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**Collected Personal Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.
Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.
Vol. 3: 1444 (Nos. 111-165).
Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg**

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

Vol. 3: 1444 (nos. 111-165)

Preliminary edition

1) On Michael Pfullendorf: see letter 275.

2023

Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's personal letters from 1444, altogether 54 letters. These letters cover a period of intense literary activity, his conversion from the conciliarist to the papal cause, and his first appointment to a lucrative benefice. They also give a continuous comment on affairs at the imperial court, including the conflict of succession to the Hungarian throne, the development of the Church schism and the succession to the See of Freising.

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; King Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon); the Battle of Varna (1444); *Epistolae familiares*; *Epistolae saeculares*.

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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. Themes

1.1. External

1.1.1. The Crusade and Battle of Varna

In 1444, one of the most important events that Piccolomini experienced through the imperial court was the Crusade and Battle of Varna.

In return for the Byzantine emperor's agreement to a union between the Greek and Latin churches, effected at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439, Pope Eugenius IV had promised military support to the Byzantines in their fight against the Ottoman Turks. On 1 January 1443, he published a crusading bull and later sent Cardinal Cesarini to Hungary to support the Hungarian-Polish King Wladislaw III in the organisation of a land army to go against the Turks.

Before the Hungarian army could leave, it was necessary to secure their frontier with Austria. Negotiations between Hungary and the imperial court took place in spring/summer 1444 and resulted in the confirmation of the state of truce between the two parties. Piccolomini reported on negotiations in a letter to Johann Vrut of 27 May (letter 141: 1-3).

The crusade set in motion later that year, and after a series of military successes, the Hungarians reached Varna, where, on 10 November 1444, they suffered a catastrophic defeat at the hands of Turks and their ruler, Murad II. Both the king and the cardinal were killed.

In the beginning of December, confused and contradictory reports of the disaster reached the imperial court, to be followed – on 18 December – by dependable news from Count Ulrich II of Cilly and others. Piccolomini immediately sent of a report to the duke of Milan, in which he wrote:

This is the news: all the messengers say that the King of Poland, with the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, many Hungarians and even more Wallachians, Bulgarians and Ruthenians, entered Romania. They had such success in the war that they could establish a camp not far from Adrianople. When the Turkish ruler heard it, he gathered an army of 40,000 soldiers in Asia and crossed the sea since the fleet that had, last summer, been sent to the Hellespont to prevent the Turks from crossing over from Asia to Europe had left. According to some, the captains of the fleet had been bribed by the Asians. This, however, I consider to be most unlikely since I cannot believe that they could have been so disloyal as to sell Christian blood to the Muhammedans. It is more likely that the fleet ran out of provisions and could not continue, as Cardinal Giuliano had previously feared in a letter. Whatever the reason, the sea was open to the Turks, who passed over to Greece, joined the forces remaining on the European side of the sea and attacked the Christians with a large army.

Ours, too, wanted to fight. The battle began on the Feast of Saint Martin, and there may seldom have been such a ferocious and bitter fight among men. The two [armies] fought with equal strength, and the outcome was in doubt for a long time. Ours were battling for Christ and the others for Muhammad, and both sides fought with such vigour that 15,000 men fell in the first clash of the armies. The fight was so equal that they did not want to stop, and the more blood they shed, the more ferociously the troops were fighting. But in the end, the men

on both sides became exhausted and could no longer wield their swords or stretch their bows. This forced both parties to rest until late in the day, but when they had regained their fighting spirit and strength, the battle was renewed. In the end, the Turks won due to their strength or destiny or because they were more numerous. Those who escaped from the battle say that never in the memory of our fathers did Europe see such a bloody battle: as many Turks fell as Hungarians, and, if the rumour is true, at least 80,000 men were killed. (Letter 165: 4-5).

1.1.2. The church schism

Whereas the rest of Europe - with the exception of antipope Felix V's former duchy of Savoy and some German princes – acknowledged Pope Eugenius IV in Rome, The German nation still, in 1444, maintained the Neutrality between antipope Felix with his schismatic council in Basel and the pope in Rome who had his own council, a Roman continuation of the council of Ferrara-Firenze that briefly reunited the Latin and the Greek churches. Two diets had been held in Nürnberg to settle this conflict, both unsuccessful partly due to the emperor's absence.

A third diet had been convoked.¹ The emperor had promised to attend in person but procrastinated and a couple of times postponed the date. His court, including Piccolomini, was frustrated. In a letter to Chancellor Kaspar Schlick of 1 January 1444, Piccolomini wrote, sarcastically:

In the other letters, which I send together with the present one, I informed you that His Royal Majesty had chosen the Feast of Saint George for his arrival in Nürnberg. This was a decision in council, but what is decided in council is not one of the Sibyl's leaves or immutable fate. We live from day to day, and what was decided yesterday is changed today. (Letter 111: 1).²

At any rate, he did not have great hopes for the diet. In a letter to the papal envoy, Juan Carvajal, of 20 May 1444, he wrote:

You ask me to inform you what I think will happen at the diet. The chancellor fulfils your wish as far as possible, and it is improper for me to know or say more than he has. But if you ask me to make a prophecy, I shall add something, for it is, indeed, a poet's task to make prophecies. To tell the truth, I do not think that this diet will be more barren than the others. You know what I mean. Actually, all diets are fertile: each carries the next one in its womb! ...Presently, affairs are turbulent: some are happy with the state of neutrality since it provides new hunting [grounds], whereas those who have gained [illegal] possession [of ecclesiastical benefices] reject [church] union because they are unwilling to return them to the rightful possessors.. ... Now you know what I expect and what I can say without neglect of duty. (Letter 139: 2-3).

The emperor left Vienna on 9 July and arrived in Nürnberg on 1 August. On 22 September, Piccolomini sent this interim report to Johann Gers at the imperial court:

¹ On this diet of Nürnberg, see Piccolomini's own report in DRGB (WO, 2: 1, pp. 205-206) ; Stieber, pp. 255-269; VO, 2: 5, pp. 330-339.

² For comments on this passage, see VO, 2: 5, p. 331.

In the church matter, no decision has been reached as yet. Four of the prince-electors are here now: the Archbishop of Mainz, the Archbishop of Trier, the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg. Because of the Armagnacs, the Count Palatine has received permission to not come but protect his country. The Archbishop of Cologne is occupied with a siege of Soest and has not yet been able to come, but it is believed he will come soon, now that the royal ambassadors have arranged an armistice. The ambassadors from both parties are here, each defending his own party's cause. The Bishop of Verdun has come on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy. He energetically endeavours to persuade His Royal Majesty to declare himself and the whole [German] nation for Pope Eugenius, and he has, today, given a long oration before the entire assembly. (Letter 156: 8).

The ecclesiastical matter was overshadowed by the incursion in the Empire of the Armagnacs (see below), but eventually it was left to a committee to formulate a solution. Piccolomini was member of this committee, which is the first time he was publicly involved in the affairs of the empire and stepped out from the shadows of the imperial chancery. The committee came up with a revised proposal for a third council (to be held in Konstanz).¹ This idea had been ventilated by the Germans during the preceding years, with no success, however, and the prospects were not better this time since both Pope Eugenius and the schismatic council in Basel were against it. Moreover, an important German minority, led by the archbishop of Trier, were adamantly against it, too. Still, it was decided to send envoys to Rome and Basel to present the proposal.

The emperor left Nürnberg on 18. October. After his return from Nürnberg, on 19 November Piccolomini wrote to his friend in Rome, Pietro da Noceto:

You would probably like to hear about the outcome in Nürnberg, but that you must hear from others. I can only write that we left in disagreement. The king's ambassadors will shortly be sent to you. Treat them circumspectly and well if you desire what is to your own and the common good. [Letter 162: 2]

On the same day, he wrote likewise to his friend Giovanni Campisio, this time emphasising how greatly Rome's accept of the German proposal would benefit the papal cause:

The king's ambassadors will reach you shortly, and if they are given due consideration, it will greatly profit your party. (Letter 163: 1)

He did not yet know that he would be the one to be sent as the emperor's representative to the pope, an event that would completely change his life.

1.1.3. The succession to the see of Freising²

¹ DRGB (RE, p. 364).

² VO, 2: 4, pp. 308-320.

Chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, may have supported the cause of Pope Eugenius IV at the imperial court for other reasons, but it certainly helped that the pope had promised him a bishopric for his brother Heinrich, in return for his support. When the bishop of Freising died in August 1443, the chancellor, ably assisted by his favourite Piccolomini, immediately went into action and secured the papal nomination of his brother for the see of Freising. The letters of appointment, however, were slow in arriving, and the emperor did not want to release the temporal possessions of the see in Austrian territory to the papally appointed bishop, Heinrich Schlick, before he had seen those letters. In the meantime, Johann Grünwalder, a relative of the dukes of Bavaria in whose territory the see was situated, and a cardinal appointed by antipope Felix V, was elected bishop of Freising by the cathedral chapter and confirmed as bishop by the council in Basel whereupon he rapidly gained possession of the see and its properties in Bavaria.

During the last months of 1443, the chancellor was absent from court, representing the emperor at a diet in Nürnberg. His continued absence from court, despite his having been recalled by the emperor, caused various problems, including in relation to the matter of Freising. Latent court opposition against the chancellor¹ took courage at his absence, and Piccolomini had to warn him that those opposed to his brother's appointment were making their influence felt.

In a letter of 1 January 1444, Piccolomini wrote to the chancellor:

I understand that the bishop of Chiemsee has been summoned here, like you have been. Since he will arrive soon, I urge you to not be late in coming. You know what is expedient concerning the Church of Freising. You have heard what the Bishop of Chiemsee thinks of this matter. I believe it would be useful if you did not arrive after him. I think you get my meaning. (Letter 111: 3. See also letter 114).

Some days later, Piccolomini had to report to the chancellor that the dukes of Bavaria had intervened at the imperial court in favour of their relative, Johann Grünwalder, and would request that the emperor release the temporal possessions of the see of Freising situated in Austria to him as the legitimate bishop. (See letter 115).

And then, finally, the papal letters of appointment arrived. In a letter of 12 January, Piccolomini wrote to the chancellor:

The apostolic letters have finally arrived, brought by Guido as previously written from the curia. You should return as soon as possible, for I hope you may now gain possession [of the see] as desired. I keep them here with me. They are nine in number and in a complete and sufficient form. (Letter 116:1. See also letter 115: 2-3).

Later, on 26 February Piccolomini through his friend Giovanni Campisio in Rome informed the papal court that the chancellor was grateful for the appointment and would surely support Pope Eugenius' cause in return:

I have seen the bulls concerning the church of Fresing sent to the chancellor. They were delivered to me in his absence. This matter will much profit your party, for among the other

¹ See Reinle, p. 174; VO, 2: 4, p. 316.

virtues, generosity greatly encourages men. The chancellor will not forget it. Tell this to the Cardinal of Taranto and also recommend me to him. When the chancellor returns, the Supreme Pontiff and the cardinal himself will receive his letters of thanks. But acts count for more than words, and they will not be lacking. The chancellor will be bound by hands and feet¹ to acknowledge and return this favour and will do so – if I am not mistaken. Please convey this to the cardinals and the pope. (Letter 126:2).

But the matter was not settled yet. In view of the Bavarian opposition, the emperor would not make a decision and instead summoned a court hearing where the two parties, Johann Grünwalder for himself and Kaspar Schlick for his brother Heinrich, would present their case.² Piccolomini drafted the chancellor's oration.³ The hearing took place on 4 April. In a letter of 8 June to Campisio, Piccolomini wrote about the event:

Here, when during the month of March, I was, as usual, with the court, I witnessed an extraordinary event worthy of telling. Previously, I had not thought that the Germans made orations as they were once given from the rostra in Rome, but such an oration I heard before the emperor. Johann of Bavaria - one of the so-called Felician cardinals with the title of San Martino - had come [to court]. He declared that the Chapter of Freising had elected him bishop and requested that the emperor grant him the regalia⁴. However, Heinrich, brother of the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, had already been appointed bishop of that diocese by Eugenius. Both men request possession of those castles [belonging to the diocese] that are situated in Austrian territories. Johann spoke for himself, breaking into tears as he spoke. The chancellor defended Heinrich's cause and spoke in support of his absent brother. I felt I saw Ajax and Ulysses contending before the Argolian ships. If you had been there, you would have likened Johann to Ajax and the chancellor to Ulysses. And their orations were not much different, except that those of Johann and the chancellor were in German, whereas Ovid translated those of Ajax and Ulysses into Latin from Greek since they were evidently held in that language. The chancellor's oration was remarkable and much more ornate than you would have expected from a man who does not know Cicero and Quintilian. But I reckon that he was favoured by nature and that his experience at the courts of emperors Sigismund and Albrecht had nurtured nature's gifts. For he had been their chancellor and heard many eloquent men speak their case before them, and now he imitated them. With the help of friends who explained the meaning of the German text to me, I have translated his oration into Latin and am sending it to you for your judgment. I ask you to write back to me, and if you find any defects, then blame the translator and not the speaker. (Letter 149: 2-3).

In the end (1448), both Pope Nicolaus V and the emperor recognised Johann Grünwalder as bishop of Freising,⁵ and the chancellor's brother was given a fitting compensation. The whole matter may have contributed to the later estrangement between the emperor and the chancellor, which also appears to have affected for some time (1448-1449) Piccolomini's standing at court.

1.1.4. The Uprising in Tyrol

¹ Terentius: *Andria*, 675.

² VO, 2: 4, pp. 317-319.

³ The oratio "Si putarem" (COR, 2: 5).

⁴ The temporal possessions of the See of Freising in Austria.

⁵ VO, 2: 4, p. 320.

In November 1443, the Tyroleans rejected the emperor's continued wardship over their young duke, Sigismund, and rebelled against the emperor and his government officials.¹ During the conflict the Tyroleans laid siege to Trient, whose bishop, Alexander of Mazovia, the emperor's uncle, had sided with the emperor.²

In a letter of 1 January 1444 to Count Galeazzo d'Arco who had come to the assistance of the beleaguered city, Piccolomini wrote:

I hear you have come to Trient and are defending the king's cause with military means. The king has heard it, too, and therefore, he loves and greatly estimates you. As far as I can see, this will greatly benefit your honour and interests and those of your house. So, continue in this way and show what kind of man you are now that you have the opportunity. The courage of many men lies dormant because they have no field where to prove themselves. You now have the chance to show your courage and your intelligence. The cause you defend is just, and you are fighting for noble blood against the people and the wavering crowd. Show what stuff you are made of and how noble blood far surpasses the base. Be the man you are reputed to be. The king has great hopes for you. Fulfil the expectations of the king and all those around him. Thus, from a great man you will become the greatest. (Letter 112: 1).

Trient fell to the Tyroleans after a three-month siege. On 1 June, Piccolomini wrote to a friend in Basel, Giovanni Peregallo, and through him warned the schismatic council in Basel and antipope Felix V against supporting the Tyroleans since the whole matter was to be settled at the diet soon to open in Nürnberg:

I ask, advise and beg you not to heed the Tyroleans more than the His Royal Majesty, for the Tyroleans have no voice in Nürnberg where everything will be done as the king wishes. I hope that nothing will be done to upset the king. We shall be leaving shortly, having arranged a two-year truce with the King of Poland and those Hungarians who obey him, and now we are only occupied with travel preparations. (Letter 146:7).

The matter, however, was not settled at the Diet of Nürnberg in 1444, but only in 1446 with Siegmund's release from the wardship and his takeover of the ducal government of Tyrol.

1.1.5. The Armagnacs

In his *De Viris Illustribus*, Piccolomini wrote about the affair of the Armagnacs:

In the meantime, the King of the Romans had written to the King of France³ about the savagery of the Swiss, and how he intended to travel up to the Empire and avenge their injuries. In case he should decide to call on the Armagnacs, who were fighting in the [French] kingdom, he urged him

¹ Niederstätter, pp. 242-243; Koller, p. 102.

² Niederstätter, p. 244.

³ King Charles VII.

to give his permission.¹ It so happened that at the time there was a truce between the English and the French, and since the Armagnacs were laying waste to France, the king decided to send them away and thus lighten this burden on his kingdom.² Therefore, the dauphin came [with the Armagnac bands], claiming that he had been invited by King Friedrich. Now he declared that the part of France close to the Rhine belonged to him, now that he wanted to help the nobles against the peasants.³ Having captured the town of Mömpelgard,⁴ he came down to Alsace, where he laid waste to all with sword and fire and fought the Swiss, as we shall relate later. He also sent ambassadors to Nürnberg, requiring the king to provide winter quarters, pay their salaries, and release Siegmund.⁵ It was left to Albrecht to answer their demands since he had previously been sent to those regions to act as he saw fit.⁶ The king had also demanded that the Armagnacs should not be received, but out of hate for the Swiss, the nobles of that area let them in, paying a heavy price since the Armagnacs took their wives and castles. ... In Nürnberg,⁷ much was reported on the savagery of the Armagnacs.⁸ Moreover, it was now clear that the King of France wanted to claim the territories of the Empire beyond the Rhine.⁹ Indeed, the dauphin threatened Strasbourg and Basel but at the same time promised them much if they would secede from the Empire. Also, King

¹ The letter, of 22 August 1443 (WO, I, 2, ep. xxxvi, pp. 66-68), and a supporting letter of Duke Siegmund of 21 August 1443 (WO, I, 2, ep. xxxv, pp. 65-66) were both written by Piccolomini. Apparently, they were meant to mobilise opinion against the Swiss, and the employment of the Armagnacs was only mentioned as a possibility. However, the initiative backfired because the French eagerly seized the opportunity to rid France of the Armagnacs at the Empire's cost, sending them off under the command of the dauphin, with dire consequences for the Empire. On the king's letter, see Koller, p. 97: *Es enthielt keine klaren Wünsche und brauchbare Vorschlägen, sondern charakterisierte die Schweizer – so werden sie genannt – als Angreifer und Rechtsbrecher. Es ging in erster Linie darum, sie als Feinde bestehender und anerkannter Ordnungen anzuprangern. Das Schriftstück war folglich seinem Inhalt nach eher ein offener Brief, dessen Inhalt nach dem Kanzleivermerk von Kaspar Schlick vorgeschlagen war, dessen Text aber von Aeneas Silvius entworfen war. Das Schreiben war offensichtlich, ungeachtet des deutlich genannten Empfängers, an das gesamte Abendland gerichtet.*

² Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, pp. 13-14: *Le but que se proposait Charles VII, en cédant aux sollicitations de Frederic III, n'étaient pas seulement entretenir ... les anciennes alliances et les relations d'amitié de la Couronne avec les ducs d'Autriche. Il voulait surtout, suivant une énergique et fort juste expression [du président Fauchet] "oster le mauvais sang qui si longtemps avoit altéré le corps de son royaume." ... Les contemporains les mieux informés ne se méprirent pas sur le véritable dessein du roi.*

³ In his letter to Johann Gers of 22 September 1444, Piccolomini wrote about Louis' declarations: ... *dalpinus ... famam undique sui adventus publicavit, sed non uno modo apud omnes. Apud aliquos nanque se in auxilium nobilitatis venisse predicabat, tanquam illa in Germania per communitates esset oppressa. Apud alios vero vocatum se ait per Romanum regem contra Suicenses, nonnullis autem, se velle vindicare jura domus Francie asseverabat, que usque ad Rhenum protendi dicebat* (WO, 1: 1, 157, p. 435).

⁴ 17 April 1444.

⁵ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 36: *Les ambassadeurs [du dauphin] devaient réclamer une solution immédiate: il fallait, pour épargner à la contrée et aux pays voisins des désordres sans cela inévitables, que l'armée put prendre ses quartiers d'hiver. Les ambassadeurs devaient en outre rappeler au roi des Romains la promesse fait par lui de mettre en liberté son pupille le duc Sigismond ...*

⁶ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 39: *Relativement au logement des troupes, Frédéric se bornait à dire que son frère le duc Albert allait se rendre en Alsace, muni de pleins pouvoirs, et qu'une fois sur les lieux il donnerait la provision demandée; en ce qui concernait le duc Sigismond, Albert était chargé de tout arranger à la satisfaction du Roi et du Dauphin.*

⁷ Diet of Nürnberg 1 August to 11 October 1444. RTA, 17: 1, pp. 225-622.

⁸ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 33: *Arrivé le 1 août à Nuremberg ... il [le roi des Romains] fut assailli de plaintes au sujet de l'invasion des écorcheurs.*

⁹ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 35: *... le jeune Louis répondit qu'il était venu en allié et non en ennemi, ajoutant fièrement que son intention était de recouvrer certaines terres anciennement soumises au royaume de France, et qui s'étaient volontairement et frauduleusement soustraites à son obéissance ...*

Charles had taken the city of Toul - belonging to the Empire - and Verdun and was attacking Metz.¹ Metz.¹ (DVI, sect. 170-171).

The news of the Armagnac incursion reached Nürnberg shortly after the opening of the diet, causing the following actions to be taken, as reported in the *De Viris Illustribus*:

*Therefore, the emperor with the prince-electors decided to expel the dauphin. An army was mobilised quickly, and the imperial standard sent to Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine.² Palatine.² ³ When the King of France heard it, he - without the knowledge of the King of the Romans' - negotiated with the archbishops of Trier⁴ and Cologne⁵ the dauphin's departure from Germany, which then happened. However, the dauphin lost many men during the retreat⁶ since the peace had not been confirmed by authority of the King of the Romans. (DVI, sect. 171). Apart from the *De Viris Illustribus*, Piccolomini also wrote on these events in his later works on contemporary history, the *De Rebus Basileae Gestis* ⁷, *Historia Australis*,⁸ *The Europa*.⁹*

In a letter to Johann Gers of 22 September 1444, Piccolomini wrote about the incursion:

I believe you must already have heard - through the winged talk of men - of the arrival of the French, but now I give you reliable news, and what I write you may tell others as gospel truth if only you find it confirmed by my letter. Recently, Louis, the Dauphin of Viennois and the firstborn of the King of France, entered the Empire with a large army and laid siege to the town of Mömpelgard, which the Counts of Württemberg hold as a feudal possession from the Empire. When the dauphin had stayed there for some days, he agreed with the people of its castle that the town would be given over to him for a certain period, after which he would return it freely. Otherwise, he would conquer it by force to have a proper place to stay since it was not fitting for a king's son to stay in the fields without a roof over his head. When the dauphin had gained Mömpelgard, he spread the news of his arrival everywhere but not in the same way to all. To some, he declared that he had come to aid the German nobility oppressed by the free cities. To others, he said that he had come at the invitation of the King of the Romans to fight the Swiss. To others again, he stated that he wanted to reclaim the rights of the House of France that, he claimed, reached as far as the Rhine. For this reason, he would

¹ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 62: *Frédéric III avait été fort emu en voyant le roi [de France] s'établir en Lorraine, occuper Épinal, et menacer Metz, Toul et Verdun. A sa cour, et dans toute la région, on disait ouvertement que Charles VII avait l'intention de re-vendiquer les anciens droits de la couronne de France sur la limite du Rhin; et il faut reconnaître que l'attitude du roi et son langage même aussi bien que l'attitude et le langage du Dauphin – étaient de nature à accrédi-ter une telle supposition.*

² Ludwig IV (1424-1449): Count Palatine from 1436-1449.

³ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, p. 40: *Au moment même ou le duc Albert partait pour l'Alsace, le comte Palatin fut investi du com-mandement, et rendez-vous fut donné à Strassbourg, pour le 16 octobre, aux contingents des villes impériales.*

⁴ Jakob von Sierck. The Arch-bishop of Trier independently negotiated a treaty with the King of France (signed in Trier on 13 February 1445) concerning the departure of the French from Alsace. The archbishop also mediated an alliance between the French king and several German princes.

⁵ Dietrich II von Mörs.

⁶ E.g., in a battle at Illkirch on 8 January 1445, where the Armagnacs were defeated by the Count Palatine, and at St. Kreuz im Lebertal on 13 March, where the rear troops of the dauphin were attacked by the Germans.

⁷ DRBG, in RE, pp. 364-365.

⁸ HA, 1 version, pp. 15-17.

⁹ EUR, 42: 148

lay siege to Strasbourg. He also said that he had come because of Duke Siegmund. Such rumours he spread everywhere not because they were true but because he thought they would earn him some degree of popularity.

While all this was being rumoured, the nobles of Alsatia, who much disliked the Swiss domination, sent envoys to the dauphin to ask him for help against the Swiss. There were different reports about the dauphin's army. The greater estimate was that he had a following of about 60,000; the smaller estimate was 25,000; and the middle estimate was between 30,000 and 36,000. The dauphin and the Alsatians reached an agreement that the Alsatians should provide winter quarters for 25,000 men from his army in the towns of Alsatia, while the dauphin promised to bring help to Zürich and other cities under Swiss siege. Then the dauphin's men, commonly called the Armagnacs, came to the assistance of a town near Basel that the Swiss were besieging. When the Swiss heard it, they did not wait for the enemies but marched against them and attacked the Armagnac vanguard, cutting them down and killing many. The Armagnacs fled on foot and returned to their main army. The Swiss, thirsting for blood and avid for victory, lost their own salvation while seeking glory.

They came to Sankt Jakob, about four stadia from Basel. There the whole mass of Armagnacs assaulted the Swiss, having posted some men before the gates of Basel to observe and fall back [if attacked]. A savage and bitter battle¹ ensued, and large numbers fell on both sides. Terrible to hear: the Swiss tore the bloody arrows from their bodies and, even with their hands cut off, rushed against the enemies and did not die before they had killed their killer. Some ran between the Armagnacs pierced with darts and weighed down by spears to avenge their own death. Four Armagnacs pursued a Swiss and had already felled him with spears and were mutilating the body when his comrade seized a two-edged axe and - it is told - attacked them, killing two and putting the two others to flight. Then he took his friend's unconscious body upon his shoulders and carried it back to his own.

Behind the Swiss was the wall of a garden in Sankt Jakob. So, thinking themselves safe from behind, they only fought ahead. But Germans who had joined the Armagnacs entered the garden, broke through the wall and attacked the Swiss from behind. This was a major reason for the Swiss disaster: they were now fighting on both sides. Man stood against man, and they fought at close quarters. The Swiss strode like lions through all the army against the victors, felling and killing everything before them as men who knew they were fighting not in the hope of victory but to avenge their own deaths. The battle began in the morning and lasted until the evening. In the end, the Swiss succumbed, undefeated but completely worn out by their slaughtering [so many men] in the immense crowds of enemies. The Armagnac victory was grievous and bloody. They gained the field of battle not by manful courage and strength but by superiority in numbers. Some claim the Swiss lost as many as 4,000 men, whereas a more conservative estimate puts the loss at about 1,500 men. Others say the Armagnacs lost more men than the Swiss. A great many horses were killed, and many Germans lost their lives while seeking revenge on the Swiss. The greatest cause of the disaster of the Swiss was their arrogance (or temerity), for, scorning their enemies, they were hemmed in and could not get free. It is wise neither to fear nor to despise your enemies overly.

¹ The Battle of Sankt Jakob an der Birs, 26 August 1444.

Meanwhile, the King of the Romans sent ambassadors to the dauphin: the Bishop of Augsburg, Johann von Eich, doctor, and several knights. They were to ask him why he had entered the Empire with an army. The ambassadors returned and with them ambassadors sent by the dauphin to the king, five high-ranking men. The Council in Basel sent two cardinals, the Cardinal of Arles and the Cardinal of San Calisto, and several doctors to the dauphin accompanied by citizens from Basel to entreat him not to harm the council or the city. He sent them back to Basel together with his own envoys. They are still negotiating there, for also ambassadors from Pope Felix, the Duke of Savoy and the whole Swiss party came there.

Rumour has it that the dauphin insists on Basel being turned over to him as a possession of the Kingdom of France. If that happens, he promises the city large privileges. However, the dauphin's ambassadors here [in Nürnberg] claim that he has come at the king's invitation to fight the Swiss, that he has already defeated a great force of enemies, and that Zürich has been liberated from the siege by his intervention. The ambassadors request the confirmation of the dauphin's agreement with the Alsatian nobles and demand winter quarters. If such are denied them, they cannot avoid causing damage. They now have Lauffenberg, Seckingen, Waldshut and some other towns, but they claim these are insufficient and want Breisach and Freiburg, too. Finally, they request that Duke Siegmund of Austria be sent to consummate his marriage with the daughter of the King of France, the dauphin's sister. No answer has been given as yet. The cities and the princes are discussing the matter. May God give a happy end to this matter, for the proverb shows how [un-]safe it is to nourish a mouse in a bag of provender. A snake invited a freezing hedgehog into its home, but when the hedgehog had grown warm, it extended its spines and drove out the snake. Let our princes take care to act advisedly lest they afterwards have to say, "We had not thought of that." This, my excellent friend, is what I can tell you now concerning the Armagnac affair. (Letter 156: 2-7).

This letter is an excellent example of Piccolomini's ability to analyse complex events and report on them succinctly but vividly and with colourful detail. It also serves to illustrate how his letters later became source material for his works on contemporary history.

1.2. Personal

During 1444, Piccolomini stayed at the imperial court in Austria, busily engaged with his functions in the imperial chancery, except for his travel July-October, in the emperors train, to the Diet of Nürnberg. Altogether 55 letters from that year are extant.

1.2.1. Litterary production

His literary activity during that year was quite intensive.

Towards the end of the year, he wrote his *De Curialium Miseriis*,¹ describing the difficulties and vagaries of court life. He may actually have been working with this theme for a while since already in a letter of 1 January he wrote to Chancellor Schlick:

Happy are those who live far from the upheavals at courts and are content with their conditions. But driven by ambition and led by blind desire, we seek the halls of kings and wish to be seen by princes. You may have served them a thousand times at the risk of your life, but just one slight misstep will be your downfall, for nothing is more violent than a tyrant's mood. All courtiers are suspicious, jealous and prone to accuse others of true or even false crimes. All services are forgotten if – just once - you spit at the wrong time. Some princes destroy a servant the more quickly, the more they owe him. For when they see how much they owe to him, they will rather punish some fault than reward his service. (Letter 111: 6).

He also wrote the erotic novel *De Duobus Amantibus*, which – in view of his later career - obtained an embarrassingly large circulation. In a letter to Kaspar Schlick of c. 3 July, he says about the book:

Mariano Sozzini, my compatriot, a man of gentle disposition and great learning, whose like I will never see, has recently asked me to write a story about two lovers, saying it was not important whether the tale was true or based on poetical imagination. ... Why this man of such great capabilities now asks me for this somewhat frivolous service, I do not know. This I know, though, that it would be unjust to deny him anything, for in Siena, I loved him above all, and my love has not lessened though we are separate. He possessed all the other gifts of nature in rich measure, but most of all, he excelled in the virtue of loving back anyone who loved him. So, I decided not to ignore his request and wrote the Story of the Two lovers as it actually happened. The affair took place in Siena while Emperor Sigismund resided there. You were there, too, and - if what I heard is true - you gave yourself to love. Indeed, Siena is the city of Venus. Those who knew you say that you were inflamed with passion and that there was no greater cock than you. They think that you knew all the arts of love. Therefore, I ask you to read this story and see whether what I have written is true. Do not be ashamed to remember if something like this did happen to you, for you were a man! One who has never felt passionate love is a stone or a dumb animal. Indeed, [love's] embers smoulder even in the marrows of the gods. (Letter 138: 2-3)

During his stay in Nürnberg (August to September) for the diet, Piccolomini also wrote the erotic comedy *Chrysis* about two prostitutes and their clients. In a letter of 1 October to Michael Pfullendorf, a close friend with whom he had had a falling-out, he wrote about this comedy:

*But though you always praised me to my face and were most pleasant to me, you pointed your finger at me behind my back and maligned me. This is well-known to our friends from whom I often heard about it. And you cannot deny that you condemned my comedy *Chrysis* that I wrote in Nürnberg. Though it is significant, I actually do not care that you disapprove of my writings, and I have not desired my muse to be praised by you, for praise from an unqualified person is worthless. But I note your attitude. Moreover, if you found fault with the comedy, you should have admonished me to polish it. But you ridiculed not only the text but also its*

¹ WO, 1: 1, 166, pp. 453-487.

author and accused me of frivolity because I had written a comedy – though the comedy writers Terence and Plautus were held in high regard. (Letter 157: 4).

Though Piccolomini professed to not care about Pfullendorf's criticism, it is clear that he was deeply wounded. Significantly, very shortly afterwards, his letters show that he began moving towards a religious and moral conversion (see below), and it is quite possible that the reaction of even close friends at court to his latest erotic writing may have been an eye-opener for him, contributing to this development. At any rate, the later correspondence shows that he soon forgave Pfullendorf, that they became close friends again, and that he actually valued Pfullendorf's judgement of his literary work (letter 251:16).

Intermittently he gathered information and wrote up sections of his *De Viris Illustribus*, which he would never finish, but of which the last draft dates from 1447.

In connection with the court hearing on the Freising affair (see above) he drafted the chancellor's speech, the "*Si putarem*", a text which unequivocally defended the papal supremacy.

Reflecting on the lack of good fortune experienced by good men and friends (Giovanni Campisio, Prokop von Rabstein), he wrote the *Somnium de Fortuna* about a visit to Lady Fortune's realm. The main message is that one should not passively suffer Fortune's whims and that she favours the bold. (Letter 152, dated 26 June). An eminent example of one who had bent Lady Fortune to his will was King Alfonso V of Aragon:

As we spoke, I saw a small man with dark face and glad eyes, seizing Fortune's hair and saying, "Stay still, Lady, and look at me. Why have you fled me for 12 years? Now, I have caught you, and you must heed me, whether you will it or not, for you have opposed me long enough. Now you will show me another face, I think. Either you will favour me, or I shall tear out all your hair! Why do you flee me who am greatminded, and why do you follow men who are weakminded?"

"I concede your victory and shall be your enemy no more," Fortune told him.

"Vegio, who is this man doing violence to Fortune?" I asked.

"That is Alfonso," he replied, "King of Aragon.¹ He was captured with his brothers at Ponza and sent to Duke Filippo of Milan. But then he was released, undertook new battles, pursued the hostile Lady and, through resilience and perseverance, managed to gain the favour of Fortune, vanquished by shame." [Letter 152: 22].

At the end of the *Somnium*, Piccolomini has this remarkable dialogue with Lady Fortune herself:

The goddess looked at me, frowning, and said, "Who has summoned you here, Enea?"

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

“Nobody,” I answered, “but I was curious to see you and entered. Do not be angry with me. I have seen your realm and shall leave now. But I only beg you to answer a few questions.”

“Yes,” she said. “Ask them.”

“How long do you favour men?” I said.

“Nobody for a long time,” she said.

“What methods should one use to gain your favour?” I continued.

“None,” she answered, “Only boldness will do.”¹

“Who will keep your favour more than others?”

“The one who bears my rule with greater courage.”

“Who do you hate most?”

“The weakhearted.”

“Who may safely scorn you?”

“The wise man.”

“When will you be kinder to me?”

“When I summon you.”

“Will you summon me?”

“You will know it when it happens.”

“Who of all those living today pleases you most?”

“The one who makes me flee, not the one who flees from me.”

“That is all. Farewell.”

“And farewell to you, too. Do not deny you are one of my flock,” Fortune said, “for though I do not grant you mountains of gold, my gift to you is that many love and benefit you.” [Letter 152: 31].

Also should be mentioned his *Hymnus de Passione* mentioned in a letter to Jan Tuschek of 1 May (letter 138: 2), reflecting his growing interest in religious matters, and his epitaph to Leonhard Laiming, Bishop of Passau and a benefactor of Piccolomi’s. (Letter 155:2).

¹ That fortune favours the bold is a classical axiom. See especially two of Piccolomini’s favourite works, Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10: 284 (*audentis fortuna juvat*), and Terentius: *Phormio*, 204 (*fortis fortuna adjuvat*).

1.2.2. Sexuality

By 1444, the younger Piccolomini's period of rampant sexuality was rapidly coming to a close though no awareness of it transpires in his letters. Instead, one still finds the bawdy jokes that were common between him and his friends. The two examples given below are both connected with prostitutes, who were by then his normal sexual partners rather than the perilously attractive young wives (or maidens) described in the *De Duobus Amantibus*, presumably reflecting his own early experiences.

In a letter of 27 May 1444, he wrote to his sexual alter ego, Giovanni Peregallo:

Philorcium [a prostitute in Vienna of whom Piccolomini was fond], whose lover you were when you stayed here, has a swollen belly, either due to gas or overeating. Johann, the secretary of Nürnberg, thought the cause was that her stomach was full of wine, so he mounted her, rode her hard, and tried with all his strength to press the wine out of her. But only farts came out! Oh, you should have seen the tears and heard the moans of the unhappy girl after you left. If Johann had not come to her assistance, the poor girl would have died, for women do not bear the passion of love as [well as] men do. But now Johann, too, has left, and I do not know what the poor thing will do. If I knew German, I would go to her, console her and comfort her with soothing words. But the only thing I have in common with German men is the touch which tastes of nothing if not accompanied by words. So, I shall delegate the task to our Michael, who speaks like a Ulysses and acts like an Achilles. (Letter 142: 1).

And in a letter of 28 November to the royal physician no less, Jacopo di Castro Romano, he wrote:

You also wrote about Rotundella [presumably another Viennese prostitute]. I believe that you had an erection because your member was swollen by urine rather than sexual desire, for when you had pissed, your stalk shrunk, and your pen fell silent, as proven by the fewness of your words. But Lady Venus wants that member to be swollen with the most precious of fluids [semen] and not by air or urine. Therefore, you should know that you are not a suitable lover. I say this as a joke! (Letter 164: 3).

The *Chrysis* (see above) is Piccolomini's last "erotic" work. Already, the next year, his waning sexuality and, indeed, loss of sexual powers combined with his conversion to a moral, religious life opened the way for him to the clerical state and a brilliant career in the Church. Thus *Chrysis* is, in a sense, the last literary manifestation of a highly eroticised life phase, rapidly reaching its end.

1.2.3. Religious conversion

Despite his apparent licentiousness, Piccolomini was now approaching a religious conversion, partly inspired in part by growing awareness of sinfulness, the onset of old age and the inevitability of death. This development is witnessed by two letters he wrote towards the end of the year.

In one, of 3 November to his colleague Johann Gers, he said:

All, I say, who are given to sin, live in misery. This is also the opinion of theologians and philosophers. For in his Paradoxa, Cicero says, “all the vicious are really slaves,” and according to the Apostle, “whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.” So, who is more wretched than the servant of sin? But the servants of sin die miserably, for they wished always to be mired in sin. When death comes, they do not cut themselves off from sin, but they are cut off from it. So, if we are wise, we should reconcile ourselves with God, our creator, who gave us life. When, at some point, he demands our life back, we should return it gladly. But we are kept back by the blindness of sinfulness that darkens the eyes of our mind. May God have mercy on us, extend his piety to us, and give us to be ready and happy when he calls us, for die we must, willingly or unwillingly. Death will not pass us over as it did not pass over the old kings and emperors nor spared even God, the creator of all, when he became a man. All that is born dies, and all that arises grows old. Each has his day appointed, and irretrievable is the span of life for all. Nobody is born who will not die. So let us prepare for this death: when it comes, it will be less bitter the more we have thought about it beforehand. Death is not an evil, but for those who die well, it is the end of a terrible prison. Thus John heard the voice from Heaven proclaim, “blessed are the dead who die in the Lord”. May God, who chooses and refuses those he wills, join us with those [who die in the Lord] when that fateful day arrives. May my heart prepare for that which I am writing about. May the thought of my mind not differ from that sealed by the reed. I confess that I am writing many things about [doing] good that I do not practice myself, but may God, who can clean the unclean, show mercy upon me in everything. (Letter 159: 3).

In the other letter, of 31 October – just weeks after finishing his erotic comedy *Chrysis* - to Jan Tuschek in Prague, he clearly states his wish for turning away from his previous worldly life and immersing himself the Gospel and Jesus Christ:

I am now an old man, and secular letters neither suit nor please me. I would now immerse myself in the depths of the Gospel and there drink the water that keeps him who drinks it from ever tasting death. This world is nothing, and those who follow it are deceived. Blessed is he who has placed his hope in eternal life and all his joy in Christ. So, dear Jan, I scorn the pleasures of this world and would serve God alone. But since I am a lover of literature, I do not know how I could serve God better than in some literary occupation. And since the Bible is the basis for religious literature, I wish to obtain one. Therefore, I ask you to search for a Bible in all of Bohemia, if necessary, so that I, too, may have one. This is what I wish, desire, and request of you. If you fulfil my wish, it would mean more to me than if you had granted me a kingdom. (Letter 158: 1-2).

1.2.4. Entering the clerical state

Early in the year, Piccolomini had no desire to enter the priesthood but was considering marriage. On 18 February, he wrote to his bosom friend Pietro da Noceto in Rome:

In my recent previous letter, I wrote to you about my sentiments towards you and the wife you were going to marry. I have nothing to add now except asking you to write again and let me know what has happened and if you are still going to become a husband. For if you are, I give you the task of making a husband of me, too, if you find something that fits my views and

sentiments. I do not intend to live all my life outside Italy, and until now, I have not let myself be taken in by the priestly order since I am not sure that I could live in a state of permanent continence. For though continence is most praiseworthy, men in our age are more likely to praise it in words than in deeds since it is a state more fitting for philosophers than poets. (Letter 125: 1; see also letter 119: 5).

In this letter, Piccolomini rejected the path of the priesthood because his sexual needs were incompatible with the celibacy required by this state. It follows that as his sexual powers were waning, the clerical state would become a viable alternative.

1.2.5. Conversion to the papal cause

During 1444, Piccolomini completed the ideological journey that led from conciliarism via neutrality to papalism. Officially, he maintained that he was bound to the German Neutrality adhered to by his master, the emperor. Unofficially, however, he discreetly let his friends in Rome know that he had joined the papal cause and supported it at the imperial court. And, quite duplicitously, he let his friends in Basel believe that he was still a conciliarist. This complex position is reflected in his letters over the year:

In a letter of 16 January to Pietro da Noceto at the papal curia he affirmed his neutrality:

Next [in your letter], you urged me to support your party, if for no other reason, then at least for your sake. This appeal is not just persuasive, it is compelling! But you know that I serve a prince who supports none of the [two] parties¹ but works for [Church] union while keeping a middle course. It is not right for servants to pursue different policies than their masters. The king's plan [for reunion through a third council] seems faultless to me, and I fervently pray that God will favour it. (Letter 119: 7).

However, only a few weeks later, in a letter of mid February to cardinal Capranica, also at the papal curia, he claims that he supports the papal cause at the imperial court:

I ask you to recommend me to Our Most Holy Lord [the pope], to whose cause I contribute as much as my humble status allows. (Letter 24: 2).

A letter of February from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, collaborator of antipope Felix V, shows that the conciliarist party still considers Piccolomini as one of theirs

Now it remains for you to “apply the spurs” and show yourself as a wholehearted supporter of our cause,² without fearing anybody. Now that you have influence with the emperor and his people, you may become a strong patron of this cause. So, come into the arena as a strong athlete and fighter and keep me informed on how matters proceed. If we grow in strength, our cause will win over the emperor and his people. (Letter 127: 2)

¹ The papal party and the conciliar party.

² The cause of the schismatic council in Basel and antipope Felix V.

and Piccolomini himself, subtly but duplicitously, leads his conciliarist friends to believe that he is still with them, as shown in a letter of 18 April to Giovanni Peregallo, also at the court of antipope Felix V:

I hope the affairs of Universal Church will be arranged there [at the Diet of Nürnberg] in such a way that you and all who desire the common good will consider themselves to have gained cause. Please also tell this, in my name, to the Cardinal of San Callisto. (Letter 136: 2).

To Giovanni Carvajal, at the papal curia, he wrote on 20 May, that he was content to “hold the view shared by many”. This is quite significant since everybody at the imperial court – including, of course, the emperor – knew that the overwhelming response from the European kings and princes to the imperial invitation to a meeting on a third council had been that they supported Pope Eugenius in Rome and did not want a third council:

I eagerly heard that you have returned to Germany, for I hope to see you again since I am happy to speak and be with you. We do have a longstanding dispute about the ecclesiastical affairs, but it is not hostile or acrimonious but such as is held by philosophers who do not dispute to impress people but to find the truth. Moreover, I certainly do not want to be a leader in this conflict between theologians. It is enough for me to hold a view that is shared by the many. (Letter 139: 1).

Piccolomini continued the letter with a criticism of the adherents to German neutrality and a biting remark on the Archbishop of Trier, a leader of the German opposition against Pope Eugenius:

Presently, affairs are turbulent: some are happy with the state of neutrality since it provides new hunting [grounds], whereas those who have gained [illegal] possession [of ecclesiastical benefices] reject [church] union because they are unwilling to return them to the rightful possessors. I have seen and heard the serpent¹ ² of whom you were suspicious, and he proved to be just as I thought. Unless you have an antidote, you will perish if it bites you. Even Mithridates would barely be safe against this poison. Now you know what I expect and what I can say without neglect of duty. (Letter 139: 1).

And finally, on 8 June, he sent to Giovanni Campsio in Rome (letter 149), a redacted version of the chancellor’s speech at the court hearing on the Freising matter, held on 4 April. In this text, the oration “*Si putarem*”, he directly states that not only the chancellor but also the emperor supports Pope Eugenius IV in Rome against the schismatic council in Basel and antipope Felix V:

Not only does Eugenius not deserve to be deposed: if he was not pope already, he above all is the one who should be entrusted with the Roman See and the government of Saint Peter’s ship. And I know that you, Caesar, do not disagree, though some men whisper differently in your ears, men who ought not to put their own advantage first, but yours, and who should advise you not to maintain Neutrality, but to obey the pope, whom the whole host of believers

¹ Jakob von Sierck (c. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-electoral from 1339 to his death. The archbishop had previously supported the cause of Pope Eugenius IV but had switched to supporting the conciliar party and antipope Felix V.

² The archbishop visited the emperor in Skt. Veit in January 1444.

follows, and who should tell you to do as the other Christian kings, not as the Bavarians. ... To summarise what should be done: it is not expedient for you - believe me, Caesar - to disregard the decisions of that pope who has the support of all the other kings. ... Whereas all Christianity with very few exceptions obeys him and accepts and honours the bishops appointed by him, and whereas nobody rejects his decrees except us Germans who in Mainz accepted those [of the Council], the hands of Eugenius - as I have said before - are not bound because the Germans have accepted the decrees of the Council. To put it more forcefully: the decrees of the synods [councils] are only valid with the assent of the Roman Pontiff. ... For as may be read in the letter of Saint Clement: The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See. (Oration 5, sect. 38-39, 41).¹

This message was sent to Campisio but intended for his master, the influential Cardinal Berardi, and through him the papal curia and the pope himself: the emperor, the chancellor, and – implicitly – Piccolomini himself were now on their side.

¹ COR, 2: 5.

1.2.6. Benefices

Voigt and others may have scoffed at royal officials and especially Piccolomini's hunting for benefices (Pfründenjägerei), but the incomes from such benefices were a normal and even essential part of the remuneration of men (ecclesiastic and non-ecclesiastics alike) in the service of kings, princes, popes and prelates. There is, therefore, nothing odious in Piccolomini's – rather time-consuming - search for benefices though, in this regard, he does not appear to have had the success of some of his colleagues, e.g. Ulrich Rieder.¹

During 1444, Piccolomini was much concerned about his canonry in Trient, providing him with 140 ducats a year, which was threatened by the Tyrolean invasion. In a letter to Niccolò Veneto of 1 January, he wrote:

I have written a letter to our dean, Francesco Bossio, that I am sending with this one since I hear he has taken fright and left Trient for Padua. For he does not want to live in a city full of disturbances, as is your city now, expecting to be besieged. I quite agree with him, for a man who can live in peace should not get mixed up in a war. You know where Francesco is now. Please forward my letters to him. And, in his absence, please also protect my interests lest something happen to the canonry I have there. Act on my behalf as I hope [you will out] of decency and friendship. [Letter 113: 1).

And in a letter the dean himself, he wrote, on 16 January, both on his benefices in Trient and on the provostship in Milan that he had lost, seemingly due to some court intrigue, and was still strenuously trying to regain:

I hear you have gone to Milan since it was not safe to stay in Trient. I applaud your decision: though it is not good for me personally, it would have been even worse if some misfortune had happened to you there. Troubles should be avoided and especially from this city with as many wills as men. ... About 3,000 Tyroleans have come and begun to lay waste to the territories of Trient but not without shedding their own blood. Many of the Tyroleans have fallen or been taken prisoner or wounded. ... I beg to be informed by letter in what state you left my affairs with regard to the parish and the prebend, and also the situation with the annual revenues ...

The king now writes to The Most Illustrious Prince, the Duke of Milan, in my favour, requesting that I be reinstated in my provostship. I ask you to take this matter in hand. I shall write to Niccolò Arcimboldi who had promised to help me. Please visit him and urge him to take up my cause. And do the same with Guiniforte, the secretary, whom I have asked by letter to settle the matter one way or another. I entrust the affair wholly to you; whatever you do, I shall approve. Lorenzo Rotella promised much but never wrote back. I think he is a man of words more than of acts. (Letter 120:1-3).

Concerning the provostship in Milan, he also wrote, on 20 January, to Niccolò Arcimboldi, a ducal counsellor and an old friend:

¹ An important court official of Friedrich III.

I recently received the letter in which you give me hope that you will endeavour to have my provostship restored to me, of which I was deprived on the pretext that I had died. That was most encouraging, but given your love for me, it did not surprise me, remembering the companionship we enjoyed in Florence and Milan. Moreover, since you are as a brother to His Magnificence the Chancellor and I am somewhat dear to him, I thought that would help me, too. Finally, there is the duke's honour: it would not be decent of him to allow me, his humble servant, who has, in many affairs, been greatly useful to him, to be robbed [of my provostship], especially now that I serve an eminent prince, the emperor, with whom I can be of considerable service to the duke – if sparrows can do anything for eagles! This is what I believed, and I have not been disappointed since I see what I see and since you wrote that you would take up my cause. I have great hope that you will wisely do what needs to be done and strive to have me reinstated in my provostship. If you cannot, there is nobody else on whose assistance I can count. His Royal Majesty has written on my behalf - I enclose a copy of his letter that will enable you to pursue the matter more vigorously. The chancellor would also write if he were here, but he has now been absent for three months, [participating] in the Diet of Nürnberg, and left me in his place. (Letter 121: 1).

He even dared to remonstrate with the duke himself, on 18 December, in a letter with news of the Battle of Varna:

Until now, Your Highness has not shown me much favour. On the contrary, after I had been granted possession of the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan, you protect the man who deprived me of it, against all rights and despite frequent royal letters in my favour. Nonetheless, I am still so devoted to Your Most Illustrious Highness that I shall send you the news we have received here ... (Letter 165: 1).

The system of remuneration of royal officials through ecclesiastical benefices apparently also extended to the households of the officials, as witnessed by a letter to Chancellor Schlick from March (?) 1444:

When I was in Trieste last winter, I explained to His Royal Majesty that the requests for members of my household I had obtained through you were unusable since they were not actual conferrals, and therefore I asked for other [royal] requests if a vacancy should turn up. The king agreed - in the presence of Wilhelm Tasz. Now Jakob tells me there is such a vacancy, see the information in the note attached. I ask you to authorise the expedition of requests for conferral [of the vacant benefice] on Johann, a member of my household. This I shall consider a great favour. (Letter 128: 1).

It seems that ecclesiastical benefices were to some extent “tradable”. On 1 June, he wrote to a friend, Giovanni Peregallo at the court of antipope Felix V:

Our Lorenzo Rotella has obtained the administration of a fat provostship in the patriarchate of Aquileia and intends to make a religious profession if he can get possession. Since he likes me, I have suggested to him to first resign from his canonry in Trento in your favour. He himself wishes to resign from his parish church in my favour. If the Tyrolean affairs are settled in Nürnberg, as we believe they will, we may gain something good from it. At any rate, I shall not cease to further your cause as if it were my own, for you have deserved it. (Letter 146: 6).

1.2.7. Influence network

Piccolomini was still developing and using the influence network, through which he and his friends exchanged services, often in relation to ecclesiastical benefices, but also concerning court appointments and other favours they were able to obtain by virtue of their access to powerful masters.

A letter to Giovanni Peregallo of 1 June, at the court of antipope Felix V, shows how the international fellowship of princely secretaries was busily supporting each other in acquiring benefices supplement their meagre incomes:

I have received your letters, brought by Martin, notary in the royal chancery, and learned that you are well except for an empty purse. But that will be filled again if the hoped-for [church] union is achieved. You wish to know if Antonio Loschi's [book] has come into my hands: it has, and it is now with me as a treasured possession. I ask you to thank the eminent and eloquent theologian Francois de Fuxe from me and tell him I shall do all in my power to assist him and will consider it a great boon if ever I hear that I can fulfil his wishes.

I fully approve of your actions with regard to a reservation of benefices at the Church of Trento, for I wish you to be there so that when we retire, we can spend our old age together with our Francesco. I am afraid, though, that he may have changed his mind, for, fearing the war, he left Trento and has not returned, and possibly he would rather live with a wife than with the Church. However that may be, I should like you to sound out his intentions so that we may confer about his deanery and possibly gain some advantage for you and me. (Letter 1, 5-6).

In the above-mentioned letter of February, Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, collaborator of antipope Felix V, makes no bones about using influence for the mutual help of friends:

Now that you have influence with the emperor and his people, you may become a strong patron of this cause. ... If we grow in strength, our cause will win over the emperor and his people. Then you will be able to further my personal cause, which is yours, too, in a special way, and thus I shall see you [acting] in my cause as my other self, just as I will tirelessly work to support yours. (Letter 127: 2).

In a letter from March, Piccolomini solicits Chancellor Schlick's help in the matter of a benefice sought by the brother of Prokop von Rabenstein, a fellow-secretary in the imperial chancery:

You know from many signs how greatly I cherish and love Prokop von Rabenstein, distinguished and lettered knight. He now requests that the church in Budweis be conferred upon his brother. However, another Bohemian, a bishop, claims that this church has been promised to him. As far as I can see, the bishop requested [that church] as being vacant at the time, not as becoming vacant in the future, and since it was actually not vacant at the time, his request was in vain. Therefore, His Royal Majesty can dispose [of the benefice] as he wills. I consider it more advisable to promote Prokop's brother than the bishop, having heard much that I do not wish to commit to paper. You love Prokop and are loved by him. Therefore, I need not say much. But if my prayers can effect anything for him, please know that I wish intensely and with all my heart for his advancement. (Letter 128:1).

Appointments as imperial counsellors were much prized, and also here the assistance of highly placed officials like Piccolomini was sought after, and repaid if not in services then by gifts, as in the case of Stefano Caccia, then a highly placed advocate at the schismatic Council of Basel. In a letter of 20 May, Piccolomini wrote to him:

On my return from the Windic March, I found the presents that Barbatus had brought to me in Vienna. They are so splendid that they fit the giver more than the recipient! It was Alexander's custom to always give presents that reflected his own status. I thank you so much though it would not be proper to wear such adornments here where it is not customary. You should know that the regions should not be adapted to us but that we should conform to the regions. ... On a previous occasion, I offered to arrange for your appointment as a royal advocate if the matter of Freising turned out well in your democratic setup.¹ Since this condition has not been fulfilled and you yourself even acted as a defender of the opposite party,² I could rightfully consider myself as absolved from the promise. But I know that more law means less justice. Moreover, I am not bound to you with my words but with my soul, and I know that my debt to you exceeds all I could possibly do for you. Therefore, though it is difficult to obtain what I promised, I hope to succeed and to do you this favour. But time governs and determines everything. So, I ask you to be patient a little longer and trust me, for I shall either cease to be Enea or fulfil your wish.. (Letter 140: 1-2).

And in a follow-up letter of 19 June:

After my arrival, ...I took up your case and obtained your appointment as a royal advocate from the king. The only thing remaining now is to prepare the letter of appointment, which I shall do as soon as I rejoin the court. I cannot do it now since we are without the [royal] seal. But you should know that you are now a [royal] advocate and have been graciously accepted as such by the king, for when he heard of your qualifications, he said, "Stefano asks me for something which I should have asked from him." So, this is the king's mind, and since you are now his [man], you should take on the cases commended by him. At present, the Church of Aquileia and the Church of Trento are vacant. Please see to it that nothing happens against the king's wishes. The king will write to His Most Reverend Lordship, [the Cardinal] of Arles, who will tell you what is needed. I shall take care that your letter [of appointment] is sent to you as soon as possible. (Letter 150:2-3).

Even a cardinal in Rome like Domenico Capranica, one-time employer of Piccolomini, could need a favour from a royal official in Vienna. In February, Piccolomini wrote to him:

I acknowledge your request for a letter to be written to Portugal and am now working on that. However, this matter cannot be expedited as quickly as needed and as I should wish, but I do hope to be able to send the letter to you shortly. (Letter 124: 1).

¹ The council in Basel functioned – in principle - as a democratic institution.

² The conciliarist party Johann Grünwalder, contendant for the See of Freising also sought by the chancellor for his brother.

1.2.8. Humanism

A number of letters from this period manifest Piccolomini's continued – indeed lifelong - interest and pursuit of humanist themes. It is no wonder that he is sometimes called the apostle of humanism in the North.¹

In a letter to Jan Tuschek of 1 May 1444, he complimented his Bohemian friend on his Latin style and expressed his modest satisfaction that his work was getting known in Bohemia.

Reading and rereading your letter, I saw modesty fighting with learning. For though you write exquisitely, you begin by saying that you fear your letter is unpolished. I beg you not to use such a beginning in the future, for all you write to me will be most elegant, quite apart from possessing the splendid elegance that marks your writings. For friendship does not seek eloquence but substance, and you are a friend I love more than most. Therefore, love will provide what eloquence refuses. This excuse applies to me as much as to you: you, wishing to appear unknowledgeable, show yourself as most learned, whereas I, proud of my knowledge, reveal my lack of learning. Thus, in my letters, pride fights with lack of knowledge, and less honourably than in yours where, as I said, modesty fights with learning.

I am pleased to hear that Enea is well known in Bohemia, for a good name is better than many riches. Hopefully, the fame you speak of will endure, which it will only do if it is founded solidly upon the rock of truth. I am conscious that I am not such a man as I am reputed to be. But at any rate, I would rather be praised undeservedly than censured deservedly, for praise is an incentive to virtue. Who is so wicked that he would not eagerly strive to acquire that quality for which he sees himself being praised? Indeed, the reputation you say I have in Bohemia is a powerful incentive for me to acquire eloquence. Hopefully, I shall eventually become the man I am reputed to be. On your part, please ensure that your eulogies are not found to be empty. (Letter 138; 1, 3).

In a similar vein, in a letter of 28 May, he complimented Adam Moleyns, important court official in England, on the development of humanism in England:

The king's messenger, who returned recently, has given me your letter, a letter with as many sentences as words. I read it eagerly and was amazed [to see] how Roman eloquence has now arrived in England. But in former times, too, England had followers of Tullian eloquence, among whom all place the Venerable Bede. Pierre de Blois was far inferior – I frankly prefer your lapidary letter to his letters. I congratulate you and England for mastering elegant speaking. For this, great thanks are owed to the most noble and learned prince, the Duke of Gloucester, who has been keen to introduce humanist studies to your realm and, as I have been told, admirably supports the poets and honours the orators. This is certainly the reason why many English have become eloquent, for subjects usually are like their princes, and servants imitate the pursuits of their lords. Continue in this way, my Adam, my master. Keep and develop the eloquence you have now and do consider it a great honour for you to excel other men in that very attribute that distinguish men from other living beings. Eloquence is a great thing, and - to say it bluntly - nothing governs the world more than eloquence. For whatever we do in public affairs, we do under the influence of words, and in all societies it is the opinion of the most persuasive man that prevails. But this you know very well, so I shall leave it there. (Letter 144: 1).

¹ Helmroth: *Vestigia*.

A major humanist theme for Piccolomini was his defence of poetry to which he would return several times in his letters and orations. An example is his letter to Wilhelm Stein, court official of Duke Albrecht VI, of 1 June in which he used classical invective against a fictive opponent. In this letter, he argued that poetry is lucrative, useful, and a gift of God (wherefore poets are rare). Piccolomini would return to this theme, with the same arguments, a year later, in his quodlibetal lecture “*Aderat nuper*” at the University of Vienna.¹ He ended the letter with this exhortation:

But you, Wilhelm, lover of learning, if ever you hear such men, then defend poetry and show yourself as one who cultivates this divine gift. You see how easy it is to refute these magpies and crush them like fleas with your nails. Do not allow divine poetry, which Cicero says was created before all the other arts, to be denounced by foul lips. Defend this most beautiful mistress. If you come to her assistance, your fame will last forever, not just in my letters – which will not be soon forgotten – but also in the writings of poets greater than me. (145:12)

He used another classical literary genre, the dream (somnia) as the framework of the small treatise on Fortune (see above), addressed to Prokop von Rabstein in a letter of 26 June:

Before I fell asleep last night, I thought long about you and wondered why you have not obtained the position warranted by your qualifications, for despite the emperor’s esteem, you have not been given the promotion you deserve. As you are distinguished both by nobility and integrity, I do not understand why you are not ranked among the first members of the court. So, I rebuked Fortune, who is believed to distribute honours and riches, and criticised her severely for oppressing good men while raising up the wicked. I only stopped when I fell soundly asleep. In my sleep, I saw some astonishing things that I have decided to tell you now. So, listen closely and hear amazing and awesome things. (Letter 152: 1).

He expressed his sorrow at the death of Leonardo Bruni, then the grand old man of humanism, and much admired by Piccolomini, in a letter to Giovanni Campisio of 25 June:

I heard first from you that Leonardo Aretino has died. May the heavenly beings grant his spirit soft and light earth and blooming crocuses and everlasting springtime in the urn. He adorned Latium with his writings, and after Lactantius, nobody has been closer to Cicero than he. I am pleased that the Florentines have appointed Poggio as his successor, but I would prefer that the office had not fallen vacant, for Toscana will miss Bruni’s great splendour. He would have given us still more Greek works in Latin. But everyone has his day appointed, and death spares neither the learned nor the unlearned. Happy is he who lives in such a way that he does not have to fear death. (Letter 151: 10).

In a letter to Count Johann von Lupfen of 9 April 1444, he wrote about the classical use of the singular form in epistolary address, on booklovers and libraries, and on love of literature:

In the writings of the ancients, I find three things that men today either disregard or are unable to achieve: the elegance and profundity of exposition, so common in the ancient books, cannot be equalled by men of our time. And [thirdly], in the former age, it was most common to use the singular form in address and to name oneself first at the beginning of the letter.²

¹ COR, 3: 9.

² In the salutation.

This the moderns could do, but led astray by careless ignorance and the wish to flatter, they bring unclarity to the text when they write, “I ask You¹, Caesar, I appeal to Your Majesty, I beg Your office, I implore Your clemency, give justice to a poor man, judge the powerful man, consider my misfortune, and nothing moves You more than justice, Caesar,” and countless other examples. I could do the same here, but I prefer the old way, and while unable to imitate those wise men in their devotion to eloquence and philosophy, I can at least follow them in this respect. Therefore, though you are of noble blood and have acquired great learning, I address you in the singular. And just as Cicero named himself first in his letters to Julius Caesar, you should accept it when you see your Enea named first in this letter, for this is not the act of an arrogant man but of one who imitates the ancients, whose ignorance I prefer even to the knowledge of the moderns.

*Now hear, briefly, my request. Michael Pfullendorf, a kind man and close friend, indeed my alter ego, has told me that you have many books whose titles he has written down for me. Among them are several that I should like to see, not because I have not read them before, but because I have been without them for a long time. And just as after a long interval, a friend is eager to see his friend, I now have a strong desire to receive into my home the old companions I have been missing for too long and spend some time with them. In your kindness, you can grant me this, as Michael informed me, for you have Ovid’s *Tristia*, his *Ars Amandi*, and his *Remedia Amoris*, as well as Terence the Comedian and Jerome’s *Letters*. I am just as eager to read these books again as I am to eat meat again, now that Easter Day is approaching, and we can do away with fish, vegetables and oil. If you kindly fulfil this wish, I shall be greatly obliged to you. Those who collect books either wish to read them in order to enjoy them and acquire knowledge, or they want to appear to be lovers of wisdom and pointed out when they are walking about in public. The last kind are those who have large and costly libraries in whose bookcases Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Livy, Pliny and indeed all of Antiquity lie hidden. The first kind are those who are happy to share works, lend them or borrow them and have them copied, and they rejoice when they see that the works of wise men are circulating. The others hide their books away like some treasure, and they would rather have them being gnawed by moths and unlettered mice than keep them in the open. Indeed, they guard their books more closely than the dragon guarded the golden fleece and Cerberus the entrance to the underworld. But they merely enjoy the bindings tooled with gold, and they never read or understand the contents.*

If you were one of those, I would never try to write or address you, but all who know you say you belong to the first kind of collectors since you do not buy and collect the poets and the orators to lock them into a horrible prison but to make them available for your own and the common good. They say you are, in every respect, liberal, benign, munificent, generous and beneficent towards all men and especially towards those who share your love of learning. Encouraged by such a character, I have decided to send you this letter and to ask, beg and implore you to lend me the aforementioned orators and poets. When they have been talking with me for a while, passing through spring’s smiling meadows and flowery fields, they will return undamaged to you. Indeed, they will come back to you refreshed and eager, for no place is so agreeable and no company so enjoyable that one will not, eventually, get enough of them. So, by sending them to me, you will do a favour not only to me but also to those poets and orators themselves. You should also consider your friendship with Michael, for him you

¹ In the plural sense. This passage is untranslatable since “you” in English is both single and plural, whereas the Latin uses “tu” (singular) and “vos” (plural).

will please, too, and he and Wilhelm, who regards you highly, will both guarantee that the books do not go astray but will be returned to you faithfully.

I add a third thing: I myself have books which I can share with you so that you can use mine while I enjoy yours. In conclusion: I consider that my request is sensible since it agrees with your character, you can grant it safely, it may be useful to yourself, and you will be doing a favour not only to me but also to your beloved Michael. So, please let my wish be fulfilled as reason dictates and let me not become disappointed by blind fortune. (Letter 135).

And, finally, Piccolomini frequently used classical allusions, references and quotations in his letters, especially on more important matters. His love of the Roman poet Terence, is witnessed in a letter to his friend Pietro da Noceto in Rome of 16 January:

I had to smile at what you wrote about Philorcium¹ (unless we want to call her Antiphila²). When I read your letter, I felt as if I were speaking with Terence, and you appeared to me now as Pamphilus³, now as Aeschinus⁴ and now as Clinia.⁵ (Letter 119: 3).

2. Manuscripts

Manuscripts collated directly for the present edition are marked with the siglum. Manuscripts for which only 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.^{6 7} (V2a)
Chis. J.VI.208b. (V2b)⁸
Chis. J.VIII.287.^{9 10}(V3)
Urb. Lat. 402.¹¹ (V4)
Vat. lat. 12504 (V1)¹²

¹ Philorcium: Classical name of maiden in love.

² Antiphila: a young lady in Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*.

³ Pamphilus: Young man in Terence's *Hecyra*.

⁴ Aeschinus: young man in Terence's *Adelphoe*.

⁵ Clinia: a young man in love with Antiphila.

⁶ 1447. Paper. HE, p. 7; WO, 1: 1, p. xiv.

⁷ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.I.VI.208

⁸ The distinction between V2a and V2b is made for the purpose of establishing 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) (c. 1457).

⁹ C. 1460. Paper.

¹⁰ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.I.VIII.287

¹¹ C. 1460. Vellum. Copy executed for the duke of Urbino.

¹² https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.12504

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F.172.
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana (BRB)**
407 *
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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). C. 1445. Paper HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. viii..

⁵ DV, ff. 565-579.

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¹ <https://archive.org/details/isidori01isiduoft/mode/2up>

² See also the version in The Latin Library: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore/1.shtml>

³ <https://sfponline.org/Uploads/2002/st%20isidore%20in%20english.pdf>

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¹ Vol. 1: <https://hal.science/hal-03625579v1>; vol. 2: <https://hal.science/hal-03928326v1>

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² <https://hal.science/search/index?q=collected+orations+piccolomini+2>

³ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11156982?q=%28szalay+%29&page=12,13>

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4. Sigla and abbreviations

Manuscripts

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

G = Göttweig / Benediktinerstift Göttweig / 390

M1 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 12725

M2 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 14134

M3 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

M4 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 53

V4 = Città del Vaticano / Vat. lat. 12504

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

GSB = Gottweig / Stiftsbibliothek

ÖNB : Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

SBPK : Berlin / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz

TSB = Trier Stadtbibliothek

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

¹

https://books.google.dk/books?id=7M4tAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=da&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

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 Liberatorum Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. by C.W. Kallendorf. 2002, pp. 126-259.

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

DV = digital version.

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

EUR = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Europa*. [1458].

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

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

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.

ST = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Les misères des gens de cour. Le songe de Fortune*. Trad. Serge Stolf. 2015.

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).

Symbols

* As collated by Wolkan / Heck.

** Lead manuscript.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

111. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 78v-79r; M2, ff. 40v-41r¹; M3, ff. 238v-239r²; V2, ff. 183-186³; V3, ff. 86v-88v⁴ **; V4, ff. 77v-79v.

Editions: KO, 42⁵; HE, 111, pp. 241-242; WO, 1: 1, 111, pp. 265-266; (both based on M1 and V2).

{86v} Aeneas Silvius^{6 7} Gaspari Slick, cancellario⁸ imperiali⁹ salutem plurimam dicit¹⁰.

[1] In litteris aliis, quas cum praesentibus mitto, significavi tibi¹¹ majestatem regiam diem Sancti Georgii delegisse, in quo vellet petere Nurembergam, et sic in consilio conclusum est. Sed non est *Sibyllae folium* aut immutabile fatum¹², quod in consilio decernitur. Vivimus nos in dies, et saepe¹³, quod heri placuit, hodie displicet. Ita {87r} gestum nunc est. Terminus enim, qui erat ad Sanctum Georgium receptus, nunc in Ascensionis Dominicae¹⁴ diem commutatus est¹⁵, qui nisi fallor ad Maji 14.¹⁶ diem pergit. Est hic apud nos de intervallo hujus anni non parva dissensio, quoniam 9 alii, 8 alii et rursus alii 7 hebdomadas ponunt. Ideo sum ego dubius haereoque rusticorum regulae, qui feriam quartam diem Cineris¹⁷ dicunt esse post incensionem lunae, quae a Purificationis festo habetur, certiorque mihi indoctorum norma videtur quam¹⁸ disciplina doctorum. Non tamen abs¹⁹ dubio sum, sed mitto haec et ad rem venio²⁰. Mihi haec mutatio suspecta est vereorque²¹, ne derisui sit principibus, qui dietas Alamannorum infinitas ajunt.

[2] Puto autem regem idcirco terminum hunc²² amplexum, quia²³ mox instet alius cum Bohemis receptus ad Nativitatem Beati Johannis, qui habetur in Junio, quasi per hunc modum intendat rex unum mensem Nurembergae morari imperiique et ecclesiae facta terminare atque exinde Pragam ire. Nescio²⁴, an bene metiti sint terminum, qui hunc excogitarunt. Ego reor neque regem²⁵ ad diem venturum neque mensem ad tot negotia posse sufficere vereorque ne, dum uno itinere duo negotia volumus absolvere, negligamus utrumque. Sed faciat me Deus falsum vatem potius quam verum

¹ SC, 88-89

² SC, 479-480

³ DV, ff. 97r-98v

⁴ DV, ff. 89r-91v

⁵ DV, f. 18v

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3

⁷ domino *add.* M1-M3; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2

⁸ consiliario V3

⁹ et domino suo *add.* M1; ~~et domino suo~~ *seq.* V2

¹⁰ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas ad dominum cancellarium M1

¹¹ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *ad-dress*.

¹² factum M2, M3

¹³ et saepe *omit.* M2

¹⁴ *omit.* M2

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

¹⁶ 20. M1; *omit.* V4

¹⁷ cinerum M3

¹⁸ qui V4

¹⁹ absque M1-M3; ab V3;

²⁰ nisi fallor ad ... venio *omit.* M2

²¹ vereor M2

²² idcirco terminum hunc : hunc terminum idcirco M2

²³ at M3; quod M1

²⁴ tamen *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ta-men~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁵ *omit.* M3

cum tanto damno. Ex his animadverto conventionis {87v} hujus¹ continuationem non habituram locum, sicut apud vos² erat statutum, quia nimis durum esset tam diu expectare.

¹ animadverto conventionis hujus : video dietae M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* video dietae V2b
² nos M2

111. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: In the chancellor's continued absence, Piccolomini acted as his informant on affairs at the court.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the chancellor of the presence at court of the count of Görz and his wife. He relates the fall of the chancellor of the king's brother and implicitly warns the chancellor of the dangers of his absence.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] In the other letters, which I send together with the present one,¹ I informed you that His Royal Majesty² had chosen the Feast of Saint George³ for his arrival in Nürnberg. This was a decision in council, but what is decided in council is not *one of the Sibyl's leaves*⁴ or immutable fate. We live from day to day, and what was decided yesterday is changed today. At any rate, this is the result - for now: the date of Saint George has been changed to the day of the Lord's Ascension, which - if I am not mistaken - falls on 14 May.⁵ This has caused considerable disagreement here, for some claim that this year the interval [between Ash Wednesday and the Ascension] is 9 weeks, others that it is 8 weeks, and others again 7. Being in doubt, I stick to the rule used by country people, saying that Ash Wednesday is [the first Wednesday] after [the first] New Moon after the Feast of Purification.⁶ ⁷ The rule of the unlearned appears to me to be safer than the rule of the learned. However, I am not sure, but no more of this. At any rate, this change of dates seems dubious to me: I fear that it will be ridiculed by the princes, who say that the German diets are endless.⁸ ⁹

[2] I think the king has accepted this date because of the next meeting with the Bohemians on the Birth of Saint John, which is celebrated in June.¹⁰ For this way, the king may be planning to spend one month in Nürnberg to settle the affairs of the empire and the ecclesiastical issues and then proceed to Prague. I do not know whether those who thought this up calculated well. I believe the king will not arrive on the appointed day and that one month is not enough for such matters. And I fear that wanting to settle both affairs in one travel, we shall neglect both. But, hopefully, God makes me a false rather than a true prophet, for if I am a true prophet, the result will not be good. Anyway, from these [proceedings], I perceive that the prolongation¹¹ you decided there¹² will not happen, for it will be hard to wait such a long time.¹³

¹ If a messenger was not on hand, letters would be kept and sent (to-gether) with the first available messenger.

² Friedrich III.

³ 23. April 1444.

⁴ Juvenalis, 8: 126.

⁵ That year, The Ascension fell on 21 May.

⁶ 2 February.

⁷ According to the practice of the Roman Church, Ash Wednesday is 46 days before Easter Sunday, which is celebrated on the First Sunday after the first full moon on or after 21 March.

⁸ In later letters and writings, Pic-colomini would return to this joke, saying that a German diet would always be pregnant with the next.

⁹ This passage appears to be an implicit criticism of the emperor's council where, apparently, there was a party opposed to the chan-cellor, e.g., the influential Styrian triumvirate (see letter 102: 8).

¹⁰ 25 June.

¹¹ I.e., the prolongation of the present Diet of Nürnberg, decided there, to await the emperor's arri-val (see letter 108: 14).

¹² In Nürnberg.

¹³ Until 25 May.

[3] Exinde intelligo Chiemensem episcopum huc¹ vocari et vos etiam accersiri, et quia episcopus huc quam cito adventurus² est, suadeo, ut et tu nihil tardes. Scis³, quid expediat propter ecclesiam Frisingensem. Tu potuisti sentire, quis sit animus Chiemensis⁴ in hac re. Puto utile fore, ut non⁵ tardior⁶ sit tuus quam suus accessus. Credo, me plane comprehendis⁷.

[4] Comes Goricie jam triduo hic est ejusque consors. Dispar conjugium. Una ingressi sunt, unas aedes incolunt, una per oppidum pergunt. Si sic se amant, ut foris significant, beata societas est mirandumque spectaculum. Nuper virum uxor captivum habuit in vinculisque⁸ coniecit ac horrendi criminis reum dixit. Nunc unus lectus⁹ utrumque recipit et una pascit mensa. Mira res, si tantum odium tam cito poni potest. Inter alios si hoc accidisset, nec vir uxori fidem reconciliatae daret nec uxor viro, injuriarum ultionem verita¹⁰. Sed hic fortasse non ut volumus, sed ut quimus agendum est. Exitus, quae^{11 12} sit utriusque mens, patefaciet.

[5] Albertus, regis frater, tardius sperato venit. Is enim¹³ nescio quam ob causam Petrum Kotttrer¹⁴, suum cancellarium, apprehendit et coniectum in vinculis compedibus ferreis alligavit. Sic vir infelix multorum laborum fert praemium. Nemo est, qui speret ipsum liberandum, {88r} principes¹⁵ namque hujusmodi fere omnes sunt, ut quos capiunt numquam dimittant¹⁶. Aut enim reus est, qui captus est, et luere poenam debet, aut innocens et¹⁷, ut videatur nocens, tenetur, ne principis crimen pateat, ne vel ille dimissus injurias questum eat et ulcisci se studeat.

[6] Beati, qui procul a curiarum tumultibus degunt et contenti sunt, quae adest fortuna. Nos animorum¹⁸ impulsu et caeca cupidine ducti¹⁹ regum atria petimus, principum in oculis versari volumus, quibus si milies cum periculo capitis servieris, modicum²⁰ vero aberraveris, mox peristi. Nihil enim violentius est aurae tyranni. Suspiciosi omnes sunt tum curiales invidi promptique, nedum si assit, sed si absit quoque, criminari delictum. Pereunt omnia servitia, si semel spueris non recte, et sunt nonnulli, qui tunc citius servum perdunt, cum majora sunt obsequia. Nam cum videant se multa illi debere, punire potius delictum cupiunt, quam obsequium praemiare.

¹ *omit.* V3, V4

² advecturus M2

³ scio V4

⁴ Chiemensi WO

⁵ nos V4

⁶ tardius M2

⁷ comprehenditis M2

⁸ vinculaque HE, WO

⁹ electus V4

¹⁰ veritas V4

¹¹ qui WO

¹² exitus qui : exitusque M3

¹³ cum V4

¹⁴ Petrum Kotttrer : Petrum Cotram M2, M3, V2, V3; contra V4

¹⁵ princeps V4

¹⁶ dimittat V4

¹⁷ *omit.* M3

¹⁸ annorum V4

¹⁹ ductu V4

²⁰ modo M3

[3] I understand that the bishop of Chiemsee¹ has been summoned here, like you. Since he will arrive soon, I urge you to not be late in coming. You know what is expedient concerning the Church of Freising. You have heard what the bishop of Chiemsee thinks of this matter. I believe it would be useful if you did not arrive after him. I think you get my meaning.²

[4] The count of Görz³ arrived three days ago with his wife.⁴ Their marriage is quite strange. They arrived together, they live in the same lodgings, they go together through the town. If they love each other as much as they show in public, it is indeed a blessed union and a wonderful sight, given that only a short while ago, the wife took her husband prisoner, threw him in chains, and accused him of a terrible crime. Now they share bed and table. It would be amazing if such great hate could be set aside so quickly. Had it happened to another couple, the husband would not so soon trust his reconciled wife nor the wife her husband since she would fear his revenge. But this may be a case of doing what one can, not what one wants. The outcome will show their true feelings.⁵

[5] Albrecht,⁶ the king's⁷ brother, will arrive later than expected. For a reason that I do not know, he has arrested Peter Kottler,⁸ his chancellor, and thrown him in chains.⁹ ¹⁰ Thus, the unfortunate man is rewarded for his many labours. Nobody expects him to be set free again, for princes mostly do not release those they put in jail.¹¹ Either the arrested man is guilty and must suffer his punishment, or he is innocent but is kept in prison to make him appear guilty and cover up the prince's crime lest he, when released, complains of his injuries and seeks revenge.

[6] Happy are those who live far from the upheavals at courts and are content with their conditions. But driven by ambition and led by blind desire, we seek the halls of kings and wish to be seen by princes. You may have served them a thousand times at the risk of your life, but just one slight misstep will be your downfall, for nothing is more violent than a tyrant's mood. All courtiers are suspicious, jealous and prone to accuse others of true or even false crimes. All services are forgotten if – just once – you spit at the wrong time. Some princes destroy a servant the more quickly, the

¹ Bishop Silvester Pflieger.

² Piccolomini intimates that Bi-shop Pflieger, a trusted and influ-ential member of the court, may not support the Schlick brother's claim to the Church of Freising, and Piccolomini, therefore, urges the chancellor's presence to counteract the bishop's advice to the emperor in this matter.

³ Heinrich VI von Görz (1376-1454): Count of Görz from 1385 to his death. See letters 102: 7 and 109: 9.

⁴ Katharina Garai (c. 1390-1471): Daughter of the Hungarian Pala-tine Nikolaus Garai.

⁵ On the conflict between the count and his countess and Pic-colomini's comments, see Nieder-stätter, pp. 202-204.

⁶ Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke (later Archduke) of Austria.

⁷ Friedrich III.

⁸ Peter Kottler: First chancellor of Albrecht VI. In 1440 he was nominated as Bishop of Zagreb (Agram) by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary but, apparently, he was never formally appointed to this see.

⁹ In his *De viris illustribus*, Picco-lomini wrote about Kottler's fall: ... *Shortly afterwards, he learnt that Bishop Peter Kottler, his chancellor, was guilty of treason. He had him arrested and incar-cerated under rigorous conditi-ons. Kottler is still languishing there. Keeping the bones that ca-me with his meat, he at one point used them to make some kind of ladder in a cleft in the walls. Mounting it, he climbed up a tall tower and then descended using a rope made of rags. Misjudging the distance, he fell down and broke a shinbone. Crying out from the pain, he was caught again and is now kept under stricter guard. He really is a fool because, disobey-ing his prince, he preferred the prison to the monk's habit. Using falsified letters, the prince soon took over his castles though they belong to the Church of Zagreb* (DVI, sect. 252).

¹⁰ On this affair, see Langmaier, pp. 73-74. Langmeier presumes that Kottler was jailed because Al-brecht feared that he, in a feud be-tween Albrecht and Friedrich, would changes sides to Friedrich.

¹¹ In this case, however, Albrecht later became reconciled with Kott-ler and took him into his service again.

more they owe him. For when they see how much they owe to him, they will rather punish some fault than reward his service.¹

[7] Sunt tamen plures, qui ducis Alberti factum probant, et mihi² quoque ita persuasum est. Nam princeps ille³ tum sapiens est tum mitis, nec absque magna causa in tantum virum iniecisset manus. Sed Kottre⁴ utilius fuerat plebem suam curare. Nunc quaeritur, quo pacto sibi illa auferatur, et ajunt ajunt quidam irregularem esse hominem privandumque ecclesia, in qua vellet nunc, ut existimo, Petrus Deo servire. Sed quia, dum facultas fuit, voluntas {88v} defuit⁵, nunc voluntatem facultas deserit. Nemo contentus vivit sorte sua, quo plus habemus, plus volumus. Ille beatus est, qui cupiditati⁶ terminum ponit; qui vero nimios optat honores et nimias poscit opes, is sibi excelsae turris tabulatum erigit, unde altius cadat majoremque det⁷ ruinam quam opinionem. Faxit deus, ut sicut nunc non habeo, sic perpetuo fugiam.

Tu vale et, quamvis haec reditum vestrum videantur dissuadere⁸, quam primum redito⁹, quia et rex noster nihil tyranni habet, et tu non cum eo, sed cum alio crevisti, nec nunc augere, sed conservare statum quaeris. Ex Sancto Vito, kalendis Januarii 1444^{10 11 12}.

¹ Note this example of Picco-lomini's criticism of court life, prefiguring his *De curialium miseria*. The whole passage also sounds as a warning to Chancellor Schlick that his situation at court is precarious – and demands his personal presence.

² nichil M3

³ omit. M3

⁴ Cotre , M2, V2, V3; omit. [blank space] V4; Cotro M3

⁵ voluntas defuit omit. V4

⁶ omit. M2

⁷ dat M2

⁸ persuadere V4

⁹ redite M1, M2; reddite M3

¹⁰ 1443 V4

¹¹ kalendis ... 1444: omit. M3; add. V2;

¹² Ex Sancto ... 1444 : datum M1; ex etc. M2

[7] Many approve of Duke Albrecht's action, and I, too, as a matter of fact. For this prince is so wise and gentle that he would not have laid hands on such a great man without serious cause. It would have been better for Kottler to take care of his flock.¹ Now, they are looking into how it may be taken from him. He is said to be in an irregular situation and should be deprived of the see, where I believe Peter would now wish to serve God. But while he could, he did not want to, and now that he wants to, he cannot. Nobody lives content with his lot: the more we have, the more we want. He is happy who puts an end to desire. The man who wants excessive honours and wealth builds a high tower for himself from which his fall will be tremendous and cause him greater ruin than esteem. God give that I shall always stay away from what I do not have now.

Farewell, and though the above may appear to dissuade you from returning, do come back as soon as possible, for our king is not a tyrant. You grew great not under him but under another², and now you seek not to raise but to keep your status. From Sankt Vitus, 1 January 1444.

¹ The diocese of Zagreb.

² Emperor Sigismund.

112. Letter to Galeazzo d'Arco (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 70v; M2, f. 54r; M3, f. 261v¹; V2, ff. 268-269²; V3, ff. 126v-127r³ **; V4, ff. 112v-113r.

Editions: KO, 60⁴; HE, 112, p. 243; WO, 1: 1, 112, p. 268; (both based on M1 and V2).

{126v} Aeneas Silvius⁵ magnifico Galeazio, comiti de Arco, salutem plurimam dicit.^{6 7}

[1] Accipio te⁸ venisse Tridentum militarique manu regis partes tueri. Id quoque rex accepit ac propterea te amat colitque maxime. Res hujusmodi tibi et domui⁹ tuae¹⁰ honori erit et utilitati, quantum sentio. Perge igitur, et, dum occasio adest, virum, qui es, te demonstra. Multorum virtus¹¹ jacet, quia campus deest, ubi se ostentent. Tibi facultas est, qua¹² tum¹³ animum tum ingenium patefacias tuum. Res, quam tueris, justa est et pro sanguine claro adversus plebem et *incertum vulgus* pugnam habes. Vide, ut periculum facias¹⁴ tui monstresque¹⁵ sanguis {127r} illustris quantum obscuro praestet. Sis is, qui crederis. Rex de te bene sperat, opinionem¹⁶ suam imple et omnium, qui apud se sunt. Sic, cum sis magnus, poteris fieri maximus. Haec scripsi, quia te amo, et videns bonum tibi nomen esse cupio, ut illud maneat augeaturque. Fratri tuo me dede et mihi, ut soles, amorem tuum communicatum fac.

Vale. Ex Sancto Vito, die 1. Januarii 1444.¹⁷

¹ SC, 527

² DV, ff. 139v-140r

³ DV, ff. 129v-130r

⁴ DV, f. 30v

⁵ poeta *add.* HE, WO

⁶ Aeneas Silvius ... dicit *omit.* M1

⁷ magnifice comes, mi domine *add.* M1

⁸ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *ad-dress.*

⁹ domui *aut* domini M1; dominio WO

¹⁰ tuo WO

¹¹ currus M2

¹² quia M3

¹³ tamen V4

¹⁴ non *add.* M2

¹⁵ demonstresque M2

¹⁶ opinionemque WO

¹⁷ ex sancto ... 1444 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

112. Letter to Galeazzo d'Arco (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit)¹.

Context: The Tyrolean rebels had begun a siege of the important episcopal city of Trient, and Count Galeazzo d'Arco had come with his soldiers to defend it.

Editions: Piccolomini encourages the count to be valiant in defending the king's cause and assures him of the royal favour.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificence, Count Galeazzo d'Arco.²

[1] I hear you have come to Trient and are defending the king's cause with military means. The king has heard it, too, and therefore loves and greatly estimates you. As far as I can see, this will greatly benefit your honour and interests and those of your house. So, continue in this way and show what kind of man you are now that you have the opportunity. The courage of many men lies dormant because they have no field where to prove themselves. You now have the chance to show your courage and your intelligence. The cause you defend is just, and you are fighting for noble blood against the people and the *wavering crowd*.³ Show what stuff you are made of and how noble noble blood far surpasses the base. Be the man you are reputed to be. The king has great hopes for you. Fulfil the expectations of the king and all those around him. Thus, from a great man you will become the greatest. I have written this because I love you, and seeing your good reputation, I wish it to continue and even grow. Greet your brother,⁴ and let me know that you love me as always.

Farewell. From Sankt Veit, 1 January 1444.

¹ This letter is an instance of Piccolomini sending a private ac-companying letter to the recipient of a letter from the emperor or the chancellor written by him-self, in those cases when he knew the ad-dressee personally (see letter WO 1: 2: Ixix for the matching letter from the emperor).

² Galeazzo d'Arco: Younger bro-ther of Count Francesco d'Arco. A military man who defended Trento for the emperor for three months against the Tyrolean insurgents before having to capitulate in April 1444. See letter 95.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2: 39: *scin-ditur incertum studia on contraria vulgus (the wavering crowd is torn into opposing factions)*.

⁴ Francesco d'Arco (1413-1482): Count of Arco.

113. Letter to Niccolò Veneto (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 70v; M2, ff. 53v-54¹r; M3, f. 261v²; V2, ff. 267-268³; V3, ff. 126r-126v⁴ **; V4, ff. 112r-112v.
Editions: KO, 59⁵; HE, 113, p. 244; WO, 1: 1, 113, p. 269; (both based on M1 and V2).

{126r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ Nicolao Veneto, canonico Tridentino, salutem plurimam dicit^{7, 8}.

[1] Scribo⁹ Francisco Bossio¹⁰ litteras, quas cum his mitto. Sed accepi virum terrore perculsum Tridento abiisse Pataviumque petisse, quia non placet sibi urbem incolere plenam tumultibus, sicut nunc vestra civitas est, quae obsidionem expectat. Laudo ego consilium suum, nam qui potest in pace vivere, is damnandus est, si se ingerat bellis. Nemini bellum est utile, nisi cui status praesens est gravis. Franciscus vir dives est et sua fortuna contentus. Sapit {126v} certe, rumores fugiens et lites¹¹, ex quibus nihil lucrari potest. Scit aliud esse hoc iudicium, quam illud, ex quo ditatus est rotae. Nam hic manibus causa defenditur, illic¹² lingua. Tu scis, ubi est. Ideo rogo, meas litteras sibi ut mittas¹³ et in ejus absentia me tuearis, ne quid innovetur in canonicatu, quem illic habeo, et sic te in re mea habe, sicut de tua probitate et amicitia spero. Non puto has tribulationes diu mansuras, quia intendit rex vobis¹⁴ auxilio esse atque favori.

Vale et me tuum puta ubicumque sim. Ex¹⁵ Sancto Vito, kalendis Januarii 1444¹⁶.

¹ SC, 114-115

² SC, 527

³ DV, ff. 139r-139v

⁴ DV, ff. 129r-129v

⁵ DV, f. 30v

⁶ poeta *add.* M1, M2

⁷ venerabilis confrater amantissimi-me M1

⁸ *Titulus:* Venerabilis confrater a-mantissime M1

⁹ domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~de mine~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ nostro decano *add.* M1

¹¹ fugit *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~fugit~~ *seq.* V2b

¹² ibidem *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ibi dem~~ *seq.* V2b

¹³ destines M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* destines V2b

¹⁴ nobis V4

¹⁵ e M1-M3

¹⁶ Ex Sancto ... 1444 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

113. Letter to Niccolò Veneto (1 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: The Tyrolean rebellion and the troubles in Trient made Piccolomini worry about his canonry at the cathedral of Trient.

Subject: Piccolomini asks Niccolò, a fellow canon at the cathedral, to forward a letter to Francesco Bossio and protect his interests there (especially the canonry).

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Niccolò¹ from Venice, canon of Trient.

[1] I have written a letter to our dean, Francesco Bossio,² that I am sending with this one since I hear he has taken fright and left Trient for Padua. For he does not want to live in a city full of disturbances, as is your city now, expecting to be besieged. I quite agree with him, for a man who can live in peace should not get mixed up in a war. War profits no one unless your status is poor. Francesco is wealthy and content with his fortune. He is surely wise to flee a rumoured conflict that will gain him nothing. He knows that the judgment in war is different from the one that has gained him wealth in the courtroom: in war, a cause is defended with the hands, but in the courtroom, with the tongue.

You know where Francesco is now. Please forward my letters to him. And, in his absence, please also protect my interests lest something happen to the canonry I have there.³ Act on my behalf, as I hope [you will, out] of decency and friendship. I do not believe that these troubles⁴ will last long, for the king intends to help and favour you.⁵

Farewell, and consider me your [friend] wherever I may be. From Sankt Veit, 1 January 1444.

¹ Niccolò Veneto: canon in Trient (WO, 1: 1, p. 269).

² Francesco Bossio: Milanese. From 1445 to 1447, canon, dean and vicar general in Trient (WO, 1: 1, p. 269).

³ Piccolomini's canonry at the cathedral of Trient, providing him with an income of 140 ducats a year.

⁴ The disturbances in Trient.

⁵ No military aid from Friedrich III would be forthcoming.

114. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (5 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 80r-81v; M3, ff. 238v-240¹; V2, ff. 187-193²; V3, ff. 88v-92r³ **; V4, ff. 79v-82v.

Editions: KO, 171⁴; HE, 114, pp. 244-248; WO, 1: 1, 114, pp. 269-274; (both based on M1 and V2).

{88v} Aeneas Silvius domino Gaspari Schlick, cancellario imperiali⁵, salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Pauci admodum sunt dies, quibus per Gasparem sacerdotem, nuntium tuum⁷ ⁸de singulis, quoad quoad potui, plene scripsi, nec rem Frisingensem aut aliam scriptura dignam praetermisi. Volui namque potius scriptis omnibus longitudine taediosus quam praetermissis quibusdam brevitate odiosus esse. Sed advenit mox germanus tuus, dominus Henricus, Frisingensis electus, et cum eo simul reversus Neytperg. Ipse autem electus idcirco huc profectus est, quia {89r} litteris vestris instructus erat, ut pro castrorum possessione instaret, nam et tu regi ad eam rem scripseras. Sed erat adhuc nescius eorum, quae gesta erant. Nondum enim littere meae ad eum pervenerant, quas sibi super his scripseram. Retuli autem ei seriem rerum et regis responsum mihi datum et vobis scriptum, quo percepto⁹ agnovit electus se¹⁰ frustra profectum huc. Accessit tamen Neytperg tamquam tuum singularem amicum, quocum in via saepe contulerat de negotio. Narravit sibi, quae in causa essent acta consiliumque petiit. Is dixit velle se regem alloqui et, cujus mentis esset, perscrutari, an mutari sententia posset. Accessitque illum heri, cum jam *nox ruisset* caelo, petiitque utrum in re Frisingensi vellet aliquid agere, cum frater cancellarii adesset. Rex autem jussit mox electum accersiri, quo veniente surrexit ex cubili et nonnullis passibus obviam processit. Tum electus dixit se huc venisse regratiaturum majestati regiae, ex cujus munere promotus esset, supplicaturumque, ut possessio daretur¹¹ in plenitudinem gratiae, et ad hoc se monitum tuis litteris inquit.

