prospering (though I myself have always been and still am an unimportant person). I was pleased to hear what you said about your dear sister,⁶ and I praise your dedication, for it is the true duty of a good man to show his relatives the greatest possible kindness. Thus I commend you again and again, not out of necessity but out of love.

¹ See letter 63: 3. Arcimboldi appears to be an old friend of Piccolomini. They apparently formed a relationship during a common stay in Florence, see letter 83: 3. In 1431, Francesco Filelfo gave/sent Piccolomini a letter of introduction to Arcimboldi (Filelfo: *Collected* (Keyser), 1: 135. *Nel 1439 [Arcim-*

boldi] fu oratore presso Eugenio IV a Firenze, ove era stato trasferito il concilio, e quivi ebbe modo di rinsaldare ulteriormente l'amicizia col Piccolomini. This information is erroneous since Piccolomini did not visit Firenze during that period.

² Leonello d'Este.

³ See letter 73: 2.

⁴ See letter 73.

⁵ As secretary to the emperor.

⁶ Van Heck believes that Piccolomini is speaking about one of his own sisters (HE, p. 171), but that appears unlikely.

[3] De domino Francischino Veronensi intellexi, quae scribitis, sed certe res non est per me tractanda. Nam licet ego permaxime cuperem plures esse nostri generis apud hunc principem, qui me laborare levarent et delectarent sermone, scio tamen, quid periculi sit loqui super hoc. Nobis enim non habetur multa fides (de Italicis dico). Apud istos ego tamquam subditus et probatus per 18 annos spatium ad hunc, in quo sum, statum veni magna cum patientia et tolerantia, qua fretum esse oportet hominem inter externos viventem. Si tamen alius loqueretur et non veniret a me, possem juvare sermone et commendatione. Sed fugere me oportet tamquam ignem, ne quid tale a me proficiscatur, quia non parva res est corpus principis in cura habere, idemque de vobis dico. At si mediatorem aliquem Teutonicum habere potestis, ego semper subsequebar et subserviam oratione, quam potero.

Valete optime et me recommissum facite praefato domino Francischino ceterisque nostris amicis, et amate me, ut soletis. Datum.

[3] Concerning Francischino of Verona, I understand what you write, but I am certainly not the right person to deal with this matter. For though I should greatly wish that there were others of our kind¹ with this prince, who could ease my burdens and please me by speaking [Italian], I know that it would be risky for me to take up this matter. The reason is that we (I mean the Italians) are not much trusted here. Among these people, I am but a subordinate, and only after labouring for 18 years,² I have now reached my present position, mustering the patience and tolerance necessary for someone who lives among foreigners.³ If somebody else would take up this matter, I could help with words and recommendations. But otherwise, I must avoid this matter like a burning fire so that such an initiative does not come from me, for it is not a small thing to have a prince's body in one's care.⁴ However, if you find a German mediator, I shall always support and assist him in words to the best of my ability.

Farewell, and recommend me to Francischino and our other friends, and love me, as always. Date.

¹ Presumably educated Italians.

² The young Piccolomini arrived in Basel in 1432, never before having left Italy. That is 11-12, not 18 years before the letter to Arcimboldi. As he presumably knew this very well, there must have been an unnoted error in the original text or a later copy.

³ In his *Commentarii*, Piccolomini wrote about his initial period in the imperial chancery: *When Schlick*

went to Nuremberg as the emperor's legate, he delegated his authority in the chancery to Wilhelm Tacz, a Bavarian who hated all Italians. This man insulted Aeneas outrageously but Aeneas, having made up his mind to conquer evil with good, laid back his ears like the stubborn ass, whose burden is too heavy for his back. And so, despite for the fact that he was considered the last and least of all,

and did not have a proper place at table or a suitable room and was hated and despised and laughed at like a heretic or a Jew, he bore everything calmly (COM, 1: 2, 3 (Merve, 1, p. 47).

⁴ If the prince's health failed, an Italian doctor – and anyone who had recommended him – would be at special risk.

75. Letter to Dénes Szécsi (16 September 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 14r ff. *; M1, ff. 48v-50r; M2, ff. 50v-52r¹; M3, ff. 201v-203r²; V2, ff. 41-47³; V3, ff. 22r-26r⁴ **;
V4, ff. 22r-25v.

Editions: HE, 76, pp. 171-175; WO, 1: 1, 75, pp. 182-187; (both based on L, M1, V2).

Translations: ME, 15, pp. 71-77; WI, pp. 40 (extract).

{23v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Dionysio, archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero cardinali salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Res nova, pater colendissime, et fortasse mira videbitur, quod⁷ ego tuae⁸ paternitati scribam, qui nihil habeo tecum negotii, quique nec nomine nec corpore apud te sum notus. Sed postfacio⁹ ista, dum me complacitum¹⁰ vestrae reverendissimae paternitati non ambigo. Namque cum partes serenissimi domini regis Ladislai inter¹¹ primarios teneas defendasque¹², quis dubitet gratum¹³ tibi fore¹⁴ illius audire¹⁵ sospitatem¹⁶, quem toto conatu defendis¹⁷. Ego quidem certus sum paternitatem tuam reverendissimam nihil in terris magis desiderare quam puerum illum bene optimeque valere. De qua re cum dubia mens tua ex¹⁸ Vienna nuper – ut accepi¹⁹ – recesserit, non²⁰ est ab re meis litteris scribi, quod oculis vidi meis, ut confundantur, qui passioni consulentes suae²¹ non rei verba, sed rem verbis²² aptare nituntur. Scribam igitur tuae dignationi, quid nuper de puero et a puero in Stiria sit actum²³. Quod, nisi verum comperias²⁴, subjicio me cujusvis iudicio, etiam inimici²⁵, et ascribo poenae²⁶, quam falsi testes merentur. Jamque rem prosequor.

[2] Stiriae fluvius est, qui ex Alpibus praecipitatus Dravum influit amnem ac exinde per Histrum fertur in Pontum,²⁷ Muram incolae vocitant. Propter hujus ripam oppidum jacet gentili nomine Gretz dictum. Hic ex medio camporum {24r} aequore ingens tumulus surgit, praeruptis undique scopulis liber, cujus cacumen arx tenet, et natura loci et opis humanae praesidio munita, ad regiam quoque fastigiata magnificentiam. Hic spes Austriae, Hungariae desiderium, et Bohemorum cura nutritus est rex Ladislaus puer, quem idibus septembribus²⁸ in aula regia coram Friderico Caesare, patruale suo, *magna* baronum *stipante caterva*, sum contemplatus. *Adhibe*, obsecro, *ures* tibi et puerum et mores describam, nec sine voluptate, ut opinor, quae referam, audies.

¹ SC, 108-111.

² SC, 406-410.

³ DV, 26r-29r.

⁴ DV, 26v-30r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2

⁶ *Titulus: omit.* L, M1; Aeneas Silvius (poeta) salutem plurimam dicit reverendissimo in Christo patri Dionysio, archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero cardinali M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit reverendissimo in Christo patri Dionysio, archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero cardinali V2b

⁷ quam V4

⁸ L, M1, V2a use 2nd pers. plural in *adress.*

⁹ patefacio M2

¹⁰ placitum M3

¹¹ in te V4

¹² teneas defendasque : teneris defendi M3

¹³ gratam M2

¹⁴ ferre M2

¹⁵ *omit.* M2

¹⁶ hospitatem M1

¹⁷ quem toto ... defendis : *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹⁸ a HE; *omit.* WO

¹⁹ nuper ut accepi : *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

²⁰ *omit.* V4

²¹ *omit.* M3

²² rem verbis: verbis rem M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* verbis rem V2b

²³ quid nuper ... actum : que nuper in Stiria respexi M1, M2, M3; *corr. ex* que nuper in Stiria respexi V2b

²⁴ fuerit M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* fuerit V2b

²⁵ Poloni M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Poloni V2b

²⁶ et ascribo poenae : meque pene ascribo M1-M3

²⁷ quem *add.* M3

²⁸ septembris M1, M3

75. Letter to Dénes Szécsi (16 September 1443, Graz).

- Context:* After the death of Emperor Albrecht II, his son Ladislaus inherited, as the Habsburgs claimed, his kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. As a new-born baby, he was crowned king of Hungary by the Archbishop Szécsi of Esztergom, but a party of Hungarian nobles, instead, elected the young king Wladyslaw III of Poland as King of Hungary. The party supporting the boy-king Ladislaus wavered, even Archbishop Szécsi.
- Subject:* Piccolomini relates the presentation of the three-year-old boy Ladislaus at a court function in Graz and the emperor's formal declaration that he would support Ladislaus' claims on the Hungarian and Bohemian crowns. Piccolomini also describes the character and noble line of Ladislaus. The whole letter is a piece of Habsburg propaganda on behalf of Ladislaus and is designed to strengthen his vacillating supporters and impress his opponents.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Dénes,¹ Archbishop of Esztergom, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church.

[1] Most Worshipful Father, it is new and possibly surprising that I write to Your Paternity since, otherwise, I have no business with you, and my name and my person are unknown to you. But this I put aside, trusting that this letter will please Your Most Reverend Paternity. Among the magnates, you staunchly defend the cause of the Most Serene Lord King Ladislaus,² so you will undoubtedly be happy to hear that he whom you defend with all your might is safe and sound. Indeed, I am sure Your Most Reverend Paternity desire nothing more than this boy's prosperity. I have heard you were in doubt when you recently left Vienna, and therefore I think it is suitable to write to you what I have seen with my own eyes to confound those who, led by their passions alone, endeavour to adapt reality to their words and not their words to reality. So, I shall write to your Excellency what recently happened with this boy in Steiermark. If you find what I write to be untrue, I submit myself to punishment by anyone, even an enemy,³ and accept such punishment as is deserved by false witnesses. And now to the matter itself.

[2] In Steiermark, there is a river that falls from the Alps and joins the river Drau and from there continues as the Donau until it reaches the Pontic Sea.⁴ The locals call this river Mur. Close to this river is a town which in that people's language is called Graz. In the middle of the plain, an enormous hill rises, with steep cliffs on all sides. On the top is a castle protected by nature as well as by human arts, a monument of royal splendour. Here they raise him who is the hope of Austria, the desire of Hungary, and the aspiration of the Bohemians, the boy-king Ladislaus, whom I saw on the 13th of September at the royal court, in the presence of Emperor Friedrich, *surrounded by a great crowd*⁵ of barons. *Lend your ears*,⁶ please, and let me describe the boy and his character, which I trust you will hear with pleasure.

¹ Dénes Szécsi (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom [Gran] 1440 to his death. Cardinal (1439). Supporter of Empress Elizabeth and her son, King Ladislaus.

² King Ladislaus the Posthumous,

³ The early version of this text has "a Pole".

⁴ The Black Sea.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 1: 497.

⁶ Plautus: *Pseudolus*, 1: 2, 20.

[3] Annos natus tres erat puellus jamque attigerat quartum, sed aetatem maturiorem tum proceritas pueri tum intellectum mentiebatur. Tu eum aliquando in ulnis habuistis, quando coronam regio imponens capiti, “*Nunc dimittis¹ servum tuum, domine,*” dixisti, “*quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.*” Sed alia nunc pueri facies est. Aspectus ejus omnes, qui aderant, incredibili voluptate replevit. Incedebat namque per aulam, tamquam sciret se regem esse deberique sibi ab omnibus reverentiam oculosque nunc huc nunc illuc non sine majestate quadam deflectens. Candidulam manum porrigebat astantibus tantaque relucebat in puero gravitas, ut saepe minorem grandaevi² reges prae se ferant³. Antequam patruelis⁴ adesset, nutricem percunctatus est saepe, ubinam esset, atque⁵, ut⁶ venientem didicit, in honorantis modum suapte caput inflexit, et tamquam sciret ducalis dignitas quantum ab imperiali distaret, {24v} aliter Sigismundo duci, aliter Caesari se obvium dedit. Dum hinc atque hinc in circulo interpellaretur, Aethiopem forte vidit moxque in Caesaris fugiens sinum, “Heu quam,” inquit, “deformis es.” Demiratus est Caesar confugientis ad se pueri confidentiam, qui priori tempore numquam in eum dirigere lumina voluisset laetusque novitatem circumstantibus exponebat.

[4] Tum magnificus cancellarius Gaspar, “Ne mirere,” inquit, “imperator, numen in puero est, nec regius sanguis divini spiritus tutela caret. Matrem habuit, cum te antea⁷ sprexit, nunc illa defuncta praeter te habet neminem, ideoque tibi tamquam patri alludit⁸. Tu illi pater, tu mater, tu avus es. In te illi spes, in te subsidium, in te salus est. Scit hoc puellus, et quia pupillus est orphanusque, auxilium tuum implorat. Te sibi patronum petit, tutorem, advocatum, protectorem. “Ego desertus sum,” ait. “Hinc Poloni Hungariam occupant, hinc Bohemi novas res moliri student, aetas mea contemnitur, et quia annos non habeo, nec jus credor habere. At si tu me, Caesar⁹, juveris, maxima haec duo regna mihi oboedient, nec praeter te majorem regem, quam ego ero, Europa videbit. Sin deseris, ex rege coronato parvulus fiam dux. Ex quibus rebus altera domum nostram tollet in coelum, altera in profundum merget. Sed obsecro, ut curam mei habeas, Caesar, ut familiae nostrae honori consulas et tuam serves dignitatem, ne jus meum alieni usurpent meaque abutantur aetate.” Hoc vult puer, {25r} o Caesar, cum ad te venit, hoc illae blanditiae postulant. Hoc est, quod ad te confugit non sine aliqua divinitatis instigatione. Tu pueri, tu pupilli et orphani et sanguinis tui miserere.”

¹ dimitte M1

² grandem V4

³ ferunt V4

⁴ omit. M2

⁵ at V4

⁶ cum V3

⁷ ante M1

⁸ patri alludit : alludit patri M2

⁹ me Caesar : Caesar me M2

[3] The boy was now in his fourth year¹ but seemed older since his growth and precocity belied his age. You once held him in your arms when you placed the crown on his royal head² and said, “*Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, o Lord, because my eyes have seen thy salvation.*”³ But the boy, of course, now looks different. The sight of him filled all those who were present with incredible joy, for he passed through the hall as if he knew he was a king and owed reverence by all. Regally, he cast his eyes now here, now there. He gave his little white hand to those who stood by, and so great dignity shone forth in the boy that he surpassed many greater kings. Before his cousin⁴ arrived, he often asked his nurse where he was and when he would come. And when he came, the boy of himself bowed in reverence and, as if he knew the great difference between imperial and ducal rank, greeted Siegmund⁵ differently than the emperor. While he was being addressed by those standing around, he happened to see a moor there and fled into the emperor’s arms. “Augh,” he said, “you are ugly.” The emperor was amazed at the trust the boy showed in fleeing to him since previously he had never wanted to look at him, and rejoicing, he spoke with those around him about this new thing.

[4] Then his Magnificence, Chancellor Kaspar, said, “Do not be surprised at the godly power in the boy, for his royal blood has the protection of the divine spirit. When he spurned you previously, he still had his mother,⁶ but now that she is dead, he has nobody except you, and that is why he acts as if you were his father. Indeed, you are his father, his mother and his grandparent. In you are his hope, his help and his safety. The boy knows this, and since he is a ward and an orphan, he begs for your help. He asks you to be his patron, his guardian, his champion, his protector. “I have been deserted,” he says. “The Poles occupy Hungary, and the Bohemians⁷ are plotting new things. My tender age is being rejected, and since I am so young, they think I have no rights. If you help me, Emperor, these two great kingdoms will obey me, and Europe will see no greater king than me other than you. But if you abandon me, I will no longer be a crowned king but just a little duke. Helping me will raise our House to Heaven, and abandoning me will cast it into the abyss. I beg you, Emperor, to take care of me, to defend our family’s honour, and to protect your own dignity lest others⁸ usurp my rights and exploit my young age.” This, oh Emperor, is what the boy wants when he comes to you, this is what his caresses mean. This is why he, divinely inspired, flees to you. Do have mercy upon this boy, this orphan, this ward of your own blood.”⁹

¹ Ladislaus was born on 22 February 1440 and was now about three and a half years old.

² Cardinal Szécsi had crowned Ladislaus King of Hungary on 15 May 1440, in Szekesfehervar, when Ladislaus was less than three months old, but his coronation was declared invalid by a majority of the Hungarian prelates and nobles, who instead elected the Polish king, Wladyslaw III, King of Hungary. Cf. Piccolomini: *Europa*, 6 (Brown, p. 57): *At Székesfehérvár, on the same day [he was born]*

he received his baptism ... and the holy crown of Hungary ... Dénes, Archbishop of Esztergom, who was later granted the honor of the cardinalate ... crowned both kings, one [Ladislaus the Posthumous] voluntarily and the other [the Polish king Wladyslaw III] by compulsion.

³ Luke, 2: 29-30.

⁴ The emperor.

⁵ Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, another cousin of the emperor and, at the time, still in his wardship.

⁶ Empress Elizabeth had died on 19 December 1442.

⁷ The Bohemians had rejected Ladislaus’ claim to the Bohemian crown, but they had not elected another king in his stead.

⁸ Like the Polish king.

⁹ This is either a fictive speech imagined by Piccolomini or an actual speech held by the chancellor to the king and written by Piccolomini.

[5] Moverunt Caesarem tum puelli blandimenta, tum Gasparis verba. At post morulam, "Non deseram," inquit, "Gaspar, sanguinem meum, nec, si Romanum imperium aut Austria quidquam poterit periclitari, justitiam pueri sustinebo." Sicque locutus patruelem brachiis elevans media fronte saviatus¹ est. Erat puer, ultra quam² dici posset³, formosus. Nasum avi materni et frontem susceperat, oculos ex patre mutuatus fuerat, pectus et humeros ex utroque. Cetera matris erant, ore parvo, malis ad gratiam tumescentibus, *succi plenus ac plus lactis habens quam sanguinis*, capillis crispis et in auri fulgorem nitentibus, risu cum verecundia mixto. Nihil in puero menda dignum. Si nudum solumque in nemore quis reperisset, regium genus in puero cognovisset. Nec aut illi canis aut lupa defuisset nutrix, sicut de Cyro referunt atque Romulo

[6] O, si puerum hunc viderent Hungari tui⁴, qui tecum in fide manserunt. O, si eum tangere aut audire possent, quos animos sumerent, quas acies ducerent, quae bella gererent, quas ederent hostium strages! Stupebam olim ego, cum legerem *Macedonas* cum Illiriensibus proeliantes, quoniam prima pugna succubuissent sequenti die *certamen* instaurasse infantemque⁵, ob cuius regnum certabant, ad bellum jacentem *in cunis* detulisse, {25v} quo visu tantus ardor invaserit milites, ut hinc leones, illinc pecudes crediti fuerint proeliantes. Accendit namque virtutem commiseratio pueri, quem indigne⁶ privari regno cernebant. Versi in fugam ergo⁷ Illyrii victoriam hostibus reddiderunt recognoscentes priori certamine non vires illis aut animos, sed *regis auspicia defuisse*.

[7] Quae cum mihi prius fabulosa viderentur, Ladislaus puer avitis⁸ regnis spoliatus credibilia praebuit. Nam si ego alienigena sub imperio natus Romano *commoveri viscera* et omnes mutari affectus ex aspectu pueri sensi⁹, quid, inquam, facturi sunt illi, quibus hunc natura dominum tradidit, quos pater ejus et mater et avus¹⁰ rexere, qui eum inter se nasci viderunt, qui caput ejus adhuc infans diademate cinxerunt, qui jurejurando promiserunt oboedientiam? Nempe, si verum¹¹ mea sententia fert, non solum fideles praesentia pueri commoveret, sed ipsos etiam, qui fidem cum fortuna mutarunt, ad commiserationem traheret, immo et ipsos hostium truces¹² animos frangeret, nec telum esset tam asperum, cuius acies in puerum posset¹³ adeo¹⁴ generosum, nec ullius¹⁵ oratio tantum momenti haberet in populos¹⁶, quantum seipsum puer in medio multitudinis erigens, sive is esset, quem mirabantur Athenae, sive quem universi¹⁷ sequebantur quirites¹⁸. Habet enim latentem quandam energiam regis facies, nec ullus est tam durus, tam asper, tam ferus aut {26r} immanis¹⁹, qui regibus²⁰ indigna ferentibus non compatiatur.

¹ i.e. osculatus *add. interlin.* M1

² *omit.* M2

³ possit M3

⁴ tu M3

⁵ infantem M2

⁶ indigni M2

⁷ in fugam ergo : ergo in fugam

WO

⁸ i.e. paternis *glossa interlin.* M1; a suis M2

⁹ pensi V4

¹⁰ mater et avus : avus et mater M2

¹¹ vera V4

¹² i.e. hostiles *glossa interlin.* M1

¹³ in puerum posset : posset in

puerum L

¹⁴ in tantum *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁵ vilis M2

¹⁶ pupillos M3

¹⁷ vicini si M3

¹⁸ i.e. milites *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁹ *corr. ex inanis* M1; inanis WO

²⁰ rebus M1

[5] The emperor was moved both by the boy's endearments and Kaspar's words. After a short pause, he said, "Kaspar, I shall not fail my own blood, and if the Empire and Austria have any power, I shall not allow the rights of the boy to be threatened." Having said this, he took his cousin up in his arms and kissed him on the forehead. The boy is a most beautiful child. He has the nose and forehead from his maternal grandfather,¹ the eyes from his father,² and the breast and shoulders from both. The rest is from his mother,³ a small mouth and gracefully rounded cheeks.⁴ He is full of sap⁵ and more of milk than blood,⁶ with curly and shining golden hair, laughing and shy at the same time. There was no blemish in the boy. If someone found him nude and alone in a forest, he would immediately see that the boy was of royal lineage, and a hound or wolf to nurse him would not be wanting, as they tell about Cyrus⁷ and Romulus.⁸

[6] Oh, if those Hungarians who, together with you, stayed loyal to him could see him now! Oh, if they could touch or hear him, what courage they would take, what battles they would fight, what wars they would wage, what defeats they would inflict upon the enemies! I was amazed when I once read that the *Macedonians*, after succumbing in a first battle with the Illyrians, the next day renewed the fight, bringing with them the infant⁹ for whose lordship they fought, *lying in his cradle*. When the Macedonian soldiers saw the boy, such burning courage seized them that it seemed that lions were fighting on their side and cattle on the other. They were inflamed with pity for the boy they saw unjustly deprived of his kingdom. The Illyrians turned to flight and ceded victory to the enemies, realising that in the first battle, the Macedonians had not been *lacking* strength or courage but *the sight of their king*.¹⁰

[7] Earlier, I thought this story was a fable, but now that the boy Ladislaus has been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, it becomes credible. For if I, a foreigner born under the Roman Empire,¹¹ can *become moved*¹² and so affected at seeing the boy, then what will they do, who received him as their lord from nature, who were governed by his father, mother and grandfather, who saw him born among them, who crowned his infant's head, and who swore obedience to him? Indeed, if I am correct, his presence would not only move his supporters but also make those people pity him who changed their allegiance at fortune's whim. It would soften even the hearts of cruel enemies, and no spear would be so sharp that it could hurt such a noble boy. And no orator – be it he whom Athens admired¹³ or he whom all the Roman citizens¹⁴ followed¹⁵ – could have such an effect on people as Ladislaus if he stood up in the middle of the crowd. For his¹⁶ face reveals the latent strength of a king, and nobody is so hard, so fierce or so cruel as to not pity kings who are treated unworthily.

¹ Emperor Sigismund (Luxembourg).

² Emperor Albrecht III (Habsburg).

³ Empress Elizabeth (Luxembourg).

⁴ *Malis ad gratiam tumescentibus*: Also used by Piccolomini to describe Eyrualus (= the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick) in his *De Duobus Amantibus Historia* from the following year (1444).

⁵ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 318: *corpus solidum et suci plenum*.

⁶ Juvenalis: 11: 68: *qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis*.

⁷ Cyrus II the Great (ca. 600-530 BCE): Founder of the Achaemenid Empire, the first Persian Empire. His life was described in a partly fictional biography by Xenophon, the *Cyropaedia*, which some years later would be translated into Latin by Poggio Bracciolini.

⁸ Romulus: Legendary founder and first King of Rome. Cf. Livius, 1: 4, 6; Justinus, 44: 1, 12.

⁹ Aeropos I: King of Macedon. Son of Philip I (king of Macedon) and father of Alcetas.

¹⁰ This passage is based on Justinus, 7: 2, 6-12.

¹¹ Formally, Siena belonged to the Empire.

¹² Genesis, 43: 30: *commota fuerant viscera ejus*.

¹³ Demosthenes.

¹⁴ "quirites"

¹⁵ Cicero.

¹⁶ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[8] Sed tunc praecipue misericordia crescit, cum is, qui patitur, suam calamitatem effari per aetatem nescit, ac ubi flendum esset, risu diffunditur, ubi ridendum, planctu, qualem cernimus Ladislaum, qui, etsi maximam habeat plorandi materiam, sepulto patre, orbatus¹ matre, ac regnis² nudatus alacritatem³ tamen ostendit, equum ascendit ligneum totamque⁴ laetabundus obequitat aulam. O, generosum puerum! Quis est, qui te spernit regem? Quis est, qui tibi nolit subesse? Quae illi nobilitas satis erit, cui tua minor videtur? Nemo est orbe toto, qui te generis claritate praecellat⁵. Nemo par est, multumque distet, necesse est, qui tibi secundus ponatur.

[9] Fabulantur Gallici Trojanam prosapiam, sed illa jam diu defecit, terque⁶ post Francorum in Galliam transitum regiam stirpem Gallici variarunt. Ajunt Anglici Brutum quendam everso Ilio⁷ ad se venisse, unde reges eorum trahant originem, quod nullus historicorum tradidit praeter Anglicum quendam parum eruditum, qui volens Romano generi insularem aequare sanguinem, quod Livius atque Sallustius, graves auctores, de Aenea narrarunt⁸, finxit de Bruto, quamquam et postea Saxones Britanniam magna vi⁹ invadentes pulsus prioribus incolis novos cultores induxerint ac reges et linguam mutarint.

¹ *corr. ex ortus* M1; ortus M2, M3

² regius M3

³ i.e. jucunditatem *glossa interlin.*

M1

⁴ tantamque M2

⁵ precellit M3

⁶ totque M3

⁷ allio M3

⁸ variarunt M2

⁹ magna vi : maguadri M3

[8] But compassion grows even stronger when the king who suffers such treatment is too young to rue his own sufferings,¹ but laughs when he should cry and cries when he should laugh, as we see in Ladislaus. His father has been buried, his mother has been taken from him, and he himself has been deprived of his kingdoms: indeed, he has great cause for tears! Still, he is a joyful child who mounts his hobby horse and enjoys riding through the great hall. Oh, noble boy! Who rejects you as their king? Who does not want to serve you? Who is so noble that his nobility surpasses yours? Nobody in the whole world surpasses your family's nobility. Nobody is your equal, nay, even he who comes second is far below you.

[9] The French have invented a fable about a Trojan descent for themselves,² but it failed them a long time ago, for since the Franks migrated to France,³ they have changed their royal line three times.⁴ And the English claim that after the Fall of Troy, a certain Brutus came to them, from whom their kings trace their origin. No historian has reported this except a certain Englishman with too little learning.⁵ Wanting to place their insular dynasty⁶ on the same level as the Roman, they invented the story of Brutus based on what Livy⁷ and Sallust,^{8 9} serious authors, told about Aeneas, though later the Saxons invaded Brittany¹⁰ with a great force, expelled the previous inhabitants, brought new ones over and changed the kings and the language.¹¹

¹ Cf. Justinus, 7: 2, 11.

² As Virgil had done for the Romans, a legend of Trojan origins was created for the Franks, at the latest in the 7th century, providing for them the same noble origins as had the Romans, cf. Werner, p. 25. Piccolomini's source for the Trojan origins of the Franks and their early history is Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 1: 25 and 4: 32. The main source of Otto von Freising's description of the origins of the Franks is the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (or *Gesta Regnum Francorum*) from 727. As Pope Pius II, Piccolomini referred extensively to this legend in his oration *Per me reges regnant* of 16 May 1462 to the French ambassadors (COR, 10: 65). See also his EUR, ch. 38.

³ Ca. the 4th century CE.

⁴ I.e., the change from the Carolingians to the Merovingians (5th

c.), from the Merovingians to the Carolingians (720), and from the Carolingians to the Capetians (987). In 1459, French ambassadors would rebuke Pope Pius II for considering the Carolingians a new dynasty, whereas – they claimed – the Carolingians descended from Clovis I, the first Merovingian ruler to unite all of France, important for the legitimacy of the present French dynasty: ... quod ipsius domini nostri regis [Charles VII] honorem concernit: ... Pipino, Caroli Martelli filio, majori domus regiae, longe tamen distante a sanguine regio ipsius regni regimen concessum extitisse ... Perlectis ad plenum historicis et chronicis clare constat Pippinum a stirpe Clodovei et successoribus ejus descendisse et a sanguine regio processisse (COR, 9: sect. 65.

⁵ The legend of Brutus of Troy, known in medieval British history as the founder and first king of Britain, first appears in the *Historia Brittonum*, a 9th-century historical compilation to which commentary was added by Nennius. It is best known from the account given by the 12th century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

⁶ "sanguis"

⁷ Livius, 1: 1.

⁸ Sallustius Crispus, Gajus (86-34 BC): Roman historian.

⁹ Sallustius: *De conjuratione Catilinae*, 6: 1.

¹⁰ Together with the Angles and other Germanic tribes, the Saxons invaded England and settled there in the 5th c.

¹¹ On these legends, see also HBO (Hejnic), 1: 60.

[10] At tecum, Ladislæ, nihil¹ oportet fingere, utinam veritati satisfaceret calamus nostraque posset oratio fieri vero conformis. {46v} Sed superat omnem sermonem tua nobilitas. Namque ut praeteream nobilissimæ Australis domus originem ad altum usque Iulii sanguinem repetendam, genitorem tuum Romani, Hungari atque Bohemi regem suum venerabantur, cuius opera totum in orbem vulgata sunt pro tutela fidei et augmento nominis Christiani gesta. Avus tuus hisdem² præfuit regnis, Turcos³ plurimis proeliis laccessivit, Schytas plurimos domuit, omnibus infidelibus terrori fuit. Scissam ecclesiam tresque colentem pontifices in Constantiensi concilio traxit ad unionem. Gallos Anglicosque, infessissimos⁴ hostes, composuit, Hispaniam pacavit, Italiam ter intravit coronamque⁵ Cesaream suscepit. Cujus fratres reges fuerunt. Pater illi Carolus quartus fuit, et illi avus⁶ Henricus septimus⁷, Caesarum, qui post Theodosium regnavere, cum sapientissimus, tum gloriosissimus, sub quo Germania et Italia quasi columbae sub aquila tremebundæ tulerunt imperium. Cujus majores longa serie Romanam rem publicam gubernarunt, quam nunc et tuus patruelis Fridericus administrat.

¹ nil M2

² iisdem L, M1, M3

³ Teucros L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex*
Teucros V2b

⁴ i.e. inimicissimos *glossa interlin.*

M1

⁵ coronam V4

⁶ abavus V3, V4

⁷ fuit *add.* M2

[10] But in your case, Ladislaus,¹ it is not necessary to invent fables - may my pen respect truth, and may my words² be true! Indeed, your nobility is beyond words. Passing over the far origins of the most noble house of Austria, going back to the line of Julius,^{3 4} your father⁵ was honoured by the Romans,⁶ Hungarians and Bohemians⁷ as their king. His achievements and accomplishments for the protection of the Faith and the success of the Christian cause⁸ were renowned in the whole world. Your grandfather⁹ ruled the same realms, assailed the Turks in several battles,¹⁰ tamed many Scythians, and was a terror to all infidels. At the Council of Konstanz, he brought unity to the Church, which was divided by schism and had three popes simultaneously.¹¹ He made peace among the French and the English, though they were bitter enemies.¹² He settled affairs in Spain. He entered Italy three times and received the imperial crown there.^{13 14} His brothers, too, were kings.^{15 16} His father was Charles IV¹⁷ and his grandfather Henry VII,¹⁸ the wisest and most glorious among the emperors who ruled after Theodosius.¹⁹ Under him, Germany and Italy accepted imperial rule like doves trembling beneath the eagle. A long line of his ancestors ruled the Roman state, which is now governed by your cousin Friedrich.

¹ The direct address to Ladislaus is the rhetorical device of apostrophe, where the speaker breaks off from addressing the audience (Archbishop Czécsi) and addresses a third person/party (COR, 1: 7, 9.3.). Together with other such devices, it shows that the present letter verges on the oratorical genre.

² "oratio". This term is used sometimes in a looser sense of "text" (see Bracciolini's letters). Or else, the term reflects that this letter is based on the draft of an oration addressed to the Hungarians.

³ Julius Caesar.

⁴ Another fanciful legend of Roman origins designed to bolster dynastic legitimacy, see <https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/quest-blue-blood-habsburgs-fictitious-ancestors?language=en>

⁵ Emperor Albrecht III

⁶ Not Romans in the literal sense, but referring to the Holy Roman Empire.

⁷ Albrecht was an elected (but uncrowned) emperor, and king of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia.

⁸ "nomen"

⁹ Emperor Sigismund.

¹⁰ The few times Sigismund met the Turks in battle, the Christian armies were roundly defeated, like at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396.

¹¹ Sigismund forced Pope Johannes XXIII to summon the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418) and continuously supported the council's activities, mainly the deposition of three concurrent popes and the election of a new pope, Martin V. See DVI, sect. 117-118.

¹² See DVI, sect. 118.

¹³ 1432.

¹⁴ An example of the rhetorical device of enumeratio.

¹⁵ Sigismund had two brothers, Wenceslaus who was King of Hungary and Germany and elected emperor, and Johann von Görlitz, who never became a king. A cousin of Sigismund, Jobst, was elected emperor.

¹⁶ More sober accounts of the rules of Albrecht III and Sigismund are given in Piccolomini's DVI, ch. 22-23.

¹⁷ Karl IV (Luxembourg) (1316-1378): King of Bohemia. Elected emperor in 1346 and crowned in Rome in 1356.

¹⁸ Heinrich VII (Luxembourg) (ca. 1273-1313): Count of Luxembourg. Elected emperor in 1308 and crowned in Rome in 1312.

¹⁹ Theodosius I the Great (347-395): Roman emperor from 379 to his death. Last ruler of the whole Roman Empire.

[11] O splendidum genus pueri, o gloriam, o laudem! Ubinam sanguis illustrior? Ubinam seriem¹ tantae nobilitatis inuenias²? Obscuritatem quaerunt, qui³ post tantam generositatem alium petunt regem. Infantis⁴ splendorem Hungari fugiunt, quem nec Macedones, nec Babylonii, nec Romani contemnerent, sed ultro⁵ sibi regem deposcerent, cuius egregia indoles praesagium facit paternam in eo {27r} fortitudinem, avitam prudentiam et utriusque liberalitatem⁶ revicturam⁷. Nec tantam de se spem aut⁸ Ascanius Aeneae aut Hector Priamo aut Alexander Philippo praebuit, quantam in hac aetate Ladislaus se visentibus exhibet. Hunc Caesar propediem⁹ in Austriam secum adducet Hungariaeque vicinum praebebit, ut videri ab ipsis¹⁰ possit, qui amant, et timeri ab ipsis¹¹, qui odiunt. Faxit Deus, vita ut illi longior sit, ut et *Nestoris* aequet *annos*, et Augusti felicitatem superet.

[12] Haec habui, quae de Ladislao nunc scriberem, quae cum scirem tibi jucunda, silere nolui. Tu, si visum fuerit, et amicis et inimicis haec communicare poteris, illis ad gaudium, istis ad poenam, quorum tandem oculos divina pietas adaperiat, ut¹² ad cor reversi dominum suum agnoscant ejusque potius veniam quam ultionem expectent.

Tu vale feliciter bonoque animo puelli regis aetatem tolera, quo virilem togam sumente et tu et tui omnes plus invenietis laetitiae, quam sperare fas fuerit. Ex Gretz, 16. ¹³ kal. Octobris 1443.¹⁴

¹ series L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex series* V2b

² *omit.* L, M1-M3, V2b; *add. in marg.* V2b

³ *omit.* M2

⁴ mira res si tantum L, M1, M2, M3; mira ~~res~~ si tantum V2

⁵ i.e. sponte *glossa interlin.* M1

⁶ libertatem V4

⁷ renaturam L, M2, M3, V2a; venaturam M1; *corr. ex* renaturam V2b

⁸ ut WO

⁹ i.e. statim *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁰ his L, M1-M3

¹¹ his L, M1-M3

¹² *omit.* M3

¹³ anno incarnationis dominicae *add.* M3

¹⁴ ex Gretz ... 1443: *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[11] Oh, the splendour, glory and honour of this boy's family!¹ Where can you find a more illustrious family, where a line of such great nobility?² Those who seek another king after [having had kings of] such great nobility, really seek obscurity. The Hungarians spurn the glory of a boy whom the Macedonians, the Babylonians and the Romans would not reject but rather demand as their king.³ His excellent character foretells that, in him, his father's strength and his grandfather's cleverness and the generosity of both will live again. The hope that Ascanius⁴ inspired in Aeneas,⁵ Hector⁶ in Priam,⁷ and Alexander⁸ in Philip⁹ was not so great as the hope that Ladislaus, in our own age, gives those who see him. Very shortly, the emperor will bring him to Austria,¹⁰ close to Hungary, to be seen by all who love him and feared by all who hate him. God give that he may have a long life¹¹ and *as many years as Nestor*¹² had and surpass Augustus¹³ in felicity.

[12] This is what I had to write, now, about Ladislaus. Knowing that it would make you happy, I did not want to remain silent. If you like it, you may share this with friends and foes, to the joy of the first and the chastisement of the last. May the Divine Piety open the eyes of the enemies so that, regaining their senses, they may recognise their [true] lord and expect his forgiveness rather than his revenge.

Farewell, and bear the king's young age with firmness, for when he assumes the virile toga,¹⁴ he will bring you and yours more joy than anyone could reasonably expect. From Graz, 16 September 1443.

¹ The rhetorical device of exclamatio (COR, 1: 7, 9, 6.).

² The device of the rhetorical question (COR, 1: 7, 9, 7.)

³ The rhetorical device of comparatio.

⁴ Ascanius: (Myth.) Son of Aeneas and Creusa. King of Alba Longa.

⁵ Aeneas: (Myth.) Trojan hero.

⁶ Hektor: (Myth.) Trojan prince and hero. Son of Priam.

⁷ Priamos: (Myth.) King of Troy.

⁸ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of Macedon from 336 to his death. World conqueror.

⁹ Philippos II (382-336 BCE): King of Macedonia.

¹⁰ Friedrich had to return to Vienna for his meeting with the Bohemian estates about two weeks later, on 29 September.

¹¹ A pious hope that was not fulfilled since Ladislaus died at the age of 18 (in Prague).

¹² Seneca: *Apocolosyntosis*, 4: 14: *vincunt et Nestoris annos.*

¹³ Augustus = Gajus Julius Caesar Octavianus (63 BCE - 14 CE): First Roman emperor.

¹⁴ I.e., comes of age. The toga virilis was the toga of manhood assumed by freeborn Roman boys at the age of 15.

76. Letter from Mariano Sozzini (19 September 1443, Siena).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 114v¹; M3, f. 233v²; V2, ff. 145-146³; V3, ff. 67r-67v⁴ **; V4, ff. 60r-60v.

Editions: HE, 77, pp. 175-176; WO, 1: 1, 77, pp. 187-188; (both based on V2).

{67r} Marianus Sozinus Aenae suo salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Olim nullas ad te dedi litteras, quia non intellexi aliquem ad te recta via venientem. Tuas tamen ex⁵ Gregorio frequentes salutationes excepi, a quo etiam intellexi felices successus tuos, qui mihi gratissimi et jucundissimi⁶ extitere, felicioresque milies expecto. Ceterum hic Ludovicus, qui⁷ serenissimum imperatorem accedit, tui cognitionem asseruit habere, quare quaedam tibi exponenda cum eo contuli. Tu igitur illi fidem adhibebis {67v} meique amore et contemplatione, si illi officiosus esse potes, id agas, exoro.

[2] Ego isto anno lecturae renuntiavi, quoniam aliquando vivere, non semper degere vitam institui. Tu vero cogitabis et operam dabis his, quae ab isto Ludovico mei ex parte erunt exposita. Post tui ultimum discessum tres filii masculi mihi nati sunt, ex quibus duos habeo, et in dies alium expecto. *Super decretalibus*⁸ *commentarios* edidi et ad 24 tractatus composui et novissime opusculum *De sortibus* ad reverendissimum cardinalem Nicaenum transmisi, quae omnia, si tempus concessum fuisset, ad te dedissem, sed dabo, quamprimum potero. Postremo nihil aliud superest, nisi ut valeas et nostri memor existas.

¹ SC, 238

² SC, 471

³ DV, 78r-78v

⁴ DV, 70r-70v

⁵ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ gratissimi et jucundissimi : et

jocundissimi et gratissimi M2

⁷ ad *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~ad~~ *seq.*

V2b

⁸ decretales M2, M3

76. Letter from Mariano Sozzini (19 September 1443, Siena).

- Context:* Mariano Sozzini was not satisfied with his salary as a professor at the University of Siena.¹ He had, therefore, taken a pause from teaching, thus pressuring the Sienese government to increase his salary, which eventually happened. In the meantime, he was exploring other possibilities.
- Subject:* Sozzini asks for Piccolomini's assistance in a confidential matter, i.e. obtaining a teaching post for him at the University of Vienna.² He also sends him news on some of his works and of the pope's return to Rome, after his 10 years of absence, and his recovery of the Papal State.

Mariano Sozzini³ sends many greetings to his Enea.

[1] It has been a long time since I wrote to you, the reason being that I did not hear of anybody going directly to you. But I have received your frequent greetings from Gregorio,⁴ who has also told me about your successes. They are most encouraging and heartening, and I expect there will be thousands more of them, and even greater! And now that Ludovico⁵ is going to the emperor⁶ and says he knows you, I have spoken to him about certain matters that he will tell you about. So, please trust him, and if you are able to assist him, do so out of love and consideration for me.

[2] I shall not be teaching this year since I have decided to live for once and not just plod along. Please consider this and assist me in the matter that Ludovico will inform you of on my behalf. After you last left us,⁷ three sons have been born to me. I still have two of them, and another will be born shortly. I have now published my *Super Decretalibus Commentarii*, in 24 chapters, and recently a little work, *De Sortibus*, which I have sent to the Cardinal of Nicaea.⁸ I would have sent them to you if there had been time, and I shall do so as soon as I can. There is nothing more to write except that you should fare well and remember us.

¹ Cf. Nardi, p. 62.

² Cf. letter 99 below.

³ Mariano Sozzini [Socini] [Il Vecchio] (1401-1467): Sienese jurist and academic. See DVI, ch. 18.

⁴ Possibly Goro Lolli, Piccolomini's cousin and close friend. The frequent letters implied are not extant.

⁵ Not identified.

⁶ Emperor Friedrich III.

⁷ This would have been 8 years before, in Spring 1435, when Piccolomini went to see Niccolò Piccinino at the Baths of Siena, on behalf of his employer, Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara

and diplomat of Filippo Maria Visconti. See DVI, sect. 9-11.

⁸ Bessarion (1403-1472): Greek humanist and theologian. Played an active role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Appointed a cardinal in 1439.

[3] Noveris clarissimum regem Aragonum ac¹ victoriosissimum ducem² Nicolaum Piceninum pro sanctissimo domino nostro Eugenio totam Marchiam ac patrimonium recuperasse, Firmo atque Aesculo dumtaxat exceptis partemque Romandiolae. Est insuper spes maxima atque indubitata, quod infra breve tempus excedere facient comitem Franciscum a tota Romandiola. Plures enim ab eo conductores defecerunt ex his, quos fidelissimos arbitrabatur. Sanctissimus dominus noster 16. kalendis Octobris³ laetissimus ac jucundissimus hinc⁴ abiit eritque Romae infra paucos dies⁵.

Vale. Senis 13. Kalendis octobris 1443.

¹ et HE, WO

² capitaneum M2, M3, V2a; *corr.*
ex capitaneum V2b

³ hinc *add.* M2, M3, V2; ~~hinc~~ *seq.*

V3

⁴ *omit.* V2

⁵ plures enim ... dies *omit.* M2

[3] You will have heard that the Most Noble King of Aragon¹ and the victorious commander Niccolò Piccinino have retaken all of Marche and the Patrimony² for Our Most Holy Lord Eugenius,³ except Fermo, Ascoli and a part of Romagna.⁴ There is great and sure hope that in a short time they will expel Count Francesco⁵ from all Romagna. He has already been deserted by several mercenary captains who were considered completely loyal to him. Our Most Holy Lord left [Siena] on 16 September, happy and joyful, and will be in Rome in a few days.

Farewell. Siena, 19 September 1443.

¹ King Alfonso V.

² Note that the Marche is here considered as not forming part of the Patrimony of Saint Peter's.

³ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁴ As part of the agreement between the pope and King Alfonso (Peace of Terracina, 1443), the king had promised the pope to restore the territories in the Church State oc-

cupied by various commanders and local lords, and especially Francesco Sforza (in the Romagna).

⁵ Francesco Sforza.

77. Letter to Silvio Piccolomini (20 September 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: L, 19r *; M1, ff. 50r-51v; M2, ff. 31v-32v¹; M3, ff. 203v-205r²; V2, ff. 47-51³; V3, ff. 27r-29v⁴ **; V4, ff. 25v-28r.

Editions: HE, 78, pp. 176-179 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 78, pp. 188-191 (based on M1, V2); Martels (after Wolkan)

Translations: ME, 16, pp. 78-81; RE, 30, pp. 159-162.

{27r} Aeneas Silvius poeta genitori suo, Silvio,⁵ salutem plurimam⁶ dicit.

[1] Laeteris an doleas, quod mihi sobolem dominus dederit, incertum te scribis⁷, pater. At ego laetitiae causam video, doloris non video. Quid enim dulcius in humanis est quam gignere sibi similem, quam⁸ suum extendere sanguinem, et habere, quem post te relinquis? Quid in terris {27v} beatius quam *natos* videre *natorum*? Mihi equidem ingens voluptas est, quod semen meum fructificaverit⁹, quodque antequam moriar, aliquid de me supersit¹⁰, gratiasque domino refero, qui partum feminae figuravit in marem¹¹, ut apud te patrem meamque matrem¹² ¹³ aliquis *parvulus ludat Aeneas*¹⁴ et solatia praestet avis¹⁵, quae debebat pater impendere. Quod si tibi, genitor, gaudium fuit meus ortus, cur filius meus mihi non sit laetitiae? An ne te quoque¹⁶ laetificabit infantuli vultus, cum meam videbis in illo¹⁷ effigiem? Numquid tibi jucundum erit, cum parvulus pendeat ex *collo* nepos puerilesque blanditias agitabit?

[2] Sed ais fortasse dolere meum crimen, quod ex peccato genuerim filium. Nescio, quam de me finxeris tibi opinionem¹⁸. Certe¹⁹ nec lapideum nec ferreum genuisti filium, cum esse tu carneus. Scis, qualis gallus fueris²⁰, at nec ego castratus sum neque ex frigidorum numero nec sum hypocrita, ut²¹ *videri bonus quam esse* velim. Fatebor ingenue²² meum erratum, quia nec sanctior sum David²³ rege nec Salomone sapientior. Antiquum²⁴ et vetus est hoc delictum, nec scio²⁵, quis hoc careat. Late patet haec pestis, si pestis est naturalibus uti, quamquam non video, cur tantopere damnari coitus debeat, cum natura, quae nihil perperam operatur, omnibus ingenuerit animantibus²⁶ hunc appetitum, ut genus continuaretur humanum.

¹ SC, 70-72.

² SC, 411-414

³ DV, ff. 29r-31r

⁴ DV, ff. 30r-32v

⁵ Aeneas Silvius ... Silvio : *illeg.* V2a; Antonius Fortunius Gasparo genitori V2b, V3, V4 [In V2b, Piccolomini also noted and crossed out or left unused some other names, illegible except Antonius Senensis ... Nanni]

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ te scribis : scribis te V4

⁸ tanquam M1

⁹ fetificaverit M1, M2; satificaverit M3

¹⁰ sumsit L

¹¹ figuravit in marem : in marem creavit M3

¹² meamque matrem *omit.* V4

¹³ ut apud ... matrem *omit.* M3

¹⁴ *corr. ex* Eneas [sic!] et Antonius (*interlin.*) V2b; Antonius V3, V4

¹⁵ avio M3

¹⁶ te quoque : teque M3

¹⁷ videbis in illo : in illo videbis L

¹⁸ tibi opinionem : opinionem tibi

L

¹⁹ vere M3

²⁰ tu *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~tu~~ *seq.* V2b

²¹ et M3

²² *omit.* M3

²³ Davide HE, WO

²⁴ numquid M2

²⁵ nec scio : nescio V4

²⁶ animalibus V4

77. Letter to Silvio Piccolomini (20 September 1443, Graz).

Context: Piccolomini had two illegitimate sons, one from his stay in Scotland in 1435, and one with a woman named Elizabeth, from a visit to Strassbourg in 1442.

Subject: Against the teachings of the Church, Piccolomini defends the free exercise of sexuality,¹ relates his affair with Elizabeth, asks his father to raise their child, comments on his parents' old age, and sends greetings to various relations.² This remarkable letter is a perfect statement of Piccolomini's views on sexuality before, some years later, he joined the clergy. In the later versions of the text, Piccolomini disguised his identity, including by changing the names of his relatives.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to his father, Silvio.

[1] Father, you write that you do not know whether to be happy or sorry that the Lord has granted me offspring, but I do not see any cause for sorrow, only for joy. For what is sweeter for a human being than to beget someone similar to himself, to continue one's bloodline, and to have someone to leave behind? What is more blessed on this Earth than seeing one's *children's children*?³ Indeed, it is an enormous joy for me that my seed has borne fruit and that I shall leave something of myself behind when I die. I thank the Lord that he created a son from the womb of a woman so that *a baby Aeneas would be playing*⁴ before my father and mother and bring those comforts to the grandparents that a son should provide. If you, father, rejoiced at my birth, then why should I not be happy at my son's? And will you not be glad to see the face of the small child when, in him, you will see an image of me? Won't you be happy when the little grandchild hangs *at your neck*⁵ and gives you his childish caresses?

[2] But maybe you say you are sorry about my offence, that I sired a son in sin. [If so,] I do not know what you think of me. Surely, you did not beget a son of stone or iron, being of flesh yourself. You know what cock you were yourself, and I am neither a castrate nor frigid. Nor am I a hypocrite *preferring to be, rather than merely to seem, virtuous*.⁶ I frankly confess my error, for I am not holier than David⁷ nor wiser than Solomon.⁸ This sin is ancient, and I do not know of anybody who is free of it. It is a plague most common – if, indeed, it is a plague to use nature's gifts: I really do not see why coitus should be condemned so strongly when it is nature - which does nothing wrong - that has instilled this desire in all living beings for the continuation of the human race.

¹ On Piccolomini and sexuality, see COR, 1: 6, 7, 3; Martels: *Fruit*, p. 231; VO, 2: 285-289, 297-302.

² See Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 187.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 3: 98: *nati natorum et qui nascuntur ex illis*.

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 328: *si quis mihi parvulus aula luderet Aeneas*.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 7: 715: *ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit*.

⁶ Sallustius: *De conjuratione Catilinae*, 54:6: *esse quam videri bonus malebat*.

⁷ King David: (10th c. BCE) (Bibl.) King of Israel.

⁸ King Solomon (Bibl.)

[3] Sed dicis – ut arbitror – certos {28r} esse limites, intra¹ quos hoc liceat, nec extra legitimas matrimonii faces progredi debet². Ita est sane, et saepe inter ipsa³ nuptiarum claustra scelus admittitur⁴. Bibendi quoque, comedendi et loquendi certi sunt termini, sed quis servat illos, quis tam *justus*, ut *septies* in die non *cadat*? Loquatur hypocrita seque nullius culpa scium dicat. Ego nullum meritum in me scio, solaque⁵ mihi divina pietas spem facit misericordiae, quae nos labiles scit et ad lasciviam proclives, nec nobis, qui patet⁶ omnibus, fontem veniae claudet. Sed de⁷ hoc satis.

[4] Nunc, quia conjecturas petis, ne alienum pro meo nutrias, quomodo res se habuerit, paucis exponam. Nondum anni duo effluxi sunt ex eo tempore, quo Argentinae gerebam oratoris⁸ munus. Quinquagesima tunc currebat, quae ante proximam⁹ praeteritam fluxit¹⁰. Ibi cum otiosus diebus essem pluribus, mulier ex Britannia veniens, diversorium meum petens in unis aedibus mecum fuit, non¹¹ invenusta nec aetate confecta. Haec, quia sermonem Italicum egregie norat, me verbis salutavit Etruscis, quod illa in regione tanto magis placuit, quanto rarius erat. Oblectatus sum facetiis feminae, cujus in ore maximus lepor erat, moxque in mentem venit Cleopatrae facundia, quae non solum Antonium, sed Julium quoque Caesarem eloquentia inescavit, mecumque ‘Quis reprehendet¹², si ego homuncio id faciam, quod maximi viri non sunt aspernati?’ Interdum Moysen¹³, interdum Aristotelem, {28v} nonnumquam Christianos in exemplum sumebam. Quid plura? Vicit cupido, incalui¹⁴, mulierem arsi multisque blandimentis adorsus sum. Sed ut asperis cautibus¹⁵ unda repellitur freti, sic verba haec mea contempsit triduoque suspendit. Erat illi filiola annorum quinque, quam Milinchus¹⁶ pater hospiti nostro commendaverat, verebaturque mulier, ne quid hospes praesentiret filiamque posthac quasi moris materni abdicaret¹⁷.

¹ inter V4

² hic debet appetitus M2; hic appetitus M3, V2a; ~~hic appetitus~~ seq. V2b

³ ipsarum V4

⁴ et *add.* HE, WO

⁵ sola M2

⁶ petet V4

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ gerebam oratoris : oratoris gerebam M1

⁹ estatem *add.* M2

¹⁰ effluxit M2

¹¹ nec M1

¹² inquam *add.* M1

¹³ Jacob V3, V4

¹⁴ i.e. calefactus fui *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁵ cottibus M3; cantibus WO

¹⁶ Melincus L, M1; militans HE
[*conjecit Akkerman HE*]

¹⁷ i.e. expelleret *glossa interlin.* M1

[3] But then you will probably say there are certain limits and that it is an offence to have coitus outside legitimate marriage.¹ So it is, but, nonetheless, this offence is often made by married people.² There are also certain limits to eating, drinking and speaking, but who observes them, who is so *just* that he does not *fall seven times* a day?³ The hypocrite claims that he knows of no sin in himself, but I know of no merit in myself, and only Divine Piety gives me hope of mercy since it knows that we are prone to fall and to licentiousness, and it will not close the fountain of mercy which is open to all. But enough of that.

[4] You ask for evidence that you shall not be raising a stranger instead of my son, so I shall briefly relate how it all happened. Less than two years ago, I was in Strassbourg on a mission.⁴ It was during last year's⁵ Lent.⁶ I was idle for some days when a woman from England⁷ arrived. She took a room in my lodging house, and we were together in that building. She was attractive and young. Speaking excellent Italian, she greeted me in Tuscan, a rare pleasure in that region. I enjoyed her pleasantries and her charming conversation, and I was soon reminded of Cleopatra's⁸ eloquence with which she beguiled not only Antony⁹ but also Julius Caesar.¹⁰ I said to myself, 'Who will blame me if I, little man, do what the greatest of men do not despise?' I could also point to other examples like Moses, Aristotle, and several Christians. What more? Desire won, I burnt with passion and began to speak to her endearingly, but like sea waves are broken by rugged cliffs, my words fell on deaf ears, and for three days, she kept me at bay. She had a little five-year-old girl, whom her father Milinchus had commended to our host,¹¹ and the woman feared that if he noticed what was going on, he would remove the girl from the mother's care.

¹ "extra legitimas matrimonii faces"

² "intra ipsa nuptiarum claustra"

³ Proverbs, 24: 16: *Septies enim cadet justus*. Cf. Luke, 17: 4.

⁴ In the winter of 1442, Felix V had sent Aeneas, one of his secretaries,

with Johann Passart, prior of Utrecht, to represent him before the city council of Strasbourg.

⁵ 1442.

⁶ "quingagesima".

⁷ Or Bretagne.

⁸ Cleopatra VII Philopator (69-30 BCE): Queen of Ptolemaic Egypt.

⁹ Marcus Antonius (83-30 BCE). Roman statesman and general.

¹⁰ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Julius Caesar*, 38

¹¹ The innkeeper.

[5] Instabat nox sequentique die recessura mulier erat¹. Timeo, ne abeat praeda. Rogo, in noctem ne ostio camerae pessulum obdet². Dico me intempesta nocte venturum. Negat nec spem ullam facit. Insto. Semper idem responsum est. Itur dormitum. Mecum³ ego, 'Quid scio, an illa, ut jussi, fecerit.' Recordor Zimae Florentini: forsitan illius amicam haec imitabitur. 'Temptandum est,' inquam. Postquam silentium undique sentio, thalamum mulieris accedo. Clausum hostium est⁴, non firmatum. Aperio, ingredior, muliere potior. Hinc natus est filius. Mulier Elizabeth vocatur. Ex idibus februarii ad alias idus novembris menses currunt, qui partui dantur. Hoc mihi dixerat mulier, dum Basileae postea fuit⁵. Ego, quamvis ipsam non pecunia ulla, sed maximis emisset precibus, ut est ars feminarum, credebam haec auri corrodendi causa dici, nec verbis praebui fidem. Nunc, quia video eam hoc asserere, quando nihil sperare a⁶ me potest, quando nomen convenit tempusque, puerum meum puto teque, mi pater, rogo, ut nepotem suscipias alasque, {29r} donec grandiusculus factus ad me valeat proficisci meisque imbui disciplinis. Nec puta feminam divitem mentiri velle⁷ in filio.

[6] Nunc alia prosequar⁸. Scribis te senio cum matre confectum. Hoc, mi pater, tibi sibi que jucundum esse debet, quod eos annos attigisti, quos optabas juvenis, jamque libere et expedite potes *Deo servire*, omnibus spoliatus passionibus⁹, quae mentes juvenum a Deo¹⁰ alienant. Nec mihi dixeris, '*Omnia fert aetas animumque*¹¹, ' ut ex hoc perire animum putes¹², qui divinus est atque immortalis. Sed voluit poeta significare aetatis cursu vigorem illum animi tepescere, qui est in juvenibus ardens. Sed ille magis ad vitia quam ad virtutes inclinatur¹³. In senibus purgatus est animus, nihil praeter honestum¹⁴ cupiens, qualem tibi et matri meae spero esse, quamvis illa numquam mundanis desideriis inhaeserit, sed heroica quadam virtute soli *Deo servire* beatum duxerit. Hoc fit, ut senio vestro minus trister. Si enim juvenes essetis, timerem de vobis magis.

¹ recessura mulier erat : mulier recessura M2

² obdat *em.* HE

³ *omit.* V4

⁴ sed *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~sed~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ fui M2, M3; fuisset M1

⁶ ex M1

⁷ *omit.* M1-M3

⁸ quod *add.* HE, WO

⁹ possessionibus V4

¹⁰ adeo M2, V3

¹¹ animum quoque V4

¹² putas M

¹³ inclinatur M3

¹⁴ homines tum M3

[5] The night was coming, and the lady was to leave the next day. I feared that the prey would escape. I asked her not to *lock*¹ her chamber during the night. I told her I would come at midnight, but she refused and gave me no hope whatsoever. I persevered, but the answer was the same. We retired to sleep. Then I said to myself, ‘Will she do as I asked?’ I remembered Zima the Florentine: maybe the lady would imitate his girlfriend. ‘I must try it,’ I said. When everything was quiet, I went to the lady’s room. The door was closed but not locked. I opened it, entered and possessed the woman. Thus my son was conceived. The lady’s name is Elizabeth. The pregnancy lasted from the 13th of February to the 13th of November, when she gave birth. This is what the lady told me afterwards when she was in Basel.² As I had won her over not with money but with passionate entreaties, I considered that she was – in the way of women – saying this to get money and did not believe her then. But now that I see her make this claim without demanding anything from me, and both the name and the date fit, I accept this boy as mine. So, I ask you, dear father, to receive and raise your grandchild until he has old enough to come to me and be educated by me. Do not believe that this quite wealthy woman is lying about her son.

[6] I now move on to other matters. You write that you and mother³ have grown old. This, dear father, should be a joy for you and her since you have now reached the age you wished for as a young man. Now you can *serve God*⁴ free and unencumbered, and without those passions that alienate the minds of youth from God. Nor should you tell me that *age robs us of all, even the soul*,⁵ as if you believed the soul may perish whereas it is both divine and immortal. The poet rather meant that as we grow older, the ardent vigour of youth will cool. But this refers more to the vices than to the virtues, for in old people, the soul is cleansed and only wants what is worthy. This is what I hope for you and mother, though she has never had worldly desires but – out of heroic virtue - always considered it true happiness to *serve God* alone. Therefore, I shall not be saddened by your old age. Indeed, if you were young, I would be much more worried about you.

¹ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 603: *pes-sulum ostio obdo*.

² Piccolomini left Basel at the end of November in the emperor’s retinue, never to return. This means that Elizabeth would have come to

Basel immediately after giving birth to the boy, a very narrow timeframe, indeed! Some early versions of the text has ‘fui’ instead of ‘fuit’, which means that

Elizabeth may have informed him by letter.

³ Vittoria Forteguerri (1385-1454): Mother of Piccolomini.

⁴ Luke, 16: 13.

⁵ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 9: 51.