[2] Rex vero habito consilio dixit se jam tibi¹² in hac re scripsisse teque vocasse, et postquam revertereris¹³ rem hanc absolvendam¹⁴. Gratias pro responso electus egit subjunxitque se scire nonnullos venturos esse, etiam viros magnos, qui partem alteram promoverent, ideoque se supplicem petere, ne quid in ejus praejudicium illis responderetur. Ad haec dictum est regiam {89v} majestatem cancellarium expectare nec se velle in ejus absentia aut illo inscio de hac re ad¹⁵ cujusquam instantiam aliquid agere¹⁶. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 483-486.

² DV, ff. 99r-101r.

³ DV, ff. 91v-95.

⁴ DV, f. 163r

⁵ et domino suo add. M1, M3, V2a; ~~et domino suo~~ seq. V2b

⁶ *Titulus:* Eneas domino cancella-rio. magnifice et generose domine mi praecipue, post recommenda-tionem M1; Magnifico et genero-so domino Caspar Slick cancella-rio imperiali Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit M3

⁷ ad vos add. M1, M3, V2a; ~~ad vos~~ seq. V2b

⁸ M1, M3, V2a use 2nd pers. plural in address.

⁹ precepto M1, M3, V2

¹⁰ electus se : se dominus electus M1-M3

¹¹ detur M3

¹² ter M3

¹³ reverteretur M3

¹⁴ sic disponeret quod bene con-tentareris M1, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* sic disponeret quod bene conten-taremini V2;

¹⁵ omit. M3

¹⁶ aliquid agere : intromittere M1, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* intromittere V2b

114. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (5¹ January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: The absence of papal letters confirming Henrich Schlick's appointment as bishop of Freising complicated matters for the chancellor, and his continued absence from court worsened them.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the chancellor of his brother's visit to the emperor and the opposition at court against the brother's appointment to Freising. He, once again, urges his speedy return.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Lord Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] Just a few days ago, I sent you – through your messenger, the priest Kaspar – a letter commenting fully on as many issues as possible, not neglecting the matter of Freising and other matters worthy of interest. For I would rather bore you by writing too much than displease you by writing too little. But right afterwards, your brother Heinrich, bishop-elect of Freising arrived together with Neitperg.² The bishop-elect had come here because you had told him by letter to insist on getting possession of the castles³ about which you had written to the king. But Heinrich did not know what had happened since he had not yet received the letter I wrote to him on this matter. I told him how the whole affair had developed and the answer the king had given me, as I have written to you. When he heard it, Heinrich realised he had come in vain. Then, however, Neitperg joined us as your special friend. They had discussed the matter much while travelling. Heinrich told him what had been done and asked for his advice. Neitperg said that he would speak with the king and see whether he was minded to change his previous decision.⁴ He saw the king yesterday when *night had rushed from the sky*,⁵ and asked him whether he wanted to do something in the matter of Freising, now that the chancellor's brother was there. The king immediately asked for the bishop-elect to be summoned, and when he came in, the king rose from his couch and went some steps towards him.⁶ Then the elect said that he had come to thank His Royal Majesty by whose gift he had been promoted and to ask that he – as a further favour – be given possession,⁷ adding that he had been advised to do so in a letter from you.

[2] Having discussed the matter in council, the king said that he had already written to you and recalled you, as he would decide on the matter after your return. The bishop-elect⁸ thanked him for this answer, adding that he knew that others, important men, would arrive to support the opposite party⁹ and humbly asking that they should not receive an answer that would be prejudicial to him. To this, it was said that His Royal Majesty was waiting for the chancellor and that he would do nothing at anybody else's request while the chancellor was absent or without his knowledge. [*cont.*]

¹ In the first version of the collection of epistolae saeculares (M1-M3), the has the date 6 January, and in the second (V2-V4) 6 January.

² Johann [Hans] von Neitperg: Styrian noble. *Haushofmeister* of Friedrich III. One of Styrian "trinity" of councillors" (Piccolo-mini's ironical expression) close to Friedrich III, the other two being Walther Zebinger and Johann Ungnad. Neitperg had attended an Austrian assembly of the estates, see letter 108: 7.

³ I.e., the "regalia" (secular possessions) in Habsburg territories belonging to the see of Freising.

⁴ To not grant possession of the regalia before seeing the papal letters of confirmation.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 250: *Verti-tur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox.*

⁶ In a show of honour and polite-ness.

⁷ Of the castles belonging to the See of Freising.

⁸ Heinrich Schlick.

⁹ Johann Grünwalder.

[cont.] Dixeruntque consiliiari¹: “Henrice, licet scriptum² sit cancellario, ut veniat, tu tamen sibi rescribito et mittito proprium nuntium, omninoque ipsum adhorteris, ut quam festinanter veniat tum pro rebus hujus ecclesie Frisingensis, tum pro negotiis regiis, in quibus sua praesentia est necessaria. Nam multi casus possunt accedere, qui primum nuntium impedirent.” Annuit³ Henricus mihi dicit bonum esse, ut lator praesentium Anderlinus huic se itineri accingeret, quod mihi quoque ex usu visum est et admodum necessarium, quia nescio, quam diligentiam⁴ habebunt collegae tui ad mittendum litteras regias.

[3] Dum haec agerentur, venit ex Romana curia Osiliensis episcopus Prutenus, quem nosti. Per hunc putabat⁵ Henricus bullas suae provisionis transmissas fore, sicut Johannes Tolner per antea sibi scripserat. Accessimus ergo diversorium ejus percontatique sumus, an bullas afferret. Is retulit sic ordinatum fuisse, ut ipse afferret, sed cum expeditio ejus longior videretur, placuisse Romano pontifici, ut tabellarius suus Guido nomine ad te illas⁶ deferret, qui jam quindecim diebus eum praecessisset, et miratus est non esse nobis⁷ traditas bullas deditque⁸ Henrico litteras sibi et tibi directas ex Roma Bononiaque transmissas. Quibus apertis cognovimus verbum ejus verum fuisse, {90r} sicut et tu ex ipsis litteris agnosces⁹, nam ipsas tibi cum praesentibus destinamus. Nos vero opinamur bullas easdem ad te vel¹⁰ dominum¹¹ Johannem Carvajal convolasse, nam Guido ille, ut accepimus, ad apostolicos nuntios¹² litteras habuit, quod si sic non est, aut Venetiis sunt apud mercatores, aut Guido corruptus adversariis eas vendidit, vel sinistri aliud accidit. Tuum est percontari diligenter - nam maxime expedit has litteras haberi, in quibus jus tuum¹³ fundatur. Nec¹⁴ putat¹⁵ Henricus Australes moveri posse, ut castra tradant, nisi ostendantur bullae. Ideo curet tua magnificentia eas omnino secum afferre, si apud Nurembergam inveniri possunt, alioquin opus erit iterum eas ex curia suscipere.

[4] Nunc autem, ne mireris¹⁶, quod nuntium proprium ad te destinamus, causas subjungemus. Nam prima est, quod rex sic desideravit et consiliiarii persuaserunt. Secunda est, quia videmus regi necessarium esse redditum tuum in multis arduis negotiis, qui aegre ferret sibi te¹⁷ deesse, cum opus est. Exinde, qui vult principis gratiam, is in adversis serviat. Nam in secundis plures inveniuntur servitores, quam sit necesse. Post haec videmus instare periculum in ecclesia Frisingensi, nisi veneritis cito. Quod si veneris, bene omnia dirigi posse confidimus, nam et rex bene affectus¹⁸ est, et Neitperg adjutor¹⁹ erit. Magister autem curiae scripsit in {90v} favorem tuum et, sicut saepe dicitur, praesentia recipit, absentia perdit.

¹ domine *add.* M1, M3, V2a; ~~domine~~ *seq.* V2

² *omit.* M3

³ dominus *add.* M1

⁴ intelligenciam M3

⁵ dominus *add.* M1

⁶ ille hos V4

⁷ vobis HE

⁸ domino *add.* M1

⁹ recognosces M3

¹⁰ ad *add.* M1

¹¹ *omit.* M1, M3

¹² *omit.* M1

¹³ *omit.* V3

¹⁴ haec V4

¹⁵ dominus *add.* M1

¹⁶ miretur dominatio tua M1, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* miretur dominatio tua V2b

¹⁷ sibi te: vos sibi M1, M3

¹⁸ dispositus M1, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dispositus V2b

¹⁹ auditor V4

[cont.] And the councillors said, “Heinrich, though the chancellor has been asked by letter to come, you should yourself write to him, sending the letter with your own messenger, and insist that he comes as soon as possible, for both the matter of the Church of Freising and the king’s affairs urgently require his presence, and many things can happen to prevent the first messenger from reaching [the chancellor].” Heinrich assented and told me it would be good if Anderlinus, bearer of the present letter, got ready to leave. I agreed that it was indeed good and most necessary, for I do not know how diligently your colleagues will be in despatching the king’s letter.¹

[3] Meanwhile, the bishop of Ösel, a Prussian,² whom you know, arrived from the Roman Curia. Heinrich believed he had been charged with bringing the bulls concerning his appointment,³ as Johann Tolner⁴ had written to him. We went to his lodgings and asked him if he had brought the bulls. The bishop told us that it had been arranged he should bring them with him, but since his departure was delayed, the Roman Pontiff⁵ decided that his messenger Guido⁶ should bring the bulls instead. Since Guido left 15 days before him, he was surprised he had not already delivered them. Then, the bishop gave us some other letters for Heinrich and you, sent from Rome and Bologna. We opened them and saw he had spoken truthfully, as you will see yourself from the letters we are sending with the present one. We think the [missing] bulls were sent to you or Juan Carvajal,⁷ for – as we heard – Guido had letters for the apostolic envoys. If he does not have them now, it is because they are with merchants⁸ in Venice, or that Guido was corrupted and sold the letters to our enemies, or that something terrible happened.⁹ So, it is now up to you to investigate the matter carefully, for it is of the utmost importance to secure these letters on which your rights are based. Heinrich thinks that the Austrians cannot be moved give him the castles before the [papal] bulls are produced. Therefore, Your Magnificence must absolutely bring them with you if they have been delivered to you in Nürnberg. Otherwise, we must request new letters from the curia.

[4] Lest you wonder why we are sending our own messenger to you, we shall now explain the reasons. First, the king wanted it, and the counsellors urged it. Second, we see that the king must have you back since he is involved in many difficult affairs. He would take it badly if you were missing when he had need of you. Those who want their prince’s favour must serve in adversity, for in prosperity he has more servants than needed. Third, we see an imminent danger in the matter of the Church of Freising unless you return quickly. If you come, we trust that all can be managed well, for the king is well-disposed towards you, Neitperg will support you, and the *Hofmeister*¹⁰ has written in your favour, and, finally – as often said – those who are present receive whereas those who are absent lose.

¹ Again, a veiled reference to a court party opposing the chancellor.

² Johann II Kreuwel: Teutonic Order. Prince-bishop of Ösel from 1439.

³ „provisio”

⁴ The emperor’s procurator at the papal court.

⁵ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death.

⁶ Papal messenger.

⁷ Juan Carvajal (c. 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 would appoint him a cardinal in 1446.

⁸ The international merchant bankers maintained their own messenger services.

⁹ Such as being robbed and murdered on the way.

¹⁰ “magister curiae”: Hans Ungnad?

[5] Ulterius scimus dominum Treverensem¹ venturum; qui cum sit jam alter homo, quam solebat, nec multum tibi afficiatur, timemus, ne quid in hac re, sicut pro certo intelleximus, aggrediatur, et in aliis quoque possit tibi obesse. Scis, quid velimus dicere, et quae alias temptata sunt. Dominus etiam alius vocatus est, ut noscis per alias litteras. Is, neutralitatis amator et Bavarorum fautor, non suadebit tibi dari² possessionem. Dicit periculosum esse, et quod non poterit publice, clam tractabit, tractabit, nisi fortasse per te sit jam Nurembergae persuasus. Accidit ad haec alius vobis notus, qui et ipse clanculum electo suo favet, et quamvis nunc absit, cito tamen revertetur, nam in provinciam non patuit sibi et suis collegis accessus. Itaque omnibus his ex causis duximus mittendum esse nuntium, ut si aliae litterae negligantur, hae saltem te comperiant teque ad veniendum inducant³, quia nullatenus supersedendum est.

[6] Inter haec aliud se ingerit scribendum. Allocutus est⁴ Henricus quendam regium consiliarium, qui se ostendit tibi affectum, sed quantum ex ejus dictis comprehendimus, is magno impedimento fuit ad possessionem habendam. Inquit enim nullatenus se regi consulturum possessionem dare, quia partialis videretur, sed suadere vellet, ut {91r} omnes custodirentur introitus hujus ecclesiae et exinde clam subveniretur⁵ Henrico ad litem ducendam, donec per justitiam terminaretur causa. Quod consilium, quam perniciosum sit, cernis, quasi honestius sit principi saeculari bona ecclesiarum absque ullo titulo detinere quam jus habenti concedere⁶. Sed non videt oculatus homo, quantum dedecus regi⁷ resultaret et quantum infamie, et ut per hunc modum magis se odiosum Bavaris redderet, qui se hostem faceret, et quantis molestiis se subjiceret. Nam castra tenens nunc per concilium⁸, nunc per electum, nunc per principes rogaretur restituere, et interim quoque bona ecclesie dissiparentur.

¹ dietim *add.* M1, M3

² tibi dari : dari vobis M3

³ iudicant V4

⁴ dominus *add.* M1

⁵ domino *add.* M1

⁶ condere V4

⁷ ei V3, V4

⁸ consilium HE

[5] His Lordship of Trier¹ will arrive later. He has changed and does not much like you, so we fear - and indeed know for sure - that when he comes, he will oppose you [in the Freising matter] and also in other things. You know what we mean and what has otherwise been attempted.² Another lord³ has been summoned, as you know from another letter. He supports Neutrality⁴ and favours the Bavarians, and he will not advise to give you possession.⁵ He will say that it is perilous and will do secretly what he can not do openly, unless, possibly, you persuaded him [to support your cause] while in Nürnberg. Another one, also known to you and also a secret supporter of his elected candidate⁶, is absent now but will soon return since he and his colleagues were denied access to the province [of Tyrol]. For all these reasons, we decided to send this letter by [our own] messenger so that, in case they neglect to send the other letter,⁷ at least this one will reach you and induce you to return, for there is no time to lose.

[6] Meanwhile, something else occurred that you should be informed about. Heinrich spoke with one of the king's counsellors. He appeared to be well disposed towards you, but from what he said, we understood that he had been a major impediment to obtaining possession. For he said that he would in no way advise the king to grant possession since that would be to show partiality.⁸ Instead, he would propose that all the incomes of that Church be kept [by the king], and then Heinrich should secretly be given support until the case had been settled in a suit of law. You see how pernicious this advice is, as if it were more honourable for a secular prince to retain church possessions without having any right to them than to give them to him who had the right. But this "perspicacious" counsellor does not see the shame and infamy that would accrue to the king as a result of such an action and that it would make him hateful to the Bavarians as if he were their enemy, and how much trouble it would cause for him. For if the king held the castles [of the Church of Freising], he would be harassed by the council,⁹ the [rival] elect,¹⁰ and the princes,¹¹ demanding the restitution of the properties. In the meantime, the properties of the Church [of Freising] would be squandered.

¹ Jakob von Sierck (c. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-electoral from 1339 to his death. He had previously supported Eugenius but had become a supporter of the council and anti-pope Felix, thus opposing the policies of Kaspar Schlick. See letter 102: 6.

² Intrigues in the matter of German ecclesiastical policies.

³ Bishop Silvester Pflieger.

⁴ In 1438, the German princes had made a declaration of neutrality between the Council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV, to which the emperors Albrecht II and Friedrich III adhered.

⁵ See letter 111: 6.

⁶ Johann Grünwalder.

⁷ The letter from the king.

⁸ As the king still officially supported the German Neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the council in Basel with its antipope Felix V, the king would, by granting possession to a candidate appointed by Eugenius, show that he favoured that pope's party, thus overstepping the boundaries imposed by the policy of Neutrality.

⁹ The council in Basel.

¹⁰ Johann Grünwalder.

¹¹ The Bavarian princes.

[7] Sed addidit homo consilium magis insulsum. Ait enim, si castra in manu sint regis, pro quacumque parte declaratio fiat, impetratum regem, ut¹ Henrico ecclesia conferatur. Qua re nescio an aliqua dici stultior possit, nam hoc manifestum est in contrarium agere. Solet enim, quando fiunt² declarationes oboedientiarum, illis consuli, qui sunt in possessione, et cum adversarius jam corpus ecclesiae et diocesis³ in possessione habeat, Henricus vero⁴ nihil, quis dubitat meliorem futuram partis adversae conditionem, cum jura semper possessoribus faveant.

[8] Voluit insuper ille comparisonem facere hujus ecclesiae ad Pataviensem, propter quam Albertus multas expensas subivit et {91v} tandem succubuit. Sed non animadvertit vir, meo iudicio non imprudens et suo valde sapiens, ibi Albertum ei fuisse, qui nullum jus habuit, et se papae opposuisse. Nunc rex habentem jus tuetur et papam secum habet concurrentem.

[9] Post haec intelligo quosdam esse, qui tractare concordiam vellent, ut cederet⁵ Henricus parti adversae cum aliquibus emolumentis et spe alterius ecclesiae, quod tam decet te facere quam famam et nomen perdere. Nam cum grato animo erga te fuerit Eugenius ac domum tuam hac provisione decoraverit et praeter omnem consuetudinem bullas absque obligatione miserit, quid tandem dicere poterit, si ejus gratia relicta cum ejus hoste durissimo reconciliemini? Plus hinc ignominiae redundaret quam ex provisione habita⁶ receptum sit honoris. Haec non attingo profundius, quia melius me nosti, et cum hic eris, latius haec agitabimus.

[10] Post haec mittit tibi⁷ Henricus procuratorium ad resignandum praebendam suam Ratisponensem⁸. Itaque rogat vos, ut quando illac redeundo transis, capitulum accedas rogesque, ut alium alium germanum tuum eligat⁹ in canonicum et liberans¹⁰ Henricum ab solutione statutorum quiescere velit, ut solum Francisci nomine detur pecunia, quod existimat per te non aegre impetrari posse, qui apud eos dilectioni es et reverentiae. De via vero, per quam tibi sit rex conveniendus, {92r} non possumus aliquid certi scribere, sed nobis expedientius videtur, Viennam ut proficiscaris et inde ad regem.

¹ domino *add.* M1

² sunt V4

³ diocesim V3

⁴ Henricus vero : dominus vero Henricus M1, M2

⁵ dominus *add.* M1, M2

⁶ *omit.* WO

⁷ dominus *add.* M1, M2

⁸ Ratispone WO

⁹ eligant M3

¹⁰ dominum *add.* M1, M2

[7] But the counsellor added something even more stupid. He said that if the castles were in the king's hands, then whatever party¹ received the [German] declaration [of obedience], the king would ensure that the Church of Freising would be granted to Heinrich. I do not know what can be more stupid than this since it manifestly has the opposite effect. For when declarations of obedience are made, those who are in possession [of church properties] are favoured. [In the present case,] our adversary already has possession of the church [of Freising] and the diocese,² while Heinrich has nothing. Since the justice system always favours those in possession, who will doubt that our adversary has the best position

[8] The counsellor, moreover, wanted to make a comparison between the case of this church and the church of Passau, on which Albrecht³ spent a large sum and still, in the end, had to give in. But the man, who in my opinion is not stupid and in his own opinion rather clever, overlooked the fact that in that case, Albrecht favoured a candidate without any rights whatsoever and opposed the pope. In the present case, however, the king⁴ both supports the man who has the rights and is in agreement with the pope.

[8] Apart from this, I understand that some people favour an amicable settlement so that Heinrich would yield to the opposite party but receive some incomes and the expectation of another see. For you, this would be tantamount to losing fame and reputation. For if a grateful Eugenius distinguished your house with this appointment⁵ and, against the usual practice, sent the bulls [of appointment] at no cost, what then would he say if you scorn his favour and reconcile yourself with his hardest enemy?⁶ The infamy you would incur would be greater than the honour you gained from from this appointment. I shall not go into this matter more deeply since you know it better than I, but we shall discuss it more fully when you are here.

[9] Heinrich sends you a letter appointing you procurator in the matter of the resignation from his Regensburg prebend.⁷ He asks that you, on your way back here, visit the [cathedral] chapter there and request that they elect your other brother⁸ as a canon and free Heinrich from the payment of the the statutory fees, so that money is only paid in the name of Franz. Heinrich believes you will obtain this easily since you are liked and honoured by these people. Concerning the road you should take to meet the king, we cannot write anything certain [for the moment], so it appears more expedient for you to go first to Vienna and then to the king.

¹ Eugenius or the council.

² I.e., the parts situated in Bava-rian territory, while Friedrich held the parts (castles) situated in Habsburg territories.

³ Presumably, Emperor Albrecht II.

⁴ Friedrich III.

⁵ To the See of Freising.

⁶ The rival candidate belonged to the hardcore conciliar opposition against Pope Eugenius.

⁷ Prebend: a stipend allotted from the revenues of a cathedral or a collegiate church to a canon or member of the chapter. Heinrich Schlick had this prebend as a canon at the cathedral of Regens-burg.

⁸ Franz Schlick.

[11] De novitatibus scripsi in aliis litteris omnia. Post illa venerunt ex finibus Hungariae regis Poloniae et domini cardinalis epistolae¹ magnas et felices novitates referentes. Sed aliud rex, aliud cardinalis scribit, plus ille, hic castius. Copiam ambarum tibi cum his facio. De Italia nihil est plus novi, nisi quod refert Osiliensis conventum habendum esse inter² omnes principes et communitates Italiae, papa et Aragonum rege interfuturis, sed nondum est de loco conventum. Id, si fiat, non parvi momenti erit. Nos³ illis de rebus nihil olfacimus.

Vale feliciter et revertere absque mora, viarum discrimina, ut nosti, astute cavendo. Suadet autem Neitperg, ut omnino venias cito⁴, si tuum honorem et exaltationem optas⁵. Henricus hodie Viennam Viennam versus pergens a nobis⁶ est abiturus. Ex sancto Vito, die 5.⁷ Januari 1444⁸.

¹ capitule V4

² in te V4

³ non M3

⁴ presto M1, M3; *corr. ex presto* V2

⁵ dominus *add.* M1, M2

⁶ uobis HE

⁷ 6. M1

⁸ die ... 1444 *omit.* M3

[10] The news [received here], I have written to you in another letter. Later, letters from the Polish king¹ and the Lord Cardinal² in Hungary have arrived, with great and happy news. The king's and the cardinal's letters differ between them, the king's being longer, and the cardinal's more restrained. I include a copy of them both. There is no news from Italy except the bishop of Ösel's³ report about a planned meeting between all the princes and city-states of Italy, in which the pope and the king of Aragon⁴ will participate – but they have not yet agreed on the venue. If it happens, it will be vastly important, but not even a whiff of this matter has reached us yet.⁵

Farewell and be happy. Return speedily and – as you know - beware of dangers on the road. Neitperg urges you to return as quickly as possible if you care for your honour and high position.⁶ Heinrich is leaving us today for Vienna. From Sankt Veit, 5 January 1444.

¹ Wladyslaw III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 to his death.

² Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426.

³ Bishop Johann II Kreuwel.

⁴ Alfonso V (Aragon) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416, Count of Barcelona. King of Naples from 1442 to his death. See DVI, ch. 27.

⁵ Nothing came of such a meeting.

⁶ As a friend of the chancellor, Neitperg warns him that the emperor might be losing patience with his absence, or that the chancellor's opponents at court profit from his absence to counteract his policies and undermine his position.

115. Letter to Heinrich Schlick (12 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 82r-82v **; M2, f. 91v¹; M3, f. 240r².

Editions: KO, 107³; HE, 115, pp. 248-249; WO, 1: 1, 115, pp. 275-276; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: RE, 40, pp. 184-185.

{82r} Domino Henrico Slick, electo Frisingensi. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi praecipue.⁴

[1] Heri, dum casus, nescio quis, in curiam me duxisset, Johannes Neitperg litteras quasdam ducis Bavariae Alberti sibi et Walthero Zebinger destinatas produxit Wolfgangoque nostro legendas dedit. In his scriptum erat Johannem cardinalem Sancti Martini in episcopum Frisingensem electum ac rite confirmatum fuisse nec alios sibi obstare ad possessionem adipiscendam nisi regem et Gasparem Slikh, quod sibi tum injustum, tum inhumanum videretur, cum ille jus haberet, Gaspar nihil tituli posset ostendere. Rogabantur ergo illi duo magnisque precibus orabantur, ut cardinali essent auxilio regemque hac infamia liberarent, quem totus orbis injuriari et vim facere Johanni cardinali cognosceret. Cardinalem vero jam esse propositi regem visere, sed cum hi duo quasi regii currus aurigae forent, rotas⁵ volvere deberent et obviare, ne cardinalem oporteret venire injurias questum. Haec ergo partim intellexi, dum legerentur - nam arrigo aures cum Frisingensem ecclesiam audio nominari - partim vero exposuit mihi Wolfgangus. Nihil⁶ ad haec responderunt, sed id bonam in partem sum interpretatus, quando lectura commissa est nostro. Si quid enim malae mentis illi habuissent, non permisissent nos haec⁷ scire, nam qui nocere vult, eos fugitat, qui possunt obsistere. obsistere.

Hae vero litterae, cur scriptae sint et cujus suasu, tanto magis existimare potestis quam ego, quanto iudicium tuum⁸ est ad conjecturam quam meum sagacius. Mihi non est verisimile hoc fuisse scriptum, nisi ex hac curia commonitio praecessisset⁹. Oportuit namque prius scitum esse, qui forent forent et apud regem auditi et tuae partis defensores.

¹ SC, 192

² SC, 486

³ DV, f. 163r

⁴ Domino Henrico ... praecipue : Aeneas Silvius poeta reverendo patri domino Henrico Slik, electo Frisingensi, salutem plurimam dicit M2; Eneas Silvius reverendo patri Henrico Slick electo Frisingensi salutem plurimam dicit M3

⁵ totas M3

⁶ illi *add.* M2, M3

⁷ hoc M3

⁸ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *ad-dress*.

⁹ processisset M2

115. Letter to Heinrich Schlick (12 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

- Context:* There was a risk that the Freising affair would bring the emperor into conflict with the rival candidate, Johann Grünwalder's relatives, the dukes of Bavaria. This weakened the chancellor's position - further weakened by the continued absence of the papal letters confirming his brother's appointment (provision) to the See of Freising.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs the chancellor's brother of bad news: Bavarian intervention in the Freising affair. But he also has very good news: the papal letters confirming his appointment to Freising have finally arrived.

To Heinrich Schlick, Bishop-elect of Freising. Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Distinguished Lord.

[1] Yesterday, I happened to be at court when Johann Neitperg brought a letter from Duke Albrecht of Bavaria,¹ sent to himself and Walther Zebinger, and gave it to our Wolfgang² to read.³ The letter said that Johann, Cardinal of San Martino⁴, had been elected bishop of Freising and duly confirmed. Only the king⁵ and Kaspar Schlick were now in the way of his gaining possession.⁶ This seemed unjust and discourteous to him since Johann had the rights whereas Kaspar could show no title at all. Therefore, he urgently requested that Neitperg and Zebinger support the cardinal and free the king of this infamy since the whole world knew he was harming and harassing Johann. The cardinal had now decided to visit the king, but since Neitperg and Zebinger were the drivers of the royal chariot, they should put the wheels into motion and prevent that the cardinal would have to come and complain of his injuries. Partly, I heard this myself⁷ – for I always prick up my ears when I hear mention of the Church of Freising – and partly, it was explained to me by Wolfgang. The two men⁸ made no comments, but I took it as a positive sign that they had made one of ours⁹ read the letter, for if they had nefarious intentions, they would not have let us know about the letter. Those who want to do harm avoid those who may oppose them. Why this letter was written, and by whose persuasion, you can estimate more easily than I since your judgment is better than mine for such guesswork. But I think it likely that the letter was written after a suggestion had been sent by someone at this court, for it would have been necessary to first know whom the king heard and who were the supporters of your cause.

¹ Albrecht III (Wittelsbach) (1401-1460): Duke of Bavaria-Munich from 1438 to his death (see DVI, ch. 41). Paternal uncle of Johann Grünwalder.

² Wolfgang Forchtenauer [Vorcht-enauer]

³ Does this mean that the two influential court officials could not read – or read well?

⁴ Johann Grünwalder (c. 1392-1452): Illegitimate son of Duke Johann II of Bavaria-Munich. Ap-pointed cardinal by antipope Felix V. Elected Bishop of Freising by the chapter on 13 September 1443 and took possession of the see on 10 October. Heinrich Schlick, ap-pointed bishop of Freising by Pope Eugenius, never got possession of the see and formally retired in 1448. Grünwalder was appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V on 2 October 1440. San Martino is a minor basilica in Rome's Rione Monti area.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ I.e., of the see's properties and castles in Habsburg territories.

⁷ Apparently, Piccolomini by now had sufficient German to understand the tenor of a text being read.

⁸ Neitperg and Zebinger who were apparently both present.

⁹ The staff of the chancery who were subordinates to Chancellor Schlick.

[2] Ac mira res, ut eadem dies res contrarias tulerit et nunc maestitiam, nunc laetitiam dederit. Verum est, quod dici solet, *multa dies variusque¹ labor mutabilis aevi rettulit in melius*. Nemo diem diem laudet aut damnet nisi adveniente sero. Haec mane contigerunt, sero autem ad me venit tabellarius apostolicus, qui te quaeritans afferre litteras tuae provisionis se dixit. Suscepimus eum omnes gaudio pleni et in cena nobiscum habuimus. Is quia non reperit te, statuerat se Viennam venturum laturumque litteras, sed amovi sibi hanc mentem retinuique apud me² litteras provisionis, quae sunt numero novem. Duas clausas ad te remitto et missivas omnes, quae tum tibi, tum cancellario diriguntur. Non visum est mihi tutum principales litteras majori dimitti periculo. Scis, quia insidiae sunt, et jam notum erat pluribus in hac curia hunc advenisse nuntium. Satis est tibi has litteras in cancellaria fore, nam et huc rediturae essent, cum petenda possessio sit. Litterae plenae sunt provideturque tibi per reservationem, et datae sunt omnes ex Senis ex die tibi noto. Ego hoc mane id regi dicam, non petens possessionem, quia nihil proficerem, et stultum est petere, quod impetrari non potest. Scio hoc reservari in adventum domini cancellarii³, sed volo regem scire nihil falsi per cancellarium sibi scriptum fuisse de litteris.

[3] Nunc mihi consultum videtur, ut cancellario mox scribas et hanc meam epistolam sibi destines, ne quid ignoret, ne vel alium in curiam mittat nuntium, et ut quam festinanter veniat, quia puto possessionem haberi posse. Ego litteras diligenter⁴ asservabo. Non esset forsitan absque usu certum nuntium illi rursus mittere. Tu tamen fac⁵, ut lubet⁶, et me, si quid amplius acturum vis, scribe, quia quia prona est obedientiae mea mens.

Vale optime. Ex sancto Vito, 12. Ianuarii 1444.⁷

¹ rariusque M2

² litteras sed ... me *omit.* M2

³ *omit.* M1

⁴ *corr. ex* diligenter M1; libenter HE, WO

⁵ facito M3

⁶ libet M3

⁷ Ex Sancto ... 1444 *omit.* M1; etc. M2; *add.* videlicet pridie idus Septembris M3

[2] But amazingly, the same day brought opposite things and gave both frustration¹ and joy. It is true what they say that *many an ill has been repaired by time and the shifting toil of changing circumstances*.² Nobody should praise or curse a day before evening comes. What I have just written happened in the morning, but in the evening, the apostolic messenger³ came to me asking for you and saying that he was bringing your letter of appointment.⁴ We all received him with joy and had him with us for supper. Since he did not find you here, he intended to go to Vienna and bring you the letters there, but I made him change his mind and kept the letters of provision – there are nine – with me. Two are closed letters, and those I send to you with all the other letters addressed to you and the chancellor. It did not seem safe to me to expose the principal letters to a serious risk. You know about the intrigues here, and already many at court know about the messenger's arrival.⁵ It is enough for you that the letters remain here in the chancery where they would have to come anyway when possession is sought. The letters are complete and grant you provision by reservation⁶, and they are all issued in Siena on the date you know. Tomorrow, I shall tell the king about them, but I shall not request possession, for that would achieve nothing, and it is foolish to ask for something you cannot get. I know that the king's [decision] is postponed until the Lord Chancellor's arrival, but I want the king to know that the chancellor has written nothing untrue to him concerning the letters.⁷

[3] I think it would be good if you wrote immediately to the chancellor and sent this letter to him lest he be unaware of what is happening and send another messenger to the court. He should come as quickly as possible, for I believe he may now be able to gain possession. [In the meantime,] I shall guard these letters diligently. Maybe it would good if you informed him by a reliable messenger. But do as you think best, and write if there is anything more you wish me to do. Yours obedient.

Farewell, best of men. From Sankt Veit, 12 January 1444.

¹ The duke's letter.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 11: 425-426: *multa dies variique ...*

³ Guido.

⁴ "provisio"

⁵ Piccolomini intimates that the chancellor's enemies at court might get hold of the letters if they were sent by messenger to Vienna.

⁶ A technicality of papal ap-pointments to ecclesiastical bene-fices.

⁷ I.e., that the letters had been issued and were on their way from Rome.

116. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (12 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 81v **; M2, f. 41r.¹

Editions: KO, 43²; HE, 116, p. 250; WO, 1: 1, 116, pp. 276-277; (both based on M1).

{81v} Dominus Aeneas ad dominum cancellarium³.

[1] Advenerunt denique litterae apostolicae per Guidonem allatae, sicut ex curia scriptum erat. Has apud me habeo, 9 in⁴ numero. Sunt in forma plena sufficientique. Nunc opus est, ut quantocius revertamini, quia - ut spero - possessionem assequemini concupitam.

[2] Nuntius, qui attulit litteras, refert Thaddaeum, marchionem Estensem, per Nicolaum Picceninum cum mille equitibus interceptum missumque regi Aragonum, qui rex Venetis scripserit pacem aut belli poscens indutias, nam 42 galeas armavit intendens Saracenorum, qui contra Rhodum venerant, insultibus obviare. Nihil adhuc de responso scitum est. Athesini legatos habent⁵ Venetiis auxilium postulantes, quod ne fiat timor est, libenter namque Veneti aliquid illis in montibus piscarentur, ne venari Caesar in mari eorum posset. Habebitis et vos litteras de Venetiis, per quas agnoscetis somnium esse de pecuniis, nisi alia incedatis via.

[3] Comes Goriciae hinc abscessit abnegatis sibi feudis. Dicunt enim Austriae duces id privilegii habere, ne quis in territoriis suis princeps degat vexillo investiendus. Uxor ejus adhuc est hic. Manent vetera pacta, quae comes Ciliae percussit. Omnia vir tenet, uxor unum castrum habet et ibi libras centum et rursus tricentas annuas ex viri camera susceptura est, sed conjacere illi non tenetur. Hoc virum male habet, uxorem parva provisio gravat. Comes Ciliae et dux Albertus ambo in consilium regis sunt recepti et his diebus⁶ jurarunt. Itaque non omnino hic nihil est actum. Reliqua ex litteris domini Henrici sentietis. Ego maximopere cupio Titum Livium vestri itineris esse comitem, ut meus sit in curia aliquando socius.

Valete et me vestro ex amore commissum habeatis⁷.

¹ SC, 89

² DV, f. 19v

³ Dominus Aeneas ... cancellarium : Aeneas Silvius domino Ga-spari Schlick cancellario imperiali salutem plurimam dicit M2

⁴ omit. M2

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ omit. M2

⁷ etc. add. M2

116. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (12 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: See the previous letter.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the chancellor that the papal letters confirming his brother's appointment to the See of Freising have finally arrived. He adds some news from Italy and from the court.

Enea to the Lord Chancellor.

[1] The apostolic letters have finally arrived, brought by Guido¹ as previously written from the curia. I keep them here with me. They are nine in number and in a complete and sufficient form. You should return as soon as possible, for I hope you may now gain possession [of the see] as desired.

[2] The messenger who brought the letters reports that Taddeo,² Marquess of Este, with 1.000 cavalry, has been caught by Niccolò Piccinino³ and sent to the king of Aragon.⁴ That king has written to Venice requesting either peace or a truce, for he has armed 42 ships of war against the Saracens attacking Rhodes. Nothing is yet known about the [Venetian] answer. The Tyroleans⁵ have ambassadors in Venice asking for help,⁶ and it is feared they will get it. Indeed, the Venetians would happily fish in those mountains to prevent the emperor from hunting in their sea!⁷ I shall also forward to you a letter from Venice from which you will see that you may only dream of the money [they owe you] unless you pursue another road.⁸

[3] The count of Görz⁹ has left, having been denied feudal arrangements, for the dukes of Austria claim the privilege that no prince may be invested with his the standard in their territories. His wife¹⁰ is still here. The previous agreements¹¹ made by the count of Cilly¹² remain in force. The count gets all, and the wife just one castle and 100 pounds, and moreover 300 pounds a year from the husband's treasury. But she is not obliged to sleep with him. The husband is disgruntled, and the wife is dissatisfied with her meagre allowance.¹³ The count of Cilly and Duke Albrecht¹⁴ have been received into the king's council, and some days ago, they made their oaths. Thus, something has,

¹ Papal messenger.

² Taddeo d'Este (c. 1390-1448): Of the younger branch of the family ruling Ferrara. Condottiere in the service of Venice, at the time at war with King Alfonso V.

³ Niccolò Piccinino (c. 1386-1444): Italian condottiero.

⁴ King Alfonso V.

⁵ The Tyroleans, rebelling against the emperor, sought the help of Venice.

⁶ Against the emperor.

⁷ I.e., The Venetians would support the rebellion in Tyrol to prevent the emperor from causing trouble for them in their maritime territories.

⁸ Before his death in 1437, Emperor Sigismund, in a reversal of alliances, entered a pact with Venice directed against the Duke of Milan. In this connection, the emperor formally invested Venice with mainland territories including Padova, Brescia, and Bergamo. A hefty chancery fee for this grant was owed to Kaspar Schlick as Sigismund's chancellor. In 1443, the whole sum had not yet been paid to the chancellor, who variously tried to make the Venetians pay up, which they refused, see DVI, 64, and CRDM, 1: 3.

⁹ Count Heinrich IV von Görz, see letter 111, sect. 4.

¹⁰ Countess Katharina Garai. *Ibid.*

¹¹ The peace settlement with the counts of Cilly was signed on 16 August 1443 (Chmel: *Geschichte*, II, p. 225).

¹² 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, settled in March 1443. The Cilly were long-standing opponents of the Habsburgs.

¹³ See Niederstätter, p. 203.

¹⁴ Duke Albrecht VI.

after all, been achieved. The rest you will learn from Lord Heinrich's letter. I fervently hope you will bring Titus Livius¹ with you on your travel so that he may at some time be my companion at court.

Farewell, and kindly accept me as your servant.

¹ The chancellor apparently pos-sessed a copy of Titus Livius' history of Rome.

117. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (15 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 86r-87v; M2, ff. 41v-42v¹; M3, ff. 242r-243r²; V2, ff. 197-200³; V3, ff. 94v-97v⁴ **: V4, ff. 84v-87r.

Editions: KO, 44⁵; HE, 117, p. 250-253; WO, 1: 1, 117, pp. 278-283; (both based on M1 and V2).

{94v} Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam dicit summo philosopho⁷ Johanni Campisio.

[1] Aliorum litteras, quae ad me scribuntur, semel dumtaxat lego idque cursim. Tuas cum recipio, numquam satis legisse videor. Redeo iterum atque iterum, nunc istam, nunc illam particulam attingo, aegre illas e⁸ meis manibus abire sino. Facit hoc ornatus scribendi et raritas, tum quod cum illis tamquam cum te ipso loquor⁹, quo nemo mihi suavior est. Nunc, cum Guido tabellarius tuas mihi litteras redderet, quantum voluptatis acceperim, non possum conjunctim expromere¹⁰, sed¹¹ partes epistolae tuae singulas referentem me magis intelliges, et quantum {95r] attuleris gaudii, intueberis melius.

[2] Praetereo res Insubres, nec enim mihi suasum est, te quidquam absque consilio facere, tametsi jocans magis quam arguens de parcitate fecerim verbum. Quod de *Politicis* scribis, admodum placet, nec te mirari oportet, si tibi librum empturo prospicere volui. Non enim diffidere est amicitiae, sed consulere, quando viam ostendimus servandi argentum¹². Quod vero “ad nummos me paulo plus¹³ affectum” dicis, quam oporteat, facis amice, qui me admones, ne quid avaritiae in me sit, te quoque in hoc philosophum praebes, cujus est animum vitiis purgare. Sed scis omnes nos, cum senescimus, ut Terentii sententia est, *ad rem fieri attentiores*, quamvis abs¹⁴ re sit, *quo minus restat* itineris, eo plus - sicut Cicero queritur - *viatici parare*. Credo id accidere, quia, multas perpessi calamitates in juventute, illarum meminimus timemusque, ne revertamur in eas.

¹ SC, 90-92

² SC, 491-492

³ DV, ff. 104r-105v

⁴ DV, ff. 97v-100v

⁵ DV, f. 19v

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3

⁷ domino *add.* M1, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ ex WO

⁹ loquar M3

¹⁰ exprimere M3, V4

¹¹ si M2

¹² argumentum V4

¹³ post M2, V4

¹⁴ ab M3

117. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (15 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: The papal messenger had brought Giovanni Campisio's letter to Piccolomini of 13 November 1443 (letter 94).

Subject: Piccolomini answers the various items in Campisio's letter, including observations on the psychology of being wealthy. He also sends news of the Polish-Hungarian crusade against the Turks and the crusader army's victory at the city of Nish.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio,¹ eminent philosopher.

[1] The letters sent to me by other people I only read once, and only cursorily. When I receive yours, I seem never to get enough of them. I return to them and the individual passages again and again and barely suffer the letters to leave my hands. This is because of their elegant style and rarity, but also because when I read them, it is as if I am speaking directly with you, the person dearest to me of all. Now that I have received your letter from Guido, I cannot express how great a pleasure it gave me as a whole, but as I shall comment on each part of the letter, you will better understand how much joy you have given me.

[2] I pass over the Lombard matter, for I know perfectly that you do everything prudently, and my remark on how little you achieved there was a joke, not a criticism.² I entirely agree with what you write about the *Politica*,³ and you should not wonder that I wanted you to buy the book with open eyes.⁴ Indeed, when we show the way to save money, we are not distrusting but assisting a friend. When you remark that I "am a little more attached to money" than I ought to be, you are doing that as a friend, warning me against greed, and in this, you are showing yourself as a philosopher determined to cleanse vice.⁵ But you know that when we grow old, *we all become far too worried about money*,⁶ though it is strange – as Cicero complains – *to increase your luggage as you near your journey's end*.⁷ I believe this happens because we have all suffered misfortunes in our youth and are fearing they will return.

¹ Giovanni Campisio [Campesi] (d. 1474): Humanist, friend and correspondent of Piccolomini.

² Piccolomini had written to Campisio: *I am sure that all you did in Lombardy was done with circumspection, though you could not achieve much* (letter 84: 1). Campisio had replied: *You wrote that I had not achieved much concerning your affairs while in Lombardy, which seems to me to be a grave criticism. I did write my reason for not going to Milan, which was that I knew Guiniforte and Giglino were not there but at the Roman curia, 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 kindness 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* I (letter 94: 2)

³ Leonardo Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Politika*.

⁴ I.e., to resist the seller's attempt to job up the price.

⁵ Piccolomini had written to Campisio: *I am happy that you found a copy of the books of the Politics in Aretino's translation, and I have decided to spend the money even if it cannot be had at a lower price than the one you mentioned* (letter 84: 2). Campisio had replied: *If I had the book in my possession, I would already have sent it to you as a gift lest you believe me to have been or to 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 quality, which is the sign of a soul more concerned with money than is fitting. However, so that you may know how liberally I shall act for the sake of our friendship, I shall use all my force and wits to obtain the best book for you but in such a way that you shall not find me an imprudent buyer* (letter 94: 3).

⁶ Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 834: *solum unum hoc vitium affert senectus hominibus, attentiores sumus ad rem omnes quam sat est*.

⁷ Cicero: *De senectute*, 18: 67: *Potest quidquam esse absurdius, quam quo viae minus restat eo plus viatici querere?*

[3] Animus juvenis sanguine fervens ebullit, furit, insanit, nil pensi habet, non pecuniam pendit, quoniam se facile lucraturum sperat. Nunc bella metitur, nunc mercaturam cogitat, nunc regales curias meditatur. Credit amari, credit sibi ab omnibus subveniri, si opus fuerit. Vetulus spiritus scit, quam rarae sunt amicitie, quam fallaces amores, quam lucra difficilia¹. Scit temporalia bona, sine quibus negat Aristoteles plenam felicitatem², in manu esse fortunae, quae si amiserit, illa in vita recuperare non potest. Ego, {95v} mi Johannes, satis multa probavi, pecunias quasi fimum contempsi. Nunc cum illas vellem, nusquam apparent. Video verum esse, quod Juvenalis inquit: *haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat res angusta domi. Si mihi puer ut Virgilio et tolerabile fuisset hospitium, potuissem et ego cantare³ sub antro Pierio, quod non⁴ potest sana paupertas facere. Mihi curandum est, ut vivam utque auro non caream, quo nocte dieque corpus eget. Da igitur veniam, si emptor quam minimum dare cupio, nam et qui vendit, quam maximi optat vendere. Age tamen: ut vis, fiat. Nullibi tibi ero adversus⁵, tametsi disputare interdum placeat. Tuum est curare, ut Aristoteles veniat, quovis pretio emptus, nec doleat hic philosophus vendi. Nam et Platonem venumdatum legimus, quamquam venditio haec, quam peto, etiam Ciceroni et Virgilio sit accepta. Nam qui scribunt, nil aliud volunt, nisi ut post obitum quam saepissime vendantur. Tu tamen aliis litteris invenisse te ajebas venalem philosophum, nunc te inventurum dicis, sed ille forsitan Senis mansit, ideo alium quaeris.*

[4] Quod⁶ mihi scribis bona te verba ex summo pontifice audisse, quibus spem concipis⁷ fortunae melioris, magna laetitia intellexi. Scio enim honore atque bono quovis te dignum. Tu tamen scis divitias plerumque indignos comitari easque - ut philosophi volunt - qui minus sunt digni possident. Ideo tibi minus spero, sed {96r} potest summus pontifex fatum vincere et praesertim, si, ut scribis, adjutor tibi sit reverendissimus dominus tuus meusque. Dico meum⁸, quia vetus⁹ mihi apud illum notitia est, et putavi me aliquando ab eo diligi. Idemque nunc puto, nisi vel suus mutatus sit animus vel, quae interciderunt negotia, me sibi alienarint. Credo te meum sermonem capere. Ego tamen¹⁰ illi afficior virtutemque suam¹¹ miror et colo, nec ex eo aliud peto, nisi uti¹² bonum tuum quaerat, qui uno verbo statum tuum potest mutare. Ipse philosophus est. Nisi philosophum amat, desinit esse, quod est, nec ego tanti eum¹³ faciam. Oportet nonnumquam fortunam vincere eique¹⁴ resistere pro viris claris.

¹ fallaces amores ... difficilia : dif-ficilia lucra quam fallaces amores M2

² facultatem M3

³ caute V3

⁴ minime M1

⁵ animus (?) add. M2

⁶ quid M3

⁷ capis M1

⁸ meus M3

⁹ notus M3

¹⁰ quicquid sit add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~quicquid sit~~ seq. V2b

¹¹ omit. V3, V4

¹² ut HE, WO

¹³ tanti eum : eum tanti M1

¹⁴ eisque M3

[3] The hot-blooded mind of a youth is boiling, enraged and maddened. He is thoughtless and careless with money, believing that he will earn it easily. Now he considers the military profession, now the commercial, and now the royal courts.¹ He believes that he is loved and will be helped by all if needed. The aging spirit, however, knows how rare friendships are, how illusory loves, how difficult gains. It knows that those worldly goods without which, according to Aristotle,² a man cannot be entirely happy, are in the hands of fortune, and once lost, they cannot be regained in this life. I, my dear Giovanni, have experienced much and despised money as dung. Now, when I want it, it is never there. I see the truth of Juvenal's³ words, *It is not easy to climb the ladder when cramped personal resources block your talents.*⁴ If, like Vergil, I had a slave boy and decent lodgings,⁵ then I, too, could sing inside the Pierian cavern, but sober poverty cannot. I shall have to ensure a living and not lack the money, *which the body needs, night and day.*⁶ So, forgive me that that when I am a buyer, I want to pay as little as possible, for the seller wants to get as much as possible. However, do as you wish; I shall not blame you – even if I sometimes challenge you. So, please ensure that Aristotle⁷ comes to me whatever the cost, and do not regret that this philosopher⁸ philosopher⁸ is for sale. For we read that Plato,⁹ too, was sold!¹⁰ But the sale I seek would have pleased Cicero¹¹ and Virgil¹² for those who write books want nothing more than that, after they are dead, their books sell as often as possible. In another letter,¹³ you said you had already found the philosopher,¹⁴ and now you say you are still to find him. But maybe the first one remained in Siena, and now you are searching for another.

[4] You write that you had pleasant words from the Supreme Pontiff¹⁵ and therefore hope for a better fortune. This made me very happy, for I know that you are worthy of every honour and favour.¹⁶ But, as you know, wealth mostly comes to and is possessed by men who – as philosophers claim - are unworthy of it. Therefore, I must have less hope for you!¹⁷ But the Supreme Pontiff may overcome destiny and especially if, as you write, you have help from yours and my common Most Reverend Lord.¹⁸ I say “my” because he and I have an old acquaintance¹⁹ and once I thought that he liked me. I think he still does unless his disposition towards me has changed or later events²⁰ have alienated me from him. I trust you get my meaning. But I am still devoted to him, and both admire

¹ As career opportunities.

² Aristoteles (384-322 BCE): Greek philosopher. Founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy.

³ Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (fl. late first and early second CE): Roman satirist. One of Piccolo-mini's favourite classical authors.

⁴ Juvenalis, 3: 164.

⁵ Juvenalis, 7: 69-70: *nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile deesset hospitium ...*

⁶ Juvenalis, 7: 59-62: *neque enim cantare sub antro Pierio ... potest contingere maesta paupertas at-que aeris inops, quo nocte dieque corpus eget.*

⁷ I.e., the book of Aristotle.

⁸ I.e., the book of Aristotle.

⁹ Platon (c. 428 - c. 348 BCE): Greek philosopher.

¹⁰ Late in life, Plato became en-tangled with the politics of the city of Syracuse. He almost faced death but was sold into slavery.

¹¹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman, orator, and writer.

¹² Vergilius Maro, Publius (70-19 BCE): Roman poet.

¹³ See letters 84: 2, and letter 94.

¹⁴ I.e., the book of Aristotle.

¹⁵ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁶ “bonum”.

¹⁷ “... since you are certainly not unworthy of it”.

¹⁸ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Ta-ranto, 1421 . Cardinal, 1439.

¹⁹ From the early days of the council of Basel.

²⁰ The events leading to the schism between Pope Eugenius IV and the council in Basel, with Picco-lomini on the side of the council, and the cardinal on the side of the pope.

and respect his strength of virtue, and the only thing I wish from him is that he seeks what is good for you; indeed, he can change your position with just one word.¹ He is a philosopher,² and if he does not love another philosopher,³ he ceases to be one himself and shall no longer have my esteem. esteem.

[5] De Noxetano satisfacisti desiderio meo. Non solum enim, quid officiorum gereret, mihi exposuisti, sed ipsum quoque ad me⁴ scribere compulisti⁵. Ago tibi propterea ingentes gratias. Video tamen non concordare, quae scribis, his, quae ab ipso accepi. Is se inopem scribit, tu eum divitem dicis. Sed credo te ad veritatem loqui, ipsum ad opinionem. Nemo enim dives est, cujus cupiditati non est satis. Tu, quod sufficere homini reris, id divitias ais. Is, quia non habet *auri montes*, pauperem se putat. Ego plus tuis litteris de eo quam suis sum gavisus. Nam si te non audivissem prius, moleste tulissem ejus scripta. Diligo namque ipsum et omnis acerbitatis suae sum particeps. Sed tu me levas magnis angustiis, quando bene illi esse⁶ dicis. Non dicam {96v} plura in hoc, quia sibi scribo et puto eum apud te risurum, quando expuentes miseriam deambulatum itis meique memores estis, sive Coliseum petatis sive pontem Aemilium vel cum termas visitatis Diocletianas aut illa sanctorum templa.

[6] Jacobum Calvum resaluto et bene illi esse cupio, nam mei aliquando amicus fuit et nunc est, nisi amicitia potest frangi. Multa mihi de Conte nostro Senensi, venerabili cubiculario apostolico, scripsisti, quae omnia jam dudum mihi Viennae retuleras, et ego vera esse sciebam, qui virum illum, nobilem⁷ conterraneum meum, a teneris annis⁸ novi. Puto tamen te illa, praesente ipso, scripsisse, qui tam efficax fuisti. Sed quid dixi “puto”, certa res est! Nam tu ipse *in duobus corporibus unam esse animam* dixisti⁹. Quod¹⁰ igitur scribis, nedum illo praesente scribis, sed ipse scribit. Non dicam ergo,¹¹ sibi ut aliud¹² significes, nam quod de te dico, de ipso dico, si tu me habes, et¹³ ipse habet Aristophanes¹⁴ tuus. Vegium mihi salutes dicere voluptati est, nam et illius memor sum, sed optassem, quae fortuna sit ejus, sicut de Petro scire. Timeo namque sibi, nam omnes poetae jacent surguntque juristae¹⁵, quorum inscitia¹⁶ ¹⁷ summa putatur scientia. Poeta vero *esurit*¹⁸, *intactam*¹⁹ *Paridi ni*²⁰ *vendat*²¹ *Agaven*.¹ Arbitror tamen, quia pius est vir², Deum illum respicere et aliquid jam tribuisse, *quo sit sibi tuta senectus a tegete et baculo*.

¹ I.e., by recommending him for a bishopric or a “fat” benefice.

² The cardinal studied philosophy and logic at the University of Bologna from 1411 to 1413.

³ Giovanni Campisio.

⁴ ad me *omit.* M3

⁵ at *add.* M3

⁶ illi esse : esse illi M3

⁷ *corr. ex notabilem* V2; *notabi-lem* M1-M3

⁸ *juventute add. interlin.* M1

⁹ dixisti M3

¹⁰ quid M2

¹¹ ego WO

¹² *omit.* M2

¹³ *omit.* M2

¹⁴ Aristoteles *em.* HE

¹⁵ *theologi* M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex theologi* V2b

¹⁶ *iustitia* V3

¹⁷ *quorum inscitia omit.* V4

¹⁸ *em.*; *exurit codd.*

¹⁹ *intactum* M3

²⁰ *ne* M3

²¹ *ni vendat : invendat* V3

¹ Agavem V4
² *omit.* V4

[5] Concerning da Noceto, you have fulfilled my wish, not only by telling me about his occupations but also by forcing him to write to me. I thank you greatly for that. However, I see that what you write is different from what I heard from him: he writes that he is poor whereas you claim he is rich. I believe that you speak what is true, whereas he says what he thinks. For no rich man's desire is ever satisfied. You say that wealth is that which is sufficient for a man, but he believes he is poor because he does not possess *mountains of gold*.¹ I enjoyed your letter more than his, for if I had not heard from you first, his letter would have saddened me. Indeed, I am fond of him and share his adversity. But saying that all is well with him, you have relieved me of great anxiety. I shall say no more about this, for I shall write to him directly and believe that he and you will laugh together when, throwing misery aside, you go for a walk and talk about me, visit the Colosseum or the Ponte Emiliano or the Baths of Diocletian or the temples of the saints.²

[6] Greet Jacopo Calvi³ from me. I wish the best for him, for he was once a friend of mine and still is, unless friendship can be broken. You wrote much about our Conte⁴ from Siena, the venerable apostolic chamberlain, which you had already told me in Vienna,⁵ and which I knew to be true since I know this man, my noble compatriot, from my tender years. I think you wrote this while he was present, being most expressive.⁶ Well, I do not just think it; I am certain of it! For you said that *there is one soul in two bodies*.⁷ When you write this with him being present, it is really he that writes it. I would not say that you shall tell him differently, for what I say about you, I say about him if you get my meaning and your Aristophanes!⁸ And please also greet Vegio⁹ from me: I remember him [fondly] and should wish to know about his circumstances – as with Pietro. For nowadays, all poets are neglected, whereas jurists¹⁰ are on the rise. Indeed, their ignorance is considered the supreme knowledge. But the poet *will starve if he does not sell his virgin Agave to Paris*.¹¹ But I believe him to be a pious man, and therefore God looks after him and has already granted him *what will keep his old days from the beggar's staff and mat*.^{12 13}

¹ Terentius: *Phormio*, 68.

² Piccolomini would clearly have loved to be there with them.

³ Unidentified.

⁴ Conte Cacciaconti (d. 1450?): Sienese noble and canon. Later abbot of San Galgano. In his letter of 13 November 1443 (letter 94), Campisio had written about him: *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 Aristophanes 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* (letter 94: 5).

⁵ Campisio, with his then employ-er, Cardinal Cesarini visited the imperial court in Summer 1443, see letter 54.

⁶ "efficax". Apparently, Piccolo-mini considers that this expression of friendship (one soul ...) is so strong that it must have been a compliment to their friend who was present at the time of writing.

⁷ Aristoteles: *Ethika Eudemia*, 7: 6.

⁸ The mss. have Aristophanes, which must be a lapsus for Aristototele on the part of Campisio (see letter 94: 5) or the person who wrote ms. M1 from which it passed into the later versions.

⁹ Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458): Italian poet and official at the papal court.

¹⁰ The early version of the letter (M1-M3, V2a) has "theologians".

¹¹ Juvenalis, 7: 87.

¹² Juvenalis, 9: 139.

¹³ Here, Piccolomini probably refers to Vegio's employment at the papal curia.

[7] Nihil modo {97r} plus esset scribendum, nisi, quod te scire volo¹, cardinalem Sancti Angeli cum cum rege Poloniae atque despoto jam intrasse Bulgariam, quo in loco bassa Turcorum² cum 20 milibus equitum obviam venit praemissisque levis³ armaturae militibus Christianorum exercitum infestabat. Tum Johannes, Transsilvanorum dux, qui Hungarica lingua⁴ dicitur “vaivoda”, receptis 10⁵ milibus equitum expeditorum, Moravam flumen trajecit relictisque impedimentis bassam petebat, proelium initurus. Timuit bassa retrocessitque. Johannes vero urbem Nisam profectus est eamque⁶ militibus cinxit nec magno negotio expugnavit. Exinde relatum est bassam cum exercitu reversum bellum petivisse⁷, quo accepto obviam Johannes perrexit atque, ut in propinquo fuit, structis aciebus, certamen iniit. Mira res: ex Turcis⁸ duo milia caesa dicuntur⁹, capta quattuor milia. milia. Ex Christianis solum decem cecidere, quibus pro Christi nomine certantibus bene putandum est obvenisse. Signa militaria novem intercepta sunt, multa praeda asportata et spolia ditissima. Reliqui, quos fuga morti eripuerat, incolarum insultu perisse dicuntur. Haec acta sunt ad diem 3. Novembris sicut regi nostro per ipsum cardinalem et regiis litteris scriptum est. Ajunt hoc magnum esse initium et spem hinc¹⁰ sumi¹¹, qua Turci¹² ex Europa pellantur, quod faxit Deus tum propter Christianae religionis augmentum, tum propter {97v} nomen et gloriam cardinalis ipsius, quem dignum honore quovis deputo, cum fidem catholicam defensurum tantis se discriminibus objectet.

Vale et amicorum quidquid habeo salvum dicito. Ex Sancto Vito in Carinthia, die 15.¹³ Januarii anno 1444¹⁴ ¹⁵.

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

² Teucrorum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucrorum V2b

³ lenis V4

⁴ ex Sclavis accepta *add.* M1

⁵ 20 HE

⁶ tamquam V4

⁷ poscere M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* poscere V2b

⁸ Teucris M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucris V2b

⁹ feruntur M2

¹⁰ *omit.* V3, V4

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

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

¹³ 13. HE, WO

¹⁴ 44 V2; 1443 V4

¹⁵ Ex Sancto ... 1444 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[7] I have nothing to add except that you should know the Most Reverend Cardinal of Sant'Angelo¹ Sant'Angelo¹ has, together with the King of Poland² and the Despot³, entered Bulgaria. There, they were met by a Turkish⁴ pasha⁵ with 20,000 cavalry. The pasha sent light-armed infantry ahead ahead to attack the Christian army. Then János,⁶ governor of Transylvania, whose title in Hungarian Hungarian is "Voivode" (from Slavonic), assembled an army of 10,000 cavalry and crossed the river Morava. Leaving the baggage train behind, he marched towards the pasha to do battle. However, the pasha was seized with fear and withdrew his forces. Then János went to the city of Nish, surrounded it with soldiers and easily conquered it. Then the pasha reportedly returned with his army and requested a battle, which János accepted. He advanced, and when he reached [the Turkish army], he put his people in battle order and began the fight. Amazingly, 2,000 Turks are said to have been killed and 4,000 taken prisoner, whereas only 10 Christian soldiers fell.⁷ Since they were fighting for Christ, we must believe they have been rewarded in Heaven.⁸ Nine military standards were taken, together with much booty and rich spoils. The rest of the Turkish soldiers saved themselves from death by fleeing but are said to have been killed by the locals. According to letters to our king from the cardinal⁹ and the king, this happened on 3 November.¹⁰ People are saying this is a great beginning and gives hope of expelling the Turks from Europe. May God grant this for the sake both of the propagation of the Christian religion and the reputation and glory of the cardinal. For him I consider to be worthy of every honour since he has exposed himself to such great dangers in the defence of the Catholic Faith.

Farewell and greet the friends I have there. From Sankt Veit in Kärnten, 15 January 1444.

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

² King Wladyslaw III.

³ Durad I Brankovic (1377-1456): Despot of Serbia 1427 to his death. Vassal both of the Ottoman sultans and the Hungarian kings. HE erroneously gives Stephanus as the despot.

⁴ Note the use of Teucris in the early versions of the text. About 1447, Piccolomini switched to the term Turci.

⁵ Kasim [Kasem] Pasha (fl. 1442-1443): Albanian Ottoman general and governor, beylerbey of Rume-lia and one of the commanders of the Ottoman forces during the Crusade of Varna (1443-44).

⁶ János Hunyadi.

⁷ The Battle of Nish in Serbia, 3 November 1443.

⁸ "bene obvenisse".

⁹ For the text of the cardinal's letter, see WO, 2: 1, pp. 281-283.

¹⁰ The Crusader army consisted of 25,000 or more troops and 600 war wagons (impedimenta). Hunyadi marched against Kasim Pasha with 12,000 cavalry, while Wladyslaw and Brankovic were left in camp with the rest of the soldiers and the war wagons. The battle for Nish was not one but five different battles. The first engagement was a battle against a small garrison in Nish, leading to the conquest of the town. This was followed by three battles against three different Ottoman armies advancing on Nish. Finally, there was one against the remnants of the three Ottoman armies. The last battle took place on the plain at Nish on 3 November 1443. The Ottoman forces were led by Kasim Pasha and two other pashas (Jef-erson, 207-209, 325-326).

118. Letter to Goro Lolli (15 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 42v-43r¹; M3, ff. 243r-243v²; V2, ff. 201-202³; V3, ff. 97v-98v⁴ **; V4, ff. 87r-88r.
Editions: KO, 46⁵; HE, 118, pp. 254-255; WO, 1: 1, 118, pp. 283-285; (both based on V2).
Translations: BA, 3, pp. 23-24; ME, 20, pp. 107-108; WI, p. 415.

{97v} Aeneas Silvius,⁶ imperialis⁷ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit Gregorio⁸ jurisconsulto, fratri suo.

[1] Venit ad me hac hora lator praesentium ex me quaesitum, an Veneris montem apud Italiam scirem, nam ibi magicam artem tradi dicebat, cujus avidus est herus suus, qui Saxo est, summus astronomus. Dixi me scire portum Veneris - alii Venerii dicunt⁹ - qui est prope Lunam inter Ligusticos montes, quo in loco tres noctes egi, dum Basileam peterem. Inveni etiam apud Siculos montem fore, qui Herix appellatur, Veneri sacer, sed in his locis nihil accepi magicum tradi. Inter conferendum autem venit in mentem locum esse in Umbria, quae provincia Ducatus dicitur, non longe ab urbe Nursia, ubi *praeruptus mons* ingentem speluncam facit, per quam aquae fluunt. Illic memini audisse me striges esse et daemones ac nocturnas umbras, ubi, qui audaces animo sunt, spiritus nequam audiunt¹⁰ alloquunturque et artes ediscunt magicas. Haec non vidi nec vidisse curavi, nam quod peccato discitur, melius est {98r} ignorasse. Sed Savinus¹¹, juris civilis peritus, qui apud Camilliam inter publica diversoria domum habuit, haec mihi vera esse asseveravit, lacum nominavit et locum descripsit. Sed ista ex memoria fugerunt, quae labilior est anguillis. Ideo te rogo, si Savinus¹² vivit, hunc virum ut¹³ ad se ducas sibi eum commendes. Nam et ipse mihi et tu in hoc rem gratissimam facietis. Is enim, qui nuntium hunc mittit, medicus est ducis¹⁴ Saxoniae, homo tum dives, tum potens.

[2] Post haec opus esset¹⁵ me nonnihil scribere patri ceterisque consanguineis, sed tempus non patitur, et occupationes impediunt. Tu tamen mea eris epistola¹⁶ dicesque omnibus mihi bene esse et sospitem me ducere vitam. Rogabis etiam patrem meum, ut filiolum¹⁷ Florentiae natum, de quo mihi scripsit, tollat alatque, nam multa concurrunt, ex quo Johannis nostri filium verum¹⁸ puto. Sic jam¹⁹ patri scripsi. Nescio, litteras an meas suscepit. Ideo haec tibi scripsisse volui, ut meum animum sentiat ille per te.

¹ SC, 92-93

² SC, 492-493

³ DV, ff. 106r-106v

⁴ DV, ff. 100v-101v

⁵ DV, f. 21v

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

⁷ imperialisque M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* imperialis V2b

⁸ Georgio M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Georgio V2b

⁹ alii Venerii dicunt : *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹⁰ nequam audiunt : vident M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* vident V2b

¹¹ Sozinus M3

¹² Sozinus M3

¹³ hunc virum ut : ut hunc virum M3

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ esse M2

¹⁶ littera M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* littera V2b

¹⁷ mihi *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~mihi~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁸ Johannis nostri filium verum : meum M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* meum V2b

¹⁹ *dub.* V2; *omit.* V3, V4

¹ sicut M2, M3, V2a; sic jam *corr. ex.* sicut V2b

118. Letter to Goro Lolli (15 January 1444, Sankt Veit).¹

Context: An important official at the Saxon court was interested in the magical arts and had sent somebody to inquire about a Venusberg in Italy where such arts were reportedly being practised.

Subject: Piccolomini directs the messenger to Siena, where relevant information may be obtained. He also alludes to the pope's rejection of the imperial proposition for a third council to settle the affairs of the Church. Finally, he asks Lolli to urge his (Piccolomini's) father to take in and raise his illegitimate son.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Gregorio,² jurist and brother.

[1] A short while ago, the bearer of this letter came to me to ask if I knew of a Mons Veneris in Italy, saying that magic was practised there, in which his master, an eminent Saxon astronomer³, is passionately interested. I said that I know of a Portus Veneris⁴ (some say Venerii), near Luna in the Ligurian mountains, where I spent three nights on my travel to Basel.⁵ I have also come across a mountain called Herix⁶ in Sicily, which is dedicated to Venus. But I have heard nothing about magic in any of these places. While we were talking, I happened to think of a place in Umbria (the province called the Duchy⁷), not far from the city of Norcia,⁸ where there is a *towering mountain*⁹ with an enormous cave, through which water flows. I remembered hearing that there are witches, demons and nightly ghosts there, and that audacious persons listen to evil spirits, speak with them, and learn the magical arts. I have not seen this myself nor cared to see it, for it is better to not know what is sinful to learn. But Savino,¹⁰ a specialist in civil law, who has a house among the guest houses¹¹ at Porta Camollia,¹² once assured me that this was true and described both the lake and the place to me. But all this had slipped my memory, which, indeed, is more slippery than eels. Therefore, if Savino is still alive, I ask you to bring this man to him with your recommendation, for thus you and he will do me a great favour. The man who sends him as his messenger is the physician¹³ of the Duke of Saxony¹⁴ and a wealthy and influential man.

[2] After this, I should now write to my father and relatives, but time does not allow it, and my occupations prevent me. So, you must be my letter and tell them I am well and safe and sound. Please ask my father to take in my little son, born in Florence, about whom I have written to him, and raise him, for many things make me believe that he is the true son of our Giovanni.¹⁵ This I

¹ For comments on this letter, see Sanvico.

² Goro Lolli [Gregorio Loli] (1415 -1478): Piccolomini's cousin, son of his father's step-sister, Bartolo-mea de' Tolomei, and her hus-band, Niccolò Lolli. Close re-lative and friend of Piccolomini. See Pellegrini.

³ Astrologer?

⁴ Portovenere.

⁵ See letter 4: 1.

⁶ Eryx, see Strabo, 6: 2, 6.

⁷ Presumably, the (former) Duchy of Spoleto.

⁸ Birth city of Saint Benedict.

⁹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 105.

¹⁰ Not identified.

¹¹ ME: Gasthöfen; BA: public inns.

¹² One of the northern gates to Siena.

¹³ Not identified.

¹⁴ Presumably, Friedrich II (1412-1464): Elector of Saxony from 1428 to his death.

¹⁵ The earlier versions of the text had "my own" instead of "the true son of our Giovanni [Pregallo]" (see critical apparatus). Later, the text was changed since it would not be convenient for Piccolomini, as a high-ranking prelate with

have already written to father. I do not know if he has received my letter, so I have written to you to let him know my feelings through you.

hopes of the cardinalate, to publicly admit he had an illegitimate son. See letter 77, which – strangely – was not suppressed from the later versions of the correspondence.

[3] Novitates, quas mihi scripsisti, intellexi ad summum. Quod dicis papam fuisse Senis, dum scriptum est Caesari in rebus ecclesiae, scio, quid significet. Sed id non satisfacit, quia nihil gerendum est, quod postea sit excusandum. Me puto plane habes. Genitrici tuae et patri scis, quid velim meo nomine dici. Tibi arbitrium do, idque de omnibus maternus amor et sororia dilectio, quid petat¹, uti {98v} ego nosti, finge te esse me, et quid tunc velles, id facito.

Vale optime. Ex sancto Vito in Carinthia, die 15. Januarii 1444.²

¹ petit M2

² Ex Sancto ... 1444 : etc. M2

[3] I understand perfectly the news you have written to me. I know the significance of what you tell me about the pope being in Siena¹ when he wrote to the emperor concerning the affairs of the Church.² But that is not satisfactory, for nothing should be done that must afterwards be excused.³ I believe you understand me.

You know what I want you to say for me to your mother and father.⁴ I give you complete freedom to act on my behalf concerning all that a mother's and sisters'⁵ love requires – as I well know: imagine to be me and do as you think fit.

Farewell, best of men. From Sankt Veit in Kärnten, 15 January 1444.

¹ Pope Eugenius resided in Siena from 11 March to 14 September 1443.

² In a letter of 25 June 1443 (WO, 1, 2: XVII, pp. 30-3) drafted by Piccolomini, the emperor asked for the pope's agreement to a third council to settle the schism in the Church. In a letter of 27 August, the pope answered that his own council in Rome (the continuation of the Council of Ferrara-Florence) was a legitimate ecumenical council and perfectly capable of settling the affairs of the Church. The papal letter is extant in ms. M2, ff. 120r-122r (SC 248-253) and in ms. M3, ff. 194r-198v (SC 394-400). See also DVI, sect. 173-174.

³ Piccolomini intimates that the Germans may make the pope regret his rejection of a third council.

⁴ Bartolomea and Niccolò Lolli, Piccolomini's aunt and uncle.

⁵ Probably Piccolomini's own mother and two sisters.

119. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (16 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 87v-88v; M2, ff. 43r-44r¹; M3, ff. 244v-245v²; V2, ff. 206-209³; V3, ff. 99r-101v⁴ **; V4, ff. 89r-90v.

Editions: KO, 45⁵; HE, 119, pp. 255-257; WO, 1: 1, 119, pp. 285-288; (both based on M1, V2).

Translations: ME, 21, pp. 109-112.

{99r} Aeneas Silvius⁶, viro praestanti fratrique colendo Petro Noxetano salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Magnas {99v} habeo gratias⁷ Campisio nostro, qui te mihi scribere compulit, sed majores tu illi habere debes, qui ejus opera ad te reversus es. Namque cum soleres omnium esse humanissimus, diu extra te fueras nihil mihi scribens, qua re nescio, quae potuerit immanior esse. Sed vivat felix Campisius, qui te humanitati reddens me vita donavit. Eram enim jam exanguis mortique proximus nihil tuarum suscipiens litterarum, sed jam redivivus⁸ sum factus scriptis tuis, tametsi nonnulla scribas⁹ rancida. Nam quidquid tibi molestum est, id mihi quoque acerbum esse debet. Sed credo plus aliis quam tibi de te. Facis enim, ut virum prudentem docet, qui de se parce loquitur et omnia sua imminuit¹⁰, non¹¹ ut miles Traso auget. Tu te pauperem dicis, Campisius te dittem asserit, nec Castellanus negat. In hoc tamen duplex ratio esse potest. Aut enim nimis appetis aut jactantiam vitas, ne te divitem scribens venari gloriam videaris. Ego sive pauper es sive dives tantundem te facio. Non enim umquam fortunas tuas, sed te amavi, et illam, quam in te sitam virtutem, cognovi. Si dives es, Petrus¹² es, et virtus tua est eadem. Nec ista immutata sunt, si pauper es, quia nulla ex virtute spolia casus ducit.

[2] Quod vero patrem tibi esse atque sobolem dicis, credo, ut scribis, et pietatis est his subvenire. Qui hoc non facit, is jam nec pius est nec bonus nec homo, sed immanis belua. Quid {100r} enim immanius dici potest quam illi opem negare, a quo susceperis vitam? O, mi¹³ Petre, nimis est arctum¹⁴ patri, quo sumus obnoxii, vinculum¹⁵, quamvis aliquorum vesania eo procedat, ut non solum negare parentibus victum audeant, sed eos etiam vinciant, caedant atque trucident. Sed haec praetereo.

[3] Illud autem mihi risum excussit, quod de Philorcio scripsisti, sive hanc volumus Antiphilam dicere. Visus sum cum Terentio loqui, dum tuas perlegi litteras. Nunc mihi Pamphilus, nunc Eschinus, nunc Clinia videbaris.

¹ SC, 93-95

² SC, 495-496

³ DV, ff. 108v-110r

⁴ DV, ff. 102r-104v

⁵ DV, f. 19v

⁶ poeta *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ grates WO

⁸ rediuimus V4

⁹ scribis WO

¹⁰ imminuet M3

¹¹ nos V4

¹² potens M3

¹³ O mi : olim V4

¹⁴ patri quo ... vinculum : vinculum quo patri sumus obnoxii M3

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

119. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (16 January 1444, Sankt Veit).¹

Context: This letter is an answer to Pietro da Noceto's letter of 18 November 1443 (letter 96) and presumably another – not extant letter – from him.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Pietro for his letters and his friendship. He comments on Pietro's plans of marriage. Finally, he answers Pietro's appeal to him to join the papal party, affirming his own attachment to the emperor's policy of neutrality.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the distinguished and honourable Pietro da Noceto,² his brother.

[1] I owe great thanks to our Campisio for compelling you to write to me, but you owe him even greater thanks for making you become yourself again. For though you used to be the kindest of men, you have not been yourself for a long time since you did not write to me. Indeed, I know not what could more cruel! But Campisio – may he live long and happily – made you recover your kindness and thus gave me new life. For in the absence of your letters, I was lifeless and close to death, but I have now revived thanks to your letters³, although you do write some disagreeable things. For that which troubles you upsets me, too. But concerning you, I trust others more than yourself, for being a prudent man you only speak sparingly of yourself and belittle your own affairs instead of bragging of them like Thraso the soldier.⁴ You claim to be poor, but Campisio says you are wealthy and Castellano⁵ agrees. There may be two reasons for this: the first is that you want too much, and the second that you do not wish to appear as angling for glory when you write about your wealth. I cherish you whether you are rich or poor, for I never loved your fortunes but yourself, and I knew your excellent qualities. If you are rich, you are still the same Pietro, and your qualities are the same. They do not change if you are poor, for misfortune does not take spoils from virtue.

[2] I believe, though, what you write about your father and your offspring. It is certainly a virtue to assist them. The man who does not do that is neither pious nor good, nay, he is not a man but a cruel beast. For what can be more cruel than refusing to aid the man who gave you life? Oh, my Pietro, nothing is closer than the to bond with our father, to whom we are indebted – even if there are men who push madness so far that they deny parents their livelihood, or even defeat, smite or kill them. But no more of this.

[3] I had to smile at what you wrote about Philorcium⁶ (unless we want to call her Antiphila⁷). When I read your letter, I felt as if I were speaking with Terence,⁸ and you appeared to me now as Pamphilus¹, now as Aeschinus² and now as Clinia.³

¹ For comments on this letter, see VO, 2, pp. 297-298.

² Pietro da Noceto (1397-1467): Master of the papal household under Pope Nicolaus V. Fellow secretary and close friend of young Piccolomini. Later, da Noceto appears to have somewhat distanced himself from Piccolomini, and the friendship cooled to the point that da Noceto was not employed by Piccolomini when he became a pope. On Pietro, see VO, 2, pp. 296-297.

³ Apart from the letter of 18 November, there must have been another letter from Pietro da Noceto, in which he mentions Philorcium and a number of Terentian themes, see sect. 3.

⁴ Thraso: a proud and self-conceited captain from Terence's comedy *Eunuchus*.

⁵ Niccolò Tifernate, humanist and friend of Piccolomini, Campisio, and Pietro da Noceto.

⁶ Philorcium: Classical name of maiden in love.

⁷ Antiphila: a young lady in Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*.

⁸ Terentius Afer, Publius [Terence] (c. 195/185 - c. 159? BCE): Roman playwright. For a comment on this passage, see Heck: *Amator*, p. 124.

[4] Sed accidit tibi credo non sinistre, quando bene moratam⁴ virginem sortitus es, quae tuis convenit moribus, quae non ad suam sed ad tuam sit victura consuetudinem. Nec tu mihi de paupertate dixeris, uxorem namque ducturus non aurum, sed feminam sibi maritat. Uxorem castam, formosam et fecundam volo. Haec si assint, nihil plus exigo. Sunt, mihi crede, mi Petre, multa cum divitiis vitia, aliae temulentae⁵ sunt, aliae superbae, contumaces⁶, adulterae, maliloquae, numquam viris pacem dant, aliae deformes, aegrotae, steriles. Haec tua non habet mala. Quid minimum⁷ quaeris, ubi sunt maxima? Tute illam probas et solam accusas inopiam. Superis sit laus, quod tibi satis est, quodque officiis lucrosis praees. Marchio Salutiarum, ut nobilium et potentum fastidia fugeret, porcariam puellam, quam in nemoribus venationi dans operam reperit, matrimonio sibi {100v} conjunxit, cujus vita omnes illustres feminas inferiores se esse⁸ monstravit. Quid tu dicas aut agas, quando principes non verentur pauperis domus amplecti connubia⁹? Ego tibi, mi Petre, si sic est, ut dicis, si tibi morigera est puella et tuo gustui conveniens, non suadeo, ut nuptias protrahas. Tibi melius quam aliis evenit, qui periculum¹⁰ fecisti, antequam nuberes. Alii saepe decepti sunt, uxores ducunt antequam probent et, esto¹¹, viderint et faciem laudent. Multi sunt occulti defectus, qui post primos hymeneos¹² in lucem venientes perpetuis cruciatibus viros affligunt.

[5] Ego de¹³ Peregallo nostro facio¹⁴ conjecturam, qui plures se vidisse amasseque feminas ait¹⁵, quarum exinde potitus¹⁶ taedium magnum suscepit¹⁷, nec si maritandus sit¹⁸, uxori se jungendum affirmat¹⁹, cujus consuetudinem nesciat²⁰. Loquor tecum aperte, scio quoque animi tui partem, qui mihi saepe dixit eam velle conjugem ducere, quae se tibi debere plurima fateretur. *Ecce jam habes, tota quod mente petisti*. Vide, ut tibi sis conformis.

[6] Ego, si quando dulces revisam lares et amoenam Italiam repetam (quod mihi dubio est), nihil me fecisse putabo, nisi et te conveniam²¹ et uxorem et liberos et pueros et domum et equos tuamque omnem suppelectilem videam panisque tui aliquid²² edam. Nec te terreat²³ meus honorificus

¹ Pamphilus: Young man in Teren-ce's *Hecyra*.

² Aischinus: young man in Teren-ce's *Adelphoe*.

³ Clinia: a young man in love with Antiphila.

⁴ meritam M3

⁵ tremulentae WO

⁶ continuaces WO

⁷ nimium V4

⁸ fore M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex fore* V2b

⁹ connubio WO

¹⁰ experientiam *glossa interlin.* M1

¹¹ esco WO

¹² concubitus *glossa interlin.* M1

¹³ te *add.* V4

¹⁴ faciam M2

¹⁵ Ego de ... ait: de Peregallo no-stro facio conjecturam, qui plures se vidisse amasseque feminas ait me facio conjecturam. Plures vidi amavique feminas M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex me facio conjecturam*. Plures vidi amavique feminas V2b

¹⁶ potius V4

¹⁷ suscepi M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex suscepi* V2b

¹⁸ siem M1; fierem M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex fierem* V2b;

¹⁹ se jungendum affirmat : me jungam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex me jungam* V2b

²⁰ nesciam M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex nesciam* V2b; nescit V4

²¹ reperiam *glossa* M1

²² aliud M2

²³ tereat V4

adventus. Non enim is sum, qui pompam ducere¹ possim. Non arridet {101r} tantum mihi hera fortuna, ut cum fastu et gloria sperem me patriam posse repetere². Satis mihi fuerit, nisi mendicus redeam. Sat erit, si mea pecunia viaticum coemero. Quod magis sperem, nihil est et in hoc habeo superis gratias.

¹ dicere M3

² remeare M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* remeare V2b

[4] But something delightful has happened to you since you have gained a well-mannered girl who fits your way of life and will live with you according to your habits and not hers. Do not speak to me of poverty, for when you marry, you do not espouse the money but the woman. I wish for a chaste, beautiful and fertile wife and demand no more than that. Believe me, my Pietro, women from wealthy families have many faults: some are bibulous, others arrogant, obstinate, adulterous and gossipmongers, who never leave their husbands in peace. Others are ugly, sickly or sterile. Your girl is none of these. So, why search for little if you already have much? You know her, and her only disadvantage is poverty. Praise be to the heavenly beings that you already possess enough and have lucrative offices. Indifferent to the scornful contempt of the nobles and powerful, the marquess of Saluzzo¹ married a girl who was guarding pigs when he met her in the wood while he was on a hunt. Her life was such that she proved to surpass all the illustrious ladies. So, what should you say or do when princes are not afraid of marrying girls from poor families? My Pietro, if, as you say, this girl is compliant and fits your tastes, I advise you to not put off the marriage. You will fare better than others since you have had the experience [of living with her] before marriage. Others have often been disappointed when they married before knowing the girl or had just seen her and admired her looks. Many faults are hidden and only come to light after the wedding to torment the husbands forever.

[5] Here I may refer to our Peregallo.² He says he has known and loved many women, whom he later loathed,³ and that if he should ever marry, he would wed a woman whose character and manners he knew. I am speaking with you openly, and I know your own mind on this issue since you have often told me that you would only marry a woman who acknowledged how much she owed you. Now, *what you sought with all your heart you have*.⁴ So, act like it!

[6] If I ever see my sweet home again and return to charming Italy (what I doubt), I shall, above all, visit you and see your wife, children, home, horses and all your furnishings, and eat some bread with you. Don't fear that shall arrive in state, for I could not afford ostentation.⁵ Indeed, mistress Fortune does not favour me so much that I may hope to return to my country in splendour and glory. It is enough if I do not return as a beggar and have enough money to cover the travel costs. I can hope for nothing more, and for that, I owe thanks to the heavenly beings.⁶

¹ This claim refers to the folk tale of Griselda related in Boccaccio: *Decamerone*, 10: 10. Versions of the tale are also found in Chau-cer's *Canterbury Tales* and numerous Renaissance ballads.

² Here, the first collated versions of the letter (M1-M3, V2a) refer to Piccolomini himself. The later versions (V2b-V4) substitute his friend, Giovanni Peregallo, since such personal remarks would not be appropriate for Piccolomini as a high-ranking prelate, cf. his letter of 15 January (the day before) to Goro Lolli where he attributed his own son to Giovanni [Peregal-lo] (letter 118: 2).

³ For a comment on this passage, see Bigi, p. 165.

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 100.

⁵ Pietro had written: *If you ever visit these parts (may the gods make it so), then deign – even if you have become a great man – to visit my little house eat what is set on the table, whether I have a wife or not* (Letter 96: 3).

⁶ Cf. Piccolomini's remarks in his letter to Kaspar Schlick from 1 January 1444 (two weeks before): *Nobody lives content with his lot; the more we have, the more we want. He is happy who puts an end to desire. The man who wants excessive honours and wealth builds a high tower for himself from which his fall will be tremendous and cause him greater ruin than esteem. God give that I shall always be without what I do not have now* (Letter 111: 7).

[7] Suasisti exinde, ut parti tuae faveam, si non alia ex causa, saltem propter te. Haec est adjuratio¹ quaedam, quae non suadet tantum, sed etiam cogit. Tu tamen nosti me principi servire, qui nullarum est partium, quique medium tenens unioni studet, nec fas est servos aliud velle, quam domini cupiant. Mihi sanctum videtur regis propositum, cui ut faveat Deus, supplex oro. Nec si mens regia locum habuerit, sors tua deterior erit, sed - quemadmodum puto - longe melior, quia tunc dives est curia et officiales opulenti, quando est unio. Quam si Deus daret, posses et me ad te vocatum facere. Sed nescio, quando hoc erit. Interim me regi insinuabo, regi parebo², regem sequar. Quod is volet, et ego volam³. Nulla in re adversus ero nec attingam aliquid, quod statum respiciat, quia periculosum est de aliena re publica curam gerere. Ego peregrinus sum. Consultum mihi est⁴ Gnatonis officium suscipere: ajunt *ajo*, negant *nego*. Sed hoc alienum est me.⁵ Ipsi si fuerint sapientes, laudem ferent; si stulti, eorum quoque dedecus erit⁶. Nulli invideo⁷ gloriam et nullius dolere infamia volo. Quod mandatum fuerit scribam, non addam, non minuam. Nec videri volo prudens neque stultus. Tacebo et parebo libens. Si secus agerem, non esset mihi ex usu, nec te velle scio aliquid me agere, quod possit obesse statui meo, ne, qui est parvus, fiat nullus. Non dicam plura, nisi quod te⁸ rogo de magistro Thoma, summo theologo et conterraneo tuo, aliquid scribas, et et quid de nuptiis sequatur.

Vale. Ex sancto Vito, die 16.⁹ januarii 1444.^{10 11 12}

¹ admiracio M2

² placebo M3

³ volem M1, M3

⁴ esset V3

⁵ *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; sed hoc ... me *add. in marg.* V2b

⁶ ferent M2

⁷ audeo M2

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ 15. V4

¹⁰ Thomas qui nunc [1447], est papa Nicolaus V, factus cardinalis 1446, later *addition*] *add. in marg.* V2b [proof that this manuscript was executed before the death of Nicolaus V in 1455].

¹¹ Ex sancto ... 1444 : etc. M2; *omit.* M1

¹² Die 16. ... 1444 *omit.* M3

[7] Next [in your letter], you urged me to support your party,¹ if for no other reason, then at least for your sake. This appeal is not just persuasive, it is compelling! But you know that I serve a prince² who supports none of the [two] parties³ but works for [Church] union while keeping a middle course.⁴ It is not right for servants to pursue different policies than their masters.⁵ The king's king's plan seems faultless to me, and I fervently pray that God will favour it. And should the king prevail, your situation will not be worse, for – as I believe – it will be much better since the curia is rich and its officials wealthy when the Church is united. If God grants this, you may call upon me again. But I do not know when it will be. In the meantime, I shall ingratiate myself with the king, I shall obey him, I shall follow him. What he shall want, I shall want, too. I shall oppose him in no way or interfere in matters of state, for it is dangerous to get mixed up in the affairs of another state.⁶ Indeed, I am a foreigner, and it shall profit me to take on the office of a Gnatho⁷: When they say yes, I say yes, too, and when they say no, I say no, too^{8 9} though such behaviour is foreign foreign to me.¹⁰ If my masters are wise, they will be praised. If they are foolish, they will be blamed. I shall neither envy them their glory nor lament their shame. I shall write exactly as ordered to, without additions or omissions.¹¹ I shall not want to appear wise or foolish, but remain silent and obey willingly. If I act otherwise, it will be to my loss, and I know that you would not wish me to do anything to damage my own position, lest from insignificant it becomes non-existent. I shall say no more except to ask you to write to me about Magister Tommaso,¹² eminent theologian and your compatriot,¹³ and also about what happens in the matter of your marriage.

Farewell. From Sankt Veit, 16 January 1444.

¹ The papal party, see letter 96, sect. 3.

² Friedrich III.

³ The papal party and the conciliar party.

⁴ The emperor was bound by the German 1438 declaration of neu-trality between the Council of Ba-sel and Pope Eugenius IV.

⁵ Piccolomini's masters were the emperor and the chancellor.

⁶ Cf. Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 34, 125: *Peregrini officii est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, ni-hil de alio inquirere minimeque esse in aliena re curiosum*. This passage from Cicero Piccolomini would use in his oration (sermon) *Non est apud me dubium* of 1445: ... *if you happen to be abroad, then care for nothing but your own business, do not make inquiries about local matters, and do not interfere in the affairs of another country* (sect. 127).

⁷ A parasite in Terentius' comedy *Eunuchus*.

⁸ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 252.

⁹ Only a month before, Piccolomini had, in his letter of 3 De-cember 1443 to Duke Siegmund of Austria, denounced such flat-terers at court: *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 and to 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. They are like the men who – according to Gnatho in Terence - say yes when I do, and who – according to Juvenal – break out in sweat if the [other] says "I am hot". 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* (sect. 7).

¹⁰ *though such behaviour is alien to me*: added in the later versions of the text, possibly because Piccolomini had then remembered his own earlier remarks on the same subject.

¹¹ That Piccolomini's masters did not require him to contribute to the content of their letters but only to their style is shown by a note from the chancellor to Piccolomini in a minute that he was to write up as a letter from Friedrich III to the Polish King Wladyslaw. The chancellor wrote: *Domine Enea, aptetis hoc ornatius, effectu non mutato* (WO, 1: 2, p. 50).

¹² Tommaso Parentucelli (1397-1455): Master of Cardinal Alber-gati's household. Bishop of Bo-logna (1447), cardinal (1446) and pope as Nicolaus V from 1447 to his death.

¹³ Calling Parentucelli and da Noceto compatriots was an exag-geration and must have been intended as some kind of com-pliment.

120. Letter to Francesco Bossio (16 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 109r; M2, f. 44r¹; M3, ff. 245v-246r²; V2, ff. 210-211³; V3, ff. 101v-102r⁴ **; V4, ff. 91r-91v.

Editions: KO, 48⁵; HE, 120, pp. 257-258; WO, 1: 1, 120, pp. 288-289; (both based on M1, V2).

{161r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ Francisco Bossio, doctori eximio, salutem plurimam dicit.⁷

[1] Accepi te⁸ Mediolanum petisse, quoniam Tridenti non erat tutum esse. Probo consilium tuum, licet mihi damno sit. Sed majus fuisset incommodum meum, si quid illic tibi detrimenti contigisset. Fugiendi rumores sunt et maxime civitatis illius, quae *tot* habet voluntates *quot homines*. Nihil illic jam erat, quod per te geri posset, quia non⁹ exaudiuntur¹⁰ *leges inter arma* nec vox advocati inter tubarum concentus¹¹ resonat. Jam ibi¹² classicum intonuit. Venerunt Athesini ad tria hominum milia et agros vastare Tridentinos coeperunt, non tamen absque cruore injuriati sunt. Ceciderunt ex Athesinis complures captique et vulnerati non pauciores¹³. Rex auxilio Tridentinis est¹⁴, spesque habetur nefarios aemulorum conatus non transituros absque poena, quia nulla temeritas tuta est et nulla injuria stabilis. Sed de his satis.

[2] Ego vellem litteris {162r} tuis instrui, quomodo res meas dimiseris, tum de plebe tum de praebenda, et quomodo hujus anni redditus sint expositi, ut sciam, uxor¹⁵ Jacobi an debitum habuerit. Vellem quoque certiorari, quid per me ulterius sit gerendum, dum abes.

[3] Exinde scribit rex illustrissimo principi, duci Mediolani, in favorem meum petitque praeposituram mihi restitui. Oro¹⁶, velis promotor rei esse. Scribo¹⁷ Nicolao de Arziboldio, qui¹⁸ adjuturum se spondit. Hunc adire velis et ad¹⁹ meam causam hortari. Sic²⁰ dominum Guinifortum secretarium, cui alias scripsi, ut vel una vel alia via finis detur. Ego totum tibi committo; quidquid feceris, ratum apud me erit. Laurentius²¹ Rotella multa promisit sed numquam rescripsit. Credo eum plus verborum habere quam factorum. Tua²² est alia consuetudo; plus facis et minus dicis. Ideo mihi

¹ SC, 95

² SC, 497-498

³ DV, ff. 110v-111r

⁴ DV, ff. 104-105r

⁵ DV, f. 22v

⁶ poeta domino *add.* M1-M3; domino *add.* V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ Titulus: *omit.* M1

⁸ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in address.

⁹ iam M3

¹⁰ expediuntur M3

¹¹ *omit.* M3

¹² tibi M1

¹³ non pauciores : nonnulli dicuntur M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* nonnulli dicuntur V2b

¹⁴ auxilio Tridentinis est : auxilium Tridentinis mittit M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* auxilium Tridentinis mittit V2b

¹⁵ domini *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ peto M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* pe-to V2b

¹⁷ domino *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁸ sua gratia me *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~sua gratia me~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁹ in M1-M3, V2a; ~~in~~ *seq.* V2b

²⁰ et M1-M3, V2a; ~~et~~ *seq.* V2b

²¹ de *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~de~~ *seq.* V2b

²² tibi M3

satis est significasse, quid velim. Persuadere non est opus persuaso. Reverendum¹ patrem episcopum² Novariensem spero mihi auxilio³ futurum; ipsi ut me commendes, in spe habeo. Vale optime.