[7] Quod de filiis sororis¹ Laudomia² scribis, certum est apud me gratumque. Tuum est curare, ut litteras discant, quae solae³ homines tollunt super alios. Ego, cum statum meum firmiorem videro, alterum mihi⁴ asciscam. Jacobus Tolomeus⁵ frater⁶, si ad me scripserit, responso non carebit. Provocari litteris non expectet, totiens enim necessario scribo, ut nihil ad libitum vacet. Lectura ejus ordinaria salarioque⁷ laetatus sum famamque suam in dies crescere cum laetitia percipio. Bartholomaeo cum {29v} praesentibus litteras do, nec ejus obliviscor⁸ umquam pro suis erga te matremque meritis, et⁹ quia Catherinam¹⁰ sororem¹¹ conjugem suam unice amat. Matrem¹² tibi commendo tuaeque fidei Deumque rogo, ut patriam petens superstites¹³ omnes inveniam. Conventum namque cum laetitia celebrabimus¹⁴, et quomodo id, quod restat, vivamus spatium, ex tuo transigemus arbitrio, nec mihi in te ulla erit controversia. Johannem et Laudomiam uxorem¹⁵ jube ex me salvos esse, filiolulum suscipe, et quidquid egeris, mihi rescribe¹⁶.

Vale. Ex Gretz¹⁷, 20. septembris 1443¹⁸ ¹⁹.

¹ *omit.* V2-V4

² Helenae V3, V4

³ solum M2

⁴ *omit.* L

⁵ Baldeus V3, V4

⁶ ~~frater~~ *seq.* V2b; *omit.* V3, V4

⁷ salario L; i.e. stipendio *glossa interlin.* M1

⁸ obliviscar M2, M3

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ 5-6 words crossed out (*illeg.*) V2a; *omit.* V2b-V4

¹¹ meam *add.* V2-V4

¹² matremque M2

¹³ superstes M3

¹⁴ celebrauimus V4

¹⁵ Johannem et uxorem : amicos omnes *corr. ex* Johannem et uxorem V2b; amicos omnes V3, V4

¹⁶ scribe L

¹⁷ Constantia *corr. ex* Gretz V2b; Constantia V3, V4

¹⁸ 43 M3, V2

¹⁹ *ex* Gretz ... 1443 *omit.* M1, M2

[7] What you write about my sister Laudomia's¹ children certainly² pleases me. You must now ensure that they learn their letters which is the only thing that raises men above other living beings. When my circumstances improve, I shall take in one of them. If my brother³, Jacopo Tolomei,⁴ writes to me, he shall receive an answer. He should not expect me to first write to him since I am continually kept busy writing [official letters] and do not have leisure to write as I would like to. I am happy you hear about his teaching⁵ and salary, and I see that his fame is increasing daily. I enclose a letter to Bartolomeo⁶ with this one, and I never forget his merits towards you and mother and that he only loves his wife, my sister Caterina.⁷ I commend mother to you and your fidelity, and I pray to God that when I return to our country, I shall find you all alive and well. Then we shall joyously celebrate our reunion and live the rest of our lives as you decide, and there shall be no conflict between you and me.

Greet Giovanni⁸ and his wife Laudomia⁹ from me, accept my little son and write to me about your doings. Farewell. From Graz, 20 September 1443.

¹ Laudomia Piccolomini (born ca. 1410): One of the two surviving sisters of Piccolomini. Married to Giovanni (Nanni). The children were: Antonio (see letter 36) (future Duke of Amalfi), Francesco (future pope Pius III), Andrea and Jacopo.

² "certum": this appears a little strange. Maybe a scribal error for "carum".

³ Cousin.

⁴ Jacopo Tolomei: Sieneſe jurist. Taught law at the University in Siena in the 1430s and 1440s. (See DVI, sect. 102). Later, court official in Ferrara (COM, 1: 20). Later again, he would ſerve as a traveling magistrate and, under Pius II, as caſtellan of Caſtel Sant' Angelo.

⁵ "lectura ordinaria": Ordinary lectures, offered early in the day, were

the moſt important in the curriculum and brought the beſt pay.

⁶ Bartolomeo Guglielmi (d. 1453): Husband of Caterina Piccolomini.

⁷ Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi (born after 1410): Second surviving ſiſter of Piccolomini. Married to Bartolomeo Guglielmi.

⁸ Giovanni Todeschini.

⁹ Laudomia Piccolomini.

78. Letter to Francesco Quadranzio (20 September 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: L, 17r *; M1, f. 51v; M2, f. 31v¹; M3, f. 203v²; V2, ff. 38-39³; V3, f. 23r⁴ **; V4, f. 22r.

Editions: HE, 79, pp. 179-180 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 79, p. 192 (based on M1, V2).

{23r} Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit domino Francisco Romano⁷, advocato consistoriali.⁸

[1] Quereris, mi Francisce, quod mihi plures dederis litteras et a me nullas susceperis. sed solet esse ista negligentium⁹ cautela¹⁰, quotiens nihil scribunt, totiens se multum scripsisse jactant¹¹. Ego tuas litteras recepi¹² nullas, vide an te vel me decipias¹³. Non credo tuis litteris magis quam aliis clausum iter esse, ceterorum enim litterae ad me¹⁴ omnes deferuntur. Sed mitte hanc, obsecro, querelam apud me, qui calleo¹⁵ has versutias. Cum aliis hisce utere et¹⁶ me¹⁷, si vis scribere, scribe, quia numquam impune me¹⁸ visitabis. De re, quam nunc postulas, hoc habe me velle et commodo et honori¹⁹ tuo semper consulere, sed causa nunc occurrit nulla pinguis. Haec, pro qua nunc agitur, nihil habet praeter onus. Ideo te, qui aliquid lucri quaeris, nolui facere gravatum. Quando materia se offeret²⁰, non ero²¹ immemor tui, quia te amo et tibi cupio bene esse.

Vale. Ex Gretz, die 20. Septembris²² 1443²³ 24.

¹ SC, 70

² SC, 411

³ DV 24r-24v

⁴ DV 26r

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ imperialisque M2, V2a; *corr. ex* imperialisque V2b

⁷ de Roma L, M1-M3

⁸ titulus *omit.* L, M1

⁹ esse negligentium : negligentium esse L

¹⁰ qui *add.* L, M1-M3

¹¹ jactant L, M1

¹² accepi M1

¹³ decipies M3

¹⁴ ad me *omit.* WO

¹⁵ i.e. scio *glossa interlin.* M1; calco M3

¹⁶ ad M3

¹⁷ mihi *corr. ex* me M2; mihi WO

¹⁸ *omit.* M3

¹⁹ commodo et honori : M1

²⁰ offert M3

²¹ essem V3

²² die 20. septembris *omit.* M3

²³ vale ... 1443 *omit.* M1

²⁴ ex Gretz ... 1443 : etc. M2

78. Letter to Francesco Quadranzio (20 September 1443, Graz).

Context: Apparently, Francesco Quadranzio had asked his friend Piccolomini to look out for cases where he could intervene as an advocate – at a fee, of course.

Subject: Piccolomini rebukes Francesco for falsely claiming that he had sent several letters to him without receiving an answer, and he informs him that at present, there is only one fat case which is relevant but nothing but trouble – a discrete reference to the case of the bishopric of Freising. Piccolomini's somewhat harsh remarks on Quadranzio's "deception" were probably humorous and would be understood as such.

{23r} Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Francesco of Rome, consistorial advocate.

[1] You complain, dear Francesco, that you have sent me several letters but received none from me. But that is the usual excuse of the negligent: though they never write, they always claim they have written much. I have received no letters from you, so consider whether you deceive yourself or me. I do not believe the road is more difficult for your letters than others, for all the letters from others actually reach me. So, do not complain to me: I know these tricks. Use them with others. But if you want to write to me, then write, for you shall never visit me without result. Concerning your request, please be assured that I shall always have your honour and interests in mind. However, there are no fat cases at present. The one being treated right¹ now is nothing but burdensome, so since you are looking for profit, I have not bothered you with it. If a suitable case comes, I shall not forget you since I love you and wish you the best.

Farewell. From Graz, 20 September 1443.

¹ The appointment of the next bishop of Freising.

79. Letter to Louis Aleman (23 September 1443, Graz)

Manuscripts: M3, ff. 232r-233r¹; V2, ff. 141-143²; V3, ff. 65r-66r³ **; V4, ff. 58r-59r.

Editions: HE, 80, pp. 180-181; WO, 1: 1, 80, pp. 192-194 (both based on V2).

Translations: RE, 31, pp. 163-165.

{65r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo Ludovico, cardinali Arelatensi, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit⁴.

[1] Recepi nuper litteras tuas⁵ admodum longas, et cum his fuerunt capitula pacis et ligae inter Eugenium et regem Aragonum concordatae. Post haec significabas recessum illorum cardinalium ex Basilea, quos abiisse invitos asseruisti, cupiebasque, ut omnia majestati regiae reserarem. Sed jam omnia ex Italia erant sibi nota, nec⁶ latet regem nostrum plerosque principes esse, qui magis sua quaerunt quam *illa, quae sunt Jesu Christi*⁷. Nonnulli tamen mirantur - in⁸ quorum numero me ipsum pono - quomodo Gallici, qui propter regnum Siciliae partem alteram sequebantur, nunc illo perduto, in pristina sententia perseverent, cum dici soleat effectum tolli cessante cause. Sensissemus⁹ nos¹⁰ Gallicorum mentem, si Johannes Offenburgensis¹¹ litteras in Franciam deferendas¹² diligenter misisset, sed timeo, ne fuerit piger in re publica, qui solet in privata diligentissimus esse.

¹ SC, 468-470

² DV, ff. 76r-77r

³ DV, ff. 68r-69r

⁴ Reverendissimo ... dicit : Ludovico, cardinali Arelatensi, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit Re-

verendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo M3

⁵ M3, V2a use 2nd person plural in address.

⁶ haec V4

⁷ Jesu Christi : Christi Jesu M3

⁸ omit. V4

⁹ serenissimus M3

¹⁰ non V4

¹¹ Offenburg M3

¹² differendas V4

79. Letter to Louis Aleman (23 September 1443, Graz)

Context: The Diet of Nürnberg was approaching, intended to solve the problem of the schism in the Church between Pope Eugenius in Rome with his council (Ferrara-Florence-Rome) and the Council in Basel with its antipope, Felix V. In this situation, the appointment of the new bishop of Freising acquired the utmost importance. The powerful imperial chancellor, Heinrich Schlick, was determined that his brother should obtain the appointment and was willing to use his influence on the emperor's ecclesiastical policies to have his way. The Council of Basel wanted the appointment to go to one of its most influential members, Johann Grünwalder, of the ducal House of Bavaria and a cardinal of Felix V. Piccolomini's letter is a reply to Cardinal Aleman, leader of the Council of Basel, who had exhorted him to further the council's cause with the emperor.

Subject: Piccolomini warns Cardinal Aleman that if the Council of Basel confirms the election of Johann Grünwalder to the See of Freising, it will have Chancellor Schlick as its enemy, which will greatly damage the cause of the council, especially at the coming Diet of Nürnberg.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Worshipful Lord Louis, Cardinal of Arles.

[1] Some days ago, I received your long letter together with the articles of the peace and alliance¹ concluded between Eugenius² and the King of Aragon.³ You also informed me of the departure from Basel of cardinals who – as you stated – left against their will⁴ and asked me to relate it all to the emperor. But the emperor had already received news of this from Italy. Moreover, our king well knows that many princes are more concerned about their own *things* than about those of *Jesus* Christ.⁵ Still, some – and I am one – are amazed at the French. They followed the other party⁶ because of the Kingdom of Sicily,⁷ even though that this kingdom is lost to them, they maintain their position,⁸ though, usually, when the cause disappears, so does the effect. We would have known more of the French intentions if Johann from Offenburg⁹ had sent off the letters destined for France, but I fear that he who is usually most diligent in private affairs has been remiss in the public.

¹ Peace of Terracina of 14 June 1443.

² Pope Eugenius IV.

³ King Alfonso V.

⁴ Pursuant to the Peace of Terracina, King Alfonso withdrew his prelates from the Council of Basel. In his DVI, sect. 209, Piccolomini wrote: *Alfonso had many dealings with Felix and the Council of Basel, but having obtained nothing, he was reconciled with Eugenius. He recalled those prelates from his dominions whom he had in Basel and ordered them all to join the obedience of Eugenius. 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. A cardinal who left against his will was the Archbishop of Palermo, Niccolò Tedeschi, appointed cardinal by anti-pope Felix V. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about him: 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 with various excuses and died before submitting himself in obedience to Eugenius. On his deathbed, he greatly lamen-

ted that, at the urging of his nephews, he had deserted the truth of the council (DVI, sect. 7).

⁵ Acts, 18: 25: *Ea quae sunt Jesu.*

⁶ The party of Eugenius IV.

⁷ The Kingdom Naples.

⁸ At the Council of Basel, the French first supported the conciliar party, but when they came to need the pope's support for the French pretendant to the crown of Naples, René d'Anjou, they supported the papal party. Now that King Alfonso had definitively expelled René d'Anjou from Italy and the pope had recognised Alfonso as king, the French had not returned to their former conciliarist position.

⁹ Unidentified. Possibly, a knight from Basel.

[2] Scripsit nuper serenitas Caesarea sacro concilio in favorem¹ Henrici, {65v} viri optimi et litterati, ut eum Frisingensi ecclesiae praeficeretis episcopum. Existimavi tantum principem exauditum iri². Praeter spem accidit, ut preces ejus rejectae fuerint. Interim electus est per capitulum sive jure sive injuria cardinalis³ sancti Martini. Is recursum ad vos⁴ habebit⁵ confirmationis causa. Rursus scribit Caesareum culmen, ut supersedere velitis confirmationemque differatis. Ego itidem⁶ suadeo et precor itidem propter bonum concilii sacri⁷, ne spernatis hanc petitionem sicuti⁸ primam. Debetis enim hunc tantum principem, ad quem ceteri omnes oculos dirigunt, quique nec muneribus nec precibus ad aliquam injustitiam movetur⁹, vobis et concilio favorabilem facere, ne irritantes suam clementiam cogatis eum iter flectere.

[3] Scitis praeterea, quantum apud eum possit magnificus Gaspar cancellarius, qui, si vobis faverit, nihil est, quod alios timere habeatis. Allicite igitur hunc virum et beneficiis devincite, maxime hoc tempore, quando conventus¹⁰ Norenbergensis instat, qui¹¹ per totam Christianitatem est vulgatus¹², quando et Carvajal et alii instant, ut rex se pro altera parte declaret, et cardinalis Sancti Angeli apud Hungariam pro viribus dominum suum tuetur, quando Eugenius nec congregari aliud concilium nec fieri declarationem vult, nisi pro se fiat. Nec enim ambigo, quin rex Aragonum aliter¹³ respondisset in factis ecclesiae, {66r} nisi per ipsum fuisset perturbatus. Videbitis¹⁴ in brevi conventum fieri, ad quem¹⁵ si rex non iverit¹⁶, prout timetur, saltem mittet plenum mandatum, sicut ejus litterae in orbem¹⁷ missae decantant. Et si vota venientium consonaverint¹⁸, ad congregationem indubitati concilii procedetur. [cont.]

¹ domini *add.* M3, V2a; ~~domini~~
seq. V2b

² sed *add.* M3

³ *omit.* V4

⁴ nos V4

⁵ habebat M3

⁶ ego itidem : itidem ego M3

⁷ concilii sacri : sacri concilii M3,
V2

⁸ secuti V4

⁹ movet M3

¹⁰ dieta M3, V2a; *corr.* ex dieta
V2b

¹¹ que M3, V2

¹² divulgata M3, V2

¹³ alias WO

¹⁴ videbitur M3

¹⁵ conventum fieri : quod dieta tenebitur et M3, V2a; *corr.* ex quod
dieta tenebitur et V2b

¹⁶ personaliter *add.* M3

¹⁷ mundum M3

¹⁸ resonaverint WO

[2] Recently, his Imperial Serenity wrote¹ to the Holy Council in favour of Henrich,² an excellent and educated man, and requested his appointment as bishop of Freising.³ ⁴ I thought the council would accommodate this great prince, but against all expectations, his request was denied. In the meantime, the cathedral chapter [of Freising], justly or unjustly, elected,⁵ the Cardinal of San Martino.⁶ He will now apply to you for confirmation [of his election.] Again His Imperial Highness writes to you, requesting that you postpone the matter and defer the confirmation.⁷ For the good of the Holy Council, I counsel and request the same: do not reject this petition as you did the first. All turn their eyes towards this great prince, who cannot be moved by gifts or prayers to do anything unjust. You should make him favourable towards you and the council and not, by frustrating him, force His Clemency to take another course.⁸

[3] Moreover, you know how powerful is His Magnificence, Chancellor Kaspar. If he favours you, you have nothing to fear from others. Draw this man to you and win him over with favours, especially now that the Diet of Nürnberg⁹ is approaching, which has been announced to all Christendom. Carvajal¹⁰ and others are urging the king to declare himself for the other party,¹¹ and, in Hungary, the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo¹² mightily defends the cause of his master.¹³ Moreover, Eugenius does not want another council to gather nor a declaration to be made unless it is for himself. I am sure the King of Aragon¹⁴ would have reacted differently in the ecclesiastical affairs¹⁵ if he had not been swayed by Eugenius. You will see the diet gather soon, and if the king does not come, as feared, he will at least send [men with] a full mandate, as declared in his letters to the world.¹⁶ If those who come [to the diet] vote for it, steps will be taken to summon an undoubted council. [*cont.*].

¹ Piccolomini had written the imperial letter.

² Heinrich Schlick. Brother of Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

³ Bishop Nicodemo della Scala of Freising had died on 13 August 1443. The emperor sent an envoy, Hartung Kappel, to the council to present his request for the appointment of Heinrich Schlick. See VO, 1: 2, p. 312.

⁴ On this whole affair, see the introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Si putarem*" (14 April 1444), in COR, 2: 5.

⁵ 13 September 1443. The day before, Pope Eugenius, in Siena, had appointed Henrich Schlick bishop of Freising.

⁶ Johann Grünwalder (ca. 1392-1452): Illegitimate son of Duke Johann II of Bavaria-Munich. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V. Elected Bishop of Freising by the chapter on 13 September 1443, he took possession of the see on 10 October. Heinrich Schlick, appointed bishop of Freising by Pope Eugenius, never got possession of the see and formally retired in 1448.

⁷ Letter from Friedrich III to the Council of Basel of 23 September 1443 (WO, 1: 1, ep. XLVIII, pp. 92-93). This letter, too, was written by Piccolomini.

⁸ I.e. to support the pope's course rather than the council's.

⁹ Diet of Nürnberg (Nov 1443 to Jan 1444). See letters 60 and 71.

¹⁰ Juan Carvajal (ca. 1400-1469): Spanish papal official and diplomat. See VO, 1: 2, p. 299-300. At the time, he was on a mission to Germany to persuade the emperor to support the cause of Pope Eugenius, who appointed him a cardinal in 1446.

¹¹ The papal party.

¹² Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

¹³ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁴ King Alfonso V.

¹⁵ I.e. allied himself with Pope Eugenius.

¹⁶ Piccolomini is referring to the letters he had written in June to the pope and to various kings, princes and communities concerning the need for a third council and invitations to a diet in Nürnberg (see letters in WO, 1: 2, pp. 20-24, 27).

[*cont.*] Id, si nequeat obtineri, declaratio fiet, quam Deus bonam det. Sed ad hoc oportet vos¹ principem hunc affectum² habere, ejus preces exaudire, et servitores suos promovere. Maximeque vobis est opus cancellarii votis annuere, ut ejus frater ecclesiam obtineat Frisingensem. Nam si confirmatio cardinalis non maturetur, aderunt viae, quae vestram partem juvabunt, plurimae, et vos postea in conventu³ Norenbergensi majorem favorem habebitis et praesertim, si eo miseritis oratores, qui potestatem habeant regiae majestati complacere, non autem verba dare, quae ventrem non implent.

[4] Quod autem suades, ut facta ecclesiae regi commendem, ego non sum tanti. In eo tamen gaudeo, quod hunc principem religiosissimum video et nullius mali avidum. Electores essent in hanc rem hortandi, qui consultores sunt et membra imperii, non Aeneas, qui vermiculus est, et cujus verba in fumum transeunt.

Vale et me, ut soles, inter servitores tuos ama. Ex Gretz, die 12. Decembris⁴ anno 1443⁵.

¹ nos M3
² effectum M3

³ dieta M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dieta V2
⁴ die 12. Decembris *omit.* M3

⁵ 43 M3

[cont.] If that cannot be achieved, then a declaration¹ will be made. God give that it be a good one.² But to obtain this, it is necessary for you to have the prince's³ favour, to grant his requests, and to promote his servants. [In this situation,] it is of the greatest importance to fulfil the chancellor's wish for his brother⁴ to be appointed to the Church of Freising. If the confirmation of the cardinal⁵ does not proceed, there will be many ways to further [the cause of] your party, and afterwards, you will have greater support at the Diet of Nürnberg, especially if you send men with powers agreeable to His Royal Majesty, and who do not speak words without substance.⁶

[4] You urge me to plead the affairs of the church⁷ with the emperor, but I am not important enough [to do that]. However, I rejoice that this prince is most religious and does not desire what is evil. You should address your exhortations to the electors,⁸ as advisors and members of the Empire, and not to Enea, who is just a little worm, and whose words vanish like smoke.

Farewell and love me, as always, as one of your servants. From Graz, 1443.

¹ For Pope Eugenius or the Council in Basel.

² Meaning - Piccolomini intimates - that it be for the council.

³ The emperor.

⁴ Heinrich Schlick.

⁵ Johann Grünwalder.

⁶ "quae ventrem non implent": that do not fill the stomach.

⁷ I.e. the cause of the Council of Basel.

⁸ The powerful German prince-electors.

80. Letter to a friend (October 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: L, f. 45r *; M1, ff. 52v-53r **

Editions: HE, 81, p. 182; WO, 1: 1, 81, pp. 195-196; (both based on L, M1).

{52v} Magnifice miles, major mi honorande.¹

[1] Nihil mihi scripsistis, postquam ex Basilea recessi, licet ego vobis litteras cancellarii et meas transmiserim. Vereor, ne mei memoriam perdideritis, quod, si ita est, inde proculdubio sit, quod numquam me magnopere amastis. Nam qui vere amat, non obliviscitur, ut in me ipso exemplum habeo, qui licet magno terrarum spatio a vobis secernar, scribere tamen et res vestras curare non desisto. Fuerunt in hanc sententiam verba vestra, quae ultimo ad me pronuntiastis Basileae, cum diceretis sanctissimum dominum nostrum Felicem mihi absenti quam praesenti de aliquo beneficio provisurum² esse vestrasque operas ad id spondidistis, cujus rei nullus secutus est effectus, tametsi multis ego in rebus apud Caesaream majestatem sanctissimo domino nostro profuerim et dietim prosim.

[2] Sed videor videre intentiones vestras ac cogitatus omnes: quia scitis me firmum esse et immutabilem, erga alios estis occupati. Quorum nutat fides, illis providetur, illos extollitis, ne ad hostes deficient. Qui bonus est bonusque semper fuit, hujus mentionem facit nemo. At hoc non regere est, sed destruere occasionemque praeberere, ut ex bonis mali fiant, quia ubi virtuti {53r} non est praemium, nec viri boni multi³ reperiuntur. Eligite tamen, ut libet. Ego semper idem ero, nec me beneficia mutabunt vel injuriae, ubi de fide veritateque agitur. Vestrum tamen esset, quibus tam diu servivi, curare aliquod beneficium mihi⁴ conferri et pro me tacenti⁵ loqui idque implere, quod Basileae promisistis, quando id, quod debeo, non praetermitto.

¹ titulus *omit.* L

² *em.*; promissurum M1

³ boni multi : multi boni L

⁴ beneficium mihi : mihi beneficium L

⁵ tacente WO

80. Letter to a friend (October 1443, Vienna)

Context: In that age, secretaries and officials of princes and prelates were, to a large extent, remunerated with ecclesiastical benefices (without pastoral care). It is, therefore, not surprising that Piccolomini would actively pursue the acquisition of such benefices.

Subject: Piccolomini rebukes the addressee for not having helped him to obtain a benefice from antipope Felix V, his former employer. He subtly intimates that his continued usefulness at the imperial court to the conciliarist cause depends on obtaining such a benefice.

Magnificent and Honourable Knight,¹

[1] You have not written to me since I left Basel² even though I have sent you letters from the chancellor³ and myself. I fear you have forgotten me, and if that is so, it is no doubt because you never loved me much, for one who loves does not forget. I take myself as an example: though separated from you by a large distance, I have not stopped writing to you and taking care of your affairs. You spoke to me in the same vein during my last days in Basel when you said that Our Most Holy Lord Felix⁴ would provide me with a benefice, whether I was absent or present, and you pledged your efforts to this purpose. However, nothing has come of it though I have been of assistance to Our Most Holy Lord⁵ in many matters before His Imperial Majesty, and shall continue to be so.

[2] But I understand your purpose and thinking: you know I am solid and unchangeable, so you turn your attention to others. Those who waver are provided for and promoted lest they pass over to the enemies. [On the contrary,] the one who is good and always has been is never mentioned by anybody. However, that is not to rule but to destroy and provide the occasion for good men to turn wicked, for where virtue is not rewarded, there are few good men. But whatever you choose, I shall always remain the same, and no benefice or wrong will change me where faith and truth are at stake. But it is up to you to arrange that I, who have served for such a long time, be given a benefice and to talk on my behalf while I am silent. Thus you will fulfil what you promised in Basel since I – on my part - am not failing to do what I should.

¹ Possibly Guillaume Bolomier (HE). He was chancellor at the Savoyard court and died in 1446.

² 29 October 1442.

³ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Antipope Felix V.

⁵ Antipope Felix V.

[3] Dux Mediolani, de quo sermonem habuimus, numquam vel litteras vel nuntios, postquam regi servio, huc misit. Mantuae et Ferrariae marchiones oratores misere. Veneti vero in dies missuri sunt et tunc ardua tractabuntur. Novitates, quae hic sunt, lator praesentium dicet. Cupio, me sanctissimo domino nostro commendetis, reverendissimum patrem dominum Johannem de Segobia¹, consecrarios salvere jubeo. Scriberem N. episcopo, nisi eum in Britanniam legationis suscepisse munus audissem, cujus iter faustum sit, cupio, et sanctissimo domino nostro ex sententia cedat².

Vos valet optime, et si me servitoris loco habere vultis, tenere vices domini mementote. Latorem praesentium in negotiis suis ut amicum recomendo percarum. Datum³.

¹ etc. *add.* WO

² dux Mediolani ... cedat *omit.* L

³ latorem praesentium ... datum
omit. L

[3] The duke of Milan,¹ whom we have spoken of, has not sent any letters or messengers here since I entered the king's service. The marquesses of Mantua² and Ferrara³ have sent ambassadors. The Venetians will send ambassadors shortly, and then very important matters will be negotiated. The bearer of the present letter will bring you the news from here. I ask you to commend me to Our Most Holy Lord and to greet the Most Reverend Father and Lord, Juan de Segovia, and my fellow secretaries on my behalf. I would have written to Bishop N. if I had not heard that he has accepted the charge of legate to England. I wish him success in his mission⁴ and that it will turn out well⁵ for Our Most Holy Lord.

Farewell, and if you wish me to serve you, then remember to act on behalf of your lord. I recommend the bearer of the present letter (and his affairs) as a very dear friend. Date.

¹ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

² Ludovico III Gonzaga (1412-1478): Marquess of Mantua from 1444 to his death.

³ Leonello d'Este.

⁴ To persuade the English to accept Felix V as the legitimate pope.

⁵ The mission was not successful.

81. Letter to Gaspare Caccia de Fara (5 October 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 32v-33r¹; M3, ff. 206r-207r²; V2, ff. 54-57³; V3, ff. 29v-31v⁴ **, V4, ff. 28r-29v.

Editions: HE, 82, pp. 183-185; WO, 1: 1, 82, pp. 196-198 (both based on V2).

{29v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ Gaspari⁶, adolescenti primario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Oblectant me semper litterae tuae, quas et familiariter et ornate scribis. Hae vero novissimae cum ornatu facetias quoque attulerunt atque idcirco magis placuere⁷. Unum tamen in illis sum demiratus, quod triduanum jejunium idque interpellatum tantopere exhorrueris⁸, nec profecto aliam causam interpretari possum, nisi cardinalis nimiam facilitatem, qui tibi Jacoboque nimis indulget. Vosque gattorum⁹ ex more, quanto magis demulcimini¹⁰, tanto altius caudam elevatis. Loquor tecum libere, quia tute vis, dum me magistrum vocitas, quo nomine oneratum¹¹ me sentio¹². Sed loquamur, obsecro, libere¹³. {30r} Recipiamus vitae¹⁴ stateram delictumque cum poena trutinantes, an cardinalis magis an tu erraveris, videamus.

[2] Ducitur mulier clanculum in aedes, ut amatori conjaceat¹⁵. Nequit exire, ut introivit, occulte. Panditur tibi scelus. Tu causam amici suscipiens emittendi mulierculam studio vacas remque perficis, cardinalem celas. Scio te illius esse prudentiae, ne te consulente adduci potuerit mulier. Id enim grave delictum erat et proditio quaedam in dominum, cujus honori multum poterat detrahi. Post scelus admissum¹⁶ amico consulere non fuit erroris, nisi plus domino quam amico debuisses. Amicitia enim nullius juri derogat¹⁷ nec aliquod¹⁸ admittit turpe. Sed dic te omnino decuisse amici delictum tegere? Sit ita. Nempe ut tibi honor amici sic cardinali proprius curae esse debet. Tu cardinali Jacobum praetulisti. Cur non te¹⁹ cardinalis sibi postponat seque praeponat tibi? Tu ejus servitor es, ejus panem comedis vinumque²⁰ bibis. Cur, si peccas in eum, non punieris²¹? Sed ais²² poenam duriolem et judicem asperum esse. Vide, quam inique agis quamque sinistre cardinalem incusas.

¹ SC, 72-73.

² SC 416-418.

³ DV 32v-34r.

⁴ DV 32v-34v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ de Fara *add.* V2a; ~~de Fara~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ placuerunt V4

⁸ exhortaveris M3

⁹ muscipularum M2, M3, V2a;

corr. ex muscipularum V2b

¹⁰ demulcemini HE

¹¹ oneratum HE

¹² sentiam V4

¹³ iure M2; omit. V4

¹⁴ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹⁵ Jacobo *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~Jacobo~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ amissum M2, M3, V2, V3

¹⁷ *sed add.* M3

¹⁸ aliquid M2, M3

¹⁹ cardinalis proprius ... te *omit.* V4

²⁰ vinum WO

²¹ puniaris M2, M3, V2

²² alias V4

81. Letter to Gaspare Caccia de Fara (5 October 1443, Vienna)

Context: Piccolomini's young friend in Basel, Gaspare Caccia de Fara, had gotten into trouble with his employer, a cardinal.

Subject: Piccolomini defends the cardinal and enjoins Gaspare to bear his just punishment with patience.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the excellent youth, Gaspare.

[1] I always enjoy your letters, which you write in a style that is both easy and elegant. In the last one, you also combined elegance with humour, making it even more enjoyable. One thing made me wonder, however: you were most upset at the three-day fast and confinement [imposed upon you],¹ but I can only interpret it as a sign that the cardinal is much too lenient with you and Jacopo. Like cats, the more you are being stroked, the more you raise your tails. I speak freely with you, which is what you want when you call me 'teacher', a title that I take seriously. So, please, let us talk freely and use life's balance while we ponder the offence and the punishment and consider who was most at fault: you or the cardinal.

[2] A woman is brought into the [cardinal's] house to lie with her lover. She cannot leave secretly, as she came. The offence is revealed to you. You help your friend and manage to get the woman out of the house, hiding [the affair] from the cardinal. I know you are so prudent that the woman was not brought into the house on your advice. Indeed, it was a grave offence and a betrayal of the master, whose reputation it could damage severely. Helping your friend after he had admitted the offence was not an error unless you owed the master more than the friend. For friendship does not dispense from justice nor allow anything indecent.² But you claim you were bound to cover up your friend's offence. Let it be so. But if you had to protect your friend's honour, the cardinal had even more right to protect his. You put Jacopo above the cardinal. So, why should the cardinal not put himself above you? You are his servant; you eat his bread and drink his wine. Why should he not punish you when you misbehave? You claim the punishment was too severe and the judge harsh, but hear now how badly you are behaving and how unfairly you accuse the cardinal.

¹ "interpellatum"

² Cf. Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 11-12: 37-40.

[3] Scivit peccatum evestigio¹, non tamen statim cognoscere causam punireque voluit. Cur hoc? Nempe ne, dum ira ferveret, rationis tramitem iudicando praeteriret. Quid hoc? Numquid sororium est illi² Platonis factio, qui adversus debitum³ ventri servum ira percitus⁴, vocato sororis filio Speusippo, “Abi⁵,” dixit⁶, {30v}“hunc verberato⁷, nam ego nimia exagitor ira.” Architas Tarantinus, summus philosophus, ex bello rediens, cum agrum incultum squalentemque offendisset⁸, accersito⁹ illius vilico, “Nisi iratus forem, lugeres¹⁰,” ait. Timebat quippe vir sapiens, ne ira animum a cognitione¹¹ veri¹² revocaret ultionemque differendam in tempus duxit. Idem cardinalis factitavit, qui comperto scelere noluit¹³ prius ad punitionem procedere, quam ira triduo sedaretur. Viri¹⁴ certe, quem prisca aetas inter philosophos numerasset, vidimus modum procedendi ad iudicium.

[4] Sententiam nunc videamus. Quid durum, quid asperum, quid acerbum hic mandavit? Alius familiares suos huiusmodi perpetrantes aut domo expulisset aut virgis¹⁵ caedi mandasset. Cardinalis Sancti Eustachii saepe ob minores reatus compedes dedit, at hic¹⁶ vir mansuetus, qui juventutis vitia novit et quam difficile sit aculeos carnis comprimere, non ignorat nihil horum. At¹⁷ tibi, Gaspar¹⁸, triduanum jejunium indixit. Tu hoc grave et insupportabile jugum reris. Nempe si ita pergis, Gaspar, suadeo, ne curias sequaris¹⁹. Nam si hoc tam mite imperium ferre non potes, nullum poteris ferre. Non sunt, mihi crede, duriora castra quam curiae principum, ubi invidiae, similtates, detractiones, odia, inimicitiae, contumeliae, injuriae paene infinitae, quae res nullo modo quam per²⁰ patientiam vinci possunt. Hae res in curiis ecclesiasticorum praelatorum²¹ tanto majores sunt, quanto, qui in illis versantur, sunt {31r} doctiores ingeniaque sua non in bonum, sed in malum plerumque vertunt.

[5] Quod si tu jejunare non potes, nec illa ferre²² poteris²³. Ego tamen scio te virum robustum esse, qui et inedia et sitim tolerare queas. Sed nihil apud te difficilius est quam animum domare, nam cum sis juvenis, facis ut juvenis²⁴, cujus proprium est semper velle vincere. At juvenes non possunt pervenire, quo volunt, nisi juvenes esse desinant seque aliquando vinci patiantur. Ideo et ego tibi suadeo²⁵, mi Gaspar²⁶, ut animum flectas tuum tibi et tu ipse domineris et alios aliquando dominari sinas, maxime viros praestantes, qualis est cardinalis et avunculus tuus. Nec velis omnia ex tuo capite facere, sed ex aliorum sensu aliquando vivas. Nos enim maxime, quando juvenes sumus, parum nobis videmus. Nihil est tutius quam ex iudicio amantis vivere, nec tu mihi famem tuam alleges, quia, si hoc perseveraveris agere, dicam te²⁷ virum non esse, qui ex vino paneque nequeas triduo vivere.

¹ cardinalis *add.* M2, M3

² illud M2

³ debitum M3,

⁴ partitus M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* partitus V2b

⁵ *omit.* M3

⁶ inquit M2

⁷ verberate M3

⁸ aspexisset M2

⁹ accito M2, M3, V2

¹⁰ lugeas M3

¹¹ cogitatione M2

¹² vera M2, M3, V2

¹³ *omit.* V4

¹⁴ *em.* HE, WO; virum *codd.*

¹⁵ *corr. ex* virginis V3

¹⁶ *omit.* M3

¹⁷ ac M2

¹⁸ *omit.* M3

¹⁹ sequatur V4

²⁰ praeter V4

²¹ principum M3

²² sufferre M3

²³ *omit.* M2; potes M3, V2

²⁴ facis ut juvenis *omit.* M2

²⁵ tibi suadeo : suadeo tibi M2

²⁶ Balthasar M2

²⁷ dicam te: te dicam M3

[3] When the cardinal heard of the offence, he did not want to immediately judge the matter and impose a punishment. Why is that? It is because he did not want to risk making an unreasonable judgment while he was furious. Is this not similar to what Plato did when he became furious with a gluttonous slave? Summoning his sister's son, Speusippos, he told him, "Go and whip this man, for I am much too angry to do it myself."¹ And when Architas from Taranto, an eminent philosopher, returned from war and saw his fields uncultivated and overgrown, he summoned the estate manager and said, "If I were not angry, you would now be mourning."² This wise man feared that his anger would prevent him from discerning the truth and therefore postponed the punishment. The cardinal did the same: having discovered the offence, he did not want to proceed to punish you before his anger had cooled for three days. We have now seen how this man, whom antiquity would have counted as one of the philosophers, proceeded to judgment.

[4] Let us now look at the sentence. How harsh, how cruel, how bitter was the punishment he imposed? Another one would have expelled members of his household who had behaved in this way from his house or ordered them to be whipped. The Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio³ often had [servants] guilty of even minor offences thrown into chains. But this mild-mannered man knows the vices of youth and how difficult it is to master the burning needs of the flesh – he knows it all and [only] sentenced you, Gaspare, to three days fasting. You think this is an intolerable burden, but if you persist in that course, Gaspare, I advise you to not pursue a court career. For if you cannot bear a rule that is so mild, then you will not be able to tolerate any rule whatsoever. Believe me, army camps are not more brutal than princely courts with their jealousies, conflicts, denunciations, slanders, hates, enmities, brawls and almost countless abuses⁴ that can only be overcome by patience.⁵ All these are even greater in the courts of prelates since men there are more learned and often turn their intellect not to what is good but what is bad.

[5] If you cannot fast, you will not be able to bear all this. But I know that you are a robust man who can tolerate both hunger and thirst. However, nothing is more difficult for you than taming your own spirit, for when you are a young man, you behave as one whose dominant trait is to want always to win. But young men cannot achieve what they want unless they cease acting like young men and sometimes accept that others prevail. Therefore, I urge you, my Gaspare, to bend your mind and control yourself and sometimes let others govern you, especially eminent men like the cardinal and your uncle.⁶ Do not wish all to be done as you want but sometimes live as others decide. For when we are young, we often do not act for our own good. Nothing is safer than following the decisions of someone who loves you. And do not claim that you are hungry, for if you continue to behave like that, I shall say that you are not a man since you are unable to live without wine and bread for three days!

¹ Valerius Maximus, 4: 1, 15, ext. 2.

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 4: 36, 79; Valerius Maximus, 4: 1, 15, ext. 15.

³ Cardinal Alfonso Carillo de Albornoz.

⁴ Piccolomini may already have begun to write his treatise *De Curialium Miseriis*, which he

would publish the following year (1444).

⁵ See letter 74: 3.

⁶ Stefano Caccia de Fara.

[6] Ego ea, qua tu nunc aetate es, diebus 12 ex pane aquaque¹ vixi et diutius vixissem, nisi voti fuisset finis. Nec Deus, ille opifex rerum nostrique sator et altor², aliud ab initio nobis alimenti praebuit quam glandes et aquam. Quod si nostra postmodum³ ⁴ luxuria alia cibaria invenerit⁵, non tamen naturae bonitas praeteriit, quin adhuc illis possimus vivere⁶ cibis, qui nostros aluerunt parentes. Tibi illud plus oblatum est, quod ante {31v} vineam Noe non erat. Ideo rogo, ut querelam ponas teque cardinalis subjicias sententiae, quam tanto justiorem fatearis⁷, quanto durior tibi est visa. De aliis, quae scribis, alias⁸ agemus. Tabellarius fugiens scribere plura non sinit.

Cardinali me commenda et⁹ Jacobum salvum dicito. Ex Vienna, die¹⁰ 5. octobris 1443¹¹ ¹².

¹ et aqua M2

² alitor M2

³ nostra postmodum : postmodum
nostra M2

⁴ invenit *add.* M2, M3

⁵ *omit.* M2, M3

⁶ possimus vivere : vivere possi-
mus M2, M3

⁷ justiore fatearis : fatearis justio-
rem M3

⁸ *omit.* V4

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ *omit.* M3

¹² ex Vienna ... 1443 : vale M2

[6] When I was your age, I once lived for 12 days on bread and wine, and I could have continued if my vow had not ended.¹ In the beginning, God, the creator² of all things, our progenitor³ and the father who fostered us⁴, only gave us acorns⁵ and water for food. Later our desire for luxury made us invent other foods,⁶ but still, the goodness of nature has not disappeared, and we can still live from foods that nourished our forefathers. You have much to eat that was not there before Noah's vineyard.⁷ So, I ask you to quit complaining and submit to the cardinal's judgment, which you should admit is as just as it seems harsh to you. The other things you write about we shall take up at another time. The messenger is on the point of leaving, so I cannot write more.

Recommend me to the cardinal and greet Jacopo from me. From Vienna, 5 October 1443.

¹ On one occasion, in his youth, Piccolomini had apparently made the vow to fast on bread and wine for 12 days. The reason is unknown.

² Opifex, see Cicero: *De Natura Deorum*, 1: 8, 18.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 1: 254: *hominum sator atque deorum*.

⁴ Altor: see Cicero: *De Natura Deorum*, 2: 34.

⁵ Cf. Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1: 148.

⁶ On the progression of human society towards ever greater levels of luxury and refinement, see a comment by Piccolomini (on the development of the papal tiara) in his report to the emperor on a mission to the papal court in 1447: *But they [the jewels in the papal tiara] are not like those we see today in your own crown or on the*

papal mitre, for the pomp of that age did not equal the luxury of the present age. A simpler age has preceded ours. Our forefathers did not indulge in ornaments and food the way we do. However, an even more uninhibited age will come, and then our descendants' faults will commend our own lifestyle (CRDM, 1: 28).

⁷ Genesis, 9: 20.

82. Letter to Johann Anach (11 October 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: L, 42r *; M2, f. 33r^l; M3, f. 208r²; V2, f. 60³; V3, ff. 31v-32r^d **; V4, ff. 29v-30r.

Editions: HE, 83, p. 185; WO, 1: 1, 83, pp. 198-199 (both based on L, V2).

Translations: RE, 33, pp. 166-167.

Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit domino Johanni Anach, canonico Tridentino et confratri suo⁶.

[1] Quod tibi non scribo saepius, causa est tua in rebus meis diligentia. Ita enim res meas curas, ut nihil sit opus⁷ scribere, nisi velim gratias tibi agere, quae pro factis non est digna compensatio. Nec nunc aliquid⁸ scriberem, nisi novus casus emersisset, qui tuo indiget auxilio. Credo te scire plebem Sarantanae vallis per⁹ decanum nostrum meo nomine acceptatam esse. In ejus potiunda possessione vis fit¹⁰, nec¹¹ absque timore sum, quod alius illic¹² se intruserit¹³. Tu procuratoris mei officium geris, patronus¹⁴ meus es, advocatus, protector. Sicut in praebenda fecisti, ita in ecclesia facias, rogo. Pater meus¹⁵, Franciscus Bossius¹⁶ te admonebit¹⁷, si qua in re opus sit adminiculo¹⁸ tuo. Illi, obsecro, ausculta et in omni meo negotio ipsum¹⁹ quasi me audi, qui non solum in rebus meis, sed in corpore et in anima jus habet. Ego, quia²⁰ nihil pro te possum, nihil facio. Animus adest, si facultas praeberetur. Tu, si²¹ scis emolumento aliquo, honori, voluptati, beneplacito tibi me esse posse²², injuriam feceris amico, ni commonueris.

Vale. Ex Vienna, die 11. octobris 1443.²³

¹ SC, 73.

² SC 420.

³ DV 35v.

⁴ DV 34v-35r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ venerabilis vir, confrater optime *add.* L

⁷ sit opus : opus sit M2, M3

⁸ aliud M2

⁹ dominum *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~dominum~~ *seq.* V2

¹⁰ sit M3

¹¹ ne M2

¹² illinc WO

¹³ intromiserit M3

¹⁴ patronusque WO

¹⁵ dominus *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.*

interlin. V2b

¹⁷ admouebit V4

¹⁸ *omit.* WO

¹⁹ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add.*

interlin. V2b

²⁰ *omit.* V4

²¹ *omit.* V4

²² *omit.* M3

²³ ex Vienna ... 1443 *omit.* M2

82. Letter to Johann Anach (11 October 1443, Vienna)

Context: Having been made a canon of Trient, Piccolomini had been granted the benefice of Sarantanerthal but could not get possession of the benefice due to some unspecified opposition.

Subject: Piccolomini asks Johann Anach, another canon in Trient, to act as his procurator and assist him in obtaining possession of the benefice.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johann Anach, fellow canon of Trient.

[1] The reason I do not write more often is your own diligence in my affairs, which you handle so well that I only need to write you if I wish to send you my thanks – not much compensation for your efforts, anyway! I only write now because a new matter has arisen demanding your assistance. I believe you know the parish¹ of Sarantanerthal has been accepted on my behalf by our dean.² ³ However, getting possession of the parish has met with vigorous opposition, and I fear that another has intruded himself [into my office].⁴ You are my procurator, my patron, my advocate and my protector. Do the same in the matter of this church as you previously did in the matter of the prebend. My Father, Francesco Bossio, will advise you if there is any need for your assistance. Heed him, please, and hear him in all my affairs as you would myself, for he is empowered to act concerning not only my affairs but also my body and soul. I can do nothing for you [now], so I do nothing, but I fully intend to do what I can if the occasion arises. If you know how I could be of use to you in any matter, be it benefit, honour, delight, or pleasure, you would insult me as your friend if you did not tell me.

Farewell. From Vienna, 11 October 1443.

¹ „plebs”

² Francesco Bossio: Dean of the chapter of Trento.

³ VO, 1: 2, pp. 292-293; Mitchell, 97.

⁴ See letter 108:16.

83. Letter from Niccolò Arcimboldi (13 October 1443, Milan)

Manuscripts: M1, f. 57v; M2, ff. 117v-118r¹; M3, ff. 254v-255r²; V2, ff. 239-240³; V3, ff. 114v-115r⁴ **; V4, ff. 102r-102r.

Editions: HE, 84, pp. 185-186; WO, 1: 1, 84, pp. 199-200 (both based on M1, V2).

Nicolaus de Arziboldis, doctor, Aeneae Silvio, poetae singularique amico, salutem plurimam dicit.⁵

[1] Gratissimum fuit nuper ex tuis⁶ intellexisse litteris⁷ te et sospitem et eo⁸ dignitatis gradu provectum esse, quo serenissimus⁹ dominus noster Romanorum¹⁰ rex dignum te officio secretarii iudicavit. Et recte quidem, ut cetera omnia pro summa sua prudentia sive fidem sive doctrinam sive multarum et maximarum rerum experientiam fuerit contemplatus. Ego certe ita hoc¹¹ augmento tuae dignitatis gaudeo ac si eodem mecum parente genitus esses. Quandoquidem ex eo praesertim tempore, quo Florentiae una¹² viventes familiaritatem et benivolentiam diutina consuetudine et honestis actionibus auximus, te semper germani fratris loco dilexi. Potes igitur summa confidentia omni opera mea, ubicumque cessuram illam cognoveris ad augmentum aut conservationem rei vel honoris vestri, non minus¹³ uti¹⁴ quam fratre et¹⁵ optimo amico faceres.

[2] Ego, quod de praepositura mihi addidisti onus, libens et amplectar¹⁶ et ad exitum usque perducam, si¹⁷ vires aut ingenium modo non defuerint. Interim curabo ea sarcina, quae reliquias quasdam meae legationis habet, me explicare. Dehinc quidquid fieri poterit, quidve facto fuerit opus, te¹⁸ meis reddam certiore¹⁹ litteris.²⁰

[3] Vale, et ubi aliquid otii fuerit²¹, si res dignae occurrerint²², quas dietim cumulatiores eventuras confido, fac me participem. Ego, quid scribam, nunc nihil aliud dignum²³ habeo quam esse - Deo iuvante - inter²⁴ illustrissimum dominum meum ducem et illustrem ligam factas non reconciliaiones modo, omnium²⁵ praeteritarum injuriarum rubiginem extergentes, sed societatem, amicitiam et, quod ipse ego desperabam, talem animorum unitatem, ut unius incommoda ab alterius damnis secerni non possint.

Vale. Ex Mediolano, die 13. Octobris^{26 27} 1443.²⁸

¹ SC, 244-245.

² SC, 513-514.

³ DV 125r-125v.

⁴ DV 117v-118r.

⁵ Titulus: (Ad dominum Eneam M1). Nicolaus de Arziboldis spectabili et insigni poetae tamquam fratri honorando domino Aeneae de Senis, serenissimi domini nostri Romanorum regis secretario. Spectabilis et honorande frater M1

⁶ M1 uses 2nd person plural in address.

⁷ omit. M1, M2, M3, V2a; add. interlin. litteris V2b

⁸ ego M2

⁹ omit. M2

¹⁰ noster Romanorum omit. M2

¹¹ omit. M2

¹² omit. M3

¹³ numquam M3

¹⁴ omit. M3

¹⁵ omit. M3

¹⁶ complectar M2

¹⁷ omit. M1, M3, V2, V3, V4

¹⁸ litteris add. M3

¹⁹ reddam certiore : certiore reddam M2

²⁰ omit. M3

²¹ nactus fueritis M1

²² occurrent M3

²³ nihil aliud dignum : dignum nihil aliud M3

²⁴ omit. M2

²⁵ omnem M1

²⁶ anno add. WO

²⁷ die ... Octobris omit. M2

²⁸ die 13. ... 1443 omit. M1

83. Letter from Niccolò Arcimboldi (13 October 1443, Milan)

Context: In an earlier letter (letter 74), Piccolomini had asked Arcimboldi to aid his efforts to be reinstated in the Milanese provostship of San Lorenzo.

Subject: Arcimboldi confirms the old friendship between himself and Piccolomini and promises to help his efforts. He also comments of the state of peace between Venice and Milan.

Niccolò Arcimboldi, doctor, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, poet and special friend.

[1] I was delighted to learn from your recent letter that you are safe and sound and that you have attained such an honourable position that Our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans,¹ has found you worthy of the office of secretary. And rightly so, since he has wisely examined everything, your loyalty, your learning, and your experience with many and most important matters. I certainly rejoice in your promotion as if you had been born of the same parent as I, for I have loved you as a brother ever since we lived together in Florence² and our friendship and mutual sympathy grew with our daily intercourse and honourable activities. You may, therefore, quite confidently use my services whenever you consider that it will advance or maintain your interests and honour, just as you would yourself do towards a brother and close friend.

[2] I gladly accept the task you have given me concerning your provostship, and I shall bring it to its conclusion if only my abilities and intellect suffice. First, however, I shall deal with some unfinished matters from my mission.³ Then I shall inform you by letter about what could be done in your matter and what still needs to be done.

[3] Farewell, and if you have time, then share with me the important things that happen – I trust there will more and more as time passes. For now, the only thing worth writing to you is that not only have my Most Illustrious Lord Duke and the Illustrious League – with God’s help – become reconciled,⁴ clearing away the blight of all the past injuries, but there is even fellowship, friendship and – what I had not dared to hope for – such concord between them that it is impossible to separate the disadvantages to one party from damages to the other.

Farewell. From Milan, 13 October 1443.

¹ Emperor Friedrich III.

² See letter 74: 1.

³ To negotiate peace between Milan and the Venice-led League.

⁴ Presumably a reference to the Congress of Cavriana, 1443, in which Arcimboldi participated as a

plenipotentiary envoy of the Duke of Milan.

84. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (14 October 1443, Milan)

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 56r-56v; M2, f. 34v¹; M3, f. 12r²; V2, ff. 73-75³; V3, ff. 37r-38r⁴; V4, ff. 34r-34f.

Editions: HE, 85, pp. 186-188; WO, 1: 1, 85, pp. 201-202 (both based on M1, V2).

Translations: RE, 34, pp. 167-168.

Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius⁷, Johanni Campisio, philosopho praestanti, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Reddiderunt me certum litterae tuae jam te Senas tutum et sospitem advenisse, quod voluptati mihi fuit timenti, ne viarum discrimina incidisses. Cupiunt litterae tuae de rebus, quas Andreae de Merano commendasti, scire, quid factum sit. Percontatus sum ex Matheo Pisano, sicut jussisti. Is refert illas jam dudum ligatas⁸, prout reliqueras, itineri commissas jamque se reri Venetias pervenisse et se tibi commendat. Quae apud Insubres gessisti, omnia facta esse cum consilio non ambigo, quamvis illa⁹ parce attigeris.

[2] Politicorum libros ex Aretini traductione conscriptos invenisse te gaudeo coemereque institui, et si minori pretio, quam scripseris, haberi nequeunt, lubet id auri conferre. Rogavi Matheum, apud Sigherium Galleranum¹⁰ vel Johannem Panigarolum¹¹ hanc pecuniam persolvi ut¹² curaret¹³, qui mox litteras scripsit cavitque, ut quam¹⁴ primum illuc librum miseris, pecunia detur etiam¹⁵ ¹⁶. Tuum est ergo¹⁷, mi Johannes, mercatorem aliquem in curia reperire, qui onus¹⁸ mittendi Mediolanum hos libros suscipiat ibique aurum recipiat. Scio te amicorum tantum habere, ut facile hoc sit tibi. Quod si Johannes Tolner, vir praestans et summus amicus magnifici cancellarii, onus mittendi librum suscipere vellet, per Venetias remitterem sibi pecuniam¹⁹. Ideo, si eum nosti, ejus animum²⁰ tempta idque agito, ut opera tua politicum assequar Aristotelem, quando id magnopere²¹ suasisti. Et ne timor pecuniae te afficiat, potes, si vis, antequam librum mittas, expectare litteras unius illorum Mediolanensium, qui te certiore reddat, se tuo nomine aurum possidere. Scis nunc²² desiderium meum et quomodo tuae indemnitati possis consulere. Cura te ut ²³amicum, qui es, ostendas.

¹ SC, 76.

² SC, 428.

³ DV, ff. 42r-43r.

⁴ DV, ff. 40r-41r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ imperialisque M1, M2, V2

⁷ domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ legatas V4

⁹ illas WO

¹⁰ Galleanum M1

¹¹ *omit.* M2; Panigarolam WO

¹² *omit.* M3

¹³ faceret M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* faceret V2b

¹⁴ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

¹⁶ cum solutione vecturae *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~eum solutione vecturae~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ *omit.* V4

¹⁸ opus V4

¹⁹ cum omni onere vecturarum per primum, de quo ipse confideret mihique scriberet *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~eum omni onere vecturarum per primum, de quo ipse confideret mihique scriberet~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁰ animam WO

²¹ magne M2

²² namque M2

²³ vel V4

84. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (14 October 1443, Milan)

Context: Campisio had left the service of Cardinal Cesarini and gone to Siena to seek employment at the papal court, in temporary residence there. On the way, he had come across a copy of Leonardo Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Politika*.

Subject: Piccolomini makes arrangements to acquire the *Politika*, reproaches Campisio for not sending news about Pietro da Noceto, and comments on King Alfonso V's Italian campaigns.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, eminent philosopher.

[1] Your letter told me you have arrived safe and sound in Siena.¹ I was glad to hear it since I feared that you would fall into danger on the road. In your letter, you wish to know what happened with the things you entrusted to the care of Andrea from Merano.² I asked Matteo Pisano,³ as you requested. He says they have already been sent off, roped together as you left them. He believes they have now arrived in Venice and commends himself to you. I am sure that all you did in Lombardy was done with circumspection, though you could not achieve much.⁴

[2] I am happy that you have found a copy of the books of the *Politica*⁵ in Aretino's⁶ translation,⁷ and I have decided to spend the money⁸ even if it cannot be had at a lower price than the one you mentioned. I asked Matteo to arrange for the money to be paid through Sigerio Gallerano⁹ or Giovanni Panigarola.¹⁰ He wrote immediately to inform them that the money will be paid as soon as you send the book.¹¹ So now it is up to you, dear Giovanni, to find a merchant at the curia who will accept the task of sending the books to Milan and receiving the money there. I know you have so many friends that this will be easy for you. If Johann Tolner,¹² an excellent man and a close friend of His Excellency the Chancellor, accepts the task of sending the book, I shall pay him through Venice. Therefore, if you know him, then find out if he is disposed to do so. At any rate, please arrange that I obtain the Aristotle's *Politica* since you argued so heavily for it. And lest you worry about the money, you can, if you so wish, await a letter from one of the Milanese¹³ informing you that the money is deposited with him in your name before you send the book. You now know what I want and how you can make sure you are paid. Please show yourself as the friend you are.

¹ Apparently, Campisio had left the service of Cardinal Cesarini in Hungary to seek employment at the papal curia, at the time in Siena. Eventually, he became secretary to Cardinal Berardi.

² Unidentified.

³ Matteo Pisano: an Italian Renaissance historian?

⁴ Had Piccolomini asked Campisio to take up the affair of his pro-vostship at the Milanese court?

⁵ Aristotle's *Politika* was one of the main sources of Renaissance political theory.

⁶ Leonardo Bruni.

⁷ Bruni finished his translation of Aristotle's *Politika* around 1438.

⁸ Given Piccolomini's limited economic resources, the acquisition of this work would probably have been a significant expense for him.

⁹ A merchant-banker in Milan, from the Gallerani family.

¹⁰ Giovanni Panigarola belonged to a merchant-banking family in Milan.

¹¹ Piccolomini would probably use a bill of exchange.

¹² The emperor's procurator at the papal court.

¹³ The two Milanese bankers named above.

[3] De Petro nostro Noxetano nihil te scripsisse *monstri¹ simile* est, cum scias me avidum ejus nosse fortunam. Rogo, me instruas, quid illi² obtigerit, quo animo heri mortem ferat, quocum vivat, quid officii gerat, qua spe sit, et quo in me animo, quando nihil ad me scribit nec meis epistolis provocatus³.

[4] Regem Aragonum tantum extendisse alas suas, nescio an conducat Italiae, quamquam illa tam fessa est, ut respirare sub quocumque desideret. Viderint tamen nostri⁴, ne serpentem in gremio nutriant. Alta est dominandi cupido, nec terminis clauditur ullis. Hannibali non satis Africa fuit, quae pars orbis tertia creditur. Alexandro in modum carceris angusti⁵ fines mundi videbantur. Nemo existimet generosum animum unius regni terminis conquiescere. Ego tamen illi faveo, qui fortunae impetus perseverantiae clipeo domuit continuandoque id fecit, ut adversam expertus secundissimam jam sit adeptus fortunam. Faxit Deus, vita ut ⁶illa cornicis⁷ sit, et qualem⁸ *Theophrastus moriens* exoptavit.

Tu vale et rescribe nec amplius legem taciturnitatis inter nos serva⁹. Ex Vienna, 2. idus octobris 1443¹⁰.

¹ monstro M2

² ei V4

³ ad *add.* M1

⁴ uiri V4

⁵ Augusti V4

⁶ et M2

⁷ corvicis WO

⁸ aequalem V4

⁹ conserva M1-M3

¹⁰ 2. idus ... 1443 : etc. M2

[3] It is simply *monstrous*¹ that you have written nothing about Pietro da Noceto² when you know how eager I am to have news of him. Please tell me what has happened to him, how he has taken the death of his master,³ with whom he lives, what office he has, what his hopes are, and how he is disposed towards me since he writes nothing to me, though I have asked him to in a letter.

[4] I do not know whether it will profit Italy that the King of Aragon⁴ has spread his wings so far,⁵ though she is so worn down that she may want to breathe out under anyone whatsoever. But our people should beware not to nourish a serpent in their bosom. Great is the lust of power, and it knows no limitations. Africa was not enough for Hannibal⁶ though it is believed to form one third of the world. Alexander⁷ thought the limits of the world were like a narrow prison. Nobody should assume that this noble soul⁸ will rest within the boundaries of one kingdom only. But I do favour him since he has resisted fortune's attack with the shield of perseverance. Having experienced an inimical fortune, he continued [his fight], and now he has secured a most favourable one. May God give that his life last as long as the crow's - as Theophrastus⁹ wished for on his deathbed.¹⁰

Farewell, write back to me and do no longer keep the law of silence between us. From Vienna, 14 October 1443.

¹ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 334.

² Piccolomini's close friend from when they were both members of Cardinal Albergati's household.

³ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, who had died on 9 May 1443 in Siena, when the papal court resided there.

⁴ King Alfonso V of Aragon.

⁵ After a long war, Alfonso had finally conquered the Kingdom of

Naples and made his triumphal entry into Naples on 26 February 1443.

⁶ Hannibal Barca (247-183 BCE): General from Carthage.

⁷ Alexander III the Great.

⁸ Alfonso V.

⁹ Theophrastus (ca. 371 - ca. 287 BCE): Peripatetic philosopher.

¹⁰ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3: 28, 69: *Theophrastus autem moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam, quorum id nihil interesset, hominibus, quorum maxime interfuisset, tam exiguum vitam dedisset.*

85. Letter to Louis Aleman (October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M3, ff. 233v-234^f; V2, ff. 146-148² **.

Editions: HE, 86, pp. 188-189; WO, 1: 1, 86, pp. 202-204; (both based on V2).

Translations: RE, 35, pp. 169-171.

{146} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo, domino Ludovico cardinali Arelatensi Aeneas Silvius³ salutem plurimam dicit.^{4 5}

[1] Litteras⁶ vestras reverendissimo domino cardinali Aquilegiensi et mihi directas accepi nudiustertius, quas, ut perlegi, mox domino cardinali transmisi, cujus est res illas promovere, non meum, qui principi servio nondum in hanc aut⁷ in illam partem declarato. Ipse tamen cardinalis Aquilegiensis graviter aegrotus est⁸, nec illi tantae vires sunt, quantae Juliano cardinali, qui nunc in Pannonia⁹ exercitum ducit et cum rege Poloniae, quem ad suam opinionem traxit, adversus Teucros castra moturus est. Nec tam robustus est Aquilegiensis quantum Carvajal, qui nunc magnopere petit regis declarationem pro se fieri, quamquam frustra, cum omnia ad dietam referantur. Hoc anno, cum esset hic Julianus, multa minabatur Aquilegiensis pugnareque crucibus¹⁰ et rem fidei manibus ac¹¹ pugnis tueri volebat, {148} in quibus magis confidebat quam in verbis. Nunc neutri rei est idoneus, quoniam nec loqui multum potest nec in pedes se tollere.