Ex sancto Vito in Carinthia, die 16. Januarii 1444.^{4 5}

¹ reverendissimum HE, WO

² dominum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* dominum V2b

³ auxilium M1

⁴ optime ... 1444 : etc. M2

⁵ Ex Sancto ... 1444 *omit.* M1

120. Letter to Francesco Bossio (16 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

- Context:* Francesco Bossio, Piccolomini's fellow canon and agent in Trient, had understandably fled the troubles there and gone to Milan. The present letter is not the one referred to in Piccolomini's letter 113 to Niccolò Veneto of 1 January because, in that letter, Piccolomini presumed that Bossio had gone to Padua, so in the meantime, he must have received new information.
- Subject:* Piccolomini inquires into the state of his affairs (the prebend of Sarantanerthal) and asks Bossio to act as his agent in the affair of the provostship of San Lorenzo.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Francesco Bossio, distinguished doctor.

[1] I hear you have gone to Milan since it was not safe to stay in Trient.¹ I applaud your decision: though it is not good for me personally,² it would have been even worse if some misfortune had happened to you there. Troubles³ should be avoided and especially from this city with *as many wills as men*.⁴ You could do no more there, for *laws* are not heard *among weapons*,⁵ and neither is the lawyer's voice when the trumpets sound. And the trumpet of war⁶ has indeed given sound. About 3,000 Tyroleans have come and begun to lay waste to the territories of Trient but not without shedding their own blood. Many of the Tyroleans have fallen or been taken prisoner or wounded. The king assists Trient, and there is hope that the nefarious endeavours of evil-minded men will not go unpunished, for no rashness is safe and no aggression durable.

[2] I beg to be informed by letter in what state you left my affairs with regard to the parish and the prebend,⁷ and also the situation with the annual revenues so that I may know if Jakob's wife⁸ has received her due. I should also like to know what I shall do in your absence.

[3] The king⁹ now writes to The Most Illustrious Prince, the Duke of Milan,¹⁰ in my favour, requesting that I be reinstated in my provostship.¹¹ I ask you to take this matter in hand. I shall write¹² to Niccolò Arcimboldi¹³ who had promised to help me.¹⁴ Please visit him and urge him to take up my cause. And do the same with Guiniforte,¹⁵ the secretary, whom I have asked by letter to settle the matter one way or another. I entrust the affair wholly to you; whatever you do, I shall approve. Lorenzo Rotella¹⁶ promised much but never wrote back. I think he is a man of words more

¹ See letter 113.

² Since Bossio was handling Piccolomini's affairs in Trento.

³ "rumores"

⁴ Terentius: *Phormio*, 455: *quot homines tot sententiae*.

⁵ Cicero: *Pro Milone*, 4: 10: *silent enim leges inter arma (when arms speak, the laws are silent)*.

⁶ "classicus"

⁷ Piccolomini's benefice of Sarantanerthal, see letters 110 and 112.

⁸ Jakow Widerl?

⁹ Friedrich III.

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

¹¹ The provostship of San Lorenzo.

¹² See letter 121.

¹³ Arcimboldi, Niccolò (1404-1459): At the time, counsellor of the Duke of Milan

¹⁴ In letter 83 from Arcimboldi to Piccolomini of 13 October 1443, Arcimboldi had promised Piccolomini his help in this affair.

¹⁵ Guiniforte Barzizza (1406-1463): Italian humanist and academic. Secretary to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti until the duke's death in 1447. In his letter 97 to Piccolomini of 19 November 1443, Guiniforte had directly told him that he was unable to help him in the matter of the provostship.

¹⁶ See letter 65: 2.

than of acts. You behave differently, doing more and saying less. Therefore, it is enough for me to have informed you of my wishes; indeed, there is no need to persuade somebody who is already persuaded. I hope the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Novara,¹ will help me and that you will recommend me to him.

Farewell. From Sankt Veit, 16 January 1444.

121. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (20 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 42v-43r²; M3, ff. 243v-244r³; V2, ff. 202-203⁴; V3, ff. 98v-99r⁵ **; V4, ff. 88r-89r.

Editions: KO, 47⁶; HE, 121, pp. 258-259; WO, 1: 1, 121, pp. 289-290; (both based on V2).

{98v} Aeneas Silvius⁷ Nicolao⁸ Arcimboldis, doctori praestanti ac ducali consiliario salutem plurimam dicit⁹.

[1] Suscepi, non multi sunt dies, litteras, tuas¹⁰, quibus mihi spem facis velle te curam suscipere, ut praepositura mea mihi restitatur, qua conficta morte spoliatus sum. Id mihi carissimum fuit, nec aliter de tua erga me caritate putabam memor notitiae nostrae Florentinae¹¹ et alterius consuetudinis, quam habui Mediolani tecum. Proinde, cum sis magnifico cancellario fratris loco et ego illi nonnihil acceptus sim, credidi hoc quoque mihi prodesse. Accedit illustrissimi principis ducis¹² honor, cui non potest ad laudem cedere me servulum suum, qui sibi non vulgariter in multis rebus officiosus fui, tam impie spoliatum teneri¹³ et nunc praesertim, quando tanto principi servio, quantum¹⁴ est imperator, apud quem possum nonnumquam eidem duci utilis esse, si passeris est aliquod officium apud aquilas. Hoc credidi et te animadvertere¹⁵ nec deceptus sum, quantum video et quantum mihi scribis, qui velle curare rem meam dicis. Ego magnam spem {99r} habeo in te, ut¹⁶ quod facto est opus, pro tua summa prudentia prosequaris, utque¹⁷ omnino studeas, ut praeposituram meam ad me redire¹⁸, quod nisi opera tua fiat, nullius alterius auxilium spero. Scribit majestas regia in favorem meum. Exemplar scriptorum¹⁹ his inclusum²⁰ mitto. Cum hoc²¹ poteris audacius meum negotium aggredi. Scriberet tibi mei causa ipse cancellarius, si adesset, sed jam mensibus tribus abest missus

¹ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

² SC, 92-93

³ SC, 493-494

⁴ DV, ff. 106v-107r

⁵ DV, ff. 101v-102r

⁶ DV, f. 22r

⁷ poeta *add.* M2-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

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

⁹ salutem plurimam dicit *omit.* V2a

¹⁰ WO uses 2nd pers. plural in address.

¹¹ Florentiane WO

¹² Mediolani *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~Mediolani~~ *seq.* V2b

¹³ spoliatum teneri : spoliari M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* spoliari V2b

¹⁴ quamvis V4

¹⁵ animal vertere V4

¹⁶ et M3

¹⁷ ut quod V4

¹⁸ praeposituram meam ad me redire : praepositura (mea) ad me redeat M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* praepositura mea ad me redeat V2b

¹⁹ Exemplar scriptorum : juxta copiam, quam M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* juxta copiam, quam V2b

²⁰ inclusam M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* inclusam V2b

²¹ hac M2-M3, V2a; hoc *corr. ex* hac V2b; his V3, V4

ad conventum¹ Nurenbergensem meque hic suo loco dimisit. Is autem infra mensem revertetur, nam nam conventio² illa prorogata est ad diem Ascensionis et rursus convocati sunt principes, promittitque rex omni remota exceptione in eam³ diem personalem accessum.

¹ dietam M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dietam V2b

² dieta M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dieta V2b

³ eandem V4

121. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (20 January 1444, Sankt Veit).

Context: The presence of Piccolomini's friend, Francesco Bossio (see letter 120), in Milan causes Piccolomini to take up, once again, the matter of his provostship in San Lorenzo.

Subject: Piccolomini again asks Arcimboldi to help him regain the provostship of San Lorenzo.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Niccolò Arcimboldi,¹ distinguished doctor and ducal counsellor.

[1] I recently received the letter² in which you give me hope that you will endeavour to have my provostship restored to me, of which I was deprived on the pretext that I had died. That was most encouraging, but given your love for me, it did not surprise me, remembering the companionship we enjoyed in Florence and Milan. Moreover, since you are as a brother to His Magnificence the Chancellor³ and I am somewhat dear to him, I thought that would help me, too. Finally, there is the duke's⁴ honour: it would not be decent of him to allow me, his humble servant, who has, in many affairs, been greatly useful to him, to be robbed [of my provostship], especially now that I serve an eminent prince, the emperor,⁵ with whom I can be of considerable service to the duke – if sparrows can do anything for eagles! This is what I believed, and I have not been disappointed since I see what I see and since you wrote that you would take up my cause. I have great hope that you will wisely do what needs to be done and strive to have me reinstated in my provostship. If you cannot, there is nobody else on whose assistance I can count. His Royal Majesty has written on my behalf - I enclose a copy of his letter that will enable you to pursue the matter more vigorously. The chancellor would also write if he were here, but he has now been absent for three months, [participating] in the Diet of Nürnberg, and left me in his place.⁶ He will return this month since the diet has been adjourned to Ascension Day and the princes invited once again. The king has unconditionally promised to arrive in person on that date.

¹ Arcimboldi, Niccolò (1404-1459): At the time, counsellor of the Duke of Milan.

² Letter 83.

³ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447).

⁵ Note that Piccolomini here uses the title "imperator" (emperor) for Friedrich III, though not yet crowned emperor in Rome. A little later, he uses the title *Majestas Regia* (Royal Majesty).

⁶ I.e., in charge of running the imperial chancery, which Piccolo-mini takes care to let Arcimboldi know.

[2] Nova autem, quae libenter cupis audire, non habeo multa. Hoc solum est novi¹ ² : cardinalis Sancti Angeli, qui apud Hungaros militat, litteras per hos dies majestati regis misit, quarum tibi copiam facio, ut eas illustrissimo principi communices meque sibi commendes. Si quid ulterius³ emerit, non negligam tibi significare, et maxime ubi sciverim vel ipsi principi vel tibi me complaciturum.

Ex sancto Vito, 20.⁴ Januarii 1444⁵ ⁶.

¹ Hoc solum est novi : nisi (quod) M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex nisi quod* V2b;

² reverendissimus dominus *add.* M2-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimus dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

³ alterius WO

⁴ 15. V4

⁵ *omit.* V2a; 20. Januarii 1444 *add.* V2b;

⁶ Ex Sancto ... 1444: vale etc. M2; vale M3

[2] As for news that would interest you, there is not much. Only this is new: the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,¹ who is on a military campaign² with the Hungarians, has recently sent a letter to His Royal Majesty, of which I enclose a copy so that you can communicate it to the Most Illustrious Prince and recommend me to him. I shall not fail to inform you if something else [of interest] happens, especially if I know that I shall thus please you and the prince.

From Sankt Veit. 20 January 1444.

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

² The Polish-Hungarian crusade against the Turks, conducted by King Wladyslaw III, which would end with the disaster at Varna.

122. Letter from Andrea Donato (22 January 1444, Venezia).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 117v-118r¹; M3, ff. 250v-251r²; V2, ff. 218-220³; V3, ff. 104v-105v⁴ **; V4, ff. 93v-94r.
Editions: KO, 174⁵; HE, 122, pp. 259-260; WO, 1: 1, 122, pp. 291-292; (both based on V2).

{104v} Andreas Donato, eques Venetus, Aenae Silvio, poetae doctissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Nuperrime litterae tuae mihi obsignatae fuere, quas libenter perlegi et eo libentius, quo clarius salutem magnifici⁶ Gasparis⁷ concepi, quae mihi propemodum carissima est. Vidi praeterea ex ipsis litteris, quid de re pecuniaria, quam cum hoc senatu agere habet, ad me scribis, {105r} quidve nuntii vestri huc profecti sapienter attulerunt⁸, luculentius percepi. Deus quidem mihi testis est⁹, quem animum, quam mentem, quam diligentiam in omnibus commodis ejus semper habuerim, habeam et habiturus sim. Cetera praetermittens modo satisfacere et inservire possem suae magnificentiae, cui pro ejus summa in me benevolentia, quam magnifacio, obnoxius sum, nec me ullus labor gravaret aut ponderis quantitas aut verborum prolatio, quae passim maxima est in re publica, ex quibus quandoque¹⁰ aures alienae obtunduntur. Omnia namque in me concurrunt ad rem ipsam bene et optime conficiendam, quia nihil¹¹ a me ita magnum fieri possit, quo¹² benevolentiae et dignitati suae gerere morem mihi satis esset. Sed sicut scit ejus magnificentia, quae novit mores hujus reipublicae, cujus voluntati majores et minores succumbunt, sum civis hujus civitatis et quamquam et auctoritatis et dignitatis locum aliquem teneam, tamen deest mihi potestas aliquid faciendi sine auctoritate et mandato hujus senatus, qui¹³ regimini omnium rerum praesidet¹⁴. Indulgeat ergo magnificentia sua, si ita sufficienter votis¹⁵ ejus non satisfacit. Cognoscit enim rerum causas, quibus res ipsa differtur. Quod tamen¹⁶ differtur non aufertur. Semper autem in ea re et ceteris me¹⁷ promptissimum habebit, qui omnem operam, curam¹⁸ et studium {105v} adhibere numquam desistam. Quod reliquum quidem est, a nuntiis vestris sententiam et opinionem meam clarius vivae vocis oraculo senties, quam ejus magnificentiae referre poteris, cui me obnoxius commendatum facias.

Vale felix. Ex Venetiis, die 22. Januarii 1444.

¹ SC, 244-245

² SC, 507-508

³ DV, ff. 114v-115r

⁴ DV, ff. 107v-108v

⁵ DV, 166v

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

⁷ cancellarii *add.* M3

⁸ attulerint V3

⁹ *omit.* WO

¹⁰ aliquando M3

¹¹ mihi V4

¹² quia M3

¹³ *omit.* V4

¹⁴ preside V4

¹⁵ voto WO

¹⁶ autem WO

¹⁷ *omit.* V4

¹⁸ *omit.* M3

122. Letter from Andrea Donato (22 January 1444, Venezia).

Context: Chancellor Schlick had made Piccolomini write to Andrea Donato to request his aid in obtaining the payment of the full chancery fee for Venice's investiture with certain imperial territories in 1435.

Subject: Donato declares himself to be fully committed to the chancellor's interests but that the power to act in the affair is not his, but the Venetian senate's.

Andreas Donato¹, Venetian knight, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, most learned poet.

[1] I was happy to read our letter,² recently delivered to me, and I was even happier to learn about the good fortune of His Magnificence Kaspar,³ which is precious to me. In the same letter, I also read what you wrote concerning his pecuniary affair with the senate,⁴ and I heard with pleasure the report of your able messengers. God is the witness to my disposition, intention and eagerness to serve all his interests both in the past, present and future. Passing over the other matters, I only wish to satisfy and serve His Magnificence, to whom I am greatly obliged for his extraordinary kindness towards me, which I treasure. I shall spare no effort either in acts or in words (which are most important in states and sometimes deafen the ears of foreigners). For I am entirely disposed to bring this matter to a happy conclusion since no other service is great enough to repay his kindness and suit his honour. But His Magnificence knows the ways of our state, to whose will both important and unimportant citizens are subject. Therefore, he is aware that even though I am a citizen of some authority and honour in this city, I lack the power to do anything without the authority and mandate from its senate that controls everything. His Magnificence will therefore forgive me that I am unable to fulfil his wishes. He knows the reasons why this matter is deferred. But what is deferred is not abandoned. I shall always in this, as in the other matters, be eager to show my industry, concern and ardour, and I shall never desist. As for the rest, you will hear directly from your own messengers what I believe and think, which you may relate to His Magnificence, to whom I respectfully recommend myself.

Farewell. From Venice, 22 January 1444.

¹ Andrea Donato [Dona] (ca. 1395 - c. 1466): Venetian official and ambassador. Venetian ruler of Crete 1445-1447. Son-in-law of Doge Jacopo Foscari. Knighted by Emperor Sigismund.

² Not extant.

³ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Venice owed money (4,000 florins) to the chancellor since it had not yet fully paid the chancellor's fees in connection with the investiture of Venice with certain imperial territories in 1435. See DVI, sect. 64 and 130. When, some years later (1447), Piccolomini visited Venice, he spoke to the senate on this affair but was only met with a smile from Doge Foscari and the remark that Venice had already paid enough for a piece of parchment and wax! (CRDM, 1: 3).

123. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (February 1444, Lausanne).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 112v-113r¹; M3, ff. 185v-186r²; V2, ff. 7-9³; V3, ff. 10v-11v⁴ **; V4, ff. 11r-12r.
Editions: KO, 181⁵ HE, 123, pp. 260-262; WO, 1: 1, 123, pp. 292-293; (both based on V2).

{10v} Bartholomaeus, episcopus Cornetanus, salutem plurimam dicit Aeneae Silvio⁶, regio protonotario.

[1] Jucundissimis litterulis⁷ tuis, vir clarissime, quibus generosi militis⁸ ac tua opera me assumptum assumptum esse ad consiliarium Caesaris nuntiabas, ab duobus mensibus responderam per alias superiores⁹ meas litteras, quas, si habueris, laetor. Cognosces enim, quantam ex eo mihi jucunditatem attuleris, videbis et gratias, quas hujusce rei vobis cooperatoribus¹⁰ offerebam¹¹ ob hoc insigne munus, quod nosti, quanto ego cum studio flagitarim, dum una essemus in Germania apud regem. Posthac nullis alteris tuis litteris quidquam de te concepi nisi, quemadmodum enuntiat Peregallus noster, te valere et apud eum¹² Caesarem in dies te pluris existimari et ad utramque cancellariam in protonotarium jussu regio assumptum¹³, quo gratulor cupioque, ut in dies feliciores successus de te sentiam, unde, ne hoc meum desiderium frustra sit, stude. Precor semper, ut {11r} Caesaris¹⁴ rebus intentus sis ac illi¹⁵ continuo morem geras. Quod¹⁶ si effeceris, crede mihi, melius secundaberis et eos omnes, quos tibi amicos habes, laetos ac perjucundos efficies.

[2] Verum, ut ad rem meam regrediar, vereor, ne litteras super consiliariatu, quas ex litteris¹⁷ Jacobi ad me nuperrime obsignatis intelligo fuisse traditas¹⁸ Wilhelmo de Constantia, ut illas aut¹⁹ ad me mitteret aut daret, ob ipsius amiserim²⁰ fortasse portatoris infidiam²¹, cum nusquam eas ad me miserit et, quod me magis excruciat, nec mittet ex causis, quas tu tecum²² ipse conjectaberis. Nam ipse est apud Constantiensem episcopum et nos abnegavit. Intellegis jam, quid²³ in ea re actum sit et, nisi tu iterum juveris, privabor²⁴ munere hoc ingenti. Quare velim sicque oro te, ut eas litteras²⁵

¹ SC, 234-23

² SC, 377-378

³ DV, ff. 9r-10r

⁴ DV, ff. 13v-14v

⁵ DV, f. 169v

⁶ poete *add.* M2-M3

⁷ litteris V4

⁸ Jacobi *add.* HE, WO

⁹ *omit.* WO

¹⁰ cooperantibus V4

¹¹ efferebam V4

¹² *omit.* WO

¹³ esse *add.* M2, M3, V2a; *esse seq.* V2b

¹⁴ Caesaris V4

¹⁵ illis M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex illis* V2b

¹⁶ quid M3

¹⁷ domini *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁸ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁹ *omit.* M3

²⁰ *omit.* M3

²¹ invidiam V3; ut videam V4

²² mecum M3

²³ quod WO

²⁴ privatur M3

²⁵ eas litteras : eam litteram M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex eam litteram* V2b;

una cum¹ Jacobo, cui scribo, renovari cures², quod facile impetrabis, et³ cum⁴ domum⁵ ad me mittes⁶ securiori⁷ modo ad manus Omnisboni⁸ assignari mandabis⁹. Quod si efficies, mihi in ea re re quam maxime complacebis, nec usquam hoc ingens obsequium oblitterabunt tempora nec aetates.

123. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (February 1444, Lausanne).

Context: See letter 105, to which Piccolomini had apparently not replied.

Subject: Vitelleschi informs Piccolomini that opponents of antipope Felix V, whom he serves, may have prevented him from receiving the letter appointing him an imperial counsellor and requests that a new letter be issued and sent to him by safer means. He adds some news from Italy and about Felix V's negotiations with Italian parties.

Bartolomeo,¹⁰ Bishop of Corneto, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, royal protonotary.

[1] Honoured Sir, I hope¹¹ that you have, by now, received my answer,¹² sent two months ago, to the brief¹³ but joyous letter in which you informed me that, through yours and the noble knight's¹⁴ efforts, I have been appointed an imperial counsellor. You will know how happy this made me and see how I thanked you two collaborators [in this matter] for the excellent gift – you know how intensely I endeavoured to obtain this appointment from the king while we were together in Germany.¹⁵ Since then I have not heard from you except that Peregallo¹⁶ says you are thriving and daily growing in influence with the emperor and that he has appointed you protonotary at both chanceries.¹⁷ I congratulate you to this and wish to hear about your future achievements – please, do not disappoint me! I ask you to be always intent on the emperor's affairs and to serve him well. If you do so, it will – believe me – be to your advantage and make all your friends happy.

¹ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

² facias M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* facias V2b

³ ut M2

⁴ eum M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* cum V2b; eam HE, WO

⁵ donum M2; demum M3;

⁶ mittas HE, WO

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

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ assignari mandabis *omit.* M2, M3, V2

¹⁰ Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (c. 1410-1463): Nephew of Cardinal Gio-vanni Vitelleschi (d. 1440). Ap-pointed bishop of Corneto in 1438. At some point, he joined the con-ciliarist movement against Pope Eugenius IV. Deposed by Pope Eugenius in 1442, he was ap-pointed cardinal by antipope Felix V. Reappointed bishop of Corneto in 1449 by Pope Nicolaus V. Pic-colomini appears to have become friendly with him in Basel or at the court of the antipope

¹¹ "laetor"

¹² Letter 105 of 13 December 1443.

¹³ "litterulae"

¹⁴ Jakob Widerl: Knight and court official close to Kaspar Schlick (Heinig, 1: 737, 776).

¹⁵ At the Diet of Frankfurt, June - August 1442. Both Vitelleschi and Piccolomini attended the diet on behalf of antipope Felix V.

¹⁶ Peregallo, Giovanni: Official at the Council of Basel. Later secre-tary of Felix V. Friend of Picco-lomini, who in later versions of letters on his own sexual affairs, would substitute Peregallo's name for himself.

¹⁷ I.e., the imperial chancery and the Austrian chancery.

[2] But I return to my own affair: from a letter I recently received from Jakob, I understand that the letter [of my appointment] as a counsellor was given to Wilhelm of Konstanz to send or deliver it directly to me. However, I fear that I have been deprived of this letter due to the bearer's perfidiousness since he has not sent it to me and – what pains me even more – will not send it for reasons you may guess yourself. For he is now with the Bishop of Konstanz¹ and has abjured us.² Now you see what has happened in this affair and that I shall be deprived of this great favour unless you help me once again. Therefore, I beg you and Jakob, to whom I shall also write, to arrange for a new letter to be issued - which you will easily achieve – and have it sent to my home in a safer way, requiring it to be delivered into the hands of Ognibene³. If you do this, you will make me very happy, and time and ages will never efface this great service.

¹ Heinrich VI von Hewen [Hö-wen] (c. 1398-1462): Bishop of Konstanz from 1436 to his death.

² I.e., has joined the party of Pope Eugenius IV.

³ Unidentified.

[3] Nulla ex regionibus Italis¹ altera nova apud nos sunt, quae ad te scribam, nisi Venetos et Florentinos² parare maritimas et terrestres copias quam ingentes³. Rursus apud pontificem nostrum maximum duae practicae sunt serenissimi scilicet regis Aragonum, pro quo ad mensem hic fuit reverendissimus⁴ Vicensis ac illustris⁵ comitis Francisci nuntius⁶, a quo missus est⁷ {11v} Thomas Reatinus, quem noscis⁸ et eum vidisti apud Caesarem, quos tractatus et practicas pontifex noster ex animo et corde complectitur, et ex utraque harum quam⁹ bene sperem, et quemadmodum res ipsa succedet, ex post intelliges.

[4] Rei¹⁰ Jacobi non secus quam meae intentus fui, et¹¹ ei scribo ubere, a quo scire valebis omnia aspiciasque ex bullis desuper confectis. Scito tamen Peregallum nostrum pro minuta et grossa primae litterae dedisse pecunias. Saepius ac saepius me commendatum facias Caesari et iteratas gratias pro consiliariatu suae majestati reddes meo nomine, cui ero observantissimus et gloriosissimi nominis sui praedicator indefessus. Itidem et facies apud reverendum¹² patrem¹³ meum Chiemensem¹⁴.

Et tu vale ac amorem nostrum et amicitiam observa cordi¹⁵. Vale iterum. Ex Lausana.¹⁶

¹ Italie HE, WO

² Florentiam WO

³ quam ingentes : quingentos M3

⁴ dominus *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b;

⁵ *omit.* WO

⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

⁷ dominus *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~dominus~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ nosti M2, M3

⁹ breve *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~breve~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ domini *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ ut M2, M3

¹² reverendissimum HE, WO

¹³ dominum *add.* M2, M3 V2a; ~~dominum~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ episcopum *add.* M3

¹⁵ crebrioribusque tuis litteris cum contingentiis patriae ac regionis illius *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~crebrioribusque tuis litteris cum contingentiis patriae ac regionis illius~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ Ex Lausana *omit.* M2

[3] I have no news from Italy to write to you except that Venice and Florence are mobilising large naval and land forces.¹ Our Supreme Pontiff² is presently conducting two negotiations. One is with the Most Serene King of Aragon,³ whose representative, the Most Reverend [Bishop] of Vich,⁴ Vich,⁴ has been with us for a month. The other is with the envoy of the Illustrious Count Francesco,⁵ Tommaso da Rieti,⁶ whom you know and have met with the emperor. Our pontiff has engaged himself wholeheartedly in these negotiations, and I hope that both will succeed.⁷ You will later hear how matters turn out.

[4] I have settled Jakob's matter as I wanted to and written at length to him about it. From him, you will hear all and see the bulls⁸ issued on the matter. Know that our Peregallo has paid in full⁹ for a first letter.¹⁰ Recommend me often to the emperor and thank His Majesty on my behalf for the counsellorship. I shall always serve him and indefatigably proclaim his glorious name.

Do also recommend me to my Reverend Father of Chiemsee.¹¹ Farewell, and have our love and friendship at heart. Farewell again. From Lausanne.

¹ Preparing for yet another war against Milan.

² Amédée VIII (Savoy) (1383-1451): Count of Savoy 1391, elevated to duke by the emperor 1416. Elected antipope under the name of Felix V by the rump council in Basel 1439.

³ Alfonso V (Aragon) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416, Count of Barcelona. King of Naples from 1442 to his death.

⁴ Jorge de Ornos [Jordi / Hornos] (c. 1380-1453): Bishop of Vich [Vic], 1424 -1445.

⁵ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiero. Son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450). See DVI, ch. 10.

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ In his DVI, Piccolomini has a section on Felix' negotiations to gain allies in Italy: *He had serious negotiations with the King of Aragon, who promised to take Rome and bring Felix there safely. However, the French would not allow Felix to make an agreement with the King of Aragon since this king was an enemy of King René, despite René himself being an enemy of Felix. He also had intense negotiations with the Duke of Milan and Niccolò Piccinino. In the end, Felix offered Piccinino 150,000 ducats to serve him with 9,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry. The matter was almost concluded, and Piccinino promised (though without obliging himself) to take Eugenius prisoner in Florence. It would likely have come to pass if Felix' banners had been raised in Italy with such a great force behind them, for he enjoyed a great reputation as a powerful and clever man. Eugenius, on the other side, was hated, for men are commonly hated in their own country, whereas men who are far away are loved. But when it became necessary to send envoys to Milan, the treasurer Johannes de Grolea went to meet with Piccinino and only promised to give him 60,000 Rhenish florins. This upset Piccinino so much that soon after, he made an agreement with Eugenius and was appointed his captain. Similarly, when the King of Aragon realised that he had been strung along with words, he reconciled himself with Eugenius and recalled his Catalans from the Council of Basel. They obeyed him, caring more about their people than Faith. The only exception was the Bishop of Vich, who would afterwards regret losing his church out of too great loyalty* (DVI, sect. 197).

⁸ The bulls issued by antipope Felix V.

⁹ "pro minuta et grossa"

¹⁰ Presumably a letter of appointment to some benefice.

¹¹ Bishop Silvester Pflieger of Chiemsee.

124. Letter to Domenico Capranica (mid February 1444, Laibach).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 79v **.

Editions: HE, 124, pp. 262; WO, 1: 1, 124, p. 294; (both based on M1).

{79v} Cardinali Sanctae Crucis. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime.

[1] Redditae sunt mihi litterae vestrae, quas cum prima fronte recepissem titulumque cardinalis Sanctae Crucis perlegissem, stupidus fui mecumque “Quidnam hoc est,” inquam, “cardinalem hunc diem obiisse percepi. Aut falsa vox fuit aut mortuus revixit.” Cum autem litteras aperui, repperi neutrum verum fuisse, sed paternitatem vestram illius suscepisse locum, quae res ultra modum mihi jucunda fuit, qui semper status vestri crementum optavi et jam audio, *quod tota mente petivi*. Fortunent nunc superi hunc vestrum cardinalatum¹ et nedum vobis, sed amicis et servitoribus omnibus utilem illum reddant. Non peto mihi aliquid, nam ego satis habeo, quod vobis audio bene contigisse. Solum opto, ut bonum vestrum perpetuum sit et nulla possit calamitate perrumpi.

[2] Cognovi praeterea desiderium vestrum de litteris in Portugalliam scribendis. Navo ad id operas, sed nequeunt haec², ut vellem utque opus foret, cito expediri. Spero tamen me illas brevi tempore ad vos missurum. Alia nunc scribenda non sunt, nisi quod me vestrae reverendissimae paternitati deditum non facio, sed repeto. Posco insuper, ut sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus me commissum faciatis, cujus statui tam studeo, quam mea parvitas fert.

Valete optime et me prisco ex more diligite.

¹ *em.* HE; cardinalem M1

² hoc WO

124. Letter to Domenico Capranica (18 February 1444,¹ Laibach).

Context: Cardinal Capranica, Piccolomini's first employer, had written to Piccolomini² requesting his aid in procuring a letter from the imperial court in some Portuguese matter.

Editions: Piccolomini expresses his delight in the cardinal's promotion to the title of Santa Croce, promises his assistance with Portuguese matter, and – via the cardinal – discreetly informs the papal curia – that he now supports the cause of Pope Eugenius IV.

Translations: RE, 41, p. 185.

To the Cardinal of Santa Croce.³ Most Reverend Father in Christ and my Worshipful Lord.

[1] Your letter has been delivered to me. When I received it and saw that it was from the “Cardinal of Santa Croce”, I was stupefied and said to myself, “How can that be? I heard that cardinal⁴ has died,⁵ so either it was a false rumour or the cardinal has risen from the dead.” But when I opened the letter, I saw that neither was true and that Your Reverence has been appointed to Santa Croce in that cardinal's place.⁶ I was overjoyed at this since I have always wished for your advancement and now hear *what I sought with all my heart*.⁷ May the heavenly beings⁸ favour your cardinalate and make it useful not only to yourself but also to your friends and servants.⁹ For myself, I seek nothing, for it is enough for me to hear that you are prospering. I only wish that your prosperity may last forever and not be disturbed by any misfortune.

[2] I acknowledge your request for a letter to be written to Portugal¹⁰ and am now working on that. However, this matter cannot be expedited as quickly as needed and as I should wish, but I do hope to be able to send the letter to you shortly. I have no more to write to you except – once again – to express my devotion to Your Reverence. Moreover, I ask you to recommend me to Our Most Holy Lord,¹¹ to whose cause I contribute as much as my humble position¹² allows.¹³

¹ Date provided by Wolkan. Van Heck has “1444 ineunte”. Here, dated after the dates of the two following letters, presumably dis-patched with the same messenger.

² The letter is not extant.

³ Domenico Capranica (1400-1458): appointed cardinal *in petto* by Pope Martin V in 1426. His cardinalate was recognised by the Council of Basel in 1432 and by Pope Eugenius IV in 1434. See letters 4 and 8.

⁴ Niccolò Albergati (1373-1443): Appointed cardinal 1426. Later employer and mentor of Piccolomini.

⁵ Albergati died on 9 May 1443.

⁶ The cardinalial title of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was a pre-stigious one, and Capranica's ap-ointment to this church shows how greatly he was now favoured by Pope Eugenius. The appointment happened mid January 1444.

⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 100: *habes, tota quod mente petisti*.

⁸ “superi”.

⁹ Note how Piccolomini quite naturally assumes that high office be used for the benefit of the office-holders friends and dependents.

¹⁰ There is no information on the nature of the cardinal's business in Portugal or why he would need a letter from the imperial court. It may have been a matter of some important ecclesiastical benefice.

¹¹ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹² “parvitas”

¹³ Note that Piccolomini here, discreetly, informs the papal court that he has finally switched sides and joined Pope Eugenius' cause. But only a month before, in his letter to Pietro da Noceto of 16 January 1444 (letter 119), he had written: *Next [in your letter], you urged me to support your party, if for no other reason then at least for your sake. This appeal is not just persuasive, it is compelling! But you know that I serve a prince who supports none of the [two] parties, but works for [Church] union while keeping a middle course. It is not right for servants to pursue different policies than their masters. The king's plan seems impeccable to me, and I fervently pray that God will favour it* (sect. 7).

Farewell, best of me, and love me as always.

125. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 February 1444, Laibach).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 44v¹; M3, f. 247v²; V2, ff. 217-218³; V3, ff. 104r-105r⁴ **; V4, ff. 93r-93v.
Editions: KO, 50⁵; HE, 125, pp. 262-263; WO, 1: 1, 125, pp. 294-295; (both based on V2).
Translations: ME, 22, pp. 112-113.

{104r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam dicit⁷ Petro Noxetano⁸, scriptori apostolico et fratri amantissimo.

[1] Satis ad te superioribus diebus⁹ scripsi tum de mea erga te voluntate tum de uxore, quam eras ducturus. Nunc addendum nihil est, nisi {104v} quod te rogo, ut rescribas successum rerum, et an adhuc vir fies¹⁰. Nam si sic est, dabo tibi onus, ut me quoque virum aliquando facias, si quid inveneris opinioni meae conveniens. Ego non intendo vitam omnem extra Italiam degere, et adhuc cavi, ne me sacer ordo involveret, neque enim satis scio, an continere perpetuo possim. Continentia namque, etsi magnopere¹¹ laudanda sit, verbis tamen quam factis aetate nostra¹² probabilior est et philosophis magis quam poetis conveniens. Quidquid sit, rescribe petitionibus meis et me tui status scium facito et confide¹³ me non tantum mei quam tui boni¹⁴ cupidum esse et gaudere omni tua fortuna. Postremo investiga omnes vias, si quae inveniri possint, ut aliquando Teutonicus Aeneas fiat Italicus.

Vale. Ex Labaco Carniolae, die 18. mensis Februarii 1444¹⁵ ¹⁶.

¹ SC, 96

² SC, 501

³ DV, ff. 114r-114v

⁴ DV, ff. 107r-107v

⁵ DV, f. 23r

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

⁷ domino *add.* WO

⁸ de Noxeto M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* de Noxeto V2b

⁹ *omit.* V4

¹⁰ *em.*; *sies* M2, V2-V4; *sis* M3

¹¹ neque enim ... magnopere :: timeo enim continentiam, quae licet M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* timeo enim continentiam, quae licet V2b

¹² *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; aetate nostra *add. superlin.* V2b

¹³ considera M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* confide V2b

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ Die ... 1444 *omit.* M3

¹⁶ Ex Labaco ... 1444 : etc. M2

125. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 February 1444, Laibach).

Context: A continuation of Piccolomini's previous letter to Pietro (letter 119).

Subject: Piccolomini asks Pietro about the development of his marriage plans and appears to ask him to help find a wife for him and a living in Italy since he is not prepared to live in celibacy, as a priest. A living in Italy is probably a veiled reference to a job at the papal curia, which would necessitate Piccolomini's public conversion to the cause of Pope Eugenius IV.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, apostolic scribe and beloved brother.

[1] In my recent previous letter,¹ I wrote to you about my sentiments towards you and the wife you you were going to marry. I have nothing to add now except asking you to write again and let me know what has happened and if you are still going to become a husband.² For if you are, I give you you the task of making a husband of me, too, if you find something that fits my views and sentiments. I do not intend to live all my life outside Italy, and until now, I have not let myself be taken in by the priestly order since I am not sure that I could live in a state of permanent continence. For though continence is most praiseworthy, men in our age are more likely to praise it in words than in deeds since it is a state more fitting for philosophers than poets. However that may be, please answer my requests and inform me about your present status. Trust that I am devoted not just to my own but also to your prosperity and that I rejoice in your good fortune. And, please, consider if there is any way in which the German Enea may at some time become Italian again.

Farewell. From Laibach in Krain, 18 February 1444.

¹ Letter of 16 January 1444 (letter 119).

² "vir"

126. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (18 February 1444, Laibach).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 44r-44v¹; M3, f. 247r²; V2, ff. 216-217³; V3, ff. 103v-104r⁴ **; V4, ff. 92v-93r.
Editions: KO, 49⁵; HE, 126, pp. 263-264; WO, 1: 1, 126, pp. 295-296; (both based on V2).
Translations: RE, 42, pp. 186-187.

{103v} Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam dicit domino⁷ Johanni Campisio, philosopho.

[1] Meas litteras jam te arbitror invenisse, quas per Venetias, mensis est, ad te misi. In illis te rogatum feci, politicum Aristotelem ut mihi coemes, sicut Viennae interlocuti fuimus. Credo id tibi menti esse, ideo brevior sum⁸. Tantum exspecto cupide, ut volumen veniat.

[2] Vidi bullas ecclesie Frisingensis cancellario missas, quae illo absente mihi redditae sunt. Ea res multum proderit parti vestrae, nam liberalitas inter ceteras virtutes maxime homines allicit. Non erit immemor cancellarius hujus rei. Ita dicito⁹ cardinali Tarentino, cui etiam me commissum facito. Habebit¹⁰ pontifex maximus et ipse cardinalis in reditu cancellarii litteras regratatorias, {104r} quamquam magis sint facta quam verba spectanda. Sed nec facta deerunt. Obligatus est cancellarius *manibus pedibusque* recognoscere hoc beneficium, et, nisi fallor, id faciet. Ita velis tu suadere et cardinalibus et papae.

[3] Exinde meis verbis poetam Vegium salvum dicito et Petrum Noxetum¹¹, cui do litteras, ac amicorum quidquid me habere scis, tum praesertim conterraneum meum Contem. Et cave, ne amplius legem taciturnitatis observes, quia temporis leges serviunt et juxta oportunitatem mutantur. Ego nolo legem meam majoris esse roboris, quam synodales sunt sanctiones, quae dietim infringuntur. Nulla civitas¹² municipalia jura in perpetuum servat, et Spartani et Athenienses et Romani in dies contrarias ediderunt leges. Quod inter omnes variatur,¹³ inter nos non decet immutabile ut sit¹⁴.

Vale et quantum tacendo praetermissum¹⁵ est sermonis, tantum scribendo restitue. Ex Labaco, quod est Vindelicum inter Carnos¹⁶ oppidum, die 18. mensis¹⁷ Februarii 1444.¹⁸

¹ SC, 95-96

² SC, 500

³ DV, ff. 113v-114r

⁴ DV, ff. 106v-107r

⁵ DV, f. 22v

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

⁷ *omit.* M2, M3

⁸ credo id ... sum *omit.* M2

⁹ reverendissimo domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimo domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ habet V4

¹¹ Noxetum M2, V 2a; *corr. ex* Noxetum V2b

¹² avitas WO

¹³ variatim WO

¹⁴ ut sit *omit.* V4

¹⁵ intermissum WO

¹⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; inter Carnos *add.* V2b

¹⁷ *omit.* V4

¹⁸ Ex Labaco ... 1444 : etc. M2

126. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (18 February 1444, Laibach).

Context: Piccolomini had written to Campisio on 15 January (letter 117) and could not have expected to receive a reply after a month.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Campisio that he has now received the papal letters of appointment of the chancellor's brother as Bishop of Freising.

[1] I believe you must now have received the letter I sent you a month ago¹ by way of Venice.² In it, I asked you to buy Aristotle's *Politica* for me, as we talked about in Vienna.³ I trust you have this this matter at heart, so just this: I am eagerly awaiting the book's arrival.

[2] I have seen the bulls concerning the church of Fresing sent to the chancellor⁴ that were delivered delivered to me in his absence. This matter will much profit your party, for among the other virtues, generosity greatly encourages men. The chancellor will not forget it. Tell this to the Cardinal of Taranto⁵ and also recommend me to him. When the chancellor returns, the Supreme Pontiff and the cardinal himself will receive his letters of thanks. But acts count for more than words, and they will not be lacking. The chancellor will be bound by *hands and feet*⁶ to acknowledge and return this favour and will do so – if I am not mistaken. Please convey this to the cardinals and the pope.

[3] Also, greet from me the poet Vegio and Pietro da Noceto, to whom I shall be writing, and those friends you know I have there, especially my compatriot Conte. And, please, do no longer observe the law of silence, for laws are subject to time and are changed as needed. I do not wish my law to have greater force than the conciliar decrees that are broken daily. No city keeps its municipal laws forever, and both the Spartans, the Athenians and the Romans issued contrary laws daily. So, since others change their laws, ours should not be immutable either.

Farewell, and do provide in writing what has been omitted in speaking. From Laibach, a city in the Windic March⁷ of Krain, 18 February 1444.

¹ Letter of 15 January 1444 (letter 117).

² Letter

³ During the visit to Vienna of Campisio's then employer, Cardinal Cesarini, in June 1444.

⁴ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

⁶ Terentius: *Andria*, 675.

⁷ Medieval frontier march of the Holy Roman Empire, roughly corresponding to Lower Carniola (Krain) in present-day Slovenia.

127. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (February 1444, Genève).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 113r¹; M3, ff. 234v-235r²; V2, ff. 149-150³; V3, ff. 68r-69r⁴ **; V4, ff. 61r-61v.
Editions: KO, 200⁵; HE, 127, p. 264; WO, 1, 1: 127, pp. 296-297; (both based on V2).

{68r} Bartholomaeus, episcopus Cornetanus, salutem plurimam dicit Aeneae Silvio Senensi⁶, poetae clarissimo et amico praestanti.

[1] Dulce mihi admodum et suave est, vir clarissime, quod valeas, {68v} dummodo recte valeas, quando te apud tuum Caesarem honore primum et commodis non carere existimem, sed apud eum in dies te ob ingentes virtutes tuas et doctrinam magnipendi sciam et intelligam. Scripsissem ad te crebrius, nisi provolutus visitationi⁷ episcopatus Gebennensis, quam ob gravem meam penuriam, ut viverem, sumpsit⁸ invitus. Cum enim, ut solent visitatores, ipso in exercitio per eam diocesim cucurrerim⁹ discolus¹⁰, non potui nec crebrius nec prius scribere ad te, cui in¹¹ scribendo ac omnibus ferme morem ferre astringor. Scias itaque me valere cum omni familia quamquam misere suscepisseque litteras consiliariatus regii, ad quas tu tantopere¹² laborasti, mihi quidem caras et¹³ gratas et inter res alteras cariores. Et eapropter Caesari tuo primum, qui tanta in me humanitate usus est, tibi que ac Jacobo¹⁴, qui et initium et inceptae rei finem praebuistis, ago gratias indefessas, non recusans¹⁵, si modo possim, vestris honori et commodo praebere vires¹⁶.

[2] Restat aliud, ut communi rei nostrae tractandae nunc admotis calcaribus totis viribus te exhibeas in medium, pro veritate neminem extimescens. Potes enim nunc, quo gratulor, te rei nostrae apprime fautore¹⁷, et vales¹⁸ apud Caesarem et omnes suos.¹⁹ Idcirco tamquam fortis athleta ac certator in medium campum²⁰ occurras, et ut res successerint, me certum reddas²¹, et si, ut gliscimus, successerit apud regem et suos, rem meam, quae tua est, singulari {69r} affectu commendatam²² suscipies, ut sic videam te me alterum esse in re mea, quemadmodum et in tuis agerem indefessus.

¹ SC, 235

² SC, 473-474

³ DV, ff. 80r-80v

⁴ DV, ff. 71r-72r

⁵ DV, f. 178v

⁶ *omit.* WO

⁷ visitatione HE, WO

⁸ assumpsit WO

⁹ hinc inde *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~hinc inde~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ distolus WO

¹¹ *omit.* V3

¹² tanto tempore V4

¹³ *omit.* V4

¹⁴ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁵ recusam V4

¹⁶ vices V3, V4

¹⁷ fauctorem V4; favere WO

¹⁸ nobis M3; valeas V4

¹⁹ *textus corruptus?*

²⁰ *omit.* WO

²¹ certum reddas : *advises* M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* *advises* V2b

²² *omit.* WO

Vale et me ama, ut coeperas, licet absentem et insudes gratificari tuo humanissimo Caesari. Ex Gebennis, 3. die¹ Octobris anno 43.²

¹ *omit.* M3

² 3. die ... 43 : etc. M2

127. Letter from Bartolomeo Vitelleschi (3 October 1444, Genève).

- Context:* Vitelleschi's letter of appointment as a royal counsellor had been late in arriving (see letters 105 and 123).
- Subject:* Vitelleschi informs Piccolomini that the letter of appointment had now arrived, assures him of his gratitude and requests him to use his position at the imperial court to support the cause of the schismatic council in Basel and antipope Felix V.

Bartolomeo, Bishop of Corneto, sends many greetings to Enea Silvio of Siena, eminent poet and distinguished friend.

[1] I am exceedingly happy that you are prospering, especially since I believe you are not lacking in honour and advantages with the emperor. Moreover, I know and understand that, due to your exceptional qualities, his esteem for you is growing daily. I would have written to you more often had I not become engaged in the visitation¹ of the diocese of Genève. Because of my grave poverty, I had to accept this task - though reluctantly - simply to live. As visitators do, I have been travelling all over this diocese and could not write to you before now, despite being committed to writing to you and being of service to you in every way. So, you should know that, together with my household, I am getting along, though poorly. I have now received the letter [of my appointment as] a royal counsellor, for which you laboured so much. It is dear and welcome to me, and it means more to me than most other things. For this, I give my profuse thanks first to the emperor for showing me such great kindness, and then to yourself and Jakob for undertaking this matter and bringing it to a happy conclusion. [In return], I shall never refuse to further your honour and advantage – in as much as I can.

[2] Now it remains for you to “apply the spurs” and show yourself as a wholehearted supporter of our cause,² without fearing anybody. Now that you have influence with the emperor and his people, you may become a strong patron of this cause. So, come into the arena as a strong athlete and fighter and keep me informed on how matters proceed. If we grow in strength, we shall win the emperor and his people over to our cause. Then you will be able to further my personal cause, which is yours, too, in a special way, and thus I shall see you [acting] in my cause as my other self, just as I will tirelessly work to support yours.

Farewell, and love me as always,³ though absent, and endeavour to please your most kind emperor. From Genève, 3 October 1443.⁴

¹ Canonical visitation: The act of ecclesiastical superior who in the discharge of his office visits persons or places with a view of maintaining faith and discipline, and of correcting abuses by the application of proper remedies (The Catholic Encyclopedia). In the present case, the visitation would have been ordered by the Bishop of Genève.

² The cause of the schismatic council in Basel and antipope Felix V.

³ “ut coeperas”: as you had begun to.

⁴ Wolkan dates the letter to the end of February 1444.

128. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 61r¹; M3, ff. 176r-176v²; V2, ff. 436-437³; V3, ff. 211r-212r⁴ **; V4, ff. 200v-201r.
Editions: KO, 75⁵; HE, 128, p. 265; WO, 1: 1, 128, pp. 297-298; (both based on V2).

{211r} Magnifico domino⁶ Gaspari Slick, imperiali cancellario, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁷

[1] Insignem litteratumque militem Procopium de Rabenstein, quanti faciam quamque amem multis signis potuisti intelligere. Is nunc ecclesiam Budovicensem germano suo conferri petit. Episcopus alius Bohemus dicit eam sibi promissam. Mihi constat hunc episcopum non vacaturam sed vacantem⁸ impetrasse, et quia tunc non vacavit, vana fuit ejus impetratio, potestque regia majestas, ut vult, disponere. Mihi consultius videretur, {211v} Procopii fratrem quam illum episcopum promoveri. Multa sentio, quae scriptis nolo committere. Tu amas Procopium et ab eo amaris. Ideo non expedit me multa dicere. Si quid tamen preces meae valere pro eo possunt, scito omni conatu et integro corde ipsius me commodum cupere.

[2] Hospes noster vellet ad te proficisci tuoque auxilio praesentiam regis habere, si saltem triduo in Novacivitate rex sit mansurus. Quod si huc venturus sit, expectabitur ejus adventus. Tu velis me, quid fieri debeat, instructum facere.

[3] Dum Tergesti essem praeterita hieme⁹, exposui majestati regiae inanes fuisse, quas per medium tuum pro meis familiaribus regias preces impetraveram, quia non erant verae collationes petiique alias preces, si locus vacans reperiretur. Annuit rex praesente Wilhelmo Tacz protonotario. Nunc dicit mihi Jacobus locum esse vacuum, quem in cedula tibi significo. Peto, ut permittas pro Johanne, familiari meo, ad collationem istam preces expediri, quia ex hoc magnum me¹⁰ beneficium recepisse putabo, quamvis tot sint tua erga me merita, ut silere potius quam amplius petere debeam. Sed facio sicut rustici, qui, postquam vident se non posse obligationibus satisfacere, curant, ut obligationes ipsae quam maximae sint. Domini quoque id solent quaerere, ut {212r} servos suos quam obligatissimos habeant.

Vale et me tuum tuissimum facito. Ex Vienna, die 29. Junii¹¹ 1444.¹²

¹ SC, 129

² SC, 360-361

³ DV, ff. 223v-224r

⁴ DV, ff. 214r-215r

⁵ DV, f. 37r

⁶ omit. WO

⁷ *Titulus:* Eneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit magnifico domino Gaspari Slick imperiali secretario M2, M3

⁸ vacaturam sed vacantem : vacan-tem sed vacaturam HE

⁹ essem praeterita hieme : praeter-ita hieme forem M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex praeterita hieme forem V2b*

¹⁰ omit. WO

¹¹ Julii V4

¹² Ex Vienna ... 1444 omit. M2, M3

128. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444, Vienna).

Context: As a ranking member of the imperial chancery and the powerful chancellor's protégé, Piccolomini systematically used his influence to obtain clerical benefices (incomes) for his friends and for members of his household.

Subject: Piccolomini requests the parish of Budweiss for Prokop von Rabenstein's brother and another benefice for a member of his own household.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificence, Lord Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] You know from many signs how greatly I cherish and love Prokop von Rabstein¹, distinguished and lettered knight. He now requests that the church in Budweiss² be conferred upon his brother. However, another Bohemian, a bishop, claims that this church has been promised to him. As far as I can see, the bishop requested [that church] as being vacant at the time, not as becoming vacant in the future, and since it was actually not vacant then, his request had no substance. Therefore, His Royal Majesty can dispose [of the benefice] as he wills. I consider it more advisable to promote Prokop's brother than the bishop, having heard much that I do not wish to commit to paper. You love Prokop and are loved by him. Therefore, I need not say much. But if my prayers can effect anything for him, please know that I wish intensely and with all my heart for his advancement.

[2] Our guest³ would like to go to you⁴ and, with your help, obtain an audience with the king if only only the king stays in Neustadt for three days. But if the king comes here, he will await his arrival. Please let me know your wishes in this matter.

[3] When I was in Trieste last winter,⁵ I explained to His Royal Majesty that the requests⁶ for members of my household I had obtained through you were unusable since they were not actual conferrals, and therefore I asked for other [royal] requests if a vacancy⁷ should turn up. The king agreed - in the presence of Wilhelm Tasz.⁸ Now Jakob tells me there is such a vacancy, see the information in the note attached. I ask you to authorise the expedition of requests for conferral [of the vacant benefice] on Johann,⁹ a member of my household.¹⁰ This I shall consider a great favour. Actually, your favours towards me are so many that I ought rather to be silent than ask for more. But I do as the peasants: when they see that they cannot fulfil their obligations, they strive to make

¹ Prokop von Rabenstein [Raben-stein / Prokop z Rabstejna] (c. 1420-1472): Bohemian noble. Friend and colleague of Piccolo-mini. Later Chancellor of Bohe-mia.

² Presumably, the parish church of Budweiss, a well-endowed bene-fice.

³ In Vienna.

⁴ In Wiener Neustadt.

⁵ January-February 1444. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about the visit: *Then the king went to Steier-mark, Kärnten, and Krain to re-ceive new oaths of fidelity. When he arrived in Laibach, he sent the knight Pankraz, the secretary Wilhelm Tacz, and me to receive the oaths of the people of Trieste in his name. This we did and were re-ceived so favourably that the king himself came there to celebrate the festive days before Lent* (DVI, sect. 165).

⁶ "preces": royal requests for an ecclesiastical benefice.

⁷ In an ecclesiastical benefice.

⁸ Wilhelm Tasz: Protonotary in the imperial chancery.

⁹ Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg: Member of Piccolomini's house-hold, mentioned in the *Commen-tarii*: Johannes Steynofius Theu-tonicus tunc illi serviebat (COM, 1: 9, 4 (Meserve, 1: p. 40)). In a letter from Friedrich III of 3 June 1445, he is designated as a notary in the chancery (WO, 1: 2, ep. xcix, p. 164). See also Heinig, 1: p. 744.

¹⁰ It may have been a benefice at the cathedral of Münster, see the abovementioned letter.

them larger.¹ And their lords, too, seek to have their servants contract the largest possible debts towards them! Farewell, and please make me entirely yours.² From Vienna, 29 June 1444.

129. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 61r-61v³; M3, ff. 176v-177r⁴; V2, ff. 437-438⁵; V3, ff. 212r-212v⁶ **; V4, ff. 201r-201v.

Editions: KO, 76⁷HE, 129, pp. 265-266; WO, 1: 1 129, pp. 299-300; (both based on V2).

{212r} Magnifico domino Gaspari Sligk, imperiali cancellario, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit⁸.

[1] Guido, tabellarius apostolicus, ad me hodie venit litterasque mihi ex Roma reddidit Johannis Campisi et Petri Noxetani, qui mihi ex tota humani generis societate sunt amicissimi. Hi venerabilem et ornatissimum virum Bartholomaeum Rovarellam⁹, secretarium et cubicularium apostolicum, magnopere commendant, utque res suas juvem¹⁰, non suadent tantum, sed cogunt. Quale negotium sit, non scio, sed id tuae magnificentiae scribitur tum per eundem Bartholomaeum, tum per alios. Audio illum tui germani causam toto conatu promovisse, dum res ecclesiae Frisingensis Romae tractabatur. Ajunt praeterea hunc esse apud summum pontificem magno loco virumque fore et litteris et virtutibus ornatum. Quibus ex rebus, si quid apud te roboris¹¹ meis inest precibus, peto, rogo et supplex oro, ut rem hujus viri expeditam reddas, si modo est, quae possit impetrari. Nam et gratiam homini reddes bene merito et amicis meis, qui (212v) tui sunt servi, plus complacebis, quam si *montes auri* tradideris. Sic eos in hanc rem affectos video. Tuum est morem servare vetustum, qui felicitatem tuam soles in acquirendis amicitiiis collocare. Recessum regis suumque transitum sicut jussisti et Hanusconi¹² et ceteris sociis significavi. Zeboldus in balneis est. Hospes dubius est, venturusne ad te sit. Ego dissuasi, quia et tu huc venturus es¹³.

Ex Vienna, die 3 Julii¹⁴ 1444.¹⁵

¹ E.g., loans.

² I.e., by Piccolomini's becoming totally indebted to his master, the chancellor.

³ SC, 129-130

⁴ SC, 361-362

⁵ DV, ff. 224r-224v

⁶ DV, ff. 215r-215v

⁷ DV, f. 37r

⁸ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit magnifico domino Gaspari Sligk imperiali cancellario M3

⁹ de Rovarella M2, M3

¹⁰ *omit.* V4 [blank space]

¹¹ arboris M2

¹² Amisconi V4

¹³ venturus es : venire intendis M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* venire intendis V2b

¹⁴ Junii V3, V4

¹⁵ Ex Vienna ... 1444: vale optime (etc) M2, M3

129. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444¹, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini's friends in Rome had recommended Bartolomeo Roverella, a papal official, to him.

Subject: Piccolomini asks the chancellor to favour Roverella's matter.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificence, Lord Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] Guido, the apostolic messenger, came to me today and delivered letters to me from Giovanni Campisio and Pietro da Noceto in Rome, my closest friends of all men. They greatly recommend the venerable and most distinguished Bartolomeo Roverella,² apostolic secretary and chamberlain, and urge me, nay compel me to assist him in his affairs. I do not know what his business is, but both Bartolomeo himself and others will write to you about it. I hear that when the matter of the Church of Freising was treated in Rome, he strongly supported your brother's³ cause. Moreover, they say he has great influence with the Supreme Pontiff and is a man distinguished by his culture and qualities. Therefore, if my requests carry any weight with you, I ask, petition and humbly beg you to advance the request of this man if it is one that can be granted. Then you will both render a favour to this well-deserved man and please my friends, who are your servants, more than if you had given them *mountains of gold*.⁴ So much does this matter mean to them! Now, do keep your old custom of gaining prosperity by acquiring friendships. I have informed Hanusco⁵ and other associates of the king's departure and travel, as you required. Zeboldus⁶ is in Baden. The guest is in doubt whether to go to you.⁷ I advised him against it since you will yourself be coming here.

From Vienna, 3 July 1444.

¹ Concerning the date, see WO, 1: 1, p. 299.

² Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Bishop of Adria, 15 July 1444. Archbishop of Ravenna from 1445 to his death. Appointed cardinal by Pius II in 1461

³ Heinrich Schlick.

⁴ Terentius: *Phormio*, 68.

⁵ Unidentified.

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ See preceding letter, sect. 2.

130. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 59v-60r¹; V2, ff. 308-309² **

Editions: KO, 69³ HE, 130, pp. 266-267; WO, 1, 1: 130, pp. 300-301; (both based on V2).

{308} Magnifico domino Gaspari Sliqk cancellario Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁴

[1] Cum recederes heri ex Vienna, putavi me hodie tuum iter secuturum, quia in Balneis me velle operiri dixeras. Hoc mihi voluptati erat, tum quod in Balneis recreor, tum quod⁵ tecum libentius quam usquam gentium sum. Sed advenit heri circa vesperam Hartungus noster, qui ait te hodie Novam Civitatem petiturum, sicut Chiemensis episcopus sibi dixerat, nam regia majestas omnino te visere cupiebat deque nonnullis conferre tecum. Quod, ut audivi, ratus sum non expedire me Balnea petere, quia sine te inutiles sumptus facerem. Reddidit enim me certum idem Hartungus me non inventurum

tuam ibi magnificentiam. Deliberaram⁶ igitur hic remanere, donec aliud mihi significares. Interim venit ulcus, nescio quod, in sinistram tibiam, quo maxime crucior, et ab heri usque hodie mirum in modum crevit. Crus ipsum sinistrum a genu⁷ in femur rubeum est et sanie⁸ plenum. Oportet me uti emplastris. Nescio an infra triduum possim fieri robustus equitandique potens. Nunc nullatenus possum nisi supra dextrum pedem consistere. Mira res quam celeriter aegritudo venit quamque tarde recedit⁹. Qui nunc sanus erat, in hora aegrotabit. Nihil sub caelo stabile, nihil securum. Spero tamen me non esse nunc ex his, qui diu jacent. Et quippe, si meum ad te iter tam necessarium quam voluntarium putavissem, mox equum ascendissem, etiam si una privatus tibia veniendum fuisset, quia libentius tecum cum uno pede forem quam cum duobus sine te. Si ergo mea praesentia ulla in re opus est, rescribe, quia omni {309} debilitate posthabita curabo ad te proficisci.

[2] Iterum sicut tibi dixi de Simone, presbytero Missinensi, vicario apud Sanctum Michaellem, supplico, ut causam ejus recommissam habeas verbumque regi facias, ut is possit illic perseverare, quod esset illi ecclesiae admodum utile, nam aedes ruinam minantur, vineae incultae sunt, quia, cum rector non arbitratur se mansurum, rapit, quod potest, et cetera negligit. Hic vult domum reparare jamque ex amicorum subsidio certam in hoc opus pecuniam comparavit. Vult etiam vineas colere et agros reformare, sicuti jam coeperat. Itaque multum expediret illi ecclesiae hujus hominis confirmatio. Praepositus Sancti Stephani habet annuatim ex Sancto Michaelle libras octo et quadraginta, sex¹⁰ dantur aliis quibusdam. Pro vicario supersunt librae 40 vel circa, ex quibus tenetur quattuor capellanos habere, unum choralem, unum clericum, unum procuratorem et se nutrire. Itaque majores sunt expensae quam redditus. Sed hic homo, si continuetur, intendit vineas sic meliorare, ut fructus majores sint. Nec hoc novum est, quod aliquis illic perpetuetur, nam rex Albertus antecessorem istius¹¹ vicarii perpetuum esse voluerat. Rogo igitur et supplico, ut tam pro

¹ SC, 128-129

² DV, ff. 159v-160r

³ DV, f. 35r

⁴ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius Magnifico domino Gaspari Sliqk cancellario salutem plurimam dicit M2

⁵ ego *add.* M2

⁶ deliberavi M2

⁷ sinistrum a genu *omit.* M2

⁸ sanio WO

⁹ recedere M2

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ illius WO

bono illius ecclesiae quam meo intuitu, quia virum illum diligo, velis efficaciter regem orare, ut hunc perpetuet.

130. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (end of March 1444, Vienna).

Context: The chancellor had unexpectedly changed his travel plans.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the chancellor that he will stay in Vienna and requests his support for the vicar of Michaelerkerche.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificent Lordship Kaspar Schlick, imperial chancellor.

[1] Yesterday, when you left Vienna, I intended to follow you since you had said you wanted me in Baden. I was glad about this because Baden is good for my health and I would rather be with you than anywhere else. But last evening, our Hartung¹ came and said the bishop of Chiemsee² had told him you would be going to Neustadt³ today since His Royal Majesty urgently wished to see you and consult with you on some matters. Hearing it, I decided not to go to Baden since without you there, I would incur superfluous expenses, for Hartung informed me that I would not find Your Magnificence there. So, I decided to stay here until you let me know otherwise. In the meantime, an ulcer developed on my left shinbone, which hurts terribly and has grown amazingly since yesterday. My left leg is inflamed from the knee to the thigh and full of pus. I have to use bandages. I don't know whether I will get well and be able to ride in three days. Right now, I can only stand on the right foot. It is incredible how quickly an illness arrives and how long it takes to leave. Nothing is stable under the sky, nothing safe. But I hope I am not one of those who must lie abed for long. Anyway, if I had thought that my going to you was as necessary as voluntary, I would immediately have mounted a horse, even if I had to come deprived of one leg, for I would rather be with you having one foot only than without you having two! So, if my presence is needed, please write, and I shall ignore my infirmity and come to you.

[2] I beg you to reconsider the case I have told you about concerning Simon, a priest from Meissen⁴ Meissen⁴ and vicar at Saint Michael's,⁵ and speak to the king to make it possible for him to retain his post as vicar. This would be greatly useful to that church: it is threatened with ruin, and its vines are not cultivated because the rector does not think he will stay on and grabs what he can, ignoring the rest. Simon wants to repair the house and has already gathered a certain sum from his friends for this work. He also wants to cultivate the vines and improve the fields, as he has already begun to do. The confirmation of this man in the office would be of great use to that church. From Saint Michael's, the provost of Saint Stephen⁶ has a yearly income of 48 pounds, while six pounds are given to some others. About 40 pounds remain for the vicar, and with this income, he must provide a living for four chaplains (a choral chaplain, a cleric, a procurator, and himself). Therefore, the expenses exceed the income. But if this man may continue in the office of vicar, he intends to improve the vines so that they yield greater profit. It is not a new thing to make this office of vicar permanent, for King Albrecht⁷ wanted to make Simon's predecessor's tenure permanent. So, I ask and beg you – both for the good of this church and out of regard for me, who am fond of Simon – to persuade the king to make his tenure permanent.

¹ Hartung von Kappel: counsellor of Emperor Friedrich III: Doctor utriusque juris.

² Bishop Silvester Pflieger.

³ Wiener Neustadt, imperial resi-dence town.

⁴ HE, p. 267: Meiszen.

⁵ Michaelerkerche in Vienna.

⁶ Stephansdom in Vienna.

⁷ Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria (Alberti-nian line) as Albrecht V (1404). King of Hungary and Croatia (1437). Elected King of the Ro-mans (Germany) in 1438.

Quod si hoc nequeat obtineri, saltem triennium aut biennium sibi impetres, ne homo expensas, quas pro vinearum reparatione¹ fecit, omnino perdat. In hoc mihi gratiam quam maximam facies².

Datum³ Viennae, die 7. Junii⁴ 1444⁵.

¹ reparationes WO

² facis M2

³ valete WO

⁴ 7. Junii : 21 martii WO

⁵ Datum ... 1444 : vale. etc. M2

If this cannot be obtained, then at least arrange that he gets tenure for two or three years lest the money he used for improving the vines is entirely wasted. Thus you will do me an immense favour.

Given in Vienna, 7 June 1444.

131. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (c. 23 March 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 106v¹; M2, ff. 60v-61r²; M3, ff. 175v-176r³; V2, ff. 346-347⁴; V3, ff. 165v-166r⁵ **; V4, ff. 147r-147v.

Editions: KO, 73⁶; HE, 131, p. 268; WO, 1: 1, 131, pp. 302-303; (both based on M1 and V2).

{165v} Magnifico et generoso domino Gaspari, cancellario imperiali, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁷

[1] Attulit tibi, sicut opinor⁸, Hartungus litteras meas, quibus magnopere postulabam, ut amicum meum Simonem, presbyterum Missinensem, regiae majestati recommendares⁹, petiunculam suam super vicariatu Sancti Michaelis promovendo. {166r} Nihil exinde mihi¹⁰ respondisti, puto, quia non suppeditavit tempus. Verum cum amici causa non sit deserenda, nisi ad finem usque perducatur, iterum atque iterum precor, ut mei desiderii memoriam habeas et¹¹ hanc unam mihi gratiam impetres, quia pro magno munere suscipiam.

[2] Ego nunc orationem unam¹² edidi¹³, que nonam¹⁴ papirum implet, quam cum videris, dices me cum¹⁵ tibi tum tuo germano officiosum esse. Itaque rogo, ut pro mercede illius Simonem mihi promotum reddas, quia digna est oratio hoc praemio¹⁶ meque iudice multo majori¹⁷. Ideo velis hanc postulationem mihi impetratam reddere meque super hoc certiorare.

[3] De me vero quidquid fieri jusseris, id fiet. Intellexi, ut apud te¹⁸ omnia esse¹⁹ pretii gravioris, ideo hic manebo, quamdiu non vocabor, quia semper mea sententia²⁰ fuit Novae Civitati Viennam esse praeponendam, quamquam apud nos²¹ Judaeorum et monachorum plus sit, nec me novus²² Benedictinorum habitus (sive Bernardini sunt) oblectaret, quamvis fama est, crucem auream fore adjunctam, quae de collo cujusque monachi pendet.

¹ SC, 213

² SC, 127-128

³ SC, 359-360

⁴ DV, f. 178v

⁵ DV, ff. 168v-169r.

⁶ DV, f. 36v

⁷ *Titulus: omit. M1; Aeneas Silvi-us salutem plurimam dicit magnifico et generoso domino Gaspari cancellario imperiali M2, M3*

⁸ dominus *add. M1*

⁹ *M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in address.*

¹⁰ exinde mihi : mihi exinde M1,

¹¹ ut M3

¹² meam V4

¹³ dedi M3

¹⁴ novam M2-M3

¹⁵ cum *dub.* V2a; tum M1-M3

¹⁶ hoc praemio : sic praemiari M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* sic praemiari V2b;

¹⁷ magis M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* magis V2b

¹⁸ vos M1

¹⁹ sint M1

²⁰ mea sententia : mee sententiae M3

²¹ *em.*; vos codd.

²² nec me novus *omit.* V4

Vale optime, et, nisi Noremburgensis cura dietae nimium regem teque gravat, nonnihil mihi rescribe¹. Ex Vienna, 13. Junii 1444.²

¹ rescribere V4

² Ex Vienna ... 1444 : *omit.* M1, M3; etc. M2

131. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (c. 23 March 1444, Vienna).

Context: See letter 130. At this time, the chancellor was occupied with the approaching Diet of Nürnberg and other urgent matters and was preparing for a court hearing on the matter of the See of Freising.

Subject: Piccolomini again requests the chancellor's support of the vicar of Michaelerkirche. He also informs him that he has written an oration for him defending his brother's claim to the see of Freising.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Magnificent and Noble Lordship, Kaspar, imperial chancellor.

[1] I presume that Hartung has brought you the letter¹ in which I urgently requested that you recommend my friend, Priest from Meissen, to His Royal Majesty and that you further his petition concerning the vicariate of Saint Michael's.² You have not replied which I believe must be due to a lack of time. But since a friend's cause must not be abandoned before it has been brought to a happy conclusion, I ask, again and again, that you remember my wish and obtain this one favour for me, which I would consider a great gift.

[2] I have now written an oration that fills nine sheets of paper.³ When you see it, you will tell me that I do my duty to you and your brother. Therefore I ask you to grant me Simon's appointment as a reward for this oration. I believe it is worth this prize and, indeed, a much greater one. Please grant my request and let me know about it.

[3] As for myself, I shall do as you wish. I hear everything has become very expensive there,⁴ so I shall remain here⁵ unless summoned. For I always preferred Vienna to Neustadt even though there are more Jews and monks here, and I cannot enjoy seeing the new habit of the Benedictines (or are they Bernadites?⁶): it is rumoured that each monk wears a golden cross hanging from the neck.⁷

Farewell, best of men, and write back to me unless the Diet of Nürnberg⁸ takes too much of the king's and your time. From Vienna, 13 June 1444.

¹ Letter 132.

² Michaelerkirche.

³ This was the first draft of the oration "*Si putarem*", in defence of Heinrich Schlick's appointment as Bishop of Freising (COR, 2:5). It was to be held at an imperial court hearing on 4 April 1444.

⁴ "apud te". In Wiener Neustadt.

⁵ In Vienna.

⁶ Cistercians. In the DVI, Piccolo-mini says: *In a monastery of Wiener Neustadt, he replaced the monks of the Order of Preachers with Bernardine monks* [sect. 178].

⁷ Piccolomini is apparently scandalised that monks, committed to a life in poverty, would be wearing crucifixes made of gold.

⁸ The diet that was finally to open on 1. August 1444.

132. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (c. April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).¹

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 56v-57r²; M3, ff. 253v-254r³; V2, ff. 238-239⁴ **.

Editions: KO, 116⁵ HE, 132, pp. 268-269; WO, 1, 1: 132, pp. 303-304; (both based on M1 and V2).

{238} Reverendo patri domino episcopo Constantiensi Aeneas Silvius⁶ et Michael⁷, secretarii regii, regii, salutem plurimam dicunt⁸. Reverende in Christo pater et domine.

[1] Obtinuit superioribus diebus honorabilis Cincius⁹ ¹⁰ a majestate regia primarum precum litteras pro aliquo beneficio ecclesiastico sibi conferendo ad tuam¹¹ collationem spectante. Nunc vero cum eisdem litteris ad tuae paternitatis praesentiam proficiscitur, sperans *in oculis tuis* gratam promotionem *invenire*. Verum, quia idem Cincius¹² nobis per plurimum¹³ conversatus est nobisque¹⁴ retroactis temporibus obsequiosum se praebuit et acceptum, et eum semper honestum {239} et probum invenimus, non indignum putavimus has nostras litteras in ejus recommendationem tibi¹⁵ conscribere. Quapropter, licet non dubitemus paternitatem tuam tum¹⁶ intuitu virtutum suarum tum maxime ob reverentiam regiae celsitudinis benevolam sibi et affectam esse, rogamus tamen, ut etiam nostro intuitu Cincium ipsum recipias commendatum, ut per tui¹⁷ favoris praesidia quam primum regiarum precum sortiri possit effectum. In qua re reputabimus specialem gratiam a tua paternitate recepisse¹⁸, viceversa in nobis possibilibus ad vestra beneplacita nos offerentes.

Datum in Novacivitate¹⁹.

¹ Marked "dimitte" in V2b

² SC, 112-113

³ SC, 511-512

⁴ DV, ff. 124v-125r

⁵ DV, f. 97r

⁶ poeta *add.* M3

⁷ de Phullendorff *add.* WO

⁸ Reverendo ... dicunt: episcopo Constantiensi, notarii imperiales M1

⁹ nobis percarus *add.* M1

¹⁰ N. M1

¹¹ M1 uses 2nd pers. plural in *ad-dress*.

¹² N. M1

¹³ plurimum M1

¹⁴ nobis M3

¹⁵ vestre paternitati M1

¹⁶ cum WO

¹⁷ te M3

¹⁸ paratus *add.* M1; paratos *add.*

¹⁹ in Novacivitate *omit.* M1, M3

132. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (c. April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The imperial secretaries habitually exercised their influence in obtaining ecclesiastical benefices for themselves and their friends. The letters 132, 133 and 137 are either a) a group of formulaic letters to the ecclesiastical authorities in a diocese where the emperor has made an appointment (by *primariae preces*) to an ecclesiastical office, or – less probably - b) “real” letters to the Bishop of Konstanz (132 and 137).¹

Subject: A (possibly) formulaic letter to a local bishop requesting his support for an imperial appointee to an ecclesiastical office in his diocese.

Enea Silvio and Michael² send many greetings to the Reverend Father and Lord Bishop of Konstanz. Reverend Father and Lord in Christ.

[1] The honourable Cincius^{3 4} has recently obtained a letter from His Royal Majesty with his *primariae preces*⁵ for an ecclesiastical benefice at your disposal. Now, he comes to you with this letter in the hope of *finding favour in your eyes*⁶ and obtaining the appointment to the benefice. Cincius is well-known to us and has, in the past, shown himself obliging and agreeable, and we always found him honest and decent. We, therefore, consider it appropriate to write this letter of recommendation to you. We do not doubt that Your Paternity will be kind and well-disposed towards him because of his own virtues and out of reverence for His Royal Highness, but we ask you to treat him well also out of regard for us so that he may, as soon as possible, see the effect of the king’s *primariae preces*. We will consider this a special favour from Your Paternity and, in return, we offer to obey your wishes as much as we can.

Given in Neustadt.

¹ See WO, 1, 1: pp. 303-304.

² Michael von Pfullendorf (-1451): Colleague of Piccolomini in the imperial chancery.

³ Johann Cincius: scribe in the royal chancery (Heinig: *Friedrich*, p. 734). See letter 137.

⁴ This name was not included in the first version of the letter (M1), possibly showing that it was a formulaic letter.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Esther, 7: 3.

133. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (c. April 1444, Vienna)¹.

Manuscripts: M1, f. 57r²; M3, f. 254r³; V2, ff. 242-243^d **;

Editions: KO, 117⁵ HE, 133, pp. 268-269; WO, 1, 1: 133, pp. 304-305; (both based on M1 and V2).

{242} Notarii Romanae regiae cancellariae reverendo patri episcopo Constantiensi domino suo salutem plurimam dicunt.⁶

[1] Licet merita nostra nulla⁷ praecesserunt, quorum vigore petere a te⁸ aliquid audere debeamus, quia tamen res justa est, pro qua intervenimus, et benignitatem tuam non ignoramus, fiduciam habemus, quod ea, quae quaerimus, libenter audies et libentius adimplebis. Quod autem poscimus hoc est: venit ad te⁹ Cincius¹⁰ cum litteris regiis primariorum precum super aliquo beneficio ecclesiastico sibi conferendo ecclesiae tuae. Qui cum sit vir litteratus et bonis imbutus moribus, facile apud te, optimum patrem¹¹, gratiam inveniet. Nos tamen cupimus, ut etiam nostrae sibi recommen-dationes prosint, cum eum diligamus et pro suis exigentibus meritis percarum habeamus. Rogamus itaque, ut nostro intuitu tuos sibi favores impendas, quod ipse sentiat litteras nostras ad effectum suae regiae gratiae consequendas¹² non modicum profuisse, quam rem nobis ad praecipuam complacentiam recipiemus, parati e contra in omnibus possibilibus tibi et¹³ in communi et in particulari complacere.

Datum Novacivitate^{14 15}.

¹ Marked "dimitte" in V2b

² SC, 113

³ SC, 512

⁴ DV, ff. 126v-127r

⁵ DV, f. 97r

⁶ *Titulus:* eadem M1

⁷ ulla M3, V2a

⁸ M1 use 2nd pers. plural in address.

⁹ *add.* honorabilis M1

¹⁰ N. M1

¹¹ optimum patrem : optimos patres M1

¹² consequendum M1, M3

¹³ *omit.* M1

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ Datum Novacivitate: *omit.* M1

133. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (c. April 1444, Vienna).

Context: See letters and 137. According to Wolkan, this letter was originally (M1) addressed to the Chapter of Zofingen but in later versions (M3, V2) changed to a letter to the Bishop of Konstanz.¹

Subject: As letter 132.

The notaries of the Royal Roman Chancery send many greetings to the Reverend Father, Lord Bishop of Konstanz.

[1] We have no previous merits [towards you], by virtue of which we might dare to ask anything of you. However, the matter we raise with you is an honest one, and moreover we know of your benevolence. We are, therefore, confident that you will hear our request kindly and fulfil it even more kindly. What we request is this: Cincius² will be coming to you carrying a letter with the king's *primariae preces* for conferral of an ecclesiastical benefice in your diocese. Since he is an educated man of good character, he will, best Father, easily find favour with you. However, we should also wish for our recommendations to profit him since we love him and treasure him for his commanding merits. So, we ask you to grant him your favour out of regard for us so that he will know that our letter contributed much to his obtaining the king's grant. We would consider this to be an exceptional service, and in return, we are ready to be of service to you, both in general and in particular.

Given in Neustadt.

¹ WO, 1, 1: 304.

² Johan Cincius, see letter 137.

134. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (8 April 1444, Rome).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 116r-117r¹; M3, ff. 247v-249r²; V2, ff. 221-227³; V3, ff. 105v-109r⁴ **; V4, ff. 94r-97v.
Editions: KO, 175⁵; HE, 134, pp. 270-273; WO, 1, 1: 134, pp. 305-309; (both based on V2).

{105v} Johannes Campisius⁶ Aeneae Silvio, poetae doctissimo ac serenissimi domini regis Romanorum secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Eram animo nimium⁷ perturbato, cum mihi⁸ hodie mane ad scalas⁹ basilicae principis apostolorum Noxetanus noster litteras tuas restitueret praesente Conte nostro Senensi, unico vitae meae et angustiarum mearum solatio atque refugio. Illis lectis non potui non¹⁰ hilaris per id temporis fieri, tum quod ex aliis tuis ex Sancto Vito ad vigesimum sextum¹¹ Decembris ad me litteris dubius factus extiteram, ne meae et Noxetani ad te litterae minime pervenissent, tum quod propter scripta tua eum te mihi attulerunt, quem semper optime novi. Nam et amicitiam tuam solidam esse ostendisti et libertatem loquendi inter nos, ut libet, constitutam esse probe atque egregie declarasti. Ex ipsa quoque verborum tuorum copia et¹² facilitate ac rerum pondere, quas nescio an dicam gravius an ornatus {106r} an potius modo utroque attigisti, exhibitus es mihi rhetor et poeta nobilissimus, dehinc gravis quidam doctissimusque philosophus. Cum iterum atque iterum¹³ epistolam tuam relegissem, quin immo - ut unum dicam, quod forte ridebis - prophetam te certis¹⁴ in locis epistolae de me ipso affirmare possem, quorum locorum prophetiam libenter aperirem, si omnia tam litteris mandare quam coram explicare liceret. Habeo enim, quae - ut verbo tuo utar - mihi expuenda essent, quae tamen apud Noxetanum non expuere non potero, quocum officium et omnes horas dicere¹⁵ et licet et juvat. Nosti enim, quam sit in celebrando officio et libens et religiosus.

[2] Librum *Politicorum*, ut alias ad te scripsi, Senis inveneram, sed Romae nondum invenire venalem potui, etsi non cesso illi inveniendae exactissima diligentia intendere, quod mihi credas, velim. Non est certe Romae illa librorum venalium copia, quae Florentiae fuit, gentilium praesertim et¹⁶ horum maxime, quorum est nova Aretini traductio. Tu tantum certo habe me voti tui implendi gratia non quieturum, nisi faxim, ut librum hunc, quam primum licuerit, habeas. Et quia difficilimum experior, invenire venditorem, nec etiam facile est habere, qui illum mihi nisi ad breve tempus commodet, statui scriptorem¹⁷ invenire, qui librum ipsum veloci manu, bona tamen littera

¹ SC, 239-241

² SC, 501-504

³ DV, ff. 116r-119r

⁴ DV, ff. 108v-112r

⁵ DV, f. 166r

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

⁷ nimis WO

⁸ nichil M3

⁹ maximae *add.* M2

¹⁰ *omit.* V3, V4

¹¹ XXVII. M3

¹² *omit.* M3

¹³ atque iterum *omit.* M2

¹⁴ caeteris V4

¹⁵ licere V4

¹⁶ aut M3

¹⁷ ipsum *add.* M2

transcribat et transcriptum Mediolanum mittam ad Sigherium {106v} vel¹ Antonium, ut jubes, aut per aliam viam illum ad te deferri curabo, quemadmodum Johanni Tolner melius videbitur.

¹ Sigherium vel *omit.* M2

134. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (8 April 1444, Rome).

- Context:* This letter was begun on 7 February and finished on 8 April. It answers Piccolomini's letters of 15. January and 18. February (letters 117 and 126).
- Subject:* Campisio acknowledges receipt of Piccolomini's last letter, tells him of the progress in the matter of Aristotle's *Politica*, informs him of the situation of his friends and his personal prospects, and ensures him of the benevolence of Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

Giovanni Campisio sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, most learned poet and secretary to His Most Serene Lordship, the King of the Romans.¹

[1] I was sad and dejected when, this morning, I met with our da Noceto at the stairs of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.² He gave me your letter, in the presence of our Conte from Siena, the single solace and refuge of my life and difficulties. Reading them, I was overjoyed, both because your letter of 26 December from Sankt Veit had made me fear you had not received the letters from me and da Noceto and because they brought me you whom I have always known well. For you showed that your friendship is solid. And you, clearly and beautifully, confirmed the freedom we have between us to say whatever we want. The abundance, grace and weightiness of your words showed that you have gained depth or elegance or both and that you are, first, a most noble speaker and poet and, then, a serious and most learned philosopher. Rereading your letter again and again, I can say one thing that may make you laugh: in certain places, you [spoke] about me as if you were a veritable truthsayer. I would speak more about your prophecy if I could say all in a letter that I can as person to person. For – to use your own words – there is something I would unburden myself of, which I cannot with da Noceto with whom I may say the office and all the [canonical] hours³ (it actually helps!). For you know how gladly and how piously he celebrates the office.

[2] As I wrote to you in another letter, I had located the *Politica* in Siena, but I have yet to find it for sale in Rome. But please trust that I shall continue to assiduously search for it. But there are not as many books for sale in Rome as in Florence, especially of pagan⁴ authors, and even less those books that Aretino⁵ has translated freshly. But, be sure that I shall not rest before I have fulfilled your wish and arranged for you to have the book as soon as possible. And since it is very hard to find a seller, and I can only find people who will make it available for a short period,⁶ I have decided to find a scribe who can copy the book with a swift hand but decent lettering. Then I shall send the copied volume to Sigerio⁷ or Antonio in Milan,⁸ as you asked, or arrange to have it sent in some other way as may seem best to Johann Tolner.

¹ "King of the Romans" was the correct title of an uncrowned emperor.

² Saint Peter's Church.

³ Canonical hours: the seven times of day at which Canon Law pre-scribes certain prayers to be said (matins, lauds etc.)

⁴ I.e., classical.

⁵ Leonardo Bruni [Aretino] (c. 1370-1444): Italian humanist, historian, and politician. Chancellor of Florence from 1427 to his death. In his *Commentarii* (1462), Piccolomini wrote about him: ... *Leonardo, who was born in Arezzo, but became a citizen of Florence. His eloquence approached that of Cicero and he earned a brilliant reputation for himself by translating many works from Greek into Latin* (COM, 1: 30 (Meserve, vol. 1, p. 323)). Piccolomini was an admirer of Bruni, whom he may have met or at least seen in Florence on a study tour during his university years (1430-1431). See DVI, ch. 16.

⁶ I.e., for copying.

⁷ Sigerio Gallerano: A merchant-banker in Milan, from the Gallerani family.

⁸ See letter of 14 October 1443 (letter 84), sect. 2.

[3] Habeo gratias humanitati tuae, qui magna laetitia intellexisti, ut scribis, concepisse me spem fortunae melioris. Verum nimis propheta in postremo sermone fuisti, praesertim cum dixisti te mihi minus sperare.

[4] De Noxetano nostro sic est, ut scripsi. Non mutuo sententiam, quamquam non illis est fortunis aut honoribus, quibus eum dignum censeo. Tu recte¹² aptissimeque³ locum illum de ipso facetissimeque facetissimeque attigisti. Verum ut verius de homine amicissimo nostro accipias, ego, etsi dixerim me non mutare, volo tamen moderari⁴ sententiam, nam non est res sua tam ampla, quantam forte ipse superioribus ad te litteris scripsi, vel tu ex eisdem accepisti, etsi, ut affirmavi, pueros et equos pascit. Nam neque sunt hoc tempore in curia ejusmodi lucra, sed *ex abundantia*, ut ajunt, *cordis* locutus sum.

[5] Calvum nostrum tui nomine resalutavi, ut jussisti. Fuit illi ea resalutatio jucundissima et gratias habet ingentes et tuum se esse⁵ ⁶ professus⁷ est. Contes noster, quam jucunde litteras tuas totas legerit, et de te quam avide audiverit, quantoque in sermone de te⁸ fuerimus, non est, ut ultra tibi aperiam, quandoquidem jam tibi per me cognitum extat unam esse illius et meam more Aristophanis⁹ animam. Vegii nostri fortuna, si ad eum spectes, aut admodum tenuis est aut nulla. Si ad tempora {107r} nostra, quibus vere, ut scribis, dicere possumus, *esurit intactam Paridi, ni vendat Agaven*, eam vel magnam dices vel miram. Nam praeter id, quod sacras summi pontificis aedes et quadram colit, datarius est, quod munus tamen haud est illi lucrosus volenti se, quod constanter facit, bonum virum conservare. Quae res facit, ut ex eo officio neque ditior neque dives fiat. Emolumentum tamen aliquid habet, quod brevior est et novissime Sancti Petri in urbe canonicus factus extitit.

[6] Haec, ut dixi ad hominem,¹⁰ parva sunt verumtamen tanta, ut majora sint, quam quae ipse post tot ac tantos tamque varios tot annorum labores mereri¹¹ potuerim, qui nihil certe praeter dedecus et rerum omnium, quibus reliquam vitam tueri possim, tenuitatem, ne dicam indigentiam possideo, quo nemo certe¹² est¹³ philosophior, si modo philosophi est, bonorum externorum omnino nihil habere. Ex his et ex principio epistolae, ubi me fuisse “animo nimis perturbato affirmavi”, scio, negaveris me esse philosophum. Et recte, nam etsi sapientum amator sim, et mihi placeat ipsa sapientia, et philosophorum¹⁴ studia me aliquando delectarint ac delectarent, si mihi adessent facultates, tantum tamen¹⁵ abest, ut me philosophum censi ab ullo, etiam abs te, velim, ut nihil a me magis sit alienum, neque illam Stoicorum aut Peripateticorum sapientiam attigisse me ulla ex

¹ mutuo M2

² certe WO

³ aptissime M2-M3, V2a, V4; *corr. ex* aptissime V2b

⁴ moderare M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* moderare V2b

⁵ *omit.* V3

⁶ se esse : sese M3

⁷ profectus est M2

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ Aristophani V3

¹⁰ Johannem M2

¹¹ vereri V4

¹² praeter dedecus ... certe *omit.* M2

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ et recte ... philosophorum *omit.* V4

¹⁵ *omit.* M2

parte exterior, ut vel nulla¹, quod Stoicorum est, vel moderata, quod Peripateticorum, {107v} animi
animi perturbatio mentem attingat². Sum enim de numero mortalium, quorum, ut quidam poeta
apud Ciceronem inquit, *nemo est, quem non³ attingat egestas morbusque*.

¹ ulla M3

² attingit M3

³ omit. M2

[3] I thank you for your kindness in rejoicing – as you write – that I have hopes for a better fortune. But you show yourself as a truthsayer, especially when, at the end of the passage, you say you do not have much hope for me.

[4] Concerning our da Noceto, it is as I wrote¹: I do not change my opinion, though I think he does not enjoy the prosperity and honour he deserves. What you wrote about him was right, proper and witty! But to make you understand more correctly the situation of our beloved friend, I will not change, as I said, but moderate my report, for he is not quite as prosperous as I may have written in my previous letter and you may have understood from it, even though he does, as I wrote, have horses and servants. At present, indeed, there are not such fortunes to be gained at the curia: I spoke *out of the abundance of the heart*.²

[5] As you asked, I have greeted our Calvi,³ for you. He was overjoyed at the greeting and thanks you profusely, declaring himself to be yours. As for our Conte,⁴ I do not need to explain how glad he was to read your whole letter, how eagerly he heard about you, and how much we spoke about you, for you already know from me that his soul and mine are one like in Aristophanes.⁵ As for the fortune of our Vegio,⁶ it is rather small or inexistent. [On the other hand], if, as you write, times are such that he *will starve if he does not sell his virgin Agave to Paris*,⁷ it is either great or amazing, for apart from frequenting the sacred palace of the Supreme Pontiff⁸ and his table, he is a datary.⁹ However, this office does not profit him greatly since he wants to remain a good man and continues to be so.¹⁰ Therefore, that office makes him neither wealthy nor rich. But he does have some income as an abbreviator,¹¹ and he has recently been appointed a canon at Saint Peter's in the City.¹²

[6] As I have told the man himself, his incomes may be small, but they are greater than those that I have gained after the many and various labours of so many years. Indeed, I have almost shamefully little to live off for the rest of my life. What I possess is abject poverty, and nobody can be more of a philosopher than me if it is the way of a philosopher to have no worldly possessions. But I know that these [complaints] and the beginning of this letter where I said "I was deeply moved" will make you deny that I am a philosopher. And you will be right, for though I may love wise men and wisdom itself and once enjoyed the study of philosophy and would still enjoy it if only I had the means, I should not want to be considered a philosopher by anybody and even by you, for nothing is farther from me. I feel that I have not attained the wisdom of the Stoics or the Peripatetics and do not feel any (the Stoics) or only moderate (the Peripatetics) emotions. No, I belong to those mortals about whom, as some poet¹³ said in Cicero, "*No mortal is there but need finds him out and sickness*."¹⁴

¹ In letter of 13 November 1443 (letter 94), sect. 4.

² Matthew, 12: 34.

³ Jacopo Calvi.

⁴ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

⁵ Error for Aristotle, see also letters 94: sect. 5 and 117: sect. 6.

⁶ Maffei Vegio.

⁷ Juvenalis, 7: 87.

⁸ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁹ An office at the papal curia.

¹⁰ Meaning that he would not exploit his office financially.

¹¹ Another office at the papal curia.

¹² Saint Peter's Church.

¹³ Euripides.

¹⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 3: 25, 59.

[7] De rebus¹ legati et exercitus Pannonum in Turchos² jucundissime legi, tametsi illa apud nos jamdiu vetera sunt, quae de eversione Sophiae civitatis in cineres nova certa accepimus³, apud quos et fama est, sed nondum certa⁴, captam esse Andrinopolim, primam citra mare magni Turci sedem, captum quoque et ejus filium, ac ipsos Turcos adeo in fugam esse conversos⁵, ut finem nondum faciant⁶ fugiendi⁷, de quibus rebus jam apud vos nunc fortassis idem rumor, ut ita dicam, volitat. Noxetanus ad te scribit⁸. Vale.

Romae, die 7. Februarii⁹ 1444¹⁰.

[8] Haec jam diu¹¹ scripta et ad te ferenda fuerunt, verum comperi ex Johanne Tolner nuntium jam retro vertisse, unde¹² effectum est, ut postea usque in hanc diem tabellarium non habuerim, cui has committere potuerim. Interea vero temporis¹³, cum librum *Politicorum* venalem nullo modo reperirem, tametsi multorum et maxime librariorum aures obtuderim¹⁴, vix invenire licuit, qui librum hunc mihi commodatum faceret nisi ad valde¹⁵ paucos dies, decrevi, ut librum ipsum *Politicorum* potius habeas, qualemcumque ipse habere possum¹⁶ et id quam cito, quam nimium differendo expectationem tuam vehementem et honestissimam {108r} offendere. Itaque a¹⁷ cardinali de Columna¹⁸ exemplar habui et scriptorem satis eruditum inveni, qui celeriter, ut fidem dedit, opus hoc absolvet. Absolutum curabo adjutorio Tolner, qui nuntios **patriae** novit et mores, ut quam primum illud¹⁹ ²⁰ habeas. Erit autem liber hic in papyro propterea, quod scriptorem nondum habere potui, qui in pergameno ipsum scriberet ea littera et eo tempore, quo²¹ conveniret et oporteret. Nam, ut dixi, non possum diu exemplar tenere. Scriptum ergo mittam et deinde, si malueris alium pulchriorem habere quam munus meum exiguum tenere²², faciam, ut jusseris. Sed re vera nihil mentior, dum tibi, quas dixi, in hac re difficultates praedico.

[9] Ut autem non ignores, quibus in finibus me mea tenent fata²³, fui hactenus²⁴ navigans inter spem et metum fortunae melioris. Verum nunc quatrinduo spes redire coepit et quidem paulo major quam adhuc apud me fuerit. Nam cum pro me fortuna rogaretur, audivi amotas fuisse seras²⁵ et talia fuisse

¹ reverendissimi domini *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimi domini~~ *seq.* V2b;

² Teucros *et passim* M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucros *et passim* V2b

³ habebimus M2

⁴ certe M3

⁵ reversos M3

⁶ faciet V4

⁷ *omit.* M3

⁸ scripsit V4

⁹ anno *add.* HE, WO

¹⁰ die 7. ... 1444 *omit.* M2

¹¹ diei *or* dici M2

¹² uti de M2

¹³ *omit.* V3

¹⁴ obtunderim M2, M3, V4

¹⁵ vale M2

¹⁶ possim V4

¹⁷ reverendissimo domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimo de-mi-no~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁸ Calumnia V4

¹⁹ illuc M3

²⁰ qui nuntios ... illud *omit.* V4

²¹ qua M3

²² tenet WO

²³ facta M3

²⁴ attenuus V4

²⁵ ceras

responsa, ut credi possit posse me certius quam antea sperare. Sed vale, nam dum¹ tecum libenter loquor ineptus², ineptias³ ineptissime⁴, tibi homini aptissimo scribo, verum dabis familiaritati nostrae et meae de te fiduciae veniam.

Romae, die 29. Martii^{5 6}.