¹ SC, 471-472.

² DV, ff. 78v-79v.

³ poeta *add.* HE, WO

⁴ *Titulus:* domino Ludovico cardinali Arelatensi Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit M3

⁵ reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime *add.* M3

⁶ dimitte *add. in marg.* V2

⁷ vel M3

⁸ *omit.* WO

⁹ Pannoniam WO

¹⁰ trucibus M3

¹¹ et WO

85. Letter to Louis Aleman (October 1443, Vienna).

Context: Cardinal Aleman had written to Piccolomini and the Cardinal of Aquileia, the emperor's uncle, requesting them to further the council's cause at the imperial court.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Aleman that the Cardinal of Aquileia is gravely ill and that he himself, as the servant of the neutral emperor, cannot plead the council's cause. He reminds the cardinal of the importance of not supporting Cardinal Grünwalder's election to the See of Freising. He also sends him various news and finally announces a request, probably for some ecclesiastical benefice. The cardinal would have understood that Piccolomini's support of the council depended on the council granting him some ecclesiastical benefice(s).

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to his Father in Christ and Worshipful Lord, Lord Cardinal Louis of Arles.

[1] The day before yesterday, I received your letter to the Most Reverend Cardinal of Aquileia¹ and me. When I had read it, I immediately gave it to the Lord Cardinal since it is he who should further these matters and not I, being the servant of a prince² who has not yet declared himself for one or the other party.³ However, the Cardinal of Aquileia is seriously ill and does not have the strength of Cardinal Giuliano,⁴ who now leads an army in Hungary and will march against the Turks together with the Polish king,⁵ whom he has brought over to his views. Nor is he as vigorous as Carvajal⁶, who now exerts intense pressure on the king⁷ to declare himself for his party,⁸ though in vain, since everything is deferred to the [next] diet. When Giuliano was here earlier this year,⁹ Aquileia made many threats and wanted to fight with the crucifixes and even defend the Faith with his hands and fists, in which he believed more than in words. But now, he is capable neither of acts or words since he cannot say much nor stand on his feet.¹⁰

¹ Alexander of Mazovia. The emperor's uncle. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about him (sect. 65): *Alexander, Bishop of Trento, who was later - in Basel - 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. 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 mother. The-*

refore Friedrich took the church [of Trento] under his protection lest the Venetians harm it further and called Alexander to him in Vienna, where he gave him a provostship. In Vienna, he fell ill from drinking too much and died, trusting some woman more than his physicians.

² The emperor.

³ Piccolomini tells the cardinal that he cannot, in his present position, act publicly for the cause of the Council of Basel. At this time, he is actually beginning to move away from his previous conciliarist stance to a papalist one.

⁴ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁵ Wladyslaw III.

⁶ Juan Carvajal, papal diplomat and, at the time, the pope's representative in Germany, working hard to make the Germans declare for Pope Eugenius against the Council in Basel.

⁷ The emperor.

⁸ The papalist party.

⁹ Maj-June 1443, see letters 70, 72.

¹⁰ Piccolomini intimates to Cardinal Aleman that the Cardinal of Aquileia (Alexander of Mazovia) is not able to further the council's cause at his nephew, the emperor's court and that the papal representatives, Cesarini and Carvajal, have much greater influence.

[2] Hic Bohemi sunt cum equis circiter quingentis et pulchro apparatu, agiturque de concordia, ut rex administrationem eorum pupilli nomine suscipiat, et speratur optimus exitus. Nec enim credibile est divinum auxilium illi defuturum puero, quem nec forma nec generositate alius praeit. Ego nuper illum contemplatus sum, dum apud Gretz agerem, scripsique mores et formam ejus in epistola ad Strigoniensem archiepiscopum, cujus copiam amicus meus singularis Peregallus vobis et aliis hujus inclytæ domus Austriae cultoribus ostendet. Comes Ciliae in gratiam reversus est regiam, et omnia sunt undique plana. Nihil plus novi est scripturae tradendum.

[3] Rem magnifici domini cancellarii vestrae curae commendo, ut hunc virum, qui dexter est oculus regis et manus fortior, concilium promoveat nunc maxime, cum dieta instat Noremburgensis ad quam, si rex non iverit, ut creditur, mandatum plenum, ut omnibus regibus scripsit, destinabit, et conclusio illic suscipietur aut alterius concilii aut declarationis. Ideo, sicut alias vobis scripsi, cavete, ne electio Frisingensis confirmetur, quia multum posset parti vestrae obesse.

[4] Ego scribo Peregallo, ut quandam supplicationem pro me reverendissimae paternitati vestrae porrigat. Spero res meas vobis cordi esse. Idem quoque vos allequetur super quadam littera dispensationis in favorem Jacobi, notarii regii et domini cancellarii {149} servitoris, expedita, quae nimis taxata est. Rogo, ut illam jubeatis ad debitum redigi, ne qui recurrunt ad vos nimis graventur.

Valete et me commendatum ex vestra consuetudine suscipite. Ex Vienna.

[2] The Bohemians are here with about 500 horses, beautifully arrayed.¹ They are negotiating a settlement to have the king² assume their government in the name of his ward.³ There is hope for an excellent result. Indeed, we must believe God will help this boy whose beauty and nobility is unsurpassed. I saw him recently in Graz and described his character and beauty in a letter to the archbishop of Esztergom.⁴ My close friend, Peregallo,⁵ will show a copy of the letter to you and other supporters of the illustrious House of Austria. The Count of Cilly⁶ has returned to the royal favour, and all is well. I have no further news to write to you.

[3] I recommend the affair of His Magnificence the Chancellor⁷ to your care so that this man, the right eye and the powerful hand of the king, will strongly support the council, especially now when the Diet of Nürnberg approaches.⁸ If the king does not go there in person as expected, he will – as he has written to all the kings – send his [representatives with a] full mandate. A decision will be made there either to hold another council or make a declaration [for one of the parties].⁹ Therefore, as I have written to you in another letter,¹⁰ beware of confirming the Freising election¹¹ since that would greatly harm your own party.

[4] I am writing to Peregallo to submit a petition to Your Eminence. I hope that you have my interests at heart.¹² The same Peregallo will also speak with you about a letter of dispensation for Jakob,¹³ a notary of the King and a servant of the Lord Chancellor, which had been expedited at a fee that is too high.¹⁴ I request that you will order the fee to be reduced lest those who have recourse to you are burdened excessively.

Farewell, and please consider me as commended to you as always. From Vienna.

¹ See letter 58: 1.

² The emperor.

³ King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁴ Dénes Szécsi. See letter 75.

⁵ Giovanni Peregallo.

⁶ Ulrich II von Cilly. See letter 72: 2.

⁷ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁸ See letter 71: 2.

⁹ I.e. to abolish the neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the

Council in Basel declared by the German princes in 1438.

¹⁰ Letter 79.

¹¹ The cathedral chapter's election of Cardinal Grünwalder (against the chancellor's brother, Heinrich Schlick).

¹² The subtext is that the council's provision of an income from ecclesiastical benefices is a con-

dition for Piccolomini's support of the council at the imperial court.

¹³ Jakob Widerl: Knight and court official close to Kaspar Schlick (Heinig, 1: 737, 776).

¹⁴ Both at the papal court, at the council, and at princely courts Chancery documents were issued at a fee to the beneficiaries. The fee partly served to pay the salary of the chancery officials.

86. Letter to Giovanni Orlandi (mid October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 28r *; M1, f. 54r; M2, f. 29v¹; M3, ff. 184r-184v²; V2, f. 7³; V3, ff. 9v-10v⁴ **; V4, ff. 10v-11r.
Editions: HE, 87, pp. 188-190; WO, 1: 1, 87, pp. 204-205; (both based on L, M1, V2).

{9v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Orlando⁶, viro magnifico.⁷

[1] Reddidit mihi familiaris tuus⁸ cum ex te tum ex Petro⁹ ¹⁰ Juliani litteras in eum finem tendentes, ut apud magnificum¹¹ cancellarium rem tuam curarem¹². {10r} Feci id libenter, sed minime opus erat *currenti* equo calcar admovere¹³. Sua etenim sponte tantum ipse¹⁴ cancellarius tui causa incensus¹⁵ erat, ut omnes apud eum preces superfluae viderentur et essent. Diligit enim te summo corde libenterque in his se exercet, quae tuum respiciunt commodum. Itaque adhibita est in tuo negotio summa¹⁶ diligentia, factus est et cum rege et cum consiliariis¹⁷ sermo prolixus. Quid autem inde haberi potuerit¹⁸ ex litteris¹⁹ cancellarii percipies²⁰.

[2] Puto bonum consilium esse, quod de Plumbino datur²¹, et tu alias aperuisti. Nam ex illo recuperares debitum tuum et majestatis regiae gratiam ad majora nancisceris, quamquam puto regum et principum gratias tibi jam esse fastidio, qui post Martinum nullum es nisi onerosum expertus dominum. Intelligo ex litteris tuis tu ad jus repressaliarum velle recurrere. Id est incertum et periculosum remedium multumque injustitiae²² secum defert, cum hi saepissime luant poenam, qui sunt expertes peccati. Tum vero id²³ incitamentum est bellorum²⁴, quoniam, qui laeduntur, rursus se ulcisci volunt, totque undique repressaliae fiunt, donec apertum exardescit bellum. Tu tamen, quid tibi conveniat, magis scis. Ego dicam sicut ad Curionem scribit Cicero: *aut vos in meam sententiam adducam aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam quid senserim, ut si quando displicere tibi tuum consilium coeperit, {10v} possis meum, immo verius²⁵ cancellarii recordari*. Atque de his satis. Respondissem Petro Juliani, nisi nuntius tuus iturum illum ad regem Aragonum ex parte ducis Mediolani²⁶ significasset. Ubicumque tamen sit, gratias sibi refero pro suis humanissimis litteris ejusque filium tibi efficio commendatum.

Vale optime meique suique²⁷ memor. Ex Vienna²⁸.

¹ SC, 66.

² SC 376-377.

³ DV, f. 9r.

⁴ DV, ff. 12v-13v.

⁵ poeta *add.* L, M3

⁶ Rolando V4

⁷ *Titulus:* magnifice vir, major honorande M1; magnifice vir, major honorande *add.* HE, WO

⁸ L, M1 use 2nd person plural in *address*.

⁹ ex Petro *omit.* M2

¹⁰ cum ex ... Petro : vestras et Petri L, M1

¹¹ dominum *add.* L, M1

¹² curarem *glossa interlin.* M1;

solicitare M1-M3, M3

¹³ amovere V4

¹⁴ dominus *add.* L, M1

¹⁵ tui causa incensus : inclinatus L, M1-M3, V2a; tui causa incensus *corr. ex* inclinatus V2b

¹⁶ *omit.* M2

¹⁷ de eo *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a; ~~de~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁸ oportuerit M3

¹⁹ ejusdem domini *add.* L, M1

²⁰ percipe M3

²¹ idem cancellarius dat L

²² justitiae V4

²³ ad V4

²⁴ guerrarum L1, M1

²⁵ domini *add.* L, M1

²⁶ profecturum *add. in marg.* V2

²⁷ *omit.* L, M1-M3, V2

²⁸ ex Vienna *omit.* M1, M3; etc. M2

86. Letter to Giovanni Orlandi (mid October 1443, Vienna)

Context: Some nobles from the Tuscan region had written to Piccolomini to obtain the chancellor's assistance in a local conflict.

Subject: Piccolomini assures the nobles of the chancellor's support but warns them against armed conflict.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Excellence, Giovanni Orlandi.¹

[1] Your servant has delivered your and Pietro Giuliani's² letter³ to me, asking me to put your case to His Magnificence the Chancellor.⁴ I have done so gladly, but [as it turned out], there was no need to put the spur to the *running*⁵ horse, for the chancellor was already won over to your cause so that all requests appeared and actually were unnecessary. Indeed, he loves you with all his heart and gladly exerts himself to your advantage. Therefore, great diligence has been shown in your matter, which was discussed at length with the king⁶ and his counsellors. What could then be achieved, you will learn from the chancellor's own letter.

[2] What you write about Piombino and have already mentioned on another occasion is, I think, a good plan, for in that way, you will both recover what is owed to you and obtain His Royal Majesty's support to achieve even greater things. But I think you may not care much about the favour of kings and princes since after Martin⁷ you have only had difficult lords. From your letter, I understand that you intend to have recourse to the right of reprisal. That, however, is an uncertain and dangerous remedy. It also carries much injustice with it since, quite often, people are punished who had no part in the crime. Indeed, it is an incitement to war since those who are harmed want revenge, and reprisals are made on all sides until open war flares up. But you yourself know what is best for you. I shall say, as Cicero wrote to Curio⁸: *if I do not convert you, I shall at least leave my sentiments on record in your mind; so that if the time comes when you begin to repent your own counsel, you may remember mine,*⁹ or rather the Lord Chancellor's. But enough of this. I would have also have written an answer to Pietro Giuliani if your messenger had not informed me he would be continuing to the King of Aragon¹⁰ on behalf of the Duke of Milan.¹¹ So, wherever Pietro is, I thank him for his most kind letter and commend his son to you.

Farewell, and remember me and him. From Vienna.

¹ Member of a noble Tuscan family.

² Unidentified.

³ The letter is not extant.

⁴ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Otto, p. 102.

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ Pope Martin V.

⁸ Curio, Gajus Scribonius (ca. 124-53 BCE): Distinguished Roman orator. Friend of Pompejus, Cicero and Antonius.

⁹ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 47: 1.

¹⁰ King Alfonso V (Aragon).

¹¹ Filippo Maria Visconti.

87. Letter to Bartolomeo Visconti (19 October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 73v; M2, f. 34v¹; M3, f. 215r²; V2, ff. 83-84³; V3, f. 40v⁴ **; V4, f. 37r.

Editions: HE, 88, p. 190; WO, 1: 1, 88, pp. 205-206; (both based on M1, V2).

{40v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ reverendo in Christo patri Bartholomaeo de Vicecomitibus, episcopo Novariensi et comiti, salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Magna et innumerabilia sunt beneficia, quae a te⁷ recepi, nec ego illis condignam possem vicem rependere, etiam si mille annorum mihi⁸ vita donaretur. Quod tamen possum, hoc facere non omittam. Nihil est anima praestantius. Hanc colere, hanc curare prae ceteris debemus. Alia caduca sunt, fluxa, mortalia, haec in aeternum manet, cui si bene studuerimus, aeterna gaudia, si male⁹, aeternos cruciatus per illam¹⁰ sentiemus. Qua consideratione ductus, statui tibi copiam litterarum destinare, quae nunc ad curiam regiam ex orientalibus partibus missae¹¹ sunt, quarum tenorem velis animadvertere et monitiones audire, ut ea faciens, quae in illis suadentur, aeternae vitae beatitudinem assequaris.¹²

Vale. Ex Vienna, 19 octobris 1443¹³.

¹ SC, 76.

² SC, 434.

³ DV, ff. 47r-47v.

⁴ DV, ff. 43v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~
seq. V2b

⁶ Titulus: *omit.* M1

⁷ M1 uses 2nd person plural in
address.

⁸ *omit.* V4

⁹ vacaverimus *add.* M1-M3, V2a;
~~vacaverimus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ illos M2

¹¹ tibi *add.* M2

¹² litterarum autem copia haec est
add. M1

¹³ ex Vienna ... 1443 : etc. M2;
omit. M1, M3

87. Letter to Bartolomeo Visconti (19 October 1443, Vienna)

Context: Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti was a former employer of Piccolomini, who kept up their connection.

Subject: This letter is baffling. It is not known whether “Eastern parts” refers to the Orient or Eastern Europe or even if it is a fictive designation, but the religious platitudes proffered by Piccolomini would not likely be sent to Bartolomeo Visconti, that worldly and political man. The present editor conjectures that the copied letter contained some important and sensitive political news which Piccolomini forwarded to Visconti with a cover letter. The religious banalities and the reference to the Eastern parts in the cover letter are a smokescreen, in case the letter should fall into the wrong hands.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Reverend Father in Christ, Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara and Count.

[1] Great and innumerable are the favours I have received from you, and I could not return them suitably, even if I were given a life of 1,000 years. But I shall not fail to do what I can. Nothing is more precious than the soul. This we should cultivate, this we should care for above all. Everything else is perishable, changing and mortal, but the soul lasts forever. If we take good care of it, we shall experience eternal joy through it, but if we do not, eternal suffering. Moved by this consideration, I have decided to send you a copy of a letter sent to the royal court from the Eastern regions. Note the purport and heed the admonitions. If you do what they urge us to do, you shall obtain the felicity of eternal life.

Farewell. From Vienna, 19 Octobris 1443.

88. Letter from Bertold vor der Werra (19 October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 28r *; M1, f. 59r **.

Editions: HE, 89, p. 191; WO, 1: 1, 89, pp. 206-207 (both based on L, M1).

{59r} Honorabilis frater honorande.

[1] Rogo sinceriter, quatenus omnes dominos et amicos meos, cancellarii scriptores¹, mei nomine cras hora debita prandii ad hospitium meum ad prandium invitare velitis, maxime dominum Wolfgangum, dominum Michaellem, dominum Wenceslaum, dominum Ludovicum² ceterosque alios³, quos vos plus quam ego noscitis, invitandos. Et rogo, quod super omnia hospes domus esse velitis, quia proprio hospite domus pro ista vice dumtaxat carebimus, et hospita domus juvenula et sociabilis⁴ est, quam adopto⁵ amplexabiliter cognoscere, maxime osculo honestae caritatis interveniente, non procedendo sicut asinus in majo procedere solet. Et quamvis de terra sum, de terra loquor.

Me vobis humiliter recomendo. Scripsi hodie die sabbati post Lucae evangelistae. Humilis vester in omnibus servitor, Bertoldus vor der Werra.⁶

¹ scripturos M1

² dominum Michaellem ... Ludovicum *omit.* M

³ *omit.* WO

⁴ socialis M1

⁵ agnosco M1

⁶ scripsi hodie ... Werra *omit.* M1

88. Letter from Bertold vor der Werra¹ (19 October 1443, Vienna).

Context: At the beginning of his career in the imperial chancery, Piccolomini felt isolated and ostracised, see letter 74: 3. The present invitation to dinner shows that now he was not only beginning to be accepted as one of the “lads” but had even gained some status among them.

Subject: Bertold von der Werra asks Piccolomini to convey an invitation to lunch in Bertold’s lodgings to his colleagues at the imperial chancery. The master of the house was apparently away (!), but the hostess was young and charming. Bertold also asks Piccolomini to act as the host at the party.

Right honourable brother,

[1] I ask you sincerely to² invite, in my name, all the scribes³ of the chancery, my lords and friends, to dinner tomorrow at noon, and especially Wolfgang,⁴ Michael,⁵ Lord Wenzel,⁶ Ludwig,⁷ and the others, whom you know better than I. Above all, I ask you to act as the host since the master of the house will be absent on this occasion. The hostess is young and charming, and I should much like to embrace and know⁸ her, and especially to give her a kiss of honest love⁹ - and not behave as an ass in May. And since I am of earth, I speak of earth.

I recommend myself to you in all humility. I have written this today, on the Saturday following [the Feast of] Luke the Evangelist. Your humble servant in all matters, Bertold vor der Werra.

¹¹ (or von Lüneburg)

² ”quatenus”: chancery style for “ut” (HE).

³ ”writers”, i.e., secretaries and notaries.

⁴ Wolfgang Forchtenauer [Vorcht-
enauer].

⁵ Michael von Pfullendorf (-1451).

⁶ Vaclav [Wenzel] von Bochow.

⁷ Ludwig Scheitrer (or Rad)

⁸ Presumably in the biblical, carnal sense of “know” (cognoscere): *And Adam knew Eve his wife (Adam bero cognovit uxorem suam Evam)* (Genesis, 4: 1).

⁹ That the hostess would have the freedom to invite a group of young men to the house in her husband’s

absence is somewhat surprising but may agree with Piccolomini’s observation on the Viennesse burghers, in the second version of his *Historia Austriacis: ... mulierum procacitas mentes eorum alienat.*

89. Letter to Bertold vor der Werra (21 October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 28r *; M1, f. 59r; M2, f. 35r¹; M3, ff. 217r-217v²; V2, ff. 86-87³; V3, ff. 41v-42r⁴ **; V4, f. 38.
Editions: HE, 90, pp. 191-192 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 90, p. 207 (based on M1, V2).

{41v} Bertoldo Lunenburgensi, viro liberali et semiprodigio, scribae imperialis cancellariae, salutem plurimam⁵ dicunt.⁶

[1] Accepimus epistolam tuam, qua nos cenatum vocas. Acceptamus onus ventresque nostros paramus: tu videris, ne vacuos eos remittas. Hospitem abesse nihil curae est, si ejus vicem perdices⁷ caponesque implerint. Hospitam videbimus libenter amplexabimurque. Si quid plus licuerit, non erimus inertes, qui semper Majum⁸ habemus et quasi muli et equites ferimur in libidinem. Tu, si quid juris {42r} illic habes, cave, ne communices. Quidquid enim in medium venerit, proprium esse desinet. Scis Michaelis manus, quam aduncae⁹ sunt. Wolfgangi linguam nosti, quam persuadere sciat. Wenceslai cauda nihil furiosius est. Jacobus fingit se purum¹⁰, tu¹¹ tamen lardum ne commiseris muscipulae¹², etiam si quadragesima fuerit. Ludovicus nihil dicit¹³, sed muris in modum omnia foramina pertemptabit. Si ergo vis nos habere, aut omnia communicata fac aut nihil. Unum tamen remedium est, si vini¹⁴ tantum praebueris¹⁵, ut somni magis quam Veneris cupido sit. Nos tamen veniemus, etiam si deficientibus reliquis te¹⁶ devorare oporteat¹⁷. Vale.

Ex Vienna, 21. Octobris 1443.¹⁸

¹ SC, 77.

² SC, 438-439.

³ DV 48v-49r.

⁴ DV 44v-45r.

⁵ salutem plurimam : salutes plurimas L

⁶ Titulus: omit. M2

⁷ omit. L; predices V4

⁸ inani V4

⁹ a duce V4

¹⁰ puerum M2

¹¹ omit. M2

¹² gatto V3

¹³ decet V4; dicit WO

¹⁴ vinum WO

¹⁵ tribueris M2

¹⁶ omit. L

¹⁷ debeamus L, M1-M3, V2a; corr. ex debeamus V2b

¹⁸ ex Vienna ... 1443 : etc. M2; omit. M1, M3

89. Letter to Bertold vor der Werra (21 October 1443, Vienna).

Context: The tone between the secretaries of the chancery was apparently quite relaxed and direct.
Subject: A joking reply to Bertold's invitation, full of sexual innuendos, It is remarkable that Piccolomini did not expurgate this letter from the last versions of the collection of his *Epistolae Saeculares*.

The scribes of the imperial chancery send many greetings to Bertold from Lüneburg, that liberal and semiprodigal man.

[1] We have received your letter with your dinner invitation. We accept it and prepare our stomachs: do not send them back empty. The absence of the host is no problem if only there are partridges and capons in his place. We shall see and gladly embrace the hostess. If more is allowed, we shall not be passive, for we are always in May and in heat, like mules and horses. If you have any rights there, do not share them, for whatever is put forward ceases to be one's own. You know how dexterous Michael is with his hands. You know how persuasive Wolfgang is with his tongue. Nothing is more frenzied than Wenzel's tail.¹ Jakob pretends to be pure, but do not put fat in the trap, even in Lent. Ludwig says nothing, but like a mouse, he will explore all openings. So, if you wish to invite us, share all or nothing. The only remedy is to give us so much wine that we would rather sleep than fuck. But we shall come, and if there is not enough of the other things, we shall have to devour you yourself!

Farewell. From Vienna, 21 October 1443.

¹ "cock", cf. Adams, p. 37: There are numerous examples of *cauda = penis* in William of Blois (Aida 470, 486, 489, 492, 496, 510, 514),

which might conceivably have been taken from the vernacular language, but it is equally likely

that the highly literate author knew the usage from Horace.

90. Letter to Johann Vrung (22 October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts L, f. 36v *; M1, ff. 69v-70r; M2, f. 35r¹; M3, f. 216r²; V2, ff. 87-88³; V3, ff. 42r-42v⁴ **; V4, ff. 38r-38v.

Editions: HE, 91, p. 192 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 91, pp. 207-208 (based on M1, V2).

{42r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Vrung, inclytæ civitatis Coloniensis secretario.⁶

[1] Tabellarius⁸ tuæ insignis celebrisque civitatis non sicut optabas, sed ut curiæ visum est expeditus ad te redit. Meo tamen praesidio non caruit, quia⁹ libenter gero tibi in omnibus morem. Vir quoque doctus¹⁰ Hartungus auxilio fuit. Sed non licet *in re publica* plus homines *contendere*, quam *probare* possunt¹¹ rectoribus. Tuum est, quod superest, ita regere, ne qua indignationis rubigo aut hinc aut illinc oriatur, quia non facile extinguitur, ut accenditur, ignis. Caesarea potestas nulli in temporalibus {42v} subest et omnibus praeest. Quidquid ab eo manat, decet cum reverentia devotioneque suscipi, etiam si durum videatur, quoniam¹² *calix in manu* ejus est *pleno musto* potestque illi dare, illi negare, nec ovibus fas est in pastorem erigere cornua. Tute ista scis, ideo pedem retraho. Fac ut defensurum causam in curia te quam primum visam, quia et Michael tuus et ego tua suavi¹³ conversatione inviti caremus (nec te vultus ullius¹⁴ teneat), nam et Austria potest, quod placeat, dare. Vale et veni.

Ex Vienna, 22.¹⁵ Octobris 1443.^{16 17}

¹ SC, 77.

² SC 436.

³ DV 49r-49v.

⁴ DV 45r-45v.

⁵ poeta *add.* L, M2, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ amantissime frater *add.* M1

⁷ *Titulus:* dominus Eneas ad Iohannem Vrung secretarium Coloniensis civitatis L; *omit.* M1

⁸ caballarius L

⁹ qui M2

¹⁰ dominus *add.* L, M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ possint WO

¹² quia L

¹³ *omit.* L

¹⁴ illius M3

¹⁵ 12. L; 21. V4

¹⁶ 22 Octobris 1443 *omit.* M1, M3

¹⁷ ex Vienna ... 1443 : etc. M2

90. Letter to Johann Vrung (22 October 1443, Vienna).

Context: On behalf of the city of Cologne, the town secretary, Johann Vrung, had sent a petition to the imperial court.
Subject: Piccolomini informs Vrung that the city's petition has been denied but exhorts him to come and plead the cause in person.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johan Vrung,¹ secretary of the illustrious city of Köln.

[1] The messenger of your distinguished and celebrated city is returning to you with a court decision different from the one you desired. However, he did not lack my assistance, for I gladly serve you in all matters. The learned Hartung² was helpful, too. But it is only allowed men *to push their political efforts as far as may be acceptable to our rulers*.³ It is now your task to manage the rest so that the blight of indignation does not rise here or there, for it is not as easy to put out a fire as to light it. In secular matters, the imperial power is subject to no one but governs all.⁴ Whatever comes from the emperor must be accepted with reverence and devotion, even if it seems hard, for *in his hand there is a cup full of must*,⁵ and he can give to one and deny another, and it is not right for the sheep to raise their horns against the shepherd. You know it very well, so I shall say no more of it. Please, let me see you here as soon as possible to defend your cause at court since both your Michael⁶ and I miss your delightful conversation. Let nobody's face keep you back,⁷ for Austria can give you what is desired.

Farewell, and come. From Vienna, 22 October 1443.

¹ Johann Vrung (Frundt) (-1465): Official of the city of Köln. A close friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig: Kaiser, *ad indicem*. Piccolomini had become acquainted with Vrung in Basel in 1432. He entered the service of Köln in 1442.

² Kappel von Hartung

³ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 20: 18: *tantum contendere in re publica quantum probare tuis civi-*

bus possis (to push our political efforts as far as may be acceptable to our contrymen). Note Piccolomini's substitution of "rektoribus" for "civibus".

⁴ This would be the central thesis in Piccolomini's treatise *De Ortu et Auctoritate Imperii Romani* from 1446, e.g., *ex quibus percipere potes, quanta sit tui solii quamque admirabilis auctoritas, cum nemo in temporalibus tibi praesit, et tu*

omnes praecellas (WO, 2: 1, ep. 3, p. 23).

⁵ Psalms, 74: 9: *quia calix in manu Domini vini meri, plenus misto (For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong wine full of mixture)*. Note that Piccolomini's quotes a version having musto (must) instead of misto (mixture).

⁶ Michael von Pfullendorf.

⁷ Is Piccolomini playfully referring to a lover?

91. Letter to Juan Carvajal (23 October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 29r-29v *; M1, ff. 68v-69r; M2, ff. 35r-36r^l; M3, ff. 216r-217r²; V2, ff. 88-92³; V3, ff. 42v-45r⁴ **; V4, ff. 38v-40v

Editions: HE, 92, pp. 193-195 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 92, pp. 208-211 (based on M1, V2).

Translations: ME, 17, pp. 82-85; RE, 36, pp. 171-175.

{42v} Reverendo patri⁵ Johanni⁶ Carvajali⁷ ⁸, oratori apostolico atque jurisconsulto Aeneas Silvius, imperialis secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit.⁹

[1] Erat animus meus, postquam ex Basilea recessi, super rebus ecclesiae perpetuo uti silentio, cum eas non ex divini spiritus ductu regi, sed hominum gubernari affectibus¹⁰ viderem. Tu nunc me cogis aliqua dicere, qui armatum¹¹ Aeneam imitari me suades. Vellem tacere potius quam loqui, quoniam nulli partium sermo meus placiturus est, sicut et nulla pars mihi placet. Tu vis, ut dicam: parebo. Sed vide, ne audias, quod non vis. Tu partis unius tueris jus¹². Quid ego tibi placitum dicam nullam partem laudans? Obsequar tamen silentiumque¹³ rumpam, quando id optare¹⁴ videris. Longum {43r} mihi misisti chirographum, ut cancellario legerem. Facturus sum, quando illi per otium licebit. Mihi¹⁵ jam perspexi totum. Rogas, quae a te scripta sunt, ut¹⁶ laudem tuearum. Faciam id, si modo verum te dicere agnovero. Ubi aliter videro, non faciam. Parmeno sum *plenusque rimarum*. Non potero tacere, si quid non verum audiam. Tu mihi amicus es, fateor hoc, sed veritas praeferenda est. Tu vera omnia putas, quae scribis: hoc ego¹⁷ de tua probitate credo. Non tamen ita est, ut reris, quod tibi paucis ostendam.

[2] Dicis¹⁸ Basiliensi coepto concilio legationem ejus papae exposuisse non esse sperandum de illius synodi progressu propter vicina bella et alias causas. Hoc numquam synodus papae narrari jussit.

¹ SC, 77-78.

² SC 436-438.

³ DV 49v-51v.

⁴ DV 45v-48r.

⁵ domino *add.* M1, V2

⁶ de *add.* HE, WO

⁷ *omit.* M1; de Carvajali *add. in marg.* V2b

⁸ cardinali V4

⁹ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius imperialis secretarius salutem plurimam dicit reverendo patri Johanni Carvajali oratori apostolico atque jurisconsulto M2

¹⁰ *passionibus* L, M1-M3, V2a;

passionibus seq. V2b

¹¹ *armarum* V4

¹² *tueris jus : tueri vis* V4

¹³ *silentium* L

¹⁴ *oportere* V4; *adoptare* WO

¹⁵ ~~tamen~~ *seq.* V3

¹⁶ *omit.* WO

¹⁷ *hoc ego : omnia* V4

¹⁸ *ducis* V4

91. Letter to Juan Carvajal (23 October 1443, Vienna).¹

Context: As pope Eugenius' emissary to the imperial court, Juan Carvajal strove mightily to make the neutral emperor recognise his pope as the legitimate pope and his council in Rome as the legitimate council. He became friends with Piccolomini, and the two obviously discussed the ecclesiastical situation. Though Piccolomini now officially belonged to the German neutral party, he still defended the Council of Basel, whose loyal servant he had been for years.

Subject: Piccolomini defends the Council of Basel against a series of critical statements made by Juan Carvajal. He states his neutrality in the church conflict and severely criticises the opposing parties.²

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, Juan Carvajal, apostolic envoy and jurist.

[1] When I left Basel,³ it was my firm intention to maintain a permanent silence concerning ecclesiastical affairs since I saw that they were not guided by the divine spirit but dominated by men's passions. Now you force me to say something [about them], urging me to imitate the armed Aeneas.⁴ I should prefer to remain silent rather than to speak since my words will please none of the parties, just as no party pleases me.⁵ But you want me to speak, and I shall obey. Be warned that you will hear things you do not wish to. You support the right of one of the parties, so what can I say that will please you when I praise neither party? But I shall obey you and break my silence since that is what you want. You have sent me a long letter to read to the chancellor,⁶ and I shall do so when he has time. However, I have already read it on my own. You ask me to approve and support what you have written, and I shall do so if only I see what you say is true. Otherwise, I shall not do it. For I *am* Parmeno and *full of cracks*⁷: I cannot remain silent if what I hear is untrue. You are my friend - that I acknowledge - but the truth must be preferred. You believe everything you write is true, and I do not doubt your sincerity. But things are not as you believe them to be, and I shall prove that briefly.

[2] You say that at its beginning, the Council of Basel⁸ sent a legation to the pope to explain that nothing good could be expected of this council because of neighbouring wars and other reasons. However, the synod never ordered that the pope⁹ should be told such a thing.¹⁰

¹ For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 189; O'Brien; VO, 2, pp. 299-301.

² For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 189; O'Brien.

³ November 1442.

⁴ I.e., the Aeneas of Virgil's *Aeneis*.

⁵ See Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 189.

⁶ Kaspar Schlick.

⁷ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 105: *sin falsum aut vanum aut fictumst, continuo palamst: plenus rimarum sum ... (But if anything is false or*

fictional, it's out at once. I am full of cracks ...)

⁸ Council of Basel (1432-1438). Continued as a council not recognised by the pope.

⁹ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁰ Piccolomini is right.

[3] Dicitur plus papam Germaniae principibus concessisse et se humiliasse, quod¹ numquam² sit de Romanis pontificibus auditum. Rusticis haec et historiarum ignaris narranda sunt. Hadrianus papa et Leo Romanis imperatoribus jus ordinandi apostolicam sedem et episcopos per imperium nominandi concesserunt. Leo ille³ sanctus, quem tu et doctores evangelii tubam appellatis, cum vellet in Italia concilium habere, in quo plures possent de occidentalibus partibus convenire, Marciano⁴ Caesari concilium in oriente postulanti annuit, tuncque synodus Chalcedonensis habita est.

[4] Refers dominum Sanctae Crucis missum esse, ut papam purgaret conciliumque Germanis offerret. Non {43v} dicitur potestatem habuisse cardinalem illum⁵ subeundi sententiam, postquam probata fuissent crimina.

[5] Ais Romanos pontifices solitos esse dicere, si quid aliqui volunt, ad sedem apostolicam veniant. Petrus, primus pontifex, increpatus quod ad gentes introisset ultro se purgavit. Leo IV. scribit Ludovico Augusto: *Nos, si⁶ incompetenter aliquid egimus et⁷ in subditis justae legis tramitem non servamus⁸, vestro ac missorum vestrorum cuncta volumus emendare iudicio.*

[6] Hispanorum legationem hortatu papae Basileam venisse contendis. Verius poteris dicere plures, ne illuc irent, apostolicis litteris fuisse requisiti.

[7] Universos reges per concilia trium statuum vetavisse⁹ Basilienses¹⁰, ne papam deponerent, dum asseris, vide, ne te decipias.

[8] Refers tres casus esse, quibus pars minor universitatis potest invita majori parte¹¹ aliquid agere. Sed facta capitulorum et universitatum, quae superiorem habent, non sunt aequanda gestis conciliorum, ubi solum¹² Deus¹³ est superior, et a quibus non appellatur.

¹ quoniam V2

² unquam V2

³ iste M2

⁴ Martino V4

⁵ illam M2

⁶ nos si : nisi V4

⁷ aut M3

⁸ servavimus L

⁹ prohibuisse L, M1-M3, V2

¹⁰ Basiliensibus HE, WO

¹¹ universitatis potest invita majori parte : potest invita majori parte

universitatis L, M1-M3, V2; *corr.* ex. potest invita majori parte universitatis V3

¹² solus V4

¹³ ut aliqui volunt *add.* V4

[3] Moreover, you say that the pope has conceded more to the German princes and humbled himself towards them more than ever heard of the Roman popes.¹ Tell that to peasants and people ignorant of history! Popes Hadrian² and Leo³ conceded to the Roman emperors the right to provide for the Apostolic See and to appoint bishops throughout the Empire.⁴ And when Saint Leo,⁵ whom you and the doctors call the trumpet of the gospel, wanted to hold a council in Italy so that more [bishops] from the Western regions could participate, whereas Emperor Marcian⁶ demanded that the council be held in the East, the pope agreed, and the synod was held in Chalcedon.⁷

[4] You state that His Lordship of Santa Croce⁸ was sent to justify the pope's actions and to offer the council to the Germans. You do not say that this cardinal was authorised to ignore⁹ the [council's] judgment after the accusations had been proven.

[5] You state that the Roman pontiffs habitually say that if anybody wants something, let them come to the Apostolic See. When Peter,¹⁰ the first pontiff, was reprovved for going to the pagans, he cleared himself of the accusations.¹¹ And Leo IV.¹² wrote to Emperor Ludwig,¹³ *"If we have erred and strayed from the path of law when dealing with subjects, we shall rectify all according to your and your emissaries' judgment."*¹⁴

[6] You claim the Spanish sent a legation to Basel at the pope's urging. More truthfully, you could have said that many were admonished by papal letters not to go there.

[7] When you claim that all the kings had, through the assemblies of the three estates, forbidden the Basileans to depose the pope, you should beware not to deceive yourself.

[8] You state three cases in which a minority at a university¹⁵ can act against the majority. But since cathedral chapters and universities have a superior, their acts cannot be compared with those of the councils that only have God as their superior and from whom no appeal may be made.¹⁶

¹ Carvajal was probably referring to the pope's capitulation in the matter of the council's dissolution or transfer (1433).

² Hadrianus I (-795): Pope from 772 to his death.

³ Leo III (-816): Pope from 795 to his death.

⁴ If Piccolomini is indeed speaking about popes Adrian I and Leo III (who crowned Charlemagne as the first emperor of the German (Frankish) line), it is not clear what papal acts he is referring to.

⁵ Leo I (ca. 400-461): Pope from 440 to his death.

⁶ Marcianus (ca. 392-457): Roman Emperor of the East from 450 to his death.

⁷ Council of Chalcedon, 451.

⁸ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati. See Stieber, 20-21.

⁹ "subeo"

¹⁰ The Apostle Peter.

¹¹ Acts, 11.

¹² Leo IV (-855): Pope from 847 to his death.

¹³ Ludwig II (Carolingian) (ca. 825-875): Sole emperor from 855 to his death.

¹⁴ Decretum Gratiani, C.2.7.41. Later, as pope, Piccolomini would

use this example of papal humility in his oration "*Responsuri*" to the French ambassadors on 11 December 1459 (COR, 9: 52, 5).

¹⁵ Or is it "universitas" in a more general sense?

¹⁶ The issue here is that a minority at the council voted for an Italian city as the location of the reunion council with the Greeks, see letter 25.

[9] Dicis in Constantiensi concilio¹ plenam potestatem datam esse Romanis pontificibus locum eligendi, in quo aliud celebrari concilium² debet³. In casu nostro specialiter reservata fuit electio loci concilio, sicut conventiones cum Graecis habitae manifestant. Praetendis sancitum esse Basileae, ne propter locum oriri differentia possit. Inane argumentum est: narrat decretum non placere Graecis {44r} Basileam velleque alium locum. Dicit synodus nolle propter locum, idest propter Basileam, tantum bonum omittere. Qui aliter sentit, a decreto recedit.

[10] Tu vis me his⁴ consentire, non possum. Dices me ex proposito errare. Mihi⁵ adversus te magis haec opitulabitur objectio⁶. Nihil ad me, quis obtineat. Imperatori servio, qui unionem procurat. Illam cupio, illam promoveo, pro hac magnis laboribus me exponerem. Tu quoque et pars tua unionem velles, sed modo tuo: maneat papa tuus pontifex, et unio sit. Idem etiam pars altera⁷ cupit. Nemo pacem, nemo unionem aspernatur, nemo tamen pacem amplectitur, quae sibi detrahit. Omnes volunt vincere, nemo se flectit. *Durae cervicis* homines! Estne subjecta ecclesia, ut propter hunc vel illum hominem tam varie vexari debeat? Si non potes pascere, sine alium esse pastorem. Sed non est de pastu ovium quaestio, sed de lana. Non tantum litis erat, dum pauper ecclesia fuit.

[11] Scio te mihi jam irasci, quoniam dicta tua refello⁸, quasi videar aliam tueri partem. Ne rere hoc. Dixi tibi⁹ utrimque mihi odium esse.¹⁰ Non placet mihi Avinionensis electio. Abhorreo congregationis¹¹ levitatem. Minime his consentio, dum sedem apostolicam volunt¹² auferre Romanis. Non probo, cum decreta, quae faciunt, ipsi non servant. Cardinalis Sancti Petri, viri sancti et gravissimi, sententia {44v} mihi placet, qui neque hos neque illos laudare solebat. Vos concilium Romae vultis, sed illa jam in angulo est Christiani orbis. Hi Basileae manere volunt, at haec urbs multis odiosa est. Tu tamen deliberari illic putas, an numerosius debeat¹³ congregari concilium sperasque id obtineri complacerique Caesari¹⁴. Alii aliud sentiunt, viderisque putare non esse absque consensu regum aliorum concilium concedendum, quasi Caesarem parem facias ceteris¹⁵. Quid¹⁶ parem? Immo et minorem¹⁷ ostendis¹⁸, quando regi Franciae offers¹⁹ concilium, Caesari non vis²⁰ concedere. Noli²¹ haec secreta putare, omnes haec sciunt. Sic et alterius partis consilia nota sunt.

¹ Constantiensi concilio : concilio Constantiensi L, M1-M3

² celebrari concilium : concilium celebrari L

³ deberet WO

⁴ iis V3

⁵ nihil V4

⁶ allegatio L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex allegatio V2b

⁷ pars altera : altera pars L

⁸ repello L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex repello V2b

⁹ *omit.* V4

¹⁰ non placet mihi scutiferos cocosque (cacosque WO) in senatu loqui *add.* L, M1-M2

¹¹ Gallorum L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex Gallorum V2b

¹² nolunt V4

¹³ debebat M2

¹⁴ cæteri V4

¹⁵ aliis L

¹⁶ qui V3

¹⁷ esse *add.* HE, WO

¹⁸ ostenditis L, M1, M2, V2a; *corr.* ex ostenditis V2b

¹⁹ offertis L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex offertis V2b

²⁰ vultis L, M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex vultis V2b

²¹ nolite L, M1-3, V2a; *corr.* ex nolite V2b

[9] You say that at the Council of Konstanz, full powers were given to the Roman pontiffs to choose the place where the next council should be held. In our case, however, the election of the place was specifically reserved for the council, as the agreements with the Greeks clearly show. You allege that in Basel, the decision concerning the place was made to avoid controversy. This argument is invalid, for the decree explicitly states that the Greeks do not accept Basel and want another place. The synod even says it will not miss this great opportunity¹ because of the place (Basel). Those who believe otherwise misinterpret the [conciliar] decree.

[10] You want me to agree with your statements, but I cannot. You will say that I stray from the purpose, but this objection strengthens my case more than yours. It does not concern me which party wins, for I serve the emperor² who works to achieve union. It is the union that I want, that I support, and for which I would undertake great labours. You and your party also wish for union but only on your own conditions: let your pope be the pope, and then there will be union. The other party wants the same. Nobody rejects peace nor union, but nobody accepts a peace that deprives them of anything. All want to win, but nobody makes concessions. They are *stiffnecked*³ men. Is the Church really brought so low that it must be disturbed in so many ways because of this or that man? If you cannot feed the flock, then let someone else be the shepherd. This, however, is not really a question of the sheep's pasture but of their wool.⁴ There was no such strife when the Church was poor.

[11] I know that now you grow angry with me because I refute your statements and appear to support the other party. Do not think so. I have said that I disapprove of both parties.⁵ I do not support the election of Avignon⁶. I dislike the superficiality of the assembly⁷. I do not agree with those who want to take the Apostolic See away from the Romans.⁸ I do not approve of them not observing their own decrees. I agree with the position of the Cardinal of San Pietro,⁹ a holy and most serious man, who did not praise either party. You want a council in Rome, but this city is now in a remote corner of the Christian world.¹⁰ ¹¹ The other party wants to remain in Basel, but that city is now odious to many. However, you think that in Rome, they will discuss whether a more numerous council should be assembled, and you hope this will happen and be acceptable to the emperor. Some think one thing, some another. Moreover, you appear to think that a council cannot be granted without the agreement of the other kings.¹² Thus, you make the emperor their equal and even less than their equal since you offer the council to the King of France¹³ and do not wish to concede it to the emperor. Do not think this is a secret, all know it. The plans of the other party are known, too.

¹ I.e., to hold the reunion council with the Greeks.

² Note that Piccolomini here uses the title of emperor though Friedrich had not yet been crowned as such. Otherwise, he uses the title of King or Caesar.

³ Exodus, 32: 9

⁴ Here, Piccolomini sarcastically refers to the incomes of the Church.

⁵ The early versions of the text here included this passage: *non placet mihi scutiferos cocosque in senatu loqui* (I do not approve of grooms and cooks speaking in the senate). This passage was removed from the later versions for political

reasons (i.e., not to antagonise the French).

⁶ As the venue for the reunion council with the Greeks. This decision was made by the Council of Basel five years before.

⁷ "congregationis". The earlier versions had "Gallorum", i.e., the French, which was also changed for political reasons.

⁸ The French wanted to take the papacy back to Avignon.

⁹ Cardinal Juan Cervantes of San Pietro in Vincoli.

¹⁰ Whereas formerly, when the Eastern parts of Christianity had not been occupied by the Mohammedans, Rome was much more to the centre of the Christian world.

¹¹ This was one of the reasons that, 15 years later, Piccolomini, as pope Pius II, decided to hold his great congress on a crusade against the Turks in Northern Italy and not in Rome.

¹² By this time, the imperial court had received replies from the European rulers to the emperor's invitation to the Diet of Nürnberg, showing that they supported Pope Eugenius IV and did not want a new (third) council. A new council would therefore have to be summoned on the emperor's authority alone, a quite unlikely proposition, as Piccolomini's obvious frustration shows.

¹³ Charles VII.

[12] Ego omnes commendarem, si viderem pacem his atque illis placere etiam cum incommodo suo, quia *non nobis* sed reipublicae *nati sumus* nec plus velle debemus quam consensus communis nobis permittat¹. Non, qui tenere dignitatem sed qui ponere² vult, magis laudatur. Prisci viri sanctique homines difficilius ad pontificatum vocabantur quam nunc ex illo amoventur. Bonus animus ingeniumque benignum, non quomodo dimitteret regimen sed quam cito dimitteret, studium haberet.

[13] Haec volui tibi dixisse cum venia tua, quia aut non loquor³, aut verum⁴ loquor⁵. Hic est armatus Aeneas, hunc geram. Ille mihi Anchises erit, quem universalis ecclesiae consensus dederit, dum Germania, quae orbis Christiani major pars est, haeret. Dubius sum, {45r} parato tamen animo sum communi sententiae auscultare, nec mihi in rebus fidei soli credam.

Vale. Ex Vienna, 23. Octobris 1443^{6 7 8 9}.

¹ permittit L

² magis *add.* V4

³ loquar M3

⁴ vera WO

⁵ loquar M3

⁶ *omit.* V2-V4

⁷ 23. ... 1443 *omit.* M3

⁸ ex vienna ... 1443 *omit.* M1

⁹ vale ... 1443 : etc. M2

[12] I would commend them all if I saw that each party wanted peace, even to their own cost, for *we are not born for ourselves but for the state*,¹ and we should not want more than common consent may allow. We should applaud those men who want to give up high office more than those who want to keep it. In the old days, it was more difficult to call men and saints to the papacy than it is, nowadays, to remove them from it. A man with a noble heart and a good character would not be concerned about losing his power as much as getting rid of it as soon as possible.

[13] This is what I wanted to say, with your permission. Either I do not speak, or I speak the truth. This is the armed Aeneas,² him I shall be. And that man whom Universal Church agrees upon shall be my Anchises³, if only he has the support of Germany, that forms the greater part of the Christian world.⁴ I am much in doubt but ready to accept a common choice, and in matters of Faith I do not rely on myself alone.

Farewell. From Vienna, 23 October 1443.

¹ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 7, 22.

² Virgil's Aeneas.

³ Anchises: (Myth.) Trojan leader and father of Aeneas.

⁴ See Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 189.

92. Letter from Francesco Quadrantio (24 October 1443, Basel).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 114v¹; M3, ff. 233r-233v²; V2, ff. 143-144³; V3, ff. 66v-67r⁴ **; V4, ff. 59v-60r.
Editions: HE, 93, pp. 195-196; WO, 1: 1, 93, pp. 212-213; (both based on V2).

{ 66r } Franciscus Quadrantius, advocatus consistorialis, Aeneae Silvio poetae⁵ salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Recepi, mi Aenea, litteras tuas longo tempore expectatas, quibus perlectis ex ipsarum principio percepi nil⁶ aliud nisi te credere me falsa persuasione usum versutiisque vacare. Ha, mi Aenea, si ceteros versutos appellas, cum veritate nituntur, versutus ero et in hanc partem versutias traxi. Impraesentiarum autem, cum et vatum⁷ numero aggregatus sis, non versutias sed Thaliae⁸ scientiam me captasse excogitare debes. Quaesivi ego illa ipsa poemata, quae minime reperire quivi. Credo Thalam⁹ ad se omnia traxisse, quae, ut¹⁰ primum adfuerit, lyram reassumam¹¹ tuaeque gloriam laureae immortalem reddam.

[2] Ceterum, mi¹² Aenea, licet tua epistola in causa, quam nosti, nihil fuisse¹³ lucri assereret, ego tamen, quam primum vidi litteras regis serenissimi a nemine promotas expeditionemque rei pro¹⁴ cardinali futuram ac tres sacras deputationes pro eo in unum concurrisse, pro serenissimo rege memet¹⁵, licet irrequisitus, opposui causamque sic¹⁶ peroravi, ut effectum sit¹⁷, ut¹⁸ expeditio, quae celeris¹⁹ credebatur²⁰, retardationem sortiretur in²¹ dies. Ex post factum totaliter²² hic impeditum est usque ad adventum litterarum confirmationis factae per metropolitanum. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 238.

² SC 470-471.

³ DV 77r-77v.

⁴ DV 69v-70r.

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ nichil WO

⁷ natum V4

⁸ em.; Deliae M2, V2, V3; omit.

M3; de te V4

⁹ em.; Deliam M2, V2, V3; del-
 iciam M3; deleam V4

¹⁰ in V4

¹¹ resumam V4

¹² omit. M3

¹³ omit. WO

¹⁴ domino add. M3, V2a; ~~domino~~
 seq. V2b

¹⁵ me M2, V4

¹⁶ omit. M3

¹⁷ quod add. M2, M3, V2a; ~~quod~~
 seq. V2b

¹⁸ em. HE, WO; ubi codd.

¹⁹ sceleris V4

²⁰ omit. V4

²¹ expeditio quae in omit. M2

²² omit. M3

92. Letter from Francesco Quadranzio (24 October 1443, Basel).

Context: In his letter of 20 September (letter 78), Piccolomini made humorous remarks on the absence of letters from Quadranzio and also made a discrete reference to the Freising affair.

Subject: Quadranzio replies to Enea's criticisms with grace and humour and informs him that he has taken up the Freising affair and intervened at the council to postpone the recognition of Cardinal Grünwalder as the future bishop of Freising.

Francesco Quadranzio, consistorial advocate, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, poet.

[1] Dear Enea, I have received your long-awaited letter¹ and have now read it. From its beginning, I see you believe me guilty of false representation and cunning deceit. Ah, dear Enea, if you call all who endeavour to be truthful cunning deceivers, then I am definitely one. But now that you have joined the order of poets,² you must believe that I have not begun to practice cunning deceit but the art of Thalia.³ I have asked her for poems but could not obtain them. I believe Thalia has withdrawn them all, but as soon as she is back, I shall seize my lyre and immortalise the glory of your laurels.⁴

[2] Your letter, dear Enea, stated that in the affair you know of, there is no profit.⁵ Nonetheless, as soon as I saw that nobody was moving the Most Serene King's⁶ letter forward, that the affair would be expedited in favour of the cardinal,⁷ and that three of the deputations agreed on him,⁸ I, on my own initiative, opposed the measure and spoke on the matter so effectively that it would be postponed for days, though people had thought it would be concluded rapidly. Afterwards, it was decided that nothing would be done before the archbishop's⁹ letter of confirmation¹⁰ arrived. [*cont.*]

¹ Letter 78.

² Having been crowned poet laureate by the emperor on 27 July 1442.

³ Thalia: one of the Greek seven muses, the goddess who presided over comedy and idyllic poetry.

⁴ Meaning that for the moment, he has lost his poetical inspiration but that when it returns, he shall write poems in praise of Enea Silvio, the poet.

⁵ In his letter, Piccolomini had written: *However, no fat cases are occurring presently. The one being treated right now is nothing but burdensome, so since you are looking for profit, I have not bothered you with it.*

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ Johann Grünwalder, appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V. Elected bishop by the cathedral chapter of Freising on 13 September, Grünwalder had already, on 10 October 1443, entered Freising in triumph, was received as its bishop, and took over the administration of the diocese and its Bavarian possessions

⁸ Each council father was a member of one of the four deputations (deputationes) of the council: the Deputation on Faith, the Deputation on Peace, the Deputation of Reform, and the Deputation on General matters. A proposition approved by at least three of the four

"deputations" received ratification for the sake of form in a General Congregation, and if necessary led to a decree promulgated in session. Thus, Quadranzio's intervention occurred at the very last moment before Grünwald would receive the council's final confirmation in a General Congregation.

⁹ Friedrich IV Truchsess von Emmerberg (-1452): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1441 to 1452.

¹⁰ The archbishop did confirm Grünwalder's election but - under pressure from the imperial court - refused to perform the episcopal consecration.

[cont.]{67r} Si rationes assignatae in litteris regis¹ verae sunt, electio et confirmatio nihil opitulatur, omnia ruunt. Quam rem copiosius et serius scribo² Gaspari, cujus negotium agitur. Idcirco, mi Aenea, si in dicta causa nullum lucrum est, tamen restiti sine lucro, quia non omnia lucra petunt. Sed illud vetus proverbium te mihi excusatum reddidit: *Neptunum Najades petunt*.

[3] In futurum sis memor tui Francisci, qui te ad animam diligit. Deos testor, quam primum ingenium reassumam, tibi insultum dabo. Recommissum me velim regiae majestati serenissimae, cui³ me ut Romanum in dies⁴ offeres⁵, et⁶ strenuo militi domino Gaspari, cui ad plenum scripsi, necnon eximio artium⁷ medicinae doctori⁸, Jacopo, Caesareo medico.

Vale et me ama, ut soles. Ex Basilea, 24. Octobris anno etc. 1443⁹ ¹⁰.

¹ regiis WO

² domino *add.* M3, V2a; ~~domino~~
seq. V2b

³ qui M2

⁴ in dies *omit.* V3

⁵ offer V3

⁶ offeres et : offeret V4

⁷ et *add.* M2, M3

⁸ magistro *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~magistro~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ etc. 43 V2

¹⁰ ut soles ... 1443 M2

[cont.] If the reasons given in the king's letter¹ are correct, the election and confirmation mean nothing, all falls apart. I have written extensively and seriously about the matter to Kaspar, whose affair it is. Thus, dear Enea, if there is no profit in the affair, I fought without profit – after all, not all matters require profit. But this old proverb should excuse me to you: *The Najads seek Neptune*.²

[3] In the future, remember your Francesco, who loves you with all his heart. I call the gods to witness that as soon as regain my wits, I shall return your attack!³ Please recommend me to His Most Serene Majesty, presenting me to him as a Roman, and to the valiant knight, Lord Kaspar, to whom I have written fully, and to the distinguished doctor of the arts of medicine, Jacopo,⁴ the emperor's physician.

Farewell and love me as always. From Basel, 24 October 1443.

¹ The emperor's letter (WO, II:1, ep. XLVIII, pp. 92-93) was written by Piccolomini and argued the king's rights in the matter.

² The proverb appears to be unknown to Otto (Sprichwörter) and van Heck (HE). Its meaning in the present context is unclear.

³ Meaning Piccolomini's jokingly insulting remarks on Quadrancio's letter writing.

⁴ Jacopo Giovanni de Castroromano [Castelbarco]: Dr. med. et art. Imperial physician. From Tyrol.

93. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (1 November 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M1, f. 58v; M2, f. 36r¹; M3, ff. 217v-218r²; V2, ff. 92-94³; V3, ff. 45r-46r⁴ **; V4, ff. 40v-41v.
Editions: HE, 94, pp. 196-198; WO, 1: 1, 94, pp. 213-214; (both based on M1, V2).

{45r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit⁶ Gaspari Slišk, imperiali cancellario^{7 8}.

[1] Nihil novi post tuum⁹ recessum emersit, quod in epistolam cadere dignum sit, nisi quod hodie venturus est Pancratius tuus¹⁰, quem ajunt equites secum quinquaginta ducturum. Rex tamen minime illum¹¹ expectare voluit, sed hoc mane, antequam dies elucesceret¹², ad hortos Hesperidum deliciarumque paradisi iter arripuit. Ignotis fortasse verbis utor, hortos namque Hesperidum poetae ultra Atlantem¹³ in Africa situs finxere, sed hos¹⁴ nostra aetas habet in Civitate Nova, Austriae¹⁵ urbe, ubi *perpetuus*¹⁶ *Phaeacum autumnus* est, et omne genus pomi suapte gignitur. Ideo rex hunc unum¹⁷ amat locum, recte sane, ubi tot aquarum scaturigines, tot viridantia prata, quae verni tempore diverso florum splendore ridere¹⁸ videntur. Huc se nunc rex¹⁹ contulit. Quando illinc abiturus sit, tam certum est quam Antichristi adventus, qui per hos dies omnes populos suo rumore deterruit, opera tamen tua, qui proceribus curiae ipsique regi rem fictam aut saltem dubiam pro certa²⁰ exposuisti. Dum haec scribo allatum est nuntium regem Balnea petiisse, {45v} ubi ad dies octo mansurus sit. Nec nos²¹ illic diversorium habere possumus²². In Novam itaque Urbem recta via migrabimus. Si tamen Pancratium ire ad Balnea²³ sensero, me quoque illuc²⁴ conferam, ut de re tua possim curare, nec omittam ex mandatis tuis unum, dum vires erunt.

¹ SC, 79.

² SC 439-440.

³ DV 51v-52v.

⁴ DV 48r-49r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *magnifico domino suo add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~magnifico domino suo~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad dominum cancellarium M1

⁸ *magnifice domine mi praecipue add.* M1

⁹ *M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in address.*

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ *minime illum : illum minime* M3

¹² *illucesceret* M3

¹³ *montem add.* V4

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ *Stiriae* M1-M3, V2

¹⁶ *perpetuum* WO

¹⁷ *rex hunc unum : hunc unum rex* V3

¹⁸ *videre* M2

¹⁹ *se nunc rex : nunc rex se* M2

²⁰ *certo* M3

²¹ *omit.* M3

²² *habere possumus : possumus habere* M3

²³ *ire ad Balnea : ad Balnea ire* M3

²⁴ *illac* M3

93. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (1 November 1443, Vienna).

Context: Chancellor Kaspar Schlick had recently married, at the ripe age of 47, and was now occupied with his wife - and the task of siring offspring. In his absence from the court, Piccolomini acted as his agent and reported to him on events at the court.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the chancellor about the king's movements and politely reminds him that he is needed at court.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] After you left, nothing new has occurred worth writing about except that your Pankraz¹ will arrive today, reportedly with a troop of 50 mounted soldiers. However, the king did not want to wait for him but left this morning before daybreak to go to the Gardens of the Hesperides,^{2,3} the paradise of delights. Maybe I am using unfamiliar words: the poets [of old] placed the Hesperides beyond Atlas⁴ in Africa, but in our time, they are in Neustadt, a city in Austria, where *the never-failing autumn of the Phaeacians*⁵ is, and all kinds of fruit grow naturally. The king loves only this place, and justly so, with its many water springs and verdant meadows, smiling in springtime with a multihued splendour of flowers. The king has gone there now. When he leaves is as uncertain⁶ as the coming of Antichrist, the rumour of which has recently terrified all peoples⁷ - you yourself explained to the nobles of the court and the king himself that this is a pure invention or hardly credible.⁸ As I am writing this, it is being announced that the king has gone to Baden⁹, where he will remain for 8 days. As I shall not be able to get lodgings there, I will go directly to Neustadt. But if I hear that Pankraz leaves for Baden, I shall go there anyway to take care of your business with him and – as far as possible - not fail to execute any of your commands.

¹ Pongrácz za Sv. Mikuláš [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 Austriacalis*, 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 Comitum 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, 1: 80-81). See DVI, sect. 272).

² Hesperides: (myth.) the nymphs of evening and golden light of sunsets, who were the "Daughters of the Evening" or "Nymphs of the West".

³ The Hesperides tend a blissful garden in a far western corner of

the world, near the Atlas mountains in North Africa at the edge of the world ocean.

⁴ The latest manuscript collated (V4) adds the word "montem" ("mountain").

⁵ Juvenalis, 5: 151

⁶ "certum"!

⁷ The coming of the Antichrist comes before the second coming of Christ at the end of time, and in the middle ages, rumours of these comings periodically swept Christianity, causing general anxiety and sometimes upheavals.

⁸ The Latin construction of this passage limps.

⁹ Baden bei Wien: a spa town near Vienna.

[2] Ajunt regem Carniolam petitorium aut saltem Carinthiam, post vero Athesim. Exinde spes fit¹ Nurembergam peti debere, quod tamen ex magistro Thoma plenius intelliges. Consiliarii regii adhuc sunt hic, ipsos consulam, quid facere nos oporteat. De Frisingensí ecclesia nihil est, quod non fuerit prius tibi notum. Nemo ex curia venit. Magistrum Thomam commonui, ut de pecuniis Nurembergae² instructionem haberet, qui me praesente magistrum curiae percontatus est responsumque habet. Scripturas sibi³ consignavi omnes, quas mihi dimisisti. Capitula Venetorum reperi extraxique⁴. Auditor ad vos⁵ iter fecit⁶ plenus querimoniarum, quod in recessu vestro te non arripuit⁷. Para aures tuas, ut quae hic auditorus⁸ fuisti, illic audias. Homo tuus est et amicus utilis, qui solet plus honesto placere. Haec enim amicitia hodie viget, cui utilitas est annexa. Stoicorum illa sola virtute gaudens jam dudum explosa est.

[3] Non puto has litteras cito ad te venturas, quia nec tu ad eas festinabis⁹. Ipsae Nurembergam usque proficiscentur¹⁰, sed tu eo non venies, uti opinor, nisi uxoris prius aut licentia aut satietas intercesserit. Physicus regius, “ego,” inquit, {46r} “si meam semel uxorem attigero, quando illinc abdicere, nescio.” Vide, ne itidem tibi contingat. Regis negotia curare habes. *Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur* rerum publicarum cura¹¹ et amor uxorius¹². Tu tamen illam ducere potes eo loci, ubi propinqua sit curiae, saepeque possit in amplexus venire tuos. Ego ex his sum, qui melius scio praedicare quam facere. Si loco tuo essem, aliter sentirem.

Vale optime et disputationes¹³ auditoris ad magistrum Thomam remitte, ut aequum sit utrimque¹⁴ certamen. Ex Vienna, kalendis Novembris anno¹⁵ 1443.¹⁶

¹ sit M1-M3; est WO

² recipiendis *add.* M1-M3, V2a;
~~recipiendis~~ *seq.* V2b

³ tibi M3

⁴ dominus *add.* M1, M2, V2a;
~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ nos V4

⁶ facit V4

⁷ te non arripuit : non arripuit te
(vos) M1-M3

⁸ audivisti M3

⁹ festinabas M3

¹⁰ proficiscentur M3

¹¹ *omit.* WO

¹² uxoris M3

¹³ domini *add.* M1, M2, V2a;
~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ utrumque V3, V4

¹⁵ *omit.* M2, V2

¹⁶ ex Vienna ... 1443 *omit.* M1, M2

[2] They are saying the king will go to Krain or at least to Kärnten, and afterwards to Tyrol.¹ The hope is that he will then continue to Nürnberg,² which you will hear about more fully from magister Thomas.³ The royal counsellors are still here. I shall consult them about what to do. In the matter of the Church of Freising⁴ there is nothing that you do not already know. Nobody has come from the [papal] curia. I reminded magister Thomas to get instructions concerning the money for Nürnberg.⁵ In my presence, he asked the *magister curiae* and got an answer. I have sealed and given him all the documents you sent me. I have obtained the Venetian articles and made excerpts from them. The auditor is on his way to you, full of complaints that he did not manage to see you before you left. Ready your ears to hear there what you would have heard here. He is your man and a useful friend, mostly quite amenable. In our time, friendship is coupled with usefulness. For the Stoics, however, it was based on virtue alone, but such friendship is long gone.

[3] I think this letter will not reach you quickly, since you are in no hurry to meet it. It will be sent to Nürnberg, but I believe that you will not go there unless your wife gives permission or has had enough of you!⁶ The king's physician⁷ says that "if ever I get a wife, I do not know when I shall be able to leave her." Beware that the same does not happen to you, who are responsible for handling the king's affairs. The charge of public affairs and marital love *do not go well together nor tarry long in the same dwelling-place*.⁸ But you can bring her to a place where she will be close to the court and can often come into your embrace. However, I am one of those who are better at saying things than doing them: in your place, I would feel differently.

Farewell. I suggest you refer the auditor's arguments to magister Thomas and let them fight on equal terms! From Vienna, 1 October in the year 1443.

¹ The emperor travelled to Kärnten and Krain in January-February the following year (1444) (Hejnig, 3: p. 1354).

² The emperor did not attend the Diet in Nürnberg (November 1443 to January 1444). (Heinig, 3: 1354).

³ Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach (1388-1464): Austrian historian, professor (Vienna), and statesman. Used by Friedrich III as ambassador.

⁴ The appointment of the next bishop of Freising.

⁵ Possibly, money to cover the costs of the imperial legates.

⁶ The chancellor had recently married Agnes von Oels, daughter of Duke Konrad V of Oels, and was apparently desirous of siring sons.

⁷ Jacopo de Castroromano

⁸ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2: 846.

94. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (13 November 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 85r-86r; M2, ff. 115v-116r¹; M3, ff. 240v-242r²; V2, ff. 193-196³; V3, ff. 92r-94v⁴ **; V4, ff. 82v-84v.

Editions: HE, 95, pp. 198-200; WO, 1: 1, 95, pp. 215-218; (both based on M1, V2).

{92r} Johannes Campisius⁵ Aeneae Silvio⁶, imperiali secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Litteras dedisti pridie idus octobris ex Vienna ad me perferendas. Ego illas Romae pridie idus Novembris⁷ Johanne nostro Tolner⁸ restituente accepi. Habeo gratias humanitati tuae et tuae {92v} erga me benevolentiae, qui, uti saluti meae timuisti, istinc patriam et meos repetentis, ita et sospitati meae gratulatus es, cum primum ex meis ad te litteris accepisti Senas me sospitem advenisse. Res meas fuisse itineri commissas, quod non nisi tua diligentia et Matthaei nostri opera factum existimo, immo certum mihi persuadeo, me cogit, ut ingentes tibi et illi gratias et, quantas ex animo possum, agam, etsi ex Venetiis nondum de illis quidquam senserim.

[2] Scripsisti me parce res tuas apud Insubres attigisse, in quo nonnihil accusari a te videor⁹. Scripsi causas, cur Mediolanum non accesserim, quippe qui scivi¹⁰ Guinifortum apud Romanam curiam cum¹¹ Giglino abesse, et item¹² cur Novariam non ierim. Ratio apud me fuit et consilium non condemnandum. Si mihi credis, me excusatum habebis; si minus, doleo te ex mea, quam mihi ascribis, negligentia molestiam ullam accepisse. Tuae tamen humanitatis fuerit et nostrae inter nos veteris benevolentiae et familiaritatis veniam mihi concedere, etiam si minus, uti vis, in re tua officiosus fui.

[3] Desiderium tuum, ut *Politica* Aristotelis¹³ conversa, quam primum in tanta locorum distantia licuerit, assequaris, curabo ipse alia aut alia via, ut jubes, explere, nec me pecuniae timor afficiet. Utinam non me magis mea, quae tibi utinam soli nota esset, non me magis, inquam, sollicitaret aut¹⁴ afficeret {93r} egestas, a qua¹⁵ tamen, si me summi pontificis dicta et¹⁶ heri mei amor et gratia non fallunt, magna ex parte levare puto et fortassis ipse de hoc aliquid ex me¹⁷ senties, priusquam hae litterae hinc a¹⁸ me abscedant. Sed ad rem nostram venio. Credidi bene et quod amici et mei officii esset facere, si te prius de pretio libri admonerem, et ut¹⁹ ipse diligentiam meam in perquirendo libro agnosceres, et ego constantis animi tui liberalitatem cernerem. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 240-241.

² SC 487-490.

³ DV 102r-103v.

⁴ DV 95r-97v.

⁵ domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ poetae doctissimo (praestanti M3) ac *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poetae doctissimo~~ *ae seq.* V2b

⁷ a *add.* M2

⁸ nostro Tolner *omit.* M2

⁹ videam M3

¹⁰ dominum *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~dominum~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ illo *add.* M1-M3, V2b; ~~illo~~ *seq.* V2b

¹² iterum V4

¹³ ab Aretino *add.* M1-M3

¹⁴ ut V4

¹⁵ a qua : aliqua M3

¹⁶ ut M3

¹⁷ tua M3

¹⁸ ad M1, M3, V2; *corr. ex ad* V3

¹⁹ et ut : ut et M1-M3

94. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (13 November 1443, Rome).

Context: Since Piccolomini's last letter (84), Campisio – now secretary to Cardinal Berardi, had reached Rome, where the papal court arrived on 28 September.

Subject: Campisio replies point-by-point to Piccolomini's letter.

Giovanni Campisio sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, imperial secretary.

[1] The letter you sent to me on 14 October¹ from Vienna I received from our Johann Tolner here in Rome on 13 November.² I owe thanks to your humanity and kindness: fearing for my safety on the travel back to my country and my people, you congratulated me on my safety as soon as you heard from my letter that I had arrived in Siena safe and sound. That my things were sent off I believe – no, I am sure – is due only to your diligence and the efforts of our Matteo,³ which makes it my obligation to send great thanks to you and to him, from the bottom of my heart, though I have not yet had news about them from Venice.

[2] You wrote that I had not achieved much concerning your affairs while in Lombardy, which seems to me to be a grave rebuke. I did write my reason for not going to Milan, which was that I knew Guiniforte⁴ and Giglino⁵ were not there but at the Roman curia,⁶ and also for not going to Novara. [So you see that] my reasons and plans were irreproachable. If you believe me, you will excuse me. If not, then I regret if the negligence you attribute to me has caused you any loss. At any rate, your humanity and our old mutual sympathy and friendship ought to ensure me of your forgiveness even if I did less for you than you would wish.

[3] You want to acquire – as soon as the great distance allows – the translation of Aristotle's *Politica*. I shall arrange to fulfil it one way or another, and I shall not be concerned about the money. I only wish that I shall no longer – mark my words – be troubled by the poverty, from which I can mostly be saved by papal⁷ fiat and my lord's⁸ affection. I may have more to tell you before I despatch this letter. But, coming to our business, I thought that I did well and as a friend ought to when I first warned you about the price of the book. Thus you would know how diligent I am in obtaining the book for you, and I could confirm the generosity of your constant mind.⁹ [cont.]

¹ Letter 84.

² Enea had apparently sent the letter with an imperial courier via the emperor's procurator in Rome, Johann Tolner.

³ Matteo Pisano.

⁴ Guiniforte Barzizza.

⁵ Unidentified.

⁶ In Siena. Piccolomini likely had asked Campisio to visit Guiniforte in Milan to plead the cause of his provostship.

⁷ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁸ Cardinal Berardi.

⁹ Knowing Piccolomini's meagre means, Campisio had, reasonably enough, wanted to make sure that Piccolomini could afford and wished to buy the book at the high price quoted.

[cont.] Siquidem istiusmodi¹ librum, qui meus fuisset, habuissem, jam dudum illum dono ad te² mittere curassem, proinde ne credideris voluisse me aut velle in eo, quod mihi tecum sit negotio, indemnitati meae consulere. Sed quod ais, “si minori pretio, quam scripseris. haberi nequit, lubet id auri conferre,” minus te, quam voluissem³, liberalem ostendis. Nam verbis illis admoneor librum illum quanti minoris emam, quod argumentum est animi⁴ paulo⁵ plus ad nummos, quam oporteat affecti. Ego vero, ut scias, quam libere in re tua pro usu nostrae familiaritatis agere possum, curabo pro viribus et ingenio meo, ut librum quam optimum habeas, ita tamen, ut me non imprudentem⁶ emptorem judicare possis. Tolner noster ita mihi⁷ notus est, ut nota magis nulli⁸ domus sit sua, et jam cum eo ea de re locutus sum. Libro reperto et empto consilium capiemus et, quod melius visum fuerit, ut desiderio tuo satisfiat, {93v} sequemur.

[4] De Petro Noxetano nostro, nisi me fallit memoria, scripsi ad te aliquid posterioribus litteris, quas nondum acceperas, quasque nunc per Matthiam cursorem accepisse debuisti, qui ad reverendissimum dominum meum⁹ legatum, jam diu reversus est. Quodsi nihil scripsi, “*simile*” certe ut scribis, “*monstri* est,” nisi forte debilitas oculorum meorum id effecerit. Noxetanus noster optime valet, in dies ditior et tamen vir melior et magis amicitiae cultor evadens. Heri mortem, quam certe humane et graviter tulit, fert sapienter, solus vivit, ut idem animo et corpore libet. Aedes conductas non superbas, sed liberales habet, pueros quoque et equos, quibus eum Romae uti necesse est. Quid autem officii gerat, me rogas, immo quid officiorum rogare oportuit. Est scriptor, ut nosti, apostolicus, est et abbreviator¹⁰, est lector contradictarum, causas nonnumquam¹¹ sollicitat, unde lucra ex omnibus his capit. Est praeterea in amicos liberalis et officiosus, et adeo officiosus, ut inde me conscio plurima jam damna et incommoda receperit, quae tamen idem nihili pendit. In te vero, me teste optimo, eo perseverat animo, quo semper fuit, tuis fortunis tuisque honoribus tam laetus, quam dici a me potest¹². Saepe de te est inter nos amicus sermo¹³. Saepe te praesentem et consiliorum nostrorum participem fieri optamus. Saepe, dum¹⁴ a laboribus laxare juvat animos, quantum inter nostras {94r} occupationes licet, fiunt nobis ob tuam absentiam, quem continue recolimus, minus jucunda solatia. Quod ad te nihil scripserit tuis epistolis, ut scribis, provocatus, miror admodum et apud illum maximam querelam de hoc ipso proponam, etsi forte in nostra taciturnitatis lege confidit. Animadverti, quae graviter de generoso animo scripsisti, qualis fuit Alexandri tui exitus¹⁵, item quae de Hannibale quoque breviter, scite tamen, a te dicta sunt. Vale feliciter et tibi felicem¹⁶ ac *cornicis*¹⁷ vitam, qualem *Theophrastus moriens*¹⁸ ac *naturam* accusans¹⁹ optavit, quae *hominibus*²⁰ tam brevem *dedisset*, tribuat omnipotens Deus.

¹ istius huiusmodi M2

² dono ad te : ad te dono M3

³ valuissem V4

⁴ omit. V4

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ non imprudentem : ni prudentem M2

⁷ nobis M2

⁸ nulla V3

⁹ dominum *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~dominum~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ brevior M1, M2, V2 *corr. ex*

brevior V3

¹¹ non unquam WO

¹² possit V4

¹³ saepe de ... sermo *omit.* M2

¹⁴ et *add.* M2

¹⁵ exitus *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹⁶ et tibi felicem *omit.* V4

¹⁷ corvicis WO

¹⁸ manens M2

¹⁹ conquerens M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* conquerens V2b

²⁰ omnibus M2

[cont.] If I myself owned the book, I would have already sent it to you as a gift lest you believe me to have been or be worried about recovering the costs. But when you write that you “have decided to spend the money even if it cannot be had at a lower price than the one you mentioned,” you show yourself as less liberal than I should have wished. For with such words, you ask me to buy a book of lesser quality¹, which is the sign of a soul more concerned with money than is proper.² However, so that you may know how liberally I will act for the sake of our friendship, I shall use all my force and wits to obtain the best copy for you but in such a way that you shall not consider me an imprudent buyer. Our Tolner I know so well that nobody is more familiar with his home than I, and I have already spoken with him on the matter. When the book has been found and bought, we shall take counsel and do what seems to fulfil your desire best.

[4] Unless memory fails me, I wrote to you about our Pietro da Noceto in my last letter, which you had not received then but should now have received from the courier Matthias, who returned to the Most Reverend Lord Legate³ some time ago. It would indeed have been “monstrous” – as you say – not to write about him, [and if I did not], it must be because I suffered from some soreness of the eyes. Our Noceto fares very well. He becomes wealthier by the day but is still a good man and a great cultivator of friendship. He “bore his lord’s⁴ demise” with humanity and dignity and bears it now as a wise man should. He lives alone, in a state pleasing to mind and body. He stays in rented lodgings, not splendid but comfortable, with servants and horses, which you must have when you live in Rome. You ask “what office he has”, but you should rather have said “offices”. As you know, he is an apostolic scribe, but he is also an abbreviator and a reader of conflicting claims,⁵ and he often takes on court cases. He earns money from all these. Moreover, he is generous and helpful, so helpful, indeed, that I know he has, for that reason, had many losses and troubles, which, however, does not bother him. Towards you, he has – as I can sincerely testify – the same disposition as ever, and I cannot say how happy he is at your good fortunes and advancement. Between us friends, we often talk about you and wish you were here and part of our discussions. And when we have our periods of relaxation – amid our occupations – we often think of you and regret your absence.⁶ That he has not written to you, though you asked him to in a letter, greatly surprises me. I intend to rebuke him severely for it unless, perhaps, he relied on our rule of silence.⁷ I have noted what you wrote so earnestly about the nobility of the soul, and how it turned out with Alexander, and also your brief but knowledgeable comment on Hannibal.⁸ Live well and be happy. May God give you the happy life of the crow, which Theophrastus wished for on his death bed, blaming nature for having given men such a short life.⁹

¹ Campisio is referring to the quality of the copy.

² Quality is more important than price, says Campisio. His statement is less snobbish than sensible, given that a bad copy would contain many scribal errors and be less intelligible than a good copy.

³ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini in Hungary.

⁴ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati.

⁵ Curial offices: the *scriptor apostolicus* (papal) drafts and writes out papal letters, the *abbreviator* makes summaries of texts, and the *lector contradictarum* deals with conflicting claims.

⁶ Piccolomini would probably have been quite moved at this report and fervently wished to join his friends at the papal court. However, a career at the curia was prevented by his involvement in a Milanese plot against the pope in 1435, which he feared the pope or his entourage had never forgotten or forgiven. It would take his conversion to the papalist cause in 1444 and his visit as an imperial envoy to the imperial court in January 1445 to become reconciled with the pope, which opened the perspective of a splendid ecclesiastical career, based on his service to the emperor. So, apart from

ambassadorial visits over the years, he would never actively join the papal court as a secretary among beloved humanist friends and colleagues but entered it as a lord cardinal in 1456.

⁷ Instead of making the standard vain promises of frequently writing to each other, Piccolomini and his friends had apparently made a rule that they would not be obliged to do so.

⁸ See letter 84: 4.

⁹ See letter 84: 4. Campisio repeats and expands Piccolomini’s quotation from Cicero’s *Tusculanae Disputationes*, subtly showing that he, too, mastered the classics.

[5] Post haec. Noxetanus noster, cum apud Sanctum Petrum querelam, quam dixi, ex me propositam audisset, multa hilaritate fusus¹ et risui vix finem faciens ac² verba tua iterum atque iterum relegens - ostendi enim illi tuas ad me litteras - excusatum se apud me fecit scripturumque se omnino ad te pollicitus est, confessus palam unas dumtaxat ex te litteras accepisse³. Vegius tuis⁴ prosperis rebus⁵ exultans salvum te ex animo jubet. Idem facit et Jacobus Calvus⁶, venerabilis vir⁷ Contes⁸, civis et canonicus Senensis⁹, homo¹⁰, quo natura neque meliorem genuit neque suaviorem, in cuius pectus animam credo prosiliisse meam et ita, ut Aristophanes poeta ait¹¹, ex duobus corporibus unam factam esse inter nos animam. Is, inquam, salutes tot {94v} tibi mittit - placet enim mihi sic apud te loqui - quot sunt avis in corpore plumae. Haec ad te scripsi modo rebus sic exigentibus et ut tibi parerem, qui jussisti, ne legem taciturnitatis nostrae servarem, et, quantum licuerit, scribam ad te crebrius eo tamen pacto, ut lex ipsa taciturnitatis firma maneat, quae est, ut liceat nobis ad invicem non scribere.

Vale iterum et me sine fine, quod etiam atque etiam rogo atque obsecro, commendatum fac¹² magnifico¹³ Gaspari¹⁴, in ejusque¹⁵ me amore et gratia perpetuo conserva¹⁶ ¹⁷. Romae, idibus Novembris 1443¹⁸.

¹ est *add.* WO

² *omit.* M2

³ recepisse M1, M2

⁴ tuus M3

⁵ prosperis rebus : rebus prosperis M1

⁶ Calvi M1-M3, V2

⁷ vir dominus *add.* M1-M3, V2a; dominus *seq.* V2b

⁸ de Cacciacionibus *add.* M1-M3, V2

⁹ ac sanctissimi domini nostri cubicularius, domus vero reverendissimi domini mei, domini Tarenti, magister *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ae sanctissimi domini nostri cubicu-~~

~~larius, domus vero reverendissimi domini mei, domini Tarenti, magister~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ vero *add.* M1

¹¹ ut M3

¹² spectabili ac *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~spectabili~~ *ae seq.* V2b

¹³ viro domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~viro domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ Slick *add.* M3

¹⁵ eius V4

¹⁶ ad cuius dominationem reverendissimus dominus meus et sacrum collegium de re fratris et ecclesiae Frisingensis copiose et ad votum respondent, et bullae expeditae libere, et ut optavit et aequum fuit, ad se transmittuntur, quemadmodum ex Tolner accipiet *seq.* V2b

ere, et ut optavit et aequum fuit, ad se transmittuntur, quemadmodum ex Tolner accipiet *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ad cuius dominationem reverendissimus dominus meus et sacrum collegium de re fratris et ecclesiae Frisingensis copiose et ad votum respondent, et bullae expeditae libere, et ut optavit et aequum fuit, ad se transmittuntur, quemadmodum ex Tolner accipiet~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ datum *add.* M3

¹⁸ Romae ... 1443 : iterum vale M1, M2

[5] Postscript: When, at Saint Peter's,¹ our Noceto had heard my rebukes, he broke into laughter and could almost not stop laughing, reading your words again and again – for I showed him your letter to me. He made his excuses and promised absolutely to write to you. However, he did claim that he had only received one letter from you. Vegio² rejoices in your fortunate circumstances and greets you from the heart. The same does Jacopo Calvi³ as well as the reverend Conte,⁴ citizen and canon of Siena.⁵ Nature never made a better or more pleasant man than him. I think that my soul has jumped into his breast and that – as the poet Aristophanes⁶ says – one common soul has been made for our two bodies. He sends you – allow me to speak like this – as many greetings as a bird has feathers. I have written as circumstances require, obeying your command not to keep our rule of silence. In the future, I shall write to you more often, on the condition, however, that the rule of silence stands firm, meaning that we are free not to write to each other.⁷

Farewell again. I beg you to always recommend me to His Excellency Kaspar and keep me in his love and favour.⁸ Rome, 13 November 1443.

¹ A common meeting place for the papal secretaries and officials.

² Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458): Italian poet and official at the papal court.

³ Unidentified.

⁴ Conte Cacciaconti (d. 1450?): Siene noble and canon. Later abbot of San Galgano.

⁵ Here, in the earlier versions, Campisio mentions Conte's functions as a papal chamberlain and as the master of Cardinal Berardi's household. Why this passage was deleted in the later versions is unclear.

⁶ Error for Aristoteles, see *Ethika Eudameia*, 7: 6.

⁷ Actually, Campisio became one of Piccolomini's closest correspondents.

⁸ Here, in the earlier versions, Campisio mentioned that the pope and the cardinals had appointed Chancellor Schlick's brother as Bishop of Freising. Why this passage was deleted in the later versions is unclear.

95. Letter to Galeazzo d'Arco (15 November 1443, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M1, f. 58r; M2, ff. 36r-36v¹; M3, ff. 218v-219r²; V2, ff. 96-97³; V3, ff. 47r-47v⁴ **; V4, ff. 42v-43r.
Editions: HE, 96, p. 201; WO, 1: 1, 96, pp. 218-219; (both based on M1, V2).

{47r} Magnifico et generoso comiti Galeazio de Arco⁵ Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam⁷ dicit⁸.

[1] Aggressus est me nudiustertius vir suavis et tui amantissimus, Jacobus Lodroneus⁹ miles, tuasque et¹⁰ magnifici germani tui, comitis Francisci, litteras aperuit, quae mihi magno testimonio fuerunt amoris erga me vestri, cum in utrisque multa salute jussus esset me Jacobus impartiri. Quod etsi persuasum antea mihi¹¹ esset¹², quia novi¹³ animi vestri constantiam, juvat me tamen cernere, quod meditabar. {47v} Sed ne pluribus immorer, scire vos volo non truncum a vobis coli, qui non sentit, neque asinum, qui non intelligit, sed hominem quamvis pusillum beneficiorum tamen memorem, et qui¹⁴ numquam animo est ingrato. Non est, quod scribam nunc amplius, ne pelagus ingrediar, quod non facile egrediar. Nam cum affeceris me dudum desiderio tui, nimis multa essem scripturus, si vellem omnino¹⁵ satisfacere, sed¹⁶ omnia melius coram exponam. Spero enim Caesarem ad vos propediem migraturum, quem sequar, ut soleo, et si Deus dabit, te conveniam. Rem tuam bene absolutam esse cum ex litteris Jacobi, tum ipso facto intelliges. Plus gratiae in oculis regis habes, quam reris. Comiti Francisco, postquam me dederis, dicito ejus musam quamvis suavem, scrinia regis incolere ibique delitescere, quia non sapit haec seges¹⁷. Sepultum est quidquid hujusmodi huc porrigitur. Studia namque humanitatis rarum¹⁸ habent extra Italiam domicilium. Scis, quid appellem studia humanitatis. Hoc enim nomine volunt nostri oratorias et poeticas litteras designari, quae apud Latium¹⁹ late patent, apud alios plerumque ignotae. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 79-80.

² SC, 441-442.

³ DV, 53v-54r.

⁴ DV, 50r-50v.

⁵ Galeazio de Archo *omit.* HE

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2

⁷ salutem plurimam : salutes plurimas HE

⁸ *Titulus:* Comiti Galeazio de Archo magnifico et generoso comiti Eneas Silvius poeta salutes

plurimas dicit M1; Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit magnifici et generoso comiti Galeateo d'Archo M2

⁹ de Lodrono M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex de Lodrono V2b

¹⁰ *omit.* V4

¹¹ antea mihi : michi antea M2

¹² foret M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex foret V2b

¹³ nosco M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ animo V4

¹⁶ quae M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex quae V2b

¹⁷ nec scit toga barbara versus *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~nec scit toga barbara versus seq.~~ V2b

¹⁸ et raro M3

¹⁹ Latinos WO

95. Letter to Galeazzo d'Arco (15 November 1443, Vienna)

Context: Piccolomini had befriended two brothers of the Arco family and facilitated their relations with the imperial court. One of the brothers, Francesco, had apparently sent a collection of his poems to the emperor.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his feelings of friendship and gratitude towards the Arco brothers and informs them that a certain matter of theirs has been brought to a happy conclusion at the court. He also frankly criticises the court's lack of classical culture and interests, a criticism he would tone down in later versions of the text.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the excellent and noble Count Galeazzo d'Arco.¹

[1] The day before yesterday, the knight² Jacobo de Lodron,³ arrived and opened the letters from yourself and your excellent brother, Count Francesco.⁴ They were a great testimony of your love for me since in both letters, Jacobo was ordered to convey your best wishes. Though I was quite convinced of it before - since I know the constancy of your character - I was happy to see that my opinion is [true]. I shall not dwell on this at length. I only wish you to know you are not cultivating a trunk that does not feel or an ass that does not understand but a man who, though insignificant, remembers favours and is never ungrateful. I shall not write more on this lest I enter a sea I cannot easily escape. Indeed, having great affection for you, I would write far too much if I wanted to be exhaustive, but it will be better to explain it directly. For I hope the emperor will soon travel to you,⁵ in which case I shall follow him as usual⁶ and then, God willing, I shall meet you. Your affair⁷ has been happily concluded, as you will understand from Jacobo's letter and the fact itself. You enjoy more favour with the king than you think. When you have greeted Count Francesco from me, tell him that his muse,⁸ though sweet, now inhabits the king's chests unnoticed, for this fruit⁹ does not suit the taste here.¹⁰ All such offerings are buried away, for humanist studies¹¹ have no home outside Italy.¹² You know what I call humanist studies, a name used to designate oratorical and poetical letters, flourishing in Latium¹³ but otherwise almost unknown. [*cont.*]

¹ Galeazzo d'Arco: Younger brother of Count Francesco d'Arco. Military man who defended Trento for the emperor for three months against the Tyrolean insurgents before having to capitulate in April 1444. See letter of 1 January 1444 from the emperor to Galeazzo d'Arco (WO, 1: 1, ep. LXIX, pp. 119-120. See also Heinig, 1: p. 296-298. See also DVI, sect. 166: *Interim Athesini tota Athesi expugnata Tridentum invadunt, quod tunc regio nomine tenebatur. Urbi in auxilium venit Galeazius, comes de Archo.*

² Du Cange: Miles, apud Scriptores inferioris ætatis, is potissimum dicitur, qui Militari cingulo accinctus est, quem vulgo *Chevalier* appellamus.

³ Jacobo di Lodron [Lodrone]: Of a noble family in the Trento area.

⁴ Francesco d'Arco (1413-1482): Count of Arco. Sent poems to the emperor, see Heinig, 1: p. 297; Franceschini, pp. 251 ff. It is uncertain when Piccolomini developed his relationship with the two d'Arco brothers, whom he considers to belong to the Italian sphere. It may have been before he entered the emperor's service.

⁵ The emperor did not go to Trient, which would probably have been too dangerous, given the Tyrolean insurrection.

⁶ Confirmation that Piccolomini, as an important member of the imperial chancery, followed the emperor on his travels.

⁷ Galeazzo's appointment as an imperial councillor, see Heinig, 1: 298.

⁸ I.e., poems offered by Francesco to the emperor.

⁹ The culture at court.

¹⁰ In the earlier versions, here follows a hexametrous passage "nec scit toga barbara versus" (the barbarous toga does not know verses) that Piccolomini excluded from the later versions, probably as being impolitic. See comment by Franceschini, p. 251.

¹¹ "studia humanitatis", cf. Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 2: 3: *de studiis humanitatis et litterarum* (Loeb translation: *enlightened and cultivated pursuits*).

¹² See the comments of Helmrath on the unfairness of this passage (Helmrath, p. 109). See also Martels: *More*, p. 211.

¹³ Wolkan, erroneously, reads "Latinos", which Heck states he would prefer to "Latium".

[*cont.*] Sed vale jam tandem, quamvis manus invita cesset, et calamus papiro haereat, ut quem tecum loqui delectat¹. At² mihi non suppetit otium, et regi magis quam meo serviendum est animo, quia non sum³ liber, dum alienum comedo panem. Iterum vale, et tu cessa, manus, ut linguae supersit, quid dicat, dum Tridenti erimus. Ex Novacivitate, 17. kalendis Decembris 1443.⁴

¹ delectet M3

² ut M3

³ solum M2

⁴ 17. ... 1443 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[*cont.*] But farewell for now, though the hand is loath to stop [writing] and the pen clings to the paper, loving to speak with you. But I am not at leisure now and have to serve the king¹ rather than follow my own inclinations, for I am not free as long as I eat another's bread. Again, farewell, and stop, hand, lest there be nothing left for the tongue to speak when we are in Trient. From Neustadt, 15 November 1443.

¹ See Stolf's comments on *otium* vs. *negotium* in the life of courtiers, in *casu Piccolomini* (Stolf).

96. Letter from Pietro da Noceto (18 November 1443, Rome).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 109r-110r; M2, ff. 117r-117v¹; M3, ff. 246r-246v²; V2, ff. 211-213³; V3, ff. 102r-103v⁴ **;
V4, ff. 91v-92v.

Editions: HE, 97, pp. 202-203; WO, 1: 1, 97, pp. 219-220 (both based on M1, V2).

{102r} Petrus Noxetanus⁵, scriptor apostolicus, Aeneae Silvio, poetae et amantissimo fratri, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Cognovi ex litteris, quas aestate decursa per Nicolaum Castellanum ad {102v} me dedisti, et item ex his⁶, quas nuper Campisius noster ex te⁷ recepit, admiratum te fore, quod tecum diu tacuerim idque propterea factum putare videris, quia⁸ vir magnus et dives evaserim. Sic enim⁹ scribis. Ego vero irrideri scriptis hujusmodi me rerer¹⁰, nisi tuus erga me¹¹ singularis amor mihi foret exploratissimus. Nam pro tua in me benevolentia et caritate maxima, quidquid de me scribis, in bonam recipio partem. Si tamen, ut tibi persuasum est, vir magnus et dives essem, non solum litteris, sed donis quoque te saepe visitarem, nec quemquam spernerem et te praesertim, quem plurimi facio atque ut me ipsum colo, amo et observo. Sed quia conditio mea tam tenuis est, ut nec amicis nec mihi prodesse valeam, taceo nec amicorum aures obtundere audeo, nihil praeter verba offerre valens¹². Dum vixit cardinalis Sanctae Crucis, cujus memoria numquam ex me delebitur, spes erat mihi non mediocris, quae tota cum illo cecidit. Scriptoriam, sicuti¹³ nosti, et item officium contradictarum pecuniis emi, quarum pars major amicorum fuit mutuo mihi concessa et, eam cum jam restituisssem et sperarem aliquid ex his officiis¹⁴ cumulare, ecce infelix et inopinatus cardinalis obitus, quo humi prostratus sum. Oportet namque propriis sumptibus me vivere ac ex sudore manuum mearum. Et, per Deum immortalem, Aenea mi suavissime, hodierna lucra vix alimoniam {103r} praebent. Nosti fluctuationes curiae. Si pacata foret ecclesia, et integram dominus noster haberet oboedientiam, vivere ex his officiis possem, scribens tamen ab ortu ad solis¹⁵ ¹⁶ occasum tamquam copista.

[2] Incumbunt praeterea multa onera, quae non omnes norunt: pater adhuc vivit grandaevus et pauper, qui a me nullo pacto est deserendus. Est et filiola, quae mihi Florentiae nata est ex puella, quam numquam cognoscere potui, cum esset virgo et optimorum morum, nisi promissione data matrimonii et, licet nec testes adessent¹⁷, nec animus concurreret, urget me tamen conscientia et, praesertim cum iterum gravida sit et prope partui, inhumanum puto eam deserere. Est enim bene nata, honeste nutrita, et omnes bonas partes haberet, si adessent opes, sed pauper est. Existima nunc, humanissime frater, quibus implicer¹⁸ curis. Equidem vix valeo respirare, quae omnia ad te scribere omiseram, ne te dolore afficerem. Utcumque est, non despero tamen nec desperabo umquam, quia juvat Deus in se *confidentes*.

¹ SC, 243-244.

² SC 498-499.

³ DV 111r-112r.

⁴ DV 105r-106v.

⁵ de Noceto M1-M3, V2a; *corr.*

ex de Noceto V2b

⁶ litteris V4

⁷ nuper Campisius ... te : noster
Campisius ex te nuper M1-M3,
V2; Campisius ex te nuper V4

⁸ qui M2

⁹ vero M3

¹⁰ reor M3

¹¹ *omit.* M2

¹² volens M3

¹³ sicut HE, WO

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ in *add.* M1, V2

¹⁶ ad solis : solis in M2

¹⁷ abessent M3

¹⁸ implicerer M3

96. Letter from Pietro da Noceto (18 November 1443, Rome).^{1 2}

Context: Piccolomini had been sighing for a letter from Pietro, his bosom friend, and urged their common friend, Giovanni Campisio, to pressure him to write, see letters 84 and 94.

Subject: Pietro assures Piccolomini of his undying friendship and tells him why he is not rich at all. He puts pressure upon him to join the cause of Pope Eugenius in Rome since the improvement in the pope's situation would mean more business for the Roman curia and its officials, including Pietro himself.

Pietro da Noceto, apostolic scribe, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, poet and beloved brother.

[1] From the letter you sent me last summer through Niccolò Castellano^{3 4} and from the letter our Campisio recently received from you,⁵ I understand that you have been wondering about my long silence and apparently believe that it is due to my having become a great man and rich, as you write. If I had not known quite well how much you love me, I would have felt mocked by these words, but because of your great affection and love for me, I take whatever you write in the best meaning. But if, as you are convinced, I were a great man and rich, I would often send you not only letters but also gifts, and I would not scorn anybody, least of all you, whom I treasure and cherish, love, and care for as I do myself. However, since my conditions are so strained that I can neither profit my friends nor myself, I remain silent and do not dare to deafen the ears of my friends, unable to offer anything but words. When the Cardinal of Santa Croce,⁶ whose memory I shall never forget, was alive, I had great hopes, but they collapsed with his [death]. As you know, I bought the offices of scribe and [auditor] of conflicting claims for money mostly borrowed from friends. I had repaid them and begun to hope to gather something from these offices when the unfortunate and unexpected death of the cardinal struck me down. For I have to live by my own means and the sweat of my hands. And, by immortal God, my dearest Enea, my present earnings barely cover my living costs. You know the fluctuations at the curia.⁷ If the Church were at peace and Our Lord⁸ had undivided obedience,⁹ I would be able to live from these offices, though I would be having to write – like a copyist – from sunrise to sundown.

[2] Moreover, I carry many burdens that all do not know of: my old and poor father is still alive, whom I must in no way fail. There is also a little daughter born from a young woman, a maiden of excellent character, whom I could never have known [carnally] if I had not promised her marriage. Though there were no witnesses and I was not sincere, my conscience urges me, especially since she is now pregnant again and close to giving birth, so it would be inhuman to desert her. She is wellborn and raised honourably, and she would have all advantages if she were wealthy, but she is poor. So, consider now, brother, the cares and commitments incumbent upon me. I can barely breathe! I would not have written all this to you lest it pain you. In any case, I am not despairing and shall not do so, for God helps those who *trust* in him.¹⁰

¹ For comments on this letter, see VO, 2: 3, p. 297.

² For comments on this letter, see VO, 2: 3, pp. 297-298.

³ Niccolò Tifernate.

⁴ The letter is not extant.

⁵ Letter 84.

⁶ Cardinal Niccolò Albergati.

⁷ The schism in the Church, with a pope and a council in Rome, and a pope and a council in Lausanne / Basel, had considerably curtailed the activities at the Roman curia, limiting the work and income of the curial officials.

⁸ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁹ Meaning that the whole of Christendom would recognise the pope in Rome.

¹⁰ Ecclesiasticus, 32: 28: *Qui credit Deo attendit mandatis : et qui confidit in illo non minorabitur.*

[3] Ego te oro saltem, mei causa, qui et animo et corpore sum tuus et ero, dum vivam, parti ut nostrae faveas, quantum potes. Poteris autem, si voles plurimum, nec te poenitebit in posterum. Quo animo erga te sim, Campisius noster tibi scribet. Ego tui tunc oblivisci potero, cum moriar, si sensus cum morte pereunt. Senis vidi nobilem {103v} et clarissimum patrem tuum, virum optimum et tibi humanitate et ceteris naturae atque animi dotibus similem, multaque tum¹ ipse, tum ceteri necessarii, quibus abundas, obtulerunt, quia me tibi amicum sciebant, fuissemque his usus, si necessitas incubisset. Tu, si umquam has partes repetas, quod dii faciant, etiam si vir maximus fies², casulam meam intrare dignaberis, et, quod fuerit appositum, comedes, sive uxorem ducam sive ipsa caream. Interea, si quid ad me scribis, in mensa³ Medicorum exponi litteras jube, et vale optime.

Ex Roma, die 18. Novembris 1443^{4 5 6}.

¹ cum V4

² sis M3

³ banco M1-M3, V2

⁴ 1444 V3; 1449 V4

⁵ 18. ... 1433 *omit.* M3

⁶ ex Roma ... 1443 *omit.* M1, M2

[3] [You know that] I am yours in body and soul and shall be so as long as I live. [So I dare ask you] to favour our party as much as possible.¹ If you will, you can do much, and you will not regret it. Campisio will write to you how I am disposed towards you. I shall not forget you as long as I live, and then only if the senses vanish at death. In Siena, I have visited your noble and distinguished father,² an excellent man who resembles you in kindness and the other gifts of nature and mind. He and your many other relatives offered me much, knowing that I am a friend of yours, and I would have accepted it if there had been a need for it. If you ever visit these parts (may the gods make it so), then deign – even if you³ have become a great man – to visit my humble house and eat what is set on the table, whether I have a wife or not.

In the meantime, if you write to me, send your letters via the Medici bank,⁴ and farewell. From Rome, 18 November 1443.

¹ This appeal from his bosom friend to abandon the conciliarist party and join the papalist would probably have much affected Piccolomini, vacillating between the

two parties and soon to join the papalists.

² Silvio Piccolomini.

³ Piero actually married the girl shortly afterwards.

⁴ Note the role of the bank in international epistolary communication.

97. Letter from Guiniforte Barzizza (19 November 1443, Milan).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 146v, 147v (*in fine*) **.

Editions: HE, 98, pp. 203-204; WO, 1: 1, 98, p. 221 (*both based on M1*).

{146v} Spectato ac ornatissimo viro, domino Aeneae Silvio, laureato poetae clarissimo et serenissimi regis Romanorum disertissimo secretario.

[1] Quo in praepositura tua recuperanda tibi animo fuerim, vir spectatissime, jam pridem intellexisses, nisi et me ratio horum temporum et varii, qui nostra consilia interciderunt, continuissent casus nec essent passi ad opus accedere, ad quod inanem me operam adhibiturum perspicere videbar. Nonnullis enim difficultatibus causa tua laborat, quas, etsi litteris tuis confutando attingis, tamen apud nostros et quidem eos, qui te amant ac tibi favent plurimum, tanti fieri intelligo, ut satius multo existimem ad tempus tacere, quam irritis conatibus adversarium commonefacere, quae illi ruina impendeat. Hoc de me constantissime teneas: ea fide, cura, diligentia, studio, assiduitate in hac causa ero, cum primum aliqua emerget rei bene gerendae occasio, ut non majore pro amico, pro fratre, pro homine, a quo vitae omnis ornamenta vel accepta sint vel expectentur, pro se ipso denique esse quisquam debeat. Nam cum tua singularis virtus atque integritas facit, ut optima tibi cupiam, tum ea spes, quam in me vir optimus atque doctissimus conjecisse videris, ac de meo in te amore haud falsa opinio omnia, ut suppeditare studeam, incitat atque inflammat, non obscura mea in te officia ut extent. Ex fortuna id quidem pendet nonnulla¹ ex parte. Nihil esse praetermissum, quod a non ficto at fallaci homine, qui rerum gerendarum peritiam aliquam teneat, praestari oporteat, ipse mihi sum conscius, idemque tibi quoque ut persuadeas, etiam atque etiam peto.

Vale. Generoso equiti et philosopho insigni, domino Johanni Jacobo Castroromano, physico regio, magnum me in modum commendatiorem redde. Mediolani, 13. kalendis Decembris 1443. Tuus quiquid est Guinifortus Barzizza.

¹ non ulla WO

97. Letter from Guiniforte Barzizza (19 November 1443, Milan).¹

- Context:* Piccolomini's campaign for his lost provostship in Milan, in which he had mobilised his friends, Chancellor Schlick and even the emperor, was coming to an end. For various reasons, the court, or rather the Duke of Milan, would not budge in this matter.
- Subject:* Sprouting compliments, Barzizza informs Piccolomini that nothing can be achieved regarding his lost provostship. Piccolomini may have considered his letter humiliating, which may be why he excluded it from later versions of his collection of letters from this period..

To the distinguished and honoured Enea Silvio, illustrious poet laureate and learned secretary to the Most Serene King of the Romans. Distinguished sir,

[1] You would already have been informed of my views concerning the recovery of your provostship if prevailing conditions and a succession of crises upsetting our plans had not prevented me from taking up the matter. Also, I believed my efforts would be in vain since your case labours under some difficulties. In your letter, you argue against them, but I know that our people here, even those who love and support you most, consider these problems to be so severe that I felt it better to remain silent for the time being lest your adversary² be warned of the ruin threatening him. Be assured that as soon as an occasion arises to achieve something in this matter, I shall show such loyalty, diligence, zeal and assiduity that any man could show a close friend, a brother, a man from whom all life's honours had been received or were expected, and indeed to himself. For your singular virtue and integrity, the hope that you, a man of excellence and great learning, appear to have placed in me, and your correct belief in my love for you, incite and arouse me to do all I can for you lest my services to you appear to be without substance. The matter, however, to some extent depends on luck. I know that all has been done that is required of an honest and sincere man having some experience in the management of affairs, and I beg you urgently to believe the same.

Farewell. Please recommend me highly to the noble knight and distinguished physician Giovanni Jacobo de Castroromano. Milan, 19 November 1443. Yours devoted, Guiniforte Barzizza.

¹ This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's

letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

² The man who had been granted the provostship in Enea's place.

98. Letter to Duke Sigismund of Austria (5 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 59v-65r¹; M2, ff. 84v-117v²; M3, ff. 407r-413v³; V2, ff. 162-180⁴; V3, ff. 73v-85v⁵ **; V4, ff. 66r-77r;

Editions: HE, 99, pp. 204-217 (based on L, M1, V2); WO, 1: 1, 99, pp. 222-236 (based on M1, V2).

Translations: BA, 1, pp. 1-19; ME, 18, pp. 85-107; WI, pp. 280-289 (extract)

¹ Fol. 57 also has an earlier draft of the introduction, see WO, 1: 1, p. 222.

² SC, 178-186.

³ SC 815-826.

⁴ DV 86r-95v.

⁵ DV 76v-88v.

98. Letter to Duke Siegmund¹ of Austria (5 December 1443, Graz).

Context: Generally, the humanists were keen to make themselves known to and favoured by princes, offering their services to rulers desiring to become lettered princes. Apart from this general context, the emperor had recently persuaded his ward, Duke Siegmund, to accept a prolongation of his guardianship over the duke with another six years, thus postponing the day when the duke would take over the rule of Tyrol.² The Tyroleans had reacted violently to this agreement, and it was important to hold the young duke to his agreement with the emperor.³

Subject: Apart from an introduction concerning the use of the singular vs the plural in addressing superiors, Piccolomini advocates letters as necessary to the formation of a cultured prince and an effective ruler. In this context, he presents a syllabus of authors suitable for princely studies. Moreover, and at length, he presents a justification of the prolongation of the imperial guardianship over Duke Siegmund. Finally, at various points, he makes thinly veiled suggestions to the prince to employ Piccolomini's services and free him from the miserable conditions prevailing at the imperial chancery.⁴

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¹ Siegmund (Habsburg) (1427-1496): Duke, later Archduke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of

Further Austria and Tyrol. See DVI, sect. 146, 148. 164.

² See Niederstätter, pp. 242-243.

³ Koller, 92-93, 95

⁴ For comments on this letter, see Martels: *More*, p. 211; Noe, I, 42-43; Prete, p. 92-93.

{73v} Illustrissimo principi¹, domino Sigismundo Austriae² duci³ Tirolisque comiti⁴, domino suo⁵, Aeneas Silvius⁶, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] In Caesaris curiam quam primum migravi, magna me cupido incessit, tibi ut aliquid scriberem, sed veritus⁷ sum nostri⁸ saeculi morem, cui nihil placet, nisi quod est sui simillimum. Omnes hodie fere, qui scribunt, quamvis unum alloquantur, numero utuntur plurali tamquam multiplicando personas plus honoris adjiciant reverentioresque videantur. Quae consuetudo late in Germania patet et apud Italos aliquandiu viguit. At postquam Franciscus Petrarca, omisso temporis suo squalore, priscam coepit eloquentiam imitari, plerisque sic loqui placuit, ut castior aetas locuta est veterum. Post haec venit ex Graecia⁹ Manuel¹⁰ Chrysoloras, qui Constantiae sepultus est, vir plurimum litterarum, cujus¹¹ majores, orti Romae, Constantinum magnum post translationem imperii Byzantium, quae nunc Constantinopolis dicitur, secuti fuerant¹². [*cont.*]

¹ ex sanguine Caesarum sato *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ex sanguine Caesarum sato~~ *seq.* V2b

² etc. *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~etc.~~ *seq.* V2b

³ Austriae duci : duci Austriae M2

⁴ Tirolisque comiti *omit.* M2

⁵ ~~secundario~~ *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~secundario~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ poeta regalisque secretarius *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta regalisque secretarius~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ virtutis V4

⁸ moderni M1-M3, V2

⁹ post haec venit ex Graecia : venit ex Graecia post haec M1-M3, V2

¹⁰ *corr. in marg. ex* Johannes M1; Johannes M1-M3, V2-V4

¹¹ *omit.* M2

¹² fuerunt WO

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Illustrious Prince, Lord Siegmund, Duke of Austria and Count of Tyrol, his Lord.

1. Introduction

1.1. Use of the singular vs the plural number in addressing superiors

[1] Soon after I joined the emperor's court,¹ I was seized by a keen desire to write something to you.² However, I feared a certain custom of the present age, which only approves of that which resembles itself closely: in addressing one person, almost all who write use the plural number as if by multiplying the person addressed, they would appear to show him greater honour and reference. This practice is widespread in Germany and was prevalent in Italy for some time. But when Francesco Petrarca³ abandoned the uncouth style of his time and began to imitate the old eloquence, many others began to speak in such a fashion that the purer age of old found voice once again. Later, Manuel Chrysoloras⁴ came over from Greece. He was a highly lettered man and is buried in Konstanz. His ancestors were Romans, but after the translation of the Empire to Byzantium, now called Constantinople, they followed Constantine the Great.⁵ By now, the Italians were tired of their coarse and degraded way of speaking, but they only had the light brought by Francesco. [*cont.*]

¹ A year before.

² Seeking the favour of princes by writing and/or dedicating works to them was quite normal for humanists, who often depended on them for their livelihood. As for the four Habsburg princes, Piccolomini wrote the *Pentalogus* to the emperor (from the same year, 1443), the present famous letter and another letter to Duke Siegmund (1443-1444), and a treatise on horses to Duke Albrecht VI (the following

year, 1444), and he would later write the *De liberorum educatione* to King Ladislaus (1450).

³ Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374): Italian scholar, author, and poet. One of the founding fathers of Renaissance humanism.

⁴ 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

⁵ Constantinus I, Flavius Valerius (ca. 272-337): Roman emperor from 306 to his death. Moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium / Constantinopolis (dedicated 330).

[cont.] Hic Italos, jam scabrosi et obvoluti¹ sermonis poenitentes, {74r} non tamen plus² habentes luminis, quam Franciscus attulerat, ad veram eloquentiam reduxit, ita ut similis videatur hodie Itolorum facundia illi, quae Octaviani temporibus viguit, si quis Leonardum Aretinum, Guarinum Veronensem, Poggium Florentinum³, Aurispam Siculum, Antonium Vicentinum et alios legerit⁴, qui nunc viventes⁵ apud Italos florent, in quibus et Tullianae fluvius eloquentiae et lacteus Titi Livii Patavini rivus elucet.

[2] Hi nunc eos, ad quos scribunt, singulari compellant numero, quia tam Graecos quam Latinos sic locutos fuisse commemorant, sicut Isocratis⁶ et Demosthenis ac Ciceronis et⁷ Maecenatis epistolae ad maximos viros scriptae testantur. Nec gentiles solum, sed eos, quos colimus⁸, quos veneramur sanctos viros, imitari se dicunt, Jeronimum, Ambrosium, Augustinum⁹, Gregorium¹⁰, qui non solum homines, sed ipsam divinam, quae omnia nutu suo regit, majestatem adorsi sermonibus, “praesta,” inquit, “da”, “fac”, “concede”, “miserere”, “largire”, qui tamen multo ornatus pluralitate uti novissent quam nos. Sed visum est illis recte loquendi ducibus ornatum omnem atque leporem confundi, si, ut modo fit, locuti fuissent.

[3] His ego quoque consentio, nec meo nomine scribens aliter quempiam¹¹ compello. Ad te tamen daturus litteras, quid agam, subdubito, veritus, ne tuorum hominum plus consuetudini tribuas quam meo iudicio et arbitraris forsitan regibus atque principibus non aliter scribendum¹² esse, quam ipsi {74v} praescripserint¹³, quibus mos est uti pluralitate: “mandamus”, enim¹⁴ inquit, “volumus”, “facimus”, sed hoc, quod ab humilitate¹⁵ traxit originem, nefas est ad jactantiam ducere. Reges namque, cum scribunt, etsi dominatum habeant, ut quidquid eis placet¹⁶, *legis vigorem habeat*, ea tamen moderatione utuntur, cum scribunt, ut praecipientes aliquid non se solos videri velint fecisse, sed cum aliorum consilio.

¹ obsoleti *em.* HE [after Cicero]

² tamen plus : plus tamen M1-M3

³ Guarinum Veronensem ... Florentinum *omit.* V4

⁴ legeret M1-M3

⁵ vigentes WO

⁶ Socratis M1-M3, V2

⁷ ac M2, M3

⁸ quos colimus *omit.* WO

⁹ Ambrosium Augustinum : Augustinum Ambrosium WO

¹⁰ Augustinum Gregorium : Gregorium Augustinum M3

¹¹ quemquam M1, M2

¹² rescribendum M1

¹³ scripserint M3

¹⁴ *omit.* WO

¹⁵ ab humilitate : ob humilitatem M3

¹⁶ placeat M3

[cont.] Chrysoloras led them to the true eloquence so that today Italian eloquence matches that which prevailed at the time of Octavian¹ - just read Leonardo of Arezzo,² Guarino of Verona,³ Poggio of Firenze,⁴ Aurispa of Sicily,⁵ Antonio of Vicenza,⁶ and others who are alive today and flourish in Italy and in whom the river of Tullian⁷ eloquence and the milkwhite stream of Titus Livius flow forth in splendour.^{8 9}

[2] These men now use the singular form when addressing their correspondents, aware that this is what both the Greeks and the Latins did, as shown by the letters of Isocrates,¹⁰ Demosthenes, Cicero, and Maecenas to great men.¹¹ In doing so, they imitate not only the gentiles, but also holy men honoured and venerated by us, like Jerome, Ambrose,¹² Augustine and Gregory,¹³ who address not just other men but even the divine majesty, ruling all by his nod, [in the singular form] saying “*praesta*”, “*da*”, “*fac*”, “*concede*”, “*miserere*”, “*largire*”,¹⁴ though they knew perfectly well – and much better than we – how to use the ornate plural. But these champions of proper language considered that all elegance and charm would be lost if they spoke as we do now.

[3] I agree with them, and when I write to others in my own name, I address them in the singular, too.¹⁵ But writing this letter to you, I am in doubt about what to do, for I fear that you will heed the custom of your people more than my opinion and think that when writing to kings and princes, one should use the plural as they themselves do when they use such words as “*mandamus*”, “*volumus*”, and “*facimus*”.¹⁶ But it would be wrong to transform this practice that arose from modesty into boastful arrogance. The kings have the power to *give the force of law* to everything they please, but when they write, they use moderation and wish it to be seen that their decrees have not been made by themselves alone but on the advice of others.¹⁷

¹ Emperor Augustus.

² Leonardo Bruni.

³ Guarino Veronese (1374-1460): Italian humanist. See DVI, sect. 50.

⁴ Poggio Bracciolini (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. See DVI, sect. 82.

⁵ Giovanni Aurispa [Picionerio] (1376-1459): Italian humanist. DVI, sect. 50.

⁶ Antonio Loschi.

⁷ Ciceronian.

⁸ On the Renaissance restoration of the Latin language, see also Piccolomini's comments in the DVI, sect. 78: *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 Alex-*

ander and introduced the old manner of writing and Ciceronian style. Coluccio actually retained some linguistic ineptitudes of his time, 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 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, 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.

⁹ For a comment on this passage, see Viti: *Osservazioni*, p. 210;

¹⁰ Isokrates (436-338 BCE): Greek rhetorician.

¹¹ This passage shows the humanists' awareness of letter writing as a classical genre of literature.

¹² Aurelius Ambrosius.

¹³ The four great doctors of the Latin Church, often referred to as a group by Piccolomini.

¹⁴ Verbs - in prayers to God - in the imperative, 2nd person, singular.

¹⁵ As he would certainly not do in the letters he wrote for the emperor and the chancellor.

¹⁶ Verbs in the 1st person plural, the *pluralis majestatis*.

¹⁷ Piccolomini is referring to the style of princely decrees, which carefully mentioned that the decision had been made on the advice of so and so, e.g., the queen or the chancellor.

[4] Nec te moveat¹, quod principes² inferiores scribentes superioribus pluralem numerum tamquam superbiae fomitem abjiciant, sicut ad Caesarem imperii³ principum⁴ missae litterae manifestant. Scribit enim dux Mediolani: *supplico, peto, rogo, me vestrae majestati commissum facio*. Nam et hoc rationem habet aliam quam arbitrere, et quia inferiores potestates a superioribus derivantur, non ab re est pluralitatem deponi, cum inferior scribit, tamquam dicat inferior ad te loquens, “o⁵ superior, aliorum vice uti non possum, quia tu illos mihi commisisti, quos erga alios⁶ repraesento, erga te minime, quia tu illos et me repraesentas.”

[5] Quod vero regibus ac magistratibus consuetudo sit pluralitatem offerre, nihil te urgeat, nam id⁷ est quod stomachabar modo. Quis enim idcirco pluralitatem principibus dedat, {75r} quod ipsi eapropter moderationem utantur? Non honorare hoc est, sed deprimere atque contemnere, tamquam nil ipsi sine subditis queant, quibus, si vellemus reverentiam impartiri, quod ipsi modeste faciunt, nos honorifice fugeremus. Nec enim quia Romanus pontifex *servorum Dei* se *servum* appellat, idcirco nos sibi scribentes eundem sibi reddimus titulum, sed pro *servo servorum* patrem dicimus patrum.

[6] Haec fortasse nimium longo sunt repetita principio, quae me a proposito remotius abduxerunt. Spero tamen his factum esse, ut vel mecum sentias vel sequenti magnos auctores mihi des veniam, te singulariter alloquenti. Quod si alia ratione non facies, tua saltem singularis⁸ benignitas et innata te movebit⁹ humanitas.

[7] Nunc, quid sit, quod maluerim¹⁰ scribere, absolvendum est, namque, cum in hanc patruelis tui Caesaris curiam veni, multa mihi de tua praestanti virtute sunt dicta: alius benignitatem praecipuam referebat, alius mirificam honestatem atque modestiam, alius prudentem, ultra quam aetas ferret, te praedicabat, alius te liberalem et justum amantissimum affirmabat, alius – quod raro inter hujus aetatis principes reperitur – te Latini sermonis observantissimum commemorabat.

[8] Quibus ex rebus et mirari te simul et amare coepi¹¹, et tamquam monstrum¹² putabam adolescentem principem tot virtutibus elucescere. Non tamen statim credulus fui nec omni voci praebui fidem. Accessi alios, percunctatus sum universos, repperi omnes uno ore loquentes. Nec ista apud me satis: adhaesi lateri tuo, et inter coronas nobilium tamquam explorator ingressus mores tuos, dum adhuc me {75v} ignorares, sum speculatus. Attendi gestus, sermonem, vultum, nihil non perlustravi, vidi modestum incessum, Latinum incorruptum notavi. Famam res ipsa vicit, non potui mihi non credere, sed oculos meos et aures, tuarum virtutum testes, admisi et earum factus sum praedicator, quarum antea fueram inquisitor.

¹ mereat WO

² ni M2; *omit.* M3

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ principem V4

⁵ cum M2

⁶ illos M3

⁷ *omit.* M3

⁸ dignitas *add.* V4

⁹ monebit HE, WO

¹⁰ uoluerim V4

¹¹ coepit V4

¹² nostrum V4

[4] Do not be moved by the fact that when lesser princes write to their superiors, they avoid using the plural form [about themselves] as if it were an expression of arrogance. This is shown in letters sent to the emperor by the princes of the Empire. For example, the Duke of Milan writes: *supplico, peto, rogo, me vestrae majestati commissum facio*.¹ This has another reason than you may think, for since the inferior princes owe their power to their superior, it is reasonable for the subordinate prince to avoid the plural when he writes. It is as if the subordinate prince said to you, “Oh, my superior, I cannot refer to others since you have entrusted them to me, for though I represent them towards others, I do not represent them towards you, for you represent both them and me.”

[5] That kings and magistrates use the plural number [about themselves] should not concern you if you care to look at my previous argument. Indeed, who would address princes in the plural, when they themselves use moderation?² That would not be to honour them, but to abase and despise them, as if they were unable to do anything without their subjects.³ If we want to show them reverence, we should avoid honorifics, as they themselves do. Though the Roman pontiff calls himself *Servant of the Servants of God*, we do not use that title when we address him, but instead of *Servant of Servants* we call him Father of Fathers.

[6] What I have said here, as a beginning, have led me far away from my intended subject. I hope, however, that with these [arguments] I have achieved that when I address you in the singular, you will either agree with me or forgive that I follow the great writers or at least be moved by your singular benevolence and innate kindness.

1.2. Siegmund's qualities

[7] Now I come to my intended subject. When I joined your cousin the emperor's court, I was told much about your outstanding virtues: one man mentioned your remarkable kindness, another your admirable decency and modesty, another your prudence far beyond your age, another your generosity and your keen love of justice, and yet another – what is rarely found in princes today – your serious occupation with the Latin language.⁴

[8] This is why I began to both admire and love you, finding it incredible that a young prince would have so many shining virtues. But I did not become a believer immediately, and I did not trust every word of theirs. I approached others, I asked all and found them speaking with one mouth. Still, it was not enough for me, so I kept close to you and, mingling unobtrusively with the nobles like another scout, studied your manners closely while you did not yet know me. I observed your gesture, your speech and your face. I scrutinised everything, saw your modest bearing, and noted your pure Latin. Reality surpassed your reputation! I had to believe my [own judgment] and heed my eyes and ears, witnesses to your virtues, whose herald I became when I had previously been their investigator.

¹ Using 1st person singular

² I.e., the prince's use of the plural comprises those who have advised him, meaning that the plural used by the princes about themselves is not a prideful plural of “majesty” but a “real” plural, designating the prince and his councillors.