¹ diu M2

² inepte WO

³ ineptius M3

⁴ ineptissimi V4

⁵ *omit.* V4

⁶ Romae ... Martii *omit.* M2

[7] I read with pleasure about the affairs of the legate¹ and the Hungarian army [fighting] the Turks. However, what we have heard about the city of Sophia being reduced to ashes is already old and confirmed news. There is also a rumour here, not yet confirmed, that Adrianople,² the Grand Turk's³ main city this side of the sea,⁴ has been conquered, that his son⁵ has been captured, and that that the Turks are fleeing so [desperately] that they have not yet stopped! Maybe the same rumor is now flying where you are. Da Noceto writes to you. Farewell.

Rome, 7 February 1444.

[8] I had already written this letter some time ago to be sent to you, but then I heard from Johan Tolner that the messenger had already returned. Since then I have not found a messenger to whom I could entrust it. In the meantime, I have been unable to locate a copy of the *Politica* for sale, though I have spoken to many people and especially booksellers, and I have not found anybody who would make it available⁶ to me for more than a very few days. I have therefore decided that you shall have the *Politica* in any form I can get it lest your vivid and most proper desire be frustrated. So I have obtained a copy from Cardinal Colonna⁷ and found a reasonably competent scribe who has demonstrated that he can finish the work soon. When it is finished, I shall – with the aid of Tolner who knows the messengers of his country and their ways – arrange that you get it as soon as possible. But it will be a book on paper, for I have not be able to find a scribe able to write it on parchment with the proper lettering and needed speed. For, as I said, I cannot keep the [cardinal's] copy for long. When the book has been written out, I shall send it to you, and if then, you will rather have a more elegant one than my modest offering, I shall do as you wish. Do believe me, I am not lying when I tell you about my difficulties in this whole matter.

[9] But so that you may know what my situation is, I have, until now, been navigating between hope and fear of a better fortune. But during the last four days, hope has begun to return to me, and it is indeed greater than before. For when someone⁸ was asked about my possible advancement,⁹ I heard that the bars¹⁰ have been removed and the answer was such that I may have surer hope than before. But farewell, for as I am happily chattering away with you, like another fool, I am foolishly speaking foolishness to you, a most clever man. But you will forgive me because of our friendship and my trust in you.

Rome, 29 March.

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

² Edirne. Close to the present-day border between Turkey and Greece and Bulgaria. Capital of the Ottoman realm from 1418 to 1453.

³ Murad II (1404-1451): Sultan of the Turks. Murad had abdicated after the Peace of Szeged but was recalled by his son, Mehmed II, to conduct the war against the Hungarians, whom he defeated in the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

⁴ The sea that separates Europe and Asia.

⁵ Mehmed II (1432-1481): Sultan of the Turks 1444-1446, 1451-1481. Conquered Constantinople in 1453.

⁶ For copying.

⁷ Prospero Colonna (c. 1410-1463): Roman noble. Nephew of Pope Martin V. Cardinal *in petto* 1426, published 1430.

⁸ Presumably the pope or some high-ranking prelate at the papal court.

⁹ "fortuna"

¹⁰ The early version of the text (M2) has "seras" (bars), which in the later versions was copied –erroneously - as "ceras" (candles), which van Heck explains as "pri-ma obstacula".

[10] Scriptor jam dimidium libri¹ *Politicorum* scripsit. Cum absolutus fuerit, Tolner noster, vir certe certe bonus, curam habebit² illum ad te per nuntium fidum transmittendi.

Vale. {108v} Datum ut supra,³ 8. Aprilis 1444.⁴

[11] Clausis jam litteris meis et illis jam nostro Tolnero destinatis, qui illas ad te deferri⁵ curaret, redditae fuerunt mihi⁶ litterae tuae date in Labaco Vindelico, ut scribis, oppido 18. Februarii⁷. Quod Quod de libro *Politicorum* Aristotelis scire optas, ex litteris meis praesentibus intelliges. Ex hac cedula mortem Leonardi Aretini accipies et⁸ in ejus officii locum suffectum esse Poggium apud illam Florentinorum democratiam.

[12] Placuit mihi, et bene a te factum est, quod de receptis bullis⁹ ecclesiae Frisingensis et de futuro futuro optimo imperialis cancellarii animo, cum id rediens rescierit, aliquod graviter certe scripsisti, laudata etiam summi pontificis et sacri senatus liberalitate. Fui itaque in ea apud¹⁰ dominum meum. Is te vehementer de multis laudavit et cupere se dixit re ipsa ostendere, quam sit plurimum virtuti tuae affectus, et quam grato gerat animo, quod illum constanter amas. Quare si quidquam ex eo cupis, fac ut sciat: invenies te apud illum non parvum neque postremum locum tenere. Et quoniam jubes, cavebo summopere pro viribus, ne legem nostrae taciturnitatis observem, praesertim quod et scite¹¹ multum¹² rationem adjecisti, cur a me servari non debeat.

Vale. Datum¹³ Romae, feria 3. post diem palmarum, qua die litteras tuas accepi.¹⁴

[13] Ex Conte nostro infinitas et gratias et salutes habe. Apud {109r} Vegium nondum fui. Ad Noxetanum nostrum nunc pergo, ut ab eo litteras ad te capiam, si paratas habuerit, quas cum his meis ad te mittam. Vale iterum. Non potest non prodesse mihi, cum ad me scripseris, ut in litteris tuis aliquid adjicias verborum, quibus veluti calcaribus quibusdam herus meus ad mihi benefaciendum urgeri¹⁵ a te velle videatur, etsi optimo sit erga me¹⁶ animo.¹⁷

¹ *omit.* V3, V4

² *habet* M3

³ *ut supra omit.* WO

⁴ Datum ... 1444 *omit.* M2

⁵ *differri* M3

⁶ *omit.* V3

⁷ 18. Februarii *omit.* M2

⁸ *ut* V4

⁹ *omit.* M2

¹⁰ *reverendissimum add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~*reverendissimum*~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ *scire* M3; *si te* V4

¹² *multam* HE, WO

¹³ *omit.* WO

¹⁴ Datum ... *accepi omit.* M2

¹⁵ *urgere* V4

¹⁶ *sit erga me : erga me sit* WO

¹⁷ *vale ut supra add.* WO

[10] The scribe has now finished half of the book *Politica*. When it is finished, our good Tolner will arrange for it to be sent to you with a trustworthy messenger.

Farewell. Given as above,¹ 8 April 1444.

[11] I had already closed my letter and given it to our Tolner to forward it to you when your letter from the city of Laibach² in the Windic March, dated 18 February, was delivered to me. You will see what you wish to know about Aristotle's book *Politica* in this letter. With the present note,³ I inform you that Leonardo Aretino⁴ has died, and Poggio⁵ has been chosen to replace him in his office in the Florentine republic.⁶

[12] I was happy to read what you wrote (well done!) so significantly about receiving the bulls concerning the Church of Freising, how it will make the imperial chancellor⁷ excellently disposed⁸ when, at his return, he hears about it, and how you praise the generosity of the Supreme Pontiff⁹ and and the Sacred Senate.¹⁰ I saw My Lord¹¹ on the matter, and he praised you highly and said he wanted to show concretely how much he appreciates your qualities¹² and how pleased he is that you still love him. Therefore, if you desire something from him, let him know: you will find that your place with him is not small nor the last. And since you command it, I shall do everything possible to not observe the law of our silence, especially now that you have argued so convincingly why I shouldn't! Farewell.

Given in Rome on the third day after Palm Sunday, when I received you letter.

[113] Conte sends you his infinite thanks and greetings. I have not yet seen Vegio. I am going to da Noceto now to see if he has a letter ready for you that I can send with my own. Farewell again.

[PS:] It can only benefit me if, when you write to me, you add something which shows that you wish to urge and spur My Lord¹³ to further my prospects – though he is, actually, quite well disposed towards me.

¹ I.e., in Rome.

² Present-day Ljubljana.

³ Or a note included in the letter.

⁴ Leonardi Bruni.

⁵ Poggio Bracciolini

⁶ "democratia"

⁷ Kaspar Schlick.

⁸ Towards pope Eugenius IV and the papal court.

⁹ Eugenius IV.

¹⁰ The College of Cardinals.

¹¹ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacoz-zo.

¹² Meaning that the papal court is aware of Piccolomini's role in the rapprochement between the imperial and the papal court, which would be important for Piccolomini's future reconciliation with the pope.

¹³ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacoz-zo.

135. Letter to Johann von Lupfen (9 April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 107r-108r; M2, ff. 54r-55r¹; M3, ff. 261v-262v²; V2, ff. 269-273³; V3, ff. 127r-129r⁴ **; V4, ff. 113r-114v.

Editions: KO, 125⁵; HE, 135, pp. 274-276; WO, 1: 1, 135, pp. 310-312; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: BA, 4, pp. 25-27; WI, pp. 288-292 [large extract].

{127r} Aeneas Silvius⁶, imperialis⁷ secretarius⁸, magnifico⁹ Johanni, comiti de Lupfen¹⁰, salutem salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] In scriptis veterum tria invenio, quae nostri partim negligunt, partim assequi non valent: elegantiam enim et gravitatem sententiarum, quibus vetusti codices redolent, nequeunt nostri saeculi homines imitari. Quod usitatissimum aevo priori fuit, allocutiones singulares enuntiare et se in epistolarum capite ponere possent nostri, sed supina quadam ignorantia decepti, dum¹¹ blandiri volunt, omnem orationis textum confundunt. “Vos, precor,” inquit, “vobis supplico, Caesar, vestram majestatem appello, vestrum officium imploro, vestram clementiam obtestor, reddite iudicium inopi, iudicate potentem, meam {127v} calamitatem respicite, nemo vos magis quam justitia moveat, Caesar”, et in hunc modum infinita. Hoc et mihi facere liceret, sed veterem morem magis commendo, et cum summos illos imitari sapientes in eloquentiae atque philosophiae studiis nequeam, in hac certe parte ipsorum vestigiis inhaerebo, ideoque te, quamvis claro sanguine cretus et multa doctrina sis fretus, singulari appellatione saluto. Et sicut Julio Caesari scribens Cicero se anteponebat, sic et tu aequo animo feres Aeneam tuam in ipso primo epistolae angulo intueri, quia non arrogantis est, sed veteres imitantis, quorum ignorantiam modernorum scientiae praefero.

[2] Nunc quid ex te velim paucis accipe¹². Retulit mihi vir mitis et mihi amicissimus, immo alter ego, Michael Pfullendorfius¹³, te pluribus libris abundare, quorum nomina etiam mihi praescripsit. Inter illos nonnulli sunt, quos visere cupio, non quod antea non perlegerim, sed quod diu illis carui. Et sicut amicus post¹⁴ magnam temporis intercapedinem avidus est amici videndi, sic mihi cupiditas est contubernales illos meos, quibus nimium privatus fui, in domum recipere et per aliquod tempus esse cum eis. Hoc potest mihi praestare humanitas tua, ut me Michael¹⁵ instruxit. Est enim apud te Ovidius de *Tristibus*, de *Arte amandi* et *Amoris remedio*, Terentius quoque comicus et Jeronimus in *Epistolis*, quos tam {128r} expeto relegere, quam nunc paschalem adesse diem, ut, piscibus atque oleribus et oleo semotis, vesci carnibus possim. Quod desiderium, si tua benignitas impleverit, magno me tibi nexu retinebis obnoxium.

¹ SC, 115-117

² SC, 527-529

³ DV, ff. 140r-142r

⁴ DV, ff. 130r-132r

⁵ DV, f. 100v

⁶ poeta add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ seq. V2b

⁷ imperialisque M1-M3, V2

⁸ imperialis secretarius : etc. M1

⁹ et generoso domino add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~et generoso domino~~ seq. V2b

¹⁰ domino suo add. M1-M3, V2a; ~~domino suo~~ seq. V2b

¹¹ cum WO

¹² omit. M3

¹³ etc. M1

¹⁴ pius WO

¹⁵ omit. M3

[3] Erubescō, dum sic scribo, namque cum nulla inter nos usura praecesserit nullaque notio, temerarium quodammodo videtur me beneficium ex te petere. Quisquis enim poscere¹ aliquid cupit, cupit, ante omnia sese debet metiri et, an impetratu sit dignus, rigida trutinare censura, ne postulatis² postulatis² carens et damno et irrisione mulctetur. Sed neque hoc ego praetermisi. Sunt enim nonnullae rationes, quae mihi spem faciunt te meis votis annitutum, quas breviter tibi³ exponam, ne me temere atque inconsulte motum iudices.

135. Letter to Johann von Lupfen (9 April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: In Siena and Basel, Piccolomini had had relatively easy access to books, but classical book collections were evidently not much prized at the imperial court, so, by now, he was starving for classical literature.

Subject: After an introduction where Piccolomini motivates his use of the singular in addressing (even) high-ranking persons and placing oneself first in an epistolary salutation, he requests a loan of books (classical authors) from the count and offers to lend him his own books in return.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to His Magnificence, Johann, Count of Lupfen.⁴

[1] In the writings of the ancients, I find three things that men today either disregard or are unable to achieve: the elegance and profundity of exposition, so common in the ancient books, cannot be equalled by men of our time. And, in the former age, it was most common to use the singular form in address and to name oneself first at the beginning of the letter.⁵ This the moderns could do, but led astray by careless ignorance and the wish to flatter, they bring unclarity to the text when they write, “I ask You⁶, Caesar, I appeal to Your Majesty, I beg Your office, I implore Your clemency, give justice to a poor man, judge the powerful man, consider my misfortune, and nothing moves You more than justice, Caesar,” and countless other examples. I could do the same here, but I prefer the old way, and while unable to imitate those wise men in their devotion to eloquence and philosophy, I can at least follow them in this respect. Therefore, though you are of noble blood and have acquired great learning, I address you in the singular. And just as Cicero named himself first in his letters to Julius Caesar, you should accept it when you see your Enea named first in this letter, for this is not the act of an arrogant man but of one who imitates the ancients, whose ignorance I prefer even to the knowledge of the moderns.

[2] Now hear, briefly, my request. Michael Pfullendorf, a kind man and close friend, indeed my *alter ego*, has told me that you have many books whose titles he has written down for me. Among them are several that I should like to see, not because I have not read them before, but because I have been without them for a long time. And just as after a long interval, a friend is eager to see his friend, I now have a strong desire to receive into my home the old companions I have been missing for too long and spend some time with them. In your kindness, you can grant me this, as Michael

¹ postea M3

² postulat M3

³ omit. V3

⁴ Johann von Lupfen: Imperial *Hofrichter*.

⁵ In the salutation.

⁶ In the plural sense. This passage is untranslatable since, in English, “you” is both single and plural, whereas the Latin uses “tu” (singular) and “vos” (plural).

informed me, for you have Ovid's¹ *Tristia*, his *Ars Amandi*, and his *Remedia Amoris*, as well as Terence the Comedian and Jerome's² *Letters*. I am just as eager to read these books again as I am to eat meat now that Easter Day is approaching and we can do away with fish, vegetables and oil.³ If you kindly fulfil this wish, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

[3] I am blushing as I write this, for we have no previous connection or acquaintance, so it may seem preposterous that I ask you for this favour. Indeed, anyone who wishes to ask for something must first appraise himself and soberly consider whether he merits to obtain it lest he not only fails to obtain his wish but even suffers injury and ridicule. But I have certainly thought of that! Several reasons give me hope that you will accede to my request, and I shall explain them briefly lest you judge me to be acting rashly and inadvisedly.

[4] Omnes, qui libros cumulant, aut oblectari illis et fieri legendo peritiores cupiunt aut videri amatores sapientiae volunt, ut transeuntes per viam *digitulis monstrentur*. Hi sunt, qui magnas et pretiosas habent bibliothecas, in quorum pluteis⁴ Aristoteles, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Virgilius, Livius, Plinius et omnis vetustas delitescit. Priores quidem, ut gaudium perfectum habeant, opuscula communicant, commodant et in commodatum recipiunt, transcribi permittunt et tanto magis exultant, quanto vulgatiore sapientum virorum volumina conspiciuntur. Alii vero tamquam thesaurum libros⁵ recondunt et corrodi potius tinea et *opicis muribus*, quam in apertum {128v} dare dare velint, nec tam diligenter vellus aureum draco custodiebat aut aditum Orci⁶ Cerberus⁷, quam isti suos libros, quorum dumtaxat marginibus et aureis bullis oblectantur, numquam quid interius sit aut legentes aut intelligentes.

[5] Quod si tu ex his esses, numquam vel tibi scribere vel te alloqui temptassem. Sed ajunt omnes, qui te norunt, similem illis prioribus esse, qui poetas et oratores non ut in *taetro carcere claudas*⁸, sed ut ad tuam et communem utilitatem publiques, emere congregareque studes. Ajunt praeterea te fore in omnibus rebus liberalem, benignum, munificum et cum in omnes homines⁹ tum in eos, qui tuorum studiorum amatores sunt, largum atque beneficum. His ergo allectus moribus decrevi has meas litteras ad te¹⁰ dare teque hortari, rogare obsecrareque¹¹, ut per aliquod tempus in usum meum oratores et poetas, quos praescripsi, venire permittas, quoniam ad te nihilo pejores revertentur, sed potius per ridentia prata et floridos agros verno tempore transeuntes mecum postquam confabulati aliquantisper fuerint, tamquam recreati alacriores te repetent, quia nullus est tam gratus locus, nulla societas tam jucunda, cujus non aliquando emergat satietas. Missos igitur illos fac, ut non solum mihi, sed ut¹² ipsis etiam geras morem. Ad haec¹³ accedit Michaelis, quae apud te est¹⁴ familiaritas.

¹ Ovidius, Publius Ovidius (40-17 BCE): Roman poet.

² Jeronimus [Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus] (c. 342-420): Latin priest, theologian, historian. Doctor of the Church.

³ Meat was not eaten during Lent.

⁴ bibliothecis *glossa interlin.* M1

⁵ omit. M3

⁶ inferni *glossa interlin.* M1

⁷ canis infernalis *glossa interlin.* M1

⁸ claudes M3

⁹ honestum *corr. ex homines* M3

¹⁰ litteras ad te : ad te litteras M2

¹¹ observareque M1; obsecrareque WO

¹² et M3

¹³ hoc M3

¹⁴ omit. M3

Huic etiam placebis, et is vadem cum domino Wilhelmo¹, tui observantissimo, se dabit libros {129r} non ituros esse sinistrorsum² sed ad te pura fide remeaturos.

[6] Addo et tertium, quoniam mihi etiam³ libri⁴ sunt, quorum te potero, cum voles, participem facere, et sic vicissim tu meis uteris codicibus⁵ et ego perfruar tuis. Ut ergo finem epistolae donem, credo me non esse stulta petitione usum, si id postulo, quod moribus tuis est consentaneum concedere, si tute mihi potes annuere, si tua etiam in eo versatur⁶ utilitas, si non solum meam, sed etiam Michaelis, amantissimi tui, commoditatem promoveo. Tu fac, ut ratione potius obtineam quam *caeca fortuna* repellar mihi que uti mancipio impera.

Datum in Novacivitate Austriae, 5. idus Aprilis 1444^{7 8}.

¹ domino Wilhelmo: et *add.* M1; Titio M2, M3, V2-V4

² seorsum HE, WO

³ mihi etiam : etiam mihi M3

⁴ pura fide ... libri *omit.* V4

⁵ opusculis M1-M3, V2

⁶ versetur M1

⁷ In Novacivitate ... 1444 *omit.* M1, M2

⁸ Austriae ... 1444 *omit.* M3

[4] Those who collect books either wish to read them in order to enjoy them and acquire knowledge, or they want to appear to be lovers of wisdom and *pointed out*¹ when they are walking about in public. The last kind are those who have large and costly libraries in whose bookcases Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca,² Virgil, Livy,³ Pliny⁴ and indeed all of Antiquity lie hidden. The first kind are those who are happy to share works, lend them or borrow them and have them copied, and they rejoice when they see that the works of wise men are circulating. The others hide their books away like some treasure, and they would rather have them being gnawed by moths and *unlettered mice*⁵ than keep them in the open. Indeed, they guard their books more closely than the dragon guarded the golden fleece and Cerberus⁶ the entrance to the underworld.⁷ They merely enjoy the bindings tooled with gold, and they never read or understand the contents.

[5] If you were one of those, I would never try to write or address you, but all who know you say you belong to the first kind of collectors since you do not buy and collect the poets and the orators to lock them *into a horrible prison*⁸ but to make them available for your own and the common good. They say you are, in every respect, liberal, benign, munificent, generous and beneficent towards all men and especially towards those who share your love of learning. Encouraged by such a character, I have decided to send you this letter and to ask, beg and implore you to lend me the aforementioned orators and poets. When they have been talking with me for a while, passing through spring's smiling meadows and flowery fields, they will return undamaged to you. Indeed, they will come back to you refreshed and eager, for no place is so agreeable and no company so enjoyable that one will not, eventually, get enough of them. So, by sending them to me, you will do a favour not only to me but also to those poets and orators themselves. You should also consider your friendship with Michael,⁹ for him you will please, too, and he and Wilhelm,¹⁰ who regards you highly, will both guarantee that the books do not get lost but be returned to you faithfully.

[6] I add a third thing: I myself have books which I can share with you so that, in return, you can use mine while I enjoy yours. In conclusion: I consider that my request is sensible since it agrees with your character, you can grant it safely, it may be useful to yourself, and you will be doing a favour not only to me but also to your beloved Michael. So, please let my wish be fulfilled as reason dictates and let me not become disappointed by *blind fortune*.¹¹

I am yours to command. Given in Neustadt, 9 April 1444.

¹ Horatius: *Carmina*, 4: 3, 22: *monstror digito praetereuntium*

² Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (4 BCE - 65 CE): Roman philosopher, au-thor, and statesman.

³ Livius, Titus (65/59 BCE -12/17 CE): Roman historian.

⁴ Plinius Secundus, Gajus [Pliny the Elder] (c. 23-79): Roman au-thor, naturalist, and philosopher

⁵ Juvenalis, 3: 207: *divina opici ro-debant camina mures*.

⁶ Kerberos: (Myth.) Three-headed dog who guards the entrance to Hades.

⁷ Orcus: (Myth.) God of the under-world, and also the underworld it-self.

⁸ Poggio Bracciolini: *Epistolae* (Harth) 2: 155.

⁹ Michael von Pfullendorf.

¹⁰ Wilhelm Tacz.

¹¹ Cicero: *Philippicae*, 13: 5, 10: *fortuna ipsa quae dicitur caec*.

136. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (18 April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 89v-90r; M2, ff. 55r-55v¹; M3, ff. 262v-263v²; V2, ff. 273-276³; V3, ff. 179r-180v⁴ **; V4, ff. 114v-116r.

Editions: KO, 61⁵; HE, 136, pp. 276-277; WO, 1: 1, 136, pp. 312-314; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: RE, 43, pp. 187-189.

{179r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ Johanni Peregallo, scriptori apostolico, fratri amantissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.⁷

[1] Veteres sunt apud me litterae tuae, quibus non respondi, quoniam nunc in Styria, nunc in Carinthia, nunc in Carniola inter medios barbaros saevasque nationes constitutus, nunc apud Histriam et super oras Superi Maris cum Tergestinis versatus, nullum habui, cui committere litteras possem ad te perferendas. Nunc quia nuntius datur Basileam petiturus, statui nonnihil ad te scribere, ut et me vivum scias et sospitem ac {179v} tui memorem. Nec enim possum⁸ oblivisci tui, semperque tua dulcis imago menti haeret meae. Habe igitur has ex me litteras et illum timorem, quem de adventu familiaris tui indueras, abjice. Nihil est enim, quod⁹ amplius illinc vereare. Vidi eum sanumque¹⁰ vidi¹¹, apud quem tui causa visus amice sum. Vult ejus socius, quantum intelligo, vos revisere, ipse manere decrevit. Ego utrique abitum persuasi, at ubi non profeci¹², liberum dimisi arbitrium, quia nihil juvat calcibus murum tundere aut eos¹³ *ventis dare*¹⁴. Fiat quod eis placet, nihil est quod ad¹⁵ damnum vergat. Tuus ille frater cautus est sibique magis quam voluptati vivit nec breve gaudium longe praeponebat utilitati. Tu te mirarere¹⁶, si hominem cerneres. Si quando combibit, nihil periculi est. Nemus magnum est Viennae multaeque inter diversas quercus ad fontem sunt viae, obloqui potest aliquis, eloqui non potest. Haec tuis dictis amicitiae et monitorum¹⁷ plenis dicta¹⁸ esse volo, quantum famulo conveniunt.

¹ SC, 117-118

² SC, 529-531

³ DV, ff. 142r-143v

⁴ DV, ff. 132r-133v

⁵ DV, f. 31r

⁶ poeta *add.* M1, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~-*seq.* V2b

⁷ *Titulus:* Dominus Eneas Johanni Peregallo scriptori apostolico. A-mantissime frater *add.* M1

⁸ possem M3

⁹ *omit.* M2

¹⁰ *esse add.* M1-M3

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

¹² profeci M2

¹³ res M3; *omit.* HE, WO

¹⁴ verba *add.* M1

¹⁵ in HE, WO

¹⁶ mirabere WO

¹⁷ monitorio V3, V4

¹⁸ *omit.* M2

136. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (18 April 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Peregallo had sent Piccolomini a letter¹ on various matters.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Peregallo about the doings of his friends, expresses the vague (and probably insincere) hope that the coming diet in Nürnberg will settle the church schism in a way that is favourable to the council in Basel, asks for assistance with the sale of his office of scribe there, and sends other information.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Peregallo, apostolic scribe and beloved brother.

[1] It is now a long time ago that I received your letter. I have not answered it before since I was travelling first in Steiermark, then Kärnten and then Krain, *in the midst of the Barbarian world*² and among savage nations,³ and later in Istria⁴ at the shores of the Upper Sea⁵ where I visited Trieste.⁶ Thus, I had nobody to whom I could entrust a letter for you. But now a messenger will be sent to Basel, so I have decided to write to you to let you know that I am alive and well and still remember you. For I cannot forget you, and your sweet image always stays with me. So, please accept this letter and cast off the fear you had concerning the [safe] arrival of your friend.⁷ There is no reason for you to still be nervous on that account, for I have seen him safe and sound, and out of regard for you, I have treated him cordially. As far as I understand, his companion wishes to return to you, whereas he himself has decided to remain here. I advised both of them to leave, but in vain, so I will let themselves decide, for it is useless to put spurs to walls and *winds*.⁸ Let them do as they wish; they will not come to harm. Your brother is a cautious man, living for himself rather than for pleasure, and he prefers long-time advantage to short-term enjoyment. You would be amazed if you saw him. Even when he drinks, there is no danger at all! Vienna has a large forest⁹ where many many paths lead through various oak trees to a spring. Somebody may talk to him, but he does not reply. This is what I can say about your attendant in reply to your letter full of kind words and admonitions.

¹ Not extant.

² Ovidius: *Tristia*, 3: 10, 5: *in me-dia vivere Barbaria*.

³ For a comment on this passage, see Gantar, p. 23.

⁴ Piccolomini was in Trieste in February 1444 to receive the city's oath to the (new) emperor. In his DVI, he wrote: *Then the king went to Steiermark, Kärnten, and Krain to receive new oaths of fidelity. When he arrived in Laibach, he sent the knight Pankraz, the secre-tary Wilhelm Tacz, and me to re-ceive the oaths of the people of Trieste in his name. This we did and were received so favourably that the king himself came there to celebrate the festive days before Lent* (sect. 165).

⁵ Adriatic Sea.

⁶ Trieste and Istria being Italian, were, of course, not barbarian.

⁷ "familiaris".

⁸ Ovidius: *Heroides*, 2: 25: *ventis et verba et vela dedisti*. The word "verba" figured in the earliest version of the text (M1) but was omitted from the later, possibly due to a scribal error.

⁹ The Wienerwald.

[2] De me autem tibi, ut bene persuadeas, cupio. Nec enim aut gratia minor aut spes deterior est solito. Quod mihi scripsisti de absolutione cuiusdam homicidii, sicut Philippus noster optabat, non potest nunc impleri. Veniat homo Norembergam, illic perfici res poterit. Nec jam hic dubium fit, quin rex vadat, quo in loco spero res universalis ecclesiae sic dirigi, {180r} ut et tu et omnes, qui bonum commune cupitis, ex sententia¹ iudicetis evenisse², idque meo³ nomine dici cupio⁴ cardinali cardinali sancti Calixti, viro bono et veri⁵ amantissimo, cui et⁶ me commendes, peto et una viris theologiae plenis, Francisco et Andreae minoris ordinis professoribus, quibus si⁷ non latius scribo, ut veniam dent, ora⁸, quia officio meo parere me convenit. Nec enim alia de⁹ causa secretarius vocor, nisi ut, quae audio quaeque video digna silentio, in abditis mei¹⁰ pectoris claudam.¹¹ Scriptoriae officium, quod illic habeo, si emptorem reperit, pretium mihi rescribe, ut si fieri potest, utiliter illo me levem, quia non sum ejus animi¹², ut ad vos redeam.

[3] De Tridento arbitror te audisse nonnihil. Hic fama est Athesinos Tridentum¹³ obtinuisse. Veritas adhuc nubilosa est. Franciscus, noster decanus¹⁴, illinc¹⁵ abiit, quoniam, postquam vidit sapientiae suae sententiae locum non esse, recedere potius irrisus voluit quam manere damnificatus. Ego non spero illam rem mihi utilem esse nec usquam in rebus ecclesiasticis sum fortunatus. Laurentius¹⁶ Rotella nihil mei causa Mediolani obtinuit¹⁷, non sua culpa, meam enim causam exacte promovit. Sed nosti patriae mores, nolo in illum¹⁸ *dicere, qui potest proscribere*¹⁹. Longae manus sunt principum atque timendae, sed etiam principes privatorum hominum sunt indigni²⁰. Ego nullum faciam pluris, quam teneam²¹. {180v} Tu vale et mihi saepe scribe meque saepe visita, quia nihil est, quod tuis scriptis in oculis meis extet acceptius. Andream Panigalium²² et Jacobum Cerverium²³ ac Omnebonum²⁴ nostrum tam affectuose²⁵ meo nomine jube salvere, quam me scis illos amare. Gasparem Novariensem arbitror cum avunculo repatriasse. Si tamen istic sit, ne meae salutationis expers maneat, facito.

Vale. Ex²⁶ Novacivitate, die 18. Aprilis¹ 1444².

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

² exauditos M1-M3, V2a; ~~exauditos~~ *seq.* V2b

³ *em.*; mei *codd.*

⁴ reverendissimo domino meo *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~reverendissimo domino meo~~ *seq.* V2b;

⁵ mihi *corr.* *ex* veri M2; vere WO

⁶ ut HE, WO

⁷ *omit.* V3

⁸ oro WO

⁹ *omit.* V3

¹⁰ meis WO

¹¹ satis eis est, quod bonam spem facio M1-M3, V2a; ~~satis eis est, quod bonam spem facio~~ *seq.* V2b

¹² sum ejus animi : ejus animi sum M2

¹³ illud M1, M2

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ *omit.* M3

¹⁶ de *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~de~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ obtinet V4

¹⁸ in illum : nullum M3

¹⁹ facere M1

²⁰ *corr.* *ex* indigni V3; indigni V4, M3

²¹ me putem teneri M1-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* me putem teneri V2b

²² *omit.* M1; de Panegalis M2-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* de Panegalis V2b

²³ *omit.* M1; de Cerveriis M2-M3, V2a; *corr.* *ex* de Cerveriis V2b

²⁴ omne bonum M2, M3, V3, V4

²⁵ affectuoso WO

²⁶ e WO

¹ die 18. Aprilis *omit.* M3

² Ex ... 1444 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[2] As for myself, you should know that I am fine. Favour and hope are not less than before. Concerning your inquiry about a pardon for homicide wanted by our Philip, nothing can be achieved now. But let him come to Nürnberg where it might be obtained.¹ The king will undoubtedly go there. I hope the affairs of Universal Church will be arranged there in such a way that you and all who desire the common good will consider themselves to have gained cause.² Please also tell this, in my name, to the Cardinal of San Callisto,³ a good man and a lover of truth, and recommend me to him, and also to the learned theologians, Francois⁴ and Andreas⁵ of the Franciscan Order. Ask for their indulgence that I do not write more than this,⁶ for I must respect my office. Indeed, I am called a “secretary” because all I hear and see that should remain secret I hide in a closed chamber of my heart. If the office of scribe that I have in Basel finds a buyer, write the price to me so that, if possible, I can get relieved from it since I do not intend to return there.

[3] I believe you must have heard about Trento. Here, the rumour says it has been taken by the Tyroleans, but the truth of the matter is not yet clear. Our dean, Francesco,⁷ has left the city, seeing that his wise counsel was unwanted, and preferring to leave as an object of laughter than stay as an object of scorn. I cannot hope to gain any advantage from that, and, indeed, I have never had any luck with my ecclesiastical affairs.⁸ In Milan, Lorenzo Rotella achieved nothing in my cause, but it was not his fault, for he did all he could for me. But you know the ways of our country⁹: I shall not say anything to a man *who can sign my death warrant*.^{10 11} The arms of princes are long and to be feared, but even princes need private men. I shall respect nobody more than I am obliged to. Farewell, and write often to me and visit me, for, in my eyes, nothing is more precious than your letters. Greet Andrea Panigali and Jacopo Cerveri¹² and Ognibene cordially from me; you know how much I love them. I believe Gaspare¹³ from Novara has returned to his home city with his uncle¹⁴, but if he is still there, please greet him from me, too.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 18 April 1444.

¹ The emperor and his court would be attending the approaching diet in Nürnberg.

² In view of Piccolomini's personal development concerning the church schism, this remark may be duplicitous, cf. his letter to Cardinal Capranica, written two months before, in which he recommended himself to Pope Eugenius whose cause he was supporting actively: *I ask you to recommend me to Our Most Holy Lord, to whose cause I contribute as much as my humble status allows* (Letter 124: 2).

³ Juan de Segovia (c. 1395 - 1458): Castilian prelate and theologian. Chronicler of the council. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

⁴ Francois de Fuxe [Fuce, Fusce]: Theologian. Franciscan.

⁵ Andrea de Malvende [Malvena]: Theologian. Franciscan.

⁶ Presumably concerning the development of ecclesiastical policies at the imperial court.

⁷ Francesco Bossio.

⁸ His ecclesiastical benefices.

⁹ Italy.

¹⁰ Macrobius, 2: 41, 21.

¹¹ A veiled reference to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan.

¹² Colleagues and friends of Piccolomini from his time in Basel. In his *Commentarii*, he writes about them: *The plague [1439] did not spare Aeneas either. Realizing he was infected, he called his companions and urged them to leave him on his deathbed before they fell sick themselves. Of these, Jacopo Cerveri fled in terror from Basel; but Andrea Panigali, who was a firmer friend, refused to go even if staying should mean his own death* (COM, 1: 9, 4 (Meserve, 1: p. 41)).

¹³ Gaspare Caccia: Nephew of Stefano Caccia. Later, secretary of Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

¹⁴ Stefano Caccia de Fara: Member of the Council of Basel. Friend of Piccolomini.

137. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (1 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 90r-90v; M2, f. 60r¹; M3, f. 175v²; V2, ff. 311-312³; V3, ff. 149r-149v⁴ **; V4, ff. 132r-132v.

Editions: KO, 71⁵; HE, 137, p. 278; WO, 1: 1, 137, pp. 314-316; (both based on M1 and V2).

{149r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ et Michael Pfullendorf⁷ salutem plurimam dicunt et sese dedunt reverendo in Christo patri et illustri principi, domino⁸ Conrado, episcopo Constantiensi.

[1] Viros bonos et litterarum amatores tuae dignationi dilectos esse nequaquam ambigimus, quia similis est amare similem et omnis probus afficitur probis, nec virtus potest non placere virtuti. Hoc facit, ut Johannem Cilium⁹, qui tuo indiget¹⁰ auxilio, non multis tibi verbis recommendemus¹¹. Nam cum sit ille probitate plenus et omni ex parte laudandus, satis in se praesidii habet ad tuum favorem nanciscendum nec¹² recommendatione¹³ nostra magnopere indiget. Ne tamen in suis necessitatibus verba sibi¹⁴ nostra defuisse arbitretur, scire te volumus magni beneficii loco nos suscepturos, quidquid in eum te boni contulisse percepimus¹⁵. Amamus enim hunc et in¹⁶ amicitia nostra tertium habemus, nec sibi quisquam {149v} prodesse potest, quin et¹⁷ is nobis gratificetur. Non tam Pilades Orestem aut Perithoum Theseus dilexit, quam nos in alterutrum¹⁸ servamus amorem.

[2] Huic regia munificentia primariarum precum¹⁹ jus praebuit capitulumque Zofingense tuae diocesis pro eo rogatum fecit jamque in canonicum est receptus. Praebendam autem assequi non potest, quoniam alius sibi impedimento est. Habet igitur honorem absque commodo. Alius forsitan²⁰ libentius commodum absque honore suscepisset²¹, quia vulgus utilitatem praefert honori. Vera tamen philosophia nihil²² utile censet, quod non sit honorificum. Utcumque sit, noster Johannes optat honori suo misceri commodum, quia caduca res est mundialis honor, nisi pecunia sustentetur. Tu ergo, qui illic²³ episcopus es, in cujus manu *calix est*¹ *mixto*² *plenus*, quique potes ex hoc in hoc

¹ SC, 127

² SC, 359

³ DV, ff. 161v-162r

⁴ DV, ff. 152r-152v

⁵ DV, f. 36r.

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

⁷ etc. M1; Phullendorfius V4

⁸ *omit.* WO

⁹ Cilium M2; *omit.* M1; Cincium WO

¹⁰ eget M3

¹¹ commendemus V3, V4

¹² *omit.* V3

¹³ commendatione V4

¹⁴ sic M3

¹⁵ perceperimus M1, V3; pre-cerimus V4

¹⁶ *omit.* V4

¹⁷ ex V4

¹⁸ in alterutrum : inter nos V3, V4

¹⁹ *omit.* M2, M3

²⁰ fortassis M3

²¹ suscepisse V4

²² nil V4

²³ illis V4

hoc miscere, juva³ hunc amicum nostrum et fac, ut nostras preces⁴ illi sentiamus fuisse proficuas. Quod si feceris, ut de tua humanitate confidimus, non solum illum et nos tibi obligabis, sed imperialis etiam fastigii erga te gratiam efficies proniorem⁵.

Vale. Ex Vienna, kalendis Maji 1444⁶.

¹ *omit.* V4

² musto M3, V4

³ uina V4

⁴ nostras preces : preces nostras M3

⁵ promereri M2, M3

⁶ ex ... 1444 : etc. M2; *omit.* M1, M3

137. Letter to the Bishop of Konstanz (1 May 1444, Vienna).

Context: See letters 132 ad 133.

Subject: A (probably) formulaic letter requesting the support of the local bishop in cases where an imperial appointee to an ecclesiastical benefice could not gain possession because another person was already in possession.

Enea Silvio and Michael Pfullendorf send many devoted greetings to the Father in Christ and Illustrious Prince, His Lordship Bishop Konrad¹ of Konstanz.

[1] We are sure that Your Excellency treasures good men and lovers of literature, for men esteem those who resemble them, honest men love other honest men, and virtue must please virtue. Therefore, we shall not use many words to recommend Johann Cilius², who requires your assistance. Indeed, since he is an entirely decent and commendable person, he is fully capable of gaining your favour on his own and does not greatly need our recommendation. But lest he think we failed to speak up for him in his need, we desire you to know that we shall consider it a great favour if you do something for his benefit. For we love him, and he is the third member of our friendship, and all who do him a favour make us happy. Indeed Orestes³ did not love his Pylades⁴ and Theseus⁵ Theseus⁵ his Perithous⁶ as much as we love one another.

[2] Our munificent king⁷ has now granted him the right of *primariae preces* and made a request to the Chapter of Zofingen in your diocese, which has appointed him a canon. However, he has not been able to gain possession of the prebend, for another person has usurped it. Thus, he has only the honour but not the material advantage. Another might gladly take the material advantage without the office, for ordinary people prefer advantage to honour. But according to true philosophy, nothing can be advantageous that is not also honourable.⁸ However that may be, our Johann wishes to combine honour with material advantage, for worldly honour is fragile if not sustained by money. So, since you are the bishop there, having in your hand *the chalice full of a mixture*⁹ that you can blend as you wish, do help our friend and let us see that our prayers profited him. If, in the goodness of your heart, you do so - as we trust you will - you will not only oblige him and us but also gain the favour of His Imperial Highness.

Farewell. From Vienna, 1 May 1444.

¹ This is an error. In 1444, the bishop of Konstanz was Henrich von Hewen, whereas Konrad von Rechberg was dean at the cathedral (Domprobst). The officials at the imperial chancery knew very well, of course, who was bishop of Konstanz, so the error supports the notion that this letter was not an actual letter to the bishop of Konstanz but a formulaic letter.

² The oldest manuscript having this text (M1) has no surname. In the later mss., Cilius was added, which differed from the Cincius in the corresponding letter 132, again supporting the notion of a formulaic letter.

³ Orestes: (Myth.) son of Agamemnon, whom he avenged.

⁴ Pylades: cousin and friend of Orestes.

⁵ Theseus: (Myth.) Hero and founder-king of Athens.

⁶ Perithous: (Myth.) King of the Lapiths of Larissa and best friend of Theseus.

⁷ Friedrich III.

⁸ If it is not honourable, it is not truly advantageous.

⁹ Psalms, 74: 9: *Quia calix in manu Domini vini meri, plenus misto. Et inclinavit ex hoc in hoc, verum-tamen faex ejus non est exinanita; bibent omnes peccatores terrae (For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong wine full of mixture. And he hath poured it out from this to that: but the dregs thereof are not emptied: all the sinners of the earth shall drink).*

138. Letter to Jan Tuschek (1 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, f. 64r *; M1, ff. 89r-89v; M2, f. 60r¹; M3, f. 175r²; V2, ff. 310-311³; V3, ff. 147v-149r⁴ **; V4, ff. 131r-132r.

Editions: HE, 138, pp. 279-280 (based on L, M1 and V2); WO, 1: 1, 138, pp. 316-317; (based on M1 and V2).

{148r} Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius⁷, Johanni Tuskoni, secretario civitatis Pragensis, amico primario, salutem plurimam dicit.⁸

[1] Epistolam tuam, dum legi atque relegi, modestiam cum doctrina pugnantem vidi, namque cum ornatissime scribas, vereri te tamen ais ad me litteras⁹ dare minus comptas. Sed obsecro te, ne deinceps tali utaris principio, quia nihil ad me potes non eleganter scribere, etiam si ornatus, qui tuis in scriptis elucet maximus, nullus foret. Amicitia namque non eloquentiam, sed rem expetit. Tu vero et mihi amicus es, et ego te in paucis amo. Itaque supplet amor, quidquid facundia negat, quae excusatio non minus mihi quam tibi convenit. Tu namque, dum imperitus videri vis, doctissimum te ostendis. Ego dum aliquid sapere me jactito, imperitiam prodo meam, quo fit, ut meis in litteris arrogantia cum inscitia¹⁰ certet non tam honeste, quam in tuis certare dixi cum doctrina modestiam. Sed praetereo¹¹ jam haec tuisque optatis respondebo.

[2] Ais te cupere, si quid novi ediderim, tibi ut communicem. Gererem tuo desiderio morem, si tam libenter rescriberem quam scribo. Mihi tamen id vitium est, ut plus quam semel nihil scribam. Plura post tuum abitum compilavi. Sigismundo duci patruelique regis nostri non parvam epistolam destinavi, plurima illic bene vivendi praecepta tradendo. *De* {148v} *passione domini* hymnum edidi¹² regique dono dedi. Litteras nunc ad istum, nunc ad illum misi. Exemplaria¹³ omnium Wenceslaus noster habet; is te potest participem facere. Sibi plumbeus, mihi plumbeus est calamus. Manus illi velox, mihi tardior. Quod ex me cupis, ex illo pete. Nihil novi ex mea manat officina¹⁴, quod ipse non antea exemplatum retineat. Si ergo ignorantias meas tantopere cupis, satis habeto ex me doceri, quomodo voti compos fias.

¹ SC, 127

² SC, 358

³ DV, ff. 160v-161r

⁴ DV, ff. 150v-152r

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

⁶ *omit.* M2, M3; imperialisque V2a; *corr. ex* imperialisque V2b

⁷ *omit.* M2, M3

⁸ *Titulus:* Eneas Iohanni Tusch-koni amico primario salutem plu-rimam dicit M1

⁹ alias *add.* L

¹⁰ iustitia V4

¹¹ potero M2

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

¹³ copias M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* copias V2b

¹⁴ manat officina : manu effciam V4

138. Letter to Jan Tuschek (1 May 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* Jan Tuschek had written a (not extant) letter to Piccolomini excusing his own Latin style, informing him that he had acquired a reputation for his literary merits in Bohemia, and asking him for an explanation of something apparently concerned with his arms (blazon).¹
- Subject:* Piccolomini tells Tuschek that friendship is more important than eloquence and informs him that Wenzel Bochow maintains a file of his writings and that he can get copies from him. He also modestly thanks Tuschek for the report of his growing reputation in Bohemia and ends the letter with light-hearted jokes about drinking.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Johann Tuschek, secretary of the city of Prague, eminent friend.

[1] Reading and rereading your letter, I saw modesty fighting with learning. For though you write exquisitely, you begin by saying that you fear your letter is unpolished. I beg you not to use such a beginning in the future, for all you write to me will be most elegant, quite apart from possessing the splendid elegance that marks your writings. For friendship does not seek eloquence but substance, and you are a friend I love more than most. Therefore, love will provide what eloquence refuses. This excuse applies to me as much as to you: you, wishing to appear unknowledgeable, show yourself as most learned, whereas I, proud of my knowledge, reveal my lack of learning. Thus, in my letters, pride fights with lack of knowledge, and less honourably than in yours where, as I said, modesty fights with learning. But no more of this: now to your requests.

[2] You say you desire me to send any new writings of mine. I would fulfil your wish if I rewrote things as gladly as I write, but unfortunately, I have the fault that I only write out things once. After your departure,² I have written several works. I have sent a lengthy letter³ to Duke Siegmund,⁴ our king's cousin, with many precepts for the virtuous life⁵. I have also finished a hymn *De passione Domini*⁶ and presented it to the king, and I have sent letters to various persons. Our Wenzel has copies of them all⁷ and can share them with you. His pen is feathery, mine is leaden.⁸ His hand is rapid, mine is slow. So you should ask from him what you request from me. Nothing new leaves my workplace without first being copied by him. If you desire my ignorant [writings], I have now told you how to fulfil your wish.

¹ Meaning uncertain.

² Jan Tuschek may have met Piccolomini as part of a Bohemian mission to the emperor in October 1443 (see letter 85: 2).

³ Letter 98.

⁴ Siegmund (Habsburg) (1427-1496): Duke, later Archduke of Austria (Leopoldian line). Ruler of Further Austria and Tyrol. See DVI, sect. 146, 148, 164.

⁵ "bene vivendi"

⁶ Published by van Heck in CAR, 96, p. 145.

⁷ The file of Piccolomini's works maintained by Wenzel Bochow (see ms. L) (only) contains 67 letters written before 1445 but also some of his literary works, see HE, p. 6. This arrangement was confirmed by Bochow himself in a letter to Tuschek of 6 May 1444, where he wrote: *Colligo epistolas quam-plures et quosdam tractatus per magistro Eneam editos* (WO, 1: 1, p. 317). It was later replaced by an arrangement with Ludwig Scheyerter, see WO, 1: 1, pp. ix-xiv; HE, pp. 6-7; Genzsch.

⁸ Meaning light vs heavy to use.

[3] Notum in Bohemia Aeneam non invitus audio, quia *melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae*. Sed utinam stabilis sit, quam de me, fama¹, praedicas, quod ita demum erit, si fundamentum bene jactum est² super³ petra veritatis. Ego mihi conscius sum non me talem esse, qualis praedico⁴. Utcumque est, laudari potius indigne quam vituperari digne cupio. Est enim laus virtutis virtutis excitamentum. Quis enim tam malus est, qui virtutem illam non assequi studeat, de qua se percipit laudari? Mihi sane magnos stimulos ad eloquentiam capescendam⁵ adhibet is, quem de me dicis inter Bohemos esse, rumor. Et utinam aliquando possim talis evadere qualis credor. Tu tamen⁶ tamen⁶ vide, ne vanus laudator inveniaris.

[4] Si⁷ quis me casus Pragae detulerit, ubi mea praesentia nomen adumbret, in⁸ armorum⁹ tuorum tuorum descriptione praebebo, quam optas, operam Wenceslaoque provinciam demandabo, {149r} cui nihil est tui causa¹⁰ durum facere.

[5] Franciscus, regiae cancellariae vetus mancipium multa mihi de te cum laude retulit, quae non abs¹¹ voluptate cognovi. Faxit Deus, ut secundiora¹² sint, quamdiu vixeris, tua tuorumque fata, tibi que numquam medo et Francisco numquam deficiat merum¹³. Wenceslaus et ego golum¹⁴ bibemus ubertim. Vale.

Ex Vienna, kalendis Maji 1444.¹⁵

¹ famam M3

² et *add.* M2

³ *em.* WO; sub codd.

⁴ predicer WO

⁵ capiscendum M3

⁶ *del.* V3; *omit.* V4

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ *omit.* V4

⁹ morum V4

¹⁰ tui causa : tam M3

¹¹ absque M1

¹² facundiora M2

¹³ morum M2

¹⁴ colinum M2, M3, V2-V4

¹⁵ Ex ... 1444 : etc. M2. M3

[3] I am pleased to hear that Enea is well known in Bohemia,¹ for *a good name is better than many riches*.² Hopefully, the fame you speak of will endure, which it will only do if it is founded solidly upon the rock of truth. I am conscious that I am not such a man as I am reputed to be. But at any rate, I would rather be praised undeservedly than censured deservedly, for praise is an incentive to virtue. Who is so wicked that he would not eagerly strive to acquire that quality for which he sees himself being praised? Indeed, the reputation you say I have in Bohemia is a powerful incentive for me to acquire eloquence. Hopefully, I shall eventually become the man I am reputed to be. On your part, please ensure that your eulogies are not found to be empty.

[4] If for some reason I should ever come to Prague – where my presence will obscure my reputation – I shall bring you the work describing your arms. I entrust that task to Wenzel for whom no task is too heavy if it is on your behalf.

[5] Franz, an old assistant³ at the royal chancery, has told me much in your praise, which I heard with pleasure. God give that you and yours will prosper as long as you live and that you will never lack beer⁴ and Franz wine. Wenzel and I will drink lots of *golinum*.⁵ Farewell.

From Vienna, 1 May 1444.

¹ On this passage, see Helmrath: *Enea*, p. 115.

² Proverbs, 22: 1.

³ "mancipium"

⁴ "medo": a honey-sweetened beer?

⁵ A wine, possibly from Germany and Austria. Van Heck defined *medo* and *golinum* as a *potiones* (HE, p. 280). Piccolomini also used the term *golinum* (*golinis*) in a letter to some friends (Prokop von Rabenstein et al.) (letter 206: 1).

139. Letter to Juan Carvajal (20 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1a, f. 74r; M1b, f. 90r;¹ M2, f. 60v²; M3, f. 399v³; V2, ff. 316-317⁴; V3, ff. 181r-182r⁵ **; V4, ff. 134r-134v.

Editions: HE, 139, pp. 280-281; WO, 1: 1, 139, pp. 318-319; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: ME, 23, pp. 113-114; RE, 44, pp. 189-190; WI, pp. 192-195.

{181r} Reverendo patri domino Johanni⁶ Carvajal, jurisconsulto et apostolici palatii causarum auditori, Aeneas Silvius⁷ salutem plurimam dicit.⁸

[1] Accepi cupide te⁹ Germaniam repetisse, quia et te revisere spero, quocum¹⁰ loquor et convivo libenter, quamvis inter nos saepe de rebus ecclesie concertatio sit. Illa namque non pertinax aut rancida est, sed qualis inter philosophos esse consuevit, {181v} qui non ut appareant, sed ut inveniant verum, disputant. Nec rursus ego is sum, qui me velim hujusce divisionis principem facere. Theologorum est haec disputatio, mihi satis sentire fuerit, quod plures senserint.

[2] Petis ex me de cursu dietae ut, quid sperem, tibi renuntiem. Satisfacit desiderio tuo, quantum potest, cancellarius.¹¹ Me nec scire neque¹² significare plus eo¹³ fas est. Si me tamen divinare vis, quia poetarum est praesagia scribere, pauca subjungam. Ego tibi, ut verum fatear, non puto dietam hanc aliis esse steriliorem. Scis, quid hoc verbo sentiam. Fecundae sunt omnes dietae, quaelibet in ventre alteram habet. Apud Arabes avis est Phoenix, carminibus poetarum illustris. Haec dum sibi fatum instare sentit – 500 enim et 40 annis vivit – rogos suos instruit thymiamis¹⁴, ex cujus cineribus mox altera surgit, et semper unica Phoenix est. Tu hoc, ut vis, accipe. Annis jam pluribus dietas habemus, nec statim finis.

¹ This letter was inadvertently duplicated in M1. The text in M1b was marked “vacat” in the margin, probably meaning that the duplication had been noticed and the second text marked for deletion in a later copy.

² SC, 128

³ SC, 799

⁴ DV, ff. 163v-164r

⁵ DV, ff. 154r-155r

⁶ de add. HE

⁷ poeta add. V2a; ~~poeta~~ seq. V2b

⁸ Titulus: Aeneas Silvius poeta (salutem plurimam dicit) reverendo patri domino Johanni Carvajal, jurisconsulto et apostolici palatii causarum auditori M2, M3

⁹ omit. V4

¹⁰ cum quo M2, M3

¹¹ omit. V4

¹² nec M3

¹³ plus eo : eo plus M3

¹⁴ Ci(y)namis M1, V2, V3; t(h)y-miate M3; timiamis M2

139. Letter to Juan Carvajal (20 May 1444, Vienna).

Context: In two (non-extant) letters, Pope Eugenius' envoy, Juan Carvajal, had asked chancellor Schlick and Piccolomini, respectively, what they thought would happen at the approaching Diet of Nürnberg, summoned to settle the church schism.

Subject: Piccolomini refers to the friendship and polite dialogue on church affairs between the two men and cautiously expresses his pessimism concerning the diet's settling the church schism. Finally, he comments on the visit of the Archbishop of Trier to the emperor.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Juan Carvajal, jurist and *auditor causarum*² at the Apostolic Palace.

[1] I eagerly heard that you have returned to Germany, for I hope to see you again since I am happy to speak and be with you. We do have a longstanding dispute about the ecclesiastical affairs, but it is not hostile or acrimonious but such as is held by philosophers who do not dispute to impress people but to find the truth. Moreover, I certainly do not want to be a leader in this conflict between theologians. It is enough for me to hold a view that is shared by the many.³

[2] You ask me what I think will happen at the diet. The chancellor⁴ fulfils your wish as much as possible,⁵ and it is improper for me to know or say more than he has. But if you ask me to make a prophecy, I shall add something, for it is, indeed, a poet's task to make prophecies. To tell the truth, I do not think that this diet will be more barren than the others. You know what I mean. Actually, all diets are fertile: each carries the next one in its womb!⁶ In Arabia, there is a bird called Phenix, made famous in poets' songs. When it feels the end approaching – it lives for 540 years – it arranges its own funeral pyre, with sweet-smelling herbs,⁷ and soon rises from its ashes. There is always only one Phenix. Take this in any way you wish. We have had diets for several years now, and the end is not near.

¹ On this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 197 ff.

² The official title of a judge in an ecclesiastical court or a judge acting as an assessor.

³ Or "the majority".

⁴ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ In his letter to Carvajal of 20 May (the same date as Piccolo-mini's own letter), drafted by Pic-colomini, the chancellor wrote: *Quod de dietae cursu deposcitis, non possum cum certitudine scribere, quid futurum sit. Hoc scio et hoc vobis notum facio dominum nostrum regem dietim se instrue-re, ut ad dietam ascendat intenditque germanum suum, ducem Albertum, et patruelem ducem Si-gismundum, secum ducere. Diem certam recessus praescribere ne-queo, sed omnis apparitio fit, ut quantocius iter sumatur. Quid au-tem impedi-erit celeriore recessu, dicam vobis, cum praesen-tialiter verba seremus, nam et Bo-hemorum et Ungarorum res mo-ram pepererunt, quas me re-ferente plenius agnosce-tis* (WO, 1: 2, 86, pp. 140-141).

⁶ See VO, 1: 2, p. 333.

⁷ Solinus: *Collectanea*, 33: 11.

[3] Res turbulenta sunt, divisi animi: quosdam delectat neutralitatem vigere, quia novum est aucupium; possessores unionis sunt hostes, quia nulli jus reddi vellent. Serpentem, qui tibi suspectus erat, vidi audivique, nec alius fuit, quam rebar. Tu¹ morsus ejus persenties, peristi, nisi *antidotum* habes. Vix *Mithridates* adversus hoc aconitum² tutus iret. Habes, quod sperem quodque possum praeter injuriam mei officii dicere.

Tu vale, et si quem tibi non in omnibus consonantem amas, me etiam ama. Ex Vienna, 20. Maji 1444³.

¹ si *add.* WO

² venenum *glossa interlin.* M1

³ Ex ... 1444 : omit M1b; etc. M2, M3

[3] Presently, affairs are turbulent: some are happy with the state of neutrality since it provides new hunting [grounds], whereas those who have gained [illegal] possession [of ecclesiastical benefices] reject [church] union because they are unwilling to return them to the rightful possessors. I have seen and heard the serpent^{1 2} of whom you were suspicious, and he proved to be just as I thought. Unless you have an antidote, you will perish if it bites you. Even Mithridates³ would barely be safe against this poison. Now you know what I expect and what I can say without neglect of duty.

Farewell, and if you can love people who do not agree with you in all things, then love me, too.⁴
From Vienna, 20 May 1444.

¹ Jakob von Sierck (c. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-electoral from 1339 to his death. The archbishop had previously supported the cause of Pope Eugenius IV but had switched to supporting the conciliar party and antipope Felix V, see VO, 1: 2: p. 33; Stieber, pp. 251-258.

² The archbishop visited the emperor in Skt. Veit in January 1444.

³ Mithridates VI Eupator (135-63 BCE): King of Pontus in Northern Anatolia from 120 BCE to his death. He cultivated an immunity to poisons by regularly ingesting sublethal doses

⁴ For a comment on this passage, see VO, 1: 2, p. 301.

140. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (20 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 55v¹; M3, ff. 173r-173v²; V2, ff. 276-277³; V3, ff. 130v-131r⁴ **; V4, ff. 116r-116v.

Editions: HE, 140, pp. 281-282; WO, 1: 1, 140, pp. 319-320; (both based on V2).

{130v} Aeneas Silvius⁵, Stephano Caciae Novariensi, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Reversus ex Vindeliciis inveni munera, quae mihi Wiennam Barbatus ex te detulerat, tam pretiosa, ut mittente magis quam recipiente sint digna. Mos hic Alexandri fuit, qui dona semper ex se⁶ metiebatur. Ago itaque tibi gratias, quamquam ferre tale ornamentum, ubi mos non est, minime deceat. Scias, quia non regiones nobis aptandae sunt, sed nos ipsos⁷ regionibus conformes reddere⁸ reddere⁸ debemus. Ego tibi ad haec versus Mediolanum scripseram, quia te reliquisse concilium rumor erat. Nunc vero admonitus Peregalli litteris Basileae te esse⁹ didici¹⁰, quod mihi eo gratius est, quo te possum meis scriptis saepius visitare, quoque id tibi et honorabilius {131r} et utilius puto, quia frugifer illic campus est et pauci messorum, et quamquam plures essent, tibi tamen priores semper debentur partes.

[2] Obtuli me alias curaturum, ut regius advocatus fieres, si res Frisingensis apud vestram democratiam bene transirent, quam conditionem scis non¹¹ esse completam, te quoque patronum fuisse partis adversae. Quo fit, ut solutus promisso siem, si juris apice velim frui¹². Sed scio, quia *summum jus summa est injuria*. Ego praeterea tibi non verbis, sed animo¹³ sum ligatus scioque me numquam tantum conari tui¹⁴ causa posse, quin¹⁵ ultra sim debitor. Quapropter, etsi durum sit obtinere, quod sponendi, spero tamen me voti compotem fieri, ut tibi geratur mos. Sed est moderator et arbiter omnium tempus. Rogo itaque te, ut parumper expectes mihique fidem habeas, quia aut Aeneas esse desinam aut tuae cupiditati parebo. Nec me Gallico more loqui censeas, qui parvam moram quattuor et decem annos computant. Credo prophetas imitari cupiunt, qui cito venturum dicebant Jesum¹⁶, qui annis post quingentis venit. Ego non annos, sed paucos menses peto¹⁷, ut rem tibi confectam donem.

Vale et amicis salutes¹⁸ dicit, domino¹⁹ vero me commenda. Ex Vienna, 27. Maji 1444.²⁰

¹ SC, 118

² SC, 354-355

³ DV, ff. 143v-144r

⁴ DV, ff. 133v-134r

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

⁶ semper ex se : ex se semper M3

⁷ ipsis WO

⁸ conformes reddere : conformare M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex conforma-re* V2b

⁹ fore M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex fore* V2b

¹⁰ percepi M2-M3, V2a; *corr. ex percepi* V2b

¹¹ scis non : non scis M3

¹² velim frui : frui velim WO

¹³ animis M2, V2-V4,

¹⁴ conari tui : tui conari M2

¹⁵ qui WO

¹⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, V2a; *add. interlin.* V2b;

¹⁷ petam M2, M3

¹⁸ salutem WO

¹⁹ dominis 2-M3, V2-V4

²⁰ Ex ... 1444: M3

140. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (20 May 1444, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini's friend had sent a costly gift to him, maybe as an indirect reminder of his promise to arrange his appointment as a royal advocate.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks for the gift and promises to do what he can regarding the appointment.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Stefano Caccia of Novara, jurist.

[1] On my return from the Windic March, I found the presents that Barbatus¹ had brought to me in Vienna. They are so splendid that they fit the giver more than the recipient! It was Alexander's² custom to always give presents that reflected his own status. I thank you so much though it would not be proper to wear such adornments here where it is not customary. You should know that the regions should not be adapted to us but that we should conform to the regions. About that, I had written a poem which I sent to you in Milan,³ having heard you had left the council.⁴ Now, a letter from Peregallo informs me that you are still in Basel. I am happy to know it since then I can contact you more often by letter.⁵ Also, I believe it to be more honourable and advantageous for you to be in Basel⁶ because there the field is fertile and the reapers few, and even were they more numerous, a preeminent position would always be owed to you.

[2] On a previous occasion, I offered to arrange for your appointment as a royal advocate if the matter of Freising turned out well in your democratic setup.⁷ Since this condition has not been fulfilled and you yourself even acted as a defender of the opposite party,⁸ I could rightfully consider myself as absolved from the promise. But I know that *more law* means *less justice*.⁹ Moreover, I am not bound to you with my words but with my soul, and I know that my debt to you exceeds all I could possibly do for you. Therefore, though it is difficult to obtain what I promised, I hope to succeed and to do you this favour. But time governs and determines everything. So, I ask you to be patient a little longer and trust me, for I shall either cease to be Enea or fulfil your wish. And do not think that I am talking like the French, who consider 14 years to be a short period.¹⁰ I think they wish to imitate those prophets¹¹ who said Jesus would come soon when he actually came 500 years afterwards. I do not ask for years but only a few months to complete the matter for you.

¹ Not identified.

² Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of Macedon from 336 to his death. World conqueror.

³ Or maybe: "I had written to you in Milan ..."

⁴ See letter 136: 3.

⁵ There were many more opportunities for sending mail between Vienna and Basel than between Vienna and Milan.

⁶ At the council in Basel.

⁷ The council in Basel functioned as a democratic institution where laypeople and ordinary priests and theologians exerted an unusual influence, condemned by the papalist opposition and excoriated by Pope Eugenius IV in a *Liber Apologeticus* sent to the European princes in June 1436: *Why are they [i.e. the council fathers] so eager to reduce this monarchy, which God has established by his own word, to a popular state and a democracy?* (Stieber, p. 71).

⁸ Johann Grünwalder

⁹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 10, 33

¹⁰ A sarcastic joke: due to the machinations of the French party, the council in Basel had now lasted for 14 years, which the French evidently did not find problematic at all though it was unheard of in the history of the councils. In his oration "*Sentio*" of December 1452, Piccolomini said about the conciliarists in Basel (the Savoyards): *And if they want to have councils every ten years, they are stupid to follow the Savoyards for those people prolong them for twenty!* (COR, 4: 20, 113).

¹¹ The Old Testament prophets.

Farewell. Greet our friends and recommend me to your lord.¹ From Vienna, 27 May 1444.

¹ Presumably a cardinal-employ-er of Stefano.

141. Letter to Johann Vront (27 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, 204r ff*; M2, ff. 55v-56v¹; M3, ff. 263v-264v²; V2, ff. 278-280³; V3, ff. 131v-133r⁴ **; V4, ff. 116v-118r.

Editions: HE, 141, pp. 282-284; WO, 1: 1, 141, pp. 320-323; (both based on L and V2).

{131v} Eneas Silvius⁵ domino Johanni Amici⁶, Agrippinae civitatis secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Non habeo, quod tibi scribam, et cupio scribere, ut inter meas epistolas tuum quoque nomen inveniatur. Mendicabo ergo materiam et novitates, quae apud nos sunt, tibi enarrabo⁷, quas tamen, uti reor, non invitus audies. Conducunt enim ad res Norembergae tractandas. Scis te saepe veritum esse, ne pestem nobis aliquam Hungaria pararet, quae regem his in partibus detineret. Hic jam timor abest. Indutias namque biennales habemus⁸, quas, quomodo sumus venati, *paucis (advertite) docebo*. Miserat rex Poloniae litteras quasdam Caesari nostro⁹ formamque dederat, juxta quam pacem deposceret. Non libuit Caesari, quod petebatur, formamque aliam dictavit, per quam non solum Austria, Stiria atque Carinthia cum Carniola sed omnis etiam oboedientia regis Ladislai comprehendebatur oratoresque cum eadem misit, quibus regem Poloniae petentibus post expositionem legationis certi deputati sunt viri, cum quibus conferrent, inter quos Julianus cardinalis, Nicolaus, decanus Cracoviensis et Laurentius palatinus^{10 11}, fuere.

[2] Inter hos, cum lecta esset forma, per Caesarem data, magnus rumor exortus est, quoniam Ladislaus rex Hungariae vocitabatur. “Ex hoc,” inquit decanus, “jam se Caesar partialem facit, qui regnum Hungariae attribuit Ladislao. Nos {132r} ergo nihil amplius¹² tractabimus secum. Quid Caesar¹³ in Hungariae regno manum extendit?” Ad haec oratores, “Vos,” inquirunt, “*nodum in scirpo*¹⁴ quaeritis. Quid vestra interest, si Caesar suum patrum regibus ornat titulis? Dominus vester¹⁵ se Hungariae regem scribit, nec Caesar suas respuit litteras, quoniam nec vestra scripta jus auferunt Ladislao nec apices regii, si quod habetis, vobis¹⁶ jus adimunt.” Ad hoc retulit palatinus: “At Wladislaus verus est Hungarorum rex; non¹⁷ par ratio est.” Tum oratores: “Haud hic locus est de jure disputandi. Postquam unita ecclesia fuerit¹⁸, jus poterit in hac causa discuti.” [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 118-120

² SC, 531-532

³ DV, ff. 144v-145v

⁴ DV, ff. 134v-136r

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

⁶ Vront M2

⁷ significabo L, M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* significabo V2b

⁸ habeo M2

⁹ litteras quasdam ... nostro : Caesari nostro quasdam litteras M3

¹⁰ Hungariae L, M2, M3, V2a; *del.* V2b

¹¹ et Laurentius palatinus *omit.* M3

¹² nihil amplius : amplius nihil M2

¹³ partialem facit ... Caesar *omit.* V4

¹⁴ siirpo M3, V2

¹⁵ noster V4

¹⁶ *omit.* L

¹⁷ nam L

¹⁸ ecclesia fuerit : fuerit ecclesia M2

141. Letter to Johann Vront (27 May 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* After the death of Emperor Albrecht III, King of Bohemia and Hungary, his posthumous son, Ladislaus (Habsburg), was crowned king of Hungary in May 1440, when he was only some months old. However, in the same year, the Polish King Wladyslaw III was offered the crown by a majority of the Polish nobles. In 1444, Wladyslaw, supported by the papal legate, Cardinal Cesarini, was preparing a crusade against the Turks. He, therefore, needed a truce with his Habsburg neighbour, the emperor, lest he was attacked by him while absent on the crusade.
- Subject:* Piccolomini gives an account of the negotiations of a truce between Wladyslaw III and the emperor, including the initial dispute about who was the rightful king of Hungary.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johann Vront,² secretary to the city of Cologne.

[1] I have nothing [personal] to write, but I write anyway so that you will figure among my correspondents. So, I shall seek out material and tell you the news from here that I believe you will be pleased to hear, for they concern the affairs to be treated in Nürnberg.³ You know you have often often been worried that some trouble from Hungary would keep the king in these areas. This is no longer feared here, for we now have a two-year truce. *I shall briefly tell you*⁴ how we obtained it.⁵ The king of Poland⁶ sent a letter to our emperor in which he presented a concrete proposal⁷ for peace. The emperor did not like it and made an alternative proposal comprising not only Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain but also all the territories subject to King Ladislaus.⁸ He sent ambassadors with the proposal, and when they reached the King of Poland⁹ and set forth the matter, matter, the king appointed trusted men to negotiate with them, among whom were Cardinal Giuliano, Nikolaus,¹⁰ dean of Krakow, and Palatine Lorenz.¹¹

[2] When the emperor's proposal had been read, a great commotion arose because Ladislaus¹² was called King of Hungary. Then the dean said, "This shows the emperor is prejudiced since he attributes the Kingdom of Hungary to Ladislaus. Therefore, we shall have no further negotiations with him. Why does the emperor extend his hands towards the Kingdom of Hungary?" The ambassadors replied, "*You are looking for a knot in a bullrush.*"¹³ Why should it matter to you if the emperor honours his cousin with royal titles? Your own lord¹⁴ entitles himself King of Hungary, and the emperor does not, for that reason, reject his letter, for your letter cannot deprive Ladislaus

¹ For comments on this letter, see Diemar, pp. 83, 86-88.

² Johann Vront (Frundt): Proto-notary of the city of Köln (1442). A close friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig: *Kaiser*, ad indicem.

³ Since Cologne would be repre-sented at the diet to be held there.

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 116

⁵ See Szalay, pp. 53-59, with com-ments on Piccolomini's letter.

⁶ King Wladyslaw III.

⁷ "forma".

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary. Son of Emperor Al-brecht II. Cousin of Emperor Friedrich III and his ward to 1452. He was a hereditary duke of the Austrian lands belonging to the Albertinian branch of the Habs-burg family, including Nieder-österreich with Vienna.

⁹ In Buda, the Western part of present-day Budapest.

¹⁰ Mikolaj Lasocky (HE, p. 284).

¹¹ Lörinc Héderváry: Palatine of Hungary 1437-1447.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹³ Terentius: *Andria*, 941. Presu-mably, this quotation is included by Piccolomini in his version of the events, in which he did not participate personally, but of which he would have had heard or read in a report from the ambas-sadors.

¹⁴ King Wladyslaw III.

of his rights, nor does the royal letter¹ deprive you of your rights, should you have any. The palatine palatine replied, “But Wladyslaw is the true king of the Hungarians. Therefore, your argument is not valid.” Then the ambassadors said, “This is not the place to argue the [question] of rights. That matter can be discussed when the Church has been united.”² [cont.]

[cont.] “At ego,” palatinus inquit, “et coram summo pontifice et coram cardinalibus nihil negotii haberem hanc tueri causam, quia plana et perspicua res est. Nec tam inops sensus est quispiam, qui regnicolis auferat eligendi regis potestatem.”

[3] “Non disputaturi venimus,” inquit oratores, “sed de pace acturi. Si pacem vultis, pacem damus, si bellum plus placet, non detrectamus certamen. Vestrum est eligere, quid³ horum velitis⁴.” velitis⁴.” Huic⁵ decanus, “Non sic exhausti sumus,” inquit, “neque tam vecordes, ut tam ignominiosam pacem velimus amplecti. Vires adhuc sunt nobis et animi nec quemquam timemus.” Tum oratores, “Nec nos,” ajunt, “aut inopes sumus aut exangues. Si aliena invadere non possumus at tueri nostra commode valemus⁶ idque bonis viris⁷ sat est. Nobis a tergo {132v} tuta sunt omnia; in fronte vos habemus, quibus potentes sumus resistere, si malignari volueritis. Vos inter nos et Turcos⁸ estis medii. Videte, ne retro et ante feriamini.” Tum palatinus: “Scimus⁹ Caesarem vestrum vestrum opulentum esse, sed regnum hoc etiam¹⁰ plenum est. Nobis nemo terrori est. Pacem vestram vobiscum¹¹ referte.” “Referimus,” inquit oratores, ab invicemque discedere volunt. Exinde Julianus cardinalis¹²: “Per Deum oro, viri magnifici, complectimini pacem. Si progredi adversus Turcos¹³ volumus, pax necessaria est. Sinite, ut hoc pauper regnum respiret. Nolite campos Christiani sanguinis unda commaculati.” Sed frustra vociferatio ejus¹⁴ fuit. Abitum est re infecta.

[4] In crastinum tamen nuntiatum¹⁵ est oratoribus, ne discederent, quia non regis nomine responsum eis fuisset. Expectatum est iterumque disputatum. Postea res in thalamo¹⁶ regis trutinata est¹⁷. Tandem venit in publicum rex et in hunc modum Hungarica lingua locutus est: “Revertimini, oratores, ad Caesarem salutemque sibi¹⁸ nomine nostro dicite. Post referte nos pacem per eum missam, quamvis non indigeamus¹⁹ illa, sui causa, ut sibi complacemus, libenter acceptasse et in omnibus ejus²⁰ articulis, sicut jacent, esse complexos. Super qua re litteras nostras infra octendium

¹ “apices”

² I.e., after the settlement of the church schism.

³ quod WO

⁴ malitis L, M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex malitis V2b

⁵ hinc V3

⁶ valeamus L

⁷ bonis viris : boni viri V4

⁸ Teucros L, M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex Teucros V2b

⁹ inquit add. M3

¹⁰ hoc etiam : etiam hoc O

¹¹ nobiscum WO

¹² inquit add. WO

¹³ Teucros L, M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex Teucros V2b

¹⁴ vociferatio ejus : ejus vociferatio WO

¹⁵ omit. M3

¹⁶ camera L, M2, V2a; corr. ex thalamo V2b

¹⁷ Postea res ... est omit. M3

¹⁸ omit. L

¹⁹ nos add. M2

²⁰ suis WO

Pozonii recipietis, ubi et Caesareos apices esse¹ curabitis nobis² tradendos.” Sic ergo conclusa res est, et {133r} agunt Hungari jam³ inter se, quo pacto formidabiliores in Turcos⁴ proficiscantur. Venetiis 5 et 20 triremes armantur, quae per mensem Junii in Hellespontum trajici debent.

[5] Caesari nostro⁵ nulla est alia cura, nisi ut quam festinanter et quam honorifice Nurembergam petat. Puto abhinc dies 15 ejus erit recessus. Albertus et Sigismundus duces sequentur, et, uti submurmurari sentio, comes Ciliae junior et dominus⁶ Walsee. Utcumque⁷ sit, bene actum putabo, si ejus tantum persona illuc venerit, quod jam mihi non est magni dubii, nisi quia futuri nulla est certitudo.

¹ *omit.* WO

² vobis esse M2; vobis WO

³ Hungari jam : jam Hungari WO

⁴ Teucros L, M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Turcos V2b

⁵ *omit.* M2

⁶ *del.* V2b; *de add.* V2a, L, M2, M3

⁷ ut cum V4

[cont.] The palatine replied, “But I would have no difficulty whatsoever in defending this cause before the Supreme Pontiff and the cardinals,¹ for the matter is plain and evident. None is so foolish as to wish to deprive the kingdom’s subjects of their right to elect the king.”

[3] “We have not come to dispute this matter,” the ambassadors said, “but to negotiate a peace. If you want peace, we give it. If you prefer war, we shall fight. It is up to you to choose what you will.” The dean replied, “We are not so exhausted and senseless that we would accept such a shameful peace. We still have strength and courage, and we fear nobody.” Then the ambassadors said, “Neither are we destitute and feeble. We cannot invade another country, but we are strong enough to easily defend our own, which is enough for good men. All is safe behind us, and before us, we have you whom we can resist, should you wish to act wickedly. But you are placed between us and the Turks. Beware not to be stricken at the same time from both sides.” Then the palatine, “We know that your emperor is rich, but this kingdom is wealthy, too. We fear nobody. Begone with your peace.” “So be it,” the ambassadors said. Then both parties prepared to leave, but Cardinal Giuliano exclaimed, “For God’s sake, Your Excellencies, make peace! If we want to set forth against the Turks, peace is necessary. Allow this poor realm to breathe. Do not stain its fields with streams of Christian blood.” But his entreaties were in vain, and they separated without having achieved anything.

[4] However, the next day, the ambassadors were requested to remain, for the answer [they had received] had not been [given] in the king’s² name. So, they stayed and had another meeting. Afterwards, the matter was discussed in the king’s chamber. Finally, the king himself appeared and said, in Hungarian, “Return, ambassadors, to the emperor and greet him in my name. Then inform him that though We do not need the peace he has proposed, We accept it willingly for his sake and to please him, and We agree to all the articles as proposed. Within eight days, you will receive, in Pozon,³ a letter [of confirmation] from Us, and there you will arrange for a letter from the emperor to be delivered to Us.” Thus, the matter was concluded. The Hungarians are now busy mobilising a strong army against the Turks. In Venice, 25 galleys are being armed that will sail to the Hellespont in June.

[5] Our emperor is now only concerned with reaching Nürnberg soon and honourably. I think he will depart in 15 days. He will be accompanied by dukes Albrecht⁴ and Siegmund⁵ and also – it is rumoured – by the younger Duke of Cilly⁶ and the Lord of Walsee⁷. However that may be, the important thing is, I think, that he goes there in person, which I do not doubt much he will do, though the future cannot be known for sure.

¹ A reference to the authority the popes traditionally exercised in re-lation to the Hungarian crown.

² King Wladyslaw III.

³ Pressburg, present-day Bratislava.

⁴ Duke Albrecht VI.

⁵ Duke Siegmund of Tyrol.

⁶ Duke Ulrich II.

⁷ Reinprecht [Ruprecht] IV von Walsee (1405/6-1450): Haupt-mann ob der Enns.

[6] In tua causa¹ multum verborum perdidit. Nil² video, quod fieri queat, nisi postquam Nurembergae fuerimus, ubi artibus erit utendum et novis et majoribus. Adversarius tuus diem obiit filioque nullam haereditatem praeter lites reliquit. Deus illis misertus sit, sive justa fuit ejus causa sive injusta.³

Vale. Ex Vienna, 5. idus Januarias 1444.⁴

¹ tua causa : causa tua HE, WO

² nihil HE, WO

³ Vale. ex Vienna, V idus januarii XLIII. Incipe epistolam: Iohannes Peregallus scriptor apostolicus Petro Geminghero salutem pluri-mam dicit. Philorcium quam hic amasti *add.* in marg. V2b; V2a, L, M2, M3, HE, and WO continue with the text of letter 142.

⁴ Ex Vienna ... 1444: etc. M2

[6] As for your affair,¹ I have talked much about it but in vain. I see nothing that can be done until we come back from [the diet in] Nürnberg² (which will require new and excellent skills of manoeuvring!). Your adversary has died and left his son no inheritance except the lawsuit. May God have had mercy upon him whether his cause was just or not.

Farewell. From Vienna, 11 January 1444³.

¹ A complicated and lengthy law-suit between Cologne and the Johann and Dietrich von Lunen (WO, 1: 1, p. 322; Diemar *passim*).

² For comments on this passage, see Diemar, pp. 87-88.

³ In the earlier versions of the text, the date was – more correctly – given as 27 May. Maybe the reason for the change of date was to separate it from the subsequent fletter (142) fictively addressed to Giovanni Peregallo.

142. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (27 May 1444, Vienna).¹

Manuscripts: L, 205r*; M2, ff. 56r-56v²; M3, ff. 264v-265r³; V2, f. 280⁴; V3, ff. 133r-133v⁵ **; V4, ff. 118r-118v.

Editions: HE, 141, p. 284; WO, 1: 1, 141, pp. 322-323; (both based on L and V2).

Translations: ME, 24, p. 117.

{133r} Johannes Peregallus, scriptor apostolicus, Petro Geminghero salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Philorcium, quam hic amasti, *tumidum ventrem* gerit, sive is ventus est sive cibus nimius. Johannes, secretarius Nurembergensis, utrem putavit illius ventrem vino plenum ascenditque super, calcavit, pressit omnique studio nixus est, ut vinum deprimeret⁶. Sed nihil praeter ventum {133v} exivit. O, si lacrimas cerneres et planctus audires, quibus misera post tuum abitum se maceravit! Certe, nisi Johannes opem tulisset, animum exalasset misella, quia nesciunt mulierculae, ut viri flammam amoris ferre. Sed abiit nunc quoque Johannes; nescio, quid actura⁷ sit infelix. Mihi si esset esset Teutonicus sermo, adirem feminam, solarer et blandis verbis recrearem. Sed nihil mihi cum viris Alamannis praeter tactum est; ipse insipidus est, nisi et verba sint. Subdelegabo igitur Michaellem nostrum, qui et verbis Ulixes est et factis Achilles.

Tu vale et mei memoriam gesta. Ex Basilea⁸, 27. Maji 1444.

¹ In M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO this letter forms the last section of the preceding letter (142); in V2b-V4 it is a separate letter.

² SC, 119-120

³ SC, 532-533

⁴ DV, ff. 144v-145v

⁵ DV, ff. 136r-136v

⁶ deprimeret WO

⁷ auctura M2

⁸ Vienna M3, V2a; corr. ex Vienna V2b

142. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (27 May 1444, Vienna).¹

Context: In the later versions of his letters, Piccolomini would attribute passages on sexual matters to his friend Giovanni Peregallo. In this case, the whole passage was taken out of a letter to another person (Johann Vrunt) and presented as a letter from Peregallo.

Subject: Piccolomini relates a naughty episode concerning a girl, probably a prostitute, from Vienna that would have highly amused his robust friends but would certainly not fit the image of a serious ecclesiastic which he would develop only some years later.²

Giovanni Peregallo, apostolic scribe, sends many greetings to Petrus Gemingherus.

[1] Philorcium,³ whose lover you were when you stayed here, has a *swollen belly*,⁴ either due to gas or overeating. Johann, the secretary of Nürnberg,⁵ thought the cause was that her stomach was full of wine, so he mounted her, rode her hard, and tried with all his strength to press the wine out of her. But only farts came out! Oh, you should have seen the tears and heard the moans of the unhappy girl after you left. If Johann had not come to her assistance, the poor girl would have died, for women do not bear the passion⁶ of love as [well as] men do.⁷ But now Johann, too, has left, and I do not know what the poor thing will do. If I knew German, I would go to her, console her and comfort her with soothing words. But the only thing I have in common with German men is the touch which tastes of nothing if not accompanied by words. So, I shall delegate the task to our Michael, who speaks like a Ulysses and acts like an Achilles.

Farewell, and keep me in your memory. From Basel, 27 May 1444.

¹ In M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO this letter forms the last section of the preceding letter (142).

² For comments on this letter, see Diemar, pp. 83, 86-88.

³ Name of Terentian inspiration used by Piccolomini to designate prostitute lovers.

⁴ Ovidius: *Amores*, 2: 14, 15

⁵ Johann Marquard, see Diemar, p. 87.

⁶ "flammae"

⁷ In this year, 1444, Piccolomini was also writing his famous love story "*De duobus amantibus*", where the heroine actually dies from love.

143. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (28 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 56v-57r¹; M3, ff. 264v-265r²; V2, ff. 291-293³; V3, ff. 139v-140r⁴ **; V4, ff. 123v-124r.
Editions: KO, 65;⁵ HE, 142, pp. 284-285; WO, 1: 1: 142, pp. 323-324; (both based on L and V2).
Translations: ME, 25, pp. 117-119; RE, 44, pp. 190-192.

{139v} Juliano cardinali sancti angeli, patri reverendissimo, Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Numquam veniret ad te⁷ nuntius meis litteris non onustus, nisi magnificus cancellarius me praeveniret, qui tam seriose⁸ et accurate tibi omnia refert, ut mihi nihil relinquat scribendum, quo fit, ut tacere potius quam scribere malim. Nam res notas iterum conculcare⁹ obtundentis est, inania vero attingere et nihil nisi *verba dare* dementis. Hoc oro, ut et tua¹⁰ paternitas animadvertat mihi¹¹ veniam det tacenti potius quam inutiliter scribenti. Satis¹² est, si me tuum esse scis¹³ mancipium, si me habes ad omnia mandata voluntarium et promptum. Scribe mihi, quando res exposcit et jube parato parere.

[2] Novi nil¹⁴ est, quod scriptu arbitrer dignum. Nostra Italia parumper respirat, sed nescio, quid paritura sit illa conventio Senis habita, quae nondum dissoluta est. Utinam Martini aliquando, ne dicam Saturni, redirent saecula. Vellem et ego revisere patriam et ossa parenti reddere. Nihil plus timeo, quam in peregrina terra jacere, quamvis *undique tantundem est et ad inferos* et ad superos viae. Sed habet minus, nescio quomodo, doloris inter ulnas fratrum, sororum, filiorum atque nepotum mori¹⁵. Et licet ubique amici comparari possint, nullae tamen familiaritates tam dulces aut stabiliores sunt quam in patria. Si pacem haberet ecclesia, de pace Italiae {140r} magis sperarem.

¹ SC, 120-121

² SC, 536-537

³ DV, ff. 150v-151v

⁴ DV, ff. 142v-143r

⁵ DV, f. 33r

⁶ poeta *add.* M2, M3

⁷ me M2

⁸ curiose V4

⁹ significare M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* significare V2b

¹⁰ reverendissima *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~reverendissima~~ *seq.* V2b;

¹¹ nichilque M3

¹² sat WO

¹³ esse scis : scitis esse WO

¹⁴ nihil V3

¹⁵ miri V4

143. Letter to Giuliano Cesarini (28 May 1444, Vienna).¹

- Context:* While Piccolomini had been writing the chancellor's letters to Cardinal Cesarini, his personal correspondence with the cardinal had been languishing, presumably because the cardinal was not really interested in corresponding closely with a lowly official or did not have the time.
- Subject:* Piccolomini pointedly refers to the chancellor's letters to the cardinal, written by Piccolomini himself, and assures him of his willingness to serve him. He is pessimistic concerning the prospects of the approaching Diet of Nürnberg since the German state of Neutrality in ecclesiastical affairs is so advantageous to many people.

{139v} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Cardinal Giuliano of Sant'Angelo.²

[1] Never would a messenger reach you unburdened by letters from me if His Magnificence the Chancellor³ had not come first, writing about everything so carefully and accurately⁴ that there is nothing left for me to write. So, I would rather be silent than write, for to rehash well-known matters is dumb, and to mention inane matters and write *empty words*⁵ is stupid. I ask Your Paternity to take note of this and forgive that I remain silent and do not write superfluously. It is enough for me that you know I am your servant and ready and willing to carry out all your commands. So, when some matter requires it, please write to me and make your wishes known to one who is eager to obey.

[2] There is nothing new I consider worthy of writing. Our Italy breathes somewhat more easily, but I do not know what will come of the meeting now being held in Siena and which has yet to end. If only the age of Martin,⁶ not to mention Saturn,⁷ would return. I should very much like to see my country again and have my bones rest in my fatherland. Indeed, I fear nothing more than to be laid to rest in a foreign country, even though *from any place the road to the lower world and the higher is just as far*.⁸ But somehow, it is less painful to die in the arms of brothers, sisters, sons and grandsons. And although you can acquire friends everywhere, no close friendships are as sweet and solid as those formed in one's own country. If the Church were at peace, I should have greater hope for Italy.

¹ On this letter, see VO: 3, 2, p. 299.

² Note that in this letter to the cardinal, Piccolomini does not pre-sume to name himself first in the greeting, like he did in his letter to Count Lupfen (see letter 135: 1).

³ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Indeed, the chancellor's letters to the cardinal were drafted by Piccolomini himself, which the cardinal would surely know.

⁵ Terentius: *Andria*, 505

⁶ Martinus V [Oddo Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. Restored the papacy after the end of the Great Western Schism. In view of later Italian troubles and wars, his reign now appeared to be a peaceful age.

⁷ Saturnus: (myth.) Roman god. His age was considered to have been a golden age.

⁸ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1: 43, 104. Piccolomini "christianised" the passage by adding "to the higher".

[3] Nescio, quid allatura sit Nurembergensis conventio¹, quia² divisi³ animi sunt. Neutralitas difficulter aboleri potest⁴ pluribus utilis est⁵. Pauci sunt, qui verum sequantur, omnes fere, quod suum est, quaerunt. Placet hoc novum neutralitatis aucupium, quia, seu juste seu injuste quis teneat⁶, repelli non potest, et ordinarii pro suo arbitrio conferunt beneficia. Non est facile, mihi crede⁷, ex ore lupi praedam eripere. Quantum sentio, tota Christianitas Eugenii sequitur partes. Germania tantum divisa est, quam ego semel unitam videre vellem meque illi conformare, quia multum tribuo nationi huic, quae non metu, sed suo libito suoque iudicio ducitur. Quocumque rex cum electoribus se inflexerit, eo et⁸ animula mea sequetur⁹, nec¹⁰ mihi plus quam aliis credam. Haec Haec volui scripsisse, ne omnino nihil scriberem, et ut in futurum excusator sim taciturus.

Vale feliciter et me pro tuo placito utere. Ex Vienna, die 28. maji 1444¹¹.

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

² qui V4

³ divis V4

⁴ quia *add.* M2, M3, V2

⁵ est *add.* M2, M3, V2

⁶ neutralitatis aucupium .. teneat *omit.* M2

⁷ credite M2, M3, V2

⁸ ut M2

⁹ sequitur M2

¹⁰ nunc V4

¹¹ Ex Vienna ... 1444 : etc. M2

[3] I do not know what will come of the diet in Nürnberg, for people are divided. The state of Neutrality¹ cannot be easily abolished since it is advantageous to many. Only few follow the truth; almost all seek their own interest. They are quite content with the new hunting grounds² provided by Neutrality, for people who hold [ecclesiastical benefices] justly or unjustly cannot be deprived of them, and the local bishops³ confer benefices as they wish.⁴ Believe me, it is not easy to snatch the prey from a wolf's mouth. But, as I see it, the whole of Christianity supports Eugenius.⁵ ⁶ Only Germany is divided. I should much like to see it become united and follow it, for I attach great importance to this nation that is led not by fear but by its own will⁷ and judgment. Wherever the king and the prince-electors turn, my humble self will follow them, and I shall not trust myself more than others.⁸

[4] I wanted to write this so that I would at least be writing something and be more easily forgiven my future silence.

Farewell, and use me as you wish. From Vienna, 28 May 1444.

¹ The state of Neutrality between the council in Basel and the pope in Rome declared by the German princes in 1438.

² "aucupium": Lockspeise (ME); stratagem (RE)

³ "ordinarii"

⁴ Bypassing higher ecclesiastical – and secular – authorities.

⁵ Pope Eugenius in Rome, not the council's antipope, Felix V.

⁶ In the chancery, Piccolomini had seen letters from all the European rulers to this effect.

⁷ "libitum".

⁸ This is a clear declaration that Piccolomini would, in the matter of the schism, follow the direction of his German masters.

144. Letter to Adam Moleyns (28 May 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 74r-75v; M2, f. 56v¹; M3, ff. 265v-266r²; V2, ff. 289-290³; V3, ff. 138v-139r⁴ **; V4, ff. 122v-123v.

Editions: KO, 64⁵ HE, 143, pp. 285-286; WO, 1: 1, 143, pp. 324-326; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: BA, 5, pp. 28-29; ME, 26, pp. 119-120; WI, pp. 293-295 (extract).

{138r} Aeneas Silvius reverendo patri⁶ Adae⁷ de Molin⁸, Anglico⁹ apostolicae sedis protonotario, protonotario, salutem plurimam dicit.¹⁰

[1] Regius tabellarius ex Anglia dudum reversus tuam mihi epistolam reddidit, cujus tot sententiae fuerunt quot verba. {138v} Legi cupide, quae scripsisti miratusque sum Romanam facundiam in Britanniam usque profectam esse. Sed fuerunt et alii apud Anglos Tullianae cultores eloquentiae, inter quos venerabilem Bedam nemo non ponit¹¹. Petrus Blesensis longe inferior fuit, cujus epistolis hanc tuam perbreve antepono. Congratulor tibi et Angliae, quia jam¹² dicendi ornatum suscepisti¹³. Sed magnae ob hanc causam referendae sunt grates clarissimo illi et doctissimo principi Clocestriae duci, qui *studia humanitatis* summo studio in regnum vestrum recepit, et¹⁴, sicuti mihi relatum est, et poetas mirifice colit et oratores magnopere veneratur. Hoc enim nimirum fit, ut plures Anglorum eloquentes evadant, quia quales sunt principes tales et cives esse consueverunt, et imitantur servi studia dominorum. Perge igitur, mi Adam, mi here¹⁵. Eloquentiam, quam habes, tene atque amplifica tibi que honorificentissimum puta in ea re praestare hominibus, in qua ceteros animantes homines ipsi praecellunt. Magna res est facundia, et si verum fateri velimus, nihil est, quod tam regat orbem quam eloquentia, quoniam, quidquid agimus in re publica, persuasi verbis agimus et illius in populis¹⁶ sententia manet, qui melius novit persuadere. Tute ista scis, ideo missa¹⁷ facio.

¹ SC, 120

² SC, 535-536

³ DV, ff. 150r-150v

⁴ DV, ff. 141r-142v

⁵ DV, f. 32v

⁶ domino *add.* M2

⁷ Adam M2-M3, V2-V4

⁸ Mulin HE

⁹ et *add.* WO

¹⁰ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius domino Ade de Molin, Anglico aposto-licaе sedis protonotario. Reveren-de pater ac domine mi M1

¹¹ posuit HE, WO

¹² verum *add.* M1-M3

¹³ suscepisti V4

¹⁴ qui M1-M3, V2; *corr. ex* qui V3

¹⁵ domine *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁶ prophetis M3

¹⁷ dimissa *glossa interlin.* M1

144. Letter to Adam Moleyns (28 May 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* This is a reply to a letter from Adam to Piccolomini (letter 68), in which Adam expresses English support for the emperor's plan for a third council. In the meantime, that solution had become impossible since it did not meet with the approval of the other European princes.
- Subject:* Piccolomini compliments Adam on his – and English – eloquence, informs him that the emperor is preparing to go the diet in Nürnberg, and thanks him for the gift Adam had sent him. He does not inform him that, in the meantime, the plans for a third council had proven unrealistic.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, Adam Moleyns,¹ Englishman and protonotary of the Apostolic See.