³ I.e., their advisors.

⁴ Piccolomini developed the theme of princes' mastery of Latin in the *Pentalogus*, written in the same year (1443), where he told the emperor: *Supplex autem postulo, et, si fas est, consulo, ut ita te disponas, ut venientibus ad te omnibus ipse respondeas et presertim*

Latinum sermonem habentibus, ne, cum Latii rex sis, sermonem regni tui videaris ignorare, quod est Latine fari (Piccolomini: *Pentalogus* (Schingitz), pp. 66-68, 92). See also COR, 1: 1, 1, 2, 1.

[9] Nec me ista in assentatoris modum referre censeas. Ante omnia enim tibi suadeo, ut omne genus adulatorum quasi pestem taeterrimam¹ fugias; ut nullos homines magis detesteris quam eos, qui tibi blandiuntur, qui te coram laudant, qui omnia, quae facis, probant, qui, ubi negas, negant, et, ubi affirmas, affirmant. Ajunt “*ajo*,” apud Terentium inquit Gnato, et Juvenalis, *si dixerit “aestuo” sudat*. Nam hoc est genus hominum pessimum, quod principes maxime dejicit et praecipitat, timendum non solum adolescentiae, sed etiam senectuti.

[10] Cur tamen te² palam commendaverim, non tacebo. Elucent sane in te, quas commendavi, virtutes, sed illas non retuli, ut glorieris, non ut te jactes, superbias vel infleris. Solum haec scribo, ut custodias tantum bonum, ut serves et amplifies hunc thesaurum, ut sic te habeas, quod virtutes tuae cum aetate crescant, et fias in dies virtuosior, ne in vitium aliquorum incidas, qui boni fuerunt juvenes et pessimi senes, et - ut est³ in proverbio - bonus pullus, mala gallina. Ego enim cupio, ut ex bono adolescente fias vir optimus, quod eo tibi facilius⁴ erit, quo {76r} melius es nutritus. Et sane debes ante omnia genitori tuo, clarissimo principi, grates⁵ referre, qui tuum animum excolendum putavit, qui te sub disciplina tenuit et praeceptores tradidit eruditos. Haec enim amplissima est suppellex⁶ et haereditas⁷ quam principatus melior.

[11] Opes enim et potentatus et hujus honores saeculi bona fortunae sunt, fluxa, mutabilia, caduca, quae, ut fortuna vult, huc atque illuc feruntur. Illa enim mortale genus quasi in ludo habet, et hunc deprimit hominem, hunc exaltat. Nec ei⁸ magnum est ex figulo regem et rursus ex rege figulum facere. Hinc⁹ Juvenalis versus¹⁰: *Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul; si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor*. Magnus Alexander subacta¹¹ India, ut, quantum posset, ostenderet, hortulanum quendam ad regni fastigium erexit. Diocletianus vero, cum orbis haberet imperium, deposita purpura et fascibus, rigandis hortorum oleribus et plantandis arboribus operam praebuit.

[12] At¹² animi bona, quae sunt continentia, castitas, fortitudo, justitia, moderatio, intellectus, ingenium, memoria, stabili quodam nexu adhaerent homini nec auferri a nobis nisi cum vita possunt. Haec vere nostra sunt bona, haec dum luce inter mortales fruimur, vitam praestant suaviorem; postquam migramus ex hoc saeculo, spem dant felicitatis aeternae. Cum ergo has dotes natura tibi concesserit et parentis {76v} cura in te¹³ illas^{14 15} auxerit, monitum te esse volo, ut serves bonum, quod est in te.

¹ deterrimam M1

² tamen te : te tamen M3

³ omit. M3

⁴ tibi facilius : facilius tibi M3

⁵ gratias V4

⁶ supplex M2

⁷ et haereditas omit. M3

⁸ enim M2

⁹ est add. M2, M3

¹⁰ usus M3

¹¹ omit. M2, M3

¹² ac V4

¹³ in te omit. M2

¹⁴ ni add. M2

¹⁵ in te illas : illas in te M3

[9] Do not think that I am saying this like a yea-sayer. Above all, I urge you to avoid all flatterers as a terrible plague: hate those men most who flatter you, who praise you to your face, who approve of all you do, who say no when you say no, and yes when you say yes.¹ They are like the men who – according to Gnatho in Terence - *say yes when I do*², and who – according to Juvenal – *break out in sweat if the [other] says “I am hot”*.³ This is the worst kind of men: they cause princes to be overthrown and fall, and they are to be feared by young men and old men alike.

[10] Let me say why I openly commended you. The virtues I have commended shine forth in you, but I have not mentioned them to make you proud, boastful or puffed up with arrogance. I only write this to [encourage] you to guard this good thing, keep and increase it as a treasure and conduct yourself in such a fashion that your virtues grow as you get older, that you become more virtuous from day to day, and that you do not fall into the vice of some who were good when young and bad when old – as the proverb says: a good chicken but a bad hen! I wish that from a good youth you will turn into an excellent man, which will much the easier for you since you have been raised excellently. Indeed, above all, you owe thanks to your father,⁴ noblest of princes, who decided that your mind should be cultivated, who kept you under discipline and gave you learned teachers. For [education] is an excellent baggage and inheritance, even better than princely status.

[11] Wealth and power and the honours of this world are favours of Fortune, fickle, changing, transient, and sent whither Fortune wills. For Fortune acts as if it were sporting with men: one man it throws down, and another it raises up high.⁵ It is a small matter for her to turn a potter into a king and the king back into a potter. Thus Juvenal’s verse: *If Fortune wants, she will turn you from teacher into consul. And if she wants, she’ll turn you from consul into teacher*.⁶ After conquering India, Alexander the Great raised a gardener to the heights of kingship just to demonstrate his power. And Diocletian, when he was the ruler of the earth, gave up the purple and the *fasces* and devoted himself to watering his vegetable garden and planting trees.⁷

[12] But the good things of the soul⁸ are continence, chastity, fortitude, justice, moderation, intellect, intelligence and memory, all of which are firmly bound to a given person and only lost at death. These goods are truly ours as long as we live. They make our [present] life sweeter and give us hope of eternal happiness when we die. Since nature has granted you these gifts, and your father’s care has increased them, I urge you to cherish the good that is in you.

¹ Renaissance humanists like Piccolomini and Poggio Bracciolini perfectly mastered the art of extravagantly flattering princes and prelates in the same breath as condemning flattery, e.g. Bracciolini: *Lettere* (Harth), 2: p. 318.

² Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 252.

³ Juvenalis, 3:103.

⁴ Friedrich IV (Habsburg) (1382-1439); Duke of Austria (1402),

Count of Tyrol (1406). See DVI, ch. 35.

⁵ Traditional theme, also in classical literature, e.g. Horatius: *Carmina (Odes)*, 1: 35: *Hinc apicem rapax fortuna cum stridore acuto sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet (With a piercing scream rapacious fortune snatches the crown from one head and likes to place it on another)*.

⁶ Juvenalis, 7: 197-198.

⁷ See letter 37: 2: *Diocletianus, cui orbis parebat, depositis imperii fascibus in villa Salonae agriculturae studiis sese tradidit*. This is a quote from Poggio Bracciolini.

⁸ In contradistinction to the goods of fortune.

[13] Ad quam rem maxime necessarium censeo litterarum studium, quo jam initiatus existis. Quia tamen jam illas videris quasi aliquid jugum abjecisse, non erit ab re, si¹ te ad eas coner reducere. Non enim – ut aliqui arbitrantur – idcirco principes discunt litteras, ut Latinum scientes participare cum alienigenis² queant, nam etsi³ hoc frugi est, alia tamen nobilior ratio est. Quoniam enim omnis bene vivendi norma litterarum studio continetur, ideo illas expedit⁴ nosse. Nec sat est imbibisse principia, nisi et ultra progressus fiat. Saeculi tamen principes nostri plerumque illas ad philosophos relegant aut juris interpretes, tamquam principes non deceat bene vivere.

[14] Oro igitur te, ne his auscultes, quoniam nemo in clarum virum aut famosum principem potest evadere, nisi cum naturae dotibus adjunctam habeat doctrinam. Omnes sane, qui superibus saeculis claruerunt, principes studiosi litterarum fuerunt. Philippus Macedo Alexandro nato gavisus est, quod eo tempore filium habuisset, quo florebat Aristoteles. Nec Alexander hac, qua tu nunc⁵ es, aetate litteras a se relegavit, sed, profectus in Asiam, Aristotelem et Calisthenem magistros secum duxit, nec audire philosophiam inter armorum strepitus ac tumultus cessavit. Felix nimirum, si vitio vinolentiae caruisset. {77r} Alcibiades et Themistocles, qui apud Graecos illustres habentur, studiosi fuerunt philosophiae. Epaminondas Thebanus, qui Graeciae princeps est habitus, non minorem litteris quam armis operam tribuit.

[15] Transeo ad Romanos. Quid limatius, quid eloquentius scribi potest quam ea commentaria, quae Julius Caesar de se condidit? Is enim, cum in Gallia bellum gereret, diem armis, noctem litteris dabat. Haeres ejus Augustus et orationem solutam et carmen optime dictavit, extantque adhuc ejus elegantissimi versus in Aeneidos laudem. Quid Fabios, Cornelios aut Catones referam? Quid de Pompejo dicam, qui tam affectus litteris fuit, ut aegrotantem Posidonium philosophum, quamvis consul ipse⁶, non omiserit in Rhodo visitare? Cato, cum esset Latina plenus doctrina, litteras Graecas diu contempsit, postea propositi poenitens, quod juvenis sprevit, senex⁷ concupivit nec dubitavit senium suum litteris peregrinis imbuere et ad Graecam volubilitatem os contorquere. Recte hi quidem, qui⁸, etsi principatum haberent dominantque populis, servire tamen litteris voluerunt. Sed norant illi Platonis vocem, quae dicta divinitus cum⁹ a Cicerone tum a Boëtio refertur *beatas* scilicet *fore res publicas*, si rectores earum studere sapientiae contigisset, quae sapientia haud dubium ex philosophiae fontibus hauritur.

¹ tua *add.* M3

² alienis V3

³ si M2

⁴ illas expedit : expedit illas V3

⁵ tu nunc : nunc tu M3

⁶ foret *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~foret~~
seq. V2b

⁷ senes V3, V4

⁸ *omit.* V4

⁹ tum M2, M3

2. Importance of letters to a prince

[13] For this, the study of letters is necessary, as I am deeply convinced. You have already been initiated into these studies but have apparently abandoned them as one cast off a yoke. Therefore, I should try to lead you back to them. Princes do not – as some believe – study letters to be able to converse with foreigners in Latin, for though that is a useful thing, there is a higher purpose. The main object of the study of letters is the norm of living a good and moral life, which is why one should know them. And it is not enough to have absorbed the rudiments: one must progress further. In our age, princes leave such matters to philosophers and jurists as if they were not themselves obliged to live well and morally.

[14] So, I entreat you to not listen to such men, for nobody can become a man of repute or a famous prince if he does not add learning to his natural abilities. Indeed, all famous princes of former ages were students of letters. When his son Alexander was born, Philip of Macedon¹ rejoiced that he had a son at the time when Aristotle flourished. And when Alexander was your age, he did not abandon letters: going to Asia, he brought his teachers, Aristotle and Callisthenes,² with him, and the din and uproar of battle did not prevent him from hearing about philosophy.³ He would have been exceedingly happy if he had been without the vice of drunkenness. Alcibiades⁴ and Themistocles,⁵ famous among the Greeks, were dedicated to philosophy. And Epaminondas⁶ of Thebes, considered the foremost leader of Greece, occupied himself with letters as much as with weapons.

[15] Passing over to the Romans, what could be written more elegantly or eloquently than the *Commentaria* Julius Caesar composed about himself. When he was waging war in Gaul, he gave the days to arms and the nights to letters. His heir, Augustus, dictated both elegant prose and excellent poems, and his exquisite verses in praise of the Aeneids are still extant. And what shall I say about the Fabii, the Corneli, and the Catos⁷? And what about Pompey,⁸ who was so devoted to letters that he – even though a consul – visited the ailing philosopher Posidonius⁹ when he came to Rhodes. And Cato,¹⁰ who was full of Latin learning, long despised Greek letters,¹¹ but then, repenting of his earlier views, as an old man desired what he scorned in youth and did not hesitate to enrich his old age with foreign letters and to twist his mouth around Greek words. These leaders and rulers of peoples justly wished to serve letters. Indeed, they knew Plato's statement, quoted by both Cicero¹² and Boethius,¹³ that

¹ Philippos II.

² Kallisthenes (ca. 360-327 BCE): Greek historian. Accompanied Alexander during his Asian expedition.

³ Two years later, Piccolomini would return to this theme in a lecture held at the University of Vienna, the "*Nisi satis exploratum*": *This was understood by Alexander the Great, who valued the knowledge of the good arts as highly as his great empire, occupying most of the world. For on his expeditions, he always had as his companions and comrades in war famous philosophers as well as books of the most eminent writers*³ on whom he spent all the time he was not fighting (COR, 8: 20).

⁴ Alcibiades (ca. 450-404 BCE): Athenian statesman, orator, and general.

⁵ Themistokles (ca. 534-459): Athenian statesman and general.

⁶ Epaminondas (ca. 362 BCE): Theban general and statesman.

⁷ Old and Roman noble families.

⁸ Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106-48 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁹ Poseidonios (- ca. 51 BCE): Greek politician and philosopher.

¹⁰ Cato, Marcus Porcius [the Elder] [Censor] (234-149 BCE): Roman censor, senator, and historian known for his conservatism and opposition to Hellenization.

¹¹ Plutarkos: *Parallel lives / Cato the Elder*, 12: 4: *he always clung to his native ways, and mocked those*

who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek.

¹² Cicero: *Epistolae ad Quintum*, 1: 29: *Atque ille quidem princeps ingeni et doctrinae Plato denique fore beatas res publicas putavit si aut docti aut sapientes homines eas regere coepissent aut ii qui regerent omne suum studium in doctrina et sapientia collocarent* (*The great Plato, a prince among thinkers and scholars, believed that politics would only be happy either when wise and learned men came to rule them or when rulers devoted all their energies to acquiring virtue and wisdom*). See Platon: *Politeia [Republic]*, 473d.

¹³ Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus (ca. 480 - ca. 525): Roman noble, consul, and philosopher. *De consolazione philosophiae*, 1.

polities would only be happy if their rulers devoted their energies to acquiring wisdom, a viewpoint undoubtedly drawn from the founts of philosophy.

[16] Tu tamen¹ fortasse² fabulosa reris, quae de antiquis {77v} sunt scripta³, qui et *in otio* negotium et in negotio otium diligenter referuntur curasse. Sed hanc opinionem possunt tibi auferre⁴ nonnulli viventes, qui, etsi rei publicae praesint et munera regant arduissima, disciplinas tamen non negligunt. Leonellus, marchio Extensis, tam eleganter scribit⁵, ut nihil inter ejus et Ciceronis litteras putes distare. Sororia de marchione Salutarum dicuntur. Marchionis Mantuae filii et arma tractant et litteras colunt. Alfonsus, rex Aragonum, cui et Sicilia paret et illa Italiae pars oboedit, quae olim Magna Graecia dicebatur, qui totiens victus tandem vicit et adversam fortunam in favorem sui convertit, numquam in castris est sine libris: quocumque it, et bibliotheca sequitur. Sive in tectis est sive in tentoriis⁶, singulis diebus aut legit aliquid aut audit. Egreior Italiam et *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos* petam. Ibi dux est Clocestriae, qui regnum, quod modo Anglicum dicimus, pluribus annis⁷ gubernavit. Huic tanta litterarum est cura, ut ex Italia magistros asciverit⁸, poetarum et oratorum interpretes.

[17] Videsne, quia et hoc saeculum principes litteratos admittit? Inter hos et tu poteris numerari⁹, si, quod coepisti studium, fueris prosecutus. Nec enim ideo litteratum te dicam, quod Latine pronunties, nam, etsi hoc pulchrum est, corvis tamen et picis datur. Victo Antonio cum rediret Octavianus, edoctus Latinum corvus¹⁰, “Salve,” inquit, “Auguste Caesar Imperator.” {78r} Hinc Persianum illud: *Quis expedit psittaco suum chere picasque docuit nostra verba conari*, et addit causam, *magister artis ingeniique largitor venter*¹¹. Quid tamen tibi videtur, cum venit Hungarus aut Italus aut Gallicus latineque fatur, cum tu adolescens illos intelligas, alii senes tamquam surdi astant¹²? Pulchrius¹³ erit - et tunc te litteratum vocitabo - cum oratores intelligas,¹⁴ ¹⁵ philosophos nosces, cum poetas tuapte percurres. Hoc tibi fortasse grande videtur et arduum nimis. Haud sic est. Nolo te noctes diesque libros volvere, sed unam dumtaxat cujusque¹⁶ diei horam exposco¹⁷, quam litteris praebeas.

¹ omit. V4

² omit. M3

³ sunt scripta : scripta sunt V3

⁴ afferri V4

⁵ scripsit V4

⁶ manet add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~manet~~ seq. V2b

⁷ pluribus annis : annis pluribus M3

⁸ i.e. vocaverit add. interlin. M1

⁹ enumerari M3

¹⁰ edoctus Latinum corvus : Latinum corvus edoctus M1

¹¹ neuter M3

¹² audiant M1-M3, V2a; corr. ex audiant V2b

¹³ tamen add. M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ tum add. M3

¹⁵ intelliges M1, M2

¹⁶ at cujuscumque M3

¹⁷ exposce V4

[16] You may not believe what is written about those men in Antiquity who were said to do business while at leisure and to be at leisure while doing business. But such an opinion is disproven by [the example] of some present-day [rulers] who, though ruling their state and being in charge of the most arduous affairs, do not neglect learning.¹ Marquess Leonello d'Este² writes so elegantly³ that you will find no difference between his letters and Cicero's. Similar things are said about the Marquess of Saluzzo.⁴ The sons⁵ of the Marquess of Mantua⁶ occupy themselves both with arms and letters.⁷ King Alfonso⁸ of Aragon, who rules Sicily and that part of Italy once called Magna Graecia, was defeated many times but in the end came out victorious and turned an adverse fortune in his favour. He never campaigns without his books: wherever he goes, his library follows. Whether staying in houses or tents, he reads or hears something every day. I leave Italy and go to the *Britons wholly sundered from the world*.⁹ There the Duke of Gloucester,¹⁰ who for some years ruled the realm we now call England, is so devoted to letters that he has summoned scholars¹¹ from Italy to interpret the poets and orators.

[17] So you see that also the present age has its literate princes. You, too, may be numbered among them if you continue those studies you have begun. But I shall not call you literate just because you can say something in Latin – something that is nice, indeed, but also given to ravens and magpies. When, after his victory over Antonius,¹² Octavian¹³ returned [to Rome], he was greeted by a raven, trained to utter Latin words, which said to him, “Greetings, Augustus Caesar Imperator.” This caused Persius¹⁴ to write this verse: *Who equipped the parrot with his ‘Hello’ and taught the magpie to attempt human speech?* - with the answer: *It was that master of expertise, that bestower of talent, the belly!*¹⁵ When a Hungarian or an Italian or a Frenchman comes here and speaks Latin, does it not please you that you, an adolescent, understands him while others, old men, stand by like deaf people? However, it will be even better if you understand the orators,¹⁶ know the philosophers and read the poets on your own. Only then shall I call you literate. Maybe you think this task is overwhelming, but it is not. I do not want you to study books day and night but only ask that you devote one hour a day to letters.

¹ ”disciplinae”

² Leonello 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.

³ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about him: *et carmen facere et epistolam scribere optime novit* (DVI, sect. 51), and in his *Historia Austriacis: Leonellus, ... litterarum cultor, epistolam scribere carmenque facere doctus ...* (HA, 2/3rd version (Wagendorfer, p. 657)).

⁴ Ludovico I del Vasto (-1475): Marquess of Saluzzo from 1416 to his death.

⁵ The oldest son was Ludovico Gonzaga (1412-1478), educated by the humanist Vittorino da Feltre.

⁶ Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga.

⁷ In the DVI, Piccolomini wrote: *The secondborn son is Carlo Gonzaga, a handsome and proud man, raised in the army and well versed in military matters. Today, he leads a large army under Duke Filippo. Lucido was promised to the Church but is not yet minded to become an ecclesiastic. He writes elegant letters and learned poems, having been taught by Vittorino, an eminent specialist in the Greek and Latin languages.* (DVI, 59).

⁸ King Alfonso V of Aragon. On his rule of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, see letter 73: 1.

⁹ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 1: 66

¹⁰ Humphrey (Lancaster) (1390-1447): Duke of Gloucester. The dominant member of the regency government of his nephew Henry VI. Patron of humanism and learning.

¹¹ E.g. Tito Livio Frivolisi, who authored a biography of the duke's brother, King Henry V.

¹² Marcus Antonius (83-30 BCE): Roman politician and general. A rival of Octavian, who defeated him at the Battle of Actium in 31.

¹³ Emperor Augustus.

¹⁴ Aulus Persius Flaccus (34-62 CE): Roman poet and satirist.

¹⁵ Persius: *Satirae*: Prol. 8-11.

¹⁶ I.e., the classical orators.

[18] Illud autem curae tibi esse volo¹, ut doctus sit, quem audias, et prudens, quem sumas magistrum, nec te vana titulorum ambitio fallat. Non enim propterea doctior est aliquis, quod² magisterii nomen aut Parisius est aut Athenis sortitus. Ille autem peritus est, qui naturali praeditus ingenio vigili cura perscrutatus est magistros artium auctores, qui cum multa viderit atque legerit librorum volumina, tum memoriae plurima commendaverit, qui non solum divinis litteris, sed etiam saecularibus sit imbutus. Ex his unum apud³ te vellem degere, quocum pro tuo loquereris arbitrio, qui tempus docendi non⁴ ex se sumeret, sed tua ex voluntate, qui, cum velis, legat, cum nolis, taceat. Sed tuum erit, quot⁵ diebus velle aliquid. Namque postquam biennio hunc modum servaveris, nimirum plus te lucri {78v} ex lectione⁶ corrasisse putabis, quam si provinciam aliquam sis adeptus.

[19] Ego quidem laudo aedes tuas militibus plenas esse. Hi enim sunt, qui tutantur patriam, et decorum est armorum gloria principem enitere⁷. Sed nullum apud te esse⁸ virum doctum nec laudo nec probo. Sicut enim milites pascis, ita et doctrinarum institutores nutrire posses, qui te justis et injustis differentiis et limitibus edocerent virumque redderent ex omni parte perfectum. Non decet te⁹ illos sequi, qui, ut sumptus minuant, doctores excludunt, leones tamen pascunt, sicut est illud Juvenalis: *Non habet infelix Numitor*¹⁰, *quod mittat amico, / Quintillae*¹¹, *quod donet, habet, nec defuit illi, / unde emeret multa pascendum carne*¹² *leone / jam domitum*. Et ironice subjungit: *Constat leviori belua sumptu*¹³ *nimirum et capiunt plus intestina poetae*¹⁴. Sume igitur tibi grandis doctrinae aliquem¹⁵ virum nec parcas expensis, ubi ingens redundat emolumentum.

[20] Quaeris fortasse quod emolumentum? Edicam paucis, ne litterarum utilitatem contempnas. Postquam enim viriles attigeris annos, hoc tibi honoris et commodi erit, ut te in consilio¹⁶ loquente ceteri sileant, cum tu unus plus omnibus sapias. Nemo te decipere poterit, nemo dicere audebit 'hoc aequum est'¹⁷, hoc iniquum', nisi verum id esse manifeste¹⁸ cognoverit. Si quis praesumpserit inhonesti aliquid suadere, praesto eris rationibus confutare.

¹ nolo M2

² qui M2, M3

³ pro M2, M3

⁴ ne V4

⁵ singulis *add. interlin.* M1

⁶ ex lectione : electione V

⁷ eminere M1; nitere V4

⁸ fore M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex fore* V2b

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ minor M2

¹¹ *em.* HE, WO; Quintilie codd.

¹² pro M2,

¹³ *omit.* V4

¹⁴ sumpta V4

¹⁵ nimirum et ... poetae *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁶ *omit.* M1

¹⁷ concilio V3

¹⁸ et WO

¹⁹ manifestum V4

2.1. The choice of tutor

[18] I ask you to ensure that your teacher is learned and wise and that you are not misled by empty titles. For a man is not more learned because he has a master's degree from Paris¹ or Athens.² No, that man is learned who possesses a natural intellect and has diligently perused the masters of the arts, who has seen and read many books and committed much to memory, and who is imbued not only with divine but also with secular letters.³ Such a man I should like to dwell with you and speak with you when it pleases you, a man who does not schedule the lessons as he wants, but as you want, and who reads to you and remains silent as you wish. When you have kept up this practice for two years, you will find that you have gained more from reading than if you had won a province.

[19] I commend that your house is full of soldiers, for they protect your country, and it is proper for a prince to distinguish himself by the glory of arms. But I do not commend that you have no man of learning with you. For just as you maintain soldiers, you should also support men of learning who can explain the differences between right and wrong and their limits and make you a man accomplished in all parts. You should not follow those who keep down expenses by excluding doctors but still raise lions, as Juvenal says: *Numitor, poor man, has nothing to give to a needy friend, though he is rich enough to send presents to his mistress, and he had enough, too, to buy a tamed lion that needed masses of meat for his keep.* And he adds, sarcastically: *It costs less, no doubt, to keep a lion than a poet; the poet's belly is more capacious.*⁴ So, choose a man of great learning and do not spare money where you can harvest great profit.

[20] "What profit?" you may ask. I shall tell you in a few words lest you underestimate the usefulness of letters. When you reach manhood, it will be to your honour and advantage that when you speak in council, the others remain silent because you know more than them. Nobody will be able to deceive you. Nobody will dare to say, "This is right, and this is wrong", unless he knows it to be manifestly true. If anybody should dare to propose something dishonourable, you will be ready to confute him with arguments.

¹ The University of Paris.

² There was, of course, no university in Athens. Piccolomini is here referring to classical Athens as an eminent centre of learning.

³ Interestingly, this description matches Piccolomini's own quali-

fications. He studied at the University of Siena but never obtained a degree. He was imbued with secular letters and had, from his time at the Council of Basel, some knowledge of the Bible and Christian authors. The whole passage ap-

pears designed to create a job opening for Piccolomini as a tutor for the young Habsburg prince.

⁴ Juvenalis, 7: 74-78.

[21] Si affari volueris {79r} populum, quo pacto loquendum sit, litterae te instituent. Si aut¹ laudare aliquem aut vituperare volueris, et Quintilianus et Cicero te docebit. Si bellum suscipiendum erit et armis opera danda, Vegetius modum ostendit² et Livius et Quintus Curtius et Justinus et Lucius Florus et Suetonius et Sallustius Crispus et historicorum cuneus, in quibus et Alexandri Magni fortitudinem et Hannibalis calliditatem et Fabii versutias et Scipionis prudentiam et Julii Caesaris disciplinam militarem et Sertorii ac Marcelli audaciam et Jugurthae sagacitatem et omnium, qui res bellicas gesserunt³, artes invenies⁴. Numquam tam multa experiendo videbis, quam multa legendo perdisces.

[22] Si quomodo rem publicam gubernes scire volueris, legendi erunt tibi *Politicorum* libri, quos Aristoteles composuit et Leonardus Aretinus Latinos fecit. Veterem autem translationem tibi nequaquam assumes, quia et eloquentiam vitiat et intellectum nimis vexat.

[23] Ad regendam⁵ familiam et teipsum utilis erit *Oeconomica Ethicaque* Aristotelis, tum *De Officiis* Cicero et *Epistolae* Senecae omnesque libri ipsius. Quomodo regenda sit uxor, scripsit Franciscus Barbarus Venetus, quomodo *liberi educandi* Plutarchus. Quomodo te cum amicis habere debeas et quomodo in senectute Arpinas Cicero. Idem quoque de mortis contemptu aliarumque passionum scripsit in *Tusculanis*. {79v} Morales virtutes quomodo amplectendae sint, et hi, quos modo retuli, auctores et post eos Macrobius abunde⁶ tradiderunt.

¹ autem V4

² ostendet *em.* HE, WO

³ inuenerunt M3

⁴ inueniuntur M3

⁵ regendum M3

⁶ facunde M1, V2a; profunde M2, M3; *corr. ex* facunde V2b

2.2. A syllabus of literature suitable for a prince¹

2.2.1. Classical authors

[21] If you want to speak to your people, letters will instruct you how to do it. If you wish to praise or vituperate somebody,² both Quintilian³ and Cicero will teach you how. If it is necessary to go to war, Vegetius⁴ will show you the way as well as Livy, Quintus Curtius,⁵ Justinus,⁶ Lucius Florus,⁷ Suetonius,⁸ Sallustius Crispus and the whole company of historians. In their works, you will find the fortitude of Alexander the Great, the cleverness of Hannibal, the cunning of Fabius,⁹ the prudence of Scipio, the military discipline of Julius Caesar, the audacity of Sertorius¹⁰ and Marcellus, the shrewdness of Jugurtha¹¹ and the strategies and tactics¹² of all who have conducted wars. You will never personally experience as much in this area as you will be able to read in books.

[22] If you want to know how to rule the state, you should read the books on *Politics* that Aristotle wrote and Leonardo Aretino¹³ translated into Latin. Do not use the old translation since it is poorly written and intellectually unsatisfactory.^{14 15}

[23] To manage your family's and your own affairs, the *Economics* and the *Ethics* of Aristotle will be useful, as well as Cicero's *De Officiis* and the *Letters* and all the works of Seneca. Francesco Barbaro¹⁶ of Venice has written on how to rule one's wife, and Plutarch¹⁷ on how to raise one's children. Cicero of Arpinum has written about how to conduct oneself with friends and in old age, and - in his *Tusculans* - about contempt of death and other emotions. The authors just mentioned, and after them Macrobius, have written copiously on how to embrace the virtues.

¹ In his *De Liberorum Educatione* (1450) written to the young King Ladislaus, Piccolomini would give a more developed syllabus of disciplines and authors to be studied by a young prince.

² The classical epideictic genre

³ Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (ca. 30 – ca. 95 CE): Roman rhetorician and teacher. Author of the *Institutio oratoria*.

⁴ Vegetius Renuat, Publius [Flavius] (4th c. CE): Roman writer. Author of the *Epitoma Rei Militaris [De Re Militari]*.

⁵ Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st ce.): Roman historian. Author of *Historiae Alexandri Magni*.

⁶ Justinus Frontinus, Marcus Junianus (2nd c.): Latin historian.

⁷ Florus, Lucius Annaeus (ca. 74-130): Roman historian. Author of *Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum omnium annorum DCC Libri duo*.

⁸ Suetonius Tranquillus, Gajus (ca. 69 – ca. 122): Roman historian. Author of *De Vita Caesarum*.

⁹ Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Quintus [Cunctator] (ca. 280-203 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

¹⁰ Sertorius, Quintus (ca. 126-73 BCE): Roman general and statesman.

¹¹ Jugurtha (ca. 160-104 BCE): King of Numidia.

¹² "artes"

¹³ Leonardo Bruni.

¹⁴ "quia et eloquentiam vitiat et intellectum nimis vexat"

¹⁵ The earlier medieval translations of Aristotle's *Politics* (into Latin by William of Moerbeke) had become accepted texts among scholars, and Bruni's new translation therefore caused some controversy, see Schütrumpf.

¹⁶ Barbaro, Francesco (1390-1454): Venetian politician, diplomat, and humanist. Author of *De Re Uxoribus* (1415).

¹⁷ Plutarchos (46 - ca. 119 CE): Greek philosopher and historian. Author of an essay *De Educandis Liberis*. (Moralia, 1.) Piccolomini quoted repeatedly from this source, as early as 1436 in his oration "Audiui" to the Council of Basel (COR, 2: 1).

[24] Vis agriculturam cognoscere, Virgilius *Georgicorum* te admonebit. Vis orbis situm mentis oculis perillustrare et diversarum provinciarum situs ac mores intueri, et quid quaeque regio ferat¹ et quid quaeque recuset, assit Plinius *De Naturali Historia*, assit Ptolomaeus, Solinus, Isidorus Hispaliensis. Vis caeli sidera et planetarum cursus et grandinis et pluviarum et fulminis causas scire, ad Aristotelem redito, Senecam, Virgilium.

[25] Vis regum mores et fastidia² principantium perscrutari, secundum Senecam in tragoediis legito. Vis plebejos homines et milites gloriosos et lenonum insidias et servorum deceptiones, ut evitare illas possis, intelligere, Plautum tibi et Terentium assumito. Vis quomodo fulminanda sint vitia edoceri, Horatius, Juvenalis et Persius in promptu sint³. Vis pastorum consuetudinem cernere, Bucolicon Virgilianum habeto. Vis fabulas gentium et *Fastos* et *Tristium* miserias et amantium epistolas et *Amoris Remedia* nosse, Naso te versibus erudiet, nec Statius *Thebaidos* vel *Achileidos* inutilis erit, sententiis gravibus⁴ ubique refertus.

[26] Post haec vero, ut fias perfectior, et tum⁵ de religione cogites, tum⁶ de salute animae Jenimi Iros evolves, Augustini, Ambrosii⁷, Gregorii, Lactantii, Cypriani, Leonis. Scripturam sacram semper domi habebis et nunc {80r} vetus nunc novum intueberis testamentum. Hec, quae nunc scribo, si quis extra Italiam doctus legeret, me maxime argueret, quod inter auctores legendos non numeraverim Hugonem de Sancto Victore⁸ aut Alexandrum de Hales vel Magnum Albertum vel Petrum Blesensem et Nicolaum de Lira et Alanum et hanc novorum turbam. Sed tu cave, ne istos audias, nam etsi docti sunt, juvenibus tamen committi non debent⁹. Ego¹⁰ tibi id suadeo, quod per me rectum puto nec somnio, sed viros totius Italiae peritissimos in hanc sententiam habeo concurrentes. Crede mihi: nihil discendum est, quod dediscere¹¹ oporteat, sed illis in auctoribus te exerce, qui sunt probatiores. Suscipere namque semper optima debemus ad imitandum. Tu ergo hos sequeris, hos audies hosque¹² leges, quos tibi praenominavi, si vis et multarum rerum sciens et princeps toto in orbe singularis¹³ et mirandus haberi.

¹ feret M3; erat V4

² fastigia M3

³ vitia edoceri ... sint *omit.* M2

⁴ generibus M3

⁵ cum M1-M3

⁶ cum M2, M3

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ Hugonem de Sancto Victore : Thomam Aquinatem M1

⁹ juvenibus tamen ... debent : docere tamen alios nequeunt M1-

M3, V2a; ~~juvenibus tamen ...~~

~~debent~~ seq. V2

¹⁰ et M3

¹¹ desistere M2; discere V4

¹² hos M3

¹³ secularis M3

[24] If you wish to know about agriculture, you will find guidance in Vergil's *Georgica*. If you want to see with the eyes of your mind the geography of the whole Earth and the location and customs of its various provinces, and what each province will allow and what it refuses, then you have Pliny's¹ *Natural History*, Ptolemy,² Solinus,³ and Isidore of Spain.⁴ If you want to know about the stars of Heaven, the motions of the planets, and the causes of hailstorms, rain, and lightning, then turn to Aristotle, Seneca⁵ and Virgil.

[25] If you wish to explore the conduct and pride of princes, read the tragedies of the second Seneca. And if you want to understand commoners and boastful soldiers, the plots of bawds and the deceptions of servants, then take Plautus⁶ and Terence. If you wish to learn how to fulminate against vice, Horace, Juvenal and Persius are at hand. If you want to know the customs of shepherds, take Virgil's *Bucolicon*.⁷ If you wish to know the legends and annals of the peoples, the misery of those who grieve, the letters of lovers,⁸ and the *Remedy of Love*, Naso will teach you in his poems. Also, the *Thebais* and *Achilleis* of Statius, abounding in profound passages, will be useful.

2.2.2. Christian authors

[26] After these, to become more perfect and think about religion and the salvation of the soul, then take up the books of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory,⁹ Lactance, Cyprian¹⁰ and Leo.¹¹ You will always have the Bible at home and read now the Old Testament, now the New. If any scholar outside Italy reads what I write here, he will severely criticise me for not listing among the authors to read Hugues de Saint Victor,¹² Alexander of Hales,¹³ Albert the Great,¹⁴ Pierre de Blois,¹⁵ Nicolas de Lyra,¹⁶ Alain¹⁷ and the whole crowd of moderns.¹⁸ Take care not to listen to such authors, for though they are learned, they are not for young men. Please follow my advice, for I believe that I am right and not imagining things. Indeed, the most learned men of Italy agree with me on this. So, trust me: one should not learn things which it is necessary to unlearn afterwards. Stay with authors of proven quality, for we should always choose to imitate the best. Follow those authors I have mentioned, heed them and read them if you want to know many things and be considered one of the world's outstanding and admirable princes.

¹ Author of the *Naturalis Historia*.

² Ptolemaios, Klaudios (ca. 100 - c. 170): Mathematician, geographer, astronomer. Author of the *Cosmographia* (Geographia).

³ Solinus, Gajus Julius (probably 3rd c.): Latin grammarian, geographer, and compiler. Author of the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.

⁴ Isidoro de Sevilla. Author of the *Etymologiae* (an important encyclopedia).

⁵ Here, Piccolomini may be referring to the Elder Seneca.

⁶ Plautus, Titus Maccius (ca. 254-184 BCE): Roman playwright.

⁷ *Georgica*.

⁸ Statius, Publius Papinius (ca 45-ca. 96): Greco-Roman poet. Au-

thor of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* (unfinished).

⁹ Pope Gregorius I.

¹⁰ Cyprianus, Thascus Caecilius (ca. 210-258): Bishop of Carthage. Author of many theological works.

¹¹ Pope Leo I.

¹² Hugues de Saint Victor (ca. 1096-1141): Saxon philosopher and theologian who became abbot of Saint Victor in Paris. The earliest version of the text has Thomas Aquinas, but he was apparently too important to be treated as a modern author to be avoided, so Piccolomini replaced him with Hugues de Saint Victor.

¹³ Alexander of Hales (ca. 1185-1245): English Franciscan friar, theologian, and philosopher.

¹⁴ Albert the Great (ca. 1200-1280): German Dominican friar, philosopher, scientist, and bishop.

¹⁵ Pierre de Blois (ca. 1130 - ca. 1211): French theologian.

¹⁶ Nicolas de Lyre (ca. 1270-1349): French Franciscan friar and theologian.

¹⁷ Alain de Lille (ca. 1128 - ca. 1202): French theologian and poet.

¹⁸ Remarkably, Piccolomini excludes not only medieval authors but – except for Francesco Barbaro – also contemporary humanist authors, whom he knew well and even admired, see DVI, ch.16. On Piccolomini's literary canon, see also COR, 1: sect. 8.2.

[27] Inter vivendum¹ tamen non suadeo, ut convictus² hominum fugias, nec te solitarium esse volo, nisi cum meditari aliquid volueris et in secessum³ mentis progredi ad aliquod tempus. Immo suadeo, ut sis affabilis, ut communis omnibus, ut te⁴ videndum praebeas, ut nunc hos nunc illos alloquaris, ut consilia ingrediaris, ut⁵ contiones adeas, ut populo te exhibeas et per te loquaris. Scio namque frugi esse, quae⁶ homines litteris didicerint, experimento comprobari.

[28] Nec ego hos homines⁷ laudo, {80v} qui sic se⁸ litteris dedunt, ut res ceteras parvifaciant, qualem fuisse Democritum Diogenemque constat, qui sibi dumtaxat vixerunt. Illi sunt omni laude et praeconio digni, qui et rei publicae servierunt et litterarum studia non omiserunt, ut et Plato et Aristoteles et Demosthenes et Julius et Cicero et Plinius et Maecenas et Augustus⁹. Hi namque, quod ex litteris hauserant, in¹⁰ administranda¹¹ re publica exercebant. Idem et tu facies, si vir et princeps optimus esse volueris. Litteris suum tempus et suum rei publice dabis. Nunc iudicium facies, nunc tenebis consilium¹², nunc arma tractabis, nunc rem familiarem conspicias¹³ et in¹⁴ his omnibus, quid litterae valeant, experieris¹⁵ et, otii utilitatem cum negotii commodo conjungens, miram omnibus de te spem facies et vel solus vel cum paucis orbe toto mirandus habebis princeps. Nec te¹⁶ splendor formae tuae, qui est egregius¹⁷, nec vestes aureae aut ornatus crinium et equorum pompa tantum¹⁸ honestabit quantum ipsarum decor litterarum et virtutum fama, quarum facies, si videri posset,¹⁹ pulchrior est quam Lucifer aut Hesperus.

¹ inter vivendum : inveniendum
WO

² conjunctus M1

³ cessum V4

⁴ omit. M2, M3

⁵ et M3

⁶ quem M3

⁷ litteris didicerint ... homines
omit. M2

⁸ sic se : se sic M2, M3

⁹ Plato et ... Augustus *em.* HE;
Platonem et Aristotelem et Maece-
natem et Augustum codd.

¹⁰ an V4

¹¹ admiranda V4

¹² consilia M2, M3

¹³ respicias M2, M3

¹⁴ omit. V3, V4

¹⁵ experieris M3

¹⁶ tam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* tam
V2b

¹⁷ egregius V4

¹⁸ te *add.* M1-M3

¹⁹ ut Aristoteles inquit *add.* M1-
M3, V2a: ~~ut Aristoteles inquit~~ *seq.*
V2b

2.3. The lettered prince

[27] As for your way of life, I do not advise you to avoid the company of men, and I do not want you to become isolated, except when you wish to ponder something on your own for a while. No, I advise you to be affable and approachable, to let yourself be seen, to speak now to some, now to others, and to attend council meetings and assemblies so that you may show yourself to people and speak with them directly. For I know it is useful for men to experience for themselves what they have learnt in books.

[28] And I do not praise those men who devote themselves to letters to the extent of despising other things, like Democritus¹ and Diogenes,² who only lived for themselves. [On the contrary,] those men are worthy of praise and acclamation who serve the state without forgetting the study of letters, like Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Julius, Cicero, Plinius, Maecenas and Augustus. These men used what they had drawn from letters to administer the state. You should do the same if you wish to be an exceptional man and prince. You will devote time both to letters and public affairs. Now you will sit in judgment, now hold council, now deal with military matters, now see to your domestic affairs: in all these [occupations], you will experience the worth of letters. So, combining the usefulness of leisure with the advantages of handling affairs, you will ensure that all have great expectations for you, and you will be considered, either alone or with a few others in the whole world, an admirable prince. Neither your handsomeness, which is remarkable, nor golden clothes, nor beautiful headgear, nor splendid horse trappings will bring you as much honour as the distinction of letters and a reputation for virtue, which are more beautiful to behold than Lucifer and Hesperus.

¹ Demokritos (ca. 460 – ca. 370 BCE): Greek philosopher.

² Diogenes (412/404-323 BCE): Greek philosopher of the Cynic school.

[29] Ad haec autem, sicuti mihi videtur, jam tuapte incensus es. Cum enim subditi tui nuper ex Athesi venientes majestati regie supplicarent¹, ut te ad regendam provinciam mitteret, “non sum,” dixti, “adhuc adeo maturus, ut gubernare patriam possim.” Digna {81r} vox, quae tuo progreditur ex ore et quam omnis laudatura sit aetas. Convenit enim, *quid ferre recusent* et *quid valeant humeri*, quemlibet meditari, cum aliquid est gerendum, quia, cui *lecta potenter* erit res, hic demum recte se habebit. Nam quod² Bias ait: *magistratus virum ostendit*, nos rectissime de principatu dicemus, in quo, qui moderationem servat, diis est quam hominibus similior. Nec enim arduum est in paupertate³ servare continentiam, sed, ut Martialis ait, *difficile est opibus non tradere mores*.

¹ supplicaverunt M1; supplicarunt M2, V2

² quid M3

³ in paupertate : paupere V4

3. Prolongation of the imperial guardianship over Siegmund

3.1. Siegmund's moderation¹

[29] But it seems to me that you are already naturally eager for this, for when your subjects recently came from Tyrol to beg his Royal Majesty to send you to them to rule that province, you said, "I am not yet mature enough to rule my country." This remark, coming from your mouth, was indeed worthy, and all later ages will praise it.^{2 3} For when something is to be done, anyone should consider *what one's shoulders refuse and what they are able to bear. Whoever shall choose a task within his range,*⁴ shall fare well. For we may rightly apply Bias'⁵ remark that "*the office shows the man*"⁶ to the ruler's office, in which those who show moderation are more like gods than men. It is not difficult to be abstinent when poor, but, as Martial⁷ says, "*it is a hard thing not to sacrifice morals to wealth.*"⁸

¹ See letter 108: 5.

² On 26 October 1443, Siegmund had his 16th birthday and should, according to previous arrangements, have left the emperor's guardianship and been sent to Tyrol to take up the government, presumably under some local tutelary arrangement. In his *De Viris Illustribus* (1447), Piccolomini wrote about this episode: *In the meantime, the Tyroleans asked for Duke Siegmund, 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 immature boy*

who was not free. The king answered, "If the boy is immature, 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, then his acts are undoubtedly valid. I have not forced him, and, in fact, he has greater freedom with me than he would have with you." Angry they returned to Tyrol, and soon a rebellion followed: the royal officials were expelled, and a new form of government established (DVI, sect. 164).

³ Koller has this comment: *Angesichts dieser Konflikte [Österreich/Ungarn] wurde im Sommer des Jahres [1443] die Abwesenheit des Habsburger in diesem Land scharf kritisiert, neuerdings der Beginn der Herrschaft Siegmunds mit Nachdruck gefordert und dessen Auslieferung verlangt. Zunächst hatte man hier den Eindruck, als sollte diesem Wunsch entsprochen werden. ... Entgegen den Erwartungen kam jedoch der junge Mann nicht in das Land, es trafen nur Briefe ein,*

wonach der König die Einwilligung seines Mündels für die Verlängerung der Vormundschaft für weitere sechs Jahre erlangt hätte. ... Es ist anzunehmen das Friedrich den Jungen unter Druck gesetzt oder wenigstens überredet hatte, auf die Herrschaft in Tirol weiterhin zu verzichten. (Koller, p. 93). The Tyroleans promptly rebelled against the emperor, denying him the government over the province. Siegmund was released from the imperial guardianship in March 1446.

⁴ Ovidius: *Ars Poetica*, 39-40.

⁵ Bias (6th c. BCE): Greek philosopher.

⁶ Quoted in Cicero: *De Oratore*, 2: 6, 22 after Aristoteles: *Ethika Nikomacheia*, 5: 1, 16.

⁷ Martialis, Marcus Valerius (38/41-102/104): Roman poet and satirist.

⁸ Martialis, 11: 5, 2-3: *Numa pauper erat. Ardua res haec est opibus non tradere mores.*

[30] Magna peccandi facultas sequitur principatum: adest irritamen gulae, copia vini et *quaesitorum* undique *ciborum* et *lautae gloria mensae*, ut verbis utamur Lucani. Sunt mulieres formosae, quae tum oculis, tum verbis, tum osculis, tum amplexibus adolescentulorum mentes et oculos fascinant. Assunt corruptores, adulatores, joculariores, histriones, qui arcem adolescentie undique nituntur expugnare. Ille avaritiae cultor venalem justitiam facit: “Suscipe,” inquit, “hoc et commendatum habe¹.” Qui dat, perliberalis est homo et habet multum, quod det.” Alius ad iram provocat. “In te,” inquit, “peccavit Sempronius², suscipe gladium, vindica scelus. Tune princeps injuriam feres, quam nec privatus impunitam relinqueret?” “Mulier,” alius inquit, “formosa te amat et amore tuo moritur. Cur non compateris et misereris adolescentulae {81v} et gaudes cum ea?” “Eamus venatum,” ait vir robustus. “Quid torpes? Cervorum greges et aprorum clausi sunt, spectaculum tibi pulchrum praebebo. Veni, mitte hos senes res publicas tueri, tu laetus esto, dum tempus fert.” At hi, quibus in palato vivendi est causa, “Quid stas³,” inquit, “princeps⁴? Jam epulae allatae sunt⁵ et frigescunt. Veni dum acipenser calidus est et antequam fumare lepus desinat. Squilla est optima et aper et boletus in mensa. Quid stas et voluptatis tantum amittis?” Multi vitia suadent, pauci virtutes.

[31] Quid faciet⁶ adolescens, cujus aetas parum per se roboris habet, et cujus animus a natura proclivis est in libidinem? Vix grandaevi homines resistere tot blanditiis poterunt, ne dicam adolescentes. Sed ajunt aliqui: “Consilium habebit princeps, majores natu astabunt. Quid sit agendum, primores patriae censebunt.” Scitum est, sed omnes, qui principem coronant, facere⁷ illum sibi⁸ amicum student, et non, quae sunt apta, sed quae jucunda putant, in consilio dicunt, et nititur per se quisque, ut carior sit, *nec est*, qui *libera*⁹ proferat *animi verba*. Et quamvis pars bene consulat^{10 11}, liberum est¹² adolescenti, quos vult sequi. Et quia inexpertus est parumque pensi habet, non quod expedit, sed quod libet plerumque amplectitur¹³. Et quippe, quemadmodum mea fert opinio, aut maturum principem esse¹⁴ oportet et suo consilio fretum, {82r} aut adeo rudem, ut in modum trunci nihil per se disponat, sed quod major pars suadet executioni mandetur. Nam qui aliquid scit, minus tamen quam satis¹⁵, periculosus est rei publicae¹⁶ et imperia¹⁷ saepe subvertit, cum non ad rationem, sed ad libidinem regat.

¹ negotium meum *add.* M3

² peccavit Sempronius : Sempronius peccavit M3

³ ista V4

⁴ principes M3

⁵ ad mensam *add.* M3

⁶ facit V4

⁷ fateri V4

⁸ illum sibi : sibi illum M3

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ consulet WO

¹¹ pars bene consulat : bene consulat pars M3

¹² *et add.* V4

¹³ complectitur M3

¹⁴ principem esse : esse principem M1-M3

¹⁵ est *add.* M1-M3

¹⁶ *omit.* M3

¹⁷ imperitia V4

3.2. Temptations of a prince

[30] Rulership carries great opportunities for sin. There is the stimulation of the palate, the abundance of wine and - in the words of Lucan¹ - *of dainties sought from everywhere, and the pride of delicate eating.*² There are beautiful women who beguile the minds and eyes of young men with their eyes, words, kisses and embraces. There are the seducers, the flatterers, the comedians and the actors who from all sides strive to overcome the fortress of youth. One man, encouraging greed, corrupts justice, saying, "Take this and keep it,³" the giver being a profligate with much to spend. Another incites [the prince] to anger, saying, "Sempronius has injured you, take your sword and avenge the crime. Or are you a prince who tolerates injuries that even a private man would not let go unpunished?" Yet another says, "There is a beautiful woman who loves you desperately. Why not have pity and compassion with the young lady and enjoy yourself with her?" And a sturdy fellow says, "Let us go hunting. Why dawdle? Flocks of deer and boars have been hemmed in. It is a pretty sight I offer you! Come, and let these old men take care of the public affairs. Enjoy yourself while there is time." And those who live for their palate say, "Why are you still here, prince? The banquet has been served and is getting cold. Come, while the sturgeon is hot, and the hare smells deliciously. The crayfish is excellent, and boar and mushrooms are on the table. Why stay here and miss such delights?" Many tempt [the young prince] with vices, few with virtues.

3.3. The risks for an inexperienced prince

[31] What shall an adolescent do at an age when he has so little resistance and his mind is naturally inclined to pleasure? Mature men could barely resist so many enticements, so why should young men? But some will say, "The prince has a council. Older men will assist him, and the magnates of the country will give their advice." I know that. But all who crown a prince try to make him their friend, and in council, they will not say what is needful but what is pleasant. Everyone will endeavour to gain greater favour, and no one *freely speaks the thoughts of his heart.*⁴ And though some advise him well, the young man is free to follow whom he wills. And since he is inexperienced and somewhat thoughtless, he will mostly go for that which pleases, not that which profits. In my opinion, the prince must either be a mature person and rely on his own judgment or be so immature that, like a log, he does nothing himself but lets the majority decide what to do. He who knows something but not enough is a danger to the state and often destroys his realm since his rule is not based on reason but on pleasure.

¹ Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65): Roman poet.

² Lucanus: *De Bello Civili* (Pharsalia): 4: 375-376: *et quaesitorum*

terra pelagoque ciborum ambitiosa fames et lautae gloria mensae.

³ Or "take this and favour my affairs".

⁴ Juvenalis, 4: 90

[32] Hinc est, quod in *libris Regum* puellum octo annorum bene rexisse reperimus, sive is *septem annorum* fuit, *Joas, filius Ochocziae*. Non enim is rexit, sed ejus satrapae regnum administrarunt. Est autem principatus irritamentum quoddam vitiorum, et admodum pauci reperiuntur, qui non aberrent, cum frenis omnibus sunt soluti¹. A Saul usque ad Sedechiam novem et triginta reges in Juda² et Israel fuerunt, inter quos solum octo boni connumerantur. Reliqui vero ignari, imperiti, indocti, impotentes, avari, superbi, iracundi, crudeles, libidinosi, adulatorum et stultitiae servi, qui ambitione, nescio qua, effrenata³ tamquam ad pestem mortalium nati *idolis servientes* bellis semper indulserunt, pacis atque otii hostes fuerunt. Et hi tamen in populo Dei regnabant, et horum plerique per servos domini, prophetas, fuerunt uncti. Nec Salomon, quamvis scientiam et sapientiam⁴ a Deo fuisset assecutus, perseverare potuit, *sed adamavit mulieres alienigenas et his copulatus est ardentissimo amore, fueruntque ei uxores quasi reginae septingentae et concubinae trecentae, et averterunt mulieres cor ejus, ut sequeretur deos {82v} alienos*. Nec David⁵, quamvis esset electus a Deo, vitiis caruit, siquidem et homicidium simul et adulterium perpetravit, quod non fecisset, dum pastor erat. Sed eum licentia regni provocavit.

[33] Quid alius faciat, cui minus sit roboris⁶? Quid juvenis, quid adolescens? An est aliquis, qui annis teneris dominium censeat committendum, cum saepe robustior aetas sub illo deficiat? Prudenter tu quidem, qui patrueli et sanguini tuo potius quam aliis credidisti nec dominatum prius suscipere quam peritiam voluisti. Alius fortasse aliter fecisset, qui, opinione inflatus sui, "Quid ad⁷ me," dixisset, "oboedientia ista? Ego jam liber esse volo, jam scio bonum et malum, quid melius est quam imperare? Dicam illi, "Fac⁸," et faciet. Jam ut evolem tempus est."

¹ absoluti M3

² India M3

³ efferata WO

⁴ scientiam et sapientiam : sapientiam et scientiam M3

⁵ aliud V4

⁶ sit roboris : roboris est M3

⁷ omit. V4

⁸ em.; face codd.

3.3.1. Biblical examples

[32] In the *Book of Kings*,¹ we learn that a boy of *seven* (or eight) years, *Joas*,² *son of Ahaziah*,³ ruled well. But, in fact, he did not rule⁴: it was his governors who administered the kingdom.⁵ Princely power is an incitement to vice, and only a very few are found to not err when they are freed of all restraints. From Saul⁶ to Zedekiah⁷ there were 39 kings in Judah and Israel, among whom only eight are considered good kings. The others were ignorant, inexperienced, unlearned, powerless, arrogant, hot-tempered, cruel, libidinous and slaves to flatterers and stupidity. Out of some unbridled ambition, they served idols as if they were born as a plague on mortals. Enemies of peace and tranquillity, they often indulged in war. Nonetheless, they ruled the people of God, and most of them had been anointed by the prophets, the Lord's servants. Even Solomon, though given knowledge and wisdom by God, could not persist but *loved many strange women, and to these was Solomon joined with a most ardent joy, and he had seven hundred women as wives and three hundred concubines, and the women turned away his heart to follow strange gods*.⁸ Nor was David, though God's chosen, free of vices. At one time, he even perpetrated murder and adultery.⁹ This he would not have done when a shepherd, but he was led astray by unrestrained kingly power.

[33] What would another, weaker person do? What would a youth do, what an adolescent? Would anybody entrust the rule to [a boy of] tender years when often a more robust age falls prey to it? You, [Siegismund,] did wisely when you trusted your own cousin¹⁰ and blood more than others¹¹ and refused to assume power before you had gained the [necessary] experience.¹² Another, puffed up with arrogance, might have said, "Why should I obey [the emperor]? I want to be free now. I already know what is right and wrong. And what is better than ruling? When I say to somebody, 'Do this,' he does it. Now it is time to fly off."

¹ 4. Kings, 11: 21; 12: 1-2.

² Joas [Jehoash] (ca. 836 - ca. 798): Eighth king of Judah. Great-grandson of Ahaziah.

³ Ahaziah (8th c. BCE): Sixth king of Judah. Reigned from ca. 841 BCE.

⁴ I.e., when a child.

⁵ About nine years later, Piccolomini would return to this theme in his grand (but undelivered) oration "*Sentio*" of December 1452 on the Austrian rebellion against the emperor: *It is of no importance that we read in the Books of Kings that this or that king began to reign*

when he was underage, for this does not mean they were not under guardianship. Their years are counted from the death of the father, and he is considered to reign in whose name things are done, though he does not rule in person, as king, but is himself being ruled. This is what happened in the case of Joas who took over the rulership when he was seven years old and who governed well. But he did not rule personally; it was his guardians and governors who ruled (COR, 4: 20, 82).

⁶ Saul (10th c. BCE): First king of Israel. Reigned ca. 1037 to ca. 1010 BCE.

⁷ Zedekiah (b. ca. 617 BCE): 12th and last king of Judah, reigned from ca. 597 to the Fall of Jerusalem in ca. 587.

⁸ 3. Kings, 11: 1-4

⁹ 2. Kings, 11-12: The story of David, Uriah, and Bathsheba

¹⁰ The emperor.

¹¹ By agreeing to the prolongation of the emperor's guardianship over him.

¹² "peritia"

[34] Sic *Daedali* filius, ut est in fabulis, namque cum pater *alarum remigium* sibi et filio cera et pice coaptasset, ut¹ labyrinthi carcerem fugeret, *liquidum* petit *aerem* et “Sequere me,” inquit, “Icare, nec a me quoquam recedas.” Paruit ille tam diu, quoad² timor *artis*³ mansit *ignotae*. Ubi vero jam se volandi scium putavit, nec se amplius rectore credidit indigere⁴, jussum patris egressus percussis amplius alis vagari coepit, et modo huc modo illuc discurrrens ac continuo altius evolans regionem igniferam attigit, ubi dissolutis alarum compagibus et omni penna solis ardore perusta ruinam fecit et nudus⁵ {83r} in mari cecidit, quod adhuc ex ejus nomine vocatur *Icarium*. Prosequar iterum fabulas. Phaeton, filius Phoebi, patrem rogavit, sibi ut, quam peteret, rem concederet. Juravit per Stygem pater nihil se negaturum. Filius currum solis sibi regendum committi postulavit. *Poenituit* Phoebum promissi scientem⁶ tanti regiminis impotentem⁷ ⁸ natum. Sed quia jurarat, negare non potuit, quamvis Cicero in *Officiis* hoc juramentum potius rescindendum putasset. Ascendit Phaeton currum⁹ gloriabundusque lora recepit, tumque et se regem et deo similem arbitratus est. Ubi vero ad medium caeli est ventum, cum solis equos inhibere non posset illique vagarentur et mundum omnem ignibus conflagrarent¹⁰, Jovis fulmine ictus est et in Heridanum praecipitatus. Hisce figmentis admonent quemlibet poete, ut, antequam praesit et dominetur, vires suas rigide metiatur, ne sub pondere ruat, quoniam onus est, non voluptas aliis imperare, si modo id volumus cum ratione efficere et in eum finem regere, propter quem reges sunt instituti.

¹ et M2, M3

² quocum M3

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ ingere V2

⁵ *omit.* M3

⁶ se *add.* M3

⁷ impotentem V4

⁸ tanti regiminis impotentem : impotentem tanti regimis M3

⁹ Phaeton currum : currum Phaeton M1-M3

¹⁰ conflagrarent HE

3.3.2. Classical examples (myth and history)

[34] This is what happened to Daidalus¹ son² in the legend. When the father had fashioned an *oarage of wings*³ with wax and pitch for himself and his son to flee the prison of the labyrinth, he sought the *light air*,⁴ telling his son, “Follow me, Icarus, and do not leave my side.” Icarus obeyed but only as long as he feared the *unknown art*.⁵ But when he thought he had mastered the art of flying and no longer needed a guide, he disobeyed his father, and, flapping his wings faster, he began to fly about. Swooping hither and thither, he flew higher all the time. In the end, he reached the fiery region [of heaven], where the waxen joints melted and the wings were destroyed so that he fell nude into the sea, which still bears his name as the Icarian Sea. I continue with the legends⁶ Phaëton,⁷ son of Phoebus,⁸ asked his father to grant him whatever he asked for. The father swore by Styx⁹ that he would deny him nothing. Phaëton then demanded to steer the Sun’s chariot. Phoebus regretted his promise since he knew his son did not have the strength needed for this difficult task. But since he had sworn an oath, he could not refuse, though Cicero, in his *De Officiis*, considered that such an oath should be rescinded.¹⁰ Phaëton mounted the chariot and triumphantly took the reins, holding himself to be a king similar to the god. But when he reached midheaven, he could no longer control the Sun’s horses, flying everywhere and igniting the whole world. Then he was hit by a bolt of lightning from Jupiter¹¹ and cast into the Eridanus.¹² The poets use such fables to warn all that before leading and ruling [others], one should carefully assess one’s strength so as not to succumb under the weight [of the office]. For ruling others is a burden, not a pleasure, at least if we wish to govern for the reason and purpose for which kings were established.¹³

¹ Daidalos: (Greek myth.) architect and craftsman, seen as a symbol of wisdom, knowledge and power. Father of Icarus.

² Ikaros: (Greek myth.) Son of Daedalus.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 19.

⁴ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1: 404.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8: 188.

⁶ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2: 1-400.