[1] The king's² messenger, who returned recently, has given me your letter,³ a letter with as many sentences as words.⁴ I read it eagerly and was amazed [to see] how Roman eloquence has now arrived in England.⁵ But in former times, too, England had followers of Tullian⁶ eloquence, among among whom all place the Venerable Bede⁷. Pierre de Blois⁸ was far inferior – I frankly prefer your your lapidary letter to his letters. I congratulate you and England for mastering elegant speaking. For this, great thanks are owed to the most noble and learned prince, the Duke of Gloucester,⁹ who has been keen to introduce *humanist studies*¹⁰ to your realm and, as I have been told, admirably supports the poets and honours the orators. This is certainly the reason why many English have become eloquent, for subjects usually are like their princes, and servants imitate the pursuits of their lords. Continue in this way, my Adam, my Master. Keep and develop the eloquence you have now and do consider it a great honour for you to excel other men in that very attribute that distinguish men from other living beings. Eloquence is a great thing, and - to say it bluntly - nothing governs the world more than eloquence. For whatever we do in public affairs, we do under the influence of words, and in all societies it is the opinion of the most persuasive man that prevails.¹¹ But this you know very well, so I shall leave it there.

¹ Adam Moleyns (d. 1450): At the time, Dean of Salisbury clerk of the ruling council during the minority of Henry VI, and papal protonotary. Later, Lord Privy Seal (1444) and Bishop of Chi-chester (1445). He attended a diet in Frankfurt in 1441 or 1442 (Stie-ber, pp. 234-246), where he ap-parently met Piccolomini. On his murder in 1450, see Piccolomini's *Europa* (HE), 5949.

² Friedrich III.

³ Letter 68.

⁴ An adaptation of Terence's *quot homines tot sententiae* (*Phormio*, 455).

⁵ Note that Piccolomini uses Bri--tannia synonymously with An-glia.

⁶ Ciceronian.

⁷ Bede (The Venerable) (c. 672-735): English monk, author, and teacher. Piccolomini had visited his tomb in Durham in 1436 (COM, 1: 6 (Meserve, 1: pp. 5-6)).

⁸ Pierre de Blois (c. 1140 c. 1211): French cleric, theologian, poet and diplomat. He is particularly noted for his corpus of Latin letters. In 1173 he came to England and served as a letter-writer first for the archbishop of Canterbury and later for King Henry II.

⁹ Humphrey (Lancaster)(1390-1447): Duke of Gloucester. Domi-nating member of the regency go-vernment of his nephew Henry VI. Patron of humanism and learning. See also DVI, sect. 227.

¹⁰ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 2: 3.

¹¹ For a comment on this passage, see Martels: *More*, p. 210

[2] In rebus ecclesiae qualis sit animus tuus, et tabellarius {139r} idem, ut voluisti, mihi retulit, et ego Frankfordiae prius senseram. Laudo te, qui pacem praeponis bello et pacatam videre cupis ecclesiam. Audio te Nurembergam petiturum; ibi latius invicem colloquemur. Caesar jam itineri se accingit. Infra¹ futurum mensem illic², ut spes est, inveniatur. Dux Albertus frater et Sigismundus Sigismundus patruelis eo quoque se conferent. Utinam pax, ut optamus, fiat finisque tandem neutralitati detur, ut sciamus, ubi agnum comedere debeamus.

[3] Munus tuum, quam mihi gratissimum fuerit, nec scribere nec dicere possem, quia nec os nec calamus satis animi potest explicare conceptum. Faxit³ deus, ut bene sit illi virgini, nepti tuae praenobili, quae talis est operis artifex, cui nec Penelope⁴ nec Aragne fuerit comparanda. Eveniat illi vir⁵ dignus tanta virtute et sobolem illa progeneret, matris imitatricem. Oblationibus tuis uterer, quotiens res exposceret, nec minus in opere quam in verbis apud te invenire putarem. Idem tibi ut de me persuadeas, cupio.

Vale dignitate parens, aetate frater dilectioneque socie, et me, ut facis, ama, sed, non ut facis, utere. Ex Vienna, 29.⁶ Maji⁷ 1444⁸.

¹ intra M2, M3; illic intra V4

² *omit.* V4

³ *faciat glossa interlin.* M1

⁴ Penolpe M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Penolpe V2b

⁵ ut V4

⁶ 30. M3

⁷ anno domini *add.* M3

⁸ Ex ... 1444 : *omit.* M1; etc. M2

[2] As you wished, the messenger has reported to me how you feel the same in the ecclesiastical matters as I perceived in Frankfurt.¹ I commend your preference for peace to war and your desire to see the Church at peace. I hear you will be coming to Nürnberg where we can speak more about this matter. The emperor is now preparing for the voyage, so, hopefully, we shall meet there within a month. Duke Albrecht, the emperor's brother, and Siegmund, his cousin, will come there, too. Hopefully, the peace² we wish for will be made there, and the state of Neutrality³ ended so that we may know where to eat the Lamb.⁴

[3] I cannot express how happy your gift⁵ made me, for neither mouth nor pen can do justice to my sentiment. God grant prosperity to the maiden, your noble niece, who made it with such art that Penelope⁶ and Arachne⁷ bear no comparison with her. May she get a husband who is worthy of such such qualities, and may she have children who imitate their mother. I shall certainly make use of your offers⁸ when necessary, knowing I shall find that your acts match your words. Trust that it will will be the same with me.

Farewell, my father in dignity, my brother in age, and my companion in love. Love me as ever, and use me more than you do now. From Vienna, 29 May 1444.

¹ A diet was held in Frankfurt both in 1441 and 1442. Piccolomini is known to have participated in the second.

² The settlement of the church schism.

³ The German state of Neutrality between Pope Eugenius in Rome and the Council of Basel with its antipope Felix V.

⁴ I.e., receive communion, meaning which party in the church conflict to finally join.

⁵ A purse.

⁶ Penelope (Myth.): Wife of Ulysses. Kept her suitors at bay by continuously weaving.

⁷ Arachne: (Myth.) In his *Meta-morphoses*, 6: 5-145, Ovid re-counts the story of Arachne, talented weaver, transformed into a spider.

⁸ Adam had written: *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* (letter 68: 1).

145. Letter to Wilhelm von Stein (1 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 70r ff*^{*}; M2, ff. 57v-59r¹; V2, ff. 292-299²; V3, ff. 140r-144r³ **^{*}; V4, ff. 124r-128r.
Editions: KO, 111⁴; HE, 144, pp. 287-291 (based on L and V2); WO, 1: 1, 144, pp. 326-331 (based on V2).
Translations: BA, 6, pp. 30-36; ME, 26, pp. 121-127; WI, pp. 438-439 (extract).

¹ SC, 122-125.

² DV, ff. 151v-155v.

³ DV, ff. 143r-147r.

⁴ DV, f. 80r

145. Letter to Wilhelm von Stein (1 June 1444, Vienna)

Context: As an imperial poet laureate, Piccolomini would naturally defend poetry. In this letter, he used a fictive jurist's criticism of poetry as a basis for his defence.

Subject: Using the humanist invective style against his fictive opponent, Piccolomini presents a defence of poetry, arguing that it is lucrative, useful, and a gift of God (wherefore poets are rare). Piccolomini would return to this theme, with the same arguments, a year later, in his quodlibetal lecture "Aderat nuper" at the University of Vienna.¹

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¹ For comments on this letter, see Kisch.

{140r} Eneas Silvius¹ domino Wilhelmo de² Lapide, militi litterato et strenuo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Venit ad me hodie tuus Michael meusque,³ immo noster, et “Heus tu,” inquit, “Aenea, vir abhinc hora me aggressus est, qui se tantam juris peritiam jactat habere, ut nullius Italici disputationem {140v} formidet, nec Panormitano nec Ludovico Romano, si viveret, palmam daret. Cinum, Bartholum, Baldum, Johannem Andreae, Imolensem, Butrium, Fulgiosos omnesque novos legum interpretes post se facit⁴. Inter Scaevolas, Vulpianos, Nervas, Pomponios, Paulos Serviosque⁵ se locat. Multorum verborum est, sed quantum salis habeat, non scio. Qui eum sequuntur, audire magis quam loqui possunt. Horis plus quattuor secum fui, numquam mihi vacuum tempus praebuit, quo aliquid dicerem. Cicada est, quae ut tacta fuerit semel, numquam silet. Scis, qualem cicadam. Non ut in Reginis⁶ sunt, quae jussu Herculis tacent, sed ut Locrenses sunt, quae *ultra ceteras* strepunt. [cont.]

¹ poeta *add.* M2, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

² *omit.* M2

³ immo meus V4

⁴ se facit : facit se M2

⁵ Scaevolas, Vulpianos ... Servi-osque : Scaevolam, Vulpianum ... Serviumque M2, V2a; *corr. ex.* Scaevolam, Vulpianum ... Servi-umque V2b

⁶ greginis WO

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to His Lordship Wilhelm von Stein,¹ lettered and valiant knight.²

1. A foolish lawyer's criticism of poetry

[1] Today, your and my - indeed our - friend Michael³ came to me and said, “Enea, I have just⁴ had a visit from a man who boasted he had such knowledge of law that he would not fear to dispute with any Italian nor yield the palm of victory to Panormitano⁵ or Ludovico Romano,⁶ had he still been alive. He belittles Cino,⁷ Bartolo,⁸ Baldo,⁹ Johannes Andreae,¹⁰ [Giovanni] da Imola,¹¹ Butrio,¹² Fulgosio¹³ and all the modern jurists. Indeed, he considers himself equal to Scaevola,¹⁴ Ulpian,¹⁵ Nerva,¹⁶ Pomponius,¹⁷ Paulus¹⁸ and Servius.¹⁹ He speaks profusely, but I do not know how much salt²⁰ he has. Anyone who follows him must listen more than talk. I was with him for more than four hours, and during that whole time, he did not pause once to let me say anything. He is like a cicada: when you touch it once, it never stops humming. You know which cicadas: not those from Reginum, who grew silent at the bidding of Hercules,²¹ but those from Locri, who are *more* noisy than the others.²² [cont.]

¹ Wilhelm von Stein: High-ranking official at the court of Duke Albrecht VI. See DVI, sect. 254.

² ”miles”

³ Michael von Pfullendorf.

⁴ “vir abhinc hora me aggressus est”: BA translates “A fellow came up to me just an hour ago” and ME “Vor einer Stunde war ein Mann bei mir”. But see the passage below where Michael says the man had been with him for more than four hours.

⁵ Niccolò Tedeschi (1386-1445): Archbishop of Palermo from 1435 to his death. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440. See DVI, ch. 4.

⁶ Ludovico Pontano [Romano] (1409-1439): Celebrated Italian jurist. See DVI, ch. 16.

⁷ Cino Sigibuldi [da Pistoia] (c. 1265-1336): Italian jurist.

⁸ Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314- 1357): Italian jurist.

⁹ Baldo degli Ubaldi (1327-1400): Italian jurist.

¹⁰ Johannes Andreae (c. 1270- 1348): Italian jurist.

¹¹ Giovanni Nicoletti [da Imola] (c. 1372-1436): Italian jurist. See DVI, ch. 19.

¹² Antonio da Budrio [Butrio] (1338-1408): Italian jurist. See DVI, sect. 103.

¹³ Raffaele Fulgioso (1367-1427): Italian jurist. See DVI, sect. 69.

¹⁴ Quintus Mucius Scaevola (140-82 BCE): Roman pontifex and jurist.

¹⁵ Domitius Ulpianus (c. 170-228 CE): Roman jurist.

¹⁶ Marcus Coccejus Nerva (5 BCE – 33 CE): Roman jurist.

¹⁷ Pomponius Sextus (2nd c. CE): Roman jurist.

¹⁸ Julius Paulus (2nd/3rd c. CE): Roman jurist.

¹⁹ Servius Sulpicius Rufus (c. 105 - c. 43 BCE): Roman jurist.

²⁰ Wit, intelligence.

²¹ Hercules: (Myth.) Hero: Roman equivalent of Greek Heracles.

²² Solinus, 41: 5. [HE]

[cont.] Is poeticam contemnit, nec si dii Musas ei omnes infunderent, gratias ageret, quia praeter legum peritiam nullam esse scientiam¹ praedicat. Poeticam² vero prorsus inutilem esse contendit, quae³ nec panem lucratur nec vestitum. Solus Justinianus et Hippocrates⁴ marsupium implent. Jejunus cantat *Lucanus in hortis, et satur est, cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe.'*⁵

[2] Stomachatus sum, dum haec audio, Wilhelme, militum decus, nec me comprimere possum, quin bilem expuam, si non cum aliis saltem tecum, qui iudicium habes rectum. Non vitupero leges, ut ille Musas, quamvis Ovidii verbis⁶ usus *verbosas leges* dicere potuissem. Sunt⁷ enim utiles, quae constringunt hominum vitas, et quia non potest quilibet esse philosophus, ut quid vitandum quidque sequendum sit, agnoscat, {141r} editae leges sunt et⁸ ante hominum oculos positae tamquam cancelli quidam, ultra quos progredi⁹ nullus audeat.

[3] Legibus tamen nemo perfectus fiet, nisi philosophiae studiis incubuerit, quia non possunt omnem casum complecti leges. Ideo princeps moderator est legis epicheiamque habet, ut duram mollificet, laxam vero sanctionem restringat, quod numquam recte principes agent, nisi *magistram vitae expultricemque vitiorum* secuti fuerint philosophiam. Sed hic noster monarcha vel *bipes asellus* potius, inflatus opinione sui, civilem scientiam¹⁰ omnibus praefert, matrem filiae postponit et fluminibus mare. Is est ex illis caecis et¹¹ obtusis hominibus, qui postquam leges quattuor aut decem memoriae commendarunt, jam non amplius homines sed deos se putant legesque divina censent oracula, quae vel Apollo vel Apolline major Deus ipse per Moysen¹² tradiderit aut qualia sunt Christi responsa, quae nos evangelia nuncupamus.

¹ praeter legum ... scientiam : ius civile nulla scientia est nulla doctrina omnes artes minores (L; manca M2) praeter legum peritiam L, M2

² poetam M2

³ quia WO

⁴ Hippocras V2, V4; corr. ex Hippocras V3

⁵ euhoe M2 V2-V4.; ne WO

⁶ verbo WO

⁷ sicut M2

⁸ omit. WO

⁹ transgredi M2

¹⁰ sententiam V4

¹¹ omit. L

¹² Moysen V2

[cont.] This man despises poetry, and he would not thank the gods if they gave him all the Muses' [gifts], for he claims that law is the only science. He contends that poetry is entirely useless since it earns neither bread nor clothes. Only Justinian¹ and Hippocrates² fill the purse.³ *Lucan*⁴ sings in *his his gardens* while famished,⁵ and *Horace's*⁶ *stomach was well filled when he shouted his cry of Evoe.*^{7 8 9}

[2] Hearing this so upset me, Wilhelm, ornament of knighthood, that I cannot contain myself but must vent my bile if not to others, then at least to you who have sound judgment. I do not revile laws as he reviles the Muses (though I could quote Ovid and say that *laws are garrulous*).¹⁰ Nay, laws are useful since they regulate people's lives. Not everybody can be a philosopher and know by himself what to do and what not, and therefore, laws are made and put before the eyes of men as boundaries that nobody should dare to cross.¹¹

[3] However, nobody can be made perfect by the laws unless he has also studied philosophy, for the laws cannot cover all individual cases. Therefore, the prince is the moderator of the laws and must administer fairness¹² to soften hard rules of law and harden soft ones. But princes cannot do that right unless they follow philosophy as a *teacher*¹³ and *expeller of vice*.^{14 15} But this monarch¹⁶ of ours or rather our *two-legged donkey*¹⁷ in his arrogance puts the science of civil law above all other sciences, the daughter¹⁸ above the mother,¹⁹ and the rivers above the sea.²⁰ He is one of those blind and deaf men who, having learnt four or ten laws by heart, consider themselves to be men no longer but gods. They look upon the laws as if they were divine pronouncements made by Apollo or by God himself (greater than Apollo) through Moses, or as responses²¹ made by Christ (we others call them the gospels!²²).

¹ Justinianus I (424-565): Byzantine emperor from 527 to his death. Codified Roman law in the *Codex juris civilis*.

² Hippocrates of Kos (c. 460 – 360 BCE): Greek physician and one of the founders of medicine.

³ Meaning that the only lucrative sciences are law and medicine.

⁴ Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65 CE): Roman poet.

⁵ Juvenalis, 7: 79: *Contentus fama jaceat Lucanus in hortis mar-moreis ...*

⁶ Horatius Flaccus, Quintus (65 - 8 BCE): Roman poet.

⁷ BA translates: *The lawyer is already full and satisfied, while Horace says, "God, I'm hungry* (p. 30).

⁸ Juvenalis, 7: 62.

⁹ The studied refinement of this passage and its classical quotations point to its being a literary fiction used by Piccolomini as a point of departure for his defence of poetry.

¹⁰ Ovidius: *Amores*, 1: 15, 5.

¹¹ Piccolomini expressed this same positive view of law in his oration "*Nisi satis exploratum*" next year (1445) at the University of Vienna: *Through them [laws], indeed, the life of all men is being constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them cities, peoples and nations are being ruled, protected and multiplied, united by law* (COR, 3: 8, 12).

¹² "epicheia": *aequitas*.

¹³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5: 2, 5: *Philosophia ... tu magistristra morum*.

¹⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5: 2, 5

¹⁵ Here, Piccolomini returns to a theme, the excellence of philosophy, he had already treated some years before (1441), with the same quotation, in his *Libellus dialogorum* (DIA, 1: 27)

¹⁶ I.e., the arrogant lawyer. In this and the following passages, Piccolomini gives vent to humanist invective, dripping with sarcasm.

¹⁷ Juvenalis, 9: 92.

¹⁸ Science of law.

¹⁹ Philosophy.

²⁰ In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages it was generally thought that seas were the source of rivers (WI, p. 439).

²¹ In the sense of juridical responses.

²² Sarcasm!

[4] Ac propterea, si quid egisse Caesarem audiunt, quod juri scripto contrarietur, id irritum garrunt nulliusque esse¹ momenti, quasi obnoxius sit princeps terminos curiae et stilum servare ligatusque legibus sit, quod nec ipsae leges volunt, quae *legis vigorem* dicunt *habere*, quidquid principi placuit. Sed nesciunt hi stulti atque dementes aequitatem² plus in principe locum habere quam rigorem. Quod si non juri scripto {141v} Caesar nonnumquam obtemperat³, satis est, quia sequitur aequitatem, apud philosophos late descriptam, quam⁴ nulli iuristae discernere possunt, nisi ad fontem veniant, unde leges scaturiunt imitenturque peritissimos illos jurisconsultos, quorum scripta et philosophiam et oratoriam redolent. Sed nostri panis quaestores et auri corrasores⁵ vix intelligunt ornatum jurisconsultorum sermonem neque, quid illi vellent, quovis pacto scirent, nisi commentatores sententias textuum exponerent “Hoc dicit ista lex, hoc illa,” quos isti sequuntur, ut caeci ductorem suum.

[5] Dicerem plura in hanc partem, sed vocat me defensio poesis, quam noster rabulus non desiderat. Credo equidem, nam nec sues *margaritas* curant, gallus Aesopi jaspidem contempsit escamque magis quam iacinctum invenire voluisset. “Contemnis, asine, poesim, spernis Musas⁶, bos, fugis *humanitatis studia*, caper. Contemnit et poesis te⁷, nec te choros suos intrare permittet. In omnibus cum sis fatuus, miror in hoc uno te esse sapientem, qui cum videas obseratam tibi atque abditam poesim, nolle te suum commercium dicis⁸. Sapere hoc est. Nunc te philosophum video, quia non cupis, quod non potes habere. Stultum est desiderare, quod assequi nequeas. Tu tamen ultra progredieris scientiarumque omnium splendorem⁹ vocas ineptias. Vidit pendentes aselli¹⁰ testiculos vulpecula et prope casuros credidit. {142r} Secuta est praedam sperans, at postquam diu frustrata est, quia non cadebant testes, “O quam,” inquit, “nigri sunt; numquam illos esse¹¹ potuissem¹².” Nigra est tibi poesis, stulte, quia candorem ejus obnubilatis oculis non vides. Non sapit aegroto vinum, quia laesus est gustus.

¹ fore L; *omit.* M2

² virtutem L

³ obtemperet WO

⁴ *omit.* V4

⁵ corrasores V4

⁶ causas WO

⁷ *omit.* M2

⁸ commercium dicis : dicis com-mercium M2

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ asini L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² comedere *add.* L

[4] Therefore, when they hear the emperor has done something that goes against written law, they foolishly claim it is invalid and of no moment, as if the emperor were obliged to use the terms and style of the courts and were bound by the laws. This the laws themselves do not claim, for they say that the prince's decisions *have the force of law*.^{1 2} But these foolish and insane men do not know that fairness must be more important to the prince than rigour. If the emperor does not always follow written law, it is enough that he follows fairness. The philosophers have written extensively on this concept, and jurists cannot understand it unless they return to the source from where the laws spring and imitate those most learned jurists whose writings are redolent with philosophy and oratory. But our bread-seekers and money-gatherers barely understand the ornate language of the jurists and can only know what they mean if the passages in the texts have been explained to them by commentators telling them that "This law says this, and that law says that". And they follow these commentators as blind men follow their guide.

2. Defence of poetry

[5] I could say more on this subject, but I am called to defend poetry which our bawling advocate rejects. Indeed, swine do not care for *pearls*,³ and Aesop's cock scorned a gemstone⁴ and would rather find food than sapphires. "You, ass, despise poetry; you, ox, scorn the Muses; you, goat, flee *humanist studies*.⁵ Therefore, poetry despises you and will not admit you to its circles.⁶ Since you are foolish in all other matters, I am surprised that you are wise in this that, seeing poetry to be closed and hidden to you, you say you want nothing to do with it. That is wise. Here, I see you as a philosopher, for you do not want what you cannot have. Indeed, it is foolish to desire what one cannot get. However, you go further when you claim that the splendour of all the sciences is nothing. A fox once saw a donkey's hanging testicles and thought they would fall off soon. So, hoping, it followed its prey for a long time but in vain, for they did not fall off. Then it said, "Ouch, how black they are! I could never have eaten them."⁷ Poetry is black to you, fool, for you cannot see its brilliance with clouded eyes. Wine has no flavour to a sick man, for his sense of taste is impaired.

¹ Digesta [Pandecta] 1: 4, 1: *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*.

² Two years (1446) afterwards, Piccolomini would return to this theme in his *De origine pro-gressuque sacri imperii: Leges sacratissimas, quae constringunt hominum vitas unversique mundi cervicibus imponuntur, solius est imperatoris condere, qui, quid-quid placuerit, legis habet vigorem* (WO, 2, 1: p. 19).

³ Matthew, 7: 6.

⁴ Aesop's fable on the cock and the gemstone (Perry Index, nr. 503).

⁵ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 2: 3.

⁶ "chori"

⁷ A variant of Aesop's fable on the fox and the grapes (Perry Index, nr. 15).

[6] “Non est de pane lucrando,” dicitis. Tibi numquam lucrari panem poesis posset, quia crassis ingeniis nubilosisque mentibus non potest fructum praestare. At¹ Virgilio frugifer fuit, Horatio admodum pinguis, qui *frui paratis*² optabat. Oppianus, qui nomina piscium naturasque descripsit, magnas opes est assecutus. Quid novi? Leonardus Aretinus, Guarinus,³ Aurispa, Panormitanus, Antonius Luscus⁴ pluresque alii⁵? His et patrimonia sunt ampliata et opes accumulatae quamplures, quamplures, quia poesim et oratoriam sunt secuti. Nec tibi umquam tantum auri speculator praebebit, quantum Quintilianus Aretino tribuit. Quod si apud hanc tuam Germaniam non sunt in pretio vates, non poesim sed principes potius argue, quibus levissimarum rerum major est cura quam litterarum. Apud Italos autem florent hujusmodi facultates, nec erubescunt principes audire et nosse poeticam. Idem spero, quamquam tu nolles, et in Germania futurum aliquando, quia et olim viros doctos haec terra tulit, et jam plerosque novi dicendi peritos, qui te invito, etiam si tibi *rumpantur ilia*, eloquentiam inter Germanos seminabunt.

[7] Nec enim inutilem {142v} rentur⁶, ut tu asseris, poesim. Sciunt ex hac maximum gigni frumentum. Quomodo enim pacari provinciae et amicitiae vel⁷ conflari vel integrari possent, nisi facundia foret, quam poesis alit? An nescis, quantus est epistolarum usus, quantus historiarum, quantus orationum? Rex regi per litteras conciliatur, civitates foedera percutiunt, absentes cum absentibus fabulantur⁸. *Historia* nobis res gestas refert, quae *testis est temporum, lux veritatis et vitae vitae magistra*. Orationes senatum regunt, populos ducunt, leges suadent. Sed quis haec bene agat, nisi poeticis et oratoriis imbutus disciplinis? Quas praeterea grates referre Homero debent⁹ Graeci atque Trojani, qui jam duobus annorum milibus mortui adhuc vivunt?

¹ *omit.* WO

² *em.*; *partis* codd.

³ *omit.* M2

⁴ *add.* M2

⁵ Leonardus Aretinus ... alii : Aurispa Panormitanus pluresque alii Leonardus Aretinus Pogius Guarinus L

⁶ retro V4

⁷ *omit.* L

⁸ *fabulant* WO

⁹ Homero debent : debent Homero L

2.1. Poetry is lucrative

[6] “One cannot earn a living [from poetry]”, you say. Well, you, certainly, could not, for poetry cannot profit crass people and foggy minds. But it profited Virgil and richly rewarded Horace, who wanted to *enjoy what he had*.¹ And it made a rich man of Oppian,² who wrote [a poem] about the names and kinds of fishes. What about the present age: Leonardo Aretino,³ Guarino,⁴ Aurispa,⁵ Panormita,⁶ Antonio Loschi⁷ and many others? These men increased their possessions and became wealthy by cultivating poetry and oratory. You will never earn as much money from a client⁸ as Aretino has earned from Quintilian.⁹ But if poets are not in great demand in your Germany, you should not blame poetry but your princes who care more for trifling matters than for letters. But today, these arts flourish in Italy, where princes are not ashamed to hear and know poetry. Even if you do not wish it, I hope this will also happen in Germany, for this country once fostered men of learning, and I know several such who will sow eloquence among the Germans, even if you do not wish for it *and your sides may burst with envy*.¹⁰

2.2. Poetry is useful¹¹

[7] [Unlike you,] they do not say poetry is useless, for they know it gives excellent results. Indeed, how can provinces be pacified and friendships created and renewed if not through eloquence fostered by poetry? Or do you not know how valuable letters, history and orations are? Through letters, kings are reconciled with kings, states make pacts, and men speak with others who are far away. *History* tells us about past deeds. *It is the witness to the ages, the light of truth, and the teacher of life*.¹² And orations govern senates,¹³ lead peoples, and plead for laws. So, who can do well if not imbued with poetry and oratory? How much should Homer¹⁴ not be thanked by the Greeks and Trojans, who live today [through him] though they died more than 2,000 years ago?

¹ Horatius: *Carmina*, 1: 31, 17.

² Oppianus (2nd c. CE): Greco-Roman poet who the *Halieutica*, a five-book didactic epic on fishing

³ Leonardo Bruni.

⁴ Guarino Veronese (1374-1460): Italian humanist. See DVI, sect. 50.

⁵ Giovanni Aurispa (1376-1459): Italian humanist. DVI, sect. 50.

⁶ Antonio Beccadelli (1394-1471): Sicilian poet, scholar and diplo-mat, later in the service of Alfonso V. Piccolomini is probably refer-ring to his literary feud with Friar Antonio da Rho (1395-1447), who wrote an invective against him. Beccadelli was a friend of Pic-colomi from their time at the Uni-versity of Siena, and Piccolomini wrote of him: *pro vetusta consue-tudine, quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus* (letter to King Alfonso V of 27 January 1454, WO, 1: 1, 249, p. 436). See also Voigt, 1, 1: p. 11.

⁷ Antonio Loschi (1365-1441): Early Italian humanist. Author of *Inquisitio Artis in Orationibus Ci-ceronis*, 1395, which soon be-came a humanist classic.

⁸ ”speculator”: informant, spy. Meaning unclear. Corrupt text?

⁹ Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (c. 30 - c. 95 CE): Roman rhetorician and teacher. Author of the *Insti-tutio oratoria*.

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 7: 26.

¹¹ Piccolomini would return to this theme - with the same quotations - in his quodlibetal lecture at the University of Vienna the next year (1445), the “*Aderat nuper*” (COR, 3, 2, 2, 1).

¹² Cicero: *De oratore*, 2: 9, 36.

¹³ I.e., governing assemblies or councils.

¹⁴ Homeros: Ancient Greek poet. Reputed to be the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

[8] Novit, quanta sit utilitas poetarum, Alexander magnus, cui per Asiam iter facienti cum¹ obviam tumulus Hectoris fieret, “*O², fortunate,*” inquit, “*adolescens,* quem tanta decantavit tuba, Homeri scilicet³ Musam designans. Alexander, Aminthae filius, rex Macedonum, Pindarum poetam lyricum lyricum apprime dilexit. *Archelaus,* ejus successor, *in tantum* poetas amavit, *ut Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam crederet, cujus suprema non contentus prosequi sumptu funeris crines tonsus est et maerorem, quem animo conceperat, vultu* indicavit. Africanus prior *Quinti Ennii statuam* sepulchro suo jussit imponi. *Lysander,* Lacedemoniorum dux, {143r} *cum obsideret Athenas,* quia *Sophoclis inhumatum corpus jacebat, indutias* dedit, ut congrue et digne poetis⁴ exequiae fierent. Julius ille Caesar, qui nobis Romanum⁵ imperium peperit, non solum poetas amavit sed fieri etiam et dici poeta voluit. Idem et Augustus Octavianus. Ac propterea mortui vivunt, nec ulla istorum aetas immemor erit.

¹ *omit.* WO

² cum M2

³ sed WO

⁴ poetae V3, V4

⁵ Romanorum WO

[8] Alexander the Great knew the value of poets. When he travelled through Asia¹ and came upon the tomb of Hector,² he said, “*O fortunate adolescent who was sung by such a trumpet!*”,³ by which he meant Homer’s muse. [Another] Alexander,⁴ son of Amyntas,⁵ king of the Macedonians, greatly loved Pindar,⁶ the lyric poet. His successor, Archelaus,⁷ treasured the poets *so highly that he he followed the counsels of Euripides,*⁸ the writer of tragedies, even in the most important affairs, and at his death, he not only covered the costs of the burial but even shaved off his hair, thus publicly demonstrating his inner sorrow.⁹ The Elder Africanus¹⁰ ordered a statue of Quintus Ennius¹¹ placed on his own tomb.¹² When the Spartan general, Lysander,¹³ besieged Athens and learnt that the poet Sophocles¹⁴ had died and not yet been buried, he made a truce so that the poet could be given a proper burial, fitting for poets.¹⁵ And Julius Caesar who created the Roman Empire for us not only loved poets but also wanted to become one and be known as such. Augustus Octavianus¹⁶ did the same. Therefore, though they are dead, they are still alive, and no age shall forget them

¹ Asia Minor.

² Hector (Greek myth.): Son of King Priam of Troy. Killed by Achilles

³ Piccolomini had this quotation from Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 24, but here the text is: *Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: “O fortunate, in-quit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!”* Note that Piccolomini misquotes Cicero, either through a lapsus of memory or because he reproduced an error in his source. Piccolomini would also – later – be able to read Arrian’s passage on Alexander’s visit to Achilles’ tomb in Sigeum: *Some say that Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, while He-phaestion, others say, placed a wreath on Patroclus’ tomb; and Alexander, so the story goes, blessed Achilles for having Homer to proclaim his fame to posterity. Alexander might well have coun-tered Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander’s ex-ploits were never celebrated as they deserved, either in prose or verse; there were not even choral lyrics for Alexander as for Hiero, Gelo, Thero and many others not to be compared with him, so that Alexander’s exploits are far less known than very minor deeds of old times.* (Arrian: *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1: 12). Piccolomini knew the text of Arrian in the Latin translation by Pier Paolo Vergerio, which he had somehow gotten hold of, see Tournoy. It is not known when he acquired that manuscript.

⁴ Alexander I (d. 454 BCE): Ruler of the Kingdom of Macedon from 498 to his death.

⁵ Amyntas I (c. 547 - c. 12 BCE): King of Macedon.

⁶ Pindar (c. 522 - c. 443 BCE): Greek poet from Thebes.

⁷ Error for Alcetas II (313-306 BCE): King of Epirus.

⁸ Euripides (c. 480 - c. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies. Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 9: 14, p. 65

⁹ Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 65: 16.

¹⁰ Publius Cornelius Scipio Afri-canus [the Elder] (c. 236-183 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

¹¹ Ennius, Quintus (c. 239-c. 169 BCE): Roman poet.

¹² Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9: 22: *Carus fuit Africano superiori noster En-nius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Sci-pionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore.* Cf. also Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memo-rabilia*, 8: 14, 1. See also Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 1: 122, p. 29.

¹³ Lysander (d. 395 BC): Spartan admiral. Defeated Athens. Soli-nus: *Collectanea mirabilium mun-di*, 29: 3.

¹⁴ Sophocles (c. 497 - c. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies

¹⁵ Solinus: *Collectanea mirabili-um mundi*, 1: 118, p. 99.

¹⁶ Gajus Julius Octavianus Caesar AKA Augustus (31 BCE - 14 CE): Roman statesman, the first empe-ror.

[9] Quod si nonnulli principes equos potius et canes alere quam poetas volunt et multa carne leones ursosque pascunt, intestinis poetarum nihil praebentes¹, talis erit eorum obitus, qualis equorum et canum, nec post mortem majus erit istorum nomen quam ursi atque leonis. Integri morientur nec beneficio Musarum famam sibi vendicabunt, quas tuo ex more nihili² curaverunt. Antiquitas provida tanti poeticam fecit, ut tam poetas post editum opus quam imperatores post victoriam triumphare et curru magnifico duci per urbes voluerit communeque illis dignitatis insigne praebuerit lauream, quoniam sicut ab hostibus imperatores liberant cives, sic vitia fulminantes et virtutes extollentes poetae civitates custodiunt et amplificant.

[10] At tu, major Alexandro magno, Lysandro victoriosior, melior Scipione, prudentior Julio, Augusto fortunatior et omni antiquitate sapientior, inutilem poeticam dicis, quia nihil panis affert, nil auri, nihil divitiarum. Esto, quod ais, non tamen idcirco legibus tuis poetica cedit, namque dum tu aurum petis avare, faecis amator, mundi {143v} cultor, poeta honorem famamque quaeritat et cantans superum laudes virtutisque³ excitans amorem iter sibi facit in caelum. Tu⁴ cum auro et divitiis, quas sequeris, quasque solas dare beatitudinem putas, in terra manebis et animam simul et vitam perdes. Non est, mihi crede, noscere leges quam poeticam majus. Scio, quia non credis, sed stulti credulitas nec dat verum nec aufert.

[11] Cicero, qui fuit linguae latinae princeps, semper poetas fuisse raros testatur, quoniam haec facultas *donum Dei* est, quod non omnibus datur. Artes ceterae studio, diligentia praeceptionibusque possunt apprehendi, hanc nemo⁵ assequitur nisi *divino munere* praeditus. Tute vides juristarum greges, inter quos plures excellunt habenturque doctores et legum interpretes, quorum mores nihil a brutis distant, qui res humanas minus quam caprae norunt. Tu non fateberis hoc, quia⁶ fortasse caprior es capris. Ego Polinum novi Mediolanensem, qui lumen habitus est juris civilis. Is facturus aedificium magistros conduxerat. Trabes in aedium medio erant, quibus lacunar⁷ aulae construi debebat. Tempus cenandi fuit⁸. “Ite⁹,” inquit Polinus architectis¹⁰, “comedite; ego interim aliquid operis faciam.” Illis amotis, trabes metitur, quam longas vult ex pariete in parietem. Mensura recepta, nec, quod intra murum ligni pars esse deberet, animadvertit sciditque¹¹ trabes et perdidit aedificium. Is tamen juris praeceptor erat multisque annis cathedram rexerat. Quid tu mihi hanc disciplinam juris {144r} tantopere laudas et omnibus praefers, cujus asini possunt effici praeceptores. Orator atque poeta - si Ciceroni plus quam tibi credere volumus - nullus erit nisi et prudens et bonus multarum scientiarum peritiam fuerit assecutus, atque idcirco rari semper poetae rarique oratores fuere, in quorum numero facis sapienter, si non desideras esse, quia non potes, stulte, si contemnis, quod tanti viri commendaverunt. Haec ad nostrum asellum sint dicta.

¹ scito *add.* L

² nihil V3, V4

³ virtutesque WO

⁴ tum V4

⁵ vero V4

⁶ qui WO

⁷ laquear L, M2, V2

⁸ erat L

⁹ iste V4

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ sciditque L, V2

[9] Many princes would rather raise horses and dogs than cultivate poets, and they stuff lions and bears with meat but give nothing to the poets' stomachs. They will have the same death as their horses and dogs, and after their death, their name will not be greater than that of a bear and a lion. Their death will be complete, and their fame will not benefit from the Muses, whom they neglected as you do. Wise Antiquity treasured poets so highly that when they had published a work, they gave them a triumph and led them through the city in a magnificent chariot even as they did with victorious generals, and they gave both the poets and the generals a laurel crown as a sign of honour. For generals liberate the citizens from their enemies, and in like manner, poets guard cities and make them grow by stigmatising vice and extolling virtue.

[10] But you – greater than Alexander the Great, more victorious than Lysander, better than Scipio, more clever than Julius, more fortunate than Augustus, and wiser than all of Antiquity - claim that poetry is useless since it earns no bread, no money and no riches. Even if it were so, poetry would not yield to your laws, for while you – greedy man, lover of dregs, worshipper of the world – chase money, the poet seeks honour and fame and goes to Heaven, singing the praises of the heavenly beings and stirring up love of virtue. However, you will remain on Earth with the money and riches you are chasing in the belief that these alone will make you happy - but you will lose both your soul and your life. Believe me, knowing laws is less important than knowing poetry. I know you do not believe it, but the beliefs of a fool neither prove nor disprove a truth.

2.3. Poets are rare

[11] Cicero, the prince of the Latin language, observed that poets were always rare, for poetry is a *gift of God* not given to all. The other arts may be learned through study, diligence and instruction, but this one is only acquired as a *gift from God*.¹ You see crowds of jurists, many outstanding and reputed as doctors and interpreters of law, but their character is not different from that of brute animals, and they know less of human matters than goats. You do not admit this because possibly you are more goatish than goats. I know a Polino of Milan who is considered a luminary of civil law. He was going to build a house and had contracted artisans. The beams to be used for the ceiling were lying on the floor in the middle of the edifice. At lunchtime, Polino told the builders, "Go and eat. In the meantime, I shall do some work here. When they had gone, he measured how long the beams would have to be to reach from wall to wall. However, he forgot that they had to be longer to be able to rest on the walls themselves, and therefore he cut the beams too short and ruined [them for] the building. But he was a teacher of law and had held a chair for many years. Why do you praise the discipline of law so highly and prefer it to all the others when even an ass can become a professor? If we believe Cicero more than you, nobody becomes an orator or a poet unless he is wise and good and has gained knowledge of many sciences. This is why poets and orators have always been rare. You do well in not wanting to be one of them, for that you cannot be, you fool, if you despise what such great men commended." This is what I had to say to our ass.²

¹ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 8: 18.

² I.e., the fictive jurist of Piccolo-mini's invective.

[12] Tu, Wilhelme, disciplinarum amator, si umquam hosce homines audiveris, suscipe poeticae partes et ostende te hujus divini muneris cultorem. Vides, quam facile sit has picas convincere, hos tamquam pulices inter unguis comprimere. Nec sine, ut divinam poeticam, quae, ut Cicero tradit, omnium doctrinarum est prior inventa, pollutis arguant labiis. Defende hanc pulcherrimam dominam, cui si praesidio fueris, nomen habebis aeternum et non solum inter meas epistolas, quae tamen non sunt cito casurae, sed inter scripta potiorum vatum¹ inveniatis legendus.

Vale et illustrissimo principi, domino duci Alberto, me commendatum facito, et quia consiliarius ejus es, admone illum, ne litterarum studia contemnat. Iterum atque iterum vale. Ex Vienna, 1. kalendis Junii 1444².

¹ vatum WO

² Ex Vienna ... 1444 : etc. M2

3. Conclusion

[12] But you, Wilhelm, lover of learning, if ever you hear such men, then defend poetry and show yourself as one who cultivates this divine gift. You see how easy it is to refute these magpies and crush them like fleas with your nails. Do not allow divine poetry, which Cicero says was created before all the other arts, to be denounced by foul lips. Defend this most beautiful mistress. If you come to her assistance, your fame will last forever, not just in my letters – which will not be soon forgotten – but also in the writings of poets greater than me.

Farewell, and recommend me to the Most Illustrious Prince, Lord Duke Albrecht, and since you are his councillor, advise him not to neglect the study of letters. Once again, farewell. From Vienna, 1 June 1444.

146. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (1 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 108r-108v; M2, ff. 57r-57v¹; M3, ff. 266v-267r²; V2, ff. 301-303³; V3, ff. 144v-145v⁴ **;
V4, ff. 128r-129r.

Editions: HE, 145, pp. 292-293; WO, 1: 1, 145, pp. 331-333; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: RE, 46, pp. 192-194.

{ 144v } Aeneas Silvius⁵ Johanni Peregallo, fratri amantissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.^{6 7}

[1] Recepti⁸ tuas epistolas^{9 10}, quas Martinus, regiae cancellariae notarius, attulit cognovique te bene bene valere quamvis inani marsupio debilem¹¹. Sed illud quoque aliquando implebitur, si sperata unio detur. Cupis scire, Antonius Luscus in measne manus¹² venerit: venit et apud me est, mihi carissimus. Tu¹³ rogo, gratias meo nomine praestanti et facundissimo theologo Francisco de Fuce dicas meque sibi offeras, quia non ero deses in omnibus, que possim morem¹⁴ sibi gerere magnique muneris loco recipiam, si quid me posse conari sciam ejus desiderio gratum. Munus quoque Stephani¹⁵ mihi redditum est, sicut eidem rescribo.

[2] Aureos illos quattuor, quos velle per Barbatum mittere scribis, suadeo, ut apud te habeas, quia¹⁶ multa possent occurrere, propter quae illis in mea causa opus sit. Scis, quia Tridentina praebenda impetitur, tuque defensor es causae. Nihil est, quod absque argento Romana curia dedat, nam et ipsae¹⁷ manus impositiones et Spiritus Sancti dona venduntur nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis¹⁸ impenditur. Serva igitur aurum, ut cum opus sit, praesto reperias.

¹ SC, 121-122

² SC, 537-538

³ DV, ff. 156r-157r

⁴ DV, ff. 147v-148v

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, WO

⁶ *Titulus:* Aeneas ad Johannem Peregallo. Amantissime frater M1

⁷ amantissime frater *add.* M1

⁸ *duplices add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~duplices~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ litteras M1

¹⁰ epistola *glossa superlin.* M1

¹¹ *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹² ne manus : manus ne M3

¹³ te M1

¹⁴ moram M3

¹⁵ domini *add.* M1

¹⁶ quoniam M1-M3, V2

¹⁷ si V4

¹⁸ libentius *add.* V2

146. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (1 June 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* At this time, Piccolomini was probably – under the influence of his master and mentor, chancellor Kaspar Schlick - leaning towards the papalist party, as he had previously told Cardinal Capranica (letter 124: 2).¹ Officially, however, he maintained the neutrality still adhered to by his lord, the emperor. But since the outcome of the German deliberations on ending the neutrality and declaring for one of the two parties in the church schism was still uncertain, he did not break with the council in Basel but continued to maintain his relationship with friends and officials there and at the court of its antipope.
- Subject:* Piccolomini expresses his thanks for various gifts and relates the problems with his ecclesiastical benefices to Peregallo. Hedging his bets, he also, in the original text of the letter, duplicitously describes the conciliar party as “our party”.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Peregallo, his beloved brother.

[1] I have received your letters, brought by Martin,² notary in the royal chancery, and learned that you are well except for an empty purse. But that will be filled again if the hoped-for [church] union is achieved.³ You wish to know if Antonio Loschi's⁴ [book] has come into my hands: it has, and it is now with me as a treasured possession. I ask you to thank the eminent and eloquent theologian Francois de Fuxe⁵ from me and tell him I shall do all in my power to assist him and will consider it a great boon if ever I hear that I can fulfil his wishes. I have also received Stefano's⁶ gift and will write to him.

[2] The four ducats you write you will send me via Barbatus, I prefer that you keep with you, for much may happen that would make them useful to my affairs there. You know that my Tridentine prebend is being challenged⁷ - you are the defender of my cause. The Roman Curia⁸ grants nothing without money, for even the imposition of hands⁹ and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are sold, and the forgiveness of sins can only be obtained with money. Therefore, keep the ducats to have them ready when necessary.

¹ See also his letter to Jordan Mallant of 13 August 1447, where he claims that he converted to the papal cause three years before being appointed bishop on 19 April 1447 (letter 226: 8).

² Unidentified.

³ The approaching diet of Nürnberg was intended to end the German neutrality between Pope Eugenius V in Rome and the council in Basel with its antipope Felix V and result in recognition of one of the two parties. If union was restored, normal papal administration would resume, providing much-needed and lucrative business for curial secretaries and officials like Peregallo.

⁴ Antonio Loschi (1365-1441): Early Italian humanist. Author of *Inquisitio Artis in Orationibus Ciceronis*, 1395, which soon became a humanist classic.

⁵ 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. On his gift of the Loschi volume to Piccolomini, see letter 61.

⁶ Stefano Caccia de Fara. On his gift to Piccolomini, see letter 140.

⁷ See letter 82.

⁸ In this case, the court of antipope Felix V, at the time residing in Lausanne.

⁹ Ritual act in which a priest or other religious functionary places one or both hands palms down on the top of another person's head, usually while saying a prayer or blessing. Piccolomini is probably referring to this ritual in connection with the consecration of prelates.

[3] De officio scriptoriae cognovi tuum consilium. Mitto procuratorium tibi, ut illud, quanti pluris potes, vendas.¹

[4] Circa praeposituram Mediolanensem, quid suadeas, plane percepi laudoque sententiam tuam, sed nescio an fieri possit, quia non {145r} habeo promotores. Si oboedientia restitueretur concilio, vellem te causam inchoare, quia tua res erit, si poterit obtineri.

[5] Quod reservationem expedieris super beneficiis ecclesiae Tridentinae, admodum probo. Cupio enim, ut illic sis, ut cum quiescere velimus, una illic senium peragamus cum² Francisco nostro, quamquam illius propositum mutatum vereor, qui bellum timens illinc abiit nec postea reversus est et forsitan cum uxore potius quam cum ecclesia vivere cupit³. Quod si sic sit, vellem suum⁴ persentires animum, ut de suo decanatu aliquid invicem consultarem, si quid tibi et mihi posset conducere.

[6] Laurentius Rotella⁵ noster praeposituram pinguem in administrationem recepit in patriarchatu Aquilegiensi intenditque illic religionem proferri, si possessionem nancisci possit. Ego, quia sibi favori sum, suasi sibi, ut ante canonicatum Tridentinum tibi⁶ resignet. Mihi vero ipse suapte vult ecclesiam parrochiam resignare. Si res Athesis in⁷ Nuremberga, sicuti credimus, componantur, aliquid boni poterit nobis evenire. Ego non desinam sic te promovere ut me ipsum, quia meritis es.

¹ Tu tamen id cautelae habeas, ut exitum Nurembergensis dietae maneas. Si parti nostrae bene succedit, ut spero, noli alienare officium, quod vel mihi vel meis possit aliquando frugiferum esse. Si aliter evenit et placitum superis sit partem adversam obtinere, vende, ut tibi videtur *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~Tu tamen id cautelae habeas, ut exitum Nurembergensis dietae maneas. Si parti nostrae bene succedit, ut spero, noli alienare officium, quod vel mihi vel meis possit aliquando frugiferum esse. Si aliter evenit et placitum superis sit partem adversam obtinere, vende, ut tibi videtur~~ *seq.* V2b

² domino *add.* M1

³ capit M3

⁴ tuum M3

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

⁶ sibi M3, V4

⁷ non V4

[3] Concerning my office of scribe,¹ I have heard your advice. I am sending you an act of procuration to sell it at the greatest price possible.^{2 3}

[4] Concerning my Milanese provostship, I understand and agree with your proposal, but I do not know if it can be done since I lack sponsors.⁴ If obedience to the council is restored,⁵ I wish you to take on the case – for it is yours – if you can achieve something.

[5] I fully approve of your actions with regard to a reservation⁶ of benefices at the Church of Trento, for I wish you to be there so that when we retire, we can spend our old age together with our Francesco.⁷ I am afraid, though, that he may have changed his mind, for, fearing the war, he left Trento and has not returned, and possibly he would rather live with a wife than with the Church. However that may be, I should like you to sound out his intentions so that we may confer about his deanery and possibly gain some advantage for you and me.

[6] Our Lorenzo Rotella has obtained the administration of a fat provostship in the patriarchate of Aquileia and intends to make a religious profession⁸ if he can get possession.⁹ Since he likes me, I have suggested to him to first resign from his canonry in Trento in your favour. He himself wishes to resign from his parish church in my favour. If the Tyrolean affairs are settled in Nürnberg, as we believe they will, we may gain something good from it. At any rate, I shall not cease to further your cause as if it were my own, for you have deserved it.

¹ Secretary.

² See letter 136.

³ Here, Piccolomini deletes the following passage from the original text: “*But be cautious and wait to see the results of the Diet of Nürnberg. If it turns out well for our party, as I hope, do not sell the office, for then it might become advantageous to myself or mine. But if it turns out differently and it pleases the heavenly beings to favour the other party, then sell it as you find best.*” In view of Piccolomini’s previous letters to friends in Rome and others expressing support of the papal party, calling the conciliar party “our party” seems duplicitous and can only mean that he hedges his options in case of a German declaration of support to the council. On this passage, see VO, 2: p. 333.

⁴ At the Milanese court.

⁵ If the diet in Nürnberg resulted in a German declaration of obedience to the council in Basel and anti-pope Felix V. Or, if a further result was restoration of Milanese obedience to the council.

⁶ A reservation of an ecclesiastical benefice (to become vacant) was not a guarantee of actual appointment and getting possession, since rival candidates might also have received such.

⁷ Francesco Bossio.

⁸ Religious profession: the solemn admission of men or women into a religious order by means of the pronouncement of religious vows.

⁹ I.e., of the ecclesiastical benefice.

[7] Reverendissimus dominus Aquilegiensis in extremis laborat. Parva vitae suae spes est, minor sanitatis. Exanguis est, spiritus jam non corpus videtur.¹ In ecclesia Brixinensi, quid optet rex, scitis scitis omnes. Rogo, consulo, supplico, ne plus Athesinis quam majestati regiae auscultetis, quia in Nuremberga nulla {145v} vox est Athesinorum. Regis autem nutu omnia fient². Nollem aliquid fieri, quod mentem regiam perturbaret. Nos in brevi ascendemus, quia jam indutias biennales cum rege Poloniae et Hungaris sibi oboedientibus nacti sumus, nec aliud impraesentiarum agimus, quam nos viae accingere.

[8] Mihi, Johannes amantissime, bene est, bene habeo et bene spero, quod mihi non tam mei causa jucundum est, quia paucis essem contentus, quam ut tibi et amicis ac necessariis ceteris possim aliquando prodesse.

Andream Panigalium³, Jacobum Cerverium⁴, Gasparem Novariensem, Omnebonum Veronensem⁵, Veronensem⁵, Julianum Romanum⁶ et inprimis Franciscum Quadracium^{7 8} meo nomine salvos dicito et vale optime. Ex Vienna, kalendis Junii 1444^{9 10 11}.

¹ cogitare patres debent, quem sibi in patriarchatu suffiant et in omnibus regum desiderium exequi, ne Frisingensem injuriam innovent *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~cogitare patres debent, quem sibi in patriarchatu suffiant et in omnibus regum desiderium exequi, ne Frisingensem injuriam innovent~~ *seq.* V2b

² haec ut reverendissimis dominis meis Arelatensi et sancti Calixti dicas posco meque his facias commendatum *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~haec ut reverendissimis dominis meis Arelatensi et sancti Calixti dicas posco meque his facias commendatum~~ *seq.* V2b

³ de Panigaliis M1-M3, V2a; ~~de Panigaliis~~ *seq.* V2b

⁴ de Cerveriis M1-M3, V2a; ~~de Cerveriis~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ de Verona M1-M3, V2a; ~~de Verona~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ de Roma M1-M3, V2a; ~~de Verona~~ *seq.* V2b

⁷ de Quadruciis M1-M3, V2a; ~~de Quadruciis~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ Panigalium Jacobum ... Quadracium : de Panigalis et ceteros amicos M2

⁹ Andream Panigalium ... 1444 *omit.* M1

¹⁰ Ex Vienna ... 1444 : etc. M2

¹¹ kalendis ... 1444 : datum M3

[7] My Most Reverend Lord of Aquileia¹ is close to death. There is little hope for his life and even less for his health. He is much enfeebled and seems like a spirit rather than a body. You all know what the king² wishes concerning the Church of Brixen.³ ⁴ I ask, advise and beg you not to heed the the Tyroleans more than the His Royal Majesty, for the Tyroleans have no voice in Nürnberg where everything will be done as the king wishes. I hope that nothing will be done to upset the king.⁵ We shall be leaving shortly, having arranged a two-year truce with the King of Poland and those Hungarians who obey him, and now we are only occupied with travel preparations.

[8] My dearest Giovanni, I am fine and have great expectations, which is good not just for myself – for I would be content with little – but also for you and my other friends and relations to whom I may some time be of service.

Greet Andrea Panigali, Jacopo Cerveri, Gaspare of Novara,⁶ Ognibene of Verona, Giuliano of Rome and most of all Francesco Quadrucci. Farewell, best of men. From Vienna, 1 June 1444.

¹ 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. The emperor's uncle. See DVI, sect. 66.

² Friedrich III.

³ The See of Brixen being vacant, the king wanted his own candidate appointed as its next bishop.

⁴ Here, Piccolomini deletes the following passage from the original text: "*The fathers should think carefully about whom they appoint as patriarch in his stead, and follow the king's wish, lest they repeat the mistake of Freising*". -By electing another than the candidate wanted by the emperor, the council fathers were, of course, losing his support.

⁵ Here, Piccolomini deletes the following passage from the original text: "*I ask you to relate this to my Most Revererend Lords of Arles and San Calisto*", i.e. the cardinals Aleman and Juan de Segovia.

⁶ Gaspare Caccia de Fara.

147. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (4 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 57v¹; M3, ff. 173r-173v²; V2, ff. 303-305³; V3, ff. 145v-146v⁴ **; V4, ff. 129r-130r.
Editions: HE, 146, pp. 293-294; WO, 1: 1, 146, pp. 334-335; (both based on V2).
Translations: RE, 47, pp. 194-195.

{145v} Eneas Silvius⁵ Johanni Peregallo, scriptori apostolico, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Obsignaram tibi has litteras nuntioque in crastinum committere animus erat. Sed accidit inopinatus et acerbus casus, qui et epistolam retinuit et mentem affecit dolore. Laurentius namque noster, quem velle religionem ingredi scripseram, non claustrum, sed carcerem ingressus est. Poloni enim, ut cardinalem morituum viderunt, manus in Laurentium injecerunt nulla penitus auctoritate freti. “Tu,” inquit, {146r} “argentum heri impignorasti, non exibis, nisi luatur.” Septuaginta et ducentarum marcharum argentum est⁶, quod Alberti habent Basiliae. Hoc volunt, ut Laurentius redimat. Obligatum est pro septingentis aureis, quos cardinalis accepit. Digna res est, ut servus aes alienum exsolvat⁷. Ego nitor hominem juvare, quia compatiar viro in aliena terra capto et amico. Sed quid tu facias, ubi nulla vox auditur, nisi auri, cum tu sis inops? Ille adhuc deprehensus est, nescio quid futurum sit. Nulla excommunicatio prodest, nulla fidejussio, dum res sic stat.

[2] Anima⁸ illa, quae in cardinalis Aquilegiensis corpore diu alligata filo vel cera detinebatur, abruptis retinaculis carcerem evasit. Obiit ille 4. nonas Junii hora post meridiem quarta. Nullas extorsiones passus est, nullos cruciatus, sed tamquam dormiturus animam exalavit. Viderat medicus mortem instare suavitque testamentum fieri, sic et amici astantes. Ille, “Vos me deficere censetis,” inquit, “at ego robustus sum nec in me quidquam sentio deficere.” Nec post verba haec⁹ mediam vixit horam. Ejus corpus per alteram diem servatum est ostensumque omnibus. Tertia vero luce apud Sanctum Stephanum et ad dexteram altaris dextri sepultus est. Funus juxta morem Germaniae magnum et honorificum fuit; apud Italos non fuissent tanto viro exequiae dignae. Pileus rubeus ob neutralitatem non est permissus mortuo, qui vivo {146v} non negabatur. Sermo ante funus habitus est. Nescio, qui vir fuit, verba hominis¹⁰ laudo.

¹ SC, 122

² SC, 354-355

³ DV, ff. 157r-158r

⁴ DV, ff. 148v-149v

⁵ poeta *add.* M2, M3

⁶ *omit.* M3

⁷ sic *lex barbara jubet add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~sic lex barbara jubet~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ animal V4

⁹ verba haec : hec verba V2

¹⁰ verba hominis : omnes M3

147. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (4 June 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* In Vienna, Alexander of Mazovia had borrowed a sum from some Poles, probably merchants, with surety provided by the office of the Alberti bank in Basel. When the cardinal was on his deathbed, the lenders became afraid of losing their money and seized the person of Lorenzo Rotella, who was in the cardinal's service and had apparently arranged the loan.
- Subject:* Piccolomini relates the misfortune of Lorenzo Rotella and the circumstances of the death and funeral of Alexander of Mazovia.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Peregallo, apostolic scribe.

[1] I had sealed the letter and intended to give it to the messenger the next day, but then an unexpected and shocking thing happened that delayed the letter and upset me deeply. Our Lorenzo,¹ Lorenzo,¹ whom I had written would enter a religious order,² did not enter the cloister but the prison. For some Poles, hearing that the cardinal³ was dying, had Lorenzo arrested without any authorisation. "Yesterday," they said, "you gave surety for a sum of money. You will not get out before it is paid." It is a sum of 270 silver marks, which is held by the Alberti in Basel.⁴ They want this sum to release Lorenzo. The surety he had given them was for 700 ducats that the cardinal had received. Evidently, a servant⁵ should pay the debt of another!⁶ ⁷ ⁸ I strive to help the man, for I feel pity for someone who is imprisoned in a foreign country and is a friend. But what can you do where only the voice of money is heeded, and you are poor? Rotella is still under arrest; I do not know what will happen. As things stand, no excommunication⁹ or formal guarantee will help.

[2] The soul that had long been bound to the body of the Cardinal of Aquilea only by a thread or wax,¹⁰ finally broke free and escaped its prison. He died on 2 June after 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He did not suffer and had no pains but died as if he were falling asleep. The physician had seen that death was approaching and urged him to make his testament, as did the friends who were present. But he said, "You think I am weakening, but I am strong and do not feel weak at all." After these words, he did not live for more than half an hour!¹¹ His body was kept the next day and shown to all. The day afterwards, it was buried in Saint Stefan's¹² to the right of the altar. According to German standards, the funeral was great and splendid, but in Italy, it would not have been considered worthy of such a great man. Because of the state of Neutrality, the red hat was not exhibited at his death, though it had been allowed him when alive.¹³ A sermon was held before the funeral. I do not know the preacher, but I approve of his words.

¹ Lorenzo Rotella.

² See letter 146: 6.

³ Alexander of Mazovia.

⁴ Presumably, the Basel office of the Florentine Alberti banking company.

⁵ Apparently, Rotella was then in the service of Alexander of Mazovia.

⁶ I.e., his master.

⁷ Sarcasm!

⁸ Here Piccolomini deletes the following passage from the original text: *Thus bids barbarian law.*

⁹ An ecclesiastical sanction also used against those who exerted violence against a cleric, as Rotella was.

¹⁰ I.e., very lightly.

¹¹ On the cardinal's death and burial, see VO, 2: p. 335.

¹² Stefandom in Vienna.

¹³ The German state of Neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the council in Basel with its anti-pope Felix V did not allow for German recognition of the cardinals appointed by Felix and forbade them wearing a cardinal's insignia (including the red hat) in public. Because of his special rank as the emperor's uncle, an exception had been made in the case of Alexander of Mazovia, but after his death, the rule was apparently reinforced.

[3] Est hoc anno his in regionibus maxima siccitas: nescio an¹ iterum Phaeton currus Phoebi ducere coeperit. Frumenta omnia sunt exusta, magna caritas timetur, nullae pluviae sunt, calores praeter solitum admirandi. Dicebant plebei, “Non pluit, quia excommunicatus cardinalis est².” Orator igitur, igitur, qui ante funus verbum fecit, “Vos,” inquit, “Judaeis similes estis, qui cum Christum honorificen-tissime recepissent, advenientem postea persecuti sunt et crucem subire coegerunt. Vos hunc legatum cupide recepistis mirificeque honorastis ingredientem. Nunc quia peccatis vestris iratus Deus non pluit, causam in ipsum vertebatis. Ecce jam triduum mortuus est cardinalis. Cur vobis pluvia non praebetur? Sceleribus vestris denegatus humor, non illi.” Et in hunc modum plura locutus est³. Ego cardinali epitaphium feci, quod tibi cum praesentibus mitto⁴.

Iterum atque iterum vale. Ex Vienna, 4. Junii 1444⁵.

¹ non M2

² cardinalis est : est cardinalis M2, M3, V2

³ plura locutus est *omit.* M3

⁴ destino V2a; ~~destino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ Ex Vienna ... 1444 : etc. M2, M3

[3] This year there is a terrible drought in these areas: I do not know if Phaeton¹ has begun, once more, to drive Phoibos² chariot.^{3 4} All the crops have been scorched by the sun, a great famine is feared, there is no rain, and the heat is extreme. The common people have been saying, “It does not rain because the cardinal has been excommunicated.” So, the preacher who held the sermon before the funeral said, “You are like the Jews. First, they received Christ with great honours,⁵ but afterwards, they persecuted and crucified him. You received the legate⁶ enthusiastically and honoured him extravagantly at his entry. Now when it does not rain because God is angered at you for your sins, you blame the cardinal. He has now been dead for three days: so why does it not rain? Moisture is denied you because of your sins, not because of him.” He spoke more in this vein. I wrote an epitaph⁷ for the cardinal that I send you with the present letter.

Again farewell. From Vienna, 4 June 1444.

¹ Phaëton: (Greek myth.) In the myth as told by Ovid, Phaëton was the son of Phoebus, the sun god.

² 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.

³ Piccolomini had already related this myth in his letter to Duke Sigismund of 5 December 1443: *Phaëton, son of Phoebus, asked his father to grant him whatever he asked for. The father swore by Styx that he would deny him nothing. Phaëton then demanded the chariot of the Sun. Phoebus regretted his promise since he knew the son was not capable of the great task of steering. But since he had made an oath, he could not refuse ... Phaëton mounted the chariot and triumphantly took the reins, holding himself to be a king similar to the god. But when he reached mid-heaven, he could no longer control the sun's horses, flying every-where and igniting the whole world. Then he was hit by a bolt of lightning from Jupiter and cast into the Eridanus* (Letter 49: 34).

⁴ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2: 227.

⁵ Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.

⁶ Alexander of Mazovia.

⁷ The epitaph is extant in two versions. The first version, the one sent to Peregallo, was vaguely positive, the later, revised one, distinctly negative. See WO, 1, 1, p. 335; CAR, p. 142; RE, p. 196.

148. Letter to Juan de Segovia (6 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 59r-60v¹; M3, ff. 173r-174v²; V2, ff. 306-307³; V3, ff. 146v-147v⁴ **; V4, ff. 130r-131r.

Editions: HE, 147, pp. 295-296; WO, 1: 1, 147, pp. 336-337; (both based on V2).

Translations: RE, 48, pp. 196-198.

{146v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri⁵ Johanni, cardinali Sancti Calixti, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Pauci dies sunt, quibus litterae tuae mihi fuerunt redditae, quae annum in via consumpserant vel minus paulo. Illis ergo nil⁷ respondebo, quia {147r} nil est nunc in eo statu, quo tunc fuit⁸. Solum attingam novitates aliquas, ex quibus possis⁹ ad res conciliares vigilantius et utilius intendere.

[2] Regia majestas sedulo operam dat, ut quam celeriter Nurembergam petat, nec puto his in partibus diu manebit. Res ecclesiae aliquem finem nunc suscipient, Deus illum det nec sinat amplius tenebrarum principem dominari.

[3] Cardinalis Aquilegiensis die secunda Junii migravit ex hae vita. Nullum testamentum condidit. Verum est, quod dici solet: sicut vivis, ita morieris; qualis vita talis mors. Funus ejus non tam dignitate dignum, quam vita fuit. Sepultus est quarta Junii luce apud Sanctum Stephanum Wiennensem. Non puto magno detrimento esse concilio mortem ejus, quia non multum utilis vita fuit, sui namque legatione abutebantur, nec papa id agit, quod hic faciebat. Omnia ei plana erant. Itaque murmur fuit adversus concilium, quale vix queam dicere. Tu scis, quam mundas manus habere oporteat, qui adversarios habet. Si¹⁰ deerat aliquid, supervenit¹¹ alius¹² providus dispensator, quem famosa legatio apud Poloniam gesta recommendat.

¹ SC, 125-126

² SC, 356-357

³ DV, ff. 158v-159r

⁴ DV, ff. 149v-150v

⁵ domino *add.* M2

⁶ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius poeta reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Johanni cardinali Sancti Calixti, salutem plurimam dicit M3

⁷ nihil HE, WO

⁸ sunt V4

⁹ posset M2, M3

¹⁰ sibi M3

¹¹ super M2

¹² Marcus Bonifilii M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* Marcus Bonifilii V2b

148. Letter to Juan de Segovia (6 June 1444, Vienna).

Context: Cardinal Alexander of Mazovia had died, but before he died, a member of his household, Marco Bonfilii, had managed to extract from him a letter transferring the cardinal's legatine powers to himself.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Segovia of the emperor's travel plans and puts him on guard against the machinations of Marco.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Juan, Cardinal of San Calisto.

[1] Some days ago, I received a letter from you that has taken almost a year to reach me. I shall not reply to it since conditions have completely changed since then. So, I shall just send you some news that may enable you to conduct the council's affairs more vigilantly and usefully.

[2] His Royal Majesty¹ is busily preparing for a speedy journey to Nürnberg, and I believe he will leave soon. May God grant an end to the troubles² of the Church and not allow the prince of darkness to rule us any longer.

[3] The Cardinal of Aquileia³ departed from life on 2 June, having made no testament. It is true what they say that you die as you live: one's death is like one's life. His funeral was worthy of his life but not of his rank. He was buried on the morning of 4 June in Sankt Stephan in Vienna. I do not think his death will be a great loss to the council, for his life was not very useful to it. Indeed, his people abused his legatine office, and even the pope⁴ does not do what he did. All was the same⁵ same⁵ to him. Therefore, there were such protests against the council that I can barely describe them. You know that one who has adversaries must have clean hands. If the cardinal lacked anything, some⁶ clever steward, recommended by a notorious mission to Poland,⁷ came to his assistance.

¹ Friedrich III.

² "res"

³ Alexander of Mazovia.

⁴ Eugenius IV – or antipope Felix V?

⁵ "plana"

⁶ The early version of the letter had "Marcus Bonifilii".

⁷ Sarcasm?

[4] Is nunc litteras ante obitum cardinalis obtinuerat cum omni potestate, quam cardinalis habebat. Itaque legatus legatum creabat. Ego vidi et legi has litteras reprehendique, quia non potest legatus de latere facultates suas speciales, super quibus industria personae electa { 147v} est, alteri delegare. Sed frustra clamavi, quia nullum est apud fatuos consilium. Nescio, quid nunc facturus sit homo¹. Ajunt eum adhuc velle Poloniam petere. Forsitan facultatibus uti vult etiam post mortem mandantis. Is Laurentium prodidit capturaeque suae structor fuit, me nunc pro liberatione studere oportet. Nihil formidabilius est quam *homo*² *bilinguis*, nihil terribilius quam hostis familiaris. At hic beneficia ex Laurentio plura susceperat neque huc venisset, nisi expensas ille fecisset. Digne patitur Laurentius, quia benefacere malis malefacere est. Vestrum est cogitare, ne apud Polonos hominis³ loquacitas atque cupiditas favorem concilii⁴ obnubilet.

[5] Venerabili et doctissimo theologo⁵ Francisco de Fuce refero gratias⁶, qui Antonium Luschum ad ad me misit. Andream, contheologum⁷ et confratrem ejus, salvum dicit⁸. Neuter eorum miretur, si si non voco dominos, quia nemo dominus est absque dominio⁹, mendicantibus autem nedum dominium sed omnis proprietas est interdicta. Valeant igitur ipsi et me conpauperem ament. Tu quoque me, ut soles, dilige et inter famulos habe fidos.

Ex Vienna, die 6. Junii 1444¹⁰.

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

² *omit.* M3

³ Marci loquacitas M2, M3, V2a; loquacitas hominis *corr. ex* Marci loquacitas V2b

⁴ conciliet M2

⁵ *omit.* WO

⁶ grates M2

⁷ theologum M3

⁸ dico HE

⁹ *corr. ex* domino V2b; domino V2a

¹⁰ die ... 1444 : etc. M2, M3

[4] Before the cardinal's death, that man¹ obtained a letter from him granting him all the powers the cardinal had as a legate.² Thus, one legate created another. I have seen and read the letter and criticised it, for a legate *de latere*³ cannot delegate his special powers, granted to him alone, to somebody else. But I protested in vain since fools have no discernment. I do not know what the man will do now. They say that he will go to Poland, where he will possibly use those powers even though the one who granted them has died.⁴ He was the one who betrayed Lorenzo and was the instigator of his arrest; now, it is up to me to get him released. There is nothing more horrible than *a double-tongued person*⁵ and nothing more terrible than an enemy from one's own household.⁶ This man had received several kind services from Lorenzo and could only come here⁷ because Lorenzo covered the costs. So, in a sense, Lorenzo deserves his sufferings, for doing good to evil men is the same as doing evil oneself. Now, it is up to you⁸ to consider how to prevent this garrulous and greedy man from harming the council's reputation in Poland.

[5] I send my thanks to the venerable and learned doctor, Francois de Fuxe, who sent me Antonio Loschi's book.⁹ Also, give my greetings to Andrea,¹⁰ his fellow theologian and fellow monk. Neither of them should wonder why I do not call them "lords," for nobody is a lord without a lordship, and mendicant monks are forbidden lordships and indeed all personal possessions. May they prosper and love me, their fellow pauper. And you, too, love me as always and count me among your faithful servants.

From Vienna, 6 June 1444.

¹ I.e., Marcus Bonfilii.

² Antipope Felix V had appointed Alexander papal legate to Austria, Poland, and Hungary.

³ Papal legate representing the pope in his assigned province.

⁴ Usually, the powers of a legate ceased when the person who appointed him died.

⁵ Phaedrus: *Fabulae*, 2: 4, 25: *Quantum homo bilinguis saepe concinnet mali, documentum ha-bere hinc stulta credulitas potest* (In this fable, stupid credulity may find an object lesson showing what disaster a double-tongued person often cunningly creates).

⁶ Both men were members of the cardinal's household.

⁷ Vienna.

⁸ I.e., the council in Basel and the court of antipope Felix V.

⁹ See letter 61.

¹⁰ Andrea de Malvende.

149. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (8 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: GSB / 390, f. 57v *; M2, f. 282r¹ **; M3, ff. 277r-277v².

Editions: HE, 148, pp. 296-297 (based on M2); WO, 1: 1, 148, pp. 337-338 (based on M2, M3 and GSB).

Translations: ME, 28, pp. 127-128; RE, 49, pp. 198-199.

{282r} Aeneas Silvius³ Johanni Campisio, philosopho claro et amico incomparabili, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Deliciae nostri Caesaris nusquam majores sunt quam in Novacivitate. Ibi aedes imperiali culmine dignae sunt, virides horti, saluberrimus aer, frigidi fontes, amoeni luci, latae venationes, jucundae piscationes, aucupia laeta, pascua pinguis, vineta propinqua. Nil miror placere Caesari locum, quia omnia suppeditat voluptati.

[2] Hic dum Martio mense, qui modo praeteriit, ex consuetudine sequerer curiam, rem miram et relatu dignam sum contemplatus. Nam quod antea non putaram apud Germanos fieri orationes sicut olim Romae pro rostris fiebant, coram Caesare audivi. Venit Johannes Bavarus, unus ex cardinalibus, ut ajunt, Felicis - Sancti Martini cognomentum habet. Hic se per capitulum Frisingensis ecclesiae in episcopum dicebat electum darique sibi regalia per Caesarem postulabat. Jam Gasparis Slik cancellarii frater Heinricus illi ecclesiae per Eugenium praefectus erat⁴. Petit uterque castrorum possessionem, quae in dominiis Austriae sunt. Johannes pro se dicit et inter orandum lacrimas miscet. Heinrici causam cancellarius suscipit absentemque fratrem tuetur. Visus sum apud Argolicas naves Ajacem atque Ulixem contententes videre. Si affuisses, Johannem Ajaci, Ulixi cancellarium adaequasses.

¹ SC, 584.

² SC, 558-559

³ poeta *add.* M2

⁴ praefectus erat : erat prefectus WO

149. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (8 June 1444, Vienna).

Context: A significant event in the protracted affair of the Church of Freising had been the court hearing on the matter on 4 April 1444. Piccolomini had drafted the chancellor's speech for his brother, the oration "*Si putarem*"¹ (see letter 131).

Subject: Piccolomini reports on the court hearing and sends Campisio the final, Latin, version of the chancellor's speech. Sending the text to Campisio, secretary of a high-ranking cardinal in Rome, was an indirect way for Piccolomini to show the papal court that the chancellor and he himself were actively supporting the papal cause.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, excellent philosopher and incomparable friend.

[1] Our emperor is never happier than when he is in Neustadt. There he has a palace worthy of the imperial highness, green gardens, healthy air, cool springs, charming groves, large hunting grounds, delightful fishing, enjoyable fowling, fat pastures,² and vineyards close by. I am not surprised that the emperor is fond of this place that satisfies all desires.

[2] Here, when during the month of March, I was, as usual, with the court, I witnessed an extraordinary event worthy of telling.³ Previously, I had not thought that the Germans made orations as they were once given from the *rostra* in Rome, but such an oration I heard before the emperor. Johann of Bavaria⁴ - one of the so-called Felician cardinals with the title of San Martino - had come [to court]. He declared that the Chapter of Freising⁵ had elected him bishop and requested that the emperor grant him the *regalia*.⁶ However, Heinrich, brother of the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, had already been appointed bishop of that diocese by Eugenius⁷. Both men request possession of those castles [belonging to the diocese] that are situated in Austrian territories. Johann spoke for himself, breaking into tears as he spoke.⁸ The chancellor defended Heinrich's cause and spoke in support of his absent brother. I felt I saw Ajax⁹ and Ulysses contending before the

¹ Published with the Latin text, an English translation, and an introduction in COR, 2: 5.

² This passage echoes Boccaccio's *Phyllostropos: Hic gelidi fontes, hic pascua pinguia* (Boccaccio: *Opere latine minori*. 1924, p. 75).

³ The event was the court hearing on 4 April 1444 on the Church of Freising, where two men had been appointed bishop, Johann Grünwalder, confirmed by the council in Basel, and Heinrich Schlick, appointed by Pope Eugenius IV.

⁴ Johann Grünwalder.

⁵ Cardinals appointed by antipope Felix V.

⁶ Regalia: the temporal possessions, incl. castles. The Church of Freising had extensive temporalities both in Bavarian and Austrian territories, granted by former emperors.

⁷ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁸ In the final text of the oration "*Si putarem*", Piccolomini made scathing comments on Grünwalder's tears, letting the chancellor tell the emperor, "*Most glorious Emperor, if I thought that you put tears and crying above justice, I would now beat my breast with my fists and scratch my face with crooked nails; I would be crying and sobbing; and, prostrate before you, I would be wailing and sighing in order to make you look favourably upon the cause of my brother. But I know your integrity, your steadfastness, your seriousness and your piety. I know that you prefer nothing to justice, truth, and reason. Therefore, omitting the tears that become women more than men, I shall defend the cause of my absent brother not with tears, but with truth. ... I marvel greatly at our opponent crying before your throne, as a weak little woman. It is customary, indeed, for defendants who cannot defend themselves in other ways to seek mercy through tears.*" (COR, 2: 5, 1).

⁹ Ajax: (Myth.) Greek hero who participated in the Siege of Troy.

Argolian ships. If you had been there, you would have likened Johann to Ajax and the chancellor to Ulysses¹.

[3] Haud dissimiles orationes fuere, nisi quod hae Teutonicae, illas Ovidius latinas fecit, quas constat Graecas fuisse. Mira cancellarii fuit oratio et longe ornatior, quam ex viro Ciceronis et Quintiliani nescio² expectari deberet. Sed agnosco naturam illi favisse, tum usum, quem cum Sigismundo et Alberto Caesaribus habuit, naturae dotes juvisse. Fuit enim illorum cancellarius multosque viros disertos orare causam coram illis vidit, quos nunc imitatus est. Ejus orationem, ut te judicante probetur, interpretantibus amicis in Latinum verti tibi que transmittito. Rogo tuum iudicium mihi rescribas, et, si quod est vitium, interpreti potius quam oratori ascribas.

Vale, meae deliciae magis quam Caesaris Novacivitas. Ex Vienna, 6. idus Junii 1444.³

¹ Odysseus [Ulysses]: (Myth.) Greek hero, King of Ithac. Parti-cipated in the Siege of Troy. Main subject of Homer's *Odysseus*.

² inscio HE

³ Here follows the text of the oration, the "*Si putarem*" in both M2 and M3.

[3] And their¹ orations were not much different, except that those of Johann and the chancellor were in German, whereas Ovid translated those of Ajax and Uyssees into Latin from Greek since they were evidently held in that language.² The chancellor's oration was remarkable and much more ornate than you would have expected from a man who does not know Cicero and Quintilian. But I reckon that he was favoured by nature and that his experience at the courts of emperors Sigismund³ and Albrecht⁴ had nurtured nature's gifts.⁵ For he had been their chancellor and heard many eloquent men speak their case before them, and now he imitated them. With the help of friends who explained the meaning of the German text to me, I have translated his oration into Latin⁶ and am sending it to you for your judgment.⁷ I ask you to write back to me, and if you find any defects, then then blame the translator and not the speaker.

Farewell to you, who are an even greater joy to me than Neustadt is to the emperor. From Vienna, 8 June 1444.

¹ The orations of the two Greeks and the orations of the two Ger-mans.

² This episode with the speeches is not in Homer's *Iliad* but is related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (ch. 13). The speeches were not trans-lated by Ovid, being his own lite-rary product.

³ Sigismund (Luxembourg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croa-tia (1387), King of the Romans (Germany) (1411), King of Bohe-mia (1419), King of Italy (1431), crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Eugenius IV in Rome (1433)..

⁴ Albrecht II.

⁵ Cf. Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 7: 15.

⁶ Actually, it was the other way around: Piccolomini wrote the first draft of the chancellor's speech in Latin (see letter 131: 2), and afterwards, it was turned into a German version to be used by the chancellor.

⁷ Piccolomini fails to mention his own contribution to the speech. This may be because it would not have been wise to have it bandied about – and especially not in Rome, that international centre of gossip – that the chancellor's speech had been co-authored by a lowly secretary. When he read the text - full of classical quotations, including from Cicero, whom the chancellor did not know (*nescius*) - Campisio would undoubtedly understand the situation. Voigt has this typically caustic comment, "... diese Rede hatte er in des Canzlers Abwesenheit selber verfertigt. Nur um das befällige Urtheil Campisio's ganz als ein unbefangenes geniessen zu kön-nen, verleugnete der eitle Mann seie Autorschaft (VO, 2: p. 319).

150. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (19 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 61r¹; M3, f. 176r²; V2, f. 347³; V3, ff. 166v-167r⁴ **; V4, ff. 147v-148r.

Editions: HE, 149, p. 297; WO, 1: 1, 149, p. 339; (both based on V2).

Translations: RE, 50, pp. 199-200.

{166v} Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit Stephano Cacciae⁷ Novariensi, juris utriusque doctori, amico primario.

[1] Laurentius⁸ Rotella, vir probus et tibi notus, ut fert hera fortuna, per familiam patriarchae Aquilegiensis, dum ille in ultimis ageret, apprehensus incarceratusque fuit. Ego tum propter amicitiam, tum propter patriam, tum quod injuste detineri eum vidi, pro sua liberatione laboravi obtinuique, cancellario tamen et me⁹ fidejubente. Hac de causa oportuit me ire ad regem, qui est in Novacivitate, abhinc XX milibus passuum¹⁰ semotus.

[2] Postquam illic fui, acta re Laurentii, tuam aggressus sum jamque impetravi te regium advocatum fieri, nec aliud restat, nisi litteras confici, quod faciam, ut primum curia insimul erit. Nunc nequeo, quia sigillo caremus. Tu te tamen scias advocatum esse et per regem libenti animo receptum, namque ut is de tuis virtutibus certior factus est, “Stephanus,” inquit, “me rogat, quod eum rogare a me par fuerat.”

[3] Cognosce ergo regis animum, et quia jam suus es, causas ejus suscipe commendatas. Nunc de Aquilegiensi et Tridentinensi agetur ecclesia. Vide, ne quid fiat, quod praeter ejus¹¹ sit mentem. {167r} Cardinalis¹² Arelatensis, cui rex scribit, tibi aperiet, quid sit opus. Ego tuas litteras curabo quantocius expeditas ad te mittere.

Vale et apud mercatores de Albertis cura, ut nuntius Laurentii votive redeat expeditus. Ex Vienna, 19. Junii 1444.¹³

¹ SC, 129

² SC, 360

³ DV, f. 179r

⁴ DV, ff. 169v-170r

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

⁶ imperialisque M2, M3, V2

⁷ de Caziis M2, M3, V2; Caccio V3

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

⁹ pro ipso *add.* V2a, M2, M3; ~~pro ipso~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ per dietam M2, M3, V2a; XX milibus passuum *corr. ex* per dietam V2b

¹¹ regis M2, M3

¹² reverendissimus dominus M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* reverendissimi-mus dominus V2b

¹³ Ex Vienna ... 1444 *omit.* M2, M3

150. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (19 June 1444, Vienna).

- Context:* For some time, Piccolomini had been working for Stefano Caccia de Fara to be appointed a royal advocate, with a view to both strengthening the emperor's representation at the council in Basel and to gaining a personal ally there.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs Stefano that he has been appointed a royal advocate and asks for his support of the emperor at the council in Basel, especially concerning the appointment of new leaders of the dioceses of Aquileia and Trento. He also informs Stefano of Lorenzo Rotella's imprisonment and release and asks him to assist Lorenzo's messenger in getting the sum due released by the banking firm in Basel that held it.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Stefano Caccia of Novara,¹ doctor of both laws,² eminent friend.

[1] Lorenzo Rotella, a good man whom you know, has – by the will of Lady Fortune - been arrested and thrown into prison by the household of the Patriarch of Aquileia,³ lying on his deathbed.⁴ I have worked for and obtained his release because he is a friend and compatriot and because I knew that he had been arrested unjustly. However, the chancellor⁵ and I had to stand surety. For this reason, I had to go to the king⁶ in Neustadt, about 20 miles⁷ from here.

[2] After my arrival, when the case of Lorenzo had been settled, I took up your case and obtained your appointment as a royal advocate from the king.⁸ The only thing remaining now is to prepare the letter of appointment, which I shall do as soon as I rejoin the court.⁹ I cannot do it now since we are without the [royal] seal. But you should know that you are now a [royal] advocate and have been graciously accepted as such by the king, for when he heard of your qualifications, he said, "Stefano asks me for something which I should have asked from him."

[3] So, this is the king's mind, and since you are now his [man], you should take on the cases commended by him. At present, the Church of Aquileia and the Church of Trento¹⁰ are vacant. Please see to it that nothing happens against the king's wishes. The king will write to His Most Reverend Lordship, [the Cardinal] of Arles,¹¹ who will tell you what is needed. I shall take care that your letter [of appointment] is sent to you as soon as possible.

Farewell, and please intervene with the Alberti merchants¹² to ensure that Lorenzo's messenger may successfully accomplish his mission. From Vienna, 19 June 1444.

¹ Stefano Caccia de Fara.

² Canon Law and Civil Law.

³ Alexander of Mazovia.

⁴ On the arrest of Lorenzo Rotella, see letters 146: 6; 147: 1; 148: 4.

⁵ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ Roman miles (milia passuum).

⁸ Piccolomini had now made good on his promise to Stefano to arrange for his appointment as a royal advocate, see letter 140:2.

⁹ After his audience with the emperor, Piccolomini had apparently returned to Vienna.

¹⁰ The appointments of a new patriarch and a new bishop were important political affairs.

¹¹ Cardinal Louis Aleman.

¹² A merchant banking firm of Florence.

151. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (25 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 44v-45v¹; M3, ff. 249r-250v²; V2, ff. 227-232³; V3, ff. 109r-112r⁴ **; V4, ff. 97v-100r.
Editions: HE, 150, pp. 297-300; WO, 1: 1, 150, pp. 339-343; (both based on V2).
Translations: RE, 51, pp. 200-204.

{109r} Aeneas Silvius⁵ Johanni Campisio, insigni philosopho et amico singulari, salutem plurimam plurimam dicit.

[1] Vellem tibi per singulos dies aliquid scribere nec mihi vel stilus gravis vel preciosa videretur papirus. Jam enim poenitet me legem taciturnitatis promulgasse, ut fit, quia nihil mundanum perpetuo placet, sed cogit me uti silentio raritas nuntiorum. Perpauci sunt, qui ex his oris ad te veniant, aut, si veniunt, ignoti sunt mihi. Vix quater⁶ in anno, qui ad te proficiscantur, invenio. Hac re factum est, ut litteris tuis invitus distulerim respondere. Nunc autem, quia tabellarius certus Romam petit⁷, habebis ex me responsum Aeneamque tuum loqui tecum accipies.⁸

[2] Scribis te meis litteris recreatum, quas apud basilicam Sancti Petri Noxetanus noster tibi restituit. Placet te consolationem recepisse, sed indignuisse consolationis {109v} non placet. Nollem enim aliquid tibi accidere, quod molestum foret egeretque medico.

[3] Quod amicitiam meam commendas⁹ solidamque dicis, non audio invitus. Nam etsi me nolim¹⁰ laudari, quia non sum laude dignus, hoc certe sine rubore dicere possum me, postquam amare occepi¹¹, pertinaciter continuare. Non sum in capiendis amicitiiis facilis nec quemcumque dignor amicum. Superbus sum fastidiosique stomachi. Nisi melior me sit, nemo me habet amicum. Sed ut tarde in amicitiam venio, sic recedo sero, tenax sum amicorum. Neminem adhuc amavi, quem nunc habeam odio. Sentio itaque tecum, dum me stabilem dicis amicum teque certum facio numquam me tuam benevolentiam exiturum vel Noxetani, quos mihi Piladis et Orestis loco delegi. Scio tamen tecum venturum esse Contem, qui pars est altera tui, sed neque hunc vito, quia conterraneus meus est et virtute plenus et alter tu.

[4] Quod mea scripta probas extollisque¹², facis amice. Ego, qui omnia dico et scribo, quae vel in animum vel *in buccam* veniunt, non arrogo mihi tantum. Et quippe si alteri scriberem, non essem adeo verbosus. Tibi cum scribo, nil¹³ vereor, quia tu lima es et, quod erratum est, aut emendas aut tegis. Amicis omnia nuda sunt.

¹ SC, 96-98

² SC, 504-507

³ DV, ff. 119r-121v

⁴ DV, ff. 112r-115r

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

⁶ quatuor WO

⁷ petet M2

⁸ accipies WO

⁹ commendes M3

¹⁰; aliter *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~aliter~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ accepi M2

¹² extollasque M3

¹³ nihil M2, M3

151. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (25 June 1444, Vienna).

Context: This letter is a reply to Campisio's letter of 8 April 1444 (letter 134).

Subject: Piccolomini replies to the various items in Campisio's letter.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, excellent philosopher and special friend.

[1] I should like to write to you every day, and neither would the pen seem too heavy nor the paper too costly. For I now regret passing that law of silence for nothing in this world pleases forever. But the rarity of messenger forces me to be silent. Only very few go to you¹ from these parts, or if they go, I do not know of it. I find scarcely four a year who go to you. Therefore, I must, though unwillingly, delay answering your letters. But now that a reliable messenger is going to Rome, you will have an answer from me and may speak with your Enea.

[2] You wrote that you were comforted by the letter that our da Noceto gave you at the Basilica of Saint Peter. I am happy that you were consoled but unhappy that you needed consolation, for I would not wish anything to happen to you which is untoward or requires a physician.

[3] I hear with pleasure that you commend my friendship and call it firm. For though, in general, I would not wish to be praised since I am not really worthy of praise, I can say without blushing that when I have begun to love somebody, I am persistent in my love. I do not gain friends easily and do not find everyone worthy of being a friend of mine. Indeed, in this respect, I am somewhat proud and picky. Only somebody better than me can be my friend. But just as I come late to friendship, I also leave it late, and I am tenacious in friendship. Nobody I have ever begun to love I now hate. So, I agree with you when you call me a firm friend, and I assure you that you and da Noceto will never lose my friendship, for I have chosen you two as my Pylas and Orestes.² And I know, of course, that with you comes Conte who is your second half, and I welcome him since he is a compatriot of mine and full of virtue and your other self.

[4] When you approve of and even praise my writings, you act as a friend. But I myself do not claim such distinction since I write whatever *comes* into my mind or *mouth*.³ Indeed, if I wrote to somebody else, I should not be so verbose. But when I write to you, I fear nothing, for you are my pumice, and you either correct or cover any faults. To friends, everything is open.

¹ I.e., to Rome. Since Piccolomini would be able to send letters with imperial or papal couriers, this may say something about the frequency of official contact, at the time, between the imperial court and the papal.

² Orestes and Pylades: famous (mythological) pair of friends from Antiquity.

³ Cicero: *Epistolae ad Atticum*, 133.

[5] Cum de prophetia¹ legerem, quae scribis, coepi dolere et irasci fortunae, quae semper *caecis* ambulat *oculis* et eos {110r} potissime facit locupletes, qui minus² sunt digni, dicebamque in eam: “En³ perfida⁴, cur non aliquando aperis oculos virosque bonos provehis? Campisius jam annis⁵ quattuordecim curias sequitur, vir praestans tum litterarum peritia tum virtutis operibus. Quid tu hunc praeteris negligisque? An tibi dignus videtur, quem semper paupertate premas, et ubi, oro⁶, melius quam in hoc viro collocabis divitias? Non hic aurum claudet⁷, sed utetur in ususque⁸ tum necessarios tum utiles exponet.” Ad haec *audivi vocem* mihi correspondentem⁹: “Ne¹⁰ mirere, Silvi, Silvi, non fortuna est, quae viros bonos pecuniis privat, sed habent ipsi nummi nescio quid sensus. Sunt enim ambitiosi et honoris cupidi; non teneri, sed tenere volunt. Hic tuus Campisius non vellet auro subesse neque argentum veneraretur, sed essent apud eum pecuniae quasi ancillae, nunc huic rei nunc illi servientes. At ipsae quietem amant libenterque apud avaros sunt, qui eas scrinio claudentes¹¹ singulis horis visitant et honorant, nec alibi cor habent quam cum eis.” Displicuit mihi vox, quamvis vera caneret, sed ubi tuam epistolam¹² interius legi, meliorem spem reperi, quam impleri non minus quam tu cupio. Timor tamen numquam abierit, nisi postquam mihi scripseris: “Gaude, mi Enea, qui jam sum ex numero beatorum.”

[6] Aristotelem, ut habeam quam celerrime, cognovi te librarium conduxisse jamque illum ad medium scriptum {110v} esse, qui, ut in calcem finitus erit, ex iudicio Johannis Tolner, vir boni et amicissimi nostri, ad me mittetur. Non laudabo diligentiam tuam, quae, etsi maxima est, non tamen major est, quam postulet amicitia. Librum¹³ avidè maneo. Si mitti Viennam potest, id erit mihi acceptius, ut¹⁴ ex Norimberga reversus hic reperiam, quod diu quaesitum est.

[7] Quantus sit Noxetanus, et nunc agnosco et alias audivi. Vellem tuam manere¹⁵ priorem sententiam, quia nullo bono indignus est. Ipse me rogavit, vestrae ut parti faverem, si non alia causa, sua saltem, qui ex officiis curiae vivit. Sed miror illum jam meae oblitum esse fortunae. Nam quod vobiscum non sum, vestri causa facio, ut secundior sit vobis¹⁶ fortuna. Dum partem sequor vobis adversam, nihil adversi tulistis; si ad vos deficiam, mox fortunae impetum sentietis, quia non vult esse, ubi ego sum. Suade igitur Petro, ne¹⁷ petat, quod sibi nocivum¹⁸ est. Ego pretiis magnis essem rogandus inimicitias tenere. Novit hoc Petrus, dum Basileae simul essemus. Vegium invenisse pontificis summi gratiam gaudeo, ne cogatur *Agaven Paridi vendere*, quamvis sua *Clio*¹⁹ sicut et mea *Calliope desertis Aganippae* fontibus jam migrarit²⁰ *in atria*. Sed respiciat illum, oro,

¹ prophetiis M2

² nimis V4

³ tamen WO

⁴ provida M2

⁵ omnis WO

⁶ ero V4

⁷ aurum claudet : claudet aurum M3

⁸ usus, que WO

⁹ respondentem M3

¹⁰ non V4

¹¹ concludentes M3

¹² tuam epistolam : epistolam tuam V3

¹³ libro V4

¹⁴ omit. V4

¹⁵ in me M3

¹⁶ nobis V4

¹⁷ ut M3

¹⁸ nocuum V

¹⁹ sua Clio : suadeo V4

²⁰ migravit HE, WO

mitiori lumine, si non fortuna, is, qui fortunae imperat, Deus. Si quis gallus datarius esset neque *pertusam* lenam gereret nec auro gemmisque careret.

[5] Reading what you wrote about [my] prophecy, I grew pained and angry at Fortune,¹ who always walks with blind eyes and especially enriches the least deserving, and I said to her, “Oh, faithless one, why do you not sometimes open your eyes and favour good men? For 14 years now, Campisio has served at courts,² a man excelling both in the knowledge of letters and works of virtue. Why do you pass him over and neglect him? Do you think he deserves to be always burdened with poverty? Where can you place wealth better than with this man? He will not lock up his money but use it and spend it for necessary and useful purposes.” Then *I heard a voice*³ answering me, “Do not wonder, Silvio, for it is not Fortune who deprives good men of money. Indeed, coins have their own mind⁴: they are ambitious and eager for glory. They will hold and not be held. But your Campisio would not want to serve gold and venerate silver. No, he would have them as handmaidens, now serving this, now that purpose, whereas they themselves love quietness and happily stay with greedy men who lock them up in a chest and visit them and pay them honour every hour and care for nothing else.” I did not like these words though they were right. However, when I read your letter more closely, I took better hope which I wish to come true as much as you. But the fear will stay with me until you write, “Rejoice, Enea, for I have now become one of the fortunate.”

[6] As for the Aristotle,⁵ I see that you have engaged a copyist so that I shall receive it as soon as possible, and that he has already copied half of it. When it is finished, it will be sent to me by means decided by Johann Tolner, a good man and a beloved friend of ours. I will not praise your diligence, for though it is great, it is not greater than friendship requires. So, now I am eagerly waiting for the book. It would suit me best if it could be sent to Vienna, for then I shall get what I have wanted for such a long time when I return from Nürnberg.

[7] I now know and have heard from others about da Noceto's state. I should wish your first statement to stand⁶ since he deserves all good things. He asked me to favour your party,⁷ if not for other reasons then at least for his sake since he makes a living from business at the curia.⁸ I am surprised that he has apparently forgotten about my fortune, [which is such that] it is for your own sake and to ensure your good fortune that I do not side with you. While I followed the party opposed to yours,⁹ nothing bad happened to you. If I should pass over to you now, you would soon feel Fortune's onslaught, for she does not wish to be where I am! So, convince Pietro to not ask for something that would harm him. Indeed, it would be much more profitable to ask me to continue as an enemy! Pietro knows this from our time together in Basel. I am happy to hear that Vegio¹⁰ has found favour with the Supreme Pontiff¹¹ so that he will not have *to sell Agave to Paris*,¹² although his *Clio* and my *Calliope* have already *deserted the fountains of Aganippe and moved into the*

¹ Fortuna: (Myth.) Goddess of fortune.

² Meaning that Campisio had been serving in households of great men.

³ Apocalypse, 6: 7.

⁴ "sensus"

⁵ Aristotle's book *Politika*.

⁶ Campisio's first letter had apparently exaggerated da Noceto's wealth which he somewhat played down in his second.

⁷ The papalist party.

⁸ Letter from da Noceto of 18 November 1433 (letter 9: 3) and Piccolomini's answer of 16 January 1444 (letter 119: 7).

⁹ The conciliarist party. Before joining the emperor's neutral court.

¹⁰ Maffeo [Matteo] Vegio.

¹¹ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹² Juvenalis, 7: 87. See also letter 117: 6.

salesrooms.¹ But may Fortune, or God who commands Fortune, look at him with a kinder eye. If a Frenchmen² were *datarius*,³ he would not have a tattered cloak⁴ nor lack gold and gems.

[8] Quae de cardinali {111r} Sancti Angeli scripsisti et Andrinopoli capta cognovi non fuisse apud vos certa. Sic enim dicebas, sed illa apud nos somnia reputantur, nam etsi magna fuerit nostrorum victoria, numquam tamen Andrinopolim perventum est, nec tam insignis tunc⁵ triumphus fuit, quam quam nunc est metus ingens. Ajunt enim jam Turcos⁶ magna vi reverti⁷ nec modo expectare, sed inferre bellum decrevisse, quare factum est, ut Hungari, qui prius superbissimi erant, nunc paululum humiliati indutias biennales cum Caesare fecerint⁸, quae et illis utiles sunt, ne, dum Turcis⁹ resistunt, a tergo timeant, et nobis accomodae¹⁰, ne, dum petimus Nurembergam, tumultibus patriae revocemur.

[9] In Nuremberga¹¹, quid futurum sit, neque dicere neque conjectari¹² possum¹³, quia *quot homines, tot sententiae*. Rex infra decendium iturus putatur. Albertus et Sigismundus, Austriae duces, comes Sillaceus et dominus Wallsensis¹⁴ praeter familiam solitam regem sequentur. Omnis Germania illic conveniet. Velint superi, ut bonum sit, quod tanto conatu quaeritur. Soror regia hodie huc venit mansura apud Wiennenses, dum rex abest. Res Athesis ex placito partium Nurembergae componi debent, item et Suicenses.

[10] Leonardum Aretinum ex te primum sensi obiisse. Dent ejus umbrae *tenuem et sine pondere terram* superi *spirantesque crocos*¹⁵ *et in urna perpetuum ver*, qui Latium ornavit litteris, quo nemo post {111v} Lactantium Ciceroni proximior fuit. Gaudeo Poggium ejus locum apud Florentinos tenere, sed maluissem potius locum non vacasse, ne tanto splendore caruisset Etruria. Multos adhuc Graecos nobis dare Latinos potuisset, sed instat omnibus *suus dies*¹⁶ nec indoctum nec doctum mors praeterit. Felix, qui sic vivit, ut nihil timeat mori.

[11] Ventus est haec vita, mi Johannes. Jam me taedet mundi hujus, nec aliud opto, nisi ut me mihi vendicem tecumque sim, ut philosophemur invicem, quamvis te neges philosophum. Credo, si simul erimus¹⁷ aliquando, Stoicos prae ceteris imitari studebimus, qui sunt evangelio propinquiore. Sed timeo, ne pro quiete laborantes semper labori subjiciamur.

¹ Juvenalis, 6: 7: *cum desertis Aganippes vallibus esuriens mi-graret in atria Clio* (when in her hunger Clio has deserted the vales of Aganippe and moved into the salesrooms). The meaning is that Vegio, like Piccolomini himself, had abandoned his muse in to gain a living by other means.

² A sarcastic expression of natio-nal stereotype and Italian con-tempt of the French.

³ Office at the papal curia, held by Vegio.

⁴ Juvenalis, 5: 131. [with] holes in their coats. Saumaise, p. 206: *pertusa lena Persio quam vulgo dicimus vestem perforatam*.

⁵ omit. M3

⁶ Teucros M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex Teucros V2b

⁷ sed add. V4

⁸ fecerunt M3

⁹ Teucris M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex Teucris V2b

¹⁰ accomodo WO

¹¹ tumultibus patriae ... Nurember-ga omit. V4

¹² conjecturari WO

¹³ possim V4

¹⁴ de Wallsee M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex de Walsee V2a

¹⁵ oratos M3

¹⁶ omit. V4

¹⁷ fuerimus M2, M3

[8] What you write about the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo¹ and the conquest of Adrianople² I know to have been based on uncertain rumours in Rome. Here, your report is considered illusory, for though the victory of our people was great, they never reached Adrianople, and their triumph then was not as great as the fear is now. For it is reported that the Turks have decided to return with a great force and not wait for war but bring it. Therefore, the Hungarians, who had been quite arrogant, have become somewhat more humble and made a two-year truce³ with the emperor.⁴ This truce is advantageous both for them and us: for them, it means that they will not have to fear being attacked from behind⁵ while they fight the Turks, and for us, it means that we would not have to return to Austria because of disturbances arising while in Nürnberg.

[9] I cannot say or guess what will happen in Nürnberg,⁶ for there are *as many wills as there are men*.⁷ It is thought the king will leave in ten days. He will be accompanied by Albrecht⁸ and Siegmund,⁹ dukes of Austria, the Count of Cilly,¹⁰ the Lord of Wallsee,¹¹ and his ordinary household. All of Germany will meet there. May the heavenly beings grant that these great endeavours yield a good result. The king's sister¹² has arrived today and will stay here in Vienna during the king's absence. The Tyrolean affairs¹³ should be settled by the parties in Nürnberg, as will the Swiss.¹⁴

[10] I heard first from you that Leonardo Aretino¹⁵ has died. May the heavenly beings grant his spirit¹⁶ *soft and light earth and blooming crocuses and everlasting springtime in the urn*.¹⁷ He adorned Latium¹⁸ with his writings, and after Lactantius,¹⁹ nobody has been closer to Cicero²⁰ than he. I am pleased that the Florentines have appointed Poggio²¹ as his successor, but I would prefer that the office had not fallen vacant, for Toscana will miss Bruni's great splendour. He would have given us still more Greek works in Latin.²² But everyone has *his day appointed*,²³ and death spares neither the learned nor the unlearned. Happy is he who lives in such a way that he does not have to fear death.

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

² Turkish provincial capital. Pre-sent-day Edirne.

³ See letter 141.

⁴ Friedrich III.

⁵ By the Austrians.

⁶ I.e., the approaching Diet of Nürnberg.

⁷ Terentius: *Phormio*, 455.

⁸ Albrecht VI, the emperor's brother.

⁹ Siegmund of Tyrol, the emperor's cousin.

¹⁰ Ulrich II von Cilly.

¹¹ Reinprecht IV von Wallsee.

¹² Katarina von Österreich (1420-1493) or Anna von Österreich (1432-1462).

¹³ The emperor's refusal to release his cousin Siegmund, duke of Tyrol, from his wardship had led to an uprising in Tyrol.

¹⁴ The Old Zürich War. This was a war between Swiss cantons, among them Zürich, allied with the emperor. The emperor had asked the King of France to intervene in the war, which turned out quite badly (because of the Armagnacs) and became an important issue at the Diet of Nürnberg.

¹⁵ Leonardo Bruni.

¹⁶ "umbra": shade.

¹⁷ Juvenalis, 7: 206-207

¹⁸ Country of the Latins. Here used in a broad sense to indicate Italy, since Bruni was from Toscana, not Lazio.

¹⁹ Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus (c. 250 - c. 325): Christian author.

²⁰ I.e., Ciceronian style.

²¹ Poggio Bracciolini.

²² Piccolomini is referring to Bruni's celebrated translations of Greek works into Latin, including Aristotle's *Politika*.

²³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10: 46: *stat sua cuique dies*.

[11] This life, my Giovanni, is empty air. I am tired of the world and only wish to free myself and be with you so that we may philosophise together – though you deny being a philosopher. I believe that if once we come to live together, we should endeavour to imitate the Stoics most of all, for they are closest to the Gospel.¹ But I fear that as we labour to gain a quiet life we shall instead become labour's slaves.

¹ Of the philosophies of Anti-quity, Stoic morals and religiosity were considered closest to Christi-anity.

[12] Reverendissimum herum tuum cardinalem Tarentinum me amare mihi¹ bene cupere maximi facio, illique ut me dedas, peto sibi² dico me tunc ab illo diligere cogniturum, cum te suis favoribus vel ditatum vel extra miserias positum sensero, quia quod tibi praestiterit et mihi datum putabo. In ecclesia Frisingensi maximae lites sunt, cancellarii tamen frater majorem castrorum obtinet partem. Nurembergensis conventus² litem hujusmodi aut dirimet aut ampliabit. Conti et Jacobo Calvo, etsi tacuero, salutes ut dicas volo, quia in medio cordis mei sedent.

Tu vale et Aristotelem, cum tempus fuerit, mitto³, nulla pecuniarum anxietate turbatus. Ex {112r} Vienna, 25.⁴ Junii 1444.⁵

¹ nichilque M3

² dieta M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* dieta V2b

³ mitto M2

⁴ mensis *add.* M3

⁵ Ex Vienna ... 1444 : etc. M2

[12] I am deeply touched that your lord, the Most Reverend Cardinal of Taranto,¹ loves me and wishes me well. I ask you to remember me to him and tell him that I shall know he loves me when I hear that through his favour you have become rich or at least free of miserable poverty, for what he gives to you, I shall consider as given to me. In the matter of the Church of Freising, there is a major conflict.² However, the chancellor's brother has gained possession of most of the castles.³ This conflict will be solved or grow even greater at the Diet of Nürnberg.

I shall writie to Conte⁴ and Jacopo Calvo, but tell them that they are always in my heart. Farewell. Send the Aristotle when the time comes, and do not worry about the money. From Vienna, 25 June 1444.

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzi.

² Between the parties supporting the Bavarian candidate, Johann Grünwalder, and Chancellor Schlick's brother, Heinrich.

³ I.e., the castles in Austrian territory belonging to the See of Freising.

⁴ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

152. Letter to Prokop von Rabstein (26 June 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 127v ff. *, M2, ff. 91v-95v¹; M3, ff. 320v-328v²; V2, ff. 321-340³; V3, ff. 152v-161r⁴ **; V4, ff. 135r-143r. (Also TSB / M. 48, 1004, ff. 201r-206v; ÖNB / 5307, ff. 282v-289r⁵; not collated).

Editions: KO, 108; HE, 151, pp. 301-310 (based on L and V2); WO, 1, 1: 151, pp. 343-353; (based on V2).

Translations: ST, pp. 107-129.

¹ SC, 192r-198r

² SC, 645-653

³ DV, ff. 166r-175v

⁴ DV, ff. 155v-164r

⁵ DV, ff. 565-579

152. Letter to Prokop von Rabstein (26 June 1444, Vienna)¹.

Context: In previous letters, e.g. letter 151, Piccolomini had been wondering why Fortune seems to not favour men of merit.

Subject: In this letter/treaty/dialogue, Piccolomini, in the guise of a dream inspired by Vergilian Aeneas' visit to the Blissful Groves,² comes to the realm of Fortune, discourses on the nature of Fortune, lists both men of merit and without merit favoured by Fortune – and cities, too – and ultimately reiterates the classical axiom that Fortune favours the bold.

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¹ On this letter, see Nuovo, Assenzi.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 637-901.

{152v}¹ Aeneas Silvius² salutem plurimam dicit domino Procopio³ de Rabenstein, militi litterato et praestanti.

[1] Noctu praeterita, priusquam me quieti committerem, multa mecum de te locutus sum mirabarque tuis virtutibus non dari locum convenientem, quia licet acceptus sis Caesari, non tamen, ut par esset, afferri⁴ te video. Nam cum reluceat in te⁵ nobilitas et probitas, non intelligo⁶, cur inter primores poni non debeas. Accusavi ergo Fortunam, quae tum honorum⁷ tum divitiarum creditur dispensatrix, pluraque in eam stomachatus dixi, ut quae viros premeret bonos, extolleret⁸ malos, nec nec finem feci, donec altus me somnus⁹ oppressit. Inter dormiendum vero mira per quietem sum contemplatus, quae tibi nunc referre decrevi. Tu {153r} arrige aures resque tum miras tum stupendas agnosce.

[2] Jam noctis decurso spatio, *sideribus dubiis*, postquam *se*¹⁰ *pigri*¹¹ *Boetae*¹² *frigida sarraca* circumegerant¹³, visionem hanc habui: in *locos laetos et amoena vireta* deveni. *Gramineus campus* in medio *fortunati nemoris* erat, rivo cinctus et muro. Duae illic *portae*, *altera cornea*, *altera candenti nitens elephanto*. Muri altissimi ex adamante constructi, rivus immensae profunditatis. Nulli accessus ad portas nisi per pontes, qui tamen catenis elevati paucis advenientibus dimittebantur¹⁴. In ripis e regione portarum existentibus ingens virorum ac feminarum *turba* consedebant, *tendentesque manus orabant transmitti*. Territus hac novitate, dum hac et illac circumcurso, plures mihi obvii dantur, quorum¹⁵ agnoscebam¹⁶ facies¹⁷. Nescio tamen, qua re factum sit, ut nemo mihi sermonis copiam faceret.

¹ *Titulus*: Tractatus de fortuna. Eneas ... praestanti L; Somnium de ludo fortune. Eneas ... prae-stanti M3

² poeta *add.* L, M2, M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

³ Petro M3

⁴ afferri V4

⁵ reluceat in te : in te reluceat M2

⁶ video L, V2a; scio M3; *corr. ex* video V2b;

⁷ bonorum M3

⁸ extolleretque M3

⁹ me somnus : somnus me L

¹⁰ *omit.* L

¹¹ pigre V4

¹² Boeti WO

¹³ circummergerant V4

¹⁴ demittebantur M3

¹⁵ quo V4

¹⁶ *omit.* V2a; *add.* in marg. V2b

¹⁷ agnoscebam facies : facies agnoscebam L, M2, M3

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Lord Prokop von Rabstein, lettered and eminent knight.

1. Introduction

[1] Before I fell asleep last night, I thought long about you and wondered why you have not obtained the position warranted by your qualifications, for despite the emperor's¹ esteem, you have not been given the promotion you deserve. As you are distinguished both by nobility and integrity, I do not understand why you are not ranked among the first members of the court.² So, I rebuked Fortune, who is believed to distribute honours and riches, and criticised her severely for oppressing good men while raising up the wicked. I only stopped when I fell soundly asleep. In my sleep, I saw some astonishing things that I have decided to tell you now. So, listen closely³ and hear amazing and awesome things.

1.1. Fortune's domain

[2] As night was approaching its end, *when the stars are fading, and the chilly wain of Bootes had wheeled slowly around,*⁴ I had this dream vision: I came to a land of joy and pleasant lawns.⁵ There was a grassy plain⁶ in the middle of a blissful grove,⁷ surrounded by a stream and a wall. In the wall were two gates, one of horn, and the other, shining, made of polished ivory.⁸ The walls were exceedingly high and made of diamonds, and the moat was immensely deep. The only access to the gates was by draw-bridges, only lowered to admit a few visitors. On the banks opposite the gates, an immense throng⁹ of men and women were sitting, *stretching out their hands and begging to be brought over.*¹⁰ Frightened by this extraordinary sight, I ran here and there and met several whom I recognised, but no one spoke to me, I know not why.

¹ Friedrich III.

² See Hlavacek, p. 289.

³ "arripe aures".

⁴ Juvenalis, 5: 22-23: *sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.*

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 638.

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 5: 287.

⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 639.

⁸ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 893-895.

⁹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 305.

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 313-314.

[3] Veni ad corneam portam, in cuius summo haec verba¹ litteris antiquis inscripta² conspexi: “Paucos admitto, servo pauciores.” Avidus nosse, quid foret interius, juvenem, qui supra turrim erat, magnis precibus obsecravi, incassum tamen, mihi ut fores panderet. Tum forte adolescens venit *magna comitante caterva*. Cognosco habitum; ex Rheni partibus erat. “Quisnam hic est?” inquam. Accedit me vir togatus - credo³, me Italum novit Italus - et “Ludovicus est hic,” ait, “dux Bavariae, princeps elector⁴, qui trans illum murum nos ducet.” {153v} At ego: “Mi vir, impetra et mihi transitum, si quid juris⁵ habet communis inter nos patria.” “Faciam,” inquit ille, vixque locuti eramus, cum pontibus dimissis⁶ Ludovicus ingressus est et una secum quamplures⁷ alii, quos janitor janitor nominatim appellavit. Ego ut explorator sub pallio principis, qui Ludovico haerebat⁸, unus ex Brandenburgensibus marchionibus visus est, latitans intravi.

[4] Illic florea prata, rivi tum lacte tum vino currentes⁹, frigidi fontes, lacus piscibus pleni, balnea suavissima, densi luci¹⁰, vineta semper uvis onusta, arbores perpetui autumnii, quales hortus Hesperidum vel Phaeaces habuisse creduntur, poma, quorum solo pascaris odore, per silvas ferae mansuetae, captu faciles, volucres et esui et cantui natae. Unicus *est apud Aethiopes locus, Heliotrapeza* nuncupatus, *opiparis epulis semper refertus, quibus indiscretim¹¹ omnes vescuntur*, apud quem *lacus tenuis laticis* haustu *saluberrimus*. Hic plurima sunt hujusmodi loca, mensae sub arboribus paratae, gemmatis vasculis paterisque aureis¹² oneratae. Nullum¹³ Falernum¹⁴ comparari vino potest, quod ex vivo¹⁵ saxo illic manat. Mella passim fluunt, arundineta zuccaro plena. Omne genus aromatum ex arbore cadit. Auri et argenti inexhaustae minerae. Lapilli pretiosi tamquam cerasa in nemoribus pendent, venustae puellae elegantesque¹⁶ juvenes¹⁷ perpetuas ducunt choreas¹⁸. Quidquid musicum est, illic {154r} resonat. Non tam¹⁹ voluptuosam suis sequacibus paradisum Mahometus repromisit, quam hic vidisses. Dispensatores huc et illuc discurrebant Bacchus, Ceres et Venus. *Silva myrtea* concubitus admittebat.

¹ *omit.* V2-V4

² scripta V4

³ crede M3

⁴ *omit.* V4

⁵ jus V3

⁶ demissis M3

⁷ complures M3

⁸ adherebat M2

⁹ fluentes M3

¹⁰ balnea suavissima ... luci : densi luci balnea suavissima M3

¹¹ indiscretum L, M3, V2-V4; in-distinctim M2

¹² ornate vel *add.* M2

¹³ vinum V4

¹⁴ Valerium M3

¹⁵ uno M3

¹⁶ elegantes M3

¹⁷ juvenesque M3

¹⁸ ducunt choreas : coreas ducunt M3

¹⁹ *omit.* M3

1.2. Piccolomini gains admittance

[3] I came to the gate of horn on the top of which I saw an inscription in old lettering¹: “Few I admit, even fewer I keep.” Eager to know what was inside, I pleaded with a youth standing above the gate to open it – in vain, however. But then a young man arrived *with a great throng following*.² From his clothing, I saw he was from the Rhineland.

“Who is this?” I asked.

A gowned man – an Italian who recognised me as another Italian – came and told me, “This is Ludwig,³ Prince-electoral of Bavaria, who will take us inside the walls.”

“My good fellow,” I answered, “if our common fatherland means anything, then please arrange for me to get through, too,” to which he assented. Barely had we said this before the bridges were lowered. Ludwig entered and with him several others, whose names the gatekeeper called out. I, too, like another spy, slipped through, hiding under the cloak of a prince who accompanied Ludwig – apparently it was one of the margraves of Brandenburg.

1.3. Delights of Fortune’s domain

[4] Inside, there were flourishing meadows, streams running some with milk and some with wine, cool springs, lakes full of fish, delightful baths, dense groves, vines always heavy with grapes, trees in eternal autumnal bloom, and gardens like the ones that the Hesperides⁴ and the Phaeacians⁵ are thought to have had. There were fruits whose sweet smell was enough to feed you, and in the forests gentle wild animals, easy to catch, and fowl born for eating and singing. *In Ethiopia there is a single place called Heliotrapeza*,⁶ where extravagant meals are served continuously, that all, without discrimination, eat. There is also a *small lake with waters healthy to drink*.⁷ In Fortune’s domain, there are many places of this kind, with tables set under the trees, decked with gemmed dishes and golden plates. No Falernian⁸ bears comparison with the wine here that springs from a living cliff. Honey flows freely, and the reeds are full of sweetness. All kinds of perfumes fall from the tree. There is gold and silver without end. Precious stones hang from the trees like cherries. Beautiful maidens and elegant youths are always dancing. You hear every kind of music. The paradise Muhammad⁹ promises his followers is not as delightful as the one you would see here. Bacchus,¹⁰ Ceres¹ and Venus² ran here and there, distributing their gifts. A *myrtle grove*³ gave room room for lovemaking.

¹ Piccolomini probably refers to the *littera antiqua*, a style of lettering created by the humanists.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2: 40.

³ Ludwig IV (1424-1449): Count Palatine from 1436-1449.

⁴ Hesperides: (Myth.) Nymphs of evening and sunset.

⁵ The last foreign land Odysseus visited before returning to Ithaca. The king’s palace had a large orchard where there grew pear, pomegranate, apple, fig, and olive trees that gave fruit of the best quality at all seasons of the year. (Greek Mythology Link). Homer: *Odyssey*, ch. 7.

⁶ I.e., the sun’s table.

⁷ Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 30: 10-11 (Mommsen (1864), pp., 147-148). See also Pomponius Mela: *De chorographia*, 3: 76: *Est locus adparatis epulis semper refertus: quia ut libet vesci volentibus licet, Helio-trapezan adpellant, et quae pas-sim adposita sunt adfirmant inna-sci subinde divinitus*. Piccolomini obviously quoted Solinus.

⁸ Falernian wine. Much estimated in Antiquity.

⁹ Muhammad (c. 570 - 632): Prophet. Founder of Islam.

¹⁰ Bacchus [Bakkhos]: (Myth.) God of wine.

¹ Ceres: (Myth.) Goddess of agri-culture.

² Venus: (Myth.) Goddess of love.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 443.

[5] Jam ego ex pallio prodieram cupidusque videndi per medias laetantium turbas ibam securus, cum¹ Vegius, poeta Laudensis, me aggreditur et “O,” inquit, “Enea, quo huc pacto venisti?” Amplexus amicum² exposui casum. Tum ille: “Voluissem te vocatum fuisse, nam hic praeter jussum herae nemo manere potest³. Illa, si te viderit, mox jubebit expelli”. Tum ego: “Quaenam est⁴ haec domina, cujus expectatur vocatio?” “Hera Fortuna,” respondit Vegius, “cujus munere omnes, qui sumus hic, feliciter vivimus. Illi totus oboedit orbis, quidquid haec jussit factum est”. Tum ego: “Ergo tu ex felicibus unus⁵ es, qui solebas esse quam⁶ miser”. “Sum,” inquit Vegius, “dilexit me tandem haec domina summique mihi pontificis⁷ gratiam conciliavit canonicumque basilicae Sancti Petri fecit”. “Ha,” inquam, “ego jam incipiam colere tuam dominam⁸, si quos bonos bonos evehit.

[6] Ego saepe in eam invectus sum, quod malis bonam et malam bonis eam videbam.

[7] Scis⁹ quam bonus fuerit Socrates. Numquam illi arrisit. Platonem, qui fuit philosophorum maximus, in servitutem redegit. Pythagoram semper vagari compulit. Ciceronem quamvis ex *rhetore consulem* {154v} fecerit, in manus tamen postmodum inimicorum dedit et Antonii gladiis¹⁰ interemit¹¹. Scipionem in exilium misit. Fabricium in catino terreo seu ligneo cibum praebuit¹². Primum Catonem paupertate gravavit, sibi ut manus consciret, alterum jussit¹³.

¹ tum WO

² eum M3

³ manere potest : potest manere M3

⁴ omit. M2

⁵ ex felicibus unus : unus ex felicibus M3

⁶ tam V4

⁷ mihi pontificis : pontificis mihi M2, M3

⁸ tuam dominam : dominam tuam M3

⁹ scio M2

¹⁰ gladius WO

¹¹ Ciceronem quamvis ... interemit omit. M3

¹² comedere fecit L, M2, V2a; ci-bum praebuit : corr. ex comedere fecit V2b

¹³ Scipionem in ... jussit omit. M3

1.4. Meeting with Maffeo Vegio

[5] I had now left the cover of the cloak, and eager to see the place, I wandered safely among the crowds of happy people when Vegio,¹ the poet from Lodi, came up to me and said, “Enea! How have you managed to enter here?” I embraced my friend and told him what had happened.

“I wish you had not come uninvited,” he said, “for nobody can stay here unless summoned by Her Ladyship. If she sees you, she will immediately order your expulsion.”

“Who is this Lady,” I asked, “whose summons one must wait for?”

“It is Mistress Fortune,” Vegio answered, “by whose favour all here live in happiness. The whole world obeys her slightest command.”

“So, you who once lived miserably are now one of the fortunate?” I asked.

“Yes, I am,” Vegio said, “for the Lady finally cast her love upon me, obtained the pope’s² favour for me, and made me a canon of Saint Peter’s Basilica.³”

“Oh,” I said, “if your Lady favours good men, I shall begin to worship her.”

2. Piccolomini’s reasons for disliking Fortune

[6] I have often reviled her because I saw her being good to bad men and bad to good men.

2.1. Fortune does not favour men of merit

[7] You know how good a man Socrates⁴ was, but Fortune never smiled at him. She reduced Plato, the greatest of philosophers, to slavery.⁵ She forced Pythagoras⁶ to never settle down. She promoted Cicero *from rhetor to consul*⁷ but later let him fall into the hands of his enemies and had him killed by Antony’s⁸ swords.⁹ She sent Scipio¹⁰ into exile and made Fabricius¹¹ eat from a pot of clay or a *wooden dish*.¹² Cato the Elder¹ she burdened with poverty, and Cato the Younger² she ordered to die by his own hand.

¹ Maffeo Vegio.

² Pope Eugenius IV.

³ 8 April 1444 (HE, p. 310).

⁴ Sokrates (c. 470-399 BCE): Greek philosopher. Teacher of Plato.

⁵ When he returned from Sicily to Athens and came to the island of Aegina.

⁶ Pythagoras (570-495 BCE): Greek philosopher, mathematic-ian, musician, mystician.

⁷ Juvenalis, 7: 197

⁸ Marcus Antonius (83-30 BCE): Roman politician and general.

⁹ Cicero was murdered by Anto-nius’ men during the proscriptions in 43 BCE.

¹⁰ Publius Cornelius Scipio Afri-canus [the Elder]. Died in self-imposed exile, disappointed at the continued legal harassment by his political opponents.

¹¹ Fabricius Luscinus, Gajus (fl. 3rd c. BCE): Roman commander and statesman. Model of early Roman virtues.

¹² Valerius Maximus, 4: 3, 5a.

[8] Aspice viventes. Quid Juliano cardinali Sancti Angeli tot virtutibus ornato repensum³ vides? Quid Johanni Sancti Petri, Johanni Sancti Calixti ac Johanni Tarentino ejusdem ordinis viris? Quid est⁴ his, quod vel probitati vel scientiae correspondeat? Quis dicere potest, Gasparem cancellarium, quamvis ducem sibi conjugem⁵ copularit⁶, dignas laborum retributiones tulisse, qui jam trium caesarum⁷ cancellarius fuit. Wilhelmus de Lapide, miles insignis⁸, non minus litterarum quam armorum sciens, qui mundum virtutis agnoscendae cupidus peragravit, quid suis meritis dignum est assecutus? Campisius noster, philosophia plenus, qui sedis apostolice servitiis aetatem suam consecravit, pauperior Codro est. Unicus miles est (aut si comites habet, vix quatuor sunt) Procopius Bohemus in curia Caesaris, qui licet⁹ litteras amet colatque, indocti tamen¹⁰ atque hebetes sibi praeferuntur.

[9] Nolo referre, quos asinos viderim¹¹ exaltatos *super cedros Libani*, qui etiam hodie florent, homines sine litteris, elingues, sine sensu, vix manus dextra, quot habeat digitos, norunt. Securius est mortuos quam viventes carpere. Quid taetrius¹² {155r} aut horribilius monstrum Nerone fuit? Quid Tiberio sceleratius? His tamen imperia, quam Vespasiano et Tito, piis caesaribus, diuturniora fuerunt. Quid Domitiano turpius? Bestiam tamen illam mundi cervicibus¹³ imminentem pluribus¹⁴ annis pertulit orbis¹⁵, Jovinianum, quia religiosus clemensque fuit, oppressum fumo carbonum mox amisit. Quot *Crispinus villas erexit monstrum a vitiis nulla virtute redemptum*? *Spado* Claudii Neronis *Pophides* tot divitias possedit, ut aedes suas ornatiores et ampliores Capitolio construeret.¹⁶ Gabrinus Cremonensis septem dominos suos interemit, quibus in foetida sepultis cloaca, dominatum suscepit.

¹⁷

¹ Cato, Marcus Porcius [the El-der] [Censor] (234-149 BCE): Roman censor, senator, and histo-rian known for his conservatism and opposition to Hellenisation.

² Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger) (95-46 BCE): Roman senator. Known for his intrans-igence, not the least in his op-position to Julius Caesar. Died by suicide.

³ responsum V3, V4

⁴ in M2

⁵ omit. M3

⁶ copulaverit M3

⁷ omit. L

⁸ miles insignis : insignis miles L

⁹ omit. M2, V2-V4

¹⁰ del. V3; omit. L

¹¹ asinos viderim : viderim asinos L, M3

¹² deterius M2, M3

¹³ mundi cervicibus: cervicibus mundi L

¹⁴ compluribus M3

¹⁵ pertulit orbis : orbis pertulit L

¹⁶ Jovianianum quia ... construeret omit. M3

¹⁷ phocida V4

[8] And, looking to the living, do you see that she has rewarded Giuliano,¹ Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Sant'Angelo, a man of eminent qualities? And what about Juan of San Pietro,² Juan of San Calisto,³ Calisto,³ and Giovanni of Taranto,⁴ members of the same order?⁵ Has she rewarded their moral integrity and learning fittingly? Chancellor Kaspar⁶ did marry a duchess,⁷ but what rewards has he, he, chancellor of three emperors,⁸ otherwise received worthy of his labours?⁹ And Wilhelm von Stein, distinguished knight, versed in letters as in arms, who has travelled throughout the world in fervent search of virtue, what has he gained in recompensation of his merits? Our Campisio,¹⁰ consummate philosopher, who has dedicated himself to serving the Apostolic See, is poorer than Codrus.^{11 12} And what about Prokop¹³ of Bohemia, the only knight at the emperor's court (and if there are others, they are not more than four)? Though he loves and cultivates letters, unlearned and stupid men are promoted before him.

2.2. Fortune favours men of no merit

[9] I will not mention the asses I have seen raised *above the cedars of Lebanon*,¹⁴ and who are still prospering, men without letters, language and sense, who barely know the number of fingers on their right hand. But it is safer to criticise those who are dead than the living. Was there ever a more terrible and horrible monster than Nero¹⁵? Or a worse criminal than Tiberius¹⁶? Still, they ruled longer than the pious emperors Vespasian¹⁷ and Titus¹⁸? Nothing was more horrid than Domitian,¹⁹ but for several years, the world tolerated this wild beast threatening the necks of all, whereas it lost Jovianianus²⁰, poisoned with coal fumes because he was pious and clement. And how many villas were not built by *Crispinus, a prodigy of wickedness without one redeeming virtue*?²¹ And Claudius Nero's²² eunuch, *Posides*,¹ was so wealthy that he built mansions more magnificent and splendid

¹ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

² Juan Cervantes (1380/82-1453): Cardinal (1426) of San Pietro in Vincoli. A papalist. Former employer of Piccolomini.

³ Juan de Segovia, appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

⁴ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

⁵ i.e., order of cardinals.

⁶ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick. He actually received many rewards for his service, but here Piccolomini may be alluding to the affair of Freising where the emperor hesitated to fully recognise the accession of the chancellor's brother to that see.

⁷ Agnes von Oels (-1448): wife of Chancellor Kaspar Schlick. Daughter of Duke Konrad V Kantner of Oels (Olesnicka).

⁸ Sigismund, Albrecht II, Friedrich III.

⁹ He was actually made a count of Bassano/Weisskirchen.

¹⁰ Giovanni Campisio.

¹¹ Poet at the time of Emperor Domitian.

¹² Juvenalis: 3: 208: *Nihil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat?*

¹³ Prokop von Rabenstein, the addressee of the present letter treatise.

¹⁴ Isaiah, 2: 13.

¹⁵ Nero, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (37-68): Roman emperor from 37 to his death.

¹⁶ Tiberius Claudius Nero (42 BCE - 37 CE): Roman emperor from 14 to his death.

¹⁷ Vespasianus, Titus Flavius (9-79): Roman emperor from 69 to his death.

¹⁸ Titus Flavius Vespasianus (39-81): Roman emperor from 79 to his death.

¹⁹ Domitianus, Titus Flavius (51-96): Roman emperor from 81 to his death.

²⁰ Jovianianus, Flavius (331-364): Roman emperor from 363 to his death, possibly due to poisonous fumes from a brazier.

²¹ Juvenalis, 4: 2.

²² Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, Tiberius (10 BCE - 54 CE): Roman emperor from 41 to his death.

than the Capitol. Cabrino² of Cremona killed his seven lords³ and, having thrown them into a sewer, took over the government.

¹ Juvenalis, 14: 91: *spado vince-bat Capitolia nostra Posides.*

² Cabrino Fondulo (1370-1425): Lord of Cremona from 1406 to 1424.

³ The former lords of Cremona were from the Cavalcabò family. Three of them were killed at the orders of Cabrino and thrown into a sewer.

[10] Non possum viventem aliquem non tangere¹. Patrem Philippi ducis, qui nunc Burgundiam tenet, in praesentia regis Franciae praepositus Parisiensis securi percussit. Is nunc in provincia quietissimam habet vitam pinguibus agris donatus². Hic tamen et homicidium fecit et publicam fidem fregit³, quam miser ille secutus fuerat. Haec mihi bilem saepe commoverunt.

[11] At postquam te virum probum et doctum jam Fortunae blandimentis video delinitum, fio mitior illi, putoque non te solum ex bonorum numero gratum esse huic matronae, sed duc me, oro, ut illam intuear.”

[12] “Ita est,” inquit Vegius, “plures boni sunt⁴ in hoc conventu, quamvis mihi non arrego, quod tu nomen das. Scio me peccati reum esse indignumque gradu {155v} meo, sed ita placitum est tum Fortunae, tum meo pontifici. Atque ut agnoscas bonos quoque huic dominae gratos esse, audi me⁵ parumper.

[13] Nolo Constantino Magno, Nervae⁶, Trajano duobusque Theodosiis ipsique primo Augusto quanta felicitas⁷ arriserit, quia probi fuerunt nunc disputare; ad vivos venio⁸. Quid tuo Caesari religiosissimo, quid meo pontifici sanctissimo num⁹ se¹⁰ blandam¹¹ Fortuna ostendit? Regem Aragonum quis elevavit nisi Fortuna? Quis ducem Clocestriae magnum fecit, quis¹² Coloniensem¹³ et Treverensem¹⁴ antistites? Magna est horum virtus et tamen Fortunae flatu¹⁵ sunt sublimati.

¹ carpere M3

² dotatus M3

³ fidem fregit : fregit fidem M3

⁴ boni sunt : sunt boni M3

⁵ omit. L

⁶ Magno Nervae omit. M3

⁷ illis add. M3

⁸ redeo M3

⁹ nunc WO

¹⁰ me M2, V2a; corr. ex me V2b

¹¹ blanda V2, M2, M3

¹² Maguntinensem add. M3

¹³ Colonienses WO

¹⁴ Treverenses WO

¹⁵ statu V4

[10] But, there is one alive today whom I simply must name.¹ The provost of Paris² stabbed to death the father³ of Duke Philippe,⁴ present ruler of Burgundy, in the presence of the king of France.⁵ He now lives peacefully in the province, having been granted rich and fertile lands. But he committed murder and broke the public oath that the duke's poor father had trusted.⁶ I am often revolted when I think of it.

3. Piccolomini takes a closer look at Fortune

[11] But seeing that you, a decent and learned man, is now caressed by Fortune, my resistance weakens since I believe that you cannot be the only good man to find favour with this Lady. So, please bring me to see her.”

3.1. Fortune also favours men of merit

[12] “Indeed, it is as you say,” said Vegio. “There are many good men in this gathering of hers though I do not presume to name myself one of them, as you say I am. I know that I am guilty of sin and unworthy of my present position, but thus it has pleased both Fortune and my pope.⁷ And so that you may know that also good men are pleasing to this Lady, hear me just a little.

[13] I shall not now discuss how greatly a happy Fortune smiled at Constantine the Great,⁸ Nerva,⁹ Trajan,¹⁰ the two Theodosii,¹¹ and the first august emperor¹² himself, who were all good men. Instead, I move on to speak about men who are alive. Has Fortune not treated your Most Pious Emperor¹³ and my Most Holy Pontiff¹⁴ kindly? Who raised up the king of Aragon¹⁵ if not Fortune? Who made great men of the duke of Gloucester¹⁶ and [the archbishops] of Cologne¹⁷ and Trier¹⁸? Their virtue may be great, but they were raised up by Fortune's will.

¹ DVI, sect. 179; COM, p. 373.

² Tanneguy III du Châtel (1369-1449): Provost of Paris, 1415. One of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy.

³ Jean I [sans Peur] (Valois) (1371 -1419): Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to his death. Murdered at meeting with Charles VII, dau-phin of France on 10 September 1419.

⁴ Philippe III [le Bon] (Valois) (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death.

⁵ Charles VII (Valois) (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death (crowned 1429).

⁶ Actually, the duke's poor father had himself treacherously assassinated the king's uncle, Duke Louis of Orléans, in 1405.

⁷ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁸ Constantinus I, Flavius Valerius [the Great] (c. 272-337): Roman emperor from 306 to his death.

⁹ Nerva [Marcus Cocceius] (30-98): Roman emperor from 96 to his death.

¹⁰ Trajanus, Caesar Nerva (53-117) Roman emperor from 98 to his death.

¹¹ Theodosius II [the Great] (347-395): Eastern Roman emperor from 379 to his death; Theodosius II (401-450): Eastern Roman emperor from 408 to his death.

¹² Octavianus Augustus (63 BCE - 14 CE): First Roman emperor, from 27 to his death.

¹³ Emperor Friedrich III.

¹⁴ Pope Eugenius IV.

¹⁵ King Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

¹⁶ Humphrey of Gloucester (Lancaster) (1390-1447): Duke of Gloucester from 1414 to his death.

¹⁷ Dietrich II von Mörs (c. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne and German prince-elector from 1414 to his death.

¹⁸ Jakob von Sierck (c. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-elector from 1339 to his death.

[14] Diceret Maguntinus¹, ‘Meum genus erexit me.’ Sic et Saxones² et Bavariae duces dicere possent, tamquam nihil in eis Fortuna fuerit operata. Sed quis eos tam alte nasci fecit nisi Fortuna? Poterat haec, si voluisset, me³ regis Hispaniae vel Angliae⁴ loco supponere. Nulla virtute nostra, sed sed casu generis nanciscimur claritatem.

[15] Quodsi plures sunt virtuosi, quos Fortuna praeterit, nemo irasci debet. Potest⁵ enim haec domina, quae sua sunt bona, cui vult elargiri. Homines in mundum non ad opes possidendas⁶ aut perfruendas delicias, sed ad labores nascuntur⁷, vivereque in terris non tanquam incolae sed ut *advenae peregrinique* debent futuramque⁸ patriam per opera virtutis inquirere. In magna vero fortuna non facile virtus reperitur, quod animadvertens Thebanus ille philosophus ingens auri {156r} pondus in mari coniecit, ut expeditiorem se traderet philosophiae. Christus salvator Deusque noster divitias tanquam *spinas et tribulos* docuit fugiendas. Ejus discipuli paupertatis amatores fuerunt; victum et vestitum habentes, his contenti erant. Nec Jeronimus quamvis doctissimus in tenui gaza Fortunam accusavit, quia non illam dominam, sed Christum dominum sequebatur, transitoria pro perpetuis⁹ spernens. Antonius abbas, quod Fortuna dederat¹⁰, sponte rejecit. Quodsi sanae mentis essemus, odium potius quam favorem appetere Fortunae, cujus blanditiae maximum praestant impedimentum ad aeternae vitae consecutionem. Rarusque est et *corvo rarior albo*, qui et Fortunam simul et iter in caelum sequi valeat. Sed comprimo me, ne huic dominae videar detraxisse, cujus amplexibus jam delector¹¹. Tu tamen¹² cave¹³, ne Procopium vel alios, quos nominasti, virtutis amatores, dicas expertes fortunae. Nec enim vel cardinales vel¹⁴ milites essent vel generosi, nisi Fortuna juvisset. Solus Campisius est, ex quo nihil suum potest Fortuna repetere.

¹ istorum alte M3; Moguntinus WO

² Saxonum M3

³ omit. L, M2, M3

⁴ me add. L, M2, M3

⁵ post V4

⁶ omit. V4

⁷ nascimur M3

⁸ futuram V4

⁹ propertius V4; eternis M3

¹⁰ dedit M2

¹¹ cujus amplexibus ... delector omit. M3

¹² ~~tamen~~ V3

¹³ omit. V2, V3

¹⁴ fortes add. V4

3.2. Fortune vs family and virtue

[14] The archbishop of Mainz¹ might say, ‘It was family, [not Fortune,] that raised me to my present position.’ The Saxon and Bavarian dukes could say the same - as if Fortune had not worked in their favour, for who caused them to be born to such high estate if not Fortune? Had she wanted to, she could have put me, Vegio, in the place of the king of Spain or England. Our noble status is not due to our personal qualities but is an accident of birth.²

[15] Nobody should be angry at Fortune because she passes over virtuous men, for this Lady distributes her favours to whom she wills. Men are not born into this world to possess riches or enjoy pleasures but to labour and to live on Earth not as inhabitants but as *strangers and sojourners*³ and to seek their future country⁴ through virtuous works. But virtue is not easily found in great fortune. When that Theban philosopher⁵ realised it, he threw an immense sum of gold into the sea in order to devote himself more fully to philosophy. Christ, our Saviour and God, taught that riches should be avoided like *thorns and thistles*.⁶ His disciples loved poverty and were content to have food and clothes. Jerome,⁷ that most learned man, lived in austere conditions, but did not blame Fortune, for he followed Christ our Lord and despised transitory things to gain the everlasting. Abbot Antonius⁸ freely rejected Fortune’s gifts. If we were of sane minds, we would seek Fortune’s enmity rather than her favour, for her caresses are the greatest possible hindrance to gaining eternal life. It is a rare man - rarer, indeed, *than a white raven*⁹ - who can follow both Fortune and the road to Heaven. But I restrain myself lest I appear to criticise the Lady whose embraces I now enjoy. But you, Enea, beware not to claim that Prokop¹⁰ and the other lovers of virtue you named have no part in Fortune. For they would not be cardinals or knights or noble unless Fortune had assisted them. Only Campisio has received nothing from Fortune that she can reclaim.

¹ Dietrich Schenck von Erbach (1390-1459): Archbishop of Mainz, German prince-elect, and primate of Germany from 1434 to his death.

² "genus"

³ Genesis, 23: 4.

⁴ Heaven.

⁵ Krates [Crates of Thebes] (365-285 BCE): Greek philosopher of the Cynical school.

⁶ Genesis, 3: 18; Matthew, 7: 16.

⁷ Jeronimus.

⁸ Antonius [the Great] (c. 251-356): Egyptian monk, abbot, and desert father. Saint.

⁹ Juvenalis, 7: 202.

¹⁰ Prokop von Rabenstein.

[16] Sed eamus, si stat sententia, propius videamusque dominam istam, regnorum atque imperii motricem”. “Eamus,” inquam ego, “etsi forsitan hospes¹ invisus ero”. Vix quantum velox ex arcu sagitta volitans currit, viae confeceramus², cum³ apprehendens Vegius dexteram meam: “Respice,” meam: “Respice,” inquit, “dextrorsum, {156v} Aenea, ibi Nursia est⁴ domina”. Tentoria illic purpurea erant, margaritis ornata, quae centum jugera cooperiebant. In medio solium erat peraltum lucens claris smaragdis, miri praeterea lapides, ebur solii⁵ vestiebant: *Sagada* gemma, quae in profundo⁶ Euphratis carinae navis⁷ se solet adnectere⁸, *jucundissime virens*; *Mirrhites coloris myrrhae*, qui ad calorem⁹ *attritus*¹⁰ *nardi odorem spirat*; *Mitridas, quae sole percussa variis emicat emicat coloribus*; tum¹¹ *Pirrhites, qui se teneri non sinit vehementius*. *Chalachias*¹² *grandinis candorem*¹³ *praeferens*¹⁴; *Echites, vipereas*¹⁵ habens maculas; *Dionysias*¹⁶, qui¹⁷ sui natura fuscus¹⁸ est¹⁹ et²⁰ mixtus *aqua*, si conteratur, *vinum flagrat*^{21 22}; *Veneris crinis, qui ruforum crinium faciem praefert*²³; *Selenites*²⁴ *fulgore candido translucens*; *Pyropus*, qui flammam imitatur²⁵; *Meconites papavera exprimens*; *Mirmitides*²⁶ *reptantem formicam*; *Calcoptongos ut*²⁷ *aera pulsata*²⁸ *resonans*; *Siderites*²⁹ certis maleficiis incantatus *discordias excitat*³⁰, *similis ferro*³¹; *Flogites*, qui intra se quasi flammam aestuantem ostendit; *Antracias ut stella coruscans*³²; *Enhydros exsudans, ut clausam in eo putes*³³ *fontaneam scaturiginem*; *Melochites Arabicus, crassius smaragdo virens, infantum*³⁴ *periculis resistens*; *Iris*³⁵ *in mari rubro*³⁶ *reperita, quae aeris percussu*¹ *caelestis arcus ex sese*

¹ forsitan hospes : hospes forsitan M3

² viae confeceramus : effugiam M3

³ tum M2, M3

⁴ omit. V3

⁵ solui M2; soli V4; solia HE, WO

⁶ profunde M2

⁷ carinae navis : carnie vanis V4

⁸ adnectere M3

⁹ colorem M2

¹⁰ attributus V4

¹¹ omit. V4

¹² galaxias M2

¹³ spirat add. V4

¹⁴ Chalachias gradinis ... praefe-rens omit. M3

¹⁵ vespere V4

¹⁶ Dionysius M3

¹⁷ omit. M3

¹⁸ fuscus M3

¹⁹ omit. L, M3

²⁰ qui M3

²¹ fragrat M3

²² solis gemma percandida ad spem fulgidi sideris add. M2

²³ refert HE, WO

²⁴ Solenites L

²⁵ imitantur M2

²⁶ Mirmitites M2, V2, V4

²⁷ omit. V3, V4

²⁸ aera pulsata : aere reperiussa L

²⁹ sideritis WO

³⁰ excitat L, M2, M3, V2a; corr. ex excitans V2b

³¹ Veneris crinis ... ferro omit. M3

³² Antracias ut ... coruscans omit. M3

³³ putans M3

³⁴ infantem WO

³⁵ omit. V4

³⁶ rubeo M2

speciem jacit; Andradamas² nitoris argentei animorum calentum³ impetus molliens et tumentes refrenans iras et contra molestias {157r} nervorum utilis; Pederos⁴ aspectu eburneo; et gratiarum conciliator⁵ Achates. Incredibile est gemmarum, quae illic perlucet, si quis referat⁶ multitudinem.

[17] Ipsa Fortuna grandis matrona, duplicis aspectus, nunc blando vultu nunc terrifico, vestibis auratis gemmatisque altiorem thorum tenebat, oculis grandioribus sed plerumque clausis. In auribus ceras⁷ vidi, illa de nave⁸ ⁹ petitas, quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo. Caduceum in manu tenebat¹⁰. In dextra ejus dominatus¹¹ sedebat honor, favor, splendor, gaudium, officium, fastus, risus, amor conjugum, vigor, robur¹², decus, cantus, potus. Nec minori loco fama¹³, gloria, victoria, nobilitas, reverentia, pax, laetitia, potentia, forma, laus, gratia, suavitas, jucunditas, hilaritas, dignitas, elatio, pompa, praestantia, familiaritas, clientela, rapina, ultio, superbia, libido, arrogantia, oblivio, nuptiae, consolatio. Ad pedes ejus quasi ancillae sive pedissaeque divitiae, pecuniae, deliciae, blanditiae voluptatesque stabant *arreptis*¹⁴ *auribus*, si quid hera jussisset auditurae facturaeque.

¹ repercussu M2, M3

² Agracos M3; Androdamas V2, V3

³ talentum M2

⁴ podoris M3

⁵ reconciliator M3

⁶ si quis referat : referre M

⁷ *omit.* L

⁸ navi WO

⁹ de nave : die mane L

¹⁰ oculis grandioribus ... tenebat *omit.* M3

¹¹ dominatu M3

¹² rubor WO

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ arrectis M3

3.3. Fortune in her glory

[16] But if you still want to, let us go and look more closely at this Lady of kingdoms and mover of empires.”

“Yes, let us go,” I said, “though maybe I shall be an unwelcome guest.” And swiftly as the arrow flies from a bow, we arrived there. Then, Vegio took my right arm and said, “Look to the right, Enea. There is the Lady Nursia.¹ Purple tents had been set up in that place, decorated with pearls and covering 100 acres. In the middle, there was a tall throne, resplendent with smaragds, and other seats, made of ivory and covered with precious stones: the *gem Sagada* that gives off a green light and usually attaches itself to the bottom of ships in the Euphrates;² the *Myrrhitis* that has the colour colour of myrrh and gives off a smell like nard when it is rubbed;³ the *Mithrax* that shines with many colours when struck by the sun;⁴ the *Chalazias* has the whiteness of hail;⁵ the *Echitis*, with the spots of *vipers*;⁶ the *Dionysias*, dark by nature, that smells like *wine* when it is ground to dust and mixed with *water*;⁷ the *Veneris crinis*, that has a look of *red hair*;⁸ the *Selenitis*, a transparent, colourless stone;⁹ the *Pyritis*, that imitates flames;¹⁰ the *Meconitis* that closely resembles *poppy*;¹¹ *The Myrmecitis* formed like a crawling ant;¹² the *Calcoptongus* that sounds like brass being beaten; *Sideritis*, similar to iron, that, when bewitched with black arts, provokes quarrels;¹³ *Phlogitis* shows burning flames inside it;¹⁴ the *Anthracitis* that shines like a star;¹⁵ *Enhygros* that sweats and appears to have moving liquids inside;¹⁶ *Molochites Arabicus*, harder than the smaragd and giving off a green light and being useful against children’s illness;¹⁷ *Iris* is found at Red Sea and when it is struck by the air, it casts the colours of a rainbow;¹⁸ *Androdamas* has a silvery glint and subdues violence and hot temper in men and is useful against nervous disorders.¹⁹ *Paederos* looking like ivory;²⁰ and *Agate* that wins favours. Anyone who told how many shining gems were there would not be believed.

[17] Fortune herself was a grand Lady, with a double aspect, sometimes pleasant, sometimes terrifying. Dressed in golden cloth and gems, she sat on her high throne, with eyes sometimes wide open but mostly closed. In her ears, I saw wax brought from the ship that fled the Sicilian chants

¹ Nursia = Nortia = dea Volsini-orum = fortuna, cf. Juvenalis, 10: 74 (HE).

² Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 181 (Loeb, 419, p. 310).

³ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 174 (Loeb, 419, p. 306).

⁴ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 173 (Loeb, 419, p. 304).

⁵ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 187 (Loeb, 419, p. 318).

⁶ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 189 (Loeb, 419, p. 316).

⁷ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 157 (Loeb, 419, p. 292).

⁸ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 184 (Loeb, 419, p. 314).

⁹ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 182 (Loeb, 419, p. 312).

¹⁰ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 189 (Loeb, 419, p. 318).

¹¹ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 173 (Loeb, 419, p. 304).

¹² Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 187 (Loeb, 419, p. 316).

¹³ Plinius: *Historia*, 37: 58 (Loeb ed., 419, p. 208).

¹⁴ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 190 (Loeb, 419, p. 318).

¹⁵ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 99 (Loeb, 419, p. 243).

¹⁶ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 190 (Loeb, 419, p. 318).

¹⁷ Solinus, 33.

¹⁸ Solinus, 33 (based on Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 136 (Loeb, 419, p. 274)).

¹⁹ Plinius: *Historia naturalis*, 37: 144 (Loeb, 419, p. 281).

²⁰ Solinus, 33.

with a deafened oarsman.¹ In her hand, she held a staff. To her right were seated honour, favour, splendour, joy, rank, luxury, laughter, conjugal love, strength, force, handsomeness, singing and drinking. Just as highly seated were fame, glory, victory, nobility, reverence, peace, joy, power, beauty, praise, kindness, sweetness, happiness, laughter, dignity, enthusiasm, pomp, preeminence, friendship, clienteles, robbery, revenge, pride, lust, arrogance, oblivion, marriage and consolation. At her feet, riches, money, pleasures, caresses and sensual pleasures were standing like servant girls and attendants, listening closely to hear and do whatever their Lady commanded.

[18] In gramine vero locoque declivi sellae plurimae cernebantur ostro² tectae, ubi plurimas umbras umbras sedere conspexi. Perlucebant enim corpora sedentium, quamvis pallida erant, versusque ad Vegium: “Qui sunt hi,” obsecro, “sedentes viri, reverentia digni subtristesque?” “Hi sunt,” inquit Vegius, “quos haec domina ab initio nascentis mundi dignata est magnos facere. {157v} Sed jam³ satis functi huc venerunt, et ut quisque major fuit, sic fortunae proximior est. Nec hic ex virtutibus locus datur, sed ex felicitate. Primus hic est⁴ *Augustus Cesar*, divum genus, qui aurea condidit saecula, quique *super Garamantas et Indos* protulit imperium. Alexander secundus est, tum Julius Caesar⁵, post Scipiones duo, inde Pompejus. Alius, quem luscum vides, Hannibal est, tum Fabius Maximus, Aemilius Paulus, Marcellus, Alcibiades, Themistocles⁶, Priamus, Hector, Agamemnon⁷, Agamemnon⁷, Achilles, Ulixes, Darius, Xerxes, Ninus. Praetereo multos. Ille, quem vides signo crucis munitum, Constantinus est, hunc sequitur Constantius, Constans, Constantinus⁸, Valentinianus, Theodosius. Sunt et juniores⁹: Carolus magnus, Pipinus, Arturus. Mitto vetustiores. Sigismundum tu ipse nosti et Albertum¹⁰ generum, qui post socerum non¹¹ diu regnavit fortunamque tum secundam tum adversam expertus est. Hic Albertus, ex duce rex factus, Hungariam Bohemiamque recepit nec diu post imperium est assecutus. Ut tamen cito crevit, ita cecidit repente, vix annis tribus regnaverat, cum¹² morbo absumptus spiritum Deo reddidit”.

¹ Reference to Odysseus fleeing the Sirene’s songs, see. Homer: *Odyssey*, 12: 173-177. Piccolomi-ni (following Basil) has Ulysses using the wax to not hear the siren, but in Homer’s story, he used the wax on his oarsmen so that they could not hear the siren, while he could (being bound to the mast).

² ostra M2; orcestra M3; orche-stra V2; *corr. ex orchestra* V3; *omit.* V4

³ nam M3

⁴ *omit.* V3

⁵ tum Julius Caesar *omit.* L

⁶ Aemilius Paulus ... Themistocles *omit.* M3

⁷ Agamenon M2

⁸ Constans Constantinianus *omit.* M3

⁹ noviores M3

¹⁰ Sigismundum tu ... Albertum *omit.* V4

¹¹ qui post ... non : socer L, M3

¹² tamen M2

4. Fortune's favourites

4.1. In former times

[18] On a sloping lawn, I could see many shadowy figures sitting on seats covered with purple cloth. Their bodies were shining but pale. Turning towards Vegio, I asked, "Who are the men sitting there, venerable but sombre?"

"They are," he answered, "those whom Her Ladyship has, since the beginning of the world, destined for greatness. When they died, they came here, and the greater each one was, the closer he sits to Fortune. Their seats are allocated not on the basis of virtue but happiness. The first one here is *Caesar Augustus*,¹ son of God, who established a golden age and *advanced his empire beyond the the Garamants and Indians*.² The second one is Alexander,³ followed by Julius Caesar and, after him, the two Scipios⁴ and ⁵ Pompey.⁶ The one-eyed man you see next is Hannibal,⁷ then Fabius Maximus,⁸ Aemilius Paulus,⁹ Marcellus,¹⁰ Alcibiades,¹¹ Themistocles,¹² Priam,¹³ Hector,¹⁴ Agamemnon,¹⁵ Achilles,¹⁶ Ulysses,¹⁷ Darius,¹⁸ Xerxes¹⁹ and Ninus.²⁰ I pass over many others. The one you see with the cross is Constantine,²¹ followed by Constantius,²² Constans,²³ Constantine.²⁴ Valentinian²⁵ and Theodosius.²⁶ Leaving the old ones, I come to those who lived later. They are Charlemagne,²⁷ Pepin²⁸ and Arthur.²⁹ Leaving men of older times, you see men you know, Sigismund³⁰ and Albrecht,³¹ his son-in-law, who ruled after his father-in-law but not for long,

¹ Octavianus Augustus.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 792.

³ Alexander III the Great.

⁴ Scipio Africanus the Elder.

⁵ Scipio Africanus the Younger (ca 185-129 BCE): Roman states-man and general.

⁶ Pompejus Magnus, Gnaeus (106-48 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁷ Hannibal Barca (247 - c. 182 BCE): Carthaginian statesman and general.

⁸ Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Quintus [Cunctator] (c. 280-203 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁹ Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, Lucius (c. 229-160 BCE): Ro-man statesman and general.

¹⁰ Marcellus, Marcus Claudius (c. 270-208 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

¹¹ Alkibiades (c. 450-404 BCE): Athenian statesman, orator, and general.

¹² Themistokles (c. 534-459): A-thenian statesman and general.

¹³ Priamos: (Myth.) King of Troy.

¹⁴ Hektor.

¹⁵ Agamemnon: (Myth.) King of Mycenae.

¹⁶ Akilleus: (Myth.) Greek hero.

¹⁷ Odysseus.

¹⁸ Darius I [the Great] (c. 550-486 BCE): King of Persia.

¹⁹ Xerxes I [the Great] (c. 518 -466 BCE): King of Persia.

²⁰ Ninus: (Myth.) King. Founder of Niniveh.

²¹ Constantinus I.

²² Constantius II, Flavius Julius (317-361): Roman emperor from 337 to his death.

²³ Constans, Flavius Julius (c. 320-350): Roman emperor from 333 to his death.

²⁴ Constantinus II, Flavius Clau-dius (316-340): Roman emperor from 337 to his death.

²⁵ Valentinianus I, Flavius (321-375): Roman emperor from 364 to his death.

²⁶ Theodosius I.

²⁷ Charlemagne (474-814): First Holy Roman Emperor from 800 to his death.

²⁸ Pepin the Short (c. 714-768): King of the Franks from 571 to his death.

²⁹ Arthur: Legendary post-Roman king of Britain (5th and 6th c.). Note that Piccolomini knew of this legendary figure and considered him on a par with emperors.

³⁰ Emperor Sigismund. Piccolomi-ni had seen him at the Council of Basel.

³¹ Albrecht II. See DVI, ch. 23. Piccolomini had seen him and written an oration to be delivered to him by a Milanese ambassador in Vienna in April 1438, the "*Si quis me roget*" (COR, 2: 2).

experiencing both a favourable and an unfavourable Fortune. A duke, he became king, gained Hungary and Bohemia, and shortly afterwards, the Empire. But he fell as quickly as he rose, for having ruled for less than three years, he sickened and gave up his soul to God.”

[19] Tum¹ ego: “Quonam modo,” inquam “felicitatem recipis²? Ego apud Juvenalem legi, *neminem neminem malum esse felicem*; ex his, quos nominasti, pessimi plures fuerunt. Scis quam Hannibal saevus, quam fallax, quam cupidus fuerit, tu tamen hunc felicem dixisti”. Ad haec {158r} Vegius: “Non ut sapientes³ nomen felicitatis suscepi, sed vulgi morem sum secutus, apud quod⁴ felix dicitur, dicitur, cui⁵ plurima ex sententia veniunt, sive bonum est sive malum, quod optant”.

[20] Iterum ego: “Non est mihi, Vegi, de mortuis cura, vivos, rogo mihi ostende.” “Respice,” inquit Vegius, “illam plagam. Videsne juvenem albis comis planisque? Nondum annos triginta natus est, rarus in ore risus, gravis incessus viro, verba pauca, pudor ante faciem, longo vultu, statura plus quam mediocri, lato pectore.” “Video,” inquam, “sed⁶ quis hic⁷ est?” “Heres tuus Fridericus Caesar,” inquit Vegius. Tum ego: “Agnosco dominum, sed cur is⁸ Fortunae refugit vultum? Quenam verba loquitur domina? Audio vocem, verba non teneo.” “Dicam tibi, Aenea,” refert Vegius. “Non tam Venus Adonem⁹ dilexit, quam mea domina tuum herum. Is tamen refugit nec aspiranti Fortunae¹⁰ annuit. Vultus fortunae, ut cernis, blandus est; Friderici oculi torvi sunt vixque Fortunam intuentur. Nescio, quid sibi sit menti, verba Fortunae haec sunt: ‘Mane, Friderice, et te mihi crede. Nemo¹¹ regum te felicius erit, si mihi auscultaveris. Quodsi¹² tu fugeris, ego etiam fugiam.’ Videsne, Silvi, ut manum ad scapulas Caesaris fortuna posuit torquem collo haerentem comprehensura¹³? Nescio an se capi sinat Caesar, quod superi faxint. Si faventem Fortunam spreverit fugeritque (scio morem dominae), numquam sibi blandior erit. Superba est, rogari potius vult quam rogare. Numquam vidi hanc heram tam se alicui blandam¹⁴ praestitisse {158v} quam nunc est tuo domino. Felix ille, si Fortunam sequatur, miser, si fugiat”.

¹ tamen M2

² receperis M3

³ sapientie M2

⁴ quem M2; *omit.* M3; quos V4

⁵ qui M2

⁶ *omit.* V4

⁷ *omit.* M2

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ ad Jovem M2

¹⁰ aspiranti Fortunae : aspirati M2

¹¹ memor V4

¹² si M3

¹³ colliriumque vult prendere L, M2, V2a; colliriumque vult ap-prehendere M3; torquem collo haerentem comprehensura *corr. ex* colliriumque vult prendere V2b

¹⁴ alicui blandam : blandam alicui M3

4.1.1. The nature of happiness

[19] Then I asked, “What do you mean by happiness? I have read in Juvenal that *no bad man can be happy*,¹ but several of those you mentioned were wicked men. [For example,] you know how brutal Hannibal was, how deceiving and how greedy, but nonetheless you call him happy.”

“I do not define happiness as wise men do,” Vegio replied, “but following the custom of ordinary people, I call happy those who succeed in their endeavours, good or bad.”²

4.2. Today

4.2.1. The emperor and his court

[20] “I am more interested in those who are alive than in those who are dead, so please show them to me,” I said.

“Look over there,” Vegio replied. “Do you see the young man with blond and straight hair? He is not yet 30, rarely laughs, and walks with gravitas. He is a man of few words, with a modest bearing, a long face, taller than most, and broad-chested.”

“I see him,” I said. “Who is it?”

“That is your master, Emperor Friedrich,” Vegio said.

“I recognise my lord,” I replied, “but why does he avoid looking at Fortune? What is her Ladyship saying? I hear her voice but do not understand the words.”

“I shall tell you, Enea,” Vegio said. “Venus³ did not love Adonis⁴ as much as Mylady loves your Lord. But he avoids her and rejects Fortune’s advances. As you see, Fortune’s face is pleasant, but Friedrich’s face is grim, and he barely looks at her. I do not know his intentions, but Fortune says, ‘Stay, Friedrich, and entrust yourself to me. No king will be happier than you if only you heed me. But if you flee me, I shall flee you, too.’ Do you see, Silvio, how Fortune has placed her hand on Caesar’s shoulders and will seize the golden chain around his neck? I do not know if Caesar will let himself be taken [by Fortune] – but I wish the heavenly beings would make it so. If he spurns and flees favourable Fortune, then - for I know her Ladyship’s ways - she will never smile at him again. She is proud and will rather be asked than ask. I have never seen her as favourable towards anyone as towards your Lord. He will be happy if he follows Fortune but miserable if he flees her.”⁵

¹ Juvenalis, 4: 8.

² This in opposition to classical philosophies equating virtue and happiness.

³ Venus [Aphrodite]: (Myth.) Goddess of love.

⁴ Adonis: (Myth.) Young man be-loved by Aphrodite.

⁵ This passage is a veiled criticism of Friedrich’s caution and slow-ness to act, even under favourable conditions.

[21] Tum ego: “Quis¹ ille proximus Friderico, qui elevata cervice graditur passumque² majorem facit, paululum fuscus³”. “Germanus ejus,” inquit Vegius, “Albertus dux, liberalis vastique⁴ animi. Eum sequitur patruelis Sigismundus⁵, incesso celer, ingenio promptus et manu. Post hos Ulricus, Cillaceus comes, mortalis pugnae magister, amator non tam diu⁶ fidelis quam felix. Ille maturus aevo, grandique corpore, si quis sit, quaeris, vide ad pedes, ibi calceus dicit: ‘Dominus⁷ Walsee ego sum.’ Hos sequuntur viri praestantes, Chiemensis et Gurcensis episcopi; cancellarius, herus tuus, Gaspar, qui ut dicis, minus habet quam mereatur⁸; magister camerae, Zebinger mareschallus. Hi delecti⁹ sunt Nurembergam petere. Si petierint, in patria remanebunt. Leonardus, Pataviensis episcopus, comes Schaumbergeum¹⁰, magister curie Neytperg¹¹ et alii plures, qui omnes Fortunae sunt filii, quamvis singuli suam quaerantur sortem¹².” Rursus ego: “Quaenam horum fortuna est¹³ omnium?” “Bona,” inquit Vegius, “si tuus herus Fortunae vocibus auscultaverit, varia si obaudiverit¹⁴”.

¹ *omit.* M2, V2-V4

² *passimque* V4

³ *fastus* M3

⁴ *fastique* M2, M3, V4

⁵ patruelis Sigismundus : Sigis-mundus patruelis M3

⁶ *omit.* L, M2, M3

⁷ *de add.* L, M2, M3, V2a; ~~de~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ episcopi cancellarius ... mereatur *omit.* M3

⁹ *electi* M2

¹⁰ de Schaunberg L, M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* de Schaunberg V2b

¹¹ *omit.* M3

¹² fortunam L; infelicitatem M3

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ varia si obaudiverit *omit.* M3

[21] “Who is the man next to Friedrich,” I asked, “walking with his head high, taking large steps, and being somewhat dark”.

“That is his brother,” Vegio said, “Duke Albrecht, generous and proud. After him comes their cousin Siegmund, with a spring in his step, and quick of mind and hand. Behind them comes Ulrich, Count of Cilly,¹ a master of mortal war and a lover less faithful than fortunate. If you ask about that that large man of venerable age, then look to his shoes where it is written, ‘I am the Lord of Wallsee.’² These are followed by a number of eminent men: the bishops of Chiemsee³ and Gurk⁴; chancellor Kaspar,⁵ your master, who - as you say - has [received] less than he deserves; and Marshall Zöbing,⁶ *Kammermeister*. These men have been chosen to go to Nürnberg. If they go, these [others] will remain in Austria: Leonhard,⁷ Bishop of Passau, Count von Schauberg,⁸ Hofmeister Neitperg⁹ and several others, all sons of Fortune, though individually they seek their own destiny.”

“What is the Fortune of all these men?” Vegio replied.

“It will be good,” Vegio said, “if only your lord¹⁰ heeds Fortune’s voice, and mixed if he does not.”

¹ Ulrich II von Cilly.

² Count Reinprecht IV von Wal-see.

³ Bishop Silvester Pflieger.

⁴ Johann Schallermann (1373-1465: Bishop of Gurk from 1436 to 1453.

⁵ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

⁶ Walther von Zöbing.

⁷ Leonhard von Laiming (1381-1451): Prince-bishop of Passau from 1424 to his death.

⁸ Johann II von Schauberg (c. 1396-1453): *Landmarschall* of Austria. *Reichshofmeister*.

⁹ Johann Neitperg.

¹⁰ The emperor.

[22] Dum sic famur, video parva statura virum, nigro vultu, laetis oculis, qui manus in capillos¹ Fortunae coniecerat arreptaque coma²: “Sta tandem, domina, meque respice,” dicebat. “Quo me fugis jam³ annis duodecim? Capta es, sive velis sive nolis, ut me respicias oportet⁴, satis mihi adversa fuisti. Nunc alium vultum⁵ praebebis, reor. Aut mihi {159r} blanda eris, aut omnes tibi crines⁶ evellam. Cur me fugis magnanimum pusillanimesque sectaris?” Fortunae quoque in eum vox erat: “Vicisti, fateor, nec⁷ me amplius experieris adversam”. Tum ego “Quis hic est⁸,” inquam, inquam, “Vegi⁹, qui Fortunae vim¹⁰ facit?” “Alfonsus,” refert ille, “rex Aragonum, qui cum fratribus apud Pontiam¹¹ captus Philippoque¹² duci Mediolanensium datus, dimissus denique novis se proeliis immiscuit, adversamque¹³ dominam insecutus, tantum instando perseverandoque fecit, ut victam pudore Fortunam¹⁴ jam in suum favorem revocaverit. Alius, quem vix tribus a fortuna distantem passibus cernis, Burgundionum¹⁵ dux est, et cum eo conjunx cordata. Longus ille et abdomine tardus¹⁶, qui vix vocem exprimit, Insubribus¹⁷ praeest, huic hera saepius arrisit, sed non audivit, ut par erat, dominae vocem. Ideo minus agri possidet minusque possideret, nisi minas¹⁸ Fortunae naturae liberalitas confregisset.

[23] Ille in armis laetus Johannes est vaivoda Transsilvanorum, cujus virtute fracti Turci¹⁹ Hungariam reliquerunt. Hic niger Giskra est, cujus armis defensae sunt Ladislai partes. Hic calvus Bohemus Ptasko est, vir sensatus, voluntate varia²⁰. Ante hunc Piceninum videre potes²¹, cujus virtutem mirari magis quam referre possumus. Apud eum Franciscus Cotiniola stat, non minus²² Fortunae favore²³ quam suis virtutibus in hanc diem magnificatus²⁴.

¹ capillis M3

² *omit.* M2

³ nam M3

⁴ oportet M3

⁵ multum V4

⁶ tibi crines : crines tibi L

⁷ *omit.* M2

⁸ hic est : est hic M2

⁹ vehi V3

¹⁰ *omit.* V4

¹¹ Scantiam M2, V2; Scanteam M3; *corr. ex* Scantiam V3; Spon-tiam V4.

¹² Philippo M2

¹³ adversus se M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ Burgundorum M2

¹⁶ et abdomine tardus *omit.* M3

¹⁷ in superibus M3

¹⁸ *omit.* L

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

²⁰ vada M2

²¹ potest M2

²² magis L, M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex.* magis V2b

²³ facie M3

²⁴ diem magnificatus : magnificus diem L

4.2.2. *Those who fight Fortune*

[22] As we spoke, I saw a small man with dark face and glad eyes, seizing Fortune's hair and saying,

"Stay still, Lady, and look at me. Why have you fled me for 12 years? Now, I have caught you, and you must heed me, whether you will it or not, for you have opposed me long enough. Now you will show me another face, I think. Either you will favour me, or I shall tear out all your hair! Why do you flee me who am greatminded, and why do you follow men who are weakminded?"

"I concede your victory and shall be your enemy no more," Fortune told him.

"Vegio, who is this man doing violence to Fortune?" I asked.

"That is Alfonso," he replied, "King of Aragon.¹ He was captured with his brothers² at Ponza³ and sent to Duke Filippo⁴ of Milan. But then he was released, undertook new wars, pursued the hostile Lady and, through resilience and perseverance, managed to gain the favour of Fortune, overcome with shame. The other one, whom you see three steps away from Fortune, is the duke of Burgundy,⁵ and with him his capable spouse.⁶ The tall, corpulent man who says little is the ruler of the Insubres.⁷ ⁸ Fortune has smiled at him often, but he did not heed her Ladyship as he should and therefore now has less territory. He would have even less if his natural generosity⁹ had not overcome Fortune's threats.

4.2.3. *Captains*

[23] The joyous man in arms is Voivode Janos¹⁰ of Transylvania, whose bravery and courage broke the Turks and forced them to leave Hungary. The dark one is Jiskra,¹¹ whose arms defend the cause of Ladislaus.¹² The bald one is the Bohemian Ptáček,¹³ a sensible man but unreliable. Before him, you can see Piccinino,¹⁴ whose bravery and courage we must admire more than we can describe

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² Juan II (Aragón) (1398-1464): King of Navarra from 1425, of Aragón from 1458 to his death; En-rique de Trastámara (1400-1445).

³ 5 August 1435.

⁴ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁵ Philippe III le Bon.

⁶ Isabella de Portugal (1397-1471): Married Duke Philippe of Burgundy in 1430. See DVI, ch. 31.

⁷ Lombardy.

⁸ Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. Piccolomini had met him personally in 1434.

⁹ This is a not so subtle appeal to the duke, whom Piccolomini is still hoping will restore his pro-vostship of San Lorenzo in Milan.

¹⁰ János Hunyad (1387 or 1407-1456): Fought valiantly and often successfully against the Turks. Governor of Hungary 1446.

¹¹ Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa. Piccolomini had met him personally at the imperial court in 1443. See DVI, ch. 43.

¹² King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹³ Hynce Ptáček of Pirkstein (c. 1400-1444): Bohemian noble. Moderate Hussite leader. Piccolomini had met him personally at the imperial court in the autumn of 1443. See DVI, sect. 140.

¹⁴ Niccolò Piccinino (c. 1386-1444): Italian condottiere. Piccolomini had met him personally in 1435. See DVI, ch. 7.

them. With him stands Francesco da Cotignola,¹ who has – until now – risen high, as much through Fortune’s favour as through his own qualities.”

¹ Francesco I Sforza (1401-1466): Italian condottiere. Count of Cotignola. First Sforza duke of Milan (1450). See DVI, ch. 10. Picco-lomini had met him personally in 1447, during negotiations in Milan.

[24] Inter hos ego matronalem {159v} habitum cernens et “Quaenam,” inquam, “illa est¹ femina, quae ante alias tribus passibus pergens tam fastuosa videtur?” “Haec,” inquit Vegius, “Venetia est, quae pecuniarum fortunae claves habet Tarpejamque custodit. Alia est Brugensis² civitas, tertia Colonia³, Nuremberga subinde. Argentina sequitur, Vienna quoque inter has est⁴ non⁵ ultima. Florentia Venetiis proximat, sed timeo illi⁶, quia pluribus jam⁷ annis favorem Fortunae minorem sentit. Tua Sena floret nunc, sed minas, nescio, quas audio. Barchinona et Valentia florent, Londoniae⁸ quoque splendidae sunt ut vides”.

[25] Tum ego: “Video togatos quosdam, quinam sunt hi?” “Primus est meus pontifex,” inquit Vegius. “Num Eugenium nosti?” “Proh,” inquam ego⁹ ¹⁰, “etiam res ecclesiasticas Fortuna versat?” “Non minus quam temporales,” inquit Vegius, “ex quo nostri sacerdotes dominari coeperunt et mundalia potius quam spiritualia curare. Felix post eum sex gradibus¹¹ sedet imus, quia principes non sequuntur eum. Illi cardinales sunt. Tu omnes nosces, si vultum intueberis. Tres electores altioribus accumbunt thoris. Patriarchae pauperes sunt tam Latini quam Graeci, ideo retro stant.

[26] Illae viduae, pullatis indute vestibus, quae post Alexandrum Herculemque jacent¹², urbes sunt, quae quondam splendidae nunc solo equatae, sicut jussit fortuna, cernuntur. Illa in montibus sita¹³ Carthago, altera super Eufraten Babylon, *Troja, columen Asiae* inter Xanctum et {160r} Simeontem diruta. Illae Amphionis Thebae, tum mater musarum Cecropis, et armis quondam potens Lacedaemon¹⁴.

¹ illa est *omit.* M3

² Burgensis V3; Pragensis M2

³ Coloniensis civitas M2

⁴ *omit.* V4

⁵ est non : non est M3

⁶ illis V4

⁷ pluribus jam : jam pluribus M3

⁸ Liuidionie M2

⁹ ergo V3

¹⁰ inquam ego: ego inquam M3

¹¹ post eum sex gradibus : sex gradibus post eum M3

¹² stant M3; latent V4

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ Lacedaemonia L, M2, M3

4.2.4. *Cities*

[24] Among these men, I saw someone in the dress of a stately woman. “Who is the woman,” I asked, “who stands three steps before the other women, looking proud?”

“That is Venice,” Vegio answered, “who possesses Fortune’s keys to wealth and guards the Tarpeja.¹ The next one is the city of Bruges, the third one Cologne, and then Nürnberg, followed by Strassbourg. Vienna is not the least among them. Florence comes close to Venice, but I fear for her since, for several years now, she has felt Fortune’s favour lessen. Your Siena flourishes, but – as I hear it – there is some kind of threat against her. Barcelona and Valencia are flourishing, and, as you see, London, too, is splendid.”

4.2.5. *Ecclesiastics*

[25] “Who are the gowned men I see there?” I said.

“The first one is my pope,” Vegio replied. “Don’t you know Eugenius²?”

“Really,” I exclaimed, “does Fortune also intervene in ecclesiastical affairs?”

“Yes,” Vegio answered, “just as much as in secular affairs, and she has done so ever since our priests began to exercise lordship and manage worldly affairs as well as the spiritual. Felix³ sits behind him and six ranks below since the princes do not follow him. Those over there are the cardinals. You know them all if you look at their faces. The three [ecclesiastical] prince-electors⁴ have higher seats. The patriarchs, both Latin and Greek, are poor and therefore stand behind the others.”

4.2.6. *Cities formerly favoured by Fortune*

[26] The widows in dirty clothes, seen over there behind Alexander⁵ and Hercules, are cities that were once splendid but are now razed to the ground on Fortune’s command. There is Carthage, situated in the mountains, the next one is Babylon on the Euphrates, then comes ruined *Troia, pillar of Asia*,⁶ between Xante and Simois.⁷ And then Amphion’s⁸ Thebes, then the mother of Cecrop’s muses,⁹ and then once-mighty Lacedaemon.¹⁰

¹ The reference is obscure. For an interpretation, see Stolf, p. 61.

² Pope Eugenius IV.

³ Antipope Felix V.

⁴ The archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier.

⁵ Alexander the Great.

⁶ Seneca: *Troades*, 6: *Troia ... columen eversum occidit pollentis Asiae, caelitem egregius labor.*

⁷ Rivers in ancient Asia Minor. See Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 88.

⁸ Amphion: (Myth.) Son of Zeus by Antiope – with twin Theobus. They built the walls of Thebes.

⁹ Athens, founded by legendary king Cecrops.

¹⁰ Sparta

[27] Post ego: “Quinam¹ illi sunt, qui se nostris horrent miscere?” “Prior ille soldanus est,” inquit Vegius, “cui paret Aegyptus, alius Turcis² imperat, tertius Parthis, quartus Afris. Ille nudus bracas³ bracas³ tantum indutus et armillis⁴, cui⁵ dives ex collo torques pendet⁶, Indorum habet dominatum.” dominatum.”

[28] Post haec ad sinistram me verti. Ibi paupertas sedebat, ignominia, derisus, injuriae, morbi⁷, senectus, tormenta, carcer⁸, fames, dolor⁹, stridor, timor, pudor, odium, invidia, desperatio, caritas¹⁰, caritas¹⁰, bellum, pestis, solitudo, verbera, curae et mille malorum nomina, campi sitientes, nudi aut lapidibus tecti. “Et quidnam,” rogo, “sibi vult haec vastitas, Vegi?” “Hic habitant,” inquit, “illi, qui ex alto gradu ceciderunt, postquam fortunae favorem amiserunt. Videsne sublimem illam matronam septem collibus quasi pedibus subsistentem? Haec est¹¹ aurea quondam Roma, jam¹² lutea. Capua eam sequitur, Syracusae proximae. Tum Genua, Lunae¹³, Pisa¹⁴, Luca, Parisius. Inter Germanos florent adhuc urbes, sola Praga, splendor terrae, declinat. Constantinopolis, Thracum caput, morti propinquat.

¹ obsecro *add.* L, M2, V2

² Teucris L, M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucris V2b

³ Bracis L, M2, M3

⁴ et armillis *omit.* M2

⁵ cuius M3

⁶ appendet M3

⁷ morbus M3

⁸ carceres L, M2, M3, V2

⁹ *omit.* V3, V4

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ *omit.* WO

¹² nunc M3

¹³ luna/e *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~Luna~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ Pise M3

4.2.7. *Non-Christians*

[27] “And who are the men over there, loath to mingle with ours?” I asked.

“The first one is the sultan,” said Vegio, “who governs Egypt.¹ The second rules the Turks,² the third the Parthians,³ and the fourth the Africans.⁴ The one only clothed in breeches and bracelets, with a precious chain around his neck, is the lord of India.⁵”

4.2.8. *Those formerly favoured by Fortune*

[28] Then I turned to the left. Sitting there were poverty, ignominy, derision, insults, illnesses, old age, torments, prison, hunger, pain, gnashing of teeth, fear, famine, war, plague, solitude, whips, worries, and 1,000 evils, and starved fields, bare or covered with stones. “And what means this desolation, Vegio?” I asked.

“Here live,” he said, “the cities that lost Fortune’s favour and fell from their high position.

Do you see the tall matron standing on seven hills as on seven feet? That is Rome, once golden, now squalid. After her comes Capua, then Syracuse, then Genoa, Pisa, Lucca and Paris. The German cities are still thriving, except that Prague, splendour of the Earth, is now in decline. Constantinople, the capital of Thracia, is dying.⁶

¹ The Mamluk sultans ruled Egypt from 1251 to 1517.

² The Ottoman Turks.

³ Muslim Persia, at the time not a single political unity.

⁴ There was no single ruler of the India, of course.

⁵ And there was, of course, no single ruler of Africa either.

⁶ Cities and the fortunes would also be mentioned by Piccolomini in his dream about purgatory (let-ter 235: 7).

[29] Omnia tempus domat¹, nec ulli fortuna perpetuo bona est. Hic maestus, submisso capite, Renatus est quem fortuna² ex Apuliae finibus pepulit. Ille Thomas Fulgosius est, qui ex ducali solio tractus³, in carceris jacet pedore. Hic Pancratius unco tenetur, {161v} qui solebat cum⁴ omnibus tum⁵ maxime cancellario tuo infestissimus⁶ esse. Sed rursus Fortuna huic spem facit⁷. Borbonii dux dux ibi est, qui regno Franciae dicebat leges, nunc domini parte⁸ mulctatus extra regiam⁹ esse iubetur. Videsne senem procerum cana¹⁰ et dimissa¹¹ barba¹²? Ludovicus est, dux Bavariae, quem filius dominatu privatum domi clausum servat¹³.

[30] Dum sic loquitur Vegius rursus in dextram¹³ feror. Video campum, nube candida tectum, dumque¹⁴ introspicio, seu vera figura fuit, seu ficta Ladislaum¹⁵ puellum diademate et vestibus ornatum regiis visus sum videre pluresque secum infantes¹⁶ ludere¹⁷ petoque Vegium: “Quinam sunt¹⁸ hi, nube cana¹⁹ circumvoluti?” “Hi sunt,” inquit Vegius, “quibus fortuna favorem spondet, si fatorum munere vixerint”.

¹ donat M3

² perpetuo bona ... fortuna : *omit.* M2, V2a; est perpetuo blanda quem fortuna M3; parcit. Illum *add. in marg.* V2b; parcit. Illum V3; parit illum V4 [*The original passage “perpetuo bona ... fortuna” in L was erroneously omitted in the next version (M2) (the scribe skipping from the first fortuna to the second), and corrections to the obviously corrupt text were attempted in later versions but not on the basis of the original text in L since they would not have been available.*]

³ tactus M2

⁴ tamen M2

⁵ tam V4

⁶ festissimus M2

⁷ sed rursus ... facit *omit.* L, M2, M3, V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

⁸ partes WO

⁹ regnum M2, M3

¹⁰ caua M2, M3

¹¹ demissa M3

¹² hic *add.* L, M2, M3

¹³ in dextram : index trans V4

¹⁴ dum M3

¹⁵ Ladislai WO

¹⁶ secum infantes : infantes secum M2

¹⁷ alludere WO

¹⁸ sint M2

¹⁹ candida M3

[29] Time subdues all, and no one's good fortune lasts forever. The dejected man over there, with bowed head, is René,¹ whom Fortune drove out of Puglia. And there is Thomas Fregoso,² who was dragged from the ducal throne and now lies chained in prison. And there, Pankraz³ is held with a hook. He used to be an enemy to all and especially your chancellor,⁴ but now Fortune is giving him new hope.⁵ And there is the duke of Bourbon,⁶ who was the effective ruler of France, but now has been fined a part of his domain and banished from the court.⁷ And do you see that old nobleman nobleman with a white and unkempt beard? That is Ludwig,⁸ who was deprived of the government by his son and is now in house arrest."

4.2.9. *Children who will be favoured by Fortune if they survive*

[30] As Vegio was speaking, I turned again towards the right. There I saw a field overshadowed by a white cloud. Looking into it, I saw the little boy Ladislaus⁹ (either in person or as some kind of representation) with a crown and clothed in royal garments, playing with other small children. "Who are these children under the white cloud?" I asked Vegio.

"They are children, "he answered, "whom Fortune will favour if only the Fates¹⁰ grant them to survive."

¹ René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Bar 1430 and of Anjou 1343 to his death. In 1435, he inherited the Kingdom of Naples after Giovanna II, but his right to the throne was contested by Alfonso V, who finally defeated him in 1442.

² Tommaso Fregoso [Campofre-goso / Fulgosio] (bef. 1370-1453): doge of Genoa for two periods: 1415-1421, 1436-1442 (with a very short break in 1437). See DVI, ch. 20, and CRDM, sect. 32. Piccolomini had met him personally.

³ Pongrác za Sv. Mikuláš [Pankraz von Holitsch] [Halitsch] (-1461): Military commander from Mora-via, like Jiskra. Piccolomini knew him personally, having, in 1443, been sent on a imperial mission with him. See DVI, sect. 272.

⁴ Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ This passage was not in the early version of the text (L, M2, M3) but was inserted in the later (V2-V4) because, in the meantime, there had been a rapprochement between Pankraz and the imperial court.

⁶ Charles I (Bourbon) (1401-1456): Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne from 1434 to his death. He was the main instigator of the rebellion was called the Praguerie (after an earlier rebellion in Prague), lasting from February to July 1440. The duke won over the dauphin, Louis, then 16 years old, by promising him to set his father aside and make him regent in his stead. After the rebellion ended, he made his submission to the king and was pardoned. See DVI, sect. 283.

⁷ The original text (L, M2, M3) has "regnum" (kingdom) because Piccolomini, when he wrote it, was under the impression that the duke had been exiled from the realm. Later, he realised that the duke's punishment was less severe, and therefore, in the later versions (V2-V4) he changed "regnum" to "regiam" (the royal palace).

⁸ Ludwig VII (Wittelsbach) (c. 1368-1447): Duke of Bavaria-In-golstadt from 1413 to 1443, when he was imprisoned by his own son, Ludwig VIII.

⁹ King Ladislaus the Posthumous, who was four years at the time. He did not survive his 18th year.

¹⁰ Note the relationship between Fortune and Fatum.

[31] Vix ista locutus erat Vegius, cum dea in me oculos contorsit¹ contractisque superciliis: “Quis te te huc accersivit,” inquit, “Aenea?” “Nemo,” inquam ego, “sed avidus te visendi introgressus sum. Noli mihi succensere. Vidi regnum tuum, jam abibo. Unum tantum ex te peto supplex, mihi² ut paucis rogatibus respondeas”. “Faciam,” inquit illa, “proponere”. Tum ego: “Quamdiu es hominibus blanda?” “Nulli diu,” respondit. Iterum ego: “Quibus artibus potest tuus favor acquiri?” “Nullis,” inquit illa, “nisi solius importunitatis remedio.” “Quis te plus aliis retinet?” “Qui meum imperium majori sustinet animo³”. “Quis tibi odiosior?” {162r} “Pusillanimus⁴”. “Quis te tute spernere potest?” “Sapiens”. “Quando mihi blandior eris?” “Cum te vocabo”. “Sumne vocandus?” “Scies postea”. “Quis tibi⁵ ex omnibus viventibus⁶ est acceptior?” “Qui me fugat, non qui fugit”. “Satis habeo, vale”. “Et tu vale, nec te mei gregis esse negaveris,” inquit Fortuna, “quamvis tibi non dederim⁷ auri montes. Nam quod plerique te amant tibi que benefaciunt, meum est⁸.”

¹ *omit.* M3

² supplex mihi : mihi supplex M3

³ anima M3

⁴ pusillanimis L, M2, M3

⁵ te M2

⁶ fugentibus M3

⁷ uiderim M2

⁸ sic *add.* L

5. Piccolomini's seven questions to Fortune

[31] Vegio had barely finished speaking when the goddess looked at me, frowning, and said, "Who has summoned you here, Enea?"

"Nobody," I answered, "but I was curious to see you and entered. Do not be angry with me. I have seen your realm and shall leave now. But I only beg you to answer a few questions."

"Yes," she said. "Ask them."

"How long do you favour men?" I said.

"Nobody for a long time," she said.

"What methods should one use to gain your favour?" I continued.

"None," she answered, "Only boldness will do."¹

"Who will keep your favour more than others?"

"The one who bears my rule with greater courage."

"Who do you hate most?"

"The weakhearted."

"Who may safely scorn you?"

"The wise man."

"When will you be kinder to me?"

"When I summon you."

"Will you summon me?"

"You will know it when it happens."

"Who of all those living today pleases you most?"

"The one who makes me flee, not the one who flees from me."

"That is all. Farewell."

"And farewell to you, too. Do not deny you are one of my flock," Fortune said, "for though I do not grant you *mountains of gold*,¹ my gift to you is that many love and benefit you."

¹ That fortune favours the bold is a classical axiom. See especially two of Piccolomini's favourite works, Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10: 284 (*audentis fortuna iuvat*), and Terentius: *Phormio*, 204 (*fortis fortuna adjuvat*).

[32] Retuli gratias atque abii. Vegius ante portam me dimisit. Ibi inter porrigentium manus turbam² Peregallum inveni, amicitiozem amico et parem sibi Michaelem Suevum, tum Wenceslaum et Jacobum, cancellarie glebis ascriptos, qui ut me viderunt, circumfusi percontabantur, quid vidissem. Sed dum illis refero visum, mox somno solutus sum.

Tu vale et, quid haec sibi velint, sagaci tuo ingenio discute mihique aperi. Iterum vale, mel meum, olus Epicuri ac Pythagorae legumen. Ex Vienna, 6. kalendas Julias³, anno 1444⁴.

¹ Terentius: *Phormio*, 68

² Thomam M3

³ Julii WO

⁴ 6. kalendas ... 1444 *omit.* M2, M3

6. Conclusion

[32] I thanked her and departed. Vegio left me at the gate. There, among the many people stretching forth their hands,¹ I found Peregallo,² best of friends, and – like him – Michael³ from Swabia, and then Wenzel⁴ and Jakob,⁵ colleagues from the chancery. When they saw me, they surrounded me and asked what I had seen. But when I began telling them, I suddenly woke.

So, farewell, and apply your intelligence to figuring out what all this means and tell me afterwards. Again, farewell, my honeycomb, Epicure's cabbage and Pythagoras' pulse.⁶ From Vienna, 26 June 1444.

¹ I.e., asking for admittance to Fortune's realm.

² Giovanni Peregallo

³ Michael von Pfullendorf.

⁴ Wenzel Bochow.

⁵ Jakob Widerl.

⁶ These vegetables were the favourite foods of the two - veget-arian - classical philosophers. Pic-colomini is joking! It is, however, a somewhat inappropriate joke to direct at Prokop von Rabenstein, who had no philosophical lean-ings. The passage would fit Gio-vanni Campisio better, another friend of Piccolomini, whose mis-fortune he had lamented in several letters and whom he always ad-dressed as a philosopher. So, this passage might conceivably indi-cate that Piccolomini originally in-tended to address the letter to Campisio (see, especially, letter 151: 5).

153. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (ca. 3 July 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 127v ff. *; M3, ff. 328v-329r¹; V4, ff. 267r-268r **.

Editions: KO, nr. 112² (KO); HE, 153, pp. 346-347; WO, 1: 1, 153, pp. 393-395; (both based on L).

{267r} Magnifico ac generoso militi, domino³ Casparo⁴ Schlik⁵, domino Novicastri, Caesareo cancellario ac terrarum Egre Cubitique capitaneo, domino suo praecipuo, Aeneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit⁶.

[1] Marianus Sozinus Senensis, conterraneus meus, vir tum mitis ingenii tum litterarum multarum sci⁷, cujus adhuc similem visurusne sim, haereo, *duos amantes* ut sibi describerem, rogatum me his diebus fecit⁸, nec referre dixit, rem veram agerem an more poetico fingerem. Scis, qui⁹ vir siet; mirabere, si tibi hominem¹⁰ expendam. Nihil ei praeter formam natura invidit. Homuncio est: nasci ex mea familia debuit, cui Parvorum Hominum est cognomen. Vir est eloquens, juris utriusque consultus. Historias omnes novit, poeticae peritus est, carmen facit et Latinum et Tuscum. Philosophiae tam sci¹¹ quam Plato, geometer quasi Boethius, in numeris Macrobio similis. Nullum instrumentum ignorat musicum, agriculturam quasi Vergilius novit, nihil civile ignotum viro. Dum *juvenili*¹² adhuc stabant *in corpore vires*, alter Entellus¹³ erat, luctandi magister, non cursu, non saltu, non cestu poterat superari. Pretiosora sunt interdum parvi corporis vascula, ut gemmae lapillique testantur. Nec ab re fuerit illud in hunc referri, quod de Tydeo scribit Statius: *major in exiguo regnabat* {267v} *corpore virtus*. Dii formam huic homini et immortalitatem si dedissent, is etiam erat deus. Sed nemo sortitus est omnia inter mortales. Nullum adhuc novi, cui pauciora¹⁴ defuerint. Quid quod¹⁵ minutissima etiam didicit? Quasi alter Apelles sic pingit¹⁶. Nihil emendatius est, nihil¹⁷ lucidius quam sua manu scripti codices. Sculpsit¹⁸ ut Praxiteles, nec medicinae ignarus est. Adde virtutes morales, quae alias regunt ducuntque¹⁹.

¹ SC, 653-654

² DV, f. 82r.

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ Caspari KO

⁵ domino Casparo Schlik *omit.* V4

⁶ et se recommendatum reddit *add.* M3

⁷ *omit.* M3, V4, KO

⁸ effecit V4, KO

⁹ quia KO

¹⁰ *omit.* L, M3

¹¹ quasi V4, KO

¹² juveniles V4, KO

¹³ Eutellus V4; satelles KO

¹⁴ quam huic *omit.* V4

¹⁵ que L

¹⁶ pinxit V4

¹⁷ emendatius est nihil : enim cla-rius nil M3

¹⁸ sculpsit V4

¹⁹ dicuntque V4

153. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (ca. 3 July 1444, Vienna).

- Subject:* During the first half of 1444, Piccolomini had written his famous love story or erotic novel, *Historia de duobus Amantibus*, destined to receive remarkable circulation. The main characters of the novel were based on the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, and a Sieneese noble lady with whom he conducted an affair during Emperor Sigismund's stay in Siena in 1433.
- Context:* Piccolomini sends a copy of the *Historia de duobus amantibus* to the chancellor, with a glowing recommendation of Mariano Sozzini, to whom the work was addressed.

Enea Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, sends many greetings to His Excellency and noble knight, Lord Kaspar Schlick, Lord of Neuburg, imperial chancellor, captain of the territories of Eger and Elbogen, his distinguished lord.

[1] Mariano Sozzini,¹ my compatriot, a man of gentle disposition and great learning, whose like I shall never see, has recently asked me to write a story about *two lovers*,² saying it was not important whether the tale was true or based on poetical imagination. Though you know the man, you will be surprised if I describe him more closely. Nature held nothing back from him except handsomeness. He is a small man and really ought to have been born in my family, whose name, Piccolomini, means "the small men". He is eloquent and a specialist in both laws.³ He knows all of history and is an accomplished poet, writing poems both in Latin and Tuscan. In philosophy, he equals Plato, in geometry Boëthius,⁴ and in numbers⁵ Macrobius. He plays all musical instruments and knows agriculture like another Virgil. No civic matter is unknown to him. While he still had *strength in his youthful frame*,⁶ he was another Entellus,⁷ a champion in wrestling, running and jumping, and unbeatable in boxing. Sometimes the veins of a small body are precious, as attested by gems and precious stones. One may reasonably apply to him what Statius⁸ wrote about Tydeus,⁹ "*Valour reigned all the greater in his small frame.*"¹⁰ If the gods had also given him beauty and immortality, he would have been a god himself. No mortal gets everything, but I have never known anyone who lacked less. He is knowledgeable about even the smallest matters. He paints like another Apelles.¹¹ Nothing is more faultless and clear than the volumes written in his own hand. He sculpts like Praxiteles¹² and knows medicine. To these [gifts], add the moral virtues that otherwise rule supreme.

¹ Mariano Sozzini [Socini] [Il Vecchio] (1401-1467): Sieneese ju-ris-t and academic. See DVI, ch. 18, for another description of Soz-zini's versatile genius.

² Reference to the title of Pic-colomini's novel *Historia de duo-bus amantibus* (1444) written, he says, at Sozzini's request.

³ Church law and civil law.

⁴ Boethius, Anicius Manlius Seve-rinus (ca. 480 - ca. 525): Roman noble, consul, and philosopher. He translated Euclid' work on geome-try.

⁵ "numeri": It is unclear why Pic-colomini mentions Macrobius in connectiom with numbers.

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 5: 475.

⁷ Entellus: Friend of the Trojan king, Acestes. Participant in a wrestling match held at the funeral of Aeneas' father Anchises. Ver-gilius: *Aeneis*, 5: 387-484.

⁸ Statius, Publius Papinius (ca 45- ca. 96): Greco-Roman poet. Au-thor of the *Thebaid* and the *Achil-leid* (unfinished).

⁹ Tydeus: (Myth.) Aetolian hero.

¹⁰ Statius: *Thebais*, 1: 417.

¹¹ Apelles (fl. 4th century BCE): Greek painter.

¹² Praxiteles (fl. 4th century BCE): Greek sculptor.

[2] Novi¹ meis diebus² plerosque studiis litterarum deditos, disciplinis³ qui admodum abundabant, abundabant, sed hi nihil civilitatis habebant nec rem publicam nec domesticam regere norant⁴. Stupuit Pagliarenensis⁵ et furti vilicum accusavit, qui suem fetam undecim porcellos, asinam⁶ unam dumtaxat enixam pullum retulerat. Gomitius Mediolanensis gravidum se putavit diuque partum veritus est, quia se uxor ascendit. Hi tamen juris⁷ maximum lumen habiti sunt. In aliis praeterea vel fastum vel avaritiam invenies, hic perliberalis est. Plena illi semper domus est honestis hospitibus. Nulli adversus est⁸, pupillos tuetur, aegros solatur, pauperibus subvenit, viduas juvat, nulli indigenti indigenti deest. *Vultus* ejus quasi *Socraticus semper est idem*⁹. In adversis fortem animum praebet. Nulla fortuna inflatur. Versutias non ut exerceat sed ut caveat quaslibet novit. Civibus dilectus est, peregrinis amatus. Nulli odiosus est, nulli gravis.

[3] At homo tantarum virtutum {268r} cur nunc rem leviusculam exigit¹⁰, non scio. Illud¹¹ scio, nihil me illi negare¹² ¹³ fas est. Eum namque, dum Senis essem, unice dilexi, nec diminutus est amor, quamvis separatus sit. Is quoque, cum esset ceteris naturae dotibus praeditus, tamen¹⁴ hoc¹⁵ maxime bono¹⁶ pollebat, ut nullius erga se sterilem esse amorem sineret. Hujus ergo rogatus non censui¹⁷ respuendos scripsique¹⁸ *duorum amantum* casus, nec¹⁹ finxi. Res acta Senis est, dum Sigismundus imperator illic degeret. Tu etiam aderas et, si verum his auribus hausi, operam amori dedisti. Civitas Veneris est. Ajunt, qui te norant²⁰, vehementer quod arseris²¹, quodque²² nemo te gallior fuerit²³. Nihil ibi amatoriae gestum te inscio putant. Ideo *historiam* hanc, ut legas, precor, et an vera scripserim videas, nec reminisci te pudeat, si quid hujusmodi nonnumquam evenit tibi, homo enim fueras! Qui numquam sensit amoris ignem, aut lapis est aut bestia. Isse²⁴ namque vel per deorum²⁵ medullas non lateat²⁶ igneam favillam.

¹ novis V4

² meis diebus : diebus meis M3

³ discipulis M3

⁴ norunt M3

⁵ Vagliarenensis M3

⁶ asina L

⁷ uiri V4

⁸ omit. V4

⁹ est idem : idem est M3

¹⁰ exigit KO

¹¹ hoc KO

¹² denegare M3

¹³ illi negare : negare illi L

¹⁴ cum L, M3, KO

¹⁵ hac L, M3

¹⁶ omit. L, M3

¹⁷ esse sui V4

¹⁸ scripsi quoque L

¹⁹ non V4

²⁰ norunt M3

²¹ arseristi L

²² quoque V4

²³ fuit V4

²⁴ esse V4; ille KO

²⁵ deorumque V4

²⁶ latet M3

Vale¹.

¹ *felix add.* M3

[2] In my days, I have known several men dedicated to the studies of letters and specialists in their own fields, who were completely inept in ordinary matters and unable to administer both public and private affairs. Pagliaresi¹ was astonished and accused his estate manager of thieving because while he had 12 piglets from a pregnant sow, he only got one foal from an ass. And Gomezio da Milano² thought he was pregnant and long feared having to give birth because his wife had mounted him. And these two men were considered the greatest luminaries in law!³ In other men, one may find arrogance or avarice, but our Sozzino is utterly generous. His house is always full of distinguished people. He is nobody's enemy. He protects orphans, comforts the sick, aids the poor, helps widows, and assists all in need. Like *Socrates*, he keeps an unchanging mien⁴: in adversity, he shows moral strength, and good fortune does not make him arrogant. He knows cunning, not to exercise it but to guard against it. He is loved by his fellow citizens and liked by foreigners. He is mean to nobody and oppresses no one.

[3] Why this man of such great capabilities now asks me for this somewhat frivolous service, I do not know. This I know, though, that it would be wrong to deny him anything, for in Siena, I loved him above all, and my love has not lessened though we are separate. He possessed all the other gifts of nature in rich measure, but most of all, he excelled in the virtue of loving back anyone who loved him. So, I decided not to ignore his request and wrote the *Story of the two lovers* as it actually happened. The affair took place in Siena while Emperor Sigismund resided there.⁵ You were there, too, and - if what I heard is true - you gave yourself to love. Indeed, Siena is the city of Venus.⁶ Those who knew you⁷ say that you were inflamed with passion and that there was no greater cock than you. They think that you knew all the arts of love. Therefore, I ask you to read this story and see whether what I have written is true. Do not be ashamed to remember if something like this did happen to you, for you were a man! One who has never felt passionate love is a stone or a dumb animal. Indeed, [love's] embers smoulder even in the marrows of the gods.

Farewell.

¹ Giovanni Pagliaresi (fl. 14th century): Sieneſe jurist. Teacher of the eminent jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi. See DIA, p. 159.

² Gomezio da Milano: Italian jurist. See DIA, p. 160.

³ In his DIA (1441), Piccolomini mentions these two jurists together with Ludovico Pontano and Gio-vanni da Imola as examples of learned jurists who were fools (*extra libros homines mortui sunt*), 5: 3 (p. 33). On the fool-ishness of Giovanni da Imola, see also Piccolomini's remarks in his DVI, sect. 103, and of Ludovico Pontano, sect. 13.

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 90.

⁵ 1432-1433. On Sigismund's stay in Siena, see Kovács.

⁶ Venus = the goddess of love = love.

⁷ Including Piccolomini's own family, who hosted the chancellor.

154. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (22 July 1444, Passau).

Manuscripts: V2, ff. 423-435¹; V3, ff. 204r-211r² **; V4, ff. 193v-200v.

Editions: KO, 170³ (KO); HE, 155, pp. 368-375; WO, 1: 1, 155, pp. 424-432; (both based on V2).

Translations: ME, 29, pp. 124 ff.

{204r} Aeneas Silvius⁴, imperialis⁵ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Campisio, praestanti philosopho et amico veraci.

[1] Jubet *lex amicitiae* omnia inter amicos esse communia, sive molesta⁶ sint⁷ sive jucunda, quae contigerunt. Te hoc philosophia jam dudum et *a teneris*, ut ajunt, *unguiculis* edocuit. Ideo non agam hoc pluribus, sed ad rem veniam.

[2] Magna mihi per hos dies oblata voluptas est, ad cujus plenitudinem sola tui praesentia defuit, {204v} quae mihi omne gaudium solidius reddidisset. Sed communicabo tibi litteris, quod verbis nequeo, quamvis et calamus impotens est⁸ omnia reserare. Audi tamen et voluptatis meae portiunculam recipe.

[3] Fui nuper apud⁹ Wiennam plurimum maestus, quia Caesarem nostrum res tum ecclesiae tum imperii timebam negligere, nam quod dictum et scriptum fuerat de conventu Nurembergensi, videbam quodammodo postergari. Sed advenerunt mox regia mandata, quae nos sequi regem jubebant¹⁰, quoniam is die Jovis nona Julii ex Nova Civitate recesserat, iter suum versus Nurembergam continuaturus. Laetati omnes hoc nuntio sumus. Ego cum magnifico cancellario Gaspare, tui amante, regiam majestatem biduo sum secutus. Post, cum rex oppidum suum quoddam extra viam positum visere vellet, nos Anasum¹¹ perreximus, ubi olim ecclesia metropolitana floruit, Lauriacensis dicta. Fuit enim Lauriacum¹² urbs admodum insignis, in ampla camporum planitie et super flumen, quod etiam Anasum vocitant, sita¹³. Sed postquam Attila, rex Hunnorum, urbem hanc delevit, ubi arx erat, oppidum ex nomine fluminis restructum est, sedes¹⁴ vero metropolitana in Salzburgam translata. Hic una nocte consedimus.

¹ DV, ff. 217r-223r.

² DV, ff. 207r-214r.

³ DV, ff. 160r-164r

⁴ poeta *add.* V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

⁵ imperialisque V2

⁶ modestia KO

⁷ *omit.* KO

⁸ impotens est : est impotens V4

⁹ ad V2

¹⁰ uidebant V4

¹¹ quoddam extra ... Anasum V4

¹² laureata KO

¹³ *omit.* KO

¹⁴ sed V4

154. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (22 July 1444,¹ Passau).

Context: After much procrastination, the emperor had finally decided to leave for the appointed Diet of Nürnberg. The chancellor, accompanied by Piccolomini, went ahead and awaited the emperor in the domains of the Bishop of Passau.

Subject: Piccolomini describes the bishop's palaces and the city of Passau to his friend, Giovanni Campisio, with fulsome praises of the bishop. In the end, he asks his friend to communicate these praises to Cardinal Berardi and the papal curia, thus making clear that the description has ulterior motives (see following letter).²

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, eminent philosopher and true friend.

[1] *The law of friendship*³ demands that friends should share everything, whatever happens, good or or bad. Philosophy has taught you this since your *nails were tender*,⁴ so I shall speak no more of it but come directly to the matter.

[2] These days have brought me great pleasure, which only lacked your presence to be complete. Indeed, your company would heighten all my pleasures. But I shall tell you with letters what I cannot with spoken words, though the pen cannot tell all. But listen and share my pleasure.

[3] Recently, in Vienna, I was distressed because I feared our emperor⁵ was neglecting the affairs of of both Church and Empire, for considering what was said and written, I thought [the Diet] of Nürnberg would be postponed. But suddenly, the royal orders arrived, bidding us to accompany the king, who had left Neustadt on Thursday, 9 July, to proceed to Nürnberg. We all rejoiced at this message. With His Excellency Chancellor Kaspar, who likes you well, I followed His Royal Majesty for two days. Then the king wanted to see one of his towns⁶ off the road while we continued to Enns,⁷ where once the metropolitan church of Lorch flourished. Lorch was an important city on a plain above the river also called Enns. But when Attila,⁸ king of the Huns, destroyed the city with its citadel, it was rebuilt and named after the river, while the metropolitan see was transferred to Salzburg. We spent one night there.

¹ On the date, see note in WO, 1: 1, p. 424.

² Van Heick compliments Picco-lomini on the Latinity of this let-ter: *Stilus huius epistulae latini-tatis cultoribus admodum placebit* (HE, p. 375).

³ Cicero: *De amicitia*, 12: 40.

⁴ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 17: 2.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ Steyr (HE). 15 July 1444 (Hei-nig, 3: p. 1356).

⁷ Austria's oldest town. A Roman camp and, later, an episcopal see until 488.

⁸ Attila (ca. 408-453): King of the Huns from 434 to his death.

[4] Postera die, cum duo miliaria Teutonica confecissemus nemusque¹ super collem transivissemus, castellum conspicimus ecclesiae Pataviensis, quod alii Aprorum, alii² Planitierum Montem appellant. Ibi praelatus insignis residebat, Leonardus, episcopus Pataviensis, qui suscepturus regem illuc³ {205r} obviam venerat. Tu hominem nosti, nam et hic Wiennae fuit, cum tu cardinalem Sancti Angeli secutus regiam majestatem (jam annus est) visitasti, vir elegantis staturae, blandi colloquii, ingenii prudentis ac liberalis, qui primum in consilio regio⁴ locum tenet. Hic ubi ex alta specula cancellarium vidit advenientem, marescallum suum obviam destinavit, qui nos ad se recta via⁵ deduceret. In publicis autem diversoriis praeceptum erat, ne quid nobis venundaretur vel ad hominum vel ad equorum usum. Et quia dispensator cancellarii praevenerat jamque popinam armaverat, omnia jussit eripi nec unum ex familia nostra passus est extra arcem⁶ esse, sed equis etiam pabula ministravit. Quod ubertim triduo factum est.

[5] Venimus igitur ad ejus conspectum, postquam is⁷ divina peregerat⁸. Non tam laetus Herculem suscepit Evander aut Acestes Anchisen quam hic nostrum cancellarium. Nam et illum et nos singulos blando vultu et alacribus oculis ad se recepit modestissimoque⁹ risu quoslibet amplexabatur ac dulcissimis verbis consalutabat, et, ut quilibet valeret, percontabatur, nec nos uti servos - quod non erat impar - sed ut filios vel fratres pertractabat. Nemo est¹⁰, mihi crede¹¹, Johannes amantissime, quem umquam viderim tam benignus atque humanus in hospites suos¹², tam magnificus in aedificiis, tam splendidus¹³ in conviviis, tam largus erga personas miserabiles, tam aequus in subditos, tam justus in omnes quam istum praelatum accepi. Hospitalitatem, magnificentiam {205v} ac liberalitatem¹⁴ ego ipse sum contemplatus. Neque hic, sicut plerique, bona ecclesiae inter necessarios partitur aut in alios inlaudabiles usus convertit, sed elargitur pauperibus Christi quam plurima, nec princeps est his in partibus, ante cujus ostium plures pascantur inopes. Taceo eleemosynas, quas clanculum facit; nam et comitibus et baronibus nonnullis occulte subvenit, quos *rota fortunae* instabilis praecipitavit. Patet praeterea domus ejus praeclaris semper hospitibus. Et licet¹⁵ ea resistentia, quam sibi¹⁶ Albertus, Austriae dux fecit, qui postea rex Hungariae, Bohemiae ac Romanorum fuit, in octuaginta milibus aureorum suam ecclesiam damnificavit¹⁷, hic tamen¹⁸ postea quam pacem nactus est, in aedificiis tum castrorum tum ecclesiarum reparandis septem et viginti milia florenorum exposuit, in redimendis autem

¹ nemus KO

² *omit.* KO

³ illic KO

⁴ regis V4

⁵ se recta via : secretam viam KO

⁶ castrum V2a; *corr. ex* castrum V2b

⁷ hic KO

⁸ officia *add.* V2a; ~~officia~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ modestoque KO

¹⁰ *omit.* KO

¹¹ mihi crede : crede mihi KO

¹² hospites suos : suos hospites KO

¹³ liberalis V2a; *corr. ex* liberalis V2b

¹⁴ ac liberalitatem *omit.* V4

¹⁵ liceat V4

¹⁶ tibi KO

¹⁷ damnificavit V3, V4, KO

¹⁸ tantum V4

censibus ac¹ praediis pignore datis tria et viginti milia. Utinam tales praelatos Tridentina sortita fuisset ecclesia! Sed quid ego ista commemoror²? Sequar, quod coepi.

¹ et HE, WO

² commemoror V4

[4] The next day, having travelled two German miles and passed through a forest on a mountain stretch, we saw a castle belonging to the Church of Passau. Some call it the Boar Mountain¹, others the Plain Mountain. The eminent prelate, Leonhard,² Bishop of Passau, was in residence, having gone there to receive the king. You know the man, for he was in Vienna when you accompanied the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo there to visit the king³ - now a year ago. He is tall, stately, fair-spoken, wise and generous and holds the first place in the king's council. When from a high place he saw the chancellor arriving, he sent his marshall to meet him and conduct us to him directly. All the inns and guesthouses had been ordered not to sell us anything for the care of men or horses. The chancellor's⁴ steward had gone ahead and already readied a guesthouse for us, but the marshall ordered everything to be taken away and did not allow a single member of our party to stay outside the citadel, and he even arranged fodder for the horses. Thus we were taken care of copiously for three days.

[5] We met the bishop when he had celebrated mass. Evander did not receive Hercules⁵ ⁶ or Acestes⁷ Anchises⁸ ⁹ as cordially as our host welcomed our chancellor.¹⁰ He received him and each each of us enthusiastically, embraced us smilingly, greeted us with amicable words and asked how each of us fared. He treated us not as servants - which would have been entirely proper - but as sons and brothers. Believe me, dearest Giovanni, I have never seen anyone so kind and friendly towards his guests, so magnificent in his buildings, so splendid in meals, so generous towards persons in trouble, so fair towards his subjects¹¹ and so just towards all as I saw this prelate be. I witnessed his hospitality, magnificence and generosity with my own eyes. Unlike many other [prelates], he does not distribute the possessions of his church to his relations and friends or turn them to other, unworthy uses but gives much to Christ's poor. No prince in these regions feeds so many destitute people before his gate. I say nothing about his secret acts of mercy: he privately assists some counts and barons whom *fortune's* turning *wheel*¹² has cast off. His home is always open to distinguished visitors. Albrecht,¹³ Duke of Austria, who later became King of Hungary, Bohemia and the Romans,¹⁴ refused to recognise him,¹⁵ which cost him 80,000 gold ducats.¹⁶ Still, when peace had

¹ Ebersberg (today Ebelsberg).

² Leonhard Laiming.

³ See letters 44 and 54.

⁴ Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Evander of Pallantium: Evander plays a major role in Vir-gil's *Aeneid*, 7-8.

⁶ Evander did not receive Hercules in person, but - according to tradi-tion - erected the Great Altar of Hercules in the Forum Boarium in Rome.

⁷ Acestes: (Myth.) King of Segesta in Sicily.

⁸ Anchises: (Myth.) Trojan leader and father of Aeneas.

⁹ Acestes did not receive Anchises in person but his ashes, and he hosted his funeral games (Vergi-lius: *Aeneis*, bk. 5).

¹⁰ In his DIA from 1440, Picco-lomini had used the same refe-rence: *sed ut Hercules ab Evandro familiaribus excipitur* (DIA, 14: 14 (p. 125)).

¹¹ See however the comment in *Neue Deutsche Biographie: Mit den Passauer Bürgern kam es zeit-weise zu tiefgreifenden Kontro-versen, die mit Unterstützung Kai-ser Friedrichs III. durch den sog. Passauer Spruch von 1443 ausgeräumt werden konnten* (14, 1985).

¹² Cicero: *In Pisonem*, 10: 22.

¹³ Emperor Albrecht II.

¹⁴ Piccolomini here confuses Duke Albrecht of Bavaria with Duke Albrecht V of Austria.

¹⁵ As Bishop of Passau.

¹⁶ Laiming was elected bishop of Passau by the Bavarian majority of the chapter, against the Austrian candidate and he opposition of Duke Albrecht V (Emperor Al-brecht V). He was later reconciled with Albrecht and became his im-perial chancellor.

been restored, he spent 27,000 florins on repairing castles and churches, and 23,000 on redeeming taxes and estates given in pledge. I wish the Church of Trento¹ had had such prelates as this church! church! But why dwell on that? I shall continue what I began.

[6] Erat jam prandium opiparis epulis appositum, ascendimus aulam ibique juxta fenestram, quam levis² aura perflabat³, consedimus. Primus erat episcopus, secundus cancellarius, tertius⁴ illustris comes Ortenbergensis, quartus praepositus Frisingensis, vir et nobili loco natus et juris interpres. Sed nec mihi ultimus locus in tam sublimi mensa negatus est. Credo me alienigenam honorare voluerunt. Nihil lautius illa quadra fuit, nec tam florentes epulas Metellus, quaestor Hispaniae, dicitur habuisse, nec tam exquisita fercula Crispinus aut Apicius {206r} et alii Romani vorabant, postquam abrogatis cibariorum legibus prisca severitas⁵ luxui cessit maligno. Mos Germanorum est est pisces carnibus admiscere⁶, nec felix putatur, qui tantum carnibus vescitur. Fuerunt⁷ igitur suavissimi⁸ pisces appositi, quos tum Danubius propinquus tum Trauna praeterlabens administrabat. administrabat. Nescio quem acipenserem laudant antiqui quasve murenas. Ego inter edendum saepe recordatus sum ejus, quem Aristoteles dicit collum gruis optavisse, ut quam maxima ciborum voluptate perfrueretur. Inter carnes autem ardeam comedimus⁹, turdos altiles, oryces, cervum, aprum, leporem, omitto reliqua¹⁰, ne dum haec legis, salvam¹¹ in labra deducas mundatosque¹² dentes lactuca fatiges. Inter alias autem voluptates jucundissimum erat servatas per hiemem glacies in ferventi aestu mensis apponi vinaque illis reddi frigidiora.

[7] Quid tibi de urbanitate, facetiis miroque dicendi lepore hujus praelati satis potuerim dicere? Sunt nonnulli, qui hospites quasi verecundia coacti vocitant omnemque morsum dinumerant ac, cum¹³ agnum lacerari dentibus cernunt, non minus tristantur quam si propria membra manderentur¹⁴. At hic praesul tunc dolebat, tunc increpabat hospites, cum cessare videbat, nec quod edulia ponerentur, sed quod non esa fuissent, querebatur. Quodsi, ut¹⁵ dicimus, *nobilitat viles*¹⁶ *frons generosa dapes*, quid tunc dicemus, cum lautae mensae copiosisque apparatus et vultus laeti et verba gratissima adjunguntur? *Postquam vero exempta* {206v} *fames epulis mensaeque remotae* sunt, ducit nos pontifex per castrum locaque singula monstrat¹⁷, situm ostendit et, quidquid est laudabile, in aperto facit.

¹ Where Piccolomini had a canon-ry.

² appositum ascendimus ... levis *omit.* V4

³ perflavit V4

⁴ *omit.* V4

⁵ *omit.* V4

⁶ Mos Germanorum ... admiscere *omit.* V4

⁷ fuere V4

⁸ fuerunt igitur suavissimi : sua-vissimi igitur fuerunt KO

⁹ commendemus V3

¹⁰ lepora V4

¹¹ saluam V4

¹² nudatosque V4

¹³ aut *add.* V2

¹⁴ mandarentur KO

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

¹⁶ multum KO

¹⁷ ducit nos ... monstrat *omit.* V4

[6] An opulent lunch had now been prepared. We went up to the hall and were seated below a window where a light breeze was blowing. First [at the table] was the bishop, second the chancellor, third the illustrious Count von Ortenberg, fourth the provost of Freising, a nobleman and jurist.¹ I was seated in the last place at this distinguished table: I believe they wanted to honour me as a foreigner. Nothing surpassed the table in sumptuousness: Metellus,² the quaestor of Spain, is not told to have held such splendid meals,³ and neither Crispinus⁴ nor Apicius⁵ nor other Romans ate such exquisite dishes after the laws on meals had been abolished, and the former strictness gave way to fatal luxury. It is the German custom to serve both fish and meat, and one is considered unfortunate if he only eats meat [and not fish]. So, sweet-tasting fishes were served, provided by the nearby Danube and Traun rivers. (I know neither the sturgeon nor the lamprey⁶ praised by men in Antiquity.) While eating, I often thought of the man who – according to Aristotle – wished to have the throat of a crane to be able to enjoy as much food as possible. Among the meats, we ate heron, fattened thrushes, goats, deer, boar and hares. I omit the rest lest you salivate or weary your pearly teeth with lettuce! Among the other delights, it was a great pleasure to have ice kept from winter put on the tables to cool the wines in the intense heat [of summer].⁷

[7] How can I say enough about this prelate's courtesy, humour and charming conversation? Many, who invite guests only because they feel obliged to, count every bite, and when they see the lamb being torn by the teeth [of their guests], they suffer as badly as if it were their own limbs being devoured. But this prelate was only sorry and chided his guests when he saw them pause, and he only complained when the food was put down, not when it was eaten. But if, as we say, *a splendid presentation dignifies a lousy meal*,⁸ what shall we say when happy faces and pleasant conversation are added to the elegant table and sumptuous display? *When hunger was banished by the feast and the board was cleared*,⁹ the bishop took us on an extensive tour of the castle,¹⁰ showing us its disposition and the site and pointing out everything remarkable.

¹ As the affair of Freising, where the chancellor tried to have his brother appointed bishop against the opposition of the Bavarian candidate, Johann Grünwalder, had not yet been settled, it is re-markable that the chancellor would be seated with a high official of that see.

² Metellus Pius, Quintus Cae-cilius (ca. 129-63 BCE): Roman statesman and general, consul and pontifex maxmius. Reputed for luxurious living. Macrobius, 3: 13, 6-9.

³ At the time, Metellus was a pro-consul, not a quaestor. The ex-travagant meal referred to is one offered him by his quaestor Gajus Urbinius. In his DIA from 1440, Piccolomini had also referred to this meal: *Nicolaus mecum hac nocte in cena erit, non tamen ut Metellus Pius a quaestoribus in Hispania ulteriore epulis quaesi-tisissimus* (DIA, 14: 14 (p. 125)). The error in the quotation here may indicate that it was made from memory.

⁴ Crispinus: a rich Egyptian par-venu, a favourite aversion of Juvenal. e.g. 1: 26-29.

⁵ Marcus Gavius Apicius (1st century): Roman gourmet. Juve-nalis, 1: 23-24: Also the title of a Roman cookbook.

⁶ Eel, moray or lamprey.

⁷ In his DVI (1447), Piccolomini wrote: *Having arranged affairs in Austria, the king, to the surprise of all, left for Nürnberg. He and his numerous company were received honourably by Leonhard of Passau, first in Ebersberg (the Mountain of Boars) and after-wards in Passau, where Leonhard amply fed his whole troop. Re-markably, since it was a swel-tering August, he served cups of water cooled with ice from last winter* (sect. 168).

⁸ Aesop: *Fables*, 12 (Perry, 352), in the Latin distich version by Walther of England (based on the Romulus). Common Latin teach-ing text, popular well into the Renaissance. <http://www.mythfolklore.net/aesopica/walter/12.htm>

⁹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 216.

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 688: *Anchises natum per singula duxit*.

[8] Praebe aures paululum, locum tibi describam, ut, cum legeris, exhilarari etiam possis. Castellum hoc in ea terra est, quae inter Bavariam¹ et Austriam jacet, marchionatus Anasi. Quidam volunt hanc esse portionem Austriae postquam ibi ducatus erectus est. Sedet autem castellum in rupe Traunae², cui ab oriente Austria est³, ab occidenti⁴ Bavaria⁵. Boream sibi Bohemia praebet, Austrum Stiria⁶. Trauna fluvijs est mirae perspicuitatis, qui ex Alpibus Stiriae⁷ praecipitatus quosdam lacus efficit, exinde per quinquaginta milia passuum discurrens planitiemque peramoenam secans, non longe ab hoc castello fertur in Histrum. Habet hic⁸ annis miri saporis pisces, nec scio an alius feracior sit. Scripsi jam tibi cursum ejus, qui admodum brevis est. Jus in eo piscandi multorum est: Pataviensis ecclesia 12 habet piscatores, quorum quilibet⁹ tres ministros secum ducit. ducit. Dux Austriae quattuor, comites¹⁰ de Schaunberga totidem, dominus¹¹ Wallsee, praepositus Sancti Floriani, domini de Trauna et de Liechtenstein totidem, qui pro libito suo piscantur ac familias suas nutriunt. Praeter hos tamen, qui in horum manus pisces deveniunt¹², ad theolonium¹³ hujus oppidi quadraginta piscium modii quotannis ducuntur¹⁴ ex his¹⁵, qui ad mensuram venundantur; nam grandiusculi numeratim¹⁶ venduntur. Modius autem permagna mensura est et ultra quam reputes capax. Quid plura? Nusquam terram aut harenam juxta hoc flumen effodies, quin aqua introcrescente mox pisces invenias. Hoc, quemadmodum vides, ad ornamentum castelli locique voluptatem plurimum conducit.

[9] Sed adhibe amplius te¹⁷ mihi locumque intueri melius. Mihi, si castrum aliquod detur inhabitandum, ubi ad recreationem vivere velim, hoc potissimum placeret. Quid enim¹⁸ est ad plenum laetamen¹⁹ necessarium, quod hic desideretur? Fateor non esse hic vineta vel²⁰ oliveta, non ficus, non cedros, non poma punica et alia quaedam, quae apud Italos habentur complurima. Sed vina huc²¹ ex Austria quam gratissima perferuntur, amica naturae gustique suavia, quae nos in prandio affatim bibimus, nec ex Athesi desunt aut²² ex Tergesto, quia ubi pecunia est, illuc et vina vehuntur. Quodsi desunt racemi et cum ficibus melones, sunt pira et poma admodum gustui sapida, sunt cerasa multimodi generis, est aer saluberrimus, ventulus suavis. Si nudus incesseris, si os

¹ Baioariam V3, V4

² Tramie KO

³ *omit.* V3

⁴ occidente V4, KO

⁵ Baioaria V3, V4

⁶ Siria KO

⁷ Sirie KO

⁸ sic V4

⁹ quorum quilibet : quorumlibet V4

¹⁰ comes KO

¹¹ de *add.* V2a; ~~de~~-*seq.* V2b

¹² adueniunt KO

¹³ teloneum KO

¹⁴ dicuntur KO

¹⁵ iis V3

¹⁶ numeratum V4

¹⁷ KO; tete V2-V4

¹⁸ quid enim : qui deinde V4

¹⁹ plenum laetamen : plenam leti-tiam V4, KO

²⁰ seu KO

²¹ hic KO

²² ut V4

aperueris, si ventrem ostenderis et quantumvis flantis aerae perceperis, nihil exinde laederis. Cum aestus est quantumvis alibi maximus, semper in castra¹ flatus respirat amoenus.

¹ castra KO

[8] Now, listen a little longer, and I shall describe the location so that you may enjoy it, too, as you read about it. The castle is situated between Bavaria and Austria in the [old] margravate of Enns,. Some claim that it became a part of Austria after that duchy was created. The castle is placed on a cliff at the river Traun. To the east, it has Austria, and to the west, Bavaria. A southern wind blows from Bohemia, and a northern wind from Steiermark. The river Traun is remarkably clear. It falls from the Alps in Steiermark, and, forming some lakes on the way, it runs for 50,000 *passus* through a most charming plateau and flows into the Donau not far from the castle. The fish in the river have a marvellous taste, and I do not know of any river more prolific. I have now described the river's – rather short - course. Many have fishing rights: the Church of Passau has 12 fishermen, each with three assistants. The Duke of Austria has four, the Counts of Schaumburg as many, the Lord of Wallsee, the Provost of Sankt Florian,¹ the Lords of Traun and of Liechtenstein as many. They may fish as much as they want and make a living for their families. Besides the fish they catch for themselves, they annually bring 40 *modii*² of [smaller] fish to the town as a levy to be sold by volume (the bigger ones are sold individually). A *modius* is a rather large measure, larger than you may think. What more? Whenever you dig earth or sand by the river, the hole quickly fills with water, and you will find fish in it. As you understand, this contributes greatly to the advantages of the castle and the attractiveness of this site

[9] But let us take a closer look. If anybody would give me a castle to live in for pleasure and relaxation, this is the one I should want, for what is lacking here that is needed for perfect enjoyment? Admittedly, there are no vineyards, olive yards, figs, cedars, grenade apples and other such that proliferate in Italy. But excellent wines are brought here from Austria, gentle and sweet to the taste, that we amply drink at meals, and there is no lack of wines from Tyrol or Trieste, for where there is money, there comes wine. Grapes, figs and melons may be missing, but there are tasty pears, apples and cherry trees of all kinds. The air is most healthy, the wind sweet. If you walk about undressed, open your mouth or bare your stomach to feel the breeze, you will not get sick. And when the summer heat is overwhelming, there is always a pleasant breeze at the castle.

¹ Stift Sankt Florian, Sankt Florian, Austria.

² Modius: an ancient Roman unit for dry measures (8.73 L), roughly equivalent to a peck. It may not measure the same as the modius that Piccolomini refers to.

[10] Prospectus illinc ad novem decemve Teutonica miliaria protenditur: videntur montes, nemora, fluvii, campi, colles culti, vireta jucunda. Hinc Trauna currit, illinc Hister prolabitur. Prata quamplurima {207v} ridentia, cum tempus fert, circumspiciuntur. Pomeria circa castellum tria sunt, duo altissimis communita foveis, nec vitibus¹ omnino nuda, ubi stationes habentur et² umbracula contra solem aptissima. Si piscari velis, aquae in oculis sunt; si aucupari, sepes quamplurimae aviculis refertae circumstant; si tibi venatio placet, vix ad mille passus silvae distant, quarumvis ferarum genere plenae. Est in colle³ proximo nemus umbrosum, altissimis quercubus septum, quod fovea sepsque cingit in modum parci⁴ seu leporarii⁵, ubi quamplurimae ferae conclusae sunt. Illic etiam nidi sunt quamplures, quos in arboribus humana diligentia ad usum ardearum⁶ custodit, quae ibi⁷ porrectis cibis nutriuntur. In planitie feraces sunt agri, tantum frumenti siliginisque reddentes, ut ex eo, quod superest, castro munito facile possit vinum comparari. Haec foris sunt.

[11] Nunc arcem ipsam interius conspice. Est, ut dixi, super alta rupe constructum castellum, ex tribus partibus ex planitie sursum erectum ac sua natura defensum. Pars quarta duplicem habet foveam pontemque duplicem. Profunditas fovearum altissima est. In hac parte turris est in caelum tendens undique propugnaculis communita, in cuius summitate custos residet, qui cornu tubaque perpetuo clamitat, interdum et rusticam musam exagitat. Murus castelli undique duplex est et in plerisque locis triplex⁸. In medio vero platea est circularis⁹ ibique fons amoenissimus scaturit {208r} ac per fistulas aereas bis sex aquam propinat¹⁰. Fontis ambitus marmoreus est, intercolumnium¹¹ medium et¹² tabernaculum, quod desuper eminent, aereum¹³ mirifice structum, ut Elcanoris opus dijudices aut Polycreti, cuius fabrica trecentis et mille aureis empta est. Septem circum procerae ac frondosae ulmi tenduntur in caelum, quae umbram gratissimam¹⁴ reddunt. Cena, dum aestus est, in cancellis apud hunc fontem paratur. Pisces ex fluminibus in fonte tamquam in vivario reservantur, ac, dum sedes in prandio, capi pisces et in popinam¹⁵ vivos deferri cernis, quos evestigio coctos manducas. Est et alius fons lapideus, dulces ac perlucidas aquas effundens; tertius in coquina est, cuius canulae lymphas in quaslibet ollas igni admotas inferunt.

¹ actibus KO

² *omit.* KO

³ calle V4

⁴ porci KO

⁵ seu leporarii : *omit.* V2a; *add. in marg.* V2b

⁶ usum ardearum : ordearum usum KO

⁷ tibi V4

⁸ est et ... triplex *omit.* V4

⁹ arcularis KO

¹⁰ propinquat V4

¹¹ inter columnas KO

¹² est KO

¹³ est *add.* V2a; *est seq.* V2b

¹⁴ grauissimam KO

¹⁵ coquinam KO

[10] The view from there stretches for nine or 10 German miles: you can see mountains, forests, rivers, fields, cultivated hills and charming groves. Here the Traun flows by; there the Donau glides forward. When the season is right, you see smiling meadows. Around the castle are three orchards,¹ orchards,¹ two of them protected by deep moats. They have resting places with vines providing protection against the sun. If you want to go fishing, the waters are in sight. If you want to go fowling, there are many enclosures full of birds. And if you want to go hunting, there are forests only 1,000 *passus* away, full of wild animals. On a hill close by is a grove of oak trees encircled by a moat and a hedge like a park (or a warren), stocked with many wild animals. There are also many nests that men have built in the trees for the use of herons being fed there. In the plain are fertile fields, yielding so much grain and wheat that what is not consumed at the castle is sufficient to procure the wine it needs.² This was the castle's exterior.

[11] Now have a look at its interior. As I have said, the castle is built on a tall cliff. On three sides, it is much higher than the ground below and is thus defended by nature. On the fourth side, it has a double moat with a double bridge, the moats being very deep. On this side is a tower reaching towards heaven, protected by ramparts on all sides. On the top of the tower, a guard often sounds the horn or the trumpet, and sometimes he even stirs up a rustic muse.³ The castle's wall is double on all sides and, in some places, even triple. In the middle is a round courtyard with a most charming fountain, gushing forth water through two times six copper pipes. The fountain edge is made of marble and has a copper canopy carried by columns, a marvellous work you would think was made by Elcanor⁴ or Polycrates.⁵ ⁶ It cost 1,300 gold ducats. Around it stand seven tall and leafy elm trees reaching towards heaven and providing a most welcome shadow. When it is hot, dinner is served in an enclosed area at this fountain. Fishes from the rivers are kept in the fountain as if in an aquarium. When you are seated for dinner, you see how they catch them and carry them still living to the kitchen,⁷ where they cook them and immediately serve them to you. There is another fountain, this one of stone, running with sweet and clear water. In the kitchen, there is a third one, whose pipes lead the water to all the pans on the fireplaces.

¹ Du Cange.

² ME translates "auf dem Schlosse Branntwein bereiten könnte."

³ I.e., playing a rustic tune. Pic-colomini may, obliquely, be echo-ing the "silvestris musa" of Vergil, borrowed from Lucretius. See Vergilius: *Eclogae* 1: 2: *silve-strem tenui musam meditaris ave-na*.

⁴ Read: Euphranor (fl. 4th century BCE): Greek sculptor and painter.

⁵ Polykleitos (fl. 5th century BCE): Greek sculptor in bronze. See also DIA, 3: 5.

⁶ Juvenalis, 3: 217: *hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Poly-cliti (... a third some notable work of Euphranor or Polyclitus)*.

⁷ "popina".

[12] Est praeterea hujus castris mirum privilegium (sive consuetudo est): ruricolae, qui circum habitant, obnoxii sunt quaevis necessaria ad usum castris praebere exceptis his, quae majoris habentur sumptus. Dant caseum, butyrum, lac, ligna¹ et fenum ad cloacas opportunum gratis, mundant domum, ligna scindunt, discos² mensarum exhibent, scutellas et cacabos lavant.

[13] Post haec capellam vidimus³ ad divinum cultum perornatam, ubi tres arae consecratae sunt. In ambitu superiori post aulam majorem habitatio {208v} regi parata erat, ubi haec loca notavi: stuba una tapetibus ornata et Atrebatensibus pannis, camera perampla, ubi et lectus aureis ornamentis et apparatu regio relucebat, ex qua et fenestra quaedam in capellam praebebat intuitum. Erat et studiolum perpulchrum rursusque alia camera propinqua, post habitaculum extra murum castris pontibus sustentatum, undique patulum in occiduum ac septentrionem meridianumque solem respiciens, ubi semper aura suavis respirat, cum alibi fervidus aestus sentitur. Exhinc aditus per pontes in alteram fertur cameram, quae extra murum trabibus sustentata et orientem et⁴ arctoum et occiduum solem intuetur, quam marescallus regius inhabitavit⁵. Secundum locum dux Sigismundus Sigismundus obtinuit, qui et aulam et stubam et thalamum non⁶ minori cultu quam rex habuit. Ipse sibi pontifex cancellariam servavit, ubi rursus alia mansio suis membris ad usum principis erat ornata. Cancellario perpulchrum thalamum⁷ in alta turri ac⁸ sub eo Walthero, regis consiliario, locum dedit. Partem⁹ castris, quae¹⁰ respicit orientem meridianumque solem¹¹, praefectus arcis¹² cum cum conjuge ac nonnullis nobiles dominabus occupavit. Nam et ibi mansiones quamplures fuere, tum amplae, tum decorae. Cellaria sub castro perampla et stabula multa. Inter castellum et flumen Traunam villa quaedam fuit aperta, quam hic pontifex brevi tempore muro¹³ cinxit et¹⁴ ad incolentium tutelam armavit, {209r} atque his in locis Romanorum regem et Sigismundum Austriae ducem suscepit, honoravit, pavit ac¹⁵ omnem equitatum peditatumque recreavit. Neque contentus his sumptibus rursus, cum rex Linciam perrexisset, cum cancellario viam praeripuit ac Pataviae apud¹⁶ regiam majestatem mansit.

[14] Est autem Patavia praeclara divesque civitas inter Danubium Enumque sita, quam prisci Caesares ecclesiae tradiderunt. Danubius ex montibus Sueviae venit, Enus ex Alpibus, quae Germaniam ab Italia disterminant, atque hoc in loco mixtus Danubio nomen amittit. Urbs ipsa in longum tenditur nec magno negotio formam insulae susciperet, si quis ab Eno foveam in Danubium duceret. Nec enim quingenti passus sunt ex una in alteram aquam. Super¹⁷ Enum¹ pons est ligneus,

¹ lignum KO

² incisoria V2a; *corr. ex* incisoria V2b

³ vidi V4

⁴ *omit.* KO

⁵ inhabitat K

⁶ in KO

⁷ perpulchrum thalamum : orna-tam cameram praebuit V2a; *corr. ex* ornatam cameram praebuit V2b

⁸ et KO

⁹ dedit partem *omit.* KO

¹⁰ qui KO

¹¹ Phoebum V2a; *corr. ex* Phoe-bum V2b

¹² praefectus arcis : castellanus ipse V2a; *corr. ex* castellanus ipse V2b

¹³ *omit.* KO

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ atque KO

¹⁶ *omit.* V2-V3

¹⁷ sub V2

qui sexdecim habet arcus et civitatis partem, quae trans flumen est, civitati majori conjungit. Est et alius pons super Danubium, per quem via est ad montes, qui Bohemiam respiciunt. Post hos montes fluvius alius, niger admodum perlabitur, qui ex Bohemia veniens, oppidulum Judaeorum et tertiam Pataviae partem dividens, sub castro praesulis Danubio, quasi ex opposito Eni, se inmiscet. [*cont.*]

¹ *em.*; Eno codd.

[12] Moreover, this castle has the extraordinary privilege (or custom) that the peasants in the surrounding area are obliged to provide whatever is necessary for the castle, except for such things that are very costly. They give cheese, butter, milk, wood, and straw for the privies, all free of charge; they clean the house, cut wood, provide table plates, and wash dishes and kitchen pots.

[13] Afterwards, we saw the beautifully furnished chapel with three consecrated altars. In the upper area behind the great hall, an apartment for the king had been prepared, where I noted the following rooms: one decorated with tapestries and cloths of Arras; another, a large chamber with an imposing bed, decorated in gold and suitable for a king. It had a window with a view into the chapel. There was also an exquisite office and then another room. Behind them was a large, open bay window¹ supported by beams, with a wide-open view towards the west, north and south, where there is always a pleasant breeze, even in sweltering weather. From there, you have access via a small bridge to another chamber outside the wall, also supported by beams and with a view towards the east, north, and west. Here the king's marshall was lodged. A second apartment was allocated to Duke Siegmund, who had a hall, a small room and a bedchamber as splendid as the king's. The bishop reserved space for his chancery, and a chamber used by its members was furnished and decorated for the king's use.² He gave the chancellor³ a sumptuous chamber in the high tower and another, on the floor below, to Walther,⁴ the king's counsellor. The eastern and southern part of the castle was occupied by the commandant, his wife and some noble ladies, there being many chambers, both large and beautiful. Under the castle are extensive cellars and many stables. Between the castle and the river Traun, there was an unprotected manor that the bishop had, in a short time, surrounded with a wall and armed for the protection of the inhabitants. In this place,⁵ he received the King of the Romans and Duke Siegmund of Austria with due honours and provided food and recreation for all the cavalry and infantry. And not content with this, he – when the king had reached Linz – together with the chancellor travelled ahead and awaited His Royal Majesty in Passau.

[14] Passau is a splendid and prosperous city between Donau and Inn, which emperors of old gave to the Church. The Donau arises in the Swabian mountains, and the Inn in the Alps separating Germany from Italy. It meets Donau at Passau, where it loses its own name. The city is narrow and long and could easily be made into an island if you dug a canal from the Inn to the Donau, for the distance between them is no more than 500 *passus*. Over the Inn, there is a wooden bridge with 16 arches. It connects the part of the city beyond the river with its main part. Over the Donau, another bridge leads towards the mountains in the direction of Bohemia. From behind these mountains runs a third – rather dark - river⁶ that separates the quarter of the Jews⁷ – forming a third part of the city - from the main city before it joins Donau below the bishop's castle, to the opposite side of the Inn.
[cont.]

¹ Or balcony – open to the pleasant breeze? ME translates: Erker.

² ME translates: *Der Kirchenfürst selbst hat sich ein Zimmer vorbe-halten, wo wieder ein anderes Ru-helager von fürstlicher Pracht bereitet war.*

³ Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ Walther Zöbing.

⁵ I.e., the castle.

⁶ The Ilz.

⁷ Ilzstadt.

[*cont.*] Itaque tria flumina uno in loco junguntur ac propterea locum istum quidam verbo Italico Passum, hoc est transitum, vocitant. Nam et per hunc locum merces Italiae in Bohemiam ferebantur et superiores {209v} Teutonici vel Austriam vel Hungariam petebant¹, sicut et hodie fieri videmus.

[15] In medio urbis templum est Divi Stephani, primi martyris, hujus episcopatus patroni, egregie coeptum sed nondum perfectum. Chorus hic admodum pulcher aedificatur, sed, quia parce nimis tum civitas tum capitulum ad fabricam conferebat, Leonardus episcopus magnam pecuniam ad hoc opus dedit, adeoque jam celeriter aedificatur, ut quadriennio putetur ex integro perfici posse. Apud hoc templum aedes episcopi sunt ad eam partem, quae respicit Enum, cum² capacissimae tum splendidissimae, in quibus Fridericum Caesarem ac Sigismundum ducem aptissime collocavit. Esset res³ admodum longa⁴, si tibi omnes aedium partes vellem describere, si vel capellae reliquias reliquias sanctas vel aureos pannos, quibus undique muri vestiti⁵ erant, ostendere contenderem. Nescio quis princeps non se his aedibus egregie habitare putaret. Ego et regibus et caesaribus atque ipsis ecclesiae Romanae summis pastoribus⁶ convenientissima haec palatia judicaverim, nisi quis⁷ forsitan Hussitarum⁸ nimium sumptuosa haec sacerdotibus extimaverit⁹. Sed neque¹⁰ hic¹¹ solum habitacula regibus digna sunt, sed¹² trans Danubium quoque duae^{13 14} sunt arces episcopi, altera in summo montis cacumine, altera in radicibus apud aquas, ubi Danubius et Niger, Bohemiae {210r} fluvius¹⁵, qui etiam fert uniones, junguntur. Est ad sublimiorem arcem grandis ascensus atque difficilis, qui tantum ex uno angulo potest oppugnari, sed tot ibi munitiones additae sunt tam murorum quam fovearum, ut expugnari posse nulla vi hominum videantur. Ibi et aulae sunt et camerae splendidissimae, quas qui viderit nec ornatus aliquid nec munitius usquam esse putaverit. At ubi descenderis in arcem quae¹⁶ infra jacet, rursus ornatum majorem videbis, testitudinatas cameras et aulas quamplures, lectos ad regium cultum stratos. Mirari ego potius quam commendare potui. Sunt meo iudicio Teutonici mirabiles mathematici omnesque gentes in architectura superant, at hic episcopus praecipuus est, sive suapte natura in hoc inclinatus sive peritissimis magistris edoctus. Vidi ego quamplurimas arces tum apud Italos tum apud alias gentes, sed¹⁷ illae vel ad bellum sustinendum constructae vel ad voluptatem paratae fuerunt. Has vero Leonardus episcopus ad utramque rem miro artificio coaptavit, ita ut nec ad jucunditatem nec ad tutelam ulterius quidquam desiderent. Quae omnia cancellario et mihi fuerunt ostensa¹⁸, dum Pataviae regem opperiremur.

¹ patebant V4

² tum KO

³ jam KO

⁴ epistola *add.* KO

⁵ muri vestiti : moenia vestita HE, WO

⁶ commendatissima vel *add.* KO

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ more *add.* KO

⁹ existimaverit KO

¹⁰ nec KO

¹¹ hoc KO

¹² *omit.* KO

¹³ *omit.* V4

¹⁴ quoque duae : duae quoque KO

¹⁵ filius V4

¹⁶ at ubi descenderis in arcem quae: quod V2a; *corr. ex* quod V2b

¹⁷ et *add.* KO

¹⁸ fuerunt ostensa : ostensa fuerunt KO

[*cont.*] Thus three rivers meet in one place. This place is called Passau, after the Italian word meaning passage,¹ since wares from Italy were transported through this place to Bohemia and Upper Germany, Austria, and Hungary, as we also see today.

[15] In the centre of the city is the church of Saint Stephen, the first martyr and patron saint of this diocese. [The building process] has begun very well but is not yet finished: a most beautiful choir is being built, but since the city and the cathedral chapter have only contributed sparingly to the enterprise, Bishop Leonhard has given a large sum. So, now the work proceeds quickly and is expected to be completely finished in four years. Opposite this temple, towards the Inn, is the bishop's palace, large and splendid, where he fittingly lodged Emperor Friedrich and Duke Siegmund. It would take too long to describe all the parts of the palace or the chapel's holy relics and golden cloths covering the walls. Any prince would be happy to live in this palace, which I believe would be a most fitting abode for kings and emperors and even the supreme pastors of the Roman Church – though a Hussite might think that it was too luxurious for priests.² But it is not just here that there are dwellings fit for kings: on the other side of the Donau, the bishop has two more castles, one on top of the mountain³ and the other at its foot,⁴ by the river, where the Donau and the Nîger,⁵ a river from Bohemia that even carries pearls, meet. The ascent to the upper castle is long and arduous. It can only be attacked from one side, but there they have added such fortifications, both walls and moats, that it appears impossible to conquer by human force. Its chambers are such that you may believe you have never seen anything more ornate and safe. But when you go down to the lower castle, you see even great splendour, vaulted chambers, many halls, and regally appointed beds. I cannot describe it fully, only express my admiration. In my opinion, the Germans are amazingly clever mathematicians and superior to all other peoples in architecture,⁶ architecture,⁶ but our bishop surpasses all others in this art either because of some inborn gift or because he was taught by outstanding masters. In Italy and elsewhere, I have seen many castles built either for war or for pleasure, but Bishop Leonhard has, with admirable artfulness, made his castles suitable for both purposes so that they lack nothing for pleasure or protection. The chancellor and I were shown all these things while waiting for the king in Passau.

¹ This etymology is false, the name Passau deriving from the Roman name *Castra Batava*.

² One of the basic tenets of the Hussites was that priests should live a poor simple life.

³ The *Veste Oberhaus*.

⁴ The *Veste Niederhaus*.

⁵ *Ilz*.

⁶ When, later, Piccolomini, as Pope Pius II, decided to build a cathedral in his hometown Corsignano (renamed Pienza), the design was inspired by German church architecture.

[16] Venit autem rex die lunae cum Sigismundo duce 12 kalendas Julias triduoque mansit, quem Pataviensis episcopus cum omni familia tam copiose quam {210v} splendide pavit nec aliquem vel principem vel privatum hominem, qui curiam sequeretur, passus est Pataviae vel obolum exponere: cunctis ipse sumptus quam liberalissime praebuit¹. Si² qui fuerunt, qui verecundia ducti nollent fercula petere, illis usque in domum ubertim edulia mittebantur et vina, nec potuit aliquis cibum mordere, qui non ex episcopi conquina venisset, cumque³ rex moneret⁴ episcopum, ne tantis se sumptibus oneraret, “Tace,” inquit, “rex. Nolo, cum hac vita migravero, patronus meus me arguat Stephanus, qui scit haec bona sibi per tuos antecessores elargita digneque tibi ex illis honorem impendi.” Ministri praeterea esculenta et poculenta equorumque pabula tam voluntarie exhibebant, ut tum se quam maxime lucrari putarent, cum effusius dispensarent.

[17] Ego, mi Johannes, non potui, dum ista cernerem, non laetari. Videbar videre priscos illos et admirabiles viros, quos tantopere commendat antiquitas, sicut de *Seneca* scribunt *Pisoneque bono*⁵ *et Cotta*, quibus *et titulis et fascibus*⁶ major fuit *donandi gloria*. Fortunet Deus hunc praesulem⁷ vitamque sibi⁸ cornicis praebat et annos Nestoris, sapientiam autem eam sibi usque in finem vitae praestet, quam modo habet. Nam etsi multos sub se populos tenet et castella ultra 30 possidet et diocesim ad trecenta milia passuum extensam⁹ regit¹⁰, a {211r} Ratispona prope¹¹ usque in Pozonium, quod est Hungariae oppidum¹², regit¹³, tanta est tamen ejus¹⁴ prudentia singularisque virtus, ut nihil dubium sit sub ejus gubernatione praestantissimam hanc ecclesiam tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus prosperari.

Vale, Campisi optime, et hujus clarissimi viri laudes reverendissimo domino tuo meoque, cardinali Tarentino, et ceteris Romanae curiae secutoribus¹⁵ expone, quamvis Tarentinus ipse praelatum hunc et noscat et amet. Ex Patavia, 10. kal. Julias anno a nativitate domini¹⁶ 1444.

¹ fecit V2a; *corr. ex* fecit V2b

² sed KO

³ cum KO

⁴ moueret KO

⁵ gneo KO

⁶ fastibus HE

⁷ praesidem V2a; *corr. ex* praesi-dem V2b

⁸ *omit.* KO

⁹ non longe *add.* V2a; ~~non longe~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ *omit.* KO

¹¹ *omit.* V2a; *add. superlin.* V2b

¹² porrectam *add.* V2a; ~~porrectam~~ *seq.* V2b;

¹³ regnat KO

¹⁴ est tamen ejus : eius tamen est KO

¹⁵ senatoribus KO

¹⁶ a nativitate domini *omit.* KO

[16] The king arrived with Siegmund on Monday, 21 June,¹ and stayed for three days. The Bishop of Passau entertained him and all his household generously and splendidly, and he allowed no other prince or private person following the court to expend even a penny² in Passau. To all, he extended a most generous welcome. If anybody, out of modesty, did not want to ask for food, he sent copious provisions of food and wine to their lodgings, and nobody could eat anything that had not come from the bishop's kitchen. When the king admonished the bishop not to burden himself with such great expenses, he said, "Say nothing, my king. When I leave this life, I do not want my patron saint, Stephen, to rebuke me, for he knows that since all these possessions have come to me as gifts from your predecessors, it is only fitting that I use them in your honour." Besides providing food and drink, his servants also supplied fodder for the horses, and they did it all as generously as if thinking they gained more if they spent more.

[17] My dear Giovanni, when I saw all this, I could only be delighted, for it was as if I had before me such admirable men, whom Antiquity praised so highly. Indeed, they wrote about *Seneca, good Piso and Cotta* that to them the *glory of giving* meant more than *titles and fasces*.³ God bless this bishop and give him the [long] life of a raven⁴ and Nestor's⁵ [many] years, and may he keep the wisdom he possesses now to the end of his life. For though he rules many people, owns more than 30 castles, and heads a diocese extending 300,000 *passus*, from Regensburg to Pozon,⁶ a town in Hungary, his wisdom and eminent virtue are such that, under his rule, this church will no doubt prosper both spiritually and temporally.

Farewell, best Campisio. Please praise this illustrious prelate to your and my Most Reverend Lord, the Cardinal of Taranto⁷ and the other members of the Roman Curia, though the cardinal already knows and loves him. From Passau, 23 June⁸ in the year 1444 from our Lord's birth.

¹ Error for July. According to Heinig, the emperor was in Passau on 19 and 22 July (Heinig, 3: 1356).

² "obolus"

³ Juvenalis, 5: 107-109: *Nemo pe-tit, modicis quae mittebantur ami-cis a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat largiri; nam-que et titulis et fascibus olim ma-jor habebatur donandi gloria.*

⁴ The crow was reputed to have a long life. Horatius: *Carmina*, 3: 17, 13: *annosa cornix* (ancient raven).

⁵ Nestor: (Myth.) King of Pylos. Hero figuring in Homer's works. Reputed for wisdom and longe-vity.

⁶ Pozon = Pressburg = Bratislava.

⁷ Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacoz-zo.

⁸ Error for 22 July.

155. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (22 July 1444, Passau).

Manuscripts: V2, ff. 421-422¹; V3, ff. 203r-204r² **; V4, ff. 192v-193v.

Editions: HE, 156, pp. 375-376; WO, 1: 1, 156, pp. 432-434; (both based on V2).

Translations: KO, 115 (KO)³; ME, 30, pp. 139-141.

{203r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et illustri principi domino Leonardo, episcopo Pataviensi,⁴ Aeneas Silvius⁵, imperialis⁶ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit⁷

[1] Basilicam divi Stephani protomartyris, cui praesides⁸, in urbe tua Pataviensi cum nuper intrassem mirarerque veterum sepulchra⁹, “Nihil,” inquit magnificus Gaspar cancellarius, “adhuc vidisti. Moderni episcopi spectandus est lapis,” sequentique die, cum viri praestantes advenissent, Silvester Chiemensis {203v} episcopus ac Johannes, magister regiae camerae, tu illos cum cancellario postquam sollemni prandio recreaveras, ut lapidem cernerent, adduxisti nec dedignatus es me quoque¹⁰ inter spectatores vocare. Vidi ergo mirificum marmor, quod tam subtili ingenio sculptum erat, ut vel Phidiae vel Praxitelis opus videri potuerit, nec meo iudicio, qui tamen Romanas statuas contemplatus sum, altioris artificii¹¹ quidquam huic operi poterat adjungi. Vera illic tua jacebat imago: Job in utrumque latere¹² erat insculptus, super pectus tuae imaginis¹³ crucifixus residebat. In infulis quoque circa Beatam Virginem bis tua efficies cernebatur, ad pedes tuos duo leones tam vivis similes, ut terrorem ingerent¹⁴ aspicientibus. Angeli undique quasi volantes astabant. Arma tum tua tum ecclesiae in plerisque locis visebantur. Laudavi ergo te mirum in modum, qui, etsi altum tenes dignitatis gradum multasque possides opes, non tamen esse te hominem oblivisceris, sed, quod est hominis sapientis, et mortalem te nosti et de morte sedulo cogitas, quo fit, ut te non nisi justum iudicare possim. Nam qui vivendo moriturum se continuo meditatur, is proculdubio et vitam ducit meliorem, et cum dies obitus adest, minus angitur¹⁵, quia *praevisa jacula*, sicut Gregorius inquit, *minus nocent*, et facile contemnit hujus mundi blanditias, et inquinamenta refugit, qui se semper cogitat moriturum.

¹ DV, ff. 216r-216v

² DV, ff. 206r-207r

³ DV, ff. 96v-97r

⁴ domino suo magno et futuro maximo *add.* V2a, KO; ~~domino suo magno et futuro maximo~~ *seq.* V2b

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

⁶ imperialisque V2a, KO; *corr. ex* imperialisque V2b

⁷ ac se ipsum quasi mancipium exhibet *add.* V2a; ~~ac se ipsum quasi mancipium exhibet~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ WO uses 2nd pers. plural in address.

⁹ sepulturas V2a, KO; *corr. ex* sepulturas V2b

¹⁰ una *add.* KO

¹¹ edificii KO

¹² latus V2a, KO; *corr. ex* latus V2b

¹³ tuae imaginis : tuum V2, KO; *corr. ex* tuum V2b

¹⁴ iniicerent KO

¹⁵ augitur KO

155. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (22 July 1444, Passau).

- Context:* Piccolomini systematically established and cultivated relations and friendships with important people. In the case of Leonhard Laiming, Prince-bishop of Passau, he may already have had the purpose of obtaining an ecclesiastical benefice in the bishop's diocese. This actually did happen when shortly afterwards, the bishop gave him the parish of Saint Mary's in Haspach.
- Subject:* Piccolomini praises the bishop's funerary monument and sends him a (flattering) epitaph to put on it. He also sends him the letter describing the bishop's castles (letter 154) for possible emendations, informing him that it is destined for the curia (intimating that it will promote the bishop's standing in Rome).

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Illustrious Prince, Leonhard, Bishop of Passau.

[1] Some days ago, I visited the Basilica of Saint Stephen, the first martyr, over which you preside in your city of Passau. When I admired the tombs of the old [bishops], His Excellency, Chancellor Kaspar, told me, "You have seen nothing yet. You must also see the tombstone of the present bishop." The next day, the eminent men, Bishop Silvester of Chiemsee and *Kammermeister* Johan,¹ Johan,¹ arrived. Having treated them and the chancellor to a splendid lunch, you took them to see the funerary monument and also invited me to come. There, I saw a magnificent piece of marble, sculpted with such genius that it could have been a work of Phidias² or Praxiteles. Though I have seen statues in Rome,³ I believe that nothing surpasses this work. There was an effigy looking remarkably like you; a figure of Job was chiselled on each side; on the breast of your figure was placed a crucifix. On the mitre,⁴ your likeness was placed on each side of the Holy Virgin. At your feet were two lions so lifelike that they terrified the onlookers. There were flying angels, too. Your arms and those of your church were seen in several places.⁵ I praised you fervently, there, for though you hold a high position and have many possessions, you do not forget that you are a man and know – as wise men do – that you are mortal, and think deliberately about death. Therefore, I must consider you a just man, for any living person who often meditates on his death surely leads a better life: when the day of death arrives, he is less anguished, for – as Gregory⁶ says – *calamities⁷ that are foreseen cause less damage.*⁸ The one who constantly contemplates his death, easily scorns scorns the allurements of this world and flees its defilements.

¹ Johann Ungnad (bef. 1429-1461): Kammermeister and coun-sellor of Friedrich III.

² Phidias [Pheidias] (ca. 480-430 BCE): Greek sculptor, painter, and architect.

³ Piccolomini, as a young man, vi-sited Rome in 1426.

⁴ Or chasuble (Du Cange).

⁵ The tomb was destroyed by fire in 1662.

⁶ Gregorius I

⁷ "jacula"

⁸ HE gives the reference MPL, 76: p. 1259: 1612. The passage is (al-so) in a letter from Pope Innocent III (*Epistolae*, 16: 179 (MPL, 216: col. 964B)).

[2] Unum tamen in tuo sepulchro defuit, quia non erat illic¹ epitaphium {204r} te² ac tuis virtutibus dignum. Volui igitur supplere defectum edidique nonnullos elegos, qui, si placebunt, in aliquo ex lapidibus sarcophagi tui poterunt insculpi et ad posteritatis deduci memoriam, ut non solum praesentes, sed etiam futuri populi, qualis praelatus fueris et quam ecclesiae utilis, recognoscant et, qui tibi succedent, non locum dumtaxat, sed et virtutes tuas habere procurent. Dictavi praeterea per hos dies epistolam quandam, quam usque Romam mittere statui ad Campisium, philosophum elegantem, amicum meum optimum, in qua de tuis arcibus ac magnificis aedificiis mentionem feci. Illam tibi nunc edo, ut, si quid emendandum sit, prius iudices³ quam tabellario consignem, quem propediem sum habiturus.⁴

Vale optime et fac, quod tuus Aeneas, si fas est dicere, tuissimus fiat. Ex urbe tua Pataviae, 10 kal. Julias 1444⁵.

¹ ibi KO

² tibi HE; vestris WO

³ significes V2a; *corr. ex signi-fices* V2b

⁴ Dictavi praeterea ... habiturus *omit.* KO

⁵ Ex urbe ... 1444 *omit.* KO

[2] However, one thing was missing on this tomb. It was an epitaph worthy of you and your virtues. Desiring to remedy this lack, I have composed some elegiac verses¹ that may, if they please you, be chiselled on one of the stones of your sarcophagus as a memorial to posterity. Thus, not only people alive today but also in the future will know what kind of prelate you were and how useful to the Church, and your successors will endeavour to have not only your position but also your virtues. Moreover, these days I have been dictating² a letter to Campisio in Rome, who is an accomplished philosopher and a very good friend of mine. In this letter, I have described your castles and magnificent buildings.³ I am sending it to you now for improvement, so you can inform me of needful corrections before I entrust it to a messenger who will be available to me shortly.

Farewell, best of men, and make your Enea ever more yours⁴ (tuissimus) (if I may use such an expression). From the city of Passau, 22. June⁵ 1444.

¹ The text of the epitaph is contained in manuscript BSB / clm 14134, f. 143r (autograph). It was printed by Wolkan in WO, 1: 1, p. 434. For a German translation, see ME, p. 141. The epitaph appears not to have been used.

² Probably in the sense of writing.

³ See letter 154.

⁴ "tuissimus"

⁵ Error for August. The correct date was 22. July.

156. Letter to Johann Gers (22 September 1444, Nürnberg).

Manuscripts: L, ff. 68r ff*; M1, ff. 110v-112r **; M2, 71v-72v¹; M3, ff. 401v-403v².

Editions: HE, 157, pp. 377-380; WO, 1: 1, 157, pp. 434-438; (both based on M1).

{110v} Domino Johanni Gers, regio protonotario, viro praestanti et amici amico, Aeneas Silvius etc. salutem plurimam dicit.³

[1] Scio te optare litteras meas, ut, quid rerum agamus, noscas. Est enim humanus animus semper novitatum cupidus. Ego autem scripsissem tibi jam diu, si certos habuissem nuntios, sed cum aliqui ad⁴ te veniunt, quasi de industria me fugiunt, ne *fasciculis* litterarum onerentur mearum, ut sunt hodie homines ad complacendum tardiusculi. Sed decrevi has litteras fortunae committere, ut, si possint, te adeant teque novarum, quae maximae sunt, efficiant certio⁵.

[2] Credo te *volucris fama* percepisse Gallicorum adventum. Sed accipe nunc ex me certitudinem, et, quod tibi scribo, tanquam evangelium potes referre, si modo id affirmatum in mea invenias⁶ epistola. Venit per hos dies Ludovicus, dalphinus⁷ Viennensis ac primogenitus regis Franciae⁸, cum cum magno exercitu infra limites imperii oppidumque obsidione cinxit, cui nomen est Mons Beligardi⁹, quod ab imperio comites de Wirtemberg habent in feudum¹⁰. Ibi cum aliquandiu dalphinus maneret, cum castellanis tandem convenit, ut sibi ad certum tempus oppidum traderetur, quo lapso id libere restitueret; nam aliter vi decreverat expugnare, ut locum haberet, in quo morari posset, quia non decebat regis filium in campis degere absque tecto. [*cont.*]

¹ DV, ff. 150-152

² DV, ff. 803-807

³ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit domino Johanni Gers regio protonotario viro praestanti et amici amico M2, M3; Wenceslaus de Bochow canonicus Veteriscapelle ratisponensis et plebanus in Hiersperg imperialisque cancellarie notarius Johanni de B fratri suo honorando salutem plurimam dicit L [*On Bo-chow's use of this letter, see WO, 1: 1, p. 438*]

⁴ de M2, M3

⁵ Ego autem ... certio⁵ *omit.* L

⁶ invenies HE, WO

⁷ delphinus *et passim* M2, M3

⁸ Francorum aliter Franciae M2

⁹ Mimpelgard *glossa interlin.* M1

¹⁰ feudum M1

156. Letter to Johann Gers (22 September 1444, Nürnberg).

- Context:* The long-awaited Diet of Nürnberg opened on 1 August 1444 and ended on 11 October. Its main agenda was to reach an agreement on the German position in the church conflict between Pope Eugenius in Rome and the schismatic council in Basel with its Pope Felix V, but its deliberations on this matter were overshadowed by the arrival of French troops, the Armagnacs, led by the dauphin, in imperial territory.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs Johann Gers about the Armagnac invasion and the negotiations about the church matters.^{1 2}

Aeneas Silvius sends many greetings to Johann Gers,³ royal protonotary, distinguished colleague, and a friend's friend.

[1] I know you wish to get letters from me about our doings here. Indeed, the human mind is always eager for news. I would have written to you previously if I had had reliable messengers, but when people are going back to you,⁴ they seem to avoid me on purpose lest they be burdened with my bundles of letters. Men today are reluctant to be of service! But now I have decided to entrust this letter to fortune so that it may reach you, if possible, and inform you of the important news from here.⁵

[2] I believe you must already have heard - through *the winged talk of men*⁶ - of the arrival of the French, but now I give you reliable news, and what I write you may tell others as gospel truth if only you find it confirmed by my letter. Recently, Louis,⁷ the Dauphin of Viennois and the firstborn firstborn of the King of France,⁸ entered the Empire with a large army⁹ and laid siege to the town of Mömpelgard, which the Counts of Württemberg hold as a feudal possession from the Empire. When the dauphin had stayed there for some days, he agreed with the people of its castle that the town would be given over to him for a certain period, after which he would return it freely. Otherwise, he would conquer it by force to have a proper place to stay since it was not fitting for a king's son to stay in the fields without a roof over his head. [*cont.*]

¹ For Piccolomini's other reports on the Diet of Nürnberg and its deliberations, see DVI, sect. 170-174; COM, 2: 6-7; DRGB (WO, 2: 1, pp. 205-208).

² For comments on this letter, see Baldi: *Cardinale*, p. 78.

³ Johann Gers [Gersse]: proto-notary in the imperial chancery. See Heinig, 1: p. 704-705. In his *Commentarii*, Piccolomini called him *a very jealous and sharp-tongued person (mordacem et in-vidae mentis hominem)* (COM, 1: 14). And in his *Commentarius de dictis et factis Alphonsi regis*, he called him *a maligna natura* (WO, 1: 1, p. 435).

⁴ In Austria.

⁵ For Piccolomini's other reports on this Diet of Nürnberg, see Supplement to this letter.

⁶ Ovidius: *Heroides*, 17: 207: *non ita contemno volucris praeconia famae (I do not so despise the he-raldings of the winged talk of men)*

⁷ Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death. At the time crown prince of France.

⁸ Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death.

⁹ See Reinle, pp. 180-181.

[*cont.*] Postquam autem dalphinus Beligardi potitus est, famam undique sui adventus publicavit, sed non uno modo apud omnes. Apud aliquos¹ namque se in auxilium nobilitatis venisse praedicabat, tamquam illa² in Germania per communitates³ esset oppressa. Apud alios vero vocatum se dicebat per Romanorum⁴ regem contra Suicenses. Nonnullis autem se velle vindicare jura domus Franciae asserebat, quae usque ad Rhenum protendi dicebat. Ex hac causa urbem Argentinam obsessurum se affirmabat. Dicebat⁵ enim et propter ducem Sigismundum se venisse. Et hos rumores ubique publicari studebat, non quod ita esset, sed quod favorem ob eam causam sese putabat habiturum.

[3] Dum haec fama sic percurrit, nobiles Alsaciae, quibus gravior videtur Suicensium dominatus, oratores ad dalphinum mittunt eumquam rogant, ut praesidia contra Suicenses praebeat. De dalphini exercitu varia dicta sunt. Qui majora sequuntur, 60 milia hominum in ejus comitatu fantur haberi; qui minora probant, 25 milia; medii vel 30 vel 36⁶ milia censent esse⁷. Concordatum est inter dalphinum et Alsatienses 25 milia hominum ex suo exercitu per hanc {111r} hiemem in oppidis Alsaciae recipi debere, ipseque dalphinus et Thuricensibus et aliis obsessis ferre opem promittit⁸. Veniebant jam dalphini gentes, quae vulgo vocantur Armeniaci, in subsidium cujusdam castelli, quod Suicenses prope Basileam obsidebant. Suicenses, ut hoc senserunt, non expectatis hostibus obviam pergunt primasque Armeniacorum turmas invadunt⁹, stragem dant plurimosque¹⁰ neci praebent. Armeniaci retro pedetentim fugientes ad majorem exercitum se recipiunt. Illi sanguinis cupidi et avidi victoriae, dum gloriam¹¹ quaerunt, propriam salutem amittunt.

[4] Ventum erat ad hospitale Sancti Jacobi, quod vix quattuor stadiis¹² a Basilea distat. Ibi universa multitudo Armeniacorum in Suicenses irruit, nonnullis ante portas Basiliensibus¹³ positis, qui exeuntes observarent cederentque¹⁴. Committitur atrox et miserabile proelium¹⁵ caduntque ex utraque parte quamplurimi. Horrendum auditu est: evellebant sanguinolentas¹⁶ ex corporibus suis sagittas Suicenses ac truncati manus in hostes irruebant nec prius animam exalabant¹⁷ quam occisorem ipsum occidissent.¹⁸ Quidam hastis confossi et onusti telis inter Armeniacos currentes necem suam vindicabant¹⁹. Erant quattuor Armeniaci, qui Suicensem unum insequabantur jamque illum telis confossum straverant et supra corpus crassabantur²⁰, cum ejus comes arrepta bipenni in

¹ alios L

² *omit.* M2, M3

³ comites M3

⁴ Romanum M1

⁵ *omit.* M1, HE, WO

⁶ 30 vel 36: 36 vel 30 M3

⁷ qui minora ... esse *omit.* L

⁸ *em.* HE, WO; promittunt codd.

⁹ incidunt M3

¹⁰ pluresque L

¹¹ gratiam M2

¹² quattuor stadiis : stadii quattuor M3

¹³ *aut* Basilienses M1-M3

¹⁴ nonnullis ante ... cederentque *omit.* L

¹⁵ bellum L

¹⁶ sanguinolentes M1

¹⁷ nec prius ... exalabant *omit.* M2

¹⁸ nec prius ... occidissent *omit.* L

¹⁹ vindicabant M2, M3

²⁰ grassabantur HE, WO

quattuor illos fertur irruisse¹, ex quibus duos obruncavit, alios vero in fugam dedit² ac deinde semianimum corpus amici super humeros recepit et invitis hostibus portavit ad suos.

¹ *omit.* M1

² *convertit* M2, M3

[cont.] When the dauphin had gained Mömpelgard, he spread the news of his arrival everywhere but not in the same way to all. To some, he declared that he had come to aid the German nobility oppressed by the free cities. To others, he said that he had come at the invitation of the King of the Romans to fight the Swiss.¹ To others again, he stated that he wanted to reclaim the rights of the House of France which, he claimed, reached as far as the Rhine. For this reason, he would lay siege to Strasbourg. He also said that he had come because of Duke Siegmund.² Such rumours he spread everywhere not because they were true but because he thought they would earn him some degree of popularity.

[3] While all this was being rumoured, the nobles of Alsatia, who much disliked the Swiss domination, sent envoys to the dauphin to ask him for help against the Swiss. There were different reports about the dauphin's army. The greater estimate was that he had a following of about 60,000; the smaller estimate was 25,000; and the middle estimate was between 30,000 and 36,000. The dauphin and the Alsatians reached an agreement that the Alsatians should provide winter quarters for 25,000 men from his army in the towns of Alsatia, while the dauphin promised to bring help to Zürich and other cities under Swiss siege. Then the dauphin's men, commonly called the Armagnacs,³ came to the assistance of a town near Basel that the Swiss were besieging. When the Swiss heard it, they did not wait for the enemies but marched against them and attacked the Armagnac vanguard, cutting them down and killing many. The Armagnacs fled on foot and returned to their main army. The Swiss, thirsting for blood and avid for victory, lost their own salvation while seeking glory.

[4] They came to Sankt Jakob, about 4 *stadia* from Basel. There the whole mass of Armagnacs assaulted the Swiss, having posted some men before the gates of Basel to observe and fall back [if attacked]. A savage and bitter battle⁴ ensued, and large numbers fell on both sides. Terrible to hear: the Swiss tore the bloody arrows from their bodies and, even with their hands cut off, rushed against the enemies and did not die before they had killed their killer. Some ran between the Armagnacs pierced with darts and weighed down by spears to avenge their own death. Four Armagnacs pursued a Swiss and had already felled him with spears and were mutilating the body when his comrade seized a two-edged axe and - it is told - attacked them, killing two and putting the two others to flight. Then he took his friend's unconscious body upon his shoulders and carried it back to his own.

¹ See the Supplement.

² Duke Siegmund of Tyrol.

³ The party supporting the French king against the Burgundian dukes had taken its name after its leader, Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac.

⁴ The Battle of Sankt Jakob an der Birs, 26 August 1444.

[5] Erat retro Suicenses murus quidam horti Sancti Jacobi, quo¹ illi se tutos² ab una parte rebantur solumque in fronte pugnabant. Sed Teutonici, qui cum Armeniacis erant, intrantes hortum murum perfodiunt Suicensesque a tergo ferunt, quae res magna causa ruinae Suicensium fuit. Pugnatur tum ante tum retro. Jam viro vir imminet nec jam eminus, sed cominus ferrum stringitur. Suicenses quasi leones³ per omnem exercitum in victores vagantur, caedunt sternuntque omnia, ut qui jam non in spem victoriae, sed in mortis ultionem se pugnare sciunt. Proelium a⁴ principio diei usque⁵ in finem tractum est. Ad extremum non victi Suicenses, sed vincendo fatigati inter ingentes hostium catervas ceciderunt. Victoria lugubris atque⁶ cruentissima Armeniacorum fuit, campusque liber eis mansit non virtute, sed multitudine superantibus. Ex Suicensibus, qui plures occidisse jurant⁷, quattuor milia caesa referunt⁸, qui minus mille et quingentos viros cecidisse ajunt. Ex Armeniacis {111v} dicunt aliqui plures desideratos⁹ esse quam ex Suicensibus. Magna caedes equorum fuit. Plures Teutones¹⁰, dum ulcisci Suicenses volunt, vitam amiserunt. Suicenses autem nulla res magis extinxit quam magnanimitas sive illa temeritas fuit. Nam dum hostes parvipendunt, eo deducti sunt, unde exire non potuere. Qui sapit, nec nimis timet hostes neque contemnit nimis¹¹.

[6] Dum haec aguntur, rex Romanorum oratores ad dalphinum mittit episcopum Augustensem et Johannem de Eich doctorem nonnullosque milites perscrutatum, quid causae sit, quod imperium cum exercitu sit ingressus. Redeunt oratores et cum his dalphinus suos ad regem destinat, quinque viros praestantes. Interim ex parte concilii Basiliensis cardinales duo, Arelatensis et Sancti Calixti, pluresque alii doctores dalphinum adeunt et cum his cives Basilienses deprecanturque, ne vel concilio vel civitati noceat. Is rursus suos Basileam cum his nuntios mittit, qui adhuc ibi sunt habentque diversos concordiae tractatus, nam et oratores papae Felicis¹² ac ducis Sabaudiae¹³ totiusque Suicensium factionis illic convenerunt.

¹ qui M1

² se tutos : secutos M3

³ quasi leones *omit.* M2

⁴ ab M1

⁵ ut M2

⁶ et M2, M3

⁷ narrant L

⁸ caesa referunt *omit.* M2, M3

⁹ stratos M3

¹⁰ Theutoni M3

¹¹ sive illa ... nimis *omit.* L

¹² papae Felicis : Felicis papae M3

¹³ Burgundiae L

[5] Behind the Swiss was the wall of a garden in Sankt Jakob. So, thinking themselves safe from behind, they only fought in front. But Germans who had joined the Armagnacs entered the garden, broke through the wall and attacked the Swiss from behind. This was a major reason for the Swiss disaster: they were now fighting on both sides. Man stood against man, and they fought at close quarters. The Swiss strode like lions through all the army against the victors, felling and killing everything before them as men who knew they were fighting not in the hope of victory but to avenge their own deaths. The battle began in the morning and lasted until the evening. In the end, the Swiss succumbed, undefeated but completely worn out by their slaughtering [so many men] in the immense crowds of enemies. The Armagnac victory was grievous and bloody. They gained the field of battle not by manful courage and strength but by superiority in numbers. Some claim the Swiss lost as many as 4,000 men, whereas a more conservative estimate puts the loss at about 1,500 men. Others say the Armagnacs lost more men than the Swiss. A great many horses were killed, and many Germans lost their lives when the Swiss wanted revenge. The greatest cause of the Swiss disaster was their arrogance (or temerity), for, scorning their enemies, they were hemmed in and could not get free. It is wise neither to fear nor to despise your enemies overly.

[6] Meanwhile, the King of the Romans¹ sent ambassadors to the dauphin: the Bishop of Augsburg,² Johann von Eich,³ doctor, and several knights. They were to ask him why he had entered the Empire with an army. The ambassadors returned and with them ambassadors sent by the dauphin to the king, five high-ranking men.⁴ The Council in Basel sent two cardinals, the Cardinal of Arles⁵ and the Cardinal of San Calisto,^{6 7} and several doctors to the dauphin accompanied by citizens from Basel to entreat him not to harm the council or the city. He sent them back to Basel together with his own envoys.⁸ They are still negotiating there, for also ambassadors from Pope Felix, the Duke of Savoy and the whole Swiss party came there.

¹ Friedrich III.

² Peter von Schaumberg (1388-1469): Bishop of Augsburg (1429) and cardinal (1439).

³ Johann von Eich (1404-1464): Member of the chancery of Duke Albrecht VI. Bishop of Eichstätt from 1445 to his death.

⁴ Louis' ambassadors arrived in Nürnberg on 12 September.

⁵ Cardinal Louis Alleman.

⁶ Cardinal Juan de Segovia.

⁷ The schismatic council's ambassadors arrived in Altkirch on 31 August.

⁸ Louis' ambassadors arrived in Basel on 6 September.

[7] Rumor est potissime dalphinum¹ [poscere²] urbem Basiliensem tamquam regni Franciae sibi restitui, quod si fiat, magna privilegia illi civitati pollicetur³. Oratores autem dalphini, qui hic sunt, ajunt dalphinum vocatu regis contra Suicenses venisse dicuntque jam se⁴ stravisse magnam inimicorum manum suaque opera remotam ex Thurego obsidionem, petuntque firmari pacta cum nobilibus Alsaciae percussa, stationesque in hanc hiemem exigunt, quae, si sibi⁵ negentur, non posse posse se dicunt abstinere, quin noceant. Habent jam Lauffenberg, Sekingen, Waldshut⁶ et alia quaedam oppida⁷, sed illa non sufficere praedicant; Brisacum ac⁸ Friburgum volunt adjungi⁹. Exinde Sigismundum, Austriae ducem, ad consumandum matrimonium cum filia regis Franciae dalphinique sorore transmitti quaerunt. Nihil adhuc responsum est datum¹⁰. Civitates et principes in¹¹ consultando sunt. Faxit Deus, ut finis sit bonus, nam murem in pera nutrire, quam tutum sit, proverbium docet. Anguis torpentem frigore herinaceum domi suscepit, qui calefactus extensis pennis anguem domo pepulit¹². Videant nostri¹³ principes¹⁴, ut consulte faciant, ne post factum dicere habeant: “*Non putavimus.*” Habes ex me, vir probatissime¹⁵, quid in rebus Armeniacorum geratur.

[8] In factis ecclesiae nulla est adhuc recepta¹⁶ conclusio. Sunt hic quattuor electores, Maguntinus, Treverensis, dux Saxoniae, et marchio Brandenburgensis. Palatinus propter Armeniacos indultum habet, ne veniat tueaturque patriam. Coloniensis archiepiscopus in obsidionem¹⁷ Susatensium occupatus¹⁸ venire hucusque non potuit, sed nunc per oratores regis factis indutiis¹⁹ venturus dicitur. Sunt hic ambarum partium oratores, et quisque suam rem²⁰ tuetur. {112r} Episcopus Verdunensis ex parte ducis Burgundiae huc venit magnopereque suadere²¹ nititur²², ut majestas regia cum tota natione pro papa Eugenio se declaret, qui hodie coram toto coetu magnam orationem habuit²³. Haec

¹ *omit.* M2, M3

² *em.* HE, WO; *omit.* codd.

³ pollicentur M2, M3

⁴ jam se : se jam M3

⁵ si sibi : sibi si M3

⁶ *omit.* M2, M3

⁷ firmissima *add.* L

⁸ et M2, M3

⁹ Brisacum ac ... adjungi L

¹⁰ Nihil adhuc ... datum *omit.* L

¹¹ non M2, M3

¹² Anguis torpentem ... pepulit *omit.* L

¹³ *omit.* L

¹⁴ Almanie *add.* L

¹⁵ Habes ex ... probatissime : habeas igitur frater amantissime L

¹⁶ adhuc recepta : recepta adhuc M3

¹⁷ obsidione HE, WO

¹⁸ in obsidionem ... occupatus : arduis occupatus negotiis L

¹⁹ accersitus L

²⁰ suam rem : rem suam M3

²¹ persuadere M3

²² *omit.* M3

²³ Episcopus Verdunensis ... habuit *omit.* L

sunt, quae nunc scribere possum. Tu vale cum consorte tua magis bona quam fortasse¹ prudente², quia inter feminas non solet regnare prudentia³.

Iterum vale et me ama⁴. Ex Nuremberga, die 22. Septembris anno⁵ 1444.⁶

¹ fortassis M3

² pendente M2; prudencie M3

³ Cum consorte ... prudentia : et domino Tusskoni commendatum me facito. Arma sua misi per quendam nobilem dictum Boch L

⁴ Iterum vale ... ama *omit.* M2

⁵ domini *add.* L

⁶ Ex Nuremberga ... 1444: Ex Norimberga etc. M2; Ex Norim-berga 1444 M3

[7] Rumour has it that the dauphin insists on Basel being turned over to him as a possession of the Kingdom of France. If that happens, he promises the city large privileges. However, the dauphin's ambassadors here [in Nürnberg] claim that he has come at the king's¹ invitation to fight the Swiss, that he has already defeated a great force of enemies, and that Zürich has been liberated from the siege by his intervention. The ambassadors request the confirmation of the dauphin's agreement with the Alsatian nobles and demand winter quarters. If such are denied them, they cannot avoid causing damage. They now have Lauffenberg, Seckingen, Waldshut and some other towns, but they claim these are insufficient and want Breisach and Freiburg, too. Finally, they request that Duke Siegmund of Austria be sent to consummate his marriage with the daughter² of the King of France, the dauphin's sister. No answer has been given as yet. The cities and the princes are discussing the matter. May God give a happy end to this matter, for the proverb shows how [un-]safe it is to nourish a mouse in a bag of provender.³ A snake invited a freezing hedgehog into its home, but when the hedgehog had grown warm, it extended its spines and drove out the snake.⁴ Let our princes take care to act advisedly lest they afterwards have to say, "*We had not thought of that.*"⁵ This, my excellent friend, is what I can tell you now concerning the Armagnac affair.

[8] In the church matter, no decision has been reached as yet. Four of the prince-electors are here now: the Archbishop of Mainz,⁶ the Archbishop of Trier,⁷ the Duke of Saxony⁸ and the Margrave of Brandenburg.⁹ Because of the Armagnacs, the Count Palatine¹⁰ has received permission to not come but protect his country. The Archbishop of Cologne¹¹ is occupied with a siege of Soest and has not yet been able to come, but it is believed he will come soon, now that the royal ambassadors have arranged an armistice. The ambassadors from both parties are here, each defending his own party's cause. The Bishop of Verdun¹² has come on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy.¹³ He energetically endeavours to persuade His Royal Majesty to declare himself and the whole [German] nation for Pope Eugenius, and he has, today, given a long oration before the entire assembly. This is what I can write now.

Farewell together with your wife,¹⁴ who possibly possesses more goodness than wisdom¹⁵ since wisdom usually does not prevail among women. Again farewell, and love me. From Nürnberg, 22 September 1444.

¹ Friedrich III.

² Radegonde de Valois (1428-1445).

³ Proverb, Bebel, no. 591.

⁴ The fable of the hedgehog and the snake: this fable was earlier believed to have originated by Laurentius Abstemius in his *Heca-tomythium* of 1490. Later it was attributed to Aesop. Its use by Pic-colomini in 1444 shows that it was prior to Abstemius's work.

⁵ Valerius Maximus, 7: 2, 2: *Scipio vero Africanus turpe esse aiebat in re militari dicere "Non putaram"*.

⁶ Dietrich von Erbach.

⁷ Jakob von Sierck.

⁸ Friedrich II (1412-1464): Prince- elector of Saxony from 1428 to his death.

⁹ Friedrich II (1413-1471): Prince-electors of Brandenburg from 1440 to his abdication in 1470.

¹⁰ Ludwig IV (Wittelsbach) (1424-1449): Elector Palatine of the Rhine from 1436 to his death.

¹¹ Dietrich von Mörs.

¹² Louis d'Haraucourt (d. 1456): Bishop of Verdun (1430).

¹³ Philippe III le Bon.

¹⁴ Barbara Gers.

¹⁵ Gers would take umbrage at this remark, see letter 159.

157. Letter to Michael von Pfullendorf (1 October 1444, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 82v-84v¹ **; M2, ff. 77v-78v²; M3, ff. 406r-407v³.

Editions: KO, 97⁴ (KO); HE, 158, pp. 380-383; WO, 1: 1, 158, pp. 439-442; (both based on M1).

Translations: ME, 31, pp. 141-146.

{82v} Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit Michael de Phullendorf, regiae cancellariae protonotario.

[1] Sequebar magnificum virum dominum Gasparem⁵ cancellarium ex Nuremberga recedentem, cum inter equitandum rogasti me, ut tibi patriam tuam revisuro aliquid rescriberem⁶, nam sic potissime reconciliatum me tibi censes. Ego tunc non spondeo⁷ me scripturum, nisi tuae ad me litterae prius devenissent. Nunc cum diu expectarim scripta tua jamque mihi satis persuadeam in vanum me manere⁸, ut scribas, deliberavi tuo desiderio morem gerere prioresque meas litteras ad te⁹ te⁹ dare, quod, si verum audire vis (debes autem velle), non tantum tui causa faciam quantum mea. Veniunt enim¹⁰ ad me plures quaeruntque diligenter ex me, cur¹¹ inter te meque turba fuerit. Nota enim omnibus erat amicitia nostra et quasi Pictagoreos amicos nos omnes arbitrabantur, cum et libri¹² et bona omnia inter nos communia viderent¹³. At cum postea seorsum inceperimus¹⁴ vivere, sciscitantur omnes, cur hoc discidium intercesserit, et aliqui te, aliqui me incusant, nonnulli utrumque. At ego, cum mihi de re hac verbum fit, expurgo meipsum et causam meam sine avvocato defendo, sicut et te facere non ambigo. Nam et Procopius Bohemus, vir praestans nostrique amatissimus, ita tuis verbis persuasus {83r} erat, ut oratione magna opus fuerit, antequam ejus opinionem mutare potuerim, quia tu eum imbueras. Existimabat enim homo me potius quam te peccavisse. Sed auditis tandem rationibus meis sententiam variavit, jamque, ut est, non me amicitiae jus violasse sed te, sicut est, putat. Sed est mihi permolestum unicuique poscenti reddere rationem, namque ut diuturnior nostra benevolentia fuit, eo notior omnibus fuit.