⁷ Phaëton: (Greek myth.) In the myth as told by Ovid, Phaëton was the son of Phoebus, the sun god.

⁸ Phoibos [Apollo] (Greek and Roman myth.), god of archery, music and dance, truth and prophecy, healing and diseases, the Sun and light, poetry, and more.

⁹ Styx: (Greek myth.) a deity and a river that forms the boundary between Earth and the Underworld.

¹⁰ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 3: 25, 94: *Ac ne illa quidem promissa servanda sunt, quae non sunt ipsis utilia, quibus illa promiseris. Sol Phaetonti filio, ut redeamus ad fabulas, facturum se esse dixit quidquid optasset. Optavit ut in currum patris tolleretur; sublatus est; atque is ante quam constitit ictu fulminis deflagavit; quanto melius fuerat in hoc promissum patris non esse servatum? (No more binding are those promises which are inexpedient for the persons themselves to whom they have been given. To go back to realm of story, the sun-god promised his son Phaëton to*

do for him whatever he would wish. His wish was to be allowed to ride in his father’s chariot. It was granted. And before he came back to the ground, he was consumed by a stroke of lightning. How much better had it been, if in his case the father’s promise had not been kept?)

¹¹ Jupiter wanted to save the world.

¹² The river Po. Also, the name of a constellation of stars.

¹³ In his *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani* from 1446, Piccolomini would later write: *Atque hi sunt, qui postea nomen regis nomen obtinuerunt, quorum constituendorum causam publica dedit utilitas.*

[35] Leges Romanae, quae ab Atheniensibus et Spartanis, quas tradiderunt Lycurgus et Solon, sunt ortae, pueros usque ad¹ annum 14. sub tutela esse voluerunt, post hanc aetatem in² annum 24. curatores adolescentibus dabant. Nam ante hoc aevum infirmam censebant aetatem. Eam ob causam, cum {83v} duo Scipiones a Carthaginiensibus in Hispania fuissent³ occisi et Hannibal armis Italiam⁴ premeret, iturum se cum exercitu in Hispaniam, patrem et patruum ulturum⁵, Scipio Africanus major repromittens diu per senatum rejectus est, quod 24. dumtaxat annum esset natus. Tandem⁶ cum esset alius nemo, qui se diceret profecturum⁷, provinciam necessitate magis quam voluntate senatus obtinuit. Carthaginenses, eorum imperatore defuncto Hamilcare, imperium filio, qui juvenis erat, committere recusarunt. Nec Hannibal prius dux Poenoram creatus est, quam Anno esset occisus, qui patri successerat. Rex Numidie Massinissa filios suos moriens, quia juvenes erant, Romano populo commendavit⁸ et praesertim Corneliae familiae⁹.

¹ in WO

² ad WO

³ fuerunt M3

⁴ armis Italiam : Italiam armis M1

⁵ se cum exercitu ... ulturum *omit.*
V3, V4

⁶ quod 24. ... tandem *omit.* M2

⁷ profecturum M1

⁸ *omit.* M1-M3, V2

⁹ commendavit *add.* M1-M3, V2

[35] The Roman laws derive from the laws of Athens and Sparta, given by Lycurgus¹ and Solon². They stipulated that boys should have guardians until their 14th year, and after that, young men had overseers until their 24th year. The whole age before that was considered to be one of weakness. When two Scipios³ were killed by the Carthaginians in Spain,⁴ and Hannibal threatened Italy with arms, Scipio Africanus the Elder⁵ swore to take an army to Spain to avenge his father and his uncle. The senate resisted for a long time because he was not yet 24 years old, but when nobody else offered to go, he finally obtained that province, not because the senate wanted it, but because it was forced to. Likewise, when their general Hamilcar⁶ died, the Carthaginians refused to entrust the command to his son, [Hannibal], because he was [too] young. Hannibal⁷ was first appointed general of the Punic [forces] after the murder of Hanno, who had succeeded his father. And on his deathbed, King Massinissa⁸ of Numidia entrusted his small sons to the Roman people and especially the Cornelia family.⁹

¹ Lykourgos (fl. ca. 820 BCE): semi-legendary law-giver of Sparta.

² Solon (ca. 630 - ca. 560 BCE): Athenian statesman and lawmaker.

³ Scipio's father, Publius Scipio, and his uncle, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

⁴ 211 BCE

⁵ Scipio Africanus the Elder, Publius Cornelius (ca. 236-183 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁶ Hamilcar Barca (ca. 275-228 BCE): Carthaginian statesman and general. Father of Hannibal.

⁷ Hannibal Barca (247 - ca. 182 BCE): Carthaginian statesman and general.

⁸ Massinissa (ca. 238-148 BCE): King of Numidia.

⁹ Piccolomini also referred to this example in the section on guardianship over very young princes in his oration "*Sentio*" from 1452 (COR, 4: 21, 81).

[36] Quid tibi gentilium gesta commemoro¹? Prohibent sacri canones ante 24. annum fieri quemquam presbyterum aut pontificem ante 30. Referamus² aliquid ex Veteri Testamento, nam et ibi quoque consilia juvenum ad regimen patriae immatura videntur. Mortuo Salomone, qui super 12 tribus regnabat, *venit filius ejus Roboam in Sichem, ubi congregatus erat omnis Israel ad constituendum eum regem. Et dixit multitudo: “Pater tuus durissimum jugum imposuit nobis, tu itaque³ nunc imminue⁴ paululum de imperio patris tui et de jugo durissimo et serviemus tibi.” Qui ait⁵: “Ite⁶ ad tertium diem et revertimini ad me.” Cumque abiisset {84r} populus, iniit consilium rex cum senioribus, qui responderunt: “Si oboedieris hodie populo huic et petitioni eorum cesseris locutusque fueris ad eos verba⁷ lenia, erunt tibi servi cunctis diebus. At ille reliquit consilium senum et adhibuit adolescentes, qui nutriti fuerunt cum eo, qui dixerunt ei: “Sic loqueris populo huic: ‘Minimus digitus meus⁸ grossior est⁹ dorso patris mei et nunc pater meus posuit super vos jugum, ego autem addam super jugum vestrum; pater meus cecidit vos flagellis, ego autem caedam vos scorpionibus.” Fecitque sie et irritato¹⁰ populo recesserunt ab eo decem tribus, qui constituerunt sibi regem Jeroboam, filium Nabath, scissusque¹¹ est Israel in perpetuum, quia inexpertus rex consilia juvenum recepit. Melius fuerat illum infantem fuisse, nam tunc senes obtinuissent¹².*

[37] Ochozias, filius Joran, duos et viginti natus annos regnum accepit in Israel et afflixit populum domini et *fecit*, quod *malum* erat coram Deo. Nec aliter se habuit *Achas*, filius Joatan, qui *viginti annorum erat cum regnare* coepit in Juda. Nemo pejor quam Manasses inter reges fuit, qui 12. aetatis anno suscepit imperium. Similis ei filius Amon fuit, qui regnum 22. aetatis anno inchoavit et a servis suis propter scelera, quibus implicitus erat, occisus est¹³. Quid Joacham referam et duos Joachim, patrem et filium, aut {84v} Sedechiam nominem, qui perdita Jerosolima captus a Chaldaeis prius coram¹⁴ se natos suos occidi vidit, postea privatus est oculis. Hi omnes infra 3. et 20. annum regnare coeperunt et quoniam inexperti erant, malum coram Deo gerentes, et se et suos populos pessumdarunt.

¹ connumero M1

² fieri quemquam ... referamus
omit. M2

³ *omit.* V4

⁴ minue WO

⁵ qui ait *omit.* M2

⁶ qui ait ite : ite inquit M3

⁷ ad eos verba : verba ad eos M2

⁸ *omit.* M2

⁹ grossior est : est grossior M2, M3

¹⁰ iterato V4

¹¹ scissus M1, M2

¹² senibus auscultatum fuisset M1-M3, V2a; senes obtinuissent *corr.* ex senibus auscultatum fuisset V2

¹³ fuit M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex fuit V2b

¹⁴ ante M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex ante V2b

3.3.1. More examples from the Bible and Canon Law

[36] But why mention to you what gentiles did? Our own sacred canons¹ forbid that men be made priests before their 24th year and bishops before their 30th. We may also refer to the Old Testament, for there, too, young men were deemed too *immature to rule their country*. *When Solomon, who had ruled the 12 tribes [of Israel] died, his son Roboam² went to Sichem: for thither were all Israel come together to make him king. And the multitude said, "Thy father laid a grievous yoke upon us: now, therefore, do thou take off a little of the grievous service of thy father, and of his most heavy yoke, which he put upon us, and we will serve thee. And he said to them: Go till the third day and come to me again. And when the people was gone, the king took counsel with the old men, who said to him: If thou wilt yield to this people today, and condescend to them, and grant their petition, and wilt speak gentle words to them, they will be thy servants always. But he left the counsel of the old men and consulted with the young men, who said: Thus shalt thou speak to this people: My little finger is thicker than the back of my father. And now my father put a heavy yoke upon you, but I will add to your yoke: my father beat you with whips, but I will beat you with scorpions."*³ This he did. The people became enraged, and 10 tribes abandoned him and made Jeroboam,⁴ son of Nebat, their king. Thus, Israel was divided forever because an inexperienced king followed the advice of the young men. It would have been better if he had been an infant, for then the old men would have prevailed.

[37] Ochoziah,⁵ son of Joram,⁶ began his rule in Israel at the age of 22. He sorely afflicted the people of the Lord *and did evil in the sight of God*.⁷ Likewise did Ahaz,⁸ son of Jotham,⁹ *who was 20 years old when he began to rule* in Judah. No king was more evil than Manasseh,¹⁰ who began his rule at the age of 12. His son, Amon,¹¹ was like him. He began his reign at the age of 22 and was killed by his servants because of the crimes he was involved in. Why mention Joachaz¹² and the two Joachims,¹³ father and son, or Zedekiah,¹⁴ who lost Jerusalem, was captured by the Chaldaeans, saw his sons killed before his eyes, and was finally blinded. All these [kings] began to rule between their 3rd and 20th year, and since they were inexperienced, they did evil in the sight of the Lord and led their people to ruin.¹⁵

¹ Canon law.

² Rehoboam (9th c. BCE): Last king of all Israel, first king of Judah.

³ 3. Kings, 12.

⁴ Jeroboam I: 1st king of the Northern kingdom of Israel. Ruled ca. 931 to ca. 910 BCE.

⁵ Ahaziah [Ochoziah] of Judah: 6th king of Judah. King of Judah ca. 842-841 BCE. 4. Kings, 8: 24 ff.

⁶ Jehoram [Joram] of Judah: 5th king of Judah. King of Judah ca. 849 - ca. 842 BCE.

⁷ 2. Chronicles, 22: 4.

⁸ Ahaz II: 12th king of Judah. Sole ruler ca. 730 - ca. 715 BCE. 4. Kings, 16.

⁹ Jotham [Jotam]: 11th king of Judah. Ruled ca. 750 to ca. 735 BCE.

¹⁰ Manasseh: 14th king of Judah. Sole ruler 687-643 BCE. 4. Kings, 21; 2 Chronicles, 32-33.

¹¹ Amon: 1st king of Judah. Ruled ca. 643 to 640 BCE. Assassinated because of his idolatrous practices. 4. Kings, 21: 16-26.

¹² Joachaz: 11th king of Israel. Ruled 815 to 801 BCE. 4. Kings, 13

¹³ Jehoiakim: 18th and 19th kings of Judah. Ruled 609 to 598 and 598 to 597, respectively.

¹⁴ Zedekiah: 20th and last king of Judah. Ruled 597 to 586 BCE. 4. Kings, 24-25.

¹⁵ Two of the kings just mentioned by Piccolomini began their rule at the age of 22, as he explicitly states.

[38] Quorum stultitiae contraria est adolescentia tua, quae licet quantum in hac aetate potest esse prudentiae sortita sit spemque maximam de sua sapientia praebeat, non tamen prius ad regendam provinciam mitti voluit, quam et robur aetatis et rerum assequeretur experientiam. Sciebas namque tuopte¹ ingenio, quoniam non rector sed regendus ires, quod² sub patruelis tuo, Caesare nostro sapientissimo, potius quam sub aliis tolerare voluisti, ut interim, dum³ aetas crescit, regiam majestatem secutus⁴ intersis consiliis, iudicia noscas, res arduas videas, viros sapientes audias in diesque⁵ fias rerum experientia doctior.

[39] At cum his servandum est⁶, quod supra dixi, ut temporis aliquod spatium concedas litteris, quae reliquas virtutes tuas condiant et illustrent, quibus si fueris, ut te spero⁷ futurum, rite imbutus, cum ad regendum venies, non par aliis, sed omnium principum eris speculum teque vicini omnes suarum litium moderatorem et arbitrum facient. Et quemadmodum ad visendam⁸ *sapientiam Salomonis regina Saba* et alii orientales concurrerunt⁹, sic te totus occidentis [85r] venerabitur et septentrio et ad famam tue prudentiae infiniti visuri te venient. Eris enim quasi Josias, alius filius Amon, populum tuum recte gubernans *nec ad dexteram neque ad sinistram* declinans. Age insuper¹⁰, princeps optime et adolescens clarissime, dum tempus habes, incumbere litteris, edisce scientiam et studio te praebe.

[40] Nec sit tibi curae, si res aliquae in Athesi sunt innovatae. Illas enim patruelis tuus¹¹ componet et pro sua eximia tum sapientia tum bonitate pacabit, teque, cum tempus aderit, et dominio et virtutibus auctum remittet in patriam. Interea regimen recte illi commissum est, quia¹² indiget Athesis regio favore¹³ propter finitimos plures, qui tuis inhiant terris et apertis faucibus expectant, quomodo tuum possint patrimonium devorare nec aliud verentur quam nomen regium imperialemque dignitatem. Et licet nonnulli aliqua impraesentiarum temptent, melius tamen regio quam ducali nomine compercentur, qui, si tu regeres, adolescentiam contemnentem tuam¹⁴, acerbius affligerent terram. Sed mitto haec, quia¹⁵ tute scisti, quid¹⁶ esset agendum, et te regi¹⁷ commendasti.

[41] Meum est te hortari, ut litterarum quanta sit utilitas quantusque fructus noscens¹⁸ nonnihil horarum studio tribuas, quod jam¹⁹ satis tibi arbitror persuasum non eloquentia mea, quae nulla est, sed bonitate tua, qui ab ipsa natura innatum habere videris amorem {85v} scientiae.

¹ tuapte M1-M3, V2

² qui M3

³ interim dum : interdum M3

⁴ in se tutus V4

⁵ dietimque M1-M3, 2

⁶ hiis M1

⁷ in *add.* V4

⁸ visendum V4

⁹ occurrerunt V4

¹⁰ igitur M1-M3

¹¹ eo *add.* V4

¹² qui M2

¹³ favere V4

¹⁴ contemnentem tuam : tuam contemnentem V3

¹⁵ qui V4

¹⁶ *omit.* M2

¹⁷ te regi : rege M2

¹⁸ nosceris M3

¹⁹ tam V4

3.3.2. *Wisdom of Siegmund*

[38] Their folly is the opposite of your adolescence, for, though you are as sensible as one can be at this age and give great hopes that you will be wise, you did not want to be sent to rule your province before you had reached a more mature age and acquired [sufficient] experience of [government] affairs. Realising that you would go not to rule but to be ruled, you would rather be ruled by your cousin, our most wise emperor, than by others. In the meantime, as you grow older, you will follow His Royal Majesty, participate in council meetings, know the judgments made, see how complicated matters [are treated], hear wise men, and daily acquire greater experience in the management of affairs.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Renewed exhortation to study letters

[39] Besides these, you should - as I have already said - regularly devote time to letters, which may season your other qualities and put them into relief. If – as I hope – you become properly imbued with letters, you will, when you take up government, not only be the equal of other princes, nay, you will be a mirror of princes, and all your neighbours will make you the moderator and arbiter of their conflicts. And just as *the queen of Sheba* and other orientals flocked to witness *Solomon's wisdom*,¹ the whole of the West and the North will come in infinite numbers to witness the fame of your wisdom. Like Josiah,² the other son of Amon, you shall govern your people wisely and *not stray from the path, neither to the right nor the left*.³ So, act, excellent prince and noble adolescent, while there is time, and do devote yourself to letters, learning and study.

4.2. Prolongation of the imperial guardianship

[40] Do not worry about political disturbances in Tyrol, for in his eminent wisdom and goodness, your cousin will settle them and bring peace [to the region]. And when the time comes, he will return you to your country with greater maturity and power. In the meantime, the government of Tyrol is rightly entrusted to him, for it needs the royal favour because of the many neighbours who are thirsting after your territories and waiting with open maws to devour your paternal inheritance, fearing nothing but the royal name and the imperial dignity. And though some may plot something now, they will be restrained more by royal than by ducal status. If you were ruling, they would scorn your youth and sorely afflict the country. But I pass over this since you knew very well what to do and entrusted yourself to the king.

[41] For now, I only have to urge you to appreciate the great usefulness and benefits of letters and to dedicate some time to their study. I believe that you have already been persuaded to do so, not but my insignificant eloquence but by your own good character since you appear to have an innate love of knowledge.

¹ 3. Kings, 10: 4

² Josiah [Yoshiyahu] (ca. 630 - ca. 609 BCE): 16th king of Judah, from ca. 640 to his death. Son of Amon.

³ Isaiah, 30: 21

[42] Sed facio jam finem, quia rumor, vociferatio et strepitus, in quo¹ sum, non fert, ut plura dicam. Vivo enim inter² clamores, qui rumpent *somnum Druso vitulisque marinis*. Unicum³ est toti cancellariae receptaculum, complures sumus unis in aedibus commessantes et conbibentes, nec formicae tam pressae in suis antris quam nos una⁴ in auleola degimus. Apes distinctae cellulis⁵ in alvearibus delitescunt, nos uno in conclavi⁶ velut oves in septis alter alterum premimus, nec spuere quisquam potest, nisi alterius commaculet vestem tantumque⁷ inter nos servamus silentium, ut picas in nemoribus vel cornices aut in paludibus ranas audire te censeas⁸. Miror mei, qui⁹ tantum exprimere tibi potuerim¹⁰. Sed hoc forsitan nimis est tibi, qui jam litteras quasi jugum aliquod abjecisti et nunc magis vocandus es ad studium¹¹ quam trahendus. Illud mihi molestum est, quod ad te scribens inter vexationes plurimas perpolire non potui, quod a te legi¹² speravi. At tu veniam dabis et loco et ingeniolo meo, quod tam hebes est, ut¹³ nedum in tumultu sed vix in quiete ornare queat, quod scribit.

Vale jam tandem et me, quantum Caesar permittit, tuum habeto. Ex Gretz, nonis decembris anno 1443¹⁴
¹⁵.

¹ iam *add.* M3

² in te V4

³ unum M3

⁴ *omit.* HE, WO

⁵ quam nos ... cellulis *omit.* M2

⁶ conclave V4

⁷ tutumque V4

⁸ te censeas : censeas te M2

⁹ quod M2

¹⁰ potueram M3

¹¹ studia WO

¹² a te legi : te legere M1-M3, V2a;
a te legi *corr.* ex te legere V2b

¹³ et M3

¹⁴ nonis ... 1443 *omit.* M2

¹⁵ ex Gretz ... 1443 *omit.* M1, M3

4.3. Misery of chancery officials¹

[42] But I finish here since the noise, bustle, and racket surrounding me prevents me from saying more, for I live in the middle of a bedlam *which would make sleep impossible for a Drusus – or a sea-calf*.² The whole chancery is placed in just one chamber,³ we are many who eat and drink in the same room. Ants are not so crowded in their hives as we are in our one small hall. Bees withdraw to separate cells in their hives, whereas we are pressed together like sheep in a corral. Nobody can spit without splotchings another's garment. We are so noisy here that you would believe you were hearing magpies and crows in forests or frogs in swamps. I am actually surprised that I have been able to write such a long letter to you. Still, it may be too long for you, who have already cast off letters as if they were some kind of yoke and are now to be invited back to study rather than pushed. I do regret that the turmoil here has prevented me from polishing the text I hope will be read by you. But you will make allowance for the place and for my puny intellect, which is so feeble that it cannot embellish what it writes when it is surrounded by this ruckus and can even barely do so when things are quiet.

So, finally, farewell, and let me be your man as much as the emperor permits. From Graz, 5 December 1443.

¹ This section prefigures Piccolomini's *De miseria curialium*, which he published in December 1444 and might have already begun preparing: *Est insuper magna virorum recreatio mentis secessus, cum se aliquis retrahit in solitarium locum ac vel meditatur vel legit vel scribit totumque se Musis praebet et nunc Platonem, nunc Aristotelem, nunc Tullium, nunc Virgilium ... alloquitur. Sed hac*

voluptate privati sunt curiales, qui, cum semper in otio sint, numquam tamen otium habent, semper in multitudine sunt, in clamoribus, in tumultibus. Si tibi nonnumquam particulam mensae delegeris, in qua vel legas aliquid vel scribas, mox aliquis instabit, qui te vexet. Et si alii cessaverint, non abierit dispensator, qui prope te computum faciat eraque moveat. Nus-

quam tibi angulus patebit quietus ... (HE, p. 417).

² Juvenalis, 3: 238. Probably, Juvenal was referring to the somnolent Emperor Claudius (Loeb).

³ Towards the end of November, the emperor left Vienna to go to Graz and later to Kärnten. The imperial chancery followed him and would everywhere, like in Graz, be placed and work under makeshift conditions.

99. Letter to Johann Pauli von Maiers (8 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 66v; M2, f. 40r¹; M3, f. 236r² V2, f. 156³; V3, ff. 71r-71v⁴ **; V4, ff. 63v-64r.

Editions: HE, 100, pp. 218; WO, 1: 1, 100, pp. 237-238; (both based on M1, V2).

{71r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ salutem plurimam dicit⁶ Johanni Meyrs⁷, cancellario Austrie, benefactori suo.⁸

[1] Alloquetur te¹⁰ vir bonus¹¹ Ludovicus, lator praesentium, in re¹² Mariani Sozini Senensis, utriusque juris doctoris excellentissimi, qui libenter in hac temporis tribulatione ad Germaniae partes se transferret et jus Viennae legeret. Quare, si vides¹³ ad eam rem esse modum, supplico, ut me instructum facias, et ego regi referam. Mihi enim res videtur¹⁴ utilis et universitati et patriae et regi. Nam cum ille sit ex primis Italiae doctoribus, multi remanebunt Viennae, qui nunc Paduam studii causa vel Papiam pergunt, et omnis Bavaria, Suevia, Franconia et Bohemia ac etiam Hungaria juris ediscendi¹⁵ causa Viennam petent¹⁶. Rex vero in his, quae juris sunt, consulere ipsum poterit, et si quando opus habuerit, ducet eum, quocumque voluerit. Ideo¹⁷, si vides viam ad hoc patere, fac me certiore et confide, quia hominem perliberalem promovebis, non doctum in jure solum, sed omnis doctrinae peritum. Ejus virtutes ex Ludovico¹⁸ planius pernosces¹⁹. Me plura dicere communis patria vetat²⁰ et {71v} amicitia, qua illi sum junctus, ne has res praefere²¹ veritati videar. Sed confido multos esse in Germania, qui virum noscunt, qui ejus discipuli fuerunt, qui me succumbere non sinent. Tu communis boni amator et honoris regalis promotor es, quod in hac²² re potes ostendere.

Vale. Ex Gretz, die 8.²³ decembris 1443.^{24 25}

¹ SC, 87.

² SC, 476.

³ DV 83v.

⁴ DV 74r-74v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ domino *add.* V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ Meiers M2; Mairs M3; Maers V2-V4

⁸ honorando M2, M3, V2a; honorando. Venerabilis vir major honorande HE, WO; *corr. ex honorando* V2b

⁹ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad dominum Johannem Meyers cancellario Austriae. Venerabilis vir major honorande M1

¹⁰ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in address.

¹¹ et honorandus dominus *add.* M1; et honorandus *add.* M2, M3, V2a; et honorandus *seq.* V2b

¹² quadam domini *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~quadam domini~~ *seq.* V2

¹³ videres M3

¹⁴ res videtur : videtur res M1

¹⁵ discendi V4

¹⁶ pergunt M3

¹⁷ inde V4

¹⁸ prefato *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~prefato~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁹ cognoscetis M1

²⁰ prohibet glossa *interlin.* M1

²¹ preferri M1

²² in hac : hac in M1-M3,

²³ 10. V4

²⁴ die ... 1443 *omit.* M1

²⁵ Ex Gretz ... 1443 : etc. M2, M3

99. Letter to Johann Pauli von Maiers (8 December 1443, Graz)

Context: In a letter of 19 September (nr. 76), Mariano Sozzini had asked Piccolomini to try to obtain a teaching post for him at the University of Vienna.

Subject: Piccolomini asks Johann, who had excellent connections to the university, for his help and provides him with arguments for calling Mariano to a teaching post there.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johann Maiers,¹ chancellor of Austria, his benefactor.

[1] The excellent Ludovico,² bearer of the present letter, will speak with you about the matter of Mariano Sozzini of Siena, eminent Doctor in Both Laws.³ Because of the present disturbances [in Italy],⁴ he would like to come to the German region and teach law in Vienna.⁵ Therefore, if you see way to make this happen, I beg you to inform me, and I shall then present the matter to the king. It seems to me that such a move would profit both the university, the country and the king. Since Mariano is one of the foremost Italian doctors [in law], many who now leave to study [law] in Padua or Pavia will remain in Vienna. All of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Bohemia and even Hungary will come to Vienna to study law. Also, the king would be able to consult him on legal matters and, whenever needed, take him with him to where he wishes. Therefore, if you see a way to do this, please let me know. You may be sure that thus you would further the career of a man who has a broad and deep knowledge of the liberal disciplines, for he is not only a specialist in law but well-versed in all branches of knowledge. You will hear more about his qualities and qualifications from Ludovico. Our common fatherland and friendship forbid me to say more lest I appear to cherish these more than truth. But I trust that many in Germany, who have been his students, know the man, and they will not allow me to fail. This is a matter where you can show how you love the common good and defend the king's honour.

Farewell. From Graz, 8 December 1443.

¹ Pauli von Maiers, Johann (-1450): Lic. Decr. Chancellor in charge of the Friedrich III's Austrian Chancery, while Kaspar Schlick was in charge of his Imperial Chancery, to which Piccolomini belonged. Pauli had con-

siderable influence at the University of Vienna and had Italian friends. (Heinig, 1: 580).

² Bearer of the letter from Sozzini.

³ Canon Law and Civil Law.

⁴ The Lombard wars, ongoing conflicts between Florence and Siena, and the aftermath of the Neapolitan war of succession, won by Alfonso V.

⁵ At the University of Vienna.

100. Letter to Mariano Sozzini (8 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 66r-66v; M2, ff. 39v-40r^l; M3, f. 236v²; V2, ff. 154-155³; V3, ff. 70r-71r⁴ **; V4, ff. 63r-63v.
Editions: HE, 100, pp. 218-219; WO, 1: 1, 100, pp. 238-239; (both based on M1, V2).

{70r} Aeneas Silvius Mariano Sozino salutem plurimam dicit.⁵

[1] Attulit mihi vir comis et perbenignus⁶ Ludovicus tuas litteras et, quae sibi commisisti, seriose mihi⁷ retulit. Vidi libenter ipsum tui causa et tuas litteras, quae unicastae⁸ post meum ex te recessum apud me sunt, avide legi. Quod mihi mandasti {70v} non potui absolvere, ut forsitan cito voluisses, propter recessum regis festinum, qui raro uno in loco moratur. In dies tamen ero tui⁹ memor¹⁰, et quid fecerim¹¹, aliis litteris tibi significabo. Res enim hujusmodi longum habent tractum, sed postquam coeptae sunt, non facile¹² dimittuntur nec tantam habent variationem ut nostrae. Tu¹³ tibi persuadere debes¹⁴, me tuum esse semper cupereque morem tibi¹⁵ in omnibus gerere et utinam in loco esses, quo te et tua doctrina uti saepius possem.

[2] Gaudeo te patrem familias factum et rogo divinam majestatem, ut soboles ex tuis lumbis orta similis sit¹⁶ tibi¹⁷. *Commentarios tuos super decretalibus*, etsi facundos arbitror miramque scientiam prae se ferentes, videre tamen non cupio, quia terruit me librorum numerus, cum eos in¹⁸ quattuor et viginti volumina distinctos scripseris. Mos est legistarum, ut longi sint. Hinc Ovidius *verbosas dicit leges*, et Juvenalis de *causidicis* scribens *libellos*, inquit, eos *in fasce* sequi. Tu tamen, qui et oratoris et poetae et jurisconsulti locum implet, deberes ista metiri et modum paginae facere, ne scriberes in immensum, quia et scribenti labor est et legenti fastidium. Tuas sortes, si quando ad me miseris, avide videbo, quia¹⁹ illarum codices non dixisti esse admodum numerosos.

[3] De rege Aragonum, quae scripsisti, ex aliis quoque audivi. Deus illi iter faciat ad suum desiderium, quia vir est victoria dignus, nec qui dominetur par est in orbe sibi. Ego illi afficior {71r} propter suas virtutes, nunquam tamen vidi eum²⁰ ²¹.

Tu vale et Andream, juris interpretem, Hugonis filium, quem apud te esse audio, meo nomine salvum dicit. Ex Gretz, 8. December 1443.²²

¹ SC, 86-87.

² SC, 477.

³ DV, ff. 82v-83r.

⁴ DV, ff. 74r-74r.

⁵ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit Mariano Sozino M2, M3

⁶ dominus *add.* M1

⁷ *omit.* M2

⁸ atque M2

⁹ ero tui : tui ero M1

¹⁰ immemor M1

¹¹ fecero M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* ex fecero V2b

¹² sed *add.* M2

¹³ de me *omit.* M1

¹⁴ potes V4

¹⁵ morem tibi : tibi morem M3

¹⁶ similis sit : sit similis M1

¹⁷ sit tibi : tibi sit V3

¹⁸ eos in : in eos M3

¹⁹ et M2

²⁰ *omit.* WO

²¹ eum : si posset (in M2) Italia suo pacari sub dominio, magis probarem, quam sub communitatibus, quia cor nobile regium virtutes praemiatur *add.* M1-M3; *corr.* ex si posset Italia suo pacari sub dominio, magis probarem, quam sub communitatibus, quia cor nobile regium virtutes praemiatur V2b

²² ex Gretz ... 1443 : etc. M2; *omit.* M1, M3

100. Letter to Mariano Sozzini (8 December 1443, Graz).

Context: See the previous letter.

Subject: Piccolomini assures Sozzini that he will do what he can for him. He also, jokingly, refuses to read his 24-volume treatise on the decretals. And finally, he comments positively on the achievements of Alfonso V, now king of Naples.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Mariano Sozzini.¹

[1] That pleasant and most courteous man, your Ludovico, has brought me your letter and conscientiously told me about the matters you entrusted to him. Since he came from you, I have received him with pleasure and eagerly read your letter, the only one I have received from you since I left you. I have not been able to fulfil your request as soon as you may have desired, the reason being the king's speedy departure – he rarely stays long in one place. However, I shall take up your matter shortly and, in another letter, tell you what I may have achieved. Such procedures do take time, but when they have been initiated, they are not easily dismissed and do not take such an erratic course as is usual in our [Italy].² At any rate, be assured that I am always yours, wish to accommodate you in all matters, and only want to be where I can often enjoy your company and learning.

[2] I am happy to hear that you have become a father, and I pray to the divine majesty that the issue of your loins may resemble you. Though I believe your *Commentarii super Decretalibus* are both well-written and learned, I do not wish to see them, for I am terrified by the number of books since you wrote 24 volumes! It is the custom of jurists to write and speak at great length. Therefore, Ovid calls the laws garrulous.³ And Juvenal mentions *the huge bundle of briefs that keep the advocates company*.⁴ But you are both an orator, a poet and a lawyer, and you should, therefore, show measure in these things and limit the number of pages lest you write immense books that are both great labour for the writer and quite tedious to the reader. But when you send your *De Sortibus*, I shall read it eagerly since you say it does not have that many volumes.

[3] What you write about the king of Aragon,⁵ I have also heard from others. May God grant him his desire, for he is a man worthy of victory, and no other ruler in the world is his equal. I am impressed by his qualities though I have never seen him.⁶

Farewell, and give my greetings to Andrea,⁷ jurist and son of Ugo,⁸ whom I hear is with you. From Graz, 8 December 1443.

¹ Mariano Sozzini [Socini] [Il Vecchio] (1401-1467): Siennese jurist and academic. Mentor and close friend of Piccolomini, who included a chapter on him in his *De Viris Illustribus* (DVI, ch. 18). Here, Piccolomini also refers to the two books of Sozzini mentioned in the letter: *He wrote the De Decretalibus and the De Sortibus and published many volumes that are recommended today*.

² Piccolomini may be thinking of his own case of the provostship in Milan.

³ Ovidius: *Amores*, 1: 15, 5.

⁴ Juvenalis, 7: 106-107.

⁵ Alfonso V.

⁶ In the early version of the text (M1-M3, V2a), Piccolomini added this passage: *si posset Italia suo pacari sub dominio, magis probarem, quam sub communitatibus, quia cor nobile regium virtutes praemiatur (If he could pacify Italy through his rulership, I should prefer it to the republics (Venice, Florence, Siena!), for a noble royal heart rewards the virtues)*. This passage was excluded from the

final version since it was a controversial political statement.

⁷ Andrea Benci: Italian jurist. Son of Ugo Benci.

⁸ Ugo Benci (ca. 1360-1439): Siennese physician and philosopher, university professor and physician of princes. Benci was married to Ladia, a sister of Mariano Sozzini. DVI, sect. 50. Thus, Andrea Benci was Mariano's nephew.

101. Letter to Prokop von Rabstein (9 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 66r-66v; M2, ff. 40r-40v¹; M3, ff. 236v-237r²; V2, ff. 182-183³; V3, ff. 86r-86v⁴ **; V4, ff. 77r-77v.

Editions: HE, 102, pp. 218-219 (based on M1 and V2); WO, 1: 1, 102, pp. 239-240 (based on M1).

{86r} Eneas Silvius⁵ strenuo militi domino Procopio Bohemo⁶ salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Sunt mihi certa, quae scribis, nec umquam aliter ratus sum. Nosco enim mores militum, inter quos magni fit fides, quae ex eo est dicta, ut Cicero vult, quoniam *fiat quod dicitur*. Tu vero ultra militiam etiam litteras es sortitus, quarum magna pars fidem commendat, decipere autem inter vitia ponit. Scio igitur te retentum⁷ esse, cum sperares proficisci, nec ego aliud ratus sum. Sed commendo te, qui rescripsisti causam remansionis, et felicem te puto, qui neque montes neque lutum neque glaciem aut nives experiri voluisti, quamquam haec omnia tolerabilia existimarem⁸, si Bacchus apud has gentes tractabilis esset, qui rudis est, asper, indomitus, amarus, nihil habet in se suavitatis. Vetustas Bacchum, quoniam dulcis esset et hominem affabilem⁹ redderet, in numero deorum collocavit. Hic vero inter Eumenides cum Cerbero et Hydra locandus¹⁰ esset.

[2] Quid tibi de mulieribus dicam? Comprimo me, ne fiam invidiosus, ne aliqui ex nostris sociis, qui rutilam credunt esse Lucretiam, me molestum arguant, quasi eorum amori derogaverim. Sed amor caecus est. Ideo Papi Florentinus lucernam¹¹ quandam sic adamavit, ut pendentem ex cingulo, quocumque iret, ferret secum et obviantibus quibuscumque ostentans, numquid pulchra lucerna esset¹², percontabatur. Sic juvenus {86v} nostra Aethiopem, quasi nive sit candidior, colit. Facit hoc inopia. Nam et *monoculus rex est inter caecos*. Satis dixi. Tu Viennae degis, ubi Veneris chorus late patet. Sed cave, ne vincaris verbo aut blanditiis alicujus, quia postquam inescatus est homo, derelinquitur¹³ estque derisui. Nullam ames, nisi uxor ducenda sit¹⁴. De pecuniola mea laudo, illam apud cancellarii fratrem deponas. Regi ero tuus fidelis nuntius, et hodie, ut puto, nec mihi hoc erit pro te facere arduum. Utinam servire tibi amplius possem, nam meritus es, ut te omnes promoveant.

Vale et intra Bohemiam noli tam diu esse, ut obliviscaris nostri. Quod responsum rex dederit¹⁵, per alias litteras efficiam tibi notum.¹⁶ Ex Gretz, die 9. Decembris 1443¹⁷.

¹ SC, 86-87.

² SC, 477-478.

³ DV, 96r-96v.

⁴ DV, 89r-89v.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *omit.* HE

⁷ te retentum : retentum te V3

⁸ estimarem M2

⁹ effabilem V3

¹⁰ collocandus V3

¹¹ *corr. ex.* Lucretiam M2; Lucretiam M3

¹² est HE, WO

¹³ delinquitur M2, M3

¹⁴ nisi uxor ... sit : priusquam probaveris M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* priusquam probaveris V2b

¹⁵ rex dederit : dederit res M2

¹⁶ iterum vale *add.* M2

¹⁷ ex Gretz ... 1443 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

101. Letter to Prokop von Rabstein (8 December 1443, Graz).

- Context:* Piccolomini's Bohemian colleague and close friend, Prokop von Rabstein, had apparently left the court to travel to Bohemia, presumably to visit his home. On his way to Bohemia, he had decided to remain for a period in Vienna because of heavy snowfalls and had charged Piccolomini with informing the emperor and obtaining his acceptance.
- Subject:* Piccolomini, jokingly, assures Prokop that he completely believes his reasons for extending his stay in Vienna. He also makes disparaging remarks about the wine and the women in these countries, presumably as opposed to those of Italy.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the valiant knight Prokop¹ from Bohemia.

[1] What you write² to me is true, of course, and I have never thought otherwise. Indeed, I know the character of knights who cherish good *faith* (*fides*), a word which, as Cicero claims, *means that what is promised is made good*.³ But beyond your military training, you have also studied letters, a large part of which recommends good faith and places deception among the vices. So, I am quite sure you have been detained though hoping to leave, and I have not thought otherwise. But I commend you for writing the reason for the delay, and I think you do well in avoiding mountains, mud, ice, and snow. I myself, however, would find all such tolerable if only the Bacchus⁴ of these peoples⁵ were agreeable. But he is primitive, pungent, fierce, bitter, and without sweetness. Antiquity placed Bacchus⁶ among the gods because he was sweet and made men amiable. Your Bacchus, however, should be placed among the Eumenids,⁷ with Cerberus⁸ and Hydra⁹.

[2] And what shall I say of your women? I restrain myself lest I become obnoxious and anger a colleague who thinks his Lucretia is a shining beauty and that I disparage their love. But love is blind. Papi from Florence¹⁰ loved a candle so much that he always carried it with him, suspended from his belt, asking everyone he met, "Isn't she beautiful?" Thus, our young men worship a black woman¹¹ as if she were whiter than snow. This is caused by rarity. *For the one-eyed man is king among the blind*.¹² But I have said enough. You are now in Vienna, where Venus' troops¹³ are scattered far and wide. Beware not to be ensnared with words or caresses, for after a man has been enticed, he is abandoned and laughed at. Do not love a woman unless you wish to marry her. I am happy you have deposed my little money with the chancellor's¹⁴ brother. I shall be your faithful messenger to the king - today, I think - and there will be no problem at all. I only wish I could do more, for you deserve that all should further your affairs.

Farewell, and do not stay so long in Bohemia that you forget us. I shall inform you about the king's answer in another letter.¹⁵ From Graz, 9 December 1443.

¹ Prokop von Rabstein [Rabenstein / Prokop z Rabstějna] (ca. 1420-1472): Bohemian noble. Friend and colleague of Piccolomini. Later, chancellor of Bohemia.

² Prokop's letter is not extant.

³ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 7, 23.

⁴ I.e., wine.

⁵ Austria and Bohemia, and Central Europe in general.

⁶ Bakkhos: (Myth.) God of wine and vegetation.

⁷ Eumenides [Erynies]: (Myth.) The Furies, deities of vengeance.

⁸ Kerberos: (Myth.) A multi-headed dog that guards the gates of Hades to prevent the dead from leaving.

⁹ Hydra of Lerna : (Myth.) Multi-headed serpentine water monster guarding an entrance to the underworld. Killed by Hercules.

¹⁰ Piccolomini would also use this figure in letter 157: 2.

¹¹ "Aethiops"

¹² Proverb.

¹³ "chorus"

¹⁴ Either the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, or the Austrian chancellor, Johann Pauli von Maiers.

¹⁵ Not extant.

102. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (11 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 68v **.

Editions: HE, 103, pp. 220-224; WO, I:1, 103, pp. 240-244; (both based on M1).

Translations: RE, 37, pp. 175-180.

{67r} Aeneas ad dominum cancellarium. Magnifice et generose domine, mi praecipue.

[1] Contigit mihi erga litteras vestras sicut et vobis erga meas, nam et ultimae primae fuerunt et primae novissimae. Id vero accidit eorum culpa, quibus commissae sunt deferendae. Ego tamen suo ordine singulis respondebo.

[2] Epistolarum vestrarum quattuor ad me devenerunt. Prima est, quam in facto Coloniensis archiepiscopi scripsistis. Ad hanc rescripsi jam aliquid, nunc plenius rem suscipite. Erant hic utriusque partis procuratores, causa vero jam suspensa fuerat usque ad Purificationem. Rogati sunt Susatenses, suspensioni ut resignarent paterenturque iudicium fieri, nihilque ab eis obtentum est. Quod ubi Colonienses viderunt, scientes regi non licere vim facere, rursus dilationem ad diem juridicam post Laetare postularunt obtinueruntque. Habent et aliam causam contra Susatenses, quam dominus rex commisit ad instantiam archiepiscopi uni ex ducibus Brunsvicensibus illis, qui super electoratu dudum litigavit, unde ipsi contenti revertentur existimantes se, quod justum erat, obtinuisse, {67v} et in eo gratias agunt.

102. To Kaspar Schlick (11 December 1443, Graz).

Context: At the end of November 1443 began the Diet in Nürnberg which was to discuss ways to solve the present church schism, with two popes and two councils in Rome and Basel/Lausanne respectively.¹ One way was to hold a third council as planned by the imperial court, though by now it was known that the European rulers did not support this idea (see letter 79 and other previous letters on this matter). The emperor could not participate in the diet because of troubles in Tyrol, Austria, and Hungary.² Chancellor Schlick had gone to represent the emperor at the diet, doomed to failure because of the emperor's absence, but the troubles mentioned made his presence needed at court, and the emperor was considering recalling him.

Subject: Piccolomini answers four letters from the chancellor and replies to each of the points raised in them. Concerning the Tyrolean rebellion, he fears that the emperor's weak response will make matters worse. Concerning the chancellor's absence from court, he warns him that the emperor greatly needs his presence and that a projected visit to the chancellor's home and wife risks to displease his royal master.

Enea to the His Magnificence the Lord Chancellor. My Particular Lord.

[1] The same happened to me as to you: the last letters arrived first, and the first letters last. That is the fault of those who were responsible for their delivery. I shall now answer each of the points raised.

[2] Four letters have reached me. The first is the one you wrote concerning the archbishop of Cologne's³ matter. On this matter, I have written you previously, but now you shall have a fuller report. Procurators from each party were here, but the case was adjourned until the Feast of the Purification.⁴ The people of Soest⁵ were asked to accept the adjournment and allow for a judgment to be passed, but nothing was obtained from them.⁶ When the people from Cologne saw this, they – knowing that the king was not allowed to use force – asked for yet an adjournment, until the first court day after Laetare Sunday,⁷ and obtained it. They have another case against Soest, which the Lord King, at the archbishop's request, entrusted to one of those dukes of Braunschweig⁸ who for some time ago litigated about the electorate. So they are going back, satisfied that they have obtained justice and grateful for it.

¹ Stieber, p. 265.

² RTA, 17, pp. 8-9; Rill, p. 79.

³ Dietrich II von Mörs (ca. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death.

⁴ 2 February 1444.

⁵ The City of Soest wanted to be free of the lordship of Cologne and

join the Duchy of Cleve, which led to a conflict that lasted for years (Soester Fehde). See: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soester_Fehde.

⁶ The City of Soest denied the imperial court's competence in the matter.

⁷ The 3rd Sunday in Lent.

⁸ Duke Bernhard II von Sachsen-Lauenburg (-1463): Son of Erich IV von Sachsen-Lauenburg and Sophia from the ducal house of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. His judgment in favour of the archbishop was rejected by Soest.

[3] Secunda epistola vestra longior fuit, ex qua natum vobis esse filiolum percepi, quod tum regiae majestati tum aliis amicis vestris ac servitoribus notum feci implevique omnes laetitia. Gaudemus namque communiter Deumque rogamus, ut superstes sit et patris virtutes imitetur ac materni generis sequatur vestigia. Vestrum erit curare, ut postquam adoleverit bonis artibus imbuatur, ne sit ex illorum nobilium numero, qui despicientes litteras despiciuntur ab omnibus. Parva impensa est, quae circa filium adhibetur. Ea tamen, si recta fuerit, admodum est utilis, ut uberrimos postea fructus producit. Multum interest, ut honesta sit nutrix et bonae habitudinis. Infantis namque natura ebibiti lactis vigorem sequitur. Mulier quaedam, cum exhaustae forent mamme, suis lacte puerum enutrivit, qui postmodum semper ceni et luti amator fuit et, ut poterat, pedes in fimum fecosque immittebat. De paedagogo vero, quanta sit cura adhibenda, docet Plutarchus, docet et Quintilianus, qui Alexandrum Magnum quaedam veneficia Leonidis, paedagogi sui, sic in pueritia imbibisse refert, ut eis carere in robusta aetate non potuerit. Vos tamen haec melius nostis. Unum tantummodo dixero, ne matris ex more, sed ex voluntate patris alatur filius. Matrum namque nimia indulgentia filios inertes facit, quamquam et feminae reperte sunt, quae filios egregie nutriverunt, sicut Cornelia, Graccorum mater, cui conjugem vestram illustrissimam magis quam aliam comparaverim. Multum interest, ut honesta sit nutrix et bonae habitudinis. Infantis namque natura ebibiti lactis vigorem sequitur. Mulier quaedam, cum exhaustae forent mamme, suis lacte puerum enutrivit, qui postmodum semper ceni et luti amator fuit et, ut poterat, pedes in fimum fecosque immittebat. De paedagogo vero, quanta sit cura adhibenda, docet Plutarchus, docet et Quintilianus, qui Alexandrum Magnum quaedam veneficia Leonidis, paedagogi sui, sic in pueritia imbibisse refert, ut eis carere in robusta aetate non potuerit. Vos tamen haec melius nostis. Unum tantummodo dixero, ne matris ex more, sed ex voluntate patris alatur filius. Matrum namque nimia indulgentia filios inertes facit, quamquam et feminae reperte sunt, quae filios egregie nutriverunt, sicut Cornelia, Gracchorum mater, cui conjugem vestram illustrissimam magis quam aliam comparaverim.

[3] Your second letter was longer. From it, I learned that a little son has been born to you. When I told His Majesty and your other friends and servants, they were delighted. We all rejoice and pray to the Lord that your son will survive, imitate his father's virtue, and follow in the footsteps of his mother's family.¹ So, now you must take care that as the boy grows up, he will be imbued with the good arts,² lest he becomes one of those nobles who scorn letters and are therefore scorned by all. Raising a son does not cost much money,³ and if it is used well, it will be extremely useful and bear abundant fruit. It is important that the nurse be decent and have a good character, for the strength of the infant depends on the quality of the milk it drinks. There was a woman who, having exhausted her breast, fed her own son with milk from a sow. The son, later, always loved filth and mud, and whenever he could, he waded into dung and excrement.⁴ Concerning the tutor, Plutarch tells us that great care should be shown.⁵ And Quintilian relates that when Alexander the Great was a child, his tutor Leonidas⁶ gave him some wicked habits, which remained with him when he grew up.⁷ But you know this better than I. So, I shall only say this: do not let your son be raised after the mother's temperament but after the father's will, for a mother's excessive indulgence spoils the sons, even though some women are found to have raised their sons excellently, like Cornelia,⁸ mother of the Gracchi,⁹ and with whom I would compare your most illustrious wife rather than with anyone else.

¹ The ducal family of Oels. In his letter to Pietro da Noceto of August 1443, Piccolomini had complimented him on the birth of a son in these terms: *I pray to God that he will let your son live long and resemble his father* (Letter 69: 2). As for the compliment to the child's ducal mother, it is in line with the traditional wish for offspring of kings and high nobles to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors.

² I.e., the liberal arts, meaning that he be given a humanist education.

³ Does this imply that daughters were more costly to raise than sons?

⁴ On nurses, Piccolomini would later write, in his *De Liberorum Educatione* (1450): *Training should begin in the very cradle; even nurses should contribute their share to you. Chrysippus wanted nurses to have sound judgment, if possible, so that no contagion would be contracted from them* (DLE, 28, p. 163).

⁵ [Ps.-] Plutarch: *De Liberis Educandis [De alendis liberis]*, 7:

I now come to a point which is more important and weighty than anything I have said so far. Teachers must be sought for the children who are free from scandal in their lives, who are unimpeachable in their manners, and in experience the very best that may be found. For to receive a proper education is the source and root of all goodness. Piccolomini knew this text in a translation by Guarino Veronese, which he had access to in Basel through Francesco Pizzolpasso (Iaria: *Tra Basilea*, pp. 21-22) and quoted it in his oration "Audivi" of 16 November 1436 (COR, 2: 13). In his DVI of 1447, he wrote about it: *Also flourished Guarino Veronese, who teaches rhetorics in Ferrara and has had many pupils. He also translated Plutarch's De Alendis Liberis into Latin* (DVI, sect. 81).

⁶ Leonidas of Epiros: Tutor of Alexander the Great.

⁷ Quintilianus, 1: 1, 9: *Leonidas, Alexandri paedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam*

eum vitiis imbuat quae robustum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt persecuta. Piccolomini writes "veneficia" (poisonous drinks) instead of Quintilian's "vitiis". Quintilian is referring to vices like pride and ambition, but Piccolomini transforms it to poisons (given as a precautionary antidote?), unless a translation like "poisonous habits" should be preferred.

⁸ Cornelia (ca. 190 - ca. 115 BCE): Daughter of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (the Elder). On Cornelia, Piccolomini would later write, in his *De Liberorum Educatione* (1450): *Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, the fragrance of whose eloquence could be scented in her sons* (DLE, 28, p. 163).

⁹ The Gracchi brothers: Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (ca. 163-133 BCE) and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (154-121 BCE). Roman tribunes of the people. Tried to effect a redistribution of lands to poor people and veterans. Murdered by the optimates.

[4] De re pecuniaria, qua vacuum venisse magistrum Thomam refertis, fecimus verbum dominus Udalricus et ego, repertumque est, Lucam recepisse ducatos trecentos scripsisseque sociis suis, ut vobis de necessaria pecunia subveniant. Doletis Pangratium non aliter fuisse receptum, quam vobis significatum fuerit. Sed ita sunt mores nostri. *Nescimus inescare homines* fenerareque beneficia et sic paulatim deficimus. Fortuna, quae vultum blandum nobis ostenderet, quia recepta non est, jam posteriora demonstrat et quasi simia nobis illudit. Credo ita opus erit, ut scribitis, rebus Hungaricis providere. Hinc, quod spei sit, non video. Rex autem Poloniae minime reversus est, ut arbitramini, sed ultra dietim proficiscitur sequenteque cardinali et fatis, ignaviae nostrae ultoribus. Prospera bella conficit, famam auget et in regno se confirmat. Quo fit, ut nil sanius putem quam pacem et foedera secum percuti per medium Juliani cardinalis, viri prudentissimi. Sed haec res in absentia vestra sepulta est.

[5] Tetigistis negotium Frisingensis ecclesiae. Vidi omnia scripta ex Basiliensi concilio venientia, quae omnia remittam domino Henrico laudoque vestrum iudicium. Postquam enim alterius partis majus est beneficium, non est illuc¹ recedendum, nec mihi videtur fieri aliquid in Basilea posse, quod alteri parti jus auferat, quia non quod majores, sed quod multitudo vult, illic obtinetur. Bullae ex Romana curia nullae advenerunt, nisi prima illa brevia, per quae possessionem petivimus, sed non obtinuimus. Nec multum miror tum propter absentiam vestram, tum quia breve nihil aliud dicebat, nisi quod papa providerat ecclesiae Frisingensi fratri vestro propter merita vestra, sciens, quia majestati sue complaceret nihilque de danda possessione dicebatur. Praesentavi nunc litteram vestram responsumque petii, quod nondum obtinui. Propter recessum festinum hujus nuntii per alium mittam. Copiam vero, quam mihi transmisistis, destinabo domino Henrico, ut vestram diligentiam non ignoret.

¹ *em.*; illinc cod.

[4] In the pecuniary matter, you wrote that Magister Thomas¹ arrived² without money. I have discussed the matter with Ulrich,³ who says that Lukas⁴ has received 300 ducats and has written to his associates⁵ to provide you with the sum needed.⁶ You regret that Pankraz⁷ was not given a better reception than the one you heard of. But that is our custom: *We just don't know how to bait trap*⁸ and benefit from favours [granted], and thus we gradually fall behind. Fortune would have shown us her pleasant face, but since she was not embraced, she now shows us the other one and, like a monkey, makes fun of us. I believe we should intervene in the Hungarian affairs, as you write,⁹ but I do not see what hope we may have. The king of Poland¹⁰ has not turned back but makes daily progress, followed by the cardinal¹¹ and the fates, avengers of our faintheartedness. He makes successful wars, and as his fame spreads, his position in the kingdom grows stronger, too. Therefore, I think it would be best to make peace and alliance with him through the agency of Cardinal Giuliano, wisest of men. But in your absence, this whole matter is buried.

[5] You touched upon the matter of the Church of Freising.¹² I have seen all the documents from the Council of Basel, which I shall give to Heinrich,¹³ and I praise your judgment. For as the other party's¹⁴ advantage is much greater, there is no reason to go back there.¹⁵ I believe that nothing can be achieved in Basel to deprive the other party¹⁶ of his rights, for there one does not get what the important people want but what the multitude does. No bulls have arrived from the Roman curia except the first brief ones concerning the possession we applied for but did not obtain.¹⁷ That is not surprising given your absence but also since the first *breve*¹⁸ only said that the pope¹⁹ had provided your brother with the Church of Freising on account of your merits and because he wanted to accommodate His Majesty, and nothing was said about the grant of possession. I have presented your letter but have not yet received an answer. Since your messenger left speedily, I shall send this with another one, and I shall forward the copy you sent me to Heinrich to let him know of your diligent efforts [on his behalf].²⁰

¹ Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach, who, with Kaspar Schlick, represented the emperor at the Diet of Nürnberg (November 1443 to January 1444).

² In Nürnberg.

³ Ulrich Riederer (ca. 1406-1460): Doctor utriusque juris. Official and close advisor of Friedrich III.

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ Presumably, bankers or financial agents in Nürnberg.

⁶ See letter 92: 2-3.

⁷ Pongrácz za Sv. Mikuláš [Pankraz von Holitsch] [Halitsch] (-1461): Military commander from Moravia. Pongrácz had been endeavouring to take over Hungarian territories belonging to Kaspar Schlick, who therefore found it expedient to make him an ally instead of an enemy.

⁸ Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 220: *nescis inescare homines*.

⁹ The civil war between adherents of Wladyslaw III and Ladislaus the Posthumous, both pretendants to the crown of Hungary. The Hungarian situation had a special significance for the chancellor since he had important possessions in Hungary that came under attack during the turbulent times.

¹⁰ Wladyslaw III Jagiellon.

¹¹ Giuliano Cesarini.

¹² See previous letters on this issue.

¹³ The chancellor's brother, Heinrich Schlick.

¹⁴ The party favouring the other candidate for the see of Freising, the Felician cardinal Johann Grünwalder.

¹⁵ I.e., sending another royal envoy to Basel to plead the cause of the

imperial candidate, Heinrich Schlick.

¹⁶ Johann Grünwalder.

¹⁷ To obtain an ecclesiastical benefice, one first had to receive the appointment, and second to get actual possession of the benefice. Getting possession of a benefice could be quite difficult, especially if another person had also received appointment and gotten actual possession, as had happened in Freising, where Johann Grünwalder, elected by the chapter and confirmed by the Council of Basel, had already taken possession of the see.

¹⁸ Papal letter, less formal than a bull.

¹⁹ Pope Eugenius IV.

²⁰ I.e., to secure the Church of Freising for him.

[6] Nunc ad alias litteras venio, in quibus dispositionem illius dietae significastis. Nemo potuit alium finem arbitrari, ex quo rex non ascendeat. Dixi omnia majestati regiae, quae ea voluit per Michaellem in consilio referri, voluissetque rex scire, quinam essent illi duo electores mutati, sed non potui nisi per opinionem loqui de Treverensi et Maguntino. Stupuit rex, quando intellexit dietam debere continuari seque vocandum esse moxque mihi mandavit, vobis ut suo et meo nomine scriberem per proprium nuntium, ut omni re alia postposita ad majestatem suam proficisceremini per viam versus Salzburgam, tum propter ardua imperii et suae majestatis negotia, tum propter ecclesiam Frisingensem, de qua disponere volebat cum consilio vestro. Ego mox replicavi: "Videat majestas vestra, utrum expediat revocare illum durante conventu. Mihi non videtur consultum: melius esset expectare alias litteras, quas oratores infra triduum sunt missuri, et tunc secundum expedientiam deliberare." Placuit regi, quod dixi, et sic dilata est vocatio vestra. Ego, ut video, non arbitror vobis patere facultatem manendi domi, nisi cum displicentia regis id velitis facere, quod non esset consultum, et multae rationes sunt, quae vos debent huc trahere. Rex enim maxime est vestri indigens et nunc potissimum impetrabit, quae cupitis, et rem ecclesie Frisingensis componetis ad nutum. Regina Thalestris audita Alexandri fama in Asiam secuta eum est, ut ex tanto viro conciperet mansitque secum *diebus 13*, et, *ut visa est uterum implesse, discessit*. Ita et vos facere decet. Postquam secundum filium fabricaveritis, revertendum est. Mora enim, quam illic faceretis, etsi multum voluptatis parum tamen utilitatis haberet. Haec nolim illustrissimae ducissae nota esse.

[6] Now I come to the other letters in which you spoke of the decisions concerning the diet.¹ Since the king did not attend it, no other result could be expected. I related all to His Royal Majesty, who wanted Michael² to make a report in council. The king also wanted to know which two electors had changed their position. I could not tell him [since I did not know], but I did express the opinion that they were the archbishops of Trier³ and Mainz.⁴ ⁵ The king was surprised to hear that the diet would continue and that he would be invited to participate.⁶ He immediately required me to send you a message, in his name and mine, with his own messenger, that you should leave all other affairs and come to His Majesty via the road to Salzburg to advise him on the urgent affairs of the Empire and also the [matter of] the Church of Freising that he wanted to settle. I answered, “Your Majesty might consider whether it is expedient to recall the chancellor while the diet lasts. In my opinion, it is not: it would be better to await the next letter, which the ambassadors will send within three days, and then deliberate on the best course to follow.” The king agreed, and thus your recall was postponed. As I see it, you cannot visit your home unless you wish to incur the king’s displeasure. That would, indeed, be unwise! There are many reasons for you to come here, and the king greatly needs you. So, now may be the most favourable time for you to obtain your wish and settle the matter of the Church of Freising to your satisfaction.⁷ When Queen Thalestris⁸ heard of Alexander’s fame, she followed him to Asia and stayed with him *for 13 days* to conceive a child from this great man, and when she knew she had become pregnant, she left.⁹ You should do the same. When you have sired a second son, you should return [to the court]. Staying at home would be very pleasant but not very useful. Please do not let the duchess¹⁰ hear of this.

¹ The Diet of Nürnberg (11. Nov 1443 to 22.1.1444), see letters 71: 2, 79:3, 85:3., 93:2,3. The diet was summoned to settle the church conflict and to prepare for a third council. It failed largely because of the emperor’s absence. In his *De Viris Illustribus* (1447), Piccolomini wrote about this diet: *Later, when the time approached for the next diet in Nürnberg to deal with matters of the Church, Chiemsee, Kaspar and Thomas Hasselbach were sent with full powers to reach a decision on the ecclesiastical affairs, whether to make a declaration 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 (DVI, 163).

² Michael von Pfullendorf.

³ Jakob von Sierck (ca. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-electoral from 1339 to his death.

⁴ Dietrich Schenck von Erbach (1390-1459): Archbishop of Mainz, German prince-electoral, and primate of Germany from 1434 to his death.

⁵ They were actually the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, see Piccolomini’s DRGB (1450), where he wrote: *Similarly, those sent from the council courted them as well. Jakob of Trier, who once was a Eugenian, moved by I know not what indignation, favored those at Basel and their Felix. Die-*

trich of Cologne, also, either from love of neutrality or from hatred of Eugenius, who had not given him his way about the case over Utrecht, became allied with Felix. Moreover, Frederick, duke of Saxony, contracted the marriage of a son or a daughter with the house of Savoy, for which reason there was hope that he would push affairs in favor of the council (RE, p. 363).

⁶ In the DRGB, Piccolomini wrote: *The meeting at Nuremberg on the feast of St. Martin decreed that the king had to be present on the feast of the Purification, but that the meeting would be continued in the meantime* (RE, p. 363).

⁷ Kaspar Schlick had apparently left or intended to leave Nürnberg to return home and visit his wife.

⁸ Thalestris: (Myth.) Queen of the Amazones.

⁹ A legend reported by the Greek Alexander Romance. It was disputed by Plutarch.

¹⁰ Agnes (-1448). Daughter of Duke Konrad V. von Oels. Married Kaspar in 1437.

[7] Nunc ad novitates venio, quas cupitis. Athesis undique conspiravit, junctique sunt nobiles plebi. Depositi sunt omnes, qui nomine regis administrabant, et alii officiales facti. Omnes aditus clausi sunt et custodes positi. Decretum inter eos est, quod Sigismundus revertatur, denturque sibi consilarii per nobiles patriae, et postquam liberam administrationem habuerit, si vult regi dimittere, oboedietur regi. Quod utrum futurum sit, vestro iudicio relinquo. Ob hanc rem venit huc episcopus Constantiensis tamquam mediator, veneruntque oratores Athesini cum equis circiter 40, *nec aliud volunt*, ut ait Terentius, quam *Filomenam*. Nihil hic de justo vel aequo agitur, sed omnis de necessario sermo est. *Sic volo, sic jubeo et sit pro ratione voluntas*. Missi sunt illuc oratores regis, cum quibus et noster Wilhelmus Tacz profectus est. Hi petere habent introitum regis et ducis, et si dicatur, ut veniant cum praetaxato gentium numero, replicetur dominis patrie non esse legem ponendam. Quod si aliud obtineri nequeat, petatur, ut ad confinia veniant et locum communem, ubi de concordia transigatur. Opinio tamen est sic istos reversuros sicut oratores Latini a Diomede, qui vacui reversi fuerunt. His enim Suicenses assistunt, hortantur, ut patriam tueantur, et auxilia promittunt. Ita est mala res, spes deterior. Comes Ciliae stat in pace, sed non multa curat regem. Comes Goricie dimissus fuit auxilio Ciliensium, et uxor ejus in quodam castello vitam degit, virtute et moribus suis indignam. Rex est iturus ad Sanctum Vitum in Carinthia ibique responsum ex Athesi manebit. Postea creditur Salczburgam petiturus.

[8] In Austria conventus est patrie. Neitperg eo missus est. Timor occupat mentes hominum, ne Athesis exemplum rebus Austriae noceat, quia una infelicitas gradus est alterius, nec infortunia solent uno insultu quiescere. Haec vos non debent terrere, sed magis ad reditum inducere, quia tunc sunt benigni principes, quando servitoribus indigent. Prosperitas autem principis mater est insolentiae. Ex Italia non scribo aliquid, quia omnia nostis, nec nobis animus est res illas aggredi, qui vix tuemur propinquas.

[7] Now I come to the news you want. The whole of Tyrol is in rebellion, and the nobles have joined up with the commoners.¹ All the [officials] who administered [the country] in the king's name² have been deposed, and new officials appointed. All access points have been closed, and guards have been placed there.³ They have also decreed that Siegmund⁴ should return and be given counsellors by the nobles of the region, and if, when he begins to rule by himself, he wants to yield to the king, then they will obey the king. How likely that is, I leave to your own judgment. For this reason, the Bishop of Konstanz⁵ has arrived as a mediator. Also, Tyrolean ambassadors have arrived with 40 horses, and – as Terence says – they *have no wish but for Philomena*.⁶ Nobody here now speaks of justice and equity but only of necessity. *This is my will and my command; let my will be the voucher for the deed*.⁷ Royal ambassadors have been sent there, and with them our Wilhelm Tasz.⁸ Their task is to seek entry for the king and the duke, and if it is said that these may only come with a limited number of men, they will reply that it is not for the lords of that country to dictate the terms. If nothing else can be achieved, they will be requested to come to some place at the border to negotiate a settlement. General opinion has it, however, that [the king's envoys] will come back like those Latin ambassadors who returned empty-handed from Diomedes.⁹ The Tyroleans are supported by the Swiss,¹⁰ who urge them to defend their fatherland and promise assistance. Thus the present situation is bad, but the outlook is worse. The Count of Cilly¹¹ remains at peace but does little for the king. The Count of Görz¹² was released with the aid of the Cillys.¹³ His wife¹⁴ lives in some castle, unworthy in virtue and character. The king will go to Sankt Veit in Kärnten and there await the answer from Tyrol. Afterwards, it is believed he will go to Salzburg.¹⁵

[8] In Austria, the estates are meeting. Neitperg¹⁶ has been sent there. People fear the example of Tyrol will affect the situation in Austria, for one trouble is the step to the next, and usually, misfortunes are not satisfied with one attack. These things should not deter you but rather induce you to return, for princes are gracious when they need their servants, but when they prosper, they become arrogant. I do not write anything about Italy, for it is all known to you, and we do not feel like talking about those matters when we can barely manage our own.

¹ Against the emperor's agreement with Duke Siegmund to prolong the guardianship, see letter 98: 29-38.

² As guardian of Duke Siegmund.

³ Niederstätter, p. 244: *Ein Landtag, der am 3. November in Meran zusammentrat, beschloss die Übernahme der Macht durch die Stände: Von den königlichen Amts-trägern sollten keine Befehle entgegengenommen, alle Abgaben zurückgehalten werden. Das Land wurde in Verteidigungsbereitschaft gesetzt.*

⁴ Duke Siegmund.

⁵ Heinrich VI von Hewen [Höwen] (ca. 1398-1462): Bishop of Konstanz from 1436 to his death.

⁶ Terentius: *Andria*, 306: *Nil volo aliud nisi Philumenam.*

⁷ Juvenalis, 6: 223.

⁸ A member of the imperial chancery. Piccolomini had his difficulties with him, as he wrote in his *Commentarii: When Schlick went to Nuremberg as the emperor's legate, he delegated his authority to Wilhelm Tacz, a Bavarian who hated all Italians. This man insulted Aeneas outrageously but Aeneas, having made up his mind to conquer all evil by good, laid back his ears like the stubborn ass whose burden is too heavy for his back* (COM, 1: 2, 11 (Meserve, 1: p. 47).

⁹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 11: 226-227: *magna Diomedis ex urbe legati responsa ferunt: nihil omnibus actum tantorum impensis munerum*

¹⁰ Traditional enemies of the Habsburgs.

¹¹ Ulrich II von Cilly.

¹² Heinrich VI von Görz (1376-1454): Count of Görz from 1385 to his death.

¹³ The counts of Cilly.

¹⁴ Katharina Garai (ca. 1390-1471): Daughter of the Hungarian Palatin Nikolaus Garai.

¹⁵ The emperor did go to Sankt Veit on 20 December but not to Salzburg afterwards (Heinig, 3: 1355).

¹⁶ Johann [Hans] von Neitperg: Styrian noble. Haushofmeister of Friedrich III. One of Styrian "trinity" of councillors" (Piccolomini's ironical expression) close to Friedrich III, the other two being Walther Zebinger and Johann Ungnad.

[9] Ultimo habet Jacobus, notarius vester, primarias preces ad capitulum Aschense. Vacavit nuper una praebenda, quae spretis precibus regis alteri tradita est. Vos tutor et pater estis omnium de cancellaria semperque vestros juvare consuevistis. Dignetur ergo vestra magnificentia scribere domino Maguntino et etiam capitulo praefato, ut eundem Jacobum et regis et vestri intuitu habeat recommissum, ne contingente ulteriori vacatione par huic reddatur injuria. Scit vestra magnificentia notarios suos non habere multum lucri, idcirco recompensandum est promotionibus.

Valete optime et me commissum facite collegis vestris. Ex Gretz, die 11. Decembris 1443.

[9] A last item: Your notary Jakob¹ has obtained the *primariae preces*² for the chapter in Asch³. Recently, a prebend fell vacant there, but they set aside the king's request and gave it to another. As the guardian and father to all in the chancery, you have always supported your own people. So, I beg of Your Magnificence to write to His Lordship of Mainz⁴ and the said chapter to honour the king's and your own recommendation of Jakob lest he be rejected again when another prebend falls vacant there. Your Magnificence knows that your notaries do not earn much and must, therefore, be compensated by [ecclesiastical] appointments.

Farewell, and recommend me to your colleagues.⁵ From Graz, 11 December 1443.

¹ Jakob Widerl.

² The right of the emperor to name an appointee to the first prebend that becomes vacant in every church of the Empire after his accession.

³ (Eschenz bei Stein in the Rhineland? (RE, p. 180)). Apparently a church in the ecclesiastical province of Mainz.

⁴ Archbishop Dietrich Schenck von Erbach.

⁵ I.e. the chancellor's colleagues as royal ambassadors to the Diet of Nürnberg. This supports the notion that the chancellor was still in Nürnberg and had not yet returned to his wife.

103. Letter to Siegmund of Austria (13 December 1443, Graz).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 68v; M2, ff. 85r-85v¹; M3, ff. 234v-235²; V2, ff. 159-160³; V3, ff. 73r-73v⁴ **; V4, ff. 65v-66r.
Editions: HE, 104, pp. 224-226; WO, 1: 1, 104, pp. 245-247; (both based on M1 and V2).
Translations: BA, 2, p. 20; ME, 19, pp. 104-105; ME, 38, pp. 180-181.

{73r} Illustrissimo principi⁵, Sigismundo, duci Austriae, domino suo, Aeneas Silvius⁶, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Efflagitasti modeste a me pridie, tibi ut amatoriam alicujus epistolam mitterem, cujus exemplo⁷ suadere posses virgini, quam diligis, ut amare te sineret. Alius fortasse tibi hoc negasset, timens ne prolabereris, ego annuendum duxi. Scio namque humanae vitae conditionem: nam qui non amat in adolescentia⁸, in senio⁹ amat, quo tempore derisui est et vulgi¹⁰ fabula, quoniam aetas illa amori inepta est. Nosco praeterea amoris consuetudinem, qui in juvene torpentes virtutes excitat: hunc in armis exercet, illum in litteris, et studet quisque id agere, propter quod amicae placeat. Et quia virtutes nomen bonum faciunt, virtuti dat operam, qui amat, ut ante puellae faciem laudetur. Et quamquam hoc ineptum virtutis praemium sit, probabile tamen est, quacumque ratione virtutes adipiscaris. Adolescentes insuper non sunt nimium cohibendi, ne languidi et inertes fiant, permittendusque his est aliquis ludus, indulgendum est aliquantisper voluptati eorum, ut animum et cor sumant, ut sciant malum et bonum, ut versutias mundi noscant illasque, cum viri facti fuerint, evitare sciant. Hac de causa gessi morem voluntati tue et optatam epistolam hac {73v} conditione tibi transmittito, ut amans non negligas studia litterarum, sed quemadmodum *apes ex floribus mella decerpunt* sic tu ex amoris blanditiis virtutem veneris.

Vale. Ex Gretz¹¹, die 13. Decembris 1443¹² 13.

¹ SC, 177-178.

² SC, 475-476.

³ DV, ff. 85r-85v.

⁴ DV, ff. 76r-76v.

⁵ domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a;
~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~
seq. V2b

⁷ cujus exemplo : qua M1, WO

⁸ in adolescentia *omit.* M2

⁹ postmodum *add.* M1-M3, V2a;
~~postmodum~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ fit *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~fit~~ *seq.*
V2b

¹¹ Vienna M3

¹² die 13 ... 1443 *omit.* M3

¹³ ex ... 1443 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

103. Letter to Siegmund of Austria (13 December 1443, Graz).

Context: The 16-year-old Duke Siegmund had asked Piccolomini for a love letter to send to a girlfriend.
Subject: Piccolomini agrees to the duke's wish since he understands young men's needs, which, indeed, he knew very well. He prettily claims that young men's amorous pursuits will make them virtuous – in the broader sense of developing positive and manly qualities and prepare them to meet a world full of cunning slyness.¹

{73r} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Lordship, the Most Illustrious Duke Siegmund of Austria.

[1] Yesterday, you urgently but modestly asked me to send you the text of a love letter which you could use to persuade a young maid you love to allow you to court her. Another man might have refused for fear of leading you astray, but I have decided to agree to your request, for I know the condition of human life: a man who does not love as a youth will love as an old man, becoming a laughingstock and a tale for common people² since that age is not proper for love. Moreover, I know that love usually awakens the virtuous qualities lying dormant in a youth: one youth will take up arms and another letters, and each will endeavour to please his girlfriend. And since good qualities³ give someone a good reputation, the one who loves will try hard to acquire such qualities so that people will praise him to the girl. And though that is not the proper reward for virtue, the youth will probably, whatever the reason, acquire some virtuous qualities. Moreover, young men should not be restrained too much lest they become lethargic and passive. They must be allowed some fun, and their need for sensual pleasure should be indulged so that they become vigorous and passionate and know right from wrong. Then, when they become men, they will know the snares of the world and be able to avoid them. Therefore, I have agreed to your wish and send you the desired letter, on one condition, however: while being occupied with love, you must not neglect the study of letters but - like *the bees who extract honey from flowers*⁴ - seek virtue amid the caresses of love.

Farewell. From Graz, 13 December 1443.

¹ See Izbicki: *Reject*, pp. 187-188.

² Horatius: *Epodi*, 11: 8: *per urbem*
 ... *quanta fabula fui*.

³ "virtutes"

⁴ Basileios: *Ad Adolescentes*, 4: 9.

104. Letter from Siegmund of Austria to Lucretia (13 December 1443, Graz)

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 65v-66r; M2, ff. 88v-89r¹; V2, ff. 157-159²; V3, ff. 71v-73r³ **; V4, ff. 64r-65v.

Editions: HE, 104, pp. 225-226; WO, 1:1, 104, pp. 245-247 (Edited in continuation of letter 104 (Efflagitasti); (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: BA, 2, pp. 20-22; ME, 19, pp. 105-107.

{71v} Sigismundus, Austriae dux⁴, salutem plurimam dicit et seipsum dat singulari dominae suae insigni et formosissimae virgini Lucretiae, regis Daciae⁵ filiae.

[1] Volui te saepius alloqui amoremque meum tibi notum efficere, sed aetas mea nimis adhuc verecunda est, quae non patitur, quod intra me sentio, foras exire. Quamprimum incipio loqui, mox rubor adest, timor impedit, et mediis *vox* in *faucibus* haeret, nec cogitata possum effari. Timeo modestiam tuam, ne me arguat. Vereor astantes, ne me derideant. Horresco me ipsum, ne balbutiens fiam. Hac de re, quod statueram dicere, decrevi litteris committere, quia *epistola non erubescit*, non suspirat, non timet quemquam. Forsitan arduum aliquid et perdifficile postulaturum me putas. Parum est, quod volo, at⁶ si mihi concesseris multum existimabo. Ego enim, modestissima virgo, fateor me tui amantem esse captumque tui vultus splendore, nec aliud die noctuque⁷ cogito quam te. Tu mihi semper es in mente, te in corde et in animo gero. Tu meum desiderium es, {72r} tu spes mea, tu quies, tu refrigerium. Cum te video, quiescit animus meus et se oblectat. At cum abes, nec te cernere possum, magnis urgeor stimulis, nec aliud meditor, nisi ut quam primum te revisam. Hoc multiplici causa factum est, nam et forma et honestas in te concurrunt.

[2] Laudant Helenen⁸ poetae, at ego illam non existimo tibi fuisse similem, nec Polixenam tibi comparaverim aut eam, quam dilexit Hercules, Deianiram⁹. Tu omnes vincis et pulchritudine et moribus. Quasi altera Philomena a calce usque ad¹⁰ verticem nulla est in te menda. Crines tui splendorem auri superant. Frons alta et spaciosa est. Supercilia in arcum tensa debitis spatiis distinguuntur. Oculi tui tamquam duo emicant sidera, inde sagittas emittis et vulneras juvenes; hinc, quos vis, occidis et, quos vis, vivificas. Nasus suis conveniens partibus faciem mirifice honestat. Genas candore niveo respersas modestus rubor intersecat. Quid labia corallina et cristallinos referam dentes et omnes oris tui partes, unde¹¹ melliflua manant verba? Hinc risus ille progreditur, qui me saepe ad intima penetrat. O virum felicem, qui labia illa mordebit, qui tales osculabitur genas, qui mentum tuum et candidiorem Scythica nive gulam tuam poterit tangere. Nolo pectoris tui et illorum pomorum, qui ibi latent, mentionem efficere, ne referans nimis ardeam. Tu te scis, quam intra et extra formosa es. Ego mirari {72v} magis quam digne commendare te possum. Hoc tantum dico, quia mores tui regio fastigio digni et forma plus quam dici possit honesta ex duce me servum tuum fecerunt.

¹ SC, 186-187

² DV, ff. 84r-85v.

³ DV, ff. 74v-76r.

⁴ Hannibal dux Numidiae M1, M2, V2a; Sigismundus Austriae dux :

corr. ex Hannibal dux Numidiae V2b

⁵ Epirotharum M1, M2, V2a; *corr.*

ex Epirotharum V2b

⁶ hoc M1

⁷ nocteque V4

⁸ Helenam M2; Helenem V4

⁹ Deiamira V4

¹⁰ in V4

¹¹ inde V4

104. Letter from Siegmund of Austria to Lucretia (13 December 1443, Graz)

Context: See letter 103. Piccolomini might later, as pope, have regretted his decision to include this letter in his published collection. At the Congress of Mantua, Gregor Heimburg caused quite a stir when he referred to it, presumably to embarrass the pope.¹

Subject: A love letter in true form.

Siegmund, Duke of Austria, sends many greetings and dedicates himself to Her Ladyship, the excellent and beautiful maid, Lucretia, daughter of the king of Dacia.²

[1] Often I have wanted to speak with you and tell you of my love for you, but I am still so young that shyness forbids me to reveal my inner feelings. As soon as I begin to speak, I blush and get nervous, *the voice chokes in my throat*,³ and I cannot say what I think. I also fear that, in your modesty, you will blame me. I fear the laughter of the bystanders. I am terrified that I shall begin to stammer. Therefore, I have decided to put what I would say into a letter, for *a letter has no blushes*,⁴ it does not sigh, it does not fear. Maybe you now think I will ask for something hard and most difficult. But what I want is very little, though I shall value it greatly if you grant it. For, oh most modest of maids, I confess that I am in love with you. I have been captivated by the splendour of your face; day and night, I think of nothing else. You are always in my mind, heart and soul. You are my desire, my hope, my peace and my relief. When I see you, my mind is at peace and content. But when you are absent and I cannot see you, I long for you terribly and think of nothing else than to see you again as soon as possible. There are many reasons for this, for beauty and honour are joined in you.

[2] The poets praise Helen,⁵ but I do not believe she was your equal. Nor would I compare with you Polyxena⁶ or Deianira,⁷ beloved by Hercules. You surpass them all in beauty and character. Like another Philomena,⁸ you have no fault from top to toe. Your hair surpasses gold in splendour. Your brow is high. Your eyebrows are like arches, delicately separated. Your eyes shine like two stars, and you use them to shoot arrows and wound young men, both those you wish to die and those you wish to live. Your nose is an exquisite adornment of your face. Your cheeks are white and charmingly rosy. What shall I say about your coral lips and crystal teeth, from which flow honeyed words and laughter that often pierces my heart? Oh, happy the man who nips these lips, who kisses such cheeks, who may caress your chin and neck, whiter than Scythian snow! I will not speak of your bosom and the apples hidden there,⁹ lest I grow inflamed with passion. But you know very well how beautiful you are within and without. I can better admire you than praise you fittingly. I shall say that your conduct, worthy of royalty, and your beauty, more exquisite than words can say, have turned me from duke to slave.

¹ In the oration "*In refulgenti*" of 21 November 1459 where Heimburg refers to *plurimarum suavissimarum epistolae*. In a note, Heimburg adds: *Hic visi sunt consussurantes* ... (COR, 8: p. 30).

² The early version of the letter (M1-M3) had Hannibal as the sender and Lucretia, daughter of the king of Epirus, as the addressee. Having, in the later versions (V2-V4), changed the sender to Siegmund

himself, Piccolomini could not very well let the addressee be a princess from Antiquity, and therefore he substituted Dacia for Epirus. At the time, he used Dacia for Denmark (Dacia in the sense of the Roman province would not fit the present time, either).

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2: 774.

⁴ Cicero: *Ad familiares*, 22: 1.

⁵ Helen of Troy (myth.): Said to be the most beautiful woman in the

world. Wife of Menelaus of Sparta, abducted by Prince Paris of Troy, which led to the Trojan War.

⁶ Polyxene (Myth.): Daughter of King Priam of Troy.

⁷ Deianira (Myth.): Calydonean princess who became the wife – and unwitting murderer – of Hercules.

⁸ It is uncertain to whom Piccolomini is referring. Cf. CAR, 10: 10.

⁹ Beneath the clothes, presumably!

[3] Tuus enim sum nihilque magis cupio quam rem gratam tibi efficere nec miror, nam et Phoebus, ut inquit fabulae, licet esset Jovis regis Cretae¹, quem vetustas pro deo coluit, filius, Admeti tamen regis filiam amans pastorem se fecit et gregem pavit². Ego igitur libens servio tibi nec aliud a te postulo, nisi ut amare me sinas et animo aequo feras, si mihi³ dicaris⁴ amata⁵. Hoc est, quod volo, peto, exigo; nil postulo plus. Fer, tuus ut amator dicar, nam et amator ero et servus, tu modo annuas. Confiteor dignam te fore, quam meliores et majores, quam ego sum, ament. Esset vix Paris aut Hyppolitus dignus amore tuo. Tu tamen noli quaerere formam, nam et qui pulchri sunt, superbi etiam sunt nec stabilem habent amorem. In me erit amor perpetuus, qui natus in adolescentiae meae flore, cum aetate crescens ad senium perducetur, dummodo⁶ tu mihi faveas et me adjuves, quem tamen non debes despiciere, nam et mihi non negavit Deus mediocrem formam. Sunt mihi praeterea opes multae, quae omnes erunt tuae, si vicem amoris rependeris. Ha⁷, quid dixi? Nimum erravi: non, ut ames, peto, sed ut amare me⁸ sinas. Hoc si tua ex gratia impetravero, beatus sum.

Tu quid factura sis, rescribe et vale, animula mea, deliciae {73r} meae, corculum meum. Datum Gretz⁹.

¹ certe V4

² Pastorem se ... pavit *omit.* V4

³ mei M1; mea HE

⁴ ditaris M1

⁵ amatu M1

⁶ quomodo V4;

⁷ ach M1, M2 V2a; *corr. ex ach*

V3

⁸ *omit.* M1

⁹ *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[3] For I am yours, and I desire nothing more than to please you. I am not surprised that Phoebus¹, as the legends² say, though a son of Jupiter, the king of Crete, whom Antiquity worshipped as a god,³ fell in love with the daughter of King Admetus⁴ and became a shepherd guarding the flock.⁵ Thus I shall serve you, and I only ask that you allow me to love you and accept to be called my love. This is what I wish, ask, and demand, nothing more. Accept that I be called your lover, for I shall be your lover and servant if only you agree. I declare that you are worthy of being loved by better and greater men than me, but even a Paris⁶ or a Hippolytus⁷ would be unworthy of your love. However, you should not search for beauty, for those who are beautiful are proud of it and become inconstant in love. My love will be eternal, for, born in the flower of my youth, it will grow with age and continue into my old age if only you favour and help me. And you should not scorn me, for God has also given me some beauty, and moreover, I have great wealth which will all be yours if you return my love. Ah⁸, what did I say? I erred: I do not ask you to love me but that you allow me to love you. If only I obtain this boon from you, I shall be happy.

Write back to me what you will do and farewell, my little soul, my delight, my little heart. Given in Graz.

¹ Apollo. After the Fall of Troy, she was sacrificed by the Greeks.

² Horatius: *Epodi*, 11: 8.

³ A “debunking” theory!

⁴ Admetos: (Myth.) King of Pherae in Thessaly.

⁵ According to Plutarch and Ovid, it was actually King Admetus himself, whom Apollo loved to the point of becoming his servant. Plutarch: *Moralia / The Dialogue on Love (Epotikos)*, 761E: *Apollo also*

was Admetus' lover according to the tale: He served Admetus for a mighty year. Ovidius: Ars Amatoria, 2: 233-241: Love is a kind of warfare ... The Cynthian [Apollo] is said to have pastured the kine of Admetus, King of Pherae, and to have made a humble cot his lodgings. Whom does that not become which became Phoebus? Piccolomini may either have known a garbled version of the tale, misun-

derstood it, or changed it to fit his context.

⁶ Prince Paris of Troy.

⁷ Hippolytus: (Myth.) Son of Theseus. His downfall was caused by a jealous Aphrodite.

⁸ The early versions have “Ach”, a German exclamation, which confirms that Piccolomini had acquired some knowledge of German.

105. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (13 December 1443, Lausanne)

Manuscripts: BRI / 407, f. 261. *

Editions: HE, 105, pp. 226-227; WO, 1:1, 105, pp. 247-248; (both based on the BRI ms.).

Bartholomaeus, episcopus Cornetanus, Aenee Silvio, laureato poetae, salutem dicit plurimam.

[1] Suscepi hesterno vesperi gratissimas litteras tuas, mi clarissime, quibus non modo gratulor ego, sed omnis mea domus quam vehementius gaudet, cum in primis sospitatem tuam, quae nobis omnibus extat auro pretiosior, et demum nostri te memorem intelligamus. Nec tu plurimorum morem servas, qui tanto ad rem afficiuntur, quanto illam aspiciunt, dataque absentia ad amicitiam se praebent immemores. Sed quidem ab horum opinione devias, qui, etsi me praesens colueris, absens et me meosque omnes diligis magis et amorem in me ostentas tuum. Et si haec scripserim, non aberro. Scribis enim me ad hosce dies a Caesare inter alteros ejus consiliarios ascriptum esse, quod ad grandem cepi animi voluptatem et gratitudinem parem. Et tu id existimare vales, si ad gratiam cesserint, cum nec ignores, quanto id studio Francfordiae flagitarim. Quod autem impraesentiarum, me inscio, me non¹ sperante, me denique ad eam rem tunc non habente animum, id ipsum factum extiterit, magnifice² et cooperantium probo et laudo amicitiam, quique fuerint. Nuntias dominum Jacobum, patrem meum, ad eam rem dedisse opus nec a te quidquam scribis, quasi et facto tu verbum non feceris. Sed non ignaro scribis, ut qui erga te non habeam gratias pro munere tanto. Facis - rem intelligo et scio - non te mutum aut elinguem obvenisse facto nec rei obfuisse in quoquam. Sed quocumque res cesserint, nuntianti tibi rem adeo gratam habeo gratias et ingentes, et eas pares facies meis verbis domino Jacobo, quem hujusce rei ducem fuisse denuntias. Congratulor equidem ea re, ac si episcopatum meum nactus essem. Ideo, ut scribis, itidem facias, ad me consiliaratus litteras quam citius mittas, et ego ad rem Caesaris, ut me hortaris, vigil ero semper et intentior, tuque ad eum Caesarem me commissum facias. Rursus te oro et obsecro, si amas me, et quam crebrius ad me scribas, et hanc nostrorum corporum absentiam crebro vincamus sermone et absentiae hujus pondus litterarum nostrarum vicissitudine et beneficio leniamus. Quod equidem servabo tibi, si modo scribendi facultas assit. Supplicantiam pro genito domini Jacobi nondum expeditam reppereram Lausannae, quod non sine molitione et machina factum fore arbitratus sum. Sed celeri remedio usus fui, ut ex litteris meis ad dominum Jacobum connectaberis³.

Vale decus amicitiae et me, quemadmodum semper facis, ama. Ex Lausanna, idibus Decembris.

¹ *em.* HE, WO; *omit.* cod.

² *em.*; *magnifico* HE, WO

³ *connectaberis* WO

105. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (13 December 1443, Lausanne).

- Context:* The year before, in Frankfurt, Vitelleschi had applied for an appointment as imperial councillor. This appointment had now come through together with a batch of similar appointments. Apparently, Piccolomini and Jakob Widerl had promoted the appointment. It aimed, no doubt, at gaining a supporter of the emperor's ecclesiastical policies at the antipope's court,¹ but other mutual services between centrally placed officials were also in play,
- Subject:* Vitelleschi thanks Piccolomini and Jakob Widerl for their assistance in his appointment as imperial councillor and promises to aid the emperor's cause and return the favour when possible.

Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Bishop of Corneto, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, Poet Laureate.

[1] Yesterday evening, my distinguished friend, I received your most welcome letter.² I am, of course, glad of it, and my whole household rejoices firstly that you are in good health, more precious to all of us than gold, and also because you still remember us. For you are not like one of those many who are only concerned about what is right before them and forget about absent friends. Indeed, you are not like them: when you were here, you cultivated my friendship, and now that you are absent, you still show your love of me and mine. I am not mistaken in writing this, for you have just informed me by letter that I have, among others, been appointed councillor by the emperor, which causes me great pleasure and gratitude. Indeed, you can appreciate how much this favour means to me since you know how urgently I requested it in Frankfurt.³ That this has happened now without my knowing, hoping, and even expecting it, gives me reason to greatly esteem and praise the friendship of those who made it happen, whoever they are. You tell me that Jakob,⁴ my Father, has exerted himself in this cause, but you write nothing about yourself as if you had not put words into action. But you are writing to someone who very well knows the gratitude owed to you for this great favour. I understand and know that you have not been dumb and speechless in this appointment and that you have in no way obstructed it. However that may be, I am most grateful to you for informing me about such a welcome thing, and please tell Jakob from me that I am also most grateful to him since you declare that he has been the principal agent in this affair. I am just as glad at this appointment as I was when I became a bishop. Therefore, please do as you write and send me the letter of appointment as councillor as quickly as possible. On my part, I shall, as you exhort me to, be observant and vigilant in the emperor's affairs. Please recommend me to him. And if you love me, I also ask and beg you to write often and to overcome our physical separation with frequent contacts and lighten this burden with mutual letters and favours. I shall certainly do so if only there is an opportunity to write. Apparently, the petition on behalf of Jakob's son had not yet been expedited here in Lausanne, probably due to some scheme or manoeuvre, but then I used a speedy remedy, as you will gather from my letter to Jakob.

Farewell, you ornament of friendship, and love me as always. From Lausanne, 13 December.

¹ Heinig 1: 531: *Die Ernennung zum Rat des Königs, die Bartolomeo auf Intervention des Eneas kurz vor Dezember 1443, jedenfalls noch vor seiner Ernennung zum Kardinal von S. Marco durch Felix V. unter beträchtlichen Schwierigkeiten erlangt zu haben*

scheint, hatte in Anbetracht der baldigen Abwendung des Hofes vom Konzil und seinem Papst keine praktische Auswirkungen.

² This letter is not extant.

³ Vitelleschi was a member of the embassy sent by the Council in Basel and antipope Felix V to the

emperor at the Diet of Frankfurt, June-August 1442 (Stieber, p. 237). Vitelleschi apparently used the opportunity to apply for an appointment as imperial councillor.

⁴ Jakob Widerl.

106. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (21 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 186v-187r; M2, f. 52r-52v¹; M3, ff. 258v-259r²; V2, ff. 257-259³; V3, ff. 123v-124v⁴ **; V4, ff. 110r-111r.

Editions: HE, 106, pp. 228-229; WO, 1: 1, 106, pp. 248-250; (Both based on M1 and V2).

{123v} Reverendo in Christo patri, domino Silvestro, episcopo Chiemensi, domino suo⁵, Aeneas Silvius⁶, salutem plurimam dicit⁷.

[1] Non miror, quod ad me nil scribis⁸, quia nihil me indiges. Illud mirandum esset, si ego ad te non scriberem, qui et gratia tua semper egeo et beneficia complura ex te accepi. Una res tamen me reddit excusatum, quia inaniter scribere hominis est abutentis otio et litteris. Hac de causa tacui hactenus. Nunc vero res se obtulit, quae mihi scribendi materiam {124r} praebeuit. Vidi nuper exempla litterarum⁹, quas reges imperatori nostro scribunt in rebus ecclesie perpendique omnes aegre ferre schisma, quo Christianus populus impraesentiarum conturbatur, multumque¹⁰ demiratus sum regis Franciae iudicium, quod concurrere cum tuo cognovi. Memini enim cum alias simul essemus deque hac ipsa re sereremus sermonem, quonam pacto pacari ecclesia quiret, dixisse te¹¹: “Ego si Caesaris essem loco, vellem cunctos rogare principes, unum ut in locum mitterent oratores, qui plenam potestatem haberent res ecclesiae componendi. Nam quod principes facerent, et populus sequeretur et clerus.” Ecce, quia rex Franciae viam huiusmodi recipit¹², quis dubitet, reliquos omnes assensuros, si natio Germanica consentiat? Jam permittit¹³ rex Franciae Caesari nostro congregationis huius vocationem. Vos, qui rem habetis in manibus, amplecti hoc debetis regique nostro et electoribus suadere, ne oblatam negligant viam, quia salus hinc pendet maxima. Nec hic oportet vel papam requirere vel concilium. Velint nolintque illi, convenire principes possunt seque in hanc¹⁴ vel illam¹⁵ partem¹⁶ declarare.

¹ SC, 111-112

² SC, 521-522.

³ DV, ff. 134r-135r.

⁴ DV, ff. 126v-127v.

⁵ precipuo *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~precipuo~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad dominum episcopum Chiemensem. Reverendissime in Christo pater et colende domine M1

⁸ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *address*.

⁹ exempla litterarum : litterarum copias M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex litterarum copias* V2b

¹⁰ multum V4

¹¹ paternitatem vestram *add. superlin.* M1

¹² recepit M3

¹³ promittit V2

¹⁴ hac V4

¹⁵ in alia V4

¹⁶ parte V4

106. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (21 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Context: At the Diet in Nürnberg 1442, the German nation accepted a proposal for a third council to settle the church schism between Pope Eugenius with his council in Rome and the rump council of Basel with its antipope Felix V. In the summer of 1443, the emperor had invited the other kings and princes to a diet in Nürnberg to plan for such a council. The kings and princes replied, however, that they recognised the pope in Rome, thus effectively ending the project of a third council. The French king proposed that, instead of a council, a meeting of princes or their ambassadors should be held to settle the schism. Apparently, the king's close advisor, Bishop Silvester of Chiemsee, had previously mentioned the same idea in a conversation with Piccolomini.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Silvester Pflieger about the French king's proposal for a congress of princes to settle the church schism, reminds him that the bishop had previously ventilated the same idea, and exhorts him to work, together with his colleagues, to make the idea come true.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to his Father in Christ, Lord Silvester,² Bishop of Chiemsee.

[1] I am not surprised that you do not write to me, for you have no need of me. On the other hand, it would be surprising if I did not write to you since I am always in need of your favours and have received many such from you. However, I do have this excuse that only a man who squanders time and letters will write without good cause. But now a matter has arisen which gives me something to write about. I have recently read copies of the kings' letters to our emperor on the ecclesiastical situation, and I have seen that all abhor the schism which now troubles the Christian people. I was especially impressed by the judgment of the king of France,^{3 4} which, I saw, concurs with yours. For I remember that once when we were discussing how to bring peace to the Church, you said that "If I were in the emperor's place, I would ask all the princes to send ambassadors to someplace with full powers to settle the affairs of the Church, for if the princes did so, the people and the clergy would follow." But now that the king of France embraces this solution,⁵ who doubts that all the others will assent, if only the the German nation agrees? The king of France has left the convening of such an assembly to our emperor. You, who are occupied with this matter, should grasp this opportunity and persuade our king and the prince-electors to accept the way proposed, which may be the best for solving the present crisis. This solution requires neither the pope nor the council. Whether those two will it or not, the princes can meet and declare themselves for one of the parties.

¹ For comments on this letter. see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 197.

² Silvester Pflieger (-1453): Bishop of Chiemsee 1438 to his death. Councillor and close collaborator of Friedrich III.

³ Charles VII. The king's letter was received at the imperial court on 7 October 1443 (Stieber, p. 264).

⁴ The letter of the French king was a reply to the emperor's letter of 1 June 1443 I (WO, 1 : 2, xiv, pp. 21-24) inviting him to send ambassadors to the Diet of Nürnberg. It is not contained in the collection of replies from the European princes to similar letters of invitation, con-

tained in the mss. BSB/clm 14134, ff. 120r-128r and the BSB/clm 5311, ff. r1-244r [I have not been able to check this ms., but it appears to be similar in content to the 14134. VO, who examined both mss., did not see the French king's letter – and some other of the replies, see VO, 2: 5, pp. 327-329 / MCS]

⁵ King Charles VII had previously abandoned the project of a third council, and at the Diet of Nürnberg, February 1443, his ambassadors proposed an assembly of princes to settle the church schism. Du Fresne de Beaucourt wrote:

Charles VII ne tarda pas à renoncer au dessein chimérique qu'il avait si longtemps nourri, et que ne cessèrent de poursuivre le roi des Romains et les princes électeurs : la tenue d'un nouveau concile. A la diète de Francfort (juillet 1442), à la diète de Nuremberg (février 1443), la question fut agitée de nouveau. Les ambassadeurs de France, présents à cette dernière assemblée, mirent en avant le projet d'un congrès de princes (Du Fresne de Beaucourt, 3: p. 383).

[2] “At non erit concilium hoc¹!” Concilium² non sit³, quid ad nos? Non de nomine, sed de re quaestio est. Satis est, si schisma de medio auferatur, vocetur quocumque nomine, qui aufert schisma. Stultus quidam Senis debitorem in iudicium traxit, tamquam {124v} is negaret debitum, qui solidum se suscepisse fatebatur, cum stultus duodecim denarios peteret. Apud Senenses tamen idem est solidus quod et 12 denarii. Sic in re nostra stultus erit, qui tolli schisma per conventum principum negaverit, quia concilium non vocitetur illa congregatio. Vocetur synagoga vel conventiculum, non curo, dum pacis exinde sequatur effectus⁴. Sed tu et collegae tui in campo estis, ubi hoc geritur bellum et in hac area, ubi haec palea teritur. Videte ut fabam bene cudatis⁵, ne, dum schisma ecclesiae tollere curatis, divisionem in imperio⁶ inducat⁷. Haec⁸ non dico vestri⁹ causa, quia rectum scio propositum vestrum¹⁰, sed ut elaboretis, quod Germania unius animi sit unumque papam colat et in unius fidei sinceritate gradiatur. Haec volui scripsisse, quia gavisus sum regis Franciae sententiam convenire cum tua. Tu tantum¹¹ stude, ut illi¹² sit locus, nisi quid melius interim cogitasti.

Vale optime et me extra memoriae sinum nolite abjicere, quia tuus sum quantuluscumque sum. Ex Sancto Vito, die 27.¹³ Decembris 1443¹⁴.

¹ concilium hoc : hoc concilium
M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* hoc
concilium V2b

² *omit.* M1-M3

³ est M3

⁴ sequatur effectus : effectus sequatur V3

⁵ tondas (tendas?) M3

⁶ emporio V4

⁷ indicatis V4

⁸ hoc WO

⁹ unde M3

¹⁰ propositum vestrum : vestrum
propositum V3

¹¹ tamen HE, WO

¹² ille M2

¹³ 22. V4; 21. M1

¹⁴ ex ... 1443 *omit.* M2

[2] “But that will not be a council!”, [some may say]. Council or not, why bother? It is not the name but the matter itself that is important. It is enough that the schism is ended, whatever the agency that ends it is called. In Siena, some fool dragged a man to court whom he accused of defaulting on a debt because the man claimed he had only borrowed one *solidus* from him when, in reality, he had borrowed 12 *denarii*. But in Siena, one *solidus* actually equals 12 *denarii*. In our case, only a fool would deny that the schism can be ended by an assembly of princes because it may not be called a council. I do not care whether it is called a meeting or an assembly as long as it results in peace. But you and your colleagues are in the field where this battle is being fought in and the ground where this grain is being threshed. Do thresh it well¹ and do not cause a division in the Empire while you labour to end the schism in the Church. I do not say this for your own sake, for I know that your intentions are excellent, but so that you will cause Germany to be of one mind, obey one pope, and move on in the pure spirit of one Faith. This is what I wanted to write to you, for I was happy that the French king’s opinion agrees with yours. But you should strive to make this happen unless, in the meantime, you have thought of a better solution.

Farewell, best of men, and do not cast me from the bosom of your memory, for I am yours, however unimportant I may be. From Sankt Veit, 21 December 1443.²

¹ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 380: ... *cu-*
detur faba.

² Following WO, the date given in the earliest manuscript (M1) has been preferred.

107. Letter to Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach (27 December 1443, Sankt Veit)

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 186v-187r; M2, ff. 53r-53v¹; M3, f. 260r²; V2, ff. 262-263³; V3, ff. 124v-125r⁴ **; V4, ff. 111r-111v.

Editions: HE, 107, p. 229; WO, 1: 1, 107, pp. 250-251; (both based on M1 and V2).

{124v} Aeneas Silvius⁵, domino Thomae Hasselbach, sacrae theologiae magistro, salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Litteras, quas ad me nuper misisti⁷, regiae majestati ostensas feci, ut quae foret erga te mens illius persentirem. Placuit regi diligentia tua dixitque te melius fecisse quam hi, qui dationem pecuniae suspenderunt. Is, ut nosti, pauca loquitur, sed ex his paucis plura colligi⁸ queunt. Naturam ejus nosti et mores. Cogita, quid haec verba importent. Tu tamen nullatenus hesitare debes, quin bene agendo gratus principi sis. Fecisti enim, ut virum decet bonum⁹ et communis commodi zelatorem, qui rem publicam suae praefert. Potuisset scandalum grande contingere, si remansisses pecuniam expectando, cum omnia monumenta apud te forent, quibus in conventu agendum erat. Nunc res bene directa est, et jam pecuniae tibi missae sunt et ampliores mittentur. Quomodo autem in¹⁰ reliquum sit procedendum ex apicibus regiis cognosces.

Vale et me tui amoris participem facito, quamquam non putem¹¹ me fore illius expertem. Ex Sancto Vito in Carinthia, 6. kalendas Januarii anno etc. 1443^{12 13 14}.

¹ SC, 113-114

² SC, 524

³ DV, ff. 136-137r

⁴ DV, ff. 127v-128r

⁵ poeta *add.* M2

⁶ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad magistrum Thomam Haselbach. eximie doctor major honorande M1

⁷ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *address*.

⁸ plura colligi : colligi plura M1

⁹ decet bonum : bonum decet M1

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ puto V4

¹² 1444 V2-V4

¹³ 6. kalendas ... 1443 *omit.* M3

¹⁴ ex sancto ... 1443 *omit.* M2; ex etc. M1

107. Letter to Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach (27 December 1443, Sankt Veit)

Context: Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach had been appointed as one of the emperor's ambassadors to the Diet of Nürnberg and was entrusted with the official imperial documents governing the procedures of the diet. Unfortunately, an obnoxious court official held up the payment of travel money to Hasselbach, who eventually had to leave and pay his travel expenses out of his own pocket (see letters 93: 2 and 102: 4). Now he had evidently asked to have his expenses refunded. Piccolomini had tried various ways to assist Hasselbach but without success, so, in the end, he went directly to the emperor.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Hasselbach about his recourse to the emperor and tells him that the emperor is unhappy that the payment of money to Hasselbach had been held up and very satisfied that Hasselbach had left, defraying his own travel costs. Had he not done so, a scandalous situation would have arisen in Nürnberg when the necessary official documents from the emperor were not forthcoming. The money had now been sent to Hasselbach.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Thomas Hasselbach, magister of sacred theology.

[1] I have shown the letter you sent me recently to the king to find out how he feels towards you. The king was happy that [you have shown] diligence and said you did better than those who held up the payment. As you know, he is a man of few words, but these few words may show much. You know his character and ways. Consider what his words mean. As for you, you may be sure that by doing well you have pleased the prince, for you have done as befits a good man who is eager for the common good and puts public affairs above his own. A great scandal could have arisen if you had stayed behind,¹ waiting for the money when all those documents were in your possession that set the agenda of the diet.² Now the matter has turned out well: the money has been sent to you and more will follow. His Royal Highness will let you know how to proceed in the various matters³.

Farewell, and show me your affection - as I am sure you will. From Sankt Veit in Kärnten, 27 December 1443.

¹ In Vienna.

² The diet in Nürnberg that began in November 1433.

³ The matters of the diet.

108. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (28 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 75r-78v; M2, ff. 47r-50r¹; M3, ff. 254v-258v²; V2, ff. 243-257³; V3, ff. 115v-123v⁴ **; V4, ff. 103r-111v.

Editions: HE, 108, pp. 230-238; WO, 1: 1, 108, pp. 251-262; (both based on M1 and V2).

¹ SC, 101-108

² SC, 513-521.

³ DV, ff. 127r-134r.

⁴ DV, ff. 118v-126v.

108. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (28 December 1443, Sankt Veit)

- Context:* The chancellor's continued absence from court caused problems for the emperor who much needed his advice in a number of important affairs. It also caused worries for his partisans, especially Piccolomini, who was representing his interests in the Freising matter and also much needed his protector's assistance with a benefice.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs the chancellor of developments in Austrian and international affairs, the church schism and the Freising affair. He also asks for his aid concerning his Sarataner benefice and strongly argues for the chancellor's speedy return to court.

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{115v} Magnifico¹ Gaspari Sligk, cancellario imperiali, Aeneas Silvius², salutem plurimam dicit³.

[1] Sex et decem dies apud nos est Gaspar, quem tu⁴ et collegae tui super rebus ecclesiae ad regium culmen destinastis. Is regem in oppido Gretzensi convenit, et quia illic absolvi negotium suum nequivit usque huc secutus est curiam neque adhuc finem habet ullum. Gravia namque negotia magnum habent tractum et in ultimis reservantur⁵. Ego per ipsum Gasparem epistolas tuas recepi, quibus nunc responsurus esse brevis non possum, nam et⁶ referenda sunt gesta plura⁷, et tu de multis instrui cupis, quae paucis verbis complecti non queo. Nec enim ego ille sum, cujus hodie festum colimus, qui Apocalypsim scribens, tot verba posuit quot sententias. Sed accidit mihi, quod Horatio, qui, dum *brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*, atque idcirco prolixitatem in me reprehendi quam obscuritatem cupio. Scribo enim, ut intelligar, nec mihi solum scribo, sed his, qui legunt, et quia plures sunt Davi quam Oedippi sermonem apertum habeo, quamvis longum. Sed jam veniendum est, quo volumus.

[2] Binas epistolas in re Frisingensis ecclesie scripsisti regiae majestati easque ambas sibi reddidi responsum exegi⁸. De⁹ primis, quid successerit, jam rescripsi. Secundas praesente¹⁰ Ulrico¹¹ in regias¹² manus dedi, quae mox legente Ulrico deditae {116r} fuerunt. Et vidi regem in earum auditione satis attentum, qui et haec verba subjunxit: “Consilarii mei dicunt periculosum esse in hoc negotio quidquam¹³ agere, sed oportet nonnumquam etiam cum periculo res aggredi.” Quod dictum spem mihi¹⁴ fecit possessionis habendae. Ulricus quoque admodum laetatus est, sperans opera sua rem hanc concludi¹⁵. Ultimo dixit rex velle se ad consilium hoc deducere, sed quia in crastinum abiturus erat, nihil illic factum est. Scio¹⁶ per hos montes non esse diversoria ut in urbibus insignia nec escarum haberi copiam cancellariaeque nostrae malum iter patere¹⁷ inter milites. Hoc fecit, ut nostri per diem post regem proficisci vellent. Ego vero timens, ne inter eundem res Frisingensis tractaretur putansque bonam esse praesentiam meam, ut ambirem consiliarios et amicitie tuae memoriam facerem, accersito Jacobo et uno familiari regia castra secutus¹⁸ sum. Sed nihil¹⁹ in via gestum est, quoniam nusquam rex quievit.

¹ domino *add.* M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2n

² poeta *add.* M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

³ *Titulus:* Eneas ad dominum Casparem Slik cancellarium. Magnifice et genere domine mi post recommendationem M1; Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit magnifico domino Gaspari cancellario imperiali M2

⁴ M1 *uses of 2. pers. plural in address*

⁵ servantur M1

⁶ nunc M2

⁷ plurima M3

⁸ exigens M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* exigens V2b

⁹ in M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* in V2b

¹⁰ magistro *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~magistro~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ Udalrico *et passim* M1

¹² in regias : regias in M3

¹³ quid V4

¹⁴ spem mihi : mihi spem M2

¹⁵ conduci V4

¹⁶ scis M2, M3, V2a, V3; scitis M1; *corr. ex* scis V2b

¹⁷ patet V4

¹⁸ assecutus M1

¹⁹ mihi V4

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificence Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

1. Introduction

[1] Kaspar,¹ whom you and your colleagues² sent to His Royal Highness in the ecclesiastical affairs, has now been here for 16 days. He reached the emperor in the city of Graz, but since the matter could not be dealt with there, he followed the court here,³ still without a result. For important affairs take time and are dealt with last. Through Kaspar, I received your letter, which I shall answer but not briefly, for there are several matters to report, and you wish to be informed about many things that I cannot cover in a few words. For I am not like him whose feast we celebrate today⁴: writing the Apocalypse, he used as many words as sentences.⁵ But the same happens to me as to Horace that when *striving to be brief, I become obscure*,⁶ and therefore I would rather be criticised for prolixity than for obscurity. For I write to be understood, and I do not write for myself alone but for the reader, and since there are more people like Davos than Oedipus,⁷ I keep my text clear though long. But now I must come to the matters at hand.

2. The Freising affair

[2] You have written two letters to His Royal Majesty on the matter of the Church of Freising, and I have given both to him, asking for an answer. Concerning the first letter, I have already written to you what happened. In the presence of Ulrich,⁸ I gave the second letter into the hands of the king, who handed them to Ulrich for reading out loud. I saw the king listen attentively, and afterwards, he said, "My counsellors say it is risky to do anything in this matter, but sometimes you must do something even if it is risky." This remark gave me hope that [your brother will] get possession.⁹ Ulrich, too, was happy to hear it, hoping the matter might be concluded through his efforts. In the end, the king said that he wanted to defer the matter to his council, but since he was to leave the next day,¹⁰ nothing was done there.¹¹ I know that in those mountains you cannot find decent lodgings like in towns, and there is an insufficiency of food. Moreover, it is quite irksome for the members of the chancery to travel among soldiers. Therefore, our people¹² decided to leave the day after the emperor. But fearing that the matter of Freising would be dealt with on the way, I considered it would be good to be present and associate with the counsellors and remind them of your friendship. So, I summoned Jakob¹³ and a servant and followed the king's train. But nothing happened on the way since the king never stopped for a rest.

¹ Kaspar: a messenger of the chancellor.

² As imperial ambassadors to the Diet of Nürnberg.

³ Sankt Veit.

⁴ Saint John the Evangelist.

⁵ I.e., expressing himself briefly.

⁶ Horatius: *Ars Poetica*, 25-26.

⁷ Terentius: *Andria*, 195: *Davos sum, non Oedipus*. Piccolomini's meaning is unclear.

⁸ Ulrich Riederer.

⁹ I.e., of the Church of Freising or maybe of its secular possessions in Habsburg territory (the regalia).

¹⁰ On the 29th, the emperor left Sankt Veit for Neustadl i.d. Wind. Mark (Heinig, 3: 1355).

¹¹ In Sankt Veit.

¹² I.e., the chancery officials travelling with the emperor.

¹³ Jakob Widerl.

[3] At cum essemus in Burgo Judaeorum, videns quia consilium tenebatur, commonui regem, tui ut memor esset, qui, “Postquam,” inquit, “quieti erimus, me commonefacito.” Hoc autem infra triduum erit, et sic usque huc producti sumus re infecta. Ego interim avisamenta nonnulla confeci, quae Michael ex latino vertit in Teutonicum herique regi obtuli, petens, ut in consilio legi juberet {116v} remque Frisingensem expeditioni daret. Conveneram antea consiliarios quosque singillatim¹ et verbis, quae mihi idonea videbantur, sum allocutus. Sed verum est, quod dici solet, *bonos consulares malum collegium*. Omnes uno se ore et tuos esse et causas tuas cordi habere dixerunt. Consiliarii vero praesentes hi sunt: magister camerae, Johannes² Eberstorff, Walterus Zebinger, Lupoldus Aspach³. Ceteri absunt. Inter hos gesta res est legitque magister Ulricus instructiones, quas feci, et quarum copiam cum praesentibus magnificentiae tuae⁴ transmitto. Relatus etiam fuit tuarum litterarum tenor⁵, sed omnia in vanum transiere. Hoc enim mihi demum responsum est regem impraesentiarum certis ex causis velle supersedere rogareque tuam magnificentiam, ne aegre ferret, quia boni respectus essent⁶ mandatumque est⁷ Ulrico, ut litteris regiis te ad curiam advocet. Haec in causa Frisingensi.

[4] Persuadeo mihi tuam absentiam his rebus admodum nocuisse, quia praesenti datur, absentem detrahitur. Et verum est tritum sermone proverbium: *Facies hominis facies leonis*. Omnes hodie simulati sumus amici, amare fingimus, non amamus. Atque idcirco: “Ubi ades, subservio, tibi obsequor, quidquid jubes, facio, ut videar te diligere. Ubi absis, nihil te pendo⁸, quia vel non⁹ redibis, vel si remeaveris, dicam me fecisse omnem {117r} diligentiam et alios in culpa fuisse, quod res ex tua non sit expedita sententia.” Ita est certe: adultores sumus, non amatores, nec fictus amor inter absentes aliquid habet vigoris. Credo me plane intelligas¹⁰, sed fingendum est, postquam omnes fingunt. Nam et Jesus *finxit*¹¹ *se longius ire*. Ut homines sunt, ita utamur. Extrahendum est *ex petra mel et oleum de saxo durissimo*. Existimo in tuo reditu cuncta resarciri. Cum enim regius animus bonus sit, necesse est, ut reliqui subsequantur, quia quod illum velle sciunt, non audent dissuadere. Quae autem causa sit, propter quam rex dicat se nunc supersedere, non scio, nisi propter mutationem Athesis. Forsitan intendit Bavaros duces adversus plebem illam in sui favorem trahere et ob eam rem non vult nunc ipsis displicere, si tibi possessionem¹² praeberit. De bullis apostolicis, quas plumbatas jam esse in Austria dicis¹³, nihil subodoro. Quod si verum esset, jam¹⁴ Henricus me commonuisset. Sed videtur mihi rursus instandum apud¹⁵ Johannem de Carvajal, ut litterae veniant¹⁶. Rursus rex scripsit concilio, ut circa confirmationem partis adversae supersederet, idque ad propositum venit.

¹ sigillatim M2, M3

² de *add.* M2

³ Johannes Eberstorff ... Aspach : Jo. Ze. M1

⁴ magnificentiae tuae : tue magnificentiae M3; vestrae magnificentiae M1

⁵ litterarum tenor : tenor litterarum M1

⁶ sunt WO

⁷ domino *add.* M1

⁸ pendeo WO

⁹ *omit.* M2

¹⁰ intelligis M3

¹¹ *omit.* V4

¹² tribuerit aliter *add.* M2

¹³ quas plumbatas ... dicis : quas putabas jam esse in Austria M1-M3

¹⁴ dominus *add.* M1

¹⁵ dominum *add.* M1-M3

¹⁶ ego feci quod *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ego feci, quod~~ *seq.* V2b

[3] When we came to Judenburg,¹ I heard they would hold a council meeting and asked the king to remember you. He answered, “Remind me again when we are at rest.”² But that will not be before three days, and until now, we have moved on without result. In the meantime, I have written a memorandum that Michael³ translated from Latin into German. I gave it to the king yesterday, asking that it be read in the council and that the Freising matter be expedited. I had already met the counsellors individually and spoken to them in such terms as I found expedient. But it is true as they say that *good counsellors make a bad college*.⁴ They all, as with one mouth, claimed that they were yours and had your affairs at heart. The councillors present are the *Kammermeister*,⁵ Johann Ebersdorf,⁶ Walther Zebinger⁷ and Leopold von Aspach.⁸ The others are not here. They discussed the matter, and Master Ulrich read my memorandum, of which I send a copy to Your Magnificence with the present letter. They also reported the essence of your letters but all in vain, for in the end, I was given the answer that for now, the king wishes to postpone the matter for certain reasons⁹ and asks Your Magnificence not to take it badly, since he is well-disposed towards to you. Also, Ulrich was asked to recall you to the court by royal letter. So much for the matter of Freising.

[4] I am convinced that your absence has greatly hurt your interests in this matter, for they give to the one who is present and take away from the one who is absent. The common proverb is true that *The face of a man is the face of a lion*. Today we all simulate friendship, we pretend to love, but we do not. And therefore, “When you are present, I serve you, I obey you, and I do whatever you ask for, so that I shall appear to love you. When you are absent, I do not care, for either you will not return, or if you do, I shall only say that I have shown all possible care, and it is others’ fault if your affair has not been dealt with as you wished.” This is certain: we are surrounded by people who flatter us, not by people who love us, and simulated love has no effect among people who are not together. I think you understand me perfectly, but we must pretend since all others do it. Even Jesus *made as though he would go farther*.¹⁰ We must deal with people as they are. *We must suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the hardest stone*.¹¹ I believe that everything will be made good when you return. For as the king is well-disposed, the others must follow, not daring to dissuade him from something they know he wants. I do not know why the king wants to postpone [his decision¹²] unless it is because of the rebellion in Tyrol.¹³ Maybe he wants to gain the support of the Bavarian dukes against the people there, and therefore he does not want to antagonise them now by granting possession¹⁴ to you.¹⁵ ¹⁶ Concerning the apostolic¹⁷ bulls under the leaden seal that you say are now in Austria, I have heard nothing, but if they were indeed here, Heinrich¹⁸ would have informed me. I think we should now put pressure on Juan Carvajal¹⁹ to make the letters come. The king has again written a letter to the council²⁰ requiring them to delay the confirmation of the other party,²¹ which arrived just at the right time.

¹ Judenburg, a town ca. 60 km. (direct line) from Graz and ca. 70 km. from Sankt Veit.

² Presumably, when the court had reached Sankt Veit.

³ Michael Pfullendorf.

⁴ Apparently, a proverb meaning that counsellors may be good individually, but acting collectively, as a group, they are bad.

⁵ Johann Ungnad.

⁶ Johann [Hans] Ebersdorf III (-1443) (see Heinig, 1: p. 253).

⁷ Walther von Zöbing [Zebinger] (ca. 1456): See Heinig 1: p. 69.

⁸ Leopold von Aspach: See Heinig, 1: p. 64.

⁹ Probably, the problems with the Tyroleans.

¹⁰ Luke, 24: 28.

¹¹ Deuteronomy 32: 13.

¹² Concerning the Freising affair.

¹³ See letter 98.

¹⁴ Of the secular rights and fiefs of the Church of Freising in Habsburg lands.

¹⁵ Or rather to the chancellor’s brother.

¹⁶ In his oration “*Si putarem*” of 4 April 1444 (written by Piccolomini) to the emperor, the chancellor spoke of the threat of a conflict with the Bavarian dukes, relatives of the other candidate to

the see of Freising, Johann Grünwalder (COR, 2: 5, sect. 15-18).

¹⁷ Papal.

¹⁸ The chancellor’s brother whom the pope had appointed bishop of Freising.

¹⁹ Juan Carvajal: papal diplomat, at the time on a mission to Germany to persuade the emperor to support the cause of Pope Eugenius.

²⁰ The council in Basel.

²¹ Johann Grünwalder.

[5] Obiit enim per hos dies Georgius, Brixinensis episcopus, et qui mane¹ sospes erat, in sero sepultus est. Genus mortis felicissimum, si bene illi cum Deo fuit, si minus, {17v} miserimus transitus. Sed quis tam justus est, ut confessione non egeat? Quis mundus a peccato est? *Nihil mihi conscius sum*, apostolus inquit, *non tamen in hoc justificatus sum*. Quid nos dicamus? Absit a nobis *mortis subitaneae* casus, deturque *spatium poenitentiae* tanto majus, quanto plus delinquimus. Ob hanc necem scriptum est et concilio et papae metropolitanoque, ne circa provisionem Brixinensis hujus ecclesiae quidquam agant, priusquam cognoverint, in quem praelatum regius animus inclinetur, neve electum aut postulatum confirment aliquem. Ego puto ecclesiam illam duos habituram sponso nec tertius forsitan aberit. Illi enim canonici eligent, nec papa carere suo jure volet et in ejus invidiam concilium dabit tertium. Felix uxor tot maritos habitura, si modo id potest fieri, ut non sint adulteri. Hoc malum facit ecclesiastica divisio, ad quam tollendam nimis sumus torpentes.

[6] Vidi quod² reges scribunt ex litterarum exemplis³, nec despero rem posse bene conduci, si aggredi velimus negotium. Omnibus enim, ut vides, displicet schisma, omnes abhorrent. Viam autem sopiendi hoc malum Carolus, rex Franciae, nisi fallor, et tutam et brevem ostendit, ut fiat conventus principum {118r} vel eorum oratorum in communi aliquo loco ibique una recipiatur conclusio per omnes. Ad hoc autem peragendum opus esset rursus scribere cunctis regibus, ut oratores suos Argentinam vel Constantiam⁴ mitterent pleno mandato suffultos ad pacem ecclesiae pertractandam⁵. Fienda esset rursus expensa, quae anno praeterito facta est, vix trecentorum aureorum. Parum plus Constantinus in congregatione Nicaeni concilii exposuit. Haec via non posset claudi⁶, nec papa vel concilium impedire⁷ possent, tamquam hoc absque ipsis fieri nequiret. Licet enim principibus saecularibus convenire invito clero - et conveniunt aliquando⁸ - et tamen illic fieri unio posset, nam ille papa indubitatus esset, cui omnes principes oboedirent. Non video clericos, qui velint pro ista vel illa parte martyrium ferre. Omnes hanc fidem habemus, quam nostri principes, qui si colerent idola, et nos etiam coleremus et non solum papam, sed Christum etiam negaremus saeculari potestate urgente, quia *refriguit caritas*, et omnis interiit fides. Utcumque sit, pacem desideramus, quae sive per aliud concilium sive per conventum principum detur, nihili pendo. Non enim de nomine, sed de re contendendum est. [*cont.*]

¹ nam V4

² vidi quod : quid V4

³ litterarum exemplis : copiis litterarum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* copiis litterarum V2b

⁴ vel Constantiam *omit.* M1

⁵ pertractandum HE, WO

⁶ impediri M1-M3, V2

⁷ reniti M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* reniti V2b

⁸ et conveniunt aliquando : *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

3. Vacancy of the diocese of Brixen

[5] For, some days ago,¹ Bishop Georg of Brixen² died: hale and sound in the morning, he was buried in the evening. A most happy death if he was at peace with God; if not, a miserable passing away. Who is so just that he does not need confession? Who is so free of sin?³ “*I am not conscious to myself of any thing,*” the apostle says, “*yet am I not hereby justified.*”⁴ So, what shall we say? Please let there no *sudden death*⁵ for us but room for penitence,⁶ the more the greater sinners we are. Because of the bishop’s demise, [the emperor] has written to the council, the pope⁷ and the archbishop to do nothing in the matter of providing [the see with a new bishop] before they know which prelate the king favours and to not confirm anybody else elected or postulated [for the see]. I expect that this see will have two spouses⁸ and maybe even a third, for the canons there will elect someone, and the pope⁹ will not give up his rights,¹⁰ and in their jealousy [of the pope] the council will appoint a third. Happy the bride who has so many bridegrooms, if only they be not adulterers. This evil is caused by the schism in the Church, which we are too sluggish to end.