[2] Sed venit in mentem, quod Papius Florentinus fecit. Is cum pallium olei pauxillo maculasset, quia se per urbem euntem singuli percontabantur, quidnam esset, quod pallium deturpasset, cum graviter omnibus responderet, schedulam¹⁵ pergameni pallio consuit, in qua scriptum erat "Oleum". Nec post hac voce cujusquam vexatus est; occurrebat enim interrogationi cujuslibet schedula¹⁶. Ita et mihi faciendum est. Scribam ad te causas, cur ex tua me subtraxerim amicitia. Si quis deinde

¹ SC, 164-168

² SC, 162-164

³ SC, 812-814

⁴ DV, ff. 57r-58r

⁵ Slick *add.* M3

⁶ rescriberem HE, WO

⁷ respondi KO

⁸ me manere : mouere M2; ma-num monere M3

⁹ ad te *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁰ *omit.* KO

¹¹ cum KO

¹² liberi KO

¹³ viderentur M2, M3

¹⁴ ceperimus M2, M3

¹⁵ cedulam M2, M3

¹⁶ cedula M2, M3

scrutatus me fuerit, ad epistolam hanc remittam, ex qua poterit quisque¹ et causas dissolutionis amicitiae² nosse et non me culpandum, sed te potius fuisse. Et satisfaciam tibi, qui meas litteras te cupere significasti. Fateor enim me priorem fuisse in amicitia dirimenda, cum viderem non elegeris me virum, qui posset in amicitia mea esse diuturnus. [*cont.*]

¹ quisquam M3

² *omit.* M3

157. Letter to Michael von Pfullendorf (1 October 1444, Vienna).

Context: When Piccolomini joined the imperial chancery, he soon developed a close friendship with Michael von Pfullendorf, but later, the two friends apparently had a falling out. They would soon be reconciled.

Subject: Piccolomini tells Pfullendorf why they can no longer be friends.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Michael von Pfullendorf, protonotary in the royal chancery.

[1] While we were riding back from Nürnberg with His Excellency, Chancellor Kaspar,¹ you, who were leaving to visit your home, asked me to write you so that you would know we had become truly reconciled. I promised to write if I first received a letter from you. Since I have awaited your letter for a long time, I now believe I am waiting in vain, so I have decided to fulfil your wish and write first. To tell the truth (which you ought to hear), I do this more for my own sake than yours. Many have come to me and asked about the trouble between us, for they all knew about our friendship and thought we were like Pythagorean friends,² seeing that we shared everything, books and possessions. But now that we have begun to live apart, they ask why we have fallen out. Some criticise you, others me, and others both of us. When they speak to me about it, I justify myself and defend my cause without an advocate, just as I think you do. The distinguished Prokop from Bohemia, a close friend of both of us, had become so convinced by your words that much talk was needed before I could change his opinion, for you had already influenced him, so he thought that I was more culpable than you. But when he heard my reasons, he changed his mind and now believes it is you, not me, who have broken the law of friendship. However, I deeply resent having to explain myself to all who ask, for since our friendship had lasted for some time, all knew about it.

[2] But then I came to think of Papi from Florence.³ His cloak had become stained by oil, and when he walked through the city, everybody asked about the stain. Being irritated that he had to answer them, he sewed a parchment note on his cloak with the word "Oil". After that, nobody bothered him about the stain, for the note answered their questions. I shall do the same. I shall write to you about the reasons that have made me withdraw from our friendship. If somebody asks me why, I shall show him this letter which will let him know the reasons for ending our friendship and that it is your fault, not mine. Thus, I shall also satisfy your desire for a letter from me. I concede that I was the first to break up our friendship because I saw I had not chosen a man whose friendship I could count on for long. [*cont.*]

¹ Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

² Pythagoras valued friendship highly and considered it the most essential bond for a collective way of life, even more important than kinship.

³ Piccolomini also used this figure in letter 101: 2.

[cont.] Nec propterea mirari¹ quisquam debet, quod benevolentia nostra biennalis fuerit; nec enim anni duo veram amicitiam ostendunt, sed vix aetas hominis satis comprobatur amicitiam. Plures sunt, qui nobis ab initio placidi et humiles videntur, sed ii² successu temporis, quales sint, apparent³. Possunt enim aliqui naturae vitia ad tempus tegere, in perpetuum tegere non possunt. Necesse est⁴ enim, ut sese aliquando, quales sint, demonstrent. Quod cum fit, solvitur amicitia, quia perditum est, quod amabatur. Jam te arbitror, quo pergam, intelligere. Non insimulo te alicujus vitii, sed ajo te alium esse quam rebar. Putaram te meorum morum esse conformem⁵ ideoque te amavi. Et certe finxisti te naturae meae admodum similem. Nunc, quia non continuas nec ille es, qui antea fuisti, nec amor meus erga te ille est. Ego, ut vixi ab initio tecum, sic perseveravi semper. Itaque, si nunc non sum amandus, nec in principio diligendus fui. Nec ista dico, quod me bonum, te malum arguam aut mores meos sinceros dicam et tuos impuros. Potest esse, ut tu⁶ bonus sis, ego malus. Utcumque est, non potest amicitia perdurare, {83v} ubi mores dissimiles sunt.

[3] Sed ne sic divagando⁷ rem⁸ faciamus longiusculam, dicam tibi, quid est, quod me non sinit esse esse amicum tuum et quibus in⁹ rebus injuriatus sis mihi exponam. Morum diversitas est in hoc, quod tu multorum verborum¹⁰, ego paucorum; tu pecuniis studes, ego eas parvifacio; tu litteris ad lucrum aliquando¹¹ vacas, ego ad quietem animi sequor eas; tu rigidus et atrox, ego lenis et facilis; tu cibus plus quam venere oblectaris, ego plus venerem amo quam cibos; tu nocte adveniente numquam dormire et in¹² mane numquam¹³ surgere vis, ego post cenam, paululum postquam quievi, dormire vellem et ante lucis adventum surgere; tu clarus, ego humilis. Sunt haec inter te meque differentiae. Quod si fateri nolis, eorum iudicio stabo, qui te meque usu noscunt¹⁴.

[4] At certe, cum prima inter nos jacta sunt¹⁵ amicitiae fundamenta – quae certe mala jacta fuerunt – tu haud talem te monstrabas, sed eras mihi admodum morigenus, ita ut quidquid mihi placeret, idem et tibi videretur cordi talique arte me invisceravisti¹⁶. Sed mutasti postea modum vivendi et priorem naturam tuam redisti. Quodsi tu vitam mutas, decet et me amorem mutare. Dicis ”Quid est, quod tibi obfuerit?” Multa sunt, Michael, ne vereare: laccessisti me lingua, dixisti pluries inter commensales me levem multisque vitiiis me insimulasti. Quae si fortasse vera fuerint – scio enim me miseris involutum – decebat te non inter alios, sed inter te meque corripere et, si me non emendassem, sicut evangelii lex jubet, *adhibere unum*, poteris¹⁷ *vel duos* ac postmodum *ecclesiae dicere*. [cont.]

¹ admirari M2, M3

² hii M2, M3

³ appareant KO

⁴ omit. M3

⁵ morum esse conformem : confor-mem esse morum M2, M3; esse conformem morum KO

⁶ omit. M3

⁷ sic divagando omit. KO

⁸ illam add. KO

⁹ omit. M3

¹⁰ omit. M2, M3, KO

¹¹ ad lucrum aliquando : aliquando ad lucrum KO

¹² omit. M2, M3, KO

¹³ mane numquam : nunquam mane KO

¹⁴ cognoscunt KO

¹⁵ jacta sunt : sunt jacta KO

¹⁶ em.; inviscasti M1-M3; inua-sisti KO

¹⁷ poteris KO

[cont.] Nobody should wonder that our friendship broke down though it had lasted for two years, for two years is not enough to prove a friendship to be true when a whole life barely suffices. In the beginning, many men seem pleasant and modest, but with time they reveal their true nature. Some may be able to cover up their natural faults for some time, but they cannot do so forever. At some point, they must show their true character, and when that happens, the friendship is dissolved, for that which was loved is lost. I think you understand what I am getting at. I am not accusing you of any fault, but I am saying that you are different from what I thought. I believed we were similar in character, and therefore I loved you. And you certainly let me think we had a great natural affinity. But now you are not continuing this way and are no longer like you were before, so my love for you cannot be the same. I have continued to be as I was when we lived together in the beginning. So, if you can no longer love me, you should not have loved me then. I do not say this to claim that I am good and you are bad or that my character is honest and yours impure. It is entirely possible that you are good and I am bad, but in any case, our friendship cannot continue if our characters are different.

[3] But – to be brief – I shall tell you why I cannot be your friend and explain how you have injured me. Concerning the difference between our characters, you are a man of many words, whereas I am a man of few. You love money, whereas I despise it. You pursue studies to gain profit, whereas I pursue them to gain tranquillity of mind. You are irascible and violent, whereas I am easy-going and agreeable. You prefer food to love¹, whereas I prefer love to food. At night, you will never go to sleep, and in the morning never get up, whereas after supper, I want to relax a little and then sleep and rise before dawn. Your family is prominent, whereas mine is obscure. These are the differences between us. If you will not admit it, I shall trust the judgment of those who know us both.

[4] Certainly, when at first the foundation of our friendship was cast – badly, it appears – you did not show your true nature but accommodated me in such a way that whatever I liked, you liked, too, and thus you captured me. But later, you changed your way of life and returned to your former nature. But if you change your life, I must change my love, too. You say, “What have I done to hurt you?” Many things, do not fear, Michael. You have attacked me in words, you have often told our table-fellows that I am superficial, and you have accused me of many faults. But even if you were right – for I know I am not perfect – you ought not to say it among others but correct me between us. And if I did not improve my ways, you should – as the law of the gospel bids us - *take with thee one or two more and afterwards tell the church.*² [cont.]

¹ I.e., sex.

² Matthew, 18: 16.

[cont.] At tu me coram semper laudasti blanditusque mihi magnopere fuisti, post tergum vero *monstrasti me digito* atque subsannasti. Sunt noti tui meique, ex quibus saepe audivi haec. Nec tu negare potes, quin comediam meam carperis, quam de *Chryside* feci Nurembergae. Non est mihi curae, quod mea scripta tuo iudicio reprobentur – quamvis magnum est – nec ego laudari musam meam ex te volui¹, quia non est digna laus, quae ab homine² rei non perito venit, sed noto animum tuum. Praeterea si quid vitii inerat, decebat te me admonere, ut limassem. At tu nedum carmen, sed auctorem {84r} quoque irridebas meque perlevem³ accusabas, qui comediam scripsissem, tamquam non laudi Terentius et Plautus habiti sint, qui comedias scripserunt. Sed mitto haec.

[5] Alia sunt, quae famae meae plus obfuerunt. Quinque et viginti aureos mutuo mihi dedisti, magnum officium et amico dignum, nam cuius tu fidem in pecunia cognoveris, tuto illi omnia credas: argentum est alter sanguis. Subvenisti me, fateor, in re necessaria nec ego umquam inficias ibo me tibi propterea obligatum fore. Repetisti ex me mutuum. Non communicavi⁴ verbum, sed cum ipse pecunia vacuus essem, ex alio mutuatus sum, quod tibi restituerem. Bene hucusque actum est. Post dies exinde aliquos, cum ex me nonnihil peteres, quod praestare non poteram, dixti me tibi succensere ac propterea succensere, quod tuum aes repetisses. Magna profecto haec injuria fuit. Nam quis posthac⁵ mihi nummos credat, si repetenti irascar? Magno me crimine insimulasti tantoque meum animum offendisti magis, quanto ab ea intentione eoque vitio magis abfueram. Verius dicere poteris: ideo erga me alius est Aeneas, quia nonnihil sibi detraxi, aut quia non affui sibi in perceptione⁶ bibalium, aut quia sibi detrahentes non redargui. Hoc me, Michael, mirum in modum turbavit. Quodsi dicis antea quoque me tibi fuisse solito graviorem, non negabo. Sciebam namque me tuis morsibus lacessitum, sed erant illa vulnera, quae non aegre curari poterant, si alia non supervenissent. Et quippe quod tu dicebas me⁷ propter repetitionem pecuniae commotum, facile potest confutari⁸, nam et antequam pecuniam repeteres cognitis, quae de me dixeras clanculo, non eram tibi ex consuetudine prisca conjunctus paulatimque studebam me disjungere memorque Ciceronis sententiae *non rumpere* benevolentiae vinculum *sed solvere* nitebar. Quod autem postea truncavi amoris funem tua culpa fuit, cum me coram aliis propter pecuniam tibi molestum assereres. Feci ergo tunc, ut nautae faciunt, qui adveniente periculo non solvunt navem, sed retinacula incidunt. Haec credo satis fuisse ad amicitiam dirimendam, nam quod cistam mihi commodatam vendideris Jacobo nostro quodque tuos libros repetieris et meos retinueris non vitio do, sed indignationi jam suborto tribuo.

¹ noui M3

² aut *add.* M1-M3; ac KO

³ meque perlevem : me levem KO

⁴ commutavi KO

⁵ post hoc KO

⁶ persecutione KO

⁷ *omit.* M3

⁸ refutari M2, M3

[cont.] But though you always praised me to my face and were most pleasant to me, *you pointed your finger at me*¹ behind my back and maligned me. This is well-known to our friends from whom I often heard about it. And you cannot deny that you condemned my comedy *Chrysis*² that I wrote in Nürnberg. Though it is significant, I actually do not care that you disapprove of my writings, and I have not desired my muse to be praised by you, for praise from an unqualified person is worthless. But I note your attitude. Moreover, if you found fault with the comedy, you should have advised me to polish it. But you ridiculed not only the text but also its author and accused me of frivolity because I had written a comedy – though the comedy writers Terence and Plautus were held in high regard. But no more of this.

[5] However, other things are more harmful to my reputation. You lent me 25 gold ducats, a great service and one worthy of a friend, for if you trust someone in money matters, you may trust him in all: money is the second blood. I recognise that you helped me in a difficult situation, and I shall never deny that I am obliged to you for it. Later, you asked for the loan to be repaid. I said nothing, but having no money, I borrowed the sum from another and paid you back. So far, so good. However, after some days, you asked me for some things I could not do, and then you claimed it was because I was angry with you for asking for your money. That, indeed, was a great injury, for who would later lend me money if I grew angry when he wanted it back? Thus, you accused me of a serious offence and greatly insulted me, who absolutely did not feel that way nor wanted to do such an offensive thing. You could more truthfully have said that “Enea has become estranged from me because I criticised him, or because I did not support him in the distribution of gratuities,³ or because I did not contradict those who maligned him.” But to say that I became angry because you wanted your money back upset me incredibly, Michael. If you say I had been unhappy with you even before, I shall not deny it, for I knew then that you were speaking badly about me. But those wounds could have been healed if the other things had not occurred. And what you say about me being upset because you asked to get your money back can easily be refuted, for I already knew what you were saying about me behind my back. Therefore, our previous relationship was breaking up as I was endeavouring to dissociate myself from you and - remembering the words of Cicero – *to dissolve, not to break*⁴ our bond of friendship. That I did break that bond afterwards was your fault since you told others I was angry with you because of the money. So I did as the seamen do when the storm approaches: they do not set sail but cut the ropes. I believe this suffices concerning the break-up of our friendship. That you sold the chest you had lent me to Jakob and asked for the return of your books though keeping mine, I do not reproach you for but attribute to anger.

¹ Horatius: *Carmina*, 4: 3, 22.

² Piccolomini's *Chrysis*, written during his sojourn in Nürnberg in 1444, is a comedy in the Plautian manner. The plot is centred on a love intrigue and is set in a brothel. It was Piccolomini's last erotic writing before he took Holy Orders.

³ ME translates: *weil ich an seinen Trinkgelagen nich teilgenommen habe ...* (p. 146).

⁴ The passage in Cicero has not been identified. But see Quintilianus, 2: 12, 1.

[6] Si quid me hic mentitum putas, redarguere potes mihi que rescribere. Ego alienum potius quam meum iudicium sequar et hanc epistolam honoris mei tutricem omnibus dabo, qui de nostra separatione quaesiverint. Inter me¹ autem et te² primus amor primaque³ caritas revivere non poterit nec amicitia esse, quae fuit, nisi et mores et convictus redeant, qui ante fuerunt, famamque meam videam restitutam.

[7] Vale, et si durius scribo quam ferre queas, memento et te de me locutum fuisse acerbius quam inter amicos deceat. Ego te potius solum solus arguere volo, quam inter alios de te aliquid dicere, quod tuo possit honori vel utilitati detrahere, nam etsi soluta est amicitia, non tamen quae inter homines esse debet cum honestate societas est extincta.

Iterum vale. Ex Vienna, kal. Octobris 1444.^{4 5 6}

¹ *omit.* M3

² *me* M3

³ *parque* KO

⁴ *Ex Vienna ... 1444 omit.* M2

⁵ *Iterum vale ... 1442 omit.* M3

⁶ *Kal. Octobris omit.* KO

[6] If you think I have lied in this, then write me back to me with your arguments. I shall not follow my own judgment but that of a third party, and I shall give the present letter in defence of my honour to all who ask about our falling-out. The former love, friendship and affection between us cannot be revived unless your former conduct and companionship return and I see my reputation restored.

[7] Farewell, and if I write more harshly than you can bear, then remember that you have spoken more harshly about me than friends should do. I would rather discuss this matter with you alone than say something among others against your honour and interests, for even if our friendship is ended, the polite fellowship that ought to prevail among men continues.

Again farewell. From Vienna, 1 October 1444.

158. Letter to Jan Tuschek (31 October 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: L, f. 73r*.

Editions: HE, 159, p. 384; WO, 1: 1, 159, pp. 443-444; (both based on L).

Translations: BA, 7, pp. 37-38; ME, 32, pp. 147-148; RE, 52, pp. 205-205.

{73r} Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Tusskoni.

[1] Miraberis petitionis meae, si eorum opinioni consenties, qui poetas nullos libros adamare¹ credunt, nisi qui fabulas referunt. Et si cum eis senties, qui poetas oratorum Germanos dicunt *virosque bonos, dicendi peritos*, quod petiturus sum, neque miraberis neque contemnes, sed adjuvabis potius me, ut desiderii compos fiam mei. Quid enim est, quod ad erudiendam hominis vitam instituendosque mores pertineat, quod poetis non sit optandum? Quod igitur volo quodque te peto, est, ut mihi bibliam unam coemas. Audio enim apud Bohemos hunc librum venalem frequenter inveniri propterea, quod illa regio multis olim collegiis abundavit multisque bibliothecis propter universitatem Pragensem, quae inter alias clarissima fuit. Relatum est mihi mihi plures presbyterculos esse, qui libros venales habent, et, sicut paupertas facit, non multum aeris exigunt. Quapropter te obsecro, ut, si possis, mihi Vetus Novumque Testamentum comparares in uno volumine, illud ad Wenceslaum carissimum tuum meumque mittas², et ego sibi pretium numerabo. In hoc facies mihi rem carissimam et etiam nonnihil apud Deum mereberis, qui me saecularibus litteris traditum, ad divina provocabis eloquia.

[2] Ego jam senex sum, nec me decent nec delectant saeculares litterae. Vellem me jam ad evangelii profunda demergere atque illic aquam illam bibere, quam qui bibit *non gustat mortem in aeternum*. Nihil est hic mundus, et qui sequitur eum, decipitur. Beatus est, qui spem habet aeternae vitae, et qui omne suum gaudium locavit in Christo. Ego, mi Johannes, parvifacio *hujus saeculi* voluptates vellemque soli *Deo servire*. Sed quia homo sum litterarum amator, nescio, quo in exercitio magis Deo possim placere quam in negotio litterato. Et quia litterarum Dei prima elementa biblia tradit, cupio bibliam habere. Immo te rogo, ut tota Bohemia, si opus fuerit, perquisita cures me bibliae participem facere. Hoc est quod volo, quod cupio, quodque te deposco. In qua re si mihi morem gesseris, tanti faciam, quanti si me regno donaveris.

Vale, et, quod desidero, stude, ut impleas et me utere ut tuo. Ex Nova Civitate, die ultima Octobris 1444.

¹ *em.* HE; adamandos cod., WO

² *em.* HE; mittentes cod.

158. Letter to Jan Tuschek (31 October 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: In his spiritual progress, Piccolomini had now reached a state where he felt the need to study religious literature, first of all the Bible.

Subject: Piccolomini asks his Bohemian friend to buy a bible for him in Bohemia, where bibles are believed to be more cheaply available. The letter is the first statement of the religious conversion Piccolomini was undergoing at this time of his life.¹

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Jan Tuschek.

[1] You will be surprised at my request if you agree with those who believe poets only like books containing invented stories.² But if you agree with those who call poets brothers of the orators, *good men and skilled speakers*,³ then you will neither be surprised nor scornful but help me fulfil my wish. For why should poets not wish for what concerns the preparation for life and moral instruction? So, what I want and ask from you is to buy a bible for me. I hear this book may often be found for sale in Bohemia since this region formerly had many colleges⁴ and libraries because of the University of Prague,⁵ famous among so many others. I have been told that many priestlings there have books for sale and at low prices since they are poor. Therefore, I ask you to buy, if possible, the Old Testament and the New in one volume and send it to our dear friend Wenzel,⁶ and I will give him the sum needed. Thus you will not only do me a great favour, but you will also gain merit with God by leading me, who am given to secular letters, to Holy Scripture.

[2] I am now an old man,⁷ and secular letters neither suit nor please me. I would now immerse myself in the depths of the Gospel and there *drink the water* that keeps him *who drinks it from ever tasting death*.⁸ This world is nothing, and those who follow it are deceived. Blessed is he who has placed his hope in eternal life and all his joy in Christ. So, dear Jan, I scorn the pleasures of *this world*⁹ and *would serve God alone*.¹⁰ But since I am a lover of literature, I do not know how I could serve God better than in some literary occupation. And since the Bible is the basis for religious literature, I wish to obtain one. Therefore, I ask you to search for a Bible in all of Bohemia, if necessary, so that I, too, may have one. This is what I wish, desire, and request of you. If you fulfil my wish, it would mean more to me than if you had granted me a kingdom.

Farewell, and endeavour to fulfil my desire, and use me as your own. From Neustadt, 31 October 1444.

¹ For comments on this letter, see Izbicki: *Reject*, p. 196

² "fabulae"

³ Quintilianus, 12: 1, 1.

⁴ "collegia"

⁵ University of Prague, founded in 1348 by Emperor Karl IV.

⁶ Wenzel von Bochow.

⁷ At the time, Piccolomini was 39 years.

⁸ John, 4: 13.

⁹ Luke, 16: 8.

¹⁰ Cf. Luke: 16, 13.

159. Letter to Johann Gers (3 November 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 112r-112v **; M2, ff. 72v-73r¹; M3, ff. 402v-403v².

Editions: HE, 160, pp. 385-387; WO, 1: 1, 160, pp. 444-446; (both based on M1).

{112r} Domino Johanni Gers, regio protonotario, viro praestanti et amici amico, Aeneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit.³

[1] Dedi ad te litteras ex Nuremberga scripsique tibi Armeniacorum adventum credens tibi complacuisse, nam et sic mihi abs te discedenti praeceperas. Nunc autem reversus huc inveni, nescio quid, te moleste tulisse, quod in epistolae calce scriptum erat, conthoralem tuam ut juberis salvere, adjunctis verbis, quibus eam probiorem quam sapientem, videbar sensisse. Hoc, ut accepi, tu aegre tulisti. Nescio, an credam his, qui mihi haec⁴ insinuarunt, nam hoc non Viennae, sed inter Viennam et Novam Civitatem ac inter equitandum mihi relatum est. Quodsi Viennae id contigisset, verbis potius quam litteris apud te purgassem. Utcumque est, mihi non fit verisimile te, virum aetate maturum et moribus comprobatum, verba, quae nunc attigi, non bono animo tulisse, nam quid ego dixi? Laudavi probitatem, diminui sapientiam. An tu is es, qui quaeras in muliere sapientiam? Scio, quia non ignoras *Ecclesiastici* verba: *virum de mille unum reperi, mulierem ex omnibus non inveni*. Sed quid ego de mulieribus, cum et in viris laus sit probiorem esse quam sapientem. Namque sicut ad Corinthios inquit Paulus: *stultam fecit Deus sapientiam hujus mundi*, ac ideo in evangelio dominus: *nisi conversi fueritis, inquit, et efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in⁵ regnum caelorum*. Non enim sapientiam hujus saeculi⁶, sed *cor simplex* et mentem puram diligit dominus. Et his dotibus pollere conjugem⁷ tuam scripsi. Non eam Corneliam, Graccorum matrem, oratricem dixi aut Calpurniam in causis patrocinantem, sed talem praedicavi, quam ipse Deus⁸ non aspernaretur et qui *stulta hujus mundi delegit et sapientiam perdidit sapientum*. Sed dixerit aliquis fortasse de uxoribus, qualescumque fuerint, tacendum esse. Hoc, si apud vos moris est, fateor me vestrae consuetudinis inscium peccavisse dandaque erranti venia, nam et Paulus veniam meruit *ecclesiam Dei persequens*, qui se bene facere credidit⁹.

¹ SC, 152-153

² SC, 805-807

³ *Titulus:* alia M1 [in the M1, this letter follows immediately after Piccolomini's previous letter to Gers (letter156)]; Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit domino Johanni Gers, regio protonotario et amici amico M2 ; Eneas Silvius poeta (etc.) salutem plurimam dicit domino Johanni Gers, regio protonotario M3

⁴ omit. M3

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ ac ideo ... saeculi omit. M3

⁷ pollere conjugem : coniugem pollere M2, M3

⁸ ipse Deus : deus ipse M2

⁹ crederit M3

159. Letter to Johann Gers (3 November 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had sent Johann Gers a letter (letter 156) on the proceedings at Nürnberg, at the end of which he had mentioned Gers' wife in a somewhat disobliging manner (*consorte tua magis bona quam fortasse prudente*). Apparently, Gers had taken offence at this.

Subject: Piccolomini attempts to justify his remark and takes refuge in a pious discourse on death,

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to Johann Gers, distinguished royal protonotary and excellent friend.

[1] From Nürnberg,¹ I sent you a report on the arrival of the Armagnacs, believing it would please you since when I left,² you asked me to write. On my return, however, I find you are offended that, at the end of the letter, I asked you to greet your wife, adding that I had the impression she was more decent than wise. I have heard you took offence at this. I do not know whether to trust those who said it, for I was told about it while riding from Vienna and Neustadt. Had it happened in Vienna, I would have justified myself face to face rather than by a letter. In any case, it seems improbable to me that you, a man of mature age and proven character, should have taken umbrage at those words of mine, for what did I say? I praised her decency and made little of her wisdom. But are you one to seek wisdom in a woman? I am sure you know the words of the Ecclesiasticus,³ “*One man among a thousand I have found, a woman among them all have not found.*”⁴ But why speak of women when in men, too, decency is more praiseworthy than wisdom. For as Paul says to the Corinthians, “*Hath God not made foolish the wisdom of this world.*”⁵ And in the Gospel, the Lord says that, “*unless you be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*”⁶ For God does not love the wisdom of this world but a *sincere heart*⁷ and a pure mind. I wrote that your wife excels in these gifts. I did not say she was like Cornelia⁸, the mother of the Gracchi,⁹ a great speaker, or like Calpurnia,¹⁰ defending her causes. But I said she was such a woman that would not be rejected by God, who *hath chosen the foolish things of this world*¹¹ and *destroyed the wisdom of the wise.*¹² But maybe someone would say that one should not speak about wives whatsoever. If that is the custom in your people, I admit that I have transgressed out of ignorance and beg your forgiveness, for even Paul merited forgiveness, who *persecuted the church of God*,¹³ in the belief that what he did was good.

¹ The Diet of Nürnberg, August – October 1444.

² Vienna.

³ Error for Ecclesiastes.

⁴ Ecclesiastes, 7: 29.

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 1: 20.

⁶ Matthew, 18: 3.

⁷ 1. Peter, 1: 22.

⁸ Cornelia (ca. 190 - ca. 115 BCE): Daughter of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (the Elder). On Cornelia, Piccolomini would later write, in his *De Liberatorum 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 Gajus 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.

¹⁰ Calpurnia: Third or fourth wife of Julius Caesar.

¹¹ 1. Corinthians, 1: 27.

¹² 1. Corinthians, 1: 19.

¹³ 1. Corinthians, 15: 9.

[2] Prisci autem, quos legi plures, solent ad amicos scribentes multa de conjugibus scribere. Lege Jeronimum, Ciceronem, Senecam, Ovidium *de Tristibus*: multa ibi de alienis uxoribus etiam cum gratia maritorum scripta reperies. Adducerem plura in hunc effectum, sed nequeo arbitrari te, virum tum doctum tum prudentem, animum induxisse, ut ista pensites, simulque pestis, quae apud nos acerbè grassatur¹, facit, ut magis de modo moriendi cogitem, quam ut epistolas² dictare curem, namque cum³ audio nunc illum nunc istum efferri tradique sacerdotibus, “Heus tu,” inquam, “Enea, “Enea, nec tu scis, quando citator adsit, qui te ad tribunal vocet, ubi nec advocato {112v} nec procuratore tueri te⁴ possis, sed tua te opera iudicabunt.” Terribilis est equidem, mi Johannes, huiuscei rei recordatio. Debemus tamen gratias agere creatori, qui nos vocatis pluribus aliis praemonet nec erga nos facit, ut ad⁵ Thessalonicenses scribit Paulus, qui venturum dominum dicit sicut *fur*⁶ *in nocte*, sed utitur nobiscum illa clementia, de qua in *Apocalypsi* meminit Johannes: *ecce, ecce, ego sto ante ostium et pulso. Si quis audierit vocem meam et aperuerit* januas, introibo *ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ille mecum*. Utinam Deus adaperiat oculos nostros et det nobis huius saeculi blandimenta illecebrasque contemnere et ad eam⁷ philosophiam pervenire, per quam dicamus cum Paulo: cupio *dissolvi et esse cum Christo*. Mira res: ut homines pejus in hac vita habent, eo difficilius egrediuntur.

[3] Durus forsitan hic sermo tibi⁸ videtur, sed audi et cognosces me⁹ vera dixisse. Quis est, obsecro, obsecro, qui misere vivit, nisi qui peccatis est deditus? Haec sententia est et¹⁰ theologorum et philosophorum. Nam Cicero in *Paradoxis* hoc ait omnem malum servum, et apostolus quoque *peccati servum* dicit peccantem. Quis ergo miserior est¹¹ servis¹² peccatorum? At *servi peccati* hi sunt, qui aegerrime moriuntur, nam semper in peccatis vellent provolvi. Et hi non peccata dimittunt, sed a peccatis dimittuntur, quando mors adest. Nos igitur, si saperemus, reconciliaremus nos Deo, creatori nostro, qui nobis vitam dedit illamque sibi quandocumque reposceret, libenti animo redderemus. Sed tenet nos caecitas peccatorum, quae oblevavit oculos mentis nostrae. *Deus nostri misereatur* et extendat erga nos pietatem suam detque nobis animum, ut quandocumque nos vocet, prompti simus¹³ et hilares, namque sive sponte sive invite moriendum est tamen. Nec nos mors praeteribit, quae priscos reges atque Caesares non praeteriit, quae nec ipsi creatori omnium Deo, postquam humanitatem induit, parcere voluit. Omnia nata occidunt et omnia¹⁴ orta senescunt. *Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irrecuperabile tempus*. Nemo natus est, cui non sit moriendum. Et nos igitur ad hanc nos accingamus mortem, ut, cum venerit, tanto minus acerba sit, quanto magis praecogitata. Mors quidem non mala est, sed finis potius taeterrimi carceris his, qui bene moriuntur. Hinc caelestis vox audita Johanni: *beati mortui, qui in domino moriuntur*. Utinam Deus, qui, quos vult, *eligit*, et quos vult, *reprobat*, his nos jungat, cum fati dies affuerit. Utinam cor meum ad

¹ *em.*; crassatur codd.

² epistolam M3

³ ut M3

⁴ tueri te : te tueri M3

⁵ *omit.* M2, M3

⁶ super M2

⁷ *omit.* WO

⁸ *omit.* M2, M3

⁹ *em.* HE, WO; sive M1; si M2, M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ peccati servum ... est *omit.* M2, M3

¹² servus M3

¹³ prompti simus : simus prompti M2, M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

haec¹, quae scribo, sese disponat! Utinam non alia inveniatur *mentis cogitatio* quam signat harundo². Fateor me multa scribere in bonum, quae non operor, sed in omnibus his misereatur mihi dominus, qui *mundum potest de immundo facere*.

Tu vale mei memor et amator, ut solebas³. Ex Nova Civitate, 3. nonas Novembris 1444⁴.

¹ ea M3

² arundo M2, M3

³ soboles M2

⁴ Ex Nova ... 1444 : etc. M2; *omit.* M3

[2] The old [authors] – of whom I have read many – used to write much about wives. Read Jerome, Cicero, Seneca and Ovid’s *De Tristibus*. In their writings, you will find much about other men’s wives, [apparently] with their husbands’ acceptance. I could quote many texts to this effect, but I do not believe that you, a man so learned and wise, have been concerned to ponder such matters. Besides, the plague now fiercely attacking us causes me to reflect on the manner of dying rather than on maintaining my correspondence. For when I hear that one after the other is taken away and brought to the priests,¹ I say to myself, “Alas, Enea, you, too, do not know when the summoner will call you before that tribunal where you will need neither a lawyer nor a procurator but will be judged by your own actions.” My Johann, it is terrible to think of this. We owe thanks to our creator, who calls many others but also forewarns us. He does not do to us as Saint Paul writes to the Thessalonians when he says that the Lord comes *as a thief in the night*.² No, he treats us with the clemency mentioned by John in the Apocalypse: “Behold, I stand at the gate, and knock. If any man shall hear my voice, and open to me the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.”³ May God open our eyes and give us to despise the blandishments and allurements of this world and to reach that philosophy,⁴ by which we say with Paul that we “*desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ*.”⁵ It is amazing that the worse lives people lead, the greater difficulty they have in leaving it.

[3] These words may seem harsh, but listen carefully, and you will see that I have spoken true. All, I say, who are given to sin, live in misery. This is also the opinion of theologians and philosophers. For in his *Paradoxa*, Cicero says, “*all the vicious are really slaves*,”⁶ and according to the Apostle, “*whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin*.”⁷ So, who is more wretched than the servant of sin? But the servants of sin die miserably, for they wished always to be mired in sin. When death comes, they do not cut themselves off from sin, but they are cut off from it. So, if we are wise, we should reconcile ourselves with God, our creator, who gave us life. When, at some point, he demands our life back, we should return it gladly. But we are kept back by the blindness of sinfulness that darkens the eyes of our mind. *May God have mercy on us*,⁸ extend his piety to us, and give us to be ready and happy when he calls us, for die we must, willingly or unwillingly. Death will not pass us over as it did not pass over the old kings and emperors⁹ nor spared even God, the creator of all, when he became a man. All that is born dies, and all that arises grows old. *Each has his day appointed, and irretrievable is the span of life for all*.¹⁰ Nobody is born who will not die. So let us prepare for this death: when it comes, it will be less bitter the more we have thought about it beforehand. Death is not an evil, but for those who die well, it is the end of a terrible prison. Thus John heard the voice from Heaven proclaim, “*blessed are the dead who die in the Lord*”.¹¹ May God, who *chooses* and *refuses* those he wills,¹² join us with those [who die in the Lord] when that

¹ For burial.

² 1. Thessalonians, 5: 2.

³ Apocalypse, 3: 20.

⁴ Note Piccolomini’s use of the word philosophy in the present context.

⁵ Philippians, 1: 23.

⁶ Cicero: *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, 35: *omnes improbi servi ... denique improbos esse servos*.

⁷ John, 8: 34. This is said by Jesus.

⁸ Psalms, 66: 2.

⁹ Note Piccolomini’s use of *Cae-sares* for emperors.

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10: 467.

¹¹ Apocalypse, 14: 13.

¹² Isaiah, 17: 15.

fateful day arrives. May my heart prepare for that which I am writing about. May the thought of my mind not differ from that sealed by the reed.¹ I confess that I am writing many things about [doing] good that I do not practice myself, but may God, who can *clean the unclean*,² show mercy upon me in everything. Farewell, remember me, and love me as always. From Neustadt, 3 November 1444.

¹ ?

² Job, 14: 4.

160. Letter to Johann Lauterbach (13 November 1444, Bruck).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 73v-74r;¹ M3, ff. 190r-190v;² V2, ff. 397-400³; V3, ff. 191r-192v⁴ **; V4, ff. 181r-182v.⁵
Editions: HE, 161 pp. 387-388; WO, 1, 1: 161, pp. 446-448; (both based on V2).
Translations: BA, 8, pp. 39-41; ME, 33, pp. 148-152.

{191r} Aeneas Silvius⁶ salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Lauterbachensi⁷, sacerdoti et viro probissimo amicoque optimo.⁸

[1] Credo te, quid agam et ubi sim, ex multis percontari, cum me apud regem non esse cognoscis, sed nemo tibi hoc melius exponet quam meus calamus, qui libenter desiderio tuo morem geret sciens, quia me amas. Audi ergo, quid acciderit nobis in Nova Civitate prius⁹, deinde quid faciam et et ubi sim, breviter edoceberis.

[2] Eramus nuper in curia Caesaris apud viduam quandam sermonis gnaram Itali¹⁰, nam et in domo illorum de Scala serviverat, dum virguncula fuit. Hic primum mango, qui ministrabat equis, aegrotare coepit ac septima die decessit e vita, moxque alius ex familia, vir robustus, epidemiam {191v} professus est se perpeti, cujus morbi tanta vis fuit, ut eum triduo interfecerit¹¹. Exinde mox hospita dolere caput et ancilla febricitare coeperunt. Germanus quoque magnifici¹² Gasparis cancellarii vertiginem patiebatur¹³. Pavere omnes ac de fuga cogitare¹⁴. Accessit cancellarius regem licentiamque fugiendi mortiferam luem suscepit, atque sic – hodie sunt¹⁵ octo dies – huc pervenimus. Sumus enim hic in plebe reverendi patris¹⁶ electi Frisingensis. Oppidum tibi notum arbitror, Prugk nomine, inter duas aquas, Muram atque Murzam, quae hic ante oppidum copulantur et unum facientes flumen in Dravum¹⁷ feruntur. Hic nundinae sunt, quae per octavam divi Martini solent perdurare. Ego remissis omnibus curis nunc merces, quae undique huc afferuntur, contemplor, nunc in agros egredior montesque apricos et silvarum latibula ac lucidas fluminis lymphas non absque singulari mentis oblectatione intueor. Habes nunc et ubi locorum degam et quid rerum agam.

¹ SC, 154-155

² SC, 384-385

³ DV, ff. 204r-205v

⁴ DV, ff. 194r-195v

⁵ *The ms. BAV / Reg. lat. 387, f. 172 contains an autograph ver-sion of this letter.*

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

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

⁸ *Titulus:* Aeneas Silvius, poeta Johanni Lauterbach, sacerdoti et viro probissimo amicoque optimo salutem plurimam dicit M2

⁹ *perprius* M2, M3, V2a; *corr. ex* *perprius* V2b

¹⁰ italici M2, M3

¹¹ interficeret WO

¹² domini *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹³ Germanus quoque ... patiebatur : cepit (?) cancellarii germanus M2

¹⁴ omnes ac ... cogitare : atque de fuga omnes cogitavere M2

¹⁵ hodie sunt : sunt hodie M2

¹⁶ domini *add.* M2, M3, V2a; ~~domini~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ Savum M2, M3, V2; *corr. ex* Savum V3

160. Letter to Johann Lauterbach (13 November 1444, Bruck).

- Context:* From his childhood and youth on his father's farm at Pienza, Piccolomini had a deep personal knowledge – and apparently also appreciation – of country life. He had previously written on its pleasures in a letter paraphrasing a letter by his contemporary, Poggio Bracciolini (see letter 37).
- Subject:* Piccolomini tells Lauterbach how the chancellor and he had fled an outbreak of the plague in Wiener Neustadt and taken refuge in the small country town of Bruck. Inspired by the lovely rural surroundings, he then writes in praise of rural life, paraphrasing Horace's 2nd epode. Piccolomini would use this period of enforced but enjoyable calm to write letters to friends and compose his work *De Curialium Miseriis*.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johann Lauterbach,¹ priest, most decent man, and excellent friend.

[1] Seeing that I am no longer with the king, you must – I think - be asking many people what I am doing, but nobody can explain it better to you than my own pen, which gladly fulfils your wish, knowing that you love me. So first hear, briefly, what happened to us in Neustadt,² and then what I am doing now, and where I am.

[2] Recently, while at the emperor's court, we visited a widow who knew Italian, having served the Scala family as a young girl.³ There, first a stable boy fell sick and died after a week. Right afterwards, another member of the household, a robust man, said he had been infected, and his illness was so severe that he died in three days. Then our hostess began to suffer from a headache, and a servant girl developed a fever. Also, the brother of his Excellency Chancellor Kaspar suffered dizzy spells. All became terrified and thought of flight. The chancellor approached the king and received permission to flee the deadly plague. And thus [it happened] that now, eight days later, we have arrived here in Bruck,⁴ where we are among the people of the Reverend Father, the [bishop-] elect of Freising.⁵ I think you know the town. It is called Bruck and lies between two rivers, Mur⁶ and Mürz⁷, which meet outside the town and continue their course until they later unite with the Sava.⁸ They have an [annual] market here that lasts through the octave following the Feast of Saint Martin.⁹ Having left all cares behind, I look at the wares brought here from everywhere or walk in the fields, contemplating the sunny mountains, the dense forests and the shimmering river waters, which gives me singular joy. Now you know where I am and what I do.

¹ Johann Lauterbach: later, vicar general of Piccolomini as bishop of Trieste 1448-1450 (HE).

² Wiener Neustadt

³ Possibly the Vivivana mentioned in letter 194: 4.

⁴ Bruck an der Mur.

⁵ Heinrich Schlick, appointed bi-shop of Freising by Pope Euge-nius IV, but never able to take pos-session of that see.

⁶ River Mur, a tributary to the river Drau.

⁷ River Mürz, a tributary to the ri-ver Mur.

⁸ Savum. Error for Dravum = Drau, a tributary to Donau.

⁹ 11 November.

[3] Nunc illud te volo¹ scire *beatum* mihi videri, *qui* vitam ab *negotiis procul* publicis sibi delegit sicut *prisca gens mortalium* consuevit. Quis enim non felicem illum dicat, qui nullo *fenore* aut aere alieno obligatus *paterna*² *rura suis bobus exercet*. Audi quam beatus sit. Nempe non *truci*³ *excitatur excitatur classico*, quo bellum petere ac pugnam jubeatur inire, *non horret* {192r} *iratum mare, forum vitat* et litigantium jurgia, non visitat *superba* divitum atria, non fastidiosis curialibus est supplex, sed *aut*⁴ *altas populos* adultis *vitium* propaginibus *maritat aut in secreta reductaque valle errantes* boves et armenta pascentia *prospectat*, interdum *ramos inutiles falce* resecat ac *feliciores inserit*, interdum *mella*, quae pressit, *puris* recondit *amphoris aut oves tondet*⁵ lanasque recipit. At, *cum autumnus decorum caput mitibus pomis* per agros *extulit*, magno afficitur *gaudio*, *pira* ex arboribus *decerpens*, quas sua manu inseruit⁶. Interdum et purpureas uvas colligit et aut suspendit in in usum hiemis aut mustum exprimit. *Libet illi jacere modo sub antiqua ilice, modo in tenaci gramine. Labuntur aquae*⁷ ex *altis rupibus, quaeruntur aves in silvis, obstrepunt fontes manantibus*⁸ *manantibus*⁸ *lymphis somnosque leves invitant*. Ut vero *hibernus* advenit *annus* et *imbres nivesque* dominantur aut *apros multa cane in obstantes detrudit*⁹ *plagas* aut¹⁰ *rara retia levi amite* seu furca contra *edaces turdos* suspendit aut *pavidum leporem* et advenam *gruem laqueo captat*.

[4] *Quodsi pudica mulier* illi fuerit, quales olim fuerunt *Sabinae* sive¹¹, de quibus sacra scriptura meminit, *Sara, Rebecca vel Rachel*, quae *solibus perusta domum* servet et *dulces* nutriat¹² *liberos*, multo beatior fiet, cum illa in adventu *lassi viri vetustis lignis sacrum extruet*¹³ *focum*¹⁴ *claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus distenta* {192v} *siccabit ubera et dulcia vina dolio promens dapes inemptas*¹⁵ *apparabit*¹⁶. Quis hanc non laudet ac desideret vitam? Non me amplius *lucrina*¹⁷ *conchylia* aut *rhombi* vel¹⁸ *scari* nec ex quovis mari vel flumine quaesiti pisces *juverint*, quam lecta¹⁹ de *pinguissimis ramis arborum oliva* decerpta aut *agna*, quam solis paschalibus *festis* rustici mactant, vel *haedus* ab ore praereptus²⁰ lupi. Nam quantum *juvat inter rusticales*²¹ *epulas*, mitia poma et castaneas molles ac pernas et caseum, *pastas oves videre*, cum *domum properant*, intuerique *fessos boves, inversum vomerem collo trahentes languido*. Multa sunt ruris gaudia, quae nunc singula prosequi non est epistolaris angustiae.

¹ te volo : volo te M2

² omit. WO

³ truce V3

⁴ ut V4

⁵ tundet V4

⁶ conseruit V4

⁷ atque V4

⁸ quaeruntur aves ... manantibus : que V4

⁹ detundit M2

¹⁰ et M2

¹¹ sero M2

¹² nutriet M2

¹³ extimet M2; excitet M3

¹⁴ uocum M2

¹⁵ ineptas M2

¹⁶ apparebit V3

¹⁷ loctrina V2-V4

¹⁸ et M3

¹⁹ em. HE; leta codd.

²⁰ preruptus M2

²¹ rusticas WO

Ideo vale et haec ex multis pauca notans amorem ruris aliquando indue. Iterumque vale¹ mei uti soles memor. Ex oppido Pruck², die 13. Novembris 1444³.

¹ et haec ... vale *omit.* M2

² Pruck M3

³ Ex oppido ... 1444 *omit.* M2

[3]¹ Now, I want you to know that the man is *happy* who has chosen a life far away from *public business cares like the pristine race of mortals* used to. For who will not call a man happy if he *works his ancestral lands with his steers*, free of all *debt*? Hear how happy he is: *He is not roused by a wild clarion ordering him to a battle, nor does he dread the angry sea; he avoids the Forum and the curses of litigants; he does not visit the proud halls of rich people; he does not beg from disdainful courtiers but either weds his lofty poplar-trees to nurtured shoots of vine or, in a secret and secluded dale, looks upon the ranging herds of grazing cattle. Sometimes he cuts off useless branches with the pruning-knife and engrafts more fruitful ones, and at other times, he stores away pressed honey in clean jars or sheers the sheep and takes their wool. But when Autumn has reared his head, crowned with ripened fruit, in the fields, he delights in plucking the pears from branches grafted with his own hand. In between, he gathers purple grapes and stores them for winter or presses must of them.*² *'Tis pleasant, now to lie beneath some ancient ilex-tree, now on the matted turf. Meanwhile, the waters fall from high cliffs;*³ *birds warble in the woods; the fountains splash with their flowing waters and invite to soft slumbers. But when the wintry season arrives and rains and snow dominate, with his pack of hounds, he drives boars into the waiting toils or on a polished pole hangs wide-meshed nets or nooses against greedy thrushes or catches the timid hare and the crane that comes from far.*

[4] But if he has a *modest wife* like the *sun-tanned Sabine women* of old or those mentioned by Holy Scripture, Sarah, Rebecca or Rachel,⁴ who tend *their home* and *raises children dear*, he will be even happier when she *piles high the sacred hearth with seasoned firewood against the arrival of her weary husband, penning the frisking flock in wattled fold, draining their swelling udders, and, drawing forth this year's sweet vintage from the jar, prepares an unbought meal.* Who will not praise and wish for such a life? *Locrine oysters or turbot, scar, and fish sought from whatever sea or river would not please me more than olives plucked from the richest branches of the trees, or lambs slaughtered by farmers at the feast of Easter,*⁵ *or a kid snatched from mouth of the wolf. Amid such rustic feasts, it is a great delight to see ripe fruits and soft chestnuts, hams, and chese, and sheep hurrying homeward from pasture, and to look at wearied oxen dragging along the upturned ploughshare on their listless necks.* Many are the joys of country life, too many, indeed, to relate in one short letter.

Therefore, farewell. Take note of these few pleasures among many and do sometimes enjoy life in the country.

From the town of Bruck, 13 November 1444.

¹ The following sections are a paraphrase of Horatius: *Epodes*, 2.

² Note Piccolomini's addition of vine growing to Horace's description of agricultural pleasures.

³ "rupibus": Horace's text has "ri-pis" (banks), meaning that they flow between high banks.

⁴ Note Piccolomini's addition of biblical examples to Horace's description.

⁵ Horace has "the feast of Terminus". Note Piccolomini's substitution of the Christian Easter for the pagan feast.

161. Letter to Silvio Piccolomini (19 November 1444, Bruck).

Manuscripts: G, f. 29r *; M3, ff. 222r-222v¹ **

Editions: HE, 162, pp. 389 (based on M3); WO, 1: 1, 162, pp. 448-449; (based on G and M3)

Translations: RE, 53, pp. 206-207.

{222r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta Senensis, genitori suo Silvio Piccolomino salutem plurimam dicit et, ut filium decet, sese facit commendatum.

[1] Vellem diebus singulis ad te scribere, quia et tibi jucunditati et mihi esset non modicae voluptati, sed scribere inania leviaque nullatenus possum. Ideo mihi, ut ignoscas, rogo. Nunc autem cogor ad te scribere, ut timorem tibi auferam, si quem mei causa suscepisti. Credo namque ad te famam convolasse ejus pestis, quae in Austria viget, in qua non minus cadunt homines quam in autumnu poma. Tu fortasse, quia regi servio, isque in Austria manet, esse me secum reris mihique times, sed pone hunc metum te oro. Nam multi jam dies sunt, quibus ex² curia recessi, nec reversurus sum nisi cessante peste. Sum in aere salubri et optimo, idque tibi matrique meae notum esse volo, ut sciatis me bene valere et in dies meliorem fortunam sperare, de qua hucusque non debeo conqueri. Unde³ faxit Deus, ut ipsa mihi in dies benignior fiat et tantum arrideat⁴, ut omnes mei sanguinis viros et feminas cum honore possim revisere. De Nanne, Laudomia, Bartholomaeo atque Catherina nihil jamdiu percepi neque de liberis eorum. Tuum est mihi aliquid⁵ significare, similiter et de Nicolao Loli ejusque filiis ac sorore tua, domina⁶ Bartholomaea, et alia⁷ sorore Catherina.

[2] Scripsisti mihi – jam duo sunt anni – de filio mihi Florentiae nato ex muliere, quae vocata est Elisabeth, sicut hodie festum currit illius viduae sanctissimae. Ego tibi respondi multis conjecturis filiolum illum me⁸ meum credere, neque post aliquid scripsisti⁹. Nescio, an perierit, sicut et alius in Scotia mihi natus vitam exhalavit, ut fit, quod plures agni quam oves moriuntur. Precor itaque te, mihi ut rem omnem exponere cures ac de me bene speres, quia si Deus faverit, - ut jam favere {222v} coepit, quamquam ego indignus favore Dei me sciam – potero et tibi et nostro generi si non utilitati, saltem honori fore.

¹ SC, 448-449.

² e G

³ tamen G

⁴ ardeat M3

⁵ aliqua G

⁶ omit. G

⁷ altera M3

⁸ omit. M3

⁹ rescripsisti G

161. Letter to Silvio Piccolomini (19 November 1444, Bruck).

Context: Piccolomini was still staying in Bruck, away from the plague in Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: Piccolomini informs his father that he is safe and sound and not at the plague-threatened imperial court. He also inquires whether his son with Elizabeth is still alive.

Enea Silvio, poet of Siena, sends many greetings to his father, Silvio Piccolomini, and recommends himself, as befits a son.

[1] I should like to write to you every day, for that would please both you and me, but I cannot write about insignificant and trifling matters. Please forgive me for that. But now I must write to relieve you of any fear you may have conceived on my account. For I think you may have heard rumours of the plague now raging in Austria, where more people are falling than fruit in autumn. Since I serve the king who has remained in Austria, you may think I am with him and therefore fear for me. However, I ask you to put away that fear, for I left court many days ago and I shall not return while the plague prevails. I am now [staying in a place] with healthy and excellent air¹ so I want you and mother² to know that I am well and looking forward to a better fortune, though I ought not to complain of it until now. God give that she³ looks upon me ever more kindly so that I may return and see all the men and women of my blood with honour. I have heard nothing about Nanni,⁴ Laudomia⁵, Bartolomeo⁶ and Caterina⁷ and their children. Please send me news about them and also also about Niccolò Lolli⁸ and his sons, your sister Bartolomea⁹ and your other sister Caterina¹⁰.

[2] Two years ago, you wrote to me¹¹ about the son born to me in Florence by a woman named Elisabeth, like the saintly widow whose feast it is today.¹² I answered that for many reasons I believed it was my son. You have not written to me after that so I do not know if he survived or died like my other son in Scotland. Indeed, more lambs perish than sheep.¹³ So, I ask you to tell me all and to have good hopes for me, for if God favours me as He has begun to – though I know I am unworthy of His favour – I shall be of honour, if not use, to you and our family.

¹ It was commonly believed that the plague was transmitted by air.

² Vittoria Forteguerra Piccolomini.

³ Fortune. See letter 152

⁴ Nanni [Nannis; Giovanni] Todeschini: Piccolomini's brother-in-law, husband of his sister, Laudomia, and father of Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, later Pope Pius III.

⁵ Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini (born ca. 1410): One of the two surviving sisters of Piccolomini. Married to Nanni. Their children were: Antonio (see letter 36) (future Duke of Amalfi), Francesco (future pope Pius III), Andrea and Jacopo.

⁶ Bartolomeo Guglielmi: Husband of ESP's sister Caterina.

⁷ Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi: Sister of ESP.

⁸ Niccolò Lolli: Husband of Piccolomini's paternal aunt, Bartolomea.

⁹ Bartolomea Tolomei Lolli: Half-sister of Piccolomini's father.

¹⁰ Caterina Piccolomini: Sister of Piccolomini's father.

¹¹ Piccolomini had replied to this letter on 20 September 1443 (letter 77).

¹² Elizabeth of Hungary whose feastday was on 19 November.

¹³ Note Piccolomini's resigned and detached view of infant mortality.

[3] Johannem Ptolomaeum fratrem tuum itemque¹ nepotem dominum Jacobum, doctorem, et item alium nepotem dominum² Gregorium jube ex me salvos esse. Corsinianum rus si quando petis, veteres illos amicos meo nomine salvos dicito et nutricem meam maxime, si adhuc vivit, Bartholomaeam cum Berte viro, quem non arbitror in hanc usque diem tam senem vivere. Matrem meam, si me amas, ama et observa sibi que benefacito.

Vale optime³. Ex Prugk, oppido Styriae, 19. Novembris 1444⁴.

¹ itaque M3

² *omit.* G

³ Vale optime *omit.* M3

⁴ Ex Prugk ... 1444 *omit.* G

[3] Greet your brother, Giovanni Tolomei,¹ and your nephew, Doctor Jacopo,² and also your other nephew, Gregorio,³ from me. If at some time you visit the countryside of Corsignano,⁴ then greet my old friends, especially my nurse, Bartolomea, if she still lives, and her husband Berte, who - because of his age – probably no longer lives. If you love me, then love my mother, take care of her and be good to her.

Farewell, best of men. From Bruck, 19 November 1444.

¹ Giovanni Tolomei: Half-brother of Piccolomini's father. The Piccolomini had, for generations, intermarried with the Tolomei. Giovanni Tolomei had fought under Muzio Attendolo Sforza, see DVI, sect. 28.

² Jacopo Tolomei: Siense 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). Still later, he would serve as a travelling magistrate and, under Pius II, as castellan of Castel Sant' Angelo. See article in DBI.

³ Gregorio de' Baroncelli: Siense jurist.

⁴ Apparently, the now 73-year-old Silvio and his wife no longer lived on the farm in Corsignano but had moved to Siena.

162. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (19 November 1444, Bruck).

Manuscripts: G, f. 29r *; M3, ff. 221v-222r¹ **.

Editions: HE, 163, p. 390 (based on M3); WO, 1: 1, 163, p. 450; (based on G and M3).

{221v} Aeneas Silvius, poeta, salutem dicit domino Petro de Noxeto, scriptori apostolico et fratri optimo.

[1] Si mihi singulis diebus aliquid scriberes, tarde tamen et raro ad me tuas deferri litteras quererer. Quid nunc me {222r} facere putas, quando² vix duas in³ anno toto a te suscipio epistolas⁴? Nempe doleo maxime et queror⁵ admodum, nisi quod te querimonias contra me relaturum timeo. Nam⁶ et ego non, ut deberem, ad te saepe scribo. Parce igitur mihi, et ego tibi veniam dabo, hoc tamen pacto, ut praeterita negligentia condonetur, non futura remittatur. Ego, ne me semper tacere velle putes⁷, do tibi has litteras, in quibus, si aliud⁸ non scripsero, hoc satis fuerit, quod me bene valere cognosces. Idem et tu facias rescribens mihi tuam valetudinem uxorisque tuae atque natorum, atque⁹ dulcedinem, quam ex eis recipis, mihi significa, quam non dubito maximam esse.

¹ SC, 447-448.

² cum HE, WO

³ omit. M3

⁴ omit. M3

⁵ querer M3

⁶ nanque WO

⁷ putas M3

⁸ aliquid G

⁹ et G

162. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (19 November 1444, Bruck).

- Context:* The Diet of Nürnberg had ended in disagreement between the parties supporting 1) Pope Eugenius, 2) the Council in Basel and 3) the compromise course of holding a third council (besides the pope's ongoing council in Rome - a continuation of the reunion council in Florence - and the Council in Basel). The emperor would shortly send envoys to the pope to ask for such a council. The chancellor was expected to go.
- Subject:* Piccolomini asks for letters from Pietro and for his assistance to the royal ambassador in Rome, not yet knowing that he would be the one (in the chancellor's place).

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, apostolic scribe and best of brothers.

[1] Even if you wrote to me every day, I would be complaining that your letters reached me late and rarely. So, what do you think I do when I barely receive two letters a year from you? Indeed, I should be very frustrated and bitterly complain if I did not fear you would return my complaints, for neither do I write to you as often as I ought to. Forgive me for that and I shall forgive you, but on the condition that your negligence be a thing of the past and not of the future. And lest you think I shall be silent forever, I send this letter to you just to let you know that I am well. Please do the same to me and let me know about your health and that of your wife and sons, and the pleasure they give you - I do not doubt that it is very great.

[2] Credo te desiderare ex me fieri certiore[m], quomodo res in Nuremberga successerint, sed audies ista ex aliis. Meum non est aliud scribere, nisi quod in discordia recessimus. Oratores regis infra paucos dies ad vos dirigentur, quos curate diligenter expediri¹ et bene, si vestrum et publicum cupitis bonum. Scribe mihi aliquid de magistro Thoma nostro et amicis reliquis meque ipsis recommenda

et vale optime. Ex Prugk, die 19. Novembris 1444.

¹ expedit G

[2] You would probably like to hear about the outcome in Nürnberg,^{1 2} but that you must hear from others. I can only write that we left in disagreement.³ The king's⁴ ambassadors will shortly be sent to you. Treat them circumspectly and well if you desire what is to your own and the common good. Write to me about Magister Thomas⁵ and recommend me to our other friends.

Farewell. From Bruck, 19 November.

¹ The Diet of Nürnberg, August – October 1444. In his DVI, sect. 172-173, Piccolomini wrote (not later than 1447) about the diet: *In the meantime, there were protracted negotiations on the ecclesiastical issue. The king and the prince-electors appointed representatives to examine the matter. The king was represented by Chi-emsee, Thomas, Ulrich and me. Each prince-elector had two representatives, and each of the other princes one. We met every day but could not reach a conclusion, so in the end the prince-electors met alone with the emperor, accompanied by Kaspar. ... Then came the moment when each one had to state his position. The king was asked to speak first. He said that he knew of no better way to have peace in the Church than to recognise Eugenius as pope: all of Christendom supported him, and there was no need to be concerned about the few people following Felix for they would either submit or be destroyed. The king was seconded by the Archbishop of Mainz and the Margrave of Brandenburg. But Cologne, Trier, and the Duke of Saxony said that the Council in Basel should not be abandoned for it favoured Truth, and that they should not follow the multitude but justice. The representatives of the Count Palatine, who was absent on the business of the Armagnacs, said that nothing could be done if they disagreed, but all could be done if they agreed. Afterwards, the representatives [of the emperor and the princes] met again and devised several ways to gain peace. Then the king had a statement produced [drafted by ESP] to the effect that the state of neutrality should be prolonged for eight more months, and that a council should be indicted [to begin] in Konstanz at the end of that period. In the meantime, Eugenius – to whom I was sent by the king – and the Basileans – to whom Thomas Hasselbach went – would be asked to consent and indict a general council on peace in the Church [to be held] in Konstanz. The king's statement stipulated that if both parties agreed before 1 October, now eight months away, the council would be held there. If one party declined and only the other party was present, the King of the Romans with the prince-electors and the other German princes would declare the council to be there, with the party that was present, and obey it. If the Basileans came before that time, they would receive a safe-conduct and be considered and treated as they had been in Basel, and after the term had expired, they would be considered to represent the true council. See also ESP's report on the diet in his DRGB (WO, 2, 1: ep. 44, p. 206; RE, 364). See also RTA, 17, pp. 225-622; Rill, pp. 80-81; Stieber, pp. 266-270; Voigt, 2: 5, pp. 334-338.*

² Stieber, p. 269: *When an agreement on a compromise proved impossible, each group recruited adherents for its view and the diet broke up.*

³ Piccolomini was, of course, privy to much confidential information concerning the diet, but he did not feel free to divulge it to friends at the papal curia.

⁴ Friedrich III.

⁵ Tommaso Parentucelli.

163. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (20 November 1444, Bruck).

Manuscripts: Giessen, A35, nr. 65 *; M3, ff. 221v¹ **

Editions: HE, 164, pp. 390-391 (based on M3); WO, 1: 1, 164, p. 450-451; (based on Giessen and M3)

Translations: RE, 54, pp. 207-208.

{221v} Aeneas Silvius salutem dicit Johanni Campisio, praestanti philosopho fratrique amantissimo.

[1] Epistolam satis verbosam ex Nuremberga tibi direxi multisque tuis quaesitis satisfeci, si satisfacere est, quantum interfuerit respondere. Nescio meas litteras an receperis, quia nihil ex te jam diu suscepi, quamvis ex curia plures ad nos venerint², idque facit³, ut has tibi nunc scribam. Nam si aliae nisi in unum transierint, poterint istae in locum succedere. Non scribam tibi, quomodo res ecclesie apud Nurembergam directae fuerint, namque hoc ex aliis pluribus intelligere potuisti et praesertim ex nuntiis apostolicis, qui ibi fuerunt jamque in curiam redire potuerunt. Hoc tantum possum dicere, quod in divisione recessum est, aliis unam, aliis aliam partem tuentibus. Veniunt in brevi ad vos oratores regii, et si bene fuerint expediti, magnum erit vestrarum partium fundamentum. His poteris tradere *Politicam* ad me ferendam, nam et ego illos rogabo, ut hoc oneris suscipiant. Tu tantum fac, ut onus committas.

[2] Precor te, ut reverendissimo patri domino Tarentino me facias commendatum, quem propter suas praestantissimas virtutes tam diligo quam Scipionem, Catonem, Fabricium et illos priscos solemus diligere, in quibus emicuisse singularissimas dotes legimus. Una tamen res me illi magis dederit, si te sua cura promotum agnoverim. De Conte tuo, domino meo vel ut verius dicam nostro⁴, cupio, ut mihi aliquid scribas⁵, si bene illi est, ut sibi congaudeam, mali autem nihil vellem audire. Domino Petro Noxetano scribo proprias litteras ideoque non te gravo, ut sibi aliquid dicas. Solum hoc volo, ut, [si⁶] simul sitis, mei cum jucunditate recordemini.

[3] Ego per hos dies ex curia regia recessi, quia magna illic pestis viget caduntque homines sicut in silvis hoc tempore arborum folia, sumque hic in montibus salubrique aere. De reverendissimo domino cardinali Sancti Angeli nihil in praesentiarum audio, quia in remotissimis partibus agit. Rescribe mihi de tuis oculis et an umquam res tuas ex Venetiis susceperis. Hungari superbiunt voluntque in Austriam venire; hic invenient, si venient.

Tu vale, me ama ut soles. Ex Prugk, 20. die⁷ mensis Novembris 1443⁸.

¹ SC, 447.

² venerunt WO

³ fit WO

⁴ nostro WO

⁵ scribis M3

⁶ *em.* HE

⁷ die 20. WO

⁸ *omit.* Giessen

163. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (20 November 1444, Bruck).

Context: As letter 162.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Campisio that ambassadors from the emperor will soon come to Rome to negotiate the ecclesiastical affairs.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, excellent philosopher and beloved brother.

[1] From Nürnberg, I sent a long letter in answer to your many questions - if it was indeed an answer after so long. I do not know if you have received my letters, for I have received nothing from you for a long time, although several have come to us from the curia – which is why I write to you now. If my other letters except one did not reach you, the present one will replace them. I shall not tell you what was decided in Nürnberg concerning the church affairs,¹ for this you will have heard from many others, especially the apostolic envoys,² who were there and will now have returned to the curia. I can only say that the meeting ended in disagreement, with some supporting one of the two parties and others the other.³ The king's ambassadors will reach you shortly, and if they are given due consideration, it will greatly profit your party.⁴ You can give them the *Politica*⁵ to bring home to me, and I shall ask them to undertake this task.⁶ Please endeavour to make it so.

[2] I ask you to recommend me to the Most Reverend Father and Lord of Taranto,⁷ whom I love for for his own excellent qualities just as we love Scipio,⁸ Cato,⁹ Fabricius¹⁰ and those other men of old, about whose splendid qualities we read. Only one thing would make me even more devoted to him, to hear that he has seen to your advancement. About your Conte¹¹, my master or rather our master, I wish you to write if he fares well so that I can rejoice with him; but if he fares poorly, I would not hear it. I am writing directly to Pietro da Noceto, so I give you no message for him. I only wish that when you are together, you remember me with joy.

[3] I have just left the royal court, for a great plague rages there, and people fall like leaves from forest trees at this time of the year¹². I am now in the mountains with healthy air. I hear nothing about the Most Reverend Cardinal of Sant'Angelo¹³ since he is staying in faraway regions. Write back to me about your eyes, and if you receive your things from Venice. The Hungarians are arrogant and want to invade Austria, which they will find [prepared] if they come.

Farewell and love me as always. From Bruck, 20 November 1443.

¹ See DVI, sect. 172-173.

² Juan Carvajal and Nikolaus von Kues (Stieber, p. 267).

³ The papalist and the conciliarist parties.

⁴ The papalist party.

⁵ Leonardo Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Politika*, which Campisio had arranged to be transcribed for Piccolomini.

⁶ Evidently, Piccolomini did not yet know he would be sent as the emperor's envoy to the pope.

⁷ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Ta-gliacozzo, Campisio's employer.

⁸ Scipio Africanus the Elder.

⁹ Cato the Censor.

¹⁰ Gajus Fabricius Lucinus.

¹¹ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

¹² Autumn.

¹³ Cardinal Cesarini's death at the Battle of Varna on 10 November was first reported to the imperial court on 13 December (WO, 2: 5, p. 338),

164. Letter to Jacopo di Castro Romano (28 November 1444, Bruck).

Manuscripts: M4, f. 165r * **.

Editions: HE, 165, pp. 391-392; WO, 1:1, 165, p. 452-453.

{165r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta, salutem plurimam dicit domino Jacobo, physico regio de Castro Romano, militi et nobili tamquam patri honorando.

[1] Nemo me juste posset arguere, si ad meos amicos scribens te solum juberem salutari, nam et tu similiter facis, qui satis fecisse amicitiae reris, quod in magnifici cancellarii litteris Aeneam salvere jussisti. Sed nolo tecum agere, sicut tu mecum facis. Scribam enim potius tibi quam te per alios mandem resalutari. Quod autem ad te scribam, non est aliud, nisi quod me sospitem possum tibi significare.

[2] Tetigisti tamen in litteris cancellarii domini mei et amici tui optimi unum, quod mihi scribendi materiam praebet, namque tu doles virum illustrem Nicolaum Piceninum decessisse de vita. Ego sui causa maxime gaudeo, nam cum viderem illum scientia rei militaris et armorum gloria omnibus, qui nostra aetate fuerunt, praestitisse, cum scirem ipsum semper constantem ac fidelissimum fuisse timebam semper - ut variae et mutabiles sunt res mundanae - ne qua res intercideret, quae vel gloriae vel bonitati suae detraheret. Cupiebam semper illum diem venire, quo tantus homo dici beatus posset, quod ante obitum – ut Ovidio placet - de nullo dici potest, namque ut ille ait: *dicique beatus ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet*. Congaudeo igitur et admodum tanto viro congratulor, qui vitam suam cum laude finivit. Cui et nunc epitaphium ederem, nisi quod nunc librum *De viris illustribus* aevi nostro compono, in quo et ipsum suo loco sepeliam et tumulum meliorem diuturnioremque faciam, quam dux Mediolani construxisse sibi dicatur.

[3] De Rotundella cum scriberes credo inflatum nervum urina magis quam desiderio Veneris stetisse tibi, namque ut minxisti et calamus tacuit, quod tuorum paucitas verborum ostendit. Sed illa non tumidas¹ vento vel urina sed succo pretiosissimo distentas cupit, ideoque scias te sui non esse idoneum amatorem. Haec ex joco dixi.

¹ A noun seems to be missing.

164. Letter to Jacopo di Castro Romano (28 November 1444, Bruck).

- Context:* In a letter (not extant) to the chancellor, Jacopo had commented on Niccolò Piccinino's death and, in the end of the letter, asked him to greet Piccolomini.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs Jacopo that he is including Piccinino in a book on famous men of the present age on which he is presently working. He adds a jocular comment on an instance of sexual dysfunction experienced by Jacopo.

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to Jacobo de Castroromano, royal physician, knight, noble, and honourable Father.

[1] Nobody could reasonably criticise me if, when writing to friends, I just asked them to greet you from me, for you do the same when apparently you think to satisfy the demands of friendship when, in your letter to the chancellor, you ask him to greet Enea. However, I shall not do to you what you do to me but will write to you directly rather than ask others to greet you. Actually, I am writing this mainly to let you know that I am safe and sound.

[2] However, in your letter to My Lord Chancellor and your good friend, you wrote something that I would comment on: you lament the death of the illustrious Niccolò Piccinino.¹ I, for my part, rejoice greatly for the following reason: seeing that he surpassed all men of the present age in knowledge of warfare and military glory and knowing him to be constant and most faithful, I feared that – as worldly affairs are fickle and mutable – something would happen to diminish his glory or goodness. Therefore, I always wished for the day to arrive when such a great man could be said to be happy. For, as Ovid believes, nobody can be said to be happy before his death: “*None must be counted happy till his death, till his last funeral rites are paid.*”² So, I rejoice and fervently congratulate this great man who finished his life commendably. I would write an epitaph for him if I was not at present working on a book on *Famous men of Our Time*,^{3 4} in which I shall bury him in his own place and grant him a funerary monument better and more lasting than the one the Duke of Milan⁵ is said to have made for him.⁶

[3] You also wrote about Rotundella.⁷ I believe that you had an erection because your member⁸ was distended by urine rather than sexual desire, for when you had pissed, your stalk shrunk, and your pen⁹ fell silent, as proven by the fewness of your words. But Lady Venus wants that member to be

¹ Niccolò Piccinino (ca. 1386-1444): Italian condottiere. Piccolomini knew him personally, having met him in 1435 in connection with a Milanese plot against Pope Eugenius IV.

² Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 3: 136 -137.

³ Piccolomini's work *De Viris Illustribus*, on which he was working intermittently for a number of years but never published. The latest extant draft is from 1447. Whereas other writers on famous men focused on men from Antiquity or the Bible, Piccolomini wrote about his contemporaries, see Introduction to DVI.

⁴ Piccolomini included a whole chapter on Piccinino in the DVI, (DVI, ch. 7). He also included a passage on him in his *De Europa* (EUR, sect. 250).

⁵ Filippo Maria Visconti.

⁶ Piccinino was buried in a tomb in the Cathedral of Milan.

⁷ Probably the jocular name of a lover (prostitute?) of Jacopo's. He must indeed have been a close friend of the chancellor if he included such a matter in his letter to him.

⁸ “nervus”, cf. Horatius: *Epodes*, 12: 19.

⁹ “calamus”: untranslatable pun on calamus, meaning both a pen and a pole.

swollen with the most precious of fluids¹ and not by air or urine. Therefore, you should know that you are not a suitable lover. I say this as a joke!²

Tu vale et Matthaecum nostrum Pisanum meo nomine salvum dicito. Ex Prugk, die 28. novembris 1444.

¹ Semen.

² The joke is inspired by Ovid's 2nd epode.

Farewell, and greet our Matteo Pisano from me. From Bruck, 28. November 1444.

165. Letter to Filippo Maria Visconti (18 December 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 121r-122r; M2, ff. 45v-46v¹; M3, ff. 251r-253v²; V2, ff. 233-238³; V3, ff. 112r-114v⁴ **;
V4, ff. 100r-102r.

Editions: HE, 167, pp. 422-425; WO, 1: 1, 167, pp. 487-490; (both based on M1 and V2).

Translations: ME, 35, pp. 193-197.

{112r} Illustrissimo principi ac excellentissimo domino⁵ Philippo Mariae Anglo⁶, duci Mediolanensi⁷, Papiæ Angleriaequæ comiti ac Januæ domino,⁸ Aeneas Silvius⁹, imperialis¹⁰ secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit.^{11 12}

[1] Etsi favoris mihi¹³ non multum hactenus¹⁴ tua¹⁵ celsitudo impenderit, quæ post traditam mihi ecclesie Sancti Laurenti Majoris Mediolanensis possessionem, spoliatorem meum præter jus et contra litteras regias in meum favorem sæpius scriptas tuetur, in tantum tamen illustrissimæ celsitudini tuæ sum deditus, ut prætermittere nullatenus possim, quin novitates ad nos delatas eidem significem, quæ tametsi non hujusmodi sint, ut audiri libenter debeant. Expedit tamen et secunda et adversa cognoscere. Accipe igitur ex servulo tuo¹⁶, quæ apud nos nova feruntur¹⁷.

[2] Quindecim aut eo plures sunt dies, quibus huc fama delata est, *fama malum*, inquam, quo non *aliud velocius*¹⁸ *ullum mobilitate viget* et quæ *vires*, ut Virgilius ait, *acquirit*¹⁹ *eundo*. Haec²⁰ igitur maximum et nobilissimum principem²¹ Wladislaum, Poloniae regem, qui regnum Hungarie occupaverat,²² in bello cum toto exercitu {112v} prostratum vulgavit. Quia tamen nullæ venerant

¹ SC, 98-101

² SC, 508-511

³ DV, 122r-124v

⁴ DV, 115r-117v

⁵ domino *add.* M3, V2a; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ *omit.* M3

⁷ Anglie M3

⁸ domino suo præcipuo *add.* M3; ~~domino suo præcipuo~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ poeta *add.* M3, V2a; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ imperialisque M3, V2a; *corr. ex* imperialisque V2b

¹¹ Salutem plurimam dicit : humil-lime sese commendatum facit M3, V2a

¹² *Titulus:* Illustrissimo principi ac excellentissimo domino, Philippo Mariae Anglo, duci Mediolanensi etc. domino suo præcipuo, Aeneas Silvius, etc. humillime sese commendatum facit **M1**; Illu-strissimo principi ac domino excellentissimo domino Philippo Mariae Anglo, duci Mediolanensi, Papiæ Angleriaequæ comiti ac Januæ etc. domino, domino suo præcipuo Aeneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, humilli-me sese commendatum facit M2

¹³ *omit.* M3

¹⁴ hac M2

¹⁵ M1 use 2nd pers. plural in address.

¹⁶ non tamen apud tuam illustrem (illustrissimam) dominationem pro servulo reputato *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~non tamen apud tuam dominationem pro servulo reputato~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁷ referuntur M2

¹⁸ aliud velocius : uelocius aliud M3

¹⁹ requirit V4

²⁰ hoc M3

²¹ maximum et ... principem *omit.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~maximum et ... principem~~ *seq.* V2b

²² ac serenissimum principem Ladis laum Hungariae ac Bohemiae regem paterno et avito regno spoliaverat *add.* M1-M3, V2a; ~~ac serenissimum principem Ladis laum Hungariae ac Bohemiae re gem paterno et avito regno spoli averat~~ *seq.* V2b

litterae nullusque certus auctor habebatur, ficta¹ res credita est. Nec multo post² epistolae ex Hungaria missae sunt regem Poloniae superatis conflictisque³ Turcis⁴ victorem reverti, eratque non non parva trepidatio, ne, sicut *est victoria sui natura insolens et superba*, rex idem cum Hungaris adversus Austriam et Stiriam castra moveret. [cont.]

¹ facta M3

² plus M3

³ conflictis M2

⁴ Teucris M1-M3, V2a; ~~Teucris~~ seq. V2b

165. Letter to Filippo Maria Visconti (18 December 1444, Wiener Neustadt).

- Context:* For years, Piccolomini had been trying to curry favour with the Duke of Milan, aiming to regain his lost provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan and possibly also to obtain employment at the ducal court, which would bring him back to Italy.
- Subjects:* Piccolomini sends the duke important news about the Battle of Varna, aiming to ingratiate himself with the duke and show him how useful he could be to the duke as an informant at the imperial court¹ in return for the duke's recognition of his rights to San Lorenzo in Milan.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord Filippo Maria Angelo, Duke of Milan, Count of Pavia and Angleria², and Lord of Genua.

[1] Until now, Your Highness has not shown me much favour. On the contrary, after I had been granted possession of the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan, you have protected the man who deprived me of it, against all rights and despite frequent royal letters in my favour.³ Nonetheless, I am still so devoted to Your Most Illustrious Highness that I shall send you the news we have received here: it must be heard even though it will not be welcome. But one should know both the good and the bad things. So, please accept from your humble servant the news reported here

[2] Fifteen days ago or more, we heard of a rumour – which Virgil calls *the swiftest of all evils. Speed lends her strength, and she wins vigour as she goes.*⁴ According to this rumour, the great and noble prince Wladyslaw,⁵ King of Poland, who had previously occupied the kingdom of Hungary,⁶ has been utterly defeated with all his army. The rumour was not confirmed by letters, and its origin was unknown, and it was therefore considered a fabrication. And shortly afterwards, letters were sent from Hungary stating that the king had fought and crushed the Turks and was returning as a victor. Since *victory is, in its very nature, haughty and overweening,*⁷ this gave rise to to some fear that the king would, with the Hungarians, invade Austria and Steiermark. [*cont.*]

¹ In his oration "Audivi" of 16 November 1436, Piccolomini had commented on the duke's excellent network of informants (COR, 2: 1, 86)

² Como.

³ E.g., letter from Friedrich III to the Duke of Milan of 15 January 1444 (WO, 1: 2, ep. LXX, p. 120).

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 4: 174-175.

⁵ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

⁶ See the objections to this claim by the Polish Cardinal Olesnicki in a letter of 10 September 1453 (letter 365: 7, 10) (WO, 3: 1, 137).

⁷ Cicero: *Pro Marcello*, 3: 9.

[*cont.*] Jamque vir magni nominis, Dionisius, archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, et alii, qui Ladislai regis partibus favent, auxilia Romanorum regis efflagitabant. Studuerant enim, qui regem Poloniae apud Hungaros manu tenebant, conflictum ejus tegere, sive quod¹ redeunti ex bello regi quamvis fugato consulere volebant, sive quod statum suum eo melius interim putabant posse dirigere.

[3] Sed nihil est mendacio instabilius nihilque veritate constantius. Advenerunt enim hodie - mirabile² dictu est - ex diversissimis remotissimisque regionibus una in hora diversi nuntii, non tamen diversa, sed eadem nova portantes. Scripsit illustris Ciliae comes, scripserunt ex partibus Transsilvanis alii et rursus alii ex Hungaria barones novitates istas regiae majestati, quae, licet Christiano populo lugubres sint et admodum nocivae, non tamen taceri debent, sed tanto diligentius inter Christicolos divulgari, quanto Catholicae fidei majus imminet periculum, nisi religiosissimi {113r} principes in unum convenientes de modis resistendi sanctae crucis inimicis et hostibus Christi cogitaverint³.

[4] Nova igitur ista sunt: ajunt omnes nuntii uno ore regem Poloniae cum cardinali Sancti Angeli multisque Hungaris sed pluribus Walachis et Bulgaris atque Ruthenis in Romaniam⁴ usque profectos⁵ tot bellando successus habuisse, ut non longe ab Andrinopoli castra posuerint. Quod postquam Turcorum⁶ imperator accepit, collecto in Asia exercitu⁷ quadraginta milium pugnatorum, pugnatorum, mare trajecit. Classis namque in Hellespontum ad prohibendum ex Asia in Europam⁸ transitum hac aestate praeterita missa, ut isti referunt, jam retrocesserat, patronis ejus pecunia et Asiatica gaza corruptis, quod mihi non fit⁹ verisimile, nec persuaderi mihi poterit, tanta perfidia usos illos fuisse, ut Christianum sanguinem Mahumetistis auro vendiderint. Illud autem credibilius est deficiente comite classe ulterius non potuisse procedere, sicuti jam suis litteris timere se Julianus cardinalis significaverat. Utrumque sit, liberum¹⁰ mare Turcis¹¹ patuit, qui transeuntes in Graeciam junctive suis cis mare manentibus cum magno exercitu Christianos aggressi sunt.

[5] Nec nostri detractavere certamen, sed in ipsa Sancti Martini festivitate bellum commissum est, quod tam atrox et asperum fuit, ut raro inter mortales tale fuisse putetur. Diu proelium anceps extitit diuque viribus {113v} utrimque paribus est pugnatum. Atque dum nostri pro Christo et illi pro Mahumeto contendunt - tam acres utriusque partis animi fuerunt, ut caesis¹² inter utrumque exercitum circiter 15 milibus hominum - cum pugna par esset, adhuc cessare noluerunt¹³, sed quo plus sanguinis¹⁴ fundebatur, eo ferociores utrimque acies turmaeque¹⁵ proeliabantur. Defecerunt tamen utrisque vires fessisque¹⁶ brachiis nec versare¹⁷ gladios amplius nec arcus tendere valebant¹,

¹ de *add.* M3

² rurabili M3

³ rogitaverint M3

⁴ Romaniamque M2

⁵ profectis M3

⁶ Teucrorum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucrorum V2b

⁷ Turcorum imperator ... exercitu *omit.* M1

⁸ Teucrorum imperator ... exercitu in Europam *add.* M1

⁹ est M2; sit M3

¹⁰ liberam M1

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

¹² lesis M1

¹³ noluerint M1-M3, V2

¹⁴ sanguis M3

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

¹⁶ defessique M2

¹⁷ versari M2

quae res quiescere ambas partes ad magnam horam coegit, donec resumptis viribus ac spiritibus redeuntibus instauratum est proelium, in quo vicit ad extremum Turcorum² sive virtus fuit sive fatum, sive quod numero plures erant. Affirmant, qui ex bello fugerunt³, patrum nostrorum memoria nullum tota Europa tam cruentum bellum esse commissum nec pauciores ex Teucris⁴ quam ex Hungaris cecidisse et, si verus⁵ est rumor⁶, octuaginta milia virorum in hac pugna sunt caesa⁷.

[cont.] Already, the renowned Dénes,⁸ Archbishop of Esztergom, and other supporters of King Ladislaus⁹ begged the King of the Romans¹⁰ for help, for the Hungarian partisans of the Polish king concealed his defeat either because they wanted to help the defeated king returning from the war or because they wanted to protect their own interests in the meantime.

[3] But nothing is more fragile than a lie and nothing more firm than the truth. For today, remarkably, within one hour, various messengers from various and remote regions brought identical news. The Illustrious Count of Cilly¹¹ as well as [nobles] from Transylvania and barons from Hungary sent reports to His Royal Majesty¹² that, dreadful and ominous as they are, must not be suppressed but diligently spread among all Christians since a major danger threatens the Catholic faith unless the pious princes meet and confer about ways to oppose the enemies of the Holy Cross and of Christ himself.¹³

[4] This is the news: all the messengers say that the King of Poland, with the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,¹⁴ many Hungarians and even more Wallachians, Bulgarians and Ruthenians, entered Romania. They had such success in the war that they could establish a camp not far from Adrianople.¹⁵ When the Turkish ruler¹⁶ heard it, he gathered an army of 40,000 soldiers in Asia¹⁷ and crossed the sea since the fleet¹⁸ that had, last summer, been sent to the Hellespont to prevent the Turks from crossing over from Asia to Europe had left. According to some, the captains of the fleet had been bribed by the Asians.¹⁹ This, however, I consider to be most unlikely since I cannot believe that they could have been so disloyal as to sell Christian blood to the Muhammedans. It is more likely that the fleet ran out of provisions and could not continue, as Cardinal Giuliano had previously feared in a letter. Whatever the reason, the sea was open to the Turks, who passed over

¹ nolebant M1; volebant M3

² Teucrorum M1-M3, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucrorum V2b

³ venerunt M3

⁴ [Sic!]

⁵ si verus *omit.* M2

⁶ est rumor : rumor est M2

⁷ octuaginta virorum ... caesa : in hac pugna sunt caesa octuaginta milia virorum V4

⁸ Dénes Szécsi (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom [Gran] 1440 to his death. Cardinal (1439). Supporter of Empress Elizabeth and her son, King Ladislaus.

⁹ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg)

¹⁰ Friedrich III.

¹¹ Count Ulrich II von Cilly.

¹² Friedrich III.

¹³ Note that already in 1445, Piccolomini ventilated the idea of a meeting of European princes to discuss ways to resist the Turks, an idea that came to fruition in the Congress of Mantua, which he held as pope, in 1459 and which was unsuccessful.

¹⁴ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

¹⁵ Present-day Edirne.

¹⁶ Murad II (1404-1451): Sultan of the Turks. Murad had abdicated after the Peace of Szeged but was recalled by his son, Mehmed II, to conduct the war against the Hungarians, whom he defeated in the Battle of Varna, 10 November 14

¹⁷ Asia Minor.

¹⁸ A papal fleet commanded by a cardinal nephew of the pope.

¹⁹ Rivals of the Ottoman sultans.

to Greece, joined the forces remaining on the European side of the sea and attacked the Christians with a large army.

[5] Ours, too, wanted to fight. The battle began on the Feast of Saint Martin,¹ and there may seldom have been such a ferocious and bitter fight among men. The two [armies] fought with equal strength, and the outcome was in doubt for a long time. Ours were battling for Christ and the others for Muhammad, and both sides fought with such vigour that 15,000 men fell in the first clash of the armies. The fight was so equal that they did not want to stop, and the more blood they shed, the more ferociously the troops were fighting. But in the end, the men on both sides became exhausted and could no longer wield their swords or stretch their bows. This forced both parties to rest until late in the day, but when they had regained their fighting spirit and strength, the battle was renewed. In the end, the Turks won due to their strength or destiny or because they were more numerous. Those who escaped from the battle say that never in the memory of our fathers did Europe see such a bloody battle: as many Turks fell as Hungarians, and, if the rumour is true, at least 80,000 men were killed.

[6] De rege Poloniae incerta vox est. Quidam occubuisse eum ferunt, quidam captum putant. Illud inter omnes constat regem Poloniae ad Hungaros non esse reversum, nec desunt, qui eum in facie vulnus suscepisse inter proeliandum asserant², quo fit, ut³ adolescenti tam nobili tantique animi admodum condolendum sit, qui non suo iudicio - non enim propter aetatem aliena regna cupiebat - sed suorum suasu ex pacifico regno in alienum, non ad pacem sed ad bellum, non ad {114r} opes possidendas sed ad mortem vel captivitatem est tractus.

[7] Murmur etiam est in hoc proelio virum nostri temporis cum⁴ eloquentissimum tum prudentissimum Julianum, cardinalem Sancti Angeli, cecidisse ac suum illum nobilissimum spiritum ad omnia⁵, quaecumque ageret, divinitus aptum exalasse. Quidam astruunt⁶ eum⁷ cum Johanne vaivoda Transsilvano, viro magnifico⁸ et - nisi timiditate victus aufugerit⁹ - animosissimo, animosissimo, cum paucis evasisse, quod magis optaverim. Sed mors sua mihi probabilior est, quia non fuit in¹⁰ bellis fortunatus. Nam et adversus Bohemos cum exercitu profectus fugatus est, nisi forsitan et idem sibi¹¹ nunc accidisse arbitrari velimus. Sed assuevit fortuna, quos uno ex bello fugatos fecit, in alio interemptos reddere. Quaecumque sors ejus fuerit, non puto male actum cum eo, qui pro Christi fide pugnavit, pro qua, si mortuus est, ut isti ferunt, nulli dubium esse debet, quin ad eum transierit, cujus causam tutabatur¹².

¹ The Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444. This was the last battle of the Crusade of Varna, ending in the defeat of the Christians.

² asserunt WO

³ ab M3

⁴ tum M3

⁵ cardinalem Sancti ... omnia *omit.* M1

⁶ asserunt V4

⁷ *omit.* V4

⁸ viro magnifico *omit.* M2

⁹ auferit M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M1

¹¹ ibi M2

¹² tuebatur M3

[8] Occisi cum eo sunt Agriensis et Varadiensis episcopi et alii complures regni proceres¹, quorum nondum nomina sunt transscripta. Plures in hoc proelio illustres animae vel in caelum vel ad inferos transierunt.

[9] Insignis est hic² annus multis cladibus, nam et Suicenses apud Basileam caesi, et dalphinus quamplures³ Alamaniae civitates occupavit, et rex Franciae Tullum Verdunumque cepit, Nicolaus {114v} Piceninus vita functus est, et alii quamplures magni⁴ viri mortui sunt, qui vestrae illustri dominationi quam mihi sunt notiores.

[10] Hungari jam incipiunt Ladislaum regem repetere. Res nova est et recens nec magis explicanda quam tradita sit. Nova in dies certiora mittentur, quae non omittam scribere, si scivero meas litteras in conspectu celsitudinis tuae acceptas esse et non magis adversarium meum quam me in ecclesia Sancti Laurentii, quae mea est, confoveri.

Ex Nova civitate, die 13. Decembris 1444⁵, ipso die sanctae Luciae.⁶

¹ et alii complures regni proceres : Stefanus de Wader etc. multique alii barones **M1**; Stefanus de Wader, Johannes de Lasmuz, Nico-laus de Perin, Henricus de Thamasii, multique alii barones **M2**; Stefanus de Wader, Johannes de Lasmuz, Nicolaus de Perin, Henricus de Thamasii, Johannes Orsais, Pancratius de Szleid, Nico-laus de Salzburg et Mathiocanus, bani frater, Franco multique alii barones **M3, V2a**; ~~Stefanus de Wader, Johannes de Lasmuz, Nicolaus de Perin, Henricus de Thamasii, Johannes Orsais, Pancratius de Szleid, Nicolaus de Salzburg et Mathiocanus, bani frater, Franco multi-que alii barones~~ **V2b**

² *omit.* M3

³ complures M1

⁴ *omit.* M3

⁵ Ex Nova ... 1444 *omit.* M1

⁶ ipso die ... Luciae : *omit.* M1-M2, V4; *virginis add.* M3

[6] Concerning the King of Poland, nothing is known for sure. Some say that he fell in battle, others that he was taken prisoner. At any rate, he certainly has not returned to Hungary, and some claim he was wounded in the face while fighting. We must pity this noble and courageous youth. He was too young to desire other kingdoms, so it was not because he himself wanted it, but because his own people pressured him¹ that he was brought from his own peaceful kingdom² to another,³ not to peace but to war, and not to wealth but to death or captivity

[7] It is also rumoured that the most eloquent and clever man of this age, Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, fell in this battle and gave up his noble spirit, divinely endowed for everything he did. Some claim that, with a few men, he escaped together with János,⁴ voivode of Transylvania, an excellent and otherwise most brave man, who, overcome by fear, fled [the Turks]. I should, of course, much prefer that this is what happened, but I consider it more likely that the cardinal died, for he was not fortunate in war: when he went against the Bohemians with an army, he was put to flight,⁵ and the same I think may have happened now. Indeed, when Fortune lets some escape one battle, she often lets them be killed in the next. Whatever the cardinal's fate, I believe it must have ended well for him since he was fighting for the Christian faith, and if he died, as those people claim, he must no doubt have gone to Him⁶ whose cause he was defending.

[8] Together with him were killed the bishops of Eger⁷ and Varad⁸ and many other nobles of the kingdom, whose names have not yet been communicated. In this battle, many illustrious souls went to Heaven or to Hell.

[9] This year is marked by many fatal events: the Swiss were defeated at Basel,⁹ the dauphin¹⁰ occupied several German cities,¹¹ the King of France seized Toul and Verdun,¹² Niccolò Piccinino¹³ died as did many other men whom Your Illustrious Lordship knows better than I.

[10] The Hungarians now begin to recognise Ladislaus¹⁴ as their king. This is a new development, which I can only relate as it has been reported. Daily, we receive firmer news that I shall not fail to pass on to you if I know that my letters are welcome to Your Highness and that, in the matter of my Church of San Lorenzo, you do not favour me less than my adversary.

From [Wiener] Neustadt, 13 December 1444, the Feast of Saint Lucia.

¹ See the objections to this claim by the Polish Cardinal Olesnicki in a letter of 10 September 1453 (letter 385: 6) (WO. 3: 1, 137).

² Poland.

³ Hungary.

⁴ János Hunyadi [Hunyad] (c. 1406-1456): Hungarian statesman and general. Later (1456) gover-nor of Hungary.

⁵ The failed fifth crusade against the Hussites, in 1431. Cesarini was the papal legate in this cru-sade. On 14 August, the crusaders and the cardinal were defeated at the Battle of Taus and took to flight. Piccolomini had previously mentioned Cesarini's lack of luck in war, see letter 61: 6.

⁶ Christ.

⁷ Simon Rozgon [Rozgoni] (-1444): Bishop of Eger (Erlau). His niece was married to Jan Jiskra, a captain who supported King Ladi-slaus (Habsburg). See letter 108: 10, and DVI, sect. 275.

⁸ János Dominis [Johannes de Dominis] (-1444): Bishop Varad 1440 to his death.

⁹ In the Battle of Sankt Jakob an der Birs near Basel on 26 August 1444, see letter 156: 5.

¹⁰ Louis XI.

¹¹ The Armagnac invasion, see letter 156: 1-7.

¹² See DVI, sect. 171.

¹³ One of the great captains of the Duke of Milan. On his death, see letter 164.

¹⁴ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg)