4. Settlement of the church schism through a congress of princes¹¹

[6] Having seen the letters from the kings, I do not despair of a solution if only we do something about become the matter, for, as you see, all disprove of the schism, all abhor it. If I am not mistaken, King Charles of France¹² has a sure and rapid way to deal with this evil, viz. to arrange an assembly of princes or their ambassadors who will meet somewhere and come to a unanimous resolution. But to achieve this, it will be necessary to write once more to all the kings and ask them to send their ambassadors to Strassbourg or Konstanz with full powers to negotiate peace in the Church. There will be the same expenses as last year,¹³ almost 300 golden ducats. Constantine¹⁴ spent a little more than that on the Council of Nicaea.¹⁵ This course cannot be closed, and neither can the pope nor the council prevent it, for it can be pursued without them. Indeed, the secular princes can meet (as they sometimes do), even against the will of the clergy, and they are actually able to bring about [church] union, for that man will be the undoubted pope to whom all the princes declare obedience. I do not see the churchmen who would be willing to suffer martyrdom for the sake of one or the other party. We all have the same Faith as our princes, and even if they worshipped pagan idols, we would worship with them, and we would reject not only the pope but even Christ if the secular power demanded it. For *charity has grown cold*,¹⁶ and all faith has vanished. However that may be, we desire peace, and I do not care whether it is made by a council or by an assembly of princes. We should not argue about the name but about the matter itself. [cont.]

¹ On 17 December 1443.

² Georg II Stubier [Stubeier / Stubay] (-1443): Bishop of Brixen from 1437 to his death. See Heinig, 1: 478.

³ Apparently, the bishop’s death was so sudden that there was no time for a confession.

⁴ 1. Corinthians 4: 4.

⁵ From the All Saints’ Litany.

⁶ From the liturgy of Lent.

⁷ Pope Eugenius IV in Rome.

⁸ A bishop is considered as the “spouse” of his see.

⁹ The Roman Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁰ To appoint bishops to vacant sees.

¹¹ See letter 106.

¹² Charles VII.

¹³ I.e., in the summer of 1443, when the emperor sent letters to the Christian kings and princes, inviting them to support the German proposal for a third council to settle

the church schism. Such an operation was evidently costly, including travel costs for the imperial messengers.

¹⁴ Constantinus I [Magnus], Flavius Valerius (ca. 272-337): Roman emperor from 306 to his death.

¹⁵ First Council of Nicaea (325).

¹⁶ Matthew, 24: 12: *refrigescet caritas multorum.*

[cont.] Voca panem, si placet, lapidem et da mihi, dum famesco. Non vocetur concilium, vocetur conventus, vocetur conciliabulum, congregatio, synogoga, nihil interest, dum schisma depellatur¹. Ideo mihi admodum placet, quod rex {118v} Francia scribit, ejusque sententiae inhaererem². Nam videtur regi nostro permittere hujus congregationis vocationem. Nobilis ille, qui secum fuit, cui et instructiones dedisti, reversus est, sed nullas attulit litteras.

[7] Nunc ad res Athesis revertor, que turbulentissimae sunt, et nescio, an regem moveant, nam semper unius est vultus, licet res sua geratur. Me certe, cujus minimum interest, immo nihil, nisi regis causa maxime conturbant. Oratores ex Athesi Gretz venerunt. Eorum petitio fuit, ut Sigismundus et thesaurus remitteretur, quia jam praeterisset inscriptionis tempus. Postquam in Athesi³ venisset Sigismundus, consiliarios dare sibi patria vellet et jurejurando astringere, tumque, si cum eorum consilio Sigismundus vellet patriam suam regi committere vel duci Alberto, parituri essent. Haec legatio eorum fuit. His⁴ responsum est regem non teneri ad haec secumque Sigismundum unanimem fore. Missos esse oratores in Athesim⁵ hac de causa, quorum responsum expectaretur. Cupere tamen regem, ut⁶ Athesini mitterent aliquos cum potestate tractandi concordiam, ne res in tali disturbio perseverantes magni⁷ alicujus mali forent origo. Cumque his remissi sunt oratores. Praevenerat eos Constantiensis episcopus, qui se mediatorem interponere cupiebat. Huic licet non magna fides sit praebita propter fratrem, qui novandis {119r} rebus causam dedit, multa sunt tamen commissa eique mandata est concordiae practica. Jamque in Athesi se recepit. Quid egerit, non scio⁸. Oratores regii non sunt admissi, sed expectant in⁹ Rubeoburgo, ubi clausura est. Wilhelmus illic numerat pisces, qui per flumen transeunt, multum¹⁰ enim otii habet¹¹. Id ipsum et collegae faciunt, quamquam et aliquando *luditur alea pernox*. Rustica illic plebs in armis est et aditum quasi sepulchrum domini custodit, non tamen dormit, ut¹² Pilati satellites, sed die noctuque bibit. Receperunt enim Athesini ducales redditus et cum his plebem in armis alunt nullusque aditus caret custode¹³. Sententia omnibus una est aut Sigismundum recuperare aut in libertatem se vindicare¹⁴, qui, si non satis sua sponte insaniunt, Suicenses instigatores habent, qui se adjuutores nefandi propositi repromittunt. [cont.]

¹ depellat M1-M3; repellatur V4

² inherem V4

³ Sic!

⁴ hic V4

⁵ Athesi WO

⁶ Athesim hac ... ut omit. M3

⁷ magni omit. M2

⁸ non scio : nondum potest sciri

M1; non potest sciri M2, M3; scio

add. in marg. V2

⁹ ut V4

¹⁰ multi M3

¹¹ habent M3

¹² et V4

¹³ custodie V4

¹⁴ corr. ex vindicare M1; vindicare

WO

[cont.] You may call bread a stone if you want it, as long as you give it to me when I am hungry. If it cannot be called a council, it does not matter whether it is called a meeting, an assembly, a congress, or a synagogue if only it ends the schism. Therefore, I agree with what the French king writes, and I support his position. For he leaves the convocation of such an assembly to our king. The nobleman who came to him and to whom you gave instructions has returned but without any letter.

5. Rebellion in Tyrol¹

[7] Now I return to the rather turbulent Tyrolean affairs. I do not know if they affect the king, for he always shows the same face even when his own interests are at stake. I, certainly, am very disturbed even though the matter means little, nay nothing to me personally. Ambassadors came from Tyrol to Graz² demanding the return of Siegmund³ and the treasury,⁴ for the time limit stipulated in the written agreement had now expired.⁵ When Siegmund arrived in Tyrol, the country would appoint councillors for him and bind themselves with oaths, and if Siegmund should then, with their advice, want to entrust his country to the king or to Duke Albrecht,⁶ they would obey.⁷ That was their mission. They were given the answer that the king was under no obligation to do this and that he and Siegmund were in agreement;⁸ [royal] ambassadors had been sent to Tyrol in this matter, and the Tyrolean answer was now being expected; the king wished the Tyroleans to send representatives with powers to negotiate a settlement lest the affair develops into a major calamity. With this message, the ambassadors were dismissed. They were preceded by the bishop of Konstanz,⁹ who desired to act as a mediator. He was not greatly trusted since his brother had given cause to the rebellion. Nonetheless, much has been entrusted to him, and he has been authorised to conduct the peace negotiations. He has already gone to Tyrol. I do not know what he has achieved. The royal ambassadors have not been allowed to enter Tyrol but are waiting in Rothenburg, at the closed frontier. There Wilhelm¹⁰ is counting the fish swimming by in the river,¹¹ for he has much spare time. His colleagues do the same though they also, sometimes, *gamble all night long*.¹² The peasants are under arms, and each entry point is guarded like the Lord's tomb. However, they do not sleep like Pilate's¹³ guards¹⁴ but spend day and night drinking. For they have taken over the ducal revenues of Tyrol and use them to keep the people in arms. No access point is without guards. They all feel that they should either recover Siegmund or claim their liberty. And as if their own insanity were not enough, they have the Swiss as agitators promising to assist them in their nefarious endeavours.

¹ See letter 98, esp. sect. 29-38, and 102:7. See also Jäger, and Niederstätter, pp. 242-245.

² The emperor resided in Graz from 26 November to 13 December 1443 (Heinig, 3: 1355).

³ Duke Siegmund of Austria.

⁴ The ducal treasury inherited from Siegmund's father, Friedrich IV, and presently in the emperor's custody as Siegmund's guardian.

⁵ At Siegmund's 16-year birthday.

⁶ Duke Albrecht VI of Austria, brother of Friedrich III.

⁷ In letter 102 to the chancellor, sect. 7, Piccolomini had this com-

ment on the same issue: *It has been decreed that Siegmund should return and be given counsellors by the nobles of the region, and if, when he begins to rule by himself, he wants to yield power to the king, then they will obey the king. How likely that is, I leave to your own judgment.*

⁸ See letter 98: 29.

⁹ Heinrich VI von Hewen [Höwen]

¹⁰ Wilhelm Tacz, a colleague of Piccolomini in the imperial chancery. See letter 102: 17.

¹¹ A joke indicating that he has nothing to do.

¹² Juvenalis, 8: 10.

¹³ Pontius Pilate: Roman governor of Judaea from 26/27-36/37 CE.

¹⁴ Matthew, 28: 2-4: *For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and coming, rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. And his countenance was as lightning, and his raiment as snow. And for fear of him, the guards were struck with terror, and became as dead men. The guards did not sleep, as Piccolomini says.*

[8] Tridentini adhuc in fide manent, quamvis per alios dietim stimulentur¹. Dicunt se id acturos, quod episcopus eorum jusserit, ex cujus jussu adhuc regi usque ad menses quattuor sunt obnoxii. Rex tamen ad eos non habet aditum nisi per dominia Venetorum et per viam hanc mittentur nunc oratores illuc. Dicunt aliqui comitem Galeazium cum peditibus quadringentis Tridenti esse² et partes regis tueri, quod tamen mihi non est omnino compertum³. Sunt qui putant obitum Brixinensis episcopi accomodum esse, {119v} quoniam is occulte mala haec fuerit orsus. Me alia sententia tenet. Arbitror enim evestigio principes factionis accurrisse Brixinam ibique operam dedisse, ut ex eorum sententia fiat episcopus. Interea vero jam arces custodiri per eos, sed licet cuilibet opinari, vaticinari paucis, quoniam futurorum eventum solum novit Deus. Humanae mentes in tenebris degunt, nec videre⁴ sed argumentari possunt ex praeteritis et instantibus, quid sit futurum, in eoque saepe falluntur, ut⁵ qui per vitrum ultra inspiciunt aut in aquas jactant visum.

[9] Haec scripsi ad 5. kalendis Januarii, putans me statim missurum litteras. Nunc quia superest spatium, adjiciam reliqua. Junior comes Ciliae huc heri advenit. Dux Albertus horatim expectatur, similiter et comes Goriciae cum ejus uxore. Accepi Goriciae comitem feuda suscepturum, quod si fit⁶, nonnihil ad cancellariam veniet. Cum his, ut conjecto utque percepi, tractabitur de modo intrandi Athesim. Ajunt enim quidam per terras Goriciae accessum patere Athesinosque timere comitem Ciliae. Agetur quoque, ut subodoro, quod hic Ciliensis in curia perseveret. Sed his in rebus nemo utilior esset tua magnificentia. Nemo hic est, qui sciat, quales sunt habiti tractatus cum comite ipso et ad registrum recurritur. Uxor comitis⁷, quare huc adveniat, nescio, nisi quaestura injurias viri, quem ajunt ultra quam dici possit injurium, quod sibi eo minus licet, quia vir⁸ aetate {120r} confectus est et forma ineptus. Consortem paene divinam sortitus fuerat, qua si bene usus fuisset, nemo esset beatior eo. Inter humanas namque felicitates haec vel maxima est, ut conjugem quis pulchram sortiatur et bonam, tum quod est tertium fecundam, sicut hanc esse referunt. Quidam rentur eam omnino divortium petituram, quia vitae suae timeat, quamvis conjunx mirum in modum sibi blandiatur. Dum hic ambo erunt, altius rem investigabo.

¹ stimulantur M3

² fore M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex fore* V2b

³ omnino compertum : lucidum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex lucidum* V2b

⁴ videri V4

⁵ et M3

⁶ fit : sic erit M1-M3

⁷ uxor comitis : comitis Goricie uxor M2; comitem Goricie uxorem M1, M3

⁸ *omit.* V4

6. Problems in Trient and Brixen

[8] The people of Trient remain loyal though they are continuously incited to rebel. They say they will do as their bishop has ordered, and on his command, they will obey the king for four months more.¹ However, the king has no access to them except via the Venetian domains. Ambassadors will now be sent by that route. It is said that Count Galeazzo² is in Trient with 400 footsoldiers, defending the king's cause, but I have no sure information on this matter. Some think the bishop of Brixen's³ demise is quite fortunate since he was secretly behind these nefarious happenings.⁴ I do not share this belief. I think that [when the bishop died], the leaders of the opposition hastened to Brixen to get a new bishop after their head. In the meantime, the fortresses are guarded by them. But though people may have their own opinion, not many can prophesy, for only God knows the outcome of future events. Human minds are kept in darkness. They cannot see the future but reason about it on the basis of past and present events. And they are often wrong about the future, which they see as through glass⁵ or in water.

7. Problems in Kärnten

[9] I wrote this on 27 December, intending to despatch the letter immediately. But since there is still space left, I shall add some other things. The younger count of Cilly⁶ arrived yesterday. Duke Albrecht⁷ is expected any moment, and similarly the count of Görz⁸ with his wife.⁹ I have heard that the count of Görz will receive his lands as feudal possessions, in which case some revenue will accrue to the chancery.¹⁰ I guess and have heard there will be discussions with them about ways to enter Tyrol. Some say there is access [to Tyrol] through the territory of Görz and the Tyroleans fear the count of Cilly. I suspect they will also arrange for the count of Cilly to stay at court. But in these affairs, nobody is more valuable than Your Magnificence. Nobody here knows which agreements have been made with the count, and they have to search the register.¹¹ I do not know why the wife of the count [of Görz] is coming unless to complain of being maltreated by her husband, reported to be incredibly abusive, which he certainly ought not to be as he is old and unattractive. He had acquired an almost divine spouse, and if he had treated her well, nobody would have been happier than he. For the greatest human happiness is to obtain a spouse who is beautiful, good and – thirdly – fertile, as she is said to be. Some claim she is determined to seek a divorce because she fears for her life, although her husband fawns on her. I shall investigate the matter further while they are both here.¹²

¹ Niederstätter, p. 243: *Am 18. April 1442 überliess der Bischof von Trient, Alexander von Masowien, ein naher Verwandter von Friedrichs Mutter, dem König für zwei Jahre die gesamte weltliche Regierung seines Hochstifts.* This arrangement, apparently accepted by the people, would expire on 18 April 1444, ca. four months from the date of Piccolomini's letter.

² See letter 95: 1.

³ Georg II Stubier. See letter 98: 5.

⁴ Niederstätter, p. 244: *Nach und nach verlor der König in Tirol seine Anhänger, selbst den Bischof von Brixen stellte sich auf die Seite der Landschaft.*

⁵ Glass at that time was not quite clear and transparent.

⁶ Count Ulrich II von Cilly.

⁷ Duke Albrecht VI of Austria.

⁸ Heinrich VI von Görz.

⁹ Katharina Garai. Sister-in-law of Ulrich of Cilly.

¹⁰ As fees for the production of the legal documents.

¹¹ I.e., the copy books in the archives.

¹² See letter 111: 4.

[10] Haec satis ad res Carinthianas, nunc in Hungariam pergo. Scripsi dudum tibi conventionem¹ certam indictam fuisse per Hungaros, ut ambae partes Budae convenirent ac de regni comodo transigerent, quod mihi admodum displicebat propter locum, in quo nil agi posse cernebam nisi ex arbitrio unius partis² timebamque nostrum infantulum jure privari suo. Sed respicit illum Deus, et quia humana destitutus est ope, ex alto reperit auxilium. Nondum perdita spes est, nec tam felix est adversarius, quam fama praedixit. Cum essemus nuper in via³ huc venientes, obvios oratores Hungaros apud Prukgam habuimus, qui usque in Leuben regiam secuti sunt majestatem. Hi attulerunt litteras ex parte communitatum, quas optime nosti, ac ex parte Strigoniensis archiepiscopi, Giskrae et Ladislai bani. Hi fuerunt etiam hoc anno apud Viennam. Unus est, quem Giskra tunc misit, alter missus fuerat per communitates {120v} Caschoviae, quem nomine Philppum dicunt. Hi retulerunt partem regni, quae oboedit Ladislao⁴, nullatenus consentire voluisse in conventu⁵ Budensi, sed contenti sunt omnes, ut duo conventus fiant. Pars Polonorum Budae conveniat et pars Ladislai apud Strigonium, idque in festo Purificationis proximo. Petunt quoque Ladislaitae, ut rex ad Strigonium oratores in praefixa die transmittat nec velit res tantas negligere. Postularunt etiam regem suum ad contermina regni deduci, sicut eis promissum esset. Orator Giskrae retulit dominum suum, quamvis uxorem partis alterius haberet, stabili mente Ladislai partem tueri nec timere aliquem debere illum sic esse uxorium, ut propter feminam regem deserat⁶, sed viam⁷ per hoc patere, qua sibi attrahat alienos mulieremque viro subesse, non virum mulieri et hoc conjugium non parum conducere Ladislao. His responsum est regem⁸ Ladislaum nondum missum, quia aegrotus fuisset, sed mittendum esse quam primum rex in Austriam reverteretur. Oratores futuros in conventu⁹, ut petitum esset, et super hoc rectoribus Austriae scriptum est, ut oratores ipsi mittant. Gratiae actae sunt, quod in Budensi conventu¹⁰ non sit consensus praestitus scriptumque est castellano Gretzensi, ut puerum his oratoribus ostendat, et hoc modo dimissi sunt Hungari.

[11] In Vienna conventus habetur patrie eoque Johannes Neyperg {121r} missus est, qui nondum rediit, nec quid sit gestum scitur.

¹ dietam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex dietam* V2b

² unius partis : regis Poloniae M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex regis Poloniae* V2b

³ nuper in via : in via nuper M3

⁴ *omit.* M2

⁵ dieta M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex dieta* V2b

⁶ deseret M3

⁷ sibi *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~sibi~~ *seq.* V2b, V3

⁸ regis M1-M3

⁹ dieta M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex dieta* V2b

¹⁰ dieta M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex dieta* V2b

8. Problems in Hungary

[10] This is enough about the Carinthian affairs. Now I move on to Hungary. I have already written to you that the Hungarians have summoned an assembly, [inviting] both parties¹ to meet in Buda and take measures for the benefit of the kingdom. I do not like this since I consider that nothing can be achieved there without the consent of the other party² and fear that our little boy³ will be deprived of his rights. But God looks after him, and since he is deprived of human assistance, he will find help from above.⁴ All hope is not lost yet, and our adversary⁵ is not as successful as rumoured. When recently we were travelling here, we were met in Bruck⁶ by envoys from Hungary who followed His Royal Majesty to Leoben. They brought – as you well know – letters from the estates and from the archbishop of Esztergom,⁷ Jiskra⁸ and Ban Ladislas⁹. These envoys were also in Vienna earlier this year,¹⁰ one sent by Jiskra, another by the communities of Cassovia,¹¹ named Filip. They related that the party supporting Ladislaus¹² had in no way consented to the assembly in Buda but that all were content that two [separate] meetings would be held. The Polish party will meet in Buda and Ladislaus' in Esztergom, on the Feast of the Purification.¹³ The party supporting Ladislaus requests the king¹⁴ to send ambassadors to Esztergom on the appointed day and not neglect such important matters. They also demand that their king¹⁵ be sent to the confines of their kingdom, as promised. Jiskra's envoy also reported that his lord, though having married a woman¹⁶ of the other party, staunchly supports Ladislaus' party: nobody should fear he would be so dependent on his wife as to desert his king for the sake of the woman. On the contrary, because of this marriage, the way was open for him to attract people from the other party. Indeed, the woman was subject to her husband, not the opposite, and this marriage would greatly benefit Ladislaus.¹⁷ The envoys were told that King Ladislaus had not yet been sent because he had been ill, but he would be sent as soon as the king¹⁸ returns to Austria. The king's ambassadors would be at the meeting, as requested, and the governors of Austria had been required by letter to also send ambassadors. [Ladislaus' supporters] were thanked for not agreeing to a [joint] meeting [with the other party], and a letter was sent to the commandant in Graz to show the boy to the envoys. With this, the Hungarians were sent away.

[11] In Vienna, an assembly of the estates is being held and Johann Neitperg¹⁹ was sent there. He has not yet returned, and it is not known what has happened.

¹ The supporters of the Polish King Wladislaus and the Habsburg boy king Ladislaus, respectively.

² The earlier versions have "the King of Poland".

³ The boy king.

⁴ I.e., Heaven.

⁵ The Polish king.

⁶ Bruck a.d. Mur.

⁷ Dénes Szésci.

⁸ Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and military commander. See DVI, ch. 43, and HB, p. 478-482.

⁹ Lázló Garai (-1459): Ban of Macsó 1431-1441 and 1445-1447. Palatine of Hungary 1447-1458.

¹⁰ June 1443. See letter 58:3.

¹¹ City in present-day Slovakia.

¹² The Habsburg boy king.

¹³ 2 February 1444.

¹⁴ Friedrich III.

¹⁵ The Habsburg boy king.

¹⁶ The niece of Simon Rozgon [Rozgoni] (-1444): Bishop of Eger (Erlau).

¹⁷ In his *De viris illustribus*, Piccolomini wrote about Jiskra: *When he married the niece of the Bishop of Eger, 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 worrying without reason." *But when Eger followed the Polish king going to war against the Turks, he was killed and thus given the punishment he deserved. not by Christians but by infidels* (DVI, sect. 275).

¹⁸ Friedrich III.

¹⁹ Johann von Neitperg [Johann / Neidberg] (- ca. 1459): Styrian counsellor of Friedrich III (Heinig, p. 253).

[12] Nunc tempus esset res Italas ingredi, sed nihil habeo illinc scriptura dignum. Fama est comitem Franciscum mille quingentes¹ equites amisisse, quos Piceninus bello susceperit. Id tamen dubium est. Eugenius Romae manet. Partes illae sic se habent, ut nosti. Nihil innovatum audio. Nemo huc oratores mittit, et nos illuc neminem destinamus. Montes nivosi² et alti nimis intersecant aditus. “

[13] “Nec tu me pendis, nec ego te magnifico”: ut volunt principes, sic existimantur. Vigilare, laborare³, curare plurima oportet, si quis velit haberi magnus. Quidam modico sunt contenti et recte sane, si ad naturam viventes Deum respiciant et quieti sint animi. Ille non est laudandus, qui multa cupit et aggreditur pauca, oportet namque et animum et opera convenire, si quis commendari debeat. Miror Venetos hic propinquos nullum misisse. Aut nos temnunt aut majoribus sunt occupati negotiis. Ego tui causa optassem maxime illorum adventum.

¹ quingentes *aut* quingentos V2;
quingentos M1-M3

² fumosi M2

³ vigilare laborare : laborare
vigilare M2

9. Italian affairs

[12] It would now be time to speak about the Italian affairs, but I have nothing from there worthy of report. It is rumoured that Count Francesco¹ has lost 1,500 mounted soldiers who were taken by Piccinino² in a battle,³ but this is not certain. Eugenius⁴ remains in Rome. This is the situation in Italy, as you know. I hear of no political disturbances. Nobody sends ambassadors here, and we send none there. The snowy and too high mountains prevent travelling.

[13] “You do not appreciate me, and I do not esteem you”: princes may have the reputation they wish, but anyone who wants to be considered great must be vigilant, active and determined. Some may be content with little - and justly so if they live according to nature, revere God and are peaceful. But it is shameful to want much and do little.⁵ If you wish to be praised, your mind and actions must be in harmony. I wonder why the Venetians, so close to us, have sent no ambassador. Either they despise us, or they are occupied with matters more important to them. For your sake, I should much have wished for them to come.⁶

¹ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiere. Son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450).

² Niccolò Piccinino (ca. 1386-1444): Italian condottiere.

³ Here, Piccolomini may be referring to the Battle of Monteloro on 8 November 1443, opposing Sforza and Piccinino (with King Alfonso of Aragon), but Sforza was actually victorious. DBI (Francesco Sforza): *F. riuscì a sottrarsi all'assedio e affrontò infine vittoriosamente le truppe nemiche a Monteloro l'8 nov, 1443.*

⁴ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁵ Are these remarks a thinly veiled criticism of a conflict between the emperor's high political aims and his lack of vigorous activity? If so, it is a viewpoint which the chancellor might share since Piccolomini dares to bring it up. Still, he may here be treading on thin ice. Some months afterwards, on 4 April

1444, the chancellor in an oration on the Freising issue to the emperor, written by Piccolomini, the “*Si putarem*”, said: *This Johann, who now claims to have been elected, was nominated as bishop by the same chapter 22 years ago. But your uncle Albrecht would not accept him as bishop, and against Johann he put forward Nicodemus, who had been appointed by the Apostolic See, and helped him in words and deeds. In this he was supported by your sire, Duke Ernest of noble memory, and due to their actions Johann was rejected and Nicodemus accepted as bishop. Oh, vigorous princely spirits! Oh, souls worthy of ruling! Oh, fearless minds! We remember and should, indeed, always remember them for not being cowed by threats and for keeping the rights of their family safe against the machinations of all. For these*

clear-sighted princes knew that to rulers nothing is worse than contempt: indifference leads to scorn and humiliation. Nobody should make a sheep of himself unless he wants to be torn apart by the teeth of the wolf. A prince should not always be benevolent, quiet, easy-going and mild. Sometimes he must show severity, a manly face and fierce eyes, so that the leniency of the prince does not debase the majesty of lordship. When the frogs had inspected the log that Jupiter had given them as ruler, they mounted it, trod on it, and pissed all over it (COR, 2: 5, 5).

⁶ The Venetians may have had some understanding with Schlick and would have supported his cause, or, as supporters of Pope Eugenius, they would have strengthened his status at the imperial court.

[14] Sed transeo haec, ut¹ ad res ecclesiae revertar, quae hucusque dilatae finem hodie susceperunt. Res in consilio sic gesta est: litterae in primis tuae perlectae sunt, tum oratorum, tum regum, post alia scripta ordinem habitum apud vos² referentia. Nihil aliud disceptatum est, nisi an³ veniendum esset Norembergam, sed {121v} postquam discrimen imminere ostensum est, nisi veniretur, placuit adventum polliceri, totaque disputatio de tempore mansit. Aliis purificationis diem, aliis medium Quadragesimae⁴, aliis Festum Sancti Georgii placebat eligere, obtinuitque tandem ultima sententia, scribitque rex tibi et principibus, quibus alias scriptum est, velle se omnino in die sancti Georgii apud Nurembergam videri, sicut ex ejus litteris agnosces, roganturque principes, ut interim maneant indeclarati. De continuatione dietae usque in tempus illud nihil est dictum, sed apparet ex taciturnitate totum remitti ad vos, qui illic estis⁵. Multum⁶ visa est⁷ placere tum regi tum consiliariis via, quam rex Franciae aperuit, et Chiemensis episcopus illam in quadam sua cedula plurimum commendavit. Mihi etiam, ut supra dixi, si quid video, perlibens est, ex quo principes Germanie non sunt unius⁸ voti.

[15] Tibi autem seorsum scribitur, ut omnino revertaris, quod mihi his rationibus persuasum est: primum propter ecclesiam Frisingensem, ut interim curas⁹ possessionem habere, quia sequatur postea quidquid velit, res tua *in vado* erit, quamquam non video, quod haec ecclesia manus possit effugere tuas¹⁰, si velis instare. Nam ut litterae regum canunt, omnes Eugenio parent illumque venerantur et colunt et impossibile est declarationem¹¹ {122r} adversus eum fieri, nisi majus schisma suboritur. Idcirco perseverare in sententia debes et hanc ecclesiam prosequi, quia tua est, nec¹² rex, ut puto, adversus erit dictis suis. Solet enim, quod promittit, ratum esse, nec verbum regum facit irritum. Et ob hanc rem venire omnino debes, ne propter absentiam tuam aliquid innovetur per eos¹³, qui huc dietim¹⁴ veniunt ex Bavaria. Rex praeterea multum tui nunc est indigens et tunc bonum servire est principibus, cum res praeter sententiam eunt. Te res Athesis, Ciliae, Hungariae Bohemiaeque deponunt - non dico Italas, quia illarum non est cura. [*cont.*]

¹ et WO

² nos M2, V4

³ ad M2

⁴ aliis sancti Martini *add.* M2

⁵ illic estis : dietam tenetis M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dietam tenetis V2b

⁶ multa M2

⁷ sunt M2

⁸ *omit.* M2

⁹ provideas M2, M3, V2a; provideatis M1; *corr. ex* provideas V2b

¹⁰ tuas [*sic!*] *supralin.* M1; vestras HE, WO

¹¹ et colunt ... declarationem *omit.* V2

¹² *omit.* M2

¹³ aliquos M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* aliquos V2b

¹⁴ in dies V4

10. The schism in the Church

[14] But passing over these matters, I now return to the ecclesiastical affairs. They have been postponed until now, but today they were concluded. The matter was dealt with in council thus: first, your letters were read, then those of the ambassadors, then those of the kings,¹ and afterwards other documents in the order followed by you. The only thing debated was whether or not [the king] should go to Nürnberg. After the risks of not going had been made clear, it was decided to promise to come, and then the discussion turned to the date. Some preferred the day of the Purification,² others the middle of Lent,³ and others again the Feast of Saint George,⁴ and the last opinion prevailed. The king will now write to you and those princes, who had otherwise been written to, that he has determined to be in Nürnberg on the Feast of Saint George, as you will see from his letter. The princes will be asked not to make a declaration⁵ in the meantime. Whether the present diet⁶ should continue until then has not been said, but the silence [on this point] appears to indicate that [the decision] is being left to you who are there.⁷ Both the king and the councillors are much in favour of the way proposed by the king of France,⁸ and the bishop of Chiemsee⁹ has highly recommended it in a memorandum.¹⁰ As I have said above, I too – if I understand things well – like it very much since the German princes do not agree on the matter.¹¹

11. Problems caused by the chancellor's absence

[15] A separate letter to you will formally recall you. Personally, I believe this is for the best, for the following reasons: firstly because of the Church of Freising. If you manage to get possession, then whatever happens afterwards, your cause will be *safe*.¹² However, I do not really see how this church can escape your hands if you actively pursue the matter. For, as the kings publicly declare in their letters, they all obey, venerate, and honour Eugenius so that a declaration against him would, of necessity, cause a major schism.¹³ Therefore, you should maintain your position and pursue this church, for it is yours and I believe the king will not go back on his word. What he promises usually stands, and he does not rescind his pronouncements. For this reason, you must surely return lest, due to your absence, those who come here daily from Bavaria may be able to change the course of the affair.¹⁴ Moreover, at present, the king is greatly in need of you, and it is good to serve princes when things do not go as wanted. The affairs of Tyrol, Cilly, Hungary and Bohemia¹⁵ demand your presence (I do not mention the Italian affairs since they are not a matter of concern here). [*cont.*]

¹ The answers to the emperor's letters to the kings on a third council, sent in June 1443 (BSB / clm 14134, ff. 118r-119v). The replies were received at the imperial court in autumn 1443 (BSB / clm 14134, ff. 123v-128r).

² 2 February 1444.

³ Laetare Sunday 1444.

⁴ 23 April 1444.

⁵ For Pope Eugenius in Rome or the rump council in Basel with its antipope Felix V.

⁶ The diet presently in session in Nürnberg, in the emperor's absence.

⁷ Presumably, the royal ambassadors.

⁸ A congress of princes instead of a third council was proposed by King Charles VII. Unfortunately, his reply is not extant.

⁹ Bishop Silvester Pflieger.

¹⁰ "cedula".

¹¹ The European princes' almost unanimous support of Pope Eugenius IV would presumably persuade the recalcitrant German princes to join his cause.

¹² Plautus: *Aulularia*, 803: *iam esse in vado res salutis videtur (This matter seems to be almost in the shallows of safety now)*.

¹³ A German recognition of Eugenius would be important since it was he who had appointed the

chancellor's brother bishop of Freising.

¹⁴ I.e., by influencing the emperor and the court in favour of the Bavarian candidate, Johann Grünwalder.

¹⁵ The rebellion in Tyrol, the strained relations with the counts of Cilly, and the conflicts over the succession to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. In Hungary, also problems in the border regions, partly due to the emperor's attempts to extend the Habsburg power sphere (Koller, pp. 93-94).

[cont.] Sunt tamen et Suevica negotia sive Elsatiae¹, unde² legatio huc venit, auxilium adversus Suicenses³ postulans, alioquin tacite interminantur⁴ ducem Burgundiae fore accersendum. Vides, quia necessarius est tuus adventus. Utere occasione data, quia rebus tuis admodum conducit. Exinde, cum sicut scribis, necessarium sit regem ascendere Nurembergamque petere, pernecessarium est te penes regem esse, ut instes, commoveas⁵, pericula demonstres et persuadeas. Namque si tu ades, poterit rex illuc trahi. Aliter vero timeo, ne, quod nunc scribitur, evanescat, et sit⁶ *error novissimus pejor priore*. Scio nonnullos esse, qui libenter viderent te semper abesse⁷, sed tuum est desiderium potius regium intueri et tuum commodum {122v} quam illorum voluntatem.

[16] Non scripsi adhuc tibi, quam⁸ exaltatus sit Ulricus⁹, qui assecutus est plebem illam, quae pertinebat ad universitatem Viennensem, quae 600¹⁰ aureos annuatim praebet. Sed dignus est hoc bono. Ego quamvis nihil mereor¹¹, avidus tamen sum boni, ita ut fit. Nam qui pauciora meretur, plura cupit, quia nemo se ut est extimat¹². Hoc facit, ut scribam, quid mihi obtigerit in plebe Sarentinae vallis, quam tuo beneficio rex mihi concessit, ut si possibile sit, et consilium offeras et opem. Vicarius Tridentinus receptis litteris, quas a rege obtinuimus, mei causa - nam me mutuo diligit - in vallem Sarentanae se contulit, possessionem petiit tantumque¹³ apud parrochianos egit, ut possessio sibi meo¹⁴ nomine tradita sit. Sed oportuit eum promittere consensum ducis Sigismundi subsecuturum fore, alioquin possessionem¹⁵ amitteret. Ita scribit mihi vicarius¹⁶ triplicatis litteris¹⁷ suadetque, ut habeam litteras illustrissimi principis domini ducis, per quas appareat¹⁸ eum fore contentum de his, quae rex fecit. Interim vero possessionem habet. Mihi res visa est impetratu gravis in hoc¹⁹ rerum turbine, sed expectabam reditum tuum. Interea²⁰ Ulricus²¹, qui suum Sarantanam²² nimis tuetur meque sui causa spernit, verbum ex parte regis hoc ad me habuit: inquit enim regem cupere me Sarentanae fratrem, sive is nepos est, quietum dimittere mihi que promittere {123r} ecclesiam primam, quae vel in Austria, vel in Suevia, vel in Athesi vacaret. Stiriam, Carinthiam et Carniolam exceptit. Mihi res²³ visa est admodum suspecta, tum propter hanc exceptionem, tum quod ego possessor sum, habens jus reservationis, jus ordinarii et jus patronatus, alter nullum jus nisi primariorum precum prae se fert. Durum itaque putabam dimittere, et non parere regi durius. Tandem considerans, quod per medium vestrum jus patronatus habueram, indignum putavi aliquid agere, nisi te prius consulerem. Respondi ergo me velle reditum tuum manere, qui me promovisses, et quidquid tu consuleres, id agerem. Sic res se habet.

¹ Alsacie M1, M2

² inde V4

³ Suicensis diocesis V4

⁴ interminatur M1

⁵ commoneas V3, V4

⁶ sic M3, V4; et sic M1

⁷ esse V4

⁸ quare WO

⁹ magister Ulricus M2, M3;

magister Udalricus M1

¹⁰ uitos V4

¹¹ ego quamvis nihil mereor : utinam nulli minus inconvenienter beneficia committerentur. Ego quamvis indignus sum bono M1-M3; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹² existimat M2, V4

¹³ tantum M1-M3

¹⁴ eo M3

¹⁵ possessio vim M1-M3

¹⁶ prefatus M1-M3

¹⁷ per tres litteras M1-M3, V2a; triplicatis litteris *corr. ex* per tres litteras V2b

¹⁸ apparet V4

¹⁹ hac M1

²⁰ magister *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~magister~~ *seq.* V2b

²¹ Udalricus M1

²² Sarantanum M3

²³ Carinthiam et ... est *omit.* M3

[cont.] There are also the Swiss matters and those of Alsace.¹ A legation has arrived from there demanding help against the Swiss, intimating that otherwise, they will have to ask the duke of Burgundy² to intervene. You see that you simply must come! Do use the opportunity given now, for it will greatly benefit your affairs. Finally, since you write that the king must go up³ to Nürnberg, it is absolutely necessary that you are with the king to insist, influence, point out the risks, and persuade. For if you are not here, the king may be drawn in another direction, and I fear that what has been written now will be allowed to lapse. Then *the last error shall be worse than the first*.⁴ I am aware that some people here would gladly see you permanently absent, but you should be concerned about the king's wish and your own interests rather than what they want.

11. The Sarantaner benefice

[16] I have not yet written about the great advancement of Ulrich.⁵ He has been assigned a parish⁶ that previously belonged to the University of Vienna and gives 600 ducats a year. He is certainly worthy of this benefice. Though I myself merit nothing, I still - as things stand - much desire such a benefice. Indeed, those who merit little desire more, for nobody sees himself as he is.⁷ For this reason, I shall write what happened to me concerning the parish⁸ of Sarantanerthal, granted to me by the king through your benevolent intervention.⁹ I hope that, if possible, you will counsel and help me in this matter. My vicar in Trient¹⁰ is bound to me by mutual affection, so when he received the letter we had obtained from the king, he went on my behalf to Saratanerthal and requested possession [of the benefice]. He was so persuasive that possession was transferred to him in my name. However, he had to promise to obtain the consent of Duke Siegmund,¹¹ otherwise he would lose possession. This is what the vicar has written to me in three letters, urging me to obtain a letter from the Most Illustrious Lord Duke¹² proving that he accepts what the king did. In the meantime, he has possession [of the parish]. However, since I thought it would be difficult to obtain [such a letter] at this tumultuous time, I decided to await your return. In the meantime, Ulrich,¹³ who guards the Sarantanerthal as fiercely as if it was his own and therefore, in his own interest, will keep me out, gave me a message from the king, saying that the king wants me to let Ulrich's brother (or is it his nephew?) get the Sarantaner benefice amicably, and that he promises me the first church to become vacant either in Austria, Schwaben or Tyrol, but not in Steiermark, Kärnten, or Krain. This appears highly suspect to me because of the exception and because I am the possessor, having the *jus reservationis*, the *jus ordinarii*, and the *jus patronatus*.¹⁴ The other one¹⁵ only has the *jus primariorum precum*¹⁶ for him. But considering that I obtained the right of patronage through your intervention, I thought it would be inappropriate to do anything without consulting you first. So, I answered that I would await your return since you were the one who promoted me and that I would then do what you advised. This is how matters stand at present.

¹ Koller, pp. 95-96.

² Duke Philippe III le Bon.

³ "ascendere": go up = go North.

⁴ Matthew, 27: 64. The first error was for the emperor not to attend the present diet in Nürnberg, and the last error would be not to attend its continuation (or the next).

⁵ Ulrich Riederer.

⁶ "plebs"

⁷ Piccolomini's humility is feigned. He is quite conscious of his worth and believes that he is entitled to be

remunerated - as imperial officials were - with lucrative ecclesiastical benefices.

⁸ "plebs"

⁹ See letter 82: 1; VO, 1: 2, pp. 292-293; Mitchell, p. 97.

¹⁰ Francesco Bossio, who acted as Piccolomini's representative in the diocese of Trient, where they were both canons, see letter 82: 1.

¹¹ Sarantanerthal being part of Siegmund's Tyrolean domains, it would be highly impolitic for the

people there to grant possession of a benefice to an imperially appointed candidate - given the state of rebellion in Tyrol and the dismissal of all imperially appointed officials.

¹² Duke Siegmund.

¹³ Ulrich Riederer.

¹⁴ The right of reservation, of the ordinary, and of patronage.

¹⁵ Ulrich's brother or nephew.

¹⁶ See letter 102: 9.

[17] Nunc precor¹, ut velis regi suadere, ne me destituat², ne velit alteri plus quam mihi affici, ne³ justitiam meam illius injustitiae praeferat. Nam et sua interest, ut jus patronatus in illa ecclesia maneat. Nec decet beneficium principis immutari. Ego vero, etsi parvi redditus illa ecclesia sit, tamen contentus sum, quia canonicatum illic habeo et vellem aliquando me sequestrare⁴ ab hujus mundi⁵ turbinibus *Deoque servire* et mihi vivere. Habere illic ducatos 200 cum canonicatu annuatim possemque honeste vivere. Ego jam sum vesperum praetergressus et non semper potero⁶ huc atque illuc discurrere. Si faciam hoc per⁷ 6 annos, satis est. Postea quiescere me oportet, et utinam locum habeam, ubi quiescam, {123v} honestum. Sum animi tui⁸: plus mihi placet hodiernum ovum quam gallina crastina. *Nescimus*⁹, *quid vesper vehat*. Quod habemus, tenendum¹⁰ est. Ideo¹¹ tibi supplico in hac re, ut me juves¹² vel scriptis vel verbis, si redieris, quod¹³ omnino curare debes.

[18] Non mei causa hoc dico - ego enim parvi momenti sum - sed propter rationes praedictas, et ut tristes sint, qui te abesse sunt laeti. Non potui adhuc scire, per quam viam tibi redeundum sit, sed sciens mox scribam. Nam si rex rediret in Austriam aliud iter est, aliud, si se superius transferret. De litteris Arelatensis¹⁴ alias tibi scripsi¹⁵. Cum illarum videbis copiam, credo me non magnopere dices errasse, aut si error est¹⁶, veniam meretur.

Tu vale optime cum liberis et conjuge, quibus relictis ad nos reverti cura. Ex Sancto Vito, 5. kalendis Januarii 1443¹⁷ ¹⁸.

¹ peto M3

² destituet M3

³ nisi M2; et WO

⁴ sequestrari WO

⁵ hujus mundi : huiusmodi V4

⁶ semper potero : potero semper

WO

⁷ preter M2

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ nescio M3

¹⁰ tuendum WO

¹¹ immo V4

¹² adiuvetis WO

¹³ *omit.* WO

¹⁴ Arelatensium WO

¹⁵ tibi scripsi : scripsi vobis WO

¹⁶ ut M3

¹⁷ ex sancto ... 1443 : etc. M2

¹⁸ habere illic ducatos 1443
omit. M1

12. Piccolomini's retirement prospects

[17] Now I beg you to persuade the king to not let me down, to not prefer another to me, and to not set the other's unjust cause above my just one. It is also in the king's own interest to keep the patronage of this church. And moreover, a royal act of favour¹ should not be undone. Though the income of that church is small, I am content with it since I also have a canonry there.² Sometime in the future, I shall want to retire from the turbulence of this world, *serve God*,^{3 4} and live for myself.⁵ I would then, together with the [income from] the canonry, have 200 ducats per year which would allow me to live in comfort. I have now entered the evening of my life and will not always be able to rush about. It must be enough if I continue for six years more.⁶ Afterwards, I must settle down. Hopefully, I shall then have a place where I can live in peace. I share your view that an egg today is better than a hen tomorrow. *We know not know what evening may bring*.⁷ We must hold fast to what we have. Therefore, I beg you to help me in this matter either by letters or by words (in case you return – as you absolutely must).

13. Conclusion

[18] I am not saying this for my own sake – since I am quite unimportant – but for the reasons mentioned above,⁸ and so that those may be sad who are now glad you are absent. I have not been able to find out by which route you will return, but as soon as I know it, I shall write again. For if the king should return⁹ to Austria,¹⁰ it will be by one route, and if he goes North,¹¹ it will be by another. I have written to you elsewhere concerning the letter from [the cardinal of] Arles.¹² When you see the copy, I believe you will say that I did not make an error, or if it was an error, that it deserves to be forgiven.

Live well with your children and wife, but please arrange to leave them and return to court. From Sankt Veit, 28 December 1443.

¹ Or [grant of a] benefice.

² In the diocese of Trient.

³ Luke, 16, 13: *you cannot serve God and mammon*.

⁴ This passage may mean that Piccolomini is now thinking of entering holy orders.

⁵ I.e. not for others.

⁶ Piccolomini did, indeed, not know what evening would bring. At the time, he was 38 years old, and five years afterwards, when he now planned to retire, his career would really take off, leading him to the papal throne.

⁷ Gellius, 1: 22, 4. The title of one of Marcus Varro's Menippean Satires.

⁸ See sect. 15.

⁹ From Sankt Veit.

¹⁰ To the East.

¹¹ "superius"

¹² Cardinal Louis Aleman. See Piccolomini's reply to the cardinal (letter 85).

109. Letter to Johann Tolner (29 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 70r-70v; M2, ff. 52v-53r; M3, ff. 254v-258v¹; V2, ff. 259-260² **.

Editions: HE, 109, pp. 238-240; WO, 1: 1, 109, pp. 262-263; (both based on M1 and V2).

{259} Aeneas Silvius³ Johanni Tolner, in Romana curia procuratori viroque bono, salutem plurimam dicit.^{4 5 6}

[1] Venit ad curiam⁷ lator praesentium, quem regia majestas in factis ecclesiae Brixinensis destinat. Rogo vos, sicut soles, regio desiderio ut faveas, ne quis ad illam ecclesiam promoveatur, antequam rex nominaverit, quem voluerit. Nec graveris⁸, quomodo res transeat, me instruere.

[2] Scribo tibi confidenter sciens amicitiam, quae inter dominum cancellarium et te viget. Et, cum ego illius servitor existam, non puto meas preces apud te incassum ire. Post hoc scire te volo eundem cancellarium abesse, quia per regem destinatus est Norimbergam, sed mox revertetur, quia jam⁹ sibi, ut redeat, scriptum est. Is, si nunc adesset, scriberet tibi, quid opus sit in facto Frisingensis ecclesie. Sed quoniam ipse abest, opus est me omnia significare. Nam ille me in suo loco dimisit et harum rerum commisit curam.

¹ SC, 523.

² DV, ff. 135r-135v

³ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁴ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad Johannem Tolner M1

⁵ venerabilis vir *add.* M1

⁶ dimitte *in marg.* V2

⁷ vestram *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~vestram~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ nec graveris : et non sit vobis grave M1

⁹ *omit.* M3

109. Letter to Johann Tolner (29 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Context: In the absence of the papal bulls granting possession of the See of Freising to the chancellor's brother, there was a risk that the emperor would turn to the Bavarian candidate instead.

Subject: Piccolomini urges the emperor's procurator in Rome to ensure the speedy despatch of the papal bulls. He asks Tolner to keep his letter confidential, which is quite understandable since the emperor might not appreciate Piccolomini and the chancellor's use of the imperial procurator to further the chancellor's personal cause, potentially at variance with the emperor's (settlement of the church schism / relations with Bavaria).

{259} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johan Tolner, procurator at the Roman Curia and a good man.

[1] The bearer of the present letter has been sent to the curia by His Royal Majesty in the matter of the Church of Brixen.¹ I ask you to further the king's desire in the customary manner lest someone is appointed to that church before the king has nominated whom he wants. Please take the trouble to inform me how the matter turns out.

[2] I write the following to you in confidence, knowing the friendship between the Lord Chancellor and you. Since I am his servant, I believe my request will not be in vain. You should know that the chancellor is absent, having been sent by the king to Nürnberg,² but he will soon return as he has already been recalled by letter. If he were present now, he himself would write to you what is needful in the matter of the Church of Freising, but since he is absent, it falls to me to inform you about it, for he left me in his place and put me in charge of this whole affair.

¹ See letter 108: 5.

² The Diet of Nürnberg that began in November.

[3] Res ergo sic se habet: adversarius, qui fuit {260} per capitulum electus, jam adeptus est possessionem omnium eorum, quae apud Bavaros sunt, et dietim instat, ut castra, que rex tenet, sibi dentur, et omnes Bavariae duces ejus causam tuentur regique molestissimi sunt. Rex autem jam dedisset castra domino Henrico, si bullae venissent apostolicae. Sed quia non veniunt, supersedet, et timendum est, ne Bavarorum precibus in alterius favorem partis mutetur. Ideo admodum miror has litteras non esse ex curia missas, quia non minus interest papae et curiae vestrae dominum Henricum¹ hanc sortiri ecclesiam quam domini cancellarii. Ipse enim reperit honorificam concordiam, et promittitur sibi alius episcopatus pro fratre, sed omnia refutat intuitu papae, qui sibi tam benignus fuit. Ego tamen timeo, ne cogatur necessario, ex quo bullae non mittuntur, quia tantum impetum sustinere non potest. Rex vero sibi promiserat possessionem castrorum, quae habet, dare² visis bullis. Nunc omnia propter bullas depereunt. Ideo velis³ supplicare cardinalibus - nam ipsi sunt impedimento, sicut accepi - ne propter unam annatam centum perdant et illam non habeant.

[4] Et rogo, dicas Tarentino, qui cancellariam⁴ dirigit,⁵ quod prudentis est, aliquando scire perdere, nec⁶ dicatur spem pretio non esse emendam, quia inescandi sunt nonnunquam homines sicut⁷ pisces et aves et ferarum genus. Nec tantum, quod ante pedes est, respicere debemus, sed futura etiam intueri. Te etiam haec causa tangit, qui propter hanc promotionem insignem ecclesiam Prukensem consequeris. Ideo labora⁸, ut bullae mittantur, quas potes⁹ per hunc nuntium mittere, qui est capellanus regis et fidus. Non dico plura, tu me plane habes: hic rem amici, rem tuam et rem geris communem. Rescribe mihi, quid in re sit, quae spes habeatur, ut cancellarium et fratrem, qui tui¹⁰ sunt, cunctorum certiores efficiam.

Ac vale optime. Ex Sancto Vito in Carinthia, 4. kal. Januarii 1444.¹¹

¹ Udalum [Udalricum?] M2
[scribal lapsus for Ulrich
(Riederer?)]

² omit. M2

³ vos add. M1

⁴ cancellarium M1-M3

⁵ diligit M1-M3

⁶ ne M1

⁷ sic M2

⁸ laborare velitis M1, M2

⁹ quas potes : et potes eas M1

⁹ vos add. M1

¹⁰ vesterrimi M1

¹¹ ex Sancto ... 1444 : omit. M1;
etc. M2

[3] This is how the matter stands: the adversary¹ was elected by the chapter.² He has now gained possession of everything³ in Bavaria and daily demands the castles held by the king.⁴ All the Bavarian dukes⁵ support his cause and are proving most troublesome to the king. The king would already have given those castles to Heinrich⁶ if the apostolic⁷ bulls⁸ had arrived. But since they have not, he procrastinates, and it is to be feared that the Bavarian demands will make him change and favour the other party. I am astonished that the letters have not yet been sent from the curia, for it is just as important to the pope and the curia as to the Lord Chancellor that Lord Heinrich obtains this church.⁹ The chancellor is seeking an honourable settlement, and another bishopric has been promised to his brother, but given the pope's benevolence, the chancellor refuses.¹⁰ However, I fear that he must bow to necessity if the bulls are not sent, for he cannot withstand the violent opposition. The king has promised to give him possession of the castles he now has when he has seen the bulls. Now, everything falls apart because the bulls are missing. Therefore, I ask you to canvass the cardinals – I have heard that they are the obstacle – lest they lose 100 annates because of one, and that one they will not get, either.¹¹

[4] And please tell the Cardinal of Taranto,¹² who is in charge of the chancery,¹³ that a wise man must know to sometimes lose, and tell him that hope must sometimes be acquired at a cost, just as men, fish, birds and other animals must often be fed. And we must not only see what is right before us but also look to the future.¹⁴ Actually, the matter also concerns you, for this appointment¹⁵ will get you the noble Church of Bruck.¹⁶ Therefore, please ensure that the bulls are sent. You can send them with the present envoy, a chaplain of the king and entirely trustworthy. I say no more - you surely understand my meaning: here you are dealing with the cause of a friend,¹⁷ your own cause¹⁸ and the cause of all.¹⁹ Please write back to me about what happens in the matter so that I may inform the chancellor and his brother – your friends²⁰ – about everything.

And farewell. From Sankt Veit in Kärnten, 29 December 1443.

¹ Johann Grünwalder, appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

² The cathedral chapter of Freising.

³ I.e., the possessions of the Church of Freising.

⁴ I.e., the possessions (regalia) of the Church of Freising in the Habsburg territories and held by the king during the vacancy in the diocese.

⁵ Uncles of Johann Grünwalder.

⁶ Heinrich Schlick, the chancellor's brother.

⁷ Papal.

⁸ The papal bulls granting possession of the Church of Freising.

⁹ As the curia well knew, his brother's appointment to Freising was the chancellor's price for supporting Pope Eugenius' cause at the imperial court and ending the schism in that pope's favour.

¹⁰ The pope had already appointed the chancellor's brother to the See of Freising – though the letters granting possession had not yet been sent.

¹¹ Annate: the (often heavy) fee paid to the apostolic treasury for ecclesiastical appointments. Since the cardinals' salaries largely came out of the annates received by the treasury, they were loath to give up the annates for the Church of Freising. Piccolomini wants Tolner to remind them that if the chancellor does not get his way, he will oppose German recognition of the pope in Rome, and then there will be no annates flowing from Germany to Rome – and the cardinals.

¹² Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo. He was an old acquaintance of Piccolomini.

¹³ The cardinal was, at the time, *camerarius* (treasurer) of the College of Cardinals. The passage "cancellarium dirigit" may be a scribal mistake since the early version of the text had "cancellarium diligit" (he loves the chancellor).

¹⁴ In his previous letter to the chancellor, Piccolomini had said that an egg today is better than a hen tomorrow. He was, after all, a master of bending his arguments to the circumstances.

¹⁵ Of the chancellor's brother to the See of Freising.

¹⁶ A rich parish church (and a fat benefice).

¹⁷ The chancellor.

¹⁸ Piccolomini tells Tolner that his future career is at stake.

¹⁹ The settlement of the schism.

²⁰ "tui"

110. Letter to Francesco Bossio (30 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 72v-73r; M2, f. 53v¹; M3, f. 261v²; V2, ff. 263-264³; V3, ff. 125r-126r⁴ **; V4, ff. 111v-112r.
Editions: HE, 110, pp. 240-241; WO, 1, 1: 110, pp. 264-265; (both based on M1 and V2).

{125r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ Francisco Bossio, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.^{6 7}

[1] Accepi tres litterarum tuarum unius sententiae. Exponebant enim mihi omnes rem gestam apud Sarantanos. Deinde suadebant⁸, ut consensum illustrissimi⁹ {125v} principis domini Sigismundi circa jus patronatus impetrarem, quia sic res mea *in vado* foret. Ego tuum erga me animum, qualis esset, jam dudum habebam perspectum, sed tu in dies¹⁰ superas opinionem meam, et nedum querelae mihi locum eripis, sed facultatem quoque referendi gratias auferis. Gaudeo tamen ego me talem amicum esse sortitum, cujus plura sint erga me beneficia, quam nedum non¹¹ praemiare possim, sed etiam numerare. Tu autem conscientia tua laetari debes, quando sic amici negotium geris, ut tuum putetur. Rata sunt apud me omnia per te gesta, nec ullus me gravat sumptus, mirorque¹² te non plura exposuisse. Volui, quod suadebas, a Sigismundo impetrare, sed terruit me novitas apud Athesinos orta timuique ne rex aegre ferret, tamquam, quod esset a se gestum, rueret, putavique differendum, donec cancellarius reverteretur.

[2] Interim ex parte regis rogatus sum hanc plebem ut adversario dimitterem, quia de meliori vellet sua majestas mihi providere. Hoc rex ad preces aliquorum fecit. Respondi, me velle cancellarium expectare, qui me promoverat, et facturum, quod ille juberet. Sic nunc se res habet. Sed hoc sepultum esse oportet, ne quid parrochiani persentiant, quos stude in devotione servare. Ego adveniente cancellario, quid successerit tibi scribam. Miseram litteras ad te et ad parrochianos ac alios, ut suasisti, sed audio nuntios regios, {126r} qui illas deferebant, non esse admissos arbitrorque litteris meis transitum non patere. Ideo has confeci, ut scires me tuas suscepisse, et quo in statu apud nos esset negotium. Quid vero ulterius expediat, nihil dicam, quia *suis*¹³ non¹⁴ est *Minervam* docere. Unum¹⁵ tibi notum volo, ut scias res capitulares melius dirigere¹⁶, conventionem¹⁷ scilicet Nurembergensem ad Festum Ascensionis prorogatam esse, quo tempore iturum¹⁸ se¹⁹ rex per suas litteras affirmat²⁰. Ultra non dicam plus, nec hoc dicerem, nisi jam hic publicum esset.

Vale et me concanonicis recommissum effice. Cum Deus volet, erimus simul et vitam ducemus beatam extra curiae clamores atque miserias. Ex sancto Vito in Carinthia, 3. kalendas Januarii 1443^{21 22 23}.

¹ SC, 114

² SC, 521

³ DV, ff. 137r-137v

⁴ DV, ff. 128r-129r.

⁵ poeta *add.* M1

⁶ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas Francisco Bossio M1

⁷ eximie doctor majorque honorande *add.* M1

⁸ sua debuit M3

⁹ illustris M1-M2, V2

¹⁰ in dies : dietim M1-M3, V2;

corr. ex dietim V3

¹¹ *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add.*

superlin. V2b

¹² moriorque V4

¹³ quis V4

¹⁴ *omit.* M2

¹⁵ ut M2

¹⁶ diligere V4

¹⁷ dietam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex*

dietam V2b

¹⁸ iterum WO

¹⁹ personaliter *add.* M1-M3, V2a;

~~personaliter~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁰ significavit M1; significat M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* significat V2b

²¹ 1444 V2-V4

²² ex sancto ... 1443 : etc. M2; *omit.* M3

²³ 3. kalendas ... 1443 *omit.* M3

110. Letter to Francesco Bossio (30 December 1443, Sankt Veit).

Context: The emperor had asked Piccolomini to let Ulrich Riederer's brother have the Sarantaner parish and promised him a better benefice instead.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Bossio how matters stand with the benefice and that he awaits the chancellor's return.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Francesco Bossio, jurist.

[1] I have received three letters from you, all with the same message. They related what has been done in the Sarantaner matter and urged me to obtain the consent of the Most Illustrious Prince, Lord Siegmund, concerning the right of patronage, for then my cause would be *safe*.¹ Your affection for me I have known for a long time. Still, you surpass my expectations daily, and you not only deprive me of any cause for complaint but even do not leave me the opportunity to express my thanks [adequately]. But I am happy to have gained such a friend whose favours toward me I cannot repay, nay, even count. In your conscience, you should rejoice that you handle your friend's business as if it were your own. I approve of all you have done and am not worried about the costs² – I am even surprised you have not spent more! I wanted to obtain Siegmund's [consent] as you requested, but the rebellion in Tyrol made me fear the king would take it badly and regret his action,³ so I have decided to postpone the matter until the chancellor's return.

[2] In the meantime, I have been asked – on behalf of the king – to let the adversary⁴ have the parish since His Majesty wanted to provide better for me.⁵ The king did this at the request of others.⁶ I answered that I would wait for the chancellor since it was he who had promoted me, and do as he decided. This is how the matter stands at present. But it must be kept confidential lest the parishioners hear about it. Please ensure they continue to favour me. When the chancellor comes, I shall write what happens. As you proposed, I have sent letters to you, the parishioners and others, but now I hear that the royal messengers carrying the letters have not been admitted [into Tyrol], and I doubt they will get through. Therefore, I have written this letter to let you know what has happened and how the matter stands. I shall not say what it will be expedient to do later, for *swine should not teach Minerva*.⁷

But I wish you to be aware of the following so that you may better know how to manage the chapter's⁸ business: the Diet of Nürnberg has been postponed until the Feast of the Ascension, and the king has confirmed by letter that he will attend. I cannot say more, and I would not even have said this if it were not public knowledge here.

Farewell, and recommend me to our co-canons.⁹ When God wills, we shall be together and live a happy life¹⁰ outside the court with its bustle and miseries.¹¹ From Sankt Veit in Kärnten, 30. December 1433.

¹ Plautus: *Aulularia*, 803: *iam esse in vado res salutis videtur* (This matter seems to be almost in the shallows of safety now).

² Presumably travel costs, administrative fees, and possibly some financial considerations to key people in the parish.

³ Granting the parish to Piccolomini.

⁴ Ulrich Riederer's brother. See letter 108: 11.

⁵ By granting him a parish with a better income.

⁶ Ulrich Riederer.

⁷ Cicero: *Academica*, 1: 5, 19: *the proverbial pig teaching Minerva*.

⁸ The cathedral chapter of Brixen, of which Bossio was the dean.

⁹ The canons of the cathedral chapter of Brixen.

¹⁰ The image of these two men living a happy, peaceful life together is somewhat curious. Possib-

ly, Piccolomini is playing to the affections of Bossio, but on the other hand, he appears, at the time, to be seriously worried about his retirement prospects and imagines withdrawing from court to a peaceful life in a parish, see letter 108: 17.

¹¹ Note the theme of the miseries of court life, prefiguring Piccolomini's *De curialium miseria*.